

Arabic documents from the Cairo Geniza in the David Kaufmann Collection in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—Budapest¹

Anne Regourd

Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Social Anthropology, Vienna

Associate, CNRS, UMR 7192

Member of TIMA

anne.regourd@oeaw.ac.at

Abstract

This article gives an overview of the David Kaufmann Geniza (DKG)/Cairo collection of Arabic documents conserved at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Almost entirely unpublished and unexploited, they are the subject of a *catalogue raisonné* in preparation by the author. Appendix 1 provides a complete list of the DKG documents that are in Arabic or somehow bear Arabic. In Appendix 2 one item of the collection, the text of a folio of the *Kitāb al-fityān*, a lost book by al-Jāḥiẓ, is published with two plates.

Keywords

Manuscripts, Geniza, Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS), Library of the HAS, documents, petitions, commercial and private letters, accounts, inventory lists, codices, *tafsīr*, al-Jāḥiẓ *Kitāb al-fityān*, medicine, *materia medica*, astrology, geomancy, Arabic, Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic

Introduction

The Geniza documents are already famous among historians and papyrologists. Discovered in the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo (Fusṭāt) at the end of the nineteenth century, they continue to be the subject of numerous studies, and text editions.² They form the most important collection of documents

¹ I would like to warmly thank the staff of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, for making me so very welcome, for their unstinting help, and for giving me unlimited access to the collection. I am especially grateful to Kinga Dévényi, Chief librarian of the Oriental Collection and TIMA member, who supported me generously in every way. This study could not have been done without the support of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, CNRS, UMR 7192.

² The pre-eminent and best-known publication concerning the Geniza documents is by S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California

available to us—in quantity and in interest, in completeness, and diversity. They are a principal source of our knowledge of administration, economics and trade during the Mediaeval period in the regions around the Mediterranean, Red Sea and Indian Ocean, as well as of our knowledge of administration, finances, and Muslim casuistry (*fiqh*) in Egypt, and are equally important for what they tell us about so many aspects of people's everyday lives, from the public to the most personal.³ To suggest the size of the find, Paul Kahle stated in 1947 that there were about 200,000 fragments of manuscripts in the Cairo Geniza.⁴ A more recent and detailed presentation by Goitein, in 1967, distinguishes between “papers of documentary character”, excluding scraps of paper (“about 10,000 items of some length, of which around 7000 are self-contained units large enough to be regarded as documents of historical value”) and leaves of books (“a reasonable estimate would be 250,000 leaves, and this exclusive of the so-called Second Firkovitch Collection”).⁵ According to Reif, S. Schechter himself brought 140,000 items out of Cairo.⁶ Goitein's preliminary statement reveals the difficulty of numbering fragments from a composite ensemble, but all of these indications go to suggest the extent of the collection.

Although much work has been done, much still remains to do. M. S. Löwinger noticed that P. Kahle did not include the David Kaufmann collection of Budapest in his account of the Geniza documents. The Geniza collection has been scattered among public and private libraries around the world so that even fragments of the same manuscripts are in different collections, making it difficult to work on an individual document or to achieve an overview of all that survives. It is also noticeable that, with some significant exceptions, historians have attended rather more to the documents in Hebrew, and in Judeo-Arabic, than to those in Arabic script.⁷

Press, 5 vol. + Index, 1967-1993, hereafter referred to as *MS*. Reprinted in 2000, by the Near Eastern Center, UCLA.

³ Among other significant collections of Mediaeval documents on papyri and paper, already published or in preparation, are those of Quṣeir al-qadīm, of Fustāt, of Edfu, and, though smaller, of Bahnasā (1985-1987 excavations), all of which are from archaeological finds in Egypt. The new finds must be added to Adolf Grohmann's inventory of Arabic papyri and papers unearthed in Egypt, which he estimated to be ca. 50 000 in number, see *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, Cairo, al-Maaref Press, “Royal Society of Historical Studies”, 1952, 2-3, 7sq.; reported by *MS* 1, 13, and note 29. Moreover, their publication or cataloguing will contribute to establishing the number of items of “documentary character”.

⁴ Reported by M. S. Löwinger, “Report on the Hebrew Mss in Hungary with special regard to the Hungarian fragments of the Cairo Genizah,” *Actes du XXI^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris 23-31 juillet 1948*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1949, 117-123, 120.

⁵ *MS* 1, 1sq., quotation from 12-13.

⁶ Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish archive from Cairo. The History of Cambridge University's Genizah collection*, Richmond, Curzon, “Culture and civilisation in the Middle East,” 2000, 43.

⁷ The manuscript fragments in Hebrew characters, including those in Judeo-Arabic, constitute the overwhelming part of the Geniza, as observed by Khan on the basis of the Cambridge collec-

The David Kaufmann Geniza, Budapest: the Oldest Geniza Collection in Europe?

The David Kaufmann collection in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest includes documents from the Cairo Geniza, usually referred to as 'DKG,' in Hebrew, in Judeo-Arabic, as well as in Arabic. After the untimely death of Kaufmann's widow, who had inherited the DKG collection from her husband, on 19 June 1905, it passed to her mother, Mrs. Róza Gomperz, who, "[i]n accordance with the intentions of the deceased", gave it to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences "in perpetuity", in a deed of donation dated 24 December 1905.⁸

The first report of the collection known to us is that given by M. S. Löwinger to the International Conference of Orientalists, in 1948.⁹ He mentions 710 pieces "originally acquired by David Kaufmann," and points out that "[a]t present only 670 Genizah pieces are extant[;] they are partly in the Hungarian Academy of Science, partly in the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) to which the Kaufmann family has presented them."¹⁰ (D. Kaufmann (1852-1899) had attended the JTS as a young scholar.)¹¹

tions, which are the largest known collections, cf. Geoffrey A. Khan, "The Arabic Fragments in the Cambridge Genizah Collections", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 1 (1986), 55-60, 55.

⁸ See part 3.1., "The Kaufmann Collection", of the online presentation of the whole collection on the website of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (<<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/index-en.html>>), and note 61 (<<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study03.htm>>). The information includes part of Kaufmann's correspondence. See also *MS* 1, 3. The website of the Library contains a presentation devoted to the DKG, see: "The Genizah of Cairo", part 3.5, <<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study13.htm>>.

⁹ M. S. Löwinger, "Report on the Hebrew Mss in Hungary . . .", 1949; Sándor Scheiber [= Alexander], *A Kaufmann-geniza kutatása és jelentősége* [= Research on the Kaufmann Geniza and its importance], in: Sándor Scheiber, *Folklór és tárgytörténet*, Budapest, 1977-1984, III, 501-502, republished as: "The Kaufmann-Genizah: its importance for the world of scholarship," in: Éva Apor (ed.), *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection. 1951-1976, Papers presented on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, [Keleti Tanulmányok, 2], Budapest, 1978, 175-188, and reprinted in: *Geniza Studies*, Hildesheim, New York, Georg Olms, 1981, 513-526 (hereafter, references are to the article as reproduced by Olms).

¹⁰ For further details on the discussion of this choice, see "The Kaufmann Collection", part 3.1 of <<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study03.htm>>.

¹¹ A recent and comprehensive biography of David Kaufmann, together with a bibliography, can be found at <<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study01.htm>>, and <<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study02.htm>>. Dated 2008, it is based mainly on the biography by Ferdinand Rosenthal, Kaufmann's brother-in-law, (*David Kaufmann. Biographie*, in: *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann*, Herausgegeben von Dr. M[arcus] Brann und Dr. F[erdinand] Rosenthal, Breslau, 1900, I-LVI), as well as on those by Samuel Krauss, one of Kaufmann's most outstanding disciples (*David Kaufmann. Eine Biographie*, Berlin, 1901 (1902)), and Adolph Frankl-Grün, Rabbi at Krensiar (*Professor Dr. David Kaufmann, eine biographische Skizze*, in: id., *Geschichte der Juden in Krensiar mit Rücksicht auf die Nachbargemeinden*, Breslau-Frankfurt, 1896-1901, III, 148-165).



Fig. 1. Portrait of Dávid Kaufmann (1852-1899), undated, oil on canvas, painted by Izidor Thein. Courtesy of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (LHAS Kt 16).

Löwinger continues, explaining that the 40 missing items “perished unfortunately, during the siege of Budapest in 1944,” and that they were “originally given by David Kaufmann to Ignaz Goldziher.”

According to A. Scheiber, Kaufmann had acquired some Geniza documents before the 11th of December, 1894.¹² This date has significance beyond the history of the DKG itself, for the uncovering of the Geniza has generally been considered to have occurred in 1896, on the occasion when S. Schechter, a principal actor in the acquisition of the Cambridge collection, visited Cairo. Stefan Reif’s recent reconstruction of the history of the Geniza collection in Cambridge confirms the acquisition of some documents before 1896: “between 1891 and 1896, about a hundred Genizah fragments were acquired by the Library.”¹³ Scheiber mentions the following passage of the memorial speech by Izidor Goldberger, one of Kaufmann’s students, dated 1897: “... it was merely the careless Hungarian connection which gave it to ... Cambridge University. The scholar’s only comfort is to know ... that they went to a good home,” which suggests that the source was almost certainly Kaufmann himself.¹⁴ By whichever means the information left Hungary, 1896-1897 should be considered the *terminus ad quem* of Kaufmann’s operation to acquire Geniza documents. On the basis of this information, the priority of the DKG collection, compared to Cambridge’s

The recent online biography adds in note 1 that these biographers “all knew the deceased well. Valuable pieces of information have been contributed by Dr. Béla Bakonyi, the oldest member of the Kaufmann family in Budapest at present. His mother was Margit König (1888-1981), the daughter of Kaufmann’s sister, Mrs. Lajos König, née Róza Kaufmann. (...) Cf. also Dr. Ármin Kecskeméti, “Kaufmann Dávid,” in: *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 44 (1927), 251-260.”

¹² A. Scheiber, *Geniza Studies*, 1981, quotes the formula used to label the cardboard box and give an account on its content, e.g. “Aus der Genisa einer ägyptischen Synagoge. Di[enstag]. 11. Dec. 1894,” 517. In “The Genizah of Cairo,” part 3.5 of <<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study13.htm>>, reference is made to an additional article by Scheiber, *Qeta’im hadašim mi-Sefer Talmuda rabba šel Yosef ben Ya’aqob ha-babli*, in: A. Scheiber (ed.), *Semitic studies in memory of Immanuel Löw*, Budapest, 1947, 164 [Hebrew section].

¹³ Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish archive from Cairo*. *op. cit.*, 70. There is uncertainty concerning a few documents which may have reached the Cambridge Library before 1891, i.e. during the 1880s; see also Reif’s section on “Pre-Schechter Genizah”, 70-72.

¹⁴ A. Scheiber, *Geniza Studies*, 1981, 514-515, quoting I. Goldberger, *Dr. Kaufmann Dávid emlékezete*, Pozsony [Pressburg, now Bratislava], 1900, 19. In dating—and antedating—the acquisition of Kaufmann’s and Schechter’s collections one must take into account the testimony of L. Blau, who states that David Kaufmann was in negotiations to purchase the complete Geniza and became unhappy when he learned that Schechter, who had travelled to Cairo for this purpose, had got to it before him (cf. Lajos [= Ludwig] Blau, “Fosztat városa, Maimonides működésének színhelye” [= The city of Fustat, the stage of Maimonides’ activities], in: *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 1938, 57; reprinted in: L. Blau, *Zsidók és a világkultúra* [= Jews and world culture], ed. by János Kőbányai, Budapest, 1999, 331). According to part 3.5, “The Genizah of Cairo”, of <<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study13.htm>>, Kaufmann, “also mentions this himself in a remarkable letter recently discovered and published (...) by Hermann I. Schmelzer of Sankt Gallen.”

well known Taylor-Schechter collection (UK), makes it deserving of our attention, especially with regards to the quality of what appear to be very carefully chosen items.

Goitein confirms that the flow of the Geniza material into public and private libraries in Europe and America started as early as the beginning of the 1890s, and for those documents that would have reached Europe by 1896-1897, one should look to Oxford and Leningrad.¹⁵

It is interesting to notice that more than five-sixths of the items of the DKG in Hebrew characters consist mostly of religious texts and of some codices that are almost treatises; less than one-sixth are of a non-literary nature, including business and private letters, judicial documents, lists, accounts, etc. This is likely indicative of the interests and selection criteria of the scholars at the time of collection.¹⁶

In the years that followed Löwinger's account, that is to say between 1951 and 1976, Scheiber reacted to incorrect information circulating about the number of DKG fragments "and their post-war fate", and reported 750 items, relying on the basis of his own examination. He made efforts to discover the provenance of the DKG, but how Kaufmann acquired his documents remains unknown. It appears that Kaufmann "never spoke of the matter", and although Scheiber searched for his correspondence, and was able to discover Kaufmann's letters to Schechter in the possession of a dealer in London, he had "no time" while he was there, in 1975 or 1976, to read them.¹⁷

Upon Kaufmann's sudden death in 1899, the collection passed to his widow who then commissioned Max [Miksa] Weisz (1872-1931), one of Kaufmann's favourite students and an intimate friend of the family, to prepare a *catalogue raisonné* of the manuscripts which would meet the requirement of scholarship. This work was eventually published as: *Katalog der hebräischen Handschriften und Bücher in der Bibliothek des Professors Dr. David Kaufmann s[eligen] A[ndenken]*, beschrieben von Dr. Max Weisz, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1906, 199+80 pp. The Geniza documents are referred to in chapter 11. It also appeared in an edition with a Hungarian title page and foreword—the body of the catalogue was still in German—with an imprint indicating Budapest as the place of publication; this was under the title: *Néhai Dr. Kaufmann Dávid tanár könyvtárának héber kéziratai és könyvei*, Összeállítja és ismerteti Dr. Weisz Miksa, Budapest, 1906. Incidentally, both editions were printed in Hungary by Adolf Alkalay and Son, of Pozsony (i.e.

¹⁵ MS 1, 2-3, note 7, 395.

¹⁶ See <<http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study03.htm>> and the following pages.

¹⁷ A. Scheiber, *Geniza Studies*, 1981, 514. S. C. Reif, in his *A Jewish archive from Cairo*, 2000, makes no mention whatsoever of Schechter's connection and correspondence with David Kaufmann, even when exploring the roots of his growing interest in the importance of such fragments, 70sq.

Pressburg, now Bratislava). Although this catalogue “has rendered great service to the scholarly community ever since”, it seems that Kaufmann’s “widow did not live to see its publication”.¹⁸

In addition to microfilms made of selected documents, the DKG collection has twice been photographed in full, first in 1961 (microfiches), and again in 1994 (microfilms). It has been restored with funding from the Getty Foundation and in 2006 the originals were digitized at high resolution as part of the Friedberg Genizah Project and the resulting images made available on the project’s web page (<http://www.genizah.org>).

According to Scheiber, in his time the shelf-marks MSS Kaufmann A 592, A 593 and A 594, designated a collection of approximately six-hundred fragments from the Cairo Geniza. A preliminary catalogue of these documents was prepared by Ezra Chwat in the second half of the 1990s (unpublished) within the framework of a joint project organized by the Oriental Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Micro-filmed Hebrew Manuscripts in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.¹⁹ Chwat’s catalogue gives the total number of items as being more than 570, including both the missing documents (91) and the extant pieces (479). However, the latter figure in fact reflects the record numbers, despite the fact that some of these refer to more than one document. Taking into account *ad minima* the doubled record numbers (for example 32/1 & 32/2), the total number of extant items exceeds 580. Indeed, the tally increases significantly when one goes into detail, separately counting different texts that appear on the same folio.

In his catalogue, Ezra Chwat gives an account of the entire DKG collection. For those documents that are in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic he includes the necessary information on document type for their classification, and provides detailed notes, but he does not elaborate on the documents in Arabic. Their type is not always defined, and may require confirmation even when it is.

The DKG documents in Arabic²⁰

The DKG documents in Hebrew and in Judeo-Arabic have been extensively classified, studied, and published, and some exceptional items have already

¹⁸ Part 3.1, “The Kaufmann Collection”, of <http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/study03.htm>.

¹⁹ *A Preliminary Catalogue of the Kaufmann Genizah Collection* prepared by Ezra Chwat.

²⁰ Henceforth the following abbreviations will be employed: DKG Ar = documents in Arabic, DKG Heb = in Hebrew, DKG Heb/Ar = mostly in Hebrew with some Arabic. EC will refer to the *Preliminary Catalogue* by Ezra Chwat.

been brought to light.²¹ On the other hand, those documents that are in Arabic remain less well explored, and information about the pieces that have been studied or published has in many cases been disseminated through studies published in Hebrew or Hungarian. Moreover, precise references to the DKG collection's items, i.e. record numbers, are often omitted by researchers despite being born by the originals since at least 1961, and even though references to documents from Cambridge or Oxford are given. Sometimes, they are referred to by what seem to be old record numbers in Roman characters (e.g. I, II, etc.), which some documents do indeed bear. Consequently one of the challenges of this project was to identify the DKG documents referred to in those cases where references to Ezra Chwat's list were incorrect or lacking.

In 1949, Löwinger added an appendix to his report on the Hungarian collections of manuscripts in which he provided a tentative bibliography of the Geniza-texts that had been published.²² Amongst others, Sámuel Kandel and Vilmos Steiner are in his list of authors.²³ Scheiber, in his bibliography of the published DKG documents, mentions the work of István Hahn on the Arabic texts, but without providing any reference, despite doing so for all of the other publications.²⁴ Nor is any further publication of DKG documents by Hahn evident elsewhere, which tends to suggest that he published neither during Scheiber's life, nor afterwards.

In 1964, Shaul Shaked recorded 28 DKG documents, which had been referred to in previous publications.²⁵ Among them, between 11 and 13 were

²¹ Some notable examples are the numerous references in S. D. Goitein, *MS*; the two references in *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders translated from the Arabic with Introductions and Notes by S. D. Goitein*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1973; and the seven references in: id. & Mordechai A. Friedmann, *India Traders of the Middle Ages: Documents from the Cairo Geniza. "India Book"*, Leiden/Boston, E. J. Brill, 2008. Additionally, selected pieces on a single topic were published, such as Solomon Widder's list of Piyuttim and poetry in the David Kaufmann Geniza collection, in: *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, Budapest, 1947, Hebrew part, 15-113; as well as the documents in Judeo-Arabic, systematically investigated and regularly published by I. Goldziher, in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, referred to below. In the course of this work, texts have been synthesised from fragments scattered among different Geniza collections, yielding a great deal of information on their place and date of composition. For more information, see the bibliography provided in S. Shaked, *A tentative Bibliography*, 1964, 251-355.

²² M. S. Löwinger, "Report on the Hebrew Mss in Hungary . . .", 1949, 122-123.

²³ Sámuel Kandel, *Genizai Kéziratok* [Geniza Manuscripts], Budapest, 1909; Vilmos Steiner, *Három arab kézirat az ó-kairói genizából* [Three Arabic Mss. From the Geniza in Old-Cairo], Budapest, 1909. They were also both mentioned by Scheiber as students of Goldziher to whom doctoral topics on the DKG collection were suggested, and who wrote "on Arab personal documents," see S. Scheiber, *Geniza Studies*, 1981, 518 and notes 24 & 25.

²⁴ S. Scheiber, *Geniza Studies*, 1981, III, 520, "István Hahn undertook work on the Arabic texts (...)."

²⁵ Shaul Shaked, *A tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents, Prepared under the direction of D. H. Baneth and S. D. Goitein*, Paris, Mouton & Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 1964, 37-40.

described by him as in “Arabic”, and 3 as in “Hebrew and Arabic”. The conclusion of my own careful examination of these documents is that all of them are, in fact, in Hebrew script.²⁶ One of them is a letter from the mid-11th c. sent from Jerusalem to Fustāt, with an address written in Arabic (no. 2 and 2a in Shaked’s list, corresponding to DKG 333b).²⁷ The text of this letter together with its address was published by Goitein in 1949.²⁸ The other items mostly belong to Judeo-Arabic studies, a range of them having been published by Goldziher in the well known series “*Mélanges Judéo-Arabes*” of the *Revue des Etudes Juives*.

More recently, in 1983 and 1997, Moshe Gil showed an interest in the documents of the DKG bearing Arabic, specifically two letters in Hebrew whose addresses were written in Arabic—one in formal Arabic, and one in Judeo-Arabic.²⁹

In the following review of the documents in Arabic mentioned or published elsewhere, only autonomous documents will be considered, and not those where Arabic occurs incidentally, such as in marginal notes on a text in Hebrew, pen exercises in the space left between two lines in Hebrew, or where a letter written in Hebrew is addressed in Arabic.³⁰

A facsimile of DKG Ar 314c (EC 314/2 (2), p. 138) was published by S. D. Goitein, *MS I* (after p. 38, no. 4, referred to as DKG 2, 15 lines). It documents the leasing by two Christians in Alexandria of a plot of land for raising vegetables, from a Muslim owner for one year, in July 1103. Goitein pointed out its interest in his chapter, “Agriculture and Fishery,” after summarizing its content, saying: “This document is of considerable interest inasmuch as it shows that an agricultural contract was made on the same lines as those known for industry and commerce. The lease is for a short period, as was the general usage in contracts of rent.”³¹

²⁶ I was unable to consult Murad Michael, The archives of Nahrai b. Nissim, “a trader and social figure in Egypt in the 11th C.,” Ph.D. of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1967 [in Hebrew].

²⁷ S. Shaked, *A tentative Bibliography*, 37.

²⁸ S. D. Goitein, “Miktavim umismakim qedumim migginze dawid qoyfman z[ikrono] l[ivrika]” [Early letters and documents from the collections of the late David Kaufmann], *Tarbiz* 20 (1949) (*J. N. Epstein Jubilee Volume*), 191-204, 195; according to EC, reprinted in: Joseph Hacker (ed.), *Palestinian Jewry in Early Islamic and Crusader Times in light of the Geniza documents / Shelomo Dov Goitein*, Jerusalem, edited by, 1980 [in Hebrew], 206-216; EC, under DKG 333/1, 144.

²⁹ M. Gil, *In the Kingdom of Ishmael IV*, Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University, Diaspora Research Institute, book 120, 1997, 423-426, doc. no. 742 (= DKG 278g, EC, under DKG 278/2, 121, dated ca. 1070), and 526-529, doc. no. 772 (= DKG 238b, EC, under DKG 238/2, 107, dated ca. 1060).

³⁰ Appendix 1 provides a complete list, by record number, of the documents in Arabic or bearing some Arabic.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 119-120, and note 27; no text edition is provided.

In his *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Goitein also published the text of two merchant letters from the DKG with their then record numbers: DK 3, dated ca. 1000, and DK 13, dated ca. 1080-1100.³² They are both in Judeo-Arabic, although DK 13 contains a few words in Arabic characters.

The letter DKG Ar 199a-b appears in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of 'Aodeh Şabiḥ, *Eleventh Century Arabic Letters of Jewish Merchants from the Cairo Genizah* [in Hebrew].³³ It is an obvious source for his study, but it cannot be stated here whether a facsimile or a text edition of the document is available, as access to it has not yet been possible.

Several DKG items have unfortunately disappeared over the years, some of them possibly stolen in the period between the microfiche and the microfilm campaigns, notably DKG Heb/Ar 137, 191, and DKG Ar 198.³⁴ Their publication will preserve them from sinking into oblivion. DKG Heb/Ar 137 and 191 have already been discussed in previous publications. The first, bearing only a few words in Arabic, belongs to the Widder list of Piyuttim mentioned above, where it is no. 96. DKG Heb/Ar 191 a-b, in letter format, has 12 lines on its side a, "written mostly in short lines in the centre, side b between the folds contains the address and signature, and 4 lines of secondary text in Arabic characters," according to EC, 191*, p. 79, who adds a reference to I. Goldziher, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, LVIII, p. 35.³⁵ The text of DKG Ar 198, prepared by the author, is published here in Appendix 2, together with a reproduction of the lost original, which has survived on microfiche.

A comprehensive publication of the DKG documents in Arabic is planned by the author. It will benefit from the primary work done by Ezra Chwat, while adding significant new material. The favoured format is that of G. Khan's *Bills, Letters and Deeds: Arabic Papyri of the 7th to 11th Centuries from the Khalili Collections*,³⁶ as it is an intermediate format between a detailed inventory and a text edition. Some of the documents will be published in full, while the content of others will be summarized, with indications of their interest for scholars. This format seems to fit closely with the existing DKG collection of documents in Arabic. A careful description of their material features will also be provided. The projected catalogue will be published in the series: *Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*.

³² Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, DK 3 is Letter no. 52, 239sq., and DK 13 is Letter no. 1, 26sq.; DK 13 is an old record, in EC, under DKG 327, 141-142.

³³ 'Aodeh Şabiḥ, *Eleventh Century Arabic Letters of Jewish Merchants from the Cairo Genizah*, Tel Aviv University, 1992 [in Hebrew], 307-308, according to EC, under DKG 199, 83.

³⁴ All of the missing documents can be found on the website of the Friedberg Genizah Project, <<http://www.genizah.org>>.

³⁵ Unfortunately, I could not find any reference to the DKG document 191 in Goldziher's article.

³⁶ Oxford, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 6, 1993.

A total of 80 documents in Arabic and on paper were carefully counted by me, including very small texts, such as addresses of letters, marginal notes and headings, all closely associated with the texts in Hebrew or Judeo-Arabic. But the text of 45 documents is principally in Arabic, stands on its own, and is complete in more than 95% of the cases. The documents are mainly folios of codices (13), letters (official, business, private; 11), and accounts (7). Parts of codices bear both red and black ink.

Document Features

Dates

All DKG Ar and Heb/Ar are extant on paper. There are only two explicitly dated DKG Ar. documents, one being a letter, the other, a deed. The first is the letter bearing a date in the month of al-Muḥarram 1123 (DKG 256a-h, EC 256 (XXI), p. 114). The second, the deed, has already been mentioned, and bears a date during 1103H (DKG Ar 314c, EC 314/2 (2), p. 138). The single folio of an astrological treatise showing a horoscope for a date of 1433 (in what calendar?), is not necessarily that of the document (267a-b).

The address of DKG Ar 232g-h includes the name of the recipient: Abū al-Faḍl Sahl b. Yaḥyā al-Baṣrī (EC 232/4 (XXIII), p. 103, '(Abū al-Faḍl) Sahl b. Yaḥyā al-Basir,' typographic error). A list from the 1140s of "persons born with honorific titles" contains the name Abū al-Faḍl Ben al-Baṣrī.³⁷

A range of notes or texts in Arabic belonging to the DKG Heb/Ar will almost certainly be dated by the Hebrew part of the document. A great many are on *Piyyutim*, which have been collected and studied by Widder. Names extant in letters, especially those where the address is written in Arabic, and in accounts, which are already known from Goitein's *MS*, will allow us to confirm at least that the documents concerned are Mediaeval. This is the case with DKG 327, a letter from Samḥūn b. Dā'ūd b. al-Siqillī to Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. 'Awkal, mentioned above, which has been dated by Goitein ca. 1080-1100.³⁸ One can also hope that undated documents will be dated palaeographically.

³⁷ TS NS Box 246, edited by N. Allony, *Sefunot* 8 (1964). In his analysis of the document, Goitein dates it more precisely as being from ca. 1142 (*MS* 2, 480, sec. 26). It is mentioned again in *MS* V, note 48, 579, where Goitein states that Abū al-Faḍl Ben al-Baṣrī was already dead in 1146.

³⁸ Cf. note 32.

Typology

The documents can be classified according to seven types: petitions (2 to 4 items), letters (11), deeds (2 to 3), accounts (7), lists/inventories (3), folios from codices (13, of which 7 are on medical matters, one is a commentary on the Qur'an, one concerns astrology, and one concerns geomancy), and writing exercises, sometimes by professional scribes (4).

Table giving an overview of the types of documents in Arabic together with the number of each type

Document type	Record number—DKG Ar	Total number of pieces
Petitions	228a-c, 246d (?), 256a-h, 284a, e (?)	2 to 4
Letters	232f, 232g-h, 246c-d, 312a-b, 320a-b, 325a, 325b, 363a, 369b, 372b, one without inventory number	11
Deeds	313a-c (signatures of witnesses), 314c, 398a (certificate of payment)	3
Accounts	236d, 248a-b, 284l, 296bjr-bkv, 349b, 354a-b, 370a-d	7
Pieces of codices	198a-b (literature, <i>K. al-fityān</i> by al-Jāhiz, see Appendix 2), 212a-b (medical), 223, 8a-d (medical), 252a-b (<i>K. šifāt al-mulūk</i> , on the virtues and vices of kings of the jinns, medical), 253a-f (medical), 254a-d (geomancy), 267a-b (astrology), 366a-h (<i>waqf?</i>), 388a-h (medical), 395a-d (<i>tafsīr</i>), 401a-d (medical), 404a-d (medical), 421a-b (circumcision?)	13
Writing exercises, scribe's notebook	235a-b, 255a-b, 257c, 364a-b	4
Lists and inventories (?)	223/5r, 223/6r+v, 9r+v, 249a-d	3

Already, some items stand out for their content. Of particular note are: four petitions, 228a, 246d (?), 256a-h, 284a, e (?), two of which, 228a-c, 256a-h, are almost complete and were probably addressed to the administration or to an official; one single folio of the *Kitāb al-fityān* by the famous author of classic *adab* literature, al-Jāhiz (198a-b, cf. Appendix 2); and the single folio of a treatise on astrology showing a horoscope and bearing a date in 1433 (267a-b), mentioned above. The seven folios and seven bifolios of medical codices are of great interest (212a-b, 223/8a-d, 252a-b (?), 253a-f, 388a-h, 401a-d, 404a-d). Two of them include recipes, which will hopefully provide information on employment of the practical *materia medica* (212a-b & 223/8a-d). An additional three folios participate in theoretical discussion and quote Hippocrates and Galen (388a-h, 401a-d, 404a-d). In one way or another, the DKG collection will add to the knowledge of medical practice already gained from studies of the Geniza documents in the Taylor-Schechter collection (Cambridge).³⁹

The commercial documents will be situated within an area that has already been well investigated. Some names listed in the accounts can be identified.

Private and day-to-day life is also represented. Umm Ishāq, in a personal letter written in Middle Arabic to another woman, complains of the way she is treated (232f). Folios from two different codices also suggest people's everyday concerns; one is on geomancy (254a-d), while the other discusses symptoms of possession by demons and methods for avoiding it (404a-d). The *K. ṣifāt al-mulūk*, on the virtues and vices of kings of the jinns (252a-b) may have been written for exorcists.⁴⁰ In this last text, one notices that there are *marginalia* related to the text and that the letters *dāl* and *tā'* have a dot below the line.

Conclusion

The DKG is among the very earliest of the substantial collections of Geniza documents to have arrived in Europe. The condition and integrity of the mate-

³⁹ The most notable studies are those by Efraim Lev, Zohar Amar, and Leigh Chipman. Lev and Amar have recently published, among other things, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean According to the Cairo Genizah*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 2007; followed by Chipman's *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 2009. For a catalogue of the Cambridge collection, see: Haskell D. Isaacs & Colin F. Baker (dir.), *Medical and Para-Medical Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Genizah Series no. 11, 1994.

⁴⁰ Cf. Anne Regourd, "Le Kitāb al-Mandal al-sulaymānī, un ouvrage d'exorcisme yéménite postérieur au Ve/XIe s.", *Res Orientales* XIII, "Démons et merveilles", 2001, 123-138, and *id.* "Images de djinns et exorcisme dans le *Mandal al-sulaymani*" (with text edition, and translation), 253-294, in: A. Caiozzo, J.-P. Boudet, N. Weill-Parot (ed.), *Autour de Picatrix: Images et magie*, Proceedings of the International Congress, Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris, 2007. Paris: Champion, 2011.

rial in the DKG suggest that Kaufmann chose his documents carefully. Those in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic that have already been extensively studied, commented, and published have proved to be exceptional in many ways. Those in Arabic remain to be published. Their typology is diverse, and some noticeable pieces immediately attract attention, such as the petitions and the folios of codices, including the first page of a lost book by al-Jāhīz published here in Appendix 2. A *catalogue raisonné* is currently in preparation.

Appendix 1

A complete list of DKG documents in Arabic or bearing Arabic

75a	230m (I)	255a-b	327d
77a	231d	256a-h (XXI)	333c-d
117k, n	231o (XVII)	257c	349b
137d, h	232f (XXII)	265a	354a-b
144a, d	232g-h (XXIII)	267a-b	363a
147/k-l	232i-j (XXVII)	269/1r + v, 7r + v	364a-b
163c	233d	269/3v, 5r	366a-h
191b	235a-b	278g	369b
198a-b	236d	279c	370a-d
199 a-b	237i	284a, e	372b
201j	237k	284l	374a-b
201l	238d (VI)	296bjr-bkv	388a-h
202a-b	238h (X)	312a-b	395a-d
212 a-b	243c	313a-c	398a
220f, h	246c-d	314c	401a-d
223/5r	248a-b	316b	404a-d
223/6r + v, 9 r + v	249a-b	319a	421a-b
223/8a-d	252a-b	320a-b	427a
228a-c (XXIV)	253a-f	325a	AS2_2v
228n (V)	254a-d	325b	AS6_6r + v

Appendix 2

A single folio of a lost book by al-Jāḥiẓ

DKG Ar 198⁴¹

The *Kitāb al-fityān* by al-Jāḥiẓ is not completely unknown to specialists of the famous *adīb*. In 1956, Charles Pellat published a list of his books, with remarks about the certainty of the existence of each one.⁴² The *Kitāb al-fityān* was included on doxographic grounds.⁴³ Although Pellat knew of no manuscript of the book at that time, he concluded that, notwithstanding his doubts, he could not definitively exclude it from the list. His faith has been vindicated.

From the general perspective of the present article, it is interesting to note that Ch. Pellat worked on al-Jāḥiẓ a few years before the period between 1961 and 1994 when the folio disappeared from the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, i.e. between the microfiche and the microfilm campaigns. As a matter of fact, the text by al-Jāḥiẓ was not published before it caught the thief's attention, despite having been in the DKG since 1894 and in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1905. It seems likely that Kaufmann's collection, which also contains books (manuscripts and printed) in Hebrew, gradually became known and was regarded as a library solely of Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic texts; a misapprehension that a *catalogue raisonné* of the Arabic Geniza documents will hopefully repair.

Admittedly, the surviving part of the codex in the DKG collection is a single folio, but it is the best one to have! It is from the beginning of the book, where its title and author appear. Their identity is confirmed by other clues. As a complete text edition and commentary is in preparation (see note 41), I will not go into further detail here. I just want to make a last despairing bid for help. As the Geniza documents have been scattered among many different libraries, some of them private, it may be that other folios of the same book have been 'sleeping' elsewhere for decades. Now, there is an opportunity to identify them thanks to this particular folio, as it provides confirmation of the book's existence and subject, and above all, provides a sample of the copyist's handwriting.

Preparing a text edition of a lost book that exists only as an image of the missing first folio is a risky enterprise. Drawing definitive palaeographic conclusions from a single page of the folio is almost impossible. However, some indications of the date can be collected from the front page. The front title page

⁴¹ A complete edition of this text will be published by *Arabica* in a forthcoming edition.

⁴² Charles Pellat, "Ġāḥiẓiana III. Essai d'inventaire de l'oeuvre ġāḥiẓienne," *Arabica* 3, 1956/2, 147-180; completed in: "Nouvel essai d'inventaire de l'oeuvre ġāḥiẓienne," *Arabica* 31, 1984, 117-164.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 155, no. 39.



Fig. 2. *Kitāb al-Fityān* by al-Jāhiz, front page. DKG Ar 198, Folio 198a (courtesy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest).

of al-Jāḥiẓ's book bears three lines all handwritten in a Kufic style. In the Arabic Orient, the practice of writing titles in an ornamental Kufic on the front page reached its peak in the 5th/11th c. and continued until the 6th/12th c.⁴⁴ The word "*Kitāb*," employed here in its proper sense, is distinguished by standing larger and alone on the first title line but with the same width as the title of the book and the expression "composed by" (line 2), and the author's name (line 3). In some examples of manuscripts from the 6th/12th c. cited by M.-G. Guesdon, the word "*Kitāb*" is emphasised by being the only word written in ornamental Kufic. In addition, the outcome of further palaeographic investigation of the handwriting of al-Jāḥiẓ's text with the aim of dating the copy will come along with the complete text edition.

Text in Arabic

Folio 198a

1. كِتَاب
2. فِيهِ الْفَتَيَانُ تَالِيفُ
3. أَبِي عَثْمَانَ عَمْرُو بْنِ بَجْرِ الْجَاهِظِ

1. بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
2. الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
3. مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ
4. نَسْتَغِيثُ اهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ
5. صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ
6. الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ

Folio 198b

1. بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
2. [قَالَ] أَبُو عَثْمَانَ عَمْرُو بْنُ بَجْرِ الْجَاهِظِ قَالَ أَبُو الْفَاتِكِ

⁴⁴ Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, "Les pages de titre dans les manuscrits arabes datés antérieurs à 1500," Robert M. Kerr & Thomas Milo, *Writings and writing from another world and another era. Investigations in Islamic Text and Script* in Honour of Dr Januarius Justus Witkam Professor of Codicology and Palaeography of the Islamic World at Leyden University, Cambridge, Archetype, 2010, 197-211, 207. Indeed, J. J. Witkam himself published a short contribution on the subject ("Title Pages in Arabic Manuscripts Abridged from a Lecture by Jan Just Witkam," *Hadeeth ad-Dar*, vol. 14 (2003), 10-13), in which was displayed a comparable title page, taken from the ms. of a book by Ibn Junayd al-Rāzi, *Fawā'id al-ḥadīth*, dated 198H (Ms. Leiden Or. 580).

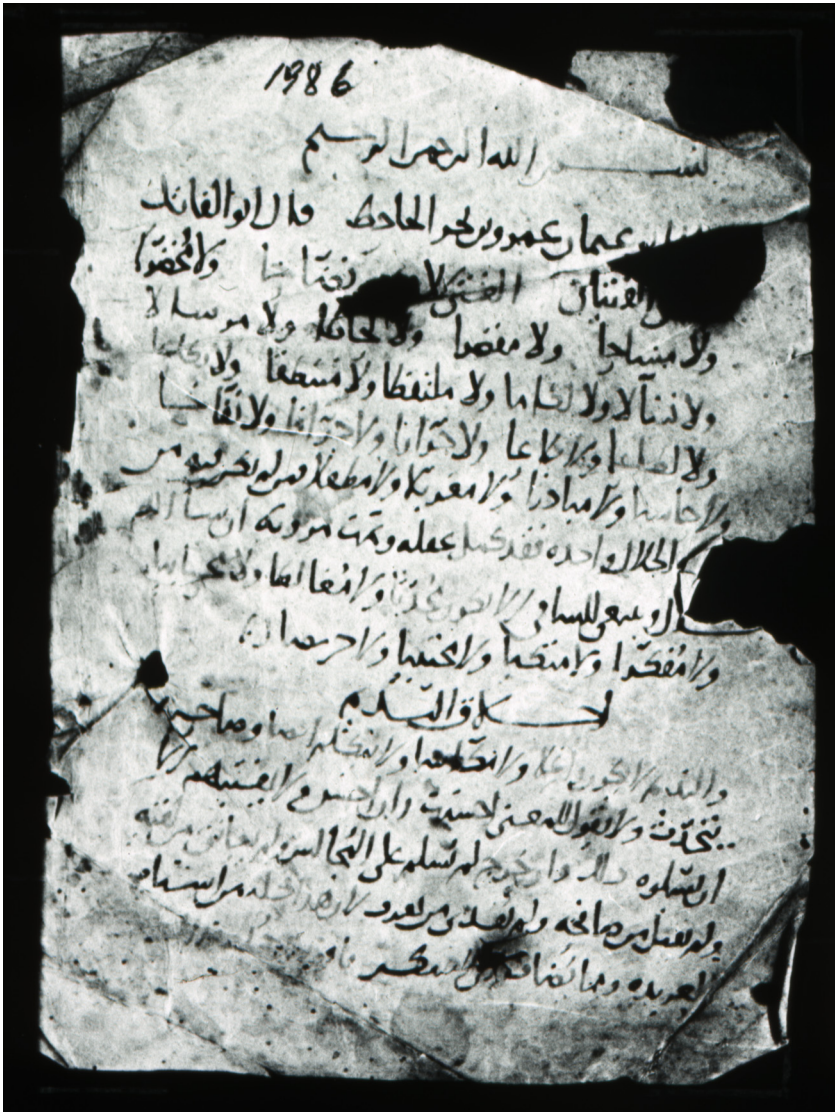


Fig. 3. *Kitāb al-Fityān* by al-Jāhiz, verso side of the front page. DKG Ar 198, Folio 198b (courtesy of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest).

3. [عن] الفتيان الفتى لا [يكون] نضاحا ولا مُحَضَّرًا
4. ولا مساحرا ولا مقصرا ولا لحاسا ولا مرسالا
5. ولا نشالا ولا لغاما ولا ملتقطا ولا منتطقا ولا تكهما
6. ولا لطاعا ولا بلاعا ولا جرّازا ولا جرّافا ولا نفاخا
7. ولا حاشيا ولا مبادرا ولا مغربلا ولا مطفلا فمن لم يعرفه من
8. [العلل] والجلال واخذه فقد كل عقله وتمت مروته ان شا الله
9. [عز وجل] (؟) وينبغي للساقى الا يكون مُحَدَّثًا ولا مُغالطا ولا محايا
10. ولا مُفكرا ولا متيكا ولا محتتيا ولا حريصا،
11. اخلاق التّدِيم
12. والتّدِيم لا يكون واغلا ولا مكاشرا (؟) ولا يتكلم ايضا وصاحبه
13. يتحدّث ولا يقول للمعنى احسنت وان احسن ولا يفتيهم الا
14. ان يسأله ذلك وان خرج لم يُسلم على المُجالس ولم يعان من لقيه
15. ولم يقبل من صاحبه ولم يُفدى من يعرف لان هذا كله من استاه
16. العربة وما يُضافه [الى] الشكر واف/اق] [