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# A Hebrew Qur'ān Manuscript

BY MYRON M. WEINSTEIN, *Washington, D. C.*

IN THE FIRST WEEK OF December, 1831, Joseph Wolff<sup>1</sup> reached the Persian city of Meshhed. Almost a year had passed since his departure from Malta for Central Asia, and to this point in Khorasan few Europeans had preceded him in modern times. Missionary zeal and quixotic purpose he combined in a single enterprise: he would bring the Christian truth to his benighted Jewish brethren and seek out the lost tribes of Israel.<sup>2</sup>

In Meshhed, whose Jewish population he estimated at 2,000,<sup>3</sup> he encountered a group of Jewish Sufis in symbiosis with their Muslim confreres. It is hardly possible to form a clear conception of this fraternity from Wolff's hostile and somewhat confused descriptions. We extract, however, the following details: the Jewish Sufis — fewer than ten are named — had been initiated by a Muslim designated "Mullah Mohammed Ali Yshkapate / Ashkeputi" (apparently, 'Eshqābādī) and this person served as their murshid. Wolff ascribes to him the following principles: 1) There is no evil in the world. 2) A man whose mind is absorbed in God, no vice can harm. 3) The world stands from eternity. 4) The world and God are one and the same. The Jews were secretly Sufis (this is stressed particularly in the case of a dayan of the Meshhed kehilah), and they held antinomian beliefs.<sup>4</sup> The Jewish and Muslim Sufis met together in each others' homes. They smoked a narcotic. They recognized 124,000 prophets in addition to Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad, but did not feel constrained by them. They claimed an affinity with the prophet Obadiah, a Sufi and an outwardly-converted Edomite.<sup>5</sup> They acknowledged the primacy of Mīrẓā Abū al-Qāsim Shīrāzī, known as Sukūt or Sākit, i. e., "Silence" or "Silent."<sup>6</sup>

Wolff tarried in Meshhed some two months — preaching, disputing, inquiring, and paying court to 'Abbās Mīrẓā, Prince Regent and Heir Apparent of Persia, who was destined, however, never to ascend the throne. With the avid — if uncritical — interest in manuscripts that he displayed on his travels,<sup>7</sup> Wolff records the manuscripts in the hands of the Meshhed Jews: He reports that the Jewish Sufis held copies of the Persian translation of the Pentateuch and Psalms prepared by order of Nādir Shāh;<sup>8</sup> the poem Yūsuf and Zulaikhā in a version differing from that composed by a Muslim (i. e., probably the work of Shāhīn rather than that of Jāmī);<sup>9</sup> and the dīwān of Ḥāfīz in "Jewish-Persian characters" (i. e., the Persian ductus of the Hebrew script).<sup>10</sup>

One of the Sufis, the Nasi' or Kedkhodā of the Jews of Meshhed,<sup>11</sup> was in possession of a defense of the Qur'ān composed by a former Jew, Mullā Benjamin of Yazd, later Ḥajī Āmin, who had translated the Bible into Judeo-Persian with annotations for polemic purposes.<sup>12</sup> Describing his experiences in Meshhed, Wolff goes on to relate the following: "I met here in the house of Mullah Meshiakh with an Hebrew translation of the Koran,

with the following title: 'The Law of the Ishmaelites, called Koran, translated from the Arabic into French, by Durier, and from the French into Dutch, by Glosenmacher, and I, Immanuel Jacob Medart, have now translated it into the holy language, written here at Kogen, by David, the son of Isaac Cohen of Berlin'."<sup>13</sup>

Though the books mentioned by Wolff are not "Sufi,"<sup>14</sup> there is no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of these reports, despite the fact that Wolff's accounts of his travels are by no means free of error or contradiction.<sup>15</sup> Copies of the Persian translations of the Pentateuch and Psalms prepared at the behest of Nādir Shāh survive.<sup>16</sup> A related Pentateuch manuscript was acquired by Wolff himself upon reaching Bokhara in 1832. This bilingual manuscript, written in Hebrew (in Arabic characters) and Persian, is owned by the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London.<sup>17</sup> The Yūsuf and Zulaikhā of Shāhīn's *Genesis Book* is perhaps what is meant in the second instance, but other Judeo-Persian compositions employing the Y. and Z. motif may survive.<sup>18</sup> The dīwān of Ḥāfīz is represented by several manuscripts in Hebrew script.<sup>19</sup> Though the literary efforts of Mullā Benjamin / Ḥājī Āmin seem so far unrecorded in library catalogs, they are well within the limits of the possible.<sup>20</sup>

What, however, of the Hebrew Qur'ān manuscript about which Wolff transmits several concrete details? The question brings us to the subject of our inquiry and an investigation of the relevant literature.

The first Hebrew translation of the Qur'ān to be published was Hermann Reckendorf's *Alqor'an 'o Hamiqra'* (Leipzig, 1857). Of pre-Reckendorf Hebrew translations, three manuscripts are known to us to survive. These are (1) Bodleian Ms. Michael 113 (Ol. 50), described in the Neubauer *Catalogue*, v. 1, col. 759 (=No. 2207, 1) as a seventeenth century manuscript in Italian rabbinic character made from the Latin, (2) British Museum Ms. Or. 6636, described in the Margoliouth *Catalogue*, v. 3, pp. 581-82 (=No. 1156) as a translation in square character of the Italian version published in Venice, 1547, apparently written in India in the seventeenth century, and (3) a manuscript preserved in the Hebraic Section of the Library of Congress whose acquisition is recorded in the *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1932, pp. 215-16, where it is stated (by Israel Schapiro) to be in cursive script and Biblical style, without date or name of translator, but written long before Reckendorf.<sup>21</sup>

The identity of the translations preserved in the Bodleian and British Museum manuscripts has been cautiously suggested in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* article devoted to the Qur'ān.<sup>22</sup> This suggestion is doubtless correct. It is not the case, however, that the Bodleian manuscript translation has been taken — without exception — to have been made from the Latin. It has been described once previously as having been prepared from an Italian version. This is significant for it obviates the need to account for the obviously impossible achievement of an identical translation from two different languages. As the crux of the matter in the previous discussion is the meaning of the term לשון נוצרי [yav supplied in the second word], the language from which the translation is said on l. 2a of

Bodleian Ms. Michael 113 to have been prepared,<sup>23</sup> we shall examine how this term has been understood.

In 1841, Heimann Joseph Michael, who then owned the manuscript, announced its presence in his collection in the *Literaturblatt des Orients* (no. 39, col. 606–8). He was writing to claim priority, as it were, for its seventeenth century translator, Rabbi Jacob ben Israel Halevi, over a nineteenth century rabbi, L. Ullmann, who had translated the Qur'ān into German. The editor of the periodical, Julius Fürst, in a conciliating quiddity, assigns his contemporary the palm for translating from Arabic and finds other consolations for Michael's manuscript. What interests us is that in his footnote, Fürst assumes — though he had obviously not seen the manuscript — that לשון נוצרי designates here the Latin language. Seven years later, in *Ozrot Chajim* (Hamburg, 1848), the catalog of the Michael collection, Steinschneider — with a swipe at Fürst (p. 335) — reinforces this interpretation.<sup>24</sup> However, Fürst went on to describe this manuscript in his *Bibliotheca Judaica*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1849–63), 2:20–21 — quite surprisingly, since it is explicitly stated that his bibliography excludes manuscripts (cf. 1, p. vi) — but there we find that he has changed his mind and he now identifies לשון נוצרי as Italian.

In the present instance one must prefer Fürst to Steinschneider. Latin is, of course, לשון נוצרי par excellence.<sup>25</sup> It cannot be gainsaid, though, that this designation is occasionally applied by Italian Jews to Italian. Steinschneider vacillated in his understanding of the matter and seems never finally to have been convinced.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, for some reason not wholly apparent, Neubauer relapses in his *Catalogue* to Steinschneider's position. It is unclear whether he was aware of Fürst's change of heart.<sup>27</sup>

But, whatever the opinions of these titans of Hebrew bibliography, soundings in the manuscripts lead one to conclude that they are two exemplars of the same Hebrew text, that neither is the Vorlage of the other, that neither is the autograph of the translator,<sup>28</sup> and that they represent a rendering made from the Arrivabene (= Mocenigo) Italian version of Venice, 1547 (itself an unacknowledged translation of the Bibliander Latin version, harking back to the Latin translation of Robert of Ketton).<sup>29</sup>

This translation is ascribed on the title page of the Bodleian manuscript to a certain Rabbi Jacob ben Israel Halevi, whom Michael,<sup>30</sup> Fürst,<sup>31</sup> and Steinschneider,<sup>32</sup> and following them the writers of the encyclopedia articles,<sup>33</sup> identify with the similarly-named author of responsa published in Venice in 1614 and 1632–34. Though there appears to be no evidence linking this rabbi with the translator other than the similarity of names, we see no reason to doubt the attribution, and, in fact, the rabbi's biography may be said to speak in its favor.<sup>34</sup>

A stemma of these manuscripts will not be ventured. Instead, we call attention to several details relating to the London manuscript that bear upon the discussion, particularly in the second half of this article.

The manuscript was presented to the British Museum in 1905 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and is presumed to have been written in India. Dated to the seventeenth century

in the Margoliouth *Catalogue* (and to the sixteenth century in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* article previously mentioned), we shall have reason to conclude that it is to be assigned rather to the eighteenth century. In this connection, the authorities of the British Museum have, in a private communication, been kind enough to identify the watermark of Or. 6636 as a fleur-de-lis design surmounted by a crown, bearing the LVG initials of the Dutch papermaker Lubertus Van Gerrevink. Though paper so marked was manufactured also in France and England, the paper of the manuscript is, they state, likely to be of Dutch origin. According to Hendrick Voorn, the LVG initials appear first in the year 1694.<sup>35</sup> Or. 6636 is in brown ink, or ink that now appears brown.

Concluding our treatment of these volumes we remark that the Qur'ān rendition which their translation represents precludes the possibility that either is the manuscript seen by Wolff in Meshhed in 1831.

The Library of Congress Hebrew Qur'ān — no identifying notation has yet been assigned it — is a volume 18.5 x 12.5 cm. in size, containing 259 leaves (the last four of which are unnumbered), with 22 lines per page throughout the body of the Qur'ānic text. Whatever preceded leaf [1] (leaf [1] lacks a numeral: it is either a blind folio or the number has been worn away), including the front cover, the title page, and any preliminary unnumbered or differently numbered leaves, is now lost,<sup>36</sup> and leaves [1] to 5 are no longer held within the volume by the stitching. To repeat, in its present state the manuscript is without a title page. There is no indication that its copyist equipped it with a colophon. With a leather binding partly missing and partly in disrepair, several loose quires, leaves stained and foxed, rounded corners, scattered interlinear glosses and writing on the surviving end paper, the volume gives the impression of having seen considerable use.

This manuscript is the subject of an exchange of letters between the Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Chief of the Division of Semitic Literature of the Library of Congress dating to December 1931. The correspondence is preserved in these institutions. Though the letters are of inherent interest they contain nothing to further the present investigation.<sup>37</sup>

The manuscript is not the work of a professional scribe. Carelessly written in brown (or now brown) ink, it employs two styles of Hebrew script — a square and a cursive. The square letters which the writer uses for Sūrah and Sipārah captions are characterized by — among other elements — strong horizontal stress, considerable overlap in the horizontal and vertical strokes of certain letters — notably dalet — and descenders that tend toward leftward inclination — particularly in the qof. Though this lettering is awkward, it is — at its best — not totally displeasing. The writer's exuberant and ungainly Ashkenazic cursive hand in the body of the text — overly large in relation to his square characters and written without adequate margins — along with attendant unevenness in the size and slope of the letters, give the first 255 leaves — for which he is responsible to the exclusion of what follows on the last 4 leaves — a somewhat wild and at the same time crabbed look.

In the present unsatisfactory state of Hebrew paleography, the cursive hand the manuscript exhibits must be defined by reference to both published and unpublished examples. Of the Ashkenazic cursives available in reproduction in the plates of Solomon A. Birnbaum's *The Hebrew Scripts* (London, 1954–57), this manuscript's cursive most nearly approximates a specimen from 1753, no. 362. This is not to say that it is a perfect replica. The hand of our copyist runs to gargantuan proportions in the formation of certain letters — especially *bet* — and parallels to this peculiarity may be seen, for example, in Ms. Berlin Or. 8° 1067, an unpublished manuscript dating to 1755. We need not burden the description with an analysis of our copyist's cursive hand. A well-nigh complete and fairly representative alphabet may be constructed from the appended plate (Fig. 1). A mid-eighteenth century date is indicated.

Like the Oxford and London manuscripts, the translation which the Washington manuscript transmits is far removed from the Arabic text. Like them, it is the product of a polemic purpose if not of a hostile spirit; it differs from them, however, in the line of transmission. It is a paraphrase-translation not of Arrivabene-Bibliander-Robert of Ketton, but rather of the more modern but still pre-Enlightenment version of Glasemaker-Du Ryer. That this Hebrew translation is mediated through a Dutch version is already suggested as a possibility by the presence of Dutch glosses incorporated into the Hebrew text. Its status as a translation of Glasemaker's Dutch version is established through collation with Du Ryer's French text and its English (Ross), Dutch (Glasemaker) and German (Lange) offspring. Though the Qur'ān translator George Sale,<sup>38</sup> among others, was to find serious fault with the work of his predecessor André Du Ryer (a French consul in the Near East with a knowledge of Arabic and Turkish), the verdict of the reading public was different and in the century-and-a-quarter following its first appearance in 1647 Du Ryer's French version ran through many editions (in at least one, ironically, with Sale's "Preliminary Discourse" included) and was translated successively into English, into Dutch, and (from Dutch) into German.<sup>39</sup>

Jan Hendrik Glasemaker, the Dutch translator of Homer, Marco Polo, Descartes, and Spinoza, as well as of Du Ryer, assuredly brought no independent knowledge of the subject matter to his undertaking.<sup>40</sup> He did, however, add several minor extracts to his Qur'ān translation.<sup>41</sup> His efforts, too, proved to be quite popular. In just over three-quarters-of-a-century, from 1658 to 1734, seven editions of Glasemaker's Qur'ān issued from the presses of the Netherlands.<sup>42</sup>

The brief and scornful foreword to the text which Glasemaker imported from Du Ryer does not appear in our manuscript. The first leaf of the manuscript which has survived, which we believe to have been the first leaf following the title page, contains the beginning of the summary of Islamic belief and practice (also borrowed from Du Ryer) which follows Glasemaker's foreword. Its tone, in contrast, is informative rather than abusive. This unsatisfactory description of Islam concluded, the Hebrew manuscript continues on to translate part of the material that is appended by Glasemaker in the editions we have



examined.<sup>43</sup> Taken over into the manuscript is an epitome of a biography of Muḥammad by Jirjīs al-Makīn by way of Erpenius, and an account of the Night Journey deriving, allegedly, from the Book of “Azear.”<sup>44</sup> It is interesting to note that the Hebrew manuscript omits portions of Glasemaker’s appendix that include certain Midrashic tales and the “Questions of ‘Abdallāh ibn Salām” in which the dialogue between Muḥammad and his Jewish interlocutor results in the latter’s conversion.

The editions of Glasemaker that have been compared count 113 Sūrahs by neglecting to number the fātiḥah (Du Ryer omits the numbering entirely in the editions we have seen). The manuscript, on the other hand, agrees with the Arabic count of 114 Sūrahs. More surprising is the introduction into the manuscript of a monthly reading cycle, the Sīpārah division, which does not conform at all to the correct arrangement and even embraces the non-Qur’ānic material at the beginning of the manuscript. The Sīpārah division is absent, of course, from Glasemaker, and is of uncertain purpose here. But if this is surprising, what is entirely unexpected is the sporadic occurrence of clusters of accents — the accents of the printed Hebrew Bible — in isolated verses of the manuscript. No pattern has been detected, though the etnaḥ, which also occurs alone, is obviously intended to show disjunction.

The majority of the marginal notes of Glasemaker — Du Ryer have been rendered by the translator and are incorporated directly into the text, almost always set off by a scribal device. Also incorporated directly into the text of the manuscript, in four different passages, are pairs of Latin and Dutch glosses to the Hebrew terms immediately preceding. The *lemata* are of no great importance, but the Dutch words employed are either lexical or grammatical variants of those used by Glasemaker.<sup>45</sup> In one other passage a place name is also written out in Latin letters.

The language of the Washington manuscript is hardly an exemplar of Hebrew prose or translating technique, and we have described it above as a paraphrase-translation. The translator adds or subtracts as suits his fancy. His writing is frequently ungrammatical or worse. He essays a biblical style, but is unable to carry it off: terms from post-biblical Hebrew literature abound, along with inconsistent syntax. In regard to the manuscript’s faithfulness as a translation, one ought mention, perhaps, a recurrent and embarrassing error: the Dutch word for “see” in the marginal notes of Glasemaker has somehow been misunderstood and turns up grotesquely in the manuscript as a simple transliteration.<sup>46</sup>

We must come now to notice that the manuscript we have been describing bears a *prima facie* resemblance to that seen by Wolff in Meshhed, i. e., it is a translation of the Glasemaker — Du Ryer version. Wolff’s variant spellings of these names (he writes “Glosenmacher” and “Durier”) either transliterated *in situ* from the title page or rendered later from the Hebrew title he had copied are clearly of no moment.

The comparison may be taken further. It is readily demonstrable that the Washington manuscript presupposes a Hebrew Vorlage. Corruptions in the transmission of proper names are available to prove this (quite apart from the total absence of the traces of com-



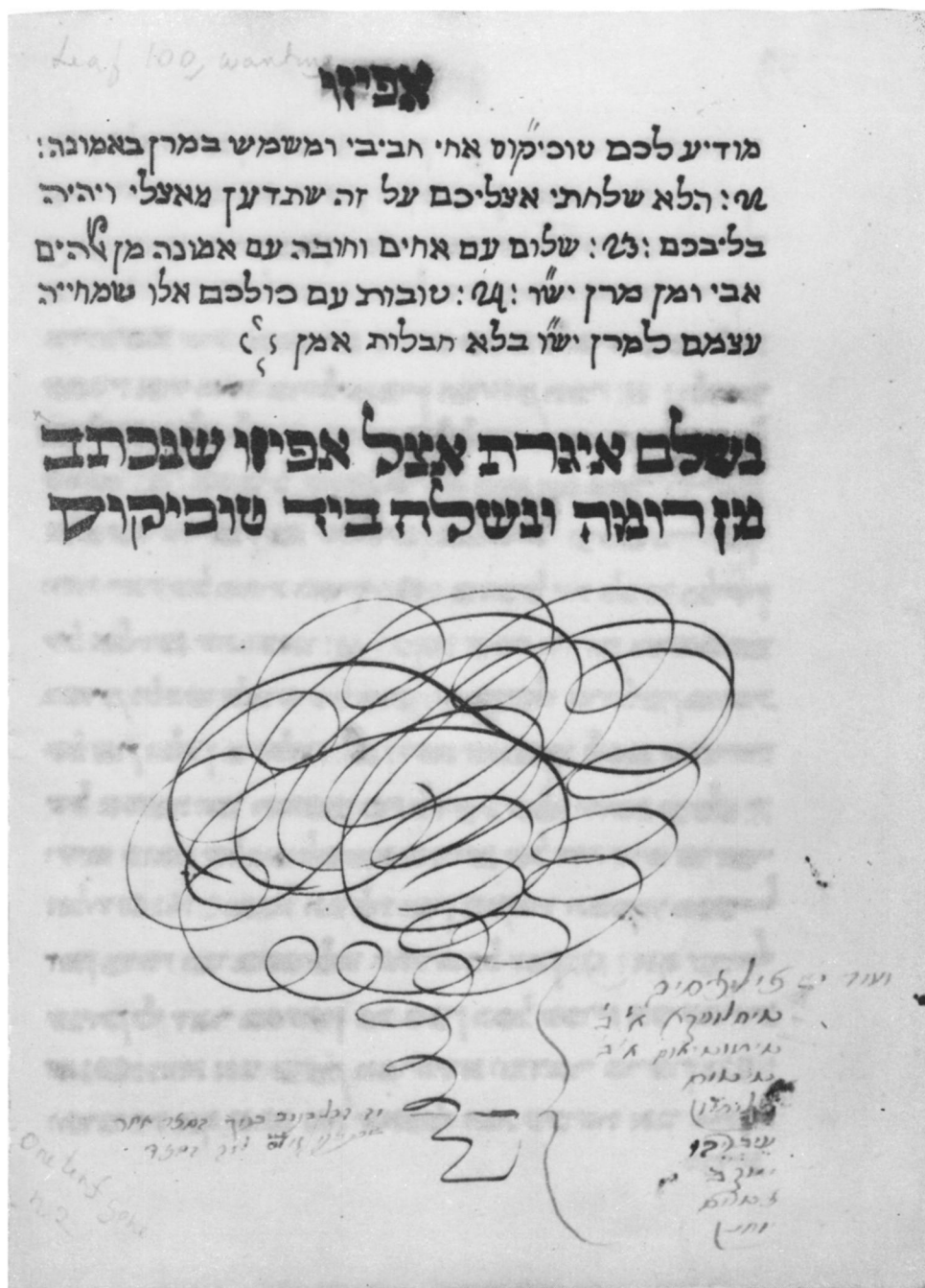
Fig. 1. Library of Congress



פרשת קי"מ מן ההצלה  
 נכתב במקא  
 פלש הא הטוב והרחמים וספר צדק / העם חובקים את  
 תורת ה' אלם כלם להם חיים את הברכות ואשיות אור  
 על יד ה' ונתת הנהיג על אויבך הכיפה ופח ה' אלם  
 על כן רוסו את כבוד אנותו וקצו סליחה וסעו כי הוא  
 חסד גיו  
 פרשת קי"א נכתב במקא  
 מן החבל הנעשה מן קליפות התמרים  
 / ואלאבן נקרא אפרה הוא פילת האבירה  
 פלש הא הטוב והרחמים אלהים אלה את ידו /  
 כפי צד כבאואי כתב ל' אלה אלהים פירה  
 ענינים וברננים על הברק אלה מחבר היה הוואק עליו -  
 אחריו את מחבר / והלם על אור ופ' על ידו לא תטל  
 אצור אורו והוא יבצר אחר אלהים אלהים אלה  
 והיא תלם על צד אורה וכתביה את אלהים העץ  
 הנקראת כחל העליונה / וליפות התערים /  
 פרשת קי"ב מן הישועה  
 נכתב במקא  
 פלש הא הטוב והרחמים אור אלהים וספר צדק -  
 נים אצולש וצר / והוא לא מוליך ונחיר / והוא לא עליה  
 וסוד ברכ ואין / או ליש חכך אולי  
 פרשת קי"ג מן ההבדלה נכתב במקא  
 פלש

Hebrew Qur'an, ll. 254b-255a.

FIG. 3. University Library, Cambridge



3c, Ms. Oo.1.16, fols. 99b-1a.



position and its attendant erasures). Among such instances, which may best be understood as scribal errors to which copyists of manuscripts — not translators of texts — are prone, the following are particularly significant: What is “r” in Glasemaker may appear as ר in the manuscript (e. g., “Nazrana” vs. נַצְרָנָא); what is “w” may turn up as ו (e. g., “Waheb” vs. וְהֵב); what is “k” may be written as כ (e. g., “Kosroës” vs. כּוֹסְרוּי); what is “s” may be transformed into ס (e. g., “Rabius” vs. רַבּוּיוֹס). These can hardly be instances of random error in transliterating the names from Roman into Hebrew script for they reproduce unfailingly the very corruptions to which the graphic doublets of the square Hebrew script are susceptible: ר > ד, ו > י, כ > כּ, ס > שׁ. We are, thus, almost certainly in a position to say that, like the volume examined by Wolff, the Washington manuscript is not the autograph of its translator since at least one Hebrew manuscript must interpose between it and the Dutch printed edition.<sup>47</sup>

But the evidence of the manuscript permits us to say more: There is a high degree of probability that this manuscript has been in Persia for it contains Persian glosses on words in the text, Qur'ān verses in Arabic, Persian, and Hebrew, as well as a Persian poem. We shall discuss this evidence at somewhat greater length.

Leaves [1] to 5, 9, and 17 display a scattering of interlinear Persian glosses written in a minute hand with a fine-nibbed pen. The writing, of a late style called Shekastah, is certainly by a person to whom this is a native script. It is thought to be some 75–100 years old.<sup>48</sup> The words glossed are of small consequence and the glossator has not always gotten the sense of the Hebrew.<sup>49</sup> Working over the introductory material of the first few leaves of the manuscript he apparently became fatigued, whereupon he skipped to the account of the Night Journey on l. 9, and then dropped this to resume at the beginning of the Qur'ān proper on l. 17. He abandoned the work entirely after glossing that leaf. It is apparently this Persian writer who has provided a stray Hebrew vowel (again, not always the right one) here and there on the same leaves to add to the manuscript's intermittent vocalizations (mainly of proper names) of the Hebrew text.

The copyist of the body of the manuscript had left four leaves unused and unnumbered at the end of his labors. The first of these, l. [256], was employed by later holders to write out Qur'ān verses, all in Hebrew script, but in the Arabic and in the Persian languages, as well as in the Hebrew version of the first 255 leaves of the manuscript. On side a of l. [256] there is penned Sūrah 4, 136,<sup>50</sup> first in the Arabic original and then in a Persian rendition. This is followed by Sūrah 2, 47 (or 2, 122, which is identical), again first in Arabic, then in Persian. The Arabic is badly transcribed, nothing unusual for writers of Persian origin. In writing out the second Arabic verse the last word has been altered. Where the original reads (in Pickthall's version): “O Children of Israel! Remember My favour wherewith I favoured you and how I preferred you to (all) creatures,” the controversialist responsible for the verse here would have it read: “. . . and how I preferred you to the Muslims.” The Persian renderings of the Arabic are unexceptionable. On the other side of l. [256] are found six Qur'ān verses which have been copied out from various

passages of the Hebrew text in the body of the manuscript. It is apparent that the verses are tendentious and that they are intended to be used as proof texts, some in argumentation with Muslims, some in argumentation with Jews. We shall return to one of these in our conclusions.

Inscribed on the last page of the book, l. [259b] is a Persian ghazal — as yet unidentified — written out in Hebrew characters. Of apparently Sufi inspiration, it begins: “A thousand regrets and a hundred disappointments that at last I have passed away from the world . . .”<sup>51</sup> The poem is recopied with slight variation on the facing end paper which adheres to the back cover.

The Hebrew handwritings of ll. [256], [259] and the end paper (we distinguish two hands) are late Persian cursive. They conform in general with the hands of two documents from Meshhed with which they have been compared: JNUL Heb. 8° 901 426, a ketubah dating to 1834 (the signatures of the witnesses), and Ben Zvi Institute 948 (writing on the inside of the back cover) dating to 1839.<sup>52</sup> The Persian hands of the Qur’ān have an obvious affinity with several of the handwritings in the documented specimens.

In completing this description of the Library of Congress manuscript a significant coincidence may be noticed. Though much of the paper on which the LC Qur’ān is written exhibits the VDL (Van der Ley) monogram, the quires in the latter part of the volume are all watermarked with a fleur-de-lis design surmounted by a crown accompanied by the LVG initials of the Egmond papermaker, Lubertus van Gerrevink. Paper similarly marked is used, as we have already noted, in the British Museum Hebrew Qur’ān manuscript. This similarity in watermarks — and one further instance in a relevant manuscript may be anticipated here, i. e., in Ms. Oo.1.16 at the University Library in Cambridge, England — is suggestive of similar origin.<sup>53</sup>

We have elicited the facts that the Library of Congress Qur’ān is a translation of Glasemaker, itself a translation of Du Ryer, that it is written in an Ashkenazic hand, that at least one other Hebrew manuscript has intervened between it and Glasemaker, that the manuscript has been in a Persian milieu, and that it contains addenda which suggest a connection with the circle described by Wolff. But — to state the matter in logical terms — these facts provide the necessary though not the sufficient conditions of proof. To demonstrate a link between the manuscript seen in Meshhed and that now in Washington, one must go on to investigate the other data supplied by Wolff, viz.: the place name, and the names of the copyist and translator. We shall turn first to the place name, “Kogen.”

Where is “Kogen?”

It would serve no purpose to enumerate here the proposed identifications that we have considered and abandoned. We shall argue simply that “Kogen” is Cochin, the city on the Southwest coast of India — formerly called Malabar — now included in the old-new state of Kerala. The city’s rise in fortune began in the middle of the fourteenth century when heavy flooding created or improved its natural harbor.<sup>54</sup> As regards its Jewish



population, all that we are sure of is that it antedates the arrival of the Portuguese at the very end of the 15th century. Whether the Genizah documents relating to India will shed light on the settlement of Jews in Malabar is a question to be left in abeyance pending their complete publication.<sup>55</sup>

If, at first blush, the phonetic difficulties entailed in the suggested identification appear formidable, analysis of the orthography demonstrates the opposite. For our present purpose we need not inquire into the underlying Indic linguistic reality, nor need we, in fact, detail the forms of this city name in the various European languages. What faced Wolff on the page in Meshhed was a place name written in Hebrew characters; it was that which he proceeded to transcribe into Latin letters. How, then, is “Cochin” spelled in Hebrew? In an extensive examination of the occurrences of this place name in Jewish literature, more than a dozen different spellings have been encountered.<sup>56</sup> These are largely the work of writers with no first-hand knowledge of the city — ignorant in some cases of its location — or are attempts at approximating a European script orthography — Roman, Gothic, or Cyrillic — or its fancied orthoepy. It is possible, however, in this multiplicity to trace two types of spellings employed by the Cochin Jews. These are (1) spellings with medial *w* (the initial letter being either כ or פ; the ן being written or omitted),<sup>57</sup> and (2) spellings with medial ג — almost always קנין — with its gimel normally carrying a supralinear diacritic mark (geresh, gershayim, or rafeh), which falls away entirely in certain manuscript hands and printed works.<sup>58</sup> It is all but certain that what we are dealing with in the latter case is a Ladino spelling convention in which gimel with diacritic renders the affricate of “mucho.”<sup>59</sup>

This form with the gimel came in time to displace most of its competitors. So entrenched did the spelling קנין become, in fact, that the traveler Jacob Saphir, who arrived in Cochin in 1860, could state flatly that Benjamin II (= Israel Joseph Benjamin) had not preceded him there and adduce as part proof and consequence Benjamin's ignorance of what Saphir assumes is the correct Hebrew spelling of the city name.<sup>60</sup>

To return, however, to Wolff in Khorasan (or back in Malta where he transcribed his notes and diary for publication): For a person faced with this unknown place name occurring in a Hebrew manuscript, a name spelled קנין (with or without a modified gimel),<sup>61</sup> “Kogen” would be an entirely plausible Latin transcription. In fact, in view of Wolff's German background, it may be somewhat more likely that he would have rendered the name “Kogen” than “Kogin,” due to the fortuitous circumstance that many German place names end in “—gen,”<sup>62</sup> whereas “—gin,” if it occurs at all, is extremely rare.

But if “Kogen” is a plausible reflex of “Cochin,” can one seriously entertain the idea of identifying a copyist there of Hebrew manuscripts with so non-descript a Jewish name as “David Cohen,” a copyist, moreover, who may be responsible for the Meshhed Qur'ān? The answer is, surprisingly — yes! — and to demonstrate this we turn to the great eighteenth century French orientalist, Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron.<sup>63</sup>

Anquetil arrived in India in 1755 seeking Parsi informants who could teach him Avestan.

Two years he spent in misadventures on the Coromandel Coast before reaching Malabar by ship at Mahé. Here he struck south to visit the St. Thomas Christians in Cochin, where he arrived on the last day of the year 1757. Then the following unfolds: He investigates the surrounding countryside, and returns to Cochin. We find him put up in lodgings made available by the Jewish merchant Elie Rahabi, son of the leading Dutch East India Company agent, Ezekiel Rahabi. Learning of the existence of the copper-plate charter of the Cochin Jews inscribed in ancient Tamil, he gets permission from the head of the Jewish community to take it to his room to copy. This accomplished, he pays a visit to Ezekiel Rahabi and, on the recommendation of the latter's son and a local Dutch East India Company official, borrows from Ezekiel a notebook in which the Tamil text has been transcribed into Hebrew letters. Above each transcribed Tamil word the Hebrew translation had also been inserted. Despite some knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, he is obviously baffled by the writing in Ezekiel Rahabi's "Recueil Rabbinique" — not to speak of the unfamiliar Hebrew in which the translation is couched, "Hébreu de Rabbín." He turns to a member of the Jewish community for help: "Un jeune Juif, nommé David Cohen, me la copia en beaux caractères Hébraïques avec les détails dont je viens de parler, & je tirai moi-même en deux nuits la copie de deux Cartes en caractères Rabbiniques, que renfermoit le même Recueil."<sup>64</sup>

Could this "jeune Juif" be the copyist of the Library of Congress Qur'an? The existence of this Hebrew document from the hand of a David Cohen of Cochin would appear to provide a touchstone against which our hypothesis could be tested. Where is this document?

That the document was in Anquetil's possession at least until 1771 we infer from the following detail: in publishing his drawings of the original Tamil copper plate charter in *Zend Avesta*, v. 1, 1, pl. 1 to 3, he twice promised to go on to publish the Hebrew translation if circumstances would permit.<sup>65</sup> He never did. But the fact that he promised to do so indicates that he considered the Hebrew text of some importance. Hence, we can hardly believe that he would have discarded it. Anquetil died in 1805, leaving a considerable library. His books were sold soon after, but the manuscripts he had collected and his personal papers were deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>66</sup> The papers have been arranged and are classed in the Bibliothèque Nationale as *Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises*, nos. 8857–8882. Several of the "fonds" of his personal papers have been thoroughly searched at our direction, but to no avail. The Hebrew translation of the Tamil inscription copied from Ezekiel Rahabi's notebook by David Cohen is nowhere to be found.

What could have happened to the document? In casting about for a clue it was discovered that Anquetil's literary executor, the renowned Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, had also written on the Jews of Cochin where he mentions it: "Les privilèges [sic] des Juifs de Cochin ont été copiés sur l'original même, par M. Anquetil du Perron, qui a fait graver la copie qu'il en avoit tirée, et l'a publiée dans le tome I du *Zend-Avesta* . . . M. Anquetil avoit aussi reçu, d'un Juif, la lecture du texte tamoul, exprimée en lettres hébraïques, et une traduction de ce monument précieux en hébreu rabbinique. Il avoit promis de publier le

tout, ce qu'il n'a point exécuté. J'ai trouvé la copie en caractères hébreux et la traduction hébraïque parmi les manuscrits qu'il m'a laissés, mais sans aucune interprétation latine ou française."<sup>67</sup> The document passed, then, to Silvestre de Sacy. What did he do with it?

At his death in 1838, de Sacy left a very large and important library of oriental studies. This was broken up at auction some years later. The missing document is not, however, inventoried among the manuscripts of the auction catalog. Reading through the portion of the auction catalog listing printed works relating to Judaism, one stumbles upon it: The document in question had been inserted in de Sacy's copy of a Portuguese book about the Jews of Cochin, viz., Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva's *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochim*, Amsterdam, 1687. There, in the auction catalog, *Bibliothèque de M. Le Baron Silvestre de Sacy* 3 vols. (Paris, 1842–47), v. 1, p. 36, item no. 182, following the *Notisias* entry one reads this addition: "Traduction hébraïque des olles [talipot palm leaves used as writing material; meaning here 'documents'] en cuivre contenant les privilèges des Juifs de Cochin, tirée du recueil rabbinique d'Ezéchiel, courtier des Hollandais à Cochin. Une feuille ms. in plano [a single broadside leaf], beau caract. hébraïque."<sup>68</sup>

The *Notisias* volume was sold at auction in April 1843. The marked catalog of the sale in possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale records the purchaser as "France" (apparently a bookseller so named rather than a national institution or the country of residence of the purchaser). Despite strenuous efforts to find the book, its present location has not been traced. It may not, of course, survive; if it should survive the document may be lost.<sup>69</sup>

Our inability to locate the document in question would have closed this approach toward identification of the Library of Congress Qur'ān were it not for the fact that in the course of searching through the Anquetil papers in Paris a Hebrew abecedary was discovered,<sup>70</sup> an abecedary which Anquetil himself states was written for him by David Cohen. This discovery seemed at first sight more mishap than fortune for the cursive hand it displays differs radically from that of the text of the Qur'ān!

Let us turn to the abecedary (Fig. 2). It is found on a leaf now bound as fol. 19 of Ms. Nouv. Acq. Fr. 8878 of the Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale. On it Anquetil has written: "alph[abet] rabbinique] donné . . . par David Cohen qui m'a copié en car[actères] Hebr[aiques] la traduc[tion] de l'olle de Perumal faite par Ezéchiel et écrite en car[actères] Rabbiniques." Above it to the right is the script to which this refers, i. e., David Cohen's cursive Hebrew alphabet in a ductus to be presently described. To the left of the first alphabet Cohen has rewritten the letters to illustrate their use as the Hebrew numerical system, placing the Arabic (i. e., European) numeral equivalent above each letter. Filling out the first line of Anquetil's description already quoted, where we have placed an ellipsis, Cohen has added the civil year, 1758, in a thoroughly mixed notation. On the top line above and to the right of Cohen's first alphabet, we find again in Anquetil's hand: "lett[res] R[abbiniques] imprimées." This legend refers to nine Hebrew letters to its left which are copied from a semi-square or mashait font of type, obviously for purposes of comparison. These nine letters are different enough from



Cohen's cursive equivalents just below them to warrant being singled out by a person interested in comparing them. We judge that they were copied from a printed book by Anquetil himself at a date later than that of the original writing. There is nothing on the page in Cohen's square hand. This is not only because Anquetil already knew the square letters, but also because the abecedary was jotted down by Cohen to equip Anquetil to decipher the cursive writing in Ezekiel's notebook, or specifically, on his maps. We shall not be wrong to conclude, consequently, that this Sephardic cursive handwriting of David Cohen must bear some likeness to that of Ezekiel Rahabi.<sup>71</sup>

As for the cursive hand of the abecedary, it has its closest congeners in manuscripts of Cochin provenience — not, however, those written in the Sephardic cursives of the seventeenth century available in facsimile in Solomon A. Birnbaum's *The Hebrew Scripts*, no. 283, and David S. Sassoon's *Ohel Dawid*, v. 1, pl. 47. It is closer to the Hebrew hand of the bilingual document from Cochin of 1803 which has been reproduced on the dust jacket of Walter J. Fischel's *Hayehudim Behodu*, and in the Ben-Zvi Institute's *Studies and Reports* 1 (1953), p. 2 of the Hebrew section. But we may go further: among the manuscripts acquired by the Reverend Claudius Buchanan on a visit to Cochin in 1806,<sup>72</sup> manuscripts which were later presented to the University Library at Cambridge, England, we find three in which we detect what we believe to be — beyond a reasonable doubt — the very handwriting of the abecedary, i. e., the Sephardic cursive hand of David Cohen. It is to these that we now direct our attention.<sup>73</sup>

We shall not linger over Oo.1.37, a Hebrew translation of portions of Amelander's Yiddish שׂאָרײַט ישראל. Its hand shows slight aberrations from that of the abecedary which we will not discuss here. It includes nothing in square letters and is without the name of the copyist. We pass on, rather, to Oo.1.32 and Oo.1.16, two interrelated Hebrew New Testament manuscripts. The Hebrew of these translations is, by and large, appalling, but this is not our present concern. In Oo.1.32 — a complete NT save for Revelation — we distinguish the handwritings of no fewer than three copyists. Distinguishing the hands of this manuscript — two of which are similar but by no means identical — is complicated by its slovenliness, and several opinions have been expressed.<sup>74</sup> It is not necessary that we go deeply into the details here. Suffice it to say that we believe that one of the copyists is the writer of the abecedary (in this manuscript, too, his hand shows minor deviations from it). There are no square characters in the portion we ascribe to him, viz., all the Hebrew writing on ll. 132a to 160b with the exception of the following: the captions on l. 136b, the caption and first two verses on l. 137a and all the glosses of these leaves (l. 90a and b may display an earlier state of his hand). Here, again, no names of copyists are provided.

It is in manuscript Oo.1.16, however, that there awaits us a stunning surprise. This manuscript, like the London and Washington Qur'āns, is written on paper bearing as a watermark the LVG initials of a Dutch papermaker with fleur-de-lis design surmounted by a crown. It, like the London and Washington Qur'āns, is in brown (or now brown)



ink. Again a manuscript without data as to copyist — it includes Acts to Ephesians in large square letters on leaves 1 through 99. (Captions are in monumental square letters employing shading.) On the five concluding leaves containing text, Revelation has been copied in a small Sephardic cursive. While the last five leaves of this Cambridge manuscript are once more the handwriting of the Paris abecedary — David Cohen's — the first ninety-nine are the handwriting of the square captions in the Washington Qur'ān! (Fig. 3).<sup>75</sup> We shall not enter upon a formal analysis of the hands. They are reproduced in the accompanying figures. The reader will judge.<sup>76</sup>

This situation is perplexing. Is there anything to connect the hand of the first ninety-nine leaves with that of the last five? In checking through the various elements of scribal practice in the two parts of the manuscript, we hit upon one element which we have come to believe is decisive: ligature of numerals. The verses are numbered in both parts of Oo.1.16 (as also in Oo.1.32). These Arabic numerals — whose formation is completely consistent in the two parts of Oo.1.16 — tend to be ligatured in both parts when a certain speed in writing is reached. The same numbers in both parts tend to be ligatured. The execution of the ligatures is alike in both parts. The numeral "1" is susceptible of ligature to the left and to the right. Ligatured "22" in both parts displays the same fluency of line (cf. the examples of this number occurring in the two parts of Fig. 3). This sporadic ligaturing also occurs in that portion of Oo.1.32 we ascribe to Cohen (ll. 132a–160b). We believe that this practice is distinctive enough and singular enough to warrant the conclusion that we are dealing with the writing of one man. We may add, however, another peculiarity connected with numerals: In neither part of Oo.1.16 has the first verse of any chapter been numbered by the copyist (the first verse in the whole volume is an apparent exception). In contrast, all portions of Oo.1.32 which we do not assign to Cohen contain a number "1" verse.<sup>77</sup>

But, if the writer of the cursive of New Testament Ms. Oo.1.16 is the writer of its square hand, the writer of the square hand of the Washington Qur'ān is the writer of its cursive. There is not a scrap of evidence to indicate collaboration between copyists in producing the Qur'ān, one the inditer of the captions, the other of the text. Scriptorially, the Qur'ān is a work of unitary composition — disregarding the later glosses, of course. We are drawn, thus, to the ineluctable conclusion that the writer in question — one David Cohen of Cochín — wrote two different Hebrew cursive hands!

Is this not an utterly absurd conclusion? We think it is not. Not only in our own day, in Israel, has the necessity arisen for some to learn a second cursive hand. In the past this need has clearly existed at many points of contact of the diasporas, for purposes of communication, for execution of deeds, for prosecution of studies. In fact, since the crystallization of distinct cursive types the need can never have been absent. The differences of ductus have even resulted in halakhic problems, and the literature on the subject has been only partially explored.<sup>78</sup> It is, of course, the case that the knowledge by an individual of a cursive hand other than that in which he wrote was uncommon. We may cite as in-

dicative the report of a British consul in Jerusalem in mid-nineteenth century who notes with some exasperation that his dragoman, a Sephardi rabbi, is “unable to read or write even the superscription of a letter in the Ashkenaz character.”<sup>79</sup> Though uncommon, the ability to read more than one type of cursive hand can hardly have been excessively rare at certain times and places, for Hebrew manuscripts, written in one ductus and used where that ductus was not current, attest to it.<sup>80</sup> But even the ability to write more than one cursive was hardly unknown. Here we may adduce the case of Don Isaac Abravanel, a weary old man in Venice, sitting down to write a long reply to a philosophical query — for his scribe had deserted him for the Holy Land — who, out of courtesy to his correspondent, pens his answer in an Ashkenazic hand to which he is not accustomed.<sup>81</sup>

We have, however, more specific grounds for believing that David Cohen could write two cursive hands. By a stroke of pure fortune, this man’s will has survived to be found within the last few years.<sup>82</sup> It is a curious document, but no considerations of good taste should prevent a frank appraisal of its contents. It is the testament of a non-native born merchant, who, lying ill in Cochin in 1769, has a will drawn up by an official of the Dutch East India Company manumitting his slave concubine, acknowledging paternity of her two sons, and providing generously for the upkeep of this family. He designates as his sole heir, however, a synagogue in neighboring Mattancherry — surely the Paradesi Synagogue of the “White Jews,” though that is not spelled out — and as one of his executors the third son of Ezekiel Rahabi. This document illustrates in striking fashion a basic pattern of South Indian Jewish life from the time we first hear anything substantial about it at the beginning of the sixteenth century: the arrival of merchants and refugees from abroad, their unions with local women, and the resulting imperfect integration of the offspring into the Jewish community of Malabar.<sup>83</sup>

But that is not what concerns us here. It is the description of the testator given in the will itself which is important for us. The man is described as the “Joodse vrijburger David Cohen bij s’Comp.’s boeken bekend voor Jan Fredrik Scheffer van Berlijn” (the Jewish freeman David Cohen, known on the Company’s books as Jan Fredrik Scheffer, of Berlin).<sup>84</sup> Whatever the reason for the alias, the will reveals the testator’s place of origin: it proves to be Berlin. What could be more natural than that Cohen arrived in Malabar knowing the Ashkenazic cursive of his youth and proceeded to learn the very different Sephardic cursive of Cochin upon settling there?<sup>85</sup> In the Cambridge manuscripts traces of several stages of this learning process are discernible.

The testator’s endorsement of the will adds some additional weight to what we believe is the strong paleographic evidence offered for identifying the writer of the Library of Congress manuscript as David Cohen of Cochin. He signs his name in a clear Latin hand (which is not enfeebled as one might expect of someone in his circumstance) “DCohen,” ligaturing the initials, and underscoring the name with a flourish. There is no Hebrew signature.<sup>86</sup> All that may be claimed is that the writing of the five Latin script glosses which are incorporated directly into the text of the Qur’ān is congruous with the signature.

There are too few letters to say more and a signature is, by definition, too special. Apropos of the flourish, it may not be amiss to remark here that David Cohen was given to calligraphic ornaments. These enjoyed a certain vogue in contemporary German books. As may be seen from Figs. 1 and 3, Cohen's penmanship is more scribble than vignette. His death, it must be noted, occurred no earlier than 1772.<sup>87</sup>

We have come full circle back to Joseph Wolff and the Qur'ān manuscript he examined in Meshhed. The manuscript was, Wolff tells us, penned in "Kogen." We believe that we have correctly located "Kogen." It was copied, he says, by "David, the son of Isaac Cohen, of Berlin" (or, in *J*, 1831, "David Isaac Cohen of Berlin"). Though his father's name is not available in the sources we have used, we believe that we have correctly identified the David Cohen of Berlin in question. We have done this by identifying the Meshhed manuscript as the one now in Washington. Perhaps it is possible to press on and establish the identity of the translator. Can anything be discovered about a personage named "Immanuel Jacob Medart," or "Immanuel Jacob Medort" as his name is given in *J*, 1831? Happily, yes!

To reach the denouement, we refer again to Anquetil-Duperron's experiences in Cochin in 1758 as related in the first volume of his *Zend-Avesta* (pp. clij-clij). Strong curiosity led him to converse with an official of the Dutch East India Company, Anthony van Vechten, on the history, customs, and antiquities of the Hindus and Christians on the Malabar Coast. This official had himself made investigations of a sort over a period of years, without much success, however. "M. Van Vechten me conseilla aussi de m'adresser à M. Van Dorts, Juif du Duché de Juliers, converti au Christianisme, & qui étoit alors Professeur de Théologie à Colombo." Recognition comes in a moment of perception: this man is our Qur'ān translator — [Leopold] Immanuel Jacob van Dort!

Errors that obscure the connection must be disposed of. On the one hand, the *Zend-Avesta* passage which has been quoted contains a misprint: the name should read "van Dort," without a final s. On the other hand, Wolff, in transcribing the name from the Qur'ān title (page), has committed an understandable mistake. What faced him, assuredly, was a name reading: עמנואל יעקב מדורט. ("Leopold" can, of course, be no part of the man's Jewish name). Nonplussed by מדורט, he rendered it "Medort." So it stands in *The Journal . . . for . . . 1831*. In *Researches and Missionary Labours*, where it is copied from his notes a second time, it has suffered further corruption.

We shall not undertake to recount here the particulars we have collected in the curious case of Leopold Immanuel Jacob van Dort.<sup>88</sup> The material is not by any means adequate for a coherent biography, and some of it is speculative. (Referrals to archival sources would be most gratefully received.) A relevant detail may be simply stated, nevertheless. It is known that the man used various forms of name: "van Dort," "von Dort," and "de Dort." "Mi-Dort" is but another variant. He intended, obviously, to denote, thereby, that he hailed from the city of Dordrecht (known colloquially as "Dort") in the Netherlands.

Let us summarize the argument to this point in a less convoluted fashion: Seeking to

identify a Hebrew Qur'ān manuscript wanting title page and colophon, in an Ashkenazic hand but with Persian glosses, we searched the literature of the subject. A reference to a manuscript seen in Persia in the first half of the nineteenth century attracted our attention. Finding that neither of the other known manuscripts — in contrast to our own — was of the right descent to answer the description in the reference, we assumed as a working hypothesis what was to be proved: the identity of the present manuscript with that described in the nineteenth century sighting. We followed where this hypothesis led, away from Central Asia — an improbable location for a translation from Dutch — to an outpost of the Dutch East India Company in South Asia some three-quarters of a century earlier. There, in a city whose name — when properly interpreted — satisfied the indicium, we found a likely copyist. An attempt to locate a given specimen of that copyist's handwriting to test against our manuscript proved a failure. Unexpectedly, another documented example of his handwriting was discovered. This appeared at first to negate any possible connection between that writer and our manuscript. A survey of manuscripts of Cochin provenance turned up several in his hand, however. One of these — the key manuscript — was partly in the attested cursive handwriting in the documented example and partly in the handwriting of another style of script in the Qur'ān. Internal evidence was available to prove that this key manuscript was the writing of a single person, whence it followed that the Qur'ān, too, was wholly executed by this man, it being scriptorially a holograph — barring its later glosses. A will was adduced which explained why the writer would have known two types of Hebrew cursive writing — one occurring in the Qur'ān, one in the key manuscript, a New Testament. Having identified the copyist of the LC Qur'ān to our satisfaction, we were able to find in the source that led us to the copyist, a likely candidate for the translator's task. Reinterpreting the data, this individual was seen to bear precisely the desiderated name. The man has proved upon investigation to be no small mystery. He is responsible, we believe, for a fictional chronicle. He may be responsible for a strange apocalypse, as well.

Despite the symmetry and exhaustiveness of this demonstration it may be frankly admitted that it does not prove beyond a doubt that the manuscript now in the Library of Congress is the one examined by Wolff in Meshhed in 1831. For, a person who copies a manuscript once may copy it twice, or *n* times. Collateral manuscripts may have similar — though not wholly similar — careers. We see no reason, nevertheless, to multiply entities beyond necessity, to postulate the existence of an unattested manuscript when the one we have before us agrees with each of the indicia. We shall proceed to our conclusions, then, without considering seriously the possibility that we may have happened upon the wrong one of a set of identical twins.

The Library of Congress manuscript was written in the 1750's or 60's. As the *terminus a quo* we take 1754–5, the year of the arrival of van Dort in the Indies. (We do not know how much before 1757 David Cohen reached Malabar). The *terminus ad quem* is the year of Cohen's death — perhaps 1772–3. The manuscript may, possibly, date to 1757,

for van Dort was in Cochin that year — if no other — arriving, apparently, sometime after June and leaving sometime before the New Year. Since Cochin was only a short sea passage from Colombo, Ceylon — where van Dort was teaching — this is unlikely to have been his only visit. To support a date in this period we have also the witness of the paper.<sup>89</sup>

Though there is no internal evidence (and though the monthly reading cycle might be thought to point to a different use) it seems likely that the Qur'ān translation was intended to serve a polemic purpose. We assume that the translating — or at least the copying — was done by commission of Ezekiel Rahabi or with his support, and that the LC Qur'ān manuscript is one of the products of a translation project aimed at rendering into Hebrew the religious literature of the neighbors of the Malabar Jews, a project which Rahabi appears to have encouraged and engaged in. There is ample evidence of a polemic purpose in the marginalia of New Testament Ms. Oo.1.32 of the University Library at Cambridge. On another occasion we shall identify a Hebrew translation in manuscript of a work on Hindu belief and practice which issued from the same circle. Despite Ezekiel Rahabi's known ecumenical proclivities,<sup>90</sup> we must not expect to find that he shared the motivations of a university department of comparative religion.<sup>91</sup>

Nothing is known of the history of the Qur'ān during the period between the 1750's or 60's and the 1830's, when it traveled from Cochin to Meshhed. A wholly overland route, far from being implausible, is most likely. Jewish travelers — though one can hardly restrict transport of such wares to them only — must have made their way across Asia in this period despite the hardships of the journey, just as they did in the middle of the nineteenth century when we are better informed. A case in point is a report about a certain Isaac ben Mordecai, of Hebron, perhaps a shaliaḥ, perhaps a merchant, who traveled from Kabul to Surat, was encountered in Serampore in 1806, and planned to return home by ship.<sup>92</sup> There is no reason why overland journeys in the opposite direction should not also have been undertaken, and the likelihood of such journeys is increased if there existed a Jewish community in Kashmir at the time, as seems possible.<sup>93</sup> But a sea passage to Bushehr or even Basra is also conceivable with a somewhat more circuitous overland approach to Meshhed.

The pivotal point in the history of the Jews of Meshhed is the forced conversion of the entire community to Islam that occurred in the course of a pogrom in the year 1839.<sup>94</sup> This unhappy event did not spell the end of Jewish life in Meshhed. Practicing a form of Marranism such as recurs in Persian Jewish history, the community managed to survive relatively intact on its home grounds and, moreover, even sent out tiny settlements across Asia which reverted to overt profession of Judaism. Wolff, who was in Meshhed both before (1831–2) and after (1844) the massacre, is an important witness to the background, provided that his testimony is examined critically. On the one hand, he found Jewish society in disarray, with a segment of the community (the Sufis) cultivating an esoteric doctrine not in conformity with its external affiliation.<sup>95</sup> Another segment (com-



prising traveling merchants) had gone still further in dissembling, professing Islam in Shiite Khorasan and reverting to Judaism in Turkestan, a Sunnite area.<sup>96</sup> We must notice that this antedates the event of 1839 (known as “Allah Daad”). On the other hand, Persian society in Khorasan was itself in flux, with a weak government in Teheran having a slender hold on the ever-rebellious province, and new voices beginning to be raised.<sup>97</sup>

What has this to do with the manuscript? Wolff explains to what use the Qur'ān was put by the brotherhood: “They read, with their Moorsheed, the Koran, and other religious books, to find a confirmation of the truth of their systems; for . . . they inconsistently try to prove the truth of their tenets from books, the authority of which they are studying to undermine” (*RML*, 126). It is not explicit justification of their tenets, however, which we find copied out from the body of van Dort's production on to a blank leaf (l. 256b) in the back of the volume, but something allied, proof texts calculated to shield the initiates from either Muslim attack or Jewish censure. The first of these passages is of particular interest as its obvious intention is to facilitate social intercourse between Persian Shiites and Jews.

The ritual impurity of the unbeliever is set out in detail by the Ṣafawid theologian al-ʿĀmili in his popular compendium of Shiite law, *Jāmiʿ-i ʿAbbāsī*.<sup>98</sup> So stringent are the regulations he lays down that they cannot even contemplate believers eating with infidels and so do not find it necessary to expressly prohibit this horror. But both Jewish and Christian travelers in nineteenth century Persia repeatedly remark Shiite abhorrence of it. David D'Beth Hillel, for example, remarks: “The Persians . . . do not eat with anyone of another nation, even touching their bread and liquids or fresh fruits; they consider it as defiled and will never eat it . . . On my arriving in their countries I was astonished at this custom . . .”<sup>99</sup> Now what do we find in the proof texts? The first of the passages copied out from van Dort's translation is intended to controvert this prohibition. It reads: **אָתָם הָמֵאֲמִינִים מוֹתֵר לָכֶם לֵאכּוֹל עִם אוֹתָם הַיּוֹדְעִים תּוֹרָה שֶׁבִּכְתָּב רַק צְרִיכִים לְהִוּוֹת [!] מִן הַצְדִּיקִים**.<sup>100</sup> It is quite beside the point that this Hebrew passage does not properly reproduce the meaning of the Qur'ān verse it is supposed to represent (*Sūrah* 5, 5), and that the other proof texts are similarly inexact. These sectaries quarry the desired material from van Dort's loose rendering, which is thrice removed from the Arabic original. The line of apologetics which this proof text suggests permits us, however, to avoid Wolff's “great surprise” at finding a dayan of the Jewish community eating with the Muslim murshid (*RML*, 138).<sup>101</sup>

Jewish historiography has yet to notice, much less come to grips with, the Sufi brotherhood of Meshhed and what it betokens. It will have to assess whether we have here an attempt by Jews to enter into Persian society through one of the few doors that were open or whether the group is truly an expression of converging mystical currents in Islam and Judaism. Whether it is the former — and there are some intimations that it is — or the latter — and there is possibly some evidence for that — we shall want to know whether the brotherhood itself was not a causal element in the Meshhed events of 1839, whether

it did not serve as a catalyst arousing the fanaticism of the mob. We shall also have to seek an explanation for the extraordinary liberality of the Muslim Sufis which permitted them to enter into fraternal contacts with Jews in an otherwise restrictive society.<sup>102</sup> Jewish historiography can hardly ignore these matters. Nor can it afford, in surveying the sequel to the events of 1839, to overlook — despite the moving aspect of Meshhed Jewish martyrdom and fortitude — the relevance of the Islamic doctrine of dissimulation in religion when evaluating this and other expressions of Marranism in a Muslim Persian setting. This doctrine reached its fullest exposition and acceptance among the Shī'a, though it also claimed enthusiastic practitioners among various sects on the fringes of Islam.<sup>103</sup>

As for the subsequent history of the manuscript, we are reduced to conjecture. If it was still held by the brotherhood seven years after Wolff encountered it in the house of "Mullah Meshiakh / Mehde" it obviously escaped confiscation for the library of the Mosque of the Imam Riza (the apparent fate of some Torah scrolls and Hebrew books) at the time of "Allah Daad."<sup>104</sup> If this is so, and if it remained in Meshhed for some period during the subsequent double life of the Jewish community, we can understand how it is that the volume has been glossed by a user who writes a fluent Persian hand but is able to add an occasional Hebrew vowel as well. To say more would be to give free rein to speculation.

We have traced in this article, however imperfectly, the story of a modest Hebrew manuscript. We have shown that the manuscript — which has no intrinsic merit as a translation nor any claim to antiquity — can yet engage our interest through its enigmatic character. What we have reconstructed, we believe, is a byway of Jewish history, a byway linking Asian communities separated by more than two thousand miles and some three quarters of a century.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For a critical — though not wholly satisfactory — sketch of the man, see D. M. Dunlop, "The Strange Case of Dr. Joseph Wolff," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 34 (1947): 320–23. The authorized biography — prepared partly from Wolff's dictated account, partly from his published journals — is *Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff* [=TA], 2 vols. (London, 1860–61). A delightful retelling of the later career of this intrepid eccentric is provided by Fitzroy Maclean's *A Person from England* . . . (London, 1958). Guy Wint's introduction to the new edition of Wolff's *A Mission to Bokhara* (London, 1969) is the best evaluation to date.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews, Mohammedans, and Other Sects* [=RML] (London, 1835), pp. 1–2. Citations here are from this, the second edition of the book, which is identical in the relevant passages with the two other editions published. The work had first been serialized from Wolff's letters in the London Irvingite journal *The Morning Watch*, whose installments were collected and issued separately as *The Journal . . . for . . . 1831*. This earlier version differs considerably from the three editions of the *Researches and Missionary Labours*. It will be cited [=J, 1831] from *The Morning Watch*, where it has its own pagination. Proper names mentioned by Wolff are given here in normalized spelling unless occurring between quotation marks. Where he has used variant spellings, they are set off by a slash.

<sup>3</sup> J, 1831, 66; TA, 1: 510, where he states that the city contained about 100,000 inhabitants. A year-and-a-half earlier, Arthur Conolly had put the figure at some 100 Jewish families in a fixed population of 45,000–50,000. Cf. his *Journey to the North of India*, 2 vols. (London, 1834), 1: 264, 303. Cf., too, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Meshhed." Wolff's figures seem too high.

<sup>4</sup> Whereas in RML, 127 he avers that the Jewish Sufis believe the legends of the Jews but decline belief in the revelations, in *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, n.s. 10 (1833): 309 he asserts that they "do not believe anything." In his *History of Persia*, 2 vols. (London, 1815), 2: 382–425, John Malcolm — a British envoy to Teheran in the early nineteenth century — provides an account of Sufism in Iran based in part on Persian manuscript sources. The profusion of Sufi orders, the looseness in applying this designation, and the charge of disbelief leveled against the Sufis are among the matters noted by Malcolm.

<sup>5</sup> J, 1831, 66–67; RML, 125–38. For the 124,000 prophet tradition, see *Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ*, Eng. trans. by James Robson, 4 vols. in 5 (Lahore, 1960–65), 3: 1229. Obadiah is not only of Edomite origin in Jewish legend, but is also protector of prophets in hiding. See Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Index s.v. "Obadiah."

<sup>6</sup> For a biography of this Sufi saint, who had died in 1823–4, see Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, Muḥammad Ma'sūm Shirāzī, *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq* (Teheran, 1316–19 A.H. / 1898–1901 C.E.), pp. 111–12. Though his silence would appear to imply a relationship with the Naqshbandi order, his tutor was a Nimatullahi. Henry Martyn, who interviewed Sukūt in Shiraz in 1811 (cf. *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn* by John Sargent, Boston, 1820, pp. 382–84) was discomforted by the long periods of silence that reigned in his circle and by the answers of the master. Wolff himself visited the city of Shiraz in 1824, conversed in the company of the Sufis, and spoke to the son of Sukūt, Mirzā 'Abd al-Karīm. He has left contradictory descriptions of his impressions, cf. *The Jewish Expositor* 11 (1826): 356–59; TA, 1: 340–43; as well as RML, 74–76, 125, 127. For Sufi influences on Jews and Judaism, cf. inter alia, JE, s.v. "Sufism;" Solomon D. F. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs* (New York, 1955),

pp. 148–54; idem, “A Jewish Addict to Sufism,” *JQR* 44 (1953): 37–49; Baḥya ben Joseph ibn Paḳuda, *al-Hidāya ‘ilā farā’id al-qulūb*, ed. by Abraham Shalom Yahuda (Leiden, 1912); Naphtali Wieder, *Hashpa’ot Islamiyot ‘al Hapulḥan Hayehudi: Islamic Influences on Jewish Worship* (Oxford, 1947); Israel Efros, “Saadia’s General Ethical Theory and its Relation to Sufism,” in *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Volume of the Jewish Quarterly Review* (Philadelphia, 1967), pp. 166–77; Franz Rosenthal, “A Judaeo-Arabic Work under Sufic Influence,” *HUCA* 15 (1940): 433–84; Gerson D. Cohen, “The Soteriology of R. Abraham Maimuni,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 35 (1967): 75–98; Walter J. Fischel, “Jews and Judaism at the Court of the Moghul Emperors in Medieval India,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 18 (1948–49): 159–73; and Hartwig Hirschfeld, “A Hebraeo-Sufic Poem,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 49 (1929): 168–73; cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 46 (1929–30): 203–4. It may not be without significance that Siman-Tov Melamed, the author of *Hayāt al-rūh*, a Judeo-Persian composition drawing heavily on the Sufi teachings of Baḥya, was from Meshhed. Cf. Walter J. Fischel, “Israel in Iran” in *The Jews*, ed. by Louis Finkelstein, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1960), 2: 1174. Cf. also Bacher in *ZfHB* 14 (1910): 51–52, and Spicehandler in *SBB* 8 (1968): 136. Siman-Tov Melamed died, according to Raphael Patai in *Folk-Lore* 57 (1946): 179 in 1830, the year before Wolff arrived in Meshhed. According to an account in *Yeda’-‘am* 5 (1958): 61 the date of death was ca. 1823. Wolff does not mention him.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Joseph Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara in the Years 1843–1845* [= *NMB*], 4th ed. (London, 1846), pp. 4, 259, 451; *Missionary Journal and Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Wolff* (New York, 1824), p. 319; *RML*, 55, 190, 409.

<sup>8</sup> *J*, 1831, 66.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.; *RML*, 126, 132 (where “Shakem Mowlane” is, doubtless, Maulānā Shāhīn.)

<sup>10</sup> In *NMB*, 395, he adds Firdausī and the Mathnavī, though elsewhere in the same book (pp. 8–9 and 398) these are omitted.

<sup>11</sup> He is variously designated by Wolff: “Mullah Meshiakh Ajaan/Ajoon” (perhaps a contraction of Aghājān), “Mullah Mehde/Mohde,” or “Aga Mohde.” Cf. *J*, 1831, 66; *RML*, 125–30. Cf. also *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, n.s. 10

(1833): 310. Conolly, too, refers to him, apparently, cf. *Journey*, 1: 305, without mentioning him by name. From *NMB* (where he is called “Mullah Mehde” exclusively) we learn that this person later acted as a British agent during the First Afghan War (p. 394), carried testimonials to his faithful service from Henry Rawlinson among others (p. 175), and that he served Wolff as agent in the course of the latter’s mission to rescue Stoddart and Conolly (pp. 193–94, 389, and passim). Wolff’s claim to have secretly baptized him in Meshhed in 1844 (*NMB*, 188), he caustically denied, cf. Joseph Pierre Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia...* (London, 1856), p. 488. Cf. also ibid., pp. 117, 119, 132). Cf. Fischel in *HUCA* 29 (1958), 338–39. He had, of course, been forcibly converted to Islam in 1839, between Wolff’s two visits, along with the other Jews of Meshhed. He accompanied Wolff on the latter’s return from Bokhara in 1844 (joining him near Meshhed) at least as far as Zanḡān (*NMB*, 386, 430). Did Wolff abandon plans to take him back to England on the advice of Col. William Fenwick Williams (*NMB*, 467)? Additional information about “Mullah Mehde” is to be found in the Public Record Office in London. It has not been explored. [The use of “Mashiah” as a given name — now also a surname — among Jews of the Near East and particularly of Iran has an obvious explanation, for which the variants of this man’s name provide evidence. It is simply the equivalent of the Muslim personal name “Mahdī.” Cf. also *Yeda’-‘am* 5 (1958): 61. One need not seek to connect it with a messianic “event” or movement, cf. Ḥanina Mizrahi, *Yehude Paras* (Tel Aviv, 1959), p. 124. The name does not appear to be attested in the Tiv Giṭin literature, however. Do responsa exist as to its propriety? It has also been borne by Karaites, cf. *JE*, 8, p. 363. Steinschneider does not explain the origin of the name in *JQR* o.s. 11 (1899): 149.]

<sup>12</sup> *RML*, 128; *J*, 1831, 67.

<sup>13</sup> *RML*, 126. The parallel passage in *J*, 1831, 67, reads as follows: “I met here with the Hebrew translation of the Koran, made in Hebrew by Immanuel Jacob Medort, and written by David Isaac Cohen of Berlin.”

<sup>14</sup> Even the possession of the diwān of Ḥāfiẓ by this circle can only be said to illustrate the taste of Iranian Jews for Persian poets, “with a marked preference for those with Sūfī convictions,” cf. Jan Rypka, “An Outline of Judeo-Persian Literature,” in *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht, 1968), p. 738.

<sup>15</sup> E. g., the statement regarding Hebrew translations of Persian classics in *TA*, 1: 511 is, obviously, garbled.

<sup>16</sup> Walter J. Fischel, "The Bible in Persian Translation," *Harvard Theological Review* 45 (1952): 30–42.

<sup>17</sup> *RML*, 132, 190; *Catalogue of the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London, 1857), p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *SBB* 8 (1968): 121, no. 2134 and passim. The popularity of the theme has led, apparently, to separation of the Y. and Z. material from Shāhīn's *Genesis Book* into a quasi-independent work, cf. Dorothea Blicke, *Shāhīn-e Šīrāzī's Ardašīr-Buch* (Tübingen, 1968?), p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> *SBB* 8 (1968): 51.

<sup>20</sup> For an arresting example of the Hebrew Bible as employed by Persian Muslims for purposes of Islamic apologetics see *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism* (Cambridge, 1824), pp. 269–302. Interesting use is also made there of the text of "Nevu'at Hayered" (probably from the Constantinople 1726 edition of *Nagid Umetsaveh*) which fell into the hands of a Mullā at Yazd (ibid., pp. 302–26). For further material on religious dialogues between Muslims and Jews in Meshhed, see Patai in *Folk-Lore* 57 (1946): 179–81. Cf. also Walter J. Fischel in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), p. 121, n. 43 and in *MGWJ* 77 (1933): 124, n. 1. [Cf. Ignac Goldziher in *REJ* 49 (1904): 220–24 for citations from the Hebrew Bible in works of Indian Muslims.]

<sup>21</sup> Excluded as irrelevant to this article are: Arabic manuscript renderings in Hebrew characters (e. g., Bodleian Ms. Hunt. 529 = Uri 344; Ms. Vatican 357, 2: cf. Eugène Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium* [Bonn, 1914], p. xxi and pl. 18b), manuscripts with incidental Hebrew or Judeo-Arabic citations (e. g., Ms. Vatican 375, 9: cf. *Der Islam* 21 [1933]: 229), and Hebrew or Judeo-Arabic Siras (e. g., "Ma'aseh Mohammed": cf. *REJ* 88 [1929]: 1–17; cf. also *Minḥaḥ Ledavid* [Yellin] [Jerusalem, 1934/35], pp. 139–56). References to Qur'ān manuscripts not now identifiable or locatable may also be noted here: a) The subject index of Elkan N. Adler's *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1921) records on p. 190 קוראן בלחיק. The page to which one is referred, however, fails to list it, and several efforts to find such a manuscript in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary have proved unavailing.

b) Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi mentions a Hebrew translation of the Qur'ān (made, however, from the Arabic) inventoried in a list of manuscripts from Amsterdam, cf. *Dizionario storico degli autori ebrei*, 2 vols. (Parma, 1802), 1: 119–20 and idem, *Dizionario storico degli autori arabi* (Parma, 1807), p. 140. Steinschneider pronounced this manuscript as beyond question Cod. Michael Ol. 50 [= 113], without, however, providing evidence, cf. "Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache," in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 6 (1877): 316. c) The *Catalogue of the Library Founded by Rev. Lewis Way, in 1827* (London, 185–?) lists on p. 36 under "Hebrew Works": "Arabic Manuscript Extracts from the Koran." It is not clear whether a Judeo-Arabic manuscript is in question, but it has not, in any case, been located. A Persian manuscript Qur'ān ascribed to a Jadīd al-Islām at Meshhed (cf. Raphael Patai, *Mesorot Historiyot Uminhage Qecurah 'etsel Yehude Mashhad* [Jerusalem, 1945], p. 6) will not concern us, nor will a Spanish Qur'ān in manuscript held by the Ets Haim Library in Amsterdam. Finally, in Giuseppe Luzzatto's catalog, *Jalcut Jossef IV* (Padua, [1898?]), one finds listed under manuscripts on p. 1, no. 8: אלקורן בל' עבר, יפה עד מאד, 12, קלף, כריכה יפה, היה בידי איש גדול, L 300. Elsewhere in that catalog (e. g., pp. 9, 10, 15) עבר ל' has — through a remarkable metathesis — been used to mean Arabic! We conclude, consequently, that this manuscript has no bearing on our research. Nevertheless, if for no other reason than that each of the three Hebrew manuscripts to be discussed presupposes exemplars of earlier states of its text, other manuscripts may survive.

<sup>22</sup> In the article by S. D. F. Goitein, v. 10, col. 322.

<sup>23</sup> The title page of the manuscript as it now stands states that the translation has been made from the Arabic into Hebrew. It is apparent from a microfilm of the manuscript that some other word has been erased and ערב substituted. Neubauer notes in the *Catalogue*, 1: 759 — in a typographically garbled aside — that the word ערב is "traced over." R. A. May of the Bodleian staff has been good enough to attempt to read the underlying word in ultra-violet light, without success, however.

<sup>24</sup> It is disturbing that both Steinschneider (*Ozrot Chajim*, p. 5) and Michael (*Literaturblatt* 39 [1841]: 606) have conflated the readings of the title page with those of l. 2a. Steinschneider's reproduction of the fātiḥah (ibid., p. 362) is also inexact. That Steinschneider had never examined the manuscript very closely emerges from what he writes some



three decades later in "Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache," p. 316.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), p. 461 [cf., however, pp. XXXIII, 949]; idem, *Allgemeine Einleitung in die jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem, 1964), p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> The evidence is marshaled in another connection by Ludwig Blau in *Leo Modenas Briefe und Schriftstücke* (Budapest, 1905), pp. 23–24, n. 1. A further example not noticed by Blau is to be found in *Il Buonarroti*, Serie II, 11 (1876): 87–88. An apparent use of לטיני to mean Italian is provided by the title of the Bologna sidur of 1538. Cf. Samuel David Luzzatto, *Mavo' Lemahazor Bene Roma'* (Tel Aviv, 1966), p. 125, no. 48.

<sup>27</sup> It has been overlooked that the title page, though not l. 2a, very likely states the title of the work as ספר אלקוראנו, with a ligatured nun-vav at the end. (This is not entirely certain as the writing is embellished). If so, it may possibly be viewed as prima facie evidence of an Italian Vorlage.

<sup>28</sup> The translator's name is followed by זצ"ל on the title page of the Bodleian manuscript. If he is the person identified in notes 33 and 34 below, the manuscript was copied shortly after his death, though it is unlikely to have been copied from the autograph.

<sup>29</sup> On the relationship of these versions compare James Kritzeck, "Robert of Ketton's Translation of the Qur'ān," *Islamic Quarterly* 2 (1955): 309–12; idem, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964), pp. vii–ix, 62–65, 97–100; W. Koehler, "Zu Biblianders Koran-Ausgabe," *Zwingliana* 3 (1929): 345–50; M. Th. d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire* 22–23 (1947–48): 86–87; A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Notice d'un manuscrit arabe de l'Alcoran," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* 9 (1813): 103–9; and *Bibliothèque de... Silvestre de Sacy*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1842–47), 1: 323–24, no. 1475.

<sup>30</sup> *Literaturblatt* 39 (1841): 607–8.

<sup>31</sup> *Bibliotheca Judaica* 2: 20, n. 2.

<sup>32</sup> CB., no. 5550.

<sup>33</sup> JE, v. 7, pp. 33 and 560, where the death date is to be corrected to 1636; and EJ, v. 8, col. 823. The authors of the latter article show some uncertainty in making the identification.

<sup>34</sup> He was born in Morea, studied in Salonica, lived in Venice (the place shown on the title page of the Bodleian manuscript), was rabbi in Zante, and died in 1636 (the year shown on the title page of the Bodleian manuscript). He would, thus, in all likelihood, have known Italian and been in contact with Muslims. He is also said to have had extensive secular knowledge, and to have been respected for his learning by the [Venetian] authorities. Steinschneider hesitantly attributes to him an expert knowledge of Greek, in *Verzeichniss der hebraeischen Handschriften* [Berlin], 2 vols. (Berlin, 1878–97), 1: 52, n. 1. Cecil Roth copies, without querying, the two misstatements of JE about him, cf. *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 12 (1928–31): 236.

<sup>35</sup> *De Papiermolens in de Provincie Noord-Holland* (Haarlem, 1960), p. 538.

<sup>36</sup> It is nowhere stated in Schapiro's accession report, LC *Annual Report*, 1932: 215–16, that the manuscript is acephalous. His statement is not, however, an adequate description in any respect. The following considerations lead one to conclude that only a single leaf is lost, that leaf being the title page: The quires of the volume (with the exception of the last?) each contain eight leaves. Only seven leaves of the initial quire are extant, however, i. e., leaves [1] through 7 with leaf "o" wanting. A flap of leather (a remnant of the front cover) curving around from the spine does not appear to provide room enough for another quire of eight. The first surviving leaf is headed with a caption and contains a description of Islam which may serve as the introduction.

<sup>37</sup> Professor Alexander Marx writes to say that the manuscript had been offered to him for sale some time before by the dealer [Israel] Perlstein, and that he had not purchased it. He asks whether it has been acquired by the Library of Congress and requests further information about it, if it has been. Dr. Israel Schapiro replies that it has been promised to the Library of Congress as a gift but has not yet been delivered, that he has only glanced at it at the Perlstein bookstore and hence is unable to supply any details, and that Mr. Perlstein who is currently in Russia has sold the Library of Congress a collection of Russian books consisting of part of the Czar's private library. There the correspondence ends. Mr. Perlstein, fils, successor-owner of the firm, has been kind enough to state in connection with this article that he has no recollection of the manuscript, that he deems it most unlikely that the manuscript was in the Czar's collection, but thinks it conceivable that it was

acquired in Russia, possibly in Kiev. Two years before this benefaction, the Perlstein firm had donated to the Library of Congress the Reckendorf Qur'ān translation. See *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1930, p. 45. Of doubtful relevance here is an undated letter from Ephraim Deinard to Schapiro in which it is stated that "the Alcoran" would be included in a forthcoming list. This appears to have reference to a copy of the Reckendorf edition which Deinard was offering for sale.

<sup>38</sup> *The Koran . . . translated . . . by George Sale* (Philadelphia, 1923), pp. xvii–xviii. Cf., too, the preface of Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, 2 vols. (London, 1955).

<sup>39</sup> *Le Coran*, traduction par Régis Blachère, 2 vols. (Paris, 1947–49), 1: x–xii; Victor Charles Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, 12 vols. in 3 (Liège, 1892–1913/22), 10: 126–31.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Samuel M. Zwemer, "Translations of the Koran," *The Moslem World* 5 (1915): 249 for an opinion of its value.

<sup>41</sup> A *sīrah* from Jirjis al-Makīn (after Erpenius), along with another, composite "Life of Muḥammad" put together from works of hostile Christian authors; an account of the mi'rāj from the Book of "Azear," (cf. note 44 below), and the "Masā'il 'Abdillāh ibn Salām." On the last of these cf. Guillaume Frédéric Pijper, *Het Boek der Duizend Vragen* (Leiden, 1924), pp. 9–10 and Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, pp. 89–96.

<sup>42</sup> At Amsterdam in 1658, 1696 and 1698; at Rotterdam in 1698; and at Leiden in 1707, 1721 and 1734. Pijper, *Het Boek der Duizend Vragen*, p. 9 omits the 1696 and 1721 editions; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, 10: 129–30, takes the two 1698 editions to be one, but acknowledges an omission in a note, and Kramers, *De Koran . . . vertaald door J. H. Kramers* (Amsterdam-Brussels, 1956), p. xviii fails to record the Rotterdam printing.

<sup>43</sup> For purposes of comparison the first and last editions of Glasemaker were accessible. The 1696, Amsterdam 1698 and 1721 editions have also been seen. Some differences, i. e., typographical errors in the setting of proper names, were noted in those editions which are not total reimpressions. It is conceivable, consequently, that a thorough collation of the corruptions in the editions with those of the manuscript might indicate which edition the Hebrew translator had before him. This is not, however, of interest as we shall suggest a *terminus a quo* for our manuscript independent of the date of

any — and dating later than all — of the editions of Glasemaker.

<sup>44</sup> Left unresolved here is the question of the identity of the Book of "Azear." According to Humphrey Prideaux, *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Displayed in the Life of Mahomet* (London, 1697), p. 166 the title is variously cited by Christian authors as "Azaer," "Asaer" and "Agar." It is said to be a book of great authority among the Muslims, which provides an account of the life and death of Muḥammad. We are indebted to D. Stehle for the compelling suggestion that "Azear" is a European language reflex of "as-siyar," viz., "the biographies of the Prophet." (The "ze" would have given rise to "g" in one of the variants.) Thus, European polemicists, unfamiliar with Arabic, may have turned "the biographies" into the title of a book.

<sup>45</sup> An example of this appears on l. 163a (Sūrah 27, 20), where Glasemaker's "hop," i. e., "hoo-poe" is rendered correctly into Hebrew as "du-khifat." The translator then adds in a gloss: "This is a bird called in Dutch 'hoppe' and in Latin 'upupa'." Both "hop" and "hoppe" are attested in Dutch dictionaries.

<sup>46</sup> An example of this is to be found in Fig. 1, l. 254b, Sūrah 111, where "Bezie de Bedaoi," i. e., "see al-Baiḍāwī" is reproduced in a way that makes it appear that the translator mistook "Bezie de" for an honorary title.

<sup>47</sup> It is, of course, not beyond the power of the mind to conceive of a translator recopying his own work, misreading his own square characters, and corrupting them while reproducing them in cursive. But though this is not unthinkable, it is nevertheless incredible. The person responsible for these corruptions could not, incidentally, have been copying a cursive hand similar to that of the Washington manuscript. Such a hand might produce confusion of 𐤕 with 𐤕, even occasionally of 𐤕 with 𐤕 (*sic*), but not of the letters we have mentioned.

<sup>48</sup> For this dating and help with all Persian material in the article very grateful acknowledgment is made to I. V. Pourhadi.

<sup>49</sup> An example of this occurs on l. [1b], where the manuscript's "uvifrat," i. e., "and particularly" is rendered "beh ta'jil," i. e., "in haste." Neither this writer, incidentally, nor the writers who copied the verses from the body of the text onto l. [256b] can have found the Ashkenazic cursive of the manuscript easy to read. Nevertheless, they did not fare at all badly. This is an apt illustration of a point we make later. Cf. p. 37.

<sup>50</sup> Cited according to the so-called "Kufic," i. e., official Egyptian verse division.

<sup>51</sup> . . . וזר אפסחו [!] וזר ארמאן כה אכנון אנהאן רפהם. Professor Reuben Levy has been kind enough to say in a private communication that the ghazal is not from any known dīwān.

<sup>52</sup> The latter document is reproduced in Isaac Ben Zvi, *Mehqarim Umeqorot* (Jerusalem, 1965), pl. 10. The ketubah has also been reproduced — in two other places — but with the signatures missing. Patai publishes a tracing of a related modern Mesh-hedi cursive handwriting in *Edoth* 1 (1946): 222.

<sup>53</sup> A matter of lesser interest may be recorded in concluding the first portion of this study: the manuscript contains three erasures of glossators' annotations. It has not been possible to bring the underlying writing to legibility by varying the lighting or the photographic printing paper. Two of the erasures are to be seen in Fig. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new ed., 26 vols. (Oxford, 1908), s.v. "Cochin Town," and *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute* 2 (1934): 49–52; 7 (1939): 65–68; 8 (1940): 55.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Ludwik Sternbach, "India as Described by Mediaeval European Travellers: Jewish Dwelling Places," *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, n.s. 7, 1–2 (1946): 23–24; Walter J. Fischel, *Hayehudim Behodu* (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 28–30, 91–93; idem, "Cochin in Jewish History," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 30 (1962): 38–39; J. B. Segal, "The Jews of Cochin and their Neighbours," in *Essays Presented to Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie*, 2 vols. (London, 1967), English volume: 391; cf. also David S. Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid*, 2 vols. (London, 1932), 2: 1056; Naphtali Bar-Giora, *Sefunot* 2 (1958): 224, n. 59; and A. I. Simon, *The Songs of the Jews of Cochin . . .* (Cochin, 1947), p. 46. Professor S. D. F. Goitein's promised "India Book" is to be a collection of 332 Genizah documents relating to the India trade of the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

<sup>56</sup> Salomon Rinmon's *Mas'ot Shelomoh* (Wien, 1884), for example, employs no fewer than four different spellings! But compare Smolenskin's introduction on how the material was put together.

<sup>57</sup> In his edition of a sixteenth-century work, Zacharia al-Dahri's *Sefer Hamusar* (Jerusalem, 1965), Yehuda Ratzaby makes the gratuitous assumption (p. 130, note to line 6) that the spelling כוש for the city name (do all four manuscripts read thus?) is a corruption forced by the exigencies

of rhyme. His note to line 2, on כוש, is, on the other hand, obviously correct. (An unfortunate confusion of Calicut with Calcutta occurs on the same page.) We hope to return to the spelling of the city name at another time.

<sup>58</sup> The diacritic does not occur in the word as it appears on the title pages of the Cochin liturgies published in Amsterdam in 1757 and 1769. Nor does it occur in the still earlier Cochin Azharot printed in Amsterdam in 1688. (These Azharot provide a variant reading, as well, which will be discussed elsewhere). Its absence in printed works may be explained in part by typographic inadequacies. G. A. Kohut in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), p. 430, n. 2 has already contrasted the use of the diacritic in some cases with its absence in others.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. R. Foulché-Delbosc, "La transcription hispano-hébraïque," *Revue hispanique* 1 (1894): 27, and L. Lamouche "Quelques mots sur le dialecte espagnol parlé par les Israélites de Salonique," in *Mélanges Chabaneau* (Erlangen, 1907), p. 974.

<sup>60</sup> Jacob Saphir, *Even Sapir*, 2 vols. (Lyck-Mainz, 1866–74), 2: 61, note. In the Hebrew edition of the travels of Benjamin II, *Mas'e Yisra'el* (Lyck, 1859), p. 64, the city name is spelled קאשטין. Saphir uses only קוין, both with and without a supralinear dot over the gimel (*Even Sapir*, 2: 56–90). Saphir overlooked, of course, that the Hebrew edition of Benjamin's travels is the work of David Gordon. This does not, however, diminish the force of our argument.

<sup>61</sup> One need hardly insist on an unmarked gimel. It is clear that a diacritic in a medial supralinear position would lend itself to misinterpretation as the marker of foreignisms or place names found in many Hebrew manuscript styles. Cf. Moritz Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften* (Jerusalem, 1937), p. 16 for an inventory of supralinear signs.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Rudolf Fischer *et al.*, *Namen deutscher Städte* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 59–60. Wolff may, of course, have taken the place to be in Germany.

<sup>63</sup> The account that follows is derived from Anquetil's *Zend-Avesta*, 2 vols. in 3 (Paris, 1771), 1, 1: cxlvij–clxxj. Cf. George Sarton's moving tribute to the author, "Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805)," *Osiris* 3 (1938): 193–223. Cf. also Walter J. Fischel, "The Exploration of the Jewish Antiquities of Cochin on the Malabar Coast," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1967): 235–47.

<sup>64</sup> *Zend Avesta*, 1, 1: clxxj. In his earlier report to the *Journal des Sçavans*, July 1762: 335, he explains more clearly about the maps: "Les noms des lieux y étoient écrits dans les caractères particuliers aux Rabbins."

<sup>65</sup> "Je compte, lorsque mes occupations me le permettront, donner en François la traduction Hébraïque des Privilèges des Juifs, comparée avec le Texte Tamoul, & avec les additions du Recueil d'Ezéchiél" (*Zend Avesta*, 1, 1: clxxj) and again, "... Je donnerai le reste dans un autre Ouvrage avec la traduction Hébraïque des Privilèges des Juifs de Cochîn," 1, 1: cccxcvj).

<sup>66</sup> "Une partie des manuscrits rapportés de l'Inde par M. Anquetil-Duperron, avait été... déposée par lui-même et gratuitement, en 1762, à la bibliothèque du Roi [=BN]; ceux qu'il avait conservés pour ses études viennent d'être cédés par la famille, et par les soins obligeans de M. Silvestre de Sacy, à la Bibliothèque Impériale [=BN]," in *Catalogue des livres de M. A. H. Anquetil-Duperron* (Paris, 1805), p. iv.

<sup>67</sup> *Annales des Voyages*, 6, 2nd ed. (1810): 220-21.

<sup>68</sup> A most logical place to put such a loose leaf, no doubt, and it is very likely de Sacy, himself, who inserted it. The possibility exists, however, that either one of the gentlemen who helped the editor of the catalog with the *Hebraica*, Salomon Munk or Samuel Cahen, may have placed it there.

<sup>69</sup> Moses Bensabat Amzalak, who published (Lisbon, 1923) a facsimile edition of the de Paiva rarity, records 4 (properly, 5) copies of the original known to him to exist (pp. 17-18 of his introduction). We have been able to trace six copies of the 1687 Portuguese edition (two in Amsterdam, one in Göttingen, one in Cincinnati, one in Chicago, and one in New York), a possible gain of three and loss of two vis-à-vis Amzalak's inventory. (This edition is not reported to the U.S. National Union Catalog.) None of these is, apparently, the de Sacy copy, however. Information as to its whereabouts would be most gratefully received.

<sup>70</sup> The abecedary was discovered in 1963 by H. Avati, to whom we express our gratitude for this and other investigations.

<sup>71</sup> With this abecedary before us, we are able to clarify Anquetil's confusing terminology and clear up a misunderstanding to which it has given rise (cf. Fischel, "Exploration," p. 239). What he calls

"caractères Hébraïques" are the square letters; what he calls "caractères Rabbiniques," or "caractères particuliers aux Rabbins," or "alphabet rabbinique" are the cursive letters; and what he calls "lettres Rabbiniques imprimées" are the mashait letters (semi-square book-hand or stylized cursive, unhappily designated "Rashi" in one of its varieties). It is the mashait characters which Christian scholars — and following them certain Jewish scholars — have normally called "rabbinic," not the cursive. Cf. Eleazar Birnbaum, *Vetus Testamentum* 17 (1967): 376; Carlo Bernheimer, *Paleografia ebraica* (Florence, 1924), p. 19 and passim; and *EJ*, v. 2, col. 435, s.v. "Alphabet". On the term "mashait" and its variants cf. Hirsch J. Zimmels, *Ashkenazim and Sephardim* (London, 1958), pp. 94-95, and Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. his *Christian Researches in Asia*, 2d Boston ed. (Boston, 1811), pp. 178-81, 192-3.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Solomon Schechter's "Notes on Hebrew MSS. in the University Library at Cambridge," *JQR*, o.s. 6 (1894): 144.

<sup>74</sup> In a rambling, unpublished description of this manuscript (the description is preserved in Cambridge Ms. Or. 1118, ll. 28b-41b) Solomon Marcus Schiller-Szinessy states that it is the work "perhaps of two, perhaps of three, never of more" copyists (l. 29b). Later, however, he remarks in despair: "... but who can make out really among so many authors, copyists, and annotators, which is which?" (l. 37b). Franz Delitzsch, in his *Paulus des Apostels Brief an die Römer in das Hebräische übersetzt...* (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 103-09 improves upon Schiller-Szinessy in his understanding of the sources of these manuscripts and the translation process. We cannot endorse his understanding of their paleography, however. He believes that Oo.1.32 and Oo.1.16 are each the work of the same two collaborators. Schechter, "Notes," p. 144, notices but one hand. Herbert Loewe, in his unpublished catalogue (no. 891), makes no mention of more than one hand.

<sup>75</sup> We shall return in our conclusions to the — perhaps — surprising fact that the same man has copied both a Hebrew Qur'ān and a Hebrew New Testament. A somewhat analogous case is provided by a manuscript which contains a version of both "Toledot Yeshu" and "Ma'aseh Moḥammed." Cf. Alexander Marx, "The Polemical Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America," in *Studies in Jewish*

*Bibliography . . . in Memory of Abraham Solomon Freidus* (New York, 1929), p. 262, no. 58.

<sup>76</sup> As regards the square hand, how is it that David Cohen's lettering (which we have described in our account of the Qur'an as "awkward" though "not totally displeasing"), could — in the missing document — be said by Anquetil to be in "beaux caractères hébraïques," a description which occurs again in the de Sacy catalog? David Cohen was, of course, no professional scribe — though in the monumental square, shaded letters that appear as the captions in Oo.1.16 he essays scribal embellishments. His workaday square hand, in which the missing document was very likely copied — it would scarcely have been copied in the monumental — is, however, not without vigor. To Anquetil, who can not have been a judge of Hebrew calligraphy, these letters would appear attractive. As for the description in the de Sacy catalog, it may be explained as having been borrowed from a heading added to the sheet by Anquetil, if not lifted directly from the *Zend-Avesta* passage. The square of Oo.1.16 Schiller-Szinessy describes in the following manner (Or. 1118, l. 6a): "This codex is written in square characters which are very ungracefully executed here as [only] the Jews of Morocco and Ashkenaz, if not professional 'sopherim' . . . could write." The paleographer M. Lutzki, who was good enough to examine some reproductions, has suggested that Cohen's square hand apes an Amsterdam font. It is, in any case, an artificial script.

<sup>77</sup> The verses are not numbered in the Qur'an manuscript, unfortunately (since numbers do not appear in Glasemaker or Du Ryer), thus preventing comparison. The page numbers in the Qur'an cannot be invoked as they are done in formal style running to shading. Some sporadic specimens of these, his formal style numerals, are to be found, in fact, in the verse numbers of Oo.1.16. We are not the first, incidentally, to suggest that the two parts of Oo.1.16 are the work of one man. Herbert Loewe, in describing the last five folios of Oo.1.16 (his no. 893), states: "Written by the scribe of 891 [=Oo.1.32] and, possibly, of 892 [=the first ninety-nine folios of Oo.1.16]." The force of his observation is vitiated, however, by his failure to notice more than one hand in Oo.1.32. Schiller-Szinessy, Delitzsch, Schechter and Loewe — each in his own way — stated it as a fact that the writer of the cursive of Oo.1.16 had a hand, as well, in Oo.1.32.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Zimmels, *Ashkenazim and Sephardim*, pp. 91-98, 315-18.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Albert Montefiore Hyamson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem . . . 1838-1914*, 2 vols. (London, 1939-41), 1: 127-28.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, the editor's introduction to *Lehem min Hashamayim* (Munkács, 1905), verso of the title page, and the introduction of the copyist-initiator to Moses Cordovero's *Elimah Rabati*, ([Brody-] Lwow, 1881).

<sup>81</sup> Saul Cohen Ashkenazi, *She'elot* . . . (Venice, 1574), l. 11b; Zimmels, *Ashkenazim and Sephardim*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>82</sup> The document was discovered by Professor W. J. Fischel, who was gracious enough to permit examination of a reproduction before he mentioned it in print. Cf. "Exploration," p. 239. Fischel warns us to beware of confusing this David Cohen with other bearers of the name in Cochin (n. 56). For another reference to Cohen, cf. idem, "The Rotenburg Family in Dutch Cochin . . .," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 1 (1967), p. 34, n. 9. Cf. also idem, *Hayehudim Behodu*, p. 104, n. 47. The concatenation of circumstances that we observe here, we believe, allows of no mistake.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Alexander Marx, "Contribution à l'histoire des Juifs de Cochin," *REJ* 89 (1930-1): 293-304; David G. Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Way of Life in Cochin," *Jewish Social Studies* 1 (1939): 431, 437, 444; and Schifra Strizower, *Exotic Jewish Communities* (London, 1962), pp. 100-01, n. 15. In assessing the will it must be borne in mind that the abolition of slavery in India was to come about only in the nineteenth century. Ezekiel Rahabi, the most important figure in eighteenth-century Cochin Jewry — and a man with whom David Cohen was, obviously, closely associated — was a large slave holder. On halakhic aspects of slaveholding by Jews, cf. Simha Assaf, *Be'ohole Ya'aqov* (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 223-56. Cf. also idem, *Meqorot Umeh-qarim* (Jerusalem, 1946), 1: 272-74; Naphtali Bargiorah, "Meqorot Letoledot Hayehasim . . . Be-qochin," *Sefunot* 1 (1956): 243-78. Cf. also Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed., 14 vols. (New York, 1952-69), 4: 187-96, 332-38. For the legal status of slave-concubinage under the Dutch East India Company, cf. *Oud Batavia*, 2 vols. (Batavia, 1922-23), 1: 456. On concubinage among Jews, cf. Louis M. Epstein, "The Institution of Concubinage among the Jews," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 6 (1934-35): 153-88; S. D. F. Goitein, "Slaves and Slavegirls in the Cairo Geniza Records," *Arabica* 9 (1962): 1-20; and idem, in



*Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies* ed. by A. Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 157. Cf. also Israel M. Goldman, *The Life and Times of Rabbi David Ibn Abi Zimra* (New York, 1970), pp. 59–60, 129, 137.

<sup>84</sup> The will is preserved in the Madras Record Office, vol. 782, no. 238, fol. 1146. Cohen did not die in 1769, however. Either under his real name, or under a blend of his name and his alias, i. e., “David Scheffer,” he is to be found listed as a resident slaveholder in the annual “Rolle der Huysgesinnen van Malabar” preserved at the Hague for the years 1764, and 1768–1772. (Not all of the rolls for the period survive in the Dutch archives.) The authorities at the Algemeen Rijksarchief, to whom we are much indebted for this information, advise us that he may also be mentioned in other (unindexed) volumes (e. g., copies of correspondence).

<sup>85</sup> We should like to pay tribute to Schiller-Szinessy’s paleographic acumen. (Cf. now Raphael Loewe’s appreciation of Schiller-Szinessy in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 21 [1962–67]: 161). In discussing a part of Oo.1.32 in Cohen’s hand, commenting on the writing ברויט for “at Rome” (he takes the translator and copyist here to be the same person) — knowing nothing whatever of a David Cohen of Cochín — he, nevertheless, can say (Or. 1118, l. 36b): “I suspect that the writer, or copyist, was originally a German Jew, and one of the South of Germany, too, a Bavarian perhaps, who had emigrated to India and there adopted the style of writing current among the Portuguese, for the insecurity in the drawing of certain characters betrays itself often.” Also in his description of Revelation in Oo.1.16, Schiller-Szinessy remarks several times that its copyist was an Ashkenazi (l. 8a and passim). Delitzsch, too, (*Paulus*, p. 104), in treating the part of Oo.1.32 in Cohen’s hand, says: “Er [the translator-writer of the first hand in the manuscript] hat sich von hier an der Beihülfe eines Andern bedient und zwar, wie sichere Anzeichen verrathen, der Beihülfe eines deutschen Juden, obwohl die Handschrift nicht deutsch, sondern sephardisch ist.” Delitzsch, for all that, goes on to reach an egregiously wrong conclusion. [For another case of an Ashkenazi who has left traces of his origin in writing a Sephardic hand, cf. Ben Zvi, *Mehqarim Umeqorot*, pp. 296–97.]

<sup>86</sup> It is the flourish, apparently, which has been taken in Professor Fischel’s article (“Exploration,” p. 239) for a Hebrew signature. With strenuous

effort, it may — conceivably — be imagined to be such, but if it is, the lines are so errant as to nullify any evidential value it might have for analysis of the signer’s normal handwriting. We find ourselves in disagreement, unfortunately, with several other conclusions of the article, as well.

<sup>87</sup> Although we are uninformed as to Cohen’s date of birth, Anquetil describes him in 1758 as a “jeune Juif.” (Of course, Anquetil, himself, had only turned 26.) In his report to the *Journal des Sçavans* of 1762, prepared very soon after his return to Paris, there is no mention of Cohen at all (p. 335).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Fischel’s account of van Dort’s Cochín chronicle in “Exploration,” pp. 240–42. Corrections in detail and perspective are necessary, we believe.

<sup>89</sup> The noted Dutch paper historian Dr. Hendrick Voorn has been kind enough to examine the manuscript briefly on a stop in Washington. We are authorized to state that the proposed dating is consistent with the evidence of the paper.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Fischel, “Cochín in Jewish History,” pp. 50–51, and idem, *Hayehudim Behodu*, pp. 110–11.

<sup>91</sup> Israel Abrahams was the first to remark in print the existence of Hebrew translations of non-Jewish scriptures from India in *Miscellanies* of the Jewish Historical Society of England 1 (1925): 79–80. He knew neither its full extent nor its locus, however.

<sup>92</sup> *The Evangelical Magazine* 15 (1807): 425. He is overlooked by Abraham Yaari in “Sheluḥe Erets-Yisra’el Behodu,” *Sinai* 26 (1949/50): 326–58.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Bacher, *JQR*, o.s. 14 (1902): 124. Cf., however, Fischel in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 18 (1948–49): 159, n. 54.

<sup>94</sup> The history of the Meshhed kehilah has been treated by Walter J. Fischel in “Kehilat Ha’anusim Befaras,” *Zion* 1 (1935/6): 49–74 and in “Secret Jews of Persia,” *Commentary* 7 (1949): 28–33. Cf. also idem, “Bei den Marannen in Persien,” *Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1930/3, no. 9, pp. 281–3. To this President Ben Zvi has added additional documentation, best read in the third volume of the posthumously edited version of his collected works, *Mehqarim Umeqorot* (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 319–34. Raphael Patai provides further details in “Haḥinukh Ha’ivri Ba’adat Ha’anusim Bemashhad,” *Edoth* 1 (1945/6): 213–26 and in “Hanisu’im

'etsel 'Anuse Mashhad," *Edoth* 2 (1946/7): 165–92. Cf. also idem, *Mesorot Historiyot Uminhage Qevurah 'etsel Yehude Mashhad* (Jerusalem, 1945). Ephraim Neumark's account in *Masa' Be'erets Haqedem* (Jerusalem, 1946/7), pp. 88–93, may also be consulted. Still other accounts may be read in "Megilat 'Anuse Mashhad Befaras," *Yeda'-am* 5 (1958): 56–62, and in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 January 1932, p. 16.

<sup>95</sup> *RML*, 125–31.

<sup>96</sup> *RML*, 133, 148, 155.

<sup>97</sup> In *NMB*, 300 Wolff relates that a "fierce schism" had broken out among the Shiites at Meshhed. He reports, in astonishment, that a sayyid had begun to teach that the Pilgrimage was unnecessary — that, in Meshhed, foremost city of Shiite pilgrimage in Persia! — and despite a cry of heresy against the man he was protected by the chief ecclesiastical official of the sanctuary. As regards the pogrom, Wolff claims that a directive from Moḥammed Shāh to apprehend the perpetrators and bring them to Teheran was never carried out (*NMB*, 293). We hear something different about the Shah's directives from other sources (Ben Zvi, *Mehqarim Umeqorot*, pp. 323, 327–28). Cf. also Israel Joseph Benjamin, *Mas'e Yisra'el*, p. 87.

<sup>98</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "al-ʿĀmilī, Muḥammad . . .," "Shi'a," *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London, 1879–83), 1: 25–26. Cf. also Fischel, "Secret Jews," p. 28.

<sup>99</sup> *The Travels of Rabbi David D'Beth Hillel* (Madras, 1832), p. 115. Cf. also James B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasān in the Years 1821 and 1822* (London, 1825), pp. 182, 508–09, and George Fowler, *Three Years in Persia*, 2 vols. (London, 1841), 2: 50, 113–14. Much to the point here is the very amusing discussion reported by Wolff, *RML*, 113–14, cf. also 120. In *NMB* 25, 422, Wolff shrewdly likens such practices to what he had seen of American Jim Crow.

<sup>100</sup> The sixth passage provides two other Qur'an verses (3, 113–14) to explain who among the People of the Book (in the Hebrew text, "Jews") is accounted righteous. The sectaries obviously consider themselves eligible.

<sup>101</sup> Fraser (*Narrative*, p. 182) is instructive on the difference between the practice of the Sunni and

the Shi'a in this connection: "If an Arab, or a Turk, admit a Christian as his guest, he will eat with him from the same dish . . . A Persian will admit the Christian to his house, but . . . if his guest should eat with him, a separate tray is provided, and all contact avoided as much as possible." Cf., however, Thomas Patrick Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1885), s.v. "Eating with Jews or Christians," "Food." Possible constraints on Jews from the Jewish side are not relevant here. With respect to the permissibility of kosher meat for Muslims — regarding which Sūrah 5, 5 is a key verse — its use was prohibited by al-ʿĀmilī, reviving an old Shiite interdiction (*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Shi'a," v. 4, p. 357). Cf. also I. J. Benjamin, *Mas'e Yisra'el*, p. 95, no. 6. Pertinent, too, is the fact that a Judeo-Persian manuscript at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York (*Catalog . . . ENA*, p. 70, no. 188) containing Qur'an verses of a polemic nature cites the same verse (5, 5) to rebut the claim that Muslims are prohibited from partaking of Jewish sheḥiṭah (l. 8a). Steinschneider in "Polemische und apologetische Literatur," pp. 56–57, 70, 150–53, 332–33, has collected other material on the subject.

<sup>102</sup> One item of information that Wolff provides has a sinister ring. He was informed, he writes, that those in whom the Jews had placed their entire confidence were the first to abandon and plunder them (*NMB*, 398). We are not persuaded that this is without reference to the Muslim members of the Sufi brotherhood. In some of the accounts, the highest ecclesiastical official of the shrine is implicated.

<sup>103</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Taḳiya." Cf. also *NMB*, 439–40. Of course, the *'Igeret Hashemad*, ascribed to Maimonides, teaches a similar doctrine, *mutatis mutandis*, for merely verbal profession under duress of a non-polytheistic faith. Cf. also *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, s.v. "'Anusim." A revealing glimpse of the attitude of Persian Jews toward apostasy and dissimulation is provided by Joshua Finkel, "A Judaeo-Persian Tale," *JQR* 21 (1930–31), pp. 353–64.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Ben Zvi, *Mehqarim Umeqorot*, p. 322, and Fischel, "Secret Jews," p. 29. Conolly, *Journey*, 1: 305, had seen more than 50 scrolls in a Meshhed synagogue in 1830. The director of the Astaneh Razavy Library in Meshhed has been kind enough to advise us that there exists but a single printed Hebrew Bible among the present holdings of the shrine. Cf., however, Fischel's report in *Harvard Theological Review* 45 (1952): 44.