



Hypotheses

NOTES FROM THE ARCHIVES “Oriental” Studies during the 19th and 20th Centuries

Paul Kraus and Muhammad Hamidullah on the Contributions of European Jewish Scholars to the Study of Islam

When in 2022 I published the correspondence between the two German scholars Paul Kahle (1875–1964) and Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960), I included an appendix devoted to Kahle’s exchange with his former student, the Indian Islamic scholar Muhammad Hamidullah (1908–2002), revolving around the latter’s 1936 publication, “Islamic Studies and Modern Europe” that was based on a paper read by Hamidullah at the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference held in Mysore in December 1935.

Paul Kahle learned about Hamidullah’s 1936 publication through Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan (1890–1970), who worked at the time at Bonn University and who handed Kahle the relevant fascicle of *The Qurānic World*. In his letter to Hamidullah dated 1 December 1936 Kahle criticizes the publication harshly, singling out section three of Hamidullah’s paper, entitled “The Part of the Jews in Islamic Studies”:²

“Zeki Validi recently gave me your work *Islamic Studies and Modern Europe*, which you published in *The Qurānic World* ii.2. I don’t know whether it is entirely appropriate to have this printed in this way. . . . I find the third part, *The Part of the Jews in Islamic Studies*, particularly troubling. Here you are completely dependent on your friend Paul Kraus. . . . It is, of course, quite understandable that Jews, who have to struggle with difficulties, should strive to do something for themselves and their people. But ultimately, it is not your job to stand up for all kinds of people who are, in relation to the whole, quite insignificant. If you write something like this again in the future, could you please send me your essay before you print it? I would be very happy to help you further on the basis of my knowledge of the situation here.”

Hamidullah replied to his former teacher on 22 December 1936 with a polite but firm response, which is free of ideological, religious, or racial biases of any sort:³

“. . . It makes no difference to me whether my subject is a Jew or a German, a Christian or a Muslim, an Englishman or a Russian. It is each individual’s value that I appreciate. I would like to write something about the work of the Jews as an independent monograph; people in India know nothing about it. Kraus helped me with this. My work was not finished when I went to Mysore.”

At the time, I did not have access to Hamidullah’s 1936 paper, which was not included in the proceedings volume of the conference,⁴ but had rather appeared in the second issue of volume 2 of *The Quranic World: A Quarterly Journal of the Quranic Movement* (Hyderabad), a bibliographical rarity.⁵ Nor was I aware of the whereabouts of the information Paul Kraus (1904–1944) had shared with Hamidullah on the topic and that evidently served as the foundation for section three of Hamidullah’s 1936 publication.

In the meantime, I was able to trace those missing items. The Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint digital collection held at the American University of Cairo⁶ includes an offprint of Hamidullah’s 1936 publication, and I take the opportunity to thank Irina Schmid and Walaa Temraz of the American University of Cairo Library for providing me with a digital surrogate. The Paul Kraus Papers at the University of Chicago Library include a copy of Kraus’s account on the role of Jewish orientalists (“La part des Juifs dans les études islamiques”) that he had prepared at Hamidullah’s request.⁷ I thank the University of Chicago Library for providing me with a digital copy of Kraus’s account. Lastly, the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt in Cairo (Archive A. Combe) owns the correspondence between Paul Kraus and Muhammad Hamidullah, which provides the framework for their exchange on the topic. I thank Cornelius von Pilgrim for granting me with access to the Kraus-Hamidullah correspondence during my visits to Cairo in March 2023 and January 2025.

Section two of Hamidullah's 1936 publication "Islamic Studies and Modern Europe," entitled "Modern Europe," was largely based on his firsthand experience in Europe and his personal acquaintance with most of the leading European Orientalists. Another paper he delivered at the Mysore conference in December 1935, "Islamic Sections in the Western and Oriental Libraries,"⁸ was also based on his experience in Europe. These personal connections are what make these papers particularly valuable. Furthermore, comparing section three of Hamidullah's 1936 "Islamic Studies and Modern Europe" with the material Kraus provided reveals that this section summarizes Kraus's "La part des Juifs dans les études islamiques," a distinctive account of the impact of European Jewish scholarship on the study of Islam during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

The present paper includes annotated editions of Kraus's unpublished account "La part des Juifs dans les études islamiques" and Hamidullah's published but hard to find 1936 publication "Islamic Studies and Modern Europe".

Hamidullah and Kraus Conversing on the Topic

Muhammad Hamidullah (1908–2002)⁹ hailed from Hyderabad, where he also received his initial academic training. He studied Islamic jurisprudence at the Jamia Nizamia and obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree from Osmania University in 1928, followed by Master of Arts and Bachelor of Law degrees in 1930. Thanks to a research stipend from his alma mater, Hamidullah spent the academic year 1932/33 in Bonn, where he prepared, under Paul Kahle's supervision, a doctoral dissertation entitled "Neutralität im islamischen Völkerrecht."¹⁰ From Bonn Hamidullah moved to Paris, where in 1935 he defended another doctoral dissertation, "Corpus des traités et lettres diplomatiques de l'Islam à l'époque du Prophète et des khalifes orthodoxes,"¹¹ and where he ultimately spent a major part of his life, 1948 through 1996.

Paul Kraus (1904–1944)¹² was born in Prague and studied Oriental languages at the Deutsche Universität with the Orientalist and Arabist Max Grünert (1849–1929), the Indologist Moritz Winternitz (1863–1937), the Arabist and historian of philosophy Isidor Pollak (1874–1922), and the Semitist and papyrologist Adolf Grohmann (1887–1977). Kraus left Prague for Palestine in 1924. Disillusioned by life as a pioneer, he resumed his studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1926. In 1927, he moved to Berlin where he earned his doctoral degree in 1929 for a dissertation on Babylonian epistolography, prepared under the supervision of Bruno Meissner (1868–1947).¹³ Influenced by the Orientalist and historian of science Julius Ruska (1867–1949), Kraus now turned his attention to Islamic natural sciences and alchemy. From 1929 on, he worked as an assistant at Ruska's Forschungsinstitut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften.¹⁴ During those years, Kraus was primarily engaged with the Jābir b. Ḥayyān corpus. Shortly after the Nazis rose to power, Kraus left Berlin for Paris in April 1933, where he remained until 1936. During his time in Paris, Kraus developed a close friendship with Hamidullah.

Hamidullah had approached Kraus on 28 February 1936 posing a number of questions, including the following:¹⁵

**" 4) Pourriez-vous me donner dans environ une page *la part des Juifs dans les études islamiques*? J'en ai grand besoin—
*I am badly in need of it. Je veux encore une petite liste des *prominent figures* dans ce domaine, les noms des grands islamisants juifs, morts et vivants. Est-ce que vous me ferez ce plaisir à votre plus proche loisir? Je ne demande pas une étude exhaustive, seulement un aperçu historique dont on pourrait voir l'importance de la part prise par les Juifs. Au moins vous me signalez un ouvrage sur le sujet.*"**

...	Liderski	Jacobson
...	B. Heller	M. Lamm
...	...	Khwa
...	Hirschfeld	Lidex
...	Yakuda	Pypp
...	V. Berg	Marg
...	Poliak	Reat
...	Plessner	Fis
...	Pins	Leo
...	Coastin	Bor
...	Joseph	Leo
...	van Katus	Leo

Figure 3: Page 3 of Kraus's notes on the reverse page of Hamidullah's letter of 28 February 1936 (Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt in Cairo, Archive A. Combe)

Grünebaum, ? ...
 Pappas, un ... de Baboungar.
 In Friedlingen ...
 Mutter, traits ... de ...
 Wolfson, ...
 D. Kampmann, Die ...
 Barath, ...
 Y. Guttmann, ...
 Yellin, ...
 Chwolson, ...

Figure 4: Page 4 of Kraus's notes on the reverse page of Hamidullah's letter of 28 February 1936 (Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt in Cairo, Archive A. Combe)

Kraus made some notes on the topic on the reverse page of Hamidullah's letter (figs. 1-4) and then wrote up his account "La part des Juifs dans les études islamiques." It is noteworthy that Kraus's original handwritten notes include names that are not included in the final version of his account that he shared with Hamidullah, such as Jakob Barth (1851-1914) or Gustav von Grünebaum (1909-1972). Hamidullah acknowledges receipt on 27 April 1936 (no attempt has been made to improve Hamidullah's style in French):

“ Cher Mr. Kraus, hier midi j’ai reçu avec profonds remerciements votre article sur la part des juifs islamisants. J’y ai trouvé assez de nouveau matériel. Il y a quelque temps, j’avais lu dans l’*All India Oriental Conference* un *paper* sur *Les études islamiques et l’Europe moderne*. À la fin, j’avais un paragraphe, où j’avais attiré l’attention de mes compatriotes et mes lecteurs sur l’important rôle joué par les juifs dans les études islamiques. C’était une nouvelle note, un thème entièrement—et lamentablement—négligé. Pour vous confier, j’avais préparé ma conférence quelques heures avant la séance, dans mon hôtel. Alors, je manquais de matériel, surtout sur le paragraphe juif. La conférence sera publiée dans le compte rendu du congrès et je veux bien le reviser avant la mettre sous presse. Je n’ai pas encore pu la retirer; et évidemment je n’ai aucune autre copie. Aussitôt je la recevrais, je vous en enverrais une copie et je vous serai très reconnaissant de me faire l’obligence par vos suggestions et corrections. Pour vous donner une idée, je vous envoie, ci-joint, ce qu’à peu près j’avais écrit. Je veux l’améliorer par l’aide d’un *Fachmann*. Mr. Wensinck, n’est-il pas un juif? Je le croyait un.”

Hamidullah’s summary of his lecture, in French translation, that he attached to the letter (figs. 5–6), reads as follows:

“ Extract of my paper / Traduction

Le service scientifique rendu aus musulmans par les gens de la religion ou origine juives exigerait une dissertation speciale à part. Il commence par les savants aussi anciens que ‘Abdallāh b. Salām, Ka‘b al-Aḥbār etc. Après l’époque du Prophète—jusqu’à, peut-être, à la Déclaration Balfour—il n’y avait pas une jalousie politique entre les musulmans et les juifs. Delà, les musulmans ont toujours utilisé, sans hésitation, les services juifs, comme les juifs ont participé, à part les entrepris économiques, dans les études islamiques, surtout médecine, philosophie, astronomie, philologie etc. Pendant les moyen âges où il y avait une tension entre l’Europe et le monde musulman, ce fut les juifs qui servaient comme de l’intermédiaires neutres ayant la confiance des deux côtés. Les licenciés juifs de l’Andalus propagaient en Europe la civilisation et les sciences islamiques.

Depuis la révolution industrielle, il y a en Europe, comme déjà remarqué, un nouvel intérêt dans les études islamiques, et c’était les professeurs juifs qui occupaient les chaises de sémétisme et d’islamisme. Cela, premièrement parce que l’hebreu, la langue sacrée des juifs est une proche parente de l’arabe; deuxiemement parce que c’était les élèves juifs qui s’intéressent en sémétisme plus que les autres, et naturellement ils produisaient les arabisants at islamisants plus que les chrétiens. C’est une vérité que les 95 % d’étudiants de sémétisme et d’islamisme en Europe ont toujours eu, où les juifs, où es théologiens chrétiens.

Evidemment, les juifs ne se sont intéressé jusqu’à il y a peu de temps, dans les sciences religieuses comme tafsír, Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Kalām, et ils s’inclinaient plutôt vers les sciences exactes et profanes. Parmi les savants modernes tout le monde connaît Goldziher, Nöldeke, Sachau, Margoliouth etc. dont l’érudition et [word illegible] de recherche attirent [l’]admiration.

Traduction
 La science n'est pas née avec les musulmans
 par la voie de la religion ou origine juive, on peut
 une dissertation spéciale à part. Il commence par les
 savants musulmans que "Al-Battani le calcul", "Al-Biruni"
 et "Al-Harizi" après l'époque de Ptolémée — pape,
 puis à la Découverte de Galilée — l'origine
 par une jalouse politique entre les musulmans et
 les juifs. De là, les musulmans ont toujours été jaloux
 sans hésitation de savoir les juifs, comme les juifs
 ont participé, à part les entreprises économiques, de
 les études islamiques, surtout médecine, philosophie,
 astronomie, philologie etc. Pendant les moyen âge
 où il y avait une tension entre l'Europe et le
 monde musulman, ce fut les juifs qui servaient
 comme de l'intermédiaire entre eux ayant la
 confiance des deux côtés. Les savants juifs de
 l'Andalus propagèrent à l'Europe la civilisation
 et les sciences islamiques.

Figure 5: Page 1 of the French summary of Hamidullah's lecture at the Mysore conference, December 1935 (Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt in Cairo, Archive A. Combe)

Depuis la révolution islamique, il y a
 un mouvement de retour vers les études
 islamiques, et c'est les populations juives qui
 occupent les premières places de savoir et
 d'islamisme, cela, premièrement parce que
 d'habitude, la langue savante des juifs est
 une proche parente de l'arabe; deuxièmement
 parce que c'étaient les élèves juifs qui s'inscrivaient
 en nombre plus que les autres, et
 finalement, ils produisaient les apôtres
 et islamisaient plus que les chrétiens. C'est
 une vérité que les 95% d'indianais de
 islamisme et d'islamisme en Europe ont
 toujours eu, où les juifs, ou les théologiens
 chrétiens.
 Evidemment, les juifs ne se sont intéressés
 qu'à un peu de temps, dans les sciences
 religieuses comme Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh, Kalâm
 et il s'attachaient plutôt vers les sciences
 exactes et profanes. Parmi les savants musulmans
 (dont nous connaissons) il y a des noms comme Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Arabi, etc.

Figure 6: Page 2 of the French summary of Hamidullah's lecture at the Mysore conference, December 1935 (Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt in Cairo, Archive A. Combe)

Hamidullah's final published version evidently includes some of the details provided by Kraus in April 1936. The latter, on the other hand, wrote the account on the basis of his memory, without being able to double-check any of the information he provides against written sources. This explains some of the minor errors in his account and occasional inaccuracies of the information provided. Kraus arranges his account of Jewish Orientalists by generation, starting with the luminaries of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, including Abraham Geiger, Salomon Munk, Moritz Steinschneider, and Ignaz Goldziher, followed by the generation of those who were born towards the end of the nineteenth century and still active at the time of his writing, including scholars such as Eugen Mittwoch, Harry Austryn Wolfson, Giorgio Levi Della Vida, and Max Meyerhof. His third list includes some of his own contemporaries, including Martin Plessner, Shlomo Dov Goitein, and Leo Strauss, followed by a list of Jewish scholars who converted to Christianity. Interestingly Kraus includes Eduard Sachau (1845–1930) among the converts, despite there being no evidence that he was a converted Jew, and it is unclear why Kraus considered him to be a convert. Judging by Hamidullah's French summary of his 1935 talk, the latter had likewise listed Sachau among the Jewish Orientalists. Unlike perhaps Hamidullah, however, Kraus certainly knew Sachau personally since

his time in Berlin. From 1876, Sachau was an ordinary professor of Oriental studies at Berlin University, and from 1887, he was the founding director of the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen.

The Case of Eduard Sachau

According to entry no. 485 of the Lutheran church records of Neumünster for 1845 (*Kirchenbuch der Neumünsteraner Kirche*), Carl Eduard Sachau was born on 20 July 1845 as the son of Claus Jacob Sachau and his wife Catharina Dorothea Sachau *née* Freese and he was baptized about two weeks later, on 3 August 1845. Moreover, the Lutheran church records of Neumünster for 1829 (p. 546) attest that Carl Eduard Sachau and Catharina Dorothea Frese [sic] married on 4 February 1829. The possibility that Sachau's parents, or one of them, was born Jewish and had converted at some early point of their (or her or his) life, can be excluded.

Sachau's father, Claus Jacob Sachau was the son of Hans Sachau (1783–1830) and Christina Wiebke *née* Schreck (Schrecken), and Hans Sachau's death on 29 March 1830, followed by his burial two days later, is mentioned in the church records of Neumünster,¹⁶ as is the case with his baptism.¹⁷ His wife, Christina Wiebke, who was born in Neumünster, died about four years earlier, on 26 February 1826.¹⁸

Sachau's mother, Catharina Dorothea Sachau *née* Freese, was the daughter of Johann Casper Freese and Anna Christiane *née* Thode (Theden?), and her baptism is also recorded in the church records of Neumünster.¹⁹ Moreover, it should be noted that until 1866 Jews were banned from residing in Neumünster.²⁰

It is nonetheless surprising that Sachau remains consistently silent about his parents; thus, for example, in the *curriculum vitae* attached to his doctoral dissertation, he only states his date and place of birth but not the names of his parents.²¹ Perhaps more astonishing, this is also the case in his request to the German Emperor to be granted hereditary nobility, which he submitted in August 1913.²² In the request, Sachau provides some information about his wife's family background:

“Meine Frau ist Emma Bertha geb. Marx-Hanseemann, Tochter des Großkaufmanns [Jacob] Marx-Hanseemann [1812–1885] in Bonn, Enkelin des Ministers und Ministerpräsidenten, späteren Präsidenten der Preußischen Band und Gründers der Diskonto-Gesellschaft, David Hanseemann [1790–1864], Nichte des 1902 [sic] verstorbenen Seniorchefs der Diskontogesellschaft, des Geheimen Kommerzienrats Adolf [sic] von Hanseemann [1826–1903].”

He also lists his and his wife's children and their accomplishments, Dorothea, Gerhard, Otto, Luise Emma Angelika, who were all still alive in 1913, as well as their son Detlev Winfried Ferdinand who had died at the age of 15 in 1906. It is possible, however, that Sachau was simply embarrassed about his descent as his father is described in the Neumünster church records as “Landmann”—Sachau remains equally silent about his wife's mother in the request to the Emperor, although it was Emma Bertha's mother who was a daughter of David Hanseemann, while Emma Bertha's father descended from the clearly less illustrious family Marx.

Sachau's personnel files in Vienna University, where he taught Semitic philology, 1869 through 1876,²³ and in Berlin University, where he taught since 1876 until his retirement in 1921,²⁴ also include no information about his family background.

The Berlin files contain, however, information on Sachau's immediate family, namely the date of birth of his wife Emma Bertha (23 April 1853), the date of Eduard and Emma Bertha's marriage (2 May 1880), and the date of death of their son Otto (25 October 1914). For their children Dorothea, Gerhard, and Luise, the names of their respective spouses are mentioned as well. Dorothea (1881–1957) married on 23 December 1908 Friedrich Johannes Leutwein (1879–1914),²⁵ and the couple had two children, Friedrich (1911–1974)²⁶ and Thea Emma Franziska (born 1914). Gerhard (1882–1942)²⁷ married on 11 September 1915 Ruth von Bendemann, and their daughter Eugenie Cornelia Margarete was born in the same year. Otto (1886–1914) had studied in Tübingen.²⁸ Luise (1887–1973) married on 11 December 1921 Günther Carl Adolf Wilhelm Loewe (1882–1972)²⁹ and the couple had one daughter, Sophie Emma Angelika (1923–1930).

Emma Bertha Sachau survived her husband Eduard, who had passed away on 17 September 1930, until 1941.³⁰

The Documents

The following annotated editions of Kraus's “La part des Juifs dans les études islamiques” and Hamidullah's “Islamic Studies and Modern Europe” have had typos and minor errors silently corrected. No attempt has otherwise been made to correct the idiosyncratic styles of the two authors in

Paul Kraus, "La part des Juifs dans les études islamiques"

(The University of Chicago Library, The Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, Paul Kraus Papers 1903–1996, Box 13, Folder 3)

La participation des Juifs aux études islamiques coïncide avec les débuts mêmes des études juives, ç[est]-à-d[ire] avec l'époque où les Juifs ont commencé à s'occuper d'une manière scientifique et méthodique de leur propre littérature médiévale. Les rapports étroits qui existent entre les littératures juive et musulmane, la grande influence que la pensée juive a subie par la philosophie et la théologie musulmane, l'intérêt particulier que présentait l'histoire des Juifs en pays musulmans, ont incité nombre de savants à aborder sérieusement les études islamiques. La liste qui suit pourrait être considérablement augmentée, si l'on y ajoutait les noms de tous ceux qui se sont occupés d'auteurs, de livres et de problèmes juifs tout en les commentant à la lumière de la littérature arabe. Je n'énumère que ceux qui se sont consacrés spécialement aux études islamiques ou dont les travaux de judaïsme ont contribué à la recherche de certaines questions islamiques.

Ces remarques expliquent suffisamment pourquoi la plupart des travaux sous-mentionnés sont consacrés à l'histoire de la théologie et de la philosophie musulmanes ou plus généralement à l'histoire des idées musulmanes. Rarement les auteurs juifs ont-ils abordé des questions d'histoire purement politique, et même dans l'œuvre de [Ignace] Goldziher on n'en trouve presque pas de trace (son étude sur Ibn Toumart est aussi une étude d'histoire des idées). Il y a cependant quelques exceptions, ainsi [Gustav] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* et les travaux de [Évariste] Lévi-Provençal sur l'histoire politique de l'Espagne. Parmi les historiens vivants il convient de nommer Leo Mayer et Hans Gottschalk (c. infra).

Une autre branche qui conduit les savants juifs à l'étude de l'Islam et de l'arabe était la linguistique. Un très grand nombre sont des sémitisants qui ont accidentellement abordé l'étude de [l']arabe. Je les exclus de la liste présente, parce que je ne savais pas jusqu'à quel point votre intérêt porte sur ce sujet.³¹

Les *prominent figures* sont sans doute Goldziher, [Moritz] Steinschneider et [Salomon] Munk. Dans une rubrique à part j'ai signalé les noms des Juifs convertis au Christianisme qui ont une place dans les études islamiques.

La liste n'est point complète, aussi les indications bibliographiques manquent d'exactitude. J'[ai] recueilli toutes les remarques de ma mémoire. Si vous voulez bien m'indiquer le but auquel doit servir la liste je pourrai vous donner des indications plus précises. L'ord[r]e est à peu près chronologique, ou plutôt d'après les générations.

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- *Abraham Geiger* [1810–1874], avec [Leopold] Zunz [1794–1886], [Friedrich] Delitzsch [1850–1922] et autres inaugurateur des études juives. Son travail *Was hat Muhammad vom Judentum aufgenommen* (paru vers 1836, réimprimé Hannover 1927) a le mérite d'être le premier essai méthodique d'une critique historique du Qoran et de ses rapports avec la littérature juive. Les thèses de Geiger ont été plus tard élaborées par [Hartwig] Hirschfeld [1854–1934], [Rudolf] Leszynsky [1884–1949], [Charles Cutler] Torrey [1863–1956]³² et autres. Bien que périmé, ce livre représente encore aujourd'hui un certain intérêt.
 - [Moritz (Maurice)] *Wolff* [1824–1904], élève de [Antoine-Isaac Silvestre] de Sacy [1758–1838]. Traduit en allemand son Exposé de la religion des Druses.³³ Publie vers 1850 plusieurs traités arabes de Mousa d. Maimou'n (Maimonide)³⁴ et un livre *Muhammedanische Eschatologie* qui se base essentiellement sur Ghazali.³⁵ [2]
 - *Salomon Munk* [1805–1867]. Inaugure par ses *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*³⁶ l'étude même de la philosophie musulmane. Editeur de la *dalalat al-hâ'irîn* (Guide des Égarés) de Maimonide (Paris 1860 suiv. III vol. avec traduction),³⁷ le seul ouvrage philosophique en langue arabe qui ait été édité et commenté comme il faut. Tous les deux travaux sont *standard works*. Les *Mélanges* ont été rééditées en 1925 à Paris.³⁸ Le *Guide* le sera bientôt. (Le texte arabe du *Guide* a été réédité vers 1930 par l'Université de Jerusalem).³⁹ Je passe sous silence les nombreuses études philosophiques et historiques que le travail de Munk a provoquées.
 - *Moritz Steinschneider* [1816–1907]. Le bibliographe par excellence. Il s'est intéressé avant tout aux traductions faites en arabe et de l'arabe, et a étudié en particulier un grand nombre de savants (mathématiciens, astronomes, philosophes). L'histoire des sciences chez les musulmans lui doit beaucoup, ou plutôt presque tout. D'ailleurs un esprit sec, rat de bibliothèque, le plus grand *fichiste* que j'ai rencontré. Ses œ[u]vres principales sont les suivants:
 - Lateinische Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen.⁴⁰
 - Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen (paru en partie dans *Z[eitschrift der] D[eutschen] M[orgenländischen] G[esellschaft]*, dans *Virchows Zeitschrift für Pathologie*⁴¹ et dans *Beihefte für Bibliothekswesen*⁴²). Seul répertoire qui existe de ce genre. Couronné de l'Ac[adémie des] Inscr[riptions et] Belles-L[ettres].⁴³
 - Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen,⁴⁴ œuvre capitale de presque 1000 pages.
 - Die polemische Literatur der Juden, Christen und Muslime.⁴⁵—Notices bibliographiques, à peu près 400 pages (dans *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Morgenlandes*).
 - Die Rangstreitliteratur bei den Arabern.⁴⁶
 - Al-Farabi, étude bibliographique*. *Compte-rendus Acad. Pétersbourg*.⁴⁷Un très grand nombre d'articles sur l'histoire des mathématiques, de l'astronomie et sciences occultes chez les arabes.

Une Bibliographie des œuvres de Steinschneider a été réunie, il y a quelques années, dans le *Journal of the History of Medicine—Amérique* (2).⁴⁸

- *Goldziher, Ignace* (mort 1921): Il n'est pas nécessaire d'insister sur son œuvre. Une Bibliographie des ses écrits, contenant 590 nos, a été publiée in 1926 [sic] chez Geuthner.⁴⁹ Les travaux principaux sont: Muhammedanische Studien.⁵⁰ Vorlesungen (trad. en français⁵¹), 2éd. 1925.⁵² Die Zahiriten.⁵³ Die Richtungen der Koranauslegung 1920.⁵⁴ Beiträge zur arabischen Philologie.⁵⁵ Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Schi'a.⁵⁶ Die Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batiniyya.⁵⁷ Ibn Toumert, Le Livre de 1900.⁵⁸ Geschichte der hanbalitischen Bewegung.⁵⁹ Ed. kitab ma'ani al-nafs.⁶⁰ Diwan Hutay'a⁶¹ etc. etc.
- [Gustav] *Weil* [1808–1889], Geschichte der Chalifen, 6 vol.⁶²
- *Israel Friedländer* [1876–1920], Heterodoxies and Shi'ites Sects.⁶³ Lexique de la terminologie de Maimonide.⁶⁴ Khidr und die Alexandersage 1913.⁶⁵
- *David Kaufmann* [1852–1899]. Die Sinne in der arabischen und jüdischen Philosophie.⁶⁶ Die Attributenlehre.⁶⁷ Spuren des Batalyusi in der jüdischen Litteratur.⁶⁸ [3]
- *Jacob Guttmann* [1845–1919]. Nombreuses études sur la philosophie juive au m[oyen]-â[ge] dans ses rapports avec la philosophie musulmane. Travaux importants sur k[itâb] amanat wa i'tiqadat de Saadia.⁶⁹ k. al-ustuquṣṣât de Ishaq al-Isra'ili.⁷⁰ sur Maimónide.⁷¹
- [Max] *Grünbaum* [1817–1898]. Etudes Orientales, 2 vol. sur Folklore dans le Talmud et dans l'Is[lam].⁷²
- *Schreiner (Martin)* [1863–1926], élève de Goldziher: Der Kalam in der jüdischen Litteratur.⁷³ Studien zu Jeschua b. Juda.⁷⁴ Zur Geschichte des Ascharitentum, paru ZDMG [sic].⁷⁵ Disputation zw[ischen] Juden und Muslimen, ZDMG.⁷⁶
- Saul Horovitz [1858–1921] (travaux très importants sur les origines du Kalam), p[ar] e[xemple] Der Kalam und die griechische Philosophie. 1903.⁷⁷ Skeptizismus in der islamischen Philosophie (Festschrift Cohen 1912).⁷⁸
- Josef Horo[v]itz [1874–1931], Qoranstudien 1910.⁷⁹ Aus Stambuler Bibliotheken 1907.⁸⁰ Das Paradi[s] im Koran (Jerusalem 1930)⁸¹ Nombreux articles dans Der Islam etc. (Indien unter britischer Herrschaft).⁸²
- *Samuel Landauer* [1846–1937], édite (vers 1889) le texte arabe de amanat wa i'tiqadat de Saadia.⁸³ Die Psychologie des Avicenna, long article dans ZDMG.⁸⁴ édite la paraphrase du k. al-sama wa'l-âlam de Theophraste.⁸⁵
- *Hartwig Hirschfeld* [1854–1934] (Londres), Studies in Qoran.⁸⁶ Ed. le Diwan de Umayya b. Salt (vers 1906).⁸⁷ Ed. le texte arabe du kitab al-Khazari du philosophe juif Yehuda Hallewi.⁸⁸
- *Hartwig Derenbourg* [1844–1908] (Paris), éd. al-Fakhri.⁸⁹ Usama b. Munqidh.⁹⁰ Sibawaihi.⁹¹ Manuscrits de l'Escurial.⁹²
- *Joseph Derenbourg* [1811–1895], arabisant à Paris. Je ne connais pas les titres exactes de ses travaux.⁹³

Quelques vivants:

- *Eugen Mittwoch* [1876–1942], Das Gebet im Qoran. 1913.⁹⁴ Die literarische Tätigkeit des Hamza Isfahani 1916.⁹⁵ Collaborateur à l'édition d'Ibn Sa'ad.⁹⁶ Nombreuses études sud-arabiques.⁹⁷
- *Gotthold Weil* [1882–1960] (Directeur du dép. ar. de la Staatsbibliothek-Berlin, maintenant Dir. de la Bibl. de l'Univ. Jerusalem): Türkische Grammatik.⁹⁸ Tatarische Studien.⁹⁹ Das Pfeilspiel bei den Arabern.¹⁰⁰ [4]
- [William] *Popper* [1874–1963], éditeur de Tagribirdi, nujûm (Amérique).¹⁰¹
- [Heinrich (Henry)] *Malter* [1867–1925] (Amérique), Etudes sur Saadia.¹⁰² Ed. [du] texte hébreu d'un texte inconnu de Ghazali.¹⁰³

- [Harry Austryn] *Wolfson* [1887–1974] (Toronto [sic]). Son livre sur *Khasab al-Crescas* (1926)¹⁰⁴ est la seule étude approfondie des doctrines physiques de l'islam. Important pour la terminologie philosophique arabe. À cette dernière question W[olfson] a consacré un certain nombre des articles.
Son livre sur Spinoza (1934)¹⁰⁵ établit l'influence de la philosophie arabe sur Spinoza.
- *David Yellin* [1864–1941] (Prof. à l'Univ. Jerusalem), recueil de proverbes arabes de Palestine, deux volumes ont paru, deux autres suivront.¹⁰⁶
- *Oskar [sic; should be: Jacob] Mann* [1888–1940] (Amérique) *The Jews under the Fatimids*, 2 vol. vers 1930.¹⁰⁷
- *Mahler, Eduard* [1857–1945] (Budapest), Études sur la chronologie arabe.¹⁰⁸
- *Brody, Harry* [Heinrich] [1868–1942], *Histoire des Juifs sous l'Empire ottomane* (4 vol. en hébreu).¹⁰⁹
Editeur de *Diwan* de nombreux poètes judéo-andalous.¹¹⁰
- [Julian] *Joël Obermann* [1888–1956], *Der kritische Subjektivismus des Ghazali* 1920.¹¹¹
- *A[braham] S[halom] Yahuda* [1877–1951], éd. le texte arabe de k. fara'id al-qulub de Bahya ibn Paquda.¹¹²
Recueils de proverbes baghdadiens.¹¹³
- *Otto Rescher* [1883–1972]. Nombreuses traductions allemandes de Adab arabe: *Gahiz*, *Taschköprüli*, *Ibn Qutayba* etc. etc.¹¹⁴
Études sur 1001 Nuits (dans *Der Islam*).¹¹⁵
- *Giorgio Levi Della Vida* [1886–1967]. Catalogue des Mass. arabes du Vatican.¹¹⁶
Ed. *kitab al-khayl* de Asma'i.¹¹⁷
Divers études sur la litt. arab. dans *Rivista degli S[tudi] O[rientali]*.
- [Évariste] *Lévi-Provençal* [1894–1956]. Spécialiste de l'histoire des musulmans en Espagne et au Maghreb.
Réédition de Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. en Espagne* (III. vol).¹¹⁸
L'Espagne Musulmane 1932.¹¹⁹
Inscriptions arabes de l'Espagne.¹²⁰
Plusieurs études sur la hisba et muhtasib.¹²¹
- [David] *Sidersky* [1858–1943?] (Paris). Études de Cronologie.¹²²
Les légendes des prophètes dans l'islam (Paris 1932).¹²³
- *Bern[h]ard [Bernát] Heller* [1871–1943] (Budapest), élève de Goldziher. Diverses études sur folklore et légendes musulmanes. De même sur 1001 Nuits.¹²⁴
- *M[ax] Meyerhof* [1874–1945] (Caire). Nombreux travaux sur l'histoire des sciences et de la médecine, éditeur de Ghafiqi, Hunain ibn Ishaq, Galinus, Beruni, Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad, . . . Barhebraeus etc. etc. (cf. mes Abstracta¹²⁵).
- [Simon] *van den Bergh* [1882–1978]. *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, Leyde 1924.¹²⁶
- *Alfred Wiener* [1885–1964]. *Ueber die Litteraturgattung al-farag ba'd al-shidda* (dans *Der Islam* 1915 ?).¹²⁷
- [Reuben] *Levy* [1891–1966] (Cambridge). *Sociology of Islam*, II vols.¹²⁸ [5]

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- *Plessner, Martin* [1900–1973] (maintenant à Caïffa), ed. *Oekonomik[oc] des Neupythagoeäer Bryson*, aus dem arab. herausgegeben 1928.¹²⁹
Étude sur Ibn Wahschiyya (ZDMG [sic] 1928).¹³⁰
Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte (Islamica V).¹³¹
co-éditeur de Magriti, k. ghayat al-hakim.¹³²
- [Friedrich, or Fritz, later Shlomo Dov] *Goitein* [1900–1985] (*Jerusalem*). *Proverbes Jemenites*.¹³³
Étude sur le Diale[c]t arabe de Palestine.¹³⁴
Editeur du k. al-futuh de Baladhori (premier volume à paraître).¹³⁵
- [Abraham Nahum] *Poliak* [Polak] [1910–1970] (*Jerusalem*). Études sur l'histoire économique de l'Égypte au temps de Mamlouks (REI et dans des Revues hébraïques de Jerusalem).¹³⁶
- [Max Meir (Meir Moshe)] *Bravmann* [1909–1977]. *Beiträge zur Phonetik des Arabischen* (Diss. Breslau).¹³⁷
- *Hans* [Ludwig] *Gottschalk* [1904–1981]. *Die Madhara'yyun* 1930 (Beihefte *Der Islam*).¹³⁸
- *Leo Strauss* [1899–1973]. *Philosophie und Gesetz*,¹³⁹ sur la prophétologie des philosophes musulmans et juifs.
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- [Walter Joseph] *Fisch[e]l* [1902–1973]. Études sur les banques juives en pays musulman.¹⁴³ Plusieurs articles dans *JRAS* et ailleurs.¹⁴⁴
- [Andrei Iakovlevič] *Borisow* [1903–1942] (Leningrad). Étude sur la Théologie d'Aristote. 1933.¹⁴⁵
Sur Ibn Gabirol.
- [Shlomo] *Pines* [1908–1990]. *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre* (un chef d'oeuvre qui vient de paraître).¹⁴⁶
- *Claude Cahen* [1909–1991]. *Histoire des Croisades d'après sources arabes*.¹⁴⁷

Juifs convertis:

- *Mark Lidzbarski* [1868–1928] (sémitisant). Sur les légendes des prophètes dans l'islam.¹⁴⁸
- *Eduard Sachau* [1845–1930]. éd. Biruni, hind.¹⁴⁹ athar.¹⁵⁰ Ibn Sa'd.¹⁵¹
- [Daniel A.] *Chwolson* [1819–1911]. *Die Sabier und der Sabismus*. 1860, 2 vol.¹⁵²
Sur Ibn Wahschiyya.¹⁵³
- [Hermann] *Reckendorf* [1863–1924]. *Arabische Syntax*.¹⁵⁴
Verhältnisse in der arabischen Syntax.¹⁵⁵
- *D[avid] S[amuel] Margoliouth* [1858–1940]. *Yaquf. Irshad*.¹⁵⁶ *Nishwar al-muhadara*,¹⁵⁷ etc. etc. etc.

Dans la liste précédente j'ai oublié:

- M[ayer] Lambert [1863–1930]. Editeur d'écrits arabes de Saadia.¹⁵⁸
- *Isidor Pollak* [1874–1922]. Abriss einer Geschichte der islamischen Philosophie.¹⁵⁹
Ed. Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles, im Arabischen.¹⁶⁰
Epitome der Hermeneutik des Averroes.¹⁶¹ [6]
- [Rudolf] *Leszynsky* [1884–1949]. Die Juden in Medina.¹⁶²
- [Gaston] *Wiet* [1887–1971]. Histoire.¹⁶³
Epigraphie.¹⁶⁴
- *Leo* [Aryeh] *Mayer* [1895–1959]. Heraldique. Epigraphie notamment de la Palestine.¹⁶⁵
- *D[avid] H[artwig] Baneth* [1893–1973] (Jerusalem). Étude sur les rapports entre Ghazali et Jehuda Hallevi.¹⁶⁶
- *Moritz Sobernheim* [1872–1933]. Histoire des Seljukides et des Mamlouks.¹⁶⁷
Epigraphie.¹⁶⁸

Muhammad Hamidullah, "Islamic Studies and Modern Europe"¹⁶⁹

(*The Quranic World: A Quarterly Journal of the Quranic Movement* [Hyderabad] 2, no. 2 [1936], pp. 39–52)

1. Historical Background of European Orientalism.

The struggle for supremacy between Islam and Christianity has been a most instructive theme of modern history. Owing to their inherent qualities, the Islamised Arabs won from the Christians some of their most precious possessions in the very first onslaught. They conquered Syria and Egypt and, to believe Tabariy,¹⁷⁰ even parts of Spain, in the time of the Orthodox Caliphs. Jerusalem and Alexandria, the seats of Patriarchs, were also occupied during the same period. Antioch and Constantinople, though they escaped that fate for some time, were nevertheless¹⁷¹ forced to accept the supremacy of Islam or to pay tribute to Islamic powers when the Umayyads held sway and when the Abbasides followed them in power.

The rapidity of the Arab conquests was amazing, and still more their systematic, peaceful and thorough arabicisation of the conquered countries. The Greeks of Syria and Egypt, the Goths of Spain, and—when Sicily was captured and Italy penetrated—also the Italians were repeatedly baffled; and for long they could not understand the reasons for their own helplessness and the invincib[i]lity of their enemies.

The culture of one nation can best be judged by its treatment of the enemy in time of war. The famous Dutch Orientalist, [Michael Jan] De Goeje [1836–1909], recognizes in his *Memoire sur la Conquête de la Syrie*¹⁷² that during the conquests of the Orthodox Caliphs: [40]

"The disposition of the spirits was in fact very favourable to the Arabs and they had merited it, for the leniency with which they treated the conquered people contrasted strongly with the mesquine tyranny of their preceding masters [the Byzantines]. As regards the Christians who did not adhere to the decrees of the Synod of Chalcedon, the emperor Heracl[i]us had ordered that their noses and ears should be cut off and their houses razed to the ground. (Cf. Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, I, 247.) The Jews were accused of having favoured the Persian invasion, and were consequently the object of cruel persecutions although Heracl[i]us had promised them an amnesty. (Cf. Eutychius, II, 242, 246). The Arabs, on the contrary, guided by the principles which the Caliph Abubakr had inculcated in them, attached the greatest importance to the faithful observance of the promised word."¹⁷³

"Some fifteen years later, a Nestorian bishop, (Cf. Assemani *Bibl Orient.* III.2, P. XCVI.) wrote on this subject in the following terms: These Taiyites (i.e. Arabs) whom God has accorded domination these days, have also become our masters; but they do not combat at all the Christian religion; on the contrary, they protect our faith and respect our priests and saints and make donations to our churches and monasteries."¹⁷⁴

Speaking of a later age, [Karl] Krumbacher¹⁷⁵ observes:

"In the days just preceding the fall of Constantinople, the disinclination of the Byzantine Christians towards the Latin West conquered their antipathy against Islam, so much so that the question whether it would not be better to fall in the hands of the Muslims rather than [remain] in the power of the Latin Christians, was not only discussed in many writings but even [41] replied in the affirmative."¹⁷⁶

In spite of this unprecedented tolerance, the attitude of the Christian clergy was so blasphemous as regards Islam and its founder that even the Christians of to-day blush at its memory.¹⁷⁷ What the early "Orientalism" or, more strictly, "Islamism" of the Europeans meant, may be gathered from the words of a French catholic priest, A[urelio] Palmieri [1870–1926], who observes:

"The Christians attacked the Quran first in the countries newly conquered by the Arabs, after the death of the Prophet, in Palestine, in Syria and in Mesopotamia; but excepting a very few instances, they produced no important work or scientific refutation of the Quran."¹⁷⁸

Krumbacher is still more explicit in his classical work *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*¹⁷⁹ when he remarks:

"Islam. the greatest political and religious opponent of Byzantium, which never took a pause before planting the Crescent over St. Sophia, was combated through literature in a very unfit manner . . . The [differences of] language, civilization, and nationality and the hostile attitude towards the Muslim world,—all these things combined did not permit the Byzantine theologians to make a profound study of the Quranic theology".¹⁸⁰

Rev. Palmieri goes on to remark that the Greek clergy, the only literate class of the population:

"believed it futile to take the Muslim theology seriously, and contented themselves to combat it in common places . . . They preferred to attack the person of the founder of Islam and his [42] morality rather than his dogmatic teachings."¹⁸¹

Even Christian writers like [Adriaan] Reland [1676–1718]¹⁸² could not help mocking at:

"the seal and the loquacity of the Greeks who, although living in the midst of Muslims, yet neglected to study their doctrines and sought instead, all sorts of absurdities and ineptitudes, in order to defame their adversaries. The ignorance of the Arabic language was such among the Byzantine theologians that they translated the words الله الصمد . . . with *Theos sphuropektos, sphurelatos, olostolos, olospuros*. i.e. God, the Fixed, the Hard, the Destructive, the Solid They were made to believe that Muhammad had re-established the creed of Venus."¹⁸³

At this time Islamic Studies in fact meant attacks on Islam. Even as late as 1530 when the Quran was printed for the first time in Venice, all the copies were at once burnt by order of the Pope.¹⁸⁴ Pope Alexander VII had ordered that no text or translation of the Quran should be published in Christian Countries.¹⁸⁵ As Krumbacher¹⁸⁶ has remarked, this attitude of the Christian clergy created an unbridgeable and ever-widening gulf between Islam and Christianity. The polemical literature produced by them or under their influence¹⁸⁷ has done the greatest harm to humanity.

But as Islam established itself firmly in Spain and in Southern Europe, it began gradually to affect the thoughts of the surrounding Christians and gave an impetus to the reform movement and their revolution [43] against the Papacy and the degenerate clergy. Dante, Roger Bacon,¹⁸⁸ Luther, Machiavelli, Grotius¹⁸⁹ and many others are all the products of the period marked by the influence of Islam. And in many cases it is true that people most benefited by Islam are the most vehement in denouncing it. The Crusades and their disappointing results gave the barbaerous Europe a great lesson and she began to change her tactics and shifted her front. The Christian clergy began seriously to study Islam and its institutions. Several Popes are said to have mastered Arabic, just as Martin Luther did. Although the credit of the first though partial translation of the Holy Quran must go to Hazrat Salman Farsi, who, according to the Imam Abu Hanifah,¹⁹⁰ had translated several chapters of the Quran into Persian, the second translation was probably the Latin one,¹⁹¹ done during this movement. The abbot [44] [Ludovico] Mar[r]acci [1612–1700] is a prominent Church figure of this time who spent full forty years in studying the Quran and the Tafsir-works in Arabic "to fight Muhammad by means of his own weapon," and came to the curious conclusion that the Oriental people possess such a low standard of reason that they are utterly incapable of appreciating the lofty ideals of the Christian religion.

The Renaissance saw the Latin translation of many classical Arabic works on different sciences and the movement has since, for various reasons, had a manifold development.

2. Modern Europe.

The 19th century may conveniently be taken as a turning point in the history of European Orientalism. The daring voyages and explorations and the unprecedented progress in mechanics were followed by the conquest of many Muslim countries by young and budding European nations. They now had a permanent contact with Muslims; and as they had no more the prejudices of a subject nation, they began to study Islam and Muslim institutions seriously from an academic, political and utilitarian point of view. As the Dutch minister of education has acknowledged some four year[s] ago in the welcome address of the Leyden session of the International Oriental Congress, it has been the guiding motive of Dutch colonial policy to proselytize the non-Christian subjects.¹⁹² Holland, after her conquest of Indonesia, was the first to launch a new experiment of literary combat of Islam, and an institute was inaugurated at the University of Leyden for Islamic studies.¹⁹³ It was at first abhorred by the local and foreign priests, yet the results of the experiment were so satisfying and important that soon it became a fashion all over Europe to create a chair for Arabic and Islamic studies in every university, and students of theology have ever since been monopolizing the classes. The new science of comparative philology stimulated also the students of Semitic languages to learn Arabic. Now-a-days, practically every university in Europe provides for a chair of Islamic or Semitic studies, which include Arabic also.

Soon came the time of semi-official societies for Islamic or Arabic [45] studies, like the Société asiatique of Paris, the Royal Asiatic Society of London, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft of Berlin and others. These societies as well as private amateurs began to collect Arabic and other manuscripts all over the East and to edit some of them and publish them. These societies also issued periodicals as their organs and the number of such journals is increasing every year. Monographs and special studies have been pouring out ever since, some of them of a very high value, others mediocre or written for special ends.

But it must be observed that conditions are not alike all over Europe. Leyden may rightly boast of possessing the oldest university department for Islamic studies among European institutions, and the *Acta Orientalia* is its famous organ. The Brill Press of Leyden deserves our appreciation for its large output of important and carefully edited Arabic classics. Recently a Muslim Institute has been founded in Leyden in honour of Prof. [Christiaan] Snouck Hurgronje, that grand old man¹⁹⁴ of European Islamists. Some fifty years ago he had crept into Mecca along with Javanese pilgrims. One may imagine the profound impression made upon him of the change that has come over in Muslim ideas since that time, by the fact that the year before last he received from H.R.H. the heir-apparent of the Sa'udi kingdom, then on tour in Holland, an official invitation to come over again to Mecca and visit the places whence he had narrowly escaped during his first visit. The prince also presented to the professor an album of photographs of various scenes of Mecca.¹⁹⁵

Germany, although a late-comer in the field of Islamic studies, is the leading country now thanks to the marvellous thoroughness and industry with which her sons are gifted. Germany did not possess colonies inhabited by Muslim populations, nor does it do so now, yet the number of German scholars specializing in Islamic studies is larger than in any other country of Europe or America. Practically every university in Germany now possesses an Oriental seminar. Recently a special museum has been established [46] in Berlin devoted wholly to Islamic acquisitions.¹⁹⁶ A grand Orient-Institut is now in course of foundation at Berlin where Islamic sections will naturally predominate in representation.¹⁹⁷ Besides the enviable libraries of Germany, the German Oriental Society of Berlin with its valuable periodical (ZDMG) published from Leipzig, with its nice book collection kept at Halle, with its active secretariat at Bonn and with its so very useful branch at Istanbul under the energetic direction of Dr. [Hellmut] Ritter who is also publishing the important series of the *Bibliotheca Islamica*, is a society hardly equalled by any sister institution at London, Paris or anywhere else. The *Islamica* of Leipzig, *Der Islam* of Hamburg and *Die Welt des Islam* of Berlin are periodicals published in Germany and devoted wholly and solely to Islamic studies.

Prof. [Ignaty] Kratschkowskij [1883–1951] writes to me that since the Revolution, the Oriental department of the University of Leningrad has been reduced to a simple teaching establishment, like the School of Oriental Languages of Paris. In this respect the London School of Oriental Studies with its periodical (BSOS) and its research department, is doing work of far superior quality.

At the Sorbonne (Paris) there is no Professorship for Arabic. Chargé des Conférences is the only functionary. The Ecole des Hautes Etudes and the Collège de France have some arrangement for Arabic and Islamic studies. But the newly-founded Institut d'études islamiques with Prof. [William] Marçais [1872–1956] as President, and Prof. [Louis] Massignon [1883–1962] as Secretary and with its quarterly organ (*Revue des études islamiques*) is proving an institution of considerable utility. Prof. Massignon also edits the *Annuaire du Monde musulman*, an encyclopaedic work of statistics for the Islamic world. The work as a ready reference is indispensable and I learn that a new and fourth edition is now in the press.

The Istituto per l'Oriente of Rome may rightly be proud of its organ *Oriente Moderno* which from month to month gives a classified and systematic summary of events passing in the East especially in Islamic countries, mentioning the exact source of information and publishing the text of important documents like treaties and others in the original language. [47] Prof. [Arnold Joseph] Toynbee [1889–1975], the well-known orientalist and Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, recognizes in his classical *Survey of International Affairs 1925* the importance of this journal in the following terms: "In the writer's opinion—which in this case is based on rather a searching test—*Oriente Moderno* is by far the best

existing periodical dealing with current Islamic affairs which is published in either Europe or America in any western language. In its combination of exact scholarship with the virtues of good journalism it offers a model which might well be imitated in other languages and applied to other fields of international affairs."¹⁹⁸ Its bibliography of new publications is also up to date and very useful.

The *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, the young oriental journal of Rome, has already established its usefulness. The classical *Mir Islama* (the Islamic world) of Leningrad was unfortunately destined not to live long,¹⁹⁹ but there are several new-comers from unexpected quarters which compensate to a certain extent the loss of the Russian journal. So, the *al-Andalus* of Madrid is being edited by [Miguel] Asin Palacios [1871–1944] which unfortunately aims at retaining the *kufi* script; and all the Arabic quotations and editions of MSS in this journal are printed not in the ordinary naskh or thulthi script but in the *kufi* script in vogue in Spanish Morocco. Praha (Prague), the capital of the new Czechoslovakian republic, now possesses a trilingual quarterly to which the famous explorer [Alois] Musil [1868–1944] and other scholars contribute. The pontifical institute of the Vatican has also started a multilingual quarterly, *Orientalia*, in which, among other things, Dr. Kraus of Paris has begun a series of articles on Raziana. He is editing several *Rasa'il* of Abu-Hatim ar-Raziy.²⁰⁰ Dr. Kraus delivered last year at the Sorbonne a series of twelve lectures on the history of early translations into Arabic. The translations from Pehlavi, Sanskrit, Greek, Syriac and other languages were treated exhaustively and the study was especially interesting in view of the parallel experiment and activity of the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University. I was struck with the similarity of reactions on the current language caused by the translations of foreign ideas and technical words and idiomatic expressions. May be that the fate of the Hindustani follows that of the Arabic in this process.

[48] A word about certain recent Islamic publications with international co-operation. The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is fast approaching completion in three versions, English, French and German. This monumental work, which took some twenty years' labour, has already caused a supplement and perhaps a new edition will soon be deemed necessary. The work is being translated into Arabic under the energetic and youthful editorship of Thabit Elfendi of the University Library of Egypt. This Arabic edition contains, besides, many foot notes from the point of view of the Azhar savants.²⁰¹

The *al mu'jam al-mufahras* is another gigantic effort made in Leyden and sponsored by international co-operation and financing. At the Islam-Institute of Leyden, Prof. [Arent Jan] Wansinck [1882–1939] was kind enough to show me the huge and imposing collection of cards on which this concordance of Hadith-words has been prepared in ten years' time and the publication, which has already begun, will take another ten years to terminate. It is not an exhaustive list of all important words and names occurring in Hadith literature; nevertheless it is a very useful reference work for the same. The copious quotations which illustrate the signification of words will be of immense use to lexicographers.²⁰²

This leads me to Fischer's dictionary. The famous orientalist Dr. [August] Fischer of Leipzig had inherited from other older orientalists material for a dictionary of classical Arabic. Fischer, Krenkow and other Arabists have contributed their share to make the proposed dictionary as exhaustive as possible. In 1933, I saw at Leipzig in the house of Prof. Fischer a dictionary, still in the form of cards for over one million words, each word exactly explained and a classical quotation given to illustrate and support the sense.²⁰³

3. The Part of Jews in Islamic Studies.

The part of the European Jews in Islamic studies has been of considerable importance but, unfortunately, the subject has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. Justice and fairness require that we recognize their services for what they are worth.

[49] The European Jews were interested in Islamic studies for two main reasons. First, as Dr. Paul Kraus of the University of Paris writes to me,

“the close relation between the Jewish and Islamic literatures, the profound influence which the Jewish thought has undergone by Muslim philosophy and theology, and the particular interest which possessed the history of Jews in Islamic countries,—all these things combined have incited numerous Jewish savants to take to Islamic studies seriously.”

Secondly, as neutrals they could mingle themselves easily with Christians as well as with Muslims, and the Jews have in fact served as intermediaries between the two civilizations, which thing paid them also for their labour—the labour of Islamic studies. So, they were appointed as professors in European universities and continue to be so down to this day for Islamic and Semitic (Arabic) subjects. Apart from the diffusion of knowledge and the teaching and training of students, they have produced a vast literature on Islamic subjects in European languages.

In fact the participation of the Jews or of people of Jewish descent in purely Islamic studies may be traced as far back as the time of the Companions of the Prophet and the names of 'Abdullah ibn Salam and Ka'b "al-Ahbar" are known to every student of Islamica. After the time of the Prophet until

the Great War of 1914, there have been no political rivalries between Muslims and Jews, and except in Palestine they are still non-existent anywhere in the world. So, Muslims have utilized the services of the Jews in economic, cultural and scientific matters in every clime and country all through these 1300 years of the existence of Islam. Besides their economic enterprise, the Jews have also studied Arabic medicine, philosophy, philology, astronomy etc., and, as mentioned above, they have constantly served as a link between warring Islam and Christianity.

After the Industrial Revolution, when Europe began to take interest anew in Islamic studies, Jewish professors were largely employed in European universities for Semitic and Islamic studies. Perhaps this was mainly due to the fact that the close relationship between their national language (Hebrew) and Arabic gave them greater facilities to acquire proficiency in Arabic, the language of Islam, and Islamic literature. Again, it [50] was generally the Jewish students who were interested in Semitic studies. Even today, 95 % of the students who take Semitics and Islamica as their subjects in European universities are either Jews or Christian theologians.

There have been less polemical discussion between Islam and Judaism than between Islam and Christianity, and until recently, the Jews were less interested in purely Islamic sciences like the Quran, the Hadith, the Fiqh; they took greater interest in the exact sciences of the Muslims, in philosophy and other subjects of general interest. According to Dr. Kraus, the greater part of the Islamistic works of the Jews is devoted to the history of theology and Muslim philosophy, or more generally, to the history of Muslim thought. Jewish authors have rarely written on the purely political history of Islam. Weil, Levi-Provençal, Leo Meyer and Hans Gottschalk are exceptions which prove the rule rather than contradict it.

Salomon Munk, Moritz Steinschneider and Ignace Goldziher are certainly the three most prominent Islamists the Jews have produced. Munk, with his *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, may be considered as the inaugurator of the study of Muslim philosophy in Europe. Steinschneider was interested above all in the translations done into Arabic and from Arabic. His *Lateinische Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen* and *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* may be cited in this connexion. He has written, particularly, a great many articles on Arab mathematicians, astronomers, occultists, and philosophers. The history of sciences among the Muslims owes almost all to him. A bibliography of all his writings appeared some years ago, in the *Journal of the History of Medicine* (America). As for Goldziher, he needs no introduction. He died in 1921 and a comprehensive bibliography of his 590 books and articles was published in 1925 by Geuthner, a publisher of Paris. The following are his chief works:-

- (1) *Muhammedanische Studien*,
- (2) *Vorlesungen über den Koran* [sic],
- (3) *Die Zahiriten*,
- [51] (4) *Die Richtungen der Koran[aus]le[g]ung*,
- (5) *Beiträge zur arabischen Philologie*,
- (6) *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Schi'a*,
- (7) *Die Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batiniyya*,
- (8) *Livre d'Ibn Toumert*,
- (9) *Geschichte der hanbalitischen Bewegung*.

Among the Jews converted to Christianity may be mentioned Margoliouth, Sachau, Chwolson and Reckendorf. And among promising young Jews I must first mention the name of Dr. Kraus to whom I owe so much in the preparation of this chapter. His writing[s] are very numerous and demand a separate article for themselves. Further, [Shlomo] Pines has written a monograph on atoms according to Muslim scholars; [Ilse] Lichtenstädter and [Bettina] Strauss are two young girls who have established considerable reputation as Arabists.

4. Muslim Students in European Universities.

It will look a paradox that Muslim students of Oriental countries should proceed to Europe for higher studies and research into Islamic sciences under non Muslim European professors. Various causes have gradually contributed towards overcoming the prejudices and changing the attitude of the younger Muslim alumni. The following may be noted in this connection.

- A. Economic value of European degrees and diplomas for people of specially those countries which are under European domination.
- B. Spread of European culture in the East and the consequent abuse of older ways of living as well as thinking.
- C. Secularization of education.
- D. Research facilities in European universities with their up to-date libraries and rich collections of oriental mss not available even in the East.

[52] Further there is no doubt that progressive pedagogic methods are giving astonishing result[s] in Europe and at least the elementary teaching of foreign languages in European universities has far advanced. German universities now provide for native lecturers even for Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindustani. Besides gramophone and radio are increasingly employed for acquainting the students with correct pronunciation and intonation.

When Marçais or Snouck Hurgronje, [Carlo Alfonso] Nallino [1872–1938] or [Georges Séraphin] Colin [1893–1977]²⁰⁴ or even Sfeir²⁰⁵ speak in Arabic, one is stupified with the fluency of their speech, correctness of their pronunciation and their native command over this foreign language.

After having had the oppurtunities of studying in the universities of Germany and France and meeting professors of Arabic in Holland, England and other countries, I may be permitted to remark that it would be far better and useful if our students first acquaint themselves thoroughly with Islamica and then proceed to Europe. They will then be able to dissipate misapprehensions and wrong notions due to ignorance and mischievous propaganda. The sister of a class-mate of mine in Germany once avowed she was told and she believed that Muslim people are cannibals: they kill men and devour them. This is in the twentieth century! Again, I venture to suggest that parents should realise their national duty in sending abroad only young men of good character who will not disgrace the name of our country when they go abroad to represent our culture and civilization. Such students alone are capable of learning from experienced teachers in Europe, and the new ways of approach and outlook of those with whom they come in contact, and from their travels in countries other than their own.

I might also mention in the end with a sense of pride and pleasure, that many an Oriental institution or enterprise in Europe has been financed, to a great extent, by Hyderabad, and this co-operation of the East and the West is expected to be of benefit to both and of service to the cause of Orientalia and Islamica.

M. Hamidullah.

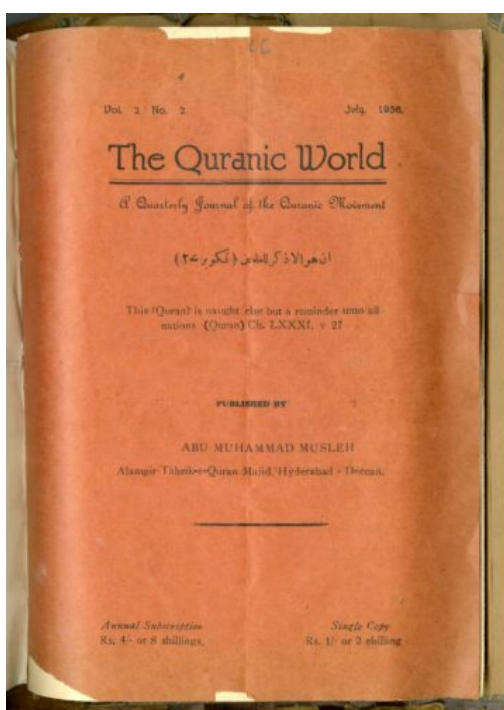


Figure 7: Titlepage *The Quranic World*, vol. 2, no. 2

1. Sabine Schmidtke, *German Orientalism in Times of Turmoil: The Kahle-Strothmann Correspondence (1933 through 1938, 1945 through 1950)*, Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Chair for Arabic Studies & Csoma de Kőrös Society Section of Islamic Studies, 2022, Appendix 3. ↩
2. For the full letter, in the original German, see Schmidtke, *German Orientalism*, pp. 195–198. ↩
3. For the full letter, in the original German, see Schmidtke, *German Orientalism*, pp. 198–199. ↩
4. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, December 1935*. Bangalore: The Government Press, 1937. ↩
5. See <https://zdb-katalog.de/title.xhtml?idn=1253063419&view=brief>. < <https://zdb-katalog.de/title.xhtml?idn=1253063419&view=brief>.> ↩
6. For the Kraus-Meyerhof Offprint digital collection, see <https://cdm15795.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15795coll1>. < <https://cdm15795.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15795coll1>.> ↩
7. See the finding aid for the Paul Kraus Papers at <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scrc/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.KRAUSP>. < <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scrc/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.KRAUSP>.> ↩
8. Muhammad Hamidullah, "Islamic Sections in the Western and Oriental Libraries," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, December 1935*, Bangalore: The Government Press, 1937, pp. 207–218. ↩
9. For Hamidullah, see, for example, Muhammad al-Ghazali, "Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah (1908–2002)," *Islamic Studies* 42 (2003), pp. 183–187; Amara Bamba, "Hamidullah, Muhammad," *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three Online*, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30268 < https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30268> (with further references). ↩
10. Muhammad Hamidullah, "Neutralität im islamischen Völkerrecht," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 89 (1935), pp. 66–88. ↩

11. Muhammad al-Hamidullah, *Corpus des traités diplomatiques de l'Islam à l'époque de prophète et des khalifes orthodoxes*, Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1935. ↵
12. For Kraus, see Gotthard Strohmaier, "Paul Kraus und die Erforschung des Gābirkorpus (Koreferat)," *Tradition und Fortschritt in der medizinhistorischen Arbeit des Berliner Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin: Materialien des wissenschaftlichen Festkolloquiums anlässlich des 50. Jahrestages der Gründung des Instituts am 1. April 1980*, edited by Dietrich Tutzke, Berlin: Institut für Geschichte der Medizin des Bereichs Medizin (Charité) der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1980, pp. 74–79; Rémi Brague, "Paul Kraus. Person und Werk (1904–1944)," Paul Kraus, *Alchemie, Ketzerei, Apokryphen im frühen Islam: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, edited by Rémi Brague, Hildesheim: Olms, 1994, vii–xiii; Joel L. Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist: Paul Kraus from Prague to Cairo," *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, edited by Martin Kramer, Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1999, pp. 181–223; Maja Šćrbačić, "Von der Semitistik zur Islamwissenschaft und zurück: Paul Kraus (1904–1944)," *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts = Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 12 (2013), pp. 389–416; Maja Šćrbačić, "al-Thaqāfah," *Encyclopaedia of Jewish History and Culture Online*, <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/EJHC/COM-0919.xml> < <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/EJHC/COM-0919.xml> > ; Sabine Schmidtke, "An Early Stage of Isma'ili Studies: The Correspondence between Paul Kraus and Wladimir Ivanow (1934–1939, 1943)," *Shii Studies Review* 8 (2024), pp. 204–259. ↵
13. P. Kraus, *Altbabylonische Briefe aus der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Preußischen Staatsmuseen zu Berlin*, Göttingen: Dieterich, 1931. ↵
14. For Ruska and the Forschungsinstitut, see Paul Kraus, "Julius Ruska," *Osiris* 5 (1938), pp. 4–40. ↵
15. Hamidullah to Kraus, 28 February 1936, Hyderabad (Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt in Cairo, Archive A. Combe). ↵
16. Bestattung Neumünster/1830/S.33/Nr. 21 Hans Sachau. ↵
17. Kirchenbuch Neumünster 1783/S. 359/ Nr. 39 Hans Joachim Sachau. ↵
18. Bestattung Neumünster 1826/S. 690/ Nr. 12 Christina Wiebke geb. Schreck. ↵
19. Kirchenbuch Neumünster 1807/730/220 Catharina Dorothea Freese, Spuria. ↵
20. See Carsten Obst, "Jüdische Bürger in Neumünster: Von der Judenemanzipation bis zum Holocaust," *Steinburger Jahrbuch 2002*, Itzehoe: Heimatverband für den Kreis Steinburg, 2001, pp. 202–224. I thank Sybille Radtke-Kaak (*Kirchenkreisverwaltung Neumünster*) for having provided me with a digital copies of the relevant entries in the Neumünster church records. ↵
21. "Natus sum Neomonasterii die XX. m. Jul. a h. s. XXXV."; see Eduard Sachau, "De Aljavāliqī ejusque opere quod inscribitur المعرب: adjuncta textus particula," doctoral dissertation, Halle 1867, p. 9. ↵
22. Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, I. HA, Rep. 76 Kultusministerium, Va, Sekt. 2, Tit. IV, nr. 61, Bd. 22, Bl. 156–158. ↵
23. Vienna University, Archive, Personalakt [PH PA 3106] von Eduard Sachau. ↵
24. Berlin, Humboldt University, Archive, UK Personalalia, UK Personalakten bis 1945, S 003, 2 vols. ↵
25. On him see <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd13666511X.html>. ↵
26. On him see Karl-Richard Mehnert, "Leutwein, Friedrich," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 14 (1985), p. 388. ↵
27. On him see <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd136784321.html>. ↵
28. Universität Tübingen, Universitätsarchiv, UAT 258/15765. ↵
29. On him see Stadtarchiv Kiel, 72427 (Personalakte Loewe, Günther). ↵
30. To the extent that the dates of life of Eduard Sachau's immediate family are not included in his Vienna and Berlin personal files, the relevant church records, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* or www.deutsche-biographie.de, they were gleaned from <https://gw.geneanet.org>. There is astonishingly little scholarship devoted to Eduard Sachau, the most detailed study being Remzi Acvi, "Writing the Orient: The Representation of the Ottoman Society in the Travel of Eduard Sachau (1845–1930)," *Acta Histriae* 30 (2022), pp. 121–137. ↵
31. This is certainly the reason why Kraus excluded Jakob Barth and possibly others from his account (see above). ↵
32. Kraus certainly has Charles Cutler Torrey's *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion Press, 1933) in mind here. For Hirschfeld and Leszynski, see below. ↵
33. Kraus, mixing up Moritz Wolff with Philipp Wolff (1810–1894), has evidently the following work in mind: Philipp Wolff, *Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer*, Leipzig: Friedr. Chr. Wilh. Vogel, 1845. ↵
34. ثمانية فصول: *Mose ben Maimûn's (Maimonides) Acht Capitel*. Arabisch und Deutsch mit Anmerkungen von Dr. M. Wolff, Leipzig: Commissions-Verlag von Heinrich Hunger, 1863. ↵
35. كتاب أحوال القيامة: *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*. Nach der Leipziger und der Dresdner Handschrift zum ersten Male arabisch und deutsch mit Anmerkungen, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1872. The work also circulates under the title *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fi dhikr al-janna wa-l-nār* and is attributed to 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Aḥmad al-Qādī. It is essentially identical with the pseudo(?)-Ghazāliān *al-Durra l-fākhira fi kashf 'ulūm al-ākhirā*; see Thomas Bauer, "Islamische Totenbücher. Entwicklung einer Textgattung im Schatten al-Gazālīs," *Studies in Arabic and Islam. Proceedings of the 19th Congress, Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Halle 1998, edited by Stefan Leder et al., Leuven: Peeters, 2002, pp. 421–436, here p. 436. ↵
36. S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, 2 vols., Paris: A. Franck, 1857–1859. ↵
37. S. Munk, *Le Guide des égarés: Traité de théologie et de philosophie par Moïse ben Maimun*. Publié pour la première fois dans l'original arabe et accompagné d'une traduction française et de notes critiques, littéraires et explicatives, 3 vols., Paris: A. Franck, 1856–1866. ↵
38. S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, nouv. éd., Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1927. ↵
39. دلالة الحائرين دلالة ألحائرين (ספר מורה הנבוכים) לרבנו משה בן מימון. המקור הערבי לפי הוצאת שלמה בן אליעזר מונק. בצורוף חלופי נוסחאות, מפתחות וקטעים מכתב-ידו של הרמב"ם, ירושלים תרצ"א. ↵
40. Presumably referring to M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna: Gerold, 1904. ↵
41. i.e., *Archiv für pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie und für klinische Medizin*. ↵
42. i.e., *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*. ↵
43. The individual fascicles were later republished in one volume as M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1897. ↵
44. Presumably referring to M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters, meist nach handschriftlichen Quellen*, Berlin: Kommissionsverlag des Bibliographischen Bureaus, 1893. ↵

45. M. Steinschneider, *Polemik und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts*, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1877. ↩
46. M. Steinschneider, *Rangstreit-Literatur: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte*, Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1908. ↩
47. M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi (Alpharabius), des arabischen Philosophen Leben und Schriften, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Geschichte der griechischen Wissenschaft unter den Arabern*. Nebst Anhängen: Joh. Philoponus bei den Arabern, Darstellung der Philosophie Plato's, Leben und Testament des Aristoteles von Ptolemaeus. Grösstentheils nach handschriftlichen Quellen, St. Petersburg: L'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1869. ↩
48. Partial inventories of Steinschneider's writings were compiled by Abraham Berliner (*Die Schriften des Dr. M. Steinschneider zu seinem 70. Geburtstage 30. März 1886*, Berlin: Ad. Mampe, 1886), George Alexander Kohut ("Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Dr. Moritz Steinschneider," *Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneider's*, Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1896, pp. v–xxxix), and Adeline Goldberg ("Nachtrag zu G. A. Kohut, Bibliography of the Writings of Prof. Dr. Mor. Steinschneider (in Festschrift zu dessen 80. Geburtstag, 1896) bis 1900," *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* 5 v (1901), pp. 189–191; "Nachtrag zu G. A. Kohut . . . 1901–4," *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* 9, no. 3 (1905), pp. 90–92; "Nachtrag zu G. A. Kohut . . . 1905–1906," *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* 13, no. 3 (1909), pp. 94–95). Kraus may have been referring here to the *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* (The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore) that was published from 1933 onwards under the editorship of Henry E. Sigerist [1891–1957] and included during the 1930s a fair number of studies on Arabic, Persian, and Hebrew material. While the first issues of the journal indeed included bibliographical inventories, scientific portraits of a number of scholars and obituaries (e.g., Karl Sudhoff [1853–1938], Leroy Crummer [1872–1934], Peter Ludvig Panum [1820–1885], William H. Welch [1850–1934], John Whitridge Williams [1866–1931], John Ruhräh [1872–1935], Fielding H. Garrison [1870–1935], Stephen d'Irsay [1894–1934], Max von Pettenkofer [1818–1901]), there is nothing of its kind about Steinschneider. The possibility that a contribution on Steinschneider's works on the history of medicine had been envisaged at some point for the journal but never materialized. ↩
49. Bernard Heller, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher* (avec une introduction biographique de M. Louis Massignon), Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927. ↩
50. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols., Halle an der Saale: M. Niemeyer, 1888–1890. ↩
51. I. Goldziher, *Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam: Histoire du développement dogmatique et juridique de la religion musulmane*, traduction de Félix Arin, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1920. ↩
52. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1910 [zweite, umgearbeitete Auflage von Franz Babinger, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1925]. ↩
53. I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhīriten: Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte. Beitrag zur Geschichte der muhammedanischen Theologie*, Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1884. ↩
54. I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung: An der Universität Upsala gehaltene Olaus-Petri-Vorlesungen*, Leiden: Brill, 1920. ↩
55. I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1896–1899. ↩
56. I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī'ā und der sunnitischen Polemik*, Vienna: In Commission bei Karl Gerold's Sohn, 1874. ↩
57. I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1916. ↩
58. Goldziher contributed an introduction of some 100 pages to the book that was published by Jean-Dominique Luciani under title *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert mahdi des almohades. Texte arabe accompagné de notices biographiques et d'une introduction par I. Goldziher*, Algiers: Imprimerie Orientale Pierre Fontana, 1903, containing an *editio princeps* of the collected writings attributed to Ibn Tūmart (d. 1130) prepared by Luciani. ↩
59. I. Goldziher, "Zur Geschichte der hanbalitischen Bewegungen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 62 (1908), pp. 1–28. ↩
60. I. Goldziher, *Kitāb ma'ānī al-naḥs: Buch vom Wesen der Seele; Von einem Ungenannten*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907. ↩
61. I. Goldziher, "Der Diwān des Ġarwal b. Aus Al-Ḥuṭej'a," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 46 (1892), pp. 1–53, 471–527; 47 (1893), pp. 43–86, 163–201. ↩
62. G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*. Nach handschriftlichen, größtenteils noch unbenützten Quellen bearbeitet, 5 vols., Mannheim: Friedrich Bassermann, 1846–1862. ↩
63. **I. Friedlaender, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm,"** *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 28 (1907), pp. 1–80. ↩
64. **I. Friedlaender, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*: Ein lexikalischer und grammatischer Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Mittelarabischen**, Frankfurt a. M.: J. Kauffmann, 1902. ↩
65. I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman: Eine sagengeschichtliche und literaturhistorische Untersuchung*, Leipzig / Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1913. ↩
66. D. Kaufmann, ***Die Sinne*: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Physiologie und Psychologie im Mittelalter aus hebräischen und arabischen Quellen**, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus / Budapest: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1884. ↩
67. Kaufmann has two publications that fit the description: *Die Attributenlehre des Saadja Alfajjumi*. Inaugural-Dissertation der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig zur Erlangung der philosophischen Doktorwürde eingereicht, Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1875, and *Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters von Saadja bis Maimūni*, Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1877. ↩
68. D. Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Baṭlajūsī's in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie: Nebst einer Ausgabe der hebräischen Übersetzungen seiner Bildlichen Kreise*, Budapest: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1875. ↩
69. For example, J. Guttman, "Die Bibelkritik des Chiwi Albalchi nach Saadia's Emunoth we-Deoth," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 28 (1879), pp. 260–270; J. Guttman, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Saadia dargestellt und erläutert*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1882. ↩
70. Jakob Guttman, *Die philosophischen Lehren des Isaak ben Salomon Israeli*, Münster i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911. ↩
71. For example, J. Guttman, *Der Einfluss der maimonidischen Philosophie auf das christliche Abendland*, Leipzig: G. Fock, 1908; J. Guttman, *Die Beziehungen der maimonidischen Religionsphilosophie zu der des Saadia*, Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1911; J. Guttman, *Die Beziehungen der*

- Philosophie des Maimonides in den Lehren seiner juedischen Vorgaenger, Leipzig: G. Fock, 1914. See also *Collected Papers of Jacob Guttman*, edited by Steven T. Katz, New York: Arno Press, 1980. ↵
72. Referring perhaps to M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1893, and M. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, edited by Felix Perles, Berlin: S. Calvary, 1901. ↵
73. **M. Schreiner, "Der Kalām in der jüdischen Literatur,"** scholarly supplement to *Dreizehnter Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin erstattet vom Curatorium*, Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1895. ↵
74. M. Schreiner, "**Studien über Jeschu'a ben Jehuda,**" scholarly supplement to *Achtzehnter Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin erstattet vom Curatorium*, Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1900. ↵
75. M. Schreiner, "**Zur Geschichte des Aś'arienthums," Actes du Huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania, part 2, section 1: Sémitique et de l'Islām,** Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1893, pp. 79–117. ↵
76. M. Schreiner, "**Zur Geschichte der Polemik zwischen Juden und Muhammedanern,**" *ZDMG* 42 (1888), pp. 591–675. ↵
77. S. Horowitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau, Th. Schatzky, 1909. ↵
78. S. Horowitz, "Über die Bekanntschaft Saadias mit der griechischen Skepsis," *Judaica: Festschrift zu Hermann Cohens siebzigstem Geburtstage*, edited by Ismar Elbogen, Ben Zion Kellermann, and Eugen Mittwoch, Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1912, pp. 235–252. ↵
79. J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin / Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1926. ↵
80. J. Horowitz, "Aus den Bibliotheken von Kairo, Damaskus und Konstantinopel (Arabische Handschriften geschichtlichen Inhalts)," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen. Westasiatische Studien* 10 (1907), pp. 1–68. ↵
81. J. Horowitz, "Das koranische Paradies," *Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecae Hierosolymitanarum, Orientalia et Judaica* 1 (1923), part vi. ↵
82. J. Horowitz, *Indien unter britischer Herrschaft*, Leipzig / Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1928. ↵
83. S. Landauer (ed.), *K. al-Amānāt wa-l-'tiqādāt von Sa' adja b. Jūsuf al-Fajjūmī*, Leiden. E. J. Brill, 1880. ↵
84. S. Landauer, "The Psychologie des Ibn Sinā," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29 (1876), pp. 335–418. ↵
85. Presumably referring to S. Landauer (ed.), *Themistii in libros Aristotelis De caelo paraphrasis, Hebraice et Latine*, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1902. ↵
86. Kraus may have several of Hirschfeld's works in mind here, namely H. Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Korān*, Leipzig: Schulze, 1886, H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902), and H. Hirschfeld, *Jüdische Elemente im Korān: Ein Beitrag zur Korānforschung*, Berlin: private edition, 1878. ↵
87. Hirschfeld did not publish about the pre-Islamic poet Umayya b. Abī Ṣalt. Kraus perhaps mixes up H. Hirschfeld, *The Dīwān of Hassān b. Thābit (ob. A.H. 54)*, Leyden / London: E. J. Brill / Luzac & Co., 1910, Friedrich Schulthess, *Umajja ibn Ali e Salt, die unter seinem Namen überlieferten Gedichtfragmente*, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911, and perhaps also Israel Frank-Kamenetzky, *Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis der dem Umajja b. Abi Ṣalt zugeschriebenen Gedichte zum Qorān*, Kirchhain: Max Schmiersow, 1911. ↵
88. H. Hirschfeld (ed.), *Das Buch Al-Chazarī des Abū-l-Ḥasan Jehuda Hallewī*. Im arabischen Urtext sowie in der hebräischen Übersetzung des Jehuda ibn Tibbon, 2 vols., Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1886–1887. ↵
89. For H. Derenbourg's contributions to the study of Ibn Ṭīqtaqā's (d. after 1309) historical work, the *Kitāb al-Fakhrī*, see H. Derenbourg, *Opuscules d'un arabisant, 1868–1905*, Paris: C. Carrington, 1905, p. 329 nos. 98–101. ↵
90. For H. Derenbourg's edition of Usāma b. Munqidh's (d. 1188) *K. al-'tibār*, a copy of which he had discovered at El Escorial, and other studies on the book and on Usāma, see H. Derenbourg, *Opuscules d'un arabisant*, pp. 330–332 nos. 106–114. ↵
91. H. Derenbourg, *Le livre de Sibawaihi: Traité de grammaire arabe par Sibouya, dit Sibawaihi*. Texte arabe publié d'après les manuscrits du Caire, de l'Escorial, d'Oxford, de Paris, de Saint-Pétersbourg et de Vienne 2 vols., Paris: Joseph Baer et Cie et Jean Maisonneuve, 1881–1889. ↵
92. H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884. ↵
93. For Joseph Derenbourg, see H. Derenbourg, *Opuscules d'un arabisant*, pp. 298–308. ↵
94. E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, Berlin: Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Commission bei Georg Reimer, 1913. ↵
95. E. Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānīs: Ein Beitrag zur älteren arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1909. ↵
96. *Ibn Saad, Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams*. Band I Theil I: *Biographie Muhammeds bis zur Flucht*, edited by Eugen Mittwoch, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1905; and *Ibn Saad, Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht*. Band I Theil II: *Biographie Muhammed's. Ereignisse seiner medinischen Zeit, Personalbeschreibung und Lebensgewohnheiten*, edited by Eugen Mittwoch and Eduard Sachau, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1917. ↵
97. See Walter Gottschalk, "Die Schriften Eugen Mittwochs. Zum 4. Dezember 1936 verzeichnet," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 81, no. 2 (1937), pp. 243–250. ↵
98. G. Weil, *Grammatik der osmanisch-türkischen Sprache*, Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1917. ↵
99. G. Weil, *Tatarische Texte nach den in der Lautabteilung der Staatsbibliothek befindlichen Originalplatten herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt*, Berlin: Preussische Staatsbibliothek, 1930. ↵
100. Referring perhaps to G. Weil (ed.), *Die Königslose: J. G. Wetzsteins freie Nachdichtung eines arabischen Losbuches*, Berlin / Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1929. ↵
101. Abū al-Mahāsīn Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, ed. William Popper, 9 vols., Berkeley, Univ. of California, 1909–1930. ↵
102. H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon: His Life and Works*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1921. ↵
103. Referring to H. Malter's doctoral dissertation, "Die Abhandlung des Abū Hāmid al-Ġazzālī: Antworten auf Fragen, die an ihn gerichtet wurden," doctoral dissertation, Heidelberg University, Berlin: Josef Fischer in Krakau, 1894, that was later published as *Die Abhandlung des Abū Hāmid al-Ġazzālī: Antworten auf Fragen, die an ihn gerichtet wurden*, Frankfurt a. M.: J. Kauffmann, 1896. ↵
104. H. A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle: Problems of Aristotle's Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. ↵
105. H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of Spinoza: Unfolding the Latent Processes of His Reasoning*, New York: Schocken, 1934. ↵
106. For Yellin and his attempt to establish a general orientalist library in Damascus during the First World War, see Omri Eilat, "David Yellin, Muhammad Kurd 'Ali and the Great Library of Damascus during the First World War," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 52 (2025), pp. 583–599. ↵

107. J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fātimid Caliphs: A Contribution to Their Political and Communal History Based Chiefly on Genizah Material Hitherto Unpublished*, [London, etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1920–1922. ↵
108. For example, E. Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*, Leipzig: G. Fock, 1916. ↵
109. Kraus clearly has the following publication by Solomon Avraam Rozanes (1862–1938) in mind, erroneously attributed to Brody, that was published between 1907 and 1911 and, in a second edition, between 1934 and 1937. The final sixth volume was published in 1945: דברי ימי ישראל בתורגמה על פי מקורות ראשונים; the second edition was published under the title קורות היהודים בתורגמה ובאמצעות הקדום. For the history of the work's publication, see https://www.nli.org.il/he/books/NNL_ALEPH990017417560205171/NLI <
https://www.nli.org.il/he/books/NNL_ALEPH990017417560205171/NLI> and Avigdor Levy (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994, p. 740. I thank Amy Singer for the identification of this title and its author. For Rozanes, see Salvator Israel, "Solomon Avraam Rozanes, originator of the historiography of the Bulgarian Jews (1862–1938)," *Annual (Social, Cultural and Educational Association of the Jews in the People's Republic of Bulgaria)* 19 (1984), pp. 343–371. ↵
110. For Brody's editions of medieval Hebrew poetry and literature, see Minna Wollstein-Brody and Hermann Wollstein, "Das literarische Schaffen Heinrich Brodys (eine bibliographische Zusammenstellung)," *Soncino-Blätter: Beiträge zur Kunde des jüdischen Buches* 3, nos. 2–4 (July 1930) = Festschrift für Heinrich Brody, pp. 9–36, here pp. 10–13 nos. 15–46 (II: Hebräische Literatur des Mittelalters [Editionen]); see also *ibid.*, pp. 13–14 nos. 48–77 (III: Hebräische Literatur des Mittelalters [Abhandlungen]); Israel Davidson, "Heinrich Brody und sein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der mittelalterlichen hebräischen Poesie," *Soncino-Blätter* 3, nos. 2–4 (July 1930), pp. v–viii. Brody's Papers are held at Tel Aviv University Library under the shelfmark P67 (Heinrich Hayyim Brody Archive); see https://tau.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/972TAU_INST/bai57q/alma990002404720304146 <
https://tau.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/972TAU_INST/bai57q/alma990002404720304146>. I thank Amy Singer for alerting me to his archive. ↵
111. J. J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālīs: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Religion*, Vienna / Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1921. ↵
112. A. S. Yahuda (ed.), *Al-Hidāja 'ilā Farā'id al-Qulūb des Bachja ibn Jōsēf ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien: Im arabischen Urtext zum ersten Male nach der Oxforder und Pariser Handschrift sowie den Petersburger Fragmenten herausgegeben*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1912. ↵
113. A. S. Yahuda, "Bagdadische Sprichwörter," *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, edited by Carl Bezold, Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906, vol. 1, pp. 399–416. ↵
114. O. Rescher published these from 1937 in his multi-volume series, privately published in Stuttgart, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie: Übersetzungen, Kritiken, Aufsätze*. ↵
115. Perhaps referring to O. Rescher, *Studien über den Inhalt von 1001 Nacht*, Berlin: Reimer, 1915; and O. Rescher, *J. Oestrups "Studien über 1001 Nacht" aus dem Dänischen (nebst einigen Zusätzen)*. Anhang: Kurzes Verzeichnis der hauptsächlichsten Motive in der arabischen Erzählliteratur mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von 1001 Nacht, Stuttgart: s.n., 1925. ↵
116. G. Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca vaticana: vaticani, barberiniani, borgiani, rossiani*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935. ↵
117. G. Levi Della Vida (ed.), *Kitāb nasab al-khayl fī l-Jāhiliyya wa-l-Islām wa-akhbārīhā, ta' līf Abī l-Mundhir Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī. Wa-yalīhi Kitāb asmā' khayl al-'Arab wa-fursānih, ta' līf Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-A' rābī*, Leiden E. J. Brill, 1928. ↵
118. R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides (711–1110)*. Nouv. éd. rev. et mise à jour, par E. Lévi-Provençal, 3 vols., Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1932. ↵
119. É. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xème siècle, institutions et vie sociale; avec vingt-quatre planches et une carte hors texte*, Paris: Larose, 1932. ↵
120. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931. ↵
121. For example, É. Lévi-Provençal, "La vie économique de l'Espagne musulmane au X^e siècle," *Revue historique* 167 (1931), pp. 305–323. ↵
122. For example, D. Sidersky, *Étude sur l'origine astronomique de la chronologie juive*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1911. ↵
123. D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes*, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1933. ↵
124. For a list of Heller's publications, see Alexander Scheiber, "Bibliographie der Schriften Bernhard Hellers," *Emlékkönyv: Heller Bernát professzor Hetvenedik születésnapjára = Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. Bernhard Heller on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Sándor Scheiber, Budapest: s.n., 1941: pp. 22–51, 325–326. I thank Kinga Dévényi for this reference. See also Marcel Poorthuis, "Bernard Heller, Pioneer of Judaeo-Islamic Relations," *Oriental Studies and Interfaith Dialogue: Studies in Honor of József Szécsi = Keleti Tanulmányok és Vallásközi Párbeszéd Írások Szécsi József Tiszteletére*, Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2019, pp. 679–688. ↵
125. Paul Kraus published the series "Abstracta Islamica" in several fascicles in the *Revue des études islamiques*, including "Abstracta Islamica I. Histoire des sciences dans l'Islam; II. Philosophie musulmane et kalām," *Revue des études islamiques* 8/9 (1934/35). Selected studies by Meyerhof were republished in Max Meyerhof, *Studies in Medieval Arabic Medicine: Theory and Practice*, edited by Penelope Johnstone, London: Variorum Reprints, 1984. For Meyerhof, see also Claudius F. Mayer, "Arabism, Egypt, and Max Meyerhof," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 19 (1946), pp. 375–432. ↵
126. S. van den Bergh, *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1924. ↵
127. A. Wiener, "Die Farağ ba'd aš-šidda Literatur von Madā'inī (gest. 225 H.) bis Tanūhī (gest. 384): Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte," *Der Islam* 4 (1913), pp. 270–298, 387–420. ↵
128. R. Levy, *Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1931–1933. ↵
129. M. Plessner, "Der OIKONOMIKOC des Neupythagoreers "Bryson" und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft. Edition und Übersetzung der erhaltenen Versionen nebst einer Geschichte der Ökonomik im Islam mit Quellenproben in Text und Übersetzung," Heidelberg: Winter, 1928. ↵
130. M. Plessner, "Der Inhalt der Nabatäischen Landwirtschaft: Ein Versuch, Ibn Waḥšija zu rehabilitieren," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 6 (1928–1929), pp. 27–56. ↵
131. M. Plessner, "Beiträge zur islamischen Literaturgeschichte I. Studien zu arabischen Handschriften aus Stambul, Konia und Damaskus," *Islamica* 4 (1931), pp. 525–561. ↵

132. The edition was published by Hellmut Ritter as *Ghāyat al-hakīm wa-aḥqaq al-natījatayn bi-al-taqdīm* = *Das Ziel des Weisen*, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1933. The German translation was co-published by Ritter and Plessner, "Picatrix": *Das Ziel des Weisen*, von Pseudo-Mağrīṭī, London: Warburg Institute, 1962. ↵
133. F. Goitein, *Jemenica: Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen*. Mit zahlreichen Sach- und Worterläuterungen, Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von O. Harrassowitz, 1934. ↵
134. According to Robert Attal, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Prof. Shelomo Dov Goitein*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2000, Goitein did not publish until 1938 anything on the Palestinian Arabic dialect. He did, however, publish on the Yemeni dialect; see Attal, *Bibliography*, nos. 26, 59. ↵
135. كتاب أنسب الأشرف لأحمد بن يحيى بن جابر اللإذري = ספר אנסאב אל-אשראף של אל-בלאדירי ; יוצא לאור בפעם הראשונה על ידי המכון למדעי המזרח באוניברסיטה העברית, הוציא לאור שלמה דוב גויטיין. ירושלים 1936 ↵
136. For example, A. N. Poliak, "Les révoltes populaires en Égypte à l'époque des mamelouks et leurs causes économiques," *Revue des études islamiques* 8 (1934), pp. 251–273, and A. N. Poliak, "La féodalité islamique," *Revue des études islamiques* 10 (1936), pp. 247–266. For Poliak and his scholarship, see also <https://www.nli.org.il/en/a-topic/987007300411605171> < <https://www.nli.org.il/en/a-topic/987007300411605171> > . ↵
137. Referring to M. M. Bravmann, "Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber," doctoral dissertation Breslau University, Göttingen: Dieterichsche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei (W. Fr. Kaestner), 1934. ↵
138. H. L. Gottschalk, *Die Māğarā' ijūn: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islām*, Berlin / Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1931 (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients; 6). ↵
139. L. Strauss, *Philosophie und Gesetz: Beiträge zum Verständnis Maimunis und seiner Vorläufer*, Berlin: Schocken, 1935. ↵
140. Leo Strauss, "Quelques remarques sur la Science politique de Maïmonide et de Fārābī," *Revue des études juives* 100 (1936), pp. 1–37. ↵
141. B. Strauss, *Das Giftbuch des Šānāq: Eine literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Berlin: Springer, 1934. ↵
142. E. Rosenthal, *Ibn Khalduns Gedanken über den Staat: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Staatslehre*, Munich / Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1932. ↵
143. For example, W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam*, London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1937. ↵
144. For example, Walter Fischel, "The Origin of Banking in Mediaeval Islam: A Contribution to the Economic history of the Jews of Baghdad in the Tenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* no. 2 (April 1933), pp. 339–352. ↵
145. For these and other studies by A. I. Borisov, see Alexander Treiger, "Andrei Iakovlevič Borisov (1903–1942) and his Studies of Medieval Arabic Philosophy," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 17 (2007), pp. 159–195. ↵
146. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin [Gräfenhainichen]: A. Hein, 1936. ↵
147. C. Cahen, *Les chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Égypte et la Mésopotamie, de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul*, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1936. ↵
148. M. Lidzbarski, *De prophetis, quae dicuntur, legendis Arabicis: Prolegomena*, Leipzig: Drugulin, 1893. ↵
149. E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India. An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India About A.D. 1030*, London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1910. ↵
150. E. Sachau (ed.), *Chronologie orientalischer Völker, von Albêrûni*, Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1923. For an assessment of the significance of Sachau's scholarship on al-Birûnī, see Hans Robert Roemer, "Al-Biruni in Deutschland," *The Muslim East: Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*, edited by Gyula Káldy-Nagy, Budapest: Loránd Eötvös University, 1974, pp. 23–29. ↵
151. Sachau initiated and directed between 1897 and 1929 an editorial project of Ibn Sa'd's (d. 845) *K. al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, that was executed under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. For details, see Sabine Schmidtke, "Ignaz Goldziher, Walter Gottschalk, and the *Kitāb al-Aymān* by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Najīramī," *Building Bridges: Ignaz Goldziher and His Correspondents. Islamic and Jewish Studies Around the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Becker, Kinga Dévényi, Sebastian Günther, and Sabine Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill, 2024, pp. 260–294. ↵
152. D. A. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*. Band I.: *Die Entwicklung der Begriffe Ssabier und Ssabismus*; Band II.: *Orientalische Quellen zur Geschichte der Ssabier und des Ssabismus*, St Peterburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1856. ↵
153. D. A. Chwolson, "Über die Überreste der altbabylonischen Literatur in arabischen Übersetzungen," *Mémoires des savants étrangers présentés à l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg* 8 (1859), pp. 329–524; for Chwolson's research on the topic, see also M. Plessner, "Der Inhalt der Nabatäischen Landwirtschaft: Ein Versuch, Ibn Waḥšija zu rehabilitieren," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 6 (1928–1929), pp. 27–56, esp. pp. 27ff. ↵
154. H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1921. ↵
155. H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, 2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1898. ↵
156. D. S. Margoliouth (ed.), *The Irshād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb; or, Dictionary of learned men of Yāqūt*, 7 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1907–1927. ↵
157. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites Prior to the Rise of Islam: The Schweich Lectures 1921*, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924. ↵
158. A reference to *Version arabe des Proverbes, surnommés Livre de la recherche de la sagesse de R. Saadia ben Iosef al-Fayyūmī*, translated and annotated by J. Derenbourg and Mayer Lambert, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894 (Oeuvres complètes de R. Saadia ben Iosef al-Fayyūmī; 6). For Lambert, see also Julien Weill, "Mayer Lambert," <https://www.judaisme-alsalor.fr/perso/mlambert.htm> < <https://www.judaisme-alsalor.fr/perso/mlambert.htm> > . ↵
159. I. Pollak, "Entwicklung der arabischen und der jüdischen Philosophie im Mittelalter," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 17 (1904), pp. 196–236. ↵
160. I. Pollak, *Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles in der arabischen Übersetzung des Ishāk ibn Ḥonain*. Herausgegeben und mit einem Glossar der philosophischen Termini versehen, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1913. ↵
161. For Pollak's scholarly oeuvre, see Jean-François Monteil, "Isidor Pollak et les deux traductions arabes différentes du *De Interpretatione* d'Aristote," *Revue des études anciennes* 107 (2005), pp. 29–46. ↵
162. R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds*, Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1910. ↵
163. Possibly a confusion with Gustav Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen* (on which see above). ↵

164. G. Wiet, *L'Épigraphie arabe de l'exposition d'art persan du Caire*, Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1935. Perhaps also a reference to the following publication co-edited by Wiet: Ét. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (eds.), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931. ↵
165. For his scholarly oeuvre, including a list of his publications, see D. S. Rice and H. Z. Hirschberg, "Leo A. Mayer," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961), pp. 454–462. ↵
166. D. H. Baneth, "Jehuda Hallewi und Gazali," *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins zur Gründung und Erhaltung einer Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* 5 (1924), pp. 27–45. ↵
167. Certainly referring to M. Sobernheim's work on the historian Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 1524), whose *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī' al-duhūr* Sobernheim had edited together with Paul Kahle and M. Mostafa (Istanbul 1931–1939). ↵
168. For example, M. Sobernheim, *Palmyrenische Inschriften*, Berlin: Peiser, 1905. ↵
169. A Paper read at the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference held in Mysore. ↵
170. *Annales* [quos scripsit Abu Djarfar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari cum aliis edidit M. J. de Goeje, 15 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1879–1901], [vol.] I, p. 2817. ↵
171. *** "nevertheless": the printed version has "ultimately," and the correction was made by hand by the author unto the offprint. ↵
172. [M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*], 2nd. ed., [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1900], p. 104–6. ↵
173. ***De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, p. 104: "En effet, la disposition des esprits en Syrie était très favorable aux Arabes, et ils l'avaient mérité, car la douceur avec laquelle ils traitaient les vaincus, contrastait fortement avec la tyrannie mesquine des maîtres précédents. Aux Chrétiens qui ne s'étaient pas soumis aux décrets du Synode de Chalcédon, on avait, par ordre d'Héraclius, coupé le nez et les oreilles et on avait rasé leurs demeures (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.* éd. Lamy, I, 274.). Les Juifs, accusés d'avoir favorisé l'invasion des Perses, avaient été l'objet de persécutions cruelles, bien que Héraclius leur eût promis l'amnestie (Eutychius II, 242, 246). Les Arabes, au contraire, guidés par les principes qu'Abou Bekr leur avait inculqués, tâchaient de se concilier les indigènes, en premier lieu en restant fidèles à leur parole (Comp. Belâdh. 159, 1–5.)." ↵
174. ***De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*, p. 106: "Environ quinze ans après, un évêque nestorien écrivit à leur sujet (Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* III, 2, p. xcvi): 'Ces Tayites (Arabes), à qui Dieu a accordé de nos jours la domination, sont devenus aussi nos maîtres; mais ils ne combattent point la religion chrétienne; bien plutôt ils protègent notre foi, ils respectent nos prêtres et nos saints hommes et font des dons à nos églises et à nos couvents.'" ↵
175. [Karl Krumbacher], *Geschichte der byzantinischen Lit[t]eratur [von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)]*, 2nd. ed., Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Oskar Beck, 1897,] p. 50. ↵
176. ***Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Lit[t]eratur*, p. 50: "In der letzten Zeit vor dem Falle Konstantinopels siegte sogar die Abneigung der Byzantiner gegen das lateinische Abendland über den Hass gegen den Islam: die Frage, ob es besser sei, in die Hände der Muhammedaner als in die Gewalt der Lateiner zu fallen, wurde jetzt in mehreren Schriften nicht bloss erörtert, sondern sogar bejaht." ↵
177. For a graphic description of the mediaeval European conception of the person of the prophet of Islam see *Roman de Maomet [en vers du XIII^{me} siècle, par Alexandre du Pont]* by Reinaud and Francisque Michel, published [Paris: Silvestre] 1831. ↵
178. *Dictionnaire [de] Théol[ogie] Cathol[ique]: contenant l'exposé des doctrines de la théologie catholique, leurs preuves et leur histoire*, vol.] III [Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908], s.v. "Coran". ***The entry "Coran" is found on columns 1772–1843. For its author, Aurelio Palmieri, see Ettore Lo Gatto, "Aurelio Palmieri," *The Slavonic Review* 5 (1927), pp. 683–686. ↵
179. P. 49. [line] 40. ↵
180. ***Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, pp. 49–50: "Der grösste politische und religiöse Gegner von Byzanz, der Islam, der nicht ruhte, bis er den Halbmond auf der Hagia Sophia aufgepflanzt hatte, wurde nur sehr unwirksam durch die Litteratur bekämpft. . . . Sprache, Kultur, Nationalität, bei den Byzantinern die Verachtung der Moslemin, die sie widerlegt zu haben glaubten, wenn sie einige Suren des Koran lächerlich gemacht hatten, bildeten eine unübersteigbare Scheidewand zwischen den beiden Gegnern und ein dauerndes Hindernis gegen die Entwicklung eines geistigen und litterarischen Kampfes." ↵
181. Op. cit. p. 40. ↵
182. ***For Reland, see Bart Jaski et al. (eds.), *The Orient in Utrecht: Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), Arabist, Cartographer, Antiquarian and Scholar of Comparative Religion*, Leiden: Brill, 2021. ↵
183. Ibid. ↵
184. [Gustav] Pfan[n]müller, *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur*, [Berlin / Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1923,] p. 212. ↵
185. Ibid. ↵
186. Op. cit. p. 50. ↵
187. For a selected list of the very fast literature of this kind see Pfan[n]müller, Op. cit. pp. 133–150 ["3. Die Bekämpfung Muhammeds in der morgenländischen und abendländischen Kirche"]. ↵
188. There is no more doubt after the scholarly work *La escatologia musulmana en la divina comedia* of Rev. Asin Palacios (Madrid 1919), that Dante, the greatest poet of Mediaeval Europe, has borrowed the plan and even the details of his poem *Divina Comedia* from the Mi'raj-Tradition and writings of Ibn al-'Arabi and others on the Mi'raj. Dante's antipathy for Islam may be traced by the fact that in his poem he places the Holy Prophet in Hell for being a "sminator di scandalo e di scisma". ↵
189. Grotius, the father of European International Law, published in 1622 a great apologetic work *De veritate religionis christianae*. In books 4–5 he tries to refuse heathenism, Judaism and Islam. His comparison of Jesus and Muhammad is also given briefly by Pfan[n]müller, op. cit. p. 148–149. ↵
190. Cf. *Kitab al-mabsut* by as-Sarakhsiy. vol. I, p. 37. ***Hamidullah evidently consulted the following edition: Shams al-Din al-Sarakhsī, *K. al-Mabsūt*, 30 vols., Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, 1906–1913. ↵
191. Pfan[n]müller (Op. cit. P. 213) mentions that the first Latin translation of the Quran was completed in 1143 A. D. in Spain by Robertus Retenensis (an Englishman) and Hermannus (of Dalmatia, Hungary). It was printed in 1543. Dates of other complete translations in European language are as follows:
first Italian 1547
[first] German (through Italian) 1616.
[first] German (direct from Arabic) 1772

[first] French 1647.

[first] English 1734.

[first] Dutch 1860.

[first] Swedish 1917. ↩

192. ***Referring to Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists, held in Leiden, 7–12 September 1931. The proceedings were published as *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès international des Orientalistes, Leiden, 7–12 septembre, 1931*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1932. ↩
193. ***For the history of Arabic and Islamic studies in Holland, see Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen, *Voortreffelijk en Waardig: 400 jaar Arabische studies in Nederland*, Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 2013. ↩
194. As we go to the Press, we learn the sad news of his death on 26th June, 1936 at the ripe age of eighty. Q.W. ↩
195. ***The prince's visit to Leiden in 1935 and his encounter with Snouck Hurgronje is captured in a picture accessible at [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1935_HRH_Prince_Saud_being_received_by_Snouck_Hurgronje_\(right\)_at_Leiden_University_0.jpg](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1935_HRH_Prince_Saud_being_received_by_Snouck_Hurgronje_(right)_at_Leiden_University_0.jpg) < [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1935_HRH_Prince_Saud_being_received_by_Snouck_Hurgronje_\(right\)_at_Leiden_University_0.jpg](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1935_HRH_Prince_Saud_being_received_by_Snouck_Hurgronje_(right)_at_Leiden_University_0.jpg) > . ↩
196. ***Probably referring to the Islamic Art Museum in Berlin, founded in 1904; see <https://www.smb.museum/museen-einrichtungen/museum-fuer-islamische-kunst/ueber-uns/profil/> < <https://www.smb.museum/museen-einrichtungen/museum-fuer-islamische-kunst/ueber-uns/profil/> > . ↩
197. ***In 1935, there was a plan to found a new Orient-Institut in Berlin that would integrate the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen as well as all other seminars at Berlin University that were concerned with Near and Middle Eastern studies and Paul Kahle was the designated head of the new institute. Negotiations continued over the summer and autumn of 1935, but the plan was eventually not pursued; see Schmidtke, *German Orientalism*, passim. ↩
198. ***Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1925*. Volume I: The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement, London: Oxford University Press. Humphrey Milford, 1927, pp. vii–viii. ↩
199. ***The journal, Мир ислама: издание Императорскаго Общества Востоковѣдѣнія, was published only from 1912 to 1914. ↩
200. ***Paul Kraus, "La conduite du philosophe: Traité d'éthique d'Abū Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (Raziana I)," *Orientalia* n.s., 4 (1935), pp. 300–334; Paul Kraus, "Paul, "Extraits du kitāb a' lām al-nubuwwa d'Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (Raziana II)," *Orientalia* n.s., 5 (1936), pp. 35–56, 358–378. ↩
201. ***The Arabic edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was never finished; see Peri Bearman, *A History of the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2018, pp. 76–77 n. 68. ↩
202. ***The monumental multivolume project *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* was conceived and initiated by Wensinck in 1916. The first volume appeared in 1936, and the project was brought to conclusion with the publication of the eighth volume (Wim Raven and Jan Just Witkam, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*. Vol. 8: Indices. Leiden: Brill, 1988), which includes an introduction by Witkam on the history of the enterprise. ↩
203. ***The ambitious endeavor to compile a comprehensive dictionary of classical Arabic was launched by August Fischer, who presented his plan to compile a dictionary of early Arabic for the first time on 27 September 1907 in Basel. From 1914 onward, Fischer's efforts were funded by the Academy of Sciences in Saxony, allowing him to engage a team of scholars to extract relevant material from works he had identified. He also took into consideration the lexicographical notes, observations, corrections, and additions that Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) and Heinrich Thorbecke (1837–1890) had inserted into their respective copies of Georg Wilhelm Freytag's (1788–1861) *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* and Reinhart P. A. Dozy's (1820–1882) *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. Although the enterprise came to a near halt during World War I and the economic crisis of the early 1920s, it was resumed in 1924, and by the mid-1930s the accumulated material encompassed some 150,000 slips. After 1936 Fischer's dictionary project was continued in Cairo with the support of the recently founded Majma' Fu'ād al-Awwal li-l-Lughā al-'Arabiyya, and between 1936 and 1939 his Egyptian assistants produced another 140,000 slips. The first volume, covering the letter 'a up to the root 'abd and containing Fischer's detailed introduction, was published in 1940. When World War II broke out, the work came to a halt. After the war, the material remained in Cairo but Fischer was not allowed to travel to Egypt. The dictionary was still incomplete when he died on 14 February 1949. See Manfred Ullmann, "Zur Geschichte dieses Wörterbuches," *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache, Band II, 40. Lieferung: Index signifikanter Wörter*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009, pp. 2459–2494. ↩
204. ***The identification is tentative; Hamidullah has his name as "Collin." ↩
205. ***I was unable to identify this person. ↩

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