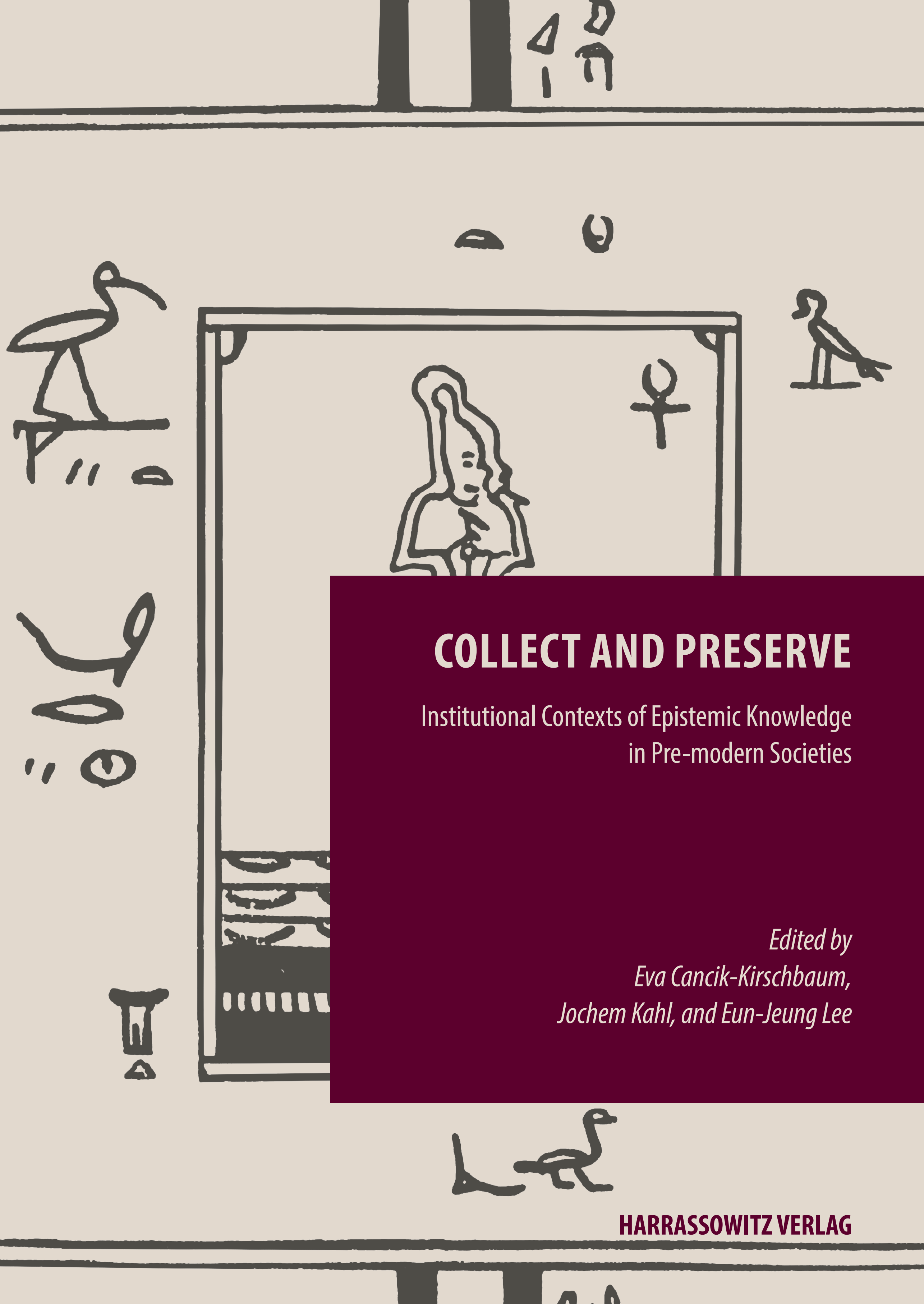

COLLECT AND PRESERVE

Institutional Contexts of Epistemic Knowledge in Pre-modern Societies

Edited by
Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Jochem Kahl, and Eun-Jeung Lee

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG

Collect and Preserve

Episteme in Bewegung

Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte

Herausgegeben von Gyburg Uhlmann
im Auftrag des Sonderforschungsbereichs 980
„Episteme in Bewegung.
Wissenstransfer von der Alten Welt
bis in die Frühe Neuzeit“

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Die Reihe „Episteme in Bewegung“ umfasst wissensgeschichtliche Forschungen mit einem systematischen oder historischen Schwerpunkt in der europäischen und nicht-europäischen Vormoderne. Sie fördert transdisziplinäre Beiträge, die sich mit Fragen der Genese und Dynamik von Wissensbeständen befassen, und trägt dadurch zur Etablierung vormoderner Wissensforschung als einer eigenständigen Forschungsperspektive bei.
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Preface

Andrew James Johnston and Gyburg Uhlmann

Since its inception in July 2012, the Collaborative Research Centre (CRC) 980 "Episteme in Motion. Transfer of Knowledge from the Ancient World to the Early Modern Period", based at the Freie Universität Berlin, has been engaging with processes of knowledge change in premodern European and non-European cultures.

The project aims at a fundamentally new approach to the historiography of knowledge in premodern cultures. Modern scholars have frequently described premodern knowledge as static and stable, bound by tradition and highly dependent on authority, and this is a view that was often held within premodern cultures themselves.

More often than not, modern approaches to the history of premodern knowledge have been informed by historiographical notions such as 'rupture' or 'revolution', as well as by concepts of periodization explicitly or implicitly linked to a master narrative of progress.

Frequently, only a limited capacity for epistemic change and, what is more, only a limited ability to reflect on shifts in knowledge were attributed to premodern cultures, just as they were denied most forms of historical consciousness, and especially so with respect to knowledge change. In contrast, the CRC 980 seeks to demonstrate that premodern processes of knowledge change were characterised by constant flux, as well as by constant self-reflexion. These epistemic shifts and reflexions were subject to their very own dynamics, and played out in patterns that were much more complex than traditional accounts of knowledge change would have us believe.

In order to describe and conceptualise these processes of epistemic change, the CRC 980 has developed a notion of 'episteme' which encompasses 'knowledge' as well as 'scholarship' and 'science', defining knowledge as the 'knowledge of something', and thus as knowledge which stakes a claim to validity. Such claims to validity are not necessarily expressed in terms of explicit reflexion, however – rather, they constitute themselves, and are reflected, in particular practices, institutions and modes of representation, as well as in specific aesthetic and performative strategies.

In addition to this, the CRC 980 deploys a specially adapted notion of 'transfer' centred on the re-contextualisation of knowledge. Here, transfer is not understood as a mere movement from A to B, but rather in terms of intricately entangled processes of exchange that stay in motion through iteration even if, at first glance, they appear to remain in a state of stasis. In fact, actions ostensibly geared towards the transmission, fixation, canonisation and codification of a certain level of knowledge prove particularly conducive to constant epistemic change.

In collaboration with the publishing house Harrassowitz the CRC has initiated the series "Episteme in Motion. Contributions to a Transdisciplinary History of Knowledge" with a view to showcase the project's research results and to render them accessible to a wider scholarly audience. The volumes published in this series represent the full scope of collaborating academic disciplines, ranging from ancient oriental studies to medieval studies, and from Korean studies to Arabistics. While some of the volumes are the product of interdisciplinary cooperation, other monographs and discipline-specific edited collections document the findings of individual sub-projects.

What all volumes in the series have in common is the fact that they conceive of the history of premodern knowledge as a research area capable of providing insights that are of fundamental interest to scholars of modernity as well.

Content

Introduction

The written transfer of epistemic knowledge in pre-modern societies was always associated with materiality. The most important writing materials were paper and parchment, wood, stone, clay, papyrus, bamboo, ivory, and bone. The accumulation of written documents and sources led to smaller and larger collections of manuscripts and print products. The storage of such written sources required physical space, organisation, administration, and maintenance. Some of these manuscript collections were institutionalised and evolved into epistemic sites and centers of knowledge.

When discussing the ways of collecting and preserving especially large textual bodies in pre-modern societies, the Western concept of library clouds our perception of alternative modes and structures beyond the western tradition. Especially in the pre-modern Eastern cultures, the use of writing for the preservation and transmission of administrative, scientific, literary and sacred knowledge has a long history. From the third millennium BCE on, all forms of intellectual, social and religious innovations have been increasingly materialised in the form of a variety of document types collected under the authority of royal palaces, state archives and temples. Private collections of religious and secular texts might have also existed in these cultures. The nature of all these collections and the type of scribal work executed in these locales was largely dependent on repetition and stabilisation as well as on new forms of adaptations and interpretation.

To discuss non-Western modes of long-term systematic collections of manuscripts and the transfer of knowledge by means of preserving and transmitting texts to future generations, a group of scholars from Assyriology, Classics, Egyptology, Japanese Studies, and Korean Studies came together within the framework of the Collaborative Research Center 980 (CRC 980) *Episteme in Motion. Transfer of Knowledge from the Ancient World to the Early Modern Period* at the Freie Universität Berlin. The international workshop "Scholarship between clay and light. Libraries, archives and documents in the Eastern world" took place from 5th to 7th November 2015 and was generously supported by the CRC 980 and the German Research Foundation. The wide range in time and space allowed to complement Western-dominated narratives by adopting a more global perspective. Comparison between ancient Near Eastern societies and premodern east Asia turned out to be a challenging and fruitful method of conducting comparative research. Commuting between the ancient civilisations of Egypt and Mesopotamia on the one hand and pre-modern Korea and Japan on the other allowed new scenarios to develop.

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Scholars at the CRC 980 workshop dealt with fundamental questions of the definition, nature and function of these pre-modern collections and institutions. In addition, they compared the mechanics of habitualisation and reproduction that characterise scribal work in these institutions for evidence of creativity, innovation and initiative in these same centers. In other words, the participants in the workshop challenged traditional and rigid concepts with particular examples of cultural, intellectual and technical change that were achieved within the walls of these institutions of knowledge, wisdom and belief. Likewise, this diverse group of experts also analysed the degree of emic classifications of different types of knowledge; the ways in which texts and other epistemic materials were organised, manipulated and stored; the amount of access that different persons had to the collections; and the self-positioning of scribes, priests, monks and other custodians of this knowledge.

This volume contains selected papers from the workshop. We are grateful to Kaira Boddy, Michaela Engert, Martin Gehlmann, Kristiane Hasselmann, Cale Johnson, Antonio Morales, Andreas Müller-Lee and Nira Umlauff for their organisational support and especially to Sabrina Mercedes Benz for editing the manuscript. We also owe a great deal of gratitude to Gyburg Uhlmann and the board members of the CRC 980 for accepting this book in the series *Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte*.

Berlin, 18th August 2020   Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Jochem Kahl, Eun-Jeung Lee

The Epistemic Legacy: Studying the collection, preservation, and transfer of knowledge in premodern societies

Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Jochem Kahl, Eun-Jeung Lee
(Freie Universität Berlin)

1 Ancient and Pre-modern Non-Western Epistemic Sites in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Korea

The use of writing for the preservation and transmission of administrative, scientific, literary or religious knowledge – to name but a few instances – has a long history in ancient and pre-modern Near and Far Eastern civilizations. From the third millennium BCE onwards, systematic societal implementation of writing produced an incredible amount of written documents on e.g. clay, stone, bone, papyrus, bamboo, plant leaves, parchment or paper. Together with the emergence and systematic production of written data, the need for keeping, even safeguarding at least part of them became an important issue. Writing as a social institution requires long-term organizational framework to take charge of collecting and preserving written lore. In most societies this kind of storage and administration of knowledge committed to writing was closely linked to the primary contexts of production of written lore. Thus, royal palaces, temples, shrines did always play a major role, but individual collections also became important over time.

The most prominent epistemic sites are places that housed collections of manuscripts[1], that is intentionally accumulated material representations of knowledge. In terms of mediality, these collections are not limited to epistemic knowledge in the written form but could as well include images, mock-ups, architecture, and even performative acts.

Often, these places became nodal points in the knowledge economy[2] of a given society. They obviously did not only stand for the act of collecting and preserving as such, but also connected practices and processes such as transfer and diffusion, control and negation, and – last but not least – they allowed for the

1 For the term cf. Dominique Charpin, *Le Clergé d'Ur au Siecle d'Hammurabi (XIXe–XVIIIe Siecles av. J.-C.)*, Geneva/Paris 1986, pp. 430–431; Philippe Clancier, *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie dans la deuxième moitié du Ier millénaire av. J.-C.*, Münster 2009 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 363), p. 16; Dominique Charpin, *Reading and Writing in Babylon*, Cambridge 2010, p. 201.

2 The CRC 980 *Episteme in Motion* uses the term "oikonomy" to stress the original connotation of exchange and negotiation connected with the Ancient Greek concept.

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generation of new knowledge. It is in this broader sense, the title of this volume "to collect and to preserve" is to be understood.

The following remarks will explore the modalities of collecting and preserving epistemic knowledge, that is, the wide spectrum of institutionalised knowledge that comes with a universal claim of validity attached to it. Typical institutions, more precisely organisations responsible for the care for epistemic knowledge were called *Per-Medjat* (House of Scroll) in ancient Egypt and *gerginakku* (Tablet Collection) in Babylonia; in imperial China, and later in Korea as well we find a wide range of composite words, e.g. *shuge* (Book Pavilion) or *shuku* (Book Repository), usually combining an expression for documents or books with a term for storage, building, or house.[3] *Epistemic sites* had a key position in the collection and transfer of knowledge, they were storage rooms, places for consultation, and working instrument at the same time. Different schools of thought, different traditions might become part of a shared environment. Existing knowledge was studied and modified, new knowledge was compiled. Knowledge from past and present was passed to the future.[4]

Unfortunately, the conventional characterization of pre-modern Eastern civilizations as traditional, immovable, and rigid has affected our perception of their capabilities for change, their creative potentials, and the manners in which their *epistemic sites* conditioned practices of education and transfer. Modern perceptions of ancient and medieval *epistemic sites* are largely based on a model of restrictive, conservative institutions whose major aim was the safeguarding of textual artefacts as keepers of traditions, norms, and canonical forms. This is especially the case in respect to the so-called 'Oriental' civilizations. China together with the more ancient civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia were constructed as symbols of stagnation and the immutable.[5] However, *epistemic sites* in Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, and Korea were not only themselves subject to societal change, they also caused change within the textual stock by the sheer act of preservation, conservation, and reproduction. They were even responsible for the negation of transfer, that is processes of selection, alteration and even destruction of textual bodies. Certainly, the nature of the pre-modern Eastern manuscript collections and *epistemic sites* and the type of scribal and intellectual labour executed in these

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3 For a list of all designations of Chinese institutions collecting manuscripts see Martin Delhey, Vito Lorusso et al., *Wordlists for Libraries and Closely Related Phenomena in Different Manuscript Cultures from Asia, Africa and Europe*; http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/papers_e.html, for Korean terms see Paek Rin, *Han'guk tosŏgwan yŏn'gu* (Research on Korean Libraries), Seoul 1981.

4 Cf. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Jochem Kahl, *Erste Philologien. Archäologie einer Disziplin vom Tigris bis zum Nil*, Tübingen 2018, p. 104.

5 For the Near East cf. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 2003; for Egypt see Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*, Cairo 2002. Cf. also Andrea Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus. Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin/New York 2005; Urs App, *The Birth of Orientalism*, Philadelphia/Oxford 2010.

places was often intent on stabilization by repetition. However, already every process of (manual) repetition is characterized by variation, thus even faithfully copying an old manuscript implies change. Attested in this kind of activities is the *suggestion* of continuity and stability in terms of iterative processes. Yet, these always do involve a consciousness of change as a societal (cultural, historical) phenomenon and thus require an active change management.[6] *Epistemic sites* were central not only to the care and reproduction of the written body of knowledge, but also to intellectual creativity, innovation, and the emergence of new layers of knowledge.

The history, role and function of non-Western long-lasting *epistemic sites* are still insufficiently studied, particularly insofar as these institutions do not conform to Western archetypes modelled on "libraries" or "academies" of Classical antiquity. In fact, fundamental questions as to the nature and function of these *epistemic sites* have still to be captured. The ways in which epistemic materials were organized, manipulated, stored, and transferred, the amount of access that different persons had to the manuscript collections, and the self-positioning of scholars, priests, monks and other custodians of this knowledge still await thorough studies.

2 Specific Egyptian, Mesopotamian and East Asian Epistemic Sites

With reference to ancient Egypt, the phenomenon of "libraries" and "archives" has only become a topic in the last decades.[7] Among other reasons, the lack of direct evidence has restrained scholars from the examination of these institutions: up to date the only large-scale temple "library" known to us is the one in Tebtynis,[8] an *epistemic site* associated with a temple dedicated to the crocodile-god

6 Cf. *Wissen in Bewegung. Institution – Iteration – Transfer*, eds. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Anita Traninger, Wiesbaden 2015 (Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zur einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte 1), especially the introduction.

7 Günter Burkard, "Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten", in: *Bibliothek. Forschung und Praxis* 4 (1980), pp. 79–115; Siegfried Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten. Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici*, aus dem Nachlaß niedergeschrieben von Erika Schott, Wiesbaden 1990; Katharina Zinn, "Tempelbibliotheken im Alten Ägypten", in: *Spätantike Bibliotheken: Leben und Lesen in den frühen Klöstern Ägyptens*, eds. H. Froschauer and Cornelia Römer, Wien 2008 (Nilus. Studien zur Kultur Ägyptens und des Vorderen Orients 14), pp. 81–91; Elke Blumenthal, "Privater Buchbesitz im pharaonischen Ägypten", in: *Bibliotheken im Altertum*, eds. E. Blumenthal and W. Schmitz, Wiesbaden 2011 (Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens 45), pp. 51–85; Kim Ryholt, "Libraries in ancient Egypt", in: *Ancient Libraries*, eds. Jason König, Katerina Oikonomopoulou and Greg Wolf, Cambridge 2013, pp. 23–37; Alexandra von Lieven, "„So dass eine die Auffrischung der anderen ist." Texttradierung im Umfeld ägyptischer Tempelbibliotheken", in: *Die Variation der Tradition. Modalitäten und Ritualadaption im Alten Ägypten. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 25.–28. November 2012 in Heidelberg*, ed. Andreas Pries, Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT 2016 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 240), pp. 1–28; Kim Ryholt, "Libraries from Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt ", in: *Libraries before Alexandria: Ancient Near Eastern Traditions*, eds. Kim Ryholt and Gojko Baramovic, Oxford 2019, pp. 390–472.

8 Even here, we have only a part of the library, maybe only singled out manuscripts.

Sobek in the Fayum, mainly with cultic, scientific and literary materials that span from the first to the third century CE.[9]

Apart from these, Egyptian texts refer to another kind of *epistemic site*, the House of Life (*Per-Ankh*). [10] Archaeologically, however, there are only the ruins of one such building known in the course of the millennia: the House of Life in Amarna.[11] The House of Life was a place of collecting, studying, copying, and compiling texts with theological, religious, medical, and magical content. Its scriptures were secret to outsiders. It was a place of discussion and a cultural centre. Presumably, such Houses of Life were installed in each significant Egyptian town. Papyrus Salt (26th dynasty; 7th century BCE) gives a picture of the House of Life (cf. frontispiece of the present book). There were four entrances according to the cardinal points and a sacred site of the god Osiris was in its centre.[12]

In Mesopotamia, central organizations such as the palaces and the temples functioned as *epistemic site* of the first order.[13] The oldest collections, whose remnants were found reused as building materials, stem from late 4th millennium Southern Mesopotamia and are closely related to the implementation of writing on a larger societal scale. Since these beginnings Mesopotamia and adjacent areas where cuneiform writing was used during the next three millennia attest to a broad variety of manuscript collections, differing in terms of size (ranging from some 10 or 20 texts up to 20.000 documents), differing in terms of content (with only small amounts of thoroughly epistemic character up to enormous collections of scientific texts), differing in languages (Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Hurrian – to name only a few) – and, last but not least, differing in usage, accessibility and affiliation. In addition, there were specialized institutions

9 Kim Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library. A Status Report", in: *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, eds. Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 141–170; Alexandra von Lieven, "Religiöse Texte aus der Tempelbibliothek von Tebtynis - Gattungen und Funktionen", in: *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, eds. Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 57–70.

10 Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth. A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, Wiesbaden 2005; Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Ein ägyptischer Dialog über die Schreibkunst und das arkane Wissen", in: *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 9 (2007), pp. 259–294; Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *Conversations in the House of Life. A New Translation of the Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, Wiesbaden 2014.

11 John Devitt Stringfellow Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten Part III: The Central City and the Official Quarters. The Excavations at Tell El-Amarna during the Season 1926–1927 and 1931–1936*, London 1951 (Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society 44), p. 115, pl. 20.

12 Philippe Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825 – rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*, Brüssel 1965 (Mémoires de la Académie Royale de Belgique – Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques 58,1a–b).

13 Cf. the contribution of Philippe Clancier in this volume (pp. 85–109) and the overview in Cancik-Kirschbaum and Kahl, *Erste Philologien*, pp. 123–139.

whose exact relationship to the large institutions cannot always be precisely determined: *E-dubba'a*, *E-imgula* (House of the long tablet), *gerginakku* (Tablet Collection). And finally, there were the private houses of scholars, which at first glance do not seem to fit into the category of the above-mentioned type of over-individual 'institutionalized' units. But in a sense they are to be regarded as satellites of the great *epistemic sites*, for they apparently served the scribes and scholars to a considerable extent as places of work and teaching.

East Asian techniques and practices of document collection have been widely discussed and studied already in the pre-modern period. The first theoretical reflections on the collection and storage of documents appeared in the period of the Former Han-Dynasty (traditionally from 206 BCE to 9 CE).[14] However, even older forms of storing and preserving written artifacts have recently become well-known through archeological excavations of different text materials used in ancient China, ranging from oracle bones and bronze inscriptions to bamboo strips and silk manuscripts. The regime of the oldest written artifacts of ancient China, the Shang dynasty (c. 1600 BCE–c. 1046 BCE) oracle bones, is still much discussed, but excavations of Warring States period (around 5th century BCE to 221 BCE) bamboo strip collections offer us an insight into the document preservation culture of late pre-imperial and imperial China.[15] Since the Han (202 BCE–220 CE), and especially the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), the spread of new textual media,

14 About the scholarly debate whether Chinese institutions can be labeled libraries or archives see Max Jakob Fölster, "Libraries and Archives in the Former Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 9 CE). Arguing for a Distinction", in: *Manuscript and Archives. Comparative Views on Record Keeping*, eds. Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockman et al., Berlin 2018, pp. 201–230. The first systematic bibliographic work on the collection and storage of books was written by a scholar named Liu Xiang during the Former Han Dynasty see Michael Friedrich, "Der editorische Bericht des Liu Hsiang zum Chan-kuo ts'e", in: *Den Jadestein erlangen. Festschrift für Harro von Senger*, ed. Monika Gänßbauer, Frankfurt a.M. 2009, pp. 239–257.

15 The precise nature of the excavated deposits of oracle bones is difficult to determine, whether they were discarded, archived or hidden. Given the fact, the oracle-bone inscriptions were sacred as once religious objects to the Shang kings, it can be assumed that they were not intended to be read after they were buried. See David N. Keightley, "Sacred Waste: Theirs or Ours?", in: *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture: Festschift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, eds. Christoph Anderl and Halvor Eifring, Oslo 2006, pp. 3–12, and David N. Keightley, "Gosudarstvo Shan v nadpisiakh na gadatel'nykh kostiakh (The Shang State as Seen in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions)", in: *Istoriia Kitaia: materialy kitaevedcheskoi konferentsii ISAA pri MGU: mai 2005 g., mai 2006 g. (The History of China: Proceedings of Sinological Conferences Held at the Institute of Asian and African Studies of Moscow State University, May 2005, May 2006)*, ed. M. IU. Ulianov, Moscow 2007, pp. 237–272. A recent study by Liu Yiman documents techniques and order used during the process of deposit, see Liu Yiman, "Huadong H3 keng jiagu maicang zhuangkuang ji xiangguang wenti (The Burying Status of the Oracle Bones in the Pit H3 at the Huayuanzhuang Locus East)", in: *Kaogu xuebao* 3 (2018), pp. 317–336. For materials collecting and preserving of written documents during this period see Tsuen-Hsuin Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions*, Chicago 2004. See also Li Feng and David Prager Banner (eds.), *Writing and Literacy in Early China. Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, Washington 2011.

i.e. paper, gave rise to new strategies for collection and preservation of documents in the form of libraries, archives, and collections that remained dominant until the coming of modern times.[16] The history and functions of these institutions are not only well documented, but many of them are extant even nowadays, either by way of discovery (like the materials stored in the famous Dunhuang library cave[17]) or by simple preservation of their original state (often still in use today). This Chinese practice of collecting documents, represented by shelfs full of volumes and scrolls, was transferred to other countries together of the Chinese cultural institutions (Japan, Korea, and Vietnam).[18] There, this type of library together with "authorship, editing, presentation, manufacture, publishing, circulation, collecting, cataloguing, and survival"[19] of Chinese type books and documents (written both in classical Chinese and vernacular languages) gained its distinct forms. The spread of Chinese archival culture along the network of the Silk Road allows to revisit our understanding of libraries and archives through evidence from the so-called periphery: Japanese, Korean, or Central Asian collections offer materials and techniques no longer used in China, they even developed along alternative lines.[20]

3 Materials and sources

There are certainly differences in the material between ancient Egypt, ancient Mesopotamia, and Korea in the type and nature of the written sources extant. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, we are dealing primarily with archaeological remains

16 This type of library, not yet transformed by the massive spread of printing during Song times, is well-described in Jean-Pierre Drége, *Les bibliothéques en Chine aus temps de manuscrits. Jusqu'au Xe siécle*, Paris 1991.

17 Rong Xinjiang, Valerie Hansen (trans.), "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing", in: *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999), pp. 247–275, and Imaeda Yoshirō, "The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents", in: *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 66 (2008), pp. 81–102.

18 The specific case of Tibetan librarian and archival institutions and practices is described in Charles Ramble, "Archives from Tibet and the Himalayan Borderlands. Notes on Form and Content", in: *Manuscript and Archives. Comparative Views on Record Keeping*, eds. Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockman, Michael Friedrich, Sabine Kienitz, Berlin 2018, pp. 19–43.

19 Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History. A New Manual*, Cambridge Mass. 2015, p. 903.

20 A fascinating glimpse into the textual transmission and preservation techniques along the central-periphery axis is offered by story of the Tang dynasty children primer *Mengqiu*, described by Imre Galambos. The children textbook seized to be used from the Song dynasty onwards in China, but early copies are extant in Japan and Korea, where it was continuously used. Beside this living tradition we also have at our disposal "several copies of the text discovered in regions which were at the margins of Chinese civilization, i.e. texts excavated from the sealed off library cave near Dunhuang; the ruins of the forgotten Tangut city of Khara-khoto; and the Liao period wooden pagoda in Ying county (Shanxi province)," which demonstrate the lost but still preserved library cultures. See Imre Galambos, "Confucian education in a Buddhist environment: Medieval manuscripts and imprints of the Mengqiu", in: *Studies in Chinese Religions* 1/3 (2015), pp. 269–288. For Korean versions and sequels of the *Mengqiu* see Sim Kyŏngho, "Tongasia esŏŭi Ch'ŏnjamu ryu mit Monggu ryu yuheng kwa hanja hanmun kich'o kyoyuk", in: *Hanja hanmun kyoyuk* 36 (2015), pp. 7–45.

shaped by their geographical position and climate: on the one hand broad, humid river landscapes in the Egyptian Nile Delta and in Southern Mesopotamia with the Shatt el-Arab, the area around the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates on the Arabian Gulf; on the other hand narrow, drawn-out settlement areas in Upper Mesopotamia and Middle and Upper Egypt, bordering on steppes and deserts and thus more arid. Through humidity and groundwater, alluvial sediments, modern construction, and the very material used for building in antiquity, only few settlements are preserved, while countless tombs and temples in Egypt remain. In Mesopotamia, research has focused primarily on knowledge archived in settlements centered around palaces and temples.

Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, as the cultural areas, where writing as a cultural technique emerged at the end of the 4th millennium BCE, produced texts for more than 3,500 years. Old texts were copied and transferred many a time, new texts were composed. A high age and a divine origin increased the authority of written texts in ancient Egypt (the word for written characters and sacred writings was "*God's words*"). Texts occasionally record explicitly the discovery of even older writings ("origin records"). These topoi tell of inscriptions on stone, metal, and clay, of papyrus or leather scrolls eaten by worms, either actively sought after or discovered in caves, necropoleis, palaces, or temples. According to the topos, some writings were found in structures explicitly connected with the collection of texts: King Neferhotep, of the 13th dynasty, found the writings he sought, "the writing of the first primeval age of Atum," in the House of Scroll, the *Per-Medjat*, in Abydos.[21]

East Asia, in contrast, represents at least in part a tradition still very much alive today. Japanese imperial archives, book collections of the many Buddhist monasteries across the region, or Korean Confucian Academies represent just a small example of enduring institutions for the collection and preservation of textual materials. The context of knowledge transfer and its material aspects changed over the course of history, however, many times. Oracle bones, the prime textual medium of ancient times, altogether disappeared and were rediscovered only 1899.[22] Bronze inscriptions changed their purpose as well: From regional artifacts, which communicated messages of the Zhou court or important aristocrats, they became mere objects within antiquities collections.[23] Bamboo strips, once the dominant textual medium, became obsolete with invention of paper and are known only through archeological excavations.[24] The most stable medium among

21 Jochem Kahl, *Siut – Theben. Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999 (Probleme der Ägyptologie 13), pp. 276–279.

22 Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, p. 391.

23 Huichun Yu, *The Intersection of Past and Present: The Qianlong Emperor and his Ancient Bronzes*, PhD Dissertation, Princeton University 2007.

24 In the public imagination discoveries of bamboo strips are mostly associated with China, but this medium was widely used in all countries of East Asia. Hundreds of thousands of tablets are known from Japan. See William Wayne Farris, *Sacred Texts and Buried Treasures, Issues in the Historical Archaeology of Ancient Japan*, University of Hawaii 1998, pp. 201–203;

all, stone and stone inscriptions, were continually used to reproduce the authority of the state and maintained their prestigious character. Their role as a symbolic standard recording a text for eternal perpetuity included not only funeral inscriptions or stele marking important historical events and locations, but also the Confucian classical canon, which on imperial order was engraved in stone several times.[25] Stone engravings entered, within the Chinese culture environment, into a complex network of relations. They were copied and catalogued, and in many cases the inscriptions were disseminated via paper in black-and-white rubbings.[26] Especially during the Qing dynasty (1636–1912) both the stele and inscriptions themselves became the priced objects for both philologists and lovers of antiquities.[27] The historically last medium to emerge proved to be the most successful: paper (widely used in China since c. the 2nd century CE).[28] Stored under the right conditions, black ink written on paper was easy to access and remained long-lasting over time.[29] Chinese states in ancient times developed a bureaucracy that was built around the use and circulation of written documents to institutionalize practices, to document history, to communicate with other offices, and to train new officials.[30] Therefore, books, the active participation in their production, circulation, reproduction, commenting meant an investment in social status and reputation: books were an important means to interact within the elites. Naturally, the cultural importance of the written document raised the need to conserve and store.[31]

The same, albeit in smaller number can be seen in Korea, see Nari Kang, "A Study of Past Research on Songsan Fortress Wooden Tablets and an Examination of Excavated Wooden Tablets Documents", in: *International Journal of Korean History* 22 (2017), pp. 115–153.

25 E. g. during the Han dynasty between 175–183, in the Tang between 833–837, during the Song in 1131 and in the Qing dynasty 1789.

26 These rubbings were often stored in libraries, which later published them in their catalogues, see Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, p. 441.

27 This intellectual vogue later also spread to other countries see Kanghun Ahn, "A Study of Ch'usa Kim Chong-hui. The introduction of Qing Evidential Learning into Choson Korea and a Reassessment of Practical Learning", in: *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 18/1 (2018), pp. 105–123.

28 See Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, "Paper and Printing", in: *Science and Technology in China. Vol. 5. Chemistry and chemical technology*, Part 1, ed. Joseph Needham, Cambridge 1985, pp. 1–2.

29 An interesting case is the history of printing and libraries in Vietnam which is sometimes viewed as being affected by geographical and political conditions especially in comparison with China: i.e. loss of books due to frequent warfare and humid weather. In spite of these factors many materials were preserved. See Judith A. N. Henchy, *Preservation and Archives in Vietnam*, Washington 1998, p. 11, also Alexander B. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model. A Comparative Study of Vietnamese and Chinese Government in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge Mass. 1988, pp. 186–187 and Kathlene Baldanza, "Publishing, Book Culture, and Reading Practices in Vietnam. The view from Thắng Nghiêm and Phổ Nhân Temples", in: *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 13/3 (2018), pp. 9–28.

30 See Sharon Chien Lin, *Libraries and Librarianship in China*, Westport 1998, p. 20.

31 This includes many facets of very old East Asian print cultures using both xylographs and movable types; see Lucille Chia & Hilde De Weerdt (eds.), *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print. China 900–1400*, Leiden 2011.

4 Manuscript Collections and Text Collections: Transfer through Time and Space

The factual or fictitious temporal depth of written knowledge is perhaps the most important motif to justify the collection of texts resp. manuscripts in diverse civilizations.[32] The Egyptian Romance of Setna gives an impression of how far back human memory can be preserved in oral tradition. This literary text, dating to the Ptolemaic period, specifies a span of seven generations of human memory, which likely reflect the upper limit for memory in oral tradition.[33] But already the earliest societies in Egypt and in Mesopotamia juxtapose this oral tradition with written transmission. According to the legends, written collections are founded by the gods. The basic principle of preservation and transmission is thus anchored in the divine order. Thus, Berossos, a Babylonian priest from the third century BC, writes: "… (the god Chronos) ordained that all written records, the old, the middle, and the new, be buried… in the city of Sippar." After the deluge, the Babylonian Noah should "recover the records buried there and hand them over to the people."[34] This Mesopotamian example serves to illustrate the tradition of collecting texts. The collection itself is not at issue, but rather the transmission, the maintenance of texts, copying, renewal, translation, and explication. Old knowledge, transmitted knowledge, divine knowledge all assume a particular significance in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Korea. Respect for older knowledge and the permanent interaction of scholars and artefacts in its service provide one explanation for the long traditions which have yielded the impression of great stability.

However, temporality is only one dimension relevant to collection. another is space. Collections of texts are places for the concentration of knowledge, for the transfer of knowledge. They serve as dynamic nodes in the network of contents, actors, and objects. Here, old meets new. Here, schools of thought and lines of transmission intersect. Following the western script, we will – for the moment – use terms such as libraries, archives, scriptoria, and academies, while recognizing the associated anachronistic and ethical problems in imposing terms derived from the European tradition. These equations are often based on presumed processes, scales, and claims, as well as individual views of the contents stored there. In the Ancient Near East, the term *archive* is generally used for occasional, temporally restricted collections of records or documents, while collections meant for

32 This chapter is based on Cancik-Kirschbaum and Kahl, *Erste Philologien* pp. 101–139.

33 Setna I, 6.10–6.13 (cf. Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, Berlin 2007 (Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4), p. 151); Aleida Assmann estimates a time of only three generations for the interlinkage of this kind of memory (Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, München 1999).

34 Paul Schnabel, *Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig – Berlin 1923), pp. 264–265; Stanley M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, Sources for the Ancient Near East Vol. 1 Fasc. 5 (Malibu 1978) pp. 143–181.

greater permanence or connected to non-ephemeral texts are termed *libraries*.[35] Archaeological findings demonstrate that an accurate differentiation, as suggested by modern terminology, is not applicable neither to Egypt nor to Mesopotamia. A strict separation between ephemeral texts and traditional texts was not the rule - on the contrary: archival and library concepts coexist in many situations. A similar situation can be found with Medieval *manuscript collections* which also contain a broad variety of genres. As criteria for the identification of libraries the presence of thematic groupings, colophons with meta-information relevant to the library, and library catalogues are suggested.[36] Even if all of these criteria are not always met, they provide a convenient guide to the identification of such collections. Scribal remarks such as the following, from seventh century BCE Assyria, can serve as an important indicator:

> I wrote on tablets the wisdom of Ea, the craft of the temple-singers, the secret of the master, checked and collated (it) and deposited it in the library of Ezida, the chapel of Nabû, my lord, which is in Nineveh. O Nabû, look with favor upon this library.[37]

In addition to the manuscript collections with their assemblages of manuscripts with heterogeneous content (religious, teaching material, juridical texts etc.), we use the term *text collection* for assemblages which show a clear focus on one topic or genre.

The case of East Asia again demonstrates that collections of manuscripts could not only be heterogeneous, but also change their institutional setting over time: The high degree of state control over text preservation in the royal or imperial archives on the one hand assured the transmission of many materials, but on the other hand enabled many cases of text suppression or censorship, ranging from the semi-legendary burning of Confucian Books during the time of the First Emperor of China (213 BCE)[38] to the filtering of texts to be included in the publication of the *Siku Quanshu* (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries).[39]

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35 Fritz Milkau, *Geschichte der Bibliotheken im Alten Orient* (aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von B. Meissner), Leipzig 1935, gave a first instructive overview on libraries in the Ancient Near East (i.e. Egypt and Mesopotamia); cf. id. (revised by J. Schawe), in: *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* 3/1, Wiesbaden 1955, pp. 1–50; cf. Vilmos Wessetzky, "Gedanken über die Bearbeitung der altägyptischen Bibliothek", in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 25 (1977), pp. 89–93; Burkard, "Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten".

36 Morgens Weitemeyer, "Archive and Library Technique in Ancient Mesopotamia", *Libri 6* (1956), pp. 217–238.

37 Hermann Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 2 (Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968), no. 328.

38 See Martin Kern, "Early Chinese literature, beginnings through western Han," in: *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, vol 1, eds. Kang I-Sun Chang and Stephen Owen, Cambridge 2010, p. 22.

39 See R. Kent Guy, T*he Emperors Four Treasuries. Scholars and the State in the Late Ch'ien-Lung Era*, Cambridge Mass. 1987.

During the Sui Dynasty (589–618 CE) and the successive Tang Dynasty, court officials actively searched for lost books around the country to stock the newly established imperial library. These efforts and the development of woodblock printing technology in the 7th century led to a rise in numbers of collected works at the court. Even after the invention of movable metal cast printing during the 12th century in the Song Dynasty, woodblock printing continued to stay the dominant form for producing and publishing books, which is often considered to be due to the high cost and inefficiency of individual character metal type production.[40] During this time private book collections also became more and more substantial as publishing houses provided inexpensive opportunities to produce and copy sought after manuscripts. Key centers of commercial printing were found in the capital of the Southern Song (1127–1296 CE) Hangzhou, the Sichuan and Fujian province. Still private book collectors needed court connections and access to the imperial library to increase the size of their collections, because the state library still housed the most comprehensive collection of books. Even though it was technically illegal to copy those books, it became common for scholars to borrow and reproduce state-owned manuscripts. In turn private collections served as a tool to provide educational opportunities for descendants of court officials and therefore the perpetuation of family fortune and success.[41] Concerning the relation between print and preservation of knowledge, we may say that, new developments certainly enhanced the availability of written materials, but had rather continued upon the institutional and technical foundation laid out in older periods.

The term *shūyuàn, or sŏwŏn* in Korean, was adapted from institutions that were dedicated to the storage and organization of documents and books during the Tang Dynasty. With the weakening of the state-run educational system and its local schools, these libraries or newly founded *shūyuàn* increasingly took over the role of local schools during the Northern Song (970–1127 CE). So, by this time the concept of *shūyuàn* started to change into what today is translated as academies, which became active educational bodies recognized and supported by the state and often administered by gentry families who institutionalized their private book collections in these academies. Therefore, the development of the *shūyuàn* is an interesting example for a long-term process of change and re-contextualization. The academies not only changed in their function but also in their stored content. Originally founded as an instrument to preserve and strengthen Confucian orthodoxy, book collections became local centers for learning and

40 See Boudewijn C.A. Walraven, "Reader's Etiquette, and Other Aspects of Book Culture in Choson Korea", in: *Books in Numbers. Conference Papers in Celebration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Harvard-Yenching Library*, ed. Wilt L. Idema, Cambridge Mass. 2007, pp. 237–265, also Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, "Paper and Printing", p. 2. Movable metal cast types were also quite costly in Europe, where they developed a bit later. It seems that traditional concepts of proper book production played a big role in this rejection of a new technology.

41 See Joseph P. McDermott, "Book Collecting in Jiangxi during the Song Dynasty", in: *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print. China, 900–1400*, eds. Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt, Leiden 2011, pp. 68, 76.

transformed into schools. Gradually, the range of the stored books widened, the content taught changed and the academies became the center of a movement that challenged the orthodoxy they were built to conserve in the first place.[42] At the same time private academies sought after students and disciples to spread their teachings and/or to build a network among future officials through kinship connections that would help sustain family fortunes. So private book collections often became the basis for the foundation of these academies as they attracted students in search of access to documents, writings, and books that would normally be out of their reach.[43]

The extent, composition, and function(s) of manuscript and/or text collections vary, ranging from reference collections of individual scholars with only a few works to larger collections including several thousand, as for example that of the king Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. Their function certainly lies not in their service to a broader public, but they do indeed assume a social role: to preserve that which belongs to the collective memory of their respective cultures, communities, or social or occupational classes.[44] Based on this *raison d'être* they contain both older works and newer ones written from time to time. The temporal depth of knowledge and its spatial concentration naturally legitimize the institutions and experts tasked with its preservation and administration: knowledge is power. Accordingly, we can add a third dimension to time and space: the social dimension, i.e. the agents, actors and users of these collections.

5 Vehicles of transfer

Places for knowledge housing manuscript collections were not openly accessible. Their operators and users were mostly the state and its representatives, including the king, high priests, officials but also e.g. monks or 'private' scholars, therefore, occasionally, we can also identify non-state collections.[45] As examples to both, we refer here to the manuscript collection of the literary figure of the magician Djedi in the Egyptian Papyrus Westcar[46] (c. 1600 BCE), the great library in the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (c. 640 BCE), the Buddhist monasteries of the Chinese Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE), or the *sŏwŏn* in Korea, beginning to change into what we refer to today as academies. They are active educational bodies recognized

42 See Wing-Tsit Chan, *Chu Hsi. Life and Thought*, Hongkong 1987, p. 196.

43 See McDermott, "Book Collecting in Jiangxi during the Song Dynasty", pp. 95–96.

44 Cf. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992, p. 160; Winfried Nerdinger, "Von Alexandria zum digitalen Babel. Der Traum von der Universalbibliothek", in: *Die Weisheit baut sich ein Haus. Architektur und Geschichte von Bibliotheken*, Publikation anlässlich der Ausstellung „Die Weisheit baut sich ein Haus. Architektur und Geschichte von Bibliotheken" im Architekturmuseum der TU München, in der Pinakothek der Moderne München, 14. Juli–16. Oktober 2011, ed. W. Nerdinger, München 2011, pp. 237–260.

45 For Egypt, cf. Blumenthal, "Privater Buchbesitz im pharaonischen Ägypten", pp. 51–85.

46 Papyrus Westcar 8.3–4; cf. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1973, p. 218.

and supported by the state and often administered by families of the gentry who institutionalized their private book collections in these academies.

The goal of the institutionalized manuscript collections was to collect, preserve and disseminate knowledge which would contribute to the understanding and continuation of the world, howsoever this was understood in detail. Texts and images from the areas of theology, religion, medicine, law, astronomy, historiography, geography, linguistics, zoology, botany, divination and literature were collected, preserved, copied, redacted, canonized, and transferred.

To achieve this, highly specialized scholars were required. We would today refer to them with good reason as philologists.[47] They had been imbued with knowledge of the requisite techniques of dealing with texts. They had mastered the art of structuring texts, copying complete texts according to the originals, collating, correcting, making provisions for variants, explaining difficult passages, dealing with damaged or omitted passages, adding glosses and commentaries, and citing reference works. They had access to handbooks and reference works such as commentaries, dictionaries, lexicons, and onomastic treatises. And, they were able to produce translations. This was especially important in civilizations with coexisting different languages and / or differing linguistic registers: Due to the course of time, diglossia came about in ancient Egypt. Middle Egyptian, the language of the Middle Kingdom (c. 2000–1760 BCE), for example, was not used in everyday life texts or in literary texts of the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1070 BCE). But the scholars of that period still had to read and understand historical texts and religious texts written in this language. The more than 3000 years of pharaonic Egypt brought about a variety of stages of language: Early Egyptian, Old Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian, Demotic. In addition, different substrata of these stages of language were developed and used according to different functional contexts, meaning everyday language, literary language, language used for official historiographies, and theological texts. Only well trained scholars were able to guarantee a philological standard.

In the case of East Asian civilizations, the continuity of knowledge transfer was guaranteed by the universal language of the classical corpus and other texts: Literary Chinese. In spite of its difference from spoken language or other languages used both in China and other countries of the East Asian cultural area, which significantly changed over millennia, the classical language upheld its privileged position till the coming of modernity. China occasionally experienced periods of so-called foreign dynasties – most notably the Mongol (1271–1368 CE) and Manchu rule (1644–1912 CE) – when a second official language was used, but

47 For philologists in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, cf. Cancik-Kirschbaum & Kahl, *Erste Philologien*, pp. 86–99. Besides texts and philology, we should also mention other media used for the storage and display of knowledge which also required experts: images, architecture, performance such as dance, juggling, and music etc. In ancient Egypt, we have even evidence for special and restricted knowledge of butchers (Henry George Fischer, "The Butcher *Pḥ-r-nfr*", in: *Orientalia* 29 (1960), pp. 168–190).

these were at best used only parallel to literary Chinese. The same situation is to be observed in other East Asian countries, such as Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, where native languages and vernacular writing systems were used, but literary Chinese remained the privileged language.

The delimitation between scholars, on the one hand, who had actually mastered the knowledge required by their field, and the clients, on the other hand, who commissioned these writings is not always clearly drawn. These commissioners, the motors of the transfer of knowledge, were for example kings and high officials, thus highly educated persons who did not usually practice interpretive philology. In China and Korea certain homogeneity among the trained elite was extant and kept up through the civil service examination system, the contents of which did not change very much over centuries. Yet an education within the classical canon did not stifle the emergence of varying interpretations or even dissent. Concerning the storing and preservation of texts and manuscripts the idea of an ideal canon created certain dilemmata. The overwhelming majority of institutions, collecting and preserving manuscripts in East Asia were focusing on the high genres of classics, religious literature, and legal documents. When the Korean scholar Yulgok Yi I (1536–1584 CE) described the importance of books, he had in his mind a particular kind of literary production: "Therefore in entering the Way nothing is more important than investigation of principles to the utmost and in the investigation of principles to the utmost nothing is more important than reading books because traces of how sages and worthies used their minds, what we should imitate and admonish ourselves concerning the good and the bad are all contained in books."[48] The distinction between proper books and "unorthodox books of false learning and dubious categories, which students should not browse for even a single moment"[49] deeply influenced the structure of official holdings or the collections of Confucian academies. Many literary genres like popular novels, heterodox literature, not even to mention pornography, were strictly excluded from the archives or institutional 'libraries' and the only place where they could be found was within private collections. The same criteria were applied for other types of repositories, which structured their collections according to their specific purpose and it comes to no surprise that rich collections of Buddhist monasteries don't include military literature or other genres not connected to Buddha's teachings.

The transfer of writing which could transcend time and place in Egypt and Mesopotamia, as far as we can tell, was usually controlled by the state. An awareness of the strategic importance of books for knowledge transfer is well mirrored in several attempts of the Chinese government to limit or prevent book exports to

48 For Yulgoks opinion on the reading curriculum see Vladimir Glomb, "Reading the Classics till Death. Yulgok Yi I and the Curriculum of Chosŏn Literati", in: *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* 2012 (No. 2), pp. 315–329. Original Text in *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* (Complete Works of Yulgok; hereafter YGCS), 27:8a.

49 *YGCS* 27:9b.

foreign countries. Already under Empress Wu in the late seventh century, scholars alerted the throne to the strategic danger of granting books to foreigners and a similar position was later put forward by famous literati Su Shi (1037–1101 CE) in the 11th century.[50] Still many books that were lost in China proper were preserved in other countries like Korea or Japan and occasionally even found their way back to China. Therefore, the image of the imperial archives or central institutions as sole guardians of collected knowledge was never fully valid. Since ancient times, Chinese state archives or libraries suffered destruction on many occasions, but new dynasties or kingdoms were able to a large degree to reconstruct them from local or private sources. The same is true for the text corpora of many Chinese intellectual currents – not always supported by the state, like the massive bulk of Buddhist literature or the Taoist canon. This phenomenon further contributed to the transfer of knowledge along the axis of center-periphery.

Already for the time around 2000 BCE, there is evidence for this sort of large-scale transfer of texts in Egypt. It is hardly conceivable that this took place without either institutions such as the *Per-Medjat* (the House of Scroll), the *Per-Ankh* (the House of Life) or without philologists. Text critical studies on the history of transmission of Egyptian books of the afterlife from this time, the so-called Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, make clear that the transfer of these texts must already have been undertaken at a massive scale at the end of the third millennium BCE. From Memphis, the capital of the preceding Old Kingdom, countless spells from this corpus were spread throughout Egypt within a short period of time.[51] At the same time, the use of these texts was quite restricted, confined to the national or regional elite.

Textual scholars were educated at various places and with varying goals: in Egypt, for example, in the House of Life or in the Temple as part of the education required to become a high priest. The Egyptian *Book of Thot* gives a duration for an education in the House of Life of twenty years.[52] This text, which has been interpreted as an initiation into an occupation as scholar,[53] depicts the ascetic life of the prospective scholar in the House of Life in glowing terms. The student spending his lifetime in the "chamber of darkness" is literally called the "lover of knowledge". Women, wine, perfumes, and fine clothing were all taboo. In a

50 Peter Francis Kornicki, *Languages, Script and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, Oxford 2018, pp. 132–133.

51 Vgl. Peter Jürgens, *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte. Stemmata und Archetypen der Spruchgruppen 30–32 + 33–37, 75(–83), 162 + 164, 225 + 226, und 343 + 345*, Wiesbaden 1995 (Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe Ägypten, Band 31); Jochem Kahl, *Steh auf, gib Horus deine Hand. Die Überlieferungsgeschichte von Altenmüllers Pyramidentext-Spruchfolge D,* Wiesbaden 1996 (Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten, Band 32); Kahl, *Siut-Theben. Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten*.

52 Jasnow & Zauzich, *Conversations in the House of Life*, pp. 150–151 (537). Cf. Jasnow & Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, pp. 72, 77 and Quack, "Ein ägyptischer Dialog über die Schreibkunst und das arkane Wissen", p. 289.

53 Cf. Quack, "Ein ägyptischer Dialog über die Schreibkunst und das arkane Wissen", p. 291.

dialog with the knowledge-loving student, the master describes the diet arduous, the way of life difficult.[54]

In Mesopotamia, the institutional setting for the education of students and prospective scholars was provided by the *Edubba'a*. In addition, at least in the second and first millennia BCE, the student could also find recourse in a master-student relationship within a family setting. In a long letter to the Assyrian king around 660 BCE, the lamentation priest Marduk-šapik-zeri[55] describes his own comprehensive qualifications at length, which he seems to have acquired at least in part from his own father.

Neither the Mesopotamian nor the Egyptian nor the Korean scholars can accurately be described as dry intellectuals working away in the murky chambers of their offices or of the House of Life. Many of them were involved in politics (e.g. as advisors to the kings or as organizers of the display of Maat in Egypt, the divine order in Mesopotamia), and in material spheres, such as architecture. In Egypt and Korea, they were made recipients of an offering cult after their death, were in part even deified. In Egypt, their writings were even compared to the might and durability of the royal pyramids.

It was this sort of writing, didactic literature, which Amun-nakhte, scholar of the House of Life, composed during the twentieth dynasty in the twelfth century BCE. [56] There, he describes the intensive education in speaking to his son and assistant Hori-min: „You should become a scribe and pass through the House of Life. Become a chest of books…“.[57]

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54 Jasnow & Zauzich, *Conversations in the House of Life*, pp. 62–63 (30–31).

55 Hermann Hunger, "Empfehlungen an den König", in: *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies presented to Erica Reiner*, ed. Francesca Rochberg-Halton, Chicago 1987 (American Oriental Series 67), pp. 157–166, especially 165.

56 Andreas Dorn, "Die Lehre Amunnachts", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 131 (2004), pp. 38–55; cf. also Andreas Dorn, "Zur Lehre Amunnachts: Ein Join und Missing Links", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 140 (2013), pp. 112–125.

57 Cf. Hellmut Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 179.

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Ancient Egypt

The Storage of Papyri in Ancient Egypt[1]

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Introduction

The invention of writing marks one of the most significant advances in human development and has been subject to intense study. With the advent of writing came also the necessity to organise, store, and secure documents. While archives and libraries from ancient Egypt have received considerable focus from a philological perspective, the same cannot be said of their physical or material aspects. Statements to the effect that documents were stored in boxes and jars are easily found in most reference works, but – apart from a few frequently cited examples – actual instances of papyri and other manuscripts found *in situ* in their ancient storage are frustratingly difficult to come by, and well-documented examples are quite exceptional. The reason is two-fold. The majority of preserved manuscripts derive from various forms of rubbish deposits, having been discarded in antiquity. Moreover, most of them were excavated at an early date, when there was less interest in archaeological context, or discovered during illicit excavations. Even in cases where details were recorded, they have not always found their way into excavation reports and text editions.

The present survey of the storage of papyri and, to a lesser extent, of ostraca and other forms of manuscripts, is based on an annotated catalogue that I have drawn up over some years.[2] It needs to be emphasized that this catalogue is not the result of a systematic search through various excavation reports, museum records, periodicals, etc., which would require a project on a greater scale, and

1 I am grateful to Cary Martin for checking the English text of this paper and to Willy Clarysse who provided me with a number of references many years ago.

2 It is not possible within the present context to provide a full presentation of the material I have collected nor a detailed discussion of the individual archaeological contexts. Many of the finds here cited were not found during controlled excavations and in each of these cases the reported circumstances of their discovery should naturally be treated with due caution. I have omitted those that seem outright untrustworthy. Because of the word limit, only basic references can be provided. I have benefitted greatly from the Trismegistos database (www.trismegistos.org) and frequently refer to this tool though the ArchID for further bibliography. For the Fayumic archives, the reader may also consult Katelijn Vandorpe, Willy Clarysse and Herbert Verreth, *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*, Leuven 2015 (Collectanea Hellenistica 6). The dates provided for documents in the following are often based on palaeography or archaeological context and generally represent the assessment of the publications.

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my personal research focus will inevitably have influenced what examples have come to my attention.

Chronologically the survey covers the entire period during which papyrus was used as a written medium, roughly 3000 BC to AD 1000. Some examples of literary texts deriving from burials are cited, but I exclude instances of texts and storage designed specifically for the afterlife.[3] It has also been necessary to exclude – with a few exceptions – literary and documentary references to storage as well as pictorial representations, although surveys of these sources would unquestionably provide much additional and valuable information.[4] I have struggled a bit with the format of the survey, but have in the end attempted a semi-thematic presentation.

The earliest evidence of papyrus storage

The Hemaka box

By far the oldest discovery of papyrus in Egypt was made during the excavation of the tomb of a high official of the First Dynasty, c. 2900 BC.[5] Within a circular wooden box, inlaid with different woods, were found seven small blank fragments. It seems likely that a whole roll had once been kept inside the box and that the extant fragments simply broke off when the old papyrus was taken out in the search for valuables during the later plundering of the tomb.[6] The box appears to have been a luxury item and is unlikely to have been carried around by a scribe.

The Gebelein box

A second box from the middle of the Old Kingdom, c. 2450 BC, is also well-known.[7] The flat, oblong box was found in the tomb of an unidentified individual in 1936 and preserved a dozen accounts papyri in addition to reed pens and dry cakes of

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3 Hollow Osiris or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, used for the storage of funerary papyri and also known as 'papyrus sheaths', are discussed by Maarten J. Raven, "Papyrus-sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues", *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 59–60 (1978–1979), pp. 251–296, pls. 39–41.

4 Examples can be found in Richard B. Parkinson and Stephen Quirke, *Papyrus*, London 1995; Christopher Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, Oxford 2013 (Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents); and Kim Ryholt, "Libraries from Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt", in: *Libraries before Alexandria: Ancient Near Eastern Traditions*, eds. Kim Ryholt and Gojko Barjamovic (Oxford 2019), pp. 390–472.

5 Walter B. Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka*, Cairo 1938 (Fouilles à Saqqarah 19), p. 41, pl. 23a.

6 The papyrus represented by these blank fragments is registered as Cairo Museum JE 70105 (unpublished; personal examination). The contents of the box have more recently been confused with two small and unusual looking rolls of papyrus, both registered as JE 70104, which are flat and semi-conical in shape. They are much coarser than the blank papyrus and other papyri from the Old Kingdom, and it seems unclear whether they were intended for writing. An excellent photograph may be found in Jochem Kahl, "Entwicklung der frühen Hieroglyphenschrift", in: *Der Turmbau zu Babel: Ursprung und Vielfalt von Sprache und Schrift* III B, ed. Wilfried Seipel, Vienna 2003, p. 108.

7 Paule Posener-Kriéger, "Le coffret de Gebelein", in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant* I, eds. Cathrine Berger, Gisèle Clerc and Nicolas Grimal, Cairo 1994 (Bibliothèque d'Étude 106.1), pp. 315–326.

black and red ink. The box had evidently been used on the job by the ancient scribe, since the inside of the detachable lid had served as a wooden tablet. The clear traces of older washed out texts shows that this was a regular habit, and not just a one-off event, and the latest texts included an account of grain and a list of names. Significantly, the box measures one Egyptian cubit in length and half a cubit in width (the same format as the later talatat blocks used for construction during the reign of Akhenaten). This can hardly be a coincidence and it seems apparent that the box was designed specifically so that it could be used as a measuring device.

Elephantine jars

The earliest evidence of papyri stored in jars is from Elephantine. The oldest is somewhat tentative in nature, since no actual papyri were found in the jars in question. Excavations in 1981 at the administrative facility near the small step pyramid brought to light two jars with short hieratic texts that record year-names and the delivery of certain commodities; one contains two such texts and the other just one.[8] On the basis of their archaeological context, the jars can be dated to the late 3rd Dynasty, c. 2650 BC. Dreyer, the first editor, argued that the jars once contained accounts papyri and that the brief texts written on them represent copies of the first lines of those papyri in order to facilitate easy reference. This interpretation is compatible with the size of the jars; one is intact and measures 29.8 cm (height) by 15.0 cm (max width), while the other, damaged jar seems to have had a similar size. The standard full-height of a roll in the later Old Kingdom was 20–22 cm in height.[9]

Another jar, discovered in a small, undecorated tomb of the late Old Kingdom at Qubbet el-Hawa across from Elephantine, might similarly have contained a document. It is inscribed with a list of offerings in favour of the tomb-owner and includes a note which is most recently rendered by Eyre as ‘writing of a sealed contract which was given to the owner of this tomb by Sobekhotep, over his burying his father in it’.[10] In his interpretation, the jar contained a papyrus copy of the sealed contract which recorded the ownership of the tomb and the terms of the endowment, and its contents would thus parallel similar documents found inscribed on the walls of contemporary tombs.

The oldest actual instances of papyri found inside jars both seem to date to the 6th Dynasty. The first, described as a large ‘bauchiges Tongefäß’, was found at Elephantine in 1907 and contained ‘eine größere Anzahl von Papyrusfragmenten’,[11]

8 Günter Dreyer, “Drei archaisch-hieratische Gefässaufschriften mit Jahresnamen aus Elephantine”, in: *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*, eds. Jürgen Osing and Günter Dreyer, Wiesbaden 1987 (Ägypten und Altes Testament 12), pp. 98–109

9 Paule Posener-Kriéger, “Old Kingdom Papyri: External Features”, in: *Papyrus: Structure and Usage*, ed. Morris L. Bierbrier, London 1986 (British Museum Occasional Paper 60), p. 25.

10 Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, p. 272.

11 Wolfgang Müller, “Die Papyrusgrabung auf Elephantine 1906–1908: Das Grabungstagebuch der 3. Kampagne”, in: *Forschungen und Berichte [Staatliche Museen zu Berlin]* 22 (1982), p. 8.

possibly related to the so-called family archive of the governors,[12] while the second was found in 1986 and contained two rolls and fragments of two others; four seals found with the papyri show that they were all sealed when deposited.[13] None of the texts from either discovery has yet been published, but the fact that at least one of the seals from the second was incised, rather than stamped, would seem to indicate a non-official context.

Official archives

Substantial official archives will already have existed during the Old Kingdom, which saw a marked increase in the administration and the hierarchy of officials. The increasing role of writing and written documentation is evidenced by sculptures depicting high officials as scribes and by the frequent depiction of scribes at work in tomb decoration. Yet prior to the Greco-Roman period relatively few discoveries allow for any degree of quantification of the scale and storage of documentation produced in different contexts. The most important textual assemblages from the earlier periods are the archives from the Old Kingdom royal mortuary temples at Abusir (25th–24th cent. BC) and the Middle Kingdom temple at Lahun (19th–18th cent. BC),[14] and a much welcome addition will be the publication of the archive of the 21st Dynasty temple scribes Harpenese and Haremkheb which likely derives from the fort of el-Ahaiwah (11th–10th cent. BC).[15] Unfortunately there is limited information about how any of this material was stored and I will instead focus on some examples or details that have received less attention or relate more directly to the question of storage in this brief section on official archives.

The Administrative Building at the Netjerikhet Pyramid Complex

In the 1920s an archival structure was excavated at the pyramid complex of Netjerikhet.[16] It was of no particular interest to the excavators and received scant notice in the published reports, but enough information was provided to allow

12 Günter Burkard and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, *Ägyptische Handschriften* 4, Stuttgart 1994 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XIX 4), pp. 98–99.

13 Myriam Krutzsch, "Ein Papyrusfund aus dem Alten Reich", in: *Restauro* 105 (1999), pp. 460–463 and 466–467.

14 A survey of these temple archives is provided by Fredrik Hagen, "Archives in Ancient Egypt, 2500–1000 BCE", in: *Manuscripts and Archives: Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, eds. Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockmann, Michael Friedrich and Sabine Kienitz, Berlin 2018 (Studies in Manuscript Cultures), pp. 71–170.

15 Matthias Müller, "The 'El-Hibeh'-Archive: Introduction & Preliminary Information", in: *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Culture Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties: Proceedings of Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, eds. Gerard P. F. Broekman, Robert J. Demarée and Olaf E. Kaper, Leuven 2009, pp. 251–264; Dominique Lefèvre, "Archives et diplomatique à la XXI^{e} dynastie: À propos d'un papyrus 'd'el-Hibeh'", in: *Egyptian & Egyptological Documents Archives Libraries* 3 (2012), pp. 25–47.

16 Kim Ryholt, "The Late Old Kingdom Archive at the Pyramid Complex of Netjerikhet", in: *Les archives administratives de l'Ancien Empire: Etat de la question*, eds. Phillippe Collombert and Pierre Tallet, forthcoming.

for a reconstruction of its layout and nature. Apparently in the late 5^{th} or 6^{th} Dynasty, Temple T, originally a dummy structure, was extensively remodelled and converted into an administrative centre. This entailed the construction of a long corridor with niches on either side for the storage of documents, several of which still contained fragments of administrative papyri. This archival structure was constructed on a scale that would provide the theoretical capacity for some 5000 papyri. It will hardly be possible to ascertain whether it ever held anywhere near that number of documents. The surviving papyrus fragments indicate that the administrative center was used by the vizier and involved in the construction of the royal pyramids during the late Old Kingdom.

The Administrative Building at Balat Ayn Asil

Another remarkable and still relatively recent discovery is a large court at Balat Ayn Asil in the Dakhla Oasis where scribal activities had evidently taken place.[17] Destroyed by conflagration c. 2200 BC and heavily damaged by a later canal, it measured some 15 by 15 m and featured at least eleven wooden columns which fell over during the fire and left burn marks on the floor. A number of clay tablets with incised hieratic texts of an administrative nature were preserved *in situ* on a low platform of 3.2 by 1.7 m. which may be compared with the raised recess on which the much later Narmouthis ostraca were found (cf. below). The tablets seem to have been stored in wooden boxes of which some painted stucco fragments remain, but the wood had entirely perished in the fire; for the same reason it remains unknown whether papyri had also been kept in this facility. The use of clay tablets for Egyptian texts is so far unattested elsewhere.

The Malkata Sealings

An indication of the scale of the consumption of papyri at the royal court in the New Kingdom is provided by a rare discovery in the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata. In a series of rooms at 'West Villa B', and at the rubbish mounds to the south of this building, excavations brought to light more than a thousand sealings from papyrus documents.[18] The documents have long since perished, but an indication of their contents is provided by their seal-impressions. Hayes noted that 'the absence from their inscriptions of all personal names save only that of the king further indicates that the rings which produced them were standardized seals of royal authority issued by the pharaonic government for the use of its officials and that the documents sealed with these rings were of

17 Paule Posener-Kriéger, "Travaux de l'IFAO au cours de l'année 1988–1989", in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 89 (1989), pp. 293–296, fig. 1–2; Georges Soukiassian, Michel Wuttmann and Daniel Schaad, "La ville d'ʿAyn-Aṣīl à Dakhla: État des recherches", in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 90 (1990), p. 355, pl. XXVII; Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, pp. 255–256.

18 William C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III", in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10 (1951), pp. 165–177, fig. 31–33.

an official nature.' Since accounts are not usually sealed, it seems likely that the majority of the documents were letters sent to the palace by officials around Egypt. Given that we are dealing here with only one area of a single but vast palace site, the discovery suggests an administrative consumption of papyri in the many thousands within this institutional context. Unfortunately, there is little indication of how these vast amounts of documents might have been stored.

The Amarna Tablets

One of the most sensational finds of documents from ancient Egypt is the diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and various Near Eastern rulers discovered in the royal city of Amarna.[19] The nearly 400 cuneiform tablets span the latter part of the reign of Amenhotep III up to the reign of Tutankhamun. Most of the tablets were illicitly excavated, and the bulk was acquired by E. A. Wallis Budge and Adolf Erman on behalf of the British Museum and Ägyptisches Museum Berlin respectively. Both men inquired about the circumstances of the discovery and were told different stories. According to Budge, 'a native woman had discovered at Tall al-Amarna, by accident, a large box full of pieces of clay'.[20] Erman, on the other hand, was informed that the tablets had been found 'in einem irdenen Gefäss', but he doubted the information, since he considered jars inappropriate for tablets and thought it more likely that they had been kept in wooden boxes.[21] The storing of cuneiform tablets in jars is, by now, well-attested in Mesopotamia during the Middle Assyrian Empire.[22] This does not preclude the possibility that the tablets from Amarna may have been stored in boxes, but it seems doubtful that any of them were actually found in a box, as recounted by Budge, partly because wood was precious, and therefore unlikely to have been left behind when the site was abandoned, and partly because it is likely to have decomposed over time in the exposed environment. Whether either story has any merit to it remains dubious.

The Tomb Robbery Papyri

An indirect example of the storage of official documents is provided by Papyrus Ambras from the end of the New Kingdom.[23] The document pertains to the investigation into tomb robberies in the latter part of the reign of Ramesses XI, c. 1100 BC, and it provides a list of documents that are explicitly said to have been stored in two jars; one contained nine papyri and the other eight. Several of these

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19 Anson F. Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence*, Leiden/Boston 2015 (Handbuch der Orientalistik I 110).

20 Matthew Ismail, *Wallis Budge: Magic and Mummies in London and Cairo*, Kilkerran 2011, p. 108.

21 Adolf Erman, "Nachtrag", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 27 (1889), p. 62.

22 J. Nicholas Postgate, "Documents in Government under the Middle Assyrian Kingdom", in: *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of recordkeeping in the ancient world*, ed. Maria Brosius, Oxford 2003, pp. 127–129.

23 Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, pp. 306–307.

documents still survive, and one must assume that they were re-deposited after use, alongside Papyrus Ambras.

Hawara Papyri

In the Greco-Roman Period, copies of legal documents were regularly registered and deposited in official archives. Some of the original documents kept by individuals contain subscriptions stating both which official archive held the copy and when it had been deposited, so that it could be located and retrieved if the need should arise. An example is afforded by a series of demotic documents from Hawara which were deposited in what is called 'chest of Hawara' and 'the chest at Crocodilopolis'.[24] Significantly, the word used to refer to these two official archives is 'chest' (Gr. *kibôtos*, Egypt. *tb.t*), which indicates that this form of container was regarded as the typical method for storage of such archives.

Official documents, private residence

Although some form of centralized, official archives presumably existed throughout Egyptian history, many documents that we may regard as official are likely to have been kept in the private residence of the individuals in charge rather than a public building. Thus, for instance, it has been convincingly argued that the notary scribes at Tebtunis kept the *grapheion* records in their homes; an argument that is further strengthened by the fact that Kronion, for example, marked certain documents, among the many papers for which he was responsible, as private.[25] This may explain why an official document, such as a ten meter long daybook account of grain collected from cleruchs in the early 2nd century AD, was discovered rolled up and placed inside an amphora which, in turn, had been placed within a storage bin of a house in Karanis.[26] Perhaps the house belonged to the official in charge of the collection during the year in question and it was carefully kept in case it was needed for future reference. While this situation must have been particularly common during the Greco-Roman Period, where many functions were outsourced on an annual basis, it is likely to extend far back in time. The phenomenon of officials being buried with administrative documents pertaining to their work, presumably as a display of their office and status, is attested from the Old Kingdom (c. 2450 BC) and over the course of many centuries.[27] This inevitably

24 George R. Hughes and Richard Jasnow, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri*, Chicago 1997 (Oriental Institute Publications 113), cat. 6, 9, and appendix; Erich Lüddeckens, *Demotische Urkunden aus Hawara*, Stuttgart 1998 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 28), cat. 1–3.

25 Elinor M. Husselman, "Two New Documents from the Tebtunis Archive", in: *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 81 (1950), p. 77; Bart Van Beek, "Kronion son of Apion, head of the *grapheion* of Tebtynis", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 93, ver. 2 (2013).

26 Enoch Peterson, *The Architecture and Topography of Karanis*, unpublished ms., 1973–draft, pp. 69, 356, 864–865.

27 Richard B. Parkinson, "Libraries in Ancient Egypt, c. 2600–1600 BCE", in: *Libraries before Alexandria: Ancient Near Eastern Traditions*, eds. Kim Ryholt and Gojko Barjamovic (Oxford

presupposes that the individuals in question had ready access to the documents in question.

Letters

As with most other types of documents, letters retained for reference or documentation are for the most part likely to have been stored in boxes or jars. A couple of texts from the New Kingdom refer specifically to boxes. In the Satirical Letter of P. Anastasi I, one scribe instructs another, 'May you commission men to make chests into which letters can be put',[28] and in an actual letter the recipient is told, 'As soon as this letter for Peterpayneb reaches you, you shall read [this] letter that has been brought for Peterpayneb and take it and read it out to him, and you shall take it back and deposit it in your box (...)'.[29] Documented examples of letters found in containers are rare, and presumably the majority derive from dumps and other kinds of rubbish deposits. Regrettably, the context of the few larger assembles, such as the so-called Late Ramesside Letters from Thebes (12–11th cent. BC),[30] the above-mentioned archive of the temple scribes (11th–10th cent. BC), and the extensive Zenon archive from Philadelphia (3rd cent. BC), remains unknown.[31]

New Kingdom

In the New Kingdom explicit instructions to retain letters as testimony are relatively common. They typically read: 'And you shall preserve my letter so that it may serve you as testimony'.[32] One of the letters in question was actually found folded up, together with another letter and a memorandum, and placed within a leather cover, so the instruction was taken literally, as one might expect. Another example is provided by three letters from the general Piankhy, ordering the killing of two guards, which were found bundled up in a piece of linen and sealed. Both are described below.

Aramaic Letter from King of Ekron to Pharaoh

A remarkable papyrus inscribed with Aramaic, and reminiscent of the much earlier Amarna correspondence, was found in a jar during excavations at Saqqara in 1942 in the area between the Step Pyramid and the Unas Pyramid.[33] Assigned to the late 7th century, it preserves a letter from the king of Ekron to his overlord,

2019), pp. 142–146, discusses three examples dating to the 4th, 12th and 13th Dynasties.

28 Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, Atlanta 1990 (SBL Writings from the Ancient World 1), p. 105.

29 Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, p. 203.

30 Jack J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*, London 1991 (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 6), w. refs. The bulk of the Late Ramesside Letters was likely found together, but the assemblage certainly includes more than one find.

31 Katelijn Vandorpe, "Zenon son of Agreophon", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 256, ver. 1 (2013).

32 Cf. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, pp. 128, 173, 190, 198, 202, 209.

33 Zaki Saad Effendi, "Saqqarah. Fouilles royales (1942)", in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 20 (1945), pp. 80–81; André Dupont-Sommer, "Un papyrus araméen d'époque saïte découvert à Saqqarah", in:

the Egyptian king, reporting on the military advance of the king of Babylon. Only the right half of the papyrus is preserved which might imply that the jar was damaged. Regrettably, no details of the archaeological context were published, but in view of the many tombs in the area, extending at least into the Persian Period, it is possible that the letter represents a memento of a high-ranking official of the Saïte Period once buried there.[34]

Three gropus of Letters from the Animal Nevropolis at Tuna el-Gebel

At least three groups of letters, nineteen in all, were discovered in Galleries C and D of the subterranean necropolis of the sacred Ibis within jars 'like thousands of others containing only ibis mummies', accordingly to the excavator. Clearly none of the letters had reached their intended destination; they were all found with their seals intact. Moreover, the description of the jars shows that they were not intended for transport or storage.

Two jars, found separately, contained letters from the priesthoods of Thoth and Hormerti. The first group consists of three letters, all dated to 507 BC and strung together,[35] while the second consisted of eight letters (6th/5th cent. BC) of which two were strung together.[36] The name of the ruling pharaoh is not mentioned, but assuming the texts written in the reign of Darius I, as has been suggested, all three letters from the first group date to 31 July 507 BC, whereas the dated letters from the second group range from 16 May 500 through 20 October 498 BC. Another group of eight letters written in Aramaic, and paleographically dated c. 525–475 BC, were found inside a basket deposited in a third jar.[37] These letters were written on behalf of two (half-)brothers, Makkibanit and Nabushezib, apparently at Memphis, and five were destined for Syene and the three others for Luxor.

Semitica 1 (1948), pp. 43–68, w. pl.; Günter Vittmann, "Kursivhieratische und frühdemotische Miszellen", in: *Enchoria* 25 (1999), pp. 124–127.

34 The report also mentions the discovery of a number of demotic papyri, but it is not possible to establish whether there is any relation to the Aramaic papyrus.

35 Sami Gabra, "Les Monuments d'Hermopolis-Ouest: La vie en Province à l'époque Saïte. Regards sur la Méditerrannée", in: *L'Égypte nouvelle* (1947), p. 51, w. fig.; El-Hussein Omar M. Zaghloul, *Frühdemotische Urkunden aus Hermupolis*, Cairo 1985 (Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies 2), pp. 23–38, pl. II–XIV.

36 Mahmoud Ebeid, "The Unknown Hormerti and the Archive of his Priests in the Ibiotapheion of the Tuna al-Gebel Necropolis", in: *Kleine Götter – große Götter. Festschrift für Dieter Kessler zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Mélanie C. Flossmann-Schütze et al., Vaterstetten 2013 (Tuna el-Gebel 4), pp. 113–129. Two of these letters has now been published by Mahmoud Ebeid, "Two Early Demotic Letters from the Tuna al-Gebel Necropolis, P. Al-Ashmunein Magazine Inv. Nr. 1093 (P.Homerti–1) and P. Mallawi Museum Inv.Nr. 486 C (P. Homerti–4)", in: *Sapientia Felicitas: Festschrift für Günter Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016*, eds. Sandra L. Lippert, Maren Schentuleit and Martin A. Stadler, Montpellier 2016, pp. 123–148.

37 Sami Gabra, "Lettres araméennes trouvées à Touna el Gebel Hermoupolis ouest", in: *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 28 (1945–46), pp. 161–162, w. pls.; Alexander Schütze, "Makkibanit, son of Psami, and Nabushezib, son of Peteknum", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 451, ver. 1 (2010).

It is not obvious how the letters ended up in such a curious location. Had it not been for the different dates that are explicitly recorded, it would have been tempting to assume they had been abandoned at the same point in time; e.g. that the individuals who carried the letters had sought shelter or refuge in the subterranean galleries during some unknown circumstances and decided to leave the documents behind.

A Roman Petition

A remarkable document from the archive of Julius Agrippinus, from the mid–2nd century AD, reveals yet a further possible motivation for depositing a letter – or more specifically a petition – in a jar.[38] In the course of a suit against Agrippinus, known as the 'Drusilla lawsuit', his mother writes to him that she needs documentation for the strategos whom she has gone to see. She instructs her son to 'make a copy (of the petition), place it in a jar, and seal it', and to give it to one of three named individuals, together with a sealed covering letter, and send it to her. It is noteworthy that she found it necessary to store the document in a jar; was this perhaps a way of ensuring that it arrived in perfect condition or that it had not been read or tampered with?

Private legal documents

The New Kingdom legal documents of Mesja

A group of papyri belonging to the herdsman Mesja, and dating to the early part of the reign of Amenhotep IV, c. 1350 BC, represents the earliest example of legal documents stored in jars. It consist of two small lots. The first was discovered in a jar, accidentally broken by a pickaxe, but with the papyri still substantially intact, during Petrie's excavations at Lahun in 1888/89.[39] The jar contained two documents that had been wrapped in cloth before they were placed inside. The location of the discovery was a house which is marked on the published plan. Borchardt later acquired two further documents which evidently belong to the same individual and which were presumably removed from Petrie's excavation.[40] These papyri are likely to have been stored in a second jar. An interesting aspect of the archaeological context is the fact that Lahun had been abandoned for centuries, apart from squatters, and it is not obvious why these legal documents would have been stored or hidden away at the site. Mesja might have been a squatter himself or periodically have stayed in the ruins, perhaps herding his animals in the area. We cannot know why his legal documents got left behind, but since the Amarna

38 Paul Schubert, "P. Gen. I 74 et le procès de Drusilla", in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 130 (2000), pp. 211–217.

39 W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, London 1891, p. 15, pl. XIII, fig. 30.

40 Alan H. Gardiner, "Four papyri of the 18th Dynasty from Kahun", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 43 (1906), p. 27. Theft were common on all excavations at the time; cf. Fredrik Hagen and Kim Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930: The H. O. Lange Papers*, Copenhagen 2016, p. 30.

'revolution' took place within a year of the latest dated document, it is possible—but of course by no means certain—that the circumstances surrounding this political event somehow prevented Mesja from further access to them.

Late Period

An archive from the Late Period is particularly famous for the extraordinarily long and historically detailed *Petition of Peteesis*, written by its last owner who lived some years into the First Persian Period.[41] It consists of at least nine documents, acquired in the winter of 1898/99 and said to have been found in a jar inside the ruins of the ancient town at el-Hiba. The extant documents span more than 130 years and four generations, 644–513 BC, and the large chronological gaps suggests that the archive might have been considerably larger.[42]

Private legal documents of the Greco-Roman period

A series of private archives from the Greco-Roman Period are known or reported to have been deposited in jars. Some of them were substantial and required large jars or more than one. The largest is that of the recluse Ptolemaios from the Serapeum in Memphis, which includes an unusually broad range of texts (2nd cent. BC, some 125 documents).[43] It is reported to have been found in a jar, but it is not clear on whose authority this statement was made. Less uncertain, but also not from controlled excavations, are those of Osoroeris son of Horus from Dra Abu el-Naga, which included at least seventy papyri said to have been found in a single jar,[44] and of Horos son of Nechoutes from Pathyris (2nd–1st cent. BC), where the jar is said to have contained specifically seventy papyri.[45]

Archives deposited in pairs of jars found together include those of Psenminis and Tamounis from Dra Abu el-Naga (4th–3rd cent. BC, 32 papyri),[46] Milon from Elephantine (3rd cent. BC, 32 papyri),[47] Totoês from Deir el-Medina (2nd cent. BC,

41 Francis Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, 3 vols., Manchester/London 1909, cat. 1–9; Günter Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1998 (Ägypten und Altes Testament 38); *Trismegistos*, ArchID 282.

42 Eugene Cruz-Uribe, "Varia", in: *Serapis* 7 (1981–82), pp. 1–5, suggests that a papyrus in Philadelphia might have formed part of the same archive.

43 Bernard Legras, *Les reclus grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis*, Leuven 2011 (Studia Hellenistica 49); *Trismegistos*, ArchID 119.

44 Pieter W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, Leuven 1993 (Studia Demotica 11), pp. 10–12; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 50.

45 Elkan Nathan Adler, John Gavin Tait, Fritz M. Heichelheim and Francis Llewellyn Griffith, *The Adler Papyri*, London 1939; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 106.

46 Mustafa el-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes*, Cairo 1959; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 203.

47 Willy Clarysse, "The Archive of the Praktor Milon", in: *Edfu, an Egyptian Provincial Capital in the Ptolemaic Period*, eds. Katelijn Vandorpe and Willy Clarysse, Bruxelles 2003, pp. 17–27; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 141.

53 papyri),[48] Teos son of Horos from Tuna el-Gebel (2nd cent. BC, 14 papyri),[49] and Harendotes' sons from Sharuna (2nd–1st cent. BC, at least 11 papyri).[50]

Presumably from single jars are the archives of a family of undertakers from Hawara (4th–2nd cent. BC, at least 25 papyri),[51] Panas son of Pechytes from Qurna (2nd cent. BC, at least 20 papyri),[52] and Teos and Thabis from Thebes (4th cent. BC, 14 papyri).[53] Among the larger archives, several span a whole century or nearly so (Osoroeris, Psenminis, Totoês, and the undertakers from Hawara).

Sometimes no more than 2–6 papyri were deposited in a single jar, as in the case of Abaa from Deir el-Ballas (2nd cent. BC, 2 papyri),[54] Panitis' sons from Birabi in Western Thebes (202 BC, 2 papyri),[55] Tyrannis from Tebtunis (198 AD, 2 papyri),[56] the Tower House K3 archive from Tuna el-Gebel (2nd cent. BC, perhaps 6 papyri),[57] and two discoveries from Roman period houses at Edfu, which in one case consisted of a pair of jars with two and three papyri respectively and in the other of a single jar with five papyri; none of these ten papyri has yet been published.[58] A jar from Elephantine contained five papyri (4th–3rd cent. BC) whose

48 Giuseppe Botti, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh*, Firenze 1967; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 248.

49 Erich Lüddeckens, "Ein demotischer Urkundenfund in Tuna el Gebel mit einer genealogischen Skizze", in: *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Marburg/Lahn, 2. bis 6. August 1971*, eds. Emil Kießling and Hans-Albert Rupprecht, Munich 1974, pp. 235–239; Mélanie Flossmann-Schütze, 'Lebensrealitäten an der Tiernekropole von Tuna el-Gebel', forthcoming; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 440. I am grateful for Mélanie Flossmann-Schütze for sending me an advance copy of her manuscript.

50 Willy Clarysse, "Bilingual Papyrological Archives", in: *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*, ed. Arietta Papaconstantinou, Burlington 2010, pp. 63–64; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 146. One jar was found intact. The other documents from the same archive that were sold on the antiquities presumably derive from a second jar.

51 Willy Clarysse, "Undertakers (*nekrotaphoi*) of Hawara I", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 145, ver. 1 (2013); Ryholt "Notes on the Copenhagen Hawara Papyri", forthcoming.

52 Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, pp. 12–13; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 364.

53 Mark Depauw, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes*, Turnhout 2000 (Monographies Reine Élisabeth 8); *Trismegistos*, ArchID 228. The wrapping and state of the papyri leave little doubt that they derive from a jar, although it is not preserved.

54 Richard A. Parker, "A Demotic Marriage Document from Deir el Ballas", in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963), pp. 113–116; idem, "A Demotic Property Settlement from Deir el Ballas", in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 3 (1964), pp. 89–103. I owe the information about the archaeological context of these papyri to the archival records at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

55 The Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, Oxford 1912, pp. 8, 43, 46–47, pl. XXXIV.1, XXXV–XXIX; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Zwei Kaufverträge aus der Zeit des Königs Harmachis", in: *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 35 (1913), pp. 150–161.

56 Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt and Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri* II, London 1907, no. 397, 639.

57 Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Das Archiv aus Turmhaus K3 (Haus C)", excursus in: Mélanie Flossmann-Schütze, *Lebensrealitäten an der Tiernekropole von Tuna el-Gebel*, forthcoming. I am grateful to Friedhelm Hoffmann for sending me an advance copy of his manuscript.

58 Maurice Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932)*, Cairo 1933 (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 9), pp. 27–28, pl. XXV; idem, *Rapport sur les fouilles*

relationship to one another remains unclear and which is perhaps not a private archive.[59]

Later private documents

At Kellis a number of Coptic papyri (4th cent. AD) were found next to various vessels, in which they are believed to have been stored, in three different rooms within a private house.[60]

One of the more remarkable finds of private papers from Late Antiquity is the archive of the lawyer Flavius Dioscorus from the 6th century AD, which was discovered at Kom Ishgau, ancient Aphrodito.[61] A single large jar, originally about one meter in height, contained about 150 papyri, including not just legal documents but also poetry from the hand of the owner as well as codices inscribed with Menandrian comedies and Homer's *Iliad*. The Menander codex had apparently been used as a jar stopper, i.e. to block the top of the jar. Some four hundred other papyri from the same archive were excavated illicitly and their archaeological context remains unknown. A much smaller find of the same date consists of three Greek deeds of sale of monastic property, which were found by Petrie in 'a big jar sunk in the ground' at Hawara; the archaeological context is not mentioned.[62]

Another substantial archive, pertaining to the *pagarch* (an official responsible for tax-collection) Papas, was found in a large jar at Edfu in 1921/22.[63] This jar contained more than one hundred Greek and Coptic papyri (7th/8th cent. AD). Slightly later are three Arabic documents found in a small sealed jar at Saqqara in the early 1820s; the two better preserved documents, dating to 751 AD, were published in 1825 and constitute the first Arabic papyrological text edition.[64] All three are permits for individual monks from the Monastery of St. Jeremias at Saqqara to travel and work elsewhere for one or two months.

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de Tell Edfou (1933), Cairo 1935 (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 10), pp. 7–8.

59 Otto Rubensohn, *Elephantine-Papyri*, Berlin 1907, p. 5, no. 1–5; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 77.

60 Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock and Wolf-Peter Funk, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis I (P. Kell. V)*, Oxford 1999 (Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 9), pp. 103–104, 105, fig. 3.

61 Gustave Lefebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre*, Cairo 1907; *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverter*, ed. Jean-Luc Fournet, Paris 2008; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 72.

62 William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, London 1890, p. 21; Brian C. McGing, "Melitian Monks at Labla", in: *Tyche* 5 (1990), pp. 67–94, pl. 10–12.

63 Sylvie Marchand, "La 'jarre aux papyrus' d'Edfou et autres jarres de stockage d'époque arabe découvertes à Tebtynis, Fayoum", in: *Functional Aspects of Egyptian Ceramics in their Archaeological Context. Proceedings of a Conference held at the McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research, Cambridge, July 24th-July 25th, 2009*, eds. Bettina Bader and Mary F. Ownby, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2013 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 217), pp. 327–349; Willy Clarysse, "The Archive of Papas", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 170, ver. 1 (2007); Anne Boud'hors, Alain Delattre, et al., "Un nouveau depart pour les archives de Papas: Papyrus coptes et grecs de la jarred d'Edfou", in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 117 (2017), pp. 87–124.

64 Yūsuf Rāġib, "Saufs conduits d'Égypte omeyyade et abbasside", in: *Annales Islamologiques* 31 (1997), pp. 155–162, fig. 5, 7–8.

The latest assemblage of legal documents included in the present paper is the Banu Bifam archive (10th–11th century AD) which was discovered in a large storage vessel at Naqlun in 1997.[65] Thirty-nine Arabic documents, 22 written on parchment and the remainder on paper, had been arranged in five bundles, each wrapped in cloth, and then placed together in a leather sack before they were deposited in the jar.

Literary papyri in jars

Medical papyri

Two examples of medical papyri stored in jars date to the New Kingdom. The earlier is the medical Papyrus Hearst which was found in a jar by a peasant at Deir el-Ballas around 1889 and given to Reisner when he was excavating at the site in 1891; the peasant no longer had the jar but said it contained nothing other than the papyrus.[66] Significantly he further stated that it was found while digging for *sebakh* which might suggest that it was found in a settlement context. Another medical papyrus (P. Berlin P 3038) was, according to Passalacqua, discovered in a jar alongside another smaller papyrus during his excavations 'près des pyramides de Sakarah' in the early 1820s.[67] The latter papyrus is apparently a legal document (P. Berlin P 3047) which, curiously, seems to concern Theban affairs.[68] Of much later date is a Coptic medical papyrus of the 9th/10th century found in a jar within the ruins of a house at Mesheikh.[69] A further number of medical papyri discovered in boxes are discussed below.

Other literary papyri

A much cited example of hieratic literary texts found in a jar consists of three papyri acquired by Golenischeff in 1891.[70] The manuscripts, which date around 1000 BC, are inscribed with the *Misfortunes of Wenamun*, the *Tale of Woe*, and the

65 Christian Gaubert and Jean-Michel Gouton, "Présentation des archives d'une famille copte du Fayoum à l'époque fatimide", in: *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies. Leiden, August 27 – September 2, 2000*, eds. Mat Immerzeel and Jacques van der Vliet, Leuven/Paris/Dudley 2004 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 133), pp. 505–517; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 332.

66 George A. Reisner, *The Hearst Medical Papyrus*, Leipzig 1905, p. 1; Wolfhart Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin* I, Leiden 1999 (Handbuch der Orientalistik I 36), pp. 35–37.

67 Joseph Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Égypte*, Paris 1826, pp. 105 and 207; Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin* I, pp. 41–45.

68 Wolfgang Helck, "Der Papyrus Berlin P 3047", in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963), pp. 65–73, w. pls. Could the modern identification of the second papyrus be mistaken? The legal document is badly worm-eaten, in contrast to the medical papyrus, and it measures 75 cm, whereas Passalacqua states the other papyrus measured just 50 cm.

69 Émile Chassinat, *Un papyrus médical copte*, Cairo 1921 (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 32), pp. 1–2.

70 Bernd U. Schipper, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun: Ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion*, Freiburg/Göttingen 2005 (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 209), pp. 3–6; Fredrik Hagen, "Libraries in Ancient Egypt, c. 1600–800 BCE", in: *Libraries before Alexandria: Ancient Near Eastern Traditions*, eds. Kim Ryholt and Gojko Barjamovic (Oxford 2019), p. 298.

Onomasticon of Amenemope. According to the dealer, they had been found in a jar at a site near el-Hiba. Since a further fragment of the Wenamun manuscript was acquired separately in 1892, it is possible that the find was broken up and included further items.

Another well-known papyrus, inscribed with a legal manual on one side (the Hermopolis Legal Code) and a mathematical manual on the other, both in the demotic script (3rd cent. BC), was found at Tuna el-Gebel in 1938/39. According to the excavator, the papyrus was discovered inside one of several hundred discarded jars, just west of a series of houses that were located in the vicinity of the sacred animal necropolis and had been used as offices by the priests.[71] The editor reports a different interpretation of the archaeological context, stating that it was found 'in a partially broken jar in the debris of a ruined building opposite the room of mummification and believed to be one of the temple archives'.[72]

The potentially most interesting find was made at Elephantine in 1907. Here, at the Tower House next to the temple, was found a group of nine jars piled on top of each other against a wall.[73] All but one of the jars were damaged, but four of them still contained hieratic papyri, some of them written on the reverse of demotic documents. The use of hieratic at the relatively late date indicated by the presence of demotic texts and the archaeological context, suggests that these were literary texts, as does the reference to passages written with red ink. The papyri were brought to the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, but they have not yet been identified and so their contents remain unknown.

The archive of Flavius Dioscorus from the 6th century AD, found in a large jar at Kom Ishgau, and already mentioned above, also included a number of literary texts.

Purpose-manufactured Document Jars?

The scarcity of published illustrations and descriptions of the jars in which documents have been found do not allow for generalizations based on quantity. In a comparative perspective, however, it is noteworthy that the two jars in which the Totoes archive was discovered at Deir el-Medina display marked similarities to some of the jars in which the contemporary Qumran papyri were stored, a thousand kilometres away by journey.[74] The jars have a broad, cylindrical shape

71 Sami Gabra, "Fouilles de l'université 'Fouad el Awal' à Touna el Gebel (Hermopolis Ouest)", in: *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 39 (1939), p. 492.

72 Girgis Mattha, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*, Cairo 1975 (Bibliothèque d'Étude 45), p. xi.

73 Walter Honroth, Otto Rubensohn and Friedrich Zucker, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf Elephantine in den Jahren 1906–1908", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 46 (1909), p. 50; Müller, in: *Forschungen und Berichte* 22 (1982), pp. 22–23; Ryholt, in: *Libraries before Alexandria*, pp. 401–405.

74 Stephen J. Pfann, "*Kelei Demaʿ*: Tithe Jars, Scroll Jars and Cookie Jars", in: *Copper Scroll Studies*, eds. George J. Brooke and Philip R. Davies, London 2002 (Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series 40), pp. 163–179.

and a wide opening, which would allow for the storage of numerous papyri, and an arrangement of loops on the main body and matching lids that made it possible to seal the jars effectively. Thus well-suited for the storage of papyrus and used for that purpose in a wide geographical area, to judge from these examples, it remains difficult to determinative whether they were produced specifically or primarily as document jars or whether they would have served a more generic purpose. I have not identified any Pharaonic or Greco-Roman textual references to jars made specifically for documents, but an Arabic letter from the 8th/9th century explicitly mentions such jars as well as their price.[75]

Storage in boxes

Two examples of papyri placed in boxes and deposited in burials have already been described, sc. the Hemaka Box from the 1st Dynasty and the Gebelein Box from the Old Kingdom, and so too have the remains of boxes from an administrative building at Balat Ayn Asil. Some further evidence on the use of boxes derive from both domestic and burial contexts, and a few references from literary texts are also worth citing.

Boxes in domestic contexts

A few wooden boxes still containing papyri have been found in clear domestic contexts. The remains of a house at Tanis, destroyed by fire in the 4th century BC according to the excavator, preserved a box containing at least half a dozen carbonized papyri and a bundle of pens.[76] In another house at Karanis, nine boxes had been stowed away beneath a stairway.[77] A group of texts belonging to a certain Pnepheros (2nd cent. AD) had been deposited in one of them and another contained a single papyrus inscribed with a lease; the latter was about a century older in date than the others, but they all seem to represent outdated material.

A further box was found among a group of what seems to have been relatively fine houses at Kom Ishgau.[78] The excavator reported that 'Every door seems to have been flanked by brick columns with capital and base of limestone' and that he also found fragments 'of various kinds of fine glass'. A high status context is also indicated by the box itself which is evidently of skilled workmanship. It stands on four legs and has fine engravings, including a central scene of a lion catching a hare in the wild. The fragments found inside the box remain unpublished, but the papyri and ostraca found in the vicinity are reported to indicate a date c. 600 AD. Incidentally the house seems to have been located in the neighbourhood of the residence of the above-mentioned lawyer Flavius Dioscorus.

75 Adolf Grohmann, "Aperçu de papyrologie arabe", in: *Études de Papyrologie* 1 (1932), p. 36.

76 William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Tanis I*, London 1885, pp. 29–31. Further details are provided in Kim Ryholt, *Carbonised Papyri from Tanis and Thmuis*, forthcoming.

77 W. Graham Claytor, "Pnepheros son of Petheus", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 544, ver. 1 (2013).

78 James E. Quibell, "Kom Ishgau", in: *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 3 (1902), p. 87, pl. 1.

Boxes in literary texts

The use of boxes to store literary texts (broadly defined) is mentioned in several literary compositions from the Pharaonic period. In *The Tale of King Cheops' Court* (c. 1600 BC), the magician Webaoner keeps his writings in a chest 'of ebony and electrum'.[79] This is clearly a luxury item, but by no means a fantastic one. An astrological manual from the Tebtunis temple library (2nd cent. AD), allegedly written by none other than the ancient sage Imhotep, is said to have been found in a chest of copper.[80] This could well refer to metal plating, but it cannot be excluded that a solid metal chest is meant with the implication that an invaluable text would be stored in a container of exceptional quality. An evident example of this type of reasoning occurs in the story of *Khamwase and Naneferkaptah* (3rd cent. BC).[81] Here a magical book written by Thoth himself, the god of wisdom, is said to have been kept inside a chest of gold within a chest of silver within a chest of ivory and ebony within a chest of Aleppo pinewood within a chest of bronze within a chest of iron; i.e. a system of six chests within one another, *matryoshka* style. Also outright fantastic boxes are attested. One example occurs in the above-mentioned *Tale of King Cheops' Court*, where some arcane knowledge is kept in a 'chest of flint' in a room called 'The Inventory'.[82] Possibly the room takes its name from the most important text contained within; in later tradition 'The Inventory' seems to be a generic designation for fundamental compendia of religious knowledge pertaining to specific cults.[83]

Ordinary boxes or chests will have been made from wood and only elaborate examples are likely to have had inlay or plating.[84] I have only found two examples of boxes with literary papyri *in situ*, the Ramesseum and Meir Boxes, both of which were found in tombs. Unfortunately, neither box appears to be extant and no illustrations were ever published.

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79 Richard B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940–1640 BC*, Oxford 1997, p. 107.

80 Kim Ryholt, "The Life of Imhotep? (P. Carlsberg 85)", in: *Actes du IXe Congrès International des Études Démotiques, Paris, 31 août – 3 septembre 2005*, eds. Ghislaine Widmer and Didier Devauchelle, Cairo 2009 (Bibliothèque d'Étude 147), p. 313 n. 30.

81 Robert K. Ritner, "The Romance of Setna Khaemuas and the Mummies (Setna I)", in: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed. William Kelly Simpson, New Haven/London 2003, pp. 456–458.

82 Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe*, p. 115.

83 Ryholt, in: *Libraries before Alexandria*, pp. 435–436.

84 Some elaborate book labels from the reign of Amenhotep III that may have been attached to some form of chests are discussed by Richard B. Parkinson, "Two or three literary artefacts: British Museum EA 41650/47897, and 22878–9", in: *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T. G. H. James*, ed. William V. Davies, London 1999 (British Museum Occasional Paper 123), pp. 49–57; Hagen, in: *Libraries before Alexandria*, pp. 259–261.

The Ramesseum Box

The Ramesseum Box was discovered in 1896 in a 13th Dynasty burial (18th cent. BC) of an unidentified individual at the site where the mortuary temple of Ramesses II was later built.[85] The box and its contents had suffered severely from humidity, but the fragile remains are estimated to total at least 24 rolls of papyrus in addition to a bundle of reed pens and some other objects. The majority of texts are magical and medical, while others are didactic and narrative (including the *Eloquent Peasant* and *Sinuhe*) or liturgical (including an illustrated ritual in favour of Senwosret I and hymns in favour of Sobek). A few of them were written in cursive hieroglyphs, the rest in hieratic. The lid of the box was decorated with the figure of a jackal.

The Meir Box

The second discovery was made some ten years earlier. In 1888 Budge acquired 'some good-sized rolls of papyrus' that, according to the dealer, had been found in 'a painted cartonnage box' in a tomb near Meir.[86] The find included at least nine papyri, all inscribed with Greek literary texts, some of them on the reverse of re-used accounts. The most famous papyrus is inscribed with Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* as well as Demosthenes' *Against Midias* and Callimachus' *Causes*, three with Homer's *Iliad*, four others with Herondas' mimiambics, Hyperides' *Against Philippides* as well as Demosthenes' *Letters*, and Isocrates' *On the Peace*, and the final two with medical texts and a horoscope respectively. Since further fragments of the papyri originally acquired turned up on more than one occasion in the following years, the original find was evidently not sold intact and it cannot be excluded that it might have included further papyri. Sayce, who saw one of the fragments of the Aristotle papyrus in the hands of a dealer at Asyut before it was acquired by Budge, was brought to see the tomb where the papyri had allegedly been found. The tomb contained two mummies that Sayce thought represented a married couple. The mummy of the supposed husband, whose inscription he misunderstood, is now known to have belonged a girl 'Sarapous daughter of Sarapion, 14 years (old), (died) without children'.[87] If the other mummy was correctly identified as a woman, it is possible that this collection of Greek literary texts was buried with these two female individuals. However, it is impossible to ascertain whether Sayce was shown the correct tomb and whether it might have included further burials before it was plundered.

85 James E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, London 1898, pp. 3–4, pl. 2–3; Parkinson, in: *Libraries before Alexandria*, p. 121, 151–157.

86 E. A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris: A narrative of journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on behalf the British Museum between the years 1889 and 1913* II, London 1920, pp. 147–150 and 153–154. The papyri are P.Lond. 128–137.

87 Alain Martin, "Heurs et malheurs d'un manuscrit: Deux notes à propos du papyrus d'Hérondas", in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 139 (2002), pp. 22–26.

The Berlin Book-List

A much-damaged papyrus in Berlin records the contents of a box through an itemized list of some nearly fifty book titles.[88] Most of the preserved titles are otherwise unattested, but the designations suggest that the bulk if not all of the texts were literary in nature and included both religious and didactic works. In contrast to a number of individual literary texts which are said to have been found under extraordinary circumstances, in order to accentuate their authority, there is no reason to suspect that the present list is literary or fictitious in nature.[89] The compositions appear to represent the contents of an actual box and for this reason it is included in the present survey.

Baskets, leather, and cloth

Baskets

Baskets are also known to have been used for the storage of papyri. They represent a low-cost commodity, like pottery jars, and were presumably very common, but owing to their fragile and non-sensational nature most such discoveries are likely to have gone unrecorded and only a few instances are known. I can cite no published examples of manuscripts actually found in baskets prior to the Roman Period. However, a basket used by a scribe of the New Kingdom was discovered in a Theban tomb by Carter. It contained his palette and pens, a small uninscribed roll of papyrus and another roll of leather, as well as other equipment.[90]

The earliest example where actual documents are involved is the above-mentioned basket, found within a jar at Tuna el-Gebel, which contained the eight Aramaic letters. In this case the basket had likely been used for the transportation of the documents.

There is slightly more evidence from the Roman period. In two houses at Tanis, destroyed by fire in the 2nd century AD, Petrie discovered baskets full of carbonized papyri.[91] Six baskets were found in a niche under the stairway leading to the cellar of House 35, and it proved possible to extract nearly 200 papyri – mostly very fragmentary – from two of them.[92] The neighbouring House 44

88 Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert, "Aus dem Inhalt einer *ʿfḏ.t*-Bücherkiste (Pap. Berlin P. hier. 15779)", in: *Sapientia Felicitas: Festschrift für Günter Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016*, eds. Sandra L. Lippert, Maren Schentuleit and Martin A. Stadler, Montpellier 2016 (Cahiers de Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne 14), pp. 149–169.

89 Cf., e.g., the examples cited above. The phenomenon is discussed by Fredrik Hagen, "Constructing Textual identity: Framing and Self-Reference in Egyptian Texts", in: *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice*, eds. Roland Enmarch, Verena M. Lepper and Eleanor Robson, London/Oxford 2013 (Proceedings of the British Academy 188), pp. 185–209.

90 Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, pp. 70, 75–76, pl. LXVI; Parkinson and Quirke, *Papyrus*, pp. 33–35.

91 Petrie, *Tanis I*, pp. 41–50. Further details, based on archival records and examination of the papyri, are presented in Kim Ryholt, *Carbonised Papyri from Tanis and Thmuis*, forthcoming.

92 At the house of the veteran Tiberianus at Karanis, a large group of his private documents were similarly found in a niche beneath a stairway which, in this case, led up to a second floor; cf. Karolien Geens, "Claudius Tiberianus", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 54, ver. 1 (2011).

yielded one more basket from which Petrie extracted some thirty or forty items in addition to a wooden pen case. While only a few of the latter could be unrolled, some 150 papyri from House 35 were successfully placed under glass. These papyri reveal a very mixed content – both in date, nature, and script – and appear to have been stored as waste paper for re-use. Significantly, such assemblages of waste paper sometimes include groups of related documents that must have been cleared out and discarded at the same point in time, and this seems also to be the case here. One particularly interesting group consists of Egyptian literary papyri that pertain to the great temple of Amun at Tanis. The texts, which are written in demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic, display similarities to those from the Tebtunis temple library.

Only slightly later in date is the archive of Lucretius Diogenes and Aurelius Sarapion (AD 132–248) which, according to the dealer, was found in a basket at Gharabet el-Gerza, ancient Philadelphia.[93] At least some thirty or so documents belong to the archive, which is now divided between different collections. Without a documented context, it remains unknown whether all the papyri derive from the same alleged basket and whether the basket might have been found in a dump; in the latter case it would only have contained documents that were no longer required by the owner.

Baskets were also found by Grenfell and Hunt in the rubbish heaps at Oxyrhynchus. Their first report provides the following account:

> It was the custom in Egypt to store up carefully in the government record offices at each town official documents of every kind dealing with the administration and taxation of the country; and to these archives even private individuals used to send letters, contracts, &c., which they wished to keep. After a time, when the records were no longer wanted, a clearance became necessary, and many of the old papyrus rolls were put in baskets or on wicker trays and thrown away as rubbish. In the first of these 'archive' mounds, of which the papyri belonged to the end of the first and beginning of the second century, we sometimes found not only the contents of a basket all together, but baskets themselves full of papyri.[94]

Further examples of papyri stored in niches or cupboards in houses at Kellis, Soknopaiou Nesos, and Theadelphia, and in Greco-Roman temples, as well as textual references, are discussed by Geneviève Husson, "Un sens méconnu de θυϱις et de *fenestra*", in: *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 19 (1983), pp. 155–162; Gardner et al., *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis I*, p. 106; and Ryholt, in: *Libraries before Alexandria*, pp. 420, 428–435, 438–440, 448–449..

93 Paul Schubert, *Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes et textes apparentés*, Bonn 1990 (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 39), p. 4; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 137.

94 Bernard P. Grenfell, "Oxyrhynchus and its papyri", in: *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archæological Report* 1896–1897, p. 8; reprinted with annotations as Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, "Excavations at Oxyrhynchus (1896–1907)", in: *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts*, eds. Alan K. Bowman, Revel A. Coles, Nikolaos Gonis, Dirk Obbink and Peter J. Parsons, London 2007 (Graeco-Roman Memoirs 93), p. 349.

The discarded baskets can have had little value; presumably they were no longer in a useful condition. They do not necessarily represent the actual storage device for the papyri. An example of what such baskets might contain is found in a later report:

> Shortly before sunset we reached, at about 6 feet from the surface, a place where in the third century A.D. a basketful of broken literary papyrus rolls had been thrown away. (...) Before being condemned to the rubbish-heap, the papyri had, as usual, been torn up; but amid hundreds of smaller fragments there were a couple of cores of rolls, containing ten or twelve columns, other pieces containing five or six, and many more one or two columns.[95]

The fragments in question have been assigned to twelve rolls of 2nd and 3rd century date that included Demosthenes' *Contra Boethum*, Euripides' *Hypsipyla*, Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, Pindar's *Paeans*, two copies of Plato's *Phaedrus*, Plato's *Symposium*, a commentary on Thucydides' *Historiae*, and an anonymous history of Greece.[96]

Of much later date is a basket of woven rope excavated at Edfu in 1923/24 and found to contain three sealed Arabic papyri, all letters belonging to the merchant ᶜUbayd bin Muḥammad (9th/10th century AD).[97] The archaeological context is not clear from the report.

Leather bags and covers

I have only come across a few examples of papyri stored in leather bags or covers. Passalacqua briefly refers to a small, 8 cm tall papyrus roll found during one of his excavations 'qui était contenu dans une enveloppe en peau'.[98] His report provides no indication of where and how it was found and, since the papyrus cannot be identified, its date and nature also remains unknown.

The earliest datable example is the Mallet Papyri which were found 'enveloppé dans les débris d'une gaîne en peau blachâtre'.[99] The damaged leather cover turned out to contain three documents from the reign of Ramesses IV, c. 1150 BC; a memorandum and two letters. The letters were written by an overseer of cattle named Bakenkhons and are addressed to two different individuals. Since neither of them was sealed and one includes the explicit instruction 'You are to preserve my letter in order that it may serve you as evidence at some later

95 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, "Excavations at Oxyrhynchus", in: *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archæological Report* 1905–1906, p. 10; reprinted with annotations, idem, in: *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts*, pp. 361–362.

96 P.Oxy. IV 702, VI 852, V 844, V 841, VII 1016, VII 1017, V 843, VI 853, V 842; editions may be found through *Trismegistos*.

97 Henri Henne, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1923 et 1924)*, Cairo 1925 (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 2.3), pp. 1, 2, 17, pl. XVIII.

98 Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné*, pp. 88–89, no. 1437.

99 Gaston Maspero, "Le Papyrus Mallet", in: *Recueil de travaux* 1 (1877), p. 47; Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, no. 151–152.

date', it is possible that they were read and collected afterwards like the Piankhy letters described below.

The third example is more detailed. During excavations at Abusir, Borchardt discovered four intact wooden sarcophagi buried next to each other in the sand. Inside one of them, next to the head of the mummy, lay a leather bag containing 'Schwammreste(n), etwas verrostetes Eisen, ein gedrechseltes Holzstückchen und daneben eine wenige Centimeter dicke, 18,5 cm hohe Papyrusrolle'.[100] The papyrus, which turned out to be 1.1 m long, preserves a copy of the Timotheos' *Persai* and has been dated palaeographically to the 4th century BC. It is the earliest Greek papyrus known to date.

Much later in date is the Banu Bifam archive described above (10th–11th century AD) which consisted of five bundles of documents wrapped in textiles and placed in a leather sack.

Cloth and kit-bags

A phenomenon seemingly not mentioned in literary texts, but frequently attested, is the use of cloth for wrapping papyri. This wrapping might serve both to protect important documents, whether placed inside containers or not, or simply to keep specific documents together.

The earliest example is a letter to a lady dating to the Old Kingdom (reign of Pepi I, c. 2300 BC) and found under a threshold at Elephantine in 1998.[101] The reason for the careful wrapping and hiding of the letter remains uncertain. An 18th Dynasty example is afforded by the two above-mentioned Mesja documents which were placed inside a jar after being wrapped in cloth. Dating to the final years of the New Kingdom are three papyri inscribed with letters and addressed to three individuals at Thebes whom general Piankhy (c. 1075 BC) orders to interrogate and kill two guards. The papyri had been individually wrapped and then bundled up within another piece of cloth that had been tied and sealed. Their archaeological context is unknown, but they must have been collected by one of the parties involved, perhaps in order that they may 'serve as testimony', should this prove necessary.[102] A much more recent discovery is a legal document from the reign of Darius I, dated 517/516 BC, that was found rolled up, sealed, and wrapped in cloth during excavations at Lahun.[103]

100 Ludwig Borchardt, "Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft bei Abusir im Winter 1901/2", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 14 (1902), pp. 47–48, fig. 26, pl. 5.

101 Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, "Hieratische Schriftzeugnisse", in: Günter Dreyer et al., "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 28./29./30. Grabungsbericht", in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 58 (2002), pp. 215–216; Myriam Krutzsch, "Die Restaurierung von Papyrushandschriften und Beobachtungen über die Falttechniken", in: *ibid*., p. 219.

102 Adolf Erman, *Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz in Ägypten*, Berlin 1913, p. 3; Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, no. 301–303.

103 This papyrus was kindly brought to my attention by Mustafa Faisal, inspector of the Ali Radwan Storage Museum, who showed me a photograph in 2011.

The best published illustrations of papyri wrapped in cloth can be found in the edition of the above-mentioned Theban archive of Teos and Thabis from the late 4th century BC.[104] The archive, which had undoubtedly been deposited in a jar, consisted of three packets of papyri; one bundle contained three larger papyri and two others contained four and five smaller papyri respectively. Another Theban archive, that of Totoês from Deir el-Medina, consisted of 53 papyri from the 2nd century BC deposited in two jars and also included rolls wrapped in cloth, while one of the jars from the Roman houses at Edfu contained five Demotic documents that were all individually wrapped. The 2nd century archive of Gaius Iulius Sabinus and his son from Karanis, to which nearly forty texts have been ascribed, included at least one document still wrapped in cloth at the time of its discovery,[105] and to the 3rd century dates a bundle of nine Greek papyri from an archive found wrapped up together at Tebtunis.[106]

Examples from late antiquity include the above-mentioned deeds of sale of monastic property found together in another jar at Hawara, each of which were 'neatly wrapped round with rags, small sticks being inserted to prevent the rags from injuring the brittle papyrus within', as well as the *Gospel of John* cited below, which was found in a jar at Qaw el-Kebir 'wrapped in rag, and tied with thread'.

There are also a few examples of literary texts. Ebers describes how the large medical papyrus, named in his own honour, was covered with what he describes as 'mummy linen' when he first saw it. Since it had already been unrolled and re-rolled by the American Edwin Smith, there is a chance that this protection could be modern.[107] An example from a controlled excavation is afforded by a number of hieratic literary papyri found in a brick-built container at Elephantine, where the best preserved item, a damaged roll, was still wrapped in cloth.[108] Unfortunately the text remains to be edited or at least identified. A Greek papyrus from the 1st century AD, inscribed with Alcman's *Partheneion*, was found at Saqqara around 1850, wrapped in cloth and placed between the legs of a mummy.[109]

An example of a different nature, and with a well-documented context, is a set of scribal equipment that had apparently formed part of a burial in the early

104 Depauw, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis*, p. 3, pl. 1–5.

105 W. Graham Claytor and Birgit Feucht, "(Gaii) Iulii Sabinsu and Apollinarius", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 116, ver. 2 (2013), w. fig.

106 Arthur M. F. W. Verhoogt, "Family Papers from Tebtunis: Unfolding a Bundle of Papyri", in: *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P. W. Pestman*, eds. Arthur M. F. W. Verhoogt and Sven P. Vleeming, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1998 (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 30), pp. 141–154.

107 Georg Ebers, *Papyros Ebers: Das Hermetische Buch über die Arzneimittel der alten Ägypter* I, Leipzig 1875, p. 1; Susanne Voß, "Ludwig Borchardts Recherche zur Herkunft des pEbers", in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 65 (2009), pp. 373–376.

108 Müller, in: *Forschungen und Berichte* 22 (1982), p. 45.

109 Jean Antoine Letronne, *Les papyrus grecs du Musée de Louvre et de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris 1866, pp. 416–417.

Ramesside Period within a re-used tomb of 11th Dynasty date.[110] Winlock notes that the set consisted of 'a palette, pens, two clean sheets of papyrus in a roll, and a ball of linen thread. The papyrus roll was tied to the palette, the ball of thread put in with them, and the whole then bundled up in a couple of long strips of linen rag for their protection when they were placed in the tomb.' While the equipment may have been bundled up for the purposes of being deposited in the tomb, one of the two sheets of papyri had been prepared for reuse by erasing an original account in the hieratic script, and the possibility may be considered that this bundle represents the manner in which the scribe would have transported his equipment when travelling, i.e. that the equipment was deposited as is. There is textual and pictorial evidence for scribal kit-bags consisting of simple bags or pieces of cloth (sometimes wickerwork or even leather might have been used), tied with a string at the top to hold the contents together.[111]

Rolling, tying, and stringing together

Besides – or sometimes in addition to – the use of containers, there were other ways in which smaller groups of documents might be kept directly together.

Papyri rolled up together

One well-attested method of keeping documents together was to roll them up together, one within the other. The earliest example dates to the late Middle Kingdom and consists of three census documents from Lahun that relate to the soldiers Hori and Snofru, a father and son.[112] I have not come across any certain examples from the New Kingdom. It is, for instance, not clear whether the small lots represented by the Mesja jar and the Mallet leather cover, although bundled together, were necessarily also rolled or folded up together, or whether they were simply placed side-by-side. In any case, there is no reason to doubt that papyri would also have been kept and stored together in this manner during the New Kingdom.

By contrast, examples from the Greco-Roman period are relatively numerous and include papyri with a wide geographical distribution.[113] Nearly all of them are

110 Herbert E. Winlock, "A Set of Egyptian Writing Materials", in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 9 (1914), pp. 181–182 w. fig.

111 P. M. E. Jones, "The nature of the hieroglyph 𓏞", in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75 (1989), pp. 245–246.

112 Francis Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London 1898, p. 19; cf. also Mark Collier, "Lots I and II from Lahun", in: *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, eds. David P. Silverman, William Kelly Simpson and Josef Wegner, New Haven/Philadelphia 2009, pp. 205–259.

113 I cannot provide an exhaustive list here, but examples include documents from the two undertakers' archives from Hawara (*Trismegistos*, ArchID 145 and 359) as well as the archives of Milon (Elephantine, ArchID 141), Pabachtis son of Paleuis (Edfu, ArchID 162), Totoês (Thebes, ArchID 248), and Tikas (Philadelphia). The latter archive will be published in Eugene Cruz-Uribe and Charles Nims, *The Archive of Tikas* (Demotische Studien 15), forthcoming.

from private archives, and documents rolled up together can usually be seen to be closely related in content. A case in point is provided by one of the undertakers' archives from Hawara (3rd and 2nd cent. BC). In 1954 Volten acquired six intact rolls of papyri from a dealer. Upon unrolling them, it turned out that several of them were not single documents. In three cases, pairs of legal documents had been rolled together.[114] Moreover, four small Greek tax receipts were also discovered inside the larger rolls, three of them undoubtedly within one of the two documents pertaining to the same real estate. Among nine other papyri from the same archive acquired by Edgerton, two larger documents were similarly rolled up with other documents, and a Greek tax receipt was again discovered inside a document pertaining to the real estate in question.[115]

Literary examples are much scarcer, undoubtedly because it would be impractical for manuscripts in regular use to be stored in this manner.[116] It is therefore surprising that at least two of the magical manuals from the 3rd century AD, known as the Theban Magical Papyri, seem to have been rolled up together (P.Mag.LL and P.Leid. I 384).[117] Perhaps this was only done at the time they were deposited in whatever tomb from which they are likely to derive. Also two so-called oracular amuletic decrees, now in the Kestner Museum, were found rolled up together with a third amuletic papyrus which depict seated deities.[118] The purpose is not clear as the two amulets with texts are inscribed for two different women, which seems to rule out the possibility that the bundle was intended for use by a single individual. Another possible example of amuletic papyri rolled up together was found during excavations by Passalacqua, in this case two small

114 Kim Ryholt, "Notes on the Copenhagen Hawara Papyri", in: *One Who loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow*, eds. B. Bryan, M. Smith, T. Di Cerbo, and M. Escolano Poveda, forthcoming.

115 Hughes and Jasnow, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri*, p. 5. A further example of two Greek tax receipts rolled up within a demotic contract relating to the same property was found at Tebtunis; cf. Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri* II, no. 280–281. The identification of the demotic papyrus as CG 30620 in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* II: *Die demotischen Papyrus*, Cairo 1906 and 1908 (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), p. 71 n. 2, seems to be mistaken.

116 Mark Smith, "Budge at Akhmim, January 1896)", in: *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, eds. Christopher Eyre, Anthony Leahy and Lisa Montagno Leahy, London 1994 (Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications 11), pp. 294–295, has raised the possibility that the demotic *Teaching of Chasheshonqy* and the mortuary texts of Horos son of Peteminis, both now in the British Museum, might have been found rolled up together, but this is unlikely owing to their formats and pattern of damage; see Ryholt, in: *Libraries before Alexandria*, p. 417.

117 Jacco Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues and Rites: The London-Leiden Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)*, Leiden/Boston 2005 (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 153), p. 27; cf. also Korshi Dosoo, "A History of the Theban Magical Library", in: *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 53 (2016), pp. 251–274.

118 Burkard and Fischer-Elfert, *Ägyptische Handschriften* 4, pp. 211–212.

papyri discovered *in situ* at the neck of a mummy.[119] Unfortunately the latter can no longer be identified and so their contents remain unknown.

Documents tied or strung together

In addition to bundling documents by wrapping or rolling them together, they could also simply be bound with a string. To give a few examples, nine documents belonging to a priest at Tebtunis, and concerned with the lease of land over a period of some twenty years (2nd–1st cent. BC), were found in a building in the cemetery tied up together,[120] as were four documents from the late 1st century BC found in a house at Euhemeria,[121] while five receipts of early 4th century date, belonging to the archive of Aurelius Isidoros from Karanis, were 'folded and tied up in a small bundle'.[122] In another example, of which a photograph is available, a group of seven documents from Hawara were both rolled up together and then tied with a string.[123]

Smaller documents such as letters, which would typically be folded over and sealed and thus provide a natural loop, could also be strung together. Two examples are provided by the letters from the priesthood of Thoth at Tuna el-Gebel described above. Clay tablets with incised hieratic texts are, as already mentioned, only attested at Balat Ayn Asil during the late Old Kingdom. Yet it may be worth briefly to mention that some of them had had a hole drilled through them, after the texts were written, so that they similarly could be strung together and kept as a group.[124]

Storage of ostraca

There seem to be very few reported instances of ostraca found *in situ* within any kind of containers and it is hardly possible to make any generalizations based on this meagre evidence alone. However, in view of the nature of the texts with which they would usually be inscribed and the coarse physical nature of

119 Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné*, p. 89, no. 1438.

120 Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt and J. Gilbart Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri I*, London 1902, no. 59. The demotic documents have most recently been discussed by Wolfgang Wegner, "Die privaten Geschäfte zweier Soknebtynis-Priester", in: *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies, Leuven, 26–30 August 2008*, eds. Mark Depauw and Yanne Broux, Leuven 2014 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 231), pp. 345–359, and Andreas Winkler, "Swapping Lands at Tebtunis in the Ptolemaic Period: A Reassessment of P. Cairo II 30630 and 30631", in: ibid., pp. 361–390. The statement by the latter that the papyri were extracted from cartonnage is incorrect.

121 Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt and David G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, London 1900, pp. 44 and 243, nos. ci, ccxxxii–iv.

122 *Trismegistos*, ArchID 34.

123 Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri*, Cairo 1932 (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), p. 92.

124 Laure Pantalacci, "Archivage et scribes dans l'oasis de Dakhla (Égypte) à la fin du IIIe millénaire", in: *La lettre d'archive: Communication administrative et personnelle dans l'Antiquité proche-orientale et égyptienne*, ed. eadem, Cairo 2008 (Bibliothèque générale 32), p. 147.

potsherds and limestone flakes, it seems reasonable to assume that they would not be stored in wooden chests and boxes to the same extent as papyri. Many ostraca were *ephemera*, although others would certainly have been kept at least for some period of time, such as receipts of various kinds or temporary accounts destined to be tallied or worked into a fair copy. Jars and baskets are likely to have formed the more common storage.

The earliest attestation of the storage of ostraca that has come to my attention is a small group of six hieratic ostraca discovered 'wrapped in [a] mat' on a small shelf in the rock over a hut, in the Valley of the Kings.[125] Significantly the documents were all written by the same scribe, c. 1200 BC. Nearby two 'limestone desks' were found, which indicate that the scribe used the spot as an on-site work space. The placing of documents in or upon a mat is also attested by a 12th Dynasty letter from Lahun where a steward is instructed to 'Place the papyri with the name-lists on the mat'.[126] We are here presumably dealing with mats that the scribes would bring with them to sit upon while conducting their affairs. Such mats could naturally be used anywhere, but would be particularly appropriate in dusty localities like the Valley of the Kings.

A more spectacular find, the largest documented *in situ* discovery of ostraca, was made in 1938 at Medinet Madi, ancient Narmouthis.[127] Inside the enclosure wall of the temple, a collection of some 1300 ostraca were discovered in two large jars placed side-by-side in a large, raised recess. The area as a whole contained 1500 ostraca dating to the 2nd century AD; approximately 40% in Demotic, 40% in Greek, and 20% in a combination of the two scripts, but also some examples of Hieratic and Old Coptic were found. The published texts include an archive belonging to a priest named Phatres as well as a large number of texts of astrological nature and writing exercises.

A later assemblage of Coptic ostraca (8th cent. AD?) was found in a jar in the First Court of the temple of Medinet Habu, presumably within one of the later mud-brick buildings erected there. The jar is said to have contained 'many' ostraca, but only two of them are explicitly identified.[128]

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125 Koen Donker van Heel and Ben J. J. Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina*, Leiden 2003 (Egyptologische Uitgaven 16), p. 49. This example was kindly brought to my attention by Daniel Soliman.

126 Alexander Scharff, "Briefe aus Illahun", in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 59 (1924), pp. 33 and 7*; Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, no. 93 (who translates 'sack (?) container', a misinterpretation in my view).

127 The literature is considerable; cf. conveniently Katelijn Vandorpe and Herbert Verreth, "Temple of Narmouthis: House of the ostraca", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 534, ver. 1 (2012); Ryholt, in: *Libraries before Alexandria*, pp. 442–444.

128 Walter-Ewing Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, Cairo 1902 (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), nos. 8163 and 8235. A series of other ostraca included in Crum's catalogue are similarly marked as coming from Medinet Habu and might constitute the remaining ostraca from the jar.

A different type of context, described below, is a disused oven within a house at Euhemeria which had been used for the storage of a large collection of Greek ostraca of 4th century date.

Hiding legal documents

Legal documents and other papers that had an economic value were sometimes hidden away in a safe location for their protection. In addition to accidental loss, for instance through fire, as in the case of the houses at Tanis discussed above, theft also posed a threat. An example of the latter is provided by a letter from Tebtunis dating to the 2nd century BC:

> To Polemon, epistates of Kerkeosiris, from Tapentos daughter of Horos, of the same village. An attack was made upon my dwelling by Arsinoë and her son Phatres, who went off with the contract relating to my house and other business documents.' (P.Tebt. I 52)[129]

Care in storing important documents is likely to have been a common practice, and several ways of doing so are documented in the archaeological record.

Cellars

It was not uncommon to store documents in the cellars of houses and, as in modern times, basements might be used both for the safe-keeping of important material, and for stowing away the less important. Thus, for instance, three large amphorae discovered in a cellar at Bacchias contained more than 4400 coins deposited in the 2nd century AD.[130]

Without detailed analysis of context and content, it can be difficult to determine whether documents found in cellars represent actual archives or discarded material. A well-known example is the cellar of a house at Tebtunis which the excavators dubbed 'cantina dei papiri'. The several hundred papyri discovered inside included numerous documents from the archives of Kronion son of Cheos and of Patron's descendants (both 2nd cent. AD),[131] as well as private documents belonging to other families, and it has been convincingly argued that they represent a deposit of waste paper.[132] Also the contents of the above-mentioned baskets from House 35 at Tanis are likely to represent such waste. Bagnani notes that papyri were frequently discovered in cellars at Tebtunis, and his mission also found a group of forty ostraca in the cellar below one of the

129 Grenfell, Hunt and Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri* I, no. 152.

130 Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, p. 65.

131 Ruben Smolders, "Patron's descendants", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 66, ver. 2 (2013); idem, "Kronion son of Cheos", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 125, ver. 1 (2011).

132 Claudio Gallazzi, "La 'Cantina dei Papiri' di Tebtynis e ciè che essa conteneva", in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 80 (1990), pp. 283–288.

deipneteria, but few details were ever published.[133] Grenfell and Hunt similarly mention papyri found in cellars at Tebtunis as well as Soknopaiou Nesos.[134] The most spectacular discovery, from an Egyptological perspective, remains the Tebtunis temple library (1st–2nd cent. AD) which had been deposited in two cellars below a building set against the inside of the temple's enclosure wall.[135]

In some cases the discoveries are better documented. An example is the above-mentioned archive of Milon which was found in a cellar at Elephantine (3rd cent. BC). Of much later date is a *zir* jar found in a cellar at Edfu which contained three documents, a papyrus inscribed in Greek and two wooden tablets inscribed in Coptic (7th cent. AD),[136] and the archive of a family of moneylenders (7th/8th cent. AD) found in a cellar of a Coptic house at Medinet Habu.[137]

Ad hoc storage ovens, bins, and threshold

Not all houses had cellars; the frequency varies greatly from town to town, and there were other ways in which documents might be safeguarded or stored out of sight within private houses. Sometimes *ad hoc* solutions were adopted.

In 1988 a group of seven papyrus rolls were found hidden away in a defunct oven in the corner of a room in a house at Elephantine.[138] Three of the rolls are blank, while the other four preserve documents that are apparently all dated to the reign of Nectanebo II. Additional papyri were found in two other rooms of the house, but it is not clear from the preliminary report whether they are related to those found in the oven.[139] The discovery is not unique; already in 1898/99 Grenfell and Hunt had discovered a group of more than seventy Greek ostraca (early 4th cent. AD), all receipts for grain brought to a granary, in a disused oven within a house at Euhemeria in the Fayum.[140]

In three other cases papyri have been discovered within storage bins. One group from Euhemeria consists of 'four rolls tied up together, dating from the

133 D. J. Ian Begg, "'It was Wonderful, Our Return in the Darkness with... the Baskets of Papyri!' - Papyrus Finds at Tebtunis from the Bagnani Archives, 1931–1936", in: *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 35 (1998), pp. 188 and 203.

134 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, "A large find of Ptolemaic papyri", in: *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 1 (1901), p. 377; idem, "Excavations in the Fayûm", in: *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archæological Report 1900–1901*, London, p. 5.

135 Kim Ryholt, in: *Libraries before Alexandria*, pp. 393–398.

136 Bernard Bruyère, Jerzy Manteuffel, Kazimierz Michałowski and Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, *Tell Edfou 1937*, Cairo 1937, pp. 123 no. 175, 176–178, 193–201, pl. XLII, XLIV, plan IV.

137 Terry G. Wilfong, "The Archive of a Family of Moneylenders from Jême", in: *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 27 (1990), pp. 169–181; Trismegistos, ArchID 144.

138 Achim Krekeler in Werner Kaiser et al., "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 17./18. Grabungsbericht", in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 46 (1990), pp. 218–220, pl. 48b; Adel Farid, "Ein demotisches Familienarchiv aus Elephantine", in: loc. cit., pp. 251–261, pl. 54. The latter should be used with some caution since several of the papyri are listed more than once and are assigned incorrect inventory numbers.

139 One of these finds consisted of three Aramaic papyri (17232E, Room P2), while two others each consisted of one Demotic papyrus (17233A, Room P2, and 17220/P8, Room P16).

140 Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, pp. 43–44, 331.

early part of Augustus' reign' (late 1st cent. BC),[141] and another of 'about twenty-five documents of the time of Tiberius and Claudius' (mid 1st cent. AD).[142] Neither group has been fully published. A third instance is provided by the long account papyrus from Karanis mentioned above, which had been placed inside an amphora before it was deposited in the bin.

More surprising are two examples, separated by nearly 2500 years, of papyri hidden away under thresholds. The first, a letter from Elephantine dating to the reign of Pepi I, has already been mentioned. The other was found during the excavation of House 5026 at Karanis, where a number of papyri (early 2nd cent. AD) were 'found stored away in a cavity cut in the outer wooden threshold of the doorway leading into that house'.[143] These papyri have only been partially published.

Burying documents in jars

Another method of protecting documents, which required more effort and care, was that of burial underground. This provided greater security against hazards such as theft and fire. The same practice is attested in relation to valuables; thus, for instance, several hoards of coins, deposited in jars or cloth bags and hidden away in holes dug in the mud floors of private houses, were discovered at Karanis.[144] There are also examples where documents were buried outside the homes of the owners. Virtually all the documents found in this type of context had a significant economic value; everyday papers such as letters are conspicuously absent and were presumably not considered worth the effort.

Buried documents would be placed inside sealed jars for their physical protection; this would shield them against humidity as well as rodents and insects. The above-mentioned Mesja documents from the 18th Dynasty might represent the earliest attestation of this practice, but the archaeological context is not clearly stated. In a number of examples from the Ptolemaic period, jars were buried in cemeteries. In several cases it seems likely that the tombs were connected to the owners of the archives through their professional capacity. A jar buried in a jar inside a re-used tomb of the Old Kingdom near Sharuna contained an archive of seven documents pertaining to the above-mentioned undertaker Harendotes and his sons (2nd–1st cent. BC). The more substantial archives of the *choachytes* Osoroeris son of Horos and Panas son of Pechytes (both 2nd cent. BC, including some 70 and 20 papyri respectively) are also said to have been

141 Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, pp. 44, 243–247, 303–304.
142 Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, pp. 43, 138–139, 170.
143 Peterson, *The Architecture and Topography of Karanis*, pp. 100, 865; Elinor M. Husselman, *Karanis Excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt* 1928–1935, Ann Arbor 1979 (Kelsey Museum of Archaeology Studies 5), p. 15, pl. 4a; W. Graham Claytor, "The threshold papyri of Karanis", *Trismegistos*, ArchID 251, ver. 1 (2013); idem, "The Threshold Papyri from Karanis", in: *Karanis Revealed: Discovering the Past and Present of a Michigan Excavation in Egypt*, ed. Terry G. Wilfong, Ann Arbor 2014 (Kelsey Museum Publication 7), pp. 161–164.
144 Peterson, *The Architecture and Topography of Karanis*, p. 315.

found in jars, somewhere in the cemetery of Dra Abu el-Naga in Western Thebes where the men worked, but details of their discovery are uncertain. A further jar containing just two legal documents, both dated to 202 BC and pertaining to a pair of brothers, was buried at the entrance to a grave of the Ptolemaic Period at the cemetery of Birabi in Western Thebes, perhaps by the same individual who buried a hoard of coins of the same date close by; neither of these brothers has an obvious professional connection to the cemetery.[145]

When the archaeological context is not sufficiently documented, it can sometimes be difficult or impossible to discern whether or not a find spot is domestic in nature. In two cases it emerges that archives from cemeteries were actually found inside houses that had been erected within the cemeteries. One is the archive of Psenminis and Tamounis (4th–3rd cent. BC) from Dra Abu el-Naga where the two jars were found in a house that had been built against the pylon of an ancient tomb.[146] The other is that of Teos son of Horos (2nd cent. BC) from Tuna el-Gebel where the two jars had been buried under the floor of a house. In both cases the main individuals involved actually worked in the same cemeteries and hence it likely that the houses represent their homes.

Coptic religious texts

The largest and most spectacular finds of Coptic religious texts were not made during controlled excavations, but extensive investigations have shed much light on the circumstances of the discoveries and the dispersal of the manuscripts. According to the findings, the Nag Hammadi texts (4th cent. AD)[147] and the Dishna texts (4th/5th cent. AD)[148] were found in 1945 and 1952, respectively, in large jars that were broken up on the spot. The Nag Hammadi jar contained 14 leather bound papyrus codices, while the Dishna jar contained at least 32 manuscripts, including both papyrus rolls, papyrus codices, and parchment codices, and with texts in Greek, Coptic, and Latin. The Mani texts (5th cent. AD) were discovered in the late 1920s, possibly at Medinet Madi, and consisted of seven papyrus codices found in a wooden box that was deemed too decayed to be worth saving.[149]

More obscure are the details surrounding a group of at least five parchment codices (6th cent. AD) said to have been found in a jar together with some coins, allegedly 'in the neighbourhood of the Gizeh pyramids'.[150] Internal evidence in one of the manuscripts suggest that they are actually from the Monastery of St. Jeremias at Saqqara some 15 km to the south.

145 Carnarvon and Carter, *Five years' Explorations*, pp. 8, 43, 46–47 and pl. 35–37.1.
146 el-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes*, pp. ix–x, II, pp. 10, 13, 21; *Trismegistos*, ArchID 203.
147 James M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Story: From the Discovery to the Publication*, 2 vols, Leiden 2014 (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 86).
148 James M. Robinson, *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery's Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin*, Cambridge 2013.
149 James M. Robinson, *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi*, Eugene 2013.
150 Herbert Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect*, Cambridge 1932, p. ix.

Without details on the archaeological contexts of these discoveries, important evidence of why the manuscripts were buried might have been irretrievably lost. Certain historical events may offer potential explanations. Thus, for instance, the Nag Hammadi manuscripts might have been buried after the Archbishop Athanasius condemned non-canonical books in his Easter letter of 367 AD,[151] and Manichaeism had already been proscribed by Emperor Diocletian in 297 AD.[152] A recent analysis of the Nag Hammadi codices offers a different interpretation, according to which they might rather have been deposited as grave goods in connection with private burials.[153]

In contrast to the preceding, a papyrus codex (4th cent. AD), inscribed with the *Gospel of John*, and a magical papyri (6th/7th cent. AD) both came to light during controlled excavations. The former was discovered in a cemetery at Qaw el-Kebir, wrapped in cloth and buried in a jar half a meter under floor level.[154] There were some remains of an early church nearby, and Petrie argued the manuscript might have been used in the church and was 'buried reverently' after it became too defective for further use. The magical papyrus was found in the cemetery of Dra Abu el-Naga in Western Thebes, 'buried in the floor of a monk's dwelling'.[155]

Greek magical texts in jars

While a number of mostly legal and religious texts were buried in jars with the apparent intention of hiding them, a small and homogeneous group of magical texts were likely buried with a different aim in mind. Three jars have been found to contain love charms alongside clay figurines. The earliest, now in the Louvre (2nd/3rd cent. AD), contained a lead tablet and the figurine of a woman pierced with 13 metal nails in her brain, eyes, breasts, etc.[156] The two others, now in Munich (4th cent. AD)[157] and Cologne (5th cent. AD),[158] each contained a papyrus and two clay figurines in an embrace. The Cologne papyrus had been wrapped in another papyrus previously inscribed with a text that had been washed out. A fourth

151 James M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, San Francisco 19903, pp. 19–20.

152 Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)", in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 (1970), p. 102.

153 Nicola Denzey Lewis and Justine Ariel Blount, "Rethinking the Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices", in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* 133 (2014), pp. 397–417.

154 Herbert Thompson, *The Gospel of St. John according to the earliest Coptic manuscript*, London 1924 (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 36), here pp. ix-x; Guy Brunton, *Qau and Badari* III, London 1930 (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 50), p. 26, pl. XLII.33.

155 Angelicus M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* I, Bruxelles 1931, pp. 50–54, pl. III–IV.

156 Pierre du Bourguet, "Ensemble magique de la période romaine en Egypte", in: *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 25 (1975), pp. 255–256, w. figs.; Sophie Kambitsis, "Une nouvelle tablette magique d'Égypte", in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 76 (1976), pp. 213–223, pl. XXX–XXXI.

157 William M. Brashear, "Ein neues Zauberensemble in München", in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 19 (1992), pp. 79–109, pl. 9–12.

158 Dierk Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte", in: *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968), pp. 57–84, fig. 1–6.

jar, also in Cologne ($3^{rd}/4^{th}$ cent. AD), contained two lead tablets inside; both the jar and the tablets were inscribed with love magic, all in the same hand.[159] The jar was broken when it was acquired, and it is not clear whether it too had once held a clay or wax figurine. The four jars were acquired on the antiquities market and their provenance is uncertain; the two Cologne jars are said to have been found north of Assiut and at Oxyrhynchus, respectively, and the Louvre jar is possibly from Antinoupolis. Excavations at Hawara have brought to light two further instances of love charms deposited with figurines, but no details of the archaeological contexts were published and it is unknown whether they were associated with jars.[160]

Although the finds here cited all lack a recorded archaeological context, the invocation of chthonic beings and demons in the texts suggests that they were deposited in cemeteries. What more appropriate place than there, where the spirits roamed, to ensure their efficacy. In principle such magical texts could be left anywhere in a cemetery, just like letters to the dead; any crevice or crack might do. However, texts placed within jars are naturally more likely to have been buried. The primary function of the jars was presumably to protect the figurines in which case the act of their burial was incidental to the nature of the texts themselves.

Accidental storage?

Containers found to contain documents may in some cases not represent intentional storage, as in the case of the three above-mentioned groups of letters discovered in jars of the type used for the burial of the sacred ibises in the subterranean galleries at Tuna el-Gebel. A more curious example from the Late Period consists of eight small papyri, rolled up together and tied with a string, and found inside one of some 200 ‘large, round-bellied jars’ buried in a quarry by the temple of Deir el-Bahri in 1927/28.[161] Winlock reports that ‘each jar was found to be filled with bundles of natron or of sawdust, with soiled rags, with broken cups which had contained oil, and frequently, with the sweepings of the floors of the embalmer’s shops’, and he concluded that the discovery represented an embalmer’s cache. Concerning the eight papyri, he continues: ‘The most puzzling find from these jars must surely have been swept into one of them entirely by accident. It could have had nothing to do with an undertaker’s profession as far as we can see. In the floor sweepings in one pot there was a little roll of papyrus wound loosely with thread and when we came to unroll it we found that it was made up of eight cards of papyrus each from four to five centimetres square (about

159 Wortmann, in: *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968), pp. 85–102, fig. 7–11.

160 Campbell C. Edgar, “A Love Charm from the Fayoum”, in: *Bulletin de la Société royale d’archéologie d’Alexandrie* 21 (1925), pp. 42–47; Arthur S. Hunt, “An Incantation in the Ashmolean Museum”, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15 (1929), pp. 155–157, pl. XXXI.1.

161 Herbert E. Winlock, “The Egyptian Expedition 1927–1928”, in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23 (1928), pp. 26, fig. 30, 33.

two inches). On four were drawn water lilies and on four lily pads. They look like parts of a game, but their meaning is to us as yet an unsolved puzzle'. Although the specific imagery is apparently not otherwise attested, I wonder if these papyri are not in fact amuletic in nature and intended for mummies. More specifically, the small stack with two series of identical drawings might have been part of a larger group, prepared beforehand, that were left over and discarded once the burial project represented by the embalmer's cache was concluded. In this case their presence in the jar in question is entirely incidental (but not accidental), since they would have been deliberately thrown out with all the other materials that had been used during the mummification.

Concluding remarks

Having reached the end of this survey of the physical evidence for the storage of documents in ancient Egypt, I am painfully aware of the scarcity of the material I have come across or been able to find though the most obvious instruments available. Spanning a period of some four millennia, the number of examples here presented make up an average of less than two per century, and the material is by no means evenly distributed in time and space with the bulk pertaining to the Greco-Roman period. It is also difficult to avoid a sense of regret that so many important discoveries are so poorly documented. Even for material found in controlled excavations, basic information such as *in situ* illustrations and detailed descriptions of the objects and their archaeological contexts are rarely provided. One may take confidence in the fact that the standard of excavation and documentation has improved significantly over the years. The considerable potential in exploring unpublished records relating to older finds has also become evident in relation to some of the material here presented, and there is undoubtedly much more valuable information to be gleaned.

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The Egyptian Tomb as an Epistemic Site

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Introduction

"Collect and preserve" – in the context of ancient Egyptian culture, the title of the present volume primarily evokes associations with institutions that resemble modern libraries: the House of Scroll (Per-Medjat), the House of Writing (Per-Sekhau), and also the House of Life / The Living One (Per-Ankh),[1] which is probably best imagined along the lines of an academy. These were places where textual artefacts were collected, stored and prepared for the transfer to posterity: texts were rewritten and copied; texts were altered; judgements were made as to which texts were worthy of being passed on and which ones were to be excluded from further transmission, and new texts were added to the existing manuscript collections. All these decisions were taken by learned men – e.g. priests, physicians, astronomers – who had received thorough philological training:[2] according to the *Book of the Temple*,[3] for example, the curriculum for the children of high priests

1 For an overview on ancient Egyptian libraries, see Vilmos Wessetzky, "Gedanken über die Bearbeitung der altägyptischen Bibliothek", in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 25 (1977), pp. 89–93; Günter Burkard, "Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten", in: *Bibliothek. Forschung und Praxis* 4 (1980), pp. 79–115; Katharina Zinn, "Libraries and Archives: the Organization of Collective Wisdom in Ancient Egypt", in: *Current Research in Egyptology 2006: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium which took place at the University of Oxford April 2006*, ed. Maria Cannata, Oxford 2007, pp. 169–176; Katharina Zinn, "Tempelbibliotheken im Alten Ägypten", in: *Spätantike Bibliotheken: Leben und Lesen in den frühen Klöstern Ägyptens*, eds. H. Froschauer and Cornelia Römer, Wien 2008 (Nilus. Studien zur Kultur Ägyptens und des Vorderen Orients 14), pp. 81–91; Katharina Zinn, "Temples, Palaces and Libraries. A Search for an Alliance between Archaeological and Textual Evidence", in: *Palace and Temple. Architecture - Decoration – Ritual. 5. Symposium zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie / 5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology, Cambridge, July, 16th–17th, 2007,* eds. Rolf Gundlach and Kate Spence, Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 181–202; Elke Blumenthal, "Privater Buchbesitz im pharaonischen Ägypten", in: *Bibliotheken im Altertum*, eds. E. Blumenthal and W. Schmitz, Wiesbaden 2011 (Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens 45), pp. 51–85. Kim Ryholt, "Libraries in ancient Egypt", in: *Ancient Libraries*, eds. J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, G. Wolf, Cambridge 2013, 23–37; idem, "Libraries from Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt ", in: *Libraries before Alexandria: Ancient Near Eastern Traditions*, eds. Kim Ryholt and Gojko Baramovic, Oxford 2019, pp. 390–472. For additional information on the House of Life / The Living One, see below.

2 For the "first philologies", see Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Jochem Kahl, *Erste Philologien. Archäologie einer Disziplin vom Tigris bis zum Nil*, Tübingen 2018.

3 Preserved in copies from the Roman Period, the Egyptian *Book of the Temple* must have been written prior to 237 BCE, and possibly even as early as the 2nd millennium BCE. It contains

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made provision for the interpretation and annotation of texts; the *Book of Thoth*[4] points out that the training of would-be scholars in the House of Life / The Living One took no less than twenty years.

This type of knowledge transfer via library-like institutions was clearly the most important means of textual transmission in ancient Egypt. It was in the best interests of kings and elites to collect, safeguard and pass on epistemic knowledge – to link past, present and future, as it were – in order to create textual corpora capable of buttressing their privileged social and political position.[5] These epistemic texts treated a rich variety of topics, which encompassed practically the whole spectrum of Egyptian culture: theology and religion, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, law, geography, flora and fauna, writing systems and language. For the most part, they were written down on papyrus, but pieces of leather, wooden tablets or ostraca (shards of limestone or fragmented pottery) could also serve as carriers of texts in this system of epistemic transfer.

As far as can be reconstructed today, well-trained scribes and scholars belonged to the political and social elite: their philological abilities set them apart from the rest of the population. Given that only a very small percentage[6]

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rules and regulations governing the day-to-day operation of Egyptian temples. Essential elements of an education in the temple included reading and writing, but also music and comportment. The children of high priests received schooling that was evidently tailored to the requirements of the temple. See Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Die Dienstanweisung des Oberlehrers im Buch vom Tempel", in: *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung Würzburg, 23.–26. September 1999*, eds. Horst Beinlich, Jochen Hallof, Holger Hussy and Christiane von Pfeil, Wiesbaden 2002 (Ägypten und Altes Testament 33,3), pp. 159–171. See also Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Das Buch vom Tempel und verwandte Texte. Ein Vorbericht", in: *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 1 (2000), pp. 1–20; Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Die Überlieferungsstruktur des Buches vom Tempel", in: *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposions vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, eds. S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 105–115; Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Translating the Realities of Cult: The Case of the Book of the Temple", in: *Greco-Egyptian Interactions. Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BCE–300 CE*, ed. I. Rutherford, New York 2016, pp. 267–286.

4 The Egyptian *Book of Thoth*, dating from the Ptolemaic Period but with a history possibly reaching back as far as the 2nd millennium BCE, states that the duration of an education at the House of Life / The Living One was twenty years (Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *Conversations in the House of Life. A New Translation of the Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, Wiesbaden 2014, pp. 150–151 (537). This text, which has been interpreted as an initiation into the profession of scribe, deploys metaphorical language to describe the ascetic lifestyle of would-be scholars in the House of Life / The Living One. Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth. A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, Wiesbaden 2005; Jasnow and Zauzich, *Conversations in the House of Life*.

5 See Cancik-Kirschbaum and Kahl, *Erste Philologien*.

6 Baines and Eyre (John Baines and Christopher Eyre, "Four notes on literacy", in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 61 (1983), pp. 65–96; John Baines and Christopher Eyre, "Four notes on literacy", in: John Baines, *Visual & Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2007, pp. 63–94) estimate that a mere 1 % of the population could read and write during the Old Kingdom (3rd millennium BCE); Lutz Popko, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung der Ahmosiden- und Thut-*

of the general populace was literate, men of letters formed an exclusive circle of specialists. Parts of their knowledge were passed on in secret, and access to many fields of study was restricted[7] – some writings were not intended for public dissemination,[8] while others were even thought to possess dangerous powers.[9]

In ancient Egypt, tombs played a special role in textual transmission: members of the elite built splendid final resting places, the walls of which were frequently adorned with both images and texts. A strong belief in the afterlife was at the heart of this characteristically Egyptian practice.

Throughout Egypt's dynastic history (from approximately 3000 BCE to the end of Dynasty 30 in 343 BCE), but also as early as in the Predynastic Period (e.g. Hieraconpolis Tomb 100), and even during the second Persian, the Ptolemaic and ultimately the Roman rule over Egypt (343 BCE to the 4th century CE), the building of a tomb was a central part of the preparation for a continued existence after death.

Although the architecture of the tombs varied according to period and region, some basic principles of layout and construction can nonetheless be discerned: stone or unburnt mudbricks served as building materials; depending on the terrain, tombs were hewn horizontally into the rock face of a mountain,[10] carved vertically from the bedrock or erected in the form of free-standing mastabas.[11] Whereas the most basic tombs were never more than a shallow pit in the ground in which the body was placed, more complex arrangements consisted of a – sometimes monumental – superstructure and a corresponding system of underground rooms with a varying number of burial shafts and chambers.

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mosidenzeit: „… damit man von seinen Taten noch in Millionen von Jahren sprechen wird.", Würzburg 2006 (Wahrnehmungen und Spuren Altägyptens. Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 2), pp. 77–81 argues in favour of a higher, albeit indeterminable, percentage.

7 John Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions", in: *Journal of the American Research Center of Egypt* 27 (1990), pp. 1–24.

8 E.g. Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts* or New Kingdom *Amduat* and *Book of the Gates*.

9 Papyrus Salt 825 (Philippe Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825 – rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*, Brüssel 1965 [Mémoires de la Académie Royale de Belgique – Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques 58,1a–b]); François-René Herbin, "Les premières pages du Papyrus Salt 825", in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 88 (1988), pp. 95–112; cf. also the literary treatment of such a textual artefact in the first story of Setne Khamwas (Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings* 3: *The Late Period*, Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London 1980, pp. 127–138; Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, Berlin 2007 (Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4), p. 140).

10 Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt. Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans*, London 2008, pp. 31–54; on rock tombs, see Peter Jánosi, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie. Die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches. Band I: Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber*, Wien 2005 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band XXX), p. 297 (includes a list of further reading).

11 This term derives from the Arab word for "bench" and refers to the bench-like shape of some of the tombs.

The tombs' primary function was to guarantee that the deceased lived on in the next world. According to ancient Egyptian beliefs, human beings first experienced life in this world and an initial death before embarking on a dangerous voyage to the second life beyond, which had to be accompanied by the appropriate *rites de passage*. If the deceased had led a life of moral and ethical rectitude in full accordance with the principle of *Maat*,[12] they could rest assured of a safe passage, could hope for a place in the community of the gods, and ultimately partake of eternal life. If, however, they were guilty of misconduct in their earthly existence, or lacked the necessary knowledge, they had to fear a second, and this time final, death. Even the afterlife itself – to be found either in the sky, in the west, or in the netherworld, depending on period and theological concept – was filled with dangerous creatures.[13]

The tombs were designed to help the deceased attain life after death: their architecture, the coffins or sarcophagi and the bandages wrapped around the mummies[14] were all intended to protect the bodies. Endowed with permanent powers via the act of writing,[15] the texts and images on the tombs' walls, on one or several wooden coffins and possibly on a stone sarcophagus, as well as on stelae and papyri, served the function of assisting the tomb owners both during and after the perilous passage to the afterlife. Texts known as offering formulae and offering lists (attested since the early 3rd millennium BCE) along with specific types of imagery were intended to ensure a steady flow of provisions and supplies; various religious formulae offered protection, while texts referring to the afterlife had the function of making sure that the deceased were accepted into the community of the gods (attested especially since the 24th century BCE); names and titles (since 3000 BCE), and in some cases an autobiography or a historiographical text (again since the 3rd millennium BCE) were meant to preserve the memory of the tomb owners – it was essential to be remembered by posterity so as to remain included in the religious cult.

This explains the remarkable openness of Egyptian tombs. At first glance, they seem to have been sealed off after the burial; coffins and/or sarcophagi were often deposited several metres deep in the shafts of subterranean burial chambers; the depth of the shafts, the narrowness of the chambers, the darkness – none of these properties is particularly inviting. Yet the existing textual evidence and other archaeological sources suggest that the tombs were accessible to visitors, at least to a certain point: on feast days in particular, certain parts were opened to what

12 On the concept of *Maat*, see Jan Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*, München 1990.

13 Cf. Erik Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen*, Berlin 1968; John Taylor, "Avoiding Disaster", in: idem, *Journey through the afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London 2010, pp. 184–203.

14 Cf. Erik Hornung, "Vom Sinn der Mumifizierung", in: *Die Welt des Orients* 14 (1983), pp. 167–175; Harco Willems, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, Leiden 1983.

15 On the act of writing, see Jan Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*, München 2001, p. 322.

must have been a selected circle of guests, who were allowed to enter the hall-like rooms to the front[16] where they had the opportunity to contemplate the texts and images on the walls. In many cases, one of the texts was an "appeal to the living"[17], a "formula of protection"[18] or a "warning to visitors"[19], explicitly cautioning them to behave appropriately while in the tomb, not to damage anything, to perform an offering for its owner, to recite an offering prayer,[20] and so on.

The tomb of Djefai-Hapi I at Asyut (Pl. I), dating from around 1900 BCE, is a particularly impressive example of a monumental burial structure with several interior spaces (Pl. II). On certain occasions, visitors were evidently admitted to three of the tomb's rooms: a long causeway leads to a First Hall with a floor space of approximately 16 m x 12.5 m and a height of approximately 11 m; this hall opens into a First Passage which was 14 m long, 8.5 m wide and approximately 11 m high. Whereas the First Hall's decorated walls have been destroyed, the walls of the First Passage are covered with the texts of a mortuary liturgy and inscriptions making reference to the tomb's owner and his family. From the First Passage, an imposing entranceway that was once secured with a heavy wooden door gives access to the Great Transverse Hall with a height of approximately 6 m and a floor space of 21 m x 10.5 m. Its walls and the ceiling are entirely decorated with paintings and inscriptions. An inscription on the southern half of the hall's eastern wall is of particular interest in our context (Pl. III): it contains over a hundred epithets glorifying the owner's character and lifestyle in the form of an idealised biography. Also included is an "appeal to the living", which supports the hypothesis that this part of the tomb was in fact accessible to visitors. Among other things, it contains the following words of warning and encouragement:

> As to any man, any scribe, any scholar, any citizen and any inferior
> who will disturb the peace of this tomb, who will destroy its inscriptions, who will damage its statues:
> They shall fall prey to the wrath of (the god) Thoth, the most effective among the gods.

16 Concerning the New Kingdom, see for example Siegfried Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale. Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*, Wiesbaden 1952 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Nr. 11); Alfred Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*, Glückstadt 1940 (Ägyptologische Forschungen 11) und Friederike Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole*, Mainz 1996 (Theben 13).

17 Miriam Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, Freiburg, Schweiz / Göttingen 1992 (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 120), pp. 155–201.

18 Cf. Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "Das futurische Verbaladjektiv im Spätmittelägyptischen", in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 21 (1994), pp. 107–129.

19 Cf. Katarina Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings. Conceptual Background and Transmission*, Uppsala 1996 (Boreas 26); Scott Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt. A Study of the History, Structure and Use of Threats and Curses in Ancient Egypt*, Baltimore 1991.

20 Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: a study and an anthology*, Freiburg, Schweiz 1988 (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 84), p. 6.

They (are for) the slaughter of the Serau and the Hemu-bit,[21] who are in the courts of justice.
Nor shall their gods accept their white bread.
But as to any man, any scribe, any scholar, any citizen and any inferior who will enter this tomb, who will look at what is in it,
who will protect its inscriptions, who will respect its statues,
who will say an offering prayer (consisting of) a thousand of bread, beer, bulls, fowl,
(of) a thousand of "alabaster" vessels and clothing, (of) a thousand offerings and items of food,
(of) a thousand of all good and pure things for the Ka[22] of the master of this tomb,
the Hatia[23] Djefai-Hapi:
He[24] shall (live to) become an elder in his city and a revered one in his nome.
For I was an efficient dignitary, a lord of character, one who commanded millions with his words…
(Siut I, 223–228 [author's translation])

The Great Transverse Hall was a truly stunning "reception room" for visitors: colourful paintings depicted the deceased being provided with cattle, fowl, fish, wine and other victuals (Pl. IV); a monumental inscription documented ten contracts which ensured that the cult of the deceased would be properly carried out by the local priesthood and necropolis staff (Pl. V); the ceiling was painted with a variety of patterns, some of them showing an Aegean influence (Pl. VI).[25] On the occasions when the priests in charge granted access to this magnificent hall, visitors would enter a part of the tomb that lay more than 30 metres deep inside the mountain.

"Collect": The Egyptian Tomb as a Collection of Texts

The fact that ancient Egyptian tombs had to fulfil all the above-mentioned functions in order to vouchsafe a place in the afterlife for the deceased had a notable side effect: an abundance of texts adorned their walls, or were introduced in the form of textual artefacts serving as burial objects. In some cases, the

21 Apparently demonic and sinister beings.
22 According to ancient Egyptian beliefs, one of several components of human beings that remained active even in the afterlife.
23 A title indicating high rank which here and elsewhere refers to a nomarch, i.e. to a regional governor.
24 i.e. "any man, any scribe, any scholar, any citizen and any inferior who will enter this tomb, who will look at what is in it, who will protect its inscriptions, who will respect its statues, who will say an offering prayer…".
25 Jochem Kahl, *Ornamente in Bewegung. Die Deckendekoration der Großen Querhalle im Grab von Djefai-Hapi I. in Assiut*, Wiesbaden 2016 (The Asyut Project 6), pp. 13–33.

decorated wall area reached a size of 1000 m² or more, turning the tombs into an enormous collection of writings and imagery. Various texts that were thought necessary to ensure eternal life for the owner were gathered and displayed within them: first and foremost, this textual corpus included funerary texts intended to provide the necessary knowledge to negotiate the perilous crossing into the afterlife. Texts of this type are known as *Pyramid Texts*, *Coffin Texts*, *The Book of the Dead*, *The Amduat*, *The Book of the Gates*, etc. in modern scholarly discourse.[26] They were written down on papyri and coffins, but also on the walls of the tombs themselves. In addition to these texts that formed part of the learned tradition, the tombs also contained ritual texts, offering lists,[27] texts of a biographical or historiographical nature,[28] and occasionally miscellaneous other pieces of writing (e.g. contracts[29]) relating to the deceased.

The tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33) is one of the most striking examples of such a collection of texts.[30] Padiamenope was a lector priest and scholar who lived around 670/660 BCE, in the period of transition between Dynasty 25 and 26. His tomb in Western Thebes is one of the largest non-royal burial sites in all of Egypt – with its 22 subterranean rooms, this complex is characterised by a labyrinthine layout which draws heavily on Egyptian notions of the netherworld. A particularly noteworthy detail is the fact that the walls of some of the rooms contain numerous texts from the Egyptian Netherworld Books, namely variants of the books commonly known as *The Book of the Gates*, *The Amduat*, *The Litany of Ra*, *The Book of the Night*, *The Book of the Earth* and *The Book of Nut*.[31] These variants exhibit a large number of textual alterations,[32] and contain evidence of detailed philological editing which was probably carried out by Padiamenope himself. The diversity of the texts, their purposeful selection and thorough editorial treatment led the French Egyptologist Claude Traunecker to refer to Padiamenope's tomb

26 Cf. Erik Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher: ein einführender Überblick*, Darmstadt 1997.

27 Cf. Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, Berlin 1963 (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 3).

28 Cf. Nicole Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Altes Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung*, Hamburg 2002 (Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte 8); Elizabeth Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, Atlanta 2007 (Writings from the Ancient World 26); Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden 1985 (Ägypten und Altes Testament 8).

29 Consider, for example, the ten contracts in the tomb of Djefai-Hapi I at Asyut (Jochem Kahl, "Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates im Alten Ägypten: Die Vergöttlichung der Gaufürsten von Assiut", in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012), pp. 163–188).

30 Claude Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamenope (TT 33). Tomb, Place of Pilgrimage, and Library. Current research", in: *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, eds. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014, pp. 205–234, http://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/tt33/ (05.04.2017).

31 Rooms XII–XVI.

32 Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamenope (TT 33)", p. 221; Isabelle Régen, "The Amduat and the Book of the Gates in the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33): A Work in Progress", in: *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, eds. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014, pp. 307–322.

with the succinct term "lapidary library". In addition, in one room even the ceiling pattern is a "copy" of the one found in the Great Transverse Hall of the tomb of Djefai-Hapi I at Asyut.[33]

"Preserve": The Egyptian Tomb as a Site of Preservation

As the example of Padiamenope and some other similar cases make clear, the tomb owners not only conceived of their tombs as a collection of texts that ensured them a place in the afterlife, but also as sites of textual conservation and transfer. The primary function of these collections was not to provide a service for the wider public, but they nevertheless fulfilled a significant social purpose: they preserved what was felt to belong to the collective memory of the culture, community or social and occupational class in question.[34] It was because of this that they also contained ancient texts that were (re)written time and again.

And indeed, the vast majority of extant texts from ancient Egypt are preserved in tombs. Houses of Scroll and Houses of Life / The Living One, on the other hand, were for the most part obliterated by modern building activities, were buried underneath the alluvial deposits of the Nile or had their mudbrick walls torn down and used as fertilizer.

The Egyptian Tomb as a Site of Recovery of Ancient Texts

Given the rich variety of texts Egyptian tombs contained, and given that the specific knowledge these texts imparted was highly relevant both for the afterlife and a better understanding of the past, it is perhaps no surprise that a custom emerged of visiting old tombs and studying the texts they housed – a custom that existed both in the realm of literary fiction and in actual practice. Visitors included family members involved in the cult of the deceased, *wab*-priests, lector priests, embalmer priests and other members of the temple who happened to come by on feast days, but also learned men,[35] employees of the House of Life / The Living One and artists or potential tomb owners in search of inspiration for future monuments.[36]

Tomb N13.1 at Asyut and Tomb TT 60 at Thebes (both dating from around 2000 BCE) are particularly impressive examples of ancient tombs that were still visited centuries after they had initially been commissioned. Visitors left their own texts on the walls of these tombs 450 to 800 years after their construction:

33 Kahl, *Ornamente in Bewegung*, pp. 34–38.

34 Cf. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992.

35 Chloé Ragazzoli, "The social creation of a scribal place: The visitors' inscriptions in the tomb attributed to Antefiqer (TT 60) (With newly recorded graffiti)", in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 42 (2013), pp. 269–323.

36 Jan Assmann, "Sepulkrale Selbstthematisierung im Alten Ägypten", in: *Selbstthematisierung und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis*, eds. Alois Hahn and Volker Kapp, Frankfurt 1987, p. 213.

these included "visitors' formulae"[37] following the seemingly trivial pattern of "The scribe NN came",[38] the "stroll formula" (indicative more of a visit out of curiosity than of a pious pilgrimage),[39] piety-oriented texts or offering formulae, and even (as in the case of Tomb N13.1) passages from classical texts used for educational purposes in places of learning,[40] comparable in status and function to quotes from the works of Goethe or Shakespeare in modern-day Germany or Britain. Evidence from both tombs leaves no doubt that the authors of these dipinti were united by a common scribal identity, and felt that they belonged to the same community:[41] the placement of the dipinti, added in ink long after the tomb was initially decorated, shows that the original texts and images were studied and respected – as a general rule, the dipinti are placed above, beside or below the older artwork. This is particularly evident in Tomb N13.1, where it is even possible to establish thematic links between the tomb's original decor and the classical texts quoted in the visitors' dipinti.[42] The original inscriptions were thus actually read and understood, which was by no means a matter of course, as the Egyptian language had undergone considerable change in the intervening years. Whereas Middle Egyptian was spoken and written during the Middle Kingdom in the time around 2000 BCE, Late Egyptian was used in the New Kingdom – at first in spoken form, and then, from the Amarna Period on (approximately 1340 BCE), also in writing. Middle Egyptian had ceased to be used in everyday life, and a situation of diglossia had arisen. Special training and specific language and reading skills were thus needed in order to comprehend older texts. What is more, the style and format of manuscripts and the writing conventions for many words had changed as well.

The fact that this engagement with the past required considerable effort is illustrated by the Step Pyramid of King Djoser (Dynasty 3, approximately 2700 BCE): a walkway giving visitors access to the subterranean galleries of the royal

37 Hana Navrátilová, *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara*, Prag 2007, pp. 131–141.

38 In fact, this statement is far from trivial during the period in question: it should be kept in mind that only a very small part of the population was literate.

39 On this evaluation, see Navrátilová, *The Visitors' Graffiti*, p. 133.

40 Jochem Kahl, "Ein Zeugnis altägyptischer Schulausflüge", in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 211 (2006), pp. 25–29; Ursula Verhoeven, "The New Kingdom Graffiti in Tomb N13.1: An Overview", in: *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October, 2009*, eds. Jochem Kahl, Mahmoud El-Khadragy, Ursula Verhoeven and Andrea Kilian, Wiesbaden 2012 (The Asyut Project 2), pp. 47–58; Ursula Verhoeven, "Iterationen im altägyptischen Schreiberalltag", in: *Wissen in Bewegung. Institution – Iteration – Transfer*, eds. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and Anita Traninger, Wiesbaden 2015 (Episteme in Bewegung. Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte 1), pp. 143–153.

41 Discussed in more detail with reference to TT 60 in Ragazzoli, "The social creation of a scribal place", pp. 276–282.

42 Ursula Verhoeven, "Tomb N13.1: graffiti", in: Jochem Kahl, Mahmoud El-Khadragy and Ursula Verhoeven, "The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007)", in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37 (2008), pp. 201–204.

burial site was hewn from the rock at some point during the 7th century BCE, making it possible to study the ancient sculptors' canon of proportion at a depth of approximately 28 metres. Some of the rooms had decoration in the form of lintels, carved doorjambs or carved limestone panels. In addition to images of the king, the panels also contained a number of brief inscriptions.[43]

At times, the custom of visiting ancient tombs found its way into literary works. The Demotic story of Setne from the Ptolemaic Period is a case in point: Prince Setne Khamwas, son of King Ramesses II and High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, sets out to explore the Memphite necropolis in search of ancient writings. He enters the tomb of the prince and magician Naneferkaptah, hoping to abscond with a magic book written by Thoth in order to gain access to supreme insight. Ahwere, Naneferkaptah's late wife, shows herself to Setne in the form of an apparition and tells him the story of herself and Naneferkaptah, of whom we learn that he had

> …[no] occupation on earth but walking on the desert of Memphis,
> reading the writings that were in the tombs of the Pharaohs
> and on the stelae of the scribes of the House of Life
> and the writings that were on [the other monuments,
> for his zeal] concerning writings was very great.
> (Setne I, 3,9–3,10)[44]

The Egyptian Tomb as a Site of Transfer

That the tomb owners not only intended the texts on the walls of their tombs to cater to their needs in the afterlife, but that the texts were also meant to be read and copied by the living is attested by their own statements – Padiamenope, for example, addressed the following lines to future visitors:

> O living ones,
> O those who are upon earth,
> Those who were born and those who will be born (in the future),
> Those who come as followers of Montu, Lord of Thebes,
> Those who walk through the necropolis in order to entertain oneself,
> Those who will seek all kind of formulas,
> May they enter this tomb,
> In order that they may see what is in it.
> (Tomb of Padiamenope [TT 33])[45]

Ibi, the owner of Theban Tomb (TT) 36, served as chief steward for the God's Wife of Amun during the reign of King Psametik I. Living only a few generations after

43 Cecil M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, Le Caire 1935 (Excavations at Saqqara), vol. I, pp. 5, 33.

44 As translated by Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature 3*, p. 128; cf. also the German translation by Friedhelm Hoffmann, in: Hoffmann and Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, p. 139.

45 Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamenope (TT 33)", p. 220.

Padiamenope in the second half of the 7th century BCE, he held one of the highest offices of state.[46] The pillared hall R 2 in his tomb in Western Thebes contains an "appeal to the living" which invited the prophets, divine fathers, *wab*-priests, lector priests and scribes who walked past the tomb on a daily basis to copy the tomb's texts either completely or in part:

> He says to posterity:
> "O living ones who are on earth,
> Priests, divine fathers, pure priests (*wab*-priests) and ritualists,
> all scribes who can hold a palette,
> clever in hieroglyphs and competent in books,
> who have opened the secrets of the library [House of Scroll, author's note],
> priests, great priests of Khentyimentiu in Thebes,
> who will come and go in this sacred place to make offerings every day,
> who will pass by this tomb and see this chapel (…)
> As you enter by the stela of this tomb,
> may you penetrate the writings that are in it,
> may you read the formulae of transfiguration above the venerable ones, which are in their (correct) place, without erasing them,
> may you hear the rumour of the conversations that one has here one with another,
> may you hear the song of the musicians, the murmur of the mourners,
> may you find the name of each man above their heads, (with their) office (called) by name, and the cattle, the trees and the plants (with) their name above them
> (…)
> So that you may be able to copy what you like from it on a piece of blank papyrus, for my name to reach posterity
> (…)
> What you like from it, may you write it on a piece of blank papyrus for a mouth to repeat it – (so that even) if (it) is erased from the (formerly blank) papyrus, (namely) that which was (to be) found there, it may (still) offer guidance in the time to come."
> (Tomb of Ibi [TT 36])[47]

46 For further reading on Ibi, see Klaus P. Kuhlmann and Wolfgang Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36). Band I: Beschreibung der unterirdischen Kult- und Bestattungsanlage*, Mainz 1983 (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 15); Erhart Graefe, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obervermögenverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36): Beschreibung und Rekonstruktionsversuche des Oberbaus, Funde aus dem Oberbau*, mit Beiträgen von Diethelm Eigner und Jan Quaegebeur, Bruxelles 1990; Erhart Graefe, "Der autobiographische Text des Ibi, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris, auf Kairo JE 36518", in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 50 (1994), pp. 85–99.

47 Kuhlmann & Schenkel, *Grab des Ibi*, I, Text, p. 72; Tafeln, pl. 23; for the English translation,

This invitation to read and to copy has a parallel in the pillared hall of Tomb TT 128, commissioned by the mayor of Edfu and Thebes, Patjenefi.[48] The tomb is located at the foot of the south-eastern slope of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in Western Thebes. Patjenefi, too, lived at the beginning of Dynasty 26.[49] According to an inscription in his tomb, the texts it contains are once again intended to "offer guidance in the time to come".

Of course, if the tombs' inscriptions were read and passed on by future generations, this was beneficial to their owners as well: their memory was preserved, and they did not fade into obscurity.

The specific way in which visitors are addressed in some "appeals to the living" also points towards the conclusion that one of the reasons for the existence of texts in the tombs was to ensure their transfer to posterity. Whereas the most common addressees were quite simply "you who are alive on earth", or more precisely "scribes", "priests" or "learned men", there are also some appeals that are directed at specialists in the field of textual knowledge, that is, at trained philologists. These are primarily references to the scholars of the House of Life / The Living One, to whom it fell to decide which texts were to be preserved, which were to undergo alterations in order to adapt them to new religious or sociopolitical realities, and which were to be eliminated from the corpus altogether. On a stela[50] from around 200 BCE, the late Peteharpocrates addresses learned men in general, and those of the House of Life / The Living One in particular:

> O all ye priests who penetrate into the words of god and are skilled in writings, ye who are enlightened in the House of Life and have discovered the ways (?) of the gods, who have penetrated into the archives of the Library and can interpret the mysteries … of the Emanations of Re (i.e. sacred books …), who are skilled in the work of the Ancestors and who open up (?) the heart of what is upon the wall, ye who carve the tomb(s) and who interpret the mysteries – if ye come (lit. who shall come) to Rostaw and if ye all approach the sacred land …
>
> (Stela Louvre C 232)[51]

see Ragazzoli, "The social creation of a scribal place", pp. 285–286; final paragraph: author's translation.

48 Wolfgang Schenkel, "Die Gräber des *Pꜣ-ṯnf=j* und eines Unbekannten in der thebanischen Nekropole (Nr. 128 und Nr. 129) ", in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 31 (1975), p. 136.

49 On Patjenefi's chronological classification, see Günter Vittmann, "Neues zu Pabasa, Obermajordomus der Nitokris", in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 5 (1977), pp. 261–262; Jean Yoyotte, "*Trois notes* pour servir à l'histoire d'Edfou", in: *Kêmi* 12 (1952), pp. 93–96; Wolfgang Schenkel, "Die Gräber des *Pꜣ-ṯnf=j* und eines Unbekannten", pp. 132, 138, note. b.

50 Louvre C 232 (cf. Eberhard Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit: ihre geistesgeschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung*, Leiden 1954 (Probleme der Ägyptologie 2), pp. 189–190).

51 The translation follows Alan Henderson Gardiner, "The House of Life", in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (1938), p. 173.

The owners of Egyptian tombs thus explicitly assigned the task of knowledge transfer to future visitors. The owners determined the precise nature of the knowledge to be transferred, they chose from a broad inventory of texts and images, and put their selection at the disposal of learned visitors. For their part, the visitors contemplated the respective tomb's decor and chose to record what they saw fit. As in a library, texts and images were made available for close scrutiny and could be read and examined. Those intended for reuse could either be copied right away, or be perused afterwards in a manuscript kept at a House of Scroll. It is safe to assume that the latter practice was much more common – after all, the conditions in Egyptian tombs were hardly ideal for efficient copying: darkness, combined with thick layers of soot left by visitors' candles, the ubiquitous excrement of bats and lofty ceilings probably made preliminary cleaning work necessary, and sometimes also required the erection of scaffolding or the use of high ladders in order to gain access to the desired material. In most cases, a visit to the House of Scroll (potentially after having discovered a particular text in the necropolis) would have been the more efficient and thus the far more plausible approach. For example, this holds true for the texts and images in the tomb of Djefai-Hapi I at Asyut, which we know for a fact still circulated centuries and even two millennia later. The list of themes and imagery that were picked up by posterity includes the following: various passages from an idealised biography,[52] contracts ensuring the cult of the dead,[53] a mortuary liturgy (i.e. a former ritual text that was now employed as funerary text),[54] a geometric ceiling painting,[55] as well as a depiction of the tomb owner in front of the names of his king.[56] Especially during the 15th and the 7th centuries BCE, these excerpts from the tomb's inventory of texts and images were reused in tombs, on statues, stelae and sarcophagi roughly 300 km away at Thebes, but also at various other sites in Egypt. There is even evidence that they were still being preserved in a temple library at Tebtynis as late as the 2nd century CE.[57] Given the darkness and height of the rooms, and the dirt and grime that probably already covered the walls in the days of antiquity, it seems quite unlikely that the texts and images were actually copied from the walls, as requested in the appeals from Tombs TT 36 and

52 Jochem Kahl, *Siut – Theben. Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1999 (Probleme der Ägyptologie 13), pp. 217–239 (Dok. 11), pp. 250–261 (Dok. 15, 16, 17), pp. 263–268 (Dok. 19).

53 Jürgen Osing, "PSI inv. I 3 + pCarlsberg 305 + pTebt. Tait Add. 2 e PSI inv. I 4 + pCarlsberg 306 + pTebt. Tait Add. 3. Copie delle iscrizioni nelle tombe di Assiut", in: *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis*, eds. Jürgen Osing and Gloria Rosati, Firenze 1998, pp. 55–100; Kahl, "Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates", pp. 163–188.

54 Kahl, *Siut – Theben*, pp. 53–186.

55 Kahl, *Ornamente in Bewegung*.

56 Jochem Kahl, "Assiut – Theben – Tebtynis. Wissensbewegungen von der Ersten Zwischenzeit und dem Mittleren Reich bis in Römische Zeit", in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 43 (2014), pp. 159–172.

57 See Kahl, *Siut–Theben*, pp. 331–332.

TT 128. The hypothesis that textual transmission took place via the institution of the library is much more plausible – yet the tombs and their artwork presumably provided the initial impetus to visit the House of Scroll, where the templates for the decorations were stored.[58]

Ultimately, the main factors responsible for the successful transfer of the texts (and images) that adorned Egyptian tombs were probably the tomb owner's personality (to revisit the examples given above, Djefai-Hapi I cast himself as a well-respected nomarch and a man of learning, and was eventually deified;[59] Padiamenope, too, wanted to be remembered as a scholar;[60] both Ibi and Patjenefi were high-ranking officials in their day), but also the outstanding literary quality of the funerary texts themselves.

The Egyptian Tomb as an Institution of Knowledge: Conclusion

The Egyptian tomb thus constitutes a special and highly culture-specific case of knowledge transfer: as the physical manifestation of the deceased's intellectual legacy and as a meeting place for the living, especially for learned scribes, it established a powerful connection between the past and the future.

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58 See Kahl, *Ornamente in Bewegung*, pp. 37–38; Kahl, "Assiut – Theben – Tebtynis", pp. 170–171.

59 Kahl, *Siut–Theben*, pp. 336–348; Kahl, "Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates".

60 Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamenope (TT 33)", pp. 205–234.

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Ancient Mesopotamia

The network of the Babylonian Libraries in the First Millennium BC

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Introduction

Mesopotamia, the place of the invention of writing, is also an area were different technics of organizing and keeping texts are attested since the third millennium BC. Archives are known from that period onwards. The choice to present here Babylonia, in the South of modern Iraq, during the Neo and Late-Babylonian period (10th–1st centuries BC) is not due to a late appearance of libraries in Mesopotamia, as they are known since the second half of the second millennium but to a phenomenon that could be called "end of libraries phenomenon." Indeed, only the last stage of a library is discovered today as the texts were transmitted through successive copies and not by keeping them on their original tablets. After the copy was made, the former tablet was removed from the library. In short, only the very last copies of a set of tablets were kept and so unearthed today. Accordingly, a library, composed by tablets all dated to the Hellenistic period, can have a history coming back to the beginning of the first millennium, and even earlier. And so, looking at the Neo and Late-Babylonian periods makes us study the whole first millennium BC. It is a period with numerous libraries in numerous places ideal for a general presentation of the Mesopotamian libraries. The Assyrian area, in the North of modern Iraq, will also be seen through some examples useful to understand the Babylonian situation. Indeed, the two regions shared a common cultural environment and the scholars' activities were the same.

For the time being, there is no attestation of a 'true' library before the second half of the second millennium BC.[1] It is probably due to the fact that the scholarly disciplines (divination, medicine, exorcism, literature, lexicography and so on) were organised and canonized in series during that period. They were then well classified through colophons showing clearly the place of each tablet inside the main series, a tablet being a kind of a chapter of a wider work.[2] It can be noted that parts of some oral traditions were also written through the commentaries of the

1 Libraries at Ugarit or Emar are attested in the 13th century (Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Librairies in the Ancient Near East, 1500–300 B.C.*, Bethesda 1998, pp. 70–79 and pp. 60–64).

2 Herman Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 2).

DOI: 10.13173/9783447108294.085

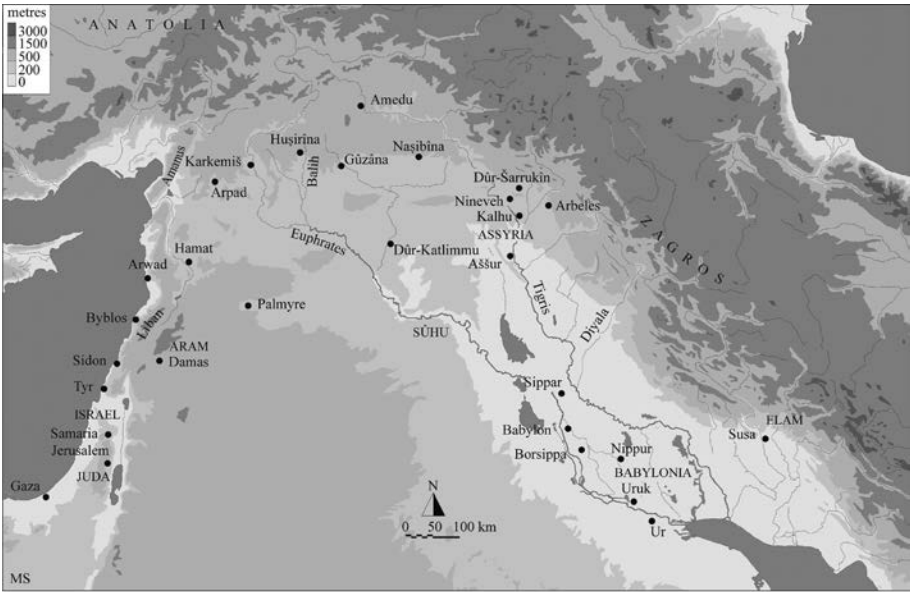

Fig. 1: Mesopotamian sites with library in the first millenium BC (map Martin Sauvage).

canonical series and then kept like the series themselves.[3] All of this formed the classical scholarly works to be known by the erudite (*ummânu* in Akkadian) and so to be kept and consultable.[4] Libraries seem to have been more and more essential for the organization of scholarly knowledge through canonized series from the second half of the second millennium BC onwards.[5] The references to the writing of the series in the first millennium commentaries show that the text and so the tablet itself became the ultimate reference. Some of these works were attributed to specific authors whose names became sometimes family names during the first millennium BC as for the so-called descendants of Sin-leqe-unninni in Uruk.[6]

3 For the commentaries, see Eckart Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries. Origins of Interpretation*, Münster 2011 (Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 5).

4 Not everybody had access to the scholarly works which were sometime restricted to specific scholars. For that question of the secrecy of knowledge, see Kathryn Stevens, "Secrets in the Library: Protected Knowledge and Professional Identity in Late Babylonian Uruk", in: *Iraq* 75 (2013), pp. 211–253.

5 Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries*, pp. 262–313 for the study of the commentaries and their original keeping.

6 Ibid, p. 317 *sq.*; Wilfred G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors and Canonicity", in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11 (1957), pp. 1–14 and Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The Descendants of Sîn-lêqe-unninni", in: *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anläßlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997,* eds. Joachim Marzahn and Hans Neumann, Münster 2000 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 252), pp. 1–16.

So most of the libraries date to the first millennium with for instance the famous "Assurbanipal's library," the royal libraries of Nineveh, the only royal scholarly collection attested so far in Mesopotamia; the temple libraries of Kalhu, Dūr-Šarrukīn, Sippar, Babylon, Uruk and some private collections in Aššur (like the one of Kiṣir-Assur and Kiṣir-Nabu the exorcists), one in Huzirina belonging to Qurdi-Nergal and his son Mušallim-Baba the *šangû*-priests, two in Uruk properties of the Šangi-Ninurta and Ekur-zakir families, both exorcists; and so on.

The Babylonian area, the one we would like to focus on in this paper, can be schematically divided into two main sectors, as far as libraries are concerned: the North with Sippar, Babylon and Borsippa and the South with Uruk where many collections were unearthed. The libraries identified on these sites that will be commented here are not the only ones to have existed.[7]

How to define a Mesoptamian library?

The definition of a library is far from being easy to fix. Following Donald J. Wiseman and Jeremy A. Black, a Mesopotamian library may be presented as being a set of scholarly tablets containing divinatory texts (celestial, teratological, hemerologies and menologies, extispicy omens), medical and exorcist works (prognostics and physiognomic omens, incantations, rituals, recipes), religious texts (prayers, hymns, rituals), literary tablets (such as the *Gilgameš Epoch, Enūma eliš, Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and so on), reference works (lists of stones, goods, plants, historical or topographical works, commentaries etc.) and lexical texts.[8]

However a library is not only a collection of scholarly works but also of texts that are been classified to facilitate their consultation. An accumulation of scholarly tablets is not always a library as Dominique Charpin showed for the 'Edubba', the 'school', of Ur during the Old-Babylonian period.[9] In this case, the tablets were found in a « secondary » function as building material but D. Charpin demonstrated that even in the time of their primary use, the tablets, being school exercises, were never organized for consultation and reading. In that way, it is by no mean a library. An other example can probably be found in the Neo-Babylonian period with the tablets of the Nabû-*ša-Harê* temple at Babylon.[10] These texts were offered to the god Nabû and deposited before his statue and probably not in storage rooms for consultation. These examples enlighten the fact that a collection of tablets can be the evidence of scholarly activities but may not have been necessarily part of a coherent and classified collection. So to have a

7 For the Babylonian Libraries of the first millennium BC, see Pedersén, *Archives and Librairies*, pp. 181–213.

8 Donald J. Wiseman and Jeremy A. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, London 1996 (Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 4), pp. 9–36.

9 Dominique Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi (xixe–xviiie av. J.-C.)*, Geneva/Paris 1986, pp. 427–434.

10 Antoine Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires du temple de Nabû* ša *hare*, Bagdad 1991 (Texts from Babylon 1).

library we need to have, at least, *"books, journals or any other documents classified"*, that is the simplest definition according to French dictionaries. These documents are primarily 'books' or of any interest for keeping knowledge such as tablets, writing boards or leather documents in the Mesopotamian case. In the present days definition, the library is also the storage rooms or the buildings where the documents are kept. We may conclude that 'Library' as a modern word is not completely accurate to qualify Mesopotamian realities. Indeed this definition focuses on the texts classification registered on a catalogue, useful to find the documents, the whole being deposited in a specific area where are exclusively scholarly texts or classics. Actually, that definition designates mainly the modern institutional libraries.

Therefore no Mesopotamian library can fully filled such a modern definition, as we do not have catalogues, except perhaps the lists of writing boards and tablets kept in the royal library of Nineveh in the seventh century. But it is not a catalogue in a modern meaning and more an administrative record as can be seen below:[11]

SAA 7, 52

1. [x, *Enūma*] *Anu Enlil,*

2. [x], *Šumma izbu,*

3. [x, *Gu*]*rrum = mahīrum,*

4. [x, *"If a she*]*ep's ear is short,"*

5. [x, *"If a she*]*ep cries baa,"*

6. [x, *c*]*ommentary,*

7. [x], *anomaly apotropaion,*

8. [x], *Šumma izbu.*

9. [1]12, 1 missing, *"If a city is set on a hill,"*

10. [x+]37, physiognomic omen series,

11. including uncanonical *nigdimdimmû* omens,

12. [..., *k*]*ataduqqû.*

13. [...], *Ishur mā*[*da*]

rest missing

11 There are eight of them: *SAA* 7, 49–56 (Frederick Mario Fales and John Nicholas Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*, Helsinki 1992 (State Archives of Assyria 7).

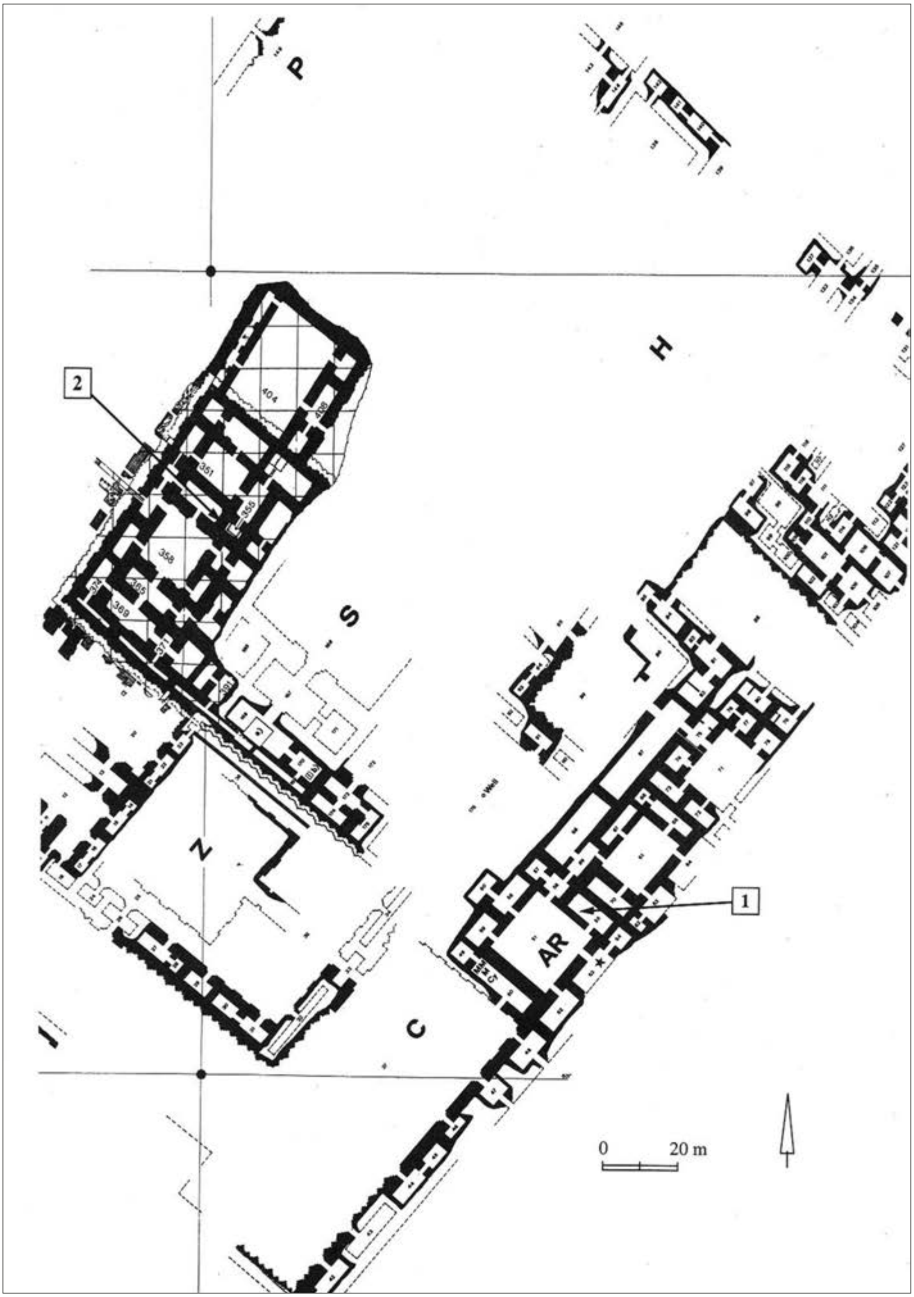

Fig. 2: The Ebabbar temple of Sippar during the Neo-Babylonian period
(from Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East, 1500–300 B.C.*, Bethesda 1998, p. 196).

As far as we can say, we don't have storage areas where were exclusively kept scholarly texts. Indeed, such texts were never alone but with legal and administrative documents, and sometime with state archives. So what makes a library in that case is the use of a storage room mainly to keep scholarly texts. And last, there is no entire building, in Mesopotamia, which could be called a library but only storage rooms in specific areas. A Mesopotamian library was always a part of a building having many other functions as for the palaces, temples, and private houses. Moreover, in an institution as a temple, the library is in many cases impossible to limit to a specific part of the building. For instance, in the Ebabbar temple in Sippar, dating to the Neo-Babylonian period (6th and beginning of the 5th centuries), the scholarly tablets were found in different rooms, sometime very far from each other. As far as we can say, no complete series were stored into a single area (Fig. 2).

However, we have libraries in the generic meaning of a place where were gathered, organised, kept, studied and transmitted scholarly texts. Even if the scribes didn't always have the same practices in storage, classification and transmission we have today, the objectives were in some ways similar and we can list some of them: keeping a classical knowledge, as reference material; studying it for itself; transmitting it unchanged; using it for professional activities; using the tablets collection as teaching material; using all the knowledge gathered to develop new ones and new disciplines; and last but surely not least, using a huge scholarly collection as an element of prestige.

We would like now to present some examples taken mainly from the Babylonian libraries during the first millennium BC and to focus our attention on three specific matters: the first one will concern the archaeological data and what can be said about the lifetime of a library. Then, we will quickly see the different categories of libraries. And we will finish with one of the main topics of this book: the relationship between the functions of knowledge transmission and innovation.

1 The data and their discovery: the impact of the archaeological researches

The specificity of the clay tablet is that it is a long-lasting writing medium that make possible to unearth libraries with rooms and texts inside. Such a situation for the Ancient libraries is relatively rare and for example the Greek and Roman libraries are known in most cases only by their buildings and more often only by attestations in classical literary sources.[12]

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12 For the Greek and Roman libraries see Gaëlle Coqueugniot, *Archives et bibliothèques dans le monde grec: Édifices et organisation, Ve siècle avant notre ère–IIe siècle de notre ère*, Oxford 2013 (BAR International Series 2536).

Different categories of remains

There are several examples of libraries unearthed in Mesopotamia and their history as well as their archaeological discovery induces four different situations.

1. In the first one, both tablets and buildings were unearthed during official and well conducted archaeological research. We have several examples of such cases in Babylonia with the library of the room 355 of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar (Fig. 2); the lamentation priests' library in the Rēš temple of Uruk (Fig. 4) and the exorcists' private libraries on the same site (Figs. 5 and 6).[13]

2. In many cases, however, we only have the tablets that once were part of a scholarly collection. It is the case of numerous tablets from Uruk originated from the Rēš temple again[14]. The best examples, however, come from North Babylonia. During the second half of the nineteenth century, illegal diggers in the area of Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar, Dilbat unearthed many tablets. From 1879 onwards, Hormuzd Rassam, the representative of the British Museum, excavated those sites, adding to the general confusion.[15] Today, it is sometimes possible to reorganise these thousand of texts by studying the museum inventories as the tablets were usually found in group, sold in group, and entered the European and American museums in group as well. On the contrary the prosopographical logic that is to attribute to a library a tablet bearing a personal name (more often the one of a scribe) already attested in it is rather dangerous. Indeed, a scribe could write for himself, for a temple, for any other person and his name can hardly be used to find the original location of a tablet.

3. The third situation is less documented in Mesopotamia: a building without tablets interpreted as a library or more likely as a storage room. This case is not known in Babylonia, but in Assyria, in Dūr-Šarru-kīn, the new capital of Sargon II (721–705), built at the end of the eighth century. Room H 5 showed niches (25–30 cm square, 40–50 cm deep, separated from one another by 10 cm partitions[16]) with only few fragments of tablets and inscribed prisms. Another room with niches, the number H 15, was also unearthed. No tablets were discovered inside it but the same niches than the ones of the room H 5 may indicate it was used for tablet storage.

4. To be complete, we could add another situation: library tablets in rubbish. There are several examples of such ill treatments against scholarly tablets. Indeed, to avoid breaks that could alter the text, the scholarly tablet was regularly

13 Philippe Clancier, *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie dans la deuxième moitié du Ier millénaire av. J.-C.*, Münster 2009 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 363), pp. 47–80.

14 Ibid, pp. 42–43; Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, pp. 209–211.

15 For an excellent presentation of the works of H. Rassam in Babylonia see Julian E. Reade, "Introduction. Rassam's Babylonian Collection: the Excavations and the Archives", in: *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Volume* VI: *Tablets from Sippar* 1, ed. Erle Leichty, London 1986, pp. xiii–xxxvi.

16 Gordon Loud and Charles B. Altman, *Khorsabad. Part II: The Citadel and the Town*, Chicago 1938 (Oriental Institute Publications 40), p. 46, pp. 56–64 and pp. 104–105 with a useful presentation in Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, pp. 155–158.

copied and then the original was thrown away. Some of them could even be reused as building material. The clay tablet was indeed well fitted to make floor preparations, benches and so on. Huge collections of scholarly tablets were found in such a secondary archaeological context as we have said for the Old Babylonian Edubba of Ur and the tablets of Nabû-*ša-Harê* in first millennium Babylon. The Neo-Assyrian scholarly tablets of Huṣirina were in a different context, as they seem to have been voluntarily buried all together to protect them. Here, we may have a whole collection.[17] These different situations raise the question of the lifetime of a library.

The lifetime of a library

Since decades Assyriologists studied the so-called "end of archives phenomenon". It is a way to define the lifetime status of an archive during Antiquity.[18] Before that and even if it is not the point of this article, it is important to say what is an 'archive'. We will follow the definition given by M. Jursa:[19] '"Archive" in the most general sense of the word refers to tablets which were found (and therefore normally also kept) physically together as a group and which belonged to an individual, a family or an institutional household'. An archive is constituted by three main kinds of documents: legal; administrative texts and letters. The preservation of those documents closely depends on their use. It is schematically possible to differentiate two main groups of tablets. The first one involves texts, which were to be kept for a long time such as property rights, which may stay within a family through several generations. On the contrary, some kinds of texts had a very limited duration like the administrative texts inventorying belongings for one month or one year. They were not destined to be filled for a long time.[20] It is also the case for the loan tablets, which were broken after refund by the debtor.

Now, coming back to the "end of archives phenomenon", there are three kinds of archives, regarding their living state:

1. The living archive, which is a collection of legal and administrative tablets as well as letters still valid when the archive ceased to be used. A living archive attests a sudden and often brutal end of its use during Antiquity.

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17 Olivier R. Gurney and Jacob J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets* I, London 1957 (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 3) and Olivier R. Gurney and Peter Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets* II, London 1964 (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 7).

18 For a clear definition of this phenomenon, see Michael Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents and Archives*, Münster 2005 (Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 1), pp. 57–58.

19 Ibid, p. 57.

20 The study of Paul-Alain Beaulieu of the administrative register of goddesses' belongings in the Hellenistic period is a good example of such texts (Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Textes administratifs inédits d'époque hellénistique provenant des archives du Bit Reš", in: *Revue archéologique* 83 (1989), pp. 53–87).

2. The dead archive is, actually, the rubbish of a living archive where one finds the legal texts no more valid and any document having lost its utility.

3. The sleeping archive is between the both. It contents texts with no more immediate validity or utility but kept as potential reference material.

The texts categories were not the only difference between archival and scholarly tablets. Indeed, in most cases, archive texts were to be kept not in copy but on its original writing medium. It is very clear with the legal documents bearing seals, sometime nails impressions, and having been written before witnesses validating the transaction. In that situation, a copy was difficult to do in another way than what is called in French right an "*original double*", a "second original" written at the same time than the first is and before the same witnesses. For scholarly tablets however, only the text in itself was the true original, whatever the medium used. So, if an archive included dated tablets from different periods, and sometime from many generations, a well-maintained library only had the final copies of the texts. Moreover, scholarly tablets were rarely dated, another major difference with archive texts. So, what we could now called the "end of library phenomenon" is a little bit different from the "end of archive phenomenon". But we can use the same vocabulary and show three different situations again:

1. The living library, which is a library still in use when it was abandoned. It is the case of most of the Assyrian and Babylonian libraries. For Babylonia we may consider the ones from the Esagil temple in Babylon, the Rēš temple in Uruk for examples and some private collections also in Uruk. We can add the last library discovered during the eighties of the 20th century in the Ebabbar temple of Sippar in the room 355.

2. The dead libraries also exist and could be more likely defined as a set of scholarly tablets rejected from a main collection. The tablets of the Nabû-*ša-Harê* temple in Babylon may have been in that category but it is doubtful as we said above. More likely it is the case of some of the tablets once kept in the Esagil temple.[21]

3. Is there any sleeping library? This concept is quite strange for a library since a tablet was kept until a copy of it was done. For the time being, no candidate, to my knowledge, could surely entered that category. Perhaps the Neo-Assyrian scholarly tablets of Huṣirina which seem to have been voluntarily buried all together could be enter here but it is more likely a living library unearthed for its protection.

To finish, all those reflexions do not take in consideration the large use of perishable writing media in libraries as well as in archives. The tablets recording scholarly texts on wooden writing boards found in the royal library of Nineveh show that an important part of the libraries could be on media that didn't reach

21 Clancier, *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie*, pp. 195–200 and pp. 235–239.

us except for few examples.[22] It is also clear through the mentions on the tablets colophons from Uruk, that many of their originals were on wooden boards, in the Rēš temple, the main sanctuary of the town:

> 'Incantation: "The king has come out, the king has come out."
> Written in accordance with its original and then checked and made good.
> Copy of an ancient writing board, property of Anu and Antu.'[23]

Few texts from Babylon mention parchment scrolls (*magallatu*) as well for scholarly works (mainly divination known on cuneiform tablets) in the Hellenistic period.[24] None of them were discovered.

2 Categories of libraries

As stressed below, different kinds of libraries existed in Mesopotamia. Actually three are known: the temple library, the private library and the palatial library. However, this last one is only known for the 'Aššurbanipal's library' in Nineveh, in Assyria. In Babylonia, two main kinds of libraries are attested: the temple libraries and the private ones.

The temples libraries

It is in some ways difficult to characterise the temple libraries. Indeed, we saw, through the example of the Ebabbar of Sippar, that the scholarly tablets could be distributed throughout the whole temple. Indeed, even if in this building only one true library was identified in the room 355 scholarly texts were also found around the room 55 (Fig. 2; nos. 2 and 1 on the plan). In any case, it is possible to schematically divide the temple libraries into two different kinds of collections: the main temple library, and some more specialised libraries located inside the temple walls as well.

The main library

A main temple library can be characterised by the fact that it kept no specialised categories of texts but a representative catalogue of all scholarly disciplines.[25] The best example of a so-called 'main library' is, maybe, not in Babylonia but in Assyria. It is the one of the temple of Nabû, god of the scribes, the Ezida of Nimrud, ancient Kalhu (Fig. 3):

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22 For an example, see Joan Oates and David Oates, *Nimrud. An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed*, London 2001, p. 104.

23 Graham Cunningham, "BRM 04, 07 New year rituals", in: *The Geography of Knowledge in Assyria and Babylonia: A Diachronic Analysis of Four Scholarly Libraries*, eds. Eleanor Robson and Steve Tinney, 2008, URL: http://oracc.org/cams/gkab/P296523, l. 15–16 of the revers, (24.07.2020).

24 Philippe Clancier, "Les scribes sur parchemin du temple d'Anu", in: *Revue archéologique* 99 (2005), pp. 90–91.

25 Clancier, *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie*, pp. 219–221.

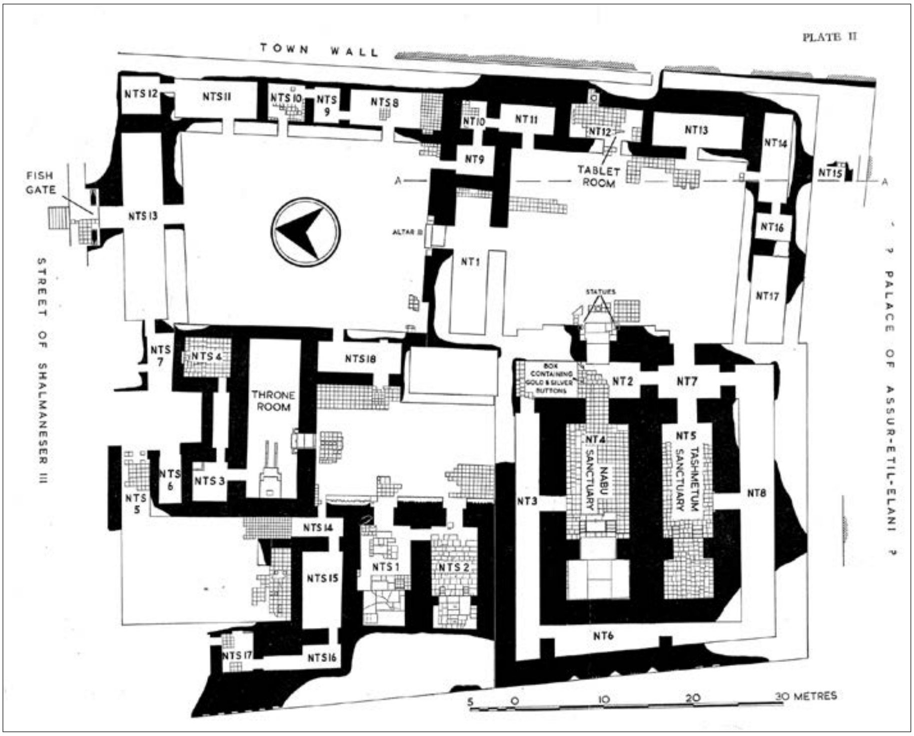

Fig. 3: The Ezida temple of Kalhu during the Neo-Assyrian period (from Joan Oates and David Oates, *Nimrud. An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed*, London 2001, p. 112).

The greatest concentration of scholarly tablets was found in room NT 12, a long chamber with a large doorway opposite the entrance of the main shrine of the temple (NT 4). This large door is unusual and may have been used to provide light to the scribes working inside. They probably also worked in the courtyard. A well in room NT 12 was perhaps used to store water for keeping the tablet clay in good condition. Rooms NT 13, NT 14, NT 16 and NT 17 may have constituted the scribal area as legal texts dated between 699 and 661 B.C. were discovered as well. Around the first courtyard, in front of the throne room, rooms NTS 9 and NTS 10 may also have been scribal offices.

In Babylonia, due to the history of archaeological research, the situation is less clear and it is sometime difficult to characterise a set of tablets as the main library of a temple. Actually, it is the texts themselves that attributed a tablet to a temple library. For example, the complete colophon of *BRM* 4, 7, tablet of the New Year Festival of Uruk dating to the Hellenistic period reads:[26]

26 Graham Cunningham, "BRM 04, 07 New year rituals", l. 15–21 of the revers.

> 'Incantation: "The king has come out, the king has come out."
> Written in accordance with its original and then checked and made good.
> Copy of an original writing board, property of Anu and Antu.
> Tablet of Anu-ah-ušabši, son of Kidin-Anu, descendant of Ekur-zakir, *mašmaššu*-priest (exorcist) of Anu and Antu, high priest of the Reš temple, the Urukean.
> Hand of Anu-balassu-iqbi, his son. He wrote (the tablet) for his learning, his time being long, his well-being and securing his position.
> Then he deposited (it) permanently in Uruk and the Reš temple, the temple of his lordship. He who reveres Anu and Antu shall not take it away by means of theft.
> (At) Uruk, month of *Duʾuzu*, 24$^{th?}$ day, year 61 (of the Seleucid era), Antiochus (II), king of all the lands.'

So it is said that the scholarly tablets or writing boards were part of the properties of the god to whom the temple was dedicated. However, these different indications do not inform us about their precise storage location. Illegal diggers unearthed most of the scholarly tablets of the Rēš temple, where that one was deposited, so we don't have data concerning their original keeping room. Unfortunately, it is true for most of the scholarly tablets coming from the temples of Babylonia.

The biggest library of the land seems to have been the one of the Esagil of Babylon, the temple of Bēl-Marduk, god of the town. Thousands of scholarly tablets were found there by illegal diggers together with the temple archives and then were bought by the British Museum. If we surely have texts coming from that institution, it is quite impossible, today, and without new excavations, to reconstruct the physical organisation of the library and archives of the sanctuary, which was situated on the 'Amran hill probably in the so-called Juniper Garden, a part of the sanctuary containing many different buildings.[27]

The priests' libraries?

Fortunately, two Babylonian temples are far better documented: the Ebabbar of Sippar and a part of the Rēš temple of Uruk. We will focus on the last one. All together, some 700 hundred scholarly tablets were found in the Rēš temple, most of them by illegal diggers. However, archaeologists unearthed a small library of 141 tablets still *in situ*.

It was situated at a former small door of the temple (north of the southeast door, Fig. 4) that had been closed from the outside and then rebuilt as a room. The tablets were almost all in bad condition, mostly scattered on the floor, but eight of them were still on shelves. The documents, including 112 scholarly texts, 21

27 Clancier, *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie*, pp. 200–211. For the Juniper garden, see Irvin Finkel and Robartus van der Spek, "BCHP 8 (Juniper Garden Chronicle)", URL: https://www.livius.org/sources/content/mesopotamian-chronicles-content/bchp–8-juniper-garden-chronicle/ (21.04.2020).

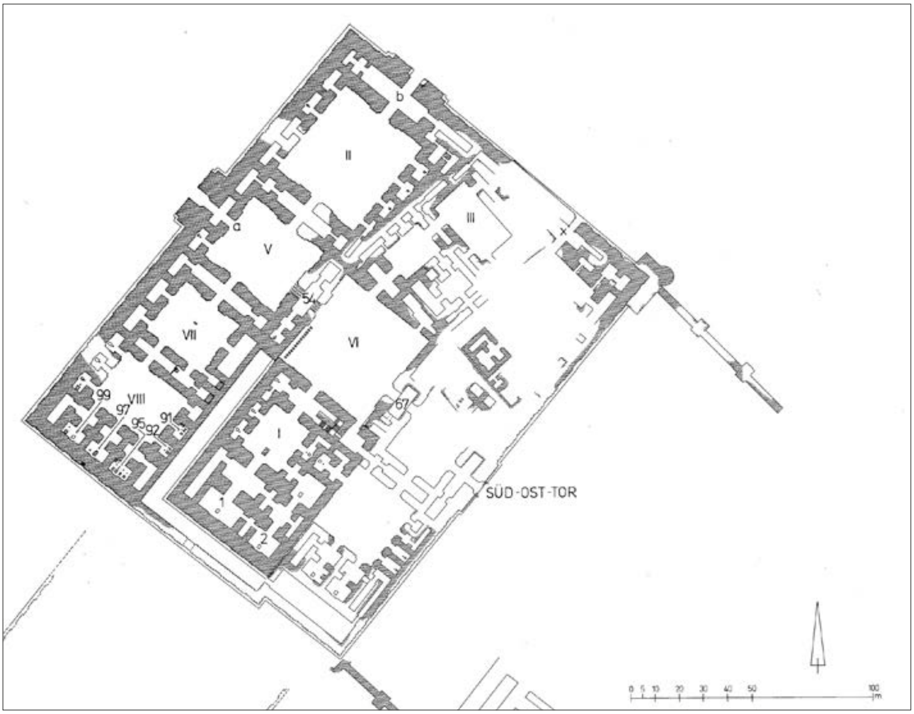

Fig. 4: The Rēš temple of Uruk during the Hellenistic period (from Ernst Heinrich, *Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im Alten Mesopotamien: Typologie, Morphologie und Geschichte*, vol 14, Berlin 1982, fig. 417).

contracts, 6 administrative texts and 2 letters, have close links with the Sin-leqe-unninni family or clan. And so they belonged to the lamentation-priests of the sanctuary who were members of the Sine-leqe-unninni clan. The scholarly tablets were mostly of direct interest for the daily activities of these priests as it can be deduced from the high number of texts linked to *kalûtu*, the discipline of the lamentation-priests called *kalû* in Akkadian. Thus, a professional library inside a temple can be identified through the specialization of the texts gathered together.

In comparison and as far as we can tell, the library of the room 355 of the Ebabbar temple of Sippar, containing around 800 tablets, seems to have been more generalist than a professional collection. They were still on their shelves when discovered. So, this library could also be an example of at least a part of a main temple library. But we have to wait until its complete publication for further analysis.

The private libraries

Two kinds of private libraries are attested: the ones unearthed by archaeologists or, sometime, illegal diggers; and the ones mentioned in the texts such as in the Assyrian royal correspondence, especially in those where Aššurbanipal asked for tablets for his palatial library (*CT* 22, 1):[28]

> 'Order of the king to Sadunu (governor of Borsippa): I am well, let your heart be at ease!
> The day you see my letter, seize in your hands Sumaya, the son of Šuma-ukin, Bel-eṭir, his brother, Aplaya, the son of Arkat-ilani, and scholars from Borsippa whom you know and collect all the tablets as much as there are in their houses and all the tablets as much as there are stored in the temple Ezida, the tablets concerning:
> (*long list of tablets*)
> No one is allowed to hold back a tablet from you; and as for any tablet or instruction that I did not write to you about but that you have discovered to be good for the palace, you must take (them) as well and send (them) to me.'

However, only two Babylonian private libraries were completely unearthed and published until now, even if some others were identified in Babylon and Ur. They were situated in Uruk inside two private houses, located in the very same area. An older one was abandoned at the end of the Achaemenid period, and then the sector was rebuilt and reoccupied from the beginning of the Hellenistic period onwards. The area designated Ue XVIII was excavated from 1969 to 1972.[29]

The locus comprised three main different levels, all disturbed by later Parthian graves, and for the two houses of levels II and IV clear archaeological remains and contexts allow reconstructing two different libraries which were kept in the houses, both assembled by *āšipus* that are exorcists-doctors. As tablets were found on the floors of each of the two houses, it seems that no part of the first library was reused in the later one. Moreover, the two corpuses are distinct despite later mixing due to the Parthian graves.

The Level IV, the older is the one of the Šangi-Ninurta family's house and library dating to the late Achaemenid period.

The archaeological remains were either in situ or in fill. In a small room measuring 2m x 1.6m (number 4 on the plan) the archaeologists found jars con-

28 Jeannette Fincke, "The Babylonian Texts of Nineveh. Report on the British Museum's Ashurbanipal Library Project", in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50 (2003/2004), pp. 122–123.

29 Jürgen Schmidt, "Grabung in: Ue XVIII 1", in: *XXVI. und XXVII. vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, 1968 und 1969*, ed. Jürgen Schmidt, Berlin 1972 (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 16), p. 56 ; Manfred Hoh, "Die Grabung in Ue XVIII 1", in: *XXIX. und XXX. vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, 1970/71 und 1971/72*, ed. Jürgen Schmidt, Berlin 1979, pp. 28–35.

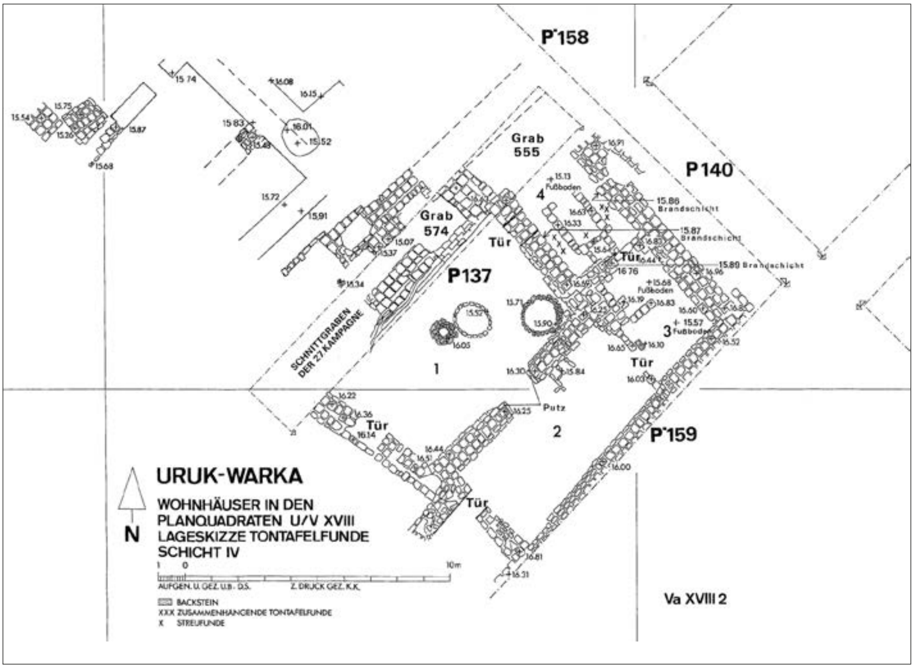

Fig. 5: The Šangi-Ninurta family's house (from Hoh, "Die Grabung in Ue XVIII 1", Taf. 70).

taining several tablets including 32 unbroken scholarly texts and at least 23 legal ones. Some tablets were just stored directly on the floor of the same room. Others were found in this level but not in direct contact with the ground. In total, Egbert von Weiher registered 180 tablets and fragments, with 97 from room 4.[30] This house belonged to a family of scholars, who were *āšipus* working for the Reš temple. The most attested scholar here is Anu-ikṣur, son of Šamaš-iddin but three generations appear in the texts as scribes or owners of the tablets. The date of the library is around Darius II (423–405).

Level III is much more problematic since it was highly disturbed by Parthian burials but also by the later building of level II. The plan of the house found here is largely the same as in level II and also has the same orientation of the earlier building in level IV. The archaeologists unearthed many objects, which are relevant to scribal activities like an asphalted work surface made of bricks in the southeast of room 7, near a grave. On this surface and around it, the archaeologists found small dark clay lumps preformatted as tablets. For instance,

30 Egbert von Weiher, "Die Tontafelfunde der 29. u. 30. Kampagne", in: *XXIX. und XXX. vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, 1970/71 und 1971/72*, ed. Jürgen Schmidt, Berlin 1979, p. 95.

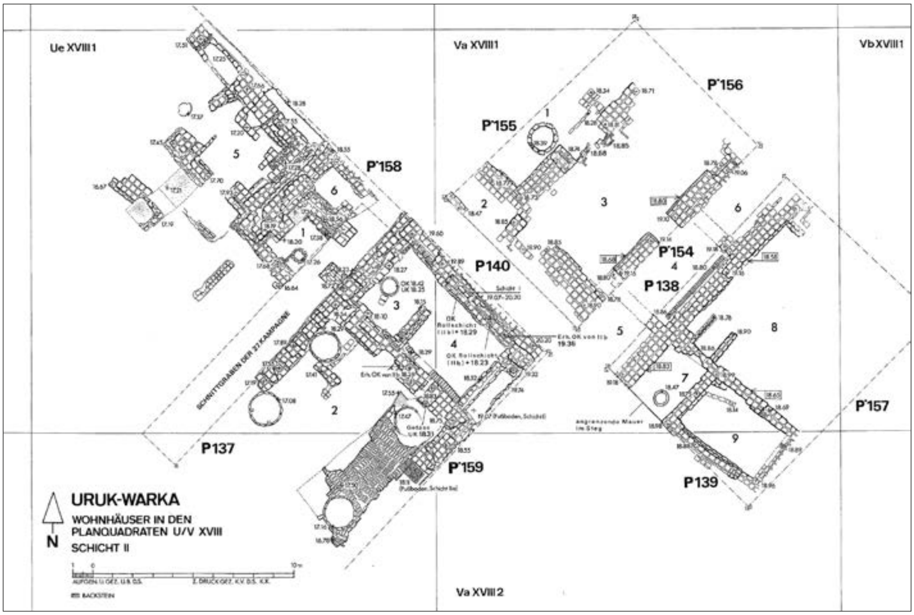

Fig. 6: The Ekur-zakir family's house (from Hoh, "Die Grabung in Ue XVIII 1", Taf. 68).

in room 3 some other blank tablets were found, that had been prepared with rulings. Bone styluses were also unearthed there.

In the subsequent level (Level II) a new house was built with the same orientation than the previous one in level II. The building belonged to the Ekur-zakir family's house where archaeologists discovered another library.

The family of Ekur-zakir is well known for its *āšipūtu* (that is mainly exorcism and medicine) activities in the Rēš temple. The clearest remains were unearthed in the northwest wall of room 1, where a niche contained tablets of various formats, all baked. The tablets have been placed vertically, one against the other. It seems that during the excavations no clear registration of the tablets' arrangement on those shelves was made. Another group of tablets was discovered in fill in the southwest part of the same room. On the floors of all rooms archaeologists found broken baked tablets. Finally, there was an oven in room 3. For Manfred Hoh, its most probable function was to bake the tablets. Seven tablets were found against the northwest wall of this room: four were badly modelled and three very finely, none of them inscribed.

The *āšipūtu* professional activities of the house owners and the special teaching function of this place contribute to making this an important library. Almost all the scribes whose texts were discovered in the house belong to the

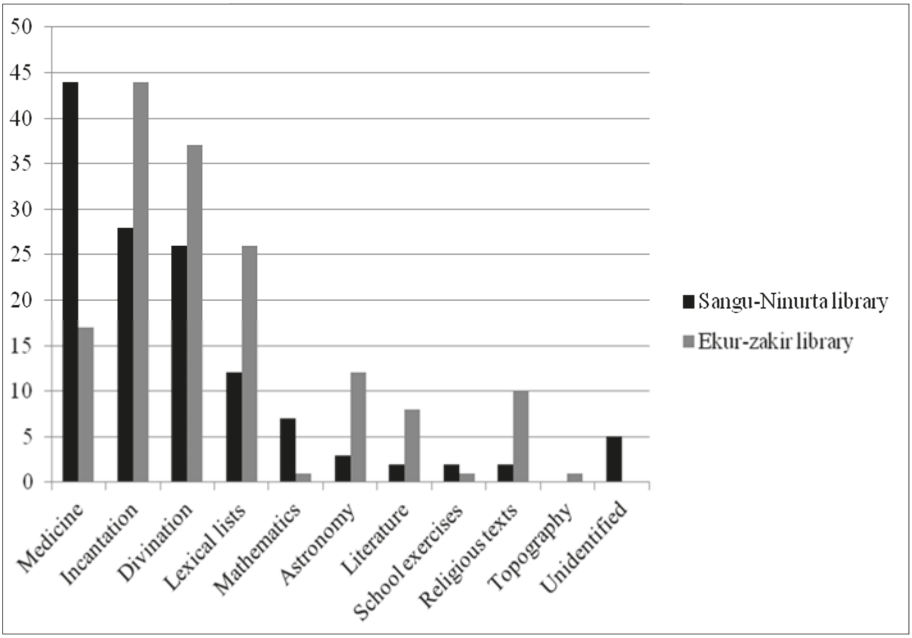

Table 1: Number of texts found in two houses of Ue XVIII according to categories.

Ekur-zakir family and the most representative scholar in this corpus is Iqiša, son of Ištar-šum-ereš but four different generations appear in it as well. The period of occupation dates back to the reign of Philip III Arridaeus (323–316) to the end of the third century BC (229 for the last datable tablet).

In all, 419 scholarly tablets and 48 legal documents were found in the two houses of Ue XVIII. None of the two libraries kept complete collections of canonical series in any specific discipline. They had a little bit of every kind of texts. Despite that general profile, a specialisation in medicine, exorcism and divinatory activities, results from any statistical study (Table 1).

The main origin and use of the two libraries seems to have been the teaching activities of their owners. Indeed, Anu-ikṣur for the older and Iqiša for the later were *ummânus*, that is 'scholars' or 'erudits' in their discipline, which was exorcism and medicine. It is especially clear with Anu-ikṣur and his relatives who spent a lot of time thinking about the texts they had to learn or teach and copying or making new commentaries on them (Table 2).[31]

31 Philippe Clancier, "Teaching and Learning Medicine and Exorcism at Uruk during the Hellenistic Period", in: *Scientific Sources and Teaching Contexts Throughout History: Problems and Perspectives*, eds. Alain Bernard and Christine Proust, Dordrecht 2014 (Boston Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science 301), p. 57.

Library of Šangi-Ninurta family			
Texts categories	Number of tablets	Commentaries	Proportion
Incantation	28	0	0
Medicine	44	22	50%
Astrology	9	2	22%
Haruspicy	2	2	100%
Divination varia	15	3	20%
Astronomy	3	0	0
Lexical texts	12	0	0
School exercises	2	0	0
Prayers	2	0	0
Literature	2	0	0
Mathematics	7	0	0
Unidentified	5	2	40%
Total	131	31	24%

Table 2: Text categories of the library of the Šangi-Ninurta family.

Lexical texts, and advanced students copies of tablets also attest the teaching and learning activities. It seems that the highest level of scholarship was acquired in the private house of a master. And it appears that the main reference centre for scholarly knowledge in Uruk was the Rēš temple where were stored the originals of the tablets unearthed in the houses. So the temple library was the main library of the city and when some texts were not available in Uruk, they were copied or taken in Nippur, Borsippa or Babylon as attested by their colophon.

3 From transmission to innovation: the research centres of the temples

The Mesopotamian libraries were by no means solely a keeping place of ancient traditions but also place where new knowledge emerged during the second half of the first millennium BC. Actually, as the libraries were mainly storage rooms, all new researches took place inside the temples or private buildings where they were and inside the scholars' assemblies as well. Those scholars who built and kept the libraries made them living places used to develop what is not so far from being research centres.[32]

32 For the Esagil temple as a research centre see Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "De l'Esagil au Mouseion: l'organisation de la recherche scientifique au IVe s. av. J.-C.", in: *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques*, eds. Pierre Briant and Francis Joannès, Paris 2006 (Persika 9), pp. 17–36.

The scholarly milieu

The libraries were gathered, maintained and used by scholars who all had close links to the temple activities. For instance, the two private libraries of Uruk belonged to exorcists working for the Rēš temple. Inside, the temples, it was, of course, the same situation. All the scribes appearing in the colophons had cultic activities and were exorcists, lamentation-priests, astrologers and so on. If we follow the *Āšipu's* Handbook, the objective of those scholars was to reach a high level of competencies allowing them to be designated as *ummânus*, 'experts':[33]

> (A long list of knowledge to acquire) 'until you obtain knowledge of all *išippūtu* (i.e. mainly exorcism, medicine and divination), you come to know the secret, then learn "The creatures of the steppe", the glosses and (the texts in) Emesal (a Sumerian dialect), you will learn to do research in the rituals in Sumerian and Akkadian, ..., *Azad, Ušuš, Enūma Anu Enlil* and *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*, to devise and exchange (for) an agreement.'

The scholarly milieu was organised as a community working in groups on cultic matters or, more generally, on the temples activities. These assemblies are well attested during the Hellenistic period. The temples had a main assembly called, for Babylon for instance the *Kiništu ša Esagil* 'Esagil assembly'. Inside this whole structure existed some subdivisions in professional assemblies such the one of the exorcists known in the Esagil temple of Babylon as well or in the Emeslam, temple of Nergal, in Kutha.[34] These assemblies managed their cultic activities as well as the economic aspects of the temple life but the scholarly milieu was also deeply interested in knowledge for itself.

It is possible to see such communities inside the temples through the example of the appointment of new astrologers in the Esagil temple of Babylon at the beginning of the Parthian period:[35]

> 'Be]l-uṣuršu [(...) and] the Babylonians of the assembly of Esagil
> deliberated with one another and declared as follows:
> "On the 15th of the month *Ṭebētu* of year 129 AE, which is year 193 SE (119 BC), together we had drawn up a memorandum that we had assigned one mina of silver, (calculated by) the rate of Babylon, and the farmland of Bel-abu-uṣur, the *Enūma Anu Enlil* scribe (i.e. astrologer), the son of Bel-remanni, the *Enūma Anu Enlil* scribe, of which he (= Bel-abu-uṣur) used to have the usufruct for conducting astronomical observations, to

33 Āšipu's Handbook (*SpTU* 5, 231), rev. l. 15–19. Translation Clancier, "Teaching and Learning Medicine and Exorcism at Uruk during the Hellenistic Period", pp. 63–64.

34 Philippe Clancier et Julien Monerie, "Les sanctuaires babyloniens à l'époque hellénistique. Évolution d'un relais de pouvoir", in: *Topoi: Orient-Occident* 19/1 (2014), p. 201.

35 Johannes Hackl, "Language Death and Dying reconsidered: The Role of Late Babylonian as a Vernacular Language", in: *Imperium and Officium Working Papers* (July 2011), URL: http://iowp.univie.ac.at/sites/default/files/IOWP_RAI_Hackl.pdf, pp. 18–19 (07/2011).

> Nabu-aplu-uṣur, the *kalû*-priest and *Enūma Anu Enlil* scribe, the son of Nabu-mušetiq-udde.
> But now, Bel-uṣuršu, the *Enūma Anu Enlil* scribe, the son of Bel-abu-uṣur, who is written above, came before all of us (and) informed us that he is capable of conducting astronomical observations.
> Indeed we have seen that he is capable of conducting astronomical observations. (Thus) we approached Nabu-aplu-uṣur, who is written above, that he shall relinquish the farmland and the one mina of silver, (i.e.) the allowance of the said Bel-abu-uṣur, the father of the aforementioned Be[l-uṣuršu], to him (= Bel-uṣuršu), and he (= Nabu-aplu-uṣur) relinquished (the farmland and the one mina of respect before us so that we shall give him from this year onwards per year the one mina of silver, (calculated) by the rate of Babylon, and the farmland, which are written above, from the silver of our supplies.
> He shall carry out (everything that) pertains to conducting astronomical observations. Together with Labaši, Muranu and Marduk-šapik-zeri, the sons of Bel-bullissu, Nabu-ahhe-uṣur and Nabu-mušetiq-udde, the sons of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, and with the other *Enūma Anu Enlil* scribes he shall deliver the computed tablets and almanacs.'

Here, the temple assembly of Esagil, lead by the *šatammu*, the administrator of the sanctuary, had to decide if Bel-uṣuršu, son of Bel-ab-uṣur, was able or not to become an astrologer. Bel-uṣuršu was indeed appointed because of the heredity of the charge and the competency checked by the other astrologers. Astrologers are said, in those texts, to have worked in community.

The knowledge was also an objective in itself if we trust the *Āšipu's* Handbook saying that after having learnt the series and competencies listed by the text, the new expert will be able to 'devise and exchange (for) an agreement'. The debate on knowledge seems to have been one of the ways to become a true scholar.

Moreover, the scholarly milieu was not confined behind the walls of the temples. Mark Geller showed that some elements of the Babylonian wisdom was adopted by the writers of the Talmud of Babylon. For instance, he stressed the fact that the rabbi Mar Samuel used to speak with a Babylonian Scholar named Abluṭ in a Bei Avidan.[36] This is maybe an attestation of debates between scholars of different knowledge and cultures inside Babylon during the late stages of the use of the Esagil temple and library. The Bei Avidan, may have been situated somewhere in the Juniper Garden, if M. Geller is right writing: "*in my view, the priest looked up information on a tablet and translated it for Mar Samuel*".

Following Robartus van der Spek, the Juniper garden was the centre of many cultic activities inside the Esagil sanctuary. It was also the place where the temple

36 Markham J. Geller, "The Last Wedge", in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 87 (1997), p. 57.

assembly gathered. Here were probably stored the temple archives and libraries.[37] And so, with this example, we would now show that some of the Babylonian libraries are traces of "research centres".

The research centres

A "research centre" is quite an anachronistic designation for an ancient reality. However, in some ways, development of new disciplines, or new works on ancient knowledge, were one of the goals of some important temples such as the Esagil in Babylon and the Rēš in Uruk. Beside the scholars themselves, the emergence of a so-called "research centre" was dependent on its library quality and size.

The cuneiform scholarly tablets were regularly copied to keep the text readable and in good condition. The copy was the work of both masters and students. Most of the texts copied were part of the so-called "canonical series" the *iškāru*, which were the classical works compiling the Mesopotamian knowledge. Keeping what we could name the 'Mesopotamian classics' does not mean that the *ummânus* were only able to reproduce a fossilised knowledge. And so, the Babylonian libraries of the first millennium BC allow modern historians to see the developments of new disciplines or new practices based on former knowledge. Two of them are good examples of knowledge developments in the second half of the first millennium BC: astronomy and history.

Astronomy in Esagil

The specificity of Esagil is that the temple and its library was one of the main centres of astronomy. Some of the best-known astronomical documents are the astronomical diaries, which register the daily observations of the sky. Such documents are attested in the Esagil from 651 to 61 BC. From the fifth century onwards, the astrologers acquired new knowledge in mathematical astronomy allowing them to calculate the position of the celestial bodies, which were until them only known by direct observation. Mathematical astronomical texts are attested both in Babylon and Uruk. We don't know well the process of research behind this theoretical approach of astronomy but what is sure is that it was the result of a long process, which took place inside the temples.

Incidentally, the astronomical texts are central in the reconstruction of the history of the Esagil library. Indeed, they are dated or datable tablets. In that way, it is possible to know that, at least from 651, the Esagil library kept such documents, and so existed. The Assyrian royal letters also show that an important knowledge centre was in Esagil (as well as in the Ezida of Borsippa) long before the seventh century, thanks to its huge number of tablets attested for this period. Therefore, the Esagil library was a reference and a "research" centre during, maybe, the whole first millennium BC and until its end of use, sometime at the beginning of the Christian era.

37 Clancier, *Les bibliothèques en Babylonie*, pp. 182–185.

The writing of History in Babylon and Borsippa

If the astronomical and astrological knowledge evolved throughout the whole first millennium BC, it was also the case of another discipline, very important for us: the writing of history. Indeed, to keep track of events, in relationship with the aspects of the sky, the astrologers developed a historical section inside the astronomical diaries. And thus, the historical sections of the diaries were used as reference for writing history mainly in the form of chronicles.[38] We can see an augmentation of the frequency of the historical sections written in the diaries as well as their length, the sections being more and more important from the late Achaemenid period to the Parthian era.[39]

Therefore, a new way of writing history developed in Babylon. The library of Esagil kept what is now to be called with Irvin Finkel and Robartus van der Spek the *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period*.[40] 20 of those chronicles are known at the time being and all seem to come from the Esagil library where were stored the diaries containing the necessary data for their writing.

Chronicles are not only attested in Babylon. Caroline Waerzeggers published a recent article showing that, in Borsippa, the scholars of the Ezida temple, the temple of the Nabû, developed their own chronographically tradition.[41] The chronicles from Borsippa were found by illegal diggers more probably in private houses, and were part of family archives or libraries. They date to the Neo-Babylonian period. The way they were created is impossible to know but following Caroline Waerzeggers another centre for the writing of history may have existed in Borsippa.

Conclusion

Numerous libraries in first millennium Babylonia survived until today. Both the buildings and the texts have been sometimes kept. By studying their contents, Assyriologists were able to enlighten the development of disciplines such as astronomy and history in the Babylonian sciences of the first millennium BC.

Such developments were the results of the studies of a scholarly milieu linked to the temples in which the *ummânus* worked conveniently, having one or several

38 For the chronicle of the Late Babylonian period, see Caroline Waerzeggers, "Facts, Propaganda, or History? Shaping Political Memory in the Nabonidus Chronicle", in: *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire*, eds. Jason M. Silverman and Caroline Waerzeggers, Atlanta 2015 (Ancient Near East Monographs 13), pp. 95–124 and eadem, "The Babylonian Chronicles: Classification and Provenance", in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71/2 (2012), pp. 285–298.

39 For the development of the historical sections of the diaries see Reinhard Pirngruber, "The Historical Sections of the Astronomical Diaries in Context: Developments in a Late Babylonian Scientific Text Corpus", in: *Iraq* 75 (2013), pp. 200–205.

40 The *Babylonian Chronicles of Hellenistic Period* (*BCHP*) are in preparation for publication by Robartus van der Spek and Irvin Finkel but their work is already accessible on http://www.livius.org/babylonia.html.

41 Waerzeggers, "Facts, Propaganda, or History? Shaping Political Memory in the Nabonidus Chronicle".

libraries keeping the useful reference texts. Therefore, temples such as the Esagil evolved as centres of innovations during the first millennium BC. But, it was perhaps not a new phenomenon, as the Esagil seems to have already played an important role in the canonisation of the Mesopotamian knowledge in the second half of the second millennium BC.

We can however address the impact the Babylonian main sanctuary had on the other important centres of knowledge in Antiquity. Paul-Alain Beaulieu had noted that the general organisation of the Esagil temple, as well as the Rēš in Uruk, taking as research centres, shared some similar features with the *Museion* and proposed to see the sanctuary of Bēl-Marduk as one of the prototypes making possible the later existence of the great library of Alexandria.[42] There were surely also numerous former examples in Egypt to inspire the Macedonians but clearly knowledge, research and logic weren't born with the Greeks.

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42 Beaulieu, "De l'Esagil au Mouseion: l'organisation de la recherche scientifique au ive s. av. J.-C.", pp. 17–36.

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Citation and Counter-citation in Classical Sumerian Scholastic Dialogue

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Abstract
One of the most important achievements in the humanities in the seventy years since World War Two is the reconstruction of Classical Sumerian literature and the Old Babylonian lexical and pedagogical materials that served as its basis. With good reason, most effort has been devoted to reconstructing these two deeply intertwined groups of material. The scholastic debates such as *The Class Reunion* – more so than any other genre – revel in frequent citations of the lexical tradition and often build entire speeches out of specific lexical passages. This paper focuses on the fine-grained mechanics of how scholars, ostensibly in the midst of an oral debate, referenced the lexical list tradition and answered the prior citations of their opponent. Beyond the coordinated, dialogic references from the two interlocutors to a single lexical passage, which will be exemplified here, I also argue that scholarly dialogues such as *The Class Reunion*, which were otherwise primarily oral and are now almost entirely lost, may have provided the missing link between transitions in the lexical list tradition for which no convincing logic has been proposed. If there were substantial moments of intertextuality between the scholastic dialogues and the lexical list tradition, these moments – however difficult to identify and comprehend – may represent the most important evidence for actual scholastic practice within the Old Babylonian Tablet House.

Introduction
The basic operations and goals of the Old Babylonian academy, which I will refer to here as "The Tablet House" (Sum. e_2-dub-ba-a = Akk. *bīt ṭuppim*),[1] are profoundly foreign, indeed almost entirely alien, to the way we run schools and institutions of higher learning today. There are a few similarities of course: the memorization of literature in a dead, foreign language, punishments for misbehavior and so on. The most glaring difference, however, may lie in the physical location of the authoritative texts: in our own day we speak of manuscripts and editions,

1 Konrad Volk, "Edubba'a und Edubba'a-Literatur: Rätsel und Lösungen", in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 90 (2000), p. 3 and n. 13 is probably right in arguing that the in-group interpretation of e_2-dub-ba-a was "house (e_2) where the tablets (dub) are distributed (ba-a)," but this did not seem to have any currency outside the Tablet House.

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expecting these entities to be located in archives and libraries, but no one today would imagine memorizing a novel and then passing it along to other readers by reciting a chapter at a time to a classroom full of students, or even writing out snippets for each student to memorize. Yet, it is increasingly clear that the masterpieces of Classical Sumerian – memorized in their precise logographic form rather than as a purely phonetic string – were held primarily in the minds of the most accomplished scholars, literati and intellectuals. Any physical manifestations of these memorized texts, in the form of cuneiform signs inscribed on a clay tablet, were necessarily derivative, secondary and not necessarily to be trusted.

Samuel Noah Kramer's edition of *Schooldays*, which he published in 1949, gave us a first glimpse into the daily life of the boys and teenagers who populated the Tablet House. In the leading scribal academies in cities like Nippur and Ur, students could, if they were persistent and hard-working, master an entire curriculum of Sumerian literature as well as a host of more practical skills from the division of an estate or the laying out of an agricultural field to drawing up contracts and letters. This largely proceeded through the rote memorization of the corpus of lexical lists as well as a wide variety of literary genres in which this lexical material was instantiated. For most intents and purposes, substantial familiarity with the lexical list tradition, some key pieces of literature and the more practical tasks like drawing up contracts and letters would have sufficed. Ordinary scribes and bureaucrats, designated in the sources with the fairly generic title "scribe" (dub-sar), were no doubt able to serve in various social roles and ensured the ongoing operation of the complex society of Old Babylonian period Mesopotamia.

As Niek Veldhuis emphasized in a particularly important discussion of "levels of literacy" (2014), beyond the ordinary "scribalism" (nam-dub-sar) portrayed in *Schooldays*, there was a higher level of scholarly or intellectual practice in the Mesopotamian Tablet House, in which a much smaller group of advanced students sought to master the entirety of the cuneiform written tradition, through both a complete knowledge of every twist of the cuneiform writing system and perfect recall of the lexical list tradition and the literary canon. These intellectuals were termed in Old Babylonian Sumerian "sons of the Tablet House" (dumu e_2-dub-ba-a) and we might speak of the knowledge that they mastered and their distinctive approach to Classical Sumerian literature as "scholasticism" (nam-dumu-e_2-dub-ba-a). In the midst of the veritable flood of editions, translations and synthetic overviews that Kramer and his students produced in the two or three decades following the Second World War, Kramer certainly ran across native Classical Sumerian texts from the Tablet House that depicted the activities of these scholars and intellectuals, but they are only rarely and obliquely referenced in Kramer's many books and papers. In his still magisterial *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture and Character*, for example, he offers a description of the dialogue known as *Enki-mansum and Giriniʾisa*, but when the two scholars break into scholastic dispute, Kramer skips over the entire section, pronouncing it "an obscure passage of forty-one lines which seems to consist of proverbs and old saws."[2]

What Kramer passed over as an untranslatable bundle of "proverbs and old saws" was in fact a depiction of scholastic debate, and very nearly the only texts that Kramer never tried his hand at editing were the scholastic disputations, texts such as *The Class Reunion*, a scholastic dispute, in written form, that will preoccupy us in this paper.[3] Both *Schooldays* and the scholastic disputations actually belong to a single well-defined genre of Classical Sumerian literature that we might simply term "alumni literature" (dumu e_2-dub-ba-a u_4-ul-la-am_3), literally "son of the Tablet House, of old (or) in the old days." There are actually three distinct compositions that begin with this same phrase within the alumni literature, *Schooldays* and *The Class Reunion* are the first and third of these three compositions in the catalogues; the second of the three, known as Edubba C (dumu e_2-dub-ba-a u_4-ul-la-am_3 $\hat{g}a_2$-nu ki-$\hat{g}u_{10}$-$\check{s}e_3$), has not yet been edited.[4] These three compositions form the core of the alumni literature and regularly appear as a well-demarcated group in catalogues and shelf-lists; what parallels they have with later periods of Mesopotamian literature typically occur in the rather amorphous category of wisdom literature.[5]

The alumni literature as a whole is reflexive or self-referential, in that each of these compositions depict some aspect of life within the Tablet House, sometimes from the perspective of former students who are no longer part of the academy. *Schooldays* presents us with the daily life of schoolboys, carefully disciplined and socialized to the institutional constraints of the Tablet House as they went about the business of memorizing the cuneiform lexical list tradition and the manifold variety of Classical Sumerian literature. In contrast, *The Class Reunion* depicts two accomplished former students of the Tablet House engaging in the type of scholastic debate that was expected of its most successful graduates. Even here, however, the text is intensely self-referential in that the structure of the advanced

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2 Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character*, Chicago 1963, p. 245.

3 See J. Cale Johnson and Markham J. Geller, *The Class Reunion – An Annotated Translation and Commentary on the Sumerian Dialogue* Two Scribes, Leiden 2015 (Cuneiform Monographs 47) for a critical edition.

4 For the time being see the translation in H. L. J. Vanstiphout, "The Dialogue between a Supervisor and a Scribe", in: *The Context of Scripture*, ed. William W. Hallo, Leiden 1997, vol 1, pp. 590–592.

5 As a literary or genre category, "wisdom literature" is not very helpful (and I have tried, for the most part, to avoid using the term in reference to *The Class Reunion*). Nonetheless, it can be a useful point of reference, if we want to identify links between Sumerian and later literatures. For a recent collection of this type of material in Akkadian, see Enrique Jiménez, *The Babylonian Disputation Poems. With Editions of the Series of the Poplar, Palm and Vine, the Series of the Spider, and the Story of the Poor, Forlorn Wren* Leiden 2017 (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 87) as well as the overview of wisdom literature in the ancient Near East more generally in Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The Social and Intellectual Setting of Babylonian Wisdom Literature", in: *Wisdom Literature in Mesopotamia and Israel*, ed. Richard J. Clifford, Atlanta 2007 (Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 36), pp. 3–20.

curriculum is a frequent point of reference and discussion.[6] In lines 48–51, for example, the graduate of the Tablet House who had stayed on as a teacher (the Professor) attacks the academic skills of his interlocutor, who had found work outside the scribal academy (the Bureaucrat):

> *The Class Reunion* 48–51[7]
>
> 48. Even when you parrot a classic, you cannot place it in the curriculum.
>
> 49. (When) you write out the *ṣâtu* lists, as far as the lu_2 = *ša* list,
>
> 50. You can't get your tongue around the Sumerian.
>
> 51. When you recite your times tables, you can't even make it to the end.

These are the advanced skills that the best students were expected to master and the lexical lists mentioned in line 49 stood at the very end of the Tablet House curriculum. Both *Schooldays* and *The Class Reunion* are framed, at the macro-level, as dialogues, and this was undoubtedly one of the most salient characteristics of the alumni literature. But within the shared dialogic framing of both texts, the specific form of dialogic interaction that we find in *Schooldays* and *The Class Reunion* could not be more different: *Schooldays* offers only snippets of dialogue, the kind of snippets that would normally occur in the daily life of a beginning student (Question: "What did you do in school?" / Answer: "I read my tablet, ate my lunch, prepared my tablet, wrote it and finished it."). In contrast, *The Class Reunion* tries to portray a scholastic dialogue in which two interlocutors face off, attempting to best their opponent in a series of alternating, usually 8–13 line speeches, filled to the brim with their detailed knowledge of cuneiform philology and rhetoric.

The two quite different forms of dialogic interaction in *Schooldays* and *The Class Reunion* are not simply represented at the level of genre or social milieu, with clear quotations of real-world conversations in *Schooldays* in contrast to the philologically-oriented speeches found in *The Class Reunion*. The contrast between the dialogic form of these two texts extends down to the grammatical and discursive form of the utterances that make up each dialogue. In *Schooldays*, the full array of pronominal elements and other grammatical forms are used in a fairly regular and explicit way.

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6 For an introduction to the advanced curriculum, see C. Jay Crisostomo, *Bilingual Education and Innovations in Scholarship: The Old Babylonian Word List Izi*, PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 2014.

7 48. nam-dub-sar-ra $\text{ḫe}_2\text{-bi}_2$-šid ki-bi $\text{li-bi}_2\text{-ib-gi}_4$
49. niĝ_2-zi-ĝal_2 edin-na za_3 lu_2 šu-ka-še_3 i_3-sar-ra
50. eme-gi_7-še_3 eme-zu si nu-ub-sa_2
51. a-ra_2 ḫe_2-šid za_3-bi-še_3 nu-zu

Schooldays 1–4

1a. dumu e_2-dub-ba-a u_4-ul-la-am_3

1b. me-$še_3$ i_3-du-de_3-en

2. e_2-dub-ba-a-$še_3$ i_3-du-de_3-en

3. e_2-dub-ba-a a-na-am_3 i_3-ak

4. dub-$ĝu_{10}$ i_3-šid . . .

Friend:

(1a) O Son of the Tablet House! Back in the old days,
(1b) where would you go? [[Q1]]

Schoolboy:

(2) I would go to the Tablet House. [[A1]]

Friend:

(3) In the Tablet House, what it is that you would do? [[Q2]]

Schoolboy:

(4) I would recite my tablet . . . [[A2]]

In the first four lines of *Schooldays*, in the midst of two straightforward question-answer pairs (A1 answers Q1, A2 answers Q2), we see the full array of Classical Sumerian grammatical forms for first and second person in dialogue. In contrast, in *The Class Reunion*, the grammatical forms that we might expect are dramatically reduced and only appear sporadically throughout the text. The opening of *The Class Reunion* is quite similar to *Schooldays*, of course, due to the need to present the text as an exemplar of the broader generic category of alumni literature:

The Class Reunion 1–2

1a. dumu e_2-dub-ba-a u_4-ul-la-am_3

1b. $ĝa_2$-nu ga-na ga-ab-sa_2-sa_2-en-de_3-en

2a. tukum-bi nam-dub-sar-ra i_3-zu

2b. a-na-am_3 i_3-šid

Professor (addressing the Bureaucrat):

(1a) O Son of the Tablet House! (Like) back in the old days, (1b) Come on! Let's have it out! (2a) If you trained in the scribal arts, (2b) what is it that you would recite?

This is simply the opening salvo from the Professor, but it does use the expected grammatical machinery. Elsewhere in *The Class Reunion*–in the heat of battle, as it were–pronominal elements and question particles are greatly reduced. In these latter passages, bare epithets and proverbial utterances are often reiterated without any direct indication of who is saying what to whom.

> *The Class Reunion* 60–63
>
> 60. lu$_2$-tumu lul du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ ra-gaba ki bad-ra$_2$
>
> 61. gu$_4$ sa ab-kud-kud $^{\text{ĝiš}}$šudul$_5$-a nu$_2$-nu$_2$
>
> 62. gu$_4$ gu$_3$ ra-aḫ bir-bir-re-ta zi-ir-zi-ir
>
> 63. geme$_2$ šu-ku$_6$ ĝiš-ba-an-e u$_4$ zal-zal
>
> Bureaucrat (addressing the Professor):
>
> (60) O Windbag! Speaker of lies like a foreign envoy! (61) Oxen, with their sinews cut, lie down still in the yoke. (62) After scattering the lowing oxen, he gets more and more worried. (63) The fish-monger spends her days (counting) bushel baskets.

Without any indication of how these lines relate to speaker or addressee, we the audience are left to infer that the speaker – here in lines 60–63, the Bureaucrat – is using these bare epithets as indirect descriptions of the addressee, but only rarely do we find explicit attributions of properties like these to the interlocutor, at least in the first half of the dialogue before things heat up.

To a great degree this reduction in explicit attribution, particularly in reference to properties of the addressee, is made possible by the fact that *The Class Reunion* only includes two participants, who alternate as speaker and addressee – no other participant utters a word in the text. This is quite different from *Schooldays*, where a host of minor characters utter statements of one kind or another, statements that frequently have a more or less dramatic impact on the unnamed former student who narrates most of the text. Moreover, thanks to the careful and repeated use of the quotative evidential (*-eše) to mark third party statements in *Schooldays*, it is quite easy to separate these statements out from the utterances of the two primary interlocutors. The usage of the evidential is clearest in the famous series of infractions, where the student breaks a rule, is verbally criticized and then punished with a blow of some kind.

> *Schooldays* 37–39
>
> 37. lu$_2$ ĝiš-ḫur-ra-ke$_4$ a-na-aš-am$_3$ ĝa$_2$-da nu-me-a i$_3$-zi-ge-en-e-še in-tud$_2$-de$_3$-en
>
> 38. lu$_2$ ka$_2$-na-ke$_4$ a-na-aš-am$_3$ ĝa$_2$-da nu-me-a ib$_2$-ta-e$_3$-e-še in-tud$_2$-de$_3$-en
>
> 39. lu$_2$ laḫtan-na-ke$_4$ a-na-aš-am$_3$ ĝa$_2$-da nu-me-a šu ba-ti-e-še in-tud$_2$-de$_3$-en

> (37) The supervisor (said): "Why did you get up without permission?" and he struck me.
> (38) The door-keeper (said): "Why did you go out without my permission?" and he struck me.
> (39) The jug-watcher (said): "Why did you take a . . . without my permission?" and he struck me.

The utterances of each of these authority figures are marked with the quotative or hearsay evidential in order to show that only one of the two actual interlocutors was present to hear each of these statements, so the evidential has the added benefit of distinguishing the statements of the two interlocutors, which do not bear the evidential, from utterances coming from other parties, as in these examples.[8]

The Class Reunion, however, never includes any utterances from a third party and the quotative evidential is, therefore, not used. This means, first and foremost, that the discursive structure is exclusively oriented to the two interlocutors (provisionally labeled as the Professor and the Bureaucrat in the 2015 edition of the text that I produced in collaboration with Mark Geller). Since no third parties intervene and the bulk of the text offers a straightforward alternation between the two participants, the usual grammatical machinery for separating out first, second and third person in Classical Sumerian (pronouns, verbal inflections and interrogative particles, though no evidentials) periodically disappear (or become greatly reduced) throughout an entire speech (Table 1–3).[9]

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8 C. Jay Crisostomo "Multilingualism and the Formulations of Scholarship: The Rosen Vocabulary", in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 106/1 (2016), pp. 22–32 has recently suggested that the simple first and second person (imperative) utterances collected in the Rosen Vocabulary "allude" to some brief utterances in *Schooldays*, but none are actually identical in form.

9 There are also some apparent grammatical anomalies, such as forms in i_3-√ROOT that are transitive, perfective and seemingly third person in context, yet do not include the ergative pronominal element *-n- before the root (i_3-šid in line 2, i_3-zu in line 8 and the series of verbs, including i_3-šid and i_3-sar in lines 126–127). For the possibility that i_3- could be used to form (third-person) adjectival passives in the late third millennium, see J. Cale Johnson, "Sumerian Adjectival Passives Using the *im- Prefix", in: *From the 21st Century B.C. to the 21st Century A.D.*, eds. S. Garfinkle and M. Molina, Winona Lake 2013, pp. 39–43. If so, these anomalous uses of i_3-√ROOT for third person may be a piece of scholarly jargon that only survived in the Tablet House.

First and second person grammatical elements in The Bureaucrat's Kiln Speech *(The Class Reunion* 59–69*)*

Line number	Pronouns	Verbal inflection	Interrogative particles
59	yes (ĝa$_2$-e)	yes (nu-me-en)	yes (a-na-aš-am$_3$)
60	no	no	no
61	no	no	no
62	no	no	no
63	no	no	no
64	no	no	no
65	no	no	no
66	no	no	no
67	no	no	no
68	no	no	no
69	yes (za-e)	yes (mu-da-ab-sa$_2$-e)	yes (a-na-gen$_7$-nam)

First and second person grammatical elements in The Professor's Oven-of-mankind Speech (*The Class Reunion* 70–78)

Line number	Pronouns	Verbal Inflection	Interrogative particles
70	no	no	no
71	no	no	no
72	no	no	no
73	yes (e$_{11}$-da-zu-ne)	no	no
74	no	yes (ba-e-de$_3$-gaz)	no
75	yes (^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$ sa-sal-zu)	no	no
76	no	yes (e-da-ra-aḫ)	no
77	no	no	no
78	yes (igi-giri$_{17}$-zu)	no	no

First and second person grammatical elements in The Professor's Face-to-face Speech (*The Class Reunion* 91–97)

Line number	Pronouns	Verbal Inflection	Interrogative particles
91	yes (a-ga-ĝu$_{10}$-še$_3$, etc.)	yes (na-an-gub-be$_2$-en, etc.)	no
92	no	no	no
93	no	no	no
94	no	no	no
95	no	no	no
96	yes (a$_2$-zu, ša$_3$-gal-zu)	no	no
97	no	yes (ba-zaḫ$_2$, ba-gub-be$_2$-en)	no

In speeches like these, we are left in *The Class Reunion* with a fairly clear alternation between the speeches of the two interlocutors and even regular use of first and second person pronouns at key points of transition. These speeches consist entirely or almost entirely of strings of epithets, proverbs and other citations, and to the degree that these litanies are derisive, we might want to systematically infer that they were meant in reference to the addressee. As we will see later on, however, the transition from invited but unstated implication to explicit statement plays a particularly important role in the dialogue.

This type of implied but non-explicit reference to the addressee with a series of epithets and quotations seems to be a regular part of Classical Sumerian scholastic debate, and it was undoubtedly this particular feature of the texts that led Kramer to describe them as collections of "old saws and proverbs." What Kramer found so uninteresting, or perhaps disconcerting, and what led him to largely ignore these materials, is actually a fairly regular cross-cultural pattern in the use of proverbs in dialogic interaction: in a one-on-one dialogue the utterance of a proverb or cliché, which makes no direct reference to the addressee, allows for a substantial degree of criticism without directly challenging the addressee.[10] The interesting thing about *The Class Reunion* and similar materials is that the two interlocutors are ostensibly on an equal footing, so it comes as little surprise that an initial, implicit critique of the addressee is not simply taken on board as a legitimate criticism. Instead, the addressee, in his own subsequent speech answers these implied criticisms with criticisms directed at the initial speaker. It is the vivid back-and-forth of these implicit acts of criticism that gives a scholastic debate like this its distinctive feel and aesthetic. Moreover, if passages like those in question actually consist of a series of "quotations" or better "citations" from other textual sources, and little else, we are more-or-less obligated to try to identify the discursive logic that explains the choice and arrangement of these citations.

The primary goal of the paper, therefore, is to identify and explain the precise mechanics of citation and counter-citation in *The Class Reunion*, the only lengthy example of Classical Sumerian scholastic dialogue that exists in a standard edition. Although I have not attempted here, for the most part, to draw out or emphasize the many points of contact, similarity or contrast with Miguel Civil's description of "enumeration", it should be fairly clear that enumeration (where an entire lexical passage is converted into a piece of literature through the application of a repetitive formula to each lexical item), represents an asymptotic limit, to which any other form of citation can only approach to one degree or another. Even if no precise mathematical models of citation seem to exist at present, I have attempted in the following to move from relatively simple examples of citation, in

10 See the discussion and exemplification in J. Cale Johnson and Markham J. Geller, *The Class Reunion—An Annotated Translation and Commentary on the Sumerian Dialogue* Two Scribes, Leiden 2015 (Cuneiform Monographs 47), pp. 15–17.

which the co-occurrence of a number of lemmata merely guarantees the reality of the intertextual link, to more complex examples in which a series of citations in a lexical list (or its oral co-text, see below) are used to organize an entire speech or series of speeches. Clearly this latter phenomenon is quite similar to Civil's definition of enumeration, but it still seems to be formally distinct. In speaking of citation and counter-citation, however, I also want to highlight the density and directionality of any given instance of citation. This approach to citation is rooted, however indirectly, in Bakhtin's concept of dialogicality.[11] Maybin, who draws explicitly on both the Bakhtinian heritage and its implementation in a number of disciplines, subsumes these phenomena under the general heading of "the nature and consequences of textual trajectories in institutional contexts".[12] As Maybin goes on to emphasize (and as Mark Geller and I stressed in our edition of *The Class Reunion*), the micro-level practice of citation "is dynamically interconnected with macro-level institutional processes",[13] such as one's standing vis-à-vis other scholars within the Tablet House as well as professional success within a subsequent disciplinary specialization.

Defining Interactional Text in Classical Sumerian Literature

In the past few decades there have been numerous efforts to define different types and modes of textuality. Broadly defined as "any configuration of signs that is coherently interpretable by some community of users" (Hanks 1989: 95), text can then be further specified along a number of different dimensions. As Hanks puts it:

> The term "sign" raises issues of *textual typology* [iconic, indexical, and symbolic . . .; dense, replete . . .], *medium* [including language, painting, film, music, . . .], and *compositional units* [whether "text" must consist of more than one interconnected signs . . .].[14]

But broad notions of textuality such as this can easily expand beyond any reasonable limit and become vacuous.[15] Silverstein's contrast between "denotational" and "interactional" textuality retains a category that is roughly equivalent to sta-

11 See, above all, Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the novel", in: *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, Austin 1981 [1935], pp. 259–422 and V. N. Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, trans. L. Mateijka and I.R. Titunik, Cambridge 1973 [1929], apud Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban, *Natural Histories of Discourse*, Chicago 1996 and Janet Maybin, "Textual trajectories: Theoretical roots and institutional consequences", in: *Text & Talk* 37 (2017), pp. 415–435.

12 Maybin, Janet, "Textual trajectories: Theoretical roots and institutional consequences", in: *Text & Talk* 37 (2017), p. 416.

13 Ibid. p. 418.

14 William R. Hanks, "Text and textuality", in: *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18 (1989), pp. 95–96.

15 See Hanks, "Text and textuality", Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, "Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on intertextuality", in: *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19 (1990), pp. 59–88, Silverstein and Urban, *Natural Histories of Discourse* for the manifold possibilities of broader models of textuality as well as its dangers. Assyriologists and other

tus quo models of written textuality (viz. the denotational text) and contrasts this with a distinct type of textuality that focuses on the function of an utterance in the interactional real-time of a dialogue (viz. the interactional text). This opposition will prove quite useful, however, in analyzing the patterns of citation in *The Class Reunion* and similar examples of scholastic dialogue. The decisive question that an interactional analysis of a given text asks is what does any given utterance within the dialogue achieve with respect to the dialogue as a whole. Or more bluntly, ignoring questions of grammatical coherence, what does an individual "turn" in the conversation actually do.

In the following example of a real conversation, known as "buying paint" in the anthropological literature, the first speaker (here listed as B) approaches a clerk (here designated as A) in a paint store, primarily in order to collect information, but under the guise of buying paint.[16]

Buying paint (Levinson 1983: 305, apud Silverstein 2003: 198–201)

T1	B:	. . . I ordered some paint from you uh a couple of weeks ago some vermilion	
T2	A:	Yuh	
T3	B:	And I wanted to order some more the name's Boyd	((R1))
T4	A:	Yes // how many tubes would you like sir	((Q1))
T5	B:	An-	
T6	B:	U:hm (.) what's the price now eh with V.A.T. do you know eh	((Q2))
T7	A:	Er I'll just work that out for you =	((HOLD))
T8	B:	= Thanks (10.0)	((ACCEPT))
T9	A:	Three pounds nineteen a tube sir	((A2))
T10	B:	Three nineteen is it =	((Q3))
T11	A:	= Yeah	((A3))
T12	B:	E::h (1.0) yes u:hm ((dental clicks)) ((in parenthetical tone)) e:h jus-justa think, that's what three nineteen That's for the large tube isn't it	((Q4))
T13	A:	Well yeah it's the thirty seven c.c.s	((A4))
T14	B:	Er, hh I'll tell you what I'll just eh eh ring you back I have to work out how many I'll need. Sorry I did- wasn't sure of the price you see	((ACCOUNT FOR NO A1))
T15	A:	Okay	

specialists in predominantly written textualities will need to be particularly careful in their adoption of elements from anthropological or discourse analytical approaches to textuality.

16 This paragraph is drawn from E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and J. C. Johnson, "Metalinguistic awareness, orthographic elaboration and the problem of notational scaffolding in the ancient Near East", in: *Encoding Metalinguistic Awareness: Ancient Mesopotamia and Beyond*, eds. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum and J. Cale Johnson, Berlin 2019 (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 27), pp. 9–51.

Now, if we wanted to analyze this dialogue in terms of denotational textuality, we would first have to segment it into sentence- or clause-level units. In some cases this would be straightforward: “That’s for the large tube, is it?” at the end of utterance T12 could be analyzed in English school grammar traditions as an interrogative with a tag question, and so forth. An analysis of the interactional text in this passage works quite differently: it would ask what each utterance (rather than sentence) contributes to the real-time logic of the interaction. Thus, the interactional text at work here would treat the entire utterance in T12 (including dental clicks, parenthetical tone and several sentence fragments) as a single functional unit that poses a question (“Q4” in the notation on the right side of the dialogue). This “question” prompts an answer in utterance A4 (“Well, yeah it’s the thirty seven cc.s”).

In order to capture the function of each utterance or turn within the dialogue as a whole, Silverstein posits a superordinate stratum of metapragmatic signs that define which pragmatic events are required for a legitimate example of “buying paint” to have taken place. It is the sequence of turns occurring in the real-time performance of the dialogue that constitutes the interactional text *per se*, but for our purposes here we can focus on the representation of the interactional text in the series of markers in double parentheses running down the right-hand column alongside the dialogue. These labels identify the specific function of each utterance in the conversation, so, for example, in T(urn) 1, we have the quite ordinary question, in the context of most any example of buying paint: “how many tubes (of paint) would you like sir,” which is labeled in the interactional text as Q(uestion) 1. Of course, as both real-world experience and the history of bookkeeping make abundantly clear, the answer to such a question need not be linguistic or grammatical at all. If the customer were merely to hold up two fingers to indicate two tubes of paint, the clerk would hopefully recognize this and complete the order. This gesture would be just as valid as a component of an interactional text, as the utterance of “two” in English or the inscription of “2” on an order form. In contrast, denotational text, as an analytical framework, does not focus on utterances and what they achieve in interaction. Instead, a denotational analysis takes sentences or clauses as its unit of analysis and seeks to evaluate the grammatical coherence of each clause or sentence in a particular human language.

The fundamental problem that we face in attempting to distinguish between these two forms of textuality in a written corpus – and in particular a written corpus that has largely been transmitted to us as a dead and learned language of scholarship – is that in heavily formalized written traditions, interactional text is regularly assimilated to denotational text. Where a real-time conversational turn might consist of a laugh or a shrug, a literary text will typically replace these actions with a grammatically conforming clause like “Mary laughed,” replacing the laugh itself, or a proverbial utterance like “No rest for the wicked” taking the place (and bearing the functional load) of the original shrug. Thus, for the vast majority of Classical Sumerian texts, the contrast between denotational and interactional text is not particularly useful, but here in the series of citations that make up the bulk of a scholastic dialogue like *The Class Reunion*, the notion of interactional text can be quite useful. Indeed, one of the main reasons that Kramer and his students did not edit or translate these texts is that they generally lack coherence at the level of denotational text (and therefore resist ordinary forms of translation), but if we reanalyze these same passages in terms of interactional text, they yield a fairly clear interactional form of textuality.

This denotational incoherence, which led Kramer to skip over scholastic debate as a genre, is particularly clear, if we look at a four-line snippet from the Bureaucrat's Kiln Speech, lines 61–64, in translation:

The Class Reunion 61–64[17]

61. Oxen, with their sinews cut, lie down still in the yoke,

62. After scattering the lowing oxen, he gets more and more worried.

63. The fishmonger spends her days (counting) bushel baskets.

64. The windbag sleeps with his head in the potter's kiln.

An analysis of these lines in terms of denotational textuality presents us with entirely negative results: each line after the first is a *non-sequitur*, yielding no overall coherence in these four lines. At the level of interactional textuality, however, the logic of this passage can be explicated in a much more straightforward way. Line 61, is a citation of a Sumerian proverb, which is actually attested on a rough, schoolboy tablet, known as a "lentil" (Pl. VII). The word udun "kiln" in line 64, still within the same speech from the Bureaucrat, then refers back to line 61 by punning on the term for "yoke" in line 61, namely $^{\text{ĝiš}}$šudun or $^{\text{ĝiš}}$šudul$_5$. While this interactional link occurs within a single speech, most of the interactional coherence in *The Class Reunion* only becomes visible if we look at how several different lines in the subsequent speech from the Professor, in lines 71–77, answer and respond to specific lines in the preceding speech from the Bureaucrat. Through this type of interactional call-and-response, the apparent non-sequiturs in the Bureaucrat's speech are dispelled.

Many of the interactional links between these two speeches are visible in translation: lines 76–77 in the Professor's Oven-of-mankind Speech, for example, speak directly to the themes introduced in line 63 in the Bureaucrat's Kiln Speech.

17 61. gu$_4$ sa ab-kud-kud $^{\text{ĝiš}}$šudul$_5$-a nu$_2$-nu$_2$
62. gu$_4$ gu$_3$ ra-aḫ bir-bir-re-ta zi-ir-zi-ir
63. geme$_2$ šu-ku$_6$ ĝiš-ba-an-e u$_4$ zal-zal
64. saĝ lu$_2$-tumu udun baḫar$_2$-ra-ka nu$_2$-nu$_2$

63. geme$_2$ šu-ku$_6$ ĝiš-ba-an-e u$_4$ zal-zal

(63) The fishmonger spends her days (counting) bushel baskets.

. . .

76. ^{gi}gur nisi-ga-ta zu$_2$ e-da-ra-aḫ

77. ^{gi}gur šu-ku$_6$-da-ka ku$_6$ mi-ni-ib-kar-kar

(76) You're snacking straight out of a basket of raw greens, (77) while stealing fish from the fisherman's basket.

Here two key thematic elements from line 63, viz. the fisherman and the basket for his catch, are reiterated and transformed in lines 76–77. The straightforward activity of hawking fish in line 63 is, however, transformed into a humorous picture of a fishmonger eating greens out of one basket, as she surreptitiously steals fish from another. Other interactional links, however, only become visible if we are cognizant of the fully bilingual environment in which these dialogues were constructed.

One of the most important pieces of interactional structure in *The Class Reunion* is the repetition of the participial form nu$_2$-nu$_2$ throughout the second half of the text. The phrase appears at the end of lines 61 and 63 in the Bureaucrat's Kiln Speech, tying these two lines together, while at the same time providing the primary theme that will be countered in the following speech from the Professor. The standard Akkadian equivalent of Sumerian nu$_2$-nu$_2$ is *utūlu* "to lie down" and this term, only present in the text by implication in lines 61 and 63, was subsequently the target of the pun ^{dug}utul$_2$ in line 73: the phonetic form of *utūlu* in Akkadian matches the phonetic form of utul$_2$ "soup bowl" in Sumerian, while the same cuneiform sign that is used to write utul$_2$ also reappears in the next line—no longer in conjunction with the semantic determiner DUG for containers, and therefore read as tu$_7$ "soup". Here are lines 72–75 from the Professor's Oven-of-mankind Speech for some context:

The Class Reunion 72–75

72. ^{im}šu-rin-na nam-lu$_2$-ulu$_3$^{lu}-ka zi$_3$-munu$_4$ i-ni-bara$_3$-bara$_3$

73. ^{dug}utul$_2$ ar-za-na ^{im}šu-rin-na-ta e$_{11}$-da-zu-ne

74. ba-e-de$_3$-gaz tu$_7$ al-bil$_2$-la-ta

75. ^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$ sa-sal-zu su-a ab-sil$_2$-sil$_2$

(72) (You are) beer-mash flour spread out in the oven of mankind. (73) As you are taking the arzana-soup out of the over, (74) you get killed by the boiling soup. (75) Your Achilles tendon and heel get scalded.

The repetition of the same sign or phrase in two subsequent lines, in order to mark and emphasize it as a key word, is a regular feature of *The Class Reunion*, and in these few lines two words/phrases are emphasized. The term ^{im}šu-rin-na "oven" is reiterated in lines 72 and 73, presumably in response to udun baḫar$_2$-ra "potter's kiln" in the preceding speech of the Bureaucrat. Likewise, ^{dug}utul$_2$ "soup-bowl" and tu$_7$ "soup" in lines 73 and 74 repeat the same logogram for soup, presumably as a phonetic pun on the Akkadian *utūlu* "to lie down".

This complex interlingual pun (involving Akk. *utūlu* "to lie down" as well as Sum. nu$_2$-nu$_2$ "to lie down" and ^{dug}utul$_2$ "soup bowl") forms a textual chain or trajectory that runs through six different lines of *The Class Reunion* as follows:

61.	. . . nu$_2$-nu$_2$	≙ Akk. *utūlu*
64.	. . . nu$_2$-nu$_2$	≙ Akk. *utūlu*
71.	. . . nu$_2$-nu$_2$	≙ Akk. *utūlu*
73.	^{dug}utul$_2$ . . .	≙ Akk. *utūlu*
106.	. . . nu$_2$-nu$_2$	≙ Akk. *utūlu*
117.	. . . nu$_2$-nu$_2$	≙ Akk. *utūlu*

This text-internal chain also forms a major structural element, as it were, of the interactional text, where it repeatedly assists a properly enculturated reader in perceiving the internal structure of the text, but parts of this chain, in particular line 73, are not even visible in a normally construed denotational text. Simply put, the shifting back-and-forth between Sumerian and Akkadian as well as the central role of an interlingual phonetic pun are not available in a traditional analysis of *The Class Reunion* as a denotational text. It is presumably no accident that the passages in which this kind of interactional text becomes the dominant means of ordering the text are precisely those passages in which explicit occurrences of first- and second-person pronouns, inflections and other grammatical forms—the primary means of organizing the denotational text of a dialogue—are substantially reduced or entirely absent.

The Mechanics of Citation and Counter-citation

A well-defined and explicit apparatus for citation did not exist in Old Babylonian period Mesopotamia: footnotes, bibliographies and the like were not in use of course, and the only regular mechanism for referring to a particular textual entity was to use its first line, the incipit, or exceptionally, as in the case of the alumni literature, when the first line was the same in several compositions, the second line. Due to the non-existence of an auxiliary system of citation, it was even more difficult to refer to an individual entry in an lexical list, and indeed the only convincing way of doing so was to repeat two or three sequential entries in and around the entry that was being cited, and this is precisely the form of citation that we meet in *The Class Reunion*. We can see a relatively clear chain of citations beginning in line 75 of the Professors Oven-of-mankind Speech: line 75, which comes at the end of the extract we were looking at a moment ago, uses the relatively rare word ^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$ "a body-part, perhaps the Achilles tendon".[18] The term is attested in line 423 of Old Babylonian Ura 3 (according to the lineation in the DCCLT edition). In the Bureaucrat's subsequent Barley-roaster Speech, in lines 82 and 83, the Bureaucrat must, if he is to successfully respond to the Professor's citation, make clear that he recognizes the citation, but also respond to the citation of Old Babylonian Ura 3 in a meaningful way. The Bureaucrat's response to the citation comes in lines 82 and 83:

The Class Reunion 82–83[19]

82. gu$_2$-murgu-zu-ta za$_3$-gu-du-zu-še$_3$

83. zu$_2$-keš$_2$ sim$_x$(GIG)-ma ab-ta-si-si

(82) From stem to stern, (83) the vertebrae are completely covered with blemishes.

That the Bureaucrat has managed to recognize the Professor's citation and, at the same time, call up from memory the wider context of the passage is made clear by a sequence of three Sumerian words that are packed into lines 82–83. Two of these three terms, ^{uzu}gu$_2$-murgu "backbone" and ^{uzu}gu$_2$-keš$_2$ gu$_2$-murgu "vertebrae", are standard elements in the lexical lists and appear in lines 418 and 419 of Old Babylonian Ura 3, just four or five lines before ma-sila$_3$ in line 423. The third term in this example of counter-citation, however, namely zag-gu-du "edge of the anus" in line 82, is probably a neologism, since it is not attested in the Old Babylonian lexical materials, yet it clearly puns on the term ^{uzu}zag-udu "cut of meat" in Old Babylonian Ura 3, line 421, just two lines before the Professor's citation of ^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$ in line 423.

It is important to recognize, as we attempt to make sense of citational practice in the Old Babylonian Tablet House, that the internal structure of a lexical list like Old Babylonian Ura 3 often seems to "mesh" with the call and response of citations and counter-citations in a scholastic dialogue like *The Class Reunion*. Old Babylonian lexical lists are sometimes organized into what we might call, extending the well-known textile metaphor for textuality in cuneiform, "stitches" and "runs" (Table 4).

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18 See Peterson's discussion of the term in his dissertation (Jeremiah Peterson, *A Study of Sumerian Faunal Conception with a Focus on the Terms Pertaining to the Order Testudines*, PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 2007, pp. 437–438).

19 Peterson, *A Study of Sumerian Faunal Conception*, 576, n. 2211 was the first to recognize this link, although M. Geller and I were not yet aware of it when we produced our edition of *The Class Reunion*.

Old Babylonian Ura 3, lines 417–424 (cited entries in **bold**)		
417. ^{uzu}gu$_2$	((stitch))	
418. ^{uzu}gu$_2$-murgu		((run))
419. ^{uzu}zu$_2$-keš$_2$ gu$_2$-murgu		
420. ^{uzu}gu$_2$ bal geš-du$_3$-a		
421. ^{uzu}zag-udu	((stitch))	
422. ^{uzu}sila$_3$ zag-udu		((run))
423. ^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$	((stitch))	
424. ^{uzu}si ma-sila$_3$		((run))

These lines are from a list of human body-parts, running along the back and perhaps down to the heel. Although the list in itself appears to be entirely "flat", with no explicit indications of hierarchy or internal structure, we might speak of the relatively simple, monolexemic headwords, in lines 417, 421 and 423, each of which heads a two to four line section, as "stitches" and the sequence of related words that follow as a "run". In lines 417–420, for example, ^{uzu}gu$_2$ "neck" acts as the stitch for a run that includes ^{uzu}gu$_2$-murgu, ^{uzu}zu$_2$-keš$_2$ gu$_2$-murgu and ^{uzu}gu$_2$ bal geš-du$_3$-a, while the next two stitches in lines 421 and 423, namely ^{uzu}zag-udu in line 421 and ^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$ in line 423, are each followed by a run that consist of a single term. When the Professor cites ^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$ in line 423, he is referring to a stitch – a monolexemic headword – but when the Bureaucrat responds to this citation in lines 82 and 83 of *The Class Reunion*, he cites two entries from a run that is five lines earlier in the same list, ^{uzu}gu$_2$-murgu and ^{uzu}zu$_2$-keš$_2$ (gu$_2$-murgu) in lines 418 and 419, and then he puns on the stitch that separates these terms from the Professor's original citation, namely ^{uzu}zag-udu. The Bureaucrat's reference to these three lexemes makes the reality of his counter-citation absolutely clear, while at the same time demonstrating his perfect recall of the most intricate details of this section of Old Babylonian Ura 3.

The type of interactional text at work in this example of citation and counter-citation is obviously much more complex than the text-internal chain of nu$_2$-nu$_2$ > *utūlu* > utul$_2$ that we looked at in the previous section. In essence, the simplistic pun that links together lines 61, 64, 71, 73, 106 and 117 has been expanded or elaborated into coordinated and competing acts of reference to an external textual source. Unlike the chain formed with nu$_2$-nu$_2$ > *utūlu* > utul$_2$, however, each of the lexical entries cited by the Professor in line 75 and the Bureaucrat in lines 82 and 83 has a straightforward denotational meaning in Sumerian and we can assume that the denotational text for these cited terms simply consists of their run-of-the-mill denotational meaning. The real point, however, of the citation and counter-citation in the context of a scholastic dialogue such as this is not simply to understand the denotational meaning of ma-sila$_3$, gu$_2$-murgu or zu$_2$-keš$_2$ (gu$_2$-murgu). This would be a gross underestimation of what is happening in the dialogue. Instead, we must attempt to make sense of the interactional text at work in this small example of citation and counter-citation: What is the Professor saying about the Bureaucrat through his citation of ma-sila$_3$? What is the Bureaucrat saying about the Professor through his counter-citation of gu$_2$-murgu, zu$_2$-keš$_2$ (gu$_2$-murgu) or zag-udu?

In line with recent work on interactional "stance" such as Lempert's 2008 paper on "the poetics of stance", we cannot expect the formal or lexical differences between paired lines to provide us with straightforward explanation of what each of the interlocutors is up to. Lempert offers a number of examples of how text internal "poetic" similarities and patterns, particularly in juxtaposed utterances in a dialogue, can be used either to align the two interlocutors in a shared stance or to set up two oppositional points of view vis-à-vis what is happening in the dialogue. In a pair of utterances such as the following, parallelism between the two utterances—in addition to their propositional content—brings the two participants into alignment:

> Shared or aligned stance[20]
>
> Sam: "I don't like those"
>
> Angela: "I don't either"

In contrast, in the following well-known example, parallel structures can also be used to draw out an oppositional stance.

> Oppositional stance[21]
>
> Tony: "Why don't you get out of my yard."
>
> Chopper: "Why don't you make me get out the yard."

As Lempert goes on to point out, "Chopper opts for right, cross-turn parallelism, conveniently spotlighting his novel element: the causative *make (me)*".[22] As should be clear from these two contrastive examples, the interactional text does not, in itself, tell us when particular utterances bring the interlocutors into alignment or into opposition. The interactional text – whether organized by text-internal parallelism or the joint citation of a lexical passage – merely tells us where to look in the text for indications of the stance of the two participants with respect to each other. In other words, the series of citations in lines 75 and 82–83 tells us that lines 82–83 are reacting, in some way, to line 75, but they do not spell out the nature of this reaction. In order to make sense of both line 75 and lines 82–83, we

20 John W. Du Bois, "The Stance Triangle", in: *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*, ed. Robert Englebretson, Philadelphia 2007, p. 159; Michael Lempert, "The Poetics of Stance: Text-metricality, Epistemicity, Interaction", in: *Language in Society* 37 (2008), p. 573.

21 Marjorie Harness Goodwin, *He-said-she-said: Talk as Social Organization Among Black Children*, Bloomington 1990, p. 180; Lempert, "The Poetics of Stance", p. 572.

22 Lempert, "The Poetics of Stance", p. 572.

have to attempt to contextualize the occurrence of these different lines in their respective speeches.

The Meaning of the Bureaucrat's Counter-citation

Without necessarily wanting to invoke a contrast between aesthetic and moral responsibilities, there does seem to be a fairly clear difference in how the Professor and the Bureaucrat characterize each other's failings. As M. Geller and I point out in the Introduction to our edition of *The Class Reunion*, the Professor's critique of the Bureaucrat focuses on the Bureaucrat's relatively low level of scribal skill, which might also be framed as a lack of aesthetic sensitivity. As we put the matter in the edition:

> The preceding speech from the Bureaucrat was really a laundry list of comedic images, each of which involves a reduplicated verbal root.
>
> Line-end reduplications in *The Class Reunion*, lines 62–68
>
> 62. … zi-ir-zi-ir
>
> 63. … zal-zal
>
> 64. … nu_2-nu_2
>
> 65. … til-til
>
> 66. … gu_7-gu_7
>
> 67. … bar-bar
>
> 68. … bar-bar
>
> . . . at least part of the Professor's critique (of the Bureaucrat) seems to have focused on the poor aesthetics of selecting a series of images on the basis of such an unsophisticated linguistic form (lines ending in a reduplicated verbal root). Not surprisingly, in his response, the Professor also makes use of reduplication, but in a more aesthetically sophisticated way.[23]

This is the same passage in which there are no indications of first- or second-person pronouns or other grammatical machinery. It seems likely, therefore, that at least in part, the Professor is critiquing the Bureaucrat's rendition of a speech that looks more like a lexical list than a dialogue. Put somewhat differently, we might say that the Professor is accusing the Bureaucrat of using what Civil would call "enumeration" in a blunt and unsophisticated way. Interestingly enough, when the Bureaucrat responds, however, he does not directly counter

23 J. Cale Johnson and Markham J. Geller, *The Class Reunion—An Annotated Translation and Commentary on the Sumerian Dialogue* Two Scribes, Leiden 2015 (Cuneiform Monographs 47), p. 36.

the Professor's attack; instead, he offers a quite different critique of the Professor, focusing largely on questions of morality or decorum rather than scribal skill or aesthetics.

In the speeches leading up to the second half of the Bureaucrat's Barley-roaster Speech, especially lines 84–90, where the crescendo in the Bureaucrat's side of the argument begins (a crescendo that largely comes to an end in lines 98–109), the idea and imagery of someone being burned in a kiln, presumably as a form of punishment, is increasingly common. The "kilns and ovens" theme was already initiated in the Bureaucrat's Kiln Speech in lines 59–69, where he first offers a description of someone sleeping or lying down with their head in a kiln in line 64.

> *The Class Reunion* 64
>
> sag lu_2-tumu udun baḫar_2-ra-ka nu_2-nu_2
>
> The windbag sleeps with his head in the potter's kiln

This line occurs in the midst of a series of humorous descriptions of non-elite laborers going about their work (ranging from ox herders and fishmongers down to the brewer and a person with some kind of mental or developmental problem), and image of the "windbag" (lu_2-tumu) with his head in the kiln is presumably a humorous depiction of absent-mindedness, not moral corruption or its punishment. Here the "windbag" has accidentally slept with his head in the potter's kiln – perhaps to stay warm on a chilly night – but there is no suggestion that this is some kind of punishment. More importantly, in line 64 and the surrounding lines, there is no direct indication that this line was meant to refer to the Professor.

This changes dramatically in the Bureaucrat's subsequent Barley-roaster Speech in lines 79–90. Here, especially in lines 81–83, where the Bureaucrat is offering the counter-citation that we mentioned earlier, it is quite clear that the person in the potter's kiln is none other than the Professor himself. This personal accusation against the Professor, unlike many statements elsewhere in the text, makes frequent use of second person pronouns that can only refer to the Professor.

> *The Class Reunion* 81–83
>
> 81. udun baḫar_2-ra-ka gur_4-gur_4-re-da-zu-ne
>
> 82. gu_2-murgu-zu-ta zag-gu-du-zu-$še_3$
>
> 83. zu_2-$keš_2$ sim_x(GIG)-ma ab-ta-si-si
>
> (81) (You look like) you've been rolled around in the potter's kiln. (82) From stem to stern, (83) the vertebrae are completely covered with blemishes.

The directness of these few lines clearly represents a personal attack and these lines are responding to a similar personal attack that the Professor launched against the Bureaucrat in lines 73–75.

The Class Reunion 73–75

73. ^{dug}utul$_2$ ar-za-na ^{im}šu-rin-na-ta e$_{11}$-da-zu-ne

74. ba-e-de$_3$-gaz tu$_7$ al-bil$_2$-la-ta

75. ^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$ sa-sal-zu su-a ab-sil$_2$-sil$_2$

(73) As you are taking the *arzana*-soupbowl out of the over, (74) you get killed by the boiling soup. (75) Your Achilles tendon and heel get scalded.

These are the same clusters of lines in which citation and counter-citation come into play, but it is also in these same passages that the attacks become much more personal, directly referencing the interlocutor.[24] Whereas the Professor accuses the Bureaucrat of both general and scribal incompetence, the Bureaucrat's accusation is that the Professor has been rolled around in a potter's kiln, a punishment, as we will see in a moment, that was usually meted out to those who had committed sacrilege of some kind, typically by robbing or defiling temples or committing some kind of impropriety with priestesses, and these are precisely the activities to which the Bureaucrat will turn in his subsequent attacks on the Professor.

The burning of someone who has committed a gross act of sacrilege in a kiln was a known practice in Mesopotamia as well as in ancient Egypt and this practice has been studied in exemplary fashion in recent years by a number of scholars, including Sophie Démare-Lafont, Tawny Holm and Paul-Alain Beaulieu,[25] but perhaps we should begin with the most well-known allusion to the practice, namely its description in the Book of Daniel.

Daniel 3: 8–12 (NIV)

(8) At this time some astrologers came forward and denounced the Jews. (9) They said to King Nebuchadnezzar, (10) 'Your Majesty has issued a decree that everyone who hears the sound of the horn, flute, zither, lyre, harp, pipe and all kinds of music must fall down and worship the image of gold,

24 There are also interesting formal similarities between the two passages, viz. lines 73–75 and lines 81–83, especially the temporal clauses in lines 73 and 81 as well as the frequent use of stative verbs, but these grammatical features are fairly common in the text. Even if these grammatical features are relatively common in the text, it is their configuration here with non-grammatical features, primarily the use of citation and direct reference to the interlocutor, that may be of more significance.

25 Sophie Démare-Lafont, "La peine du feu dans les droits cunéiformes", in: *Entre mondes orientaux et classiques: La place de la crémation, Colloque international de Nanterre 26–28 février 2004*, eds. L. Bachelot and A. Tenu, *Ktema* 30 (2005), pp. 107–116; Tawny Holm, "The Fiery Furnace in the Book of Daniel and the Ancient Near East", in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128/1 (2008), pp. 85–104; Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The Social and Intellectual Setting of Babylonian Wisdom Literature", in: *Wisdom Literature in Mesopotamia and Israel*, ed. Richard J. Clifford, Atlanta 2007 (Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 36), pp. 3–20; Tawny Holm, *Of Courtiers and Kings: The Biblical Daniel Narratives and Ancient Story-Collections*, Winona Lake 2013 (Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations 1).

> (11) and that whoever does not fall down and worship will be thrown into a blazing furnace. (12) But there are some Jews whom you have set over the affairs of the province of Babylon – Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego – who pay no attention to you, Your Majesty. They neither serve your gods nor worship the image of gold you have set up'.

This passage, which has added a certain urgency to research into the topic, is depicted as taking place in Mesopotamia, at Nebuchadnezzar's court in Babylon, but here it is the three heroes of the Jewish faith – Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego – who are committing an act of sacrilege by refusing to bow down and worship the golden statue.[26] According to the norms of Mesopotamian kingship, the institution of the worship of the statue had been established by the crown and anyone who refused to do so was, in essence, committing not only an act of sacrilege but also of treason. The appropriate punishment for such an act was, precisely, to be burned in a furnace and the Book of Daniel even uses the same term for the (potter's) kiln that we find in *The Class Reunion*: Sumerian udun$_2$ corresponds to Akkadian *utūnu*, which in turn corresponds to Aramaic *ʾattūn*.

The question that Démare-Lafont, Holm and Beaulieu have addressed at length is the degree to which sacrilege in Mesopotamia was *regularly* punished by burning the offender in a kiln. Rather than reiterating the entire research history, let's simply look at one of the oldest references to the practice in Mesopotamia. Although this punishment is also indicated at a few points in the Codex Hammurapi,[27] the following letter (BIN 7, 10) seems to be the best place for us to start.

BIN 7, 10 (a letter of King Rim-Sin of Larsa)[28]

1. *a-na* [L]U$_2$-^{d}*nin-urta*

2. ^{m}bal-mu-na[m-he$_2$]

26 Daniel does not explicitly state what the statue represents, but of course for pious Jews like Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego both of the possibilities, viz. a statue of a deity other than Yahweh or a statue of Nebuchadnezzar himself, would have been equally objectionable.

27 Both Joan Goodnick Westenholz, "Tamar, Qedēšā, Qadištu, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia", in: *Harvard Theological Review* 82 (1989), pp. 245–265 and Martha Roth, "The Priestess and the Tavern: LH §110", in: *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, eds. B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, and T. Richter, Münster 1999, pp. 445–464 have made a number of convincing arguments that the indiscretions punished in this way, in the Codex Hammurapi, are not primarily sexual in nature, and this seems to be confirmed by the types of activities that the Bureaucrat criticizes, including robbing temples ("In each of the shrines of the temple . . . the porters and priests . . . sleep with one eye open . . . because of you!") and behaving badly at parties or other festive occasions ("Every time you go to a feast . . ., the foam hits you on the forehead, . . . you denigrate yourself without knowing it!"). The passage that focuses on the priestesses or their scullery maids in lines 84–86 probably has nothing to do with sexual indiscretions; indeed, the only clear reference to a prostitute in the text is the Professor's characterization of the Bureaucrat as a "day-laborer . . . who follows in the wake of the prostitute" and collects her fees in lines 94–95.

28 Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The Babylonian Background of the Motif of the Fiery Furnace in Daniel 3", in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* 128/2 (2009), p. 282.

3. ^{m}*ip-qu$_2$-er$_3$-r*[*a*]

4. *u$_3$ ma-an-nu-um-ki-ma-*^{d}[EN.ZU]

5. *qi$_2$-bi$_2$-ma*

6. [*u*]*m-ma* ^{d}*ri-im-*^{d}EN.ZU *be*-[*e*]*l-k*[*u*]*-nu-ma*

7. *aš-šum ṣu$_2$-ḫa-ra-am a-na ti-nu-r*[*i-i*]*m*

8. [*i*]*d-du-u$_2$*

9. [*a*]*t-tu-nu* [S]AG.ARAD *a-na u$_2$-tu-nim*

10. *i-di-a*

(5) Speak (1) to Lu-Ninurta, (2) Balmu-nambe, (3) Ipqu-Erra, and (4) Mannum-ki-ma-Sin: (6) Thus says Rim-Sin, your lord. (7) Because (8) he cast (7) a boy into the oven, (10) you throw (9) the slave into the kiln.

Beaulieu already points out that this statement sounds proverbial rather than like a description of a real-life situation. The proverbial nature of the letter may suggest that it was part of a scribal training curriculum rather than an actual letter from the crown: proverbs do regularly pop up in Old Babylonian letters from Mari, for example, but in BIN 7, 10, the entire content of the letter, after the greeting, consists of a seemingly proverbial saying, so if it is achieving a specific social function, we must allow for the possibility that it is a very indirect form of communication. For our purposes here, however, the significant feature is that it refers to both "oven" (Akk. *tinūru* = Sum. ^{im}šu-rin-na) and "kiln" (Akk. *utūnu* = Sum. udun), pairing them with "boy" (*ṣu$_2$-ḫa-ra-am* = Akk. *ṣuḫāru*) and "slave" (SAG.ARAD = Akk. *ardu*) respectively.

Both of these terms for oven or kiln (Akk. *tinūru* = Sum. ^{im}šu-rin-na and Akk. *utūnu* = Sum. udun) also turn up in *The Class Reunion*, and line 64 in *The Class Reunion*, which sets the chain of nu$_2$-nu$_2$ > *utūlu* > utul$_2$ links in motion, actually refers to the "head of the windbag" being inside the potter's kiln:

The Class Reunion 64

sag lu$_2$-tumu udun baḫar$_2$-ra-ka nu$_2$-nu$_2$

The windbag sleeps with his head in the potter's kiln

The logogram SAG is itself ambiguous in Sumerian, allowing for the usual sense of "head" (= Akk. *rēšu*) as well as the notion of "chattel slave" (Akk. *wardu*), with the latter sense still available in the Sumerogram SAG.ARAD. These similarities suggest, first of all, that the author of BIN 7, 10 likely had elements of *The Class Reunion* or a very similar text in mind, as they were composing the letter. At the same time, BIN 7, 10 and *The Class Reunion* are probably contemporary: BIN 7, 10, with its explicit reference to the well-known Old Babylonian ruler of Larsa, Rīm-

Sîn, among other factors, almost certainly belongs to the Old Babylonian period, while certain internal linguistic features of *The Class Reunion*, such as the use of the compound verb su—ĝal$_2$ rather than ša$_3$—gid$_2$, suggest that it was composed in the Old Babylonian period as well.[29] The similarities in word choice and idiom in BIN 7, 10 and *The Class Reunion* suggest, therefore, that there was a known proverbial tradition that linked sacrilegious acts to burning the guilty party in a kiln. The non-proverbial materials from the Old Babylonian period are more diverse, including three passages in the Codex Hammurapi (concerning a theft during a fire [although this may be a matter of *lex talionis*], a priestess who opens a tavern or a widowed mother engaging in incest), an omen in CT 6, 2 (high priestess stealing a taboo offering) and a couple of letters from Old Babylonian Mari, but they point as well to gross immorality or sacrilege.[30]

In light of the largely proverbial nature of the evidence, it makes little difference whether burning a perpetrator in a furnace was a part of normative legal practice or not: the importance lies precisely in the fact that this form of punishment was stereotypically associated with sacrilegious or immoral behavior. The linkage between this particular form of punishment and sacrilegious behavior is also made rather clear by the thematic elements that appear later on in the Bureaucrat's attacks on the Professor.

> *The Class Reunion* 84–87 and 98–103
>
> (84) When you drop off the offering basket of the priestesses, (85) the priestesses' scullery maids tear it to shreds. (86) Your expression is as if (you were watching) them rooting it up like piglets. (87) In each of the shrines of the temple, while the porters and priests are sleeping, they sleep with one eye open and keep watch because of you.
>
> . . .

29 As noted in Johnson and Geller, *The Class Reunion*, p. 260, the two idioms offer similar ways of stating that an insult has been ineffective: su-ĝa$_2$ nu-ĝal$_2$ "there is no (insult left) in my flesh" as opposed to ša$_3$-še$_3$ nu-mu-un-na-an-gid$_2$ "he did not take it to heart". The latter expression, however, is already found in the Lugalbanda epics, while the former expression, which is also found in *The Class Reunion*, only appears in later materials.

30 The Old Babylonian letters from Mari that allude to the practice seem to be the most interesting of them all, but I must admit that I do not yet understand them. In J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*, Paris 2000 (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 18), p. 242, no. 1067[!], lines 11–15, for example, [*um*]-*ma-a-m*[*i š*]*a a-wa-t*[*am*] / *an-ni-tam i-*[*na*] *li-ib-bi-*[*šu*] / [*i*]*q-bu-u*$_2$ *u*$_3$ *i-du-u*$_2$ / E$_2$-*su*$_2$ *u*$_3$ šu-u$_2$ / *i-š*[*a-t*]*am li-iq-qa-li* "celui qui a pensé cela ou en est (simplement) au courant, devrait être brûlé, lui et sa familie, par le feu!" = "The one who has thought this or is (just) aware of it, should be burned, he and his family, by fire!" For a complete repertoire of the relevant Old Babylonian texts, see Démare-Lafont, "La peine du feu dans les droits cunéiformes". When I presented this material in Paris in early 2017, Dominique Charpin kindly referred me to another puzzling proverb—this time in reference to a plate rather than a tureen—in N. Ziegler, *Les musiciens et la musique d'après les archives de Mari*, Paris 2007 (Florilegium Marianum 9), pp. 136–138, no. 27, lines 21b–23: *be-li*$_2$ *ḫu-ṣa-ba-a*[*m*] / *i-na pa-ni ma-ka-al-tim* / *ip-ri-ik* "my lord refused a twig in front of a (food) plate!".

> (98) Every time you go to a feast on behalf of the gods, (99) you come in right behind the host. (100) The foam hits you on the forehead, (101) when you've stretched your neck to the ground. (102) You denigrate yourself without knowing it. (103) The roving hand plunders what is meant to the eaten.[31]

Although the precise nuance of many of these lines still escapes me, just as in the passages we looked at earlier, the repetition of a word or phrase in two successive lines is a particularly good indication of central themes, and in these two passage, the only terms that are repeated in sequential lines are lukur "priestess" in lines 84 and 85 and kaš de$_2$-a "beer-pouring (ritual)" in lines 98 and 99. Thus, even if the details are unclear, here again the behavior of or with priestesses and the consumption of alcohol at a social occasion of some kind seem to be central themes, themes that are not so very far from themes dealt with in the legal tradition.[32]

As we might now expect of the Bureaucrat, the seemingly creative internal structure of the two major speeches that end his contribution to *The Class Reunion* are not, in fact, original. They actually derive from a series of citations drawn from a lexical list known as Izi, with rare items in the lexical list serving as key landmarks for the Bureaucrat's last speeches. The Bureaucrat's choice of the Izi list, as a source text, is no accident of course: as the name of the list (Sum. izi "fire") already suggests, the Izi list begins with a series of semantically related words that are associated with fire, kilns and the like. Thus, after answering the Professor's citation of ma-sila$_3$ in line 75 with his own counter-citation in lines 81–83, the Bureaucrat then turns to a lexical list that is specifically concerned with the semantic field most relevant to the "kilns and ovens" theme. Indeed, the last major speeches of the Bureaucrat (the Barley-roaster speech in lies 79–90 and the Feast-of-the-gods speech in lines 98–109) are largely structured by a series of four terms or phrases that occur in Izi I, lines 449f through 456b.

31 84. ^{gi}pisaĝ ninda kurum$_6$-ma lukur-e-ne-ke$_4$ u$_3$-mu-un-šub-be$_2$
85. geme$_2$ lukur-ra al-tur-tur-re-eš-am$_3$
86. igi-zu zeḫ$_x$(ŠAḪ$_2$)$^{ze2-eb}$ tur-gen$_7$ am$_3$-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re-de$_3$-eš
87. e$_2$ diĝir eš$_3$ didli-ka i$_3$-du$_8$ gudu$_4$-bi u$_3$-sa$_2$ igi-bi-ta a-ra-ab-dag en-nu-ug$_3$ a-ra-ak-de$_3$
. . .
98. e$_2$ lu$_2$ diĝir kaš de$_2$-a-ka u$_3$-du-de$_3$-en
99. eĝir lu$_2$ kaš de$_2$-a-ka ba-an-ku$_4$-re-en
100. ugu-za imḫur$_4$ ab-sig$_3$-sig$_3$-ge-de$_3$
101. gu$_2$-zu ki-a u$_3$-ba-e-ni-in-ĝar
102. ni$_2$-zu šu nu-zu-a a-ra-ab-kara$_2$
103. niĝ$_2$-gu$_7$-u$_3$-da šu pap-ḫal-la ab-zi-zi-i

32 See n. 27 above, in particular, Roth, "The Priestess and the Tavern: LH §110".

Old Babylonian Izi I, lines 449–458[33]

440. $^{\textit{pi-iš-tum}}$in	“insult” (Crisostomo has “abuse”)	
441. $^{\textit{mi-iṣ-rum}}$in	“region”	
442. $^{\textit{pi!-il-kum}}$in	“sector”	
443. in dub	“to set a boundary”	
444. in e$_{11}$-de$_{3}$	“to transport straw”	
445. in ĝar	“to place an insult” (Crisostomo has “feces”)	
446.in dug$_{4}$	“to insult”	
447. in-ti-in	“way, behavior”	
448. in-nu	“chaff”	
449. in-nu	“chaff”	
449a. in bul	“to winnow”	
449c. in deg$_{x}$(RI)	“to glean chaff”	
449d. in deg$_{x}$(RI)-deg$_{x}$(RI)	“to be gleaning chaff”	
449e. in bulug	“district and border”	
449f. kurum$_{6}$ šub-ba	“deposited offerings”	= *Class Reunion* 84
449g. in	“insult”	
450. in dub$_{2}$-dub$_{2}$-bu	“to throw insults”	= *Class Reunion* 90
451. dub$_{2}$-dub$_{2}$-bu	“to throw”	
<u>452. bala-bala</u>	“to turn, to rotate”	= *Class Reunion* 107
453. aš$_{2}$	“curse”	
454. aš$_{2}$ bala	“to curse”	
455. aš$_{2}$ bala	“to insult”	
456. aš$_{2}$ a$_{2}$-zi	“violent curse”	
456a. ni$_{2}$ dub$_{2}$-bu	“to be weary”	
<u>456b. ni$_{2}$ nu-zu</u>	“to not know oneself”	= *Class Reunion* 102
456c. ti-la	“to recover”	
456d. tu-ra	“to be ill”	
457. du$_{14}$	“quarrel”	
458. du$_{14}$ mu$_{2}$-mu$_{2}$	“to start a quarrel”	

Lines 84 and 90 in *The Class Reunion*, at the midpoint and end of the Bureaucrat’s Barley-roaster Speech, make use of complex lexical items, namely kurum$_{6}$ šub-ba and in dub$_{2}$-dub$_{2}$-bu (in **bold** above), which occur in lines 449f and 450 in Izi I.

The Class Reunion 84–90

84. $^{\text{gi}}$pisaĝ ninda **kurum$_{6}$**-ma lukur-e-ne-ke$_{4}$ u$_{3}$-mu-un-**šub**-be$_{2}$

85. geme$_{2}$ lukur-ra al-tur-tur-re-eš-am$_{3}$

86. igi-zu zeḫ$_{x}$(ŠAḪ$_{2}$)$^{\text{ze2-eb}}$ tur-gen$_{7}$ am$_{3}$-ur$_{4}$-ur$_{4}$-re-de$_{3}$-eš

33 See Crisostomo, *Bilingual Education and Innovations in Scholarship*, 2014: 276–278 for a partitur and 404–406 for commentary.

87. e$_2$ diĝir eš$_3$ didli-ka i$_3$-du$_8$ gudu$_4$-bi u$_3$-sa$_2$ igi-bi-ta a-ra-ab-dag en-nu-uĝ$_3$ a-ra-ak-de$_3$

88. lu$_2$-tumu saĝ ka-bi nu-gu$_7$

89. ša$_3$-gal-la-ni-še$_3$ kuš$_7$ kalam-ma niĝin

90. a-na-aš-am$_3$ in nu-zu-a-ĝu$_{10}$ mu-un-**dub$_2$-dub$_2$-be$_2$**-en

Bureaucrat:

(84) **When you drop off the offering basket** of the priestesses, (85) the priestesses' scullery maids tear it to shreds. (86) Your expression is as if (you were watching) them rooting it up like piglets. (87) In each of the shrines of the temple, while the porters and priests are sleeping, they sleep with one eye open and keep watch because of you. (88) You windbag! (You're) a slave whose mouth never (gets the chance) to eat. (89) He wanders the slums, (looking) for his sustenance. (90) **Why do you (think you can) hurl insults at me**, without me noticing?

Likewise, Izi I, lines 452 and 456b, namely bala-bala and ni$_2$ nu-zu (underlined above), serve as key points of reference for lines 107 and 102, respectively, in *The Class Reunion.*

The Class Reunion 102–107

102. ni$_2$-zu šu nu-zu-a a-ra-ab-kara$_2$

103. niĝ$_2$-gu$_7$-u$_3$-da šu pap-ḫal-la ab-zi-zi-i

104. e$_2$-me-eš KA ĝissu niĝin

105. u$_4$ šed$_7$-da KA gaba u$_4$-da niĝin

106. lu$_2$-tumu saĝ gu$_2$ ne-ka nu$_2$-nu$_2$

107. bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne a$_2$-šu-ĝiri$_3$ kud kuš-a ab-sil$_2$-sil$_2$

Bureaucrat:

(102) You denigrate yourself without knowing it. (103) The roving hand plunders what is meant to be eaten. (104) The summer makes gossip circulate in the shade. (105) The cold day makes the gossip circulate in the sunshine. (106) You windbag, you rest your head on the edge of the stove, (107) when you turn around, (you are) a cripple peeling off his own skin.

The four "citations" of this passage from Izi I occur within the space of less than a dozen lines (and this in a text that is more than 500 lines in length).

In themselves all four of the citations of the lexical list Izi are of interest and exemplify the repeated use of citation from a single lexical passage as a sign of scholastic expertise, but the occurrence of bala-bala in line 107, citing Izi I 452, points to a larger, overarching pattern in the second half of *The Class Reunion* as a whole. Line 107, which is at the very epicenter of the Bureaucrat's Feast-of-the-gods Speech (lines 98–109), is actually a carefully fashioned reworking of line 75, where ^{uzu}ma-sila$_3$ – the first citation we looked at in this paper – appeared.

***The Class Reunion* 75 and 107**			
Line	First word	Crippled sinews and limbs	Final phrase
75	ma-sila$_3$	sa-sal-zu	su(SU)-a ab-sil$_2$-sil$_2$
107	bala-bala-e-da-zu-ne	a$_2$-šu-ĝiri$_3$ kud	kuš(SU)-a ab-sil$_2$-sil$_2$

Although the polyvalence of the cuneiform writing system obscures the fact, the last five cuneiform signs, in these two lines, are identical: su-a ab-sil$_2$-sil$_2$ corresponding exactly to kuš-a ab-sil$_2$-sil$_2$ in its orthographic form. We can even be fairly sure that this parallel was recognized by at least one ancient scribe, since one of the extract tablets in the edition that I produced in collaboration with Mark Geller in 2015, namely manuscript W, runs precisely from line 75 to line 107, even though this does not line up with the speeches of the interlocutors. Overall, then, this similarity between lines 75 and 107 strongly suggests that line 107 represents an *inclusio* or other type of text-internal marker, telling us that the series of citations and counter-citations that began in line 75 comes to an end in line 107.

The four lemmata that are being cited in the Izi list are, without exception, the most inscrutable and complex terms in the list. This fact alone already raises the possibility that a system of stitches and runs – like what we saw earlier with the citations of Old Babylonian Ura 3 in lines 75 and 82–83 of *The Class Reunion* –might also be at work in this section of the Izi list. For better or worse, several factors make a direct stitch-and-run analysis of this passage from Izi rather difficult, and in fact rather unlikely. First and foremost, there is wide divergence in the attestation of the individual lines in the Izi list. If we simply focus on the four lines that are used as anchors in *The Class Reunion*, the manuscript attestation of different lines is widely divergent.

Attestation of lines 449f, 450, 452 and 456b (according to DCCLT edition)

Line 449f
kurum$_6$ šub-ba — only in CBS 2259+ iii 24

Line 450

in dub$_2$-dub$_2$	CBS 2259+ rev iii 28
in dub$_2$-dub$_2$	UM 29–13–404 rev v 24
in dub$_2$-dub$_2$-bu	A 30200 rev iv 29
in! dub$_2$-dub$_2$-bu	HS 1802 face b iii 28

Line 452	
⌜bala⌝-bala	UM 29–13–404 rev v 27
bala-bala	A 30200 rev iv 31
bala-bala	HS 1802 face b iii 36
Line 456b	
ni_2 nu-zu	only in HS 1802 face b iii 38

As long as these four manuscripts for this passage of Izi were dealt with in isolation, they could simply be understood in terms of a primary text that included lines 450 and 452, while the lines found in only one manuscript could easily be categorized as interpolations (and consequently given alphabetical subscripts, such as 449f and 456b, rather than separate line numbers). But as soon as we recognize the parallels between this passage of Izi and *The Class Reunion*, it raises new and difficult questions. We can no longer simply assume, as we did above in the discussion of the citations in *The Class Reunion*, lines 75 and 82–83, that this lexical list (including supposed interpolations like $kurum_6$ šub-ba or ni_2 nu-zu) necessarily pre-existed *The Class Reunion*. Instead, we need to initially consider at least two possible trajectories: either the sequence of the four lemmata first came into existence in *The Class Reunion* and was subsequently interpolated into the Izi list, or these lemmata were first assembled in the Izi list – perhaps, as I will suggest in a moment, as an oral-written hybrid – and were then subsequently used to organize the two speeches of the Bureaucrat. The difficulty that we face in deciding which of these trajectories is most likely is, again, a question of the coherence of the interactional text that is at work in a given text-artifact.

Unwinding the Oral Written Hybrid in the Old Babylonian Tablet House

Up until the recent work from Jay Crisostomo, to which I will return in a moment, the most important discussion of intertextuality in Sumerian literature generally, as well as the possibility of oral commentary on written sources in the Tablet House, was Miguel Civil's 2009 paper, "The Mesopotamian Lexical Lists: Authors and Commentators".[34] Civil summarizes evidence for collaborative or collective scholasticism in the Early Dynastic period and then turns to two examples of Tablet House commentary that survived in a written form: the commentary of the first ten lines of UET 7, 94 on SEpM 18 and a similar example in which key terms from *The Farmer's Instructions* are collected in BM 23331. The first of these two examples, which has also quite recently been discussed in Crisostomo's edition of the Rosen Vocabulary, reads as follows:[35]

34 Miguel Civil, "The Mesopotamian Lexical Lists: Authors and Commentators", in: *Reconstructing a Distant Past: Ancient Near Eastern Essays in Tribute to Jorge R. Silva Castillo*, eds. D.B. Fracaroli and G. del Olmo Lete, Barcelona 2009, pp. 63–69.

35 Civil, "The Mesopotamian Lexical Lists: Authors and Commentators", p. 66; Crisostomo "Multilingualism and the Formulations of Scholarship: The Rosen Vocabulary", p. 30.

UET 7, 94, lines 1–10

1. [bar]-zag$_3$$^{\text{bar-sag}}$ = *ṭu$_2$-up-l*[*um*$^?$] "insult" (SEpM 18, 14)

2. ⸢ni$_2$⸣-bar$_3$$^{\text{ni-bar}}$ = *pu-uq-qum* "to pay attention" (SEpM 18, 15)

3. maḫ = *šu-qu$_2$-u$_2$-um* "high" (SEpM 18, 13)

4. šu-dag = *ka-du-um* "to be distressed" (SEpM 18, 15)

5. en-na-be$_2$-eš = *a-di i*-⸢x⸣ "until . . ."

6. u$_4$-da šu$_2$-uš-be$_2$-eš = U$_4$-*mu-um* k[a]-⸢x x⸣ "a . . . time"

7. dub-sar geštu$_2$ ak$^!$-a = *ṭup-šar pe-tu-um* "an attentive scribe" (SEpM 18, 16)

8. en-na-me-še$_3$ = *a-di ma-ti* "until when?"

9. NAM = *ṣi-iḫ-tum* "laughter" (SEpM 18, 12)

10. i-si-iš = *ṣi-iḫ-tum* "laughter" (SEpM 18, 12)

Both Civil and Crisostomo have spoken to the general features of the text, and the interesting variants and additions in particular texts, but the important point for our purposes here is that lines 5–7 and line 8 do not seem to list additional lemmata from SEpM 18, but rather look much more like originally-oral, questioning or commentary from one of the scholars present when UET 7, 94 or one of its precursors was inscribed. Later on, these metalinguistic comments were presumably assimilated to the bilingual written format of the rest of the text. This comes more clearly into focus if we briefly look at the text that is being commented on, SEpM 18, otherwise known as *Lugal-nesaĝe* to *Enlil-massu*.

Lugal-nesaĝe to Enlil-massu, lines 10–18[36]

10. u$_4$ taka$_4$-en-na-zu ba-ḫu-ḫu-bu-uš-en

11. ša$_3$-ĝu$_{10}$ mu-da-šub enmen$_2$ ša$_3$-ĝar-ĝu$_{10}$ ba-tur

12. **nam-zu** ib$_2$-gu$_7$-en **i-si-iš-zu** ib$_2$-si-ge-en

13. **maḫ-zu** ib$_2$-sur-re-en

14. **bar-sag$_5$-zu** ib$_2$-til-en

36 SEpM 18, Alexandra Kleinerman, *Education in Early 2*nd *Millennium BC Babylonia: The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany*, Leiden 2011 (Cuneiform Monographs 42), pp. 167–170.

15. **lib bar** ak-$\hat{g}u_{10}$-ta **šu ba-dag**

16. **$\hat{g}$eštu$_2$** ša$_3$-$\hat{g}u_{10}$-ta lib **ba-$\hat{g}$ar**

17. ni$_2$ te-te-$\hat{g}u_{10}$ uš$_2$ lugud ba-si

18. en$_3$ tar-tar-re-ne zi ba-ir

(10) When you abandoned me, you completely crushed me. (11) My heart sank, I lost the taste for food and drink. (12) **Your very being** consumed me, **your mockery** overwhelmed me. (13) **Your arrogance** shattered me, (14) **your insult** finished me off. (15) Despite my **attentiveness, I have been abandoned**. (16) Despite my **wisdom** and (good) intentions, **tranquility eluded (me)**. (17) Despite my reverence, blood and pus filled my heart. (18) Making inquiries has become too troublesome. (Translation Kleinerman)

The density of citation in these few lines is nearly unparalleled in Old Babylonian literature – only exceeded by clear examples of enumeration, where an entire lexical list is transmuted into a literary text. Even if we take the intervening yet unparalleled lines 5–6 and 8 in UET 7, 94 as a discussion of the temporal scope of the final two lines in SEpM 18, namely ki nam tar-ra-še$_3$ nu-ub-da-$\hat{g}$en-na-aš / du$_{11}$-ga ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ta muš$_3$-me-zu igi ḫe$_2$-bi$_2$-ib$_2$-du$_8$ "As long as I have not gone to my (ultimate) fate, may your countenance look (upon me) in accordance with Enlil's command," the intervening lines in UET 7, 94 are not, in any way, a citation of lines from SEpM 18. Instead, we should probably recognize these intervening lines as oral questions or comments that arose in reaction to the written text, and were subsequently incorporated into the written text of UET 7, 94.

Jay Crisostomo's 2014 dissertation[37] and subsequent papers[38] now represent a major advance in making sense of the massive textual and linguistic complexity at work in the Old Babylonian Tablet House. In contrast to Civil, who seemed in his 2009 paper to still be open to the possibility of oral commentary in the Tablet House, Crisostomo downplays the possibility or importance of grammatical or linguistic competence – in the sense of something approaching the ability of native speakers to generate new linguistic forms at will – in favor of an overarching phenomenon that he terms "analogical hermeneutics". Defined as "a mode of scholarly interpretation by which a scribe perceives, generates, or imposes through analogical reasoning associations between two or more epistemic objects",[39] Crisostomo's "analogical hermeneutics" aligns nicely with the broadly-framed sociology of epistemic objects and agents that Crisostomo roots in the work of

37 Crisostomo, *Bilingual Education and Innovations in Scholarship.*

38 C. Jay Crisostomo, "Language, Writing, and Ideologies in Contact: Sumerian and Akkadian in the Early Second Millennium BCE", in: *Semitic Languages in Contact*, ed. Aaron Michael Butts, Leiden 2015 (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 82), pp. 158–180; idem, "Multilingualism and the Formulations of Scholarship: The Rosen Vocabulary".

39 Crisostomo, *Bilingual Education and Innovations in Scholarship*, p. 33.

Pierre Bourdieu. This approach, treating orthographically mediated epistemic objects, rather than linguistic units, as the atomic elements also seems to line up quite well with the *communis opinio* in the US, which seems to be represented by the recent collection of papers, *Text and Contexts: The Circulation and Transmission of Cuneiform Texts in Social Space*.[40] With the seemingly widespread acceptance of a Bourdieu-style sociology of the written text in the background, Crisostomo's most recent comment on the possibilities of oral mediation in the Tablet House reads as follows:

> Although it is possible that Sumerian was indeed spoken in school contexts, as alluded to especially in the Eduba literature and dialogues (see Volk 2000), such oral discourse may be divorced from the written practices. As I have argued elsewhere, the substantial use of graphic analogies as an (occasionally obscure) ordering principle strongly suggests that the writing system, more so than discourse potential, was at the core of scribal education during the OB period, at least insofar as we understand the practice of copying lexical and literary compositions (Crisostomo 2014, 27–29, 33–78). *These writing practices thus govern our understanding of all cases of multilingualism in the lexical lists* and, by extension, the grammatical texts and vocabularies.[41]

Fair enough: the most transparent and proximate devices for linking one lemma or group of lemmata to the next must serve as the primary interpretive canon for evaluating links that are not so self-evident. From a methodological point of view, Crisostomo is quite right to insist that concrete, well-understood examples should guide our efforts to make sense of the rest. But what do we do when these principles do not yield a logical sequence? Does the existence of the different forms of analogical hermeneutics that Crisostomo outlines in his dissertation rule out the possibility that more complex forms of hybrid oral-written intertextuality existed in the Tablet House?

With his statement that "such oral discourse [= spoken Sumerian in the Edubba] may be divorced from the written practices," it seems unlikely that Crisostomo would leave room for orally transmitted Sumerian co-texts, ranging from mnemonic devices to commentary, in the Tablet House. It would suggest that, for the case-study we are looking at in this paper, only one trajectory was possible: interpolations such as kurum$_6$ šub-ba and ni$_2$ nu-zu must have originated in *The Class Reunion* and were subsequently included in two Izi manuscripts (kurum$_6$ šub-ba in CBS 2259+ and ni$_2$ nu-zu in HS 1802) on the basis of terms that were already present in Izi such as in dub$_2$-dub$_2$-bu in line 450 and bala-bala in line 452. The implication, therefore, is that (i) the Bureaucrat's speeches in *The Class Reunion*

40 *Texts and Contexts: The Circulation and Transmission of Cuneiform Texts in Social Space*, eds. P. Delnero, and J. Lauinger, Berlin 2015 (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 9).

41 Crisostomo, "Multilingualism and the Formulations of Scholarship: The Rosen Vocabulary", p. 29, emphasis added.

are *sui generis*, (ii) any similarities between the better attested lines in Izi (in dub$_2$-dub$_2$-bu and bala-bala) and lines 90 and 107 in *The Class Reunion* are accidental, and (iii) there was no tradition of oral commentary on advanced lexical texts like Izi within the Old Babylonian Tablet House. It is in reference to these seemingly minor inferences that I would like to offer a substantially different scenario.

As Crisostomo emphasizes at several points in his dissertation, we must assume a relatively logical and stable series of core entries for this and any other passage of Izi. Crisostomo offers a somewhat different segmentation of this passage, but in my view the key lemmata or "stitches," in the terminology I used earlier, are as follows:

440. in	"insult"
453. aš$_2$	"curse"
457. du$_{14}$	"quarrel"

These three "stitches" draw in a wide variety of related expressions as "runs", including the usual compound verbs that are formed with these nouns.

440. in	"insult"
446. in — dug$_4$	"to insult"
450. in — dub$_2$-dub$_2$	"to insult"
453. aš$_2$	"curse"
454. aš$_2$ — bala	"to curse"
457. du$_{14}$	"quarrel"
458. du$_{14}$ mu$_2$-mu$_2$	"to start a quarrel"

Once this basic structure is in place, a wide variety of other elements flow in. If we turn to the BALA-section of the lexical list Nigga, parts of this process of further elaboration are relatively clear.

CBS 10984[42]

rev.

ii

37. bala-bala
38. bala-⸢bala-e⸣
39. inim bala
40. eme bala
41. ḫaš$_2$ bala
42. aš$_2$ bala

42 See the discussion and edition in Crisostomo, *Bilingual Education and Innovations in Scholarship*, p. 58.

iii

1. $aš_2$ bala
2. ^{tug2}bala
3. ^{giš}balak

Any link between $aš_2$ bala in Izi I 454 and either line ii 42 or iii 1 in this exemplar of Nigga could have led to the addition of a second $aš_2$ bala in Izi I 455. The only other entry in Nigga that might have been carried over is bala-bala in Nigga ii 37. If we triangulate these two lexical lists with *The Class Reunion*, however, it should be apparent that in the absence of *The Class Reunion*, there is no linkage whatsoever between $aš_2$ bala and bala-bala other than the obvious fact that both entries include the sign BALA. Four other noun-verb pairs intenvene between bala-bala and $aš_2$ bala in Nigga, and if we imagine a simple transfer between Nigga and Izi, we have to ask why the reduplicated form of the verbal root would be carried over to the Izi list rather than one of the other noun-verb pairs in lines 39–42? Why does the reduplicated form bala-bala precede the first occurrence of $aš_2$ bala in line 453? None of these anomalies are explained if we limit ourselves to the two lexical lists.

If, on the contrary, *The Class Reunion* or an oral precursor to this section of *The Class Reunion* is taken into consideration, it appears much more likely that bala-bala in line 452, in particular in its position immediately after in dub_2-dub_2-bu in line 450 and the reduplicated verbal root dub_2-dub_2-bu in line 451, appears in Izi as part of a meditation on reduplicated verbal roots that are used in connection with the stitches outlined above.

440. in	((stitch))
. . .	
450. in dub_2-dub_2-bu	= *The Class Reunion* 90
451. dub_2-dub_2-bu	
452. bala-bala	= *The Class Reunion* 107
453. $aš_2$	((stitch))
454. $aš_2$ bala	

Seen now in light of the corresponding lines in *The Class Reunion*, it looks like the phenomenon of verbal reduplication – a familiar topic in the rhetoric of *The Class Reunion* – is being used here to provide the link between the run associated with in "insult" and the stitch that begins with $aš_2$ in line 453. Moreover, since verbal reduplication plays a key role in the Bureaucrat's Kiln Speech (lines 59–69) and the subsequent critique from the Professor focuses on this particular rhetorical ploy, the reduplicated verbal forms dub_2-dub_2-bu and bala-bala in lines 451 and 452 may well represent the point of departure for the Bureaucrat's speech and the Professor's critique. If we can agree that *The Class Reunion* or an oral precursor to *The Class Reunion* played a significant role in the structuring of the transition between in "insult" and $aš_2$ "curse" in Izi, the only remaining question is the trajectory of this intertextual link. Did *The Class Reunion*, as documented in the textual record, influence this passage in Izi, leading to the interpolation of not only kurum$_6$ šub-ba and ni$_2$ nu-zu, but also bala-bala in line 452, or did the basic rhetorical elements of the Bureaucrat's speeches first arise in oral commentary on this passage of Izi?

In my view, the most likely scenario is that advanced lexical lists like Izi regularly generated a series of oral comments or rhetorical *loci communes*, which were used later on to put together the speeches that we find in a text like *The Class Reunion*. We should not expect these oral co-texts to be uniform in their (oral) textual form, but they probably did speak to usual points of instruction and discussion within a particular section of the lexical list. If so, this would suggest that the verbal reduplications in Izi I, lines 450–452, provided the occasion for a discussion of the mechanics or aesthetics of verbal reduplication, and then at some later stage this oral co-text was elaborated into several intertextual anchors for the corresponding lines in the speeches from the Bureaucrat found in *The Class Reunion*. If this kind of oral-written hybrid existed in the Old Babylonian Tablet House, we might expect it to be represented in the manuscript tradition as well and I would like to suggest that the extremely variable attestation of different lines in advanced lexical lists such as Izi can be used, as a very rough heuristic, for arriving at an idea of what this type of oral-written hybrid might have looked like. The most frequently attested entries from this section of Izi occur in three distinct witnesses, but other entries occur in only one or two manuscripts. If we use this contrast as an approximation of how different media were involved in the passage (originally written elements attested in three manuscripts, whereas originally oral elements attested in only one or two manuscripts), we arrive at the following:

One possible reconstruction of an oral-written hybrid for Izi I 440–458		
Line	Written (three or more manuscripts)	Oral (one or two manuscripts)
440	$^{\textit{pi-iš-tum}}$in	
441		$^{\textit{mi-iṣ-rum}}$in
442		$^{\textit{pi!-il-kum}}$in
443	in dub	
444	in e$_{11}$-de$_3$	
445	in ĝar	
446	in dug$_4$	
447	in-ti-in	
448	in-nu	
449		in-nu
449a		in bul

449b		in bul-bul
449c		in deg_x(RI)
449d		in deg_x(RI)-deg_x(RI)
449e		in bulug
449f		**$kurum_6$ šub-ba**
449g		in
450	**in dub_2-dub_2-bu**	
451	dub_2-dub_2-bu	
452	**bala-bala**	
453[43]	$aš_2$	
454	$aš_2$ bala	
455		$aš_2$ bala
456		$aš_2$ a_2-zi
456a		ni_2 dub_2-bu
456b		**ni_2 nu-zu**
456c		ti-la
456d		tu-ra
457	du_{14}	
458	du^{14} mu_2-mu_2	

Even if we adjust the heuristic slightly, shifting the division to a contrast between entries attested in only one manuscript as opposed to more than one, the change in the opposition between the oral and written channels is not dramatic: only four entries would shift from the oral to the written column and three of these four ($^{mi\text{-}iṣ\text{-}rum}$in in line 441, in-nu in line 449 and $aš_2$ bala in line 456) are repeated entries (only the fourth shift, $aš_2$ a_2-zi in line 456, is not), so the shift may actually result from different ways of encoding the transition between oral and written in the written medium or, more prosaically, different ways of marking a digression. Moreover, if we accept this heuristic in one way or another, the logic of the passage is rather clear: the primary theme is found, as mentioned above, in the three stitches in "insult", $aš_2$ "curse" and du_{14} "quarrel" – all terms for aggressive or negative speech – while the two major secondary themes are clearly indicated by the digressions in lines 449 through 449g and lines 455 through 456d. Note in particular that each of the poorly attested entries that reappear in *The Class Reunion* ($kurum_6$ šub-ba in 449f and ni_2 nu-zu in 456b) is contextualized in its own oral digression: $kurum_6$ šub-ba appears in the midst of a discussion of chaff, winnowing

43 Lines 453 und 454 have a more complex internal pattern in the different manuscripts, but I will try to reproduce or explain it there.

and gleaning, while ni_2 nu-zu shows up in a digression that begins with cursing and violence and ends with regaining one's health (ti-la) or getting sick (tu-ra).

This type of "heuristic" is admittedly difficult to prove, but it does at least give us a different way of thinking about the media and modalities that might have been at work in the Tablet House. If we can imagine the oral co-text in a passage like this (in the right-hand column above) as the primary domain in which creative or improvised work normally took place in the Old Babylonian Tablet House, it is also in this domain that we would expect the arguments and vignettes that later find their way into *The Class Reunion* to have been originally formulated. Crucially, the two main digressions in this passage (lines 449–449g and 455–456d) are relatively self-contained, so it is unlikely that they represent additional commentary on the lines in the written column. This would also support my suggestion that the trajectory here is from the four lemmata in Izi to the speeches of the Bureaucrat in the latter phases of *The Class Reunion*, since there are few if any strong thematic links between the oral digressions and the written text, even though each digression in itself forms a coherent textual unit.[44] If we can personify the Bureaucrat for a moment, as a stand-in for the authors of *The Class Reunion*, we have to imagine the Bureaucrat drawing on both the written and the oral components of this passage from Izi in the formulation of his speeches. No doubt, the Bureaucrat's task (of assembling an effective speech from the lexical tradition) was eased and facilitated by his detailed knowledge of the thematic continuities and the different forms of analogical hermeneutics that were used to link together particular subsections of a list like Izi, but at the same time, the real act of creativity on the part of the Bureaucrat was the combination of lexical elements, themes or storylines from the lexical tradition, both oral and written, into a rhetorical powerful whole.

In my view the practice that I have outlined in this section, where oral digressions are woven into the written text of the lexical list (and were, later on, crystalized in written form in only some manuscripts), actually fits quite well into Crisostomo's overall model of the operation of the advanced lexical lists in the Old Babylonian Tablet House. If we limit the "oral discourse" in Crisostomo's description to a "denotational" form of textuality based on "linguistic competence," namely the possibility of free-form conversations dealing with any and all topics, then Crisostomo may well be correct in arguing for a disconnect between oral and

44 Alternatively, if we return to the notion of interactional text, there is no coherent interactional text that links the four lemmata in Izi I that reappear in *The Class Reunion*. Thus, we should infer that the creative act, in the Bureaucrat's speeches in *The Class Reunion*, was to formulate a series of intervening lines that generated or yielded a coherent interactional text for each of two speeches and his overall argument. It would be mistaken, in my view, to suggest that the Bureaucrat found an interactional text, linking these four lemmata already fully formed in the lexical tradition, but it would be equally mistaken to claim that the author of the Bureaucrat's speeches formulated them from scratch, without making reference to this section of Izi I.

written in the Old Babylonian Tablet House.[45] If, however, we are speaking about what Farber once called "boiler-plate" compositions, in which memorized chunks of discursive material—words, phrases or utterances, i.e., Crisostomo's epistemic objects—are assembled into a reasonably coherent interactional text, then I have to disagree. As we can clearly see in *The Class Reunion* and other similar pieces of scholastic dialogue, the scholars of the Tablet House were quite capable of assembling an interactional text out of a wide variety of orthographically-mediated epistemic objects. If we can reasonably allow for the possibility of scholastic interactional texts that look more like Frankenstein's monster than the well-worn, "natural" conversations of two native speakers, then the type of scholasticism that I am outlining here fits very easily into Crisostomo's theoretical program, even as it also remarries, as it were, the oral and the written. Indeed, if we adopt orthographically mediated epistemic objects as our atomic elements, then the way in which these epistemic objects are assembled into interactional texts in the Tablet House—the central preoccupation of this paper—becomes all the more important. This would correspond, therefore, to the "possib[ility] that Sumerian was indeed spoken in school contexts, as alluded to especially in the Eduba literature and dialogues," but in my view this was a central rather than a peripheral practice in the Old Babylonian Tablet House.

Conclusion

As Crisostomo and others before him have repeatedly emphasized, intertextuality between the lexical list tradition and other genres of Classical Sumerian literature is absolutely central to any understanding or coherent description of intellectual practice in the Old Babylonian period. And while it is possible that this type of intertextuality (as well as the somewhat more mundane forms of citations dealt with earlier in the paper) came into existence purely through the manipulation of written materials, I find this picture of a relatively silent Tablet House, in which clay tablets are continually being memorized and recopied, without any substantial oral co-text, rather unconvincing. In my view, the Tablet House was a noisy place, filled with a veritable cacophony made up of both the hammering of clay into workable formats and all manner of spoken discourse in both Sumerian and Akkadian. The Sumerian may well have been canned and artificial, and perhaps the Akkadian was furtive or issued only with apologies for not knowing Sumerian better, but we know from the Edubba literature that the scribes and scholars of the Tablet House did speak. We see this, for instance, in the Professor's searing critique of the Bureaucrat:

45 That Crisostomo primarily has denotational forms of textuality in mind, in denying the centrality of linguistic competence in the Tablet House, seems to be confirmed by his critique of Woods (2006), "who attempts to argue for some degree of productive spoken Sumerian during the OB based in part on entries in lists from the schools, particularly grammatical vocabularies" (Crisostomo, *Bilingual Education and Innovations in Scholarship*, 29, n. 82, see also n. 48).

The Class Reunion, lines 47–48, 51 and 55

Your hand is not equal to your mouth!

Even when you parrot (ḫe$_2$-bi$_2$-šid) a classic, you cannot place it in the curriculum.

. . .

When you recite (ḫe$_2$-šid) your times tables, you can't make it to the end.

. . .

Your handwriting is so bad that no one will read aloud (gu$_3$ nu-ra-de$_2$-e) for you in the school room.

No doubt, written textualities provide the central point of orientation within the daily life of the Tablet House, but at the same time, as we see in these few extracts, all manner of written texts were recited aloud and, as the overall structure and fine detail of *The Class Reunion* and other scholastic materials demonstrate, the leading scholars in the Tablet House also built up aesthetic and moral arguments in the form of orally delivered speeches. To native speakers of Sumerian in the last centuries of the third millennium—wherever we choose to locate them in the historical record—these pieces of scholastic dialogue may have seemed, indeed, like artificial pieces of boilerplate, held together by the linguistic equivalent of spit and baling wire, but within the social life of the Old Babylonian Tablet House, we must recognize this type of scholastic work as a particularly beautiful form of text-artefactual bricolage.

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I had hoped to cite and interact with the revised monograph based Crisostomo's dissertation work (*Translation as Scholarship: Language, Writing, and Bilingual Education in Ancient Babylonia*, Berlin/Boston 2019), but I was unable to retrieve it from my office before Covid-19 lockdown, and, consequently, unable to include references to it here.

Japan

The Hōzō, Treasure House, as Topos of Knowledge or Archive: The Formation and Expansion of the Legacy of Intellectual Knowledge in Japan

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1 The Perspective from the Sutra Stores of the Ancient Buddhist Monarchy of Japan

The Japanese archipelago located on the eastern rim of Eurasia was the terminus of roads and sea lanes that stretched across the continent. As "Eastern Barbarians" on the periphery of great empires that were time and again centers of world civilization, the ancient residents constructed a monarchy in the eighth century, and their Japanese state was a diminutive empire governed by an emperor (*tennô*) modeled after the traditional order that saw the China as the central flower surrounded by various barbarians. Chinese learning was centered on legal codes and Confucianism had long since served as supports for the basic framework of this international system, but the universal religion of Buddhism was enthusiastically introduced and they made its cosmological worldview that transcended Chinese five-elements and Yinyang their own. Emblematic of this was the building of the Great Vairocana Buddha (Birushana) based on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (*Kegonkyô*) at Tôdaiji, and this was an adorning of the state's territory through the establishment of a system of provincial temples centered around Tôdaiji that could appropriately be termed part of the globalization of the Buddhist world.[1] This was, of course, modeled on the policy of the Sui empire toward Buddhism.[2] However, in contrast to the ultimate shattering of the dreams envisioned by the Chinese emperors, this vision was not rejected in Japan where it was revived time and again whenever quashed, a fact which demonstrates a unique quality.

As a Buddhist monarchy, the ancient state required the Treasure of Buddhist teachings (*buppô*), the dharma that was counted a one of the Three Treasures (*sanbô*) of the faith, in the form of a complete set of Buddhist scriptures, the canon called *issaikyô* in Japanese, which served as a Buddhist library or archive. The

1 Michio Kamikawa, *Nihon chūsei Bukkyō to Higashi Ajia sekai*, Tokyo 2012.

2 An example for the application of this worldview was the construction of the *Renshou shelita* 仁寿舎利塔 stupas across the country by Emperor Wendi of the Sui dynasty. See Sachiyo Ōshima, Keisuke Mannō, Romi Hida, Eiji Ono et al., "Zui Ninju sharitō kenkyū josetsu", in: *Nara bijutsu kenkyū* 12 (2012), pp. 85–113.

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most important mission of the scholar monks who traveled to study in Tang China was to bring the latest edition of the Buddhist canon back to Japan. The earliest example of a sutra storehouse (*kyôzô*) in Japan involves the case of the monk Dôshô who deposited scriptures and teatises in the Zen'in cloister of Gangôji, a temple in Asuka, in the late seventh century. The importing of the entire canon by Genbô (?–746) was a groundbreaking event. This canon was said according to the *Shoku Nihongi* to be composed of over more than 5,000 scrolls, and is thought to have been based on the *Kaiyuan xinding shijiao lu* (Catalogue of the newly established Buddhist teachings of the Kaiyuan era) of the monk Zhisheng from 720, which provided an full accounting of the canon as it existed during the High Tang. During this period in China, whenever there would be a dynastic change, new catalogues of the sutras that weeded out apocryphal scriptures and determined orthodox ones would be compiled. This was a superb example of the practical application of traditional Chinese art of cataloguing to Buddhism. This accomplishment was immediately conveyed to Japan.[3]

Emperor Shômu and Empress Kômyô, who had sponsored the Great Buddha of Tôdaiji, each had several sets of the Buddhist canon copied, based on these imported sutras, as an "imperial vow" (*gogan*), and as a result the state implement a vast copying project, establishing a scriptorium under the jurisdiction of the office charged with building and operating the great temple. This state project of creating an imperial Buddhist canon was maintained by their daughter, the reigning Empress Kôken (later Empress Shôtoku), and part of this set is extant within the Shôsô'in (a treasure house (*hôzô*) containing the personal effects and prized possession of Emperor Shômu that had been offered to the Buddha) and the Shôgo'zô, a sutra storehouse.[4] The influence of this imperially sanctioned copying of the entire Buddhist canon extended throughout the polity via the system of government-sponsored provincial temples; for example in the eastern part of the country, the Buddhist canon was kept in the central sutra storehouse of Jôinji, a temple on the frontier in Shimôzuke province (today's Tochigi prefecture) at the close of the eighth century.[5]

In regard to the Buddhist canon, its development in China was soon adopted in Japan where changes were promoted over many years. The late-Tang scriptural catalogue, the *Zhenyuan xinding shijing mulu* (Catalogue of the newly established Buddhist scriptures of the Zhenyuan era) of 800 became the standard for the copying of the Buddhist canon throughout the Heian period (9^{th}–12^{th} century).

3 On the Issaikyō canon and its significance in Ancient Japan, see Toshinori Ochiai, "Chūsei ni okeru kyōzō no mokuroku gakuteki bunrui to shosō: issaikyō, shōso, shōgyō", in: *Setsuwa bungaku kenkyū* 41 (2006), pp. 95–102.

4 A prime example would be Empress Kōmyō's imperial vow *Gogatsu ichinichi kyō* 五月一日経. For an elaborate discussion on this issue, see Kan'ichi Minagawa, "Kōmyō kōgō gankyō gogatsu ichinichi kyō no shosha nit suite", in: *Nihon komonjogaku ronshū* vol 3, Tokyo 1988, pp. 289–359.

5 On the development of the *issaikyō* canon in Ancient times, see Michio Kamikawa, *Nihon Chūsei Bukkyō shiryōron*, Tokyo 2008, pp. 133–172 .

The catalogue itself only became part of the canon along with earlier catalogues, it functioned as a reference catalogue used to check editions due to its completeness. Buddhist canons were influential texts that set the boundaries for groundbreaking changes in the literary culture of China. The Buddhist canon, known as the Shichuan edition of Kaibacang, was printed on woodblocks at the time of establishment of the Song empire, and as a text edited by imperial command (Ch. *qinding*), it circulated as a completely new edition of the canon with authoritative, unalterable contents. This Song-era printing of the Buddhist canon was presented to the visiting Japanese monk Chônen by its imperial sponsor Taizong in 987. Chônen brought the newly acquired canon back with him on his return to Japan along with the "True Image" of the living Śākyamuni that had been created in sandalwood by King Udayana (Uden'ô). Chônen paraded these treasures through the streets of the capital and enshrined them in the august hall (midô) of Hôjôji, the temple of Fujiwara no Michinaga, the leading political figure of the day, in which the Kaibaocang edition was kept.[6] However, there was in Japan at point in time a paradigm shift in regard to the printing culture of Chinese books as symbolized by the Kaibaocang edition. Thereafter, the creation of Buddhist canons by copying manuscripts continued through the Heian period, the apex of the practice is the ornamental sutras epitomized by those written in gold ink on dark blue paper. These were preceded by intricately lettered sutras with gold characters on indigo paper (characterized by the images of Śākyamuni preaching that are found on their frontispieces) produced by the Buddhist monarchy of Goryeo dynasty on the Korean peninsula, but their development in Japan saw a variety of unique innovations. A classic example is the Buddhist canon in silver and gold ink on dark blue paper that was installed in the sutra storehouse of Chûsonji in Hiraizumi in the Tôhoku region by Fujiwara no Kiyohira. (The model for this project was the canon of Hosshôji that had been sponsored by Retired Emperor Shirakawa, and its placement in the remote Northeast was a result of it being transported there after it had been created in the capital.[7]

During the Insei period, that of the rule of retired emperors (12th–13th century), the creation of manuscript editions of the canon reached its zenith. In addition to lavishly ornamented sutras, there were canons written in a single hand or in a single day, as well as the **Fujisan** canon produced by Matsudai Shônin in response to Retired Emperor Toba's promotion of such a project (according to the *Honchô seiki* [Annals of the reigns of our realm]), and there were various phases during which canons were eagerly produced and dedicated. These Buddhist good works (*sazen*) invariably involved the participation of the monarchy in the

6 For a discussion on the Song version of the Issaikyō canon, which was brought to Japan by Chōzen, see Michio Kamikawa, *Nihon Chūsei Bukkyō keisei shiron shiron*, Tokyo 2007, pp. 203–212. On the connection between the Kaibaocang and the following Heian period's Issaikyō canon, see Kamikawa, *Nihon Chūsei Bukkyō shiryōron*.

7 On the connection between the Retired Emperor Shirakawa's *Gogan Hosshôji Issaikyō* and Kiyohara's *Gankyō* in Hirazumi, see Kamikawa, *Nihon Chūsei Bukkyō shiryōron*.

person of the retired emperors.[8] For example, the construction of the storehouse for the Buddhist canon at Kasuga shrine in 1100 sponsored by Retired Emperor Shirakawa is the case of a performance to entertain the native gods (*hôraku*) at the shrine (in the form of a Buddhist offering service) using the canon in a demonstration of the combinatory faith in Buddhist and native divinities. This ceremony involved an uninterrupted ceremonial reading of the sutras which was supported by commendation of a large estate from the throne. Moreover, a diagram of the sutra storehouse for the canon at Kasuga shrine, which has been preserved in the *Daijô'in kiroku* (Records of Daijô'in cloister), reveals that other scriptures that had been donated by former retired emperors such as dedicatory prayers, exoteric sacred writings and records of services had also been enshrined therein. This provides a view of an archive documenting the monarchy's faith in the Kasuga shrine.[9]

On the other hand, the creation of Buddhist canons spread throughout the land. The Buddhist canon of Nanatsudera in the province of Owari (modern-day Aichi prefecture), which was completed just prior to the destruction of the Great Buddha of Tôdaiji during the fighting of 1180, was a part of the good works of a family of wealthy local officials who also contributed to the precincts and icons of the temple, but one of the most advanced canons of the day, it conveyed the text of the Hosshôji canon against which it had been checked and it was devised as a thoroughgoing overview of the scripture that had been imported into Japan up to that point, and many rare scriptures including apochryphal materials were included in the storehouse. It has been pointed out that one characteristic is that it contains scripture held in common with the scripture in distant Dunhuang and is simultaneously the product of classification, a special characteristic of Buddhist culture under the Insei-period monarchy and the movement to compile knowledge.[10]

Prior to the close of the Heian period (the late twelfth century), the Song-printed canon (which was usually referred to as the Tang Canon) had already begun to be imported into Japan. The Song printed canon had been transformed into its printed form by private donors in temples, and the printing of the canon by the state in China was followed by Goryeo printed edition, but in medieval Japan (the Kamakura and Muromachi periods from the 13th through 16th centuries) both were sought in large quantities by merchants and then donated to temples.[11] Thereafter, from the end of the Muromachi period to the early Edo period (seventeenth century) the printing of the Buddhist canon was attempted in Japan. This was conducted under the powerful influence of the writing culture

8 Yasurō Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*, Nagoya 2013, pp. 174–198.
9 Yutaka Suegara, "Daijōin go monzeki bunko komonjo shosha", in: *Kōfukuji kyūzō monjo ni yoru komonjo to kokiroku no kanren ni tsuite no bunken gakuteki kenkyū*, Tokyo 2008, pp. 11–70.
10 *Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho, eds.* Tairyō Makita and Toshinori Ochiai, eds., 6 vol, Tokyo 1997–2002.
11 Hisayuki Baba, *Nikkan kōryū to Kōrai-ban Daizōkyō*, Kyoto 2016.

of the Joseon dynasty that had printed an excellent text using metal type as a state project and the high-ranking prelate Tenkai (1536–1643) was able to publish a canon (the Tenkai edition) using metal type with the aid of Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1648. Furthermore, Ingen Zenji (1592–1673), the founder of the Ôbaku Zen sect, who took refuge in Japan after escaping Ming China, published a (woodblock) edition revised by Tetsugen in 1681 and this version was disseminated from the sect's main temple, Manpukuji, in Uji throughout the Edo period and is still being printed and distributed today and functions as a living archive of the Buddhist canon.[12] The base text for the Tetsugen edition was the Ming-printed edition (the catalogue of which is known as the Daming sancang lu), but Taishô Canon (Taishô shinshû daizôkô) from 1924 that has become the standard canon used today, which was created in a project that combined early-modern scholars and Buddhists, relied on the Goryeo printed edition.

As can be seen from the above, the historical development of the Buddhist canon (issaikyô or daizôkyô) in Japan has been ceaselessly linked with textual/written culture that had been formed in the relationship between Buddhism and monarchical regimes across all of East Asia and was the indivisible product thereof. This, taking the Buddhist canon, which itself can be understood as a single Buddhist archive as one coordinate and below I will [employ it in] surveying the astoundingly multifaceted variety of archives (including libraries) in Japan.

2 The Archives of Buddhist Monarchy Symbolized by Shôtoku Taishi

The completion of the Buddhist canon of Hôryûji, one the seven great temples representative of those of the ancient state, was finally achieved in the late Heian period during the twelfth century.[13] Hôryûji, a center of scholarship, said to have been founded by Shôtoku Taishi (574−622) who is revered as the father of Japanese Buddhism and today this ancient temple retains its seventh century precincts and Buddhist icons. In the eastern area are the remains of the Taishi Hall (Ikaruga-no-miya), the Nara-period (eighth century) Jôgûô'in, cloister where Shôtoku Taishi is worshiped as Guze Kannon (World-saving Avalokiteśvara), and which was constructed by the monk Gyôshin after receiving the aid of Shômu Emperor's court. At the main hall, the Yumedono, is enshrined the principal divinity, a life-sized statue of Shôtoku Taishi as Guze Kannon, and it is equipped with a Denbôdô (lecture hall) and great sutra storehouse that form autonomous temples in themselves.[14]

12 *Kezōji shozō tetsugenban issaikyō chōsa hōkokusho,* eds. Kezōji shozō ōbakuban issaikyō chōsa iinkai, Nishio-shi, 2012.

13 Shunpō Horiike, "Heian jidai no Issaikyō shosha to Hōryūji Issaikyō", in: *Nanto Bukkyō shi no kenkyū 2: Shoji hen*, Kyoto 1982, pp. 76−119. See also Kenji Miyazaki, "Hōryūji Issaikyō to 'Jōgen shinjō shakkyō mokuroku'", in: *Nihon kodai no shakyō to shakai,* Tokyo 2016, pp. 391–418 and Ōtani Daigaku hakubutsukan tokubetsu ten zuroku: *Hōryūji Issaikyō to Shōtoku Taishi shinkō*, Kyoto 2007.

14 *Hōryūji* Ⅱ, eds. Nara Rokudai-ji taikan henshūkai, Tokyo 1971.

Gradually/Finally with the rise in faith in Shôtoku Taishi during the Insei period (eleventh century), the temple sutra storehouse was divided into eastern and western halls; the eastern one was treated as a treasure house that held the personal effects of Shôtoku Taishi (Shôtoku's writings, including scripture, Buddhist ritual implements, other implements, clothing, musical instruments, weapons, ornaments etc), which had been donated by the imperial house in ancient times and were now considered treasures. In the twelfth century the central object forming a ritual worship space was a reliquary that was worshiped as sacred object, a relic of the Buddha that Shôtoku was thought have held in his hand when he was born.[15] On the western side was a picture hall (edono) that featured large-scale paintings of tales from the life of Shôtoku Taishi, painted in 1069, on three of its shoji covered walls. This Shôtoku Taishi eden (Illustrated life of Shôtoku Taishi) was a iconographic narrative that visualized the achievements of the holy Jôgû Hôô (Dharma King of the Upper Palace) who combined the sacred and mundane in one person, who managed the affairs of state as the regent and crown prince to the empress, and patriarch who spread Buddhism in Japan. This was in a sense a Japanese version of an illustrated transformation tableau of the dissemination of Buddhism. This was the reception of the tradition of the dissemination of Buddhism and transformation tableau of the Pure Land on the cave walls of Dunhuang, re-envisioned to fit the Japanese environment.[16]

The "illustrated biography on shoji" that visualized legends of the life replete with miracles of the singular, unexcelled character of Shôtoku Taishi was a picturalization based on the Shôtoku Taishi denryaku (Abbreviated biography of Shôtoku Taishi), a biography that had been completed in the mid Heian period (tenth century), and the main text has been summarized on slips attached to scenes of some sixty episodes depicted in the paintings. This illustrated biography is a compound text, a medium combining two dimensions: the written text (biography) and the images.[17]

In this way Jôgû Ô'in (Cloister of the Dharma King of The Upper Palace) was a ritual space formed created over a span of almost five hundred years in which Shôtoku could be worshipped mainly through the sacred image of Shôtoku Taishi in his true form of Kannon (Avalokiteśvara), scriptures (chiefly a *Lotus Sutra* (*Hokekyô*) that proved that Shôtoku Taishi had once lived in China and had been reborn in Japan, and the *Hokke gishô*, an exegesis of the *Lotus Sutra* written in his own hand), and a relic of the Buddha, a central treasure of Shôtoku Taishi (that proved he was Śākyamuni reborn), and then on the dimension of the image,

15 *Hōryūji kennō hōmotsu*, eds. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, Tokyo 1996.

16 Terukazu Akiyama, "Hōryūji eden no Shōtoku Taishi den shoji e", in: *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū*, Tokyo 1964, pp. 169–204. See also Masako Ōta, "Hōryūji no Shōtoku Taishi eden wo yomitoku: e no egakareta 'shinkō kankyō no sōtai' wo tekusuto to shite", in: *Nihon ni okeru shūkyō tekusuto no shoisō to tōjihō: Nagoya Daigaku gurōbaru COE puroguramu Dai 4-kai Kokusai Kenkyū Shūkai hōkokusho*, ed. Yasurō Abe, Nagoya 2009.

17 Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*, pp. 57–88.

was the illustrated life of Shôtoku that represented in panoramic fashion an overview of the life of Shôtoku Taishi from which tales of Shôtoku Taishi's life could be freely read or could be recounted by someone explaining pictures (*etoki*). Within the cloister, the treasure house (*hôzô*) evoked the memory of Shôtoku Taishi through scripture and the personal effects of a great and noble man, and it served in this sense unambiguously a single archive, the picture hall (*edono*) was also, with images of the illustrated tales as indices to the narrative biography of Shôtoku Taishi that was evoked in the performance and interpretation of the text by the act of explaining the pictures. Through the voice of the narrator, pilgrims were made to hear an archive of the memories regarding Shôtoku Taishi.[18] This consciousness of the religious space of Shôtoku Taishi was surely an additional indicator of a religious archive that spanned ancient to medieval Japan.

3 The Lineage of the Treasure House as Imperial Court Archive

In the store of memories of the culture and faith of the royal family who were the product of the royal court of the ancient monarchy, there were not a sufficient number of written works (*tenseki*), with the exception of sacred classics, to constitute a library. For example, the vital records that have been preserved in the Shôsô'in are chiefly composed of documents (*monjo*) from the scriptorium for copying sutras, but ironically the Shôsô'in has also become a treasure house of various documents because they were preserved inadvertently on the obverse of other writings.[19] As is indicated in the ledger commemorating the donation of Emperor Shômu's personal effects to Tôdaiji by Empress Kômyô, the legacy of the royal court included a vast number of sundry items, ranging from large numbers of weapons and incense and medicinal plants, many of which were stored for later use.[20] The tradition of operating a site to store and preserve the imperial possessions of the monarch of the ancient court was carried on during the Heian period, and the content [of this tradition] can be seen in detail in the early-tenth-century *mokuroku*, a list or catalogue called the *Ninnaji omuro gyomotsu jiturokuchô* (Factual register of imperial effects at Omuro of Ninnaji) from 931 that is owned by the Sonkeikaku Bunko.[21] It lists the various types of imperial objects that Emperor Uda (867–931) stored at Omuro (meaning literally "august lair," which is a reference to the temple and its leadership). However, while written works (*tenseki*) are not included on that list, a later document, the journal of Minamoto no Tsunenobu known as the *Sotsuki*, recounts that books were kept there as he referred there to "Buddhist works" (*hômon*) and "mundane writings" (*zokusho*)

18 Ibid., pp. 28–56.

19 Yumiko Maruyama, *Shōsōin monjo no sekai*, Tokyo 2010.

20 For a general discussion on the Shōsōin treasure storehouse, see Yoshihiko Hashimoto, *Shōsōin no rekishi*, Tokyo 1997. See also Kazuki Sugimoto, *Shōsōin: rekishi to hōmotsu*, Tokyo 2009.

21 Yōko Otsuki, "Ninnaji omuro gyomotsu jitsurokuchō no hōmotsu", in: *Nihon kodai chūsei no Bukkyō to Higashi Ajia, ed.* Masatoshi Harada, Osaka 2016, pp. 153–188.

when inspecting the Endô'in, which was the temple's sutra storehouse at the time.[22] The entirety of Chinese "mundane writings," i.e. non-Buddhist works that were stored in the court library (*bunko*) were recorded in the *Nihon kenzai sho mokuroku* (Catalogue of books extant in Japan), a catalogue compiled by Fujiwara Sukeyo between 889–898. The catalogue contains forty separate categories with 1,500 titles in 17,000 scrolls. This collection of books had been built up by envoys to Tang China over the previous 300 years.[23]

Within the context of royal court of the Heian monarchy, it is the Treasure House at Uji (Uji no hôzô) that can be regarded as a genuine archive with actual books. The Byôdô'in temple at Uji, which had been built by Fujiwara no Yormichi (992–1074), who stood at the pinnacle of the royal court in the 11th century, is renowned for its Phoenix Hall (Hôôdô, 1053) that is said to represent the Buddhist Pure Land Paradise (*gokuraku jôdo*) on this earth. Within the precincts of the Byôdô'in was built a storehouse for the entire Buddhist canon that symbolized religiously the authority of the Fujiwara regents' house, which had surpassed that of the emperor since the time of Michinaga, Yorimichi's father. This sutra storehouse enshrined the treasures of many reigns as well as treasured objects among the Three Treasures. The lord, who was also head of the Fujiwara clan and royal regent, would hold an annual Buddhist Canon Assembly (Issaikyô'e) at the site, and it was the custom for the lord to travel from the capital, enter Uji and open the storehouse, or treasure house, and inspect the objects held there in a ceremony that involved the "august viewing." The inspection of the contents of the treasure house, which was part of a series of events that comprised the great assembly, which featured court music and dance, vividly demonstrates the celebratory aspect of monarchical ritual.[24]

The contents of the treasure house are known through a Heian-era manuscript called the *Byôdô'in kyôzô mokuroku* (Catalogue of the Byôdô'in sutra storehouse), which is owned by Ryûmon Bunko.[25] The list extends from Buddhist treasures such as an icon of Aizen Myôô (Sk. Rāgarāja), relics of the Buddha, the *Daihannyakyô* and stole and ritual implements said to have been brought back to Japan from China by Kûkai, and incense and medicinal plants, and remarkably it contains anthologies of Japanese verse (the *Kokin*, *Gosen*, and *Shûi wakashû*, three imperially sanctioned compilations) that were enshrined with the *Wakashû o Uji kyôzô ni osameru ki* (Record of enshrining anthologies of Japanese verse in the sutra storehouse at Uji) by Koremune Takatoki in 1070. This text reflects the conception that profane *waka*, an art of "wild words and fancy phrases" (*kyôgen kigo*), was linked to "turning the wheel of the Buddhist law" as it was a cause for the praising and spreading Buddhism. This ideal transformed mundane, non-

22 Hidematsu Wada, "Ninnaji no hōzō oyobi kyōzō", in: *Kokushi setsuen*, Tokyo 1942.
23 Genryō Yajima, *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku: shūshō to kenkyū*, Tokyo 1984.
24 Yoshihiko Saitō, "Byōdōin Issaikyō-e to bugaku", in: *Bukkyō shi gaku kenkyū* 45–2 (2002), pp. 1–35.
25 Kazuma Kawase, *Byōdōin gokyōzō mokuroku vol 2*, Sakamoto 1959.

Buddhist writings in the form of poetry collections into religious texts equivalent to sacred scriptures. The treasure house was the topos for the realization of this melding of the sacred and profane into one.

Eventually during the period Insei period (from the late 11th century through the 13th), when the authority to rule the state was seized by retired emperors, the fathers of reigning emperors, from the regental houses, the treasure houses of the monarchy, that is to the of the retired emperors, became the true symbol of the monarchy. These treasure houses were sutra storehouses that had been constructed at imperial-vow temples (*goganji*), known as the temples of the monarchy (*kokuô no tera*), by successive retired emperors. (As for the treasure house of Hosshôji, the imperial-vow temple of Retired Emperor Shirakawa, the contents are not fully known except for its Buddhist canon that he had written in gold ink on dark blue papers, although it is reported that the robes and crown worn when accessing the throne were stored there). A turning point was the Toba Treasure House, the sutra storehouse of the Shôkômyô'in, the imperial-vow temple of Retired Emperor Toba (1103–1156), which was built in 1136 and modeled after the Phoenix Hall at the Byôdô'in in Uji. Here were kept the sacred works of exo-esoteric Buddhism (*kenmitsu Bukkyô*), modern and ancient classics, ritual implements, [書法], bows, swords and musical instruments according to a record in *Byakurenshô* from the year 1146.[26]

A portion of the contents is recorded in the *Hôzô no mokuroku* (Catalogue of the treasure house) that was recorded by the monk Kanjin (1085−1153) from Kajûji, who served as the administrator of the treasure house, in 1131 when Retired Emperor Toba inspected the treasures deposited there by his father, Retired Emperor Shirakawa. The catalogue noted that there were the vestments of patriarchs and Buddhist ritual implements, swords (including one from Persia), and the containers and bags that held them. These indeed constituted a portion of the treasured items of the Three Treasures of Buddhism.[27] Moreover, some of the treasures of Retired Emperor Shirakawa (probably those enshrined in the treasure house of Hosshôji) were maintained by Retired Emperor Toba, and it seems that these eventually came to be housed in the Toba Treasure House. Moreover, this treasure house held the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel (*nyoihôju*), that appeared or was produced at this time, and was for royal authority the most secret esoteric Buddhist worship object that could be wielded for the greatest religious prestige (which according to Kûkai's *Goyuigô* (August testament) was as a created living jewel (*nôsasyô hôju*) indistinguishable from a Buddha relic. As the principal worship object of a magical secret rite of esoteric Shingon Buddhism, this was for the medieval monarchy, imperial regalia, comparable to the three sacred regalia, and served as a wellspring weld with the capacity to renew the

26 Akio Takei. *Nihon kodai Bukkyō no bunkashi*, Tokyo 1998.
27 Yasurō Abe, "Hōmotsu no mokuroku kaidai", in: *Kajūji ronshū* 6 (2010), pp. 1–4.

monarchy.[28] Furthermore, together with this sacred jewel another sacred treasure kept in this treasure house was the portrait of the deity Hachiman in the guise of a Buddhist monk, which had been painted by Kûkai and preserved as a holy treasure at Jingoji where it symbolized the unity of local gods and Buddhist divinities (*honji suijaku*), a conception that supported the origins of the system of combined eso-exoteric Buddhism that comprised state Buddhism.

In addition, as for the esoteric portion of the eso-exoteric sacred teachings, it is said that Hanjun (1038–1112) who was a protector monk for Retired Emperor Toba, donated the entire collection of sacred teachings kept at Ono Mandaraji, the temple at which the high-ranking prelate Ningai (951–1046) resided during the period of regental rule, the catalogue known as the *Ono kyôzô mokuroku* (Catalogue of the sutra storehouse at Ono), which was copied by the monk Hangô and is kept at Ryûmon Bunko, surely conveys the structure of its contents.[29] It has been suggested that the catalogue was probably written on the occasion of the copying of these sacred teachings.[30] This is text that goes as far as recording the locations where this vast system of sacred teachings that included scripture and ritual manuals and biographies in the hand of Kûkai was stored, and it is recognized that it is rather due to its introduction that the Toba Treasure House was established as a functioning archive.

Retired Emperor Toba's eventual successor Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127–1192) had the Rengeô'in, his imperial-vow temple, constructed in 1164, and this temple had a magnificent hall known as the Sanjûsangendô, which enshrined one thousand One-thousand-armed Avalokiśtevara (Senju Kannon, Skt. Sahasra-bhuja). Here too a treasure house was built, and myriad treasures were accumulated on a scale even larger and with contents more extensive and developed than in earlier reigns.[31] Here, reflecting his favoring/love of music and other performing arts, Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa kept many musical instruments such as lutes (*biwa*) and musical scores, but the core of the collection was written works (*tenseki*). A journal of one of the courtiers of the time (the *Kikki* diary of Yoshida Tsunefusa for the summer of 1174) tells how on the orders of the retired emperor he went daily under the hot sun to the Rengeô'in Treasure House, and inspected the written works and created a catalogue.[32] In contrast, within the court of the retired emperor, Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa took pleasure in hosting *imayô'awase* (competitions of singing popular songs) with his companions. His policy in regard to non-Buddhist works, as indicated in his creating of

28 Yasurō Abe, "Hōjū to ōken: Chūsei ōken to mikkyō girei", in: *Ba to utsuwa: shisō no kiroku to dentatsu: Nihon shisō 2*, Tokyo 1989; idem, *Chūsei Nihon no ōken shinwa*, Nagoya 2020.

29 Kasuma Kawase, *Ryūmon Bunko zenpon sōkan*, vol 12, Tokyo 1988.

30 Susumu Uejima, "Zuishin'in to zuiryū no kakuritsu", in: *Ninkai: Ninkai sojo gotanjo sen gojunen kinen*, Kyoto 2005.

31 *Takei, Nihon kodai Bukkyō no bunkashi.*

32 Tsunefusa Yoshida, *Kikki*, Tokyo 1935. See also *Tennō to geinō: Tennō no rekishi* vol 10, ed. Yasurō Abe, Tokyo 2010.

catalogues, was to collect only *shôhon*, texts whose provenance and contents could be verified, with the exception of duplicate volumes. It is probably the case that only the first section of his catalogue, the *Rengeô'in kyôzô mokuroku* (Catalogue of the Rengeô'in sutra storehouse) has come down to us (the manuscript of which is found in the Fushimi-no-miya collection of the Archives and Mausolea Division of the Imperial Household Agency).[33] It indicates that he first box was devoted to old manuscripts of sutras: those copied by patriarchs such as Kûkai and Gyôki or copied by generations of *nôsho* (calligraphers renowned for their superior talent with the brush). The arrangement differed from their systematic placement in the Buddhist canon, but it was fundamentally a sutra storehouse, and as this was the case, undoubtedly the very essence of precious works from the various paths and mundane scholarship as well as religious texts were assembled there.

Reflected in the sacred teachings (*shôgyô*) of exo-esoteric Buddhist tradtion that would have been found in the Rengeô'in Treasure House is the colophon of the *Sanbô'in gokyôzô mokuroku* (Catalogue of the august sutra storehouse at Sanbô'in), a manuscript at Daigoji, copied by the abbot Gien in 1604, but compiled by the Shingon monk Shôken of Daigoji who served Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa.[34] In this catalogue, one sees that within the sutra storehouse of Sanbô'in, the headquarters of the mainstream of the Ono tradition of Shingon Buddhism (the tradition that produced the Ono Mandara kyôzô mentioned above), the policy of orderly, comprehensive, and systematic arrangement of sutras, ritual manuals, and sacred teachings of both esoteric and exoteric Buddhism, aimed for a complete restructuring of these works that had previously appeared in the catalogues of scriptures brought back to Japan by the eight patriarchs, beginning with Kûkai, who had gone to China. And it is noteworthy that on this occasion duplicate works were weeded out, and moreover those not in the catalogues, only extant works among those whose authenticity had not yet been ascertained were listed, and this is clearly a policy shared with the earlier practices of collection and categorizing of profane, non-Buddhist literature. We can surmise from this that, it was planned that a system of classification that systematically compiled a comprehensive collection of authoritative true texts (*shôhon*) of both sacred and profane works of unique authority would also have devised for the Rengeô'in Treasure House, and we can sense that the intention was to thereby create a "perfect archive."[35] Supporting and promoting this effort was a culture of classification that served as a standard of universal "knowledge" of the Insei period.

33 Isao Tajima, "Tenseki no denrai to bunko: kodai, chūsei no tennōke yukari no bunko hōzō wo chūshin ni", in: *Rekishi to sozai*, ed. Ishigami Eiichi.

34 Hitoshi Obara, "Sanbō'in gokyōzō mokuroku", in: *Daigoji Kenkyū kiyō* vol 1/2, 20/21, Kyoto 2005, 2007.

35 Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*, (II–7–4), pp. 209–215.

4. The World of "Images of the Treasure Houses:" Archives Visualized through the Medium of Picture Scrolls

The most exceptional treasures preserved in the Rengeô'n Treasure House were narrative picture scrolls (*emaki*). The character of Japanese picture scrolls differs from that of Chinese picture scrolls; they developed throughout medieval Japan in a unique fashion as media-text. These composite texts, formed through a combination of alternating images and words, can be understood as a revolving movement in which images were represented through the words of the narratives (the former lives of Buddha derived from scripture, the biographies of holy men, miracle tales, tales of temple origins as well as profane tales and legends), then as the tale is begun, the words of the recounting are transformed by the images. In this way, a text is born from the narrative movement, and as is seen the Chinese *bian* (many of which are found as living texts in Dunhuang), this is a phenomenon that did simply occur within the confines of Buddhism, but was a culture that was formed and grew ceaselessly behind the scenes of interactions with the profane world.[36]

In the ancient Japanese court, there was an encounter between liturgical texts for preaching (*shôdô tekusto*), derived from transformation texts (Ch. *bian* or *bianyang*, Jp. *hen* or *hensô*) that were conveyed to Japan as a part of a global Buddhist culture, and picture scrolls of tale literature (reflected deftly in the "E'awase" chapter of the *Genji monogatari* [The Tale of Genji]), which were born of a concordance of tales (*monogatari*) and Japanese poetry (*waka*) and that were the products of a "woman's hand," an example of women's culture.[37] At the point of this encounter, a religious text the *Sanbô'e* (The Three Treasures, Illustrated), was composed by Minamoto no Tamenori in 987.[38] Unfortunately, the illustrations no longer exist, but it employed the stylistic grammar of the picture-scroll narratives and was a groundbreaking text embodying the fundamental ideals of Buddhism and providing the complete history of the faith in narrative form for women. This embodying of the Three Treasures depicted the world of Japanese Buddhism by expounding the *rokuharamitsu* (six practices needed to become a bodhisattva) and the *jātaka* tales (stories of the former lives of the Buddha), i.e. the Treasure of the Buddha; legends of holy men and eminent monks such as the life of Shôtoku Taishi and miracle tales of the dharma, i.e. the Treasure of the Buddhist teachings (dharma); and annual events and origin tales of temples, i.e. the Treasure of the Buddhist community of monks (*sangha*). This illustrate narrative of the Dharma, the melding of sacred and profane realized through the explaining/preaching of the images, seems to have had a large influenced on later cultural production.

Produced two centuries after the *Sanbô'e*, the *Nenjû gyôji emaki* (Picture scrolls of annual events), in sixty volumes, was unprecedented; this, the largest of all *emaki*,

36 Jirō Umezu, *Emakimono sōshi*, Kyoto 1972.
37 Tōrū Takahashi, *Ōchō bungaku to monogatari'e*, Tokyo 2010.
38 Tamenori Minamoto no, *Sanbō̄e: Heian jidai Bukkyō̄ setsuwashū*, ed. Osamu Izumoji, Tokyo 1990.

must have been planned by Retired Go-Shirakawa to be installed in his treasure house.[39] The original work has been lost, and today only copies of approximately ten percent of the original *emaki* exist, but even the extant portion allows us to recognize that this was an ambitious attempt to portray the contemporary ritual sphere of the court in its entirety, including Buddhist rituals. Moreover, portrayed therein were not only nobles and bureaucrats who served the emperor and his ladies-in-waiting, but the rich and poor, men and women, young and old of all social classes, and not only as spectators of processions and ceremonies, they are also depicted as the agent initiators of folk rites and entertainments. Among the scenes included are those of the Naien (palace banquet) with its dancing women and similar images that document revived court events that had ceased to be performed, and this inclusion is related to the *Shôan gosechi'e* (Pictures of the Gosechi'e celebration of the Shôan era), a disparate picture scroll. Taken together, these scrolls can be understood as a comprehensive visualization of the sacred and profane, the splendid and mundane, of the Insei period monarchy and their significance can be located as the embodiment of the desire to capture all in a single overview stored in memory.[40] There is episode in the *Kokonchomonjû* (Collection of tales heard past and present), from the thirteenth century during the Kamakura period that recounts that when Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa showed this set of picture scrolls to the former regent Matsudono Motofusa (1144–1231), who was known for his expertise on court protocol and precedent, Motofusa indicated the set's many inaccuracies by attaching slips of paper containing corrections to the scrolls and returned the set to the retired emperor. Rather than becoming angry, the retired emperor was pleased that the value of the picture scrolls had thereby been enhanced.[41]

Incorporated in the picture scrolls of the treasure house was Retired Emperor's plan to visualize the world, transcending the practical world and extending to a vision of the Buddhist world. Portions of his original *Rokudô'e* (Pictures of the Six Realms) are preserved in the *Jigoku zôshi* (Hell scroll) and *Gaki zôshi* (Hungry ghosts scroll), which while depicting the terrifying realm of evil, display an astounding perfection in painterly technique. Even more astounding is the *Yamai no sôshi* (Scroll of Ailments), which expresses the sufferings one by one in loving detail in what is probably meant to be the human realm.[42] There the states of all human illnesses without distinctions of gender or social status, from insomnia to obesity and even hermaphroditism, are depicted along with laughing gawkers and some bystanders who are shown in sexual acts. The gaze is linke to merciless observation It may indeed be possible to say that scrolls such as the *Nenjû gyôji emaki* and *Rokudô'e* relentless pursuit of the possibilities of the picture scroll

39 Shigemi Komatsu, *Nihon emaki taisei*, vol 8, Tokyo 1980.
40 Yasurō Abe, "Inseiki bunka no seishitsu", in: *Chūsei no keisei*, ed. Kenkyūkai Rekishigaku, Tokyo 2004, pp. 10–33; idem, *Chūsei Nihon no sekaizô*, Nagoya 2018.
41 *Kokon chomonjū*, in: *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 84, Tokyo 1966.
42 Midori Sano, "Yamai no sōshi kenkyū", in: Fūryū. Zōkei. Monogatari, 1977.

medium basically shared with contemporary intellectuals (for example, the great scholar Ôe no Masafusa (1047–1111),[43] who was called "crazed with writing," and who tried to record and classifying everything he encountered) a twisted proclivity to try to create an archive of the entire world in one fell swoop.

The pictures from the treasure house are seen in another episode from the *Kokonchomonjû*. Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199), who had triumphed over the Heike who fought under the aegis of Emperor Antoku during the civil war, established a warrior regime, and when he came to the capital of Kyoto as Lord of Kamakura and had an audience with Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa, the retired emperor attempted to show the picture scrolls in the treasure house to warrior leader. However, Yoritomo declined the offer, making no effort to view them. This act was intended by the retired emperor to demonstrate the cultural superiority of the monarchy, and one is surely led to the interpretation that the treasure house pictures symbolically concealed the power to literally captivate their viewers and Yoritomo anticipated that danger.[44] This was simultaneously a means and goal of embodying the retired emperor's monarchical will and is also an instant that vividly exposes the agency of the mechanism of the archive.

Even after the actual Rengeô'in Treasure House was lost, the pictures from the treasure house continued to exist in sites close to the court until the Muromachi period (15th century). One sees, particularly, in the *Kanmon nikki*, the diary of Prince Fushimi-no-miya Sadanari (1372–1459), who came to be known as Go-Sukô'in after his son ascended the throne as Emperor Hanasono, records of the viewing of parts of the treasure house collection and its picture scrolls, and of his own copying of the calligraphic text of some scrolls.[45] The existence of one picture scroll among these is simply known from the fact one manuscript is titled *Hôzô'e kotoba* (Wording of a treasure house picture). Moreover, viewing these picture scrolls inspired the prince to create new picture scrolls. The house of Fushimi-no-miya was a lineage that was originally a direct offshoot of the imperial line, and it carried on the musical tradition that buttressed the authority of the medieval monarchy and also continued to maintain an archive known as the "*go bunko*," august library, of the court, which managed the treasure house.[46] This aroused his interest in the treasure house pictures, including the picture scrolls.

Extant picture scrolls that originated in the treasure house are the *Hikohohodemi no mikoto emaki* (manuscript copy in the Sannomaru collection of the Imperial Household Agency), the *Kibi daijin nittô emaki* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and the *Ban dainagon emaki* (Idemitsu Museum of Arts).[47] They are respectively a retelling in contemporary language of the ancient myth of the birth of the imperial

43 Hisao Kawaguchi, *Ōe no Masafusa*, Tokyo 1989.
44 Mitsuo Tanahashi, *Goshirakawa Hōō*, Tokyo 1995.
45 Kazuo Ishizuka, "shiryō shōkai Hōzō'e kotoba", in: *Shoryōbu kiyō* 21 (1967), pp. 77–81.
46 Tajima,"Tenseki no denrai to bunko: kodai, chūsei no tennōke yukari no bunko hōzō wo chūshin ni".
47 Shigemi Komatsu, *Nihon emaki shūkō*, vol 1, Tokyo 1989.

line from the Dragon King of the sea, a recounting of "origins of knowledge" in form of the adventures of an emissary to Tang China who becomes a cultural hero, and a recreation of a tale of an incident that shook the ancient monarchy, demonstrating the movement of medieval didactic tales (*setsuwa*) reconstituted as artistic masterpieces in the medium of the picture scroll. These are not only to be considered as individual works of art, but, in a sense, an engraved monument crystallizing the compound archive of the cultural sphere as collective memory.

5 The Dreams of a Scholar Monk and the Religious Texts that Forms a Sutra Storehouse Archive: Myôe and the *Kegon engi*

In regard to the fact that picture scrolls are concentrated essence of archives in Japan, one can surely point out that this is the case not only on the dimension of the state and the monarchy but also a smaller scale. For example, this is a phenomenon that can be recognized on the level of the sutra storehouses in medieval temples.

Myôe Shônin, is the appellation by which Kôben (1173–1232), who is representative of the scholar monks of the Kamakura period, is generally known. He was awarded the Toganoo territory for Kôsanji by Retired Emperor Go-Toba (1180–1239), and using this mountain temple north of the capital as his base, he led a small group of scholar monks, melding Esoteric and Kegon traditions and strictly observing the precepts. He garnered the faith of nobles of the court and warriors of the shogunate, as well as that of many monks through his adoration of Śākyamuni, the favored he received from local deities, and the way he lived a pure life.[48] The record left by Myôe that has received the most attention worldwide is the *Yumeki* (Dream record) in which he recorded his dreams throughout his life. It has been carefully preserved in Kôzanji sutra storehouse. A full accounting of it has been systematically recorded in the Kamakura-era *Kôzanji kyôzô mokuroku* (Catalogue of the Kôzanji sutra storehouse).[49] The state of the collection therein, which combines works from various Buddhist traditions, including Zen works, presents an inspiring view of what could rightly be called a scholars' lair for comprehensive Buddhist study. Within this encyclopedic corpus, a portion is occupied by picture scrolls (but the currently the most representative of Kôzanji, the monochrome *Chôjugiga* [Pictures of frolicking birds and beasts], which features anthropomorphized animals with frolicking frogs, that one would expect to appear in the catalogue, does not), but the most important texts for Kôzanji that are recorded in this catalogue as picture scrolls is a set of two called the *Gangyô'e* (Pictures of Wonhyo) and *Gishô'e* (Pictures of Uisang).[50]

This set of picture scrolls, which is today called the *Kegon engi* (Origins of the Kegon tradition), are the pictorialized legends of the two holy men incorporating

48 Isao Okuda, *Myōe: henreki to yume*, Tokyo 1978.
49 *Kōzanji kyōzō komokuroku*: *Kōzanji shiryō sōsho* vol 14, eds. Kōzanji Tenseki Monjo Sōgō Chōsadan, Tokyo 1985.
50 Shigemi Komatsu, *Nihon emaki taisei* vol 11, Tokyō 1978.

the religious ideals sought by Myôe himself. The biographies of the Silla Kegon patriarchs Wonhyo (Jp. Gangyô) and Uisang (Jp. Gishô) were taken from the *Lives of Eminent Monks* and pictorialized; the source texts were translated into a tale written in vernacular Japanese script, producing two discreet picture-scroll tales that influenced one another and recount the miracles of faith and the dharma.[51] These could rightfully be termed a fantasy that embodied sacred images sought by Myôe in his dream-visions throughout his life. This is seen in the overlap between *Gangyô'e* and self-portrait-like "Meditating in a Tree," showing Myôe at Ryôgasen as a reclusive practitioner at one with nature. The *Gishô'e*, in particular, produces an unprecedented dynamic world that fully brought to life the picture-scroll format with the beautiful Seonmyo (Jp. Zenmyô) throwing herself into the sea for the love of the dharma-seeker Uisang, and being transformed miraculously into a large dragon who crosses the sea as a protective deity to guard over his spiritual training. To this tale of Zenmyô's metamorphosis represented in this overwhelming image, Myôe ventured to add a lengthy exegetical commentary (*hanjaku*), and in regard to its significance, it emphasizes a miracle that was engendered by the power of a vow of faith. This represents a sublimated vision of the triumph in the conflict of anima and animus latent in the consciousness of the seeker of the way and the struggle between eros and psyche that Myôe confessed in his dream record.[52]

In this manner, the Kegon engi picture scrolls are incomparable religious texts in whose background was the sutra storehouse of Kôsanji where was concentrated the amalgamation of medieval knowledge and are also the product of the crystallization of the spiritual trail/path of Myôe, the subject of this knowledge who produced them. This can surely be said to have already transcended allegory and created the symbolic heritage of an archive.

51 Jirō Umezu, *Emakimono sôkô*, Tokyo, pp. 141–157.

52 Yasurō Abe, *Yuya no kōgō: Chūsei no sei to sei naru mono*, Nagoya 1998, pp. 317–333. See also, Yasurō Abe, "Ikai to no kōshin to shūkyō tekusuto: Chūsei Nihon no seishinshi no ichi danmen" in: *Nihon gaku kenkyū* 48 (2016), pp. 9–34.

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Korea

“No Books to Leave, No Women to Enter”: Confucian Academies in Pre-Modern Korea and Their Book Collections

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When, in 1578, the retired high-ranking official Yulgok Yi I (1536–1584) decided to compose the rules of study for the Unbyŏng Study Hall, where he lectured to his disciples, he had no doubts as to the form of the ideal Confucian education of a young student: “Every day on the fifth watch, just before dawn, students wake up and put their beds in order. The younger ones take a broom and sweep their chambers, and order the assistant to sweep the yard. After that, the students wash, dress properly, and start their reading of the books.” During the reading, the student should “kneel upright and respectfully with clasped hands, devote his whole mind and direct his intention, exert himself fully to grasp the meaning and its lesson.” The rest of the day consisted, apart from ritual obligations, of “reading, quiet sitting and preserving of one’s mind, and lectures or discussions about meanings and principles.” Finally, students should “after dark, light the lamps and read their books.”[1] This insight into the daily routine of a young student gives us a basic idea of the role of reading in Confucian education and, more specifically, of the position the study of books occupied in Confucian academies of 16th-century Korea. After his death, Yulgok’s study hall became the powerful Sohyŏn Academy, and his rules served as a canonical text for many other Korean academies until the coming of modern times. Moreover, the central role of the reading and studying of texts in Confucian academies gave birth to a specific culture of books and libraries, one created to fit the needs of Korean scholars and students in the operation of the academies.

In Korea, Confucian academies followed the 12th-century Chinese model, best represented by the White Deer Grotto Academy, re-established in 1179 by the famous scholar Zhu Xi (1130–1200), yet the academies of the peninsula soon adopted many distinctive individual features. At the same time, even the transmission of the Song Dynasty academy-model to Korea was itself something of a long and complicated process. The specific needs of the Korean environment led to the adaptation of more distant Chinese precedents, especially in terms of the social structures of the academies (Korean academies exclusively served the

1 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 15:44a–45b.

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literati elites), their relation to the state (notably more independent than in China), the stress on ritual functions (the spiritual centre of Korean academies was always a shrine dedicated to exemplary Confucian scholars) and above all their allegiance to one particular type of Confucian orthodoxy. All these features influenced the practical functioning of the academies and by extension their libraries as well. Korea had a rich tradition of state and school libraries,[2] as well as large book collections in Buddhist monasteries or the private libraries of individual scholars, but none of these models was applicable to the specific character of the Confucian academy. Driven by necessity, Korean academies were forced to develop their own ways of collecting, preserving and lending or borrowing books. Libraries formed a crucial part of every academy and supported the enormous success of these Confucian institutions. From the first few academies founded in the 16th century, in later times a formidable network of hundreds of institutions scattered across the eight provinces of the Korean kingdom emerged, offering the services of their book collections to tens of thousands of Korean literati. This system ended abruptly during the reforms of prince-regent Taewŏngun (1863–1873), who, irritated by the academies' influence and privileges, closed all but 47 of them in 1871. The remaining library collections that have managed to survive the abolition of the academies, as well as the occupations and wars of the turbulent 20th century[3] on the Korean peninsula, only provide a small glimpse of this vanished world. Nonetheless, we can, on the basis of extant documents, derive a precise idea of how the book collections of Confucian academies were created or managed and what their specific purpose was.

2 Academies are frequently compared with the network of state-sponsored local or village schools (*hyanggyo*) and often mentioned as a motive for the founding of academies, in both in China and Korea, is the sorry state of these local schools including their libraries, (see Tai-loi Ma, "Libraries of the Private academies in Ming China (1368–1644)" in: *Committee on East Asian Libraries Bulletin* 101 (1993), pp. 182–185 and Ch'oe Yŏng-ho, "The Private Academies (Sŏwŏn) and Neo-Confucianism in Late Chosŏn Korea" in: *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 21/2 (2008), pp. 139–191). This opinion was even voiced by many scholars in the Chosŏn period, but this comparison between village schools and Confucian academies was more a rhetorical strategy to stress the primacy of the academies. Village schools provided a much lower level of education and had a different structure of both curriculum and students. This essential difference is mirrored in their book collections, which had, in spite of many similarities, a very different structure, scope and purpose.

3 Current studies on the past or extant book collections of Korean academies are limited only to the Republic of Korea. Academy collections located in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are effectively lost to international research and there is no special study on the topic. Academies collections are only occasionally mentioned in general publications concerning book culture and libraries, see for example the short entry in the introduction to the Korean bibliography studies Kungnip chungang tosŏgwan (ed.), *Chosŏn sŏjihak kaeron*, P'yŏngyang 1955, pp. 67–68. For recent developments see Vladimir Glomb, Eun-Jeung Lee and Martin Gehlmann, *Confucian Academies in East Asia*, Leiden 2020, pp. 489–490.

Books and Academies

As places of study, the academies were from the very outset intended to acquire and retain books as the necessary precondition of their functioning. Establishment of an academy automatically presupposed it would be supplied with its own book collection. In the process of founding an academy, the books played as crucial a role as the buildings and the economic basis, whether monetary endowments or (even more often) agricultural land provided the academy community with a stable income. From the very beginning, students and teachers had the expectation of being provided with shelter, food and books. Vivid documentation of such processes are the texts concerning the establishment of the first Korean academy, Paegundong Academy, in 1543. A local magistrate, Chu Sebung (1495–1554), the main figure behind the idea of introducing the model of the Song-era Chinese academy into the Korean environment, described his role in the following words:

> In this one county seat, I must assume responsibility and exert myself to the utmost. I have dared to set up this shrine and construct this academy; to supply it with paddy fields and to collect books for it; all in accord with the example of the White Deer Grotto Academy.[4]

In order to become something beyond "a place to learn for one village or province, but the place to learn for the whole country", the academy had to offer local scholars and students' better conditions to study than were already at their disposal in the state schools or in private sphere. Well-supplied book holdings were one of the crucial arguments in attracting future members of the academy. Acquiring books was given the same priority in the founding process as the economic foundations of the academy; intellectual and mundane needs were to be met at the highest possible level, and both local scholars and government official put great effort[5] to assisting in this process. Only a few years after the founding of the Paegundong Academy, the magistrate of P'unggi County, the district where it was located, became the distinguished Confucian scholar, T'oegye Yi Hwang (1501–1570), who decided to further expand the capacities of the academy and enhance its status. In an eloquent memorandum to the provincial governor, he made a request to the royal court to "grant books, bestow an inscribed name plaque, supplies, sustenance fields and slaves."[6] Dynastic annals inform us that after some debates, the royal court decided to approve "two or three of these

4 *Sinjae chŏnsŏ* 1:1a–6a. Quoted in Milan Hejtmanek, "The Elusive Path to Sagehood: Origins of the Confucian Academy System in Chosŏn Korea", in: *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 26/2 (2013), p. 260.

5 The priority of book purchase is well documented in the following story: during the building of the Paegundong Academy workers excavated bronze artifacts weighing "many pounds", probably belonging to a Buddhist monastery, which occupied the place several centuries ago. The discovered valuables were immediately sold to buy "incredibly many volumes of classics, histories, writings of individual masters and collected writings." (*Chukkye chi* 1 (sang), Sŏ 1b (Sang kamsa Simgong sŏ).

6 *T'oegye chŏnsŏ* 9:7a.

items, such as a inscribed name plaque and books, to be bestowed"[7] and we even know the titles of the books given to the academy: the cornerstones of Confucian education, i.e. multivolume convolutes of the Four Books, the Five Classics and *Xingli daquan* (Great Collection of Works on Human Nature and Principles), in all senses a royal gift.[8] This decision marked the beginning of two essential features in the relationship between the Confucian academies and the royal court. Bestowing a royal plaque bearing the new official name given to the academy (often written by the king himself) became the symbol of the official royal approval of the new academy, and the books donated for this occasion to the Paengundong Academy (renamed as Sosu Academy by a royal charter) become the first instance of the later tradition of bestowing royal book donations, known as *naesabon*, on academies.

With greater or lesser modifications, the model of the Confucian academy founded by Chu Sebung was followed by other scholars and officials, and in only a few decades local communities of scholars began themselves to establish several dozen academies dedicated to Confucian studies. Development of these academies was accompanied by the systematic compilation of their book collections and library facilities. The task was not easy: academies were a completely new phenomena and Korean scholars could have had only a very general idea (if any) of the structure of the practical features of 12th-century Chinese academic libraries, which they officially held as their model.[9] Further complicating the collecting and keeping of books was the substantial difference of the new academies to all known Korean precedents of private or state book collections: they were thus forced to develop a completely new approach.

As educational institutions, academies were supposed to supply large numbers of students with books, and had to maintain large collections for student use. This factor set them strongly apart from private collections, which were free of this burden and were never intended for massive lending (although informal exchanges of books among individual scholars were very frequent).[10] Unlike the state schools, academies were essentially private, funded by the efforts of local elites, and in spite of occasional government support via local

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7 *Myŏngjong sillok* 5/2/11#2.

8 See Pae Hyŏnsuk, "Sosu sŏwŏn sujang kwa kanhaeng sŏjŏkko", in: *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 31 (2005), pp. 263–296.

9 Most of the texts on Chinese academies available at this time in Korea focused on their intellectual message and not on mundane practical problems like the organisation of a library etc. Most of the documents concerning early academy libraries in China are no more extant (See Linda Walton, *Academies and Society in Southern Sung China*, Honolulu 1999, pp. 203–204) and were probably not available in 16th-century Korea either.

10 A very fine example of such activities is the diary of one avid book collector and distinguished scholar, Miam Yu Hŭich'un (1513–1577). In his private diary *Miam ilgi*, he recorded the extraordinary number of titles he bought, received, transcribed or borrowed: merely during the first twelve days of the diary (from 1567/10/1 to 1567/10/12) such exchanges numbered several dozens. See Sun Joo Kim and Kwon Oh-Young (eds.), *Miam ilgi: Select Translations with Introduction,* https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/gpks/miam-ilgi (01.05.2018).

official or (infrequently) royal book donations, they were forced to rely on their own resources. Hence the acquisition and maintenance of the academy's book holdings required a more elaborate approach, which at the beginning had almost no precedent in Korea. The important role of book collections as a constitutive element of the academy continued also during the practical operation of the institution, i.e. educating Confucian scholars and serving as a place of advanced studies of the Learning of the Way.

Book collections connected with the academies are to be understood primarily from the point of Confucian ideology. What was understood as 'books' in the academic context were the Confucian classics and the related texts necessary in the process of Confucian education, by no means *belles lettres*. Academy founders devoted the utmost attention to the proper selection of the reading curriculum and the regulation of book holdings according to orthodox requirements. When the famous scholar Yulgok Yi I commented on the meaning of books in the process of study and self-cultivation to King Sŏnjo (1608–1623), he highlighted that "how sages and worthies used their minds, what we should imitate and admonish ourselves concerning the good and the bad, are all contained in books."[11] The position of books as a medium of the Confucian message fuelled the exalted status that books enjoyed in the academies and the circles of Korean scholars.[12] Books, or at least the books read in academies, were held in the utmost reverence. This attitude was a driving force behind the elaborate strategies developed by the academies for keeping and using texts and related facilities. The elevated status of books held by academy libraries was further accented by the origin of certain books; in addition to royal book donations, which were revered automatically and maintained in a special regime, the prestige of a book was determined as well by the record of its previous holder. Academies frequently stored books or texts that had belonged to famous scholars, often enshrined directly in the academy shrine. Most treasured were the manuscripts that were directly authored by exemplary scholars, but even the mere ownership of a book acquired by the academy library previously owned by a renowned scholar (often attested by his personal seal or signature marking the ownership) was sufficient to distinguish the said book from other publications. Both these features of academy collections contributed to the requirement, explicitly stipulated, by the academy authorities that students must read books only properly dressed, washed and "kneeling upright and respectfully with clasped hands"[13], creating an exalted book etiquette strictly imposed on academy members and very precise rules for book use and circulations of texts

11 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 27:8a.

12 Probably the best example of Korean bibliophilia is a form of "still life" painting called *ch'aekkŏri* (books and things), known also as *ch'aekkado* (bookshelf painting) or *ch'aekka munbangdo* (painting of bookshelves and scholarly objects), which Korean scholars, often as panel screen, displayed in their rooms. See Sunglim Kim, "Chaekgeori: Multi-Dimensional Messages in Late Joseon Korea", in: *Archives of Asian Art* 64/1 (2014), pp. 3–32.

13 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ*, 15:5a.

within the academy's community. This strict and reverential attitude toward books fulfilled a twofold role: the discipline and respect required while holding, reading or collecting books formed an integral part of the self-cultivation process and absorption of Confucian values, while on the other hand it helped in the practical realm to keep the academy's indispensable book holdings in a more or less usable state for successive generations of scholars.

Confucian Education

The main feature distinguishing academy book collections from their counterparts in private, state or Buddhist monastic hands was their selective nature. Practically all books kept in academy collection were (with the exception of administrative documents) connected to the questions of Confucian education, and other texts and topics were strictly excluded. The nature of academy book collections and their reading process was consciously designed to follow the general outline of the Confucian reading curriculum, the foundations of which were laid down by Chinese Song dynasty scholars and further elaborated by their Korean followers.[14] Yet these general rules valid for all students of Confucian teaching, regardless of whether the instruction was private or in state schools, in the academy environment were integrated into a complex system. Its features are visible through the prescriptive texts of the academies, i.e. their regulations, and on the practical level are directly mirrored in the catalogues of the academies' book collections.

The crucial question of the Confucian curriculum was the selection and proper sequence of classical books and their exegetical commentaries. The path of study was delineated by the texts that a student studied and memorized; we may say that the program of study was predominantly based on the comprehension of classical texts. The primacy of such an approach is highly visible in the Rules of Isan Academy, which later served as a model for many Korean academies. Their author, T'oegye Yi Hwang, placed the article describing reading activities in the academy as the very first paragraph of the rules:

> For all students, the Four Books and the Five Classics should be studied as the roots and origins [of all things], while the *Elementary Learning* and the *Family Rites* should be studied as the door. While observing the state policy of nurturing talent, they should uphold the meticulous teachings of the sages and worthies. Aware that we are endowed with all the goodness, we firmly believe that the old Way can be realized today. [Therefore,] everyone should do his utmost to comprehend in his mind and heart the essence and usefulness of the learning. While it is necessary to study var-

14 See Daniel K. Gardner, *Learning to Be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically,* Berkeley 1990; and Vladimir Glomb, "Reading the Classics Till Death: Yulgok Yi I and the Curriculum of Chosŏn Literati", in: *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* II.2 (2012), pp. 315–329.

ious histories, philosophies, collective writings, literary works, and prose and poems and also to prepare for the civil service examinations, these should be studied for secondary importance […] One should constantly exert himself lest one becomes indolent. Books that are depraved, insidious, or licentious are not allowed into the academy lest one's pursuit for the lest one's pursuit for the Way may be disturbed and one's determination may be confused.[15]

The scope and purpose of this reading curriculum is almost identical with another prescription targeted to students in general: a very similar description appears in the popular primer for young students, *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* (Important Methods of Eliminating Youthful Ignorance) composed in 1577 by Yulgok Yi I.

> When we read the Five Books and the Five Classics repeatedly and become familiar with them, our understanding of principles does not cease but instead makes meanings and principles clearer each day. Then we can read books from earlier orthodox authors of the Song dynasty like *Jinsilu* (Reflections on Things at Hand), *Jiali* (Family Rites), *Xinjing* (Classic of the Mind), *Er Cheng quanshu* (Complete Writings of Two Chengs), *Zhuzi daquan* (Great Collection of Master Zhu), [*Zhuzi*] *yulei* (Conversations of Master Zhu Arranged Topically) and other explanations of human nature and principle […]. With the remaining energy we can also read historical books in this way we penetrate the past and the present and understand the changes that had taken place in order to broaden our knowledge. Concerning unorthodox books of false learning and dubious categories, students should not browse them for even a single moment.[16]

Yulgok's text is later repeated in his *Hakkyo mobŏm* (Model for Schools) composed on royal order in 1582. The supposed curriculum for academy students, students of state schools (the target group of the *Hakkyo mobŏm*) or individual young students[17] addressed in the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* was practically identical. The difference between these three areas of education did not lie in the means (which was the universally acknowledged Confucian canon and its orthodox exegesis) or the purpose (to become a sage or at least exemplary scholar) but rather in the possibility of implementing or enforcing the recommended curriculum. In other words, Confucian academies as closed elite institutions were able to use more effective strategies to control and direct students access to books and their

15 *T'oegye chŏnsŏ* 41:51a, quoted in Ch'oe, "The Private Academies (Sŏwŏn) and Neo-Confucianism in Late Chosŏn Korea", p. 153.

16 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 27:8a.

17 Including the crown prince and members of royal family, see JaHyun Kim Haboush, "The Education of the Yi Crown Prince: A Study in Confucian Pedagogy", in: *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, eds. William Theodore De Bary, JaHyun Kim Haboush, New York 1985, pp. 161–222.

consumption. The most important step in this process was establishing a strict hierarchy among various sorts of texts accessible to students, clearly visible in the sequence of their description in the above-mentioned texts.

The first place in the curriculum belonged to the Four Books and the Five Classics of the Confucian canon, followed by the exegetical texts of Song dynasty masters. Much less importance was attached to historical books, which were supposed to illustrate how the ideals of Confucian governance were implemented over thousands of years in both Chinese and Korean history. However, these two categories – Confucian classics and historical works – were the only categories for which all Korean scholars agreed that they constituted the sources for a proper Confucian education. The dividing line between the proper books allowed for the education in academies started already with the vast number of literary works, including poetry, which were *sine qua non* for success in state examinations and subsequent administrative careers. Many scholars considered the literary education required for worldly success and state examinations as a distraction from the true Confucian studies and worked to exclude or eliminate it from within academies' precincts. In his rules for Unbyŏng Study Hall, later the famous Sohyŏn Academy, Yulgok clearly stated: "If these are not books of sages and worthies, or explanations of principle and human nature, they are not to be read within the school. (Historical books are allowed to be read.) If somebody wants to take study for state examinations, he should definitely prepare somewhere else."[18]

Literary works of classical origin, i.e. not novels or popular readings,[19] were to a certain degree allowed for reading in academies, but the rest of literary production was banned from entry. Exclusion of many books extended as well to "unorthodox books of false learning and dubious categories," which were essentially placed into two categories. The first were books of technical, military,[20] or medical knowledge, which by definition did not belong to the Confucian realm. While Korean scholars often had a surprising command of these disciplines and both in official assignments and private life proved to be capable experts on training local militias, introducing agriculture innovations, discussing medical problems or commenting of important matters concerning divination and other mundane problems, the academies themselves were to be devoted solely to the study of the Learning of the Way. This division between

18 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 15:45a. For an overview of the state examination system see Yi Sŏngmu, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education and the Civil Service Examination System in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Korea", in: *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, pp. 125–160.

19 For the circulation and book economy concerning popular literature see Michael Kim, "Literary Production, Circulating Libraries, and Private Publishing: The Popular Reception of Vernacular Fiction Texts in Late Chosŏn", in: *Journal of Korean Studies* 9/1 (2004), pp. 1–31.

20 See Thomas H. Lee, "Archery Ranges in the Educational Tradition of Confucian Academies in China", in: *Confucian Academies in East Asia*, eds. Vladimir Glomb, Eun-Jeung Lee and Martin Gehlmann, Leiden 2020, pp. 226–251.

books suitable for academy students and those privately used by scholars outside of academies is clearly visible in the comparison of the private book catalogues of famous Confucian scholars, which do contain a broad range of books of non-Confucian provenience completely absent from the academy libraries.[21]

The second category of forbidden publications were texts defined more explicitly and clearly: materials of "false learning", i.e. texts of other intellectuals and religious currents including Buddhism, Daoism but also certain unorthodox Confucian schools, for example that of Wang Yangming (1472–1529) or Lu Xiangshan (1139–1193). In spite of the proclaimed Confucian orientation of the Korean state, competing schools of religious thought were still active on the peninsula and presented a serious threat which Confucians scholars tried to eradicate at any cost. Surprisingly, the best *cordon sanitaire* against false learning was believed to be ignorance. The reasons for this attitude are aptly described by T'oegye Yi Hwang in a record of his conversation with his disciples on the topic:

> The Master's relation to false learning was like that to licentious songs and beautiful women, and he still worried that he was not strict enough in getting rid of them. He once said: "I wanted to read Buddhist scriptures in order to investigate properly what heresies they hide but I was afraid, like one crossing the river. First he wants to test its depth but then he is afraid of drowning. Those who study should read only the writings of sages and worthies. If they can understand them, they may trust them completely, and when it comes to the texts of false learning, there will be surely no harm if they do not know them at all."[22]

In addition, Yulgok wholeheartedly agreed that, concerning books of false learning, "students should not browse them for even a single moment", yet under ordinary circumstances it was rather difficult to prevent curious young students from having access to these materials. Confucian academies provided a much more suitable opportunity to create a purely Confucian space free of all distractive impulses including (besides false learning) also women, excessive drinking and gambling. The famous ritual specialist Han'gang Chŏng Ku (1543–1620) included in his rules composed for the Todong Academy a special chapter on "strictly prohibited items", which starts with "writings of Zhuangzi, Liezi, Laozi or Shakyamuni"[23] and judging from the extant academies' library

21 Probably the best example of well catalogued private book collection of a Confucian scholar is *Hongssi toksŏrok* (Book Catalogue of Mister Hong), which records hundreds of titles in 16 000 volumes belonging to the famous scholar Hong Sŏkchu (1774–1842). The catalogue records many unorthodox categories of books including novels, but it is clear that many books of lower genres were not listed as the catalogue was intended to be public, and therefore slightly hypocritical. There is no Korean book catalogue, which would list the widely spread erotic pillow books etc. See Ri Sangyong, *Hongssi toksŏrok*, Sŏngnam 2012 (2nd revised edition).

22 *T'oegye sŏnsaeng ŏnhaengnok* 5:12a.

23 *Han'gang sŏnsaeng sokchip* 4:6a.

catalogues we may assume this effort successful. Out of the hundreds of Daoist titles published during the five centuries of the Chosŏn dynasty,[24] only a handful were able to sneak onto the precincts of the academies.[25] In their private life, the Chosŏn literati were well used to studying orthodox books on their desktops and unorthodox books underneath[26] – yet this was certainly not the case in the academies. The strict control of the influx of books into academies effectively barred all publications not related to Confucian education or related bodies of knowledge. A certain degree of censorship was equally applied to the writings of competing political factions of philosophical schools of Korean Confucianism: academies belonging to one particular faction rarely contained the writings of their enemies.[27] This strategy had a tremendous impact on both the scale and composition of academy collections, and marked an essential difference between academy libraries and the private collections of Korean scholars. Absence of numerous genres in the academies collections resulted in their relatively modest size, yet size was not an obstacle for them; if the academies focused on books related to Confucian scholarship, they only fulfilled their task according to the need of academy members. As we can see both from the reading curriculum and book catalogues, collections were centred on the Confucian canon of classics and their orthodox Song commentaries and did not necessarily have to be

24 An overview of Daoist book production during Chosŏn times is offered in Ch'oe Chŏngi, *Chosŏn sidae togasŏ kanhaeng mit p'anbon punsok*, Taegu 2012. A snapshot of the diversity of the Chosŏn literary corpus is visible in the monumental witness to the last days of traditional Korea, Maurice Courant, *Bibliographie coréenne: tableau littéraire de la Corée*, 3 vol, Paris 1894–1896 (Supplément 1901). For the Daoist books in Courant's bibliography see Kim Yun'gŏng, "Morisŭ Kkurang ŭi Hanguk sŏji (Bibliographie Coreenne) e soroktoen togyo kyŏngjon yŏn'gu", in: *Hanguk ch'ŏrhak nonjip* 50 (2016), pp. 270–304.

25 Yi Ch'unhŭi indicated only only one copy of Zhuangzi's writings held in Pyŏngsan Academy, and two volumes in Oksan Academy and Chŭngyŏn Academy, which entered these academies as part of a private library acquired by a bequest, Yi Ch'unhŭi, *Yijo sŏwŏn mungo mongnok*, Seoul 1969, p. 24.

26 Martina Deuchler, "Reject the False and Uphold the Straight: Attitudes Toward Hetherodox Thought in Early Yi Korea", in: *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, p. 401. It has to be noted, that the most of the Korean scholars had a very good command of false teaching literature, see Kim Daeyeol, "Chosŏn Confucian Scholar's attitudes toward the *Laozi*", in: *Sungkyun Journal for Asian Studies* 7/2 (2007), pp. 17–22. A good example could be Yulgok, who, in spite of his rhetoric against the false learning, composed a commentary on the *Daodejing*, see Vladimir Glomb, "Yulgok and Laozi: Integration of the *Daodejing* into 16th Century Confucian Discourse", in: *Integration Processes in the Circulation of Knowledge: Cases from Korea*, eds. Marion Eggert, Florian Pölking, Frankfurt a. M. 2016, pp. 15–47. The same can be also said about T'oegye, see Vladimir Glomb, "T'oegye's Appraisal of Daoism", *The Review Korean Studies* 23/1 (2020). This knowledge was however acquired privately, not in official schools or academies. Concerning the knowledge of Buddhism among Korean literati, we may presume that they had even more direct access to this religion; most of the literati wives, concubines, mothers or grandmothers were devout Buddhists and Buddhist faith was never entirely suppressed among Korean women, see Don Baker, "Privatization of Buddhism in the Chosŏn Dynasty", in: *Sungkyun Journal for Asian Studies* 14/2 (2014), pp. 1–17.

27 Yi, *Yijo sŏwŏn mungo mongnok*, p. 24.

large. To provide a basic yet thorough Confucian education was possible with only the essential set of the Four Books, Five Classics and a limited set of other works. We must not forget that in spite of the relatively small number of titles, collections could be quite extensive, since many basic titles were in fact large compilations. One catalogue title, the *Zhuzi yulei* (Conversations of Master Zhu arranged topically), for example, consisted of 140 volumes, and the same is true for many other works. As an example of the minimal corpus of works necessary to equip an academy with necessary literature, we could take the original book collection of the 16th-century Sosu academy, which provided the basic Confucian canon and related literature numbering only 43 titles, but in fact consisted of a formidable bulk of 525 volumes.[28] This phenomenon also explains the great disparity between the book collections of small academies, which numbered only several dozen volumes, and those holding hundreds of titles; even a collection of up to hundred titles was able to provide the academy with the basic literature necessary for providing thorough erudition to students and teachers. The surplus books in the large holdings of famous academies were usually formed by the literary collections of Korean scholars or other works, which naturally contributed to the fame of the institution, but from the point of its basic functioning were not absolutely necessary.

Acquisitions

The foremost problem of academies was procuring books in the specific environment of a practically non-existent or at best severely limited book market. Unlike state libraries, they were not able to profit from book imports from China, which were conducted within the annual tributary mission to the Chinese court; due to their countryside locations, they were also far away from the capital, where the book exchange centre was located. The general opinion that "for reading a quiet place is the best"[29], a principle motivation for the establishment of academies, served well for isolating students from the distracting influences of urban life but proved counterproductive for gaining access to the few trade centres scattered across the Korean peninsula. Another factor complicating the building of academy libraries were the high, indeed ruinously high, prices of books.[30] Academies were able to collect substantial amounts of money to improve their book holdings, yet in many cases could not even access available stocks. In contrast to individual scholars and their collections, academy libraries were handicapped by limited possibilities to use the cheapest, and most popular way of book acquisition: copying. Either personally or by hired labour, hand-copying

28 Pae, "Sosu sŏwŏn sujang kwa kanhaeng sŏjŏkko", p. 272.
29 *Myŏngjong sillok* 5/2/11#2.
30 For the characteristics of the Korean book market see Boudewijn Walraven, "Reader's Etiquette, and Other Aspects of Book Culture in Chosŏn Korea" in: *Books in Numbers*, ed. Wilt Idema, Cambridge Mass. 2007, pp. 237–265 and Kang Myŏnggwan, *Ch'aek kwa chisik ŭi yŏksa*, Seoul 2014, pp. 300–395.

was the cheapest and most frequent method of book distribution in Chosŏn times; scholars often borrowed the desired books from their luckier colleagues and simply transcribed them on their own. This method had several advantages (besides the price, also the didactic effect of memorizing the text itself during the copying process) but it was hardly suitable for the purposes of academy collections. Hand-written copies were plagued by many mistakes[31] created during the process and were anything but the model, clean copies needed in the process of academy study.[32] In spite of all obstacles, the purchase of books was the most common form of acquisition, especially during the process of founding the library, when the enthusiastic communities of local scholars were able to collect substantial funds for this purpose.

One important, but rather unreliable source of books was provided through royal donations.[33] Books published by government agencies were a very welcome contribution, yet with the growing number of academies these donations were less and less frequent and relied on good relations with the government. Especially in the late Chosŏn period, many academies were headed by scholars from opposition political factions, and thus barred from official positions, so that the central bureaucracy in power had little inclination to support them. On the local level, provincial governors or county magistrates supported academies with book gifts as well, but this goodwill was often also politically motivated.[34] Nonetheless, any royal gifts brought notable fame to an academy and often consisted of high-quality publications printed by the royal publishing agency. In many cases, the royal gifts were elaborated editions of Confucian classics or their Korean vernacular version printed with government issued metal types. A

31 The dangers of manuscript copies of texts written in Classical Chinese are well described in Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China", in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54/1 (1994), pp. 5–102.

32 In spite of these problems academy libraries did contain manuscript copies as well, even only in low numbers. Many manuscript titles were records of lectures, excerpts for the students and other writings related to the study needs of the academy community. It is necessary to note that all administrative documents of the academy, ranging from slave registers to library catalogues, were manuscripts; for an overview of manuscripts held in academy libraries see Kim Yunsik, "Chosŏn sidae sŏwŏn mungo e ilkoch'al", in: *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 41 (2008), p. 311–313.

33 A very good overview of royal donations including a catalogue of royal seals used to mark book gifts, is offered by Yi Chaejun, *Chosŏn sidae naesabon yŏn'gu*, Seoul 2016. Yi Chaejun treats royal gifts to academies in a special chapter and offers data on currently preserved *naesabon* books in existing academy collections, a sad fraction of the past, numbering only 30 titles scattered in ten academies. See Yi, *Chosŏn sidae naesabon yŏn'gu*, pp. 128–129.

34 Government officials often personally granted to academies publications related to their families or scholarly factions (see the list of books donated by local officials to Imgo Academy in 1625–1662: half of the donated books were given by the relatives of the author of the list). Yun Hŭimyŏn, "Chosŏn sidae sŏwŏn ŭi tosŏgwan kinŭng yŏn'gu", in: *Yŏksa hakpo* 186 (2005), p. 11. On the other hand, the most frequent motivation for book donations on the part of local officials was to maintain friendly relations with the local literati community connected with the academy.

glimpse of the scale and content of a royal book donation could be the catalogue (Sŏch'aekch'il) covering early decades of Tosan Academy. The catalogue indicates 16 books bestowed by the king out of a total of 182 titles held by the academy. It is significant that this royal gift is composed of an elaborated classical edition, several dozen volumes of the *Zhuzi daquan* (95 volumes) and *Zhuzi yulei* (75 volumes). A special chapter of the gift are the vernacular versions of Confucian classics, *ŏnhae* (vernacular explanation): *Sohak ŏnhae* (Vernacular Explanation of Xiaoxue), *Maengja ŏnhae* (Vernacular Explanation of Mencius), *Nonŏ ŏnhae* (Vernacular Explanation of Lunyu), *Chungyong ŏnhae* (Vernacular Explanation of Zhongyong) and *Taehak ŏnhae* (Vernacular Explanation of Daxue), which were recent results of the government-sponsored project. In particular, the *ŏnhae* versions suggest another important aspect of royal book donation: influence on the academies' curriculum. If the royal court could not impose its control on private academies, its book donations assured that academies would at least follow the officially sanctioned versions of classics and their exegesis.

A more frequent form of book acquisition was donations by individual scholars, either by direct gifts or bequests. There were many ways for Chosŏn scholars to be affiliated to local academies: as students, lecturers, natives of the academy's locality, relatives of the person to whom the academy shrine was dedicated, official posts in charge of the county or province where the academy was located, being disciples of a scholar connected to the particular academy or belonging to the political faction associated with a certain academy network etc. All of these possibilities created long-lasting bonds to one or more academies, and it was a matter of prestige to prove one's allegiance by supporting these institutions. Book donations were especially valued, since they added not only valuable books to the academy collection but also enhanced the status of the scholar who was able to sacrifice his intellectual belongings to the academy. Cultured supporters could also easily gain recognition (and the authority to influence the academy) over simple rural scholars who could donate valuable, but nonetheless less prestigious resources like grain, fields, timber for building construction or simple cash. One good example could be T'oegye Yi Hwang, who founded or participated in the running of several academies and was active in procuring their book resources. Apart from his plea to the royal court to donate books to Sosu Academy, he personally donated 24 titles numbering 191 volumes to Yŏktong Academy, an institution with which he had a deep relation and where he lectured up until the age of seventy, shortly before his death. This gift was special from several points of view. For one, it happened in T'oegye's late years and it could be understood as a kind of last will. The second interesting feature was the magnitude of the gift; almost two hundred volumes, forming an exceptionally generous donation. In his later life, T'oegye was the most famous Korean scholar, admired both by his numerous disciples and the young King Sŏnjo, for whom he composed his famous *Sŏnghak sipto* (Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning). This fact was reflected as well by the scale of his book holdings, which far superseded the scale of an ordinary scholar's collection. Not only could T'oegye afford to buy books during his long life thanks to his personal wealth and official salary, but many were also given to him. This latter aspect is visible in another case of his support for academy libraries: T'oegye's book donation to Imgo Academy in 1554. Among the books he donated to the academy library were several titles which were bestowed to him earlier by King Myŏngjong (1545–1567) and thanks to these books we can gain an important insight into the background of book gifts to academies. In a text dedicated to No Su (?–?), a young scholar who was collecting books for the academy, T'oegye apparently commented on the remarks of his colleagues about the propriety of handing his royal gift to other people. However, T'oegye dismissed these objections by saying that donating books to the academy library is by no means giving it to other people, but instead to the former worthies enshrined in the academy and to the academy's students,[35] which cannot constitute an offense of disrespect towards the royal favor.[36] To donate a book to an academy was a respectable deed, which allowed even the transferral of a royal gift.

Apart from royal gifts, individual contributions and purchases, we may find a third category of book gifts to academy libraries: donations from other academies belonging to the same school or political affiliation. Confucian academies often created informal networks and supported each other by direct economic support, visits of scholars or book exchanges. Donations of several hundred volumes, or books bestowed by the king as in T'oegye's case, were more the exception than the rule, and the stream of books into an academy was often relatively sporadic and based on the economic capabilities of the network of scholars connected to the academy. A good example of an average or relatively small academy and the ways that it used all possiblilities for a secure book supply could be Ungok Academy in Kyŏngju. Founded in 1784 originally as a shrine to Kwŏn Haeng (fl. 10th century), it maintained a detailed list of important events or contributions (*kowangnok*) to the academy throughout its entire existence, and we may easily trace the frequency and nature of the entries concerning book donations.

35 *T'oegye chŏnsŏ* 41:51a, for a study on T'oegye's book collection and its destiny (focusing donations to academies) see Pae Hyŏnsuk, " T'oegye changsŏ wa chipsango. Kaein mungo ŭi sŏwŏn mungohwa ŭi illyerosŏ", in: *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 10 (1994), pp. 135–169.

36 The special position of royal gifts in general, not only books, is well demonstrated by the classical passage of the Book of Rites, which in the chapter Quli (*Liji* 1·3/33) gives particular details on how to treat such an honor: "When a fruit is given by the ruler and in his presence, if there be a kernel in it, (the receiver) should place it in his bosom. When one is attending the ruler at a meal, and the ruler gives him anything that is left, if it be in a vessel that can be easily scoured, he does not transfer it (to another of his own); but from any other vessel he should transfer it. Portions of (such) food should not be used as offerings (to the departed). A father should not use them in offering to a (deceased) son, nor a husband to a (deceased) wife." (trans. J. Legge). The quotation of this passage in a popular 16th-century moral textbook for women, *Naehun* (Instructions for the Inner Chambers), shows that these precedents from ancient China were still taken seriously even in Chosŏn Korea.

1784, tenth month, twenty-first day: Bought ten volumes of *Kŭnch'e kwangsŏn*.[37] Kwŏn Chongwŏn donated *Samun t'onggo* (Comprehensive Investigation of Three Rhymes)

1786, second month: Oksan Academy published and send to us one part of *T'aegŭk munbyŏn* (Questions and Disputes of the Great Ultimate) and one volume of *Pyŏnmurok* (Record of Rash False Accusation)

1799, ninth month: newly procured *Ŏjŏng Kyujang chŏnun* (Sovereign Edition of the Royal Complete Rhyme Book)

1803, eighth month: newly procured three volumes of *Kongja t'onggi* (Comprehensive Annals of Confucius)

1806, first two days of the ninth month: newly procured one volume of *Ssangch'ŏllok* (Record of Double Chastity)

1808, first three days of the ninth month: Oksan Academy published and send to us five volumes of *Hoejae chip* (Collected Writings of Hoejae)[38]

We do not have at our disposal the book register of Ungok Academy, and the entries recording book acquisitions are mixed with precise numbers of ordered timber, supplies of grains or simple visits by important guests, but the record gives us an overview of a small but stable book surplus. As in the case of other donations, the name of the donator was carefully recorded, both for individual or institutional donations (here Oksan Academy). Due to the lack of systematic data for the majority of academies, it is hard to estimate the average increase of volumes in book collections throughout the centuries (especially since the extant catalogues are from the most prestigious academy and record relatively high numbers) but it seems that the increase of collection numbers was relatively slow but stable. The famous Oksan Academy was able to enlarge its collection from 161 titles in 1446 volumes in 1713 to 310 titles in 2076 volumes in 1874. This trajectory roughly corresponds to the numbers of the much smaller Ungok Academy: both institutions, whether big or small, acquired roughly one new title every one or two years. Confucian academies were by their nature rather conservative and their book acquisitions focused on one very specific segment of the Korean book market, namely books related to Confucian teaching, which underwent few major fluctuations. Academies had no need to hurry.

37 Unknown title.

38 *Ungok sŏwŏn chi*, Ungok sŏwŏn (2011), pp. 94–120. The record of book purchases from Yongsan Academy in Kyŏngju for the years 1705–1832 shows very similar figures. See Yun, "Chosŏn sidae sŏwŏn ŭi tosŏgwan kinŭng yŏn'gu", p. 12.

Publishing in Academies

The limited possibilities of the Korean book market and the specific needs of academies resulted in one special phenomenon: academies solved the situation by publishing books on their own. The motivation was by no means commercial, an approach which Korean literati strictly refused.[39] Apart from the need to print books that were simply unavailable, the main motivation was the individual agenda of various academies. The spreading of a particular Confucian message supported by a specific academy had to be supported by the material spread of textual materials. Publishing books was a costly and difficult process, far beyond the possibilities of an individual scholar. Academies were able to organize economic and intellectual capabilities on a much higher level[40] and it seems that Korean literati discovered this possibility even in the first decades of the academies' existence in the 16th century. Around 1580, Yulgok wrote in his letter to Pak Yŏryong (1541–1611) about his wish to publish his diary of the royal lectures in the Unbyŏng Study Hall after his death.[41] In 1566, Ch'ŏngnyang Academy published commentaries to the famous anthology *Jinsilu*, compiled by Zhu Xi and Lü Zuqian (1137–1181).[42] T'oegye's work *Chuja sŏ choryo* (The Abbreviated Essence of Master Zhu Xi's Letters) was published in 1562 using movable type from Imgo Academy. T'oegye's collected writings were posthumously published in his Tosan Academy in 1600.

As strongholds of literati communities connected by the same teachers and ancestors, academies actively strived to promote their legacy by publishing and disseminating their works together with the Confucian classics. Dedicated to Hoejae Yi Ŏnjŏk, Oksan Academy naturally published his collected writings several times (first in 1631) and Tonam Academy became famous for publishing ritual manuals authored by scholars affiliated to the Kiho school of the literati. In spite of their frequency, publishing projects were costly, and in some cases required mobilization of considerable resources. We can derive an image of the scale and problems of a publishing project from several diaries (*ilgi*), which were composed on the occasion of large publishing projects. The publication of T'oegye's collected writings by Tosan Academy in 1817 is described day by day in *Sŏnsaeng munjip kaegan ilgi* (Diary of Republishing of Collected Writing [of Our] Teacher), which covers eight months of hectic activity of carving new woodblocks, paying the woodcutters, the commissioning of 16 assisting monks from two

39 This point strikingly illustrates cultural difference between Korean Confucians and their Chinese colleagues, who were more tolerant of commercial printing, which was a booming trade in China since Song times. It is well-known that Zhu Xi himself was forced by his poverty to supplement his income by printing books, something that no Korean scholar would ever do. See Wing-tsit Chan, *Chu Hsi: New Studies*, Honolulu 1989, pp. 77–81.

40 See Hangukhak chinhŭngwŏn (ed.), *Chosŏn sidae sŏwŏn ilgi*, Andong 2007, pp. 336–420.

41 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 38:24b.

42 Ok Yŏngjŏng, "Hanguk sŏwŏnŭi changsŏ wa ch'ulp'an munhwa", in: *Hanguk sŏwŏn ŭi munhwa*, ed. Hanguk sŏwŏn yŏnhaphoe, Seoul 2014, p. 353.

Buddhist monasteries and above all managing the payment of hundreds of silver *liang* for expenses.[43]

Predominantly, academies used the most effective means for publishing, woodblock prints, which had several advantages over costly movable type. Another important point was that unlike single-use matrices using movable types, woodblocks could be stored and used repeatedly (and even re-carved etc.).[44] The catalogue of available woodblocks sets compiled at royal command in 1796 lists 184 woodblocks editions stored in 84 four academies[45], though the actual number was probably much higher. Academies produced woodblocks editions mostly on their own, but in some cases also used the services of dependent Buddhist temples,[46] which fulfilled their duties to the academy by operating the production of woodblock prints. This model had several advantages, since monks had considerable experience with printing their own publications, and the actual creation of the books (carving woodblocks, binding etc.) was after all a physical

43 Hangukhak chinhŭngwŏn (ed.), *Chosŏn sidae sŏwŏn ilgi*, pp. 388–420.

44 For the history of printing in the Far East, see the classical work Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, *Science and Civilisation in China*. Vol. 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology. Pt. I: Paper and printing, Cambridge 1985. For the debates on the advantages of woodblock printing over printing from movable type see Cynthia J. Brokaw, Kai-Wing Chow (eds.), *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley 1998 and Cynthia J. Brokaw, Christopher A. Reed (eds.), *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition. Circa 1800 to 2008*, Leiden 2010. The fact that "the nature of the Chinese language (with its thousands of individual logographs) and the economics of publishing combined to make xylography the dominant method of Chinese book production throughout these centuries and down through the end of the nineteenth century" (Christopher A. Reed, "Chinese Printing Publishing and Literary Fields in Transition circa 1800 to 2008" in: *From Woodblocks to the Internet*, p. 5) is fully valid also for traditional Korea. Cho Hwisang in his excellent work introduces a nice example of woodblock editing: "After reading your eldest son's letter, I learned of the plan to republish [the *Abbreviated Essence of Master Zhu Xi's Letters*] with head notes added [in the empty space of the upper parts of pages]. There is nothing wrong with adding head notes to rectify errors and add annotations, as shown in the recent publication of The Record of Master *Zhu Xi's Conduct* in Yangsan. Your son mentioned that although it is all right if there is space in the upper part of each page, it is impossible [to emend it] if there is no space. However, I don't think it is a problem. To rectify errors and add the missing parts after publishing The Record of Master Zhu Xi's Conduct in Yangsan, Pae Samik, who took charge of this process, carved out every single error and used separate wood pieces for those parts [which fit into then parts carved out] to insert correct contents. In this way, it is not impossible. Also, as to adding sentences and annotations...as your son said, "old characters on woodblocks should be carved out and newly added contents should be engraved in thin characters." (*T'oegye sonsaeng munjip* 15:4a–b). See Cho Hwisang, *The Community of Letters: The T'oegye School and the Political Culture of Choson Korea. 1545–1800*, PhD. Diss., Columbia University New York 2010, pp. 101–102.

45 See Ri Sangyong, "Nup'an'go ŭi mongnok kisul pangsik e taehan yŏn'gu" in: *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 53 (2012), pp. 205–220.

46 Due to official persecution of Buddhism during the Chosŏn dynasty, academies often assumed patronage (or overlordship) over local monasteries in exchange for services and tribute. For the general overview of this phenomena and three case studies on the relation between academy and monasteries (Sosu, Imgo and Oksan Academy) see Yi Suhwan, *Chosŏn hugi sŏwŏn yŏn'gu*, Seoul 2001, pp. 65–99.

work too demeaning for a Confucian intellectual. For the needs of publishing, academies established special buildings to house their woodblock collections, often called simply *changp'an'gak* (storage of print blocks), where the shelved woodblocks waited for their next use. As a result, the intellectual assets of the academy were judged not only by the collection of books but by the collection of woodblocks as well.

While powerful academies like Oksan and Tosan engaged in large publishing projects of collected writings of their venerated scholars, there were additionally other projects of a more restrained scale, not requiring long debates about final version of the text etc. Ungok Academy's publishing of *Xiaojing* (Classic of Filial Piety) is a good example of the scale and purpose of such undertakings.

> 1801, third month: 13 *liang* paid for the new carving of the *Xiaojing* [woodblocks]. 2 *liang* paid for paper to print twelve volumes. 1 *liang* and 5 *chŏn* paid to [?]. Printed thirteen copies. Two volumes to the shrine of the academy, two volumes to village mayor Yi Sangdo, one volume to the village school, one volume to Sŏak Academy, one volume to Oksan Academy, one volume to Yongsan Academy […]
>
> 1803, second month: Printed 12 volumes of the *Xiaojing*. One volume to Nŭngdong Hall, one volume to magistrate Ch'oe Hŏnjung, one volume to royal secretary Hong Hŭiun, one volume to the family lineage in Yugok, one volume to Kugang Acaemy, one volume to Tonggang Academy, one volume to Insan Academy […][47]

Because of their value, books were a welcomed gift either to important persons or other academies, which in exchange sent their own publications. These dissemination patterns also fulfilled the crucial goal of the academies, i.e. the spread of the Confucian message, and donating to a village school or the ancestral seat of a large family was intended to support the future generation of Confucian scholars or filial sons.

Book Management and Preservation

From the very first moment that books were procured, a long fight began to preserve them. This was not an easy task, since fragile books (Korean book paper was very thin and books had often only a soft paper cover) were constantly threatened by humidity, insects, fire, but above all, readers.

The physical management of the books was based on centuries of experience, which developed the crucial practices of regularly airing books outside the library and constructing library pavilions with the proper ventilation. At a very early date, Chu Sebung in his Rules of Paegundong Academy stipulated

47 *Ungok sŏwŏn chi*, p. 115, pp. 116–117.

that books had to be regularly dried in the sun[48] and every academy took steps to protect its book collections. The highest level of attention was dedicated to royal publications, which were usually held in a separate pavilion and very often guarded by another layer of protection, wooden book boxes or shells *(ch'aekkap).* This costly privilege was often extended as well to Confucian classics: in the records of Ungok Academy we see that in the first days of the twelfth month of 1815 it provided such cases for the Great Learning and Book of Rites in order to "forever preserve them".[49] Royal publications were also the first to be saved in case of fire, together with the spiritual core of the academy, the ancestral tablets of venerated scholars kept in the academy shrine and the royal plaques bestowed on the academy. Much less complicated[50] was the storing of woodblocks for future printing ventures; these hardwood slabs, which had been soaked in salt water before carving and subsequently permeated by ink, were extremely durable and when kept in a dry space under the roof could survive centuries without much damage. The main problem of storing books was not their technical protection: once properly placed in a dry location, books could survive centuries without substantial change. Instead, the real risk factor was the human element. Keeping an academy's book collection implied an endless fight against loss, theft and undisciplined readers.

The first step in the protection of the books was their proper cataloguing[51] and maintaining regular updates on the status of books. The regulations of Sosu Academy mention this important measure in the first paragraph describing the basic values of the academy and the steps to pursue them.

> The first rule is to perform sacrifices with caution. The second rule is to treat worthies in accordance with the ritual. The third rule is to preserve well the buildings of the academy. The fourth rule is to supply the granary thoroughly, and the fifth rule is to register books properly.
>
> If there is no caution, sacrifices are not properly presented to the spirits. If there is no proper ritual, the spirits of the worthies do not attend sacrifices. If buildings are not properly preserved they will certainly collapse. If the

48 *Chukkye chi*, Chamnok hu 3a.

49 *Ungok sŏwŏn chi*, Kowangnok, p. 124. The entry in Ungok Academy registry uses for the book case expression *changŭi* "adorned (or thickly painted) coat".

50 The durability of woodblocks is demonstrated by the state of the most famous corpus of this kind, the *Tripitaka Koreana* stored in Haeinsa Temple. Its 81,258 preserved woodblocks carved in the 13th century are still highly usable. Since the monks often produced woodblocks for the academy, these were occasionally stored not within the academy but in the dependent temple. One good example is Oksan Academy, which stored its woodblocks in the dependent Chŏnghyesa Temple and only after the temple was destroyed by fire in 1834 did it move the preserved woodblocks into the academy.

51 Apart from the simple lists of books ordered by the date of purchase etc., books were often catalogued within four main categories (standard also in the imperial Chinese catalogues *Siqu* (Four Storages) system), classics (*kyŏng*), histories (*sa*), writings of masters (*cha*) and collected writings (*chip*). See Kim, "Chosŏn sidae sŏwŏn mungo e ilkoch'al", pp. 311–313.

> granary is not properly supplied there will certainly be a shortage and if books are not registered, they are sure to scatter. Of these five rules none of them is to be disregarded."[52]

Proper cataloguing of books and regular controls of presence and condition of books in the collection belonged to the routine of academy officials, and the extant documents shows that these were taken seriously. Yet every new inspection revealed one phenomenon common to all libraries of all ages: loss of books.[53] Academy scholars were soon to discover that there were two levels of book drain: loss among students and disappearance of the books from the academy to outside world. The basic prevention of the loss of books was developed already by the founding of the first academies; this moment is described in an entry of the *Dynasty Annals* for 1555 describing the founding of Suyang Academy (later renamed Munhŏn Academy) in Haeju where Chu Sebung "hung on the crossbeam of the academy gate [a board] with the eight-character inscription 'No books to leave, no women to enter.'"[54] This device became very popular and became an integral part of many later academy rules. Shortly thereafter, it was included into the set of prescriptions for Isan Academy, where T'oegye offered the commentary "books are not allowed to leave the academy [because] once books leave, they are easy to be lost." [55] In Sosu Academy, this phrase was even inscribed on the front page of the books but seen from the other measures taken by academy staff, it was not entirely successful. Yulgok decided in his later rules for the very same Munhŏn Academy to augment the simple statement hanging on the crossbeam of the gate with more practical measures: "Academy books are not to be taken out of the academy. If this rule is violated, the reader of the book is punished. It the fault is severe, he is expelled from the academy, if it is minor, he is expelled from his seat."[56] The process of borrowing books demanded control since the very beginning: Sosu Academy rules also stipulated that the library pavilion had to be locked, and keys were issued only to three academy officials who could open it only together. Registering readers' names and the dates of borrowing was another way to track books within the academy precincts. Kim Wŏnhaeng (1702–

52 *Chukkye chi*, Chamnok hu 3a.

53 The problem was further accelerated by the multi-volume format of almost all books held in academy libraries; loss of a single volume could have wide spread consequences.

54 *Myŏngjong sillok* 10/2/25#3.

55 *T'oegye chŏnsŏ* 41:52a.

56 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 15:50b. To this punishment gives Yulgok the following explanation: "To be expelled from the seat means that the student is excluded [from academy meetings] and not allowed to take his seat in the row of scholars. It is customarily called "expulsion". When he can sit together with the others again, he must before the both lines of scholars recognize his guilt and apologize for his mistakes […] If somebody is within one year expelled twice form his seat and does not reform, he is expelled from the study hall." The library offense could theoretically have grave consequences.

1772) explains in a sub-commentary on the prohibition of carrying books out of the academy how the proper process of book borrowing should proceed:

> When a student residing in the academy dormitory wants to read a book, he must mark its title together with his name and signature and give this note to the official of students in the Western Dormitory, who takes the book for him out of the library. When his reading of the book is finished, he delivers it back to the official, who in turn places it back on the bookshelves and after that the student leaves. When the book notes indicate the problem of the loss of the book, both sides discuss the fine, and the book is replaced with some delay."[57]

In spite of the wide variety of academy rules and forms, it seems that the position of librarian was usually assigned to experienced scholars among the academy collective. Yulgok in his rules informs us that it is necessary "to appoint an administrator *(yusa)*, who is in charge of books"[58] and librarians are also mentioned in many other prescriptive texts of academies. Since Yulgok does not mention how often the function was to be rotated (as were the other academy functions), we may presume that it was a rather long-term assignment.

Apart from intentional loss (i.e. theft), books were threatened by neglect or misbehavior on the part of their readers. In spite of the lofty ideals, academy students were often youngsters who needed to be reminded, as in the case of Haeju Academy that it was "forbidden to write on walls or windows."[59] Over a century later, a regulation of Sŏksil Academy uses a similar tone, stating that it is forbidden to "stain walls and windows with traces from smoking or drinking tea, spit, snot or graffiti."[60] and judging from the graffiti or holes from tobacco-burns in the leaves of the extant exemplars of Chosŏn times books, the was common behavior of undisciplined readers. In spite of the proclaimed respect for books, young literati often forgot these rules; Boudewijn Walraven in his study on book etiquette in traditional Korea introduces fascinating passages for a manual for literati behavior written by Yi Tŏngmu (1741 –1793), which vividly illustrates the dangers threatening books in the hands of Korean literati.

> When you read, you should not make your fingers wet with spittle to turn the pages, or make marks in the books with your nails, nor should you fold the pages or fold the book inside out to indicate how much you have read. Don't rub the pages of books, don't read them with sweaty hands, don't sleep with your head on a book by way of pillow, nor prop up your heel with a book. Don't use a book to cover a wine jar, and don't open a book when someone is dusting. When during your reading you are over-

57 *Miho chip* 14:31b.
58 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 15:49b.
59 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 15:50b.
60 *Miho chip* 14:31b.

> powered by sleep, don't let the book fall under your shoulders or between your legs so that it gets crumpled. Don't throw books down [on the floor], don't turn the pages with hands with which you have raised the wick of the lamp or scratched your head, don't turn the pages with brute force, and don't undust books by knocking them against a window or the wall![61]

Conclusion

The libraries of Korean academies were from their very beginning designed to serve a very specific purpose: the transfer of Confucian knowledge. The library was one of the constitutive elements of the academy and securing sufficient book holdings necessary for advanced Confucian studies was a necessary precondition for the proper functioning of an academy. The academy community acquired books either by purchase or donation, but often published important works on their own as well. This publishing activity was motivated both by prestige (academy publications were further exchanged or donated to important persons) and by necessity, since the Korean book market was rather limited and academies located in the countryside had very restricted access to the book production centres in the capital. Another motivation of the academies' publication activity was their tendency to publish books related to their particular scholarly lineage, often the collected writings of thinkers related to the academy or famous scholars venerated in the academy shrine. One of the most interesting aspect of academy collections is their selective nature; only books directly related to Confucian education were allowed and any other literature or works of non-Confucian provenience were excluded. The concept of *libri prohibiti* in the Korean case was interpreted as a total ban on access to suspicious writings. Books of academy libraries were held in considerable esteem and academies demanded strict etiquette in dealing with them: motivated both by ideological reasons, as books were considered to be the medium for the teachings of the Confucian sages, and by practical ones, as books were scarce and their careful use prolonged their life span. Last but not least was the idea of self-cultivation and discipline which a proper scholar should extend also to the surrounding world, including objects of daily use and especially books. Keeping a library also required complex strategies to prevent any theft or loss: books were carefully catalogued, regularly checked, lent only to specific students and forbidden from being removed from the premises of the academy.

Confucian academies created a type of library, which perfectly mirrored their nature and needs: orthodox book collection managed in order to educate future scholars and to guard and disseminate Confucian teaching.

61 *Sasojŏl* 102, see Walraven, "Reader's Etiquette, and Other Aspects of Book Culture in Chosŏn Korea", p. 257.

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The Archives of the P'ungsan Ryu Clan

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Introduction

General imaginations about the institutions of the library or the archive in pre-modern societies are deeply connected with the idea of strong public actors managing important documents and related sets of knowledge. This has been certainly true for many Asian cultures, where most of the known libraries were affiliated with court or state offices, monasteries or schools.[1] Yet, the preservation of documents and related knowledge was a natural requirement for every literate person (much like today). Most scholars, monks or officials possessed their own libraries, often well-organized and with considerable continuity. However, such individual libraries were quite prone to disperse and disappear over the course of time. The books were far too important to be kept together after the death of the original owner and they often found their way to new libraries or into the hands of new owners. On the other hand, social prestige and importance of the collected knowledge could also motivate scholars to keep book collections together, especially in the family context.

Both was true for the Korean literati of Chosŏn times (1392–1910), who formed the backbone of Korean intellectual life. In contrast to the well-documented and extant libraries of Buddhist monasteries, Confucian academies, or the royal archives, there are much fewer, if any, examples of individual book collections. Although we may reconstruct their numbers, shape and content via an analysis of the books and volumes mentioned in the collected writings of these scholars or references in correspondence or diaries, in most cases collections were scattered soon after the death of the original owner, as the inventory was distributed to heirs or taken by disciples.[2] However, the space between individual literati and state or collective institutions was occupied by many other agents active in book collecting and preserving. In the Korean environment the most common among them was the most important social unit: complex Korean families.

1 See Jungwon Kim, "Archives, Archival Practices, and the Writing of History in Premodern Korea: An Introduction", in: *Journal of Korean Studies* 24, no. 2 (2019), p. 193.

2 Even the library of the most famous Korean scholar encountered this fate see Bae Hyun Sook, "T'oegye changsŏ wa chipsango. Kaein mungo ŭi sŏwŏn mungohwa ŭi illyerosŏ (A Study on the Gathering and Dissemination of T'oegye's Book Collection: On the Example of his Private and the Academy Collection)", in: *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 10 (1994), pp. 135–169.

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The extended literati family, or rather its particular patrilinear lineages, held a number of documents as well as a number books. While family documents were a necessary prerequisite of every literati lineage in Korea, book collections often varied according to the economic and intellectual success of the family. Libraries of famous scholars sometimes became property of the clans or lineages book collection and served to enhance both intellectual and social prestige. As education also began in the family setting, the storage of books was a first step to perpetuate family status. One has further to note the specific rural character of traditional Korea, where with the exception of the capital and few cities there were no urban centers able to provide students and readers with a stable supply of books. Literati had to rely on their own personal contacts to mutually borrow and transcribe books. The extended family was thus the nearest point to store or obtain books and documents. The archives of the P'ungsan Ryu clan offer an illustrative example of a Korean literati family library and archive that provides us with a vivid picture of the documents and knowledge necessary for the functioning of Korean literati elites.

Hahoe Village and the Ryu Clan of P'ungsan

The region around the city of Andong in Northern Kyŏngsang Province has been an important regional center in Korea for about one thousand years, through the two dynasties of Koryŏ (918–1392) and Chosŏn. Located in the southeastern part of the Korean peninsula this mountainous area retained a natural distance to central government in the capitals of either Kaesŏng, today in North Korea, or Hansŏng, the old name of modern-day Seoul. By 1600, Andong had become the center of Confucian scholarship in Korea, which is mainly attributed to the work of the scholar T'oegye Yi Hwang (1501–1570), who is the most revered scholar in Korea. Still today, the people of Andong and the surrounding areas take great pride in preserving a Confucian way of life and strive to keep the rituals and values of their ancestors alive.

Hahoe village on the outskirts of Andong is one of the most famous touristic spots in Korea that, together with the ancient capital of Kyŏngju, most Korean pupils have to visit at least once during their school years. Since the 1970s Hahoe village has been promoted as a major tourist attraction and in 2010 was designated as world heritage by the UNESCO. The village structures represent a traditional architectural style that remained unscathed by the wars that haunted the peninsula and are embedded in a landscape exemplifying a specific geomantic thought of interplay between mountains and rivers. Hahoe itself can be translated as 'The river going around'; as the Naktong river encloses the village on three sides, leaving only an opening to the east. In geomantic terms, this auspicious formation was called 'The lotus floating on the water.' Thanks to flood control and irrigation systems, the vast crop and paddy fields near the village yielded ample harvest to support its residents. One of the local clans that profited from this wealth was the Ryu clan that from this resources financed the education of its young men and produced a great number of famous scholars, becoming one of the most recognized clans in Korean history. To this day the old structures and houses of the village, for some four hundred years, have been inhabited and preserved by members of the Ryu clan.

The Ryu clan had lived in P'ungsan, a district of Andong prefecture, since the Koryŏ period. There they became a quite influential descent group and acquired the clan designation (pon'gwan or choronym) of P'ungsan Ryu. Its members served as functionaries in the local government, but their influence was limited to this area. In 1290, Ryu Baek (?–?) passed the civil examination and elevated his family's status from local functionaries to *yangban* or literati, the power elite of the Korean society that dominated national politics till the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty in 1910. During the 14th century, the great grandson of Ryu Baek moved from a village in central P'ungsan to Hahoe, which was also part of P'ungsan district in Andong prefecture.

The village they left was overcrowded and short of arable lands, but Hahoe was less populated and had plenty of uncultivated fields. Soon the Ryu clan formed marriage ties with the other clans residing in Hahoe village. By 1500, many Ryu clan members had passed the state examinations and served as ranking officials in the government.[3] This enhanced the clan's power, wealth and prestige. Starting to dominate the village, other clans were no match for the Ryu clan and left the village one after another. This strategy of employing wealth and power gained through official appointment in the central government to raise the influence, authority, and capital of the own descent group in its local setting was quite common among the major clans of Korean society. Landed wealth was the basis for success in the examinations of the following generations, providing them with access to official posts and in turn enabling the clans to not only maintain, but to extend their power in the local regions.[4] This pattern led to the increasing monopolization of power in the countryside by the yangban elites, especially during the later Chosŏn period. Even though access to yangban status was theoretically open to all males, except to those of the lowest strata of society, i.e. slaves, certain measures like an emphasis of the patrilineal lineage keeping the descent group tightly knit around a main family meant that the actual yangban class remained a quite fixed group of clans.[5]

3 See Ch'oe Yŏng-ho, *The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea*. 1392–1600, Seoul 1987, p. 49.

4 For a detailed discussion of the rise of the Ryu clan (in Korean) see: Kim Myungja, *Andong hahoe-ŭi p'ungsan ryussi munjung yŏn'gu* (A Study on the P'ungsan Ryu Clan in Hahoe, Andong in the late Chosŏn), PhD diss., Kyungpook National University Taegu 2009.

5 See Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea. A Study of Society and Ideology*, Cambridge Mass. 1992, p. 298. For a detailed English language discussion of lineage descent groups in the southern provinces of Korea and the role of Neo-Confucianism vis-à-vis kinship groups also see Martina Deuchler, *Under the Ancestors' Eyes. Kinship, Status, and Locality in Premodern Korea*, Cambridge Mass. 2015.

Around 1600, the Ryu clan's influence reached its peak, thanks to its most famous member Ryu Sŏngryong (1542–1607), who served as prime minister during the Japanese invasions of 1592–1598. After he died, a Confucian academy and a shrine were built in his honor near the village. Both soon became important centers for Confucian scholars and Confucian learning in Kyŏngsang province. The P'ungsan Ryus remained one of the most influential clans in the province and Hahoe village was always the heart of the clan so much that, even though the ancestral seat of the clan was still in P'ungsan, they are often also referred to as the 'Hahoe Ryu clan' for their close relation with and reliance on the village. It is furthermore remarkable that all clan members, including prime minister Ryu Sŏngryong, returned to Hahoe village after retiring from government service. They did not settle in Seoul to intermarry with the power elite there, including the royal family. This can be viewed as rather special feature of the P'ungsan Ryu history. At any rate, the clan itself proved quite cohesive and still today seventy percent of the villagers in Hahoe village consider themselves as clan members.

A look at the different documents accumulated in Hahoe village and the storage of these documents enables an understanding of what kind of writings were deemed worthy for preservation by the clan. Viewing the descent group of the P'ungsan Ryu as a private, non-state actor helps to explain the significance that document preservation played for such groups.

Clan Archives and their Significance

The Ryu clan accumulated an abundance of documents over the span of five centuries. From these documents, we can figure out how the clan's collective life unfolded in a Confucian society. We can see what their goals were, how they tried to achieve them, how much they achieved, how they coped with rivalries and crises, etc. In short, the documents form detailed records of the way the P'ungsan Ryu clan lived. As the research of these documents is at this point unfortunately only in its preliminary stage, we are still barred from gaining detailed insight into the contents of all the documents. However, having an overview of the amounts and types of preserved documents as well as their storage enables us to draw some conclusions on the role that document conservation itself played for the clan.

Altogether, the amount of documents open to the public comes to 17,720 items that can be classified into over seventy varieties, yet for convenience sake in this article the categories were reduced to seven varieties (as seen in Table 1). The documents have been preserved in three different places, as three collections.

	Category	Items	Yangjin Hall Collection	Ch'unghyo Hall Collection	Hwagyŏng Hall Collection
1	Correspon-dence	10,678	0	3,659	7,019
2	Diplomas & Appoint-ments	457	4	279	174
3	Poems	1,386	0	397	989
4	Property Documents	1,174	11	311	852
5	Memorial Writings	1,453	0	518	935
6	Messages & Circulars	427 395	1 0	123 166	303 229
7	Others	1,750	7	453	1,290
	Total	17,720	23	5,906	11,791

Table 1: Summary of Clan Documents.

(1) Correspondence (10,678)

Personal letters account for about sixty percent of all the preserved documents. Confucian scholars often exchanged letters to maintain social networks. Most of these letters contain basic correspondence about seemingly mundane daily issues, others express congratulations or condolences. From these letters we can reconstruct the range of clan connections throughout time and space. Sometimes scholars used correspondence to ask questions, give answers, and even to debate academic issues.[6] Scholarly correspondence was quite common in Chosŏn Korea and employed a system of couriers to ensure fast communication. Usually copies of important letters were well preserved; some selected ones were included in the publications of 'Collected Works' (*munjip*) of the scholars later. Written letters often served to underscore the scholars' erudition and appeared in the collected

6 As we can see for example in the most celebrated philosophical discussion, the so-called Four-Seven Debate that was conducted as an exchange of letters. See Michael Kalton, *The Four-Seven Debate. An Annotated Translation of the Most Famous Controversy in Korean Neo-Confucian Thought*, Albany 1994.

works to demonstrate the wide connections a scholar maintained with his peers.[7] Unfortunately, given their amount, the letters are so far the least researched category among all documents of the P'ungsan Ryu clan's collection.

(2) Diplomas and Appointment Certificates (457)

Most Confucian scholars devoted themselves to learning and preparation for the state examinations in order to gain access to government service. However, only very few achieved this goal. Government posts brought power and wealth to the family and the diplomas and certificates confirming official titles can certainly be viewed as manifestations of this power and wealth in writing. Diplomas or certificates were issued on a special sheet of paper that bore the royal seal and the minister's signature. A scholar was addressed by the title of the highest degree he achieved or government post he held.[8] Likewise the spirit tablets in the family shrines, representing the deceased family member and used for remembrance and worship, displayed the full official titles of the ancestor. The total number of 457 items proves that the Ryu clan was exceptionally successful in gaining government positions and maintaining the family status. While the clan in theory did not need these physical evidences of their status, as the appointments were circulated in government newsletters and a roster of successful participants was published after each state examination, the diplomas were still safely kept in the archives. This certainly pertains to the necessity of proving ones' background in order to participate in the state examinations. Families that could not produce a degree holder in four generations lost their profitable yangban status. Therefore, these documents can surely be viewed as bearing a high importance for the clan.

(3) Poems (1,386)

Poetry played an important part in the life of a Confucian scholar. Poems were written to commemorate important occasions, like state examinations and all sorts of official banquets and private gatherings. Composed in classical Chinese, the poetry strictly followed the Chinese rules of meter, rhyme, tone, number of characters, and stanzas, etc. A respectable scholar memorized hundreds of Chinese and Korean masterpieces to use as reference and inspiration for his own poetic writings. Knowledge of ancient and classical poetry was a precondition

7 See Cho Hwisang, *The Community of Letters. The T'oegye School and the Political Culture of Chosŏn Korea. 1545–1800*, PhD diss., Columbia University New York 2010. Also see Jahyun Haboush Kim, "Correspondence between Scholars. Political Letters", in: *Epistolary Korea. Letters in the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn 1392–1910*, ed. Jahyun Haboush Kim, New York 2009, pp. 171–183., also Marion Eggert, "Friendship between Men", in: *Epistolary Korea*, pp. 191–196.

8 For a precise typology of the different diploma issued related to the civil service examinations see Wŏn Ch'angae, Pak Hyŏnsu et al. (ed.), *Chosŏn sidae kwagŏ chedo sajŏn* (Dictionary of the Examination System of Chosŏn times), Sŏngnam 2015. The same was also valid for graduates of the military state examinations see Eugene Y. Park, *Between Dreams and Reality. The Military Examination in Late Chosŏn Korea 1600–1894*, Cambridge Mass. 2007, p. 166.

to understanding the many allusions and references in the writing of erudite scholars and was also needed to succeed in the literary examinations. Therefore, nearly all Confucians aspired to be skillful poets as this imparted a certain cultural capital and was an ability that was evaluated in the civil service examinations as well. Excellent pieces of work were recited and circulated among contemporaries and included in collected works later.

(4) Property Documents (1,174)

The P'ungsan Ryu clan needed a sufficient economic basis to support its members in their endeavors to preserve and extend the family status. Several kinds of documents concern the family/clan properties. Inheritance documents (13) show how parents' real estates and slaves were divided among their children, as well as their total sum. Title deeds (301) recorded the transfers of property ownership. Harvest records (149) and account books (660) show in detail the earnings and expenses in each particular year. The registers of slaves and real estate (31) offer additional information about the clan's fortune. These documents were of high importance for the clan and had to be well kept as they chronicled where property was located and how it was purchased, transferred, or sold off. In case disputes would arise over legality of ownership, these documents would be used to prove the rightful possession. As, for example, the offspring of slaves remained slaves of the same clan, their belonging was recorded in property writings through rudimentary genealogies attesting the ownership over a slave family to the clan through time.[9] Other documents like chronicles (*chi*, 20) are records of the history of Confucian institutions related to the clan, like i.e. the Pyŏngsan Academy.[10] As the academy received an endowment of land, slaves, and books from the state when it was royally chartered, the acquisitions of such semi-private property had to be included in the separate records of the academy.[11]

(5) Writings for Memorial Rites (1,453)

Among Confucian rites, the funeral was by far the most important ceremony. It took a lot of time, money, and human labor to organize and perform funeral rites properly. Therefore, clans paid much attention into documenting the attendance of people offering their condolences and recording how many important people did so in writing.[12] Such writings can be divided into two types; writings for

9 See Academy of Korean Studies Jangseogak (ed.), *Punjaegi. Chosŏn sidae chaesan sangsok munsŏ* (Records of Property Distribution. Documents of Property Succession in the Chosŏn Dynasty), Sŏngnam 2015.

10 For a collection of documents of Pyŏngsan Academy see Academy of Korean Studies (ed.), *Komunsŏ chipsŏng 20. Pyŏngsan sŏwŏn p'yŏn* (Collection of Old Documents 20. Edition for Pyŏngsan Academy), Sŏngnam 1994.

11 See in this volume Vladimir Glomb, Lee Eun-Jeung, "No Books to Leave, No Women to Enter. Confucian Academies in Pre-Modern Korea and Their Book Collections", pp. 181–205.

12 On Chosŏn funeral culture see Milan Hejtmanek, "The Familiar Dead. The Creation of an Intimate Afterlife in Early Chosŏn Korea", in: *Death, Mourning, and the Afterlife in Korea.*

funerals (761) and for memorial services (692). These writings were highly stylized and do not offer much information about the deceased. Today they shed light on the social networks the deceased developed during his lifetime and the social standing of the clan at the time of the ritual. The Ryu clan's impressive collection reflects their stature in Andong, in Kyŏngsang province and beyond. Surely, these writings were preserved by the clan for quite similar reasons as they are used for research today. On one hand to document the importance of the deceased clan member and the family and on the other to tally up the contributions made by other clans or family parts to later repay accordingly.

(6) Written Messages (427) & Circulars (395)

From time to time, the clan became involved in serious disputes and lawsuits. To win these cases, they resorted to all means available. They submitted petitions to local and provincial authorities, and even to the central government. Another method was to circulate written messages to other clans and academies in order to gain public support. As each case developed, the parties involved in the lawsuit accumulated a lot of documents including official decisions and refutations. They kept some important documents as circulars. If we scrutinize the sundry circulars, we can shed light on a lesser known side of clan life.

For example, in the 19th century, lawsuits about graveyards increased remarkably.[13] The Ryu clan was no exception in this. They raised two tombs in mountain ranges owned by another family and soon after, litigations ensued. Most people then shared a keen belief in geomancy and were anxious to utilize the beneficial influence of land formations deemed auspicious by burying the bodies of their parents or grandparents at these vital spots. The circulars of such cases show how far a clan was willing to go to increase their fortunes, but also historically were used as evidence and precedents for other cases and were therefore stored by the clan.

Compilation of Genealogies and Collected Works

Aside from its impressive archives, the Ryu clan handed down a unique collection of books, including some royal gifts. However most important among the collection are the genealogies and collected works compiled and published by the clan. Production of such books was considered a basic requirement of any respectable clan and most clan members participated in these projects over many years in one way or another.

Genealogy was the backbone of Confucian society in Korea. Comprehensive family pedigree was listed and each member of a clan set with his/her place

From Ancient to Contemporary Times, eds. Charlotte Horlyck, Michael J. Pettid, Honolulu 2014, pp. 155–170.

13 See Kim Kyŏngsuk, *Chosŏn hugi sansong-kwa sahoe kaldŭng yŏn'gu* (Study on Mountain Gravesite Litigation and Social Conflict in the later Chosŏn period), PhD Diss., Seoul National University 2003, p. 48., also for an English view on the topic see Sun Joo Kim and Jungwon Kim, *Wrongful Deaths. Selected Inquest Records from Nineteenth-Century Korea*, Seattle 2004, p. 129 ff.

in the lineage.[14] It showed how every individual was linked to the important persons within the clan or displayed the marriage ties. Many prominent families of Koryŏ kept simple family trees covering several generations. After Korea was more thoroughly Confucianized in the 15th and 16th century, genealogies started to include all members of a lineage group or subgroups (branches), with memberships often reaching up to ten thousand people.

The P'ungsan Ryu clan was rather a late-comer and had to catch up with other more prominent clans. It was later prime minister Ryu Sŏngryong's father Ryu Chungyŏng (1515–1573) who initiated the search for the family roots. He found some clues in the old census registers of Andong prefecture and extant Koryŏ rosters of degree holders. He drew up a family tree and his oldest son Ryu Unryong (1539–1601) compiled a first family history. Ryu Sŏngryong later discovered additional information from a burial inscription and other sources and could produce a more precise lineage history of the clan up to his generation.

Ryu Wŏnchi, the premier's grandson, drafted an updated genealogy, but failed to publish it. In 1758, the clan finally published its genealogy in two volumes. In 1807, they published another genealogy in five volumes, which supplemented the descendants born after the first edition. In 1855, the clan published the third edition in seven volumes. Each genealogy was carved into woodblocks used for printing, which were preserved in the clan archives.

The production of family genealogy books served mostly as measure to affirm the high status held by the family over time and to enhance the current generation's prestige. In the highly stratified class society of the Chosŏn kingdom the recording of family ties and backgrounds served not only the demarcation between classes, but also formed the general understanding of the passage of time[15] (Pl. VIII).

Publication of the writings of certain scholars as 'Collected Works' came into fashion in the 19th century and began to multiply as the competition among clans intensified. The increased publication of such compilation works can be attributed to two factors, the increase in agricultural production through new technologies and the proliferation of Confucian scholarship. Most 'Collected Works' follow the same format. First a preface and the table of contents, then the main body comprising several categories of writings by the protagonist, usually following this outline: (1) poems, (2) memorials and counsels for the king, (3) correspondences, (4) treatises and essays, and (5) miscellanea. As a rule a biography of the writer and a postscript were appended. The preface, biography and postscript were preferably to be written by a famous scholar or a high-ranking official.

14 However women were only recorded with the title of their original clan as daughters, wives and mothers without their individual names being mentioned, reflecting the importance put on their family background as *yangban* elites.

15 See Yi Su-gŏn, *Han'guk ŭi sŏngssi wa chokpo* (Korean Clans and Genealogies), Seoul 2003 for a general overview of the role of Genealogy books in Korea, also Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires. 1895–1910*, New York 2002, p. 184.

Such publications demanded a lot of time, money, and expertise. First, the manuscripts had to be prepared and the writings of the honored protagonist collected. Then accomplished scholars were employed to edit, collate and revise them. The final version was to be copied by the best calligrapher available. In the meantime the clan secured timbers, hired carpenters to prepare the woodblocks, and employed good carvers to work on the woodblocks.[16] Finally, the texts were printed, page by page, on mulberry-fiber paper with the sheets bound into books. The clan attempted to distribute these books as widely as possible. In order to successfully finance such endeavors usually the whole clan participated in the fund-raising and all its auxiliaries had to be activated.

Often the first steps in this process already proved the hardest. Ryu Unryong was the older brother of Ryu Sŏngryong. The latter compiled his older brother's writings, but the manuscripts were lost amid the great floods of 1605. It took 137 years to re-collect the ruined materials, edit and publish them. A supplemented version came out 61 years thereafter. Ryu Sŏngryong himself was also a prolific writer. His collected works were published by the Haein-sa temple in 1633, 26 years after his death. A supplemented version was published 100 years thereafter. Another supplement was published in between.

As we can see through later publications, the clan got more experienced in the process and had a network in place to quickly produce collected works for honoring a family member. Publication of collected works reached its peak in the 1830's. Obviously, the clan was better-off then and could afford the high costs. Looking at the publication Ryu Semyŏngs (1636–1690) collected writings only ten years passed between its compilation and the carving. It took another eight years to publish them.

However, political factors were also a very important reason for the rise in publications of 'Collected Works'. In the 18th–19th century the Confucian scholars of Kyŏngsang province found themselves alienated from the royal court. The publication of collected works seemed to be aimed at heightening their self-esteem through increasing the reputation of the clan and in turn the influence of its political faction. This, for example, explains why the members Ryu clan went out of their way to publish the collected writings of a prominent political figure in Seoul, Ch'ae Chegong (1720–1799), who belonged to the same 'Southern Faction' as they did.

In the same vein, they published the 'Collected Works' of the highly venerated scholar Yi Hwang.[17] This, however, became a controversial affair as other clans also considered themselves to be part of the T'oegye school founded by Yi Hwang and became embroiled in a disagreement with Ryu clan over the contents of their

16 See Nam Kwon-Hee, "Han'guk ŭi mokp'an inswae yŏn'gu (Studies on Woodblock Printing in Korea)", in: *Kirok munhwa ŭi segye* (The world of recording culture), eds. Advanced Center of Korean, Andong 2008, pp. 108–109.

17 See Sul Suk-kyu, "Chosŏn sidae yugyo mokp'an chejak paegyŏng kwa kŭ ŭimi (Background and Meaning of Confucian Printing Block Production during the Chosŏn Period)", in: *Kukhak yŏn'gu* 6 (June 2005), pp. 113–118.

master's collected works.[18] This was another chapter in the dispute with their old rival the Uisong Kim clan, which stemmed from a simple but serious issue. Ryu Sŏngryong and Kim Sŏngil (1538–1593) were both disciples of Yi Hwang. However the question whose name-plate should be next to their master in his shrine and be therefore considered more important, divided the both clans. Kim was four years older than Ryu, therefore his clan stressed the importance of seniority. However Ryu's official rank as prime minister was higher than Kim's, who died holding the post of a county magistrate. As neither clan would yield, the issue divided the Confucian scholars of Kyŏngsang province into two camps.[19] Even today the conflict is still alive between members of both clans.

It becomes obvious that the production of 'Collected Works', just like the publication of genealogies, was a highly political act. Ownership of such works heavily reflected status and position of a clan just as much as did the ritual worship of an ancestor, by associating the clan with these scholars of high social standing.

	Author	**Lifespan**	**Book Title**	**Volumes**	**Year of Publication**
1	Ryu Un-ryong	1539–1601	Kyŏmam chip	4 8	1742 1803
2	Ryu Sŏn-gryong	1542–1607	Sŏae chip	20 27	1633 1834
3			Sŏae pyŏljip	4	?
4	Ryu Chin	1582–1635	Suam chip	3	1734 1833
5	Ryu Cho	1584–1658	Ryuchŏn chip	2	1908
6	Ryu Wŏn-chi	1598–1674	Choljae chip	6	1791 1852
7	Ryu Se-myŏng	1636–1690	Uhŏn chip	4	1833
8	Ryu Kyu	1730–1806	Imyŏhŏn chip	5	?
9	Ryu Yijwa	1763–1837	Haksŏ chip	10	1839

Table 2: Publications of Collected Works of the Ryu Clan.

18 See Kim Yun-je, "Chosŏn sidae munjip kanhaeng-kwa sŏngnihak (Publication of Collected Works and Confucianism in the Chosŏn Period)", in: *Han'guksa simin'gangjwa* 37 (August 2005), pp. 75–95.

19 A more detailed discussion of this incident can be found in Martina Deuchler, *Under the Ancestors' Eyes*, pp. 311–312.

Preservation of the Archives

The head of the Ryu clan kept most of the documents at his private residence and often also in the local Confucian academy. The residential halls generally were given names that, hanging on wooden sign-boards over the entrance, reflected Confucian virtues. Ch'unghyodang, for instance, means 'Hall of Loyalty and Filial Piety.' Residence buildings commonly consisted of one or two rooms with closets inside and a wooden floor at the front. As the Confucian scholar spent most of his time there, the structure had to serve multiple functions. It was his living room, bedroom, and dining room; it was his study, reception room, and occasional lecture hall.

The Ryu clan took good care of their ancestor's heritage. The descendants treated the books and compounds as extensions of their ancestors themselves. Until the seventeenth century, the number and volume of the clan documents was rather small. The head of the household was in charge of them. He usually put the documents in special bamboo chests for ventilation and protection from insects, and kept these in the closet of his private room. As the documents multiplied, special storage rooms were built, in which the documents were kept together with books. It was Ryu Yijwa (1763–1837), who began to make an inventory of books, including lists of missing volumes, and stamped a seal on each copy.

(1) The Yangjin Hall Collection

Yangjin Hall (Pl. IX) refers to the residence of Ryu Unryong. He was the oldest son of Ryu Chungyŏng, a high-ranking official, and older brother of the premier Ryu Sŏngryong. As head of the family and the clan, he stayed home most of his life and took care of the clan affairs. He only served as a government official, off and on, in order to maintain the elite status of his family. The two brothers and their descendants became the main lines of the clan. However, the elder brother's line was later surpassed by the younger's.

The Yangjin Hall archives are quite small in volume as most of the stored works were destroyed by a flood in 1605 and a fire in 1647. Some of them were restored in 1671, such as some inheritance documents could be copied from the other party involved in the transaction and government approval was again conferred on the duplicates. A small portion of the extant archives became open to the public in 1985. Included were four royal decrees, one memorial, three census registers, ten inheritance documents, one roster of slaves, and four items of other documents. The royal decrees were appointment certificates issued to Ryu Unryong, his father, and his wife. The inheritance documents were drawn up in the period between 1527 and 1761.

(2) The Ch'unghyo Hall Collection

Ch'unghyo Hall (Pl. X) was the residence of Ryu Sŏngryong. He is considered a great statesman, accomplished writer and an outstanding scholar. Serving as prime minister during the six years of the Japanese invasions from 1592 to 1598, he proved himself one of the most competent premiers of the dynasty. When the war was finally over, he returned to Hahoe village and wrote his memoirs of the war, the *Chingbirok* (Book of Corrections)[20], and other books during the last nine years of his life.

His hand-written manuscripts are the certainly the gems of this collection. Some of them, including his war memoirs, have been designated as national treasures by the South Korean government. Included are the appointment certificates to prime minister, certificates recognizing special merit subjects, and some other government documents. The collection also includes documents of Ryu Sŏngryongs descendants. Most numerous are letters (3,659), writings for funeral and memorial services (232+286), poems (397), and appointment certificates (244+35).

(3) The Pyŏngsan Academy Collection

Private academies played an important role in Confucian Korea. Scholars gathered regularly to pay homage to the particular figures enshrined there, and through this confirmed their mutual solidarity. They also attended lectures to improve their Confucian scholarship and literary skills. In 1800, there were about 1,800 academies and shrines scattered all over the Korean peninsula. Out of these, 198 were chartered by the king, which entailed royal gifts–books, slaves, and lands. Kyŏngsang province had by far the largest number of royally chartered academies. Many academies were dominated by particular clans and stood in their service.

Pyŏngsan academy (Pl. XI) came into being in 1614. After Ryu Sŏngryong had died in 1607 his descendants and disciples built a shrine for him in 1613 at a private school near the village. The next year, the school and the shrine were incorporated into Pyŏngsan academy. It was chartered later and developed into one of the five most important academies in Korea.

The academy kept various documents, ranging from journals, rosters of superintendents and staffs, rosters of lodgers and visitors, lists of books, account books, property documents, etc. Later, these documents were relocated to Ch'unghyo Hall. The academy also published numerous books, including collected works and kept the woodblocks in a specially built storehouse.

(4) The Hwagyŏng Hall Collection

Hwagyŏng Hall (Pl. XII) was the residence of Ryu Yijwa (1763–1837), a descendent of Ryu Sŏngryong. An outstanding scholar-official, he passed the higher-level examination in 1794. King Chŏngjo (r. 1776–1800) acknowledged his scholarship

20 Since its publication the book serves as one of the most important sources on the conflict, as is attested for example by its 17th century Japanese edition, See W.J. Boot, "Kaibara Ekiken's preface to Chingbirok. A Japanese Edition of the Book of Corrections", in: *Korean Histories* 2 (2010), pp. 85–89. For more details on the book and its author see Ryu Sŏngryong, Choi Byonghyon (trans.), *Book of Corrections. Reflections on the National Crisis During the Japanese Invasion of Korea 1592–1598*, Berkeley 2002.

when Ryu Yijwa served the king as a chronicler in the royal secretariat. After the death of the king, the discrimination against scholars from Kyŏngsang province hampered the advancement of his official career.[21] However he became a royal secretary in 1822 and a vice minister in 1829, which was a remarkable accomplishment for a 'Southerner' in this period.

This collection accounts for 66.5% of the total clan archives. Correspondences take its largest portion (59.5%), followed by poems (8.3%) and writings for funeral rites (7.9%). The collection includes 226 items of government documents as well as valuable books granted by King Chŏngjo. Especially the 229 circulars included in the collection give insight how the rivalry between the two clans of P'ungsan Ryu and Ŭisŏng Kim deepened over time. Appeals (163) and memorials (140) reflect the lawsuits over burial grounds in the mountains. The property documents require more research, but surely will inform us with a more comprehensive understanding how the wealth of a clan was managed, maintained, and extended.

Conclusion

After Korea opened its doors to the outside world in 1876, most people became less and less interested with the legacy of the past. Such atmosphere prevailed in Seoul and its vicinity. As a result, most documents of the *yangban* families in these areas were lost or sold off. This continued under the Japanese colonial rule of the Korean peninsula (1910–1945). The Korean War (1950–1953) provided the finishing blow to many remaining archives and private collections, reducing them to ashes or scattering the documents in all directions. Fortunately, many works in the public libraries were saved.

Kyŏngsang province was an exception. Andong, in particular, was the heartland of Korean Confucianism. Its people cared very much for their ancestors and their heritage. To preserve the most important documents, for instance, the clan installed three locks on their book coffers, with each key being carried by a different member of the family. Thanks to such efforts, clan documents were well preserved in this area. Furthermore, Hahoe remained safe from the devastations of the Korean War. The 'Lotus floating on the Water' proved auspicious for the archives, too.

From the extant records of these archives we can learn much about traditional Korean society and the fortunes of the Ryu clan. While the opening of many archives is still an ongoing process and the study of these documents will take some time, we can already understand a lot about the clan through analyzing their efforts on document preservation itself. We can see how the status-conscious society of the Chosŏn dynasty depended on the recording of family background and achievements to foster the perpetuation of the clans' success. Having books

21 Most scholar-officials of Kyŏngsang province belonged to the Southern Faction. They were much discriminated against in the 18th and 19th centuries.

and written documents ready therefore was not only a question of educational purposes, but also of economic demands.

In the case of the Ryu clan collections, the blurred lines between the concepts of archive and library are structured along the relations between individual scholars and their closest social unit – the family. As we have seen, in spite of its overall nature and role as an archive, the Ryu clan collection was, to a substantial degree, formed by individual libraries that were incorporated into the preserved holdings. Application of a strict dichotomy between closed archives, guarding the family documents, and open libraries, disseminating and circulating books and knowledge is a rather difficult endeavor. Not only were books from the collection borrowed and circulated among readers (and as the Ryu Yijwa inventory shows, were also lost or stolen), but part of the family collection was kept in the public institution of Pyŏngsan Academy and there constituted a substantial part of its own collection and was available to students.

The life of the P'ungsan Ryu clan collection continued further in the framework of modern institutions. In the 1980's, the new-born Academy of Korean Studies near Seoul played an important part in exploring the old clan archives in Kyŏngsang province. It drew up inventories, produced facsimile reproductions, and modern-type prints for research. Since 2001, the Korean Studies Institute in Andong has been doing its best to preserve the old archives and its printing woodblocks in cooperation with the families in the region. This highlights one of the most peculiar aspects of this collection: the intertwined destinies of the knowledge institution and the family structure which successfully overcame perilous centuries of Korean history.

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The Libraries of Royal Palaces in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty

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Introduction

In Korea, the organized collection of books is one of the oldest text related activities. Since ancient times, books possessed by the royal family, by clans, or by individuals were valued very highly as products of intellectual pursuits and symbols of scholarly ability. The buildings where such collections typically were stored most often were called *changsŏru* (book keeping pavilion) or *changsŏgak* (book keeping cabinet). In a broad sense, buildings of this designations included facilities such as the document archives (*sago*) that kept the royal history records (*sillok*).[1] However, the libraries of public schools (*hyanggyo*) and private Confucian academies (*sŏwŏn*), which spread rapidly across the country since the middle of the 16th century, were named *changsŏgak* as well.

Within the Korean environment, the royal library was the largest in size and the richest in quality of the stored books. Not just for this reason, it is worth examining the royal library of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) to gain an understanding of the library system and the history of the library in Korea.

The books owned by the Chosŏn royal family were stored in several places and institutions. More than 22 such book collections have been identified until now.[2] Besides institutional changes over time, most departments within the royal palace had their own book collections and their content varied according to the purpose of the office. Today the Kyujanggak collection belongs to the library of the Seoul National University and Changsŏgak collection belongs to the Academy of Korean Studies, both of which are the most well-known major royal library collections that are still extant.

Diverse studies have been conducted on the system, characteristics, collections, and book catalogs of these two royal libraries. A few studies have also been produced on the functions, size of collections and owned book catalogs of royal

1 On the collection and storage of documents for the *sillok* see Sem Vermeersch, "Archival Practice in Premodern Korea: Record-Keeping as Archive and Historiography", in: *Journal of Korean Studies* 24, no. 2 (2019), pp. 201–223.

2 See Lee Jong-mook, "Chosŏn sidae wangsil tosŏ ŭi changsŏ e taehayŏ (About the Collection of the Royal Documents in the Chosŏn Dynasty)", in: *Sŏji hakpo* 26 (2002), pp. 5–39.

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libraries that do not exist anymore. However, the majority of the no longer extant royal libraries have not yet been investigated.

In order to know about the contents of the collected books in the royal libraries, their book catalogs are the best source materials. The collections of books from the royal libraries were often scattered, but the analysis of various catalogs and related records reveals the outline and characteristics of the collection in their original form.

This article focuses on the royal libraries' catalogs. For this article, I will first look into the royal libraries of which a list of the stored inventory remains. Furthermore, I have selected the library of the Sigangwon (Office of Attending Lectures), an institution that educated princes in the late Chosŏn dynasty, as an example to show how the royal libraries operated, managed and used books.

The royal library Changsŏgak during the Chosŏn Dynasty and its catalog

In Korean history, already from the period of the Three Kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla which dominated the peninsula from begin of the first millennium to the 7–9th century, special management of the books of the royal families have been recorded. According to various historical records, during the following Koryŏ dynasty (908–1392) libraries were installed in order to maintain the collected books of the royal family.[3] Several factors indicate that the system for storing books was well developed already before the 14th century.[4]

As the number of books grew, through imports of books from China and increased publishing in Korea, a place to store them was needed. The historical documents state that a library called Changsŏgak was built in the Koryŏ dynasty and facilities to publish or import (production), record and store (management), and to use (usage) royal books were established. However, the buildings that housed the books owned by the royal family were given a host of different names. Besides increased book imports from China, other key factors for the establishment of the royal library system during the Koryŏ dynasty were the establishment of a public education system and the introduction of the civil service examination system for the selection of bureaucrats. Furthermore, it became necessary to manage the books stored for the compilation of the annals of the dynasty. The result was a collection system which operated libraries in and outside the palace as well as in Buddhist monasteries.

(1) Early Chosŏn Dynasty

In the Chosŏn dynasty, various departments to manage the books owned by the state were established within government organizations. Furthermore, various buildings were built in the palace to manage the books owned by the state. These

3 See Baek Rin, *Han'guk tosŏgwan sa yŏn'gu* (A Study of the History of Korean Libraries), Seoul 1969, pp. 32–33.

4 See Nam Kwon-Hee, *Koryŏ sidae kirok munhwan yŏn'gu* (A Study of the Records Culture of the Goryeo Dynasty), Ch'ŏngju 2002, pp. 710–720.

book collections were used to advise the king and to provide resources to answer his inquiries. This was the special task of the Chiphyŏnjŏn introduced in the time of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), the fourth king of the Chosŏn dynasty. Other institutions in charge of the royal library system, the Hongmun'gwan and the Kyujanggak, were established afterwards.

Especially the Chiphyŏnjŏn was the central organization for academic and cultural policy as well as a royal library. For its book collection a special library pavilion was built, which held the collection of the Confucian classics. In the writing of Yi Kyejŏn (1404–1459), we can find that this building served as a facility to read the books of the Chiphyŏnjŏn and it was not just responsible for the collection of books, but also for producing book catalogs and managing the borrowing of the books. Yi wrote:

> The library space had been extremely confined and the piles and piles of books had made it difficult to retrieve them. An order was given in the year of 1429 to erect the Chiphyŏnjŏn inside the west gate of the palace, and a library pavilion of five column-size was built in the north. The site was built into a mound, which appeared grand, majestic and tall, and shelves were built on each wall to shelve the books according to category, which was labeled with *ach'ŏn* (牙籤)[5], making the retrieval of the books easier than flipping one's hand.[6]

In 1456, the majority of the scholars belonging to the Chiphyŏnjŏn became embroiled in a power struggle at court and consequently the institution was abolished after a new king took power. This new ruler, King Sejo (r. 1455–1468), in 1563 decreed to establish a new institution in charge of the royal library, the Hongmun'gwan. All functions of the Chiphyŏnjŏn were transferred to this new institution. A library, named Tŭngyŏnggak, was constructed, which stored and managed the books taken over from the Chiphyŏnjŏn as well as newly published books and the hand-written manuscripts made by transcribers in charge of copying rare texts, sketchbooks of royal painters and the books purchased from Beijing with the king's approval.[7]

Interest in the royal library was very high among all generations of kings. As mentioned above, the royal family's books kept being collected, stored and managed in different buildings and several places. During the early period of the Chosŏn dynasty, besides institutions like the Chiphyŏnjŏn, the Hongmun'gwan and their libraries, special buildings were constructed, which preserved the king's portrait or the books documenting the genealogy of the royal family.

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5 This can be literally translated as toothpick, but also denotes a small pick that was used to bookmark the different volumes.

6 *Tongmunsŏn* 50:27b.

7 See Sim U-Jun, "Tŭngyŏnggak ko (Consideration of Tŭngyŏnggak)", in: *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 1 (1986), pp. 5–43.

(2) Late Chosŏn Dynasty

In the Korean environment, artifacts written by the king or containing his handwriting were particularly prized. Since King Chŏngjo (r. 1776–1800) introduced a new academic organization called Kyujanggak, the king's works were systematically stored and managed. The libraries of this institution were included in a building that also served as the administrative office of the entire organization (Yimunwŏn), in buildings that categorized and stored Korean (Sŏgo) and Chinese books (Yŏlgogwan, Kaeyuwa), in a building that kept only the writings of the king (Sŏhyanggak), and even in the institutions main building. After 1800, the main building, called Chuhamnu, became a place to store books. The books and the contents of books in the various library buildings belonging to the Kyujanggak can be found through catalogs of these individual libraries.

There are three extant catalogs of the Korean books stored by the Kyujanggak. A catalog called Sŏgo changsŏrok, edited in 1790, by the Kyujanggak official Sŏ Chŏngsu (?–1804) and others is considered to have high academic value because it contains relatively detailed information.[8]

The Kyujanggak had another important branch-library called Pongmodang. When the Kyujanggak was established, a building that stood on the hill in the southwest of the main complex was remodeled and renamed as Pongmodang. The works of former kings were moved and stored there. However, this building became insufficient, so in 1857 the Pongmodang moved to a large building north of the main building. The regent Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun (1820–1898), who led the government on behalf of the young King Kojong (r. 1863–1907) between 1863 and 1873, separated this library from the Kyujanggak and affiliated it to the office of the royal family. Taewŏn'gun reconstructed the main palace of Chosŏn dynasty, Kyŏngbokkung, which had been in ruins for a long time after the Japanese invasion in 1592 and moved to the king's residence there in 1867. With the relocation of main palace, the books of the Pongmodang were moved to the office building of the royal family, and the administration office of the Kyujanggak was also moved to a building in main palace.[9]

With the reform of the government in 1895, the name of the Kyujanggak was changed to Kyujangwŏn, and it now belonged to the office of the palace administration. The Pongmodang, managed by the office of the royal family, also returned to the Kyujangwon. Since then, the name and the organizational system changed often. In 1908, just before Korea was annexed by Japan, its organization

8 Nam Kwon-hee, *Kyujanggak sŏgo ŭi sŏmok kwa changsŏ pyŏnch'ŏn punsŏk. Hyŏnjae sŏmok ŭl chungsim ŭro* (Analysis of the Catalogs and Transformation of Kyujanggak Libraries. With a Focus on the Existing Catalogs) Master's Thesis: Kyungpook National University, Taegu 1983, p. 1.

9 Cheon Hye-bong, "Changsŏgak ko. Pongmodang ŭi yŏnhyŏk, kinŭng mit kŭ changsŏ rŭl chungsim ŭro (A Study of Jangseogak: Centering on the History, Function and Books of Bongmodang)", in: *Tonggyo Min T'aesik paksa kohŭi kinyŏm nonch'ong* (Commemoration of the Seventieth Birthday of Donggyo Min Tae-sik), ed. Nonch'ong Palgan Wiwŏnhoe, Seoul 1972, pp. 387–412.

was revised again in a subdivision system and four division were established: one for the book planning, one for managing of books, one for document writing, and one for document managing.

Among them, the division for book planning took charge of all the previous tasks of the Pongmodang and the office of the royal family: compilation, revision and storing of the royal family genealogy; preservation of the writings and portraits of former kings; taking care of royal tombs and graves; and participation in royal ceremonies. Three different catalogs of books, documents and other materials were printed at this time.[10]

Until the late Chosŏn dynasty, the name *changsŏgak* was not limited to buildings that house royal books and materials. Local archives, and libraries of private Confucian academies and personal libraries were also called Changsŏgak. However, after Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910, the Governor-General made a modern library for the royal books and materials of the Chosŏn dynasty which was called Changsŏgak as well. Since then, this name has become mostly associated with this particular library of royal books.[11]

The Kyujanggak also had local branches in areas such as Kanghwa Island (*Oe Kyujanggak*). The catalog of its archives in Kanghwa Island still remains. This catalog also records the procedures taken to manage books during the Chosŏn dynasty. In order to manage books made of Korean paper, which was vulnerable to humidity, the books had to be aired and dried regularly. The catalog of the Kanghwa Island archives contains records about such inspections. The books of the Kyujanggak were continuously checked and cataloged even after the death of its founder, King Chŏngjo in 1800.

(3) Other Libraries in the Royal Palaces

Besides the Pongmodang, there were various buildings for the royal books, documents and materials. The majority of those buildings were located in Ch'angdŏkkung Palace (in the so-called Secret Garden) where the king lived from 1600 to 1867. Each building which kept royal books and materials made its own catalog. In most cases, the catalogs of these collections are extant today.[12]

For example, for the library Irhanjae, located in the private residence of King Yŏngjo (r. 1724–1776) where he lived before becoming king, a catalog of its collection from 1726 is extant. Through this catalog, containing the calligraphy of King Yŏngjo, we can identify the contents of the library, which included books from China, paintings and calligraphy works by Chosŏn artists. The catalog of the

10 Three volumes of *Pongmodang kŭp pongmodang hugo pongjang sŏmok*, one volume of the *Pongmodang ch'aekpo insin mongnok*, and one volume of the *Pogak pongjangp'um mongnok*.

11 See Changsŏgak Yŏn'guso (ed.), *Changsŏgak esŏ yet kirok ŭl mannada*, Sŏngnam 2011, pp. 10–23.

12 Those are the *Munhŏngak sŏmok*, the *Pomungak ch'eak mongnok*, the *Sŭnghwaru sŏmok*, the *Ch'unbang changsŏ ch'ongmok*, the *Chipokchae sŏjŏk mongnok*, the *Chipkyŏngdang p'oswae sŏmok*, the *Hongmun'gwan mongnok*, the *Taech'ukkwan sŏmok*, the *Yŏn›gyŏngdang hanmun mongnok*, and the *Irhanjae sojae ch'ibuch'aek*.

Taech'ukkwan, which is thought to have been built during the reign of King Sunjo (r. 1800–1834) in the southern part of the Chunghŭdang Hall in Ch'angdŏkkung Palace, contains 496 book titles. A small library building called Sŏnhyangjae was built in the eastern yard of the Yŏn'gyŏngdang Hall in the Ch'angdŏkkung Palace. It was built in 1827 on the occasion of a festival for King Sunjo, upon the ruins of another structure. The books in this library were available to the people of the palace.

According to the historical records, in 1700 King Sukchong (r. 1674–1720) initiated the construction of a new building called Munhŏn'gak in the southern part of Kyŏnghŭigung Palace when the existing magazine of books became too small. The pavilion named Pomun'gak, located in the Hŭijŏngdang Hall, was used as magazine for books since the 18th century until late 19th century.

However, most of the royal palaces of the Chosŏn dynasty were demolished during the Japanese colonial rule between 1910 and 1945 or were destroyed in the Korean War (1950–1953). In many cases, the buildings of the palaces disappeared and only traces remain. The main palace, Kyŏngbokkung, in particular suffered heavy destruction and only a few buildings survived. Nevertheless, through paintings by the royal painters that show the architecture of the palaces in very concrete and realistic manner, we can today identify the location and size of the former structures.

One example is the library building of the crown prince's educational institution, the Sigangwŏn, which does not exist anymore. However, its position in the palace can be confirmed by the depiction of a wooden name board inscribed with the name *changsŏgak* in the painting of the palace. We will discuss this library in detail in the next chapter.

Fortunately, the buildings of some royal libraries like the Sŭnghwaru in Ch'angdŏkkung Palace survived. The building is a two-story pavilion, and the upper floor is called Sŭnghwaru and was used as a library. The catalog of this library shows that a lot of paintings and calligraphy from Chosŏn and China were stored here. Furthermore, the Chipkyŏngdang, a pavilion in Kyŏngbokkung Palace that was built in the late 19th century[13] and stored a considerable amount of epigraphs, Chinese paintings and calligraphic works from the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing period (1644–1911) as well as books. The building belonged the residence of Emperor Kojong and one of his bedrooms was located there and still exists today.

13 Hwang Jung Yon, "Chosŏn sidae kungjung sŏhwa sujangch'ŏ e taehan yŏn'gu (A Study of the Repositories for the Paintings and Calligraphy in the Palaces of the Chosŏn Dynasty)", in: *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 32 (2005), pp. 301–336.

Libraries	**Book catalogues**	**Location**
Yimunwŏn 摛文院	Yimunwŏn Sŏmok 摛文院書目 Yimunwŏn pongan chongnok 摛文院奉安總錄	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Sŏgo 西庫	Sŏgo changsŏrok 西庫藏書錄 Sŏsŏ sŏmok ch'ŏmnok 西序書目籤錄 Sŏsŏ sŏmok pyŏllok 西序書目別錄	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Yŏlgogwan 閱古觀	Yŏlgogwan sŏmok 閱古觀書目	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Kaeyuwa 皆有窩	Kaeyuwa sŏmok 皆有窩書目	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Sŏhyanggak 書香閣	Sŏhyanggak pongan ŏsŏ chongmok 書香閣奉安御書總目	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Pongmodang 奉謨堂	Pongmodŏng pongan ŏsŏ chongmok 奉謨堂奉安御書總目 Pongmodang kŭp pongmodang hugo pongjang sŏmok 奉謨堂及奉謨堂後庫奉藏書目 Pongmodang ch'aekpo insin mongnok 奉謨堂冊寶印信目錄 Pogak pongjangp'um mongnok 譜閣奉藏品目錄	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Oe Kyujanggak 外奎章閣	Oe Kyujanggak p'oswae hyŏngjian 外奎章閣曝曬形止案	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Munhŏn'gak 文獻閣	Munhŏn'gak sŏmok 文獻閣書目	Kyŏnghŭigung Palace 慶熙宮
Taech'ukkwan 大畜觀	Taech'ukkwan sŏmok 大畜觀書目	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Yŏn'gyŏngdang 演慶堂	Yŏn'gyŏngdang hanmun mongnok 演慶堂漢文目錄	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮

Pomun'gak 寶文閣	Pomun'gak ch'aengmongnok 寶文閣冊目錄	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Sŭnghwaru 承華樓	Sŭnghwaru sŏmok 承華樓書目	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Sigangwŏn Changsŏgak 侍講院 藏書閣	Ch'unbang changsŏ ch'ongmok 春坊藏書總目	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Hongmun'gwan Tŭngyŏngnu 弘文館 登瀛樓	Hongmun'gwan sŏch'aek mongnok 弘文館書冊目錄	Ch'angdŏkkung Palace 昌德宮
Chipkyŏngdang 緝敬堂	Chipkyŏngdang p'oswae sŏmok 緝敬堂曝曬書目	Kyŏngbokkung 景福宮
Irhanjae 日閑齋	Irhanjae sojae ch'ibuch'aek 日閑齋所在置簿冊	Ch'angŭigung (outside the palace) 彰義宮（闕外）
Chibokchae 集玉齋	Chibokchae sŏjŏk mongnok 集玉齋書籍目錄	Kyŏngbokkung 景福宮

Table 1: Selection of existing book catalogs in the royal palaces.

The Management of Books in the Sigangwŏn and Its Functions as a Library

The Sigangwŏn, which as an institution was tasked with the education of the crown prince during Chosŏn dynasty, is a good example to introduce the management method of books and the contents of the book collections within royal libraries in the Chosŏn dynasty. As the Sigangwon's book collection is also still extant, I have chosen this institution among the several libraries in the Chosŏn royal palaces to describe the basic functions of these libraries. Furthermore, through the Sigangwŏn, we can also look specifically at the library system prior to the establishment the Kyujanggak.

The Sigangwŏn was an institution that started work only in the moment a crown prince was appointed. In other words, depending on the existence of a crown prince, it was activated or disbanded repeatedly, but as an institution it was maintained throughout the Chosŏn dynasty. For this reason, the Sigangwŏn had a larger collection of books than other institutions in the royal palace. It also had a separate library building called Changsŏgak. Due the amount of books possessed by the Sigangwŏn some of its staff members were only charged with the management of the books. The physical remnants of the library collection are currently stored in the Kyujanggak Library of Seoul National University. Among the many other books and materials from the royal collections of the Chosŏn dynasty, they are easy to distinguish, thanks to being marked with the Sigangwŏn library stamp.

The Sigangwŏn's official records document that four staff members, among the large pool of officials who assisted the education of the crown prince, were exclusively in charge of managing the books. They supervised the lending and returning of books and inspected the stored books for damages. The library functions of the Sigangwŏn were practically handled in its Changsŏgak building. It is recorded that in 1783, the Changsŏgak building of Sigangwŏn was built in the Crown Prince Palace, and the book collection owned by Sigangwŏn was placed in this building to prepare classes for the crown prince. Even though the building itself has not survived, there are still extant depictions of this physical existence. In the picture *Tonggwŏldo*, showing a view of the Crown Prince Palace in the early 18th century, the name tablet of the Changsŏgak hangs on the building next to the Sigangwŏn. (Pl. XIII).

(1) Book Collection

In case of the Sigangwŏn, its collection of books was accumulated in the following ways: gifts received from kings or transferred from other government agencies, books donated by local government agencies, books from other royal libraries, and books purchased through tributary mission to China.

(2) Classification and Preservation

No specific rules or records regarding the management of the books of the Sigangwŏn library remain. However, the book catalogs still exist.[14] In general, libraries in the Chosŏn dynasty followed the traditional Chinese method of classifying books into four categories: Confucian classics; historical texts, government documents and statutes; philosophical writings (which included texts on Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Western knowledge etc.); and literature. In contrast, the Sigangwŏn's book catalog did not follow this traditional method, but employed a more convenient classification system fitting the purpose of the institution. This cataloging method was similar to modern library classification methods. Books were classified and recorded according to title, book type, purchasing method, author, and publication date (by year). Therefore the catalogs of the Sigangwŏn today are an important source in the study of Korean traditional book cataloging methods.

The records of the Sigangwŏn contain detailed examples that show how the collected books were preserved and managed. When the Manchus invaded the Korean peninsula in 1627, the books were moved to the royal archives on Kanghwa

14 See *Ch'unbang changsŏ chongmok.*

Island. After the war, the books were inspected before they were returned to the royal palace in the capital. It is recorded that one of the officials of the Sigangwŏn went to the island and inspected the books one by one before moving them onto a transportation ship.[15]

Other measures taken to protect the books are mentioned in the records as well. To prevent the loss of books in the library, it was forbidden to take borrowed books out of the palace. The books also had to be returned within a certain period of time. To ensure this, the ownership stamp was essential and we can still find stamps on the extant books of the Sigangwŏn.[16]

(3) Using Books

In principal, the books of the library of Sigangwŏn were just for use within the palace grounds. The books were borrowed for use during lectures given to the crown prince. According to a catalog from the 19th century, the books of Sigangwŏn were loaned out to another library in the royal palace (Kangsŏwŏn). In this catalog one can find an explanation of the *apae* (identity tags Pl. XIV) used by the Kyujanggak and the Sigangwŏn.

Closing

Books that were handed down and stored in an institution such as a Confucian academy or in family archives quantitatively show the knowledge of that locale and era. Compared to such private libraries, the libraries of the royal palaces played more the role of a storage, a distribution center or a library of all collected knowledge, though restricted in use.

In this paper I briefly reviewed the libraries of the royal palaces, including the Kyujanggak, during late the Chosŏn dynasty and explained their management and usage of books, with a focus on the library of the Sigangwŏn, which was the educational institution for the crown prince. In this royal library officials were assigned to manage the outgoing and incoming of books, inspections, stamping and sealing, classifying, preserving, book listing, and lending. This means the institution had a systematic management system like a library.

This system was not only applied in the Sigangwŏn's library, but also in all large and small book storages of the royal palace. Their size and the amount of collected books differed greatly. However, they all had a systematic system to storage and manage the books. That is why they can be called royal libraries. A relatively large number of book catalogs of these royal libraries remain. Through them, we can know the contents of the books, the preservation quality, the arrangement of the books and so on.

15 See *Sigangwŏn chi* 1:125–134.

16 All books with the stamps 'Sigangwŏn', 'Ch'unbang' (another name of the Sigangwon)', and 'Ch'unbangjang' can be considered as part of the collection of Sigangwŏn.

The next step in studying the library system of the Chosŏn dynasty is to collect some basic data about libraries that have not yet been investigated. Although it is already well-known that there were many large and small libraries in the palaces of the Chosŏn dynasty, so far not many studies were not conducted on the type and quantity of books in these library, the nature of the collections, and which books of them remain extant today. Based on the research of basic resources, it will also be necessary to study the distribution of books and the meaning of the royal libraries as old architectural assets as well as the analysis of the social, economic and cultural background of their establishment and maintenance.

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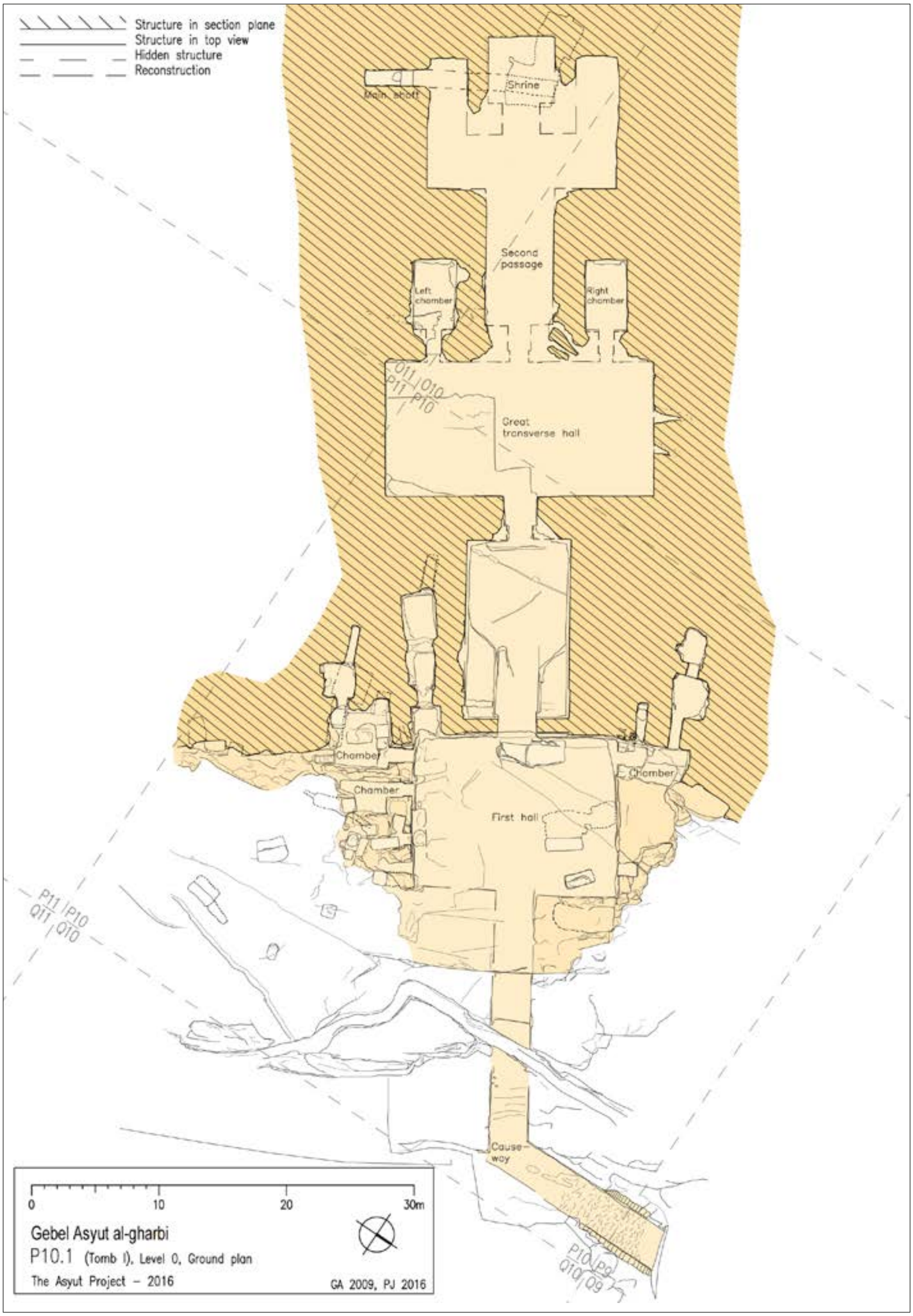
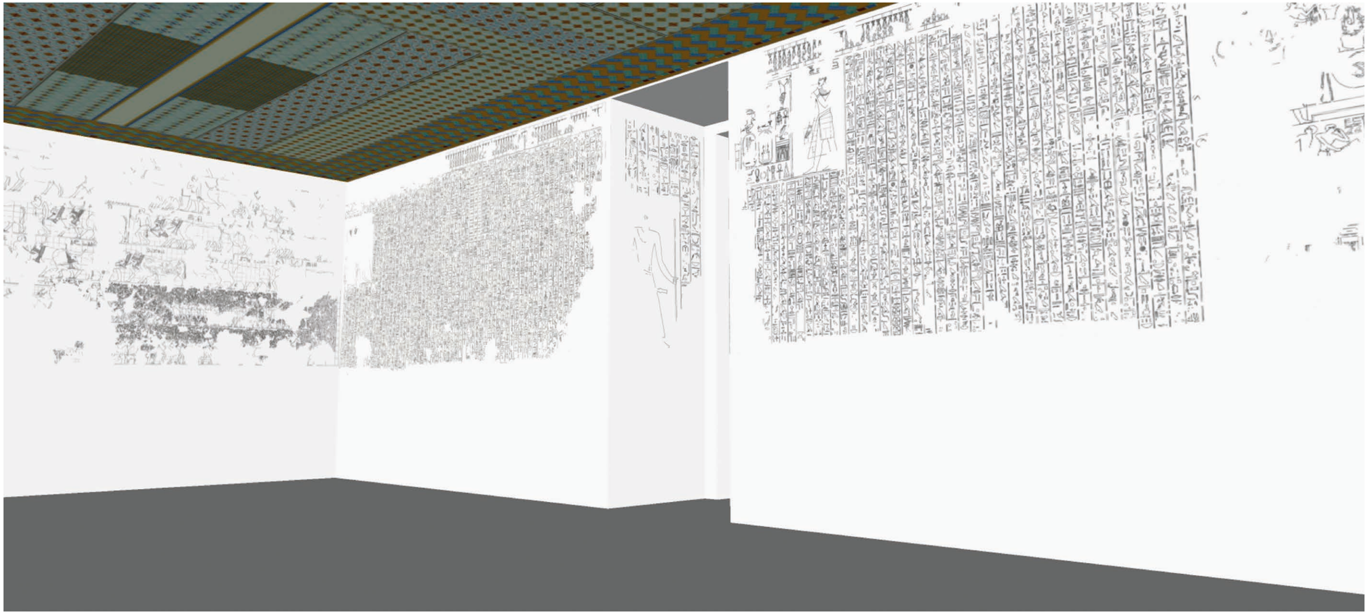
Plates

Pl. I: Asyut, Tomb I (Photo: Fritz Barthel, © The Asyut Project).



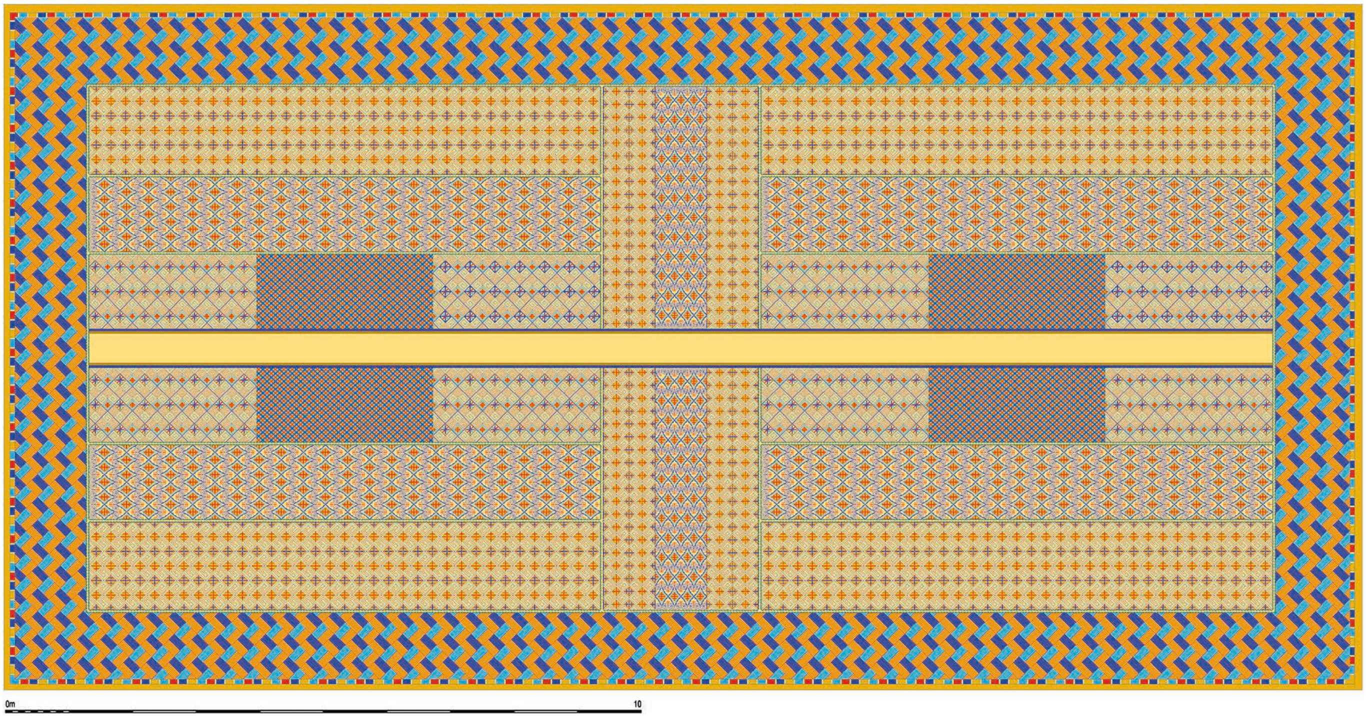
Pl. II: Asyut, Tomb I, ground plan (Philipp Jansen, © The Asyut Project).

Pl. III: Asyut, Tomb I, Great Transverse Hall, eastern wall, detail (Photo: Fritz Barthel, © The Asyut Project).



Pl. IV: Asyut, Tomb I, Great Transverse Hall, eastern and northern wall, reconstruction (Philipp Jansen, © The Asyut Project).

Pl. V: Asyut, Tomb I, Great Transverse Hall, eastern wall, ten contracts (Photo: Fritz Barthel, © The Asyut Project).



Pl. VI: Asyut, Tomb I, Great Transverse Hall, ceiling, reconstruction (Philipp Jansen, © The Asyut Project).

Pl. VII: CBS 3811 is a student practice table ("lentil") that includes the proverb cited in *The Class Reunion*, line 61. See Bendt Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer*, Bethesda 1997, vol 1, p. 303.

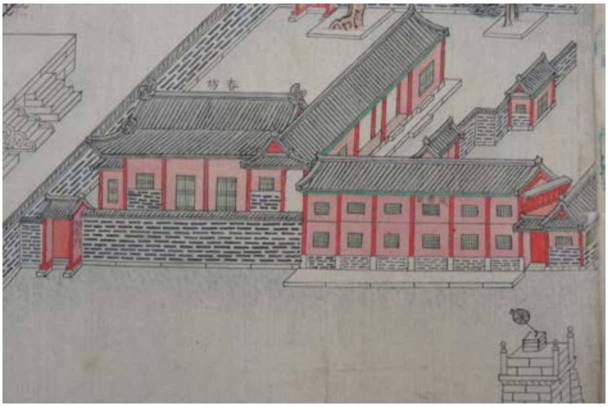
Pl. VIII: The Genealogy of the P'ungsan Ryu Clan 1855 (courtesy of The Korean Studies Institute).

Pl. IX: Yangjin Hall (Photo by Kang Byungdoo).

Pl. X: Ch'unghyo Hall (Photo by Kang Byungdoo).

Pl. XI: Pyŏngsan Academy (Photo by Kang Byungdoo).

Pl. XII: Hwagyŏng Hall (Photo by Kang Byungdoo).



Pl. XIII: The Changsŏgak building of the Sigangwŏn as shown in Tonggwŏldo (courtesy of the Dong-A University Museum).

Pl. XIV: Sigangwŏn apae (Identity Tags of the Sigang-won) (courtesy of Kyujanggak Institute, Seoul National University).