



Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter No. 2

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Editorial

We are very happy to publish the second issue of the Newsletter of the European Science Foundation Research Networking Programme in Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies (COMSt).

It will be evident to the reader that the emphasis in this issue has shifted from conference reports and project descriptions (which, while still included, are fewer in number compared to the first Newsletter) to scholarly miscellanies.

The Newsletter seeks to reflect the breadth of the academic spectrum in COMSt. While the ‘miscellanea’ section of the first issue featured Ethiopic and Greek-Armenian traditions, the articles in the second News-

letter deal additionally with such different manuscript cultures as Coptic, Turkish and Islamic West African. As before, all COMSt-relevant aspects ranging from codicology to philology to cataloguing to preservation are reflected in the Newsletter’s various contributions. We would like to use this opportunity to express, in the name of the entire COMSt community, our deepest gratitude to Dr Arianna Ciula, who in her function as ESF science officer has accompanied the network since its launch in June 2009. For personal reasons she will temporarily retire from office from August 2011, to be replaced by Dr Barry Dixon.

Editors

Projects in manuscript studies

In this issue:

Manuscript@CSIC: A new Internet portal for Oriental manuscripts

APP Oriental Books. Oriental treasures of the Bavarian State Library

Manuscript@CSIC: A new portal for Oriental manuscripts

The Manuscript@CSIC portal (<http://manuscripta.bibliotecas.csic.es/>) provides online access to manuscripts kept in the libraries within the network of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). Currently, it contains manuscripts in Hebrew, Arabic and Aljamiado from Navarro Tomás Library and School of Arabic Studies Library; in future it is envisaged to incorporate the entire CSIC libraries manuscript collections, including those written in other scripts and languages.

The Manuscript@CSIC portal, which is a result of a joint project carried out by the Institute of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Languages and Cultures (ILC), the School of Arabic Studies in Granada (EEA) and the CSIC Library Coordination Unit, provides access both to catalogue descriptions and to the complete set of images for each document. Its

advanced visualisation functions make it an invaluable working tool for the scientific community.

In the course of the project, the following activities were carried out:

- Cleaning, restoring and correct filing of the manuscripts;
- Codicological description of all manuscripts;
- Inclusion of manuscripts into the CSIC Union Catalogue: this has generated a MARC21 record and makes each manuscript visible by the implementation of OAI protocol;
- Colour digitisation and generation of METS-PREMIS metadata for the manuscripts, which are shown in more than 31,000 images;
- Design of a gateway and consultation interface, a navigation system and visualising functions for the manuscripts.

Wherever the preliminary conservation state survey revealed such necessity, particularly valuable and endangered items were (or will be) restored by the specialists from the Department for the Conservation and Restoration of Bibliographic and Documentary Heritage and Graphic Works of the Institute of Spanish Cultural Heritage (IPCE).

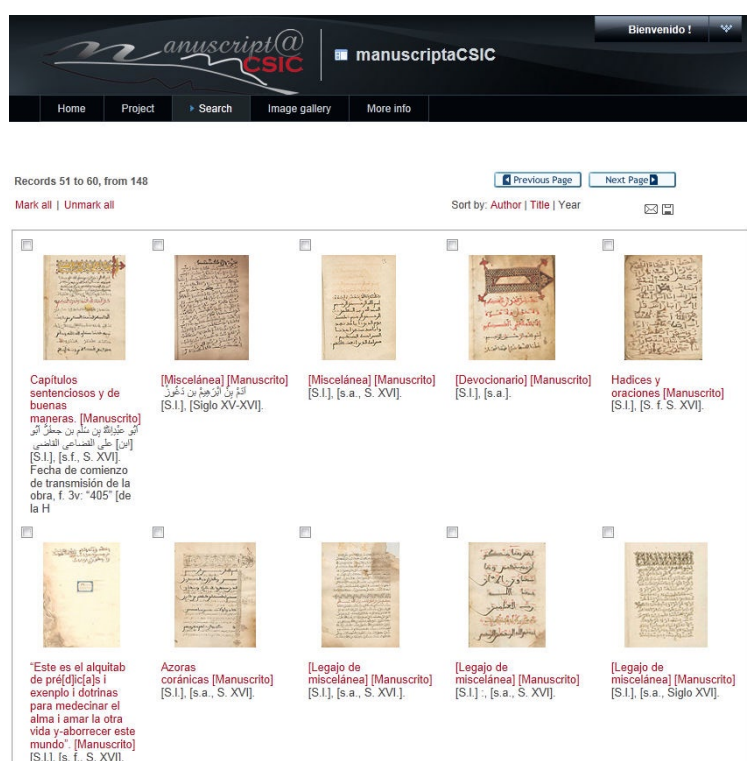
The catalogue entry for each item includes a descriptive record for the document, its origin, type of

writing, binding, materials, contents, colophons, annotations, etc., following the model used by the IRHT (Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes) and aiming at giving both librarians and researchers all relevant information.

Digitisation was conducted on a Zeutschel scanner, producing so far 42,171 colour TIFF images (600 dpi resolution), amounting to 3,200 GB. For the web, JPEG images and PDF image sets were generated.

The METS metadata was generated from bibliographic records in MarcXML format according to the "CSIC METS Profile for monographs v. 1.2".

The portal complies with current documentary standards and can be integrated with both national and international supra-institutional projects.



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The App “Oriental Books. Oriental treasures of the Bavarian State Library”

Since the summer of 2010 the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has been present in the mobile Internet, presenting an innovative offer: the App (Application) “Famous Books”. It was the world’s first library to present digital copies of most valuable, outstanding items from its collections in the form of an App for iPads and iPhones. In 2011, one year later, the library presents the new App “Oriental Books. Oriental Treasures of the Bavarian State Library”, containing precious and remarkable books and manuscripts of the library’s famous and internationally renowned oriental collection. Twenty items can be downloaded free of charge in the Apple App store and can be browsed from the first to the last page on the brilliant colour displays of iPads and iPhones. Oriental treasures which so far were hidden in vaults and usually were accessible for the interested public only rarely in exhibitions can now be admired anytime and anywhere.

With the App “Oriental Books” the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has achieved a further milestone on the way to the virtual library and again gives proof of its competence as innovation centre for digital information technology and services. We invite



you to browse *The Wonders of Creation*, an Arabic illustrated manuscript, which is dated to 1280, *The Prayer Book of Düzdidil*, a Turkish and Arabic manuscript from 1845, or the renowned *Book of King*, written in Shiraz between 1550 and 1600.

Watch video at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SWaTdRNYUUA> (last access 20 July 2011)

Web: <http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/App-Oriental-Books-Oriental-Treasures-of-the-Bavarian-Sta.3026.0.html>; <http://itunes.apple.com/de/app/oriental-books/id434831284?mt=8#>

Individual research in manuscript studies

In this issue

Bardaisan's *Book of the Laws of the Countries*: A Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis

New critical edition, translation and commentaries of the *Aksimaros*

A Conservative Census of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Central National Library of Florence

Diagnostic analysis and restoration of Ms. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Conti Rossini, Et. 70

Bardaisan's *Book of the Laws of the Countries*: A Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis

On 20 April 2011 Dirk Bakker successfully defended his PhD dissertation *Bardaisan's Book of the Laws of the Countries: A Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis* at Leiden University. The promotor was Professor Arie van der Kooij, the co-promotor and supervisor was Dr Wido van Peursen of the Peshitta Institute Leiden.

This dissertation presents the results of a computer-assisted linguistic analysis of the *Book of the Laws*

of the Countries, a religious prose text, attributed to the third-century theologian Bardaisan, which is one of the earliest representatives of Syriac literature. Using the computational tools and methods that were developed in the Leiden project “Turgama: Computer-Assisted Analysis of the Peshitta and the Targum: Text, Language and Interpretation” by Van Peursen, Bakker analysed this corpus on different linguistic levels: orthography / morphology, phrase structure, and clause structure. This analysis enabled him to gain deeper insight in the peculiarities of the Syriac language of the 3rd century; the same period in which the Hebrew Bible was translated into Syriac, resulting in the so-called Peshitta. As such, the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* represents a corpus written in “native” Syriac, to which the translated Syriac of the Peshitta can be compared. This will allow us to attain a better view of the considerations which played a role in the creation process of the Syriac Bible; e.g., the amount to which translation was influenced by interpretation, the two possible meanings of the Syriac word “Turgama”.

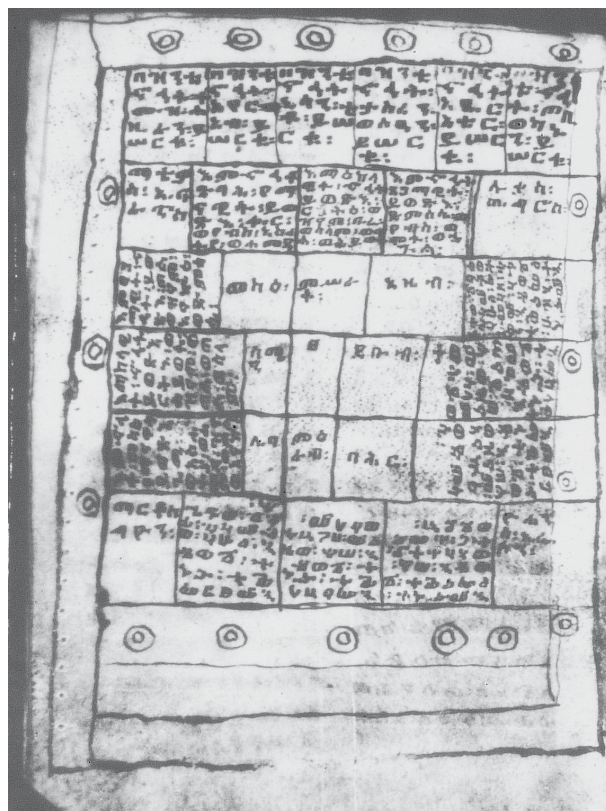
See further: <http://research.leiden.edu/news/computer-as-language-assistant.html>
<http://www.hum.leiden.edu/religion/research/research-programmes/antiquity/turgama.html>

Wido van Peursen
 Leiden University, the Netherlands

New critical edition, translation and commentaries of the *Aksimaros*, or the Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Epiphanius' Hexaemeron

The *Aksimaros* is an Ethiopic translation of the Arabic *Aksimārīs*, itself translated from the Greek *Hexaemeron* ascribed to Epiphanius of Salamis. The Ethiopic version was most probably produced in the fifteenth century. It describes the six days of Creation in more detail than Genesis. The creation of earth and (three) heavens, angels and their fall, the creation of all living creatures, and, finally, the creation and the fall of mankind are among the featured accounts. Due to these topics the *Aksimaros* is classified as part of the Hexaemeral/Creational, Angelic and Adamic literature.

The actual authorship of Epiphanius should be questioned. In his text *De mensuris et ponderibus*, however, a short account on Creation is included.



Manuscript JE 699E, Ethiopian Archbishopric Jerusalem, fol. 2v: “Map of Paradise”.

Moreover, the catalogue of the *Christian Literature in Arabic* of Abū 'l-Barakāt (14th cent.) mentions Epiphanius as the author of a *Hexaemeron*. It seems therefore possible that the name of Epiphanius was used by the author of the *Aksimārīs/Aksimaros* to legitimise the new text.

The *Aksimaros* itself is not widespread in Ethiopia. The text tradition is comparatively young and therefore it is still rather conservative – that is to say the manuscripts are generally very close to each other, with few text variants. The *Aksimaros* is used, however, as a generic title for various texts with related topics, such as the *Ṭəntä haymanot* ('The Beginning of the Faith'; which also claims the authorship of Epiphanius), *Šənä fəṭrät* ('The Beauty of Creation'), sometimes the *Gädlä Addam* ('The Vita of Adam') or the so-called *Vienna Protology*. In addition, the *Aksimaros* shows similarities in some of its contents to further texts such as the *Tä'ammarä lyäsus* ('Miracles of Jesus'), *Qäleməṇṭos* ('Apocalypse of Peter to Clement') or *Dərsanä Gäbrə'el* ('Homily of Gabriel'). Moreover, at least two commentaries on the *Aksimaros* are known, while other different texts in Amharic circulate under the same name.

My thesis can roughly be divided into two parts, 1. the edition of the *Aksimaros* and 2. the study of re-

lated writings. For the first part, all available manuscripts will be collated in order to produce a critical edition. In his *editio princeps*, Ernst Trumpp (1882) used one single manuscript and “corrected” the text on the basis of an Arabic manuscript. The critical edition of the Ethiopic tradition is therefore absolutely necessary. Translation and commentary will be also provided. The second part, the translation of selected related texts, will aim at clarifying the general confusion that surrounds the entire scope of Ethiopian Creational and Adamic literature. The *Təntä haymanot*, so far unpublished, will be analysed in particular detail, with a collation of different manuscripts. Unlike the *Aksimaros*, the *Təntä haymanot* seems to be a genuine Ethiopian work. If possible, it should be established which text was used as *Vorlage*, functioned as provider of ideas for this and other writings, or in which parts possible exchange can be detected. For this task, as an example, the examination of the order and rank of different groups of angels will be crucial. In this part of the thesis, traditional commentaries of *Aksimaros* will be also analysed.

Under the title “remapping Paradise”, a map shall be created in order to visualise the different geographical descriptions given, as well as provide a comparison of the differing world views and general cosmologies transmitted in the texts. As an example, the role of the “Ethiopian river” Gihon (Nile) as one of the four rivers of Paradise will be discussed in detail.

Sophia Dege

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existing catalogue (Buonazia 1885) was taken as a starting point of the census: it includes the Magliabechiano, Palatino and Nazionale collections. Part of the Arab manuscripts of the Magliabechiano fund had been previously catalogued and classified by Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti (1712-1783) and some of them were referable to the publishing project of the Medicean Printing House of Oriental Languages of Rome (second half of the 16th century). A last group of manuscripts is part of the Nuove Accessioni; it was inventorised by Olga Pinto in 1935.

The catalogues or inventories consulted contain no codicological or structural description, except for a mention of the writing support, the size and the bindings in Buonazia’s catalogue. As this census was supposed to serve as a reference point for the Restoration Laboratory to draft a list of the most urgent interventions, it was decided to devote particular attention to the codicological features of the manuscripts and their conservative conditions.

In the first part of the form-sheet adopted for the census, Bibliographical and Palaeographical Data, the most pressing need was the transcription and a more scientific transliteration of Arab titles and authors according to the shared rules of the scientific international community; a translation of the titles was also proposed with the transcription of the dates as they appear in the manuscripts with their corresponding Gregorian calendar date. A new entry in this section is the description of seals or stamps, a very important piece of information for both eventual restoration interventions and for the reconstruction of the book history.

The section dedicated to Codicological and Material

A Conservative Census of Arabic Manuscripts in the Central National Library of Florence

The census is the result of the final stage project of a post-University Master course in Conservation and Restoration of Book Heritage held in Spoleto, Italy, in 2009. It was carried out at the Manuscripts and Rare Books Section of the Central National Library of Florence (BNCF) during a period of three months and it took into account the catalogued Arab manuscripts kept in the Library (about 140 scattered among different funds). The



BNCF, B.R. 343 n. 5, Qurʾān octagonal codex in chiselled metal box, 17th cent. (?); copyright Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, not to be reproduced or copied.

Data was conceived to highlight the technical and structural peculiarities of Arab-Islamic manuscripts, in a description that moves from the outer to the inner parts of the specimens. This kind of description could help conservators and restorers, including those less familiar to this area, to establish a hierarchical restoring intervention list.

The last section was dedicated to Conservation and Restoration Data: the conservation conditions were described in three main graduations that consider both the book binding and book-block damages; according to this, it was indicated whether the manuscript can be used for consultation, independently or under a librarian's supervision, with further recommendations for handling the specimen, including use of particular book-rests or facilities. An extra field was conceived for the description of damage: for each manuscript it was indicated the kind of damage (mould, insects, ink acidity, use damages) and the involved book elements (cover, sewing, writing material). Then eventual previous restoring interventions were described; as regards to this, some bad interventions from either technical or philological point of view were noticed. It was also decided to add to this section a last entry related to "Further Remarks" in which any other element external to the codex could be noted, for example smells, remains of plant leaves or other materials due to the inappropriate use of the codices, to external contaminations or damages, or to traditional customs.

The different histories behind the manuscripts in the BNCF collections influenced their conservation condition. It is not simple to draft a summary diagram of the damages according to the manuscripts' provenance or particular collection, but, as a first step of this project, it was possible to determine specific groups of manuscripts that, more or less, reflect a common standard of conservative status.

The census will be subsequently used as a starting point for the planned MANUMED digitisation project, both in terms of the manuscripts data already collected and of the preliminary knowledge of their conservation status, as it will help the conservators to determine which manuscripts need conservation interventions prior to the digitisation process.

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Diagnostic analysis and restoration of Ms. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Conti Rossini, Et. 70.

The research and restoration of manuscript Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Conti Rossini Et. 70 (Psalter, 18th-19th century) was conducted, within the framework of a B.A. course in Methods and technologies for the conservation and restoration of book heritage at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Rome "Tor Vergata", with the idea of gaining insight in the materials and techniques of Ethiopian manuscript production that would enable to approach knowingly the restoration. It was the first time that the cognitive scientific methods of inquiry that have been used in various spheres of library and archive – and generally cultural heritage – work were applied to an Ethiopian manuscript.

The preliminary codicological analysis aimed at identifying the type of stitching and the connection between the quires and the wooden boards of the binding, defining the structure of the quires and providing measurements for the various layout aspects (number of columns, text size, margin width, number of lines, etc.). It was followed by a series of scientific analytic and diagnostic procedures conducted by the Laboratory of Biology, Chemistry and Technology of the ICPAL (Istituto Centrale per il Restauro e la Conservazione del Patrimonio Archivistico e Librario, Rome) and the Laboratory of Biological Investigations of the ISCR (Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro, Rome) on the parchment, inks, threads and wood of the binding, in order to identify the origin and nature of the materials used. Finally, conservation and restoration measures were carried out.

Among the techniques used was the non-destructive molecular spectroscopy Raman, based on the different light diffusion characteristics of molecules. Scattered radiation is material-specific and the response is visible in the form of a spectrum that allows seeing what substances are present. The analysis of binding threads revealed their collagen nature, which corresponds to what one knows from historical sources: in Ethiopia, beside threads of vegetable origin (cotton, linen and other natural fibers), those of animal origin were in use (beef, goat or sheep intestines, or tendons from cattle thighs).

Another tool used was SEM (Scanning Electron Mi-

croscopy), which uses an electron beam that interacts differently with different organic or inorganic surfaces and allows high-resolution detection of microscopic anatomy. This approach is best combined with EDS (Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy), which provides information about the elemental chemical composition of what you see with the SEM. Among the significant achievements, surely remarkable was the discovery, in the black ink of one of the manuscript leaves, of a fragment of vegetable origin. It was therefore possible to hypothesise that the carbon used in the ink production was produced by means of combustion of acidic compounds (phytoliths) of herbaceous plants. Since these structures retain the imprint of original cells, it may be possible, in the course of a further study, to identify the specific plants involved. Finally, the wood of the binding was microscopically analysed. First, the front and back were examined under a stereomicroscope and then slides from xylem tissue sections were studied by light

microscopy. The two boards surely belong to two different plant species: the front board has a clearer, yellowish shade, while the colour of the back board is reddish-brown. Besides, the front board has a significantly lower density than the back board. The xylotomy allowed to determine that for the front cover the *Erythrina abyssinica* Lam. (Fabaceae - Papilionoideae) was used, whereas for the back board wood of the *Cordia* sp. (Boraginaceae) was taken, either *Cordia sinensis* Lam. or *Cordia ovalis* R. Br. – all timber species endemic for Ethiopia. This sort of information is not provided by written sources. These results enhance the theoretical knowledge we had held so far. The analysis has both confirmed what we had already known of structure and materials of Ethiopian manuscripts and brought to light interesting facts that may open way to further research in this area.

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Conference reports

In this issue:

COMSt workshops:

4 April 2011, Leiden (NL), 'Restoration and digitisation: what should be done first?'

14 June 2011, Frankfurt (DE), 'Towards an ideal chapter on Oriental manuscripts cataloguing'

Conferences in manuscript studies:

13-15 April 2011, Copenhagen (DK), 'Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 13'

15-16 July 2011, Hamburg (DE), 'Ecclesiastic Landscape of North-East Ethiopia'

COMSt workshops

Preservation of Middle Eastern manuscripts. Restoration and digitisation: what should be done first?

A mere four months after the first workshop on the "Conservation Studies on Oriental Manuscripts" (s. conference report in *COMSt Newsletter* 1), the COMSt team 5 convened its second workshop on 4 April 2011 at Leiden University, the primary aim being to discuss

the assignment of priorities in the processes of physical restoration and digitisation of manuscripts.

Firstly, the history of the Leiden University Library and its various ongoing projects were introduced by Ch. Keijsper, Head of the Special Collection, M.-O. Scalliet, Curator of the South East-Asian Collections (who drew particular attention to the Snouck Collection), and M. van den Boogert, who spoke about the Brill digitisation project involving some of the Leiden Library Oriental manuscript collections (Raphelengius, Scaliger, and Golius). Other projects presented during the workshop included the digitisation of the Hellenic Parliament Library (A. Revithi, with details on the digitisation techniques used), the conservation census of the Arabic manuscripts in the National Library of Florence (S. Fani; s. project description above), and the conservation and digitisation efforts at Uppsala University Library (A. Larsson). Among the projects being conducted in part in the Oriental countries one should highlight the activities of the LIGATUS team at the St. Catherine monastery of Sinai (N. Pickwood, A. Velios, who presented on condition survey and its results) and a project of digitisation and preservation of manu-

scripts in Ethiopia (E. Balicka-Witakowska, who gave insights into the challenges of digitisation field work). While Ethiopian manuscripts are digitised within the country in order to make them available to Western scholars, the University of Saint-Esprit de Kaslik in Lebanon conducts large-scale digitisation efforts with the opposite goal: making manuscripts preserved in the West available in electronic form in the University library (J. Moukarzel).

After sharing these and other experiences, the discussion moved onto the assignment of chronological priority between material conservation and digitisation. The necessity of material analysis prior to digitisation was highlighted by I. Rabin, whereas K. Scheper described cases where urgent conservation and restoration measures had to be taken before manuscripts could be digitised. N. Sarris reflected on the nature of changes incurred by the restoration process that may influence digitisation results; he also contemplated the possibilities offered by digital photography for future manuscript restoration.

Part of the workshop was devoted to the discussion of the technical norms to be applied in manuscript digitisation (M. Mayer) and the relevant legal and ethical aspects (Z. Genadry, S. Ipert). As to the former, adherence to the ISO standards was advised, and recommendations were made to refer to the recent *AIC Guide to Digital Photography and Conservation Documentation*. With regard to the latter topic, it was highlighted that, while most Oriental countries do not yet have laws protecting intellectual property rights, it is important to guarantee fair use when digitising

manuscripts that are owned by persons or institutions in the Orient. This is the case even though digitised images are not originals, and would therefore not fall under intellectual property laws.

For more information and a detailed conference report visit <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/COMST/meet5-2.html>.

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Towards an ideal chapter on Oriental manuscripts cataloguing

On 14 June 2011, Frankfurt University hosted the second workshop of the CataloguingTeam of the COMSt network. The goals of the workshop were twofold: to complete the overview of different Oriental manuscript traditions as reflected in cataloguing history – begun during the first workshop in Uppsala – and to approach broadly the special challenges of cataloguing, in particular those connected with the proper description of manuscripts consisting of several production units. Both goals were auxiliary to the general aim of the meeting: clarifying the structure and content of the chapter on manuscript cataloguing in the future COMSt handbook (as was explained in the opening address by W. Witakowski and P. Buzi).

In the first part of the workshop, the talks were devoted to both the history and the state-of-the-art in the cataloguing of manuscripts from such book cultures as Georgian (J. Gippert and B. Outtier), Turkish (D.V. Proverbio) and Persian (I. Perho). It seems particularly evident from the Armenian cataloguing tradition (A. Schmidt) that one cannot and should not auto-

atically define cataloguing as a “Western” invention, nor ascribe progress in manuscript cataloguing to the advance of European scholarship, as the standards in Armenian indigenous cataloguing have been higher than average since its very early inception. The presentation concerning the Hebrew manuscript tradition discussed cataloguing both Hebrew manuscripts and those in other languages written in the Hebrew script (D. Sklare), bringing to the surface the



Participants of the COMSt workshop on Preservation of Middle Eastern manuscripts.

complicated issue of defining an “Oriental” tradition. This was then extensively discussed, the input concerning the necessity of a similar approach for manuscripts in Arabic script (M. Nobili).

The second part of the workshop was introduced by the formulation of a problem by M. Maniaci and P. Canart: how is one to perceive and adequately describe those manuscripts that acquired their present shape and composition in the course of time? Such manuscripts are a combination of several distinct codicological units (multi-structured descriptions). When reflecting on cataloguing Georgian manuscripts, J. Gippert had already highlighted the difficulties presented by the complex nature of the manuscripts (which included, in that particular case, palimpsests and manuscripts that have been dispersed over the course of time). Both experiences drawn from the cataloguing of Latin and Greek manuscripts and different terminological approaches were taken as a starting point. The main topic of P. Andrist’s talk was a cataloguer’s options in dealing with composite manuscripts, and P. Gumbert presented a historical overview of the study of the composite manuscript, comparing the Western and the Oriental studies. During the discussion, many of the fundamental definitions underpinning the nature of multi-layer manuscripts were further explored, with a series of points raised concerning the re-use of manuscript materials.

A technical presentation of the work with the COMSt handbook wiki page (E. Sokolinskaia) provided the team members with the know-how to convert the discussion results into a joint chapter text.

It was decided to dedicate the third workshop of the team (to be held in Copenhagen in 2012) to the challenges and benefits of computer-assisted cataloguing.

For more information visit <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/COMST/meet4-2.html>.

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a small group of manuscript scholars, librarians and conservators from Scandinavia and Great Britain met at the University of Copenhagen’s Arnamagnæan Institute to discuss new ideas on the conservation and preservation of manuscripts which were seeing the light of day at the time. There were just 30 participants at this first seminar, a small enough number so that they could all sit at a seminar table and pass round the manuscripts under discussion. Since then, the seminar has been held every 18 months, jointly organised by the Arnamagnæan Institute and the Danish Royal Library, and the number of participants has grown steadily: this year there were 165 participants from 27 different countries – effectively precluding the handing round of any manuscripts, other than virtually.

The “care and conservation of manuscripts” has many facets, and the papers presented over the years have reflected this. Although conservation techniques and methods have remained the mainstay of the seminars, we have also had presentations on curatorial, codicological, philological and book historical subjects, as well as, increasingly in recent years, on digitisation. This year, a total of 42 papers were presented, on subjects including reversible methods for the conservation of wax seals, new protocols for cataloguing the Wellcome Library’s Arabic manuscripts, the classification of decorated book bindings at the St. Catherine’s Monastery in Mt. Sinai and the conservation of Islamic manuscripts in the National Library of Spain. The full programme, including links to the abstracts, is available at: <http://nfi.ku.dk/cc/programme/>.

The proceedings of the first twelve seminars have been published and are available from the publisher Museum Tusculanum Press (<http://www.mtp.hum.ku.dk/searchresult.asp?series=s800030>). The proceedings of the 13th seminar will be published in connection with the 14th seminar, which will be held in October 2012.

Matthew Driscoll

Conferences in manuscript studies

Care and Conservation of Manuscripts

The 13th international seminar on the care and conservation of manuscripts was held at the University of Copenhagen, from the 13th to the 15th of April 2011.

The first such seminar was held in April 1994, when

Ecclesiastic Landscape of North-East Ethiopia

The workshop organised by the project team of the ERC-funded “Ethio-SPARE: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia, Salvation, Preservation, Research” on 15–16 July 2011 in Hamburg was intended to present and share new discoveries concern-

ing the manuscript culture and medieval literary production in Northern Ethiopia. A particular emphasis was placed on evidence from field research on monastic sites and on the analysis of some previously unknown ecclesiastic manuscript collections.

After a general introduction on various methodologies applicable to the study of ecclesiastical history and manuscript-related field research (D. Nosnitsin) and on our knowledge of the main monastic congregations and networks in northern Ethiopia and their spheres of influence (A. Wion), the following series of talks was dedicated to historical sites, relevant hagiographic corpora, and particular “networks” and their literary output. Among the traditions covered were those of the so-called “Nine Saints”, Byzantines presumed to be the early evangelisers of Ethiopia (A. Brita); the widely venerated saint Mädhāninä ʿĒgziʾ and his disciples (F. LeCadre, who gave a preliminary presentation of previously unknown *Vitae*); the disciples of the medieval “dissident” saint Ewostatewos (M. Gervers) and the spiritual descendants of another “dissident”, the fifteenth-century ʿEṣṭifanos (D. Nosnitsin, who presented a series of previously unknown manuscript collections which bear evidence of the relationship to Gundä Gunde, the center of the “ʿEṣṭifanosites”).

Two case studies, provided by V. Pisani and S. Ance, paid particular attention to the manuscript collections recovered during Ethio-SPARE field missions. Among other things, S. Ance spoke of a discovery of a previously unknown hagiographic cycle dedicated to the group of saints known as the “righteous ones”

(or “martyrs”) of the church of Paraclitus (Paraqlitōs): at least seven copies from different periods, the earliest dating from the sixteenth century and the most recent from 1996, were discovered in the church of Paraqlitōs visited by the Ethio-SPARE team. A preliminary analysis suggests that the original text was composed – or translated from an unknown *Vorlage* – during the first half of the sixteenth century. V. Pisani conducted an analysis of a manuscript collection from the church of Mədrä Ruba, showing how the collection reached the present composition, incorporating books from at least three other church libraries. In addition, Pisani proved that a number of nineteenth-century manuscripts can be attributed to the same scribe, Wäldä Muse (one of a few scribes the project team had already identified in the region).

The points raised in the discussion, guided by A. Bausi and G. Fiaccadori, included the interaction and boundaries between different monastic spheres of influence, the relationship between northern and southern Ethiopian scriptoria and the place of the newly discovered texts within the wider history of Ethiopian church and literature.

The workshop was concluded by an overview of the state-of-the-art concerning the cultural heritage (primarily manuscripts) preserved in the north Ethiopian province of Tigray (Gebre Egziabher Naizghi of the Tigray Culture and Tourism Agency).

For more information visit <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/ethiostudies/ETHIOSPARE/workshop1.html>.

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Miscellanea

In this issue:

Paola Buzi, *Beyond the papyrus. The writing materials of Christian Egypt before the tenth century: ostraca, wooden tablets and parchment.*

Marilena Maniaci, *The liturgical scroll between Orient and Occident: ideas for a comparative study*

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Beyond the papyrus. The writing materials of Christian Egypt before the tenth century: ostraca, wooden tablets and parchment¹

The exceptional climatic conditions of the Egyptian desert and the Nile valley have resulted in the preservation and possible recovery of a huge quantity of documents and literary texts. Even if we limit ourselves to dealing with the Coptic manuscript materials – with the exclusion of those in Greek, which, as is well known, was never completely replaced

¹ This paper was inspired by the discussion within the COMSt Team Codicology.

by the Coptic language – the sheer quantity of this material is still overwhelming.

Aside from nobler book materials, Egypt is well known for the use of several other writing supports. These include: pottery sherds, limestone flakes and slices, bones, wooden tablets, cloth, and, in short, anything with a smooth surface. Naturally, wall paintings and graffiti are excluded from this list because they belong to the sphere of epigraphy rather than to that of manuscripts.

Ostraca, or pottery sherds, were widely used in Egypt, and this fact is easy to explain. Being discarded material, they were cheap and could be readily found almost anywhere. Although *ostraca* were more often used for receipts, calculations, student exercises and notes, literary texts are also well represented. This state of affairs – it is worth remembering – obtained not only in Christian times. The well-known Middle Kingdom Tale of Sinuhe has been transmitted primarily by *ostraca*. *Ostraca* also preserve legal texts, magic spells, private and official letters – those belonging to the archive of Pisenthus, the bishop of Coptos, are justly famous – and lists of books. In the last instance – it is worth observing – mention is often made of the material of which the books are composed. This is the case, for example, with the Monastery of St. Elias of the Rock, the list of which is preserved at the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo.² In short, *ostraca* were the most common means of written communication in Egypt from Dynastic times onwards. An example of this state of affairs is afforded by the *Life of Anastasia*. Believed to be a eunuch monk, Anastasia lived in complete isolation and received messages only from her brother “by means of a written ostrakon, placed at the entrance of her cell”.³

The Copts use two terms to designate *ostraca*: the Greek πλάξ and the Coptic ⲉⲗⲁⲭⲉ. With but a few exceptions, the first is normally used to indicate pot-



Fig. 1. The mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (Western Thebes), site of the village of Djeme.

tery, whereas the second indicates limestone.⁴ From a preliminary estimate based upon examination of the main catalogues of Coptic *ostraca*, it would appear that two-thirds are ceramic, whereas only one-third is made of limestone. Two reasons are likely to explain this situation. First, the surface of stone flakes is far less regular than that offered by ceramic. Second, since Egypt constituted an important commercial crossroads for the Mediterranean, there was always a large quantity of discarded ceramic containers available, and this pottery was recycled in part as building material (for example, in *opus caementicium*) and in part as writing material. Fragments of amphorae and dishes appear to have been favoured for use as *ostraca*. However, there is no discernible preference between the concave and the convex side of the pottery sherds. Both are equally used. In addition, it is worth noting that as in the case of parchment and papyrus, albeit less often, pottery *ostraca* might be subject to re-writing once the first text had been erased with a wet sponge.⁵

As a rule, official text-receipts make use of unribbed pottery that is glazed and generally light yellow in colour, with the preferred shape being triangular.⁶ However, as far as the business transactions of Medinet Habu (the Coptic village of Djeme) are con-

² IFAO 13315; Otranto 2000:125.

³ Crum 1902:xi.

⁴ Crum 1902:xi.

⁵ Crisci 2003:57.

⁶ Crum 1902:x.

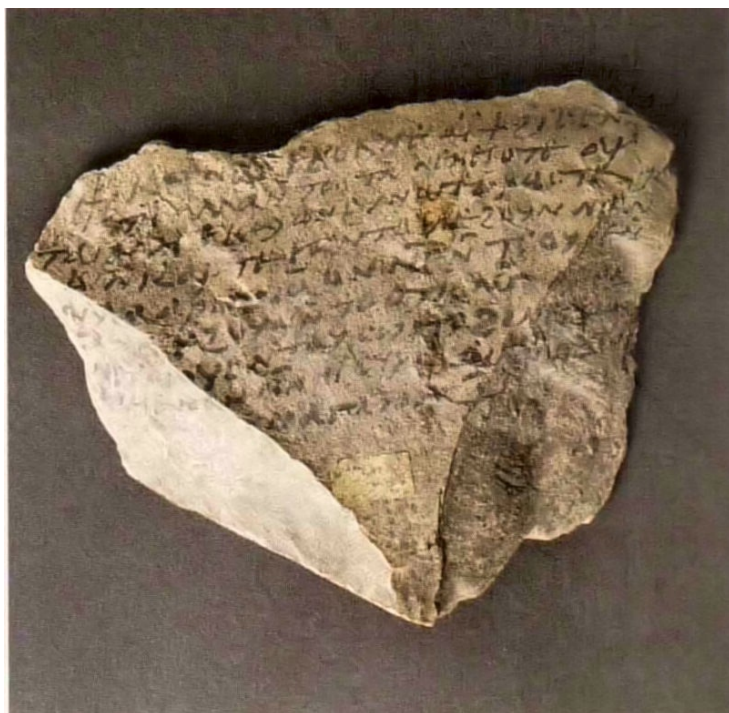


Fig. 2: Letter concerning the book restoration. Thebes, 6th-8th cent. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités égyptiennes, N 686, from Boud'hors 1998:60.

cerned, the texts, except for a small number of white limestone flakes, “are written on pottery sherds of various kinds”, whereas “the dominant type among them is a dark-brown, strongly ribbed ware which came primarily from wine jars; this pottery is thick and durable”.⁷ The ratio between pottery and limestone seems, however, quite the opposite in Western Thebes, where the predominance of the latter, especially in official texts – ecclesiastical and legal – suggests that the stone was considered there more honourable than pottery, maybe because of the geological characteristics of the region and, consequently, of the better quality of limestone (it is not by chance that the so called “Theban Mountain” puts up the most famous Egyptian hypogean *necropoleis*, excavated in the strong and trustable rock of the west bank of the Nile).⁸ In Greek and Roman times, limestone *ostraca* become extremely rare, even in Thebes.

Wooden tablets, by contrast, are less commonly found.⁹ This may be due to the obvious reasons for which fewer of them survive. Not all writing materials last equally well, and their preservation depends in part upon where they were used and discarded.

In the humid conditions of the Nile Delta, for example, almost no writing materials have survived. Besides, wood was probably less freely accessible: it was only occasionally found locally, but most often it was imported, which contributed to escalating costs.

Most of the examples of wooden tablets that we have contain documentary texts. This is the case of the single wooden tablet recently acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden from a Dutch private collector. The tablet contains an exercise in multiplication, which is in the process of being published by Karl Worp and Jacques van der Vliet. The text is inscribed on one side, in a depressed field surrounded by slightly raised borders that are 1.6-1.8 cm wide. The reverse of this tablet is slightly convex and is not inscribed. Four holes (0.5 cm diameter) were pierced in the upper margin at intervals of 3, 6, 10, and 13.5 cm from the left. Notches were carved above

these holes so as to keep in place the threads that held the codex together. Clearly the other tablets making up this codex have been lost. The inscribed surface shows traces of a stucco layer.

Very similar to the Dutch tablet, as far as the physical aspect is concerned, is the polyptych from Akhmim now kept in the Musée du Louvre. It consists of eight wooden leaves (very likely re-used) containing a fiscal text.¹⁰ We know that wooden tablets could be bound together in a codex containing up to ten tablets.

A different case is represented by P. Vat. copt. 5A (originally P. Vat. copt. 112) which contains a deed for the sale of wine and dates to the seventh-eighth century. The tablet measuring 47,5 x 22 cm has two sets of holes: four in the upper border and two in the lower one. Grooves can be made out between the latter two, which is where once threads¹¹ were probably located.

The case of P. Vat. copt. 6 (originally P. Vat. copt. 113) is also of interest. The tablet measures 46,5 x 19 cm and is 1 cm high. Its little irregularities were plastered before a light preparatory paint was spread so as to serve as a base for the text. Three big holes were created in recent times, without any

⁷ Stefanski – Lichtheim 1952:6.

⁸ Crum 1902:x.

⁹ Brashear – Hoogendijk 1990:21-54.

¹⁰ Boud'hors 1998; Aufrère – Bosson 1999, no. 47.

¹¹ Pintaudi 1989:52-54, plate xiii

regard for the text's legibility, and probably served to join it to other tablets. It is probably for this same reason that the left side was cut. Apparently original, on the other hand, are the two holes situated in the upper margin at a distance of 3.7 cm from one another. If one assumes that they were once located centrally, it would mean that about 11.5 cm of the left side was cut in order to adapt the dimensions of our object to the other tablets. Finally, there are eight holes in the side of the tablet. Some of them are still filled with the remains of wooden nails, which

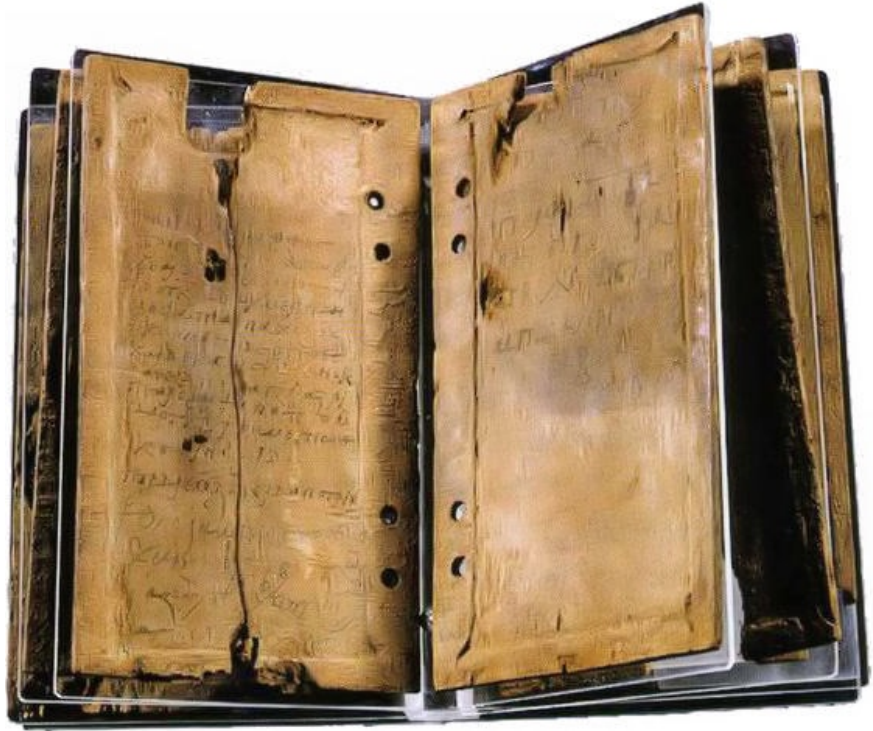


Fig. 3: Fiscal text. Akhmin (?), 6th-7th cent. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités égyptiennes, E 24454, from Boud'hors 2004:66.

fact suggests that the tablet was originally completed by another wooden strip. Side A contains Psalm 49, whereas Side B, where a large humid spot is visible and some sesame seeds have been stuck, preserves Psalm 69.¹²

P. Vat. copt. 7 (originally P. Vat. copt. 114), which contains a magic text edited by Sergio Pernigotti, served a different purpose. The tablet measuring approximately 48.5 x 20.7 cm has suffered visible damage. As in the case of P. Vat. copt. 6, a preparatory light paint can be made out under the text. The tablet has a single hole, which was obviously created after the text had been written, for it has resulted in the loss of a letter. The hole was in all likelihood made in order to hang up the tablet for use as a *phylacterion*.¹³

Similarly, Ryl. copt. suppl. no. 50, which was one of a number of Coptic, Demotic, and Arabic documents purchased by J. Rendel Harry for the John Rylands Library¹⁴ in 1917, and which contains the well-known apocryphal correspondence between Christ and king Abgar of Edessa, was possibly once located at the entrance to a house in order to protect its inhabitants. Partial confirmation for this hypothesis comes from the fact that the same

text was found painted at the entrance to a house in Edessa itself.

In short, not all of the wooden tablets found in Egypt once constituted part of a codex. Some of them were simply hung somewhere so as to be used as an amulet. However, none of them is a wax tablet. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that the first two of my examples were originally waxed and later re-used to receive a text written with ink. On the other hand, however, the shape of the tablets, with their concave side, may simply be explained as an example of continuity of use.

Wooden tablets were often used for school exercises. In this case, "though most of the tablets appear to be written by a single student, sometimes several pupils seem to be at work in the same notebook. Three students, for instance, wrote exercises in a codex of seven wooden tablets: fractions, the conjugation of a verb, a rhetorical paraphrase, and the text of a psalm in Coptic".¹⁵ As Raffaella Cribiore stresses, "this evidence is particularly suggestive: not only does it evoke a picture of a classroom where the teaching of Coptic stood side by side with the teaching of Greek, but it presents students at different levels of ability sharing the same material".¹⁶

¹² Pintaudi 1989:54-50, plate xiv-xv.

¹³ Pernigotti 1983:75-90. Pintaudi 1989:59-69, plate xvi-xvii

¹⁴ Giversen 1959:72-82; Crum 1921; Giversen 1958:19-23.

¹⁵ Cribiore 1996a, no. 388.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*



Fig. 4: Literary text (IB.13). White Monastery (Akhmim), 10th-11th cent. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III".

Turning now to ancient parchment, one should note at the outset that although there exists an immense bibliography dedicated to this subject,¹⁷ the study and analysis of Coptic parchment has to date been almost completely neglected. Consequently, the considerations that follow are based primarily upon personal experience.

While the documents written on skins are first mentioned in Egypt at the time of the Fourth Dynasty, and the oldest extant documents on leather include an Egyptian scroll dating to the Twelfth Dynasty and now preserved in the Papyrussammlung of Berlin, in Late Antiquity the use of parchment seems to be taken for granted and is therefore only rarely explicitly mentioned by the Copts.

We do not have recipes, and, if we exclude lists of books that occasionally specify the material of which the book is made, only a handful of references to parchment are found in the documentary and literary texts. The *Regulae* of Pachomius specifically forbid monks from leaving codices untied when they put them away in a niche or cavity in the wall of their cell in the evening. This prohibition clearly derives from the concern that an open codex may become

warped, especially if made of parchment. In one of the titles attributed to the *Life of Maximus and Domitius*, the deacon Eustathios is said to have found the text "in a large storage box of old parchment books written in quires (ⲛⲧⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲙⲡⲁⲛⲟⲛ) when he was looking among books that might have deteriorated over time", for the original work had been composed centuries earlier by Pshoi, who "wrote the life of the saints on a papyrus scroll (ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲧⲏⲥ)".¹⁸ Lastly, Pambo of Scetis suggests to one of his disciples that it is better to copy the *bioi* and *logoi* of ancient authors on papyrus rather than parchment, for the latter material is more susceptible to being re-used as writing material.

This raises the question of economic considerations in the choice of book materials. According to the calculations of Roger Bagnall, the cost for the writing material and labour involved in the creation of a complete copy of the Bible would have come to more or less 16 *solidi* for a parchment copy and 14 *solidi* for a papyrus one. In this period, a *solidus* was the equivalent of 72 Roman grams of gold.¹⁹ This estimate for the production of a Bible reveals the

¹⁸ Buzi 2001:523.

¹⁹ Bagnall 2009:57.

economic motivation that probably lies behind the fact that as late as in the eighth century the papyrus codex was far from being abandoned. According to another evaluation, made by Anne Boud'hors on the basis of *ostraca* found in western Thebes, the cost of an unbound book was half of that of a bound one.²⁰

Although Worrell, in describing the Psalter ms. no. 1 of the Freer Collection, specifies, without uncertainties, that "it is mostly or entirely of goatskin",²¹ to date no chemical analysis has been undertaken so as to determine what kind of animal skin was predominantly used to make parchment in Egypt. Coptic parchment is often of poor quality, even when used for official codices created for important monastic libraries. In late Coptic manuscripts (between the eighth and tenth centuries) it is normally quite easy to distinguish the flesh and hair sides from one another, with the latter showing traces of hair follicles and a darker colour. Dimensions differ considerably, ranging from about 41.5 x 32 cm to about 28 x 23 cm. It is less easy to distinguish the flesh and hair sides in earlier codices (fourth to sixth century). As a rule, the parchment is clearer on both sides and the dimensions are rather small, ranging from roughly 14 x 12 cm to 17 x 13 cm. However, it is hard to say whether this difference is to be attributed to the use of different animals or rather to a difference in taste.

Quite frequently there is more than one hole in a codex, and these can be very large on occasion. Often holes are to be found in association with more or less showy darns. The latter involve not only the margins of the pages, but also the core of the leaf. Both holes and darns exert a strong influence on the layout of the page. Often the thickness of the leaves is not homogeneous: different areas of the same leaf may vary considerably.

Another common feature of Coptic parchment is the presence of visible striations. These were most likely caused by the process of stretching the leather, which involved scraping the two sides of the skin (especially the flesh side) with a sharp knife in order to smooth the surface and produce a sheet of more or less uniform thickness. It is also not unusual to find transparent areas ("eyes", "occhi vetrosi" in Ital-

ian) that were also produced during the stretching operation.

The use of parchment is not destined to a specific kind of text, unlike in Greek tradition where, according to Crisci's analysis, between the sixth and the eighth centuries about the 75% of the Biblical codices are made of parchment.²²

It is highly desirable that the same scientific approach that has been applied to the analysis of papyri, with surprising results, also be applied to parchment. When this happens, we shall know much more about the tastes, habits, and economic life of the Coptic monasteries.

Answers to other questions, however, are to be found elsewhere. In one of his letters, Besa, Shenute's successor as archimandrite of the White monastery, mentions the professions practiced in the community. There are carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, weavers, bakers, copyists and the makers of book-covers.²³ This allows us to perceive that the book materials employed in writing were created elsewhere. Precisely where and by whom is, however, amongst the various aspects of Coptic codicology that we have yet to clarify.

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²⁰ Boud'hors 2008:149-62; Bagnall 2009:51.

²¹ Worrell 1923.

²² Crisci 2003:105.

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The liturgical scroll between Orient and Occident: ideas for a comparative study¹

It is known that, in the Middle Ages, both the Orient and the Occident employed the roll, in particularly in liturgical context, with the text nearly always arranged parallel to the short side (‘scroll’). For the Latin world, the most notable example is the typology of the *Exsultet* (the hymn sung during the Easter Vigil announcing the triumph of light of the resurrection over darkness of the death), limited, with isolated exceptions, to southern Lombard Italy and concentrated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries². An attractive, though problematic, hypothesis, traces the origins of the *Exsultet* to the model of the Greek liturgical roll,³ assuming for the latter an uninterrupted tradition from the Late Antiquity – even if not documented by surviving examples, – and also an early presence (before the first Latin attestations) in southern Byzantine Italy. The existing Greek scrolls are in fact far more numerous than Latin ones, much more geographically dispersed and varied in their contents, as can be seen from the preliminary approximative census of the manuscripts mentioned in the bibliography but moreover from the frequency of mentions in medieval inventories, from the prominent amount of witnesses still preserved in difficultly accessible Oriental libraries and from the abundance of the fragments which have been re-used as palimpsests or guard leaves. Even if “l’histoire du rouleau liturgique grec ‘transversa charta’, ou, en termes plus prosaïques, vertical, reste à faire”,⁴ the comparison between the material, graphic and decorative characteristics of the *Exsultet* and the data – much less precise and systematic – available for the Greek production suggests, in the comparative perspective, some new food for thought.

The *corpus* of Latin scrolls consists of 32 specimens, mostly containing the *Exsultet* hymn, initially in the most ancient “vetus Itala” recension and later,

¹ We anticipate here some results of the research conducted together with Giulia Orofino and presented, in a more extensive form, on the occasion of the Journées Romanes of Cuxa (July 2011, for further discussion, and bibliography on the subject – here limited to the mention of a few contributions of a general nature – see the text that will be published in the Proceedings).

² Cf. Cavallo et al. 1994; Kelly 1996.

³ Cavallo 1973:213-229.

⁴ Jacob 1998:69.

beginning with the eleventh century, in the more diffused “Franco-Roman” vulgate version. Writing and musical notation both reflect the Beneventan tradition; the miniatures, in almost all the examples interspersed with the text, show biblical, historical or liturgical themes, in a tangle of ancient motifs and contemporary references.

Text, music and images wind along a parchment band that may reach the maximum length of just over nine meters. Such band is made from a sequence of sections (12 at most in the longer rolls); their margins overlap and are sewn together by thin parchment ribbons inserted horizontally into a series of small vertical cuts.

The height of the sections – often exceeding 70 cm, peaking at nearly a meter – is predictably connected to the natural length of the skins (sheep and goat⁵), which the craftsmen tended to use in full. On the contrary, the width of the scrolls varies considerably, from 20 cm to almost half a meter, most specimens being concentrated in the intermediate zone (28-30 cm). Since the average width of a goat or sheep parchment fluctuates around 60 cm, in the case of narrower rolls (20-21 cm) every skin could produce up to three stripes, whereas the larger rolls required the entire width to be used.

A comprehensive picture emerges from an analysis of the layout of the *Exsultet*, which reflects the wide freedom of choice enjoyed by the craftsmen, even if within a well-defined typology. The text area is limited by dry-point simple or double vertical ruling. The interlinear space varies between 2 and 3 cm, allowing for the notation to be inserted into the empty space between the text lines. The horizontal ruling can cross the spaces occupied by miniatures or stop at them, allowing the illuminator to work on smooth parchment spaces.

With few exceptions, the rolls are accompanied by illustrative cycles of great richness and equally remarkable variability. As it is well known, the orientation of the miniatures evolves over time: initially placed in the direction the text is to be read in, from the first half of the eleventh century they experience a 180° rotation, putting them upside down to the text but allowing the deacon to show the images to the faithful while standing up, unrolling the

scroll from the height of the pulpit.

Summarised in its essential characteristics, the physical structure of the *Exsultet* raises a series of questions concerning their preparation mode. The main difficulty is posed by the relationship between the continuous flow of text and images and the discontinuity of the sections. Clues of different nature (the stitches that overlap with decorated areas; traces of writing hidden beneath the seams, junction lines between the sections masked by horizontal friezes ...) seem to indicate that the scribes and illuminators worked on loose parchment pieces that were assembled only later. More generally, the alternation between writing and illustrations required careful planning of work, given the dual need to preserve the relationship between content and images and to ensure that they were contained within a single section of the roll. It is to the challenge in meeting this second condition that at least some of the uncertainties and inconsistencies observable in the sequence and collocation of the illuminated scenes are likely to be owed, even if it is reasonable to assume that the images were usually placed, and perhaps at least briefly outlined, before drafting the text.

The present state of knowledge concerning Greek scrolls (*kontakia*, *eiletaria*) is much inferior in detail than that concerning the Beneventan scrolls discussed above.

Abundance of evidence – which reaches the highest concentration among the twelfth and fifteenth centuries – is matched by a very wide range of content. The majority of the known copies transmits the text of the Eucharistic liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil (sometimes also transcribed, whether simultaneously or not, on both sides of a single roll), but one can also find the liturgies of St. James and St. Mark, the *akolouthiai* Presanctified Gifts, and the Vespers of Pentecost; some scrolls contain prayers for specific occasions, such as communion or marriage, or liturgical requirements for performing minor offices.⁶

The bibliological aspect of Greek rolls, which can only be very roughly outlined on the basis of the

⁵ Cf. Palma 1994:39-51.

⁶ The distribution of the contents of the 95 rolls estimated over a century ago by Farmakovskij (1900) is confirmed by the data (from approximately 250 rolls) obtained from a wider survey of the literature available today.



Fig. 1. Jerusalem, Library of the Ortodox Patriarchate, Hagios Stauros 109, from Vocotopoulos 2002.

available data, reveals significant similarities and differences when compared to the *Exsultet*. Like the Latin roll, the Greek one (also produced mostly, though not exclusively, from parchment) shows variable dimensions, conditioned by the size of the text: according to the available measurements, the maximum length just exceeds 13 m. As in Latin rolls, the strip is the result of the assemblage of a varying number of sections, the majority having between 7 and 9 sections (the longest known to me counts 20 sections). Currently consisting of 16 sections, with a total length of 11.5 m (but originally longer) the manuscript Vat. gr. 2282, the oldest copy of the Divine Liturgy of James, is one of the most ancient existing examples. It originates from the Diocese of Damascus, and its text, written in strongly inclined ogival majuscule with titles in “mixed writing” and accompanied by a contemporary Arabic translation, runs from top to bottom on the flesh side and seamlessly

continues in the opposite sense on the reverse.

With a width of just under 18 cm, the Vat. gr. 2282 is significantly narrower than all the Beneventan rolls (with the exception of the *Exsultet* Bari 3, just 13 cm wide, which reuses – and it is no coincidence – parchment originating from a more ancient Byzantine manuscript). The liturgical Greek parchment scroll is in fact systematically “leaner” than the Latin one: most are approximately 25 cm wide, and many examples are narrower than 20 cm – probably the result of a deliberate choice, which allowed a more intensive use of the skin. Rolls with a width exceeding 30 cm are, on the contrary, quite rare.

As far as the height and the assembly of the sections are concerned, the scant information provided by the literature or obtained from a limited number of direct surveys seem to confirm, also for the Greek scrolls, the tendency to make the most of the length of the skin, documented by the presence of sections

which are more than 80 cm high. However, there are also rolls made up of “short” sections, including the famous (and rather peculiar) Vat. Borg. gr. 27 (end of the eleventh – beginning of the twelfth century, disputed between Salerno and the northern Calabria), derived entirely or almost entirely from palimpsest parchment.

The connection between the sections is also more varied than in the Latin *corpus*. The sewing by means of thin parchment stripes, frequently employed in the *Exsultet*, is found in some scrolls of undoubtedly Italo-Greek origin (like Messan. gr. 177, written in the so-called ‘ace of spades’ style, or Barb. gr. 451). In the Orient – but not only – the use of other systems is, however, documented more frequently. Among them is the sewing through small holes (in Vat. gr. 2282) or, more often, the gluing of the overlapping edges of the sections (for example, in the Constantinopolitan manuscript Messan. gr. 176 from the second half of the eleventh century; in the contemporary illuminated scroll from Jerusalem, Stavros 109, also originating from the capital of the Empire; in the illuminated twelfth-century Athen., BN 2759; or also in Vat. gr. 2281, dated to 1209; and in the aforementioned Vat. Borg. gr. 27). Unlike in the usual Latin practice, the composition of the strip could precede the transcription of the text, as demonstrated by the cases, not infrequent, where the writing or ornamental elements cross the junctions. The relative diffusion of the various techniques and their possible correlation with the origin and / or chronology of the scrolls remain to be explored.

A striking difference between the Greek and Latin scrolls concerns the utilisation of the available surface. Contrary to the Latin use, already the most ancient Greek examples attest to the possibility of writing on both sides of the roll: the scribe would usually start with the flesh side, then turn over the strip and continue in the opposite direction, from bottom to top. The text written on the *verso* may be the continuation of that found on the *recto*, or a



Fig. 2. Messina, Biblioteca regionale universitaria “G. Longo”, Messan. gr. 177, from Canart – Lucà 2000:61.

separate contemporary one (as in Messan. gr. 177, containing on the flesh side the liturgy of St. James and on the hair side the liturgy of St. Mark) or even a later addition (for example, in the Jerusalem roll, where to the liturgy of John Chrysostom those of St. Basil and of the Presanctified Gifts were added on the *verso* in two successive stages).

Another obvious difference between the two book cultures concerns the ornamentation. The luxury of the *Exsultet* is opposed by the sobriety of Greek scrolls, where in most cases the decoration is missing entirely or is limited to a frontispiece miniature representing the author of the liturgy. The exception is a small minority of valuable specimens, attested between the advanced eleventh and the beginning of the fourteenth century,⁷ where the text is accompanied by a real figurative apparatus, usually made up of historical initials and marginal miniatures, located symmetrically on both sides of the written column, outside the column boundaries; there is

⁷ Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Stavrou 109, Constantinople, end 11th cent.; Constantinople, Russian Archaeological Institute, roll (presumably lost), 12th cent.; Athens, National Library, 2759, 12th cent.; St. Petersburg, National Library, 672, Constantinople, end 11th cent.-early 12th cent.; Patmos, St. John the Theologian monastic library, 707, 13th cent.; Athos, Lavra 2, early 14th cent. The only research on the total of illuminated Greek scrolls is the doctoral thesis Kepetzis 1979.



Fig. 3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 710, from Cavallo et al. 1994:289.

only one known case (the fourteenth-century Lavra 2) where the miniatures are systematically incorporated within the column limits. Unlike in the *Exsultet*, the illustrating system of Greek rolls does not require the advance planning of space and thus disconnects the work of the illuminators from that of the copyists.

The distance between the Orient and the Occident is particularly evident when one considers the use of the rolls. The patriarchal *diataxis* of the Great Church of Constantinople stipulated that the officiating priest should recite the so-called “secret prayers” from the roll; the possibility to see the manuscript and its illustrations was further impeded by the marble barriers that divide the nave from the sanctuary. The exposition of the Greek rolls is therefore very rarely expected and depicted, unlike the case of almost all *Exsultet*, where the miniatures are in themselves a clear testimony to the public dimension of the “staging” of the liturgy.

The precise comparison between the content, contexts of use and bibliological features of Greek and Latin scrolls necessitates a reconsideration of their relationship on a more concrete basis. As it has been frequently noted, the substantial diversity of content and function – rendered even more difficult by the lack of Italo-Greek evidence from the period prior to the end of the tenth century – make the direct descent of the Benevental rolls from the hypothetical local Byzantine prototypes unlikely, and in any case impossible to demonstrate. The same is true for the direct influence of the models from the capital of the Empire. Neither there is conclusive evidence for the derivation from the alleged Late Antique patterns, which would have survived the transition from roll to codex and would be reflected in the use of the Ambrosian Church.

Whatever the genesis, it is certain that the Latin scrolls show, from their very appearance, material and decorative features completely foreign to the Greek tradition: from the higher width of the strip to the peculiarities of the technical connection between the constituent elements, to the increased distance between the writing lines, to the systematic refusal to use both sides of the parchment (opisthography), and especially to the richness of illustrative cycles and their layout with no precedents in either Greek or Latin tradition.

Moreover, the surviving Italo-Greek rolls do not represent a particular subset of organic features, but combine, in a variable geometry, elements of Greco-Oriental models and features characteristic of the Latin roll production, and it is not possible to determine with certainty the direction of influences. Thus, for example, the Messan. gr. 177 and the Barb. gr. 451 are both undecorated and both opisthograph, but are wider than the Byzantine standard; furthermore, both are sewn by means of narrow parchment tabs, a practice nearly exclusively used for Latin scrolls but rarely for the Byzantine ones. A special case – to be further explored – is represented by the Borg. gr. 27, written in gold and silver on a parchment coloured with an unusual alternation of blue, purple and lilac, but almost entirely derived from the reuse of a Greek two-column manuscript; if some of the initials show Latin influences, the roll is made up of sections glued together in Greek manner and its writing style – of

whichever localisation – shows no southern Italian elements.

The systematic analysis of a significant sample of Greek scrolls, based on a rigorous protocol of bibliographical, palaeographic and art historical features, is indispensable to allow for a deeper understanding of a still elusive typology and to determine on a more solid basis the relationships between objects of similar structure. It is also desirable to broaden the perspective, going beyond the better known Latin context to other book traditions with attested presence of scrolls, whose consistency, functions, and techniques of manufacture are still to be defined.

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Manuscript culture of West Africa. Part 1: The disqualification of a heritage.

After attending four of the workshops so far organised by the Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Research Networking Programme (COMSt) I have been feeling the need to provide input regarding one specific region that is usually neglected by scholars interested in manuscript traditions: West Africa. West African Islamic manuscripts, meaning written in Arabic or in 'ajamī and reflecting the perspective of a Muslim civilisation, problematise the very notion of "Oriental manuscript". David Sklare has already complicated this concept in the COMSt meeting held in Frankfurt (June 2011, s. report in this issue), presenting a contribution on manuscripts written in Hebrew alphabet but in European languages. West Africa is, of course, not an Oriental region. However, since I fully locate West African manuscripts in the broader framework of Islamic manuscripts, which is among the COMSt's cultural foci, I think my contribution finds its natural place in this Newsletter – and in this network.

My article is divided in two parts. The first, published in the current issue of the COMSt Newsletter, discusses the prejudices permeating both so-called "Islamic studies" and "African studies" which are at the root of a disqualification of the West African manuscript heritage. The second, to appear in the next issue, reviews scholarly publications on West African manuscript collections, including articles, presentations, handlists and catalogues that have appeared since the colonial period.

In 1997, the well-known professor of Harvard University Henry Louis Gates Jr. visited the Mamma Haïdara library, one of the most important private collections of manuscripts of the fabled city of Timbuktu. Facing the manuscripts here stored, immediately "[h]e wept like a child, and when I [the curator of the library, Abdel Kader Haïdara] asked him why, he said he had been taught at school that Africa had only oral culture and that he had been teaching the same thing at Harvard for years and now he knew all that was wrong".²

For a long time, it has been assumed that in the

¹ In the West African context, the term 'ajamī refers to local languages written in the Arabic alphabet; see Hassane 2008.

² Baxter 2005.

sub-Saharan region there existed a civilisation exclusively characterised by an oral tradition.³ But the number of manuscripts that have come to light in the last decades questions this assumption. At the moment, the comprehensive estimation that is possible to produce regarding the number of manuscripts (meaning books, letters, documents etc...) existing in West Africa is based on the *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* realised by the al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation.⁴ From an analysis of this source, it is possible to draw an approximate assessment of the manuscripts listed in West African collections. This estimation omits all manuscripts produced in West Africa, but hosted in Western – meaning European and North American – and North African collections.

- Benin, 2 collections, 30 manuscripts (vol. 1, pp. 83-86).
- Burkina Faso, no collection surveyed.
- Cameroon, 2 collections, 104 manuscripts (vol. 1, pp. 145-146).
- Gambia, no collection surveyed.
- Ghana, 8 collections, 375 manuscripts (vol. 1, pp. 367-373).
- Guinea, no collection surveyed.
- Guinea Bissau, no collection surveyed.
- Ivory Coast, 19 collections, 5,171 manuscripts (vol. 2, pp. 117-132).
- Liberia, no collection surveyed.
- Mali, 17 collections, 5,818 manuscripts (in 16 collections; the number of manuscripts in one collection is missing) (vol. 2, pp. 273-288).
- Mauritania, no collection surveyed.
- Niger, 70 collections, 3,559 manuscripts (vol. 2, pp. 389-405).
- Nigeria, 39 collections, 5,648 manuscripts (lower approximation: two collections have no indication of the number of manuscripts and two others, described as having over “500” manuscripts and over “1,000” manuscripts, respectively, are not included; eight collections with 34 more manuscripts are dispersed) (vol. 2, pp. 407-430).
- Senegal, 14 collections, 1,333 manuscripts (the estimation does not consider five of these collections that are described as having from “hundreds” to “thousands” manuscripts) (vol. 3, pp. 51-63).

³ Vansina 1987:165.

⁴ *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* 1992-94.

- Sierra Leone, 13 collections, 794 manuscripts (in 12 collections; the number of manuscripts in one collection is missing) (vol. 3, pp. 65-75).
- Togo, 9 collections, 1,114 manuscripts (vol. 3, p. 237-245).

Unfortunately, the *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* dates to the early 1990s. Indeed, it was in the middle of that decade that most West African manuscripts came to light after a long period in which they had literally “disappeared”.⁵ An example from Mali may help us understand how that number has to be revised. The *Centre des hautes études et de recherches Islamiques Ahmed Baba* – IHERI-AB (formerly *Centre de Documentation et de Recherches Ahmed Baba* – CEDRAB) is described in the *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* as hosting 2,174 manuscripts (vol 2, p. 287), while in 2008 the registered number reached 20,000.⁶ More recent estimations are only speculative. At the beginning of the 21st century, the UNESCO suggested that the manuscripts coming just from the region of Timbuktu could amount to 60,000.⁷ More recently, Abdel Kader Haïdara increased this estimation to 101,820 units, stored in at least 408 private and public collections and suggested that similar estimations would be likely for other regions of ancient Islamic tradition, such as Ségou, Gao, Kayes, Mopti and Kidal.⁸ Notwithstanding the numbers, scholars have neglected this cultural heritage, and only few local works have been studied, published and translated. Such is the case of the two well-known chronicles of Timbuktu, the *Ta’rīkh al-sūdān* by al-Sa’dī⁹ and the *Ta’rīkh al-Fattāsh* by Maḥmūd Ka’ti/Ibn al-Mukhtār,¹⁰ of some of the works of the triumvirate of the Sokoto *jihad*, ‘Uthmān bin Fūdī, ‘Abd Allāh bin Fūdī and Muḥammad Bello,¹¹ and, more recently, of

⁵ On the phenomenon of the “disappearance” of West African manuscripts, mainly due to fear of manuscript expropriations on the eve of the colonial period, see Abdel Kader Haïdara 2008:266-267.

⁶ Muhammad Ould Youbba 2008:289

⁷ Gaudio 2002:280.

⁸ Abdel Kader Haïdara 2008:265-266.

⁹ Edition and French translation Houdas 1898-1900; English translation Hunwick 1999.

¹⁰ Edition and French translation Houdas – Delafosse 1913.

¹¹ See, e.g., ‘Uthmān b. Fūdī, *Kitāb al-farq*, edition and English translation Hiskett 1960; ‘Abd Allāh b. Fūdī, *Tazyīn al-waraqāt*, edition and English translation Hiskett 1963; Muḥammad Bello, *Ḥashiya ‘alā muqaddimat ‘Idā’ al-nusūkh*, partial French translation Delafosse 1912.



Fig. 1. Manuscripts from the Mamma Haïdara Library of Timbuktu, Mali, photo by Joseph Hunwick, from Hunwick - Boye 2008:101.

the *Fath al-ṣamad* by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Pereejo.¹² But how come that these manuscripts have not attracted scholarly interest as it happens in other cultural contexts?

The neglect of such heritage originates in what John O. Hunwick and Alida Boye describe as the “unfortunate divide between Middle Eastern Studies and African Studies” that is “a legacy of Orientalism and colonialism”.¹³ Within Islamic studies, one of the focuses of Middle Eastern studies, an ideological framework informing a hierarchised vision of the Muslim world still dominates. According to the Italian Orientalist Alessandro Bausani who criticises this approach, in Western scholarly production there has been a tendency to hierarchise the Muslim world, dividing it in a supposed “heartland” and some “peripheral areas”, such as central and Southeast Asia, as well as Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa. In such “marginal areas”, Islam would bear so-called “pagan traces”, i.e. local beliefs that survived Islamisation and entered Islam, changing it into something alien to its supposed “authentic”

nature.¹⁴ This is the theoretical paradigm invoked by Jean Schmitz that is based on the “separation of the African Muslims from the wider Islamic world and on the ethnicisation of Islam”.¹⁵ During the colonial period, Western – especially French – specialists of West African colonies elaborated a theory that excluded Africa from the wider Islamic world. Paul Marty epitomised the theory suggesting the existence of “a religion which was distinguished by its wholesale adoption of pre-Islamic customs”.¹⁶ As a result, scholars of Islam treated Africa as an “insignificant backwater isolated from the so-called Islamic heartland.”¹⁷

In turn, African historiography was born as an independent discipline along with the fight of the African nations against the colonial rule.¹⁸ African historiography opposes itself to colonial historiography, written to support colonial powers and deny African peoples any past prior to the arrival of the colonists. African historians of the post-colonial period based their methodology on the oral tradition, perceived

¹² Edition and French translation Bohas et al. 2011.

¹³ Hunwick – Boye 2008:11.

¹⁴ Bausani 1984.

¹⁵ Quoted in Hamès 2002:170.

¹⁶ Quoted in Harrison 1988:203

¹⁷ Reese 2004:2.

¹⁸ Triulzi 1979:5.

as the unique autochthonous method for the transmission of knowledge, the only source that can be invoked to find the “real” history of Africa. The oral tradition was opposed to written sources, which were believed to be alien to West African culture. Within this romantic search for “African authenticity”, Africanists found in the supposed resistance of the “Africans” to islamisation,¹⁹ in the words of Scott S. Reese “a testament to the strength and vitality of African social and cultural systems that resisted the imposition of [presumed] foreign belief structures [like Islam]”.²⁰

As a consequence, both “scholars of Islam” and “Africanists”, who could have been attracted by the manuscript tradition of West Africa, perceived this cultural heritage as something alien. The former did so because it pertained to a region perceived as lying outside the “real” Islamic world. The latter, because “Islam and its manuscripts cannot be considered other than a foreign element, an intruder”.²¹

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¹⁹ Maurice Delafosse stated that the “Negros” were “inherently” hostile to Islam (quoted in Harrison 1988:146).

²⁰ Reese 2004:2.

²¹ Hamès 2002:170.

‘İsà the Prophet: some Turkish anecdotes not found in the Arabic tradition. Part 1: The long-living worshipper.

Remarks on the transliteration system adopted here

⟨ō⟩, ⟨ū⟩ and ⟨y⟩, ⟨ȳ⟩ = tōrpū (تورپو), tōrpȳ (تورپي) “tōrpū”

versus tōplū (طوپلو), tōplȳ (طوپلي) “toplu”.

⟨ī⟩, ⟨ī̄⟩ [i] = geldī (گلدی) “geldi” **versus** qāldī (قالدی) “kaldı”.

⟨ī̇⟩ ⟨ē⟩ exceptionally represents [i] in kī (که).

⟨ə⟩, ⟨o⟩ [A], ⟨ə⟩ **versus** ⟨∅⟩ = ‘īsəŋ (ایسه‌نگ) **versus** sen (سن);

mağāroyı (مغاره‌ی) **versus** mağārayı (مغاری, archaic).

⟨b⟩, ⟨ḃ⟩-l̇ **versus** ⟨∅⟩ = manşūbā-ı-ferzāniyyə (منصوبه‌ فرزانیه) **versus**

versus manşūbā-ı-ferzāniyyə (منصوبه فرزانیه).

versus manşūbā-i-ferzāniyyə (منصوبه فرزانیه).

⟨ḥ⟩ **versus** ⟨ḥ̇⟩ = suḥāl (سؤال) **versus** ‘acābīb (عجائب).

⟨ē̇⟩ **versus** ⟨ē̇⟩ = ēder (ادر) **versus** ēydūr (ایدر).

= syntagmatic boundary marker.

This article is a first outcome of a long-term research project, aiming to gather and classify those Osmanlı narrative texts, both prose and verse, which deal with the “Muslim” Jesus, and which seem to have no counterpart in Arabic tradition, according to repertories.¹ In the course of my survey of the Turkic ‘İsà corpus, I have detected a number of “Märchen-Typen” that will be discussed in a series of publications. In this first instalment, I would like to present the story of the *Long-living worshipper*.

Introduction

The Arabic tradition concerning the Islamic Jesus Christ, “Rūḥullāh”, with its main strands and secondary streams throughout the Qur’ānic commentaries, the *Ḥadīth* and the Mystic (Ṣūfī) Literature, has been fairly thoroughly exploited.² On the contrary, Central Asian (and to a lesser degree, Anatolian) Turkic tradition which focuses on ‘İsà the Prophet, if not entirely neglected, still requires comprehensive investigation.³ Furthermore, very little is known about the stratification of such a “distant” tradition. A hypothetical reconstruction of such stratification may be roughly sketched as is presented in figure 1.

Apparently, the most ancient Turkic “macrotext” which concerns Jesus Christ is incorporated into the *Qışaṣ-ı-énbiyā* by Rabḡūzī,⁴ which is dated to

¹ The most representative of which are Asin y Palacios 1919, 1926; Hayek 1959; Khalidi 2001; Chialà 2009.

² Anawati 1973; Çinar 2007. Cf. Wismer 1977, which is an extensive (albeit not exhaustive) bibliographical survey, with brief summaries.

³ Though see the (not completely satisfactory) Uzun 2000.

⁴ Nāṣirü’d-Dīn Bin Burhānū’d-Dīn Rabḡūzī ed. Boeschoten 1995, I, 383-397; ed. Ata 1997, I, 236-246. Regarding the *Qışaṣ-ı-Enbiya* by Rabḡūzī, cf. Eckmann 1964:276-279; Çagatay 1977:139-153; ed. Boeschoten 1995 (with review by Dankoff 1997); ed. Ata 1997; s. also Ata 2007:377b-78a. Cf. Tottoli 1999:199 n. 5.

1310.⁵

As to the *Long-living worshipper*, we will argue at a later point about its position within the multiple stratification layers of the Turkic tradition and its complex relationship with “outer” texts, both literary and folk. An important preliminary observation that has to be made at this point is that there is no need to always assume a direct textual connection with a Central Asian milieu. In “transnational” perspective,⁶ original characters which have passed from translations into adaptations and then into further receptional outcomes, may often have been demoted, “downgraded” to mere exotic background elements. Let us consider an example from the *Forty Vezirs*:⁷ the King of Hindustan with his philosophical Book “üç deveye yükle[nmiş]” (‘loaded on three camels’), which appears to be a faded reference to the Buddhist Tripiṭaka “the three baskets (of teachings)”,⁸ has in fact nothing to do with it, as far as we can judge from the actual content of the novel, summarised in the advice of “the sages of Hind”: “O King, be not deceived by womankind”.

To my knowledge, there exist at least five recensions of the *Long-living worshipper* story. The Recension Aa is neatly characterised. It occurs as a marginal note in manuscript Barb. or. 57, but, in at least two manuscripts, it turns out to have been embedded in the *Mecma’ül-letâif* by Sirāğ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Miḡālḡarāy, who probably lived at the end of fourteenth century.⁹ Therefore, it is to be considered an “Eski Anadolu” text. Sometimes a kind of Trickster (particularly in “higher” literary context),¹⁰ ‘İsà is here a sort of wandering wise man,¹¹ playing his role within a definitely Islamic frame.

⁵ The text discussed in Proverbio 2010:134-135, along with its parallel in Rabḡūzī’s *Qışaṣ-ı-énbiyā*, is in fact a mere variant of Chialà 2009, no. 214, cf. Wismer 1977:243-244, no. 641. See also Muḥammad Nizāmu’d-Dīn 1929:195 no. 1245.

⁶ See the fourth section (*Translation, Adaptation, and Reception*) in the pivotal Marzolph 2007.

⁷ Cf. Gibb 1886:225 [c] = Chauvin 1904:141, no. 141.

⁸ In some folk-tale contexts, such metaphorical values fade even more, Gabaude 1988:64.

⁹ Proverbio 2010:122-24.

¹⁰ See note 13.

¹¹ Cf. Thompson 1977:150-152: *Saints wander on Heart*. See also Clouston 1887:86-98 (*The Three Travellers and the Loaf*): pp. 89-90, n. 1; Bisanti 1993:63 n. 33. On the “Folk” Jesus see at least Moser 1979. Along with the bibliography collected in the Appendix, check also Preston 1945:245-251.

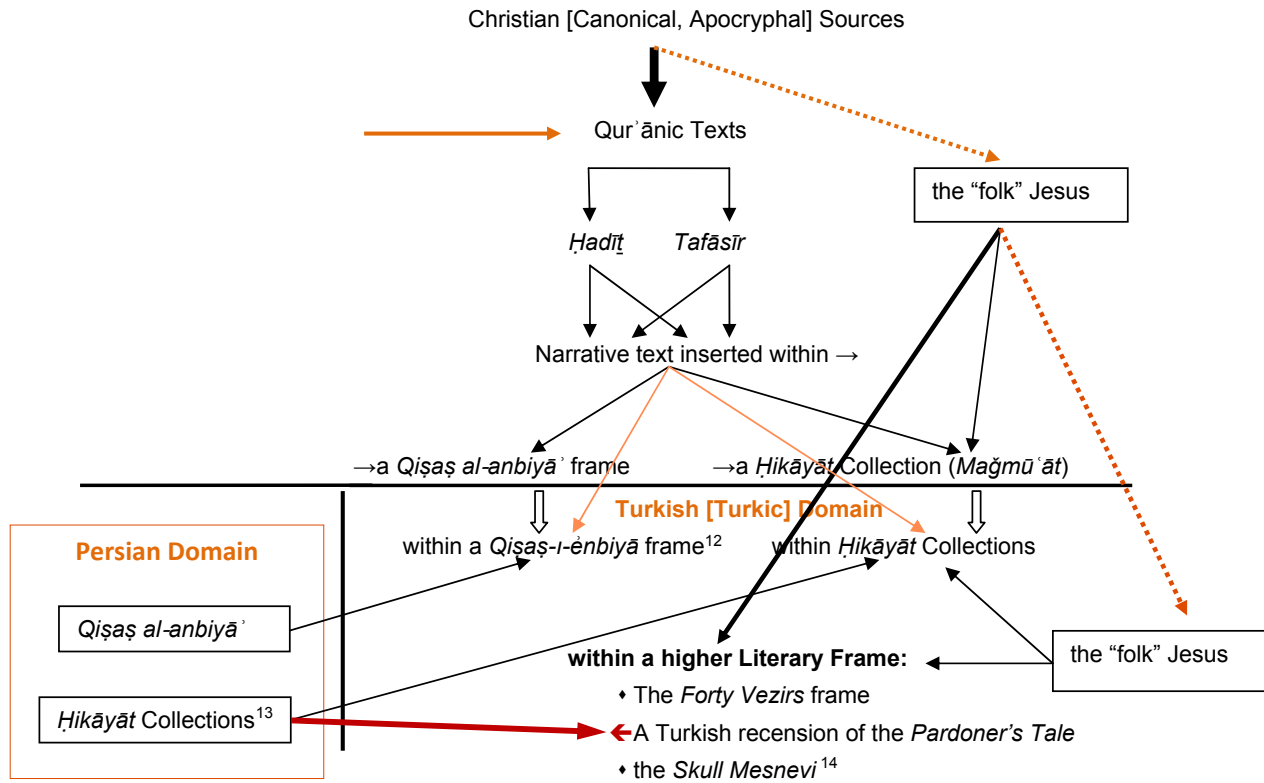


Fig. 1. Hypothetical reconstruction of the stratification of the Turkic tradition around 'Isa the Prophet.

The Long-living worshipper. Edition & translation

Recension Aa: The seven hundred year old worshipper

Ms. Vat. turc. 420, fols. 52v l. 8 – 53v l. 14 = Barb. or. 57, fols. 1v-2;¹⁵ cf. British Library, Oriental 14,950, fol. 79r l. 6.

Vat. turc. 420, 52v l. 8: [...] **hikāyet dūrerde** |₉ eydür bir gūn 'īsā peygāmbēr 'aleyhi-'l-selām bir tāgō çıqdı |₁₀ 'öl tāgōdō gözleridī nāgāh bir şeyh 'ūgrādī 'öl şeyh |₁₁ gōrdī-kī issī gündē issī tās 'ūzerindē 'ibādet ēder 'īsā |₁₂ ilerū vārdī āndan der-yāft ētdī çevrē baqdī bū kişinū |₁₃ evī yōq ve-dōşegī yōq ve-şavma'asī^a yōq ve-üstündegī geyāsī¹⁶ |₁₄ şatarsa bir āqçē getürmez döndī 'īsā 'aleyhi-'l-selām şeyhden |₁₅ suāl ētdī ēyitdī yā şeyh niçūn bir gōlgeçük düzmedū |₁₆ ||[53r] |₁ yā bir şavma'o^a düzmedū-kī ānū |₂ içinē girüb 'ibādet |₃ ēdeydū şeyh ēyitdī yā 'īsā senden 'ōñdīn bir peygāmbērden

¹² Cf. *imprimis* Uzun 2000:473c-474a..

¹³ Such as the massive tales collection entitled *Cevāmi'ü-l-hikāyat ve-levāmi'ü-l-rivāyat* by 'Awfī (سديد الدين محمد عوفی, †1232), translated into Turkish by Celāl-Zade Sālih Çelebi, cf. Kavruk 1998:46-50, and Muḥammad Nizāmu'd-Dīn 1929. On Celāl-Zāde Sālih Çelebi (Sālih Efendi, *1499 - †1565), cf. Tāhir 1975, II, pp. 275-377..

¹⁴ Substantial bibliography on these three major inter-traditional, multi-crossing texts relating to 'Isa is provided in the Appendix.

¹⁵ Proverbio 2010:137-138.

¹⁶ *Türkiye Türkçesinin Tarihî Sözlüğü Hazırlıklarından* 1957:338.

(3) işitdüm eydürdī-kī her kī tenin rāhatlıq içinde bēsledī |₄ āhiretdē hisābın vērsē gerek āndan şonro iki yōldan |₅ bir(i)sinē gitsē gerek ben 'öl sōzi işidelden 'ūs-bū |₆ hāl içinde yēr-kī gōrürsīn şimdī 'ōmrūm yedī yūz |₇ yīlo ērişdī bū yedī yūz yīl içinde {bir tāsī} bir tās |₈ ūzerinē qōmadum ve-ḥaq Ta'ālānū |₉ 'ibādetinden tāsro nesneyā |₁₀ meşgūl 'ōlmadum 'īsā eydür yā şeyh benden bir ḥaber işit şeyh |₁₁ eydür nē ḥaber-dür 'īsā eydür āhīr zemāndō bir peygāmbēr gel#isār |₁₂ ādī Muḥammed 'ōlisar ve-ānū |₁₃ ūmmetlerinū |₁₄ 'ōmri āltmış yetmiş yıldan |₁₅ geçmeyiser 'öl āltmış yetmiş yāşīlo 'ulū sarāylar yapalar ve-qīmetī^b |₁₆ |₁₇ tōnlar geyālar şeyh eydür ēger ben 'öl zemānayo qalsāyīdum |₁₈ yetmiş yılū |₁₉ içinde bir secdē ēdāydum bāşum 'öl secdeden |₂₀ |₂₁ qaldurmayāydum didī 'īsā būnt 'işidicek qatī 'acabā qāldī ||[53v] |₁ āndan şonro şeyh ēyitdī şōl gōrinen mağāranū |₂ içinē gir |₃ 'acāyib gōrēsīn 'īsā mağāranū |₄ içinē girdī gōrdī |₅ 'öl mağāranū |₆ içinde bir tāsdan tābūt vār 'öl tābūt |₇ ūstindē bir levḥ vār ve-'öl levḥ |₈ ūzerindē yāzılmış-kī benī isrā'īl |₉ içinde ben fūlān |₁₀ 'ōglī fūlān |₁₁ bīn yīl |₁₂ 'ōmrūm |₁₃ 'ōldī |₁₄ ve-būnū |₁₅ ||[dünyā(nur)] mu'teber şehirlerī benüm ālum āltındō-yīdī ve-bīn |₁₆ mu'teber pādīşā |₁₇ |₁₈ |₁₉ |₂₀ |₂₁ |₂₂ |₂₃ |₂₄ |₂₅ |₂₆ |₂₇ |₂₈ |₂₉ |₃₀ |₃₁ |₃₂ |₃₃ |₃₄ |₃₅ |₃₆ |₃₇ |₃₈ |₃₉ |₄₀ |₄₁ |₄₂ |₄₃ |₄₄ |₄₅ |₄₆ |₄₇ |₄₈ |₄₉ |₅₀ |₅₁ |₅₂ |₅₃ |₅₄ |₅₅ |₅₆ |₅₇ |₅₈ |₅₉ |₆₀ |₆₁ |₆₂ |₆₃ |₆₄ |₆₅ |₆₆ |₆₇ |₆₈ |₆₉ |₇₀ |₇₁ |₇₂ |₇₃ |₇₄ |₇₅ |₇₆ |₇₇ |₇₈ |₇₉ |₈₀ |₈₁ |₈₂ |₈₃ |₈₄ |₈₅ |₈₆ |₈₇ |₈₈ |₈₉ |₉₀ |₉₁ |₉₂ |₉₃ |₉₄ |₉₅ |₉₆ |₉₇ |₉₈ |₉₉ |₁₀₀ |₁₀₁ |₁₀₂ |₁₀₃ |₁₀₄ |₁₀₅ |₁₀₆ |₁₀₇ |₁₀₈ |₁₀₉ |₁₁₀ |₁₁₁ |₁₁₂ |₁₁₃ |₁₁₄ |₁₁₅ |₁₁₆ |₁₁₇ |₁₁₈ |₁₁₉ |₁₂₀ |₁₂₁ |₁₂₂ |₁₂₃ |₁₂₄ |₁₂₅ |₁₂₆ |₁₂₇ |₁₂₈ |₁₂₉ |₁₃₀ |₁₃₁ |₁₃₂ |₁₃₃ |₁₃₄ |₁₃₅ |₁₃₆ |₁₃₇ |₁₃₈ |₁₃₉ |₁₄₀ |₁₄₁ |₁₄₂ |₁₄₃ |₁₄₄ |₁₄₅ |₁₄₆ |₁₄₇ |₁₄₈ |₁₄₉ |₁₅₀ |₁₅₁ |₁₅₂ |₁₅₃ |₁₅₄ |₁₅₅ |₁₅₆ |₁₅₇ |₁₅₈ |₁₅₉ |₁₆₀ |₁₆₁ |₁₆₂ |₁₆₃ |₁₆₄ |₁₆₅ |₁₆₆ |₁₆₇ |₁₆₈ |₁₆₉ |₁₇₀ |₁₇₁ |₁₇₂ |₁₇₃ |₁₇₄ |₁₇₅ |₁₇₆ |₁₇₇ |₁₇₈ |₁₇₉ |₁₈₀ |₁₈₁ |₁₈₂ 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|₉₈₃ |₉₈₄ |₉₈₅ |₉₈₆ |₉₈₇ |₉₈₈ |₉₈₉ |₉₉₀ |₉₉₁ |₉

gün |₁₁ bir pərə-biz#ilə işbū tābūtūñ içində yātūrīn-kī
görür|siz (12) فَأَعْتَبُوا يَا أُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ çün 'İsà peygāmbər bū
hālī gōrdī |₁₃ 'azīm āğlamaq dutdī āğlayū āğlayū
āraçūqdan çıqdī |₁₄ gitdī [...]

a: Ms: şavmī 'asī; b: qıymetī.

It is said that one day Prophet 'İsà [AS] went to a mountain. In this mountain there were (some) caves. Suddenly, he met an old man. (Prophet 'İsà) noticed that this elder, (standing) on a stone heated (by sunshine), was worshipping on a hot day. 'İsà went forward (and) discovered (further details): he looked around (and realised that) this man had no home, no bed, no cell, and if You (had) sold his outer garments, you would (have) got back no money. (The old man) turned back (and) 'İsà [AS] asked him: "O elder, why did thou not manage to make (even) a small shadow by arranging a cell, and so worship under cover of it?" The old man answered: "O 'İsà, (long) before You, I heard from a prophet that whosoever fed his body comfortably, will render account of it in the next world, whether by getting into the (bad) one of two (possible) ways, or, having received (favorably) these word(s), (by standing) here, in the condition that You see. Now I have attained the age of seven hundred years; during these seven hundred years I (never) abandoned the top of a stone and I was never engaged in any (activities) besides the worship of God Almighty". Quoth 'İsà: "O elder, listen to a story!" The old man said: "which story?" 'İsà narrated: "In the last times a Prophet will come, whose name will be Muhammad: his people [i.e. Muslims] will not exceed (the age of) sixty or seventy years. Notwithstanding this age of sixty or seventy years, they will build huge palaces, and they will wear pricey clothing". The old man said: "Even if I had died at this time, during seventy years I would have worshipped (at least) one time (and) from then I would not have raised my head". Having heard that, 'İsà remained very bewildered. Then the old man said: "Enter into that cavern that appears in sight! You will see marvellous things". 'İsà went into the cavern, in which there was a coffin (made of precious) stone. On the top of the coffin there was a tablet, upon which was written (the following text): "I am a Jew, so and so, son of so and so. I am one thousand years old. (Many) venerable cities of this world were under my household. I commissioned the construction of one thousand palaces in one thousand venerable cities. I defeated the army of one thousand esteemed kings. I legally married daughter(s) of one thousand esteemed kings. I spent my life in luxury, as a glorious sovereign. The day in which You perceive that I lie in this coffin with my (poor) remnants, "Take a lesson, O you who have eyes!" [Al-Qur'ān, Chapter LIX 2]". As soon as Prophet 'İsà realised the situation, he began to weep loudly [...]

Recension Ab

Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 1639 (Muhlis b. Hâfız el-Kâdî, *Cāmi'ü-l-hikāyāt*),¹⁷ fols. 5v l. 6 – 6r l. 13 = Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 5135 (Demürcî Zâde Halîl b. İbrâhîm, *Cevâhir-i cem'îyye*), fol. 26r l. 21 – 27r l. 10 [= **B**] = Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 8402 (Muhlis, *Cāmi'ü-l-hikāyāt*), fols. 64v l. 9 – 66v [= **C**] = Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, Tokat Zile İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi, 153, fols. 99v l. 9 – 100r l. 7. These four manuscripts hold an almost identical text. Amasya Beyazıt İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 837 (Muhlis b. Hâfız el-Kâdî, *Cāmi'ü-l-hikāyāt*), fols. 4v l. 13 – 5r l. 15.

¹⁷ From the *Cāmi'ü-l-hikāyāt* of Muhlis b. Hâfız el-Kâdî (Qādî b. Hafız Muhlis): Kavruk 1988:138 and ff.

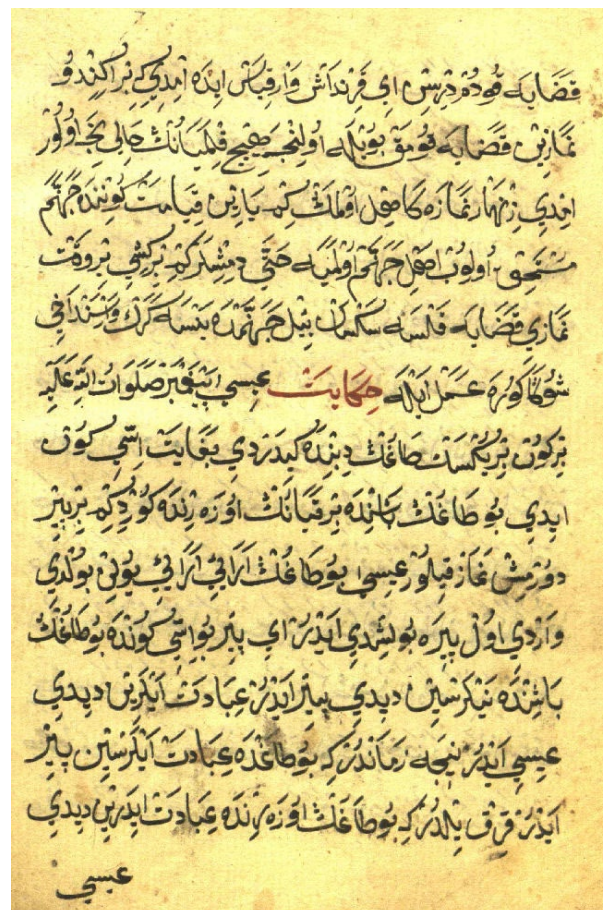


Fig. 2. Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 1639, fol. 5v.

A 1639, incipit: [...] hikāyet 'İsà peygāmbər şalavātü-'İllah 'aleyhi |₇ bir gūn bir yüksek tağūñ dibində gīderdī beğāyet issī gūn |₈ 'idī bū tağūñ başıñdā bir qayānūñ 'üzərində gōrdi-kim bir pīr |₉ dūrmış namāz qılūr 'İsà bū tağūñ āraḅī āraḅī yōlın būldī |₁₀ vārdī 'öl pīrə bulışdī ēydūr [...]
8 gōrdi-kim | **B** > gōrdüm **C**. 9 āraḅī āraḅī yōlın būldī | ārayı bir gūn bū pīr yāñıñdā vārdī **B**, yōlın ārayı ārayı būldī vārdī **C**. 10 'öl pīrə bulışdī ēydūr | itdī **B**.

Recension Ac1

Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 5135 (Demürcî Zâde Halîl b. İbrâhîm, *Cevâhir-i cem'îyye*), fols. 12r l. 21 – 13r l. 8.

Fol. 12v: [...] |₁₄ ve-'öl mağārayo girdī gōrdī bir âltūndan dūzelmiş taht gōrdī |₁₅ āyaqlarī gūmūşden 'üzərində bir büyük tābūt 'öl dāhī âltūn muraşşa |₁₆ cevāhir#ilə 'öl tābūtūñ başıñdā yāzılmış-ki [...]

Recension Ac2: The five (or six) hundred year old worshipper

Borg. turc. 5, fol. 84r l. 5 – 84v l. 1.

hikāyet ḥazret-i 'İsà 'aleyhi |₆ -'İ-selām gōrdī bir 'ābidī şahrādo güneş issī-sıñdā 'ibādet 'ēder yāñıñdā bir āğac gōlgəsī vār |₇ gōlgeyā vārmaz

ḥazret 'īsā ēy 'ābid şōl gōlgeyā vārūb ḥużūr 'ilā
'ibādet |₈ itsen bū ḥarāret-i-şemsde zaḥmetlā 'ibādet
'ēdersin dīcek yā 'īsā beş 'altı yüz yıl |₉ 'ömürdan
'ōtūrī nā gōlgā gerek-dür gōlgeyā vārıncō 'ömürüm
zāyī'imī 'ēdayin dīdī ḥazret-i |₁₀ 'īsā bükā 'ētdī 'ābid
yā 'īsā bükā nā 'ēdersin dīdī ḥazret-i 'īsā āḥirü-'l-
zamāndo gelecek |₁₁ ūmmet-i-Muḥammedā bükā
'ēderin-kī ēkşerīnün 'ömürī āltmış yā yetmiş 'ōlo
dünyā-yī sevüb ma'mūr ētmekā |₁₂ meşgūl 'ōlolar
muḥkem binālar yūcā kōşkler düzüb 'ölümī
'ünūdolar gāflet-dā 'ölālar |₁₃ dīdī 'ābid 'ētdī yā 'īsā
şōl qarşuñdō-ğtī řāğō vār āndo bir mağāro vār-dur
içinā gīr |₁₄ āndo ācāib gōrēsın dīdī [[ḥazret-i 'īsā]]
vārdī mağāroyō gīrdī gōrdī bir āltūn taht āyaqlarī |₁₅
gūmūşden 'ūzerindā bir tābūt-ı-muraşşā' yinā
āltūndan bāşī 'ūcundō yāzılmış-kī ēy benim |₁₆
tābūtum gōrüb ta'accüb 'ēdenler bilg(il)-kim ben bir
'ülū pādīşāh-'īdim dünyādo bīñ bīkr pādīşāh |₁₇ qızī
āldum bīñ qal'ō būnyād ēyledüm ve-bīñ yıl 'ömür
sūrdüm āḥir ēcel yetişüb ḥazret-i 'Azrā'īl |₁₈ 'aleyhi-
'l-selām bir 'ağūlī ḥarbē 'ūrdī 'öl sā'at(te) cūmlā-i
gōvdēmā te'sīr 'ētdī mecmū' salṭanatun |₁₉ ve-
qızların ve-nağmelerün lezzetī zehr 'ōldī hīç birisī
qarşū dūromadī ve-fa'idē 'ētmēdī ēy dünyā-ı |₂₀
gelenler benden çōq 'ömür severmeyēsiz ve-benden
ziyādē salṭanat severmeyēsiz hīç birinden |₂₁ fa'idē
būlmadum belkī dūrlī dūrlī ziyānlar ve-mazarratlar
gōrdüm zinhār dünyāyo āldanmaypsız |₂₂ ve-
dünyānuñ yalāncī beşlikinā mağrūr 'ōlmaypsız gēcā
gündüz ibādāt ve-tā'āto meşgūl 'ōlosız |₂₃ ve-'ölümā
ḥāzır 'ōlosız-kī şōñ peşimānlıq āşşī 'ētmez [...]

'Isā saw a worshipper (who) was praying in the desert (under) the heat of the sun; (near) his place there was a shadowy tree^a (but the worshipper) had not come near the shadow. 'Isā said: "O worshipper, by going (under) this shadow, you will pray easier; (under) the heat of the sun you are praying uncomfortably". The worshipper said: "O 'Isā, what shadow do I need in respect of an existence (which has been) five (or) six hundred years (long)? If I came (under) the (tree's) shadow I would waste my life". 'Isā wept. The worshipper (said): "O 'Isā, why are you weeping?" 'Isā (said): "I am weeping for the Muslims who will come at the end of time, since the existence of the majority (of mankind) is (actually) sixty or seventy (years long), (and), as they (merely) appreciate worldly life, they (only) take care of becoming wealthy, (and) while embellishing well-built edifices (and) high palaces, they are forgetful of death (and live) thoughtlessly (and) neglectful(ly)". The worshipper said: "O 'Isā, go to this mountain just in front of You! There is a cavern: come in and You will see strange things". 'Isā went to the cavern and saw a golden throne whose feet were (made of) silver; over (this throne) there was a jewelled coffin (upon which, engraved) with a gold head stylus, was written (the following text): "You, who seeing my coffin admire it, know that I was a mighty king: I had one thousand king's daughters virgins; I founded one thousand fortresses; and I lived one thousand



Fig. 3. Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, Tokat Zile İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi, 153, fol. 106v.

years. Having reached (my) last hour, the mighty Azrael [i.e. the Angel of Death] threw a poisoned javelin (and) in that (exact) moment my entire body was affected. Any pleasure (coming from) food, girls and music turned into poison; none of these (pleasures) could have been durable and (definitely) could no (longer) be profitable. Oh world of those who will come, do not appreciate life (even) much more than I (did)! Do not appreciate luxury (even) much more than I (did)! From none of them I profited: on the contrary, I experienced a variety of harms. Take care to not be deceived by the world, (but also) do not be proud of being a deceitful ruler of the world! Be occupied in praying night and day! Be ready for death, since repentance in the end (of life) is not profitable [...].

a Lit. "the shadow of a tree".

Recension B (*recensio brevissima*)

Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, Tokat Zile İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi, 153, fol. 106v, ll. 11-15 = Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 2248, ff. 23r l. 6 – 23v l. 2:

|₁₁ [...] **hikāyet** 'īsā peygāmbēr [AS] bir gūn bir gūrhāneyā gīrdī bir |₁₂ būyuk qabir vār taşlarındō yāzılmış ēy būndo gelen kişī ben bir 'ülū pādīşāh#īdum dünyādo |₁₃ bīñ yıl 'ömür^a sūrdüm bīñ serāy yāpdum bīñ qīz āldum nikāh#īlā bīñ memleket |₁₄ āldum kılıçūm#īlo şimdī ḥālūm işbū-dur kī gōrürsın imdī ēy 'āqıl issī benden |₁₅ 'ibret āl sen#dahī bū dünyā kimseyā pāyidār 'ōlmāzımış.

a Ms: 'ömir.

Synopsis of topics to be found in Recensions Aa and Ac1/c2

	Recension Aa	Recensions Ac1/c2
1	'Isà went to a mountain	'Isà saw a worshipper who was praying in the desert
2	A stone heated by sunshine	
3	The caves	A shadowy tree
4	The worshipper avoids the shadow	The worshipper avoids the shadow
5	(The worshipper) said: "I heard from a prophet that who-soever fed his body comfortably, will render account of it in the next world"	
6	The worshipper has reached the age of 700 years, the sunshine notwithstanding	The worshipper has reached the age of 500 or 600 years, the sunshine notwithstanding
7	In the last times Muhammad will come	The Muslims will come at the end of time
8	Muslims will not exceed the age of sixty or seventy years	The existence of the majority of mankind is actually sixty or seventy years long
9	They will build huge palaces, and they will wear pricey clothing	They (merely) appreciate worldly life, they (only) take care of becoming wealthy, (and) while embellishing well-built edifices (and) high palaces, they are forgetful of death
10	The Treasure Cavern	The Treasure Cavern
11		The golden throne whose feet were made of silver
12	A coffin made of precious stone; the following text is inscribed on the tablet placed on the top of the coffin:	A jewelled coffin upon which the following text was engraved with a gold head stylus:
13	"I am a Jew, so and so, son of so and so. I am one thousand years old. (Many) esteemed cities of this world were under my household. I commissioned the construction of one thousand palaces in one thousand esteemed cities. I defeated the army of one thousand esteemed kings. I legally married the daughter of one thousand esteemed kings. I spent my life in luxury, as a glorious sovereign. The day in which You (will) perceive that I lie in this coffin with my (poor) remnants, 'Take a lesson, O you who have eyes!'" As soon as Prophet 'Isà realised the situation, he began to weep loudly [...]	"You, who seeing my coffin admire it, know that I was a mighty king: I had one thousand king's daughters virgins; I founded one thousand fortresses; and I lived one thousand years. Having reached (my) last hour, the mighty Azrael threw a poisoned javelin (and) in that (exact) moment my entire body was affected. Any pleasure (coming from) food, girls and music turned into poison; none of these (pleasures) could have been durable and (definitely) could no (longer) be profitable. Oh world of those who will come, do not appreciate life (even) much more than I (did)! Do not appreciate luxury (even) much more than I (did)! [...]"

As a matter of fact, the *Long-living worshipper* tale turns out to be a literary patchwork. In motif 8 a widespread thematic element is echoed: see, for example, the eight hundred years old hermit occurring in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.¹⁸ Motif 11 in recensions Ac1/c2 (+ Motiv 13) alludes somewhat to the episode of the King of Yaman's corpse laid on a golden throne in a cave, as told in *The City of Many-columned Tale* (*Arabian Nights* nos. 275-279).¹⁹

Motif 13 finds also striking parallels in the third part of the *Brass City Tale* (*Arabian Nights* nos. 568-

569),²⁰ consisting of the episodes of the black castle, the imprisoned demon, and the inscribed tablets. Furthermore, as demonstrated by recension B, this motif is also transmitted independently. By the way, the *varia lectio* "I am a Jew" (*versus* Ø) in recension Aa is a "separative" reading.

¹⁸ Clouston 1887:97, who quoted Penzer 1924, II, 189-90 n. 1.

¹⁹ Marzolph – van Leeuwen 2004:232 (*Night* 279: Burton IV, 118): "Now as soon as he heard of his father's death on the road, he caused his body to be brought back from the desert to Hazramaut and bade them hew him out a tomb in a cave, where he laid the body on a throne of gold and threw over the corpse threescore and ten robes of cloth of gold, purpled with precious stones. Lastly at his sire's head he set up a tablet of gold whereon were graven these verses [...]"

²⁰ Marzolph – van Leeuwen 2004:146-150:148. (*Night* 568: Burton VI, 92-93): "[Musa] heard these verses, he wept with such weeping that he swooned away; then, coming to himself, he entered the pavilion and saw therein a long tomb, awesome to look upon, whereon was a tablet of China steel and Shaykh Abd al-Samad drew near it and read this inscription [...]" (*Night* 569) [...] "O thou who comest to this place, take warning by that which thou seest of the accidents of Time and the vicissitudes of Fortune [...] I had to wife a thousand daughters of kings, high-bosomed maids, as they were moons: I was blessed with a thousand sons as they were fierce lions, and I abode a thousand years, glad of heart and mind, and I amassed treasures beyond the competence of all the Kings of the regions of the earth, deeming that delight would still endure to me. But there fell on me unawares the Destroyer of delights [...]"

Appendix: Three major inter-traditional, multi-crossing texts relating to 'İsà

Jesus and the Skull, in Osmanlı tradition

Recension A: Hüsâm Kâtib, *Hikâye-i Cimcime Sultân*

Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, "Cümcüme Sultân: Ottoman Translations of the Fourteenth Century Kipchak Turkic Story", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 2, 1970, pp. 252-269 (photographic tables: 263-269). Text published according to a copy owned by the Author. A text almost identical in: Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 3881, fols. 75v-80r.

Müjân Cunbur, "Cimcime Sultan destanı", *Türk Folkloru Araştırmaları Yıllığı*, 1976 (1977), pp. 39-54: pp. 42-51. Text published according to Ms Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, Cönk 95 [= 461/1977], fols. 28v-35v.

Recension B

Vatican Library, Borg. turc. 84, fols. 8r-28r (a different text)

Recension C

Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 6823, fols. 22r-25r (a very different text).

To be verified: İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi, Ms 156, fols. 119v-128v; Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka u Sarajevu, Mss 1344, 1988.

Asin y Palacios 1919:423-431, nos. 102-102^{quinques}; Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Gesù e il teschio", *Bilychnis*, ii serie, 113, 1923, pp. 196-201 [extract from *Fascicolo d'omaggio al congresso internazionale di storia delle religioni*, Parigi, ottobre 1923] = reprinted in Id., *Aneddoti e svaghi arabi e non arabi*, Milano – Napoli: Ricciardi, 1959, pp. 162-169; Oddbjørn Leirvik, *Images of Jesus Christ in Islam*, Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 1999 (Studia Missionalia Uppsaliensia, 76), p. 58 f., n. 153 f.; Fabrizio Pennacchietti, "Il racconto di Giomgiomé' di Faridoddin Attâr e le sue fonti cristiane", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 62/1, 1996, pp. 89-112; Id., "Versioni cristiane e giudaiche di una leggenda islamica", in: *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, ed. J. Jan Ginkel, Heleen L. Murre-van der Berg, Theo M. van Lint, Leuven: Peeters, 2004 (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, 134), pp. 292-299: pp. 292-295 (*La leggenda di Gesù e il teschio nel mondo islamico*); Roberto Tottoli, "The Story of Jesus and the skull in Arabic literature: the emergence and growth of a religious tradition", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 28, 2003, pp. 225-259: pp. 225-228, 257 ff. (bibliography).

Turkic and Iranic Tradition:

Michele Bernardini, "Soltân Jomjome et Jésus le Paraclet", in: *Les Traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople, Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul (13-14 avril 1996)*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch, Stéphane Yerasimos, Paris – Montréal: L'Harmattan, 1999 (Varia Turcica, 33), pp. 35-53; Id., "Peregrinazioni letterarie turco-iraniche della leggenda del Sultano Jomjomé", in: *Medioevo romanzo e orientale. Il viaggio dei testi, III Colloquio internazionale, Venezia, 10-13 ott. 1996*, ed. Antonio Pioletti, Francesca Rizzo Nervo, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1999 (Medioevo romanzo e orientale – Colloqui, 4 = Biblioteca dell'Istituto Ellenico di Storia Bizantina e Postbizantina di Venezia, 21), pp. 97-115: p. 102; Amil Çelebioğlu, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda Mesnevi (XV. yy. Kadar)*, İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1999, pp. 105-105.

A Kurdish verse text: Philip G. Kreyenbroek – Khalil Jindy Rashow, *God and Sheikh Adi are Perfect: Sacred Poems and*

Religious Narratives from the Yezidi Tradition, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005 (Iranica, 9), pp. 350-354.

A Javanese version: Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen, "The Tale of the Skull: An Islamic description of hell in Javanese", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 158/1, 2002, pp. 1-19.

Arabic Recensions: Khalidi 2001, pp. 154-158, 183-184, 189, nos. 186, 234, 248; Chialà 2009, pp. 84-88, 111, 116, nos. 226-227, 301, 317.

The story encapsulated in the "Forty Vezirs" frame

Gibb 1886, pp. 82-84 ("the 6th Vezir's history") = *Tārīḥ-i qırq Vezir* [...], İstanbul: Mehmed Cemâl Efendinin matba'asında, 1303, pp. 69-72. Proverbio 2010, pp. 69-118. For a Kyrgyz version see Ж. Садыков, Ч. Жумагулов (eds.), *Кырк вазир баяны*, Фрунзе: Кыргызстан, 1986, pp. 44-47.

Arabic Recensions: Khalidi 2001, no. 284, pp. 206-209; Chialà 2009, pp. 128-130, 161-162, no. 357. Cf. Chauvin 1904, p. 119 and ff., no. 104; Marzolph – van Leeuwen 2004, p. 79 ("Story of 'Adīla", 432 [Habicht]).

The Pardoner's Tale, Turkish version

Recension A: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. or. fol. 3393, fols. 223r-224v.

Recension B: Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 1520, fols. 165r l. 17 – 165v = Ankara, Milli Kütüphane, A 8044, pp. *500 l. 14 – *503 (Celâl-Zâde Sâlih Çelebî, *Terceme-i cevâmî'ü-l-hikâyât*, from the homonymous work by 'Awfî, cf. Muḥammad Nizâmu'd-Dîn 1929, p. 142, no. 46). These two manuscripts hold an almost identical text.

William Alexander Clouston, "The Robbers and the Treasure-Trove: Buddhist Original and Asiatic and European Versions of Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale", in: *Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. Frederick James Furnivall, Edmund Brock, William Alexander Clouston, London: Trübner & Co., 1888 (The Chaucer Society, Second Series, 20), pp. 415-436: pp. 426-428 ("First Arabian Version"); Mary Hamel, "The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale", in: *Sources and Analogues of the "Canterbury Tales"*, ed. Robert M. Correale, Mary Hamel, I, Cambridge: Brewer, 2002 (Chaucer Studies, 18), pp. 265-320: 279-281. See also Thompson 1977:152 n.17.

Relating the tradition of the *Three Thieves Tale (Three Robbers' Tale)* in Arabic sources cf. also Chauvin 1904:100-101, no. 73 = Hayek 1959:183-184, 185 no. 1; Wismer 1977:95, no. 255 (from the *Naṣīḥat ul-Mulūk* by al-Gazālī, 1058-1111); Marzolph – van Leeuwen 2004:415-416, no. 299; Ulrich Marzolph, "The Literary Genre of 'Oriental Miscellany'", in: *Le répertoire narratif arabe médiéval: transmission et ouverture. Actes du Colloque international (Liège, 15-17 septembre 2005)*, ed. Frederic Bauden, Aboubakr Chraïbi, Antonella Ghersetti, Genève: Librairie Droz, 2008 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 295), pp. 309-19:314 no. 23.

Hayek 1959:183-185 and ff.; Khalidi 2001:111-113, no. 108; Chialà 2009:37 and ff., 223 and ff., no. 113.

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