

ISSN 2410-0951

COMSt
Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies
COMSt
Bulletin

Volume 3 • Number 1 • Spring 2017

Edited by
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Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin is the biannual on-line and print-on-demand journal of the European research network Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. Born in 2009 as a European Science Foundation Research Networking Programme, the network has been affiliated to the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (<http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/>) since 2016.

Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin welcomes articles, project descriptions, conference reports, book reviews and notes on all topics connected with the written cultures of the Mediterranean Near and Middle East and related traditions. Contributions should be sent to Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies, Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, Asia Africa Institute, Hamburg University, Alsterterrasse 1, 20354 Hamburg, Germany; eugenia.sokolinski@uni-hamburg.de. For submission guidelines and former issues visit <<https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/publications/bulletin.html>>.

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Publication date May 2017

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ISSN 2410-0951

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Articles and notes

Preliminary Remarks on Coptic Biblical Titles (from the Third to the Eleventh Century)

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Summary

Coptic biblical titles have not received much attention until now. This article represents a preliminary study of them, dealing with their history and structural evolution. The aim is to show how the Bohairic biblical titles are much more similar to the Greek biblical titles than the Sahidic ones, a fact that sheds light on the parallel and partially independent development of the two literary traditions.

Coptic titles represent a privileged point of observation of the Coptic literary manuscript tradition and of the way the Copts interpreted and arranged their own history.

Over the centuries, they have changed position inside the manuscript, layout, length, textual structure and even purpose, marking crucial turning points in the manufacture of the writing supports—the shift from roll to codex, and from papyrus codex to parchment codex—and important passages of the history of Coptic literature—from the translations from Greek into Coptic to the production of an original literature.

The short, concise titles of the beginnings of Coptic literature (the third to the fifth century), based on the Greek titles of the works which were by then translated into Coptic, slowly but progressively gave way to longer and longer titles, which, in some cases, at least as far as the homiletic and hagiographic production is concerned, became real micro-texts, up to two pages in length, whose narrative thread was sometimes partially independent from the content of the works they were attributed to.¹

In the same way, Coptic titles, originally located at the end of the works, slowly moved to the beginning, although for some time initial titles and final titles co-existed and there are cases of 'fossil' final titles, as we will see.

In the absence of a shared terminology befitting the description of the different phenomena related to titles—even the accurate codicological termi-

1 Coptic titles can be classified, according to their length and complexity, in five categories: 'Subject Titles', 'Simple Structure Titles', 'Extended Simple Structure Titles', 'Complex Structure Titles', 'Extended Complex Structure Titles'. See Buzi 2005.

nologies elaborated by Peter Gumbert² and Marilena Maniaci³ are not satisfactory in this respect—I use the terms *inscriptio* and *subscriptio* to define, respectively, the initial and the final titles. These terms are in fact sufficiently ‘ample’ to include and to describe hybrid cases of paratextual elements, when the border between title and scribal subscription is not easily traceable.⁴

In these pages, I will focus only on the history and the evolution of biblical titles, and briefly on the titles of some biblical *apocrypha*, taking into consideration mainly (although not exclusively) the Sahidic tradition.⁵

Before analysing the Coptic biblical titles, however, it is necessary to point out that, unfortunately, any research on Coptic manuscript tradition is affected by two main problems: the fragmentary *status* of the codices which preserve the texts and the fact that a great part of the surviving literary manuscripts is dated between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. This means that we have only a limited number of examples of the early stages of the history of Coptic books.

From the third to the fifth century

As is well known, the first phase of Coptic literature consisted in translating biblical works from Greek into Coptic. We have only a few manuscripts dated—or better datable—to this period, but all of them seem to have the same characteristics: brief titles, preferably located at the end of the biblical works.

This is the case, for instance, of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms.or.oct. 987,⁶ a well-preserved papyrus codex of small dimensions (135/140 × 125 mm *c.*), written in Akhmimic—a dialect of the area of Panopolis—, composed of a single quire and dated to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. It contains the *Proverbia Salomonis* and, according to some scholars, it might come from the White Monastery of

2 Gumbert 2005.

3 Maniaci 1996. See also Muzerelle 1985.

4 *Inscriptio* and *subscriptio* are now terms largely shared by the Coptologists. Moreover, in this article I use the terms ‘double title’ to refer to the combination of a *subscriptio* (attributed to the previous work) and an *inscriptio* (attributed to the following work) and ‘internal title’ to define a title pertaining to a specific part of a work, that often refers to the contents (mainly author and subject) of the initial title.

5 A complete census, edition and translation of the entire *corpus* of Coptic titles, as well as a systematic attribution of the *clavis coptica*, is one of the goals of the project ‘Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage (‘PATHs’) financially supported by the European Research Council (ERC Advanced Grant 2015, project no. 687567).

6 Böhlig 1936; Böhlig 1958, 1–3; Böhlig and Ibscher 1958; Böhlig, Ibscher, and Kiesig 1959, 356–374; Böhlig 1963; Böhlig 1968, 73–79.

Shenoute, in Atripe. The title of this codex is located at the end of the work: ΠΠΑΡΡΟΙΜΙΑ ΠΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ ('Proverbs of Salomon'), while there is no title at the beginning.

Among the most ancient biblical Coptic codices are those belonging to the Bodmer Papyri, a definition to be intended here *lato sensu*, including not only the manuscripts today preserved in the Bodmer Library,⁷ Cologne, but also those whose provenance from the same context is largely shared by scholars.⁸

The Bodmer Papyri collection serves as a valuable magnifying lens on how, around the beginning of the fifth century, the manufacture of books was evolving in Christian Egypt. Its nature of book collection in evolution, which has seen the slow stabilising of layout criteria and of paratextual elements, is inevitably reflected in the articulation of the texts by means of different graphic devices and, above all, by means of titles.⁹

We will leave aside the manuscripts in Greek and Latin belonging to the collection, observing only that, with some exceptions, the final title is prevalent, although irregular positions or even absences are very common. In the Coptic codices, on the other hand, although with numerous irregularities that denote the still unstable nature of the new writing praxis of titles, the works tend to be introduced more regularly by an initial title and closed by a final title. It is necessary to notice, however, that even when the *inscriptio* is written by the same hand as that of the main text, it has normally less graphic dignity, being located outside the written area, in the upper margin of the leaf, and often being characterized by a quick and unskilled script.

An exemplary case of the co-presence of the two titles is P. Crosby Schøyen,¹⁰ a miscellaneous papyrus codex where biblical works (Jonah, 2 Maccabees, 1 Peter) are combined with homilies (Melito of Sardis, 'On the Passion', and an unidentified homily). In P. Crosby Schøyen all the works are introduced by an initial title and closed by a final title (with the exception of the first work, which is acephalous, and of the last work, which is mutilated):

pp. 7–51: Melito of Sardis, *De Pascha*

p. 51, *subscriptio*: ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΜΜΕΛΙΤΩΝ ('On the Passion, by Melito')

There was probably also an *inscriptio*, but the first pages are almost illegible.

7 <<http://fondationbodmer.ch>>.

8 The composition of the original library the Bodmer Papyri belonged to is strongly debated. See for instance Robinson 2011. A detailed *status quaestionis* of the manuscripts which should be attributed to the (original) library is dealt with in Fournet 2015, 8–24 and Schubert 2015, 8–24, 41–46.

9 On the titles of the Bodmer Papyri see Buzi 2015, 47–59.

10 Goehring 1990. See also Pietersma 2011, 27–46.

pp. 52–74: Unidentified homily for Easter morning

p. 52, *inscriptio*, after a white column: Μ<Η>ΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΝΙΟΥΔΔΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΩΠΕ ΖΙ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΠΙΡΟ ('The Hebrew martyrs under the kingdom of Antiochus')

p. 74, *subscriptio*,¹¹ better evidenced: Μ<Η>ΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΝΙΟΥΔΔΑΙ ('The Hebrew mar-
tyrs')

pp. 75–107: Epistle to the Hebrews

p. 75, *inscriptio*, after a white column: ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣ ('The Epistle of Peter')

p. 107, *subscriptio*, better evidenced: ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣ ('The Epistle of Peter')

pp. 107–124: Book of Jonah

p. 107, *inscriptio*, hardly readable: ΙΩΝΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦ<ΗΤΗΣ> ('Jonah the prophet')

p. 124, *subscriptio*: ΙΩΝΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ('Jonah the prophet')

Another miscellaneous but purely biblical manuscript, P. Bodmer XXII + Mississippi Coptic Codex II (155 × 115 mm c.),¹² containing the Book of Jeremiah, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the Epistle of Jeremiah and the Book of Baruch, also shows the fairly regular presence of both initial and final titles.

p. 72, *subscriptio*: ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ('Jeremiah the prophet'); *inscriptio*:
ΝΘΡΗΝΟΣ ΝΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ('Lamentations of Jeremiah');

p. 102, *subscriptio*: ΝΘΡΗΝΟΣ ΝΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ('Lamentations of Jeremiah').

The following work, the Epistle of Jeremiah, has no *inscriptio*.

p. 118 (end of work) is very lacunose, but the double title (*subscriptio* + *inscrip-
tio*) is intuïtable: [ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΙΕΡΕΜΙΑ]ς ('Epistle of Jeremiah') / [ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΒΑΡΟΥ]Χ
(('Book of Baruch')).

Lastly, it is necessary to mention P. Bodmer XXIII,¹³ a papyrus codex (210 × 135 mm c.), containing Isaiah, whose initial title, located on the guard-leaf, is

Π[ΜΕΞ]ΩΜΟΝΤ Μ[ΕΡΟ]Σ ΠΧΩΩΜΕ [ΝΣΑΙ]ΔΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ('The third part of the Book
of Isaiah the prophet'),

while the final title is

p. 80: ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΣΑΙΔΣ [Π]ΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ('The Book of Isaiah the prophet').

Yet, among the Bodmer Papyri, there are also examples of codices which have only initial titles—as, for example, P. Bodmer XVIII,¹⁴ a papyrus codex (145 × 140 mm c.) containing the Book of Deuteronomy:

p. 1: ΠΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝ ΜΩΥΣΗ[Σ] ('Deuteronomy of Moses', *inscriptio*)

—or only final titles—like, for example, P. Bodmer XLI,¹⁵ consisting of seven leaves transmitting the *Acta Pauli*:

11 James M. Robinson inappropriately defines it as colophon.

12 Kasser 1964.

13 Kasser 1965.

14 Kasser 1962a.

15 Kasser and Luisier 2004, 281–384. On the Acts of Paul, see also Rordorf et al. 1997, 1115–1177.

p. 18: ΠΑΡΑΞΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ('Acts of Paul', *subscriptio*).¹⁶

Other codices show an irregular presence of *inscriptiones* and *subscriptiones*.¹⁷ P. Bodmer III,¹⁸ for instance, is a papyrus codex (233 × 165 mm c.) which contains the Gospel of John and the Book of Genesis—an anomalous sequence that has been explained with the nature of the faith of the owners of the library, a Christianity which was still *in fieri*, also from the point of view of the biblical canon and its arrangement. It has a final title (p. 139) to conclude the Gospel of John (ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΡΑΝΝΗΝ) and an initial title (p. 1, the pagination starts over) to open the Book of Genesis (ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ).

In brief, the Bodmer Papyri represent a crucial moment of the history of Coptic manuscript book, when the title gains, albeit slowly and with some irregularities, its position at the beginning of the work it is attributed to, a position which will become definitive from about the sixth century.

Moreover, it is interesting to observe the co-presence of (almost) pure Greek titles (ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΡΑΝΝΗΝ), titles characterized by a hybrid grammatical structure (ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΣ) and completely Coptized titles (Π[ΜΕΡ]ΩΜΗΝΤ Π[Μ]ΕΡΟ]Σ Π[Π]ΧΩΩΜΕ Π[Η]ΚΑΙ]ΔΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ).

*

At this point it is probably worth making a brief digression towards some, more or less, contemporary heterodox works, dwelling in particular upon those transmitted by the Nag Hammadi codices, that are notoriously multiple-text codices.¹⁹

We will not deal here with the nature of the community that produced the famous thirteen codices,²⁰ but it is highly likely that these represent the product of a fluid tradition. Not only have the texts undergone some changes during their translation into Coptic, but several elements lead us to believe that the copyists had a wide freedom of action. In brief, the works found in Nag Hammadi are not the witnesses of a stable literary tradition.

16 In Coptic *Acts* is singular.

17 A special case is represented by P. Bodmer XIX, a papyrus codex (155 × 125 mm c.), whose initial title has been added, by a different hand, on the guard leaf, when the codex was already very deteriorated and the first part of it had been lost: ΠΤΩΗ ΠΜΕΡΟΣ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ ('The last part of [the Gospel of] Matthew'). The final title is regular: ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΣ. Kasser 1962b.

18 Kasser 1958.

19 For the translation of the whole Nag Hammadi library see Meyer et al. 2009. See also Robinson et al. 1972–1982.

20 As is well known, the nature of the community which produced the Nag Hammadi codices has been long debated. See for instance the recent Lewis and Blount 2014, 399–419 and, above all, Lundhaug and Jenott 2015. See also Buzi 2016, 95–100.

On the contrary, the related titles seem to have remained substantially unaltered in the various phases of their transmission.

In his study on the titles of Nag Hammadi codices and of the codex *Berolinensis Gnosticus* 8502, Paul-Hubert Poirier²¹ calculated that:

- 9 works have only initial titles (*inscriptiones*),
- 22 have only final titles (*subscriptiones*),
- 11 works have both initial and final titles,
- 9 works do not have titles, but *incipit* and/or *desinit* which in some way have the function of a title,
- 7 works have no titles or other paratexts playing their role,
- 11 works have *incipit* and/or *desinit* which do not substitute the title, but in some way recall their content,
- 6 works have internal titles, and, lastly,
- for 7 works it is impossible to say if they had any titles because the manuscripts that transmit them are very fragmentary.

Taking into consideration only the biblical apocrypha, the Apocryphon of John, that is attested three times in the Nag Hammadi collection and once in the *Berolinensis Gnosticus* 8502, represents an extremely interesting case.²²

In NH II 1 there is no initial title (but it appears one of those *incipit* that Poirier considers a sort of substitution of a title), while the final title (p. 32) is well evidenced: ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΡΔΑΝΗΝΗΝ ΝΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ. The case of NH IV 1 is substantially similar. The *incipit* is missing and only very cautiously we can assume that there was no *inscriptio*.²³ On the contrary, the *scriptio* (p. 49) is again very well evidenced: ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩ[ΡΔΑΝ]ΗΝΗΝ ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ. Here the morph *η* used for attributive constructions is missing, but the title is comparable to the previous one. In NH III 1 the nominal syntagm of the *scriptio* (front flyleaf and p. 40) is reversed: ΝΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ ΝΙΩΡΔΑΝΗΝΗΣ, which recalls the form of the *scriptio* of the ‘Gospel of Judas’: ΠΕΓΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΔ. The same title is repeated on the verso of the guard leaf of the first folium (this being certainly a later addition). Lastly, BG 2 has exactly the same *scriptio* (p. 77), while it has no *inscriptio*.

Poirier deduces that the four titles attributed to the Apocryphon of John—structurally similar in pairs—depend on two different traditions. Such a theory is supported by the fact that also the texts of the two versions of the work differ in length and in other important particulars. These two different textual

21 Poirier 1997, 339–383.

22 Waldstein and Wisse 1985.

23 The final part of the first line, although corrupted, does not seem to contain textual elements compatible with a title.

traditions have been transmitted parallelly one to the other, each one maintaining its own title.

As we will see, these complex, unexpected and unclear *itineras*, through which the manuscript tradition of a work expresses itself, also concerns canonical biblical texts.

We can summarize this record of cases stating that, compared to the contemporary biblical titles, those of Nag Hammadi show a more marked preference for the *subscriptio*. This last, however, lacks the proper characteristics of symmetry and graphic care of the biblical works. Even the space left after the *subscriptio* is very irregular. The miscellaneous character of these manuscripts, and the fact that the works often appear unitarily executed, justify the persistent presence of final titles, whose function is still that of stressing the end of a text.

In brief, the Nag Hammadi fund not only represents a valuable example of a still *in fieri* manuscript tradition, but reveals a different character in the commissioners of these volumes and their copyists, compared to other codices produced in the same period.

From the sixth to the eighth century

Unfortunately, there are not many Coptic biblical manuscripts datable from the sixth to the eighth centuries, and are often not well preserved. It is worth mentioning, however, the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (CC 0035) transmitted by a codex (GIOV.AB)²⁴ now preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Turin and probably found in the library of the cathedral of This (or Thinis), located not far from Abydos. The codex belongs to a fund of seventeen papyrus codices probably to be dated to the end of the seventh or to beginning of the eighth century.²⁵ The title of the Gospel of Nicodemus is located before the work to which it refers, like all the other titles of the Turin codices, confirming that, after the sixth century, the end of a work was the normal position for titles: ⲚⲓⲘⲮⲤⲐⲚⲓⲒⲐⲚ ⲛⲚⲈⲒⲒⲠⲠⲚⲚⲔⲁ ⲚⲠⲪⲟⲩⲧⲐⲚ ('The mysteries of the acts of the Saviour').²⁶

In this case, the title extends along the entire width of the leaf, but more often the Turin titles are comprised within one of the two columns. Always,

24 The *siglum* GIOV.AB has been elaborated by the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* project (CMCL, Rome/Hamburg). It refers to one of the codices—each one identified by two letters (in this case, AB)—from the Library of the Monastery of John in Thi(ni)s (GIOV).

25 On the Turin Papyri, among the numerous publications and editions of Francesco Rossi, see Rossi 1887–1892; Rossi 1893a, 3–136; Rossi 1893b, 223–340, Rossi 1894, 21–70; Rossi 1899, 113–122. See, moreover, Orlandi 1974, 115–127; Orlandi 2013, 501–530. See now also Buzi et al. forthcoming.

26 Rossi 1887–1892, I, 10.

however, they make use of a ‘display script’. No canonical biblical works are preserved in the Turin papyri.

The ninth to the eleventh century

Not surprisingly, Coptic biblical titles have not changed structure over the centuries. If we take into consideration codices dated to the ninth or tenth century, however, we have some surprises: the normal position of titles is initial, but it is not rare to find the *subscriptions* still in use.

This is the case of the manuscript of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M566²⁷ (MICH.AA),²⁸ from the Monastery of the Archangel Michael, in the Fayyūm, containing the Books of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

The first work (f. 1r) is preceded by the title ΠΛΕΥΡΕΤΙΚΟΝ ΕΜΩΥΣΗΣ (‘Leviticus of Moses’) and followed by a *subscription* (f. 41r) which is a combination of a final title and an *explicit*: ΔΡΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΩΑΔΕ ΜΠΛΕΥΡΕΤΙΚΟΝ ΜΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΖΕΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΑΜΗΝ (‘Words of Moses the Archprophet’ is *sic* finished. In peace. Amen’). Numbers open with the title (f. 42r) ΠΧΩΜΕ ΝΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΕΜΩΥΣΗΣ (‘Book of Numbers of Moses’) and close (f. 102v) with the sentence ΝΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΕΜΩΥΣΗΣ (‘Numbers of Moses’). Lastly, Deuteronomy is preceded by the *inscriptio* (f. 103r) ΠΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝ ΕΜΩΥΣΗΣ and closes with the title (f. 152r) ΠΧΩΜΕ ΜΠΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝ ΜΜΩΥΣΗΣ (‘Book of Deuteronomy of Moses’).

The analysis of the titles of M566 reveals how biblical titles still preserve the *subscription* in a very late period. Although the *inscriptio* is normally more emphasised by the presence of different kinds of ornaments and frames, the *subscription*, when present, is frequently longer, often being something in between a real title and a colophon.

A good example of this is M568²⁹ (MICH.AC), an almost complete codex (its leaves are divided between New York, Cairo, and Berlin), which contains the Book of Isaiah. It opens with the *inscriptio* ΗΣΑΙΑΣ (‘Isaiah’) and closes with the *subscription* ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΔΡΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ (‘Our father Isaiah the holy Prophet is finished’).

Inside the codex, however, there are also some internal titles that subdivide the Book of Isaiah in the chapters: ΘΟΡΑΣΙΣ ΝΓΑΝΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΗΖΑΜΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΒΑΒΙΩΝ (f. 12v, ‘Vision on Babylon, which Isaiah, son of Amoz, saw), ΠΩΑΔΕ ΕΤΩΟΠ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜΩΑΒΙΤΗΣ (f. 15v, ‘Prophecy on the [land of] Moab’), ΘΟΡΑΣΙΣ ΝΚΗΜΕ (f. 17v, ‘Vision of Egypt’), ΠΩΛΗΛ ΝΕΖΕΚΙΑΣ ΠΡΡΟ

27 Depuydt 1993, 5–7.

28 The *siglum* MICH.AA, like the following ones, has been elaborated by the CMCL. It refers to the codices from the Library of the Archangel Michael in the Fayyūm (MICH), each one identified by two letters.

29 Depuydt 1993, 20–22; 611–612.

ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁⲗⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲗⲟⲩⲗⲉⲕ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲗⲟⲩⲗⲉⲕ (f. 38r, ‘Prayer of Hezekiah, king of Judah, after he had been ill and had recovered from his illness’).

A similar case is represented by M567³⁰ (MICH.AB) containing the Kingdoms. The codex begins with the *inscriptio* (f. 1r) βασιλῖα τῶρπε μῆνῆτρο νσαογλ ἰς χς (‘Kingdoms. The first Kingdom of Saul. Jesus Christ’). At the end of the first book we have the following *subscriptio* (f. 69r): τῶρπε μῆνῆτρο ἀσχωκ εβολ (‘The first Kingdom is finished’). The second book is introduced by a combination of a final and an initial title (f. 69r): ἀγιοϥ βασιλῖα τῶρπε μῆνῆτρο νσαογλ ἀσχωκ εβολ ρομαῖος τμερβ̅ μῆνῆτρο νδαγεια ρν οϥειρηνη ραμνη (‘Of the saint [Book] of Kingdoms, the first Kingdom of Saul is finished. Likewise (follows) the second Kingdom of David. In peace. Amen’). The *subscriptio* is much more concise (f. 266r): τμερσντε μῆνῆτρο ἀσχωκ εβολ σμοϥ εροι κω ναι εβολ (‘The second Kingdom is finished. Bless me, forgive me’).

Moving to the New Testament, the characteristics of titles remain unchanged. In M569³¹ (MICH.AD) the Gospel of Matthew opens (f. 3r) with the *inscriptio* πεγαγγελιον ετογααβ νκατα μαθθαῖος σϥν θ(εω) (‘The Holy Gospel of Matthew. With God’) and closes with the *subscriptio* (f. 38r) πεγαγγελιον νκατα μαθθαῖος.

The structure, the position and the combination of the following titles are similar:

- πεγαγγελιον ετογααβ νκατα μαρκος (f. 39r, *inscriptio*)
- πεγαγγελιον ετογααβ νκατα μαρκος (f. 60r, *subscriptio*)
- πεγαγγελιον ετογααβ νκατα λογκας σϥν θ(εω) (f. 62r, *inscriptio*)
- πεγαγγελιον νκατα λογκας (f. 84r, *subscriptio*)
- πεγαγγελιον ετογααβ νκατα ἰωρανησ (f. 85r, *inscriptio*)
- πεγαγγελιον ετογααβ νκατα ἰωρανησ (f. 113v, *subscriptio*)

The survival of the *subscriptions* in codices dated to the ninth or tenth century is not a negligible phenomenon and deserves appropriate attention. Clearly, copyists and commissioners by then had perceived the initial titles as the normal way to open a work, as the entire production of Coptic literature demonstrates, but at the same time we should not forget that on the library shelves of the Monastery of Saint Michael—the library for which these manuscripts had been produced—final titles continued to appear in older codices. The same codices that probably were used as models to make the manuscripts we are dealing with—as far as proportion, manufacture, layout and decoration

30 Depuydt 1993, 11–13, 42–43.

31 Depuydt 1993, 23–26.

are concerned—represent a typical example of the books of the last phase of Coptic manuscript tradition.

The nature of the works which were copied, that is biblical texts, probably restricted the freedom of copyists to take initiatives, at least from the textual point of view. As a result, final titles, although devoid of their original function, survive in very recent codices, codicologically unnecessary but traditionally important.³² It is useful to note, however, that although less frequent, there are also some cases of homiletic works transmitted by (relatively) late manuscripts (the ninth through the eleventh century) that preserve final titles.

Codex M570³³ (MICH.AH), containing the Epistles of Paul, deserves special attention and inspires new reflections. The fourteen letters attributed to Paul—therefore including the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Pastoral Letters—open with an *inscriptio* that in part refers to the Epistles as a whole and in part only to the first of them (f. 2r), and that, very likely, was created somewhere along the Coptic Sahidic manuscript tradition: *παγλοϣ ἀποστολοϣ τε προς ρωμαιοϣ επιστολη ι̅δ̅* ('Of the Apostle Paul. The [letter] to the Romans. Fourteen Epistles').

The other letters follow one after the other, each one introduced by its own title, which however in M570 becomes a sort of an internal title (*τε προς κορινθιοϣ α̅, τε προς κορινθιοϣ β̅, τε προς ρεβραιοϣ, τε προς γαλατιϣ*, etc.).³⁴

At the end of the fourteen 'Epistles', a *subscriptio* (f. 83v) regularly closes the volume: *τοϣ αγιοϣ ἀποστολοϣ επιστολη ι̅δ̅ στιχοϣ ε̅ϕ̅ο̅ε̅* ('The fourteen Epistles of the holy Apostle Paul. 5575 *stichoi*').

It is necessary to stress that the Epistle to the Hebrews is located immediately after the two dedicated to the Corinthians, therefore in a sequence which is not that of the oldest Greek witnesses (Codices Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Ephraemi Rescriptus), where it is located after the letters to the Thessalonians, as the last of the letters addressed to groups and not to individuals.³⁵

Unfortunately, all the other codices from this library containing the Epistles of Paul are too fragmentary, but, as we will see, some leaves from the

32 Differently from what happened in rolls, where final titles were necessary in order to clearly mark the end of a work.

33 Depuydt 1993, 47–50.

34 There are no (internal) *subscriptiones*.

35 Trobisch 2001, 1–25.

White Monastery allow us to hypothesise that the behaviour of the titles of M570 represented a consolidated tradition, at least in the Sahidic tradition.³⁶

Moreover, the comparison with the most important witness of the Boha'iric tradition, a paper manuscript (London, British Library, Or. 424), that dates back to 1307, although in its colophon (in Arabic)³⁷ it is specified that it was copied from older manuscripts, is very interesting. In this case, the Epistles of Paul do not have a general title to introduce them as a whole. Therefore, the first letter is directly preceded (p. 1) by a regular *προς ρωμεις* ('To the Romans'), without the demonstrative pronoun *τε*, which is present in the Sahidic codex).³⁸ At the end of the 'Epistle to Romans' we find a long *subscriptio* (p. 89): *προς ρωμεις αχϣητης ηεν κορινθος αγουορπς ριτην φοιβη ιρωμη στυχος δ κελ κβ* ('To the Romans. It was written in Korinthos and sent by Phoebe, the sister. 1000 *stichoi*, 22 chapters'). All the other 'Epistles' are regularly introduced by a short *inscriptio* (*προς κορινθιους, προς γαλατης, etc.*) but, above all, are concluded with a fairly articulated *subscriptio*. We will only give a few examples here:

προς κορινθιους δ αχϣητης ρεν εφεσος εβολ ριτην στεφανα νεν αχαικος στυχ ρξ κλ κβ ('To the Corinthians. It was written in Ephesos by Stefana and Achaicos. 160 *stichoi*, 22 chapters')

προς κορινθ αχϣητης ηεν φιλιπποισ ητε θακεδονια αγουορπς ητην τιτος νεν λουκας στυχ κνε κλε ιβ ('To the Corinthians. It was sent by Titus and Loukas. 555 *stichoi*, 12 chapters')

προς γαλατης αχϣητης ηεν ρωμη στυχ τιβ κλε ϛ ('To the Galatians. It was written in Rome. 312 *stichoi*, 6 chapters')

προς εφεσιους αχϣητης ηεν ρωμη αγουορπς ητην τιχικος στυχ τιβ κλε ϛ ('To the Ephesians, it was written in Rome and sent by Tichikos. 312 *stichoi*, 6 chapters')

προς φιλιπποισ αχϣητης ηεν ρωμη αγουορπς ητην τιμοθεος νεν απαφροτιτος στυχ σην κλε δ ('To the Philippians, it was written in Rome, it was sent by Timotheos and Apathrotitos. 218 *stichoi*, 4 chapters').

36 See, for instance codices M571, M566, M599, M609, M665, M668(12/1), M668(12/14), and M988, all in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

37 Horner 1898, III, xi–xii.

38 For other codices, where titles have a different structure (see, for instance, the *inscriptio* *ιερπιστολη προς θεσσαλονικη δ*), cfr. Horner 1898, III, 434. Unfortunately, I could not check directly the manuscript and, in particular, its pagination. The *subscriptio* mentioned in this article are edited in Horner 1898, III, 114, 226, 300, 338, 376, 404, and 632.

A general *subscriptio* closes the fourteen letters and the codex itself: παγλογ ἀποστολογ ειρηνη τω κ̄ω επιστ̄ολη ῑδ, στ̄ιχος κεφαλεον ε̄φ̄οε ('Of Paul the Apostle, in the peace of the Lord, fourteen letters, 5575 *stichoi*').

The titles—above all the *subscriptiones*, but not only—of the Bohairic version of the Epistles of Paul, which are a combination of elements of different nature (final title, localisation, stichometric notes), demonstrate that they depend on the Greek tradition more than the Sahidic ones. In the Codices Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Ephraemi Rescriptus, and Bezae the final titles correspond to the initial titles (προς ρωμεος, προς γαλατης, etc.), being therefore extremely brief. There are, however, other Greek witnesses that transmit longer *subscriptiones*, almost identical to those of the Bohairic manuscript. This is the case, for example, of the Codex Maedicaeus or Minuscule 42, containing the Acts, the Epistle of Paul and the Book of Revelation, which is preserved in Frankfurt³⁹ and is dated to the eleventh century.⁴⁰

Moreover, *subscriptiones* and indications of the *stichoi* also survive in the Copto(Bohairic)-Arabic tradition, as demonstrated, for instance, by codex Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, copt. 1 (tenth to eleventh century, with emendations of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries), containing the Book of Pentateuch.⁴¹ In this case, however, the *inscriptio* is longer than the examples we have taken into consideration until now: σ̄ην ἑσ̄ω τ̄αρχ̄η ἰ̄τ̄γενεσις ἰ̄τε μωϋ̄σις π̄ιπροφητις π̄ιχωμ ἰ̄ρογιτ ἰ̄τε π̄ιωντ ('With God. Beginning of the Genesis of Moses the prophet, first book of creation').⁴²

We can therefore assume that the Bohairic translations of the biblical works are made directly from Greek, without the medium of Sahidic, and are based on a different manuscript tradition compared with that used by the Sahidic translations. Even considering a direct passage from Greek to Sahidic and from Sahidic to Bohairic, however, it is clear that the groups responsible for the creation of a Bohairic New Testament had, as point of reference, the Greek tradition, as is confirmed by the fact that, contrary to the Sahidic M570, in the codex London, British Library, Or. 424 the Epistle to the Hebrews is

39 See <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/en_GB/liste/?ObjID=30042> (last accessed 23 March 2017). According to Robert B. Waltz, however, the codex would be lost: <<http://www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/Manuscripts1-500.html>> (last accessed 23 March 2017).

40 Similar *subscriptiones* are also to be found in several other manuscripts, such as Codices Minuscule 466 (eleventh century), Minuscule 339 (thirteenth century), Minuscule 452 (thirteenth century), Minuscule 216 (1348), Minuscule 642 (fourteenth century) and Jo. Fabri or Minuscule 90 (sixteenth century). See Metzger 1998.

41 Boud'hors 2012, 63–71.

42 The term τ̄αρχ̄η is very interesting, since it suggests the combination of a normal title and the ancient use of the *incipit*.

located after the Epistle to Thessalonians and before the first letter to Timothy, like in the oldest Greek biblical manuscripts we have mentioned above.

The Coptic tradition of the Epistles of Paul appears therefore very complicated: if London, British Library, Or. 424 shares with the oldest Greek biblical manuscripts the sequence of the letters,⁴³ it is with later Greek manuscripts that it has in common the long *subscriptiones* mentioning the place where each letter was written and by whom it was sent.⁴⁴

It is a complex and intriguing thread of manuscript traditions with direct effect on titles, which deserves to be explored more in-depth, but that—as far as I know—has not received much attention in Coptic studies until now.

It is important to stress that from a more general point of view, in the late and capacious books produced in the Fayyūm, with few exceptions (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M588 and M706), normally the *incipit* of biblical works is located on the recto, even if this implies leaving a blank page. It is interesting to note that multiple-text manuscripts of different content (hagiographies, homilies, canons, etc.) do not behave in the same way.

Unfortunately, the codices from the White Monastery, mainly datable to the tenth or eleventh century—whose leaves, as is well known, are scattered in several European and extra-European collections—are in such a poor state that making a survey of the biblical titles is very difficult.⁴⁵ One should take into consideration that for most of them it has been possible to reconstruct (virtually) an average of ten to fifteen leaves of each codex.

Among the few exceptions, we have codex MONB.JA,⁴⁶ containing Ecclesiastes, Job and Proverbs. The first part of the codex is lost, but on page 102 we read the following *scriptio*: Ἰσαχουὶδ τοῦ δαυὶδ ἑσθλὰ (‘The proverbs of Solomon, son of David, are finished’). On the following page (p. 103) there is the *inscriptio* of the next work: πικκλῆσιαστῆς (‘Ecclesiastes’). As in the previous case, Ecclesiastes closes with a *scriptio* (p. 153): πικκλῆσιαστῆς (‘The Book of

43 On the contrary, in Codex Minuscule 642 the Epistle to Hebrews is located after that to Titus. Unfortunately, the paper *The Titles in New Testament Manuscripts (2nd–9th centuries): Material and Visual Strategies* presented by Daniele Bianconi and Pasquale Orsini at the conference ‘Book Titles and Other Paratexts in Ancient Literature’, held in Heidelberg, 6–7 October, 2014, is still unpublished, but it would be auspicious to systematically compare the initial and final titles of Coptic manuscripts with those of the Greek tradition.

44 The Copto(Bohairic)-Arabic codex Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, copt. 12 has the long *scriptio*, but the Epistle the Hebrew is located at the end.

45 On the library of the White Monastery, see Orlandi 2002, 211–231; Emmel and Römer 2008, 5–14.

46 The *siglum* has been elaborated by the CMCL. It refers to one of the (virtually) reconstructed codices from the Library of the Monastery of Shenoute (MONB).

Ecclesiastes'), to which a later (?) hand has added ἀρχαὶ ἐβὼλ. At this point the pagination starts again. On p. 1 of the new page sequence, there is the *inscriptio* of Job: πλῶμα νῖωβ πδικαῖος ('The book of Job, the just'). The rest of the codex is too fragmentary to be analysed.

The same alternation of *inscriptio* and *subscriptio*—where, unlike the above mentioned cases, the *subscriptio* of the previous work immediately precedes, with no space in between, the *inscriptio* of the following one—appears also in some other fragments from the White Monastery, now preserved in the British Library (London, British Library, Or. 7558, ff. 31–32), where the following titles are readable:

British Library, Or. 7558, f. 31:

τε πρὸς κορινθίους (*subscriptio*)

τε πρὸς ἑβραίους (*inscriptio*)

British Library, Or. 7558, f. 32:

τε πρὸς [εφεσίους] (*subscriptio*)

τε πρὸς [φιλιππησίους] (*inscriptio*)

The position of the Epistle to the Hebrews after the Epistle to the Corinthians, exactly like in codex M570 of the Pierpont Morgan Library, is not surprising, since we know that the two monasteries—the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in Hamuli (Fayyūm) and the White Monastery of Shenute in Atripe—were connected, as far as the manufacture of the codices is concerned. The colophons of both the codices from Hamūli and from Atripe inform us that at least some of the books were produced in some little centres of the Fayyūm, by local copyists.⁴⁷

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To conclude, it is clear that, unlike all the other literary genres, which see the slow but progressive extension of titles, to the point where they become real micro-texts in their own right (with interesting and surprising consequences that we do not have the space to mention here),⁴⁸ the Holy Scriptures—canonical and non-canonical—determine a more conservative attitude. On the one hand, as is obvious, biblical titles maintain their original structures, since nobody would ever have dared to manipulate them substantially—although, as we have seen, there were some copyists who, every now and then, have taken some minor creative initiatives—, while on the other hand, *subscriptions* maintain a very important role even in very late codices.

Both phenomena, however, are determined by the same reason: the overwhelming importance of the tradition in the transmission of biblical texts.

47 Emmel 2005, 63–70.

48 See Buzi 2004, 309–316.

At the end of this survey it appears clear that the copyists charged with the transcription of biblical works, making use of older models, decided not to make any changes. Not even the obsolete *subscriptions* that, mounted in the body of the biblical texts and in some way becoming a part of them, continue to live and be preserved, like stone fossils.

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A New Piece in the Prosopography Mosaic of the Coptic *Scriptorium* of Toutōn: Pantouleos, Son of Houmise*

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Summary

A photograph taken in the early 1930s during a swift reconnaissance of the Byzantine sector of Tebtynis (Coptic Toutōn) is the only witness of a now lost *dipinto* mentioning a Pantouleos son of Houmise. The man could be the homonymous donor mentioned in the colophon (939/940 CE) of a fragmentary manuscript written in Toutōn and preserved in Viennese *Papyrussammlung*, as well as, perhaps, the owner of a refined shawl kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

While the documentary and archaeological evidence is almost totally lacking or still unpublished as yet, a consistent number of literary paratexts attest to the thriving of a sizeable *scriptorium* in Toutōn (Fayyūm) from the ninth to the eleventh century.¹ The oldest extant colophon (Cairo, Coptic Museum, Ham. H 47556 = Depuydt 1993, no. 404, f. 49v = van Lantschoot 1929, no. XII) bears the date of 861/862 (ll. 28–30: περσονος | νινεμαρτυρος | φον, ‘(in) the time of the Martyrs, 578’), whereas the latest instance of a scribal activity in the village is the long-winded Fayyūmic note preserved in a Bohairic miscellaneous manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Copt. 68, f. 162v).² The note, written in a calligraphic hand that could hardly belong to any context other than a *scriptorium*, also provides a precious clue concerning the main reason of decline of that renowned Coptic cultural centre. Its author, a certain Joseph (ll. 11–13: πιδλαχιστος νιδι · ιωσηφ · πψηρη | νιμακαριος · πιδι παπωστολος · ντογτων | νιτιδμη), took refuge in the Scete monastery, having fled from his native region ‘in the time that the churches and the monasteries of the Fayyūm were devastated, (reigning) the son of Isaas, which is called Palhachēm’ (ll. 15–18: ζν νικερος παι ·

* This study was carried out within the framework of the ERC Advanced Grant (2015) ‘PATHs – Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage’, directed by Paola Buzi and hosted by Sapienza University of Rome (grant no. 687567).

- 1 About Tebtynis during the Islamic period see Björnesjö 1993; a comprehensive sketch of the Coptic *scriptorium* there hosted is provided by Depuydt 1993, CXII–XVI. About the recent excavations of the Byzantine sector see Gallazzi 2010.
- 2 First edited in Quatremère 1808, 243–256, then newly transcribed by Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 510–511. A facsimile of the leaf is available in Hyvernat 1888, XV.

ΝΤΑΥΣΕΜΖΕΜ³ ΝΝΕΚΛΗ|CΙΑ · ΑΖΑ ΜΩΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ · ΝΤΕ ΠΙΙΑΜ · ΕΤΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ | ΝΙCΑΑC
 ΠΕ · ΠΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΑΦ ΠΕ · ΧΕ ΠΑΛΖΑ|ΧΗΜ ΠΕ), that is during the persecutions
 against Christians by the sixth Fāṭimid caliph, Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (375
 AH/985 CE–411 AH/1021 CE). The note also recalls the earthquake (II. 26–27:
 ΠΚΑΖ · ΚΙΜ · ΝΤΡΑΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ Ω ΝΑΙΑΤΕ · ΖΕΝ ΟΥ|ΝΟC ΝΚΙΜ ΕΦΩ ΝΝΟC · ΕΜΑΤΕ)
 which hit Fayyūm in the summer of 1014 CE (II. 28–29: ΝCΟΥ//ΚΕ//Ν ΜΕCΟΡΗ
 · ΤΩΑΡΠΕ Ν{Ο}ΟΥΝΟΥ ΝΤ|ΟΥΩΗ ΖΗ ΤΜΕΖ //ΥΧ ΝΡΑΜΠΕ Ν// ΔΙΟΚ(ΛΗΤΙΑΝ)ΟC).

With the usual subtlety, Leo Depuydt highlighted the undeniable stylistic affinity between the illuminations on the frontispieces of some manuscripts from Toutōn and the (now lost) paintings photographed during the episodic explorations of the Byzantine sector of Tebtynis by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt in 1899/1900, and by Carlo Anti and Gilberto Bagnani during the 1930s.⁴ It seems plausible that the *scriptorium* was located in the vicinity of the ecclesiastical buildings adorned by those paintings, usually dated to the ninth century. The dating is supported by the previously mentioned dated manuscripts with similar drawings and by some Coptic and Arabic epigraphic evidence on the walls of the now destroyed decorated spaces. Among the inscriptions transcribed by Grenfell and Hunt in the so-called ‘Crum Notebook 67’, that of Papas son of Markouri stands out for its dating to 953 and for its formulary, close to the phrasing we find in the contemporary colophons written by copyists from Toutōn.⁵ Only thirteen years earlier, the scribe named

3 Quatremère 1808, 249–250, n. 1, refraining from its translation, admits ‘J’ignore absolument ce que veut dire CEMZEM. Peut-être ce mot est-il corrompu. Je laisse à de plus savans que moi le soin de corriger ou d’expliquer ce passage. M. de Sacy pense qu’il faut lire ZEMZEM, qu’il fait correspondre au verbe Memphitique 𐩪𐩨𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩪 ou 𐩪𐩨𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩪, *confringere*’. Hebbelynck and van Lantschoot 1937, 511, reasonably, though doubtfully, render ‘in tempore illo quo ecclesiae, immo monasteria diruta (?) sunt’. An equally hesitant interpretation ‘? devastation’ is provided by Crum 1939, 342a, whilst Jaroslav Černý abstains from any explanation. Although the comparison with the Bohairic 𐩪𐩨𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩪, Fayyūmic 𐩪𐩨𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩪, may sound fascinating, I wonder if such *hapax* could not be compared with the ancient *škmkm* ‘ein Land radikal verwüsten’, whose Sa’īdic outcome is ckmkm, reduplicated form of *škm*, surviving in Sa’īdic ckm / csm, Bohairic csm, see Westendorf 2008, 182, cp. also Vychichl 1983, 187a. Perhaps in the writing attested by the Vatican manuscript one could see an aberrant notation (showing reduction ck > c; ʒ pro x, cp. at least Kahle 1954, 128, § 108 (c < cʒ); 143–144, §123c (x < ʒ)) of the usual ‘Wechsel von erfolgter und unterbliebener Aspiration vor betontem bzw. unbetontem Vokal’ affecting reduplicated roots, cp. Steindorff 1951, 28.

4 On the exploration of the Byzantine and Islamic sector of Tebtynis, see at least Boutros 2005, with further literature.

5 On the precious contents of the notebook, see Walters 1989; the inscription is published here, 205: ‘πῶC ἱC πεῦC CΜΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΩΝΖ ΜΠΕCΑΝ ΠΑΠΑC Υ ΜΑΡΚΟΥΡΙ | ΧΕΝΤΑΦ ΑΦΒΠΡΑΟΥΦ ΜΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΖΗΝΕΦΡΙCΕ ΜΜΗΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕΚΑC | ΕΡΕΠΑῶC ἱC

the holy prophet Šenoute with the holy archangel (ἀρχάγγελος) Gabriel intercede (παρακαλεῖν) with the king Christ on his behalf, so that He may forgive all his sins, which he committed, and enroll his name in the book of life, enumerate him in the number of all his saints, give him a hundredfold requital of his vow in the heavenly Jerusalem, the abode (πόλις) of all righteous (δίκαιος), amen, (so) be it. According to the time of the Holy Martyrs, (year) 656. It was gracefully copied⁸ by me, the humblest deacon Matheos, from the village of Toutōn in Piom.⁷

The transcription of the text provided by Carl Wessely as well as the accurate re-edition by Arnold van Lantschoot suggest that the fragment must have been in a much better state of preservation in the early decades of the twentieth century than it is now. Today, the final portion of the first dozen of lines of the colophon is almost entirely missing, and the area of the lacuna hosts illegitimately a detached scrap clearly not pertaining to the leaf. Thus, we have no choice but to rely on Wessely's readings.

The name of the donor is transcribed as ΠΑΝΑΝ|ΓΩΛΕΟΣ (ll. 5–6), an aberrant writing which led Stefan Timm to see the name Anatolios in it. Actually, ΠΑΝ{ΑΝ}|ΓΩΛΕΟΣ has to be interpreted as a *Verschreibung*, through a common dittography caused by the imminence of the *diremptio vocis*, of the quite common ΠΑΝΤΩΛΕΟΣ.⁹ This personal name occurs sporadically in me-

8 The frequent aberrant Greek verbal form (κε)καλιωγράψατε—see the instances collected by van Lantschoot 1929, II, 123b, cp. also Förster 2002, 369, s.v. καλλιγράφος—is quite oddly interpreted by the Belgian scholar as a misspelling of the *futurum exactum* κεκαλλιγράφεται improperly employed; I would rather be inclined to explain the form as a passive perfect κεκαλλιγράφηται with an inappropriate aoristic sigmatic infix. Conversely, erroneous redoubling of non-perfective forms are not unknown to the Greek of documentary papyri since the Roman period, cp. hybridizations as γεγευσαμένους (P.Oxy. 2990, 6–7; third century CE), συμπεφωνηθείσα (P.Abinn. 60, 10; 346 CE), further instances in Mandilaras 1973, 202, § 423, and Gignac 1981, 243b. The writing is noteworthy from the phonetic point of view for the ω inserted between the two members of the compound: this is not a Coptic mangling—cp. the concurrent correct καλλιηικός in the same text, van Lantschoot 1929, no. LXXXVI—but rather a reflection of a peculiarity of the late Greek. Already the fourth- or fifth-century papyrus BGU III 948, 8 offers the comparative καλιοότερον, a hybrid outcome of the concoction between the classical comparative καλλίων and the post-classical καλύτερος, still attested in many modern Greek dialects.

9 Pantaleon is the name of the widely worshipped martyr of Nicomedia, whose *passio* is also preserved in a fragmentary Coptic version (CC 0293); more generally see Pisani 2015. The Alexandrine Synaxarium commemorates him on 15 *Bābah* (12 October): the tradition oscillates between the variants بیدلایمون and بنتلاون, stoutly printed by René Basset بنتلايمون (Basset 1907, 339 [125]). Such unsteadiness in the form of the name could hint to the presence, at an earlier stage of the textual tradition, of the detail of the miraculous onomastic change from Pantaleon to Pan-teleemon recounted by the Byzantine Sinaxarium. Another Arabic outcome of the

dieval Fayyūm, as evidenced by Fayyūmic Coptic epigraphy.¹⁰ The following word in the colophon is quite damaged; Wessely transcribed it as [... n] nāī[.] (l. 6) and van Lantschoot partially completed with π[ωμ]nαiω[-]. The beginning would match such names as the Arabic αiωωb or the Greek αiωω/αiωωαc.¹¹ Van Lantschoot interpreted the next word as the name of the ancestor, ρογμice,¹² associated with the apposition πeω|χιτ (ll. 7–8), a *Berufsname* corresponding to the Greek βαφεύς. It is worth noting that the same word is juxtaposed to the name of the donor mentioned in a contemporary colophon in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, copt. 131, f. 39v (copied by the same scribe).¹³ I wonder if the word relics following παν{αν}|τωλεος may be ascribable to his sobriquet, rather than belong to the patronymic of the donor, as van Lantschoot supposed. The note relating to the donor ends with the mention of his ecclesiastical task (l. 8: πeψαλμαΔoc, cantor) and his native village (ll. 9–10: παταλιτ ρεπιτωω | πιom). The manuscript was offered to the monastery of Apa Shenoute in Atripe, near Sūhāḡ. The final Greek *subscriptio* gives us the date of the copying, the year 656 of the Era of the Martyrs (939/940 CE), and the identity of the scribe, the deacon Matthew from Toutōn.

The main interest of the colophon resides in the mention of the donor Pantōleos, son, if not nephew (as van Lantschoot inferred), of Houmise. The note could not have been the sole attestation of the cantor from Talit. A lavish shawl, fragmentarily preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and dated by Annemarie Stauffer to around the eighth or ninth century, is decorated alongside both fringes by a Coptic writing dwarfed by an Arabic one in floriated Kūfic script:¹⁴

ⲡⲠⲚ ⲛⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲗⲓⲑⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲃⲱⲓⲑⲓ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲗ ⲉⲓⲡⲱⲛⲁⲗ ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉⲛⲁⲗ
ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲗⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ?ⲣⲟⲩⲛⲓ??.¹⁵

name could be seen in the بنطلس of P.Cair.Arab. I 43, 5, traced back by the editor to the Greek Παντελής. The vocalism /o/ shown by the Coptic rendering παντωλεος / παντογλεος could directly reflect the ‘Asiatic’ vocalism of the Ancient Greek variant Παντολέων.

10 For the occurrences of the name in Fayyūmic *milieux* see Boud’hors and Calament 2004, 475.

11 Cp. Hasitzka 2007, 8b.

12 The word, literally meaning ‘dies natalis’, is attested as personal name in some Coptic (cp. Hasitzka 2007, 117a) as well as Arabic (هميسة, cp. ad P.Cair.Arab. I 70, 5) documents from Fayyūm. On closer inspection, in such texts the mention of the ancestor is quite poorly attested.

13 Van Lantschoot 1929, II, 38, wonders unnecessarily if the name might correspond to ρανμωωτ, ‘rope-maker’, whilst Amélineau 1893, 528, more plausibly preferred to see it as a simple nickname.

14 Stauffer 1995, 42.

15 The text is quoted as it has been published in Boud’hors and Calament 2004, 468.

Connecting the embroidering with the colophon of K 351, Boud'hors and Calament cagily supposed its provenance from Toutōn. I am convinced that the uncertain second letter of the patronymic of Pantouleōs can be read as an inaccurately rendered ψ . Thus, the patronymic could be interpreted as $\pi\psi\gamma(\eta\eta)\rho\omicron\gamma\mu\iota\varsigma\iota$.

A further plausible mention of the same individual could be traced down in a still unpublished *dipinto*, sketched on a crumbling wall of Byzantine Toutōn (fig. 1). The wall has since collapsed, and its only extant testimony is a photograph taken between 1930 and 1933 (during the excavations of the archaeological mission of the University of Padua), now kept in the archive of the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, depository of Mestre (still without inventory number). It is not possible to ascertain if the wall belonged to one of the three ecclesiastical complexes conjectured by Peter Grossmann.¹⁶ The uninterrupted lootings in the abandoned site from the mid-1930s up to the end of the 1980s resulted in a thorough devastation of the Byzantine buildings cursorily explored by the British and Italian missions. However, some palaeographical features, as well as the terse hints given by Gilberto Bagnani about the dating of the archaeological context of what he supposed could have been an ample monastic complex, allow us to locate the inscription in the same period as the Viennese colophon. As one can see, the *dipinto* understandably exhibits a more pronounced Fayyūmic timbre:

ΑΝΑΚ ΠΑΝΤΟΥΛΕΟΣ
 ΠΩΗΝΠΛΙ(Δ)Κ(ΟΝΟΣ) ΡΟΥΜΙΣΙ ΖΑ-
 ΜΗΝ ΞΕΩΩΠΙ ΖΗΠΡΑΝ ΠΝΟΥ-
 ΤΕ ΩΑΡΠΙ ΖΟΒ ΝΗΝ ΖΑΜΗΝ

2. ΠΩΗΝΠΛΙϚ

3. 1. есѡѡπи

‘Me, Pantouleos, son of the deacon Houmisi, amen, (so) be it, in the name of God first of all, amen’

With all the caution such identifications require, the correspondence is decisively striking. The devotee donor of the book copied by the deacon Matthew, the owner of the soigné shawl kept in Metropolitan Museum, and the man who had the *dipinto* drawn could be one and the same person.¹⁷ Par-

¹⁶ Grossmann 2005.

¹⁷ *Ad abundantiam*, we cannot but mention the ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΡΟΥΜΙΣΙ (l. 9) attested as a witness (μετρε) in the sale deed of two monastic cells (ll. 2–3: τχνητε λι | μπσαλε) preserved in a parchment kept at the British Museum, re-edited by Richter 1999, 85–89 (= KSB III 1413). Nevertheless, the document, whose language shows a distinct Fayyūmic colour, is dated ‘κατα χρονου γρ’ (l. 12) of the Era of the Martyrs, namely the 986/987 CE, more than forty years after the Viennese colophon. It is thus hardly plausible that this witness was the father of the donor Pantouleos.

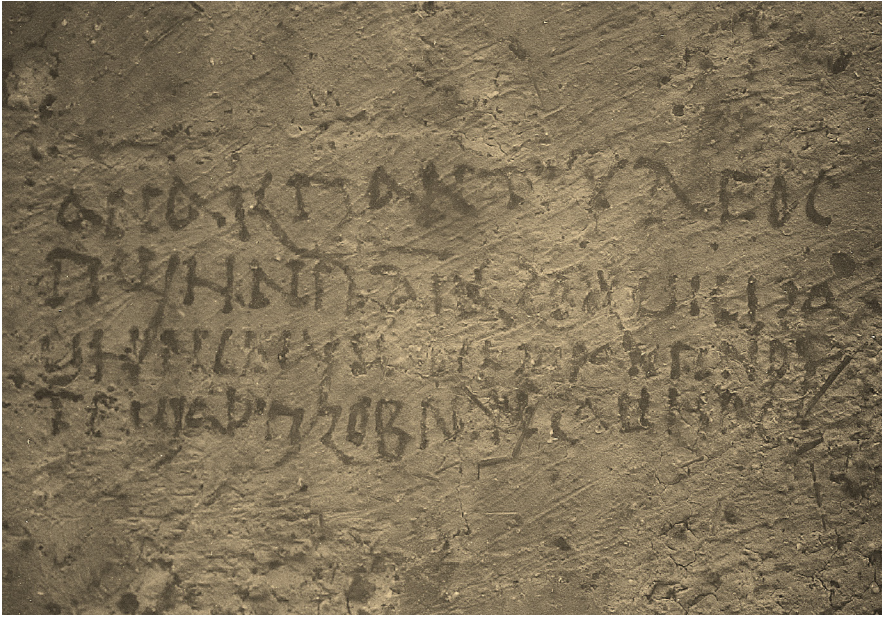


Fig. 1. The *dipinto* from Toutōn (reproduction of the photograph, Mestre, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti).

ticularly the combination of the colophon with the *dipinto* could represent a paradigmatic case of dovetailing of information provided by written sources into the archaeological context which quite plausibly was the very scene of their copying. A thorough study of the sizable photographic documentation acquired during the albeit desultory reconnaissance of the Byzantine and Islamic quarter of the ancient Tebtynis, scattered in various European and Canadian institutions, could yield an edition of the now lost Coptic and Arabic inscriptions, which, alongside the paintings, possibly adorned the very walls of the renowned *scriptorium* of Toutōn.

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Projects in manuscript studies

Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts*

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Research background

Late medieval Arabic societies were highly literate. The central significance of the written word entailed a rich production of narrative and normative texts in which medieval authors made sense of past and present. Such texts, especially chronicles and biographical dictionaries, have come down to us in large numbers and they have held a central position in the writing of medieval Middle Eastern history.¹ The sheer mass of these texts has given the field outstandingly rich quantitative and qualitative data, which are now increasingly exploited by digital text-mining.² On account of their central position, these texts have themselves become the subject of historiographical inquiries and there is a sophisticated debate on their meanings, either focusing on individual authors³ or through consideration of a larger number of texts as a historiographical field.⁴

For most of the last century, the study of medieval Middle Eastern history has primarily relied on such narrative and normative sources as the sheer mass of chronicles, treatises, biographical dictionaries and similar texts almost inevitably foregrounded them. By contrast, documentary material such as contracts, petitions, edicts and deeds—the products of pragmatic literacy—have played a relatively minor role in the historical practice of scholars of the medieval Middle East compared with fields such as Ottoman history or medieval Latin European history.⁵ Within this non-documentary research paradigm, historians formed a rather pessimistic outlook of what was actually researchable; Roy Mottahedeh⁶ famously claimed that ‘ulamology’, the

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the international conference *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: Looking Back—Looking Ahead*, Hamburg, 26 September 2016.

1 Hirschler 2012b and 2013.

2 Romanov 2014.

3 See, for instance, F. Bauden’s *Bibliotheca Magrizziana* series and Hirschler 2012a.

4 For instance, J.v. Steenbergen’s ERC project ‘The Mamlukisation of the Mamluk Sultanate II’, funded for the years 2016 to 2021.

5 Hirschler 2012b and 2013.

6 Mottahedeh 1975.

study of the literate elites, is ‘all the social Islamic history we will ever have’. Though it was acknowledged that documents featuring other social groups had been produced in large numbers, too few were thought to have survived to constitute a meaningful part of historical practice. Michael Chamberlain thus argued with reference to medieval Damascus that document preservation was of low significance for actors in medieval Arabic societies, who primarily employed narrative texts as the main repositories of social authority and as the main textual devices in social conflict.⁷ In the course of the twentieth century we do repeatedly see scholars (often linguists) developing an interest in such documentary material; for the late medieval period these include Samuel Stern, John Wansbrough, and Werner Diem.⁸ However, their efforts had a limited impact on historical practices and the respective corpora they were working on rarely became central for historians. The major exception to this was the ‘discovery’ of Egyptian endowment deeds in the 1970s, which quickly became part of the field’s standard source corpus and significantly changed the interpretation of late medieval (Egyptian) society from the 1980s onwards.

However, over the last decade we have witnessed this narrative and normative paradigm’s gradual demise and the field took what can by now be called a documentary turn. The first step had been a distinctive move towards making existing documents accessible by drawing together what had hitherto been published in piecemeal fashion. The main player in this regard has been the *Arabic Papyrology Database* (APD) directed by Andreas Kaplony.⁹ In parallel, Middle Eastern historians have started to explore new material by using collections that had not been fully exploited (e.g. the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library), by bringing new collections to light (e.g. material from the Fayyūm¹⁰) and by focusing on documentary material that had not been identified as such (e.g. manuscript notes¹¹). This research has become so intensive that we now have a dedicated annual survey of relevant publications of documentary editions.¹² In a second step, Middle Eastern historians have started to use the available documents more systematically. For early Islamic history, for instance, papyrological material is now exploited in depth; Petra Sijpesteijn’s recent book¹³ and her current ERC project *Embed-*

7 Chamberlain 1994.

8 Stern 1964; Wansbrough 1965; Diem 1996.

9 See <<http://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de:8080/apd/project.jsp>>, last accessed 10 March 2017.

10 Cf. Gaubert and Mouton 2014.

11 Cf. Görke and Hirschler 2011.

12 Bsees et al. 2015.

13 Sijpesteijn 2013.

ding Conquest: Naturalising Muslim Rule in the Early Islamic Empire (600-1000) show to what extent documentary material can change our understanding of historical processes. Likewise for the Fatimid period, Marina Rustow is currently leading a project in Princeton on the rich Arabic documentary material contained in the Geniza collection¹⁴ of the Ben Ezra synagogue. For the late medieval Mamluk period Frédéric Bauden has greatly contributed to rejecting the notion that few documents have survived.¹⁵

This documentary turn has also brought the question of the archive back into focus—rather it has brought it into serious focus for the first time in Middle Eastern history. While it is by now indisputable that Middle Eastern societies produced enormous quantities of documents and that many of these have survived, it is striking that so few of them (such as endowment deeds) have come down to us in archival collections. But the recent research on those documents that are available has re-orientated the debate on archives within the field; ‘archival traces’ on the documents themselves, from written marks to non-textual features such as folding lines, have yielded entirely new data. This new direction of research has reconceptualised the idea of the archive in this context; the archive was formerly seen as a fixed archival space such as a state archive, but is now seen in terms of ‘archival practices’ and documentary life-cycles.¹⁶

The documentary turn, however, suffers from chronological and regional blind spots, which need urgent redress. Research has so far prioritised earlier periods, especially between the years 600 to 1000 CE. At the same time we have a very distinct regional imbalance with Egypt being centre stage while other regions remain on the margins of the documentary turn. For late medieval history especially, we are thus facing a situation where the long-running regional research bias in favour of Egypt is being reproduced and thus distorts our ability to write ‘Middle Eastern’ history. In addition those documents that are known from late medieval Syria have been largely limited to those from Jerusalem, especially the legal documents of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf collection¹⁷ and those relating to Christian ecclesiastical institutions.¹⁸ Within Syria itself, an imbalance has thus prioritised one relatively small town, Jerusalem, to the detriment of the two major cities in the region, Damascus and Aleppo, thus again skewing our ability to productively engage with the documentary turn in a wider perspective. Those documents that have emerged from Damascus so far have been very limited in number, predominantly originate from one

14 <<https://www.princeton.edu/~geniza/>>, last accessed 10 March 2017.

15 Bauden 2005.

16 El-Leithy 2011; Hirschler 2016.

17 Müller 2013.

18 Pahlitzsch 2008.

medieval text depository, Qubbat al-Khazna, and are held in one modern collection, the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul.¹⁹

Introducing the project

The new project *Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts* seeks to address and remedy this situation by actively creating a new corpus of documents from Syria. For this end it explores and digitally reconstructs the material that medieval Arabic scribes reused to produce new manuscripts. Taking the case study of Syria between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries CE, it will show that documents and other texts did survive in many more contexts than have been considered hitherto. This project is similar to that undertaken by the *Books within Books: Hebrew Fragments in European Libraries* network,²⁰ which focuses on similar practices of reuse. However, it is evident that reuse practices differed as book bindings, which feature so prominently in the European context play a less central role. Damascene scribes and binders routinely cut documents and other texts into pieces to obtain a whole range of material for producing new manuscripts. The most usual procedure was to cut a document with a blank verso into several pieces of equal size, lay them on top of each other as bifolia and sew them together to produce a new quire. At least 50% of this quire, the blank verso, could be used for the new manuscript in addition to, depending on line spacing, interlinear spaces on the recto. The second most frequent procedure was applied to a document which already had text on recto *and* verso. Here the scribes regularly used the marginal space on top of the text block to insert the new manuscript's title, i.e. the aim here was not to produce a new quire, but to gain a title page. These title pages could take different shapes and forms: At times scribes directly cut through documents while at others they carefully preserved the text. Sometimes they aligned the text of the original document with that of the new manuscript and at others they turned it by 90° or 180°. These two most common procedures (quire and title page recycling) were accompanied by a range of further techniques such as cutting a document/text into strips to be reused as sewing guards for stabilising the quire fold or as binding support. The project's focus on these reuse techniques is particularly in tune with documentary life-cycles in Syria, but this project aims to develop a methodology that can be applied far beyond one specific region.

When opening a manuscript with document reuse today, the traces of reuse practices appear at first glance often to be random strokes, scribbles and isolated words. Yet, once reconstructed, this material is extraordinarily rich in

19 Sourdél and Sourdél-Thomine 2006; Mouton, Sourdél, and Sourdél-Thomine 2013 and 2015.

20 See <<http://www.hebrewmanuscript.com/>>, last accessed 10 March 2017.

furnishing entirely new documents (such as contracts) and non-documentary texts (such as legal handbooks) for medieval Middle Eastern history. Preliminary work has so far identified some 400 reused fragments of documents and non-documentary texts, mostly from the National Library in Damascus. Reuse was wide-spread and a single manuscript can contain up to fifteen different documents. Reused documents include first and foremost an unprecedented corpus of late medieval legal documents from Damascus. Among the documents are especially those related to marriage (in particular marriage and divorce contracts) and real estate transactions (in particular rent and sale). In addition we repeatedly find private letters and petitions. The vast majority of these documents was written between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries CE and they will most likely constitute the largest corpus of medieval Syrian documents known so far. Apart from the documentary sources the project will also create a new corpus of non-documentary reused texts. Medieval scribes did not only reuse documents, but they also—though less frequently—reused other texts to which they had access. These include on the one hand Arabic texts, in particular legal and theological treatises, many of which had originally been produced in Northern Africa in the ninth and tenth centuries. On the other hand we have also a wide array of texts in further languages such as Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Latin and Hebrew. The reused Latin texts—many of them with musical notations—will arguably constitute the largest corpus of Western-language texts known to have circulated in the region and will be of outstanding importance for the study of the Latin East, i.e. the Frankish ('Crusader') states.

The documentary corpus in particular will put late medieval Syria (and specifically Damascus) on the documentary map and the field will thus have a corpus which will de-centre history writing away from Cairo when using documentary evidence. This is in particular true for the history of non-elite groups (as most of the persons named in the documents are not traceable in the narrative sources), urban history (the property-related documents include detailed descriptions of the urban topography), legal history (many documents contain the elaborate features of legal documents, especially witness attestations), gender history (description of external features in marriage-related documents, divorce rates, stipulations in marriage contracts), economic history (dowries and prices of real estate), to name just some of the topics for which these documents can be used. Manuscript Damascus, National Library, 3851, for instance contains fragments of a late thirteenth-century scroll related to ownership of a property that was disputed between a widow and her father-in-law (see Fig. 1). The scribe of the new manuscript carefully cut this document into eleven bifolia to produce a new quire and this allows us to

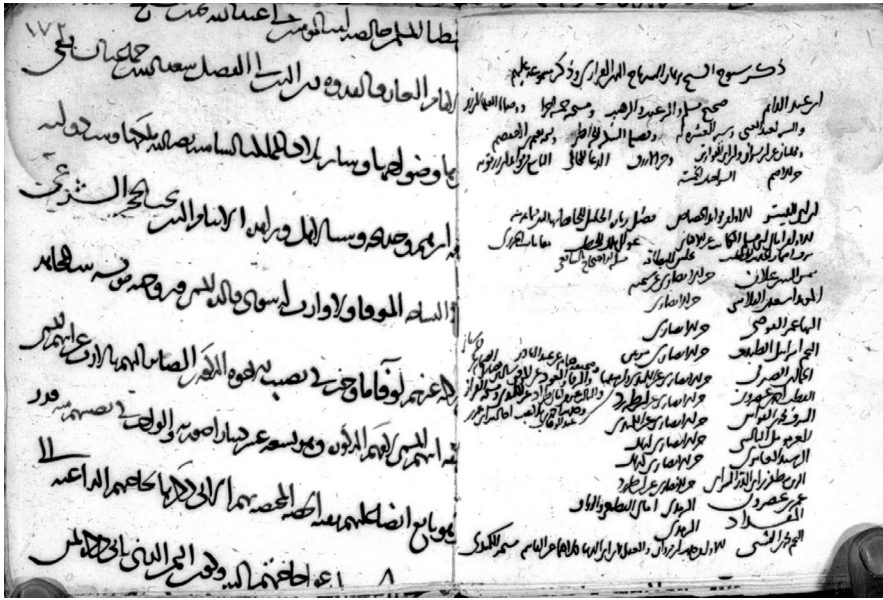


Fig. 1. Damascus, National Library, 3851, ff. 172b–173a with document on f. 173a.

reconstitute the document in entirety. The document is brimming with prosopographical and topographical data on early-Mamluk Damascus and gives fascinating insights into legal practice involving the earlier marriage document and provisions for the couple’s children. Perhaps most interestingly it shows how the widow was able to skilfully use legal channels to ward off her father-in-law’s dubious claims.

Apart from reconstructing new corpora of documents and texts, the project’s second aim is to take reuse seriously that is often so much more than just ‘recycling’. It will thus conceptualise the cultural practice of document reuse, which though widespread has not been consistently studied yet. Such practices have been identified by previous scholarship.²¹ In addition, document reuse has been identified in settings well beyond manuscripts and we thus find documents recycled as Mamluk arrow flights,²² textiles²³ and head-gear.²⁴

21 Such as Bauden 2004 for Mamluk chancery documents reused for a notebook, Rustow 2010 for a Fatimid petition reused for writing Hebrew biblical verses with their translation into Aramaic and Sijpesteijn 2015 for an Abbasid official document reused for informal recording of some *ḥadīths*.

22 Nicolle 2011.

23 Reinfandt 2012.

24 El-Leithy on-going.

It needed colleagues with a distinctive interest in documentary and archival matters to make these pioneering steps and to show what can be achieved when such practices are taken seriously. However, all these cases have not yet triggered a systematic approach to understanding medieval reuse practices because they have been partly carried out in the name of retrieving new material, just as this project sets out to do in its first objective. However, ‘reuse’ was repeatedly a meaningful and highly sophisticated practice where the reused documents have to be read as communicative acts of social and cultural performance. Conceptualising reuse in its various dimensions will historicise this practice and show diachronic change and regional variety. Currently we know little about the specifics of reuse and such documents appear in many different forms and contexts. What we need is thus a taxonomy of medieval document reuse in order to meaningfully engage with this practice and to squarely place it on the research agendas of historians of the medieval Middle East.

Furthermore, reused texts appear in specific textual formats, especially notebooks (*taḍkira*), drafts (*musawwada*) and multiple-text manuscripts (*mağmūʿ*). What textual formats were deemed appropriate for reuse? This in turn raises the question of what documents and texts were deemed appropriate for reuse? What material could be reused? Finally what was the cultural significance of this practice? Common-sense would lead one to assume that practical considerations, such as sourcing cheap writing material, were a major factor. While such pragmatic factors cannot and should not be discarded, many cases tell a very different story: For instance, the multiple-text manuscript Damascus, National Library, 3748 contains a collection of *ḥadīths* written by a Damascene scholar in 524 AH/1130 CE (see Fig. 2). This scholar wrote the collection, which was central for his scholarly ‘CV’, on the blank verso and the recto’s interlinear space of a marriage contract he had lovingly cut into eight new bifolia. Significantly this reused marriage contract was the contract of his own parents. This instance of document reuse was arguably aimed at symbolically merging his scholarly genealogy—as embodied in the collection’s prestigious chains of transmissions—with his family genealogy—as embodied in the splendid 68 × 92 cm original document.

Thinking about reuse takes up the recent emphasis on materiality in historical studies, be it under the heading of material philology or the material turn, where the manuscript is being revisited as a material object and is of interest well beyond the text it carries.²⁵ Influenced by scholars such as Latour,²⁶ historians emphasise the agency of the material world and see the written word as part of a manuscript culture and thus an object in a cultural world with

25 Johnston and Van Dussen 2015.

26 Latour 2005.



Fig. 2. Damascus, National Library, 3748, ff. 146b–147a with document on f. 146b (large letters).

which people interact in meaningful ways. In this sense reuse practices are not something marginal to the main text of a given manuscript, but are crucial elements of the manuscript’s materiality, as shown by work on medieval reuse in other world regions.²⁷

In addition to creating new corpora and conceptualising the practice of reuse, the project’s third aim is to conduct an in-depth study of archival practices and textual life-cycles. This question is directly linked to the ongoing debate on archives, or rather archival practices, in the field of Middle Eastern history: Who preserved what documents, for how long and where—and why? Michael Chamberlain’s suggestion that the non-survival of documents reflected a social logic has been strongly rebuked and new ways of thinking about the (absence of the) archive have been proposed.²⁸ Sijpesteijn has argued for an ‘archival mind’,²⁹ Loiseau focuses on the Mamluk state as an archival

27 Such as Kwakkel 2012.

28 Chamberlain 1994.

29 Sijpesteijn 2007.

actor,³⁰ El-Leithy adopted an anthropological approach³¹ and Bauden speaks of an ‘almost virtual’ archive.³² The project’s corpus allows building on this recent scholarship and to turn away from the idea of fixed archival spaces, or state archives, but rather focus on archival practices. These archival practices were carried out well beyond the ‘imperial’ centre and involved numerous archival actors well beyond the ‘state’.³³ Studying such archival practices is particularly in tune with the reuse corpus as these practices do not emerge from normative and narrative texts, but primarily from a consideration of archival traces on actual documents. Middle Eastern history’s discussion of archival practices is part of a growing interest in ‘archivalities’ in the wider historical field as for instance evident in the research network Global Archivalities³⁴ on the comparative history of archives before the modern era. Rather than primarily seeing the archive in a positivist approach as a depository for primary sources, this scholarship has turned to the archive as an object of study by and in itself. Archives have come to be considered as sites where specific meanings were created and where the production, collection and (non-)preservation of documents was closely aligned with the social and political agendas of the archival actors.³⁵ In medieval history, this new approach of moving the archive from an object to a subject of study and thus a crucial site of knowledge production, has also profoundly changed scholarship.³⁶

The reuse corpus can decisively contribute to the wider archival debate from a Middle Eastern history perspective and it enables the field’s debate to be decentred from Egypt. Preliminary research shows that scribes who reused documents and other texts in order to produce new manuscripts clearly did not do so at random. Rather they must have had—direct or indirect—access to compact collections of documents. The reused material shows a clear profile in terms of content, including the very large number of marriage-related and property-related legal documents, as well as the considerable corpus of Crusader-period Latin texts. At the same time the reused material has a very distinct profile in terms of absences, for instance there are practically no trade-related documents or documents produced in proximity to the state (such as petitions and deeds). The corpora of new documents and texts will thus allow archival practices to be studied from a new angle using a ground-breaking body of material from a hitherto underrepresented region.

30 Loiseau 2009.

31 El-Leithy 2011.

32 Bauden 2013.

33 Hirschler 2016.

34 <<http://globalarchivalities.org>>, last accessed 10 March 2017.

35 See Stoler 2009; Blouin and Rosenberg 2011.

36 Geary 2006.

This project *Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts* is particularly crucial and urgent on account of the ongoing war in Syria. The conflict has led to wide-scale destruction and theft of cultural artefacts and it has made Syria almost completely inaccessible for researchers. We run the risk of seeing the region disappear from research agendas owing to the unfeasibility of conducting projects under such circumstances—the same fate that met Iraq in the 1990s and 2000s. The project responds to this situation by proposing an agenda that is specifically designed to keep Syria on the academic map.

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**Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths:
An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature.
Literary Texts in their Geographical Context.
Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage**

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On 1 November 2016, the project 'PATHs: Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage' was inaugurated. PATHs received an Advanced Grant (2015) from the European Research Council.¹ In the five-year term (2016–2021), the project aims to provide an in-depth diachronical understanding and effective representation of the geography of Coptic literary production² and in particular of the corpus of literary writings, almost exclusively of religious content, produced in Egypt between the third and the eleventh centuries in the Coptic language.

Methodology and objectives

PATHs takes an original and pluridisciplinary approach, combining for the first time in Coptic Studies philology, codicology, archaeology and digital humanities, in order to explore the process of production, copying, usage, dissemination, and storage of Coptic literary works in relation to the geographical contexts of origin of both the texts themselves and their related writing supports.

- 1 Grant no. 687567, <<http://paths.uniroma1.it/>>. Currently, the staff of the project is composed of Paola Buzi (Principal Investigator, Coptologist), Angela Bernardo (Project Coordinator), Julian Bogdani (Archaeologist and specialist of Digital Humanities and Web GIS), Nathan Carlig (Codicologist), Maria Chiara Giorda (Historian and specialist of Early Christianity and Egyptian Monasticism), Agostino Soldati (Philologist). PATHs is not a project that emerges *ex nihilo*, but it takes advantage of some successful initiatives whose results will constitute one of the bases of the research work, although they do not overlap with the goals of this new project. The *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (CMCL) is the most important of these projects and PATHs will work in strict relation with it. For a list of the current partner projects of PATHs see <<http://paths.uniroma1.it/cooperation/>>.
- 2 Despite the fact that the Bible is a fully-fledged part of Coptic literature, PATHs will take into consideration biblical manuscripts only to quantify and qualify the nature of the books owned by single libraries. A detailed codicological description of them is not part the research activities of PATHs, since this is the main goal of the well-known project *Digital Edition and Translation of Coptic Old Testament*, based in Göttingen <<http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/>>.

By analysing texts and contents, paratexts (titles and scribal subscriptions) and linguistic layers (style and dialects), the literary products will be strictly related not only to the places where they have been copied, but also to the single intellectual milieu responsible for their creation. Cultural orientations and literary tastes in specific areas of Egypt will be singled out, while changes in the manufacture of codices will emerge, in a manuscript tradition that offers the oldest witnesses for the emergence and use of the codex book form.

An exhaustive digital Atlas of late antique and early mediaeval Egypt—a versatile tool that will allow detailed and focused research and correlation of chronological, regional and thematic data – will illustrate the relationship between settlements, as revealed by the archaeological investigations, and intellectual production, as revealed by manuscripts, and will provide a new comprehensive perspective on the spread and development of Coptic literature and manuscript culture.

Moreover, PATHs will integrate into its portal the just described archaeological atlas of Coptic literature (main product) with several relational databases (by-products), all of them in keeping with the finality of creating a concrete link between literary production and related geographical and archaeological context:

- A complete classification of Coptic literature, by means of the attribution of a *Clavis Coptica* (CC) entry to each work and each title,³ and of a stable identifier to each colophon.
- A complete census, edition, and translation of all the extant Coptic colophons and scribal subscriptions. Particular attention will be devoted to terminological aspects and structural elements of colophons and subscriptions.
- A complete classification of the Coptic manuscript tradition, by means of the attribution of stable identifiers to each manuscript ('production unit'), in order to have univocal coordinates of reference to the entire Coptic book production. Such a classification is progressively expandable as soon as new manuscripts are discovered.
- A complete census of the relevant sites which are known as places where single manuscripts (for instance codices buried with a body, as a funerary kit) or entire 'collections' (for example a monastery library, such as the codices found in the monastery of the Virgin Mary in Deir el-Hammam) have

3 As is well-known this is a process initiated by Tito Orlandi, within the research activities of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*, but it needs to be revised and expanded. Despite the fact that they are real micro-texts, titles, for instance, did not receive a CC until now.

been found. Drawings, photos, maps, and 3D reconstructions of the most relevant sites will be provided.

- A tentative identification of places and geographical areas where specific works and literary genres have been conceived.
- A complete archive of names of copyists, commissioners, donors, institutions and places involved in the production of manuscripts.
- A classification of the book formats, writing supports and other relevant codicological features of the manuscripts, in relation to the texts that they transmit.⁴
- All the databases just described—with their interrelated data—will constitute the invisible substructure of the Atlas of Coptic literature.

It is useless to specify that each step of the work of PATHs is based on an accurate and sometimes pioneering—at least for Coptic Studies—theoretical and methodological reflection. To make but a few examples, PATHs will try to answer questions such as the following: is the author of a work originally written in Greek and later translated into Coptic, with some manipulations of the original text, a ‘Coptic author’? What is the place of Plato in Coptic literature, since an *excerptum* of the *Republic* is preserved in one of the Nag Hammadi codices, although it is distorted to the point of being almost not recognisable? Are the final colophon—that is located at end of a codex—and the scribal subscription that concludes a single work the same cultural and functional phenomenon? Do we need a different terminology to describe their role and function? How can we define a scribal subscription that, copy by copy, was incorporated in the text of the work losing its original function?

In brief, PATHs represents an opportunity to re-think and re-define the entire corpus of literary works preserved in Coptic, going beyond the traditional narrow subdivision of disciplines, so that literature will no longer be considered a cultural phenomenon totally separated from the material culture. For the first time Coptic literature will not be studied *per se*, but as an intellectual product of groups whose identity is marked by regional and environmental features, ideological tendencies, religious peculiarities, architectural devices, and bibliological models and patterns.

4 A detailed protocol of description of the codicological aspects of Coptic manuscripts has already been elaborated and will be published soon.

Individual research in manuscript studies

Patrons and Artists at the Crossroads: The Islamic Arts of the Book in the Lands of Rūm, 1270s–1370s

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My doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Oxford in 2017 under the supervision of Zeynep Yürekli-Görkay, is the first book-length study to analyse the production and patronage of Islamic illuminated manuscripts in late medieval Rūm in their fullest cultural contexts and in relation to the arts of the book of neighbouring regions. Although research concerning the artistic landscapes of late medieval Rūm has made significant progress in recent years, the development of the arts of the book and the nature of their patronage and production has yet to be fully addressed. The topic also remains relatively neglected in the wider field of Islamic art history. This thesis considers the arts of the book and the part they played in artistic life within contemporary scholarly frameworks that emphasise inclusivity, diversity and fluidity. Such frameworks acknowledge the period's ethnic and religious pluralism, the extent of cross-cultural exchange, the region's complex political situation after the breakdown in Seljuk rule, and the itinerancy of scholars, Sufis and craftsmen.

Analyses are based on the codicological examination of sixteen illuminated Persian and Arabic manuscripts, none of which have been published in depth. In order to appropriately assess the material and to partially redress scholarly emphases on the constituent arts of the book (calligraphy, illumination, illustration and binding), the manuscripts are considered as whole objects. The manuscripts' ample inscriptions (e.g. dedications, colophons and *ex libris*) also help to form a clearer picture of contemporary artistic life. Evidence from further illuminated and non-illuminated manuscripts and other textual and material primary sources is also examined.

The introductory chapter outlines the thesis' methodology (with particular emphasis on the role of codicology) and reviews academic scholarship relevant to the study of late medieval Anatolian history, Sufism and the Islamic arts of the book. This chapter also lists and describes the main textual sources that are used, such as Ibn Bībī's history of the Seljuks, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travelogue and Šams al-Dīn Aflākī's hagiography of the early Mawlawis.¹

1 Ibn Bībī 1956, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1962, Aflākī 1961 and 2002.

Chapter One focuses on the earliest illuminated manuscripts produced in Rūm after the region became the de facto western frontier of the Ilkhanid empire in the second half of the thirteenth century. In terms of themes and structure, this chapter sets the scene for subsequent discussions. To begin with, I focus on two important manuscripts, neither of which have been published in depth or discussed in their socio-cultural contexts. These are a monumental *Maṭnawī-i Maʿnawī* of Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and a very small Qurʾan, both produced in Konya in 1278.² After a thorough examination of the visual properties of these manuscripts, such as the illumination, calligraphy, and bookbinding, and their relationship to contemporary manuscripts from other milieux, I describe the socio-political context and the nature of production and patronage in more depth.

The second chapter concerns manuscripts produced in Konya and Sivas between 1311 and 1332. This period roughly coincides with the rise of Turkmen principalities on Rūm's political scene and the final decades of Ilkhanid rule which ended in 1335 after the death of the ruler Abū Saʿīd (r. 1316–1335). The seven core manuscripts that comprise the focus of this chapter were produced for Turkmen princes and Mawlawi dervishes. The manuscripts made for beylik patrons include a small 1311 copy of a relatively obscure work concerning Sufism, entitled *al-Fuṣūl al-Aṣrafiyya fī al-Qawāʿid al-Burhāniyya wa al-Kaṣfiyya*, produced in Konya for an Ashrafid *bey*,³ and a large two-volume Qurʾan produced in 1314/1315 for a Qaramanid *bey* in Konya.⁴ Works closely connected to the Mawlawi group of dervishes include a 1314 *Intihānāma*, a circa 1332 *Maṭnawī* (both by Sulṭān Walad), a 1323 *Maṭnawī* of Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī⁵ and a previously unknown illuminated *Maṭnawī* of Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī which was copied in the madrasa of Šams al-Dīn Ġuwaynī in Sivas by a Mawlawi scribe in 1318.⁶ This chapter expands the analysis concerning the involvement of the Mawlawis in illuminated manuscript production that was introduced in the previous chapter and further explores the contexts of production in Konya. It also discusses the historiography of the beyliks, a thread that will be taken up in Chapters Three and Four.

Chapter Three discusses two modest manuscripts that were produced for Hamidid *beys* in the mid-fourteenth century. These manuscripts, both copies of Nağm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya's *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād min al-Mabdāʾ ilā al-Maʿād*,

2 Konya, Mevlana Müzesi, 51 and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Is.1466.

3 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2445.

4 Konya, Mevlana Müzesi, 12.

5 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément Persan 1794 and Konya, Mevlana Müzesi, 74 and 1177.

6 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Nafiz Paşa 650.

were produced in İstanos (Korkuteli) in 1349 and 1351.⁷ This chapter, which shifts focus from Konya to western, coastal Rūm, explores the ‘mirrors for princes’ genre in more depth, the cosmopolitan nature of the immediate area and the possible impact of bubonic plague on artistic production. After the two copies of *Mirşād al-‘Ibād*, there are no illuminated manuscripts that have been securely identified as products of Rūm from the second half of the fourteenth century. Since there appears to be no obvious explanation for this, it is possible that the plague, which devastated many of Rūm’s towns from the late 1340s onwards, hampered illuminated manuscript production.

The fourth and final chapter focuses on the patronage of one individual, who emerges from surviving material as the most prolific manuscript patron of late medieval Rūm. The three manuscripts discussed in this chapter are connected to one Šaraf al-Dīn Sātī ibn Ḥasan, an *amīr* and a Mawlawi devotee. The key manuscripts examined in this chapter are a copy of the *Maṭnawī* of Sulṭān Walad from 1366, a two-volume *Dīwān-i Kabīr* from 1367/1368 and a 1372 copy of the *Maṭnawī*, both by Ğalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.⁸ The distinctiveness of the manuscripts’ illumination generates a discussion concerning the relationship between the arts of the books of Rūm, Armenia and the Mongol successor states. Even though a production centre is not named in the manuscripts, the patron had strong connections to Erzincan and Konya. In this chapter, I outline and contextualise the political and cultural activities of Sātī and his son Mustanjid (also a bibliophile), and question where the manuscripts may have been produced.

Based on this evidence, this dissertation demonstrates that Rūm’s towns had active cultural scenes despite the frequent outbreak of hostilities and the absence of an effective imperial government. The lavishness of some manuscripts from this period also challenges the often-assumed connection between dynastic patronage and sophisticated artistic production. Furthermore, the identities and affiliations of those involved in the production and patronage of illuminated manuscripts reinforces the impression of an ethnically and religiously diverse environment and highlights the role that local *amīrs* and Sufī dervishes in particular had in the creation of such material.

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Conference reports

Sacred Word: Changing Meanings in Textual Cultures of Islamic Africa Evanston, IL, April 21–22, 2016

The symposium ‘Sacred Word: Changing Meanings in Textual Cultures of Islamic Africa’, dedicated to the memory of John O. Hunwick (1936–2015), was held at Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, from 21 to 22 April, 2016. It was co-organized by the Northwestern University’s Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa (ISITA) and the Program of African Studies (PAS), as well as the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign’s Center for African Studies, and the American Islamic College, Chicago.

The symposium, convened by Rebecca Shereikis, Associate Director of ISITA, was organized into four panels. The first panel dealt with calligraphy and illuminations as local ways of expressing Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa. Sub-panel 1A, ‘Manuscript Aesthetics: The Arts of Scribes & Calligraphers’, was probably the most codicologically oriented. Following Hunwick’s article ‘West African Arabic Manuscript Colophons’, Bernard Salvaing and Mamadou Diallo analyzed and compared the colophons of manuscripts copied in Fuuta Toro and Fuuta Jalloo regions. Mustapha Hashim Kurfi emphasized the need to study the material aspects of manuscripts, and in particular decoration, colours, and calligraphy. Sara Fani presented a first approach to the special features of the Ethiopian Arabic script, opening up a new research field in relation to Ethiopian Islamic studies. In sub-panel 1B, ‘Manuscript Aesthetics: The significance of Ajami’, Fallou Ngom introduced the debate on the concept of ‘Ajamization’ of the African Islamic communities as a counterpart to the concepts of ‘Islamization’ and ‘Arabization’. In its wider sense, this term reflects the enrichment of Islam with vernacular aesthetics, traditions, and forms of religiosity, far beyond the existence of *‘aḡamī* texts. Yet, it is the *‘aḡamī* material that constitutes the main source of information about local peculiarities, as Dimitry Bondarev and Darya Ogorodnikova pointed out in their talk on *‘aḡamī* paratexts in manuscripts from Sudan. The spiritual value of *‘aḡamī* manuscripts was additionally highlighted by Amidu Sanni. The post-manuscript tradition was explored by Nikolai Dobronravin, who described the ‘Market Literature’ of northern Nigeria as ‘a sort of half-way production between the manuscripts and ‘modern’ publishing’. Scott Reese

further highlighted the relevance of printed matter for the development of the modern community of believers in which the use of the same works in distant places and the spread of local texts is more pronounced than in the manuscript production.

The second panel, ‘Homage to John Owen Hunwick’ focused on Hunwick’s contribution to scholarship and manuscript preservation and his legacy. The presenters included Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh, Scott Reese, and Mauro Nobili—who was surprisingly the only lecturer who spoke about Timbuktu.

The third panel, ‘Engaging with Texts: the Page and Beyond’, hosted two papers dealing with the literature of the Sokoto Caliphate. Paul Naylor spoke about the younger brother of Usman dan Fodio—Abdullahi (d. 1346/1828)—and the way in which he tried to immerse himself in the Arabic literary tradition in order to get in closer touch with his Islamic faith. The paper showed the lack of homogeneity in this kind of cultural processes, even among members of the same community, and how Abdullahi’s adherence to a ‘fully Arabic’ model of Islam could have had an adverse effect on his aspirations to become the leader of the Dawla ‘Uṡmāniyya. Stephanie Zehnle presented her ongoing work on the geographical representations produced in Sokoto—which were influenced by ‘the Arabic heritage of the geography-writing genre’—and how they were employed as a tool for political purposes by the rulers. Finally, Amir Syed presented his work on a poem in praise of the Prophet composed by the Tiġānī al-Hāġġ ‘Umar Fūṡi ṡa’l (d. 1280/1864).

The theme of Sufi spirituality, and in particular the Tiġānī brotherhood, was further developed during the fourth panel, which was dedicated to the transmission of knowledge. In fact, sub-panel 4A, ‘Transmitting Knowledge, Finding Meanings: From Sufism to Salafism’, focused on the spiritual trends in the African Islamic literatures. Abdalla Uba Adamu spoke of the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane in Sufi performances in northern Nigeria, where the lyrics written by certain Tiġānī singers have provoked controversies, because they were said to glorify Shaikh Ibrahim Niasse (d. 1394/1975) over God, recalling the old debate on the poetry of al-Hallāġ (d. 309/922). Some privately kept manuscripts presented by Zachary Wright could serve as historical sources for the origins of the Tiġānī brotherhood. Jeremy Dell (in panel 4B) examined a *tafsīr* written in Wólof by Muhammadu Dem, a twentieth-century Tiġānī cleric from Senegal. While traditionally Sufism has played a major role, according to Noah Salomon, more recently, the Salafi trend has found its place in Sub-Saharan Islam.

Sub-panel 4B, ‘Transmitting Knowledge, Finding Meanings: The Holy Qur’an’, with talks by Corinne Fortier, Afis Ayinde, and Jeremy Dell, addressed the acquisition of a physical and supernatural power through the writ-

ten word in the Qur'ān, due to the esoteric meaning that the holy text conceals. This perception led to the texts be employed for the performance of certain devotional—and also magical—rituals, not only by reading and reciting them, but also eating them or hanging them in trees, houses, or carrying them on one's neck, among other practices.

The geographic scope of the symposium was very wide: while, honouring John Hunwick, the majority of papers focused on western Africa, the literary production of some areas in East Africa was also well represented: Kenneth Inyani Simala read a paper on calligraphy in classical Swahili poetry; Noah Salomon, Amidu Sanni, Dimitry Bondarev and Darya Ogorodnikova presented their research on Sudan; Sara Fani and Adday Hernández spoke on the visual expression of *fushā*, *aḡamī*, and esoteric textual manifestations in Ethiopian Islamic manuscripts. The global nature of Islamic tradition was made evident. The magic-related material from Ethiopia that Hernández analyzed is not different from what can be found in other parts of the Islamic world, especially in Africa, and this globalization is also present in other genres such as grammar, jurisprudence and devotional literature. The pervasive works by al-Suyūṭī (d. 910/1505) constitute a good example of such globalization. But those works, read by local scholars, also inspired the composition of localized texts, as Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh, based on an earlier article by Hunwick, explained in his paper. Al-Ġazūlī's (d. ca. 869/1465) *Dalā'il al-ḥayrāt*, the subject of the talk by Afis Ayinde Oladosu, is another example of these widespread texts all throughout eastern and western African Islamic communities. This global character was also emphasized in the contribution by Scott Reese.

The symposium provided an opportunity for young researchers to meet established scholars, and witnessed an increasing global interest in the study of Islam in Africa. The full programme is available at <<http://www.african-studies.northwestern.edu/publications-research/ISITA/ISITA%20symposium.html>>, and the papers are being prepared for publication in the conference proceedings.

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Written Sources about Africa and their Study Milan, January 26–28, 2017

From 26 to 28 January, the Ambrosian Library in Milan convened the Third Dies Academicus of the Accademia Ambrosiana's Classis Africana. The three-day symposium, organized by Vermondo Brugnatelli (Milan) and Mena Lafkioui (Paris), was dedicated to the study of written sources about Africa, and a significant number of contributions dealt with manuscript studies.

The conference was organized into panels focusing on linguistics and philology, history, sources, and persons linked to the African written heritage and its study. Both Christian (primarily Coptic and Ethiopic) and Islamic (Berber, West African, and East African) manuscript areas were considered.

The Coptic tradition received probably the best coverage during the conference. Stephen Emmel (Münster) gave a general overview of Coptic written tradition, discussing the ways in which Coptic literature, that according to him has little what can be properly described as historiography, can be seen as a source for African history. Samuel Moawad (Münster) introduced the ongoing project dedicated to systematic study of a segment of Coptic literary tradition (highlighting the activities of *c.*30 writers) in his talk entitled 'Coptic authors and their literary works in the first millennium'. Several papers focused on the linguistic aspects witnessed by Coptic manuscripts. The language of Coptic papyri was closely studied by Anne Boud'hors (Paris) in her paper 'Dialectes et régionalismes: la langue des papyrus coptes documentaires'. She identified up to seventeen distinct dialects and sub-dialects that were used in the Nile Valley between the fourth and the sixth centuries CE. Philippe Luisier (Rome) rehabilitated the Coptic literature in Bohairic in his paper 'La prima documentazione scritta in boairico: traduzioni bibliche, testi liturgici, iscrizioni', successfully demonstrating the wide literary use and importance of this Coptic dialect already in the early period usually associated with the dominance of Sahidic. In his talk 'Les textes bilingues dans l'Égypte byzantine: typologie et fonction', Jean-Luc Fournet (Paris) focused on the parallel use of Coptic and Greek in the manuscripts in Egypt during the Late Antiquity. A later development, the Copto-Arabic tradition of the medieval Egypt, was in the focus of the paper by Adel Sidarus (Évora), 'Abū 'l-Barakāt b. Kabar (m. 1324) et le manuscrit de l'Ambrosienne C 45 Inf.', about the manuscript containing the *Muḥtāṣar al-aḥbār* by the Copt, Šams al-Ri'āsa al-Naṣrānī Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Kabar.

Four papers dealt with Christian Ethiopic written tradition. Shiferaw Bekele (Addis Ababa) took a historian's approach to the Ethiopian sources in his paper 'The genesis of Ethiopian nationalism in late antique and the early

medieval Ethiopia in light of recent historical and philological research'. In his talk 'An overview of the hagiographic traditions of Gulo Mākāda (East Tigray, Ethiopia)', Denis Nosnitsin (Hamburg), basing on the new data collected by a major project under his supervision, showed how manuscript research revealed previously unknown facts about the religious and social history in this African region: layers of veneration of saints could be identified, showing how the tendencies changed across time. The paper by Manfred Kropp (Mainz), 'The foundation of the church Dābrā Ṭəbāb Bā'ata as reflected in witnesses' documents and Ethiopian historiography: the role of the written word in traditional customary law dominated by orality' was read *in absentia* by Alessandro Bausi. It introduced previously unpublished documents preserved in the manuscripts kept in a church in the city of Gondar, in central Ethiopia, and discussed the importance of the codification of legal transactions in manuscript form. Finally, Robert Beylot (Paris), in his 'Note sur l'origine des querelles théologiques du XV^e siècle en Éthiopie', discussed texts whose composition, or translation, reflected religious controversies in medieval Ethiopia.

In addition, Ethiopian Islamic manuscript tradition was in the centre of the paper by Michele Petrone (Copenhagen), 'Sufism and textual production in 20th-century Ethiopia: the case of the *Ḥulāsāt al-Tağrīd* by Badr al-Dīn al-Ubiyy (d. 1962) and of the Rašādiyya of Wolkite', presenting first results of an investigation into a previously unknown source, discovered during a recent field mission in the country.

Berber studies were another focus of the conference. The inscriptions left by the North Africans during the Spanish Conquest on the Canary Islands were introduced by Lionel Galand (Paris) in his talk 'Les inscriptions canariennes et l'étude du berbère'. Harry Stroomer (Leiden) spoke of the 'Archives on Berber languages and cultures and what to do with them', providing a general overview of existing collections on Berber languages and cultures, including manuscripts, and the state of the art in their study. Vermondo Brugnatelli focused on the Berber manuscripts, and in particular on how the texts they transmit reflect the peculiarities of the Berber dialects, in his talk 'Les manuscrits médiévaux à l'est et à l'ouest de la Berbérie'. Peter Reesink (Amsterdam) offered a glimpse into the history of Berber lexicography in the paper 'La confection du dictionnaire Kabyle Français de J.-M. Dallet. La contribution des pères blancs aux études berbères'. Sources dealing with the Berber peoples were further assessed by Mohamed Meouak (Cádiz), 'Anthroponymie et toponymie berbères dans *al-Tašawwuf ilā riḡāl al-tašawwuf wa-aḥbār Abī l-'Abbās al-Sabtī* d'Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādīlī (ob. 1230–1231): observations historiques et linguistiques', Helena de Felipe (Alcalá de Henares),

‘Naming and Shaping North African People’, and Virginie Prevost (Brussels), ‘Les femmes berbères dans les sources ibadites du Maghreb médiéval’.

Several papers were dedicated to West African written sources. Paulo F. de Moraes (Birmingham) spoke of ‘Medieval Arabic Inscriptions from West Africa (401 AH / 1011 AD to 894 AH / 1489 AD): a still neglected historical source’, and Jean Allman (Washington) introduced an issue of more recent tradition in her talk on ‘Shadow Archives and the Contingencies of Postcolonial History Writing: Kwame Nkrumah’s Ghana, 1957–1966’.

A link between Europe and Africa—a study of Classical sources speaking of the African continent—was offered by Vincent Zarini (Paris) in his paper ‘L’Afrique de Corippe, terre de contrastes’.

The conference organizers provided a rare opportunity for the participants to view manuscripts of African provenance—or representing African manuscript traditions—preserved in the collection of the Ambrosian Library.

The entire conference was recorded; the video files are available at <http://www.ambrosiana.eu/dms/Accademia_2016-17/CSAfr/20170126-28_III_DA_1-16.html>. Conference proceedings are expected to be published within 2018.

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Reviews

Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke, eds, *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 9 (Berlin and Boston: Walter De Gruyter, 2016). ISBN 978-3-11-049693-2, e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-049695-6, e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-049559-1, ISSN 2365-9696, 129.95€ / \$182.00 / £97.99.

Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke have edited a collection of articles revolving around manuscripts that contain more than one text. Most of the contributions are based on the presentations given in the conference organized by the Research Group ‘Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa’ at the University of Hamburg on 7–9 October 2010. In addition, the volume contains two articles that were written only for this publication and one that is a reprint of an article published elsewhere in 2010.

In the introduction the editors discuss terminological development pointing out that composite manuscript and multiple-text manuscripts are more accurate and descriptive terms to what has earlier been called *miscellany*. They specify that a composite manuscript is a codicological unit that contains texts that have earlier been independent units but have subsequently been put together to form a single unit, whereas the term multiple-text manuscript (MTM) is used to describe a codicological unit that is a result of one production process that has taken place in a limited time and space. All the articles in the volume follow this terminological distinction. The move away from terms like *miscellany* to the newer terms reflects a general development from text-focused manuscript studies to a study that also pays attention to the manuscript as an artifact that has a production history.

The articles span over a large variety of manuscript cultures from Latin and Greek over Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian and Nepalese to Tibetan and Chinese, all of them displaying features of composite manuscripts and MTMs. Marilena Mariaci describes the complex structures of Medieval Latin and Byzantine manuscripts and provides a case study of a Latin manuscript. Her tabular presentation of the manuscript’s codicological structure is interesting and serves as a useful model that could be applied to different manuscript cultures. Jost Gippert combines codicology and textual study in his article on the history and development of Georgian *mravaltavi*, a special genre of MTMs that were used in a liturgical context. Paola Buzi presents some codicological features of MTMs among Coptic manuscripts. She then discusses the origin of the MTMs and suggests that they reflect the

conscious choices made within the monastic milieu and thus form an important source in studying the Coptic culture.

Alessandro Bausi has written on Ethiopic manuscripts and presents some cases where a composite manuscript has evolved into a MTM, i.e. a composite manuscript combining different individual codicological units has subsequently become an archetype of further copies with more or less fixed content. He argues that the composite manuscript functions as a corpus organizer resulting in a MTM that eventually gains a permanent form that will not only respond to the requirements of liturgy and teaching but will also influence and develop these requirements. Alessandro Bausi's focus is on the Christian Ethiopian manuscripts whereas Alessandro Gori's article deals with the Islamic manuscript culture in Ethiopia. He presents preliminary findings of Ethiopian Arabic manuscripts that have only recently become a focus of study. He argues that in many cases the production of composite manuscripts was a result of European colonial presence in Ethiopia. Even though the individual codicological units forming the composite manuscript would have circulated locally, the produced composite volumes containing texts on subjects such as Sufism, theology, history and law, reflect the interests of the colonial administrators, travellers or scholars. In contrast, the MTMs produced in Ethiopia were more often produced to serve the needs of the local communities. Alessandro Gori divides the MTMs into two groups: first, manuscripts dealing with one topic or related topics, and second, manuscripts forming collections of liturgical texts. MTMs belonging to the first group would have been produced mainly for teaching purposes, whereas the liturgical MTMs would contain fairly standardized collections of devotional poems and prayers to be recited at religious festivals or congregations of Sufi brotherhoods.

Gerhard Endress connects the Arabic composite manuscripts and MTMs to the Islamic scholarly milieu that produced 'one-volume libraries' usually containing texts on related subjects. Endress's argument is that these volumes do not reflect standard curriculums of the teaching institutions but, instead, illustrate the efforts of individual scholars who collected relevant texts, organized them and had them bound together for practical reasons. Some of these volumes are composite manuscripts, where the constituent codicological units had originally circulated as separate manuscripts, whereas others are MTMs where the texts were copied by the scholar himself, sometimes adding correction and collation notes in the margins. None of the composite manuscripts that Endress presents functioned as corpus organizers in the sense that Alessandro Bausi used the term in his article and, instead, emerge as individually assembled 'one-volume libraries' for the exclusive use of one scholar.

The individual use is also prevalent in Ottoman private scrapbooks that Jan Schmidt describes in his article. He defines the scrapbooks as a subgenre of MTMs and offers some examples of these often chaotic notebooks that seem to contain haphazardly collected text fragments. One of the scrapbooks contains a collection of brief texts that cannot be connected to any scholarly purpose, instead, it appears that the collector had focused on texts of certain rarity and Jan Schmidt compares him to ‘a philatelist collecting rare stamps’. The other example that he gives is a MTM written on a pre-bound note book and containing appointment dates, lists of various payments, samples of letters, verses of poetry, aphorisms etc., all items that must have been important and useful for the owner of the note book. It is the personal nature of the note book’s content that makes it interesting as it offers few glimpses of the owner’s life.

Florinda de Simini’s article takes us back to the idea of composite manuscripts as corpus organizers as she studies the development and organization of Śivadharma corpus in Medieval Nepal. In her article she adapts codex-based terminology to better suit the Nepalese production of palm leaf manuscripts, where a single loose leaf, and not a quire, is the basic codicological unit. By analyzing the codicological features of early composite manuscripts and MTMs of Śivadharma, she is able to show how the various texts gradually became part of Śivadharma and the MTMs developed into a fixed corpus of eight or seven standard texts. Sam van Schaik writes about a Dunhuang manuscript, a MTM containing the Tibetan Chan Compendium. In his article he combines socio-historical and codicological methods in order to explore the role that the corpus played in the Tibetan religious life. He analyses various codicological features of the MTM, such as repairs, layout and changes in calligraphic styles. The results lead him to date the production of the MTM to a period between 900 and 950. He then moves to place the MTM in the historical context of that period and is able to connect the manuscript to the social and ritual context of precept-taking ceremonies.

The two last articles in the book present examples of Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts. Donald Harper’s article is a reprint and was originally published in 2010. In the article he discusses occult MTMs dating from the fourth century BCE to the tenth century CE focusing on the arrangement and functions of the material. He argues that the organization of MTMs illustrates how the compilers and the users perceived the occult ideas and practices. He describes the MTMs as textual artifacts that can be analyzed to identify the daily life situations where occult knowledge was considered relevant. Imre Galambos provides a study of a Dunhuang scroll that consists of several texts glued together to form a composite manuscript. By studying the various parts of

the scroll he sheds light on the motivations that led to the creation of such scrolls in medieval China. He points out that manuscripts were usually not created to preserve the texts but they are mainly a result of social activity. A careful codicological study of the composite scroll allows Imre Galambos to contextualize it within a particular socio-political environment and he is able to establish the scroll's relationship both to the Buddhist monastic community in Dunhuang and to the legitimation of the local political leadership.

The articles in the volume may reach to a wide range of manuscript cultures but, at the same time, they deal with similar issues and questions, thus giving the volume a good thematic unity. The articles show that codicology combined with socio-historical contextualization gives new insights in the processes of manuscript production. The book is an interesting and important contribution on the study of manuscripts and it underlines that it is the combination of codicological and various textual methods that provide the most interesting results.

The PDF version of the book is available online in Open Access (<<https://www.degruyter.com/view/product/476788>>).

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Gohar Muradyan, *David the Invincible Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge: Old Armenian Text with the Greek Original, an English Translation, Introduction and Notes*, Philosophia Antiqua, 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2015). ISBN 978-9-004280847, e-ISBN 978-9-004280885, 205€.

The mysterious David Anhalt, the Invincible Philosopher whose work is one of the only works of literature from the sixth century that could arguably be called ‘Armenian’. About David himself we know almost nothing at all—only that he was probably a pupil of Olympiodorus in Alexandria, and that he gave lectures on philosophy, versions of four of which have come down to us. These include a prolegomena known as the ‘Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy’, a commentary on the *Isagogē* of Porphyry, and commentaries on two works of Aristotle, the *Categories* and the *Prior Analytics*. These works appear to have circulated originally in Greek, but Armenian versions appeared soon afterward amid a wave of late sixth-century translations of Greek philosophical works.

David’s connection to Armenia can only be established on the basis of the attention that his works received and on the strong tradition that arose in medieval times claiming him as one of his own. According to this tradition he was from the village of Nergin in Tarōn, a fact either giving rise to or derived from the toponymic ‘Nerginac’i’ by which he is occasionally known. He is usually named as a pupil of Maštoc’, the creator of the Armenian alphabet in the early fifth century, but has also been called a pupil of Movsēs Xorenac’i, the historian known as the ‘father of Armenian history’ and whose own biography and era remains a matter of dispute. The tradition generally agreed that, after a distinguished career in Alexandria, David returned to Armenia and engaged personally in the translation work that was a major component of the landscape of Armenian literature from the fifth century to the seventh.¹

Although several Armenian editions, both of David’s collected works and of individual commentaries, have been published since the nineteenth century—most recently, the edition of 1980 published by Arevšatyan²—attention to the philosopher and his surviving works has not percolated very far into Western-language scholarship. This is in part because of a lack of translations: of the four commentaries that come down to us, only one, the *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy*, had until very recently been translated into English.³ It was, in part, to address this deficiency that a joint project was set

1 For a fuller introduction to the life and works of David, see Barnes 2009; Calzolari 2009. These articles comprise the introduction to a landmark collection of studies of different aspects of David’s work and its reception.

2 Arevšatyan 1980.

3 Kendall and Thomson 1983.

up, financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation, with partners at the Universities of Geneva and Fribourg as well as the Matenadaran in Yerevan. Thus far the collaboration has resulted, not only in the collection edited by Calzolari and Barnes already cited, but also in the edition and translation of two of David's four known works, of which this volume is the second. The remaining works are expected to be published in due course.

Gohar Muradyan has made a meticulous new edition of the work. The focus of this edition is very much on the technicalities of the text and its transmission; it does not contain a substantial commentary on the contents. Using the prior Armenian edition of Arevšatyan as well as the sole Greek edition⁴ as a starting point, she has re-examined more than fifty Armenian manuscripts as well as nine Greek ones, using these to draw or support conclusions about the likely stemmatic origin of the Armenian version, to say something about the relationships of manuscripts within the Armenian tradition, and to make a close observation of the discrepancies between the Greek and the Armenian. No stemma of the Armenian manuscripts is attempted. Muradyan declares the task impossible and we will not dispute that, but some form of visually comprehensible schematic of the manuscripts and their relations might have been gratefully received by readers. What is provided is a list of the number of agreements and disagreements between pairs of manuscripts, although there is no indication given of the editorial criteria used for distinguishing readings.

The text that is presented is a critical one, in that it is constructed from the evidence of the witnesses; on the other hand, rather than beginning anew with the construction of the text, Muradyan has chosen to use the edition of Arevšatyan as a base text, and to indicate in the apparatus when it has been departed from. While this is a reasonable approach from the perspective of minimizing the labour involved in what is already a monumental task, and thus delivering the edition within a reasonable timeframe, the lack of a full critical apparatus of the manuscripts that were consulted is to be regretted, particularly given the lack of any such apparatus in the prior edition.

These small criticisms aside, the edition is a veritable treasury of information about the text. Muradyan first presents her reconstruction of the Armenian, itself based in part on comparison with the Greek, along with its English translation which includes an endnote-referenced appendix of translations of passages that appear in the Greek but are absent from the Armenian. This is followed by the Greek version of the text, based on Busse's edition but emended where Muradyan considered one of Busse's variants to be better-supported by the Armenian, and including a proposed restoration of six lectures missing from the Greek manuscripts, based on their extant Armenian

4 Busse 1904.

versions and on the secondary evidence provided by the *Dialectica* of John of Damascus. The edition is given its finishing touches as a reference work in the form of a list of the scholia that appear in the Armenian manuscripts, and a glossary of equivalences between Greek, Armenian, and English technical terms. Taken as a whole this is a truly impressive and invaluable work of scholarship—a reference edition that is certain to stand the test of time.

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Clair-obscure in Copenhagen*

The two volumes of the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark, by Dr Irmeli Perho make a splendid impression, as indeed does the entire series of catalogues that is being published by or on behalf of the Royal Library. One cannot praise too highly an institution that takes its task of collection description so seriously.¹ On the other hand, I have rarely had so many misgivings about a project. In this review, I try to accommodate both opinions, even if they seem mutually exclusive. In order to better understand the situation regarding this Persian catalogue, a short historical survey of the Copenhagen catalogues may be useful.

Since the early 1990s, a huge effort has been undertaken in Copenhagen to describe the Middle Eastern collections. The first result of this is the work, in Arabic, by ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥaydarī (also written Ali Abd Alhussein Alhaidary) and Stig T. Rasmussen.² Rasmussen’s introduction to the history of the Oriental collection in Copenhagen occupies some two and a half pages in it.³ The first shock derives from Rasmussen’s ‘Parameters of Description’, on p. 17 of the 1995 volume. These ‘parameters’ are the template employed by Rasmussen and al-Ḥaydarī, and later by Dr Perho, for their descriptions. This template, which is meant to contain the basic elements of the description of the manuscripts, omits any mention of the place of copying. A regrettable oversight, one might say; but, it is worse than that: in none of the subsequent volumes of the Copenhagen catalogue is there a single mention in the template of the place of copying. This is one of the many mysteries of the Copenhagen catalogue. The Arabic-writing and Persian-writing worlds are expansive landscapes and the

* This is a review article of Irmeli Perho, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts. Codices Persici Arthur Christenseniani, Codices Simonseniani Persici, Codices Persici Additamenta*, I–II, Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc., in Danish Collections (COMDC), 8/1–2 (Copenhagen: the Royal Library and NIAS Press, 2014), 592 + 506 pp., illustrated. ISBN 978-87-7694-135-2, £175.

- 1 Quite a number of manuscripts in the Royal Library, both Western and Oriental, are now available online in good quality images: <<http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/n/>> where ‘n’ is the serial number within the digital library.
- 2 *Al-Daḥā’ir al-‘Arabiyya fīl-Maktaba al-Malikiyya*, see Ali Abd Alhussein Alhaidary and Rasmussen 1995. The English title-page is more prosaic: *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts* [...], and mentions Stig T. Rasmussen as co-author, namely of the introduction and the short-title handlist that covers the same collection that al-Ḥaydarī describes *in extenso*. After that, came the catalogues by Perho 2003 and 2007.
- 3 It is a pleasure to see how, some twenty years later, the same author treats the same subject in more than five hundred pages, see Rasmussen 2016. Text both in Danish and English. Some subjects have their incubation times indeed ...

reader of a catalogue might wish to know where exactly a particular source was produced, especially if that information is simply available in the colophon, often written next to the date of copying. Mentioning the place of copying is so elementary that I am not going to explain here why it is important.⁴ Nor am I the first to have detected this curious lacuna in the Copenhagen catalogues. Criticism of the absence of localities in the catalogue was published as early as 2004,⁵ but Frédéric Bauden's remarks in this regard have not led to any changes in the 'Parameters of Description' for the three subsequent Arabic catalogue volumes, or for the two Persian volumes that were to follow. The omission of an important element in the template is therefore a conscious act by the Copenhagen cataloguers, not a simple oversight. In the Persian catalogue, this *horror loci* is even extended to the description of the lithographs. There, the place of printing and the name of the publisher are absent from the 'parameters' as well, although they are occasionally mentioned in the notes at the end of the descriptions. In the old Copenhagen catalogue, places of copying are mentioned, as they ought to be.⁶ For fairness' sake, it should be said that geographical names have been inventoried in a special 'Index of Places', which mentions 26 localities between the island of Jerba (Tunisia) in the West and several towns in India in the East.⁷ Yes, Jerba. Apparently, the Ottoman copyist Muḥammad b. Tūrmuṣ wrote a copy of Šam'ī's commentary to Sa'dī's *Gulistān* there in 1073/1662.⁸ Looking at Dr Perho's description of that manuscript we see, on p. 413, the illustration of what is said to be a detached page from that volume, described as f. 1a. To me, the text on that page originates from a *Dīwān* of Ḥāfīz, whereas the author says that pp. 1–6 of that volume are 'blank except for detached notes'. Here, and in many more instances in the catalogue for that matter, the reader finds himself following up a certain interesting feature, only to be frustrated by the lack of an adequate description or explanation. One is inclined to ask whether the author has looked at the illustrations in her own book before having it printed.

A word about the completeness of the catalogue. The two volumes of the Persian catalogue contain descriptions of the 155 Persian manuscripts that Arthur Christensen (1875–1945) acquired in Iran in 1914. The volumes also describe the 112 Persian manuscripts that the Royal Library acquired on several occasions after 1918. In addition, the catalogue contains a description of

4 If that is not valid as an argument, just take Bausi et al. 2015, and search the volume for the term 'locality' for convincing context.

5 Bauden 2004.

6 Mehren 1851, 1857. See also Wulff 1992, 195, who mentions the place of copying in Mehren's catalogues.

7 Perho 2014, II, 478–479.

8 Ibid. 412–415, describing Cod. Pers. Add. 96.

Copenhagen's newer collections that arrived after 1857. Not only manuscripts are described in the two volumes, also lithographic editions. This makes sense, as lithographs are a sort of manuscripts anyway. However, the 143 Persian manuscripts in Copenhagen already described by A.F. Mehren in 1857 are not described in Dr Perho's catalogue. No reason is given for this omission. Mehren's catalogue is indeed available on the website of the Royal Library (although not easily, it must be said, and via an impractically huge colour pdf), but not re-cataloguing the old collection, in my opinion, is a missed opportunity. Mehren wrote his catalogue in Latin 160 years ago. Do researchers of Persian manuscript literature today all read Latin? Has there been no progress in cataloguing manuscripts since 1857? Do the 143 manuscripts that are left out by Dr Perho not deserve to be treated and illustrated like the rest of the collection? I cannot imagine that the sponsor of this catalogue, the Carlsberg Foundation, would have much minded publishing yet another volume, with descriptions of the older collections. In a spontaneous act of Danish crowd-sourcing, readers could solemnly pledge to buy more Carlsberg beer if the Carlsberg Foundation does this after all!

While working my way through Dr Perho's two Persian volumes, it struck me that the subject classification is also rather peculiar. In general, one can always differ about what exactly the subject of a text is, and one usually has little choice other than to follow the cataloguer's discretion, frequently against one's better knowledge as the author of the catalogue usually does not read the text he describes. However, giving 'poetry' as the subject of almost all poetical texts, as Dr Perho does, is the other extreme.⁹ Is poetry the subject of poetry? Of course, it is not. The author has not even made an effort to divide the subject into lyrical, epic, mnemotechnic, or mystical poetry (to name but four large subdivisions), and this makes the subject indication in the descriptions a useless feature. Poetry is not the only instance, 'prose writing' is another one, but for prose this is less disturbing as the author uses several other categories as well for subject cataloguing.

Looking for the oldest dated Persian manuscript of the Copenhagen collection¹⁰ the reader arrives at the description of Cod. Pers. Add. 40 A, a manu-

9 Perho 2014, in all descriptions of poetical texts, and repeating this in the subject index in vol. II, 445–446. An exception is Cod. Pers. A.C. 119 (vol. I, 426–428), a work on ritual purity and prayer.

10 With the help of the excellent palaeographical index 'Index of copying years' in vol. II, 473–476, which contains references to 143 dated or datable manuscripts, copied between 857/1453 and 1331/1913. A breakdown over the Hīgra centuries shows: 9th/15th cent.: 2 copies; 10th/16th cent.: 8 copies; 11th/16th–17th cent.: 22 copies; 12th/17th–18th cent.: 13 copies; 13th/18th–19th cent.: 63 copies; 14th/19th–20th cent. (only up to 1331/1913): 32 copies.

script that is presented as an identified *Tafsīr*.¹¹ A first glance at the two illustrations (first and last pages of the manuscript) tells the reader that this text cannot have been copied in 857/1453. It looks much younger. Dr Perho bases her dating on the number '857' that is written underneath the last words of the text, but is this really the year of copying? This number, without context, if meaningful at all, may be the outcome of a chronogram. It could refer to the numerical value of parts of the final line of the quatrain at the end of the text, which indeed hide a chronogram. However, the fourth line of the quatrain, as given in the manuscript, adds up to a much later date than 857, but the presence of a chronogram is beyond doubt. It is also clear from the illustration in Dr Perho's catalogue that the passage of the chronogram is part of the text, not of the colophon. So, whatever the correct date of the chronogram may have been, it is the author who composed it, and it is not an addition by the copyist. It therefore says something about the date of completion of the text, not of the manuscript. That said, it is no longer difficult to identify this 'unidentified' text. The first hit revealed by a Google search for the lines of the quatrain at the end of this text is the *Tafsīr-i Mawāhib-i 'Aliyya* by Ḥusayn Kāšifī (d. 910/1504–1505), a well-known text of which numerous manuscripts exist and which has been in print since 1839. Several other volumes of it are even in the Copenhagen Library.¹² This 'unidentified' text is, in fact, the fourth and final volume of that *Tafsīr*.¹³

If I were to list all the misreadings, omissions and plain misunderstandings in this catalogue I would far exceed the space allotted to me here. It would also make for a dull read. It is for that reason alone that I refrain from doing so. However, I am appalled by the ubiquitous sloppiness in the details of this catalogue. It should never have passed the editorial phase in this shape, let alone be printed. Both the author of the catalogue and the editor of the series must have been working in almost total isolation from feedback from peers. To the superficial onlooker, the book is appealing (size, learned text, excellent illustrations), but scratch the thin veneer and one tumbles from amazement into exasperation. The identification of the *Mawāhib-i 'Aliyya* in the previous paragraph is atypical because it has, quite unexpectedly, a good

11 Perho 2014, II, 186–189.

12 Cod. Sim. Pers. 2 (volume 1, Perho 2014, II, 7–10); Pers. II and Pers. III (volumes 1 and 2, respectively, Mehren 1857, 3–4).

13 See Āghā Buzurg-i Tehrānī n.d., where it is said that the quatrain at the end reads 2 Šawwāl 899/1494, the date of completion of the text:

با خامه که این نامه اقبال نوشت . و انجم سخن با یمن الفال نوشت .
گفتم مه و روز و سال تاریخ نویس . فی الحال دوم ز شهر شوال نوشت .

In the meantime, the text of the Copenhagen manuscript had apparently become corrupt in more than one place so that the chronogram is no longer valid.

ending. Is there nothing good, then, in these two volumes? Fortunately, there are, the countless faults aside, even more good readings and excellent ideas. These are to the author's credit. However, as the Dutch proverb says, 'Trust arrives on foot but leaves on horseback'. It is the persistent unevenness of quality of the book that is so troubling, as it undermines the trust that a reader should put in the author. That goes for a catalogue even more than for an article or a monograph.

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David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch, and Sabine Schmidtke, eds, *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015). Hardcover. XII + 305 pp. ISBN-13: 9789004288256. € 114.00 | \$ 145.00.

Throughout the Islamic world and in European and American collections, immense Islamic manuscript resources remain unexplored.¹ Yet, the study of this material is a rapidly developing research field, which is reflected e.g. in the establishment of journals and professional organizations, and in the increased publication of articles and monographs, as emphasized by the editors of the volume under review (Introduction, p. 1). Sustaining the growing effort clearly requires the work of more scholars, and in recent years access to this complicated field has fortunately been facilitated with the publication of valuable introductions and reference works such as those of F. Déroche and A. Gacek.² Yemeni libraries, too, hold major collections, and the editors point out that ‘the scholars of Yemen in general, and those of the *Zaydī madhhab* in particular, preserved sources and developed lines of intellectual inquiry not extant elsewhere’ (p. 2). This heritage has already received considerable attention from Western and Middle Eastern scholars. Important collections were established in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (the largest being in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan). From the 1950s onward, Egyptian and Iranian scholars have secured microfilms of extensive material.³ *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition* is a very welcome addition to these studies.

The volume under review deals with various aspects of Yemeni manuscript culture from the seventh to the twentieth century CE. Beyond the ‘main texts’ documented in manuscripts, it illustrates a growing interest in commentaries and in the entire range of ‘metatexts’ they contain. The subjects covered include methodological issues in regard to the study of early Qur’āns (ch. 1), new manuscript evidence relevant for *Zaydī* and broader Mu‘tazilite theology (ch. 2–3), the use of metatexts such as scribal dicta and *iğāzas* (i.e. ‘licenses’ for transmission; ch. 4), the intellectual outlook of *Zaydī* scholars as reflected in *iğāzas* and marginal notes (ch. 5–6), the travel activity of scholars (ch. 7), trade routes evidenced by the paper used for manuscripts (ch. 8), and Yemeni policies toward the use of Hebrew script for official purposes in the 1920s and 1930s (ch. 9).

Ch. 1, A. Hilali’s ‘Was the *Ṣan‘ā’ Qur‘ān* Palimpsest a Work in Progress?’ (pp. 12–27), springs from the author’s work on preparing an edition

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- 1 For a brief survey of material in Arabic script (which of course constitutes the bulk of Islamic manuscripts), see Sagaria Rossi 2015.
 - 2 See Déroche 2006 (English tr. of Déroche 2000); Gacek 2001, 2008, 2009.
 - 3 See Schmidtke 2012, which also serves as an introduction to a special issue of that journal, dedicated to articles on Zaydism.

of this famous early source and addresses two main issues related to the interpretation of the lower text layer.⁴ Firstly, Hilali criticizes an earlier edition of the palimpsest⁵ for relying on the *qirā'āt* (i.e. the variant 'readings') recorded in Islamic scholarly literature for the reconstruction of parts of the text, and she gives some examples of readings where she believes the authors have been misled by the variant literature against the evidence of the palimpsest itself (pp. 16–17). Secondly, Hilali presents a number of arguments that the lower text was likely a scholarly exercise rather than being part of a 'complete Qur'ān'. Certainly, a striking example is found on a folio containing the beginning of sūra 9 which in Hilali's reading is introduced by the *basmala* formula;⁶ in the next line she now reads *lā taqul bi-smi llāh*, 'Do not say: in the name of God', which would indeed suggest 'the presence of a correcting authority' (pp. 24–25).

Ch. 2, 'Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Rebuttal of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in a Yemeni Zaydī Manuscript of the 7th/13th Century' (pp. 28–65) by H. Ansari, W. Madelung, and S. Schmidtke introduces new source material for the debates conducted within Mu'tazilite theology. In 2007 Madelung and Schmidtke published fragments of two treatises by the Jewish Karaite scholar Abū Yaq'ūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. between 1037 and 1039) directed against some of the theological views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 1045), a student of the leading Bahṣamī theologian 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī (d. 1025).⁷ This chapter includes the edition (pp. 38–54) of an additional fragment of one of Abū Yaq'ūb's treatises housed in the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt in Ṣan'ā', containing 'the complete introduction to the treatise (...) as well as considerable parts of a first chapter' (p. 29).

In Ch. 3, H. Ansari and J. Thiele treat the 'MS Berlin, State Library, Glaser 51: A Unique Manuscript from the Early 7th/13th-Century Bahṣamite Milieu in Yemen' (pp. 66–81), which contains the third volume of the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl li-ḡumal al-Taḥṣīl* by Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥuraṣī (alive in 1214 when it was copied) and is the only known manuscript of this work, a commentary on a twelfth-century work on Zaydī theology. Over time, however, the text 'appears to have been forgotten by Zaydī scholars', even though it was a sophisticated work and 'likely the most extensive Bahṣamī compendium of al-Ḥuraṣī's time composed in Yemen' (p. 72). The manuscript re-

4 Hilali's edition is announced by Oxford University Press as forthcoming this year.

5 Sadeghi and Goudarzi 2010.

6 I.e., *bi-smi llāhi l-rahmāni l-rahīm*, 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate'. Sūra 9 is the only one of the 114 sūras in the Qur'ān which should not be introduced by this formula.

7 For the Bahṣamī branch of the Mu'tazila (taking its name from Abū Hāšim 'Abd al-Salām al-Ġubbā'ī, d. 933), see Schmidtke 2008.

mains unedited, but in 2013 the authors published a facsimile edition, and the chapter contains an appendix with a table of contents in Arabic (pp. 75–77).

In Ch. 4, ‘The Pearl and the Ruby: Scribal Dicta and Other Metatextual Notes in Yemeni Mediaeval Manuscripts’ (pp. 82–100), A. D’Ottone offers a somewhat eclectic selection of metatexts: seven versified scribal dicta from manuscripts dating from 1214 to 1478; *qirā’as* (i.e. ‘audition certificates’) and an *iğāza* issued for two grammatical texts in 1273;⁸ and two authorial notes added to an autograph manuscript from 1314 containing ‘some information on the process of editing and the future transmission of his work’ (p. 95). The author notes that the study of such metatexts is a developing field of research but much work remains to be done to gather a material ‘large enough to be useful in the study of Yemeni cultural history’ (p. 97).

Ch. 5, Ansari and Schmidtke’s ‘The Literary-Religious Tradition among 7th/13th-Century Yemeni Zaydīs (II): The Case of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-‘Ansī (d. 667/1269)’ (pp. 101–154), continues ‘the authors’ series of studies dealing with the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries’ (p. 101, n. 1). In his *Mağmū‘ al-iğāzāt*, Aḥmad b. Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Miswarī (d. 1668) includes an *iğāza* issued to al-‘Ansī by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Akwa‘ in 1246.⁹ This *iğāza* (edited on pp. 109–115) provides a detailed look at the wide-ranging intellectual interests of Zaydīs in this period. It is of particular interest due the works by Iranian Zaydīs mentioned (a confirmation of Iranian-Yemeni connections), but is also noteworthy for the many central Sunnī Muslim texts included. The appendices list the persons and places mentioned (149 in all) and the channels of transmission of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s *Nahğ al-balāğa* (the famous Shiite collection of letters, speeches etc. traditionally ascribed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) to Yemen based on *iğāzas* by al-Akwa‘ and others (pp. 116–147).

Ch. 6, G. Schwarb’s ‘MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1294: A Guide to Zaydī Kalām-Studies during the Ṭāhirid and Early Qāsimitic Periods (Mid-15th to Early 18th Centuries)’ (pp. 155–202), deals with a period for which Zaydī *kalām* has received only limited scholarly attention even though important developments took place. While there are many examples of an interest in Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* and *fiqh* already from the twelfth century (pp. 157–158; cf. also the preceding chapter), it is in the period studied here that the scope widened considerably. Schwarb introduces the *Mirqāt al-anzār* by ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nağrī (d. 1472–1473), an unedited work ‘which

8 For these types of metatexts, see inter alia Déroche 2005, 332–334; Gacek 2009, 52–56.

9 For a discussion of *iğāzas* and their development into various scholarly genres, see Witkam 1995.

for almost three centuries constituted the backbone of Zaydī *kalām*-studies' (p. 155). While this work, itself a commentary on a part of the *Kitāb al-Baḥr al-zahḥār* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 1436–1437), is extant in numerous manuscripts (listed 169–174), the Munich codex (completed in 1696) 'appears to be the most lavishly annotated' of all the manuscripts (p. 186). Schwarb provides an extensive list of works used for the marginal annotations in the manuscript (pp. 187–202), divided into 'Zaydī Authors' (47 items), 'Non-Šī'ī Mu'tazilī Authors' (three items), and 'Mu'tazilī Sunnī Authors' (26 items).

The manuscript explored in Ch. 7, C. Rauch's 'Zaydī Scholars on the Move: A Multitext Manuscript by Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥumayd al-Miqrā'ī (b. 908/1503, d. 990/1582) and Other Contemporary Sources' (pp. 203–226), was copied in 1562–1563 and contains five works on theology and *fiqh* by al-Miqrā'ī. On the basis of the metatexts in this and other manuscripts, Rauch establishes a chronology of al-Miqrā'ī's travel activities (much of it in the company of the Imām, the scholar Šaraf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Šams al-Dīn, d. 1557) both to centres such as Ša'da and to 'scholarly villages' (*hiḡar*) such as al-Abnā'. The article also includes a description of these villages in the Wādī al-Sirr, villages which functioned as secured places 'in a tribe's territory where non-tribal people (...) live under the protection of the tribe' (p. 210).

Ch. 8, A. Regourd's 'Papiers filigranés de manuscrits de Zabīd, premiers tiers du XVIIIe jusqu'au milieu du XXe siècle: papiers importés et 'locaux'' (pp. 227–251), springs from the author's work on the rich manuscript collections in the historically important centre of Sunnī learning, Zabīd on the coastal plain of the Tihāma. So far this has inter alia resulted in the publication of three fascicules of the *Catalogue cumulé des manuscrits de bibliothèques privées de Zabīd*. The specific focus in this chapter is the use of watermarked paper. Knowing the provenance of this kind of writing material, it becomes possible to establish likely trade routes.

Ch. 9, 'Šan'ā', Jerusalem, New York: Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn (1869–1948) and Yemeni-Jewish Migration from Palestine to the United States' (pp. 252–280) by M. Anzi and K. Hünefeld, deals with a change in the administrative procedure of Yemeni authorities in regard to Jews of Yemeni origin. From the 1920s on, some of the Yemeni Jews who had immigrated to Palestine wanted to relocate to the United States, and the American Consulate allowed them to do so under the Yemeni immigration quota, provided they could prove their origin by means of birth certificates. The usual procedure for obtaining this documentation was to have letters written in Judaeo-Arabic, signed by witnesses, and sent to Yemen where local Jews would add an Arabic transcription and deliver them to the authorities for confirmation. In 1937, however,

Imām Yaḥyā's policy changed, and judges were required 'to reject documents that include Hebrew script and refuse their confirmation' (p. 261). Anzi and Hünefeld include specimens of the request letters and consider the possible political reasons for this reversal of policy.

Four indices facilitate the use of the volume: 'Persons and Groups', 'Places and Institutions', 'Books', and 'Manuscripts' (pp. 281–305).

The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition is certainly an important addition to the study of 'manuscript culture', a field of research which the editors expect 'to grow exponentially in the coming years', due inter alia to the increased availability of digitized manuscripts and catalogues on the Internet (p. 2). The volume will be of particular value for those interested in Zaydī Islam in the medieval period and in the study of the metatextual evidence of manuscripts, and it clearly shows how much there is to be learned from these types of text which have all too often been regarded as completely peripheral to the 'main texts'.

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