

al-Bardiyyat

البرديات

newsletter of the international society of arabic papyrology
no. 1 (2002-2003)

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beta version of the *Checklist of Arabic Papyri* now available on-line

A beta version of the *Checklist of Arabic Papyri*, compiled by John F. Oates and Petra M. Sijpesteijn, is now available online at:

scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist_arabic.html

Modelled on the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*, it is designed to provide both a standardized system for reference to published Arabic documents, and a convenient bibliographical resource for the study of such texts. Any comments, additions, or corrections to the *Checklist* should be sent to:

petras@princeton.edu

ISAP conference to be held in Granada (24-27 March 2004): "Documentary Evidence and the History of the Early Islamic Mediterranean"

After the success of last year's Cairo conference, a second meeting has been scheduled to take place in Granada, Spain on 24-27 March 2004. Organized by ISAP and hosted by Escuela de Estudios Arabes (CSIC-Granada), this conference will once again focus on the use of documents (Greek, Coptic, and Arabic) in the study of early Islamic Egypt, but will also include comparative sessions devoted to the rich documentary cultures of Islamic Spain and elsewhere in the medieval Near East and Mediterranean.

Proposals for papers and text workshops to be given at the Granada conference must be submitted by 15 September 2003. Please send these by email to sundelin@princeton.edu. Proposals should be no longer than 500 words and should make note of any audio-visual equipment the presenter will require. Notification of the acceptance of proposals will be made by 15 October. Further information about the conference may be found at:

www.princeton.edu/~petras/isap/Granada.html

or by contacting a member of the ISAP-Granada 2004 organizing committee:

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To view the Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws of ISAP, go to:

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A website with bibliographies, information about document collections, links to a variety of online resources, as well as ISAP news (and Granada conference updates), can be found at:

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arabicpapy e-mail list

A moderated email list devoted to the discussion of Arabic papyrology and related disciplines (the history of late Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt, Greek and Coptic papyrology, Islamic archaeology, numismatics, and epigraphy) is being maintained by ISAP. To subscribe to the list, please send a short message containing your name, e-mail address, and a brief description of your research interests to:

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International Society for Arabic Papyrology (ISAP)

The International Society for Arabic Papyrology was officially founded on 24 March 2002 at a meeting held during the Cairo conference "Documentary Evidence and the History of Early Islamic Egypt." It was felt that such an organization was necessary to encourage, facilitate, and publicize individual and cooperative research in the field of Arabic papyrology, and to encourage interdisciplinary work which more fully integrates Arabic papyrology (and related disciplines like

epigraphy and numismatics) with the historical study of medieval Egypt and the Islamic Near East. It was also hoped that such an organization would promote interchange with historians, archaeologists, and papyrologists working on other languages and societies of the late antique and medieval Near East and Mediterranean, and especially Greek and Coptic papyrologists working on texts from the early Islamic period.

Membership in ISAP is open to all scholars and students involved in, or interested in, Arabic papyrology. Membership benefits include the ISAP newsletter *al-Bardiyyat*, substantially reduced fees for attendance at ISAP-sponsored conferences and seminars, as well as free or discounted copies of occasional ISAP publications. Membership in ISAP costs \$25/€25 per annum for regular membership or \$15/€15 for students. A signup form and further information about your application for ISAP membership is available at:

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submissions for future issues of *al-Bardiyyat*

Articles and essays relevant to Arabic papyrology, as well as notices about current research, recent or forthcoming publications, and conferences, seminars, or exhibits, which would be of interest to the ISAP membership, should be sent to:

sundelin@princeton.edu

The deadline for submission is June 1st of every calendar year.

The Consul-Collector and the Orientalist: Drovetti, Silvestre de Sacy, and the Birth of Arabic Papyrology

by Lennart Sundelin (Princeton)

In January of 1825, a group of three Arabic papyri were received by the eminent French Orientalist, A. I. Silvestre de Sacy. They had come from Bernardino Drovetti, the *consul général de France en Égypte* and a tireless collector (and marketer) of Egyptian antiquities. Later that same year Silvestre de Sacy would publish in the *Journal des Savants* an edition and commentary for two of these documents. As Adolf Grohmann remarked, "mit seiner den beiden Urkunden gewidmeten Studie, wohl ohne es zu ahnen, der Begründer der arabischen Papyrologie geworden" [Grohmann 1954, 9]. But, as was often the case, Silvestre de Sacy was far ahead of his time. Although he would republish these papyri, and publish a few more besides, there was little immediate interest in such documents and further serious work on Arabic papyri would have to wait half a century.

A Gift from Egypt

From Silvestre de Sacy's description it is not clear why Drovetti sent the papyri to him [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 462]. The consul's

collecting was driven by commercial considerations, yet there is no indication that these documents were bought or sold. We do know that Drovetti had been shopping around a major collection of antiquities at this time, his "Second Collection," which in 1827 would finally be sold to the French king, Charles X. It is possible that this gift to Silvestre de Sacy was part of Drovetti's campaign to gain supporters in Paris for the purchase of that collection, a campaign which involved quite a lot of gift-giving. And there really was no market at the time for Arabic papyri, so the gift might have seemed an inexpensive way to win the goodwill of one of France's most respected students of things eastern.

Whatever the case, when the three papyri arrived, Silvestre de Sacy had them all conserved, even though one was judged to be too far gone to be of much use: "De ces trois papyrus, deux ont été déroulés et fixés comme je le desirois; le troisième, dont la destruction est presque complète, sera traité de la même manière, par respect uniquement pour son antiquité: car je ne pense pas qu'on puisse en tirer aucun parti" [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 462]. Then, in words that probably sound all too familiar to every new student of papyrology, the great arabist expressed a certain anxiety about being able to read these documents: "En jetant un premier coup d'œil sur ces papyrus, je pensai qu'il seroit très-difficile de les lire, parce qu'ils offroient, l'un d'eux surtout, beaucoup de lacunes et des parties entièrement détruites, et que d'ailleurs on n'y voyoit aucun des points diacritiques..." [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 462]. Moreover, Silvestre de Sacy thought he knew very well that the handwriting of these documents could not be particularly early: "D'ailleurs, comme ils étoient écrits dans le caractère *neskhi*, dont on attribue généralement l'introduction au célèbre vizir Ebn-Mokla, mort en 326 (937), je conjecturois qu'ils n'étoient pas d'une très-haute antiquité..." [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 462].

So, he quickly put the papyri aside, planning to come back to them at a later date, though he did write to a nephew of Drovetti to inquire further about their provenance: "...j'y donnai donc peu d'attention, et j'en remis l'examen à un moment où j'aurois plus de loisir. Je me contentai d'écrire à M. Drovetti, neveu du consul général et résidant à Marseille, le même qui avoit rapporté d'Égypte ces papyrus, pour apprendre de lui où

ils avoient été trouvés" [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 462].

From his response to Silvestre de Sacy's letter, it would seem that this nephew had been a participant in the excavations at Saqqara during which these texts were discovered. He wrote: "Je crois, comme vous, Monsieur, que ces papyrus ne doivent point dater d'une bien haute antiquité. Je vais satisfaire, autant qu'il m'est possible, à vos desirs. Monsieur, j'ai trouvé ces manuscrits à la surface d'un tombeau (ou puits), enfermés dans un petit vase de terre cuite et cacheté, le tout enfoui dans le sable, aux montagnes de la ville de Memphis, près des pyramides de Saccara, et fort près de l'endroit où j'ai travaillé à faire sortir le sarcophage de granit qui est dans votre ville, à la consignment de M. Chayolle, et dont M. Champollion donne une explication très-savante" [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 462f.].

The "Consul-Collector"

By 1824, Bernardino Drovetti (1776-1852) was an old hand in Egypt. Actually Piedmontese rather than French, born in Barbania, near Turin, he had nevertheless served as an officer in Napoleon's army in Italy and had then come to Egypt in 1802 as the French vice-consul, later becoming *consul-général*. He was dismissed in 1814 and was initially out of favor during the Bourbon restoration, but his abilities and experience in-country meant that by 1821 he held his old post once again. The 1820's would be a trying time for European consuls in Egypt as the Greek War of Independence quickly became an international crisis. When Muḥammad ʿAlī intervened on behalf of the Ottoman Sultan, Egypt was suddenly the site of considerable diplomatic jockeying by the European powers. They were becoming increasingly involved in the conflict, to the point that another general European war seemed possible. Drovetti's influence with the Egyptian ruler made him an important player in these events.

Yet, the consul would continue excavating and collecting Egyptian antiquities during this period, generally through his agent Rifaud but continuing to provide overall supervision and direction for the work. And Drovetti was also actively marketing his acquisitions from past years. This was a time of growing interest in

pharaonic Egypt, a time when Champollion's work on the Rosetta Stone aroused intense debate among scholars. The young French savant's "Lettre à M. Dacier" had been published in 1822, and the *Précis du système hiéroglyphique* was completed in April 1824. Meanwhile, the material productions of this still mysterious civilization were increasingly in demand.



Bernardino Drovetti

Drovetti's main rival was Henry Salt, the British consul. Salt had arrived in Egypt in 1815 and, while he had much more of a scholarly interest in what he was collecting than did Drovetti, he, too, was trying to supplement his income through the sale of antiquities. Their rivalry extended to the field, and agents of these two consuls would at times even come to blows, it getting so bad that at a certain point they had to agree to split up Egypt between themselves to avoid such confrontations. In some respects the Drovetti-Salt rivalry was simply the continuation of an Anglo-French archaeological contest that reached back to 1801 when the English took possession of the Rosetta Stone and hauled it off to the British Museum. And the successors of Salt and Drovetti would carry on the battle for decades, at least until the 1850's. But the rivalry of these two was an epic contest, a colorful saga in the lore of Egyptology [Fagan 1975, 86-93]. Drovetti would finally retire for health reasons in

1829, but during his time in the land of the Nile he had acquired and shipped to Europe thousands of Egyptian artifacts.

By the time he sold his famous "First Collection" to Turin in January of 1824, Drovetti was already shopping around a "Second Collection" which he hoped to sell to the French king, Charles X [Ridley 1998, 250-75]. It included dozens of stone monuments and almost 100 papyri, including demotic and Greek texts (no Arabic papyri are mentioned, and there probably was little interest in them at the time). In Paris, Edmé-François Jomard, then working on the publication of the *Description de l'Égypte* from the Napoleonic expedition, was an enthusiastic supporter of the purchase, not wanting this treasure to be lost to France as had been the "First Collection." But the king was reluctant. In an effort to win him over, Drovetti curried support by sending gifts to various scholars, courtiers, and officials in France. The king himself received a number of presents from the consul, including an impressive 26th Dynasty monolithic shrine found at Sais; it was also at this time that Drovetti arranged for Muḥammad ʿAlī to send Charles X a giraffe, leading to a year of giraffomania in Paris, a story recently retold in Michael Allin's delightful *Zarafa: A Giraffe's True Story, from Deep in Africa to the Heart of Paris* (1998). In the end, Charles was convinced and the collection was purchased in 1827.

In his letter of reply to Silvestre de Sacy, Drovetti's nephew had mentioned a "sarcophage de granit qui est dans votre ville," found at Saqqara near where the Arabic papyri were recovered [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 462f.]. This, too, may have been a gift sent to Charles X at this time. There are reports that the massive object, dating to the seventh century BC and weighing 25,000 kg, had taken three months to extract and that it had to be shipped to Paris loaded onto two carriages [Ridley 1998, 272]. Whether the papyri were found while the sarcophagus was being excavated is not clear, but we know that Drovetti had an ongoing excavation at Saqqara and Memphis in 1824 [Ridley 1998, 128].

We also know that this nephew of Drovetti's, who claimed to have both found the Arabic papyri and to have worked on the extraction of the sarcophagus, was recently arrived in Egypt in 1824 [Ridley 1998, 128]. The nephew had gone with a friend to fight in the Greek War of

Independence, on the side of the Greeks, but they had been accused by the Greeks of being spies and barely escaped with their lives. Only the intervention of a French agent saved them, and he had promptly packed them off to Egypt. Bernardino Drovetti had little sympathy for the Greek cause, having been disgusted at atrocities committed by Greek soldiers and pirates, and he seems to have thought his nephew something of a fool. But he apparently put him to work in his archaeological operations, and the nephew seems to have been involved in the important find of the sarcophagus at Memphis.

Whether the Arabic papyri were sent to Silvestre de Sacy in 1825 as part of Drovetti's campaign to enlist supporters for the purchase of the "Second Collection" is not certain, but the timing suggests this may have been the case. On the other hand, Drovetti was accustomed to send Egyptian antiquities (including papyri), fossils, botanical specimens, and animals as gifts to scholars, collectors, and officials in France and throughout Europe [Ridley 1998, 117]. Sometimes it was a commercial transaction, as when a merino-breeding Russian count paid to have five Nubian sheep and several ewes shipped to St. Petersburg [Ridley 1998, 117]. But not always. While in some cases these gifts may have been connected with the consul's commercial activities, to enlist influential supporters for the purchase of his major collections, in other cases it would seem that they were simply part of a culture of gift giving among officials, courtiers, and scholars.

Yet, by the 1820's, Silvestre de Sacy was an important figure in Paris, both because of his growing reputation as France's preeminent Orientalist and for his role more generally in Parisian academic and official circles. It may have made sense to Drovetti, when he was trying to sell his "Second Collection," to attempt to earn Silvestre de Sacy's gratitude by sending him these three Arabic papyri as a gift.

The "Orientalist"

As we have seen, when le Baron Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) received Drovetti's gift in January of 1825, he was not overly excited by the texts. For one thing, their poor state of preservation and lack of diacritical marks proved somewhat daunting, even for this great arabist. While that may sound surprising, anyone who has tried their hand at reading

Arabic papyri knows very well the feeling. But Silvestre de Sacy also assumed that these documents were fairly late in origin since they were written in a script he identified as *naskhī*, which he thought had only come into use in the 4th/10th century, based on what he knew of medieval accounts about the development of Arabic calligraphy. In this case, the great scholar's famous erudition had led him astray.

That Silvestre de Sacy was familiar with medieval traditions about such an arcane topic is not particularly surprising, given the breadth of his interests and work. Born in 1758, the second son of a Paris notary (both grandfathers were also *notaires*), Antoine Isaac lost his father when he was only seven. Thereafter his mother took charge of her son's education, sparing no expense in hiring Greek and Latin tutors. It would, however, be across the street from the family home, while playing in the gardens of the abbey of Saint Germain des Prés, that the boy would find his vocation. There he met the learned Maurist dom George François Berthereau (1732-1794), a student of Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, the man who would inspire in young Silvestre de Sacy an interest in oriental studies. The boy began working with these languages with Berthereau, then with a "juif très instruit" whose name is not preserved, and finally with the royal interpreter Etienne le Grand.



Silvestre de Sacy

Silvestre de Sacy began to publish scholarly articles in the 1780's, beginning with an edition and Latin translation of letters sent to Joseph Scaliger by some Samaritans. By 1785 he had established such a reputation for himself that he was named to one of the eight newly created positions of *associés libres* in the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, but he nevertheless had to take employment as a civil servant to support himself and his family. He took an appointment at the mint, the Cour des Monnaies, and would hold that position for a decade, until 1792. During the Terror he would have to retire to a country home he had acquired in Ognès, his royalist and Catholic sympathies having clouded his future in Paris. But this time in retirement was well spent, and in 1793 Silvestre de Sacy published his first major work, the *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, which, among other things, laid the groundwork for the decipherment of Sassanian inscriptions.

By 1795 Silvestre de Sacy seems to have been able to return to Paris and, moreover, to take up an academic position, becoming professor of Arabic at the École des langues orientales, this despite his refusal to swear the expected anti-royalty oath. When the oath was demanded of him, he offered to resign, but a sympathetic administrator kept him on indefinitely under the pretence of staying until a successor could be found. In 1806 he would also become professor of Persian at the Collège de France.

Though now a professor, Silvestre de Sacy would be called upon throughout his career to perform various services and administrative tasks for the state. In 1808 he became part of the *Corps législatif*, as representative of the *département de la Seine*, though under Napoleon this body had little real work to do. In 1814 he would even be made *baron* by the Emperor, who, whenever they happened to meet, was accustomed to ask him "Comment va l'arabe?" After Napoleon's fall, Silvestre de Sacy was active in helping to draft a flurry of new legislation, though when he stood for election to *la Chambre* in 1815 he was unsuccessful. After a brief stint as royal censor under Louis XVIII in 1814, he then went on to hold a series of educational posts. In 1815 he became *Recteur de l'Université de Paris*, and was part of the *Commission de l'Instruction publique*, burdensome tasks about which he complained bitterly and from which tried to be excused, succeeding finally in 1822, only to be named

administrator of the Collège de France in 1823. Silvestre de Sacy also held positions more closely connected with his scholarly interests. In 1824 he became head of the École des langues orientales, and when the Société Asiatique was founded in 1821 he was its first president, serving until 1825. As late as 1833 he was made *Conservateur des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque royale* and *Inspecteur des types orientaux de l'Imprimerie royale*.

In 1805, at the request of Talleyrand, he had begun to do occasional work for the foreign ministry. From 1811 to 1829, in fact, Silvestre de Sacy was paid an annual stipend. The work included translating various documents into Arabic, such as the *Bulletins de la grande armée* and the *Manifeste* in late 1806, when Napoleon thought that these might be used to incite Muslims against the Russians. Decades later, in 1830, he was asked to help draft an Arabic proclamation to be published by the French expeditionary force in Algeria. As might be expected, this aspect of Silvestre de Sacy's career was of interest to Edward Said in his study *Orientalism*, yet the long section which Said devoted to the great French scholar was primarily concerned with his role as the father of modern oriental studies [Said 1979, 123-30]. Said viewed Silvestre de Sacy as responsible for the establishment of the scholarly traditions and paradigms which would thenceforth characterize "orientalism," and he claimed that all European scholarly genealogies in this field could be traced back to him.

Said's depiction may have been somewhat overblown, but there is no question that Silvestre de Sacy was a dominant figure in his generation, and that he made important and longlasting contributions to the field. And his future impact was magnified through the achievements of his many students, including such eminent scholars as Étienne Quatremère (1782-1852) and Joseph Reinaud (1795-1867). And, although his only travel outside France was a short trip to Genoa in 1805, Silvestre de Sacy corresponded widely, and students came from other countries to study with him, such as the German arabists Wilhelm Freytag (1788-1861) and Gustav Flügel (1802-1861). He was greatly respected by scholars throughout Europe. Already in 1814 his reputation had been such that von Humboldt is supposed to have tried to ensure that the invading allied army would respect his property.

In France, he was the recipient of numerous honors, both civil and academic. In 1792 he had become a regular member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, one of the *Académiciens ordinaires*, and in 1833 he was made *Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie*, following Dacier in that prestigious post. He would be selected for membership by at least twenty other academies and learned societies, too, from as far afield as Calcutta, India and Worcester, Massachusetts. He was elected to the *Légion d'honneur* in 1803, and would be made a grand officer of the *Légion* in the year before his death on 21 February 1838, in Paris, where he was buried in Père Lachaise cemetery.

Silvestre de Sacy proved to be a tremendously productive scholar, publishing over 400 books and articles on a wide range of subjects [Dehérain 1938, xviii n.1; see also the bibliography compiled in Salmon 1905-23, vol. 1, with additions in vol. 2]. He is perhaps best known for his *Grammaire arabe* (2 vols., Paris 1810) and the *Chrestomathie arabe* (3 vols, Paris 1806), both of which would continue to be used throughout Europe for decades as standard reference and teaching works in the study of Arabic. Johann Fück described the *Grammaire* as "epochemachende" and claimed that it was the first progress in European Arabic studies since Erpenius (1584-1624) [Fück 1955, 144f.]. In the *Grammaire's* second edition, published in 1831, Silvestre de Sacy included a groundbreaking treatise on Arabic prosody and metrics, subjects hitherto little understood. Interestingly, years earlier he had also written a 'universal grammar' for his eldest son Victor (b. 1791), to prepare the boy for his first Latin lessons. The *Principes de Grammaire générale, mis à la portée des enfants, et propres à servir d'introduction à l'étude de toutes les langues* (Paris 1799) proved quite popular; it would go through five printings in French and be translated into both German (1804) and English (1834). In addition to the texts edited in his *Chrestomathie*, and then an *Anthologie grammaticale arabe* (1829), Silvestre de Sacy was also responsible for a number of important early editions of Arabic literary works, such as *Le Livre de Calila et Dimna* (1816) and the *Séances de Hariri* (1822).

His interests went beyond Arabic and Persian philology, however. Indeed, one of Silvestre de Sacy's claims to fame is that he was the first modern European to be able to read any ancient Egyptian. In 1802, having obtained a facsimile

of the Rosetta Stone, he used the Greek text to identify three names in the demotic section. He was unable to make further progress, however, because he had decided that the script did not contain ideograms, but was rather a purely alphabetical script like Arabic. He tried to devise a system which would match Plutarch's description of an Egyptian alphabet made up of twenty-five letters. Although Silvestre de Sacy made no further direct contributions to this project, he continued to be involved in the scholarly discussions and debates that surrounded it for the next thirty years. He was at first highly dubious of Champollion's claims to have cracked the code, but he would later become convinced that the young scholar was on the right track and he thereafter promoted the man's controversial work.

And Silvestre de Sacy wrote extensively on historical, religious, and cultural topics, such as his pioneering study of the Druze religion, and even on modern issues, as in an article he penned on the work of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt. For our purposes here, it is important to note that even in his philological studies, Silvestre de Sacy was unusually broad in the materials he considered to be of interest. He did important work in what became known as the *sciences auxiliaires*. For instance, he was the first to decipher inscriptions on Sassanian coins, in his *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse* (1793). He wrote on Islamic coinages and edited medieval Arabic treatises on weights and measures. Likewise, during a trip to inspect the archives of Genoa in 1805, Silvestre de Sacy did not find any 'oriental' manuscripts, the purpose of his visit, but he spent time studying numerous historical documents pertaining to Genoa's relations with various Mediterranean lands and rulers, documents which he noted as being of great importance [Dehérain 1938, xx]. And, of course, there were the Arabic papyri.

Silvestre de Sacy Tries His Hand at Arabic Papyrology

After Silvestre de Sacy received the reply from Drovetti's nephew in Marseilles, he took another look at the texts. He claims to have now made rapid progress: "Ayant reçu cette réponse, elle me rappela les papyrus que j'avois mis de côté. Je les regardai de nouveau, et en moins de deux heures je parvins à les lire entièrement, à très-peu de choses près. Leur contenu est en lui-même de

bien peu d'importance; mais quelques circonstances me paroissent leur donner un grand intérêt" [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 463]. Although he was clearly unimpressed with the general contents, once Silvestre de Sacy was able to read the documents, and he saw that they were dated, it was immediately clear to him that he had made an important palaeographical discovery.

Both of the documents had been drawn up in 133/751, yet they used a flexible, 'cursive' script similar to what came to be known as *naskhī*. Although today it is generally recognized that scripts of this type were in use as early as the first/seventh century, Silvestre de Sacy knew only the traditions in medieval Arabic literature which tied *naskhī* to the famous vizier, scholar, and calligrapher Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940). And it was this issue which interested him most about the papyri: "D'abord elles sont les plus anciens monumens connus de l'écriture arabe en général, du moins sont elles les seuls monumens antiques de cette écriture qui aient une date certaine. En second lieu, elles prouvent que le caractère nommé *neskhi* est de deux siècles au moins antérieur au célèbre vizir Ebn-Mokla, à qui on en attribue communément l'invention" [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 465f.].

Silvestre de Sacy would spend the bulk of his article treating palaeographical issues [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 465-73]. After giving a list of the various Orientalists who believed that *naskhī* had been invented by Ibn Muqla, a list in which he included himself, Silvestre de Sacy went on to examine the various opinions of medieval authors and modern scholars on the early development of Arabic scripts. In 1827 he would take up this subject again and develop it further, in an article entitled "Nouveaux aperçus sur l'histoire de l'écriture chez les Arabes du Hedjaz" [Silvestre de Sacy 1827]. Although today considered obsolete, this work of his was an important advance in the study of Arabic palaeography and the basis for further research. Silvestre de Sacy's use of documentary evidence clarified the issues for his Orientalist audience and allowed for a new understanding of the subject. And he not only used these two papyri to make his case, but adduced the testimony of early coins and weights, as well as some other Arabic papyrus documents found at Saqqara [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 471-3; 1827; 1833, 86-8].

Given that this was an entirely new endeavor, the edition of these two texts was surprisingly 'modern' in its presentation. Silvestre de Sacy provided a short introduction in which he described how they had come into his possession as well as their physical characteristics. He then gave a transcription and a translation, along with a short commentary on a few select technical and historical issues, only then launching into his palaeographical discussion. Although subsequent work would make a few important corrections to his readings, this *editio princeps* was basically sound and provided a good example for future efforts in the field.

The two documents, labeled 'A' and 'B' by Silvestre de Sacy, were passports (or "sauf-conduits" as Yusuf Raghib would have us call them), documents allowing their bearers to travel and work outside of their home districts [Raghib 1997, 145f.]. They had both been issued in the same month (Shawwāl 133) by the same Muslim official (Jābir ibn ʿUbayd) to men *min ahl Dayr Abī Harmīs*, a well-known medieval monastery in Manf (Memphis), the place where the clay jar containing the papyri had been discovered. Because Silvestre de Sacy misunderstood one clause as giving them permission to travel *fī ḥuramihimā* ("avec leurs femmes"), he did not identify these men as monks. Raghib's recent re-edition of the texts corrects the reading to *fī jizyatihimā*, making it much more likely that these men were inmates of the monastery [Raghib 1997, 160-2 and pls. 7-8].

One of the more surprising features of document A also proved to be a misreading. Both of these papyri contained physical descriptions of their bearers. Document A had been issued to two men, and in Silvestre de Sacy's transcription both men were described as, among other things, *ghulūf*. Though not a word known to medieval lexicographers, the root seems to have suggested to him the translation "incirconcis." While Egyptian Christian monks could theoretically have been uncircumcized, this seems a shockingly invasive way to identify someone on a passport, whether in eighth-century Egypt or in our own day. In fact, the word has a prefixed *mīm*, as Silvestre de Sacy recognized in his republication of this text in 1831, and the word should be read as *maḥlūq*, suggesting that the two men instead had shaved heads [Silvestre de Sacy 1831, 68f. and pl. A]. The great French savant graciously noted that this error had been pointed out to him by a certain M. Fraehn.

Outside of these two points and a few minor corrections, such as improved readings for the difficult Egyptian names of the bearers, Silvestre de Sacy's transcription and translation remain basically intact. Two years later (30 March 1827) he was able to report before *l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres* that he had been working on two more Arabic papyri, recently acquired for the royal collection from Henry Salt, including "une passe-port" issued in the same year as the previous two (albeit in a different month), and also to a man of Dayr Abī Harmīs [Silvestre de Sacy 1827, 219f.; 1833, 65f.]. Though issued by different Muslim officials, this document had been drawn up by the very same scribe (Ibrāhīm) who had drafted the other two. The subsequent history of this papyrus is somewhat confused, but it would eventually end up in the British Library (where it remains today), and it has recently been re-edited by Yusuf Raghib, though he seems to believe (wrongly) that this was the third piece from the original Drovetti find [Raghib 1997, 155-7 and pl. 5]. Interestingly, yet another passport, also drafted by the scribe Ibrāhīm in 133/751 and issued by two of the same officials, was found in 1994 just to the north of the ruins of Dayr Abī Harmīs [Raghib 1997, 155, 157-9, and pls. 6a-6b].

The great French savant had, however, misjudged the interest such texts would hold for future researchers. He did try to provide some historical context for their production, noting that they had been issued at the beginning of Abbasid rule in Egypt, which was likely to have been a time of considerable turmoil: "Il n'est pas surprenant que, dans de telles circonstances, on ait soumis les chrétiens indigènes de l'Égypte à une surveillance qui pouvoit ne pas avoir lieu dans des temps plus tranquilles" [Silvestre de Sacy 1825, 465]. He felt obliged to explain why Egyptians would have to have a passport to travel about in their own land. But he could not know that such passports, and related issues of surveillance and control of movement by the Muslim authorities, would become an important historical problem and one which remains controversial to this day [see, most recently, Schaten 1998]. Silvestre de Sacy did not have the advantage of having seen the numerous Greek, Coptic, and Arabic documents which bear on this problem, all published long after his death. It should be noted, however, that when Silvestre de Sacy republished these two

documents in 1831, he discussed evidence for the issuing of passports during the tenure of Usāma ibn Zayd as financial director of Egypt (96-99/714-717 and again in 102-104/720f-722f), citing several medieval Arabic historical texts [Silvestre de Sacy 1831, 72f.; cf. 1827, 220f.]. He conjectured that "selon toutes les vraisemblances, les mesures fiscales que son mauvais génie avoit inventées continuèrent à être en usage, comme l'indiquent nos papyrus; c'est à peu près là partout l'histoire des opérations fiscales."

And these three passports were not the only Arabic papyri Silvestre de Sacy would work on. In that same report to the *Académie* in which he gave a description of the third text, Silvestre de Sacy discussed a fourth papyrus which had apparently also come from Salt [Silvestre de Sacy 1827, 221-31; cf. 1833, 66-88]. It was a badly damaged Arabic letter, since lost, in which only the address at the beginning and various concluding formulae could be read. Its interest lay primarily in the names of its senders and recipient. Silvestre de Sacy identified them as important figures from the early post-Conquest period, including ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr and Usāma ibn Zayd (Usāma the Companion, not the Usāma appearing in the third passport). This allowed him to read the traces of a date found in the last line as 40 AH. There are problems with his dating, but for Silvestre de Sacy this text confirmed the palaeographical insights gained from the passports: "Si ces papyrus ont paru d'un grand intérêt pour l'histoire de l'écriture chez les Arabes et pour la connaissance de la paléographie de cette nation, de quel prix n'est point, malgré l'état d'altération dans lequel il nous est parvenu, un monument écrit de l'an 40 de l'hégire? Il prouve évidemment que le caractère nommé *neskhi* est non seulement plus ancien que l'écriture coufique, mais que, suivant toute apparence, il étoit en usage du temps même de Mahomet [Silvestre de Sacy 1833, 88]."

Arabic Papyrology after Silvestre de Sacy

Silvestre de Sacy has long been acknowledged as having 'founded' Arabic papyrology [e.g. Grohmann 1954, 9; Khan 1993, 12; Raghīb 1997, 155]. As Yusuf Raghīb colorfully put it, these two documents were "les premiers papyrus arabes à connaître la gloire de l'édition." And it has been recognized that Silvestre de Sacy gave the new discipline a solid start. Adolf Grohmann

(who seemed to think these papyri were found by *fellahin*) credited the great French scholar with having masterfully exploited this new type of evidence: "Wohl war mit diesem Zufallsfunde nach Antiquitäten suchender Bauern der Arabistik ein ganz neues Material erschlossen worden, das S. de Sacy in hervorragender Weise ausgewertet hat."

Yet, in many respects it proved to be a false start. As Grohmann noted, "Allein Jahrzehnte vergingen, ohne dass es irgend einen Zuwachs erfahren hätte, und so musste auch die Forschung an arabischen Papyri in den Anfängen stecken bleiben. Das wurde erst anders, als mit einem Male grosse Massen von Papyri auf den Markt kamen" [Grohmann 1954, 9f.]. After Silvestre de Sacy, it would be fifty years before any new Arabic papyri were published [Loth 1880]. And the discipline would only really find its feet as texts became available from the amazing finds made at Madīnat al-Fayyūm in 1877 and in subsequent years, most notably through the work of Josef von Karabacek in the Archduke Rainer collection at Vienna.

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North American Papyrus Collections Revisited

by Petra M. Sijpesteijn (Princeton)

Although held by almost every major papyrus collection in the United States, Arabic papyri are often much less well known and documented than the Greek papyri that form the bulk of these holdings. The two standard surveys – by Adolf Grohmann (*Arabische Papyruskunde*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 1/II/1/ii, Leiden 1966, pp. 69-70) and Raif Georges Khoury ("Papyruskunde," in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, Band I: Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. W. Fischer, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 253-8; see also Khoury's "Papyrus" in *Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. 8, pp. 262-3) – cover only three of the continent's collections; many important and extensive collections still remain largely unpublished and even unexplored.

Despite the lack of detailed information and the limited nature, or complete absence, of catalogues and handlists, some important work has nevertheless been done, and the last few decades have seen a number of significant individual and related texts published by the field's handful of practitioners. Furthermore, the availability of digitalized images of Arabic papyri on the internet, especially as a result of the APIS digitalization project (www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis), has significantly increased access to, and familiarity with, papyrus collections containing Arabic papyri. Via the APIS site the papyrus collections of the project's six partners (Columbia University, University of California at Berkeley, Duke University, University of Michigan and Princeton University) can be searched by language and other criteria. Digital images, translations, transcriptions and other information as provided by the participating institutions are included as well as cross-listings with the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri. The latter, although only containing the texts of edited and published Greek papyri, is an important tool for the study of early Islamic

Egypt, as it contains many texts from the Islamic period which can be found by searching the database by date or individual words.

Likewise, the discovery of new texts in old collections, new acquisitions and the founding of new collections have made an updated description of North America's Arabic papyrus holdings necessary. My aim in this overview is not only to improve our knowledge of existing papyrus collections and the work done on them, but to stimulate interest about this resource among scholars by describing how and where unpublished texts can be accessed. A general point that should be kept in mind is that the number of catalogue entries or number of papyri quoted is not necessarily the same as the number of actual texts in the collections discussed, since in some cases several papyrus fragments are catalogued under one entry and many papyri have unrelated texts written on both the recto and verso sides.

I have used the list of papyrus collections in North America compiled by Peter van Minnen on the Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections World Wide (<http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/index.html>) as the basis of my search for Arabic papyri, as well as information received informally from colleagues. In some cases librarians and other researchers were able to point me to unknown collections. I have included all the information I was able to gather up to this point but, needless to say, this list is still some way from being final and all-inclusive. If anyone knows of other collections containing Arabic papyri or other early documents, I hope they will contact me so that these additions can be included in future reports.

I Brooklyn Museum of Art *Brooklyn, New York*

The Museum has at least one unpublished Arabic papyrus dating from between the eighth and the tenth centuries which is housed in the Asian art department. There are probably more unidentified Arabic papyri and documents in the museum.

II Bryn Mawr College *Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania*

The Special Collections Library at Bryn Mawr has one unpublished Arabic papyrus fragment. The papyrus can be dated to the third/ninth century and has an account on the recto and verso.

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III Columbia University *New York City*

The Special Collections Library of Columbia University houses about 172 unpublished Arabic papyri. Columbia University is one of the partners to the APIS Papyrology Consortium and their papyri are all accessible via the APIS website (see link below). This website is searchable by language, and digital images of the Arabic pieces are expected to be included soon as well. A catalogue with entries giving general information concerning size, number of lines, genre and date was produced by Gladys Frantz-Murphy (Regis University), and will soon be available on line via the APIS web-site.

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IV Duke University

Durham, North Carolina

Duke's 100 Arabic papyri (this number includes texts on verso) were acquired through purchases and gifts from 1970 on. Duke University is one of the partners of the APIS Papyrology Consortium and digitalized images of their Arabic papyri can be accessed on the Duke library's papyrus website (www.scriptorium.lib.edu/papyrus/texts/arabic.html), or the APIS website (www.columbia.edu/cu/web/projects/digital/apis/index.html). The images are accompanied by a brief description of the texts' physical characteristics, but are often not identified by genre, being classified under the general heading "documentary text." Because of the ease with which papyri can be accessed via computer, it is, however, very easy to identify them oneself. A short history of the whole Duke University papyrus collection can be read on the internet via the link below. No Arabic papyri from the Duke collection have been published.

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V FAR Trust

Dallas, Texas

The FAR trust holds some 120,000 objects from Egypt, including 20,000 complete manuscripts, 50,000 printed books, and an assortment of papyrus and vellum documents. The languages of these texts include Arabic and Coptic. Thirty-five Arabic documents written on vellum and dating to the eighth/fifteenth century concern the writings of a Sufi master and are especially important. The total number of Arabic documents cannot be determined at this time, however, because not all have been examined. There are also some unidentified documents in Kufic script and the collection includes artifacts such as coins and statues from Pharaonic Egypt

through the Islamic period.

A museum and research institute is planned in Dallas to house the collection and provide an opportunity for scholars to work on it. The collection, whose provenance is mostly Egypt, will also be made available through catalogues and other publications, the first of which is due to be published shortly. Important manuscripts will be published in facsimile together with a translation of the text.

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VI Indiana University

Bloomington, Indiana

The Lilly Library of Indiana University has at least five Arabic papyri, of which one is a bilingual Coptic-Arabic papyrus fragment probably dating to the second/eighth century. Three other Arabic papyri can be dated to the third/ninth century, and one further document, dated to the early Fatimid period (fourth/tenth century), contains a Coptic account on the verso. The papyri were donated in 1957 by Dr. Aziz Suryal Atiya. None of these are known to have been published and no digital images are available.

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VII Library of Congress

Washington, D.C.

The Near Eastern Collection of the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. contains an unspecified number of unpublished Arabic papyri. None of the papyri have been published or digitalized.

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<http://lcweb.loc.gov/rr/amed/nes/neshome.html>

VIII Metropolitan Museum of Art

New York City

The 25 Arabic papyrus and paper documents and fragments donated to the Museum in 1978 are currently housed in the Department of Islamic Art (having been formerly kept by the Museum's Department of Classical Art and Archeology). Among these documents are several large unpublished papyri, including one that contains fragments of Coptic writing inserted interlinearly into the Arabic. There is currently no description of the collection, nor are digital images available on the internet. One papyrus letter is on display in the Islamic Art gallery. Only one Arabic papyrus has been published so far.

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IX New York University

New York City

The NYU papyrus collection housed in the Fales Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Bobst Library contains an unknown number of unstudied Arabic papyri (P.NYU inv. 184 probably contains Arabic writing on both sides as mentioned in Klaas Worp, *ZPE* 133 [2000], p. 163). There are also some folders with small unidentified fragments that also contain Arabic material. There are no descriptions or digitalized images available of the Arabic papyri.

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X Pierpont Morgan Library

New York City

The most important Arabic papyri held by the Library are the documents excavated in the winters of 1935-36 and 1936-37 at Nessana in the Negev desert, several of which are bi-lingual Greek-Arabic texts. Most have been microfilmed and published in P.Ness. III, but the Library has unidentified fragments found in 1937 mounted in 83 panes. The collection also includes a small number of unpublished Arabic papyrus, parchment and paper documents. All documents are microfilmed.

Due to a major construction project, the Pierpont Morgan Library Reading Room will be closed until September 2003. During this time the collection will be inaccessible and photography of its documents will only be possible on a limited basis. In September 2003 the collection is expected to be accessible and photographs ordered at an interim location. The enlarged Reading Room is planned to re-open by early 2006. Updates are posted on the Library's website (see link below).

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www.morganlibrary.org

XI Princeton University

Princeton, New Jersey

Among the University's 11,000 Islamic manuscripts, there are roughly 8,500 in Arabic, including some documentary materials. More than 85 Arabic papyri held by Princeton University's Firestone Library are described in a handlist available at the library's website, which classifies the documents according to genre and briefly describes their contents, number of lines, and date. The collection's recent acquisitions (24 Arabic papyri) are listed separately. Princeton University Library is one of the partners to the APIS Papyrology Consortium and several of their papyri can be found on the APIS website (www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html). Some digitalized images are also available on the Princeton University Library Papyrus Home Page (see link below).

Most of the Arabic papyri were acquired in the 1920s through a consortium organized by the British Museum. Two papyri presented to the Library belong to a corpus of second/eighth-century texts originating in the Fayyūm, a large number of which can now be found at the University of Michigan and which are being edited by Petra M. Sijpesteijn in her Ph.D. dissertation (see bibliography). A group of Fatimid-era parchment legal documents from the Fayyūm is currently being edited by Lennart Sundelin (see bibliography).

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Claude Cahen, Res Orientales 6 (1994), pp. 133-141.

Lennart Sundelin is working on an edition of six parchment sales documents from the village of Buljusūq in the Fayyūm (these documents are catalogued in the "Islamic Manuscripts Third Series").

Petra Sijpesteijn is editing two Arabic papyri belonging to a corpus of letters in her Ph.D. dissertation: *Creating a Muslim State: the Archive of 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad* (to be completed in September 2003).

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XII Stanford University

Stanford, California

The University Library of Stanford University holds 37 unpublished Arabic papyri. The papyri were donated in 1953, having been acquired in London in 1946; according to their original owner, Selim Hassan, Professor of Egyptology at Cairo University, the papyri were mostly excavated at Giza. There are no digital images available of the papyri.

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XIII University of California at Berkeley

Berkeley, California

The Tebtunis papyri collection of the University of California at Berkeley consists of the more than 21,000 papyrus documents that were found

in the winter of 1899/1900 at the site of ancient Tebtunis, Egypt. During the excavation, one small Arabic paper document was found in the town. Berkeley is part of the APIS project and its papyri can be accessed via the APIS website. Further information and the history of the collection can be found at the Tebtunis website (see link below).

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XIV University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

One of the three North America collections mentioned in the descriptions of Grohmann and Khoury, the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute Arabic papyri number some 425 in total. The first lot of 34 papyri was acquired in 1929; the second lot of some 71 papyri in 1931 as part of a larger group offered for sale by the British Museum to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, but declined. Three early Fatimid Arabic papyri found, unusually, outside of Egypt were acquired in 1932, and in 1935 the Institute received a gift of inscribed papyrus and linen fragments, one of which was in Arabic. A further purchase of over 300 Arabic papyri was made in 1947.

Many of the collection's literary and documentary papyri and other documents have been made available in the extensive publications of Nabia Abbott (see bibliography), although many interesting texts still remain unpublished. Professor Fred Donner and Petra M. Sijpesteijn are currently preparing a first/seventh century letter related to the Muslim *hajj* for publication.

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_____, *Arabic Agricultural Leases and Tax Receipts from Egypt 148-427 A.H. /765-1035 A. D.*, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Band XXI, Vienna 2001. Texts 35, 52, 61, 69, 73, 81.

Raghib, Y., *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux d'Égypte médiévale, Cahier des Annales islamologiques* 23, Cairo 2002. Text 1. (P.Actes de vente)

Chrestomathie de papyrologie arabe. Préparée par Adolf Grohmann. Retravaillée et élargie par Raif Georges Khoury, Leiden 1993. Texts 10, 15, 74. (Chrest.Khoury I)

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XV University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan

The University of Michigan Arabic papyrus collection is one of the three in North America discussed by Grohmann and Khoury, although their total of 88 Arabic papyri is no longer accurate. The foundation of the collection dates back to the 1920s, when from 1921 to 1928 the Michigan-British Museum papyrus cartel all but monopolized the papyrus market in Egypt, providing the basis of many North American collections, including those at Princeton, Yale, Columbia, Cornell and Wisconsin-Madison, as well as the John Rylands Library in Manchester). Continuing to buy selected lots of Arabic papyri as they became available and as funds allowed, the University made important purchases in 1928-29, 1930-31 and 1934, sometimes from the same dealers who had been involved in the papyrus cartel purchases. By tracing the cartel's buying patterns, it is possible to group texts that had originated in the same find but had been separated during the sale process.

This extremely rich collection is now housed in the University Library. Petra Sijpesteijn is currently preparing a handlist of the approximately 150 Arabic papyri and 100 paper and parchment documents. Several Arabic papyri have been published (see bibliography). As one of the founding members of the APIS papyrology consortium, the University has information on its collection including digitalized images on the APIS website (www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html) and on the papyrus collection home page (see link below).

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XVI University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The University of Pennsylvania houses two papyrus collections. The largest, now in the University Museum, consists of some 200 pieces partially edited and described by G. Levi Della Vida in his 1981 catalogue (see bibliography). A number of Arabic paper and papyrus fragments were, however, not included in Levi Della Vida's catalogue.

The bulk of the collection was acquired at the beginning of the twentieth century from the private collection of Bernard Moritz, director (until 1914) of the Khedivial (now Egyptian) Library in Cairo (see also University of Chicago), and from a purchase in Egypt. Although the exact provenance of the Arabic papyri is unknown, many seem to originate in the Fayyūm. The collection is mentioned by Grohmann and Khoury in their description of North American collections.

The second papyrus collection belongs to the university's Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, formerly Annenberg Research Center, and before that Dropsie College in Philadelphia. It consists of the private collection of Dr. Camden Cobern, who had acquired the texts (probably) in Egypt in the 1890s, and of those papyri purchased in 1928 by Dropsie College Demoticist Nathaniel Reich. The 150 or so documents include an unpublished Arabic papyrus and a small number of unpublished Arabic paper fragments. A description of the history of the collection and images of selected pieces can be viewed via the link below. The University of Pennsylvania is one of the partners of the APIS papyrology

consortium and its Arabic papyri will be included on the APIS web-site.

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XVII University of Utah

Salt Lake City, Utah

The collection consists of 1674 Arabic pieces, including 777 papyrus fragments and 883 documents on paper, 10 on parchment and 4 on cloth. The papyri were acquired in Egypt, Lebanon and England, but the largest part of the collection was donated to the library in 1975. A descriptive catalogue of the pieces exists, listing their size and number of lines, the quality of the papyrus and in most cases the genre of the text. The bulk of the documentary papyri in the collection date to the third-fourth/ninth-tenth centuries, with some letters dating to the first-second/seventh-eighth centuries; the paper documents date from the fourth/tenth to the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries and seem to originate also in Egypt. No digital images of the papyri are available on the internet.

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XVIII Washington University, St Louis

St. Louis, Missouri

The Olin Library Special Collections of Washington University has at least three Arabic papyri (inv. 97, 273 and 291). They were probably purchased in 1922 from the Egypt Exploration Society and can most likely be dated to before the third/ninth century. None of the Arabic papyri are published, but they will be included in the digitalization of the collection that is currently being undertaken by the APIS papyrology consortium of which Washington University is a partner.

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www.library.yale.edu/beinecke/aboutpap.htm

XIX Yale University

New Haven, Connecticut

Yale University's Beinecke Library holds about 500 largely unpublished Arabic papyri. As a partner to the APIS Papyrology Consortium, part of its Arabic papyri have been digitalized and can be accessed via the Library's website (see link below) and the APIS website (www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html). The papyrus entries contain information on the size, language, and genre when available. Only some entries are accompanied by very brief notes referring to the contents of the text. Most of these are based on the unpublished catalogue completed by Nabia Abbott. Further descriptions were provided by T.C. Petersen (see bibliography). Information about the acquisition of individual pieces and the history of the papyrus collection can be found on the Library's website (see link below).

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A Database of Documents from Early Medieval Egypt

by M. Lesley Wilkins (Harvard)

In conjunction with the research undertaken for my doctoral dissertation at Harvard University, I have been constructing a database of a few thousand documents of Egyptian provenance dating from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. My thesis is titled "From Papyrus to Paper: Technology Transfer in Medieval Egypt". In it, I explore why Egypt abandoned a writing support it had used for over three millenia (papyrus) in favor of a new communication medium (paper) in little more than a hundred years in the ninth and tenth centuries. Although the disappearance of papyrus figured prominently in one of the most influential historical paradigms of the twentieth century, the Pirenne Thesis, the course and effect of this phenomenon in Egypt itself have remained largely unexplored.

Unlike the two most recent histories of papermaking in the Islamic world, Helen Loveday's *Islamic paper: a study of the ancient craft* (London, The Don Baker Memorial Fund, 2001) and Jonathan Bloom's *Paper before print: the history and impact of paper in the Islamic world* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001), my dissertation represents a micro or case study. The chapter devoted to the uses of paper in medieval Egypt is based on the database I described at the conference on "Documentary Evidence and the History of Early Islamic Egypt" held at Cairo in March 2002. It is my intention to make this database available to other researchers when my work is complete, perhaps on the new ISAP website, as I believe it might constitute a useful finding tool for scholars in a variety of disciplines. It also could serve as a prototype or the basis for a larger project.

This database is based, for the most part, on the descriptions of written items, usually fragments, found in library catalogues, scholarly books and articles, and exhibition catalogues. The collection of items is not based on any notion of scientific sampling, but rather on the serendipity of survival and appropriate cataloging. Although over 200,000 written documents from this period have been excavated to date, only a few thousand have been processed in repositories and even fewer described in scholarly publications. When the database is complete, I hope to be able to manipulate its coded elements in various ways in order to trace the shift to the new medium of communication in Egypt. I hope the data will reveal patterns of use that establish the approximate time and relative rate at which paper became an acceptable medium for various kinds of documents, among different social groups, and in different locales within medieval Egypt.

TABLE OF DATABASE ELEMENTS

- (01) Writing support (papyrus, parchment, paper, leather, silk, bone, etc.)
- (02) Main theme (administration, commerce, religion, magic, etc.)
- (03) Sub-type (inventory, sales contract, tax receipt, sacred text, amulet, etc.)
- (04) Dating (based on explicit, internal, or paleographical evidence)
- (05) Earliest possible century
- (06) Earliest possible decade and year within earliest possible century
- (07) Latest possible century
- (08) Latest possible decade and year within latest possible century
- (09) Language(s) of text (Arabic, Coptic, Greek, Nubian, Syriac, etc.)
- (10) Religious affiliation of writer (Christian, Jewish, Muslim)
- (11) Place of origin (Delta, Greater Cairo, Upper Egypt, Nubia, etc.)
- (12) Place of discovery (Sinai, Nitria, Fayyum, Middle Egypt, Oases, etc.)
- (13) Height of document
- (14) Width of document
- (15) Number of folios (or sheets)
- (16) Number of quires (in codices)
- (17) Number of lines with legible characters on recto and verso
- (18) Special features
- (19) Rubrication
- (20) Illustration

- (21) Item number in current repository
- (22) Source of description
- (23) Page number(s) in source
- (24) Item number in source.

The Papyrus Collection of the Aziz S. Atiya Middle East Library at the University of Utah, USA*

by Leonard Chiarelli (Univ. of Utah)

The Aziz S. Atiya Middle East Library is located in the Marriott Library at the University of Utah. Prof. Atiya was a fellow at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Studies and was asked by the president of the University of Utah to establish a Middle East program with a Middle East Center (originally called Intercultural Studies) and library in 1959. The Library is now recognized as housing among the top ten Middle East collections in North America and a major center of research in Middle Eastern studies. The collection contains books and periodicals written in both Western languages and in the major languages of the Middle East: Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and modern Turkish. The Middle East Library contains over 21,000 bound volumes, over 150,000 books, and 5,600 manuscripts on microfilm. There are additional specialized collections, such as the papers and writings of Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, founder of the Middle East Center and the Middle East Library; the Arab diplomat Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh; the former history of science professor at the University of New York, Dr. Martin Levey; and the Egyptian poet Zaki Abu Shadi.

The Library also includes the Judaica Hebraica collection; the papers of former University of Utah Professor Louis Zucker on classical Hebrew studies; over 360 microfilm reels containing more than 900 Arabic manuscripts on Islamic science, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine; a Kaballah and mysticism collection totaling over 700 manuscripts on microfilm.

The most prestigious segment of the Middle East Library's rare collections, and the one for which

it is renowned, is the Aziz S. Atiya Arabic Papyrus Collection. Dr. Atiya and his wife Lola spent years visiting London, Beirut, and many locations in Egypt searching for papyrus and other rare medieval texts. Most of the fragments in the collection were found in Egypt, but some may have been acquired in Beirut and London.

Prof. Donald P. Little of McGill University surveyed the entire collection of papyri, paper and parchment in 1997. The study was funded by a grant by the Furqan Foundation in London, and it is hoped that with continued support the collection can be catalogued and made available to the world scholarly community. The survey's conclusion makes it clear that the papyri collection increases known "number of extant papyrus by almost five percent." (1) It is truly an untapped historical resource for the study of the social and economic life of medieval Islamic Egypt. The whole collection of rare material consists of 777 pieces of papyrus; 883 pieces of paper, 10 pieces of parchment and 4 pieces of cloth. Thus, the whole collection consists of a total of 1674 pieces.

Most of the items contain writing on both sides (in a variety of scripts), and at times bear two or more documents, making the actual number of documents appreciably larger than the total number of pieces. Mrs. Atiya preserved each item by sealing the pieces of papyri between two plates of glass. She then listed each item by assigning them a number and giving a physical description. The papyri are mostly in fragmentary form, being in a variety of sizes, and with the text often faded, but legible. Some fragments contain only a few words, while other pieces include the beginning, end, right, left, or central parts of text. Some, however, do contain complete texts. Most of the scripts are written in cursive scripts used by Egyptian scribes in the 3rd - 4th A.H./9th - 10th C.E. centuries. Some have angular scripts, which may indicate that they date back to 2nd/8th century.

The documents often include place names, such as Alexandria, Fustat and Fayyum, thus betraying their Egyptian origins. In format and scripts the fragments resemble those papyri collections attributed to Egypt and housed in the Egyptian Library in Cairo. The contents of the pieces appear to be primarily non-literary, that is, documentary in character, relating to business and family matters (taxation and land tenancy).

Prof. Little concludes his survey, "the collection contains an impressive number of papyri hitherto unknown and unavailable to scholars outside Salt Lake City." (2) It is especially valuable to students and scholars of "the social and economic history of Egypt during the ninth and tenth centuries." (3) The collection awaits cataloguing and studying, and eventual digitization, thus making it a new unknown resource for the study of medieval Islamic Egypt, and possibly more.

* Much of the information for this article is based on an interview with Dr. Aziz S. Atiya by Dr. Everett L. Cooley (Everett L. Cooley Oral History Project, No. 328 & 329, August 12, 1985. Marriott Library, University of Utah: Salt Lake City, Utah) and "The Arabic Papyrus Collection at the University of Utah: A Report for the Furqan Foundation" by Professor Donald P. Little, August 4, 1997.

- 1) Little, "Arabic Papyrus Collection," 4.
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) Ibid.

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recent publications of interest

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Adam Silverstein, *The Origins and Early Development of the Islamic Postal System (al-Barid), until ca. 846 CE* (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 2002)

ISAP member news

Contact information for ISAP members is available at:
www.princeton.edu/~petras/isap/isapmembers.html

Jaser Abu Safieh (Univ. of Jordan) has recently been named head of the Arabic Department in the University of Jordan and he is currently working on a book about the Qurra ibn Sharīk papyri, to be published by the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies in Saudi Arabia. He will also be lecturing in a course held by the King Faisal Center on Arabic papyrus legal documents.

Dionisius Agius (Leeds) and **Anne Regourd** (Leeds) have launched a new project for the study of the Arabic documents found at Quṣayr al-Qadīm on the Egyptian Red Sea coast (13th to 15th cent.). More information about the project can be found at: www.rqad.leeds.ac.uk

Isabella Andorlini (Istituto Papirologico Vitelli, Firenze): My current research project concerns the field of Greek medical papyri, which range from the third century BC to the seventh century AD. The late ancient medical evidence from Antinoupolis in Middle Egypt, consisting of both papyrus and parchments codices, and artifacts, is remarkable, and the study of this material has become an outstanding aspect of the main project. My major concern is to provide refined re-editions, supplemented by philological and medico-historical commentary, of papyri labeled 'anonymous' and involving medico-pharmacological treatments. A collection and re-edition of all published Greek medical papyri, literary and subliterate alike, is now a desideratum of modern scholarship and involves different aspects of medical history. The

preparation of a "Corpus of Greek Medical Papyri" is the editorial project in which I am currently engaged, a project which proceeds with the cooperation of, and contributions from, an international team of scholars.

Roger Bagnall (Columbia) and **Klaas Worp** (Amsterdam/Leiden) are preparing a second edition of their *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978). The new edition will include material published originally in *Regnal Formulas* (1979) and various articles over the quarter-century since the first edition on oath formulas, invocations, the Era of the Martyrs, and other topics. Corrections to *CSBE* or news of relevant new material will be most welcome (bagnall@columbia.edu).

Sarah Clackson (Cambridge): Following on from my 2000 edition of Coptic and Greek documents relating to the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit, just south of el-Ashmunein (*P.Mon.Apollo*), I am preparing for publication further 7th-8th-century papyri and ostraca from this monastery. An edition of 8th-century short orders from the head of the monastery, together with related texts, is soon to be published. A number of the texts show how the monastery addressed the problem of taxation, not least the poll-tax imposed by the Islamic government on monks. Work continues on a substantial British Library 11th-century account book which gives details of a range of economic transactions, some involving Fayyumic settlements. Although written in Coptic, the account contains a high proportion of Arabic terms, some still to be identified. Based on a parallel in Arabic sources, Lennart Sundelin has suggested a possible dating in the region of the 1050s CE for this unique text. I am also in the process of preparing for publication a 'papyrological primer' for Coptic documents, ranging from the 4th-11th centuries.

Gladys Frantz-Murphy (Regis Univ., Denver) is currently preparing an edition of Arabic estate records.

Andreas Kaplony (Zurich) has recently completed a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of Bern, Switzerland, and is now working on a catalogue of the Arabic papyri at Heidelberg

James Keenan (Loyola Chicago) has a summer research grant from Loyola University for his project "The Egyptian Fayyum: Problems in Historical Continuity," which will include:

continued work on a translation and commentary for al-Nabulsi's *Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm*; an invited talk on "Villages" (in Egypt from 450 to 700) for the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium being organized by Roger Bagnall (May 2004); and a new edition and study of *Stud.Pal.* XX 229 (an alphabetical listing of Fayyūm villages in Greek; the surviving sheet lists villages from nu to omega). He hopes to present the results at the next International Congress of Papyrology in Helsinki (August 2004).

Geoffrey Khan (Cambridge) has recently completed a catalogue of the Michaelides Arabic papyri in Cambridge University Library, and he is currently preparing an edition of Arabic documents from Khurasan (2nd/8th century).

Alex J. Metcalfe (Leeds) is working on critical editions of the Monreale registers of lands and men from 12th-century Sicily.

Maged S.A. Mikhail (UCLA) has recently published "On Cana of Galilee: A Sermon by Patriarch Benjamin I," *Coptic Church Review* 23.3 (2002), 66-93.

Sofia Schaten (Münster) is currently working on a Ph.D. dissertation: "Datierung und Lokalisierung der christlichen Grabsteine in Aegypten und Nubien."

Petra M. Sijpesteijn (Princeton/Oxford) is working on a catalog of the Arabic papyri held by Leiden University and in October 2003 she will begin a post-doctoral fellowship at Oxford University. She plans to defend her Princeton Ph.D. dissertation in the fall of 2003 ("Creating a Muslim State: Arabic Papyri from the Archive of ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad, An Early 2nd/8th Century Merchant and Administrator in the Southern Fayyum"). Along with Lennart Sundelin, she is editing a volume of papers from the 2002 ISAP conference in Cairo (*Papyrology and the History of Early Medieval Egypt: Greek, Coptic and Arabic Documents in the Study of Late Byzantine and Early Islamic Egypt*, forthcoming).

Adam Silverstein (Cambridge) holds a British Academy post-doctoral fellowship at Cambridge and is currently studying bureaucratic institutions during the Umayyad and early Abbasid period. This involves both elaborating on the topic of his recent PhD thesis (see Recent Publications), and preparing a bi-lingual edition of a 4th/10th century manuscript dealing with

imperial administration (together with Prof. Joseph Sadan).

Lennart Sundelin (Princeton) is in the process of completing a Ph.D. dissertation on the topic of "Arabization and Islamization in the Countryside of Early Islamic Egypt (The Fayyūm District, 640-1036)," and in the fall of 2003 he will be teaching in the Department of History at Dartmouth College. Along with Petra Sijpesteijn, he is also editing a volume of papers from the 2002 ISAP conference in Cairo (*Papyrology and the History of Early Medieval Egypt: Greek, Coptic and Arabic Documents in the Study of Late Byzantine and Early Islamic Egypt*, forthcoming).

Sofia Torallas Tovar (CSIC-Madrid) is directing a project for the cataloging of the Greek, Coptic, and Arabic papyri held by the monastery of Montserrat in Catalonia.

Kevin T. Van Bladel (Yale) is currently preparing a Ph.D. dissertation entitled "Hermes Arabicus."

Amalia Zomeño (CSIC-Granada) is working on the "Repertorio documental árábigo-granadino" which aims to collect all documentary material from the Nasrid period (1232-1492) preserved in document collections in Granada, Spain. While creating a database of all existing documents is the first and main goal, this project will also result in new editions of previously unpublished material and studies based on the economic and social data from the documents.

in memoriam

As we go to press, we have just had the sad news that one of ISAP's founding members, **Sarah Clackson**, has passed away. The following message was sent by her husband James:

Sarah died peacefully at home at 3.00 p.m. on Sunday, August 10th.

Her funeral will take place at the West Chapel, Cambridge Crematorium, at 12.45 p.m. on Tuesday 19th August.

Sarah did not want people to send flowers, but rather that money be donated to a fund in her name, to enable scholars to access her papers which will be held in the Archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and to further her work in Coptic and papyrology.

Cheques should be made out to the University of Oxford Development Trust (an accompanying note should say that it is for the Sarah (J.) Clackson Coptic Fund) and sent to:

University of Oxford Development Office
(attention Paul Rickett), Oxenford House,
Magdalen Street, Oxford OX1 3AB UK