This paper discusses patterns of manuscript sharing among European scholars during the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly in connection with Martin Schreiner (d. 1926), Ignaz Goldziher’s former student, who, between 1894 and 1902, taught at the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. Both before and during his time in Berlin, Schreiner was given access to manuscripts that were in the possession of Moritz Steinschneider. The latter shared with him his copy of Moshe b. Ezra’s (d. after 1135) Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa-l-muḏākara (nowadays preserved as MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464). The copy, based on MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 599, had been produced by Steinschneider’s wife, Auguste, in 1851, through the painstaking process of tracing (Durchzeichnung) the original manuscript. Moreover, at the end of 1897 Steinschneider lent Schreiner a copy of Samawʾ al-Maḡribī’s (d. 570/1175) Ifḥām al-Yahūd, a codex completed on 20 Čumādā II 1315[/16 November 1897], which had been copied for Steinschneider from an earlier witness held at the Khedival library in Cairo.

Handwritten artifacts constitute the bread and butter for scholars of Near Eastern cultures and societies. The enormous increase in digitized manuscript collections and the growing readiness of libraries and institutions around the globe to provide open access to their holdings through the World Wide Web not only make it much easier and more affordable for scholars to access the material relevant to their research, the ever-increasing availability of manuscripts has also prompted a renewed interest in philology, as is suggested by a growing number of critical editions and the evolution of codicology into a discipline in its own right.¹

A shrinking number of scholars still remembers the time when manuscripts were reproduced by microfilm (or, occasionally, photostats)—a labo-

¹ See e.g. van Lit 2020 (to be used with caution).
rious and expensive technique, both for libraries and readers, and one that allows for only black-and-white reproduction (Fig. 1). The practices of scholars prior to the invention of microfilm technology is already part of the history of the respective disciplines, and its traces often allow insights into our predecessors’ scholarly lives and work modes.

Consulting manuscripts *in situ* was an expensive and time-consuming activity, but many scholars were in close contact with colleagues based elsewhere and thus indirectly able to access libraries that would otherwise not be within reach—it was common practice among scholars to prepare excerpts for other scholars from manuscripts that were kept in libraries in Europe (and beyond), as was rendering other kinds of support, such as lending out personally owned manuscripts and collating transcripts with other witnesses. Traces of such practices are evidenced in archival collections and in the correspondence of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western scholars of Near Eastern societies and cultures. Leiden University Library, for example, owns partial and complete transcripts of some of its own manuscripts prepared by the erstwhile keeper of Oriental manuscripts and books, Cornelius van Arendonk (b. 1881, d. 1946), at the request of his colleagues. Van Arendonk’s intimate familiarity with the Leiden collection is legendary, and he generously shared detailed information and partial transcripts of Leiden manuscripts through correspondence. Leiden University Library also owns photostats of some of the Arabic manuscripts in Berlin, London, Milan, and various other
European libraries that had been prepared at the request of van Arendonk, as well as numerous excerpts in his hand from Yemeni manuscripts held by other European libraries.²

When it came to manuscripts located in the Middle East, scholars often commissioned copies on which they relied later when writing their publications. Copies of some of the major sources for the history of Mecca were produced, for example, for Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (b. 1857, d. 1936).³

The Italian medical doctor Cesare Ansaldi, who sojourned in Yemen from ² His research materials and personal notes are preserved at Leiden University Library under the shelf marks Or. 8261‒8305. See Witkam 1981, 61: ‘Until 1946 the keeper of Oriental manuscripts and printed books was C. van Arendonk, who was possessed of such wide erudition that he was considered, during the thirty years of his employment in the library, to be its walking manuscripts’ catalogue’. See also Kramers 1947, 148: ‘Kwam aldus zijn wetenschappelijke arbeid zelden tot het niveau der gedrukte openbaarheid, hij kwam in anderen vorm ten goede aan de zeer velen, die in binnen- en buitenland in zijn functie of als vrienden met hem in aanraking kwamen. Hij was een van het welbekende type van conservatoren, die zichzelf en hun tijd niet spaarden om anderen de gewenschte in- en voorlichting te geven. Door zijn bemiddeling vonden de schatten van de Leidsche handschriftenverzameling overal heen hun weg, terwijl zij, die op het Legatum Warnerianum kwamen werken, zich ieder oogenblik van zijn bereidheid konden overtuigen om hun moeilijkheden op te helderen’.

³ See Witkam 2018.
1929 to 1932 as a member of the Italian health mission, collected manuscripts of Arabic medical texts. The codices he brought to Italy, which are now in the possession of the Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, were clearly produced at his request. Although not dated, their uniform, immaculate mise-en-page, with title pages in both Arabic and Latin characters (Figs 2–5), indicate that he had most likely even determined their desired arrangement. The correspondence between Henri Corbin and Wladimir Ivanov (1947 through 1966), the former based in Tehran, the latter in Bombay, often revolved around manuscripts they were trying to obtain, and in several instances they helped each other by commissioning local copyists to produce transcripts of manuscripts that the other was in need of.

4 For a description of the Ansaldi manuscripts (MSS Rome, BANLC, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363), see Traini 1967, 100–109. Digital surrogates are available through Hill Museum and Manuscript Library’s virtual reading room (vHM-ML), accessible through <http://projects.ias.edu/zmt/> (accessed 26 May 2020). Engaging skilled copyists to make copies of certain books was common practice among European collectors of earlier centuries. For the case of Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (b. 1506, d. 1557), see e.g. Rebhan 2009, 121; for the case of Levi-nus Warner (b. 1618, d. 1665), see e.g. van der Heide 1977, 11.

5 Schmidtke 1999, passim.
Interesting examples of manuscript sharing among European scholars during the second half of the nineteenth century can also be observed in connection with Martin Schreiner (b. 1863, d. 1926), Ignaz Goldziher’s (b. 1850, d. 1921) former student, who, between 1894 and 1902, taught at the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin. Those eight years constitute the most fruitful period of Schreiner’s scholarly career. For the first time, he had an enormous corpus of Muslim literature literally at his fingertips, and, from his arrival in Berlin in December 1893 until 1902, when his scholarly career came to an abrupt end, he made ample use of this opportunity. This is indicated by the regular entries in the readers’ register, ‘Im Lesezimmer der Handschriften-Abtheilung benutzte Berliner Mss. Orientalia’, which minutely records Schreiner’s visits to the Königliche Bibliothek reading room to consult the library’s Arabic (and Hebrew) manuscripts. Additional evidence for his work on the Berlin manuscripts is provided by the Martin Schreiner Archive, held in the National Library of Israel, which contains his excerpts from numerous manuscripts from the Berlin collection.

6 On him, see Schmidtke forthcoming.
7 MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hs. or. Sim. 8948. See Schmidtke forthcoming, Appendix I (‘Manuscripts (Arabic and Hebrew) consulted by Martin Schreiner’).
(in addition to manuscripts from Leiden, Vienna, and Gotha),\textsuperscript{8} from his correspondence with Ignaz Goldziher and others,\textsuperscript{9} as well as in his published and unpublished work.\textsuperscript{10} Most importantly, in Berlin Schreiner was able, for the first time, to access some of the writings by Muslim Muʿtazilite thinkers, and he was the first modern scholar to do so. It was only a decade prior to Schreiner’s arrival in Berlin that the Königliche Bibliothek had purchased two collections of Arabic manuscripts that had been brought together by Eduard Glaser (b. 1855, d. 1908) during his first two trips to Yemen: the first collection, consisting of 23 manuscripts, was purchased in 1884, the second one, consisting of 242 manuscripts, was purchased in February 1887. Karl Vollers (b. 1857, d. 1909), assistant librarian at the Königliche Bibliothek between 1882 and

\textsuperscript{8} MS National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Archives Dept., ARC. Ms. Var. 347. See Schmidtke 2012; Greenstein 2019; Schmidtke forthcoming, Appendix I and passim.

\textsuperscript{9} The Hungarian Academy of Sciences preserves 157 letters by Schreiner to Goldziher, written between the years 1887 and 1901, in Hungarian, Hebrew, and Arabic. For Schreiner’s correspondence, see Schmidtke and Zsom forthcoming.

\textsuperscript{10} Schreiner 1983; Schmidtke forthcoming, Appendices II, III, and V.
1886,\textsuperscript{11} had published in 1884 a short notice about the first Glaser collection in the Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,\textsuperscript{12} and in 1887 Wilhelm Ahlwardt (b. 1828, d. 1909) published his Kurzes Verzeichniss der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften, a handlist covering the first and second Glaser collections.\textsuperscript{13} Moreover, since Ahlwardt was about to finalize his monumental catalogue of the entire Berlin collection of Arabic manuscripts when the Glaser manuscripts were purchased, he was able to include their descriptions in the catalogue. Thus information on the materials included in the collection was accessible even before Schreiner moved to Berlin,\textsuperscript{14} and it is likely that he was aware of the existence of Mu’tazilite writings in the Berlin collections prior to his arrival. Between 30 October 1894 and 17 August 1895, Schreiner worked on MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 52, f. 5r (Courtesy of the National Library of Israel).

\textsuperscript{11} For Vollers, see Mangold 2007, passim; \textit{TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi} at <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/vollers-karl> (accessed 19 May 2020).

\textsuperscript{12} Vollers 1884.

\textsuperscript{13} Ahlwardt 1887. The handlist largely relies on an inventory of the manuscripts prepared by Eduard Glaser.

\textsuperscript{14} Ahlwardt 1887–1889.
Glaser 12, a unique copy of the *Kitāb Masāʾil al-ḫilāf bayna l-Ǧaršīyīn wa-l-Ǧaršīyīn* by Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, the foremost student of the chief qāḍī and head of the Bahšamiyya, ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī (d. 415/1024) (Figs 6, 7), and between 2 February and 17 August 1895, he consulted MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 52, containing a portion of Ibn Mattawayh’s paraphrastic commentary on ‘Abd al-Ǧabbār’s *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* (Figs 8, 9).¹⁵ Both texts are discussed in detail in Schreiner’s publications of 1895 (‘Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Literatur’) and 1900 (‘Jeschu’a ben Jehuda’).¹⁶

Prior to his arrival in Berlin, Schreiner’s access to Islamic manuscripts had been more limited. In April 1887 Schreiner spent a few days at the Herzoglichen Bibliothek Gotha where he consulted a copy of al-Ǧazālī’s (d. 505/1111) *Kitāb al-Mustaṣfā* (‘Gothaer Hs. Nr. 925’).¹⁷ During a brief trip to Vienna (24 June–2 July 1887), Schreiner had consulted a fair number of manuscripts, portions of which he excerpted for reuse in his later publications. Schreiner also had direct access to manuscripts of Leiden. A handwritten register of manuscripts lent from the Oriental Collections at Leiden, administered by the then Interpres Legati Warnerianiani, Michael Jan de Goeje (b. 1836, d. 1909), contains an entry in the name of ‘M. Schreiner’, address ‘Budapest’, listing the manuscripts that were sent to him as a loan.¹⁸

During his student days in Budapest (1881–1887), as well as during his time as a rabbi in Csurgó (1887–1891), Schreiner enjoyed the generosity of a number of colleagues who shared with him their excerpts from manuscripts they had consulted in the past, occasionally also entire manuscript copies they had produced or purchased. These included first and foremost his former teachers in Budapest, David Kaufmann (b. 1852, d. 1899),¹⁹ Wilhelm Bach-

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¹⁵ See Schmidtke forthcoming, Appendix I. Under the supervision of Schreiner, his pupil Arthur Biram (b. 1878, d. 1967) prepared a partial critical edition and study of Abū Rašīd’s *Kitāb Masāʾil al-ḫilāf*. See Biram 1902. For this and other works by Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, see also Ansari and Schmidtke 2017, Ch. 1.

¹⁶ Schreiner 1895, 1900.

¹⁷ Letter from Wilhelm Pertsch to Schreiner, 5 April 1887 (Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Correspondence Goldziher, GIL/38/01/125).

¹⁸ Register of Loans of Manuscripts from the Oriental Collections at Leiden in MS Leiden, University Library, BA2 5288, 194. For details, see Schmidtke forthcoming, Appendix I. For the library’s practice of lending manuscripts to private scholars during the nineteenth century, see Witkam 2012, 272–273.

¹⁹ Schreiner 1885a, 10 n. 26 (‘Dr. Kaufmann D. tanár úr szíves közbenjárása folytán a commentárnak boroszlói másolatát (a boroszlói rabbi két révén) és az illető helynek két más kétiratból való másolatát használtam’), and Schreiner 1886, 221 n. 2 (‘Durch die gunstige Vermittlung des Herrn Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann habe ich die Breslauer Copie des Commentars (Hs. Nr. 193 der Biblio-
er (b. 1850, d. 1913),\textsuperscript{20} Ignaz Goldziher,\textsuperscript{21} and later on also Carlo Landberg (since 1884 Count de Landberg-Hallberger; b. 1848, d. 1924).\textsuperscript{22}

Both before and during his time in Berlin, Schreiner was also repeatedly given access to manuscripts that were in the possession of Moritz Steinschneider (b. 1816, d. 1907), the founder of modern Jewish bibliography and one of the most important representatives of modern Jewish scholarship. The following two incidents are particularly noteworthy.

It must have been towards the end of Schreiner’s student days in Budapest that Steinschneider shared with him his copy of Moshe b. Ezra’s (d. after 1135) \textit{Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa-l-muḏākara}, a theoretical treatise on Hebrew poetics. Schreiner prepared his own transcription of the book, which he ended with a colophon, dated 1 Elul 5647/21 August 1887 (Fig. 10a–d). He first referred to the work in his 1888 publication, ‘Zur Geschichte der Polemik’.\textsuperscript{23} Shortly afterwards, he devoted a detailed study to the \textit{Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara}, a
Fig. 10a–d. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464, transcribed by Martin Schreiner, (a) beginning, (b–c) continued, (d) last page with final colophon and table of contents (Martin Schreiner Archive, Archives Dept., National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, ARC. Ms. Var. 347-6) (Courtesy of the National Library of Israel).
French version of which he submitted for publication to the Revue des études juives in 1889, which was published in 1890 and 1891. Towards the beginning of this study Schreiner remarks that ‘[p]our ce travail nous nous servons d’une copie faite d’après celle que M. Steinschneider a calquée sur le manuscrit d’Oxford, et qu’il a mise obligeamment à notre disposition’. Steinschneider’s copy to which Schreiner refers is nowadays preserved as MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464. It was purchased by the Königliche Bibliothek in 1891, when the library acquired Schreiner 1890, 1891.

24 See Schreiner 1890, 98. Schreiner’s Nachlass comprises the unpublished German original of this study (Fig. 11; MS Var 347-3 1890).
an entire collection of manuscripts from Moritz Steinschneider. However, contrary to Schreiner’s brief note, the manuscript had not been produced by Moritz Steinschneider, but rather by his wife, Auguste. As is indicated on the title page of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464 (Fig. 13a), as well as in the relevant entry in Steinschneider’s catalogue of the He-

Fig. 12a‒c. MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 599, (a) f. 5r, (b) f. 49v, (c) f. 161r (Courtesy of the Bodleian Library).

brew manuscripts of the Königliche Bibliothek, it was Auguste Steinschneider who produced in 1851 a precise reproduction (Durchzeichnung) of MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 599 (Fig. 12a‒c), which her husband, Moritz, had revised. Accordingly, the text is written on tracing paper and thus found only on the recto pages of each folio, while the numbering of the pages reproduces the foliation of the Bodleian antigraph (Fig. 13c‒e). This method of producing a copy of a manuscript by tracing the hand in the antigraph was common practice among scholars at that time. Schreiner’s transcript of Auguste Steinschneider’s tracing (Durchzeichnung) of the Bodleian manuscript is preserved


in the ‘Martin Schreiner Archive’ (Fig. 10a–d). As is the case with all of his preserved excerpts and transcripts from manuscripts, Schreiner never attempted to emulate the hand of the original. On the contrary, he concludes his copy of the Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara with his own dated colophon, and he adds a table of contents for the entire work (Fig. 10d)—whether he had ever intended to publish a critical edition of the work remains uncertain.

In December 1897 or the beginning of 1898, when Schreiner was already in Berlin, Steinschneider handed him a copy of Samawʾal al-Maḡribī’s (d. 570/1175) polemical text against Judaism, Ifḥām al-Yahūd. The work was first mentioned in 1840 by Salomon Munk (b. 1803, d. 1867), who discovered an incomplete witness of the Ifḥām among the Arabic manuscripts kept in the library of the Benedictine abbey of Saint Germain-des-Prés in Paris.
Steinschneider, who still listed the Paris manuscript as a unique witness of the work in his *Polemische and apologetische Literatur* of 1877, became aware of the existence of another, apparently complete witness of the text in the Khedival Library in Cairo, on the basis of volume six of the catalogue, published in 1308/[1890–1891], but he was unable to get hold of a copy of the Cairo manuscript. He discussed the matter with an acquaintance of his, ‘Herr S. Friedmann’, who at the time spent winters in Cairo. The latter managed to procure a copy of the original codex, which was completed on 20 جمادى الثاني 1315/[16 November 1897] and dispatched to Steinschneider in Berlin, where it arrived on 17 November 1897. Steinschneider describes the beautiful moment as follows:

31 For a description of the manuscript and access to a digital surrogate, see <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc90666s> (accessed 25 May 2020).
32 Steinschneider 1877, 26–27 no. 8.
33 See *al-Ǧuz’ al-sādis min Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, 113 (MS Cairo, Khedival Library, 9 [general number: 8157]).
34 Steinschneider 1896, 83 n. 5 (‘Von der „Beschämung der Juden“ waren bisher nur Fragmente bekannt; ms. Khedive VI, 113, vielleicht vollständig, ist hier zum ersten Male zur Kenntnis gebracht.’).
35 Perlmann identifies ‘S. Friedmann’ as the German philanthropist and early Zionist Paul Friedmann (b. 1840, d. c.1900). See Perlmann 1964, 26 n. 36 (Introduction). This is possible though not entirely certain.
Von der Schrift dieses Renegaten (um 1170) hat Munk nur ein Fragment in Paris entdeckt. In der Bibliotheca Mathem. … (Jahr. 1896 S. 83 n. 5 [see above (S.S.)]) brachte ich zum ersten Male die Existenz eines ms. in der Bibliothek des Khedive zur allgemeinen Kenntnis und sann über einen Weg zur Erlangung einer näheren Nachricht und event. einer Abschrift. Mit einer solchen wurde ich soeben sehr angenehm überrascht.


Part of this information is included in the colophon added by the nineteenth-century copyist at the end of his copy, including the shelfmark of the copy of the work in the Khedival Library (Fig. 14). Once he received it, Steinschneider passed the manuscript on to Schreiner without further delay, and the latter’s study of the text, ‘Samauʾ al b. Jaḥjâ al-Maghribî und seine Schrift Ifḥâm al-Jahûd’, was published in 1898 in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*.38 The manuscript was later sold, together

36 He can be identified as Bernhard Moritz (b. 1859, d. 1939), who from 1896 to 1911 served as head of the Khedival Library in Cairo. See Mangoldt 2007, 69–71.
37 Steinschneider 1897a.
38 See Schreiner 1898, 123–124 (‘Nachdem Herr Prof. Steinschneider, … in den Besitz einer guten Abschrift belangt war, hatte er die Güte, sie mir zur Verfügung zu stellen, wofür dem hochgeehrten Altmeister auch an dieser Stelle meinen verbindlichsten Dank auszusprechen, mir eine angenehme Pflicht ist.’). That Schreiner had written the study in a very short period of time is suggested by Schreiner 1899, which contains an unusually long list of ‘Nachträge und Berichtigungen’. This publication was not included by Perlmann in his collection of articles by Schreiner (Schreiner 1983), possibly because Perlmann had himself published an edition of
with other manuscripts of the Steinschneider collection, to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, where it is nowadays kept as MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2289 (Steinschneider 39). 39

References


the Ifḥām (Perlmann 1964), which may have rendered Schreiner’s earlier publication obsolete in his eyes.

39 For the manuscript, see also Marx 1929, 265; Richler 2012, 315. For an account of how Steinschneider’s manuscript collection was sold to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, see Kohut 1929, 68; Dicker 1988, 22–24.


al-Ǧuzʾ al-sādis min Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabīyya al-mahfūza bi-l-Kutubḫāna al-Hadīwiyya (Cairo: [s.n.], 1308[/1890‒1891])


MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hs. or. Sim. 8948 (*Im Lesezimmer der Handschriften-Abtheilung benutzte Berliner Ms. Orientalia*).

MS Leiden, University Library, BA2 5287 and BA2 5288 (*Register of Loans of Manuscripts from the Oriental Collections at Leiden, Administered by the then Interpres Legati Warneriani* (i.e., M.J. de Goeje, who served as *Interpres Legati Warneriani* from c.1855 to 1909), I–II.

MS National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Archives Dept., ARC. Ms. Var. 347 (*Martin Schreiner Archive*).


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