

Francesca Bellino

Manuscripts and Research Materials on the Egyptian Shadow Play in the Paul E. Kahle Archive in Turin

Abstract: This article offers an overview of the sources and the research materials on the shadow play Paul E. Kahle collected during his lifetime. The collection consists of around 30 Arabic manuscripts purchased during his stay in Egypt (1903–1909) at the early beginning of the 20th century along with numerous other materials on this genre he collected throughout his life. This research documents how Kahle’s materials range from field notes taken during the years of permanence in Egypt to the drafts of the editions of the Arabic texts and their translations into German and English. From the beginning of his career until his later years, he carried on editing and translating Ibn Dāniyāl’s *Khayāl al-zill* along with other single shadow plays, although a large part of his research work remained unpublished. By reviewing the manuscript sources and the research materials now preserved at the Paul E. Kahle Archive in Turin, this article brings to light the many relationships Kahle weaved to study these texts during his lifetime, while also showing his legacy in this field of study and beyond.

Keywords: Paul E. Kahle, Egypt, Arabic Shadow Theater, Shadow Play, Ibn Dāniyāl

Introduction

This article offers an overview of the manuscript sources and the research materials on Arabic shadow theatre (*khayāl al-zill*) Paul E. Kahle (1875–1964) collected and wrote during his lifetime, which are now held at the University of Turin (Italy).¹ In outlining the lines of research Kahle drew in this specific field throughout his career, it places his studies in the broader framework of the researches on this genre from the first half of the 20th

1 Over time, the Arabic term *khayāl al-zill* came to designate shadow theatre in general. For a more thorough discussion, see Shmuel Moreh, “The shadow play (*Khayāl al-Zill*) in the light of Arabic literature,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 28 (1987): 46–61; Idem, *Live Theatre and Dramatic literature in the Medieval Arab World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); Li Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam. Shadow Play and Popular Poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl’s Mamluk Cairo* (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2012), 105–108.



century and thus assesses the relevance of the materials kept in Turin for forthcoming investigations in this field.²

1. The Paul E. Kahle Archive in Turin

All the documents, manuscripts, and books Kahle collected, produced, and wrote in every field in which he carried out research over his long career were purchased by the University of Turin after his death in the 1960s and now constitute the “Fondo Paul E. Kahle” (henceforth FPK).³

One of the main targets of the KADMOS project (Kahle Documents Management, Organization and Study) was to survey all these materials to describe, catalogue, and index all of them in an online database to be transferred to the library of the former Department of Oriental Studies.⁴ The general criterion for the allocation of the various types of material was based on two principles: The printed and lithographed books were allocated in a specific section of rare books of the library; all the other types of material (including manuscripts, research documents, notes, and letters) became part of the FPK. The online database was supposed to provide the

2 For a general overview on the shadow theatre as a genre of Arabic literature, see (in chronological order): Georg Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland* (Hannover: Lefaire, 1925, 2 vols.); Jacob Landau, *Shadow-plays in the Near East* (Jerusalem: Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology, 1948); ‘Alī Ibrāhīm Abū Zayd, *Tamthiliyāt Khayāl al-ẓill* (Cairo: Dār al-ma‘ārif, 1982); Moreh, “The shadow play (*Khayāl al-ẓill*)”; Muhammad Mustafa Badawi, *Early Arabic Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chap. 1: “The indigenous dramatic tradition”; Fārūq Sa‘d, *Khayāl al-ẓill al-‘arabī* (Beirut: Sharikat al-maṭbū‘āt li-l-tawzī‘ wa-l-nashr, 1993); Shmuel Moreh, “Shadow-play,” in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Scott Meisami, Paul Starkey, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 1998), 701–702;

Amila Buturović, “The shadow play in Mamluk Egypt: The Genre and its Cultural Implications,” *Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 149–76. More recently, the handbook by Li Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre 1300–1900. A Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), provides a broad and comprehensive overview of all the sources and the studies published in this field available so far.

3 For access to the archive, see www.paulkahle.unito.it (at the time of the publication of this article not accessible).

4 A general outline of the project carried out between 2010 and 2013 was given by Bruno Chiesa, Maria Luisa Russo, Chiara Pilocane and Francesca Bellino, “Paul Ernst Kahle’s research activity: the KADMOS project,” in *Sounds and Words through the Ages: Afro-asiatic Studies from Turin*, ed. Alessandro Mengozzi and Mauro Tosco (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2013), 349–63. An overview of the findings of the archival research – especially in the fields of Hebrew and Semitic studies – can be found in the special issue *Archives of the Orient*, ed. Maria Luisa Russo, with contributions of B. Chiesa, G. Khan, C. Martone, A. Ravasco, A. Mengozzi, E. Martín-Contreras, T. Becker, H. Abbas, F. A. Pennacchietti, and M. L. Russo.

filing of all these different materials and contain digital copies of the correspondence.⁵

Now that the project has been completed, the FPK is divided into several sections that contain documents pertaining, on the one hand, to Paul E. Kahle and to his relatives, on the other hand. The former include the “archive,” the “correspondence,” the “manuscripts,” and the “documents preserved inside books.”⁶ Together with the material belonging to Kahle, several “corporate fonds” were added. The corporate fond of the Orientalist Georg Jacob (1862–1937), which includes books and documents related to the Arabic shadow theatre he bequeathed to Kahle, was linked to the research materials pertaining to Kahle.⁷ Together, these different sections constitute an extensive collection of various materials.

The “archive” is divided into numerous series, each dedicated to a different field Kahle dealt with, and covers a wide range of documents. For instance, it contains the research documents on Hebrew, Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, and Syriac sources, including the print proofs of the articles and the books published by Kahle in the respective domains.⁸ The section on the “manuscripts” includes the over 300 Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Hebrew, and Samaritan manuscripts Kahle bought during his life and remained in his possession when he died.⁹ The section on the “correspondence” comprises 87 boxes containing about 32,800 leaves in all referring to 2,587 persons and institutions with whom Kahle corresponded over his lifetime.¹⁰

5 The manuscripts kept in Turin have not yet been digitised.

6 The library of Paul Kahle consists of about 11,000 printed works (including monographs, offprints, and periodicals). Since Kahle kept notes, reviews, and letters inside many of his books, it was decided to allocate such files to a specific section. Accordingly, where possible, notes, reviews, and letters were inventoried separately by topic.

7 The Paul Kahle Fund houses both research materials and correspondence. Many of the books belonging to Jacob have become an integral part of the Kahle library.

8 The “archive” is divided into parts or series respectively called “Hebraica,” “Islamica,” “Syriaca,” “Documents on Paul Kahle’s library,” “Miscellany about scientific activity,” “History of the fonds,” and “Personalia.”

9 The cataloguing of all the manuscripts was the initial project that subsequently led to the KADMOS project. The outcome of this first project was a monographic publication edited by Roberto Tottoli, Maria Luisa Russo, and Michele Bernardini, *Catalogue of the Islamic Manuscripts from the Kahle Collection in the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Turin* (Roma: Istituto per l’Oriente C.A. Nallino – CNRS Mondes iraniens et indiens, 2011). The printed catalogue does not contain records on the manuscripts on shadow theatre, epics, popular poetry, and magic discovered during the filing of the documents for the archive.

10 Recently, Sabine Schmidtke, *German orientalism in times of Turmoil the Kahle-Strothmann correspondence (1933 through 1938, 1945 through 1950)* (Budapest: Eötvös

Alongside this substantial collection belonging to Kahle, other fonds include materials produced by four of his five sons (Wilhelm, Hans, Theodor, Paul Jr.) and his wife, Marie Gisevius Kahle (1893–1948).¹¹ These documents were discovered during the KADMOS project and mainly consist of correspondence.

Regarding shadow theatre, the FPK preserves almost all the sources discovered by Kahle in the early years of his career, together with the preparatory materials for his numerous publications in this field. In particular, the documents cover both the most important work of this genre, *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* (The Phantom), written by the ophthalmic surgeon Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl ibn Yūsuf al-Khuzā‘ī (1248–1310) at the beginning of the Mamluk period,¹² and the various old and new shadow plays (in Ar. *li‘b, la‘b, la‘ba*, literally “play,” “shadow play,” also meaning “piece,” “performance”)¹³ of the Egyptian repertoire Kahle discovered in Cairo in the early 20th century.

The preservation of such a large amount of different materials linked to the various stages of the research on shadow theatre – namely, manuscripts, notes, research materials, printed books, correspondence, and print proofs – in the same library provides an opportunity to reflect on several issues ranging from the history of Orientalism to that of the archival studies as well as from the cultural history of the Islamic world to Arabic philology. When studying them, one can address these issues according to the following lines: 1) the broader intellectual framework in which the studies on the Arabic shadow play originate in Germany; 2) Kahle’s working method

Lora’nd University Chair for Arabic Studies, Budapest, 2022), published a study, also transcribing the original German letters, on the correspondence between Paul Kahle and Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960), thus providing an insight into the different phases of Kahle’s life (1930s, post-II world war, late 1950s).

11 The documents relating to “relatives” were all placed in a separate section.

12 The *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* is structured in three *bābāt* (sing. *bāba*, a full “shadow play”) respectively titled I. *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* (The Phantom); II. *‘Ajb wa-Gharib* (The Amazing Preacher and the Stranger); III. *al-Mutayyam* (The Love Stricken One). On this work, see Ibrāhīm Ḥamāda, *Khayāl al-zill wa-tamthīliyyāt ibn Dāniyāl* ([al-Qāhira:] al-Mu’assasa al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma li-l-Ta’līf wa-al-Tarjama wa-al-Ṭibā‘a wa-al-Nashr [1963]).

13 A standard *khayāl al-zill* performance involved a shadow-play master, called *muqaddim*, who manipulated two-dimensional figurines by using several sticks attached to their heads and limbs. With their movements, such figurines cast shadows onto a screen. Performances took place on a improvised stage in the open air, in a coffeehouse or, more rarely, in a public hall with a bright lamp placed behind the screen. The text of the play was memorised (rather than read) not without improvised parts. The play (*li‘b*) started with a prologue (*maṭla‘*) and was divided into acts (*fuṣūl*, sing. *faṣl*).

as a scholar in this specific field of research¹⁴; 3) the Kahle's role as an Orientalist "serial hoarder" of knowledge(s) otherwise lost; 4) the means of preserving such knowledge(s) in the past and at present by refunctionalising it/them in an archive; 5) the importance of networking archives of the Arab and Western world to preserve exclusive pieces of knowledge(s) related to specific fields of the Islamic intellectual history to piece together the fragmented and often lacunar picture that would otherwise result from these individual fragments.¹⁵

2. Paul Kahle's Publications on Arabic Shadow Theatre against the Backdrop of the German Orientalism in the First Half of the 20th Century

From the outset, the research of Paul Kahle on Arabic shadow plays was part of a broader framework of studies on shadow theatre and the Arabic vernacular poetry that involved some of the most important figures of the German Orientalism of the first half of the 20th century.¹⁶ A brief overview of the intellectual milieu of the time allows us to appraise Kahle's findings alongside the collective work made by Orientalists and Arab scholars, respectively.¹⁷

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- 14 Roberto Tottoli, *Orientalists at Work. Some Excerpts from Paul E. Kahle's Papers upon Ibn Dāniyāl* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2009), provides insights on this issue, accompanied by the reproductions of a few documents written by Kahle and Georg Jacob, thus showing the many interconnections between their respective publications.
- 15 In Francesca Bellino, "Unpublished documents on Bir Zēt dialect relating to *Volkszahlungen aus Palastina*," in *Arabe, sémitique, berbère... Etudes linguistiques et littéraire offertes à Jérôme Lentin par ses collègues, élèves et amis*, ed. Nadia Comolli, Julien Dufour, and Marie-Aimée Germanos (Paris: Geuthner, 2021), 43–67, I put forward such reflections related to another type of document held in the archive – the manuscript collection of folk tales collected in Palestine (Bir Zēt and Jerusalem) along with Hans Schmith and Dschirius Jusif – on which Paul Kahle worked after his stay in Egypt.
- 16 A summary of his studies on the shadow plays is given by Kahle in his "Introduction" to *Three Shadow Plays by Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl*, translated and edited by the late Paul Kahle, with a critical apparatus by Derek Hopwood, prepared for publication by Derek Hopwood and Mustafa Badawi (Cambridge: Trustees of the "E.J.W. Gibb Memorial," 1992), 1–5. For the German-language contributions in the field of shadow theatre, puppet theatre and other forms of popular drama, see Fuat Sezgin, *Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Arabistik und Islamkunde*, vol. 6: *Kulturgeschichte, Gewerbe, Handwerke und Künste* (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1991), 425–30.
- 17 Li Guo thus identifies the different actors involved in the study of the Egyptian shadow theatre of the Ottoman period. Sa'd, *Khayāl al-zīll al-'arabī*, chap. 2 "marāji' dirāsāt khayāl al-zīll al-'arabī," 459–525, overviews the main scholars of shadow theatre by

2.1 Findings in Egypt and Early Research on the Genre

Between 1903 and 1909, Kahle lived in Cairo, holding the position of Lutheran minister of the German community and the principal of the local German school. In those years, he befriended various scholars, including Friedrich Kern (1875–1921), Georg Jacob (1862–1937)¹⁸, Max Curt Prüfer (1881–1959)¹⁹, and Enno Littmann (1875–1958)²⁰, who had undertaken fieldwork in Egypt and had already edited some shadow plays.²¹

The first to open the way for the fieldwork in Egypt was Friedrich Kern, who discovered two cafés-cum-theatres in Cairo, where he assisted at several performances. Between 1900 and 1903, he attended the performance of the *Liʿb al-bayt* (The Household), a piece centred on a villainous Coptic priest whose daughter converted to Islam and married a Muslim to the general satisfaction of the audience; and the *Liʿb al-markab* (The Boating), about a difficult ferry ride by a raucous group on the Nile. In an article entitled “Das ägyptische Schattentheater” published in 1905, Kern reported on these plays.²²

In the autumn of 1903, the German diplomat Max Curt Prüfer, who was in Cairo for study purposes, witnessed the same plays in the same little theatre.²³ Unlike Kern, he made contact with the *rayyis* Darwīsh al-

distinguishing between “the Orientalists” and “the Arabs” who wrote both in Arabic or in foreign languages (biography and bibliography of Kahle at pages 477–81). A critical analysis of the interest of Orientalists in shadow theatre was made by Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre 1300–1900*, chap. 2 “Early Modern Scholarship,” with a focus on Kahle at 21–22. In this section of the article, my aim is to highlight the specificities of Kahle in connection with the other actors.

18 Saʿd, *Khayāl al-ẓill al-ʿarabī*, 464–71.

19 Saʿd, *Khayāl al-ẓill al-ʿarabī*, 475–76.

20 Saʿd, *Khayāl al-ẓill al-ʿarabī*, 471–73. A few years before, Enno Littmann, *Arabische Schattenspiele* (Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1901), began the series of these publications by editing a Levantine dialectal text along with the German translation of a play performed by a Damascene company he had witnessed in Beirut in 1899.

21 Among other things, for almost their entire lives all these scholars were in correspondence with Kahle. An example of these exchanges may be found in the article co-authored by Erich Graefe, Georg Jacob, Paul Kahle, and Enno Littmann, “Der Qarrād,” *Der Islam* 5 (1914): 93–106, which assembles, one after the other, Arabic texts, German translations, and annotated dialectal transcriptions of texts comparing the figure of the monkey trainer (*qarrād*) as depicted in a *maqāma* and in a few popular plays. This assemblage of annotated texts also reveals the exchanges between these scholars and the various knowledges they had on the subject.

22 Friedrich Kern, “Das ägyptische Schattentheater,” in *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient. Mit einem Anhang über das ägyptische Schattenspiel von Friedrich Kern*, ed. Josef Horowitz (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1905), 98–104.

23 An intellectual portrait of Prüfer is given by Arnoud Vrolijk, “From Shadow Theatre to the Empire of Shadows. The Career of Curt Prüfer, Arabist and Diplomat,” *Zeitschrift der*

Qashshāsh,²⁴ a shadow master in Cairo's old town, and gained access to his notebooks.²⁵ Back in Germany, Prüfer edited the text of *Li' b al-dayr* (The Play of the Monastery), which turned out to be the same as *Li' b al-bayt* (The Play of the House), and *'Alam wa-Ta' ādir* ('Alam and Ta' ādir), made some line drawings on the figures used in performances, and submitted the whole material as a doctoral dissertation to the University of Erlangen under the title "Ein Aegyptisches Schattenspiel."²⁶

In addition to the transcription and the German translation of the texts, the two studies by Kern and Prüfer encompassed an initial inventory of the Arabic plays circulating at the time.²⁷

His colleagues' interest in Cairo in this genre prompted Kahle to collect new materials and embark on a lifelong study. In fact, precisely during his stay in Egypt from 1903 to 1909, he had the chance to attend various performances and record a series of plays.²⁸ In 1907, he bought from Darwīsh al-Qashshāsh in Cairo a manuscript entitled *Dīwān kedes* (or *kadas*, which can be translated as "Anthology of accumulated material"²⁹) containing plays and poems attributed to three 17th-century poets, among whom was a shadow master called Dāwūd al-Manāwī.

Thanks to his local networking, Kahle got in touch not only with al-Qashshāsh but also with other puppet masters and, above all, with a family of performers in a little village of the Delta, al-Manzāla, from whom he

Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 156, no. 2 (2006): 369–78, who has accurately traced his interest in this genre and his connections with the colleagues of the time. On the political level, Prüfer was a rather controversial figure for his political ideas and positions.

24 Sa'd, *Khayāl al-zīll al-'arabī*, 1115, reports on his meetings with various Orientalists and his revival of the art of shadow theatre.

25 According to Li Guo, "The Monk's Daughter and Her Suitor: An Egyptian Shadow Play of Interfaith Romance and Insanity," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 137, no. 4 (2017): 786, Prüfer was only allowed to look at the oldest manuscripts for a short time without being able to purchase or copy them.

26 Max Curt Prüfer, "Ein ägyptisches Schattenspiel" (PhD diss., Friedrich-Alexanders-Universität zu Erlangen, 1906), contains both the transliteration and the translation into German of the *Li' b ed-dēr*. The Paul Kahle Archive contains a document (classified as ARC_B151) concerning Georg Jacob's manuscript notes on Prüfer's *Ein ägyptisches Schattenspiel*.

27 A complete list of the individual plays in the inventory can be found in Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 19–20.

28 Paul Kahle, *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattenspiels in Ägypten: Einladungsschrift* (Halle: Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses, 1909), 2, mentions these café performances and some master names he knew. Besides, Sa'd, *Khayāl al-zīll al-'arabī*, 1116–17, mentions a master named Shahāta Hammām supposedly also met Kahle.

29 According to Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 265, the term *kadas* (*fann al-kadas*) means "shadow play lyrics (in the vernacular)."

bought other precious manuscript “fragments” containing old versions of the plays. These texts were rescued by the man who contributed most to the cause of shadow plays in the 19th century, namely Ḥasan al-Qashshāsh (?–1905), the father of Darwish.³⁰ On this remarkable finding, Prüfer wrote:

Ḥasan el-Qashshāsh, the father of Kahle’s informant, the self-styled re-inventor of the play in this country, came into possession, in some manner, of the old manuscripts, and may thus very likely have acquired an influence on the development of the play. Certain it is that the Egyptian shadow-performers of today regard Ḥasan el-Qashshāsh and his son Derwis as their masters. Some of the manuscripts are now in Kahle’s hands.³¹

Along with the manuscripts, in the Nile Delta village, Kahle also bought all the “old” leather shadow figures – eighty-four flat puppet figures³² – they had used during the performances.³³

Kahle submitted the first results of this fieldwork in his doctoral thesis published after returning to Germany in 1909, under the title *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattenspieles in Ägypten*.³⁴ This dissertation offered a wealth of information on the change in the art of shadow theatre taking place in Egypt in the early 20th century, along with details on the puppeteers Kahle had met, a summary of the contents of the precious manuscripts he had acquired, the edition of the Arabic text, and its translation into German of the part narrating the journey made by the Egyptian poet Dāwūd al-Manāwī – who had the opportunity to give representations of the shadow play to the Sultan Aḥmad I in Adrianople in the winter 1612–1613 – as preserved in some verses found in one of the manuscripts bought. This dissertation allowed Kahle to dwell on the specific features of the style and

30 Sa’d, *Khayāl al-zīll al-‘arabī*, 1111–4, briefly presents his life and verses, claiming that he was of Algerian origin and had a Maghrebi wife. After being in Syria, he returned to Egypt where he worked in a café. Sa’d reports that he brought manuscripts from Syria, one of which is the one Kahle was in possession of.

31 Curt Prüfer, “Drama (Arabic),” in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, vol. 4 (London: T&T Clark, 1911), 874, note 10, added that, despite having sold the old manuscripts to Kahle, Darwish was “still in possession of fragments of shadow play manuscripts.” Some of these were acquired by the Egyptian writer and historian Aḥmad Taymūr (1871–1930).

32 Marcus Milwright, “On The Date Of Paul Kahle’s Egyptian Shadow Puppets,” *Muqarnas*, 28 (2011): 43–68, tried to date the old figures bought by Kahle studying the contents of the plays and relating them to sources from the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.

33 Prüfer, “Drama (Arabic),” 874, confirms the value of such ancient (disused) figures as opposed to more modern ones, adding that “Darwish shows, with pride, pictures and fashion-plates of the early seventies, and says that they were the models for the modern figures.”

34 Kahle, *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattenspieles in Ägypten*.

language of the plays and highlight the peculiarities of this genre compared with the vernacular strophic poetry.³⁵

2.2 Widening the Focus of Research of the Shadow Plays

In the following years, Kahle published several articles that featured, little by little, portions of texts taken from the manuscripts in his possession.³⁶ He drew his attention to a few plays, particularly the *Li' b al-timsāḥ* (The Play of the Crocodile), the story of a fishermen's encounter with a crocodile,³⁷ and the *Lib' al-manār* (The Play of the Lighthouse [of Alexandria]), the old and the new versions,³⁸ along with the *Li' b ḥarb al-'ajam* (The Play of the War against the Foreigners), about the townspeople's war with an invading naval fleet. Further, he focussed on some characters and scenes, of which he edited excerpts from the manuscripts.³⁹

The most significant result of this further research work resulted in the monograph *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria* published in 1930. It included the Arabic text edition and the German translation of the beginning of the first play of Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-khayāl* along with the whole text of the

35 All shadow plays contain various types of vernacular poems and songs. In many cases they have titles explicitly indicating their genre or the function they have within the play (e.g., opening of a scene, dialogue, or debate between characters, presentation of a character). Usually, the common vernacular verse type used in shadow plays is called *billīq* (pl. *balālīq*). One can find a glossary documenting the technical terms in almost all the studies published so far. See, in particular, Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 262–65, which includes all terms from various repertoires.

36 By “fragments” I mean that, in his various articles and essays, Kahle edited only short portions of the manuscripts in his possession, namely, a few plays and/or a few thematic sections that he singled out.

37 Paul Kahle, “Das Krokodilspiel (*Li' b et-Timsāḥ*), ein ägyptisches Schattenspiel,” *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philol.-hist. Klasse* (1915): 288–359. Sa'd, *Khayāl al-zīll al-'arabi*, 640–49, compares the versions published by various Orientalists.

38 Sa'd, *Khayāl al-zīll al-'arabi*, 590–601 and 624–40, considers the old (“al-qadīm”) version of the *Li' b al-Manār* one of the oldest and longest Egyptian plays. Furthermore, he identifies the new (“al-ḥadīth”) version in the *Ḥarb al-'Ajam*, also known as the new *Li' b al-Manār*. Along with a summary of the play, Sa'd reproduces the illustrations of the main figures involved and some folios from the manuscripts.

39 Paul Kahle, “Marktszene aus einem ägyptischen Schattenspiel,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, 27, no. 1–3 (1912): 92–102, focussed on the market scene as described in the manuscript plays in his possession. This research was inspired by Georg Jacob, *Markttypen aus 'Agīb wa-Garīb* (Erlangen: Mencke, 1910), who had published a few years earlier about the same scene as depicted in the work of Ibn Dāniyāl.

Liʿb al-manār, set in the city of Alexandria with its famous lighthouse.⁴⁰ The decision to include the two plays set in Mamluk times (although very different from each other) gave an idea of the spread of the genre during that period and its transformations, at least in the Egyptian context.⁴¹

In the early phase of this research, Kahle also published two articles devoted to the old figures used by Egyptian puppeteers he had bought.⁴² As he wrote, “the shadow plays were indeed performed with figures cut from leather and held by sticks against a back-lit canvas screen. The man who moved the figure spoke or sang the text just as though the moving figures were speaking or singing.”⁴³ In the article, he also provided reproductions of all the figures, which are even more precious considering that the originals have been lost.⁴⁴

During this research work, as with other genres, the German scholar filled out a lexical card index of the jargon employed in these texts, which never became the subject of a monographic essay. Because of their contents and possible double reading levels, the plays contained unusual words, numerous dialectal and jargon expressions, specific terms used by various members of different communities (including gypsies) depending on the locations and the characters on stage.⁴⁵

40 Paul Kahle, *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria. Ein arabisches Schattenspiel aus dem mittelalterlichen Ägypten* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930). This work is prefaced by an Introduction of Jacob. Paul Kahle along with Georg Jacob, *Manārat al-Iskandariyya al-qadīma fī khayal al-ẓill al-miṣrī (Liʿb al-manār)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928), have edited the Arabic text of the “old” version of the *Liʿb al-Manār* as collected (*jamaʿa*) from the manuscripts in their possession.

41 Paul Kahle, “Die Katastrophe des Mittelalterlichen Alexandria,” in *Mélange Maspero*, vol. 3, 137–54 (Le Caire: Institut Français d’Archéologie orientale, 1940) and “Šūra ‘an waq’ at al-Iskandariyya fī ‘amm 767 h/1365 m min makhṭūṭat al-ilmān li-l-Nuwayrī al-Iskandārī,” *Dirāsāt athariyya wa-ta’rikhiyya* 3 (1939): 36–94, published a survey of the Mamluk historical sources recounting this episode. Darwish al-Nakhīlī and Aḥmad Muḥammad As’ad translated the article into Arabic.

42 Paul Kahle, “Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Ägypten,” *Der Islam* 1 (1910): 264–99; describes figures 1–39, and *Der Islam* 2 (1911): 143–95, describes figures 40–84. After reproducing in black and white, describing and contextualising the various figures, in the final part of the article (182–95), Kahle sketches the scene of puppeteers in various cities of Egypt (Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Manzāla, Manṣūra) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This overview is accompanied by names and records collected from the testimony of Ḥasan al-Qashshāsh. In another contribution, Paul Kahle, “Das islamische Schattentheater in Ägypte,” *Orientalisches Archiv* 3 (1912): 103–109, commented on three old figures.

43 Kahle, “Introduction,” 4.

44 The attempt made during the KADMOS project to locate the figures (and to discover the possible reason for their disappearance) was unsuccessful.

45 Probably prompted by the discussions on the topic with Enno Littmann, Paul Kahle, “Eine Zunftsprache der Ägyptischen Schattenspieler,” *Islamica* 2 (1926): 313–22,

Intending to popularise this art in Germany, Kahle helped stage a shadow play performance of the *Li‘b al-timsāh* based on his translation into German.⁴⁶

At the same time he was carrying out this research on shadow theatre, he began to survey other works from the Mamluk period that provided a historical contextualisation of the plays he had discovered. With the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, he edited three volumes of one of the most important historical chronicles of the Mamluk period, the *Kitāb badā‘i‘ al-zuhūr fī waqā‘i‘ al-duhūr* (Flowers in the Chronicles of the Ages) by the renowned historian Ibn Iyās (1448–1522).⁴⁷ Also relating to this historical period are the studies dedicated to the city of Alexandria and its lighthouse, which are clearly associated with the *Li‘b al-manār*.

2.3 The Convergence of Research Interests between Kahle and Jacob on Ibn Dāniyāl’s *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*

A second decisive insight into Kahle’s research on shadow theatre occurred at the death of his friend Georg Jacob – “the Kiel Orientalist and certainly one of the most original of academic colleagues,” as Kahle put it – who had devoted himself to studying shadow theatre since the late 19th century.

published a short list of terms (in Arabic, Egyptian dialect transliteration, German translation) that offered a glimpse of such valuable work.

46 The playbill of the programme and the poster are preserved in the archive (ARC_432; B119).

47 See Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Badā‘i‘ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā‘i‘ al-Duhūr* (Istanbul: Staatsdruckerei, Leipzig: Brockhaus in Komm., Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1931–1992, 9 vols.). Together with Muḥammad Muṣṭafā and Moritz Sobernheim (1872–1933), Kahle edited volume 3 of Ibn Iyās’s *Kitāb Badā‘i‘ al-Zuhūr* covering the years 872–906/1468–1501, volume 4 the years 906–921/1501–1515, volume 5 the years 922–928/1516–1522, and collaborated on the indices. According to Schmidtke, *German orientalism in times of Turmoil the Kahle-Strothmann correspondence*, 51 “after Mostafa returned around 1934 to Cairo, where he worked as an assistant to Gaston Wiet [1887–1971], the director of the Museum of Arab Art, and eventually became Wiet’s successor [see letter Kahle to Johann Fück, 9 November 1957], Kahle also engaged some of his other students and assistants in this project, including Annemarie Schimmel [1922–2003], who prepared the index; the last three volumes were published after Kahle’s death, in 1972, 1974, and 1975.” The archive of Turin contains numerous documents related to this work of edition (copies of the manuscripts used as base text, transcriptions, drafts and proofs, partial translations, indexes). In “The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 72, no. 1 (1940): 21–34, Paul Kahle offers a brief survey in English on the importance of Ibn Iyās for the history of shadow theatre considering, among other things, that his historical work includes “the delightful Funeral Ode on Iblis, Abū Murra, the Devil, in which Ibn Dāniyāl humorously describes the changed conditions in Egypt since the sharp Prohibition of the Sultan [Baybars], which caused all taverns and brothels to be closed.”

Initially with colleagues in Erlangen, from when Kahle started working on the Egyptian manuscripts, Jacob constantly corresponded with Kahle on many different topics.⁴⁸

In the history of studies on the Arabic shadow play, Jacob can be considered a real pioneer.⁴⁹ He was the first scholar to draw attention to the masterwork written by Ibn Dāniyāl, the *Tayf al-khayāl*.⁵⁰ As early as the beginning of the 20th century, he collected all three Arabic manuscript versions (Madrid, Istanbul, Cairo) he had been able to find and, for over 30 years, he worked on its critical edition. Relying upon two versions (Istanbul and Madrid), he prepared the Arabic text, excerpts of which he published in three booklets that appeared in 1910.⁵¹ One of the two versions he used was a personal copy made by Müller based on the Escorial manuscript.⁵² However, after checking the contents of the glosses written for the Introduction to *Stücke aus Ibn Dāniyāl's Tayf al-ḥajāl* kept in the archive of FPK, "it appears that they are a collation of a third manuscript preserved in the National Library in Cairo and originally belonging to Aḥmad Pāshā Taymūr."⁵³ Regardless of this issue, as Li Guo rightly underlined, Jacob "was the first to identify and tackle the thorny challenges Ibn Dāniyāl's corpus posed – tracking down manuscripts, cracking the oftentimes code-like technical terms, and deciphering the mysterious and puzzle-ridden texts."⁵⁴

48 See, for instance, the folder "COR_2607" containing a manuscript page of notes relating to shadow play and two letters by Georg Jacob to Kahle dated back to 1909 relating to Ibn Dāniyāl. This correspondence is echoed by Kahle, *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria*, 73.

49 Jacob's research materials and books undoubtedly enabled Kahle to further explore the dissemination of shadow theatre between East and West. Among his pioneering studies, see Georg Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters: erweiterte Neubearbeitung des Vortrags, Das Schattentheater in seiner Wanderung vom Morgenland zum Abendland*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1907, and the revised version of *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland* published in 1925.

50 Georg Jacob, *Al-Mutaijjam, ein altarabisches Schauspiel für die Schattenbühne bestimmt von Muhammad ibn Dāniyāl* (Erlangen: Mencke, 1901); Idem, 'Agīb ed-dīn al-wā 'iz bei Ibn Dāniyāl (Straßburg: Trübner, [ca. 1905]); Idem, "Der Nātū und sein Lied bei Ibn Dāniyāl," *Der Islam* 1, no. 2 (1910): 178–182.

51 Georg Jacob, *Textproben aus dem Escorial-codex des Muhammad ibn Dāniyāl* (Erlangen: Mencke, 1902). A few years later, Georg Jacob, *Stücke aus Ibn Dāniyāl's Tayf al-ḥajāl* (Erlangen: Mencke, 1910), published a comprehensive study on the work of Ibn Dāniyāl.

52 Kahle, "The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt," 23–24, emphasises the fact that "the Munich Orientalist Marcus Joseph Müller, first drew attention to Ibn Dāniyāl, and Müller's transcript of part of the Escorial manuscript formed the background for Jacob's study of the work."

53 Tottoli, *Orientalists at Work*, 6 and 15–29, reproduces the "the Introduction edited by Georg Jacob (1910) and collated by Paul Kahle with the Cairo manuscript."

54 Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 19.

When Jacob died in 1937, Kahle inherited a substantial part of his research materials and books on shadow plays, including the three manuscript copies of the *Ṭayf al-khayāl* mentioned above. Thanks to the discovery of Jörg Kraemer (1917–1961), an Arabist with whom Paul Kahle corresponded, Kahle had already obtained a copy of the fourth manuscript preserved in the al-Ahzar Library in Cairo. Once he had all the sources, Kahle could carry out Jacob's project.

Until then, Jacob had transcribed and translated parts of the work, which he had, however, attempted to understand essentially alone, that is, without the help of an Arabic-speaking native speaker. On the other hand, he had enjoyed the help of eminent other Orientalists with whom he was in contact – such as Nöldeke, Goldziher, de Goeje, and Snouck-Hurgronje – and whose comments he carefully incorporated in the notes to his translation. Nevertheless, many questions were still open, and parts of the text remained to be interpreted: There were problems in choosing how to edit the work of Ibn Dāniyāl and which manuscript version to use as a base text in case of textual variants.

For his part, starting from the end of 1936, Kahle began to collaborate with the Moroccan scholar Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī al-Ḥusaynī (1893–1987), who came to Bonn, where several prominent Orientalists were then active.⁵⁵ Kahle and al-Hilālī read together the entire Arabic text three times. In particular, al-Hilālī helped Kahle to dispel many doubts left unsolved by Jacob as to the language and jargon used in the *Ṭayf al-khayāl*. About the collaborative work, Kahle commented: “Taqieddīn became very familiar with the language of Ibn Dāniyāl, and in our joint work we were able to furnish the commentary which Nöldeke missed on Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow texts.”⁵⁶ He described the new collaboration with the Moroccan scholar as follows:

I have transcribed the complete text afresh, have collated it throughout with the photographs of the three manuscripts, have carefully checked Jacob's translations, and has himself translated all the parts left untranslated by him. I have mostly elucidated some remaining doubtful passages after a survey of the complete text, for it is now possible for the first time to make a real survey of the whole material.⁵⁷

55 Significantly, Sa'd, *Khayāl al-ẓill al-'arabi*, 496–97, counts al-Hilālī among the Arab scholars working on the shadow theatre, underlining his contribution to the understanding of Ibn Dāniyāl's work. He also mentions al-Hilālī's translation *Thalāth mas-raḥiyyāt 'arabiyya muththilat fi al-qurūn al-wustā* published in 1948.

56 Kahle, “Introduction,” 3.

57 Kahle, “The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt,” 25.

Despite this tremendous work, doubts remained about being able to “publish the complete text without curtailment” and fully understand and translate the many dialectal expressions of the Arabic texts or even the particular jargon used in the plays.⁵⁸

2.4 The Unsuccessful Attempts to Publish a Critical Edition of Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*

Probably toward the end of this work, around 1940, Kahle sought to have the Arabic text published in Egypt. The FPK contains a few pages of the proofs of his attempt, which then failed.⁵⁹ Indeed, misfortunes and historical events took over. The Second World War forced Kahle to emigrate to England,⁶⁰ where, as he wrote later,

I had begun to have the Arabic text of Ibn Dāniyāl printed in Cairo in connection with my paper of Brussels [as we know, it was submitted in 1940]. A sheet of the text was printed, a second was in hand when the outbreak of war brought the undertaking to an end. After the end of the war when I made enquiries through my Cairo friends, I ascertained that neither the printed text nor the manuscript of the first part of the shadow plays I had sent to the printers was anywhere to be found. I had to begin a great part of the work on Ibn Dāniyāl afresh.⁶¹

At the end of the Second World War, once he returned to Germany and recovered his library, Kahle resumed the project started years before. In the 1950s, he published a few articles in English in which he summarised the outcomes of his research on shadow theatre in anticipation of the final publication of the edition of the Arabic text of the *Ṭayf al-khayāl*.⁶²

58 Kahle, “The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt,” 25.

59 Tottoli, *Orientalists at Work*, 7–8 and 33–48, reproduces the sample of the proofs consisting of 16 pages of Arabic text edition.

60 Yfaat Weiss, “‘A Man with His Life at Both Ends of Time’: Leah Goldberg, Paul Ernst Kahle, and Appreciating the Mundane,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 37 (2009): 137–178, draws an unflattering portrait of Kahle from these years, by highlighting problematic aspects of his personality especially in the late 1930s during the Nazi period and during his emigration to England.

61 Kahle, “Introduction,” 3–4. In a previous article, Paul Kahle, “Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl und seine zweites arabisches Schattenspiel,” in *Miscellanea academica berolinensia gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Feier des 250jährigen Bestehens der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin: Berlin Akademie-Verlag, 1950), 159–60, already mentioned the existence of these proofs.

62 Kahle, “The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt”; “A Gypsy Woman in Egypt in the Thirteenth Century, A.D.”; Paul Kahle, “A Gypsy Woman in Egypt in the Thirteenth Century, A.D.,” *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 29 (1950): 11–15; “The Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt (Old Texts and Old Figures),” *Journal of the Pakistan Oriental Historical Society* (1954): 85–115. The latter article was also published in German as “Das arabische Schattentheater im mittelalterlichen Ägypten: Alte Texte, Alte Figuren.”

Unfortunately, Kahle never saw his own critical edition published. Over the last few years of life, Derek Hopwood (1933–2020) managed to help him to carry out the project undertaken before the war. However, only in 1992 Hopwood was able to publish the *Three Shadow Plays by Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl*. The edition included a very short introductory note by Kahle along with another introductory essay by Mustafa Badawi (1925–2012) on Arabic shadow theatre and Ibn Dāniyāl's work. As the title page states, the work was “edited by the late Paul Kahle with a critical apparatus by Derek Hopwood.”⁶³ Actually, the critical apparatus was rather different from that prepared by al-Hilālī/Kahle. Regrettably, Hopwood-Badawi's version contained mistakes and shortcomings (found neither in Kahle's drafts nor in the manuscripts), of which Shmuel Moreh and Everett K. Rowson have given an account in their reviews.⁶⁴

Recently, Li Guo recapitulated the long and troubled work that led to this critical edition this way: “The abundant materials (notes, glossaries, translations, and drafts of critical edition) currently preserved in the Paul Kahle Fonds in Turin attest to Kahle's dedication and commitment to the project, which consumed his entire academic career.”⁶⁵

3. Paul Kahle, Archivist and “Serial Hoarder” of Otherwise Lost Knowledge(s)

Where Paul Kahle's work on the Arabic text of Ibn Dāniyāl ends (but not fails!), one might say, there begins new research that further expands the

63 Derek Hopwood, “From the Shadow Plays of Ibn Daniyal to the Poetry of Philip Larkin: Mustafa Badawi as Editor and Translator,” in *Studying Modern Arabic Literature: Mustafa Badawi, Scholar and Critic*, ed. Robin Ostle and Roger Allen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 55–66, evaluated this translation work in a volume dedicated to him.

64 The lists of errors, mistakes, and typos given by the two reviewers with the general comments to the edition are quite telling. See in particular the reviews by Everett K. Rowson and Shmuel Moreh. Despite this criticism (which clearly does not relate to Kahle's work), the edition was well received by other scholars, including Robert Irwin, Marilyn Booth, Emilio Garcia Gómez, and Francesca Maria Corrao. The latter has dedicated a monograph to shadow theatre in Egypt, see her *Il riso, il comico e la festa al Cairo nel XIII secolo: il teatro delle ombre di Ibn Daniyal* (Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1996).

65 Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 22.

knowledge on this genre, bringing to light not only new sources but also new approaches in the field of the Mamluk studies.⁶⁶

The transfer of Kahle's personal library and his study materials to a foreign university institution such as the one in Turin, together with its more recent reorganisation in an archival collection, led to many questions about how these materials could be organised to reflect Kahle's intellectual trajectory in the various fields of research he dealt with. In this perspective, both the library and the FPK can be considered a means of assessing his twofold role of Kahle as an "archivist of pieces of knowledge" that was lost in the field and a "serial hoarder" of a scholarly knowledge that was being produced thanks to his fieldwork as Orientalist.⁶⁷

This dual perspective is reflected, for example, in the shadow theatre. The section of the archive holding records on the shadow plays contain both the sources (i. e., manuscripts, transcriptions, booklets, and notebooks) he gathered from local informants when he was in Egypt as a direct witness – and thus "archivist" already in the field – of that unique and disappearing knowledge and the new documents, namely, transcriptions, transliterations, translations, editions, studies, books, and letters, he produced and accumulated during his lifetime as a custodian and interpreter of such knowledge.⁶⁸

66 For a detailed and wide-ranging overview of the studies on this field carried out from the second half of the 20th century to the present, see Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, and *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam* (especially the Appendixes on manuscripts and sources).

67 Collecting practices (of collecting texts) in the dual Orientalist and Arab perspective have recently been the focus of some interesting studies with very different interdisciplinary approaches. Kahle's archive, which was actually started during the course of his career, can thus be seen from the perspective of cultural history as revealing practices that are as significant for the archived (textual) objects as for the way they came to be archived. In fact, the trajectory of these objects involved a series of practices correlated to their different phases and transitions during which they took on different meanings. First, they were found and collected in the field, then transferred to the West and here studied, partially shared in the scholarly community, preserved and treasured over the years. After Kahle's death, they were moved to Turin and here first become part of a library and then relocated into a (closed) archive.

68 This same attentiveness can also be found in other fields of Islamic intellectual history that Kahle dealt with. In this regard, see Bellino, "Unpublished documents on Bīr Zēt dialect relating to *Volkserzahlungen aus Palastina*," in which I discuss his approach to a corpus of Palestinian folklore tales. Alongside Kahle's approach, one could parallel (or contrast) the approach of some Arab intellectual personalities such as that of Tawfiq Canaan (1882–1964), a Jerusalem doctor and ethnographer of Palestinian peasants, who collected a huge collection of amulets during his lifetime and studied (his own) local culture. For a reflection on Canaan's approach as a "nativist ethnographer" that arose in the particular Palestinian proto-nationalist context, see Salim Tamari, "Lepers, Lunatics

However, Kahle was not the only Orientalist to play this twofold role of archivist and custodian of precious, traditional, disappearing knowledges in the first half of the 20th century. Alongside the fieldwork in Egypt, other scholars discovered and studied traditions related to Arabic shadow theatre from different areas of the Arab world. The correspondence kept in Turin preserves numerous letters that Kahle wrote to various German colleagues – including Enno Littmann (1875–1958), Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971), and Otto Spies (1901–1981), the latter a pupil of Kahle in Bonn – attesting to the exchange of views and information on the Arabic and/or Turkish texts they had published during those years. This correspondence is valuable insofar as, on the one hand, it provides further evidence of the cultural milieu in which these research lines developed in Germany and, on the other, returns Kahle to his role as custodian of such Arabic (Egyptian) knowledge he then parsimoniously shared in the scholarly community in which he played a respectable role as Orientalist.⁶⁹

Over the same period, Arab scholars and intellectuals also worked on shadow theatre, aiming to preserve the memory of this art from the oblivion of a dying tradition in the face of modernity. With a focus on the Arab cultural heritage, a significant scholarship interested in the study of this genre became active to this end at the beginning of the 20th century, in various areas of the Islamic world but especially in Egypt. Among these figures, Aḥmad Pāshā Taymūr (1894–1973) was undoubtedly one of the leading Egyptian scholars engaged in the effort to preserve the Arabic manuscripts still available.⁷⁰ From the same puppeteers and performers known to Kahle he acquired other manuscripts that today form a valuable legacy preserved at the National Library in Cairo.⁷¹

and Saints. The Nativist Ethnography of Tawfiq Canaan and his Jerusalem Circle,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 20 (2004): 24–43, and “Tawfiq Canaan – *Collectionneur par excellence*: The Story Behind the Palestinian Amulet Collection at Birzeit University,” in *Archives, Museums and Collecting Practices in the Modern Arab World*, ed. Sonja Mejcher-Atassi, and John Pedro Schwartz (London / New York: Routledge, 2016), 71–90.

69 Elvira Martín-Contreras, “Building Research Projects: The Correspondence Between Paul E. Kahle and Federico Pérez Castro at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC),” *Henoch: Historical and Textual Studies in Ancient and Medieval Judaism and Christianity*, 36 (2014): 222–230, examined the correspondence between Federico Pérez Castro and Paul E. Kahle concerning the project to publish a polyglot Bible, thus making it known that as early as the late 1950s Kahle also informed his correspondent about his projects concerning the edition of Ibn Dāniyāl’s work.

70 Sa’ d, *Khayāl al-ẓill al-‘arabi*, 492–96.

71 It is worth noting that in Egypt these scholars began collecting documents, having as a source of information the same Darwish al-Qashshāsh. For a more detailed recon-

Unlike other colleagues who lived even longer in Arab countries, Kahle was in contact with these Arab scholars only marginally. He certainly benefited from the invaluable help of the Moroccan scholar al-Hilālī in reading, deciphering, and interpreting the work of Ibn Dāniyāl. It is worth mentioning that al-Hilālī's stay in Bonn was sponsored by Shakīb Arslān (1869–1946), a Lebanese writer, poet, historian, politician, and “a major patron of the study and preservation of Arab cultural heritage.”⁷² Unfortunately, the tragic events of Nazi Germany and the Second World War forced al-Hilālī and Kahle to separate and interrupt their work, which failed to be published even in Egypt.

4. The Documents on Arabic Shadow Theatre in the Archive in Turin

At least to the best of intentions, the PKF tries to reflect the scholarly trajectory of Paul Kahle and beyond. It is organised in such a way as to enable scholars to find any type of document the German scholar collected, studied, and produced at all stages of his career and to make available the correspondences he had with the many scholars and institutions he was in contact with. Accordingly, the overall structure of the FPK and the related online database were designed to mirror the articulation of the fields Kahle worked on starting from/concerning the documents produced in each.

In this reconfiguration of the FPK, arbitrarily redesigned as a sort of “studio,” the archive acts as a tool to access Kahle's workspace, observe his working method, study the texts he read, transcribed, and translated, and reflect on how he went about publishing on them. There can be no doubt that, as designed, the FPK reflects his maniacal habit of preserving whatever document he considered important in each field or for a specific project – and this despite wars, displacements, and other events that plagued his personal life and undoubtedly also affected the preservation of these documents.

The documents related to Arabic shadow theatre were allocated to different sections of the FPK depending on their different typologies. Each

struction of the findings of the Arab scholarship, see Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 27–29.

72 A number of letters preserved in the correspondence (COR_104) attest to direct contacts between Kahle and Arslān between 1936 and 1938, *i. e.*, during the years of al-Hilālī's stay in Bonn. On the relationship between al-Hilālī and Arslān, see Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 22.27.51.

series is divided into subseries, which in turn are divided into sub-subseries. The series “Islamica” comprises a subseries (Arabic) “literature,” which, in turn, contains a sub-subseries (Arabic) “shadow theatre,” whose documents can be grouped into three major groups: 1) Ibn Dāniyāl’s masterpiece *Tayf al-khayāl*, 2) (old and modern) shadow plays, 3) the vernacular poetry connected to shadow plays. This series also includes other thematic sections related to 4) the jargon of the shadow player, 5) the history of shadow theatre, and 6) the figures of shadow play.

Other materials related to this genre are kept elsewhere. For instance, “Georg Jacob’s corporate fonds” includes almost all the documents (excluding books) inherited by Kahle, whereas the papers that although belonging to Jacob showed significant comments made by Kahle were left within the series of the archive related to Kahle’s works. The section on the “manuscripts not included in the printed catalogue” enters all the records on the manuscripts on epics, (strophic) poetry, magic, and shadow play discovered during the KADMOS project which had not already been indexed and described in the printed catalogue edited by Tottoli, Russo, and Bernardini.⁷³

Each series (and the related subseries) gathers the documents into folders and boxes organised according to the different formats preserved so far and indexed in records available in the online database. Various documents have been identified for filling in the records. Regarding shadow theatre, they include the following:

Sources

1. Manuscripts containing (old) shadow plays written in Arabic letters bought in Egypt;
2. Manuscripts containing copies of the (old) shadow plays made by informants in Egypt;
3. Notebooks containing (new) transcriptions of the live performances of the shadow plays written down in Arabic letters by informants in Egypt;
4. Xerox or photographic reproductions of the Arabic manuscripts containing versions of Ibn Dāniyāl’s *Tayf al-khayāl*/the shadow plays kept in various libraries of the Eastern and Western worlds;
5. Handwritten copies of the Arabic manuscripts made for studying at a later stage by Kahle and/or by scholars with whom he was in contact;

Transcriptions and/or Translations of the Sources

6. Transcriptions of the (old) shadow play manuscripts in Arabic letters;

⁷³ The records on all these manuscripts were produced at a later date than the printed catalogue and are available online at http://www.paulkahle.unito.it/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/5788.

7. Dialectal (Egyptian) transcriptions of the texts in Latin letters;
8. Working notes on the Arabic texts and/or transcriptions;
9. Translations of the texts into German or (later) English;

Critical Editions of the Arabic Texts

10. Working documents in preparation for the critical edition of the Arabic text of a play;
11. Drafts of the critical edition of the Arabic text of a play;

Publications

12. Drafts of the article/s and monograph/s;
13. Blueprints of the article/s and monograph/s;
14. Proofs of the article/s and monograph/s;

Correspondence

15. Letters exchanged by Kahle with scholars on a certain topic;⁷⁴
16. Postprint versions of the article/s on which Kahle noted comments from colleagues.

The choice of sorting the various materials following this sequence⁷⁵ – basically from (manuscript) sources to (printed) publications along with contemporaneous and subsequent feedback on the work – was prompted by the type of documents recovered during the KADMOS project and by Kahle’s way of doing research, deeply imbued with philological and dialectological concerns. Not all the topics Kahle tackled found their way into studies he succeeded or wanted to publish; thus, in this case, the archive holds unpublished papers, too. On the other hand, the drawback of such a sequence undoubtedly lies in being deeply rooted in philological criteria, which reflect the knowledge Kahle had accumulated – indeed incomplete in the light of subsequent progress in this field.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Specific blocks of correspondence were joined to particular series in the event that Kahle had kept the letters together with the documents or the sources, or if the topic made it possible to isolate these letters as an archival unit distinct from the rest of the correspondence (which is basically organised by correspondent) and relate it to a particular play, topic, or text.

⁷⁵ Evidently, not all series contain all the types of document.

⁷⁶ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, part I, established a kind of long chronology in the studies on Arabic shadow theatre by outlining three major phases: 1) the first referring to “Arabic shadow theatre in historical sources,” which covers late Abbasid, Mamluk, Ottoman, and Western Visitors’ accounts (from around 1000 to 1900); 2) the second referring to “early modern scholarship,” which embraces both the “Orientalism and Arab

The valuable (old and new) Arabic sources of the shadow plays that Kahle collected in Egypt are all unpublished and still in need of digitisation. In this respect, preserving all these documents in the archive has secured and, to some extent, fixed a body of knowledge that would otherwise have been lost. However, regarding specific fields, such knowledge is not up to date relative to what has been discovered and published from the second half of the 20th century onwards.

5. The Documents Preserved in the Archive Related to Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*

The preparatory materials for the Arabic critical edition of Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* include several unpublished documents of great value for future works with that purpose, including the drafts of the original text edition of the three *bābāt* as conceived by Kahle and al-Hilālī, the copies of the whole translation into German along with a partial translation into English, and the lexical cards on the jargon of the plays Kahle worked on.

5.1 The Documents Related to the Project of a Critical Edition of Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*

The archive preserves photographic reproductions of all the manuscripts of Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* known until the 1960s, in particular copies of the versions kept in Madrid (labelled as "A," Ms Escorial, Casiri I no. 467: ARC_408, ARC_413), Istanbul (labelled as "B," Ms Süleymaniye, Kütüphanesi, Ali Paşa Hekimoğlu no. 648: ARC_409), Cairo (labelled as "C," Ms Dār al-Kutub, Ṭala'at collection, no. 2774: ARC_410, ARC_411; labelled as "D," Ms Azhar Library, Adab 463/Abāza 7095: ARC_414).

Moreover, it preserves a modern manuscript copy written down in 1910 by Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Ṣabbār al-Marṣafī in Cairo.⁷⁷ This manuscript is divided into three separate volumes, reproducing "Codex C" (that is Ms Cairo, Azhar Library), with a sort of collation in the margins of two other testimonies, a partial translation into German made by Jacob, and annotations by Kahle. Previously, the manuscript

shadow theatre" and the "Early Arab Scholarship (ca. 1900–1950); 3) the third referring to the so-called "new studies," which again reflect the dual perspective of Western and Arab scholarship.

77 A reproduction of the front page of the Cairo manuscript (third *bāba*) can be found in Tottoli, *Orientalists at Work*, I (first page).

belonged to Jacob and was later inherited by Kahle (ARC_379; ARC_412).⁷⁸

The archive holds several folders preserving drafts related to the various stages of the transcription of the whole Arabic text (ARC_377), including one with the (apparently) definitive version (ARC_380). Note, in particular, that, among the others, there is a version completely devoid of the critical apparatus and, conversely, a version fully transcribed and vocalised, with critical apparatus. The first file covers chapters 1–33 of the first *bāba* entitled *Ṭayf al-khayāl*; the second file covers chapters 34–58 of the second *bāba* entitled *ʿAjīb wa-gharīb*; the third file covers chapters 59–76 of the third *bāba* entitled *al-Mutayyam*. The files were ordered just as Kahle had left them. Various parts of the text transcribed in duplicate or left out by Kahle himself were catalogued separately.

When Kahle began working with Hopwood, he prepared a translation into German of the whole work by Ibn Dāniyāl completed in 1960. The number and typology of the drafts (handwritten and typewritten copies) show that Kahle worked extensively on this translation, in the first phase in parallel with the reading of the Arabic text, later by reviewing it several times (ARC_378; ARC_381–ARC_387). The archive also keeps typewritten pages that contain notes relating to Georg Jacob’s translation of the beginning of Ibn Dāniyāl’s *Ṭayf al-khayāl* (ARC_376).

The archive preserves two copies of the drafts of the English translation of the first *bāba* (ARC_388). Having been realised in the last years in connection with the work on the critical edition carried out with Hopwood, this English translation was never published. The file kept in Turin contains both manuscript and typewritten copies of the Index of the first *bāba* (only one is complete), in one of which the content of each chapter is abridged, and the drafts of the translation into English of the first *bāba* by Ibn Dāniyāl’s *Ṭayf al-khayāl*. On the side of a copy, Kahle added a few notes on the text with references to the various manuscripts of Ibn Dāniyāl. The different terms are translated into English and transcribed in brackets.

On several occasions, Kahle pointed out his intention to publish the critical edition (perhaps also the translation) of the Arabic text of Ibn Dāniyāl’s *Ṭayf al-khayāl*, which, however, never came about when he was alive.⁷⁹ Regarding the project, the archive preserves all study materials as

⁷⁸ Tottoli, *Orientalists at Work*, provides a reproduction of the introduction edited by Georg Jacob (1910) and collated by Paul Kahle with the Cairo manuscript (at pages 13–30) along with the proofs of the lost Cairo edition (1940) (at pages 31–48).

⁷⁹ Kahle, “The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt,” informs: “I am publishing the Arabic text of the plays in Leiden, the translation with the commentary will follow in a short time.”

well as drafts that should have led to a Jacob-al-Hilālī/Kahle Arabic critical edition of *Ṭayf al-khayāl*, including the proofs of the first sixteenth (?) printed by the Cairene editor (publisher?), which in all likelihood must have been Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ARC_390).⁸⁰

After Kahle's death, Derek Hopwood published *Three Shadow Plays* by Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl in 1992, "edited by the late Paul Kahle with a critical apparatus by Derek Hopwood," which reproduces the Arabic text with critical apparatus and a general introduction to the work. The archive preserves the critical apparatus Hopwood prepared (ARC_389), divided into three parts, each corresponding to a *bāba* of the play. Derek Hopwood and Mustafa Badawi later used this text to publish the "Appendix" of *Three Shadow Plays*. Finally, it holds a typewritten copy of the drafts of the research project on Ibn Daniyāl by Paul Kahle. Enclosed is a page containing the list of expenses for the research assistant, Mr. Hopewood, and the secretary, dated back to 1962 (ARC_407).

The documents relating to the publication are also side-by-side with those pertaining to the study of the text. The archive holds the lexical cards compiled by Kahle based on Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-khayāl* (ARC_391).

5.2 The Documents Related to Kahle's Studies on Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*

In anticipation of the publication of the critical edition of Ibn Daniyāl's *Ṭayf al-khayāl*, Paul Kahle published pieces of the edition and translation of the Arabic text extrapolated from the three *bābāt* in several articles. The archive contains the preparatory materials for these articles, subsequent drafts, and proofs.

For instance, in the monograph *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria*, together with the edition and translation of an old version of the *La 'b al-manār*, Kahle also edited a *qasīda* at the beginning of the *bābat Ṭayf al-khayāl* (from ARC_416 to ARC_423).

Kahle, "The Arabic Shadow play in Medieval Egypt (Old Texts and Old Figures)," 87, provides an update on the progress of the work: "Now the work is so far advanced that the whole text of Ibn Dāniyāl's three Arabic shadow plays is to be published in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy."

⁸⁰ Three different copies of the proof-readings of the edition of Paul Kahle's Arabic edition of Ibn Dāniyāl's *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*. The three copies contain the following pages: (1st copy or copy I, etc.) I copy: 1, 10; II copy: 3–4.9–10 (printed also overleaf); III copy: the first 16 pages (this is a photocopy). The title page is missing. Paul Kahle wrote his numerous corrections in red ink.

From the 1940s onwards, Kahle also published a few articles introducing excerpts from Ibn Dāniyāl's work. In "The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt," he translated into English three passages dealing with 1) the speech of the *mashā' ilī* (the "brazier-bearer") who carries a charcoal brazier on a long stick, taken from the second play in which the different types of the fair appear; 2) the Emir Wiṣāl, the chief character, taken from the first play; 3) the death of Umm Rashīd, also described in the first play.⁸¹ In 1948, al-Hilālī translated the article into Arabic, thus making the three plays known to Arabic-speaking audiences as well.

5.3 Importance of Archival Materials for Future Studies on Ibn Dāniyāl

In recent years, several scholars have studied the work of Ibn Dāniyāl from different perspectives (including historical, cultural, and literary). The major contributions to the understanding of Arabic shadow theatre and the *Ṭayf al-khayāl* were made in particular by Shmuel Moreh and Li Guo.⁸² In *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam: Shadow Play and Popular Poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo*, Li Guo brought to the attention of the scholars a fifth manuscript of the work by Ibn Dāniyāl along with other new sources on Ibn Dāniyāl he discovered during his research: 1) various manuscript versions of the *al-Taḍkira al-Ṣafadiyya* containing a selection (*ikhtiyār* or *mukhtār*) of poems from the *Dīwān* of Ibn Dāniyāl, 2) the *Dīwān* itself,⁸³ and 3) Ibn Dāniyāl's *Urjūza fī al-ṭibb*. A part of these poems and lyrics is also found in the *Ṭayf al-khayāl*.

The discovery of these new sources raises several questions both regarding the technique of composition by Ibn Dāniyāl and the use he made of these poems scattered in various collections and the importance of this typology of texts for shadow play as a literary genre. Is it, therefore, still possible to plan a critical edition of Ibn Dāniyāl's Arabic text? How can new materials be combined with the *Ṭayf al-khayāl*? Should *Ṭayf al-khayāl* be considered a closed or open work?

81 Paul Kahel, "Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl (gest. 1311) und seine arabischen Schattenspiele aus Ägypten," in *Actes du XX congrès international des Orientalistes (Bruxelles 1938)* (Louvain: Bureaux du Muse' on, 1940): 324–325, published a first version of this work in German. The Arabic version of this article was translated by al-Hilālī and published in Baghdad in 1948 under the title *Thalāth masraḥiyyāt 'arabiyya muththilat fī al-qurūn al-wuṣṭā*.

82 Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature*; Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam*.

83 Li Guo, "Ibn Dāniyāl's 'Dīwān': in light of MS Ayasofya 4880," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5–6 (2010–2011): 163–76.

Based on the new data, Li Guo hypothesises that Ibn Dāniyāl used these poems and lyrics “while working on shadow plays, not vice versa, and the completion of the scripts occurred much later in the poet’s life.”⁸⁴ Moreover, he maintains that “the problem was that many poems are out of sync and awkward within the narrative context. In other words, they did not seem to belong to an original *maqāma* composition, let alone an organic part of a shadow play.”⁸⁵ Therefore, following this view, the three *bābāt* originate from a complex but dynamic interaction between the phase of the writing of poems (to be seen as drafts, laboratorial works, collected in an open and fluid structure) and that of the composition of the proper authorial text. The inclusion or exclusion of such poems within or outside the work by Ibn Dāniyāl, the recycling or even the change of verses, poems, and lyrics are all issues related to the use of these miscellaneous manuscripts by the different actors at stage (namely, author, editor, performer, puppeteer).

Considering the manuscript collections in this perspective involves the ultimate question of the techniques of the composition of shadow plays and the authorial role of the poet/author in the process of composing his work, in this case, Ibn Dāniyāl and his *Ṭayf al-khayāl*. In light of the study by Li Guo, “it becomes rather clear that the incongruity and idiosyncrasy witnessed in the lyrics of the shadow plays can only be explained as resulting from a *patchwork*.”⁸⁶ The very term *patchwork* seems to be the most suitable to describe the second group of texts collected by Kahle.

6. The Documents Preserved in the Archive Related to Arabic Shadow Plays

The second important block of materials kept in Turin covers a series of shadow plays that form part of the repertoire of Arabic shadow theatre dating back to the Ottoman period, along with modern or new adaptations made to reintroduce the texts and the techniques of the past into the late 19th-, early beginning 20th-century scene. Unfortunately, only the old figures acquired in Egypt were lost and are not held in the FPK.

The most original materials preserved in Turin are the Arabic manuscripts Kahle purchased from a family of puppeteers during his stay in Egypt. For more than half a century, the German scholar kept these

⁸⁴ Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam*, 111.

⁸⁵ Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam*, 112.

⁸⁶ Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam*, 112.

manuscripts together with the research papers and the books in his personal library. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, they remained a precious source jealously guarded by Kahle. Because they were among his research materials, these manuscripts were catalogued only during the work of reordering of the KADMOS project. As a result, they were long inaccessible.⁸⁷ At present, this group of manuscripts is not stored together with the other 300 entered in the printed catalogue edited by Tottoli, Russo, and Bernardini, but with the shadow-theatre materials.

This reorganisation led to various problems, both from an archival and codicological point of view. This group of manuscripts does not follow the numbering given in the printed catalogue. Rather, it has a new numbering system (MSB) determined by their recent classification together with the archival documents (ARC). This new classification resulted in a second problem: The manuscripts were filed as they were discovered, that is, related to the research documents on shadow theatre, and are full of Kahle's annotations. As Li Guo rightly noted, Kahle took the liberty to "tear out the originals, which he referred to as *al-waraq al-qadim*, "old papers," and rearrange them according to individual plays."⁸⁸ This way of working led him to dismantle the manuscripts bought in Egypt and work on the resulting blocks as units or fragments used to study the individual plays.

On the other hand, these same manuscripts do not always contain unitary works composed by a single (known) author; instead, they result from the assemblage of different plays interspersed with poems and songs written by different poets, subsequently put together. In some instances, some segments have a signature of authorship (*al-istishhad*). At the same time, in other cases, they are "clusters" whose consistency is often (but not always) determined only by the content.

It follows that the collections of shadow theatre in FPK include several plays, and that different versions of the same play may be found in different manuscripts or even in segments (MSB) classified as separate archival units (ARC). The reason behind this organisation was to preserve Kahle's legacy intact as much as possible by avoiding assembling or disassembling archival units except where there was "safe evidence" to do so. The outcome might seem puzzling since there are cases where an "original" codicological unit – consisting, as mentioned, of segments and clusters within it – has

⁸⁷ I catalogued and described all these manuscripts in a specific section dedicated to the "manuscripts not included in the printed catalogue." The catalogue contains cards that date back to 2015 and have not been updated even after some errata were reported.

⁸⁸ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 60.

become several archival units (MBS or ARC) such as they were conceived in Kahle's hands, thus disrupting its understanding as a single manuscript.

The online catalogue provides extensive descriptions of all these archival units and manuscripts to overcome this problem. As Li Guo again noted, it "benefitted from Kahle's thematic division of plays; but from the viewpoint of codicology, the challenge is obvious: none of these disseminated pieces could be considered a 'codex', with its original intrinsic structure intact."⁸⁹ In his *Arabic Shadow Theatre 1300–1900*, Li Guo offered an extra classification of this group of manuscripts within the framework of the research on the primary sources of Arabic shadow theatre and the study of the specific differences between old and new versions of the single plays. The purpose of the following is, on the one hand, to briefly describe the manuscripts as classified in the online database among those "not included in the printed catalogue" and the archival materials as they are preserved in FPK, thus reflecting how Kahle arranged them.

6.1. The Manuscripts Containing Arabic Shadow Plays

a. The Collection *Dīwān Kedes*

One of the most important manuscripts acquired by Kahle in Egypt is a collection of shadow plays and vernacular poems attributed to three shadow players of the 17th century, shaykh Su'ūd, 'Alī al-Naḥla, and Dāwūd al-'Aṭṭār al-Manāwī, who wrote the manuscript.⁹⁰ The collection is entitled *Dīwān kedes (kadas)* and dates back to 1119/1707.

Kahle unpacked the collection to study it better, and today it is preserved in different parts classified as other records in the FPK.⁹¹ The first part of the collection consists of 215 folios (MSB12: in the online catalogue listed as "'Alam wa-Ta'ādīr A"⁹²); it has the colophon, but it is devoid of the title page and of some parts that Kahle kept separately.⁹³ Of these, a unit

⁸⁹ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 60. This phase of reorganisation clearly favoured an archival approach rather than a more strictly philological or codicological one.

⁹⁰ Sa'd, *Khayāl al-zīll al-'arabi*, 590.

⁹¹ At the beginning of his dissertation, Kahle, *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattentheaters in Egypten*, 1–20, provided a description of this manuscript as he had originally bought it.

⁹² The title of the record in the database and the associated (archival or manuscript) document was given primarily in relation to the content of the play. As in other cases, it is based on Kahle's own indications. In light of the complex relationship between manuscript parts and archival units, the title may seem "misleading," as rightly argued by Li Guo.

⁹³ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 62 (figure 4) and 64 (figure 5) reproduces the colophon and a manuscript page taken from *Dīwān kedes*, respectively.

consisting of four folios keeps the beginning of the play of *'Alam wa-Ta 'ādir*. In comparison, three folios form a separate cluster of the “market-type” songs reproducing a dialogue between Abū l-Qiṭāṭ⁹⁴ and a candy seller in a market (MSB23: in the online catalogue titled as a shadow play of the genre “market type”).⁹⁵ Another archival unit consisting of three manuscript folios of the same size preserves a *zajal*-verse of Dāwūd al-Manāwī narrating his travel in Turkey (MSB21: catalogued as “Dā'ūd al-Manāwī”).⁹⁶

The largest – initial – part of the *Dīwān kedes* (about 170 folios) contains the play of *'Alam wa-Ta 'ādir*, known also as *La 'b al-dayr*, whose story is set in a monastery among the Copts, notwithstanding the fact that, at the end of the play, the monk's daughter 'Alam converted to Islam and married the young Muslim Ta 'ādir.⁹⁷ This part also contains “some thirty [folios] of *Ḥarb al-'ajam* (namely *al-Manār*), a few of *al-Timsāḥ*, and some thirty-five cover the play *Abū Ja 'far* and *'Ajā 'ib al-baḥr*.”⁹⁸ The second part of the collection consists of a few other “clusters of *zajal* verses made for several short plays,”⁹⁹ including *al-Manār*, *Abū Ja 'far*, *'Āqil wa-majnūn*, and *'Ajā 'ib al-barr*.

The peculiarity of the *Dīwān kedes* is that, already in its origin, it was unbound and contained loose leaves. When Kahle inherited it, he identified as many plays as he could and wrote down in pencil the number of lines/stanzas of various *azjāl* verses, underlined the beginning or the end of the plays, put the numbers (unsystematically) on the folios. He thereby separated some clusters, mainly referring to individual plays or sections, and kept them within blue cardboards covered “Deutsche Schule, Kairo” or bound by wrappers, eventually writing the titles of their contents on them.

94 Abū l-Qiṭāṭ is the nickname of al-Rikhim, the presenter's sidekick in the Ottoman Egyptian repertoire.

95 This manuscript fragment was preserved inside a blue cardboards covered “Deutsche Schule, Kairo” on the label of which Kahle wrote “Marktszene aus einem ägyptischen Schattenspiel.” Actually, the text was published in Kahle, “Marktszene aus einem ägyptischen Schattenspiel,” 92–102.

96 The text was published in Kahle, *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattentheaters in Ägypten*, 21–49.

97 A synopsis of the contents of the play *'Alam wa-Ta 'ādir* and the various manuscript versions preserved (not only in Turin) can be found in Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 158–161.

98 Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 61.

99 For a detailed description see Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam*, 61. A *zajal* (pl. *azjāl*) is a genre of poem in the Egyptian dialect having an introduction (*maṭla'*) and four stanzas (*buyūt*) of five verses each.



Figure 1: Paul E. Kahle Archive, Turin; Photo: Folio of the old manuscript that preserves a *zajal*-verse of Dāwūd al-Manāwī narrating his travel in Turkey. The photos of this article were reproduced with the permission of the Department of Humanities of the University of Turin whose library houses the Paul E. Kahle Archive and all materials used for this research.

In the history of shadow theatre dating back to the Ottoman period, *Dīwān kedēs* is particularly important since it documents a particular phase in drafting the plays dating back to mid-17th century. For instance, it attests

to the “base version” of the play of *‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādir* and the initial contribution of the three poets, al-shaykh Su‘ūd, ‘Alī al-Naḥla, and Dāwūd al-‘Aṭṭār al-Manāwī, in developing a full-length play “although in somewhat disjointed structure.”¹⁰⁰

b. Manuscript Fragments of Various Plays

In addition to this collection, other manuscripts that preserve shadow plays lie in the FPK. According to Li Guo, this group of “fragments” – although undated – includes several adaptations of the plays made by the Qashshāshs in the late 19th century. Regarding the development of the genre, these fragments represent intermediates between the oldest shadow plays of the *Dīwān kedēs* and the transcriptions or modernisations made in the early 20th century to renew the genre.¹⁰¹ In this respect, an interesting case is a fragment (MSB26, catalogued as “Sheets of a play of shadow theatre”) consisting of 20 folios that “form a seemingly working script owned by the Qashshāsh family.”¹⁰² This block of folios preserved inside a loose-leaf cover with notes written on it (by Kahle) contains a series of materials inspired to *Dīwān kedēs* that were later expanded, modified, and reworked by two poets, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Ḥasan al-Qashshāsh, as the *istishhād*-author signature would indicate.

As with the previous pieces, Kahle kept these fragments inside blue cardboards covered “Deutsche Schule, Kairo,” which have labels with titles in Arabic dating back to when Kahle acquired these manuscripts in Cairo. Within these folders, which contributed to the creation of separate (manuscript/archival) units, Kahle grouped clusters of folios with bands over which he noted further or different titles from those on the cover. In some cases, this double indication does not provide precise information about the contents of the play/s they contain.

The most striking case is MSB13 (catalogued as “‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādir B”), which covers only two folios of the play *‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādir*, while the rest are from *Abū Ja‘far*.¹⁰³ Kahle isolated the block of 62 folios, preserving this fragment within a loose-leaf that served as a cover of the folder to which he gave the title “Ḳūr wa Ḳībs.”

¹⁰⁰ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 143.

¹⁰¹ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 146, lists a number of new elements both in the plots of the various plays and in the stage directions given aside the plays to better portray the characters.

¹⁰² For a detailed description see Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 67–68.

¹⁰³ A synopsis of the contents of the play *Abū Ja‘far* and the various manuscript versions preserved (not only in Turin) can be found in Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 161–63.

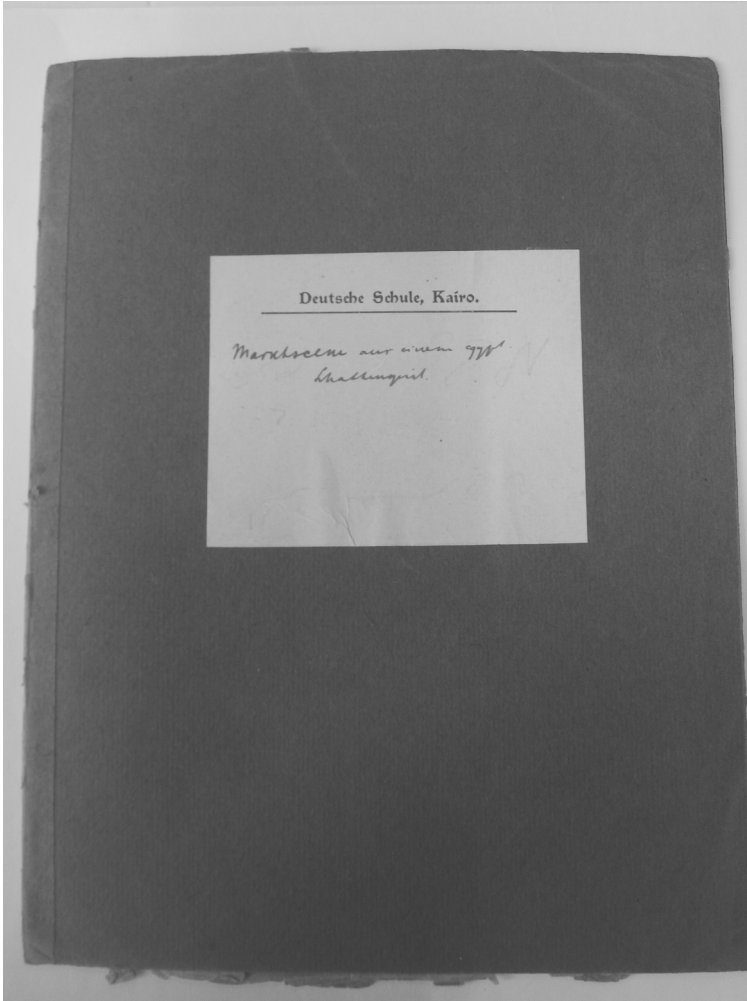


Figure 2: Paul E. Kahle Archive, Turin; Photo: Blue cardboards covered “Deutsche Schule, Kairo,” containing the manuscript folios on the market scene as isolated by Kahle.

On the inside, Kahle listed the first line of the poems, songs, and parts of the play, thus providing a kind of table of contents. In the personal archive of Kahle, the drafts of the transcription in Arabic letters of the text were still kept together with Kahle’s handwritten drafts of its German translation.

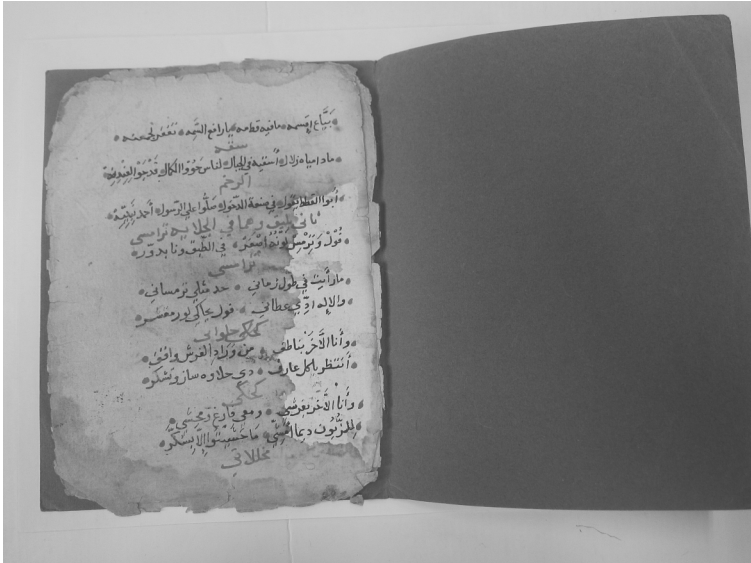


Figure 3: Paul E. Kahle Archive, Turin; Photo: Blue cardboards covered “Deutsche Schule, Kairo,” containing the manuscript folios as isolated by Kahle.

Another interesting case is MSB14 (catalogued as “*Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr C*”). This block of 89 folios was kept inside a blue folder on the cover of which a label specifies that it is “part 7 of ‘*Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr (al-juz’ al-sābi’ min riwāyat ‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr)*.” Again, the blue cover contains an additional loose-leaf of paper serving as a cover on which the titles or first lines of a series of pieces have been noted (this time not by Kahle). In terms of contents, even this fragment is not homogeneous as it includes parts of the play *‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr* (about 16 songs) and various other plays, including that of the *‘Ajā’ib al-barr* (the Play of the Wonders of the Land).¹⁰⁴ A signature authorship (*al-istishhād*) allows for attributing some songs to al-Sayyid ‘Alī.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ A synopsis of the contents of the play *‘Ajā’ib al-barr* and the various manuscript versions preserved (not only in Turin) can be found in Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 165–67.

¹⁰⁵ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 65, highlights the contribution of this figure referred to as “a street entertainer who claims to be from the Khan Sinan Pasha neighbourhood, making a living selling nuts and candy, singing Prophetic panegyrics and writing sons for shadow plays (*al-kadas*).” At page 66 (figure 6), Guo reproduces a manuscript page taken from MSB14.

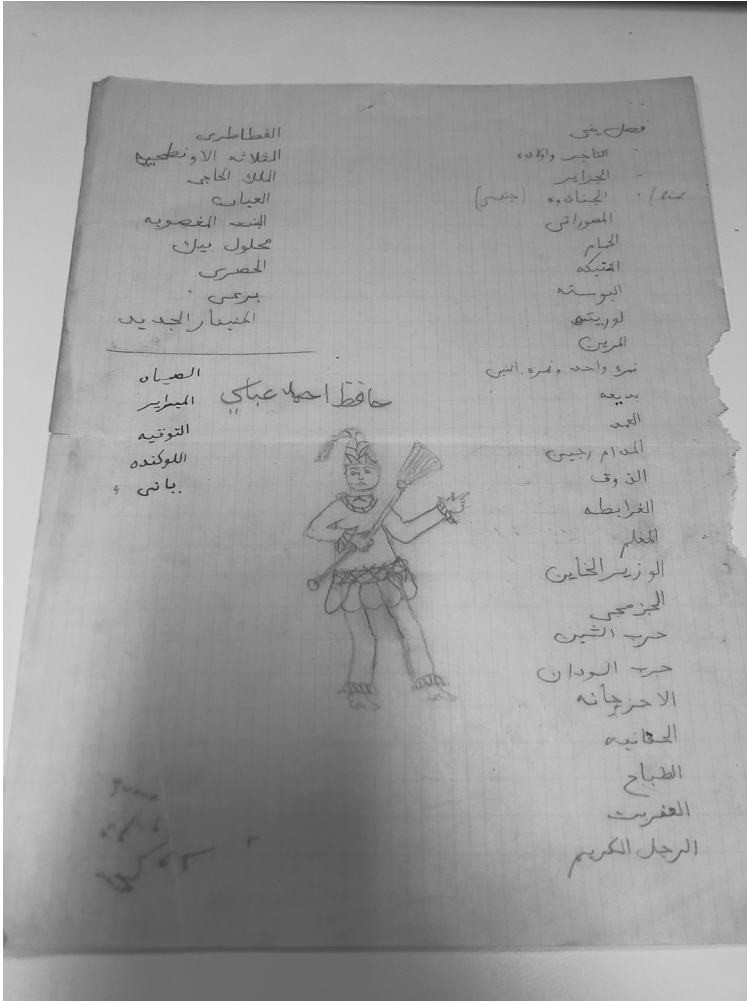


Figure 4: Paul E. Kahle Archive, Turin; Photo: List of characters appearing in the modern transcription of the play and image of one of them made by one of the masters in Cairo with notes by Kahle.

Alongside these two more sizeable fragments, there are smaller ones, all preserved inside the aforementioned blue covers, some of which not always appropriately refer to “Alam wa-Ta’ādir.” For instance, a block consisting of 20 folios (MSB17, catalogued as “Alam wa-Ta’ādir”) contains, ac-

ording to Li Guo, “some exclusive material attributed to several new poets.”¹⁰⁶ It keeps a series of files (in two cases bound together by a white paper band) that stand for actual working scripts. One includes directions for staging the scenes.

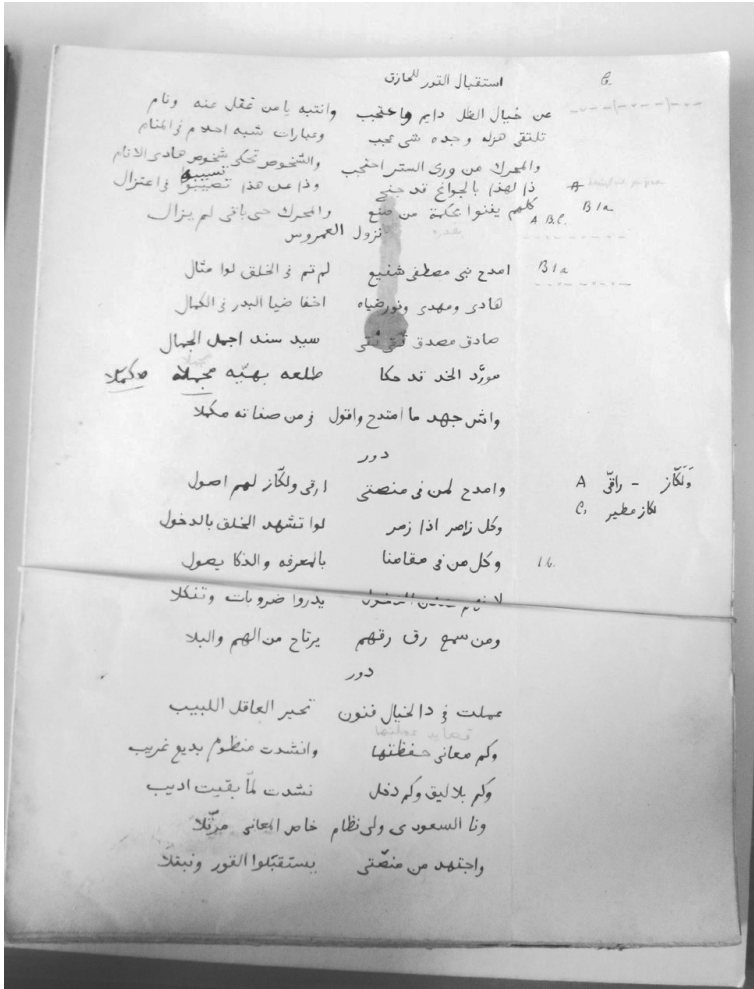


Figure 5: Paul E. Kahle Archive, Turin; Photo: Transcription in Arabic letters made by Kahle of the version “B” of the play *‘Alam wa-Ta’adīr*.

106 Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 66.

Another interesting case is MSB30 (catalogued as “‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr”), consisting of 24 folios “that appear to be a pocket-size songbook of a later date. All the eleven songs are existing lyrics related to the play ‘*Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr*.”¹⁰⁷ Kahle collected a cluster of folios inside a cover with the inscription “Nähle von ‘Alam u Ta‘ādīr.”

Alongside these fragments, others also contain different plays. Kahle preserved another small block consisting of 8 folios (MSB15, catalogued as “‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr 6”) within a blue cover with a label on which is written in pencil “Part 6 of ‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr (*al-juz‘ al-sābi‘ min riwāyat ‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr*).” The handwriting and the dimensions of these folios are different from the previous blocks and do not suggest that they are linked. Although its content appears to be related to ‘*Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr*, Kahle left a piece of paper inside this fragment with ‘*Ajā‘ib al-baḥr* (The Play of the Marvels of the Sea) written on it. Some of these folios are extremely damaged because of their poor state of preservation. Another small block consisting of 26 more oversized folios (MSB16, catalogued as “‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr 5”) is effectively related to the play of ‘*Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr* but interspersed with pieces of another play.¹⁰⁸ A single folio (MSB18, catalogued as “‘Āqil wa-Mağnūn”) contains a part of a play entitled *al-‘Āqil wa-l-Majnūn*, which was also performed separately from ‘*Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr*.

Taken together, these different blocks containing manuscript fragments do not form a single text of the play ‘*Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr* but rather preserve parts, songs, and poems of different versions attributed (in a few cases) to various poets. Kahle identified these various versions as A, B, and C, probably also based on the labels on the covers of the different blocks that add mention of parts numbered (*al-juz‘*).

Other fragments include portions of the text of the play *al-Timsāḥ* on which Kahle worked extensively for its edition.¹⁰⁹ The larger block consisting of 37 folios (MSB19, catalogued as “Li‘b al-Timsāḥ C”) was written by ‘Alī al-Najjār in 1119/1708 and corresponds to the “MS C” version edited by Kahle.¹¹⁰ Connected to this, there is another smaller block containing 10 manuscript folios referring to the “MS B” version and a folio to the “MS C” version (MSB22, catalogued as “Timsāḥ”). Unlike the previous one, it was kept within blue cardboards covered “Deutsche Schule, Kairo” with the label “Timsāḥ.” Another small fragment of 7 folios

¹⁰⁷ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 68.

¹⁰⁸ Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 66.

¹⁰⁹ A synopsis of the contents of the play *al-Timsāḥ* and the various manuscript versions preserved (not only in Turin) can be found in Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 163–65.

¹¹⁰ Kahle, “Das Krokodilspiel (*Li‘b et-Timsāḥ*), ein ägyptisches Schattenspiel,” 288–395.

(MSB27, catalogued as “Sheets of a play of shadow theatre”) contains various songs (*dawr*) referring to *al-Timsāh*. On the cover page of this block stands the name of Muḥammad (the scribe?) in large letters.

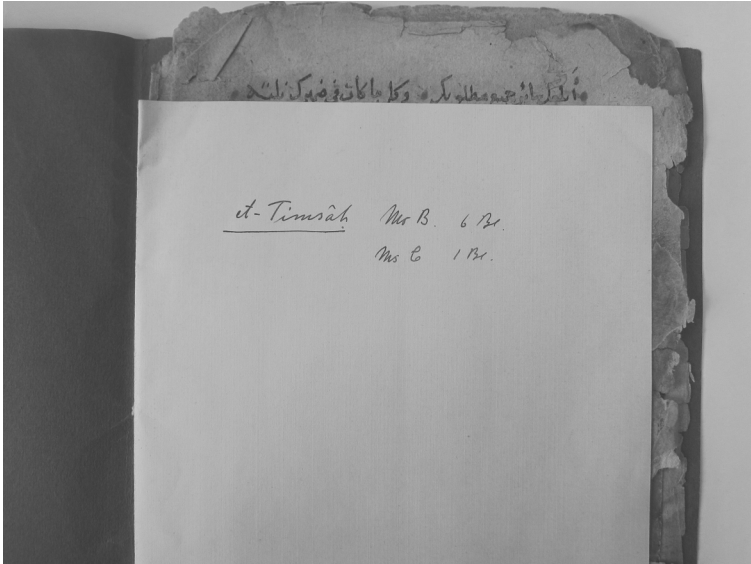


Figure 6: Paul E. Kahle Archive, Turin; Photo: Kahle’s references to isolated manuscript folios identified as versions “B” and “C” of the *Li’b al-Timsāh*.

The FPK hosts other blocks of manuscript fragments preserving shadow plays often mixed with poems of different genres yet to be identified. For this reason, during the reorganisation of the materials, they were left as Kahle had grouped them. The block found in MSB20 (catalogued as “Miscellany”) is an assortment of pieces written by different hands and with different formats that include both vernacular poems and shadow plays that could not be traced back to the hitherto known works. The same can be said for another block (MSB24, catalogued as “Varia”) with folios written by different hands and in different formats. Some include *dawr*-stanzas and *qaṣīda*-poems, some others texts of popular religious literature such as the *Munājāt Mūsā* (Conversations of Moses). Furthermore, the blocks containing, respectively, 10 folios (MSB28) and 9 folios (MSB29, both catalogued as “Sheets of a play of shadow theatre”) include several songs (*dawr*) and poems of unidentified shadow play/s.

c. The New Manuscript Transcriptions of the Plays Made in Egypt

In addition to the manuscripts, collections, or blocks of fragments, the FPK also houses several important new versions, reworkings, or spinoffs of the older plays dating from the late Ottoman and Early Modern periods.¹¹¹

Regarding the Egyptian shadow play, Kahle preserved the transcription of the following “old” and “long” plays: *al-Manār (al-qadīm)* or *Ḥarb al-‘ajam* (or *al-Manār al-ḥadīth*) (The new Play of the War Against the Foreigners), *al-Timsāḥ* (The Crocodile Play), *‘Alam wa-Ta‘ādīr* (The Play of ‘Alam and Ta‘ādīr), *Abū Ja‘far* (The Play of Abū Ja‘far).¹¹²

Moreover, Kahle preserved a few other notebooks containing the transcription of the following “new” and “short” plays: *al-Bosṭa*, *al-‘Āqil wa-l-Majnūn* (The Play of ‘Āqil and Majnūn), *Lūratha* (The Play of Loretta), *Faṣl al-rājil al-‘iyān*, *‘Ajā‘ib al-barr* (The Play of the Wonders of the earth), *Faṣl al-jum‘a*, *Ya‘na*, *al-Gharrāf wa-l-Serḥa* (The Play of al-Gharrāf).¹¹³

Each sub-sub-series preserves notebooks on which the Arabic text of the play was transcribed in Arabic writing (by an Arab) and (not systematically) retranscribed and translated by Kahle, along with other related documents. Kahle published only a few materials on these plays, mainly relating to *al-Timsāḥ* and *al-Manār*.

6.2 The Archival Documents Related to the Study of Arabic Shadow Plays

The archive holds copies of all the studies (published and unpublished) written by Kahle dedicated to Arabic shadow plays. Depending on the publication, the documents range from the various preparatory studies to the drafts or the proofs. In particular, the sub-sub-series feature materials

111 According to Guo, *Arabic Shadow Theatre*, 176, one can establish a chronology that witnesses a change of the plays between the late Ottoman period and the Early Modern period: “Instead of the verse-only versions of early Ottoman Egyptian plays, these new works were either mixed medium, of verse and dialogue, or, for early modern plays, entirely dialogue-driven drama.” Further new elements can be found in the addition of some materials (poems and songs), in the enlargement of the plot, in the change of attitude of some characters (made more up-to-date).

112 For a description of these plays with images of the figures used, see Sa‘d, *Khayāl al-zīll al-‘arabi*, 650–56.

113 For a description of these plays with images of the figures used, see Sa‘d, *Khayāl al-zīll al-‘arabi*, 658–72.

related to “Das Krokodilspiel” (1915 and 1920)¹¹⁴ and *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria* (1930).

Moreover, the archive preserves all of the documents, drafts, and proofs of other works by Paul Kahle, such as the monograph *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattentheaters in Ägypten*, and the articles “Das islamische Schattentheater in Aegypten” (1912), “Marktszene aus einem ägyptischen Schattenspiel” (1912), “The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt” (1940), “The Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt” (1954), and “A Gypsy Woman in Egypt in the Thirteenth Century, A.D.” (1950).

The series “History of the Shadow Play” includes various documents relating to the study of shadow play as well as transcriptions and translations related to multiple pieces and excerpts from plays of shadow theatre, not associated with any specific article or to any particular play of those mentioned in the other sub-sub-series.

6.3. The Documents Related to the (Lost) Figures of the Shadow Plays

The sub-sub-series “Figures of the Shadow Play” contains all documents relating to the study of the figures or characters of the plays. During his stay in Cairo, Kahle purchased not only the manuscripts but also the figures used to represent individual works. These figures are not currently present in the Archive other than in the form of reproductions, drawings, and photographs made by Kahle. The figures were studied in a number of Kahle’s articles, mainly in “Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Ägypten” (1910–1911), and, in less detail, in “Das arabische Schattentheater im mittelalterlichen Ägypten; Alte Texte, Alte Figuren” (1954) and “The Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt” (1954).

6.4. Importance of Materials Preserved in the Archive of Turin for Future Studies on Arabic Shadow Plays

The Egyptian historian Aḥmad Taymūr provided a first outline of the number, titles, and types of text belonging to the corpus of the later shadow play circulating in Egypt based on a few manuscripts he had collected and the performances he had witnessed in Cairo.¹¹⁵ Following Taymūr, the

114 Kahle, “Das Krokodilspiel (*Li’b et-Timsâh*), ein ägyptisches Schattenspiel;” Idem, “Das Krokodilspiel (*Li’b et-Timsâh*), ein ägyptisches Schattenspiel. (Nachtrag Zu Nachrichten),” *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (1920): 277–284.

115 Aḥmad Taymūr, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa-l-li’b wa-l-tamāthil al-muṣawwara ‘inda al-‘Arab* (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq, 2002).

corpus of Arabic shadow play comprised a relative small number of more or less “long” plays (*li‘b* or *la‘b*) played by performers specialized in this repertoire. As in the case of the *Manzāla* manuscript, the performers were often also the authors of the versions of the plays they recounted. Taymūr identified 12 plays, whose titles were: ‘*Alam wa-Ta‘ādir* (‘Alam and Ta‘ādir), *al-Timsāḥ* (The crocodile), *Abū Ja‘far* (Abū Ja‘far), *al-Shūnī* (The boating), *al-Awwalānī* (The Nile watchman), *al-Hajjiyya* (The pilgrimage tales), *al-Hammām* (The bathhouse), *al-Tiyātrū* (The theatre), *al-Qahwa* (The café), *al-shaykh Sumaysin* (Shaykh Sumaysin), *al-‘Ajā‘b* (The wonders) or *al-Gharrāf* (The fisherman al-Gharrāf), and *Ḥarb al-Sūdān* (The war of Sudan). He sketched the contents of each play and indicated the main characters.

Many other scholars used this first classification to study Arabic shadow plays and possibly introduce new materials or plays. Most certainly, Kahle first referred to this first classification, while deciphering the texts in his possession and gathering new information through his intense correspondence with other colleagues. However, it is only in more recent times that there have been studies that have taken into account all different materials preserved in different locations (but collected approximately the same years in Egypt) intending to implement that first list.

In this regard, in his history of the *Khayāl al-zill al-‘arabī*, Fārūq Sa‘d greatly expanded the corpus of plays.¹¹⁶ He maintained that the *Manzāla* manuscript bought by Kahle was closely related to other manuscripts preserved in Cairo in the Aḥmad Taymūr collection. In particular, he found a close connection with other two manuscripts, respectively titled *al-Sarmāṭa fī azjāl Khayāl al-zill* (Ms Cairo, Dār al-kutub, no. 970, shi‘r Taymūr) and *Ijtīmā‘ al-shamal fī azjāl Khayāl al-zill* or *al-Rawḍ al-waḍḍāḥ fī tihānī al-afrāḥ* (Ms Cairo, Dār al-kutub, no. 785, shi‘r Taymūr).

Similarly to the text preserved in Turin, the manuscript *al-Sarmāṭa* was written by Ḥasan and Darwīsh al-Qashshāsh¹¹⁷ and included the following *li‘b*: *al-Markab* (The ferry ride), *al-Dayr* (The monastery) and *faṣl al-Muhandīs* (The part of the builder), ‘*Ajā‘ib al-baḥr* (The wonders of the Nile), *al-shaykh Sumaysin* (Shaykh Sumaysin), *al-Timsāḥ* (The crocodile), and *Ḥarb al-‘Ajam* (The war with foreign invaders).

The manuscript *al-Rawḍ al-waḍḍāḥ fī tihānī al-afrāḥ* or *Ijtīmā‘ al-shamal fī fann Khayāl al-zill* (The Shining Gardens in the Rejoicing of

116 Sa‘d, *Khayāl al-zill al-‘arabī*.

117 Following Kahle, “Eine Zunftsprache der Ägyptischen Schattenspieler,” 319, *ṣarmat* means “book” and *surmāṭa* “volume.”

Festivals or Collection on the Art of Shadow Theatre,) was bought by Taymūr, was undated, divided into two parts containing fragments and pieces of the following *li' b*: *'Alam wa-Ta'ādīr* ('Alam and Ta'ādīr), *Abū Ja'far* (Abū Ja'far), *al-Manār* (The lighthouse), *al-Timsāh* (The crocodile), *al-Shaykh Simaysīn* (Shaykh Sumaysim), and *al-Ḥajjiyya* (The pilgrimage tales).

Neither of the two manuscript collections is complete. Following Fārūq Sa'd, the *Dīwān Qedes* contains more than *al-Rawḍ*, and the two manuscripts did not descend from the same text. Ḥasan and Dawīsh al-Qashshāsh gave the title. Already Prüfer supposed that Darwīsh collected it in Cairo, since he used it during his theatrical performances. Darwīsh composed it throughout his life, and his son inherited it after his death. The collection contains various pieces of different *li' b*. Sa'd argued that, for Darwīsh, it was not necessary that the *li' b* be accomplished, since the shadow-player "made use of" them during the recitation of his play to the public.

Sa'd states that Prüfer met Darwīsh al-Qashshāsh in Cairo in 1905 and then travelled in Syria for years, writing about the shadow play. When he returned to Cairo, he discovered that Muḥammad al-Jandī had engaged Ḥasan al-Qashshāsh to perform a shadow play every night. Maybe the book that al-Jandī and al-Qashshāsh bought from Syria contained the original shadow plays from the manuscripts Prüfer said he had seen in the possession of Darwīsh al-Qashshāsh. Prüfer couldn't envision the manuscripts taking the necessary time to take notes since Darwīsh al-Qashshāsh was afraid of his rivals. In sum, among the manuscripts that Darwīsh al-Qashshāsh possessed were the *Dīwān Kedes*, *al-Rawḍ*, and *al-Sarmāṭa*. First, he sold the *Dīwān* to Kahle and the two other manuscripts to Taymūr Pāshā.

Along with these three manuscripts, Fārūq Sa'd supposes the existence of a fourth manuscript bought or belonging to Prüfer from a common fund. Besides, Sa'd indicates several other miscellanea or collections of *azjāl al-zill*, which provide further material helpful for studying shadow theatre in Egypt.

Compared to the shadow plays catalogued in the study of Aḥmad Taymūr, 'Alī Ibrāhīm Abū Zayd, and Fārūq Sa'd, Kahle did not have Arabic texts/transcriptions of several plays. However, the set of all these texts, along with the various field recordings by Orientalists of the early 20th century, proves that, from the death of Dawūd al-Manawī (17th century) until the appearance of al-Qashshāsh (late 19th and early 20th century), shadow theatre was never entirely absent from Egypt. In this respect, future in-depth research into Western and Arab manuscript collections that may

contain further collections of texts circulating in Egypt at that time will provide additional insights into the history of shadow theatre in Egypt and beyond.

Undoubtedly, the later shadow plays that have reached us are the product of several hands and are mostly written in colloquial Egyptian vernacular or jargon. They contain mainly stanzaic verses or non-*qaṣīda* verses (*zajal*, *muwashshah*, *bullayq*, *mawālī*, *dūbayt*), which could be easily memorized by the performers. As stated by Badawi: “Texts have been transmitted largely orally from one generation of players to another, with the inevitable interpolations, additions and omissions, that usually accompany such a process. Moreover, singing now becomes predominant: the text becomes more and more a libretto for a comic opera than drama proper.”¹¹⁸

The fluctuating nature of these collections of vernacular poetry, their language (a mixture of vernacular, jargon, and classical Arabic), and the presence of several versions of the same play within the body of the text make it difficult to give these manuscripts a precise textual typology. Hence, it is understandable that the same Kahle, who worked on these plays for years, chose to publish these materials focussing on a few plays and preferring a “thematic” approach. By “thematic approach,” I mean that Kahle tried to find within the miscellaneous manuscripts those parts that represent versions of individual plays (*li’b* or *la’b* or *faṣl*), thus focussing on their thematic coherence rather than considering the whole manuscript as a more or less unitary repertoire of plays. This approach explains how Kahle ordered the materials he had collected in the field over time. On the other hand, this same approach is not always as useful in determining how and by whom these manuscripts were written down, how they circulated, and how the performers in the different periods used them. For this reason, the archive in Turin, or at least the section containing manuscripts and research materials on shadow theatre, cannot be isolated from other collections preserved in other parts of the world that complement, supplement, and add new sources and other pieces of information to the history of shadow theatre and, more generally, the history of Arabic textual culture of which – only for a short time, fortunately – Kahle stood as its “gatekeeper.”

Francesca Bellino

University of Naples L’Orientale

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0181-2014>

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