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The Library of Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942)

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Abstract

Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942) was one of the most prominent representatives of German Orientalism during the first decades of the twentieth century. Trained as an Arabist and Semitist, Mittwoch was at the same time a specialist of Ethiopian studies, and he was part of the circle of Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933) who initiated a new direction for Islamic studies in Orientalism. At the same time, Mittwoch was also engaged in the study of the Geniza and he worked on topics relevant to the Science of Judaism (“Wissenschaft des Judentums”). Mittwoch’s academic career ended abruptly when he was dismissed from his professorial position at the end of 1935 and eventually forced into exile in 1938. As a result, only portions of his professional and personal Nachlass have come to us. The present study provides a first overview of the available sources for a reconstruction of his biography and it discusses in some depth those that inform us of the fate of his library, in 1939, when his family joined him in London, as well as after his death in 1942.

Keywords

Eugen Mittwoch – Hermine Mittwoch – Hans Ludwig Gottschalk – The Selly Oaks Colleges Library – Paul E. Kahle – Jacques Ryckmans – Hans Schlobies – Joseph Schacht – Werner Otto von Hentig – Friedrich Kern – Herrmann Burchardt

In her 2016 study of the fate of the renowned Arabist, Africanist and scholar of Islamic and Semitic studies Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942) under the Nazi regime, 1933 through 1938, Maja Šćrbačić remarks that knowledge about

Mittwoch's last years in London, from April 1939¹ and until his death on 8 November 1942, is scant.² The same holds true for the personal circumstances of Mittwoch and his family during their final years in Berlin, following Mittwoch's dismissal from Berlin University at the end of 1935, when some of his former (non-Jewish) colleagues in Germany ceased to be in contact with him³ – among his Jewish colleagues and on the international level, Mittwoch continued to be acknowledged and widely recognized; Mittwoch was elected on 10 February 1936 as a corresponding member of the Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences in Paris,⁴ and on 4 December 1936 the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums published fascicle 1 of volume 81 (N.F. 45) of the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* as *Mittwoch-Festschrift*.⁵ Eugen Mittwoch also continued to travel as much as was possible.⁶ At the same time he was careful not to discuss his

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- 1 For the date of the arrival of the Mittwoch family in London, see U. Mittwoch, "Living History-Biography". Eugen Mittwoch had settled in London shortly before his family.
 - 2 Šćrbačić, "Eugen Mittwoch gegen das Land Preußen," p. 55 n. 67: "Mittwochs Exil in London und seine nachrichtendienstliche Tätigkeit in der Nahostabteilung des British Ministry of Information under Ernst Jäckh (1875–1959) sind ein Desiderat der Forschung". On Eugen Mittwoch, see also Elbogen, "Eugen Mittwoch"; Rawidowicz, "Eugen Mittwoch"; Littmann, "Eugen Mittwoch"; Weil, "Eugen Mittwoch"; Voigt, "Eugen Mittwoch"; Voigt, "Äthiopistik in Berlin"; U. Mittwoch, "Eugen Mittwoch"; Maas, "Mittwoch, Eugen". For Mittwoch's publications until December 1936, see Gottschalk, "Die Schriften Eugen Mittwochs. Zum 4. Dezember 1936 verzeichnet". Among Mittwoch's publications after 1936 is his 1942 study, Mittwoch, "Some Observations on the Language of Prayer". See also below.
 - 3 There is evidence that Mittwoch continued to be in contact with Adolf Erman (1854–1937), Carl Prüfer (1881–1959), Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957), Carl Rathjens (1887–1966), Enno Littmann (1875–1958), Paul E. Kahle (1875–1964) and Hans Schlobies (1904–1950) among his former colleagues during his final years in Berlin.
 - 4 See letter Mittwoch to Snouck Hurgronje, 12 February 1936 (Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 8952 A: 711); letter Aldo Mieli to Eugen Mittwoch, 10 February 1936, and letter [to whom it may concern] by Aldo Mieli 9 January 1939 (Eugen Mittwoch Archive, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem). See also "Académie internationale (Comité international) d'histoire des sciences," *Archeion* 17/4 (October 1935), pp. 426–437, here pp. 429, 430.
 - 5 For the *Mittwoch Festschrift*, see <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23113431> (accessed 9 October 2022). The *Festschrift* opens with a dedication, which reads as follows: "Ihrem verdienten Vorsitzenden, Prof. Dr. Eugen Mittwoch, dem Erforscher orientalischer Kultur, dem gelehrten und überzeugten Vertreter jüdischer Lehre und jüdischen Wissens, widmet dieses Heft ihrer Monatsschrift die Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums. Berlin, den 4. Dezember 1936."
 - 6 Mittwoch regularly visited, for example, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden until the latter's death on 26 June 1936. Regular destinations were also Paris and London; see, e.g., letter Eugen Mittwoch to Immanuel Löw, 22 March 1937, ARC. 4* 794, Immanuel Löw Archive, Archives Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem; for the letter, see n. 52 below. Mittwoch also regularly visited during the 1930s Amsterdam to convene with the Comité

personal situation in his otherwise rich correspondence with colleagues and friends during those years.⁷

Following Eugen Mittwoch's marriage in September 1921 with Hermine Lipmann (1897–1968), who had trained in medicine,⁸ the couple moved in

voor Joodsche Vluchtelingen, see letter Comité voor Joodsche Vluchtelingen to Mittwoch c/o American Joint Distribution Committee, 4 November 1938 (Eugen Mittwoch Archive, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem).

7 See, e.g., letter Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje to Rudolph Said-Ruete, 7 June 1933 (van Koningsveld, *Minor German Correspondences*, p. 228): "Mittwoch ist längst aus allen Aemtern entlassen und bekommt nur noch sein Gehalt für das nächste Wintersemester. Er fürchtet sich, über seine persönlichen Verhältnisse auch nur ein Wort dem Papier anzuvertrauen, und so geht es manchen anderen, durch die 'Gleichschaltung' ruinierten Juden oder marxistischer oder demokratischer Gesinnung verdächtigten Intellektuellen." It was largely thanks to Snouck Hurgronje's intervention that Mittwoch was reinstated as a professor at Berlin University in 1934; see also letter Snouck Hurgronje to Said-Ruete, 7 February 1934 (van Koningsveld, *Minor German Correspondences*, p. 230): "Die Wiedereinsetzung Mittwoch's erfolgte durch ein Schreiben von mir an den Unterrichtsminister. Ich ahnte nicht, dass ein Brief von mir solchen Einfluss auszuüben im Stande sein würde, aber Kahle und Mittwoch selbst drangen darauf, und der Erfolg blieb nicht aus. Uebrigens verstehe ich kaum, dass M. zu bleiben wünschte, wo über hundert Kollegen hinausgeschmissen wurden, und wo ihm doch die Freiheit der Bewegung vollständig genommen ist".

8 Ursula Mittwoch relates that her mother "had qualified in medicine but did not practice"; see U. Mittwoch, "Living History-Biography," p. 3. On the birth notification cards for their two younger daughters, Adele and Anita, dated 12 July 1925 and 10 September 1926 respectively, the couple are referred to as "Prof. Dr. Eugen Mittwoch u. Frau Dr. Hermine geb. Lipmann" (correspondence Eugen Mittwoch with Enno Littmann, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass Littmann, Enno, NL 245). Hermine Lipmann had submitted her doctoral dissertation in medicine, *Über einen Fall von Myoma cutis*, in 1922 to Frankfurt University; a summary of her dissertation is included in *Frankfurter medizinische Dissertationen in Auszügen*, vol. 3, pp. 10–11. The "Promotionsakte Hermine Lipmann" is kept at Universitätsarchiv, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, UAF Abt. 126, Nr. 423, Bl. 1–10. It includes a curriculum vitae that reads as follows: "Am 4. April 1897 wurde ich zu Wiesbaden als Tochter des praktischen Arztes L. Lipmann geboren. Ich besuchte in meiner Heimatstadt 7 Jahre das Lyzeum und trat dann in die Untertertia der daran angegliederten Studienanstalt über. Nachdem ich 1916 die Reifeprüfung bestanden hatte, begann ich im Sommersemester desselben Jahres in Frankfurt das Studium der Medizin. In meinem dritten Semester besuchte ich die Universität Marburg, um im vierten nach Frankfurt zurückzukehren, wo ich auch Ende Sommersemester 1918 die ärztliche Vorprüfung ablegte. Mit Ausnahme des achten Semester, das ich in Köln studierte, verbrachte ich auch die zweite Hälfte meiner Studienzeit in Frankfurt und bestand dort im Frühjahr 1921 die ärztliche Staatsprüfung". Eugen Mittwoch perhaps married twice. On 12 August 1917 Mittwoch writes to Ignaz Goldziher (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [LHAS] Oriental Collection, GIL/29/31/13): "Hochverehrter, lieber Herr Professor, heute einmal eine Mitteilung persönlicher Natur. Ich habe mich verlobt. Meine Braut heisst Hertha Warschauer und wohnt in Breslau. Ich bin sehr glücklich, in ihr die Gefährtin fürs Leben gefunden zu haben, die ich immer ersehnt hatte". In September 1917, Mittwoch became engaged to

early November 1921 to Altonaer Straße 26 located in Berlin's prestigious Hansaviertel.⁹ Here Eugen and Hermine's three girls, Ursula (1924–2021),¹⁰ Adele (1925–2011),¹¹ and Anita (1926–2019), spent their early childhood.¹² Sixteen years later, in early April 1937, the family moved from Altonaer Straße 26 to their new home in Landgrafenstraße 12, in Tiergarten.¹³ Whether they

Hertha Warschauer; see Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/29/31/46, and the wedding was scheduled for the second half of November 1917; see postcard Mittwoch to Goldziher, 5 October 1917, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/29/31/14. Whether the marriage was later dissolved or whether Hertha had died previously, remains unclear.

- 9 See letter Eugen Mittwoch to Enno Littmann, 11 November 1921 ("Berlin N W, den 11.11.21. Altonaerstrasse 26.") (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass Littmann, Enno, NL 245): "Wir wohnen vorläufig noch möbliert, und es gibt im Anfang eine Menge Arbeit, bis man einigermaßen in Ordnung ist; aber das sind Kleinigkeiten." See also *Berliner Adreßbuch 1923*, p. 2118, where the address is listed for the first time under the entry "Mittwoch, Eugen, Dr. phil. Prof. NW 23, Altonaer Str. 26 T". Prior to his marriage with Hermine, Eugen Mittwoch lived at Kirchstraße 12 (in 1903), later Kirchstraße 23 (in 1902 and again since 1909 or 1910), in Berlin Moabit.
- 10 Ursula Mittwoch became a prominent scholar in biology and genetics; see Pergament, "Encomium". For her scholarly trajectory, see also Peter Harper's interview with Ursula Mittwoch, 2 March 2004, <https://genmedhist.eshg.org/fileadmin/content/website-layout/interviewees-attachments/Mittwoch,%20Ursula.pdf> (accessed 27 May 2022). Ursula Mittwoch published an obituary for her father, focussing on his contributions to the history of medicine; U. Mittwoch, "Eugen Mittwoch".
- 11 Adele Mittwoch was trained in mathematics, physics and chemistry and later became a renowned psychotherapist in England; see Pines, "Adele Mittwoch (1926–2011)" (note that Pines gives 1926 as her date of birth, which is an error).
- 12 Anita Mittwoch had, at some point, apparently considered following in the footsteps of her father in Oriental studies; see letter Hermine Mittwoch to Paul E. Kahle, 29 November 1949 (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_1590): "Meine Töchter haben einen gewissen Abschluß ihrer Studien, Biologie, Chemie, klassische Philologie erreicht und betätigen sich nun praktisch. Es ist möglich, daß sich die dritte noch einmal der Orientalistik zuwendet". Later (1963) Anita moved to Israel for a number of years, studied Classics and eventually worked in the English department of the Hebrew University; see <https://en.linguistics.huji.ac.il/people/anita-mittwoch> (accessed 27 May 2022). In 2006, a workshop in honor of her scholarship was held at the Hebrew University, "Syntax, Lexicon, and Event Structure", and the proceedings were published as Rappaport Hovav, Doron, and Sichel (eds), *Lexical Semantics*. Anita's date of death, 20 December 2019, is erroneously given as 23 December 2019 in <https://www.avelim.co.il/%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A4-%D7%90%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%98%D7%94-%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%98%D7%95%D7%95%D7%9A-%D7%96%D7%9C/> (accessed 9 October 2022). I thank Etan Kohlberg and Simon Hopkins for the identification of Anita Mittwoch and her biographical details.
- 13 See letter Eugen Mittwoch to Carl Rathjens, 2 March 1937 (SUB Hamburg, Nachlass Carl Rathjens, NRa : Ba : M 278): "Ich bin im Begriff, fuer 14 Tage zu verreisen. Nach der Rueckkehr habe ich einen Umzug vor; Anfang April wollen wir aus unserer bisherigen Wohnung nach Landgrafenstrasse 12 uebersiedeln." *The Berliner Adreßbuch 1937*,

were ousted from the Hansaviertel¹⁴ or whether the move was prompted by financial constraints – since Mittwoch was forced into retirement his pension was far below his earlier salary¹⁵ – remains uncertain. In the following year, all three daughters were excluded from attending school.¹⁶ Following the Executive Order on the Law on the Alteration of Family and Personal Names (“Zweite Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes über die Änderung von Familiennamen und Vornamen vom 17. August 1938”), Eugen Mittwoch was forced to adopt “Israel” as an additional name, and it was under this name that he published in 1939 his paper “Neue aramäische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft in Ägypten”.¹⁷ In January 1939 Mittwoch was notified by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Medizin, Naturwissenschaft und Technik e.V., of which he was a member, that “[e]ntsprechend der neuen Verfügung über die Nichtarier in Deutschland müssen die deutschen Nichtarier aus unserer Gesellschaft ausscheiden.”¹⁸

During the program of 9 November 1938, Eugen Mittwoch sojourned in Paris.¹⁹ Rather than returning to Berlin, Mittwoch remained abroad, and he and his family eventually settled in London. The precise circumstances of the

p. 1937 still has: “Mittwoch, Eugen Dr phil Univers Prof NW 87 Altonaer Straße 26 T”. The *Berliner Adreßbuch 1938*, p. 1857 has instead: “Mittwoch, Eugen Dr Univers Prof a D W 62 Landgrafenstr. 12 T”.

- 14 For the history of the Hansaviertel, before and after 1933, see <https://hansaviertel.berlin/geschichte/> (accessed 8 June 2022).
- 15 From 1 January 1936 onwards Mittwoch was paid 35% of his last regular salary; see Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, UK M 225, Personalakte Eugen Mittwoch.
- 16 For the gradual exclusion of Jewish children from school in Nazi Germany, see Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe unter dem Naziregime*, pp. 19ff. See also Strieder, “Der Ausschluss jüdischer Kinder aus den öffentlichen Schulen im NS-Staat”; Kaplan, “The School Lives of Jewish Children and Youth in the Third Reich”.
- 17 “Neue aramäische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft in Ägypten” von Eugen Israel Mittwoch. The study was published in the last fascicle of *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* “Januar / Dezember 1939”.
- 18 Eugen Mittwoch Archive, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. For the archive, see below, n. 23.
- 19 See above, n. 6. See also Elbogen, “Eugen Mittwoch”: “Er ist wie so häufig, Anfang November 1938 zur Beratung mit dem europäischen Zentralbüro des Joint in Paris gewesen und nur durch das Drängen seiner Freunde daran gehindert worden, in die Hölle von Berlin zurückzukehren. Es wurde ihm schwer, sich von seiner greisen Mutter, zu der er mit zärtlichster Kinderliebe hing, zu trennen. Nachdem er die Erlaubnis zur Niederlassung in London erhalten hatte, siedelte er mit Frau und Kindern dorthin über. Er fühlte sich zunächst recht fremd, bald aber nahm er die alte Arbeit wieder auf, organisierte und leitete ein Hilfswerk für Refugees, ein Jüdisches Lehrhaus und wurde zuletzt von der Britischen Regierung für den Aufklärungs-Dienst im Orient herangezogen.”

family's move are again unknown; what is confirmed is only the date of Hermine's and the girls' arrival in London, in April 1939 – Eugen Mittwoch had settled in London some time before their arrival. The difficulties of the situation are evident from his brief comments on his personal situation that Mittwoch included in his letter to Paul Kraus, dated 7 April 1940:²⁰

Sie fragen mich, wie es mit mir steht. Leider habe ich da nur wenig zu berichten. Wir kamen vor etwa einem Jahr hierher, weil wir ein permit hatten. Das ist alles. Nun muss ich zusehen, dass ich irgendwie mit irgendwas unterkomme. Denn ich kann doch nicht immer weiter warten. Wo sich mir eine Arbeitsmöglichkeit bieten wird, ist mir gleich, sei es hier, sei es in Amerika, sei es in Palästina. Ich hoffe doch, dass ich allmählich irgendwo etwas finden werde. Dass ich gern nach Ägypten käme, ist selbstverständlich. Aber daran ist ja wohl nicht zu denken.

While in London, Eugen Mittwoch also worked as advisor to the Eastern Division of the British Ministry of Information and for the BBC,²¹ as did the German Arabist Joseph Schacht (1902–1969). The employment of Mittwoch and Schacht, two German scholars, by the BBC and the British government was met with considerable criticism in England during the war years.²² Although

²⁰ Letter Eugen Mittwoch to Paul Kraus, 7 April 1940 (Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt in Cairo, Archiv E. Combe).

²¹ This is prominently mentioned in "Prof. Eugene Mittwoch, Famous German-Jewish Orientalist, Dies in London", *Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) Daily News Bulletin* (10 November 1942).

²² See *The Scotsman*, 20 November 1941, p. 6: "364 Aliens in B.B.C. Employ: Sixty-One of Them Germans In a further reply ... Mr Bracken [Minister of Information] says that Professor Mittwoch and Professor Schacht, both Germans, are not employed by the Ministry of Information but are advisers in Arabic and Persian phraseology, calligraphy &c. on which they are experts of world reputation. They have no access to confidential information"; *The Scotsman*, 7 May 1942, p. 6: "Arabic Broadcasts"; *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 May 1942, p. 2: "Talks to Arabs. Foreigners at B.B.C. In the House of Commons yesterday. Mr. Brendan Bracken (Minister of Information) was questioned about the employment by the B.B.C. of Dr. Schacht and Professor Mittwoch and the issue of passes to them Sir Patrick Hannon (C.-Moseley): Would it not be better altogether to get rid of the Schachts and Mittwochs from the Ministry of Information? ... Replying to Sir Waldron Smithers on the matter of passes held by Professor Mittwoch and Dr. Schacht, the Minister said it had been found that they held identification passes, the issue of which was clearly irregular, and orders for withdrawal had been given. The official responsible for issuing the passes deserved a rebuke ... Mr. Bracken added that Professor Mittwoch and Dr. Schacht did not receive a salary but were employed on a fee basis stabilised at £50 a month." See also "Professor Mittwoch and Schacht debated on Wednesday 19 November 1941", <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/194-11-19/debates/9a37ecd-fbc50-43a9-90ba-a38b>

Eugen Mittwoch, an enemy alien upon Great Britain's declaration of war against Germany on 3 September, was under the age of 70 he was exempt from internment, as was his wife Hermine. Their eldest daughter Ursula, however, who turned 16 in 1940, was interned on the Isle of Man for a few months.

For a reconstruction of Mittwoch's biography only relatively little, dispersed documentary evidence is available. Only a fraction of Mittwoch's personal and scholarly papers seems to have come down to us, and there is so far no reliable overview of the extant material. Fragments of his personal papers are kept in the National Library of Israel,²³ and in the Wiener Holocaust Library in London.²⁴ Mittwoch's professional file, pertinent to his time in Berlin, is kept at the archive of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin,²⁵ and the University Archive Greifswald holds his professional file for the years 1917 to 1919.²⁶ The records of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars also hold a file for Eugen Mittwoch,²⁷ as is the case with the Archive of the

41fef76c/ProfessorsMittwochAndSchacht (accessed 28 november 2022). Joseph Schacht was naturalized in 1947.

23 Eugen Mittwoch Archive, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem; https://www.nli.org.il/he/archives/NNL_ARCHIVE_AL002651611/NLI (accessed 16 May 2022). A digital surrogate of the Eugen Mittwoch Archive is kept at Harvard University Library; see Eugen Mittwoch Archive, Harvard University Library; https://hollis.harvard.edu/permalink/f/1mdq505/TN_cdi_globaltitleindex_catalog_143154088 (accessed 7 July 2022).

24 <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/0622077a-4d10-34f0-9b29-c689f78e588f> (accessed 25 May 2022).

25 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Universitätsarchiv zu Berlin, UK M 225, Personalakte Eugen Mittwoch.

26 Universitätsarchiv Greifswald (1.4. Personalakten der wissenschaftlichen Angestellten und Beamten) 107; see <https://ariadne-portal.uni-greifswald.de/?arc=1&type=prs&id=868119> (accessed 26 May 2022). Mittwoch was appointed in 1917 as successor to Mark Lidzbarski (1868–1928) but was unable to teach there due to his commitments as head of the Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient in Berlin; see letter Mittwoch to Goldziher, 6 June 1920 (Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/29/31/56): “Bei dem grossen Interesse, das Sie immer in so gütiger Weise an mir genommen haben, darf ich Ihnen vielleicht auch einiges über mich selbst berichten. Dass ich Ostern 1917 nach Greifswald berufen worden war (als Nachfolger von Lidzbarski, der nach Göttingen kam), wissen Sie wohl. Ich habe den Ruf auch angenommen, konnte aber nicht meine dortige Lehrtätigkeit aufnehmen, da ich die ganze Zeit über hier beschäftigt war. Zu Ostern 1919 wurde ich dann nach Berlin zurückversetzt, als Ordinarius an der Universität und gleichzeitig als Nachfolger Martin Hartmanns am Orientalischen Seminar. Vor kurzem – Ostern d. J. – hat Sachau sich in seiner Eigenschaft als Direktor des Orientalischen Seminars pensionieren lassen, während er seine Lehrtätigkeit an der Universität beibehält. Ich bin zunächst bis auf weiteres mit der Führung der Geschäfte des Direktors des Orientalischen Seminars beauftragt worden”.

27 *Guide to the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars records 1927–1942*, p. 91 (entry: “b. 96 f. 26 Mittwoch, Eugen 1933–1934”).

Society for the Protection of Science and Learning.²⁸ Some of Mittwoch's epistolary exchanges are held in the archives of other scholars. For example, some fifty-five letters and postcards from Mittwoch to Ignaz **Goldziher** (1850–1921), written between 1899 and 1920, form part of the Goldziher Correspondence, held at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest,²⁹ where also a postcard from Gotthold **Weil** (1882–1960) to Mittwoch (dated 13 September 1909) is kept.³⁰ Wilhelm **Bacher's** legacy, which was given to the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest some time after his death in 1913, included according to an inventory published in 1935 eight letters from Mittwoch, which he had sent from Berlin;³¹ these, like many other parts of the Bacher legacy, are no longer preserved.³² The Biblioteca Comunale Centrale Palazzo Sormani in Milan holds six letters by Mittwoch to the Italian Arabist Eugenio **Griffini** (1878–1925), written between 1910 and 1920.³³ Carl Heinrich **Becker** (1876–1933) regularly exchanged letters with Mittwoch between 1898 until 1932, which are held in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv-Preussischer Kulturbesitz,³⁴ and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin holds Mittwoch's ninety-nine letters and postcards to Enno **Littmann** (1875–1958), written between 1907 and 1938. The private Sammlung Meyerhof includes one letter by Mittwoch to Max **Meyerhof** (1874–1945), dated 11 December 1910.³⁵ A letter by Mittwoch to Hubert **Grimme**

28 Archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MS. S.P.S.L. 528/2 ("Mittwoch, Professor Eugen (1876–1942), File 1940–43"); see <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/3246/index> (accessed 11 October 2022).

29 Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/29/31/02 through GIL/29/31/55.

30 Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/29/31/01.

31 See *A Budapesti Ferenc József Országos Rabbiképző-intézet Értesítője az 1934–1935-iki tanévről*, p. 27.

32 A portion of Bacher's legacy, consisting of some 215 letters he had received, was auctioned off in 2019 by Kestenbaum & Company to an unknown buyer; see <https://www.kestenbaum.net/auction/lot/Auction-83/083-128/> (accessed 8 November 2022). The National Library of Israel also owns a collection of ca. 454 postcards, in addition to some letters, to Bacher; these include three postcards from Mittwoch ("Science of Judaism" letter collection, 15 Postcards to Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, Part 3, ARC. Ms. Var. 23602 152).

33 See Sagaria Rossi and Schmidtke, "The Beginnings of Zaydi and Yemeni Studies in Europe: The Eugenio Griffini Archive, Milan". For the Mittwoch-Griffini correspondence, see also Schmidtke, "Eugen Mittwoch and Mu'tazili Studies".

34 Geheimes Staatsarchiv-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, VI. HA, NI Becker, C. H., Nr. 5454.

35 My thanks to Isolde Lehnert for providing me with a scan of the letter.

(1864–1942), dated 6 April 1908, is kept at Münster University Library.³⁶ The Wartburg-Stiftung Eisenach holds evidence for Mittwoch's correspondence with the Burghauptmann Hans von Cranach (1855–1929) in 1909.³⁷ The Library of Staatliche Museen in Berlin holds one letter (1915) from Mittwoch to Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929),³⁸ and the Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin has a letter by Mittwoch (1913) addressed to Richard Hartmann (1881–1865).³⁹ Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971) corresponded with Mittwoch during the years 1919 to 1922, and portions of their epistolary exchange are preserved in the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg.⁴⁰ Mittwoch also regularly corresponded with Christiaan Snouck-Hurgronje (1857–1936), and Mittwoch's letters to him, between 1910 and 1936, are kept at Leiden University Library.⁴¹ The Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research of Ancient Egypt in Cairo owns Mittwoch's correspondence with Ludwig Borchardt, consisting of 108 letters written between 1933 and 1938, in addition to one letter of 1914, and its continuation after Borchardt's death in 1938 by his widow Mimi (11 letters).⁴² The same institution also holds one letter Mittwoch addressed on 7 April 1940 to Paul Kraus (1904–1944) that is part of the Etienne Combe

36 Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (Münster, Westfalen), Grimme-Nachlaß Kps. 1, 77; see <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-606193> (accessed 12 October 2022).

37 See Heidemann, "Der mamlükische Türklopper," p. 183; Heidemann, "Late Ottoman Door Knockers," p. 153.

38 *Findbuch Nachlass Wilhelm von Bode*, p. 91, accessible at https://www.smb.museum/fileadmin/website/Institute/Zentralarchiv/Bestaende/Dokumente/ZA_Findbuch_Nachlass_Wilhelm_von_Bode.pdf (accessed 28 November 2022).

39 SMB-ZA, III/OC 182; see *Findbuch Orient-Comité*, p. 43, accessible at https://www.smb.museum/fileadmin/website/Institute/Zentralarchiv/Bestaende/Dokumente/ZA_Findbuch_Orient_Comite.pdf (accessed 28 November 2022).

40 Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, 340 Ritter b Familienarchiv Ritter, HstAM Fonds 340 Ritter b No. 381.

41 For Mittwoch's letter to Snouck Hurgronje of 25 January 1910, see "Brieven van Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942) aan Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936)," Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 8952 C 7: 26; a digital image is accessible at <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1649547>. For Mittwoch's letter of 9 October 1916, see Or. 8952 D: 1+00 (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1651341>). For Mittwoch's letters of 1921 through May 1932, see Or. 8952 A: 707 (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1644643>). For Mittwoch's remaining letters of 1932, see Or. 8952 A: 708 (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1644307>). For Mittwoch's letters of 1933, see Or. 8952 A: 709 (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1639689>). For Mittwoch's letters of December 1934 and 1935, see Or. 8952 A: 710 (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1638703>). For Mittwoch's letters of 1936, see Or. 8952 A: 711 (<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1641457>).

42 I thank Cornelis van Pilgrim for the information on the correspondence.

(1881–1962) legacy.⁴³ The State- and University Library Hamburg holds some correspondence between Eugen Mittwoch and Carl **Rathjens** (1887–1966), 1921 to 1938,⁴⁴ as well as one letter (dated 10 August 1929) from Mittwoch to Arthur **Schaade** (1883–1952).⁴⁵ Heidelberg University Library holds epistolary exchanges between Mittwoch and Carl **Bezold** (1959–1922), between 1910 and 1922,⁴⁶ and Göttingen University has Mittwoch's correspondence with Friedrich Carl **Andreas** (1846–1930).⁴⁷ The Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg hold the legacy of Ignaty **Kratchkowski** (1883–1951), which includes Eugen Mittwoch's letters to him.⁴⁸ The Strothmann family archive includes one letter from Mittwoch to Rudolf **Strothmann** (1877–1960), dated 13 June 1933,⁴⁹ and the archive of Hermann **Burchardt** (1857–1909) at the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, holds some correspondence from Mittwoch to Burchardt.⁵⁰ The National Library of Israel also holds some of Mittwoch's epistolary exchanges with Markus **Brann** (1849–1920), 1904 through

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- 43 For the wording of the letter, see above. I thank Cornelis von Pilgrim for having shared with me the inventory “Korrespondenz Paul Kraus im Schweizer Institut Kairo, Archiv E. Combe”, as well as images of Mittwoch's letter to Kraus of 7 April 1940. Another letter by Paul Kraus to Mittwoch, dated 9 July 1934, is part of the Eugen Mittwoch Archive, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem (on which see above, n. 23).
- 44 Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Nachlass Rathjens, Carl August (1887–1966), Korrespondenz, Mittwoch, Eugen (M 254–284).
- 45 Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Nachlass Schaade, Arthur (1883–1952), NAS : [Mittwoch, Eugen].
- 46 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Nachlaß Carl Bezold, Heid. Hs. 1500 III A – 130, Blatt 1–16; see <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-1772744> (accessed 12 October 2022).
- 47 Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Nachlaß Friedrich Carl Andreas, Cod. Ms. F. C. Andreas 1 : 297; see <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-3170710> (accessed 12 October 2022).
- 48 Fond 1026, Ignaty Kratchkowski archive, Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. Kratchkowski's correspondence is kept under the class-mark Opis 008. For a brief description of the Kratchkowski archive, see <http://db.ranar.spb.ru/ru/fund/id/707/> (accessed 8 October 2022). I thank Grigory Kessel for information about the archive and for having provided me with a list of Kratchkowski's correspondents.
- 49 Strothmann family archive, SFA-D-Mittwoch. Mittwoch and Strothmann were in personal contact since December 1910, if not before; see Schmidtke, *The Beginnings of Shīʿī Studies*, p. 90.
- 50 ARC. Ms. Var. 525, Hermann Burchardt Archive, Archives Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. I inspected the Burchardt Nachlass in situ in November 2013.

1916,⁵¹ with Immanuel Löw (1854–1944),⁵² with Victor Aptowitzer (1871–1942),⁵³ and with Adolf Büchler (1867–1939).⁵⁴ The Hans Schlobies (1904–1950) legacy, held by the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaft, includes correspondence between Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann (1852–1932), Eugen Mittwoch, and Hermann von Wissmann (1895–1979).⁵⁵ Harvard University Library owns a letter by Eugen Mittwoch addressed in 1936 to Martin Buber (1878–1965),⁵⁶ and a letter by Eugen Mittwoch to Albert Einstein (1879–1955) dated 12 February 1926 is included among the Einstein papers.⁵⁷ Basel University Library holds eight letters from Mittwoch to Rudolf Tschudi (1884–1960), written between 1913 and 1927,⁵⁸ one letter dated 5 December 1919 to Eugen Täubler

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- 51 ARC. Ms. Var. 308, Marcus Brann Archive, Archives Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. Digital surrogates of some of Mittwoch's letters to Brann are accessible: letter dated 7 July 1904 (https://login.ezproxy.princeton.edu/login?url=https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C3587527?account_id=13314&usage_group_id=98846), and letter dated 10 June 1913 (https://login.ezproxy.princeton.edu/login?url=https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C3591387?account_id=13314&usage_group_id=98846). For the remaining correspondence (ARC. Ms. Var. 30801915), see https://www.nli.org.il/en/archives/NNL_ARCHIVE_AL990035897920205171/NLI (accessed 24 October 2022). An edition of Brann's correspondence is in preparation; Christian Wiese and Mirjam Thulin (eds), *Wissenschaft des Judentums in Europa: Die Korrespondenz des Breslauer Historikers Markus Brann (1849–1920)*; see https://www.uni-frankfurt.de/41087479/Editionsprojekt_Die_Korrespondenz_des_Breslauer_Historikers_Markus_Brann (accessed 28 November 2022).
- 52 ARC. 4* 794, Immanuel Löw Archive, Archives Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. Digital surrogates of Mittwoch's postcard (22 May 1928) and letter (22 March 1937) to Löw are accessible: https://www.nli.org.il/en/archives/NNL_ARCHIVE_AL990037357080205171/NLI (accessed 24 October 2022).
- 53 ARC. 4* 1209, Victor Aptowitzer Archive, Archives Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem; the call number for Mittwoch's letter is ARC. 4* 1209 03 143.
- 54 ARC. 4* 1596, Adolf Büchler Archive, Archives Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem; the call number for Mittwoch's three letters is ARC. 4* 1596 01 234.
- 55 See the handwritten inventory, prepared by Maria Höfner during the 1950s. For Mordtmann, see Babinger, "J. H. Mordtmann zum Gedächtnis".
- 56 https://hollis.harvard.edu/permalink/f/1mdq505/TN_cdi_globaltitleindex_catalog_135834322 (accessed 26 May 2022).
- 57 See *The Collected Papers of Albert Einstein*. Vol. 15: The Berlin Years: Writings & Correspondence, June 1925–May 1927, p. 906 no. 315 (<https://einsteinpapers.press.princeton.edu/vol15-doc/1018>).
- 58 Basel University Library, Nachlass Rudolf Tschudi (Basel, UB, UBH NL 287 : A 108,1–8); see also <http://kalliope-verbund.info/CH-001880-7-000015074> (accessed 12 October 2022). Surrogates of these letters are held at Harvard University; see <https://hollis.harvard.edu>

(1879–1953),⁵⁹ and two letters written in 1919 to Leopold Landau (1848–1920).⁶⁰ The Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem owns the correspondence between Mittwoch and Martin Plessner, 1925 through 1934 (A503/47). The Bavarian State Library in Munich holds two letters from Mittwoch to Emil Gratzl (1877–1957).⁶¹ The Warburg Institute in London holds Mittwoch's correspondence with Aby Warburg (1866–1929), 1915 through 1928,⁶² and the Fondo Paul Kahle at the Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, holds Paul E. Kahle's (1875–1964) correspondence with Eugen Mittwoch between 1924 and 1939.⁶³ The Kahle and Mittwoch families remained in regular contact after they had settled in England in spring 1939, and Kahle and his wife Marie also stayed in touch with Eugen Mittwoch's widow Hermine after Mittwoch's demise in 1942.⁶⁴

[/permlink/f/1mdq505/TN_cdi_globaltitleindex_catalog_276229468](https://permalink/f/1mdq505/TN_cdi_globaltitleindex_catalog_276229468) (accessed 26 May 2022).

- 59 Basel University Library, Nachlass Eugen Täubler (Basel, UB, UBH NL 78), E, Korrespondenz. III. Nachtrag: Briefe an Eugen Täubler, 70.
- 60 Basel University Library, Nachlass Eugen Täubler (Basel, UB, UBH NL 78), E, Korrespondenz. II. Korrespondenz zwischen Dritten; 18–19. The letters are dated 30 November 1919 and 2 December 1919.
- 61 *Gratzliana: Repertorium des Nachlasses von Emil Gratzl (1877–1957)*, Munich 1920 (<https://link.bsb-muenchen.de/BV039728445>), p. 32; see also <https://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-606189> (accessed 12 October 2022).
- 62 The Warburg Institute, WIA General Correspondence.
- 63 Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_1589. Mittwoch also corresponded with the Jerusalemite scholar and politician David Yellin (1864–1941). For the transcription of a letter by Yellin to Mittwoch (1907) see <https://benyehuda.org/read/20947#213.%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%94%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%95%D7%99%D7%92%D7%9F%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%98%D7%95%D7%95%D7%9A> (accessed 26 May 2022). There is evidence that Mittwoch also corresponded with Richard Gottheil (1862–1936); see Gottheil, “A fragment from a treatise on medicine,” p. 315.
- 64 See letter Paul E. Kahle to Enno Littmann, 17 June 1946 (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_1436): “Mittwoch ist lange krank gewesen. Wir haben nach seinem Tode seine Frau ein paar Mal gesehn. Sie hat ihre Medizin wieder aufgenommen, und den Töchtern scheint es ganz gut zu gehen.” Letter Kahle to Littmann, 15 July 1946 (Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_1436): “Vorgestern besuchte uns in London Frau Mittwoch. Wir haben uns ganz nett ein paar Stunden unterhalten. Sie brachte einen ‘Perser’ namens Dawud mit, der alle Orientalisten in diesem Lande kannte und behauptete allerlei Sammlungen (Handschriften, Miniaturen) zu besitzen. Er ist schon 30 Jahre im Lande und machte einen ganz guten Eindruck. Ich werde ihn vielleicht einmal besuchen.” Letter Kahle to Littmann, 19 December 1949 (Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_1436): “Mittwoch war zweifellos ein sehr anständiger Mensch, der zweifellos eine ganze Menge gekonnt hat. Ich habe ihn in der ersten Zeit unsers hierseins öfters gesehen, und stehe mit Frau Mittwoch immer noch in Verbindung. Sie war vor einem Jahr zur Beerdigung meiner Frau aus London nach Wadhurst herübergekommen. Sie

Hermine Mittwoch, who continued to live in London until her death on 11 July 1968,⁶⁵ donated portions of her late husband's scholarly legacy to colleagues and research institutions, and so did Hermine and Eugen's daughter Ursula Mittwoch later on. The edition and translation of Aramaic documents, photographs of which Eugen Mittwoch had received from the Egyptologist Ludwig Borchardt (1863–1938), he prepared together with three younger scholars, Walter Hening (1908–1967), Hans Jacob Polotsky (1905–1991) and Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003). By 1949 this was in the hands of Godfrey Rolles Driver (1892–1975) for publication.⁶⁶ Hermine Mittwoch provided Enno Littmann

hat uns nach dem Tode ihres Mannes öfters besucht, und es scheint, daß sich ihre drei Töchter ganz gut entwickeln. Das ist sehr erfreulich, Mittwoch war hier in einer etwas schwierigen Lage. Er fand nicht recht den Ansporn weiter zu arbeiten." Eugen Mittwoch was also survived by his younger brother, Jehuda Felix Mittwoch (1887–1959); on him, see Eliav and Hildesheimer, *Das Berliner Rabbinerseminar*, p. 196.

- 65 See *AJR* [*Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain*] *Information* (August 1968), p. 10: "Mittwoch. – Dr. Hermine Mittwoch, widow of the late Professor Eugen Mittwoch, of 40 Eagle Lodge, London, N. W. 11, passed away on July 11 at the age of 71." 40 Eagle Lodge was the family's residence since early April 1940; see letter Eugen Mittwoch to Paul Kraus, 7 April 1940 (Schweizer Institut Kairo, Archiv E. Combe): "[v]or ein paar Tagen bin ich umgezogen, und ich bitte Sie, sich meine neue Adresse zu notieren ... Ich werde noch 14 Tage zu tun haben, bis unsere Wohnung – wir sind erst vor 3 Tagen gezogen – einigermaßen zumutbar sein wird." On 13 December 1939 the family's address was 3 Parsifal Road, N.W. 6; see letter Minister of Labour to Eugen Mittwoch, 13 December 1939 (Eugen Mittwoch Archive, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem). Both Hermine and Eugen Mittwoch were buried at Adat Yisroel Cemetery, Enfield, Greater London. Eugen's grave is located at plot C 12 27, Hermine's at plot F 9 3; see "Enfield Cemetery-Adath Yisroel Burial Society Records for surnames beginning M–Z," <https://www.jgsgb.org.uk/BrowseLists/bury02mz.htm> (accessed 16 January 2023).
- 66 See letter Hermine Mittwoch to Enno Littmann, 29 November 1949 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass Littmann, Enno, NL 245): "Die aramäischen Dokumente, an denen mein Mann gearbeitet hat, harren nun ihrer in Kürze erfolgenden Herausgabe durch Professor Driver." The documents were published in 1954 as Driver (ed.), *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* Borchardt relates his undated correspondence with Mittwoch on the material in Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, pp. 47–49. Additional correspondence between Borchardt and Mittwoch, that was continued after 1938 by Borchardt's widow Mimi, is included in the Ludwig Borchardt Nachlass held by Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Cairo. Mittwoch published a preliminary report on the material in 1939; Mittwoch, "Neue aramäische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft in Ägypten". For the provenance and later fate of the Aramaic material and the history of its exploration, see Allen, "The Bodleian Letters: A Fragmentary History". Allen disregarded for this study the Borchardt-Mittwoch correspondence. For a new edition of the material, see *Aršāma and his World: The Bodleian Letters in Context*. On Ludwig and Mimi Borchardt, see Kasper-Holtkotte, *Deutschland in Ägypten*; von Pilgrim, "Ludwig Borchardt und sein Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo".

with details about her late husband's biography, which Littmann used in his obituary for Eugen Mittwoch,⁶⁷ and she collected her late husband's correspondence with Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), consisting of 43 letters and postcards, which she offered in November 1949 to Enno Littmann,⁶⁸ the latter accepted them with the intention to hand them to Tübingen University Library.⁶⁹ The documents that form today the Eugen Mittwoch Archive at

67 See letter Hermine Mittwoch to Enno Littmann, 29 November 1949 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass Littmann, Enno, NL 245): "Sehr geehrter Herr Littmann, besten Dank für Ihren Brief vom 23.11., und lassen Sie mich Ihnen besonders meine Dankbarkeit bekunden dafür, daß Sie meinen Mann ein so freundliches Andenken bewahren. Ich empfinde es auch als gütig von Ihnen, daß Sie ihm nun einen kollegialen Nachruf widmen wollen. Die gewünschten Angaben dazu sind: geb. 4.12.76 in Schrimm, Kreis Posen; besuchte das Gymnasium in Schrimm; studierte 1894–98 in Berlin, wo er am 1.2.99 promovierte und sich 1905 für semitische Philologie habilitierte; am 12.4.07 im Einverständnis mit dem Auswärtigen Amt mit Erteilung amharischen und äthiopischen Unterrichts am Seminar beauftragt; am 25.9.09 erhielt er als Lektor und Privatdozent das Prädikat Professor; 21.4.15 außerordentlicher Professor in Berlin; 3.3.17 ordentlicher Professor in Greifswald; 1.3.19 ord. Prof. in Berlin; 6.12.35 als Jude vorzeitig emeritiert. Am 30.10.38 fuhr er in sozialer Mission nach Paris und entschloß sich wegen der kurz danach eintretenden Verschärfung der Lage, nicht mehr zurückzukehren. Im April 1939 nahm er seinen dauernden Aufenthalt in England. Anfang August 42 hatte sich sein altes Magenleiden so verschlimmert, daß er bettlägrig wurde. Die Krankheit nahm immer schwerere Formen an, bis er ihr am 8. November 42 erlag." Littmann completed his obituary for Mittwoch on 15 December 1949 (see letter Littmann to Kahle, 15 December 1949 [Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_1436]: "Ich schicke heute meinen Nachruf auf Mittwoch zum Druck in der ZDMG") and it appeared in 1950 in volume 99, no. 2 of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

68 See letter Hermine Mittwoch to Enno Littmann, 29 November 1949 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass Littmann, Enno, NL 245): "Ich habe gerade in den letzten Tagen ein Päckchen Briefe und Karten (zusammen 43) von Nöldeke zusammengestellt und wollte die Bibliothek in Jerusalem, denen ich einiges noch vom Nachlaß übrige übergebe, fragen, ob sie diese annehmen. Nun aber frage ich lieber Sie deswegen. Sie stehen natürlich zu Ihrer Verfügung." Another letter by Nöldeke to Mittwoch surfaced after Hermine's death in 1968 and was handed to Ullendorff, who published it; see Ullendorff, Edward, "A letter from Th. Nöldeke to E. Mittwoch".

69 See letter Enno Littmann to Paul Kahle, 31 December 1949 (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_1436): "Frau M[itthewoch] schickte mir vor Kurzem die Briefe Nöldekes an ihren Mann; die werden hier in der Universitätsbibliothek mit dem Nachlass Nöldekes und den vorhandenen Briefen aufbewahrt" This material is nowadays kept at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachlass Theodor Nöldeke (NL 246), Kasten 3. Tübingen University Library only holds three postcards from Mittwoch to Nöldeke, dated 19 February 1924, 11 August 1925, and 5 November 1925 (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Abteilung Handschriften / Historische Druck,

the National Library of Israel were also donated by Hermine Mittwoch,⁷⁰ and Eugen Mittwoch's personal papers that are kept in the Wiener Holocaust Library were handed over by Ursula Mittwoch. Ursula also gave portions of her father's scholarly legacy to the British Semitist and Ethiopist Edward Ullendorff (1920–2011) who as a young adult had attended some informal Arabic classes given by Mittwoch in Berlin during the mid-1930s.⁷¹ Ullendorff began to publish a series of instalments on selected items of Mittwoch's study material and correspondence in 1971.⁷²

Moreover, when Mittwoch passed away, some of the photographs of manuscripts that had been given to him by Max Meyerhof, were perhaps returned to the latter through Joseph Schacht's mediation. This is suggested by the latter's letter to Meyerhof of 11 November 1942, where he also provided additional details on Mittwoch's final days:⁷³

[...] I have to give you the sad news that Mittwoch has died three days ago. The whole summer, he did not look his best and complained about his stomach; since the end of August, I think, he was confined to his bed and under treatment. I and other friends visited him regularly. A fortnight ago, when I and [Simon] van den Bergh [1882–1978] saw him for the last time, he looked much better, said a new treatment with daily pumping-out of the stomach and intramuscular injection of glyucose did him much good, and expected to be up and about in three weeks. Then last Saturday he had a collapse and died on Sunday; the funeral was already on Monday. Now perhaps you would like to secure the photographs of Arabic manuscripts which, I understand, Mittwoch has got from you. If this is the case, I will try to recover them for you; Gibb or some relation of yours in this country may be prepared to keep them safely.

Signatur Md 782–A161); see also <http://kalliope-verbund.info/DE-611-HS-606197> (accessed 12 October 2022).

70 See above, n. 66.

71 See Ullendorff, "Some Amharic and Other Documents," p. 429.

72 For details, see bibliography. For Ullendorff, see Hopkins, *Edward Ullendorff and the Study of Semitic Languages*. For Ullendorff's writings, see the editor's introduction and an update to Ullendorff's list of publications in Khan (ed.), *Semitic studies in honour of Edward Ullendorff*. Earlier lists of his publications were compiled by Hopkins, "Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Edward Ullendorff," and D. Ullendorff, "Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Edward Ullendorff (1988–99)". See also Appleyard, "Obituary: Edward Ullendorff, 1920–2011".

73 Letter Joseph Schacht to Max Meyerhof, 11 November 1942 (Sammlung Meyerhof). My thanks to Isolde Lehnert for having provided me with a copy of this letter.

Little is known about the fate of Mittwoch's library after his death. Eugen Mittwoch owned a small collection of forty Geniza fragments that he had brought from Egypt in 1899, and on two of these he published in 1903.⁷⁴ About half of Mittwoch's Geniza collection, twenty-two items (not including those Mittwoch had published about), together with his books, were sold off to the Selly Oaks Colleges Library in Birmingham, renowned principally as the home of the collections brought together by Alphonse Mingana (1878–1937).⁷⁵ Brief descriptions of those twenty-two items from Mittwoch's Geniza collection were published in 1954 by Moshe H. Gottstein,⁷⁶ and digital surrogates and more advanced descriptions of the fragments are today accessible through the Friedberg Genizah Project.⁷⁷ With one exception,⁷⁸ it is uncertain what happened to the remaining eighteen Geniza fragments that came into Mittwoch's possession in 1899. Moreover, little is known about the books that were part of Mittwoch's personal library. Gottstein merely states that “[t]he ... twenty-two fragments were acquired after Mingana's death, together with the books of the late Professor Eugen Mittwoch”. In 1971, Ullendorff provides even less details when he writes that “[m]ost of Mittwoch's books and papers were disposed of shortly after his death”.⁷⁹

Some information on the acquisition are provided by Hans Ludwig Gottschalk (1904–1981), who served from 1938 until 1948 as the curator of Islamic manuscripts at the Selly Oak Colleges Library. In his report of 1942/43, Gottschalk states that the Selly Oak Colleges Library acquired the Mittwoch

74 Mittwoch, “Aus einer arabischen Übersetzung und Erklärung der Psalmen”; Mittwoch, “Ein Geniza-Fragment”.

75 Since 1999, when the Selly Oaks Colleges merged with the University of Birmingham, the latter institution is managing both the Mittwoch and the Mingana collections; see Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections*, pp. 33–34, 142.

76 Gottstein, “Hebrew fragments in the Mingana collection: To the memory of Professor Eugen Mittwoch”.

77 <http://pr.genizah.org/> (accessed 26 May 2022). The database requires user's registration. Digital images of the Mittwoch Geniza fragments are also accessible through the online catalogue of the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem (no registration).

78 The fragment Mittwoch described in his “Ein Genizah Fragment” is today in the possession of the Museum of the Bible in Washington DC; for some of its previous owners during the twentieth and twenty-first century, see <https://collections.museumofthebible.org/artifacts/34294-geniza-29-a-letter-by-rabbi-hananel?&tab=provenance#/> (accessed 19 October 2022). The fragment was identified as having been part of the original Mittwoch collection by Paul Fenton; see Fenton, “A Re-Discovered Description of Maimonides by a Contemporary”.

79 Ullendorff, “A letter from Th. Nöldeke,” p. 5.

Library with funding provided by Edward Cadbury (1873–1948), a business man and philanthropist who had already funded the acquisition of the Mingana collection:⁸⁰

Through the generosity of Dr. Edward Cadbury the Library was put in the position to purchase two most valuable additions to its oriental book collections: a complete set of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Mittwoch Library The Library of the late Dr. Mittwoch, formerly Professor of Semitic Languages of the University of Berlin and Director of the Seminar of Oriental Languages, consists of Arabic Texts, works of European authors on Islamics, Islamic Arts and Epigraphic, Semitics, Cuneiforms Turkish and Persian. We find in it valuable sets of periodicals and large number of off-prints. The high value of these acquisitions cannot easily be over estimated.

Hans Ludwig Gottschalk, a former student of Carl Heinrich Becker, Eugen Mittwoch, Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933), Fritz Hommel (1854–1936) and others, served as the assistant of Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960) in Hamburg from 1930 until April 1933, when he was dismissed from his position because of his Jewish descent.⁸¹ After some years of unemployment, which he spent

80 “Selly Oak Colleges Library. Mingana Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, Report, 1942/43” (University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection, Annual Reports, DA62). For Cadbury’s role for the acquisition of the Mingana Collection and the Selly Oak Colleges Library, see Heal, “Notes on the Acquisition History of the Mingana Syriac Manuscripts”.

81 Gottschalk was the son of the Jewish philosopher Jonas Cohn (1868–1947) and Elise Cohn, née Ebstein, who was Protestant. In 1922, he converted to Catholicism. In his letter of 26 May 1934 (“Letters to an unknown correspondent from Hans Gottschalk and Annelise Gottschalk-Baur”, University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection, DA66/2/3/5/2), Gottschalk describes his academic formation and scholarly trajectory as follows: “Mein bisheriger Studienverlauf war kurz folgender: Nach Abschluss meiner Gymnasialzeit durch das Abitur Ostern 1922 studierte ich zuerst Alte Geschichte unter Eduard Mayer [1855–1930] in Berlin und Ernst Fabricius [1857–1942] in Freiburg, sowie klassische Philologie und Semitistik, um mich nach 7 Semestern ganz der Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft zuzuwenden, und zwar zuerst in Berlin unter C[arl] H[einrich] Becker und E[ugen] Mittwoch und danach in München unter G[otthelf] Bergsträsser und F[ritz] Hommel [1854–1936]. In München machte ich auch mein Doktorexamen in den Fächern Islamwissenschaft, Semitistik und Alte Geschichte mit einer Arbeit ‘Die Maḍarā’ijjūn, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte im Mittelalter’, erschienen 1932 als Beiheft der Zeitschrift Der Islam [Die Maḍarā’ijjūn: Ein Beitrag zur

in Freiburg, in the house of his parents, Gottschalk held (starting July 1938) a research-fellowship at the Selly Oak Colleges Library at Birmingham, where he

Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islām, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931 (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients; 6)]. Nach meinem Doktorexamen war ich ein und ein halbes Jahr Stipendiat der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, danach Assistent an der Univ[ersität] Berlin bei C. H. Becker, danach Assistent und Dozent an der Univ[ersität] Hamburg unter R[udolf] Strothmann. In dieser Eigenschaft hatte ich jedes Semester etwa 8–10 Stunden Übungen und Vorlesungen zu halten, sowie die Redaktion der Zeitschrift *Der Islam* mitzubearbeiten, die Kritische Bibliographie dieser Zeitschrift selbständig zu führen. Daneben schrieb ich einige Buchbesprechungen auch in anderen orientalistischen Zeitschriften. Aus der Vollendung der oben angegebenen angefangenen Arbeiten riss mich meine Entlassung auf Grund des Ariergesetzes, die auch meine weit fortgeschrittenen Habilitationsbemühungen zerstörte. Seit dieser Zeit lebe ich mit meiner Familie im Hause meines Vaters in Günterstal. Bis zum 1. Jan[uar] 34 habe ich noch mein Hamburger Gehalt bezogen". Additional aspects of his academic formation and scholarly trajectory are mentioned by Paul Kahle, who supported Gottschalk's application to the Moses Mendelssohn-Stiftung zur Förderung der Geisteswissenschaften in September 1937 to extend the grant the foundation had given him in October 1935 and again in October 1936, respectively (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_858): "Hans Ludwig Gottschalk, geboren in Freiburg i. Br. am 24. März 1904 als Sohn des Philosophen Jonas Cohn, jetzt Prof. emeritus in Freiburg. Seine Mutter ist Protestantin, so ist er protestantisch getauft worden und hat den Namen Gottschalk bekommen, Er hat auf der Universität Islamwissenschaft und Semitistik studiert. Seine beiden Hauptlehrer Becker und Bergsträsser sind gestorben. Bei Bergsträsser-München hat er zum Doktor promoviert mit einer Arbeit zur Geschichte des Handels in Aegypten im Mittelelter, die ihm Becker gegeben hatte. Er wurde dann wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter in Hamburg und Assistent für die Redaktion der Zeitschrift 'Der Islam'. Er verheiratete sich mit einer Dame, die auch bei Bergsträsser Orientalia trieb; sie stammt aus Speyer und ist gute Katholikin. Er trat selber zum Katholizismus über, die Ehe wurde katholisch getraut, die beiden Kinder sind katholisch getauft worden. Nach dem Arierparagrafen musste er in Hamburg abgebaut werden, und er lebt nun mit seiner Familie bei seinen Eltern in Günterstal b. Freiburg. Etwas zu verdienen ist für ihn schwer. Er war jetzt ein paar Monate in London und hat bei Herrn Yahuda Handschriften bestimmt oder Aufzeichnungen über schon bestimmte Handschriften gemacht. Die Arbeit hat ihn selber nicht gefördert und hat ihr Ende gefunden, da Herr Yahuda sein Geld weiter auf die Bearbeitung verwenden wollte. Was Herr Dr. Gottschalk brauchte, wären Mittel, um etwa zwei Jahre ohne zu grosse Schwierigkeiten leben zu können. Mit etwa RM 150 – monatlich wäre ihm und seiner Familie schon etwas geholfen, da sie im Hause seiner Eltern leben. Jedenfalls müsste er die Gelegenheit haben, eine Zeitlang ungestört wissenschaftlich zu arbeiten und zu sehen, ob er dann eine Leistung aufweisen

was entrusted with the Islamic manuscripts.⁸² His principal task was to catalogue the Arabic manuscripts of the Mingana collection. When Gottschalk left Birmingham in 1948 to take up an appointment as ordinarius at Vienna University the catalogue was only partially completed, and the task was continued by Alfred F. L. Beeston (1911–1995) and John Spencer Trimmingham (1904–1987), and completed by Derek Hopwood (1933–2020).⁸³

In England, Gottschalk and Mittwoch interacted directly on at least one occasion. In spring 1940, Gottschalk negotiated with Mittwoch, when the Selly Oak Colleges Library was approached with an offer to acquire some Aramaic documents in the possession of the widow of Ludwig Borchardt, Emilie “Mimi” (1877–1948)⁸⁴ – while the Selly Oak Colleges Library decided not to acquire the

könnte, die es ihm ermöglichte, als Wissenschaftler vorwärts zu kommen, die also etwa einer Habilitation entspräche”. For Gottschalk’s work for Yahuda, see also letters Paul Kahle to Johann Fück, 17 October 1936 and 20 October 1936 (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_766). In 1953 or 1954, Hans Gottschalk and Anneliese Gottschalk-Baur were divorced; see letter Hans L. Gottschalk to Kahle, 29 December 1957 (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_858).

82 See “Selly Oak Colleges Library. Mingana Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, Report, 1937/8” (University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Collection, Annual Reports, DA62), p. 1: “Dr. H. L. Gottschalk has been appointed as Research Fellow of the Selly Oak Colleges and Curator of the Mingana Collection of Oriental Manuscripts, for the purpose of continuing the Catalogue, and other work concerning the Collection. He took up his appointment on July 1st, 1938”. The subsequent Annual Reports of 1938/39, 1939/40, 1941/42, 1942/43, 1943/44, 1944/45, and 1945/46 include detailed accounts of Gottschalk’s progress in cataloguing the collection. In the Annual Report of 1946/47, p. 1, Gottschalk states: “Dr. Gottschalk vacated his Research fellowship in the Selly Oak Colleges and his position as Acting Curator of the Mingana Collection at the end of June 1947. I was appointed Honorary Curator of the Collection as from July 1st of this year with the duties of advising on general policy in connection with the Collection, of providing assistance to students and others using the manuscripts and of advising on the purchase of books and manuscripts”.

83 See the editor’s introduction to Gottschalk, Trimmingham, Beeston, and Hopwood, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts*.

84 See letter Hans L. Gottschalk to Paul Kahle, 9 February 1940 (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_858): “[N]ächsten Mittwoch und Donnerstag werde ich zusammen mit Rev. J. R. Coates unserem Alttestamentler in London sein, um mit Mittwoch wegen der aramäischen Handschriften zu verhandeln. Wir würden Sie bei dieser Gelegenheit sehr gern sehen, um auch Ihre Meinung über sie zu hören.”

material (the originals were kept at the time in Switzerland), these were purchased a few years later (1943/44) by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁸⁵

Details on the acquisition of Mittwoch's own library by the Selly Oak Colleges Library as well as the character and scope of the books in Mittwoch's personal library are included in some of Gottschalk's letters to Paul Kahle (1875–1964). From the Gottschalk-Kahle correspondence it is also clear that Mittwoch's widow sought to sell his library following her husband's demise on 8 November 1942, most likely for economic reasons.⁸⁶ The relevant passages in the Gottschalk-Kahle correspondence⁸⁷ are quoted in the following:

Gottschalk to Kahle, 7 April 1943:

Es wird Sie interessieren, dass ich durch Vermittlung von Br[uno] Schindler [1882–1964]⁸⁸ von Frau Mittwoch hörte, dass sie die Bücher ihres Mannes verkaufen wollte. Ich fuhr daher Mitte März für einen Tag nach London und sah mir die Bibliothek an. An und für sich ist Dr. Cadbury bereit auch einen recht guten Preis zu zahlen, wenn ich den Ankauf vertreten könnte, aber das ist Voraussetzung. Leider sind die Bücher in einer trostlosen Verfassung: Kaum ein Jahrgang der zahlreichen Zeitschriften ist vollständig und alles ist ungebunden. Von arabischen Texten sind nur weniger gute Ausgaben vorhanden, z.B. al-Mubarrad's *Kāmil*, ed. Wright,

85 <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/405.pdf> (accessed 25 May 2022). See also above, n. 64.

86 See letter Hans L. Gottschalk to Paul Kahle, 13 November 1942 (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_858): "Die Nachricht vom Tode Mittwochs hat mich tief erschüttert. Allerdings war ich nicht ganz unvorbereitet, da eine Bekannte mir vor mehreren Wochen erzählte, dass er schwer krank sei, und sie ihn daher nicht sehen konnte, als sie in London war. Aber ich dachte nicht, dass diese Krankheit so ernster Natur war. Die arme Frau und Kinder, die nun in der Fremde ohne Mittel zurückbleiben. Denn wenn er auch während der letzten Jahre etwas verdiente, viel zurückgelegt kann er kaum haben. Und die Töchter sind doch alle in der Ausbildung. Das ist eine der tragischsten Folgen der Emigration, dass sie die früheren Beamten ihrer Alterspension beraubt, die sie sich doch in jahrzehntelangem Dienst erworben haben. Ich sehe das an meinem Vater auch".

87 Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_858.

88 Some of the personal papers of the Sinologist and publisher Bruno Schindler, who emigrated to England in 1933 and died in London on 29 July 1964, are held at the Center for Jewish History, Leo Baeck Institute, AR 1369, Bruno Schindler Collection, Series 1: Bruno Schindler 1911–1965; see <https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/resources/9004> (accessed 26 May 2022). Schindler also corresponded with Paul Kahle between 1934 and 1947, and the correspondence is preserved as Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_2028. For Schindler, see Haenisch, "Bruno Schindler".

Ibn Sa'd und der Lisān al-ʿarab, alles andere ist drittrangig und zum guten Teil unvollständig. Der Erhaltungszustand der Einbände ist beklagenswert. Mittwoch besass natürlich eine gute Anzahl von Separatas aus den letzten 25 Jahren, aber meist deutsch, sodass ihr Ankauf durch eine englische Bibliothek schwierig ist. Ferner hat er eine etwas vollständigere Sammlung von Amharica und Judaica. Alles in allem die Bibliothek eines Mannes, der kein Büchersammler war, sondern erwarb, was er gerade benötigte oder zugeschickt bekam, der stets an Orten lebte, wo er gute und vollständige Institutsbibliotheken zur Verfügung hatte und der jeden Sinn für das "Buch" gebrach. Leider hat Frau Mittwoch eine ganz übertriebene Vorstellung von dem Wert der Bücher. Ich schlug ihr vor, sich ein Buchhändlerangebot zu verschaffen, d. h. ein Kaufangebot, und dass wir dann eventuell bereit wären zu einem etwas höheren Preis zu kaufen, oder wir würden ihr einen Buchhändler schicken. Aber ich habe bisher, seit 3 Wochen, nichts mehr weder von ihr noch von Schindler, an den ich schrieb, gehört. Selbst für eine geschäftlich ungewandte Frau ist ihr Verhalten reichlich sonderbar und töricht Unter Mittwochs Büchern sind die nachgelassenen Papiere von Burchardt, dem Südarabienforscher, ferner eine Sammlung arabischer Broschüren von Kern. Schacht, der Frau Mittwoch berät, schlägt vor, sie dem B[ritish] M[useum] zu geben oder zu verkaufen, was gewiss richtig ist.

Gottschalk to Kahle, 7 May 1943:

Wir haben also die Bibliothek Mittwoch gekauft. Es ging alles zum Schluss recht rasch. Frau M[ittwoch] teilte mir mit, dass Blackwell folgende Angebote gemacht habe: Judaica und Hebraica £ 114, Islamica und Semitica £ 207, Geniza Fragmente £ 75. Die Amharica hatte sie leider verkauft, ohne mir ein Angebot mitzuteilen. Für die Judaica und Hebraica hatte sie ein Angebot von einem Privatmann von £ 375, und da wir kein großes Interesse darin haben, hat sie es wohl angenommen. Für Islamica und Semitica incl. aller Zeitschriften, die aber leider teilweise unvollständig sind, und der Separata wollte Frau M[ittwoch] £ 400, die wir uns bereit erklärt haben zu geben. Ferner erwarben wir die 21 [sic] Geniza Fragmente für £ 100. Ich hoffe, dass Frau M[ittwoch] mit dem erzielten Preis zufrieden ist. Wir haben gar nicht gehandelt, sondern ihr gegeben, was sie forderte, nachdem wir uns entschlossen hatten zu kaufen. Es ging mir merkwürdig: erst hatte ich einen gewissen Katzenjammer, da £ 400 doch eine grosse Summe ist, und andererseits der Zustand der Bibliothek nicht sehr gut ist, wie ich Ihnen ja schrieb. Aber dann sagte ich mir, dass

wir im Ganzen doch eine gute Anzahl von Dingen bekommen, die wir nie einzeln kaufen würden noch könnten. Wir werden natürlich viele und teilweise auch gute Duplikate haben, die ich verkaufen werde, um die fehlenden Zeitschriftenbände später zu ergänzen. Morgen werde ich mit unserem Bibliothekar hinfahren und die Bücher in Pakete zusammenschnüren, Mittwoch werden sie geholt und in šā'a llāh Donnerstag hier sein. Dann beginnt für mich die Arbeit des Katalogisierens usw.

Gottschalk to Kahle, 27 July 1943:

Die Bibliothek Mittwoch ist jetzt wenigstens [wieder] im Großen geordnet; sie bildet eine sehr gute Ergänzung unserer Bestände, da sie gerade das enthält, was wir bisher nicht besaßen: Naturwissenschaften, eine Anzahl deutscher Publikationen altarabischer Dichter, viele Separata, Archaeologie und Kunst (Schriften von Sarre, Herzfeld, van Berchem und Sobernheim) usw. Natürlich haben wir auch eine ganze Reihe von Dubletten, die wir nun verkaufen oder gegen Dinge, die uns fehlen, eintauschen wollen.

Gottschalk to Kahle, 14 August 1946:

Beim Durchsehen von Duplikaten der Mittwoch'schen Bibliothek fanden sich eine Reihe von Sachen, die Sie vielleicht interessieren. Ich schicke sie Ihnen gleichzeitig zu. Was Sie nicht behalten wollen, schmeissen Sie bitte weg.

Assuming that Mittwoch had managed to bring along most of his personal library to London after he had left Germany in November 1938 (which is uncertain; for details see below), Gottschalk's descriptions of the contents and state of the library shed some light on Mittwoch's working mode as a scholar. Moreover, since Mittwoch had essentially spent his entire academic life in Berlin, first as a student and later on as a lecturer and professor, he may indeed have felt no need to build up his own systematic library. At the same time it is evident that only a portion of his books ended up at the Selly Oak Colleges Library, while his collection of Amharica, Judaica, and Hebraica was purchased by others. It is furthermore noteworthy that the papers of Herrmann Burchardt (1857–1909) and some of Friedrich Kern's (1874–1921) books were among Mittwoch's personal library. It is uncertain when Mittwoch and Burchardt first met – when Mittwoch came to Berlin in 1894 to study Semitic languages, Burchardt had already completed his studies at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen in

Berlin (his final exams took place in June and July 1892), and between March and July 1894 Burchardt sojourned in Iraq, followed by trips to the Levant (May–June 1895), Persia (July 1897), the Yemen (1900–1901), Iraq and Persia (May 1903, December 1903 through April 1904), and again Yemen (1909). Between his trips Burchardt sojourned in Berlin. After Burchardt was killed in Yemen on 19 December 1909, Mittwoch had been asked by the family to assess the late scholar's manuscript collection,⁸⁹ and it may have been at that point that portions of his papers came into Mittwoch's possession. Some fifteen years later, Mittwoch published an annotated edition and translation of an account of Burchardt's Yemen trip by the latter's secretary, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jarādī.⁹⁰ Friedrich Kern was a close friend of Mittwoch.⁹¹ In his obituary for Kern, Mittwoch relates that Kern's family desired that his personal library be donated to a relevant public institution to make it available to other scholars.⁹² Kern had purchased an enormous number of books during his many sojourns in Cairo and his visits to other Near Eastern destinations. In later years, when he was primarily based in Berlin, he continued to acquire new publications in Arabic through commercial booksellers specializing in Oriental literature. The family's initial hopes were never realized, and his library was sold sometime before 1930. Parts of Kern's library may have been sold to the New York Public Library.⁹³ That Eugen Mittwoch owned Kern's collection of Arabic brochures

89 See letter Mittwoch to Eugenio Griffini, 30 December 1910 (Biblioteca comunale centrale, Palazzo Sormani, Milan, Archivio Eugenio Griffini, Mss Codazzi-Griffini 59/32): "Hochverehrter Herr College, die Hinterbliebenen von H. Burchardt haben mich gebeten, die Mss. aus seinem Nachlasse durchzusehen. Ich habe das getan ..."

90 Mittwoch (ed.), *Aus dem Jemen*. In 1912, Mittwoch also wrote a brief entry, "Burchardt, Hermann, Forschungsreisender" for *Biographisches Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog* 14 (1912), pp. 301–304, and the text was also published in *Vossische Zeitung* no. 68 of 1912.

91 There are numerous indications of a close friendship between Mittwoch and Kern; see Schmidtke, "Er versinkt aber in einem Meer von Handschriften".

92 Mittwoch, "Friedrich Kern," p. 91: "Kerns Hinterbliebenen haben den Wunsch geäußert, daß sein handschriftlicher Nachlaß durchgearbeitet und, soweit er sich dazu eignet, herausgegeben werde. Darüber hinaus sollten sie Fürsorge treffen, daß seine einzigartige Bibliothek als Ganzes erhalten bleibe und, einer orientalistischen Fachbibliothek angegliedert, der allgemeinen Benutzung zugänglich gemacht werde, als 'Sammlung Friedrich Kern', zum dauernden Gedächtnis seines Namens."

93 The New York Public Library owns a copy of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Kitāb Bayān al-Sunna: 'Aqā'id al-Ṭaḥāwī*, Qazān: al-Maṭba'a al-Krīmiyya, 1320/1902, call number: *OGC (Ṭaḥāwī. Bayān. 1902). See <https://catalog.nypl.org/record=b19563574~S1> (accessed 27 August 2020). The book was signed "F. Kern" on the first page and on the last page. Additionally there is an acquisition stamp of the library, which states: "To New York Public Library 246820A Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations R 1926 L'. Rudolf Strothmann may also have purchased some of Kern's books after the latter's demise; see Schmidtke, *The Beginnings of Shi'ī Studies*, p. 89 n. 1.

sheds some new light on the fate of Kern's personal library. When Mittwoch was forced to emigrate, he also had in his possession the partial Nachlass of Mark Lidzbarski. This is indicated by Johann Fück's (1894–1974) postcard to Paul Kahle, 25 February 1939, in which Fück writes:⁹⁴

Ist Ihnen die Adresse von Mittwoch bekannt? Er hat einen Teil von Lidzbarskys Nachlass. Herr Printz⁹⁵ hat ihm kürzlich in dieser Sache geschrieben, aber keine Antwort erhalten.

From Fück's letter to Kahle, dated 8 February 1939, it seems that the material in question was Lidzbarski's card file containing his preparatory notes for a South Arabian dictionary. In this letter, Fück writes:⁹⁶

Ich habe kürzlich Herrn Printz gebeten, die Zettelsammlung zum südarabischen Wörterbuch aus Lidzbarskys Nachlass von Mittwoch zurückzufordern, und erfahre jetzt, daß er noch keine Antwort erhalten hat. Ist Ihnen etwas darüber bekannt, ob Mittwoch überhaupt noch in Deutschland ist? Leider hat es Herr P. versäumt, an Juden ausgeliehenes Gesellschaftseigentum beizeiten sicherzustellen.⁹⁷

The library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Bibliothek in Halle holds Lidzbarski's Nachlass,⁹⁸ including Lidzbarski's preparatory work for a Mandaic

94 Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_766.

95 The Indologist Wilhelm Printz (1887–1941) served since 1 April 1924 and until his death on 23 February 1941 as librarian of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle. On him, see https://www.indologie.uni-halle.de/institutsgeschichte/wilhelm_printz/ and <https://www.catalogus-professorum-halensis.de/printzwilhelm.html>. Printz's Nachlass is kept in the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle; see Pohlus, *Vorordnung der Indologen-Nachlässe*, pp. 27–29.

96 Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_766.

97 Kahle's response to Fück's letter, 26 February 1939 (Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_766) reads: "Das letzte, was ich von Mittwoch hörte, war, das er in Holland war. Ich werde sehn, dass ich ihn erreiche und ihm die Wünsche der Bibliothek vortragen. Wir brauchen uns aber über die Sache wohl keine Sorgen machen". From the extant correspondence between Kahle and Mittwoch, there is nothing that would suggest that Kahle ever raised the issue with Mittwoch, at least not in writing.

98 See https://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/zweigbib/ha1/bibliothek_dmg/gelehrtennachlaesse_dmg/ (accessed 26 May 2022). Some portions of the material that is preserved in Halle was published as Hanisch, *Aufzeichnungen von Mark Lidzbarski (1868–1928)*.

dictionary,⁹⁹ but it is uncertain whether this includes the material that Eugen Mittwoch still had in his hands in February 1939.¹⁰⁰

On 19 September 1967, the Belgian scholar Jacques Ryckmans (1924–2005) approached Hermine Mittwoch inquiring about a publication of Eugen

99 After World War II this material was made available to Rudolf Macuch (1919–1993), who consulted Lidzbarski's file cards for his work on the Mandaic dictionary with Ethel Stefana Drower (1879–1972), published as *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1963. Johann Fück, ordinarius in Halle and thus in charge of the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft there, had reproductions of the file cards prepared, which he dispatched to Paul Kahle in Oxford, where these were consulted by Macuch. The matter is discussed in detail between Fück and Kahle in their correspondence, and the first mention is found in Fück's letter to Kahle, 20 March 1955: "Vor einigen Tagen hat Herr [Hans Robert] Roemer [1915–1997] sich nach der Zettelsammlung Lidzbarskis zum mandäischen Wörterbuch erkundigt und angefragt, ob ein Mikrofilm für einen mir gänzlich unbekanntem Herrn Macusch [sic] in Teheran hergestellt werden könne, der bei dem Vorstand [of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft] einen solchen Antrag gestellt habe, da er ein mandäisches Wörterbuch plane. Ich habe Herrn Roemer geschrieben, daß von der Zettelsammlung sich ein Mikrofilm sich [sic] nicht herstellen lasse, daß außerdem für Lady Drower eben eine Abschrift hergestellt werde, und daß von ihr ein W[ör]t[er]b[uch] zu erwarten sei. Kennen Sie diesen Herrn M.?" During the summer of 1956 Macuch arrived in Oxford to collaborate with Drower on the dictionary, and the two also talked with Kahle, who continued to push Fück to dispatch Lidzbarski's preparatory material. On 20 August 1956 Kahle writes to Fück: "Ich schrieb Ihnen vor kurzem wegen des Lidzbarskischen Wörterverzeichnis des Mandäischen. Eben war Lady Drower mit Dr. Macuch da. Macuch ist ein Tschechoslowake, der sehr ausgiebig in Paris studiert hat und jetzt in Teheran Professor ist. Ich hatte eben eine längere Besprechung mit ihm und habe die Empfindung, dass er gut orientiert ist und dass man wohl annehmen kann, dass aus seiner Arbeit, die er vornimmt, etwas herauskommen wird. Es ist natürlich die erste Voraussetzung für ihn, dass er das Verzeichnis von Lidzbarski hat und ich wäre Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie das bald abschicken könnten. Ferner wäre die Frage, ob man nicht evtl. die mandäischen Texte, die im Besitze von Lidzbarski gewesen sind, für einige Zeit herschicken könnte. Lidzbarski hatte in diesen Texten die von ihm verzeichneten Wörter mit Bleistift angemerkt. Diese Werke hatte er der Bibliothek der DMG vermacht. Ich bin gern bereit die Verantwortung für diese Bücher zu übernehmen, wenn Sie sie mir zuschicken, und werde dafür sorgen, dass sie richtig wieder an die Bibliothek der DMG kommen. Ich bin sehr erfreut, dass ein Mann wie Macuch da ist. Ich habe ihm gleich verschiedene Bücher geborgt und habe, wie gesagt, nach einer halbstündigen Unterredung den Eindruck bekommen, dass er etwas schaffen wird. Er will für etwa ein Jahr hierbleiben". On 16 September 1956 Fück notified Kahle that the transcriptions of the Lidzbarski material were dispatched from Halle to the Bodleian library, and the material reached Oxford during the second half of October 1956. Over the following months, Kahle regularly reported to Fück about, and commented on, Macuch's progressing work on the dictionary.

100 It is possible that the materials pertaining to South Arabia were later handed by Mittwoch to Schlobies and that they are still preserved in the Hans Schlobies Nachlass (on which see below).

Mittwoch and Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann, “Altarabische Inschriften”, published in two instalments in 1932 and 1933 in the journal *Orientalia*, which was partly based on “zwei grosse Alben mit photographischen Aufnahmen der unvergleichlich wertvollen Sammlung südarabischer Altertümer des Herrn Kaiky Muncherjee in Aden”.¹⁰¹ Ryckmans was eager to trace the original catalogue of Kaiky Muncherjee that had been consulted by Mordtmann and Mittwoch and had since been lost. Ryckmans writes:¹⁰²

Dear Mrs. Mittwoch,

Some 34 years ago, your late husband published in collaboration with J. H. Mor[d]tmann, some inscriptions of the famed collection of antiquities of Mr. Kaiky Muncherjee in Aden (Altsüdarabische Inschriften, *Orientalia* 1932 and 1933). This publication was based on a manuscript catalogue of photographs of the collection, in two volumes, which Mr. Muncherjee himself had compiled to have it submitted to various instances, in the hope of selling his collection.¹⁰³ Similar catalogues of the collection are known: most of the inscribed items of the collection were published (without photographs!) after a similar catalogue owned by Kammerer, but which has since disappeared. Other items were published around 1936 by Conti Rossini, from a catalogue now in the Museum of Rome. The heirs of Kaiky Muncherjee own a catalogue of photographs which is commonly held to be the same – although in a modified arrangement – as the one used in 1932 by your husband. But Prof. von Wissmann told me some time ago that this is not the case. Prof. von Wissmann himself brought back in 1931 from South Arabia the catalogue which was submitted to Mordtmann, but he is quite sure this cannot be the same as the one owned now by the heirs of Kaiky Muncherjee, because in later trips in Arabia, Kaiky Muncherjee himself reproached him not to have returned the catalogue submitted to Mordtmann through his agency. The catalogue used by your Husband and Mordtmann was not returned to Kaiky Muncherjee, and has been lost. Von Wissmann made at the time numerous inquiries in Berlin, but to no avail: the catalogue seems to have been lost after the death of Mordtmann. Now there is a small possibility, alluded to by Von

101 Mordtmann and Mittwoch, “Altarabische Inschriften,” p. 25.

102 Université de Louvain, Archives de Jacques Ryckmans, Correspondence, Mittwoch, Hermine, BE A4006 FI 331–237; see <https://archives.uclouvain.be/atom/index.php/mittwoch-hermine-epouse-deugen-mittwoch> (accessed 7 July 2022).

103 On the collection, see <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG145147> (accessed 7 July 2022).

Wissmann, that the catalogue could have come in the hands of your Husband after the death of Mordtmann. The object of the present letter is to investigate this possibility, and to inquire if you have any idea on the present whereabouts of the catalogue.

If it is still extant, this catalogue, compiled about 1931, would be very interesting indeed. The Kaiky Muncherjee collection is the largest and finest collection of South Arabian Antiquities and old Ethiopic coins ever assembled. Photographs of the whole collection are given in the catalogue. Although most of the inscribed items are published, this is mostly only in transcription, while the photographs are still unpublished for the most part. They are known only through the unique catalogue in Rome, still unpublished, and seemingly not to be published in the near future. In any case, the catalogue which your husband examined in 1932 must contain the photographs of a certain number of items (jewels for instance) which have been sold afterwards, and are not included in the later catalogues of Rome and of Kaiky Muncherjee, and are not included by the remains of the collections now in the Archaeological Museum in Aden. Lastly, interesting conclusions could be inferred on various still obscure points of the history and growth of the amazing collection of Kaiky Muncherjee, by a careful examination of the general arrangement of the photographs, of the pagination etc. of the catalogue.

I write you this as one of the few scholars specialized in the field of South Arabian Epigraphy, on which I have written some books (beginning with my doctor's thesis in 1951), and numerous articles in various scientific reviews (*Le Muséon*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, *Studia Islamica*, etc.) – and as a great admirer of the scientific work of your husband: I think his and Mordtmann's *Himjarische Inschriften in den Staatl. Museen zu Berlin* is a still unparalleled model in the field of the publication of South Arabian Inscriptions.

The catalogue which your Husband and Mordtmann used is in two volumes, the size of which must be about 10 × 15 “ and telling in all some 100 pages of hard paper on which are pasted one or two large photographs per page. I include herewith a copy I have had made of an (unpublished) photograph of the catalogue of Rome, to give you an idea of what the contents of the catalogue looks like.

With the hope that you will be so kind to impart me whatever information you have on the catalogue,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Jacques Ryckmans.

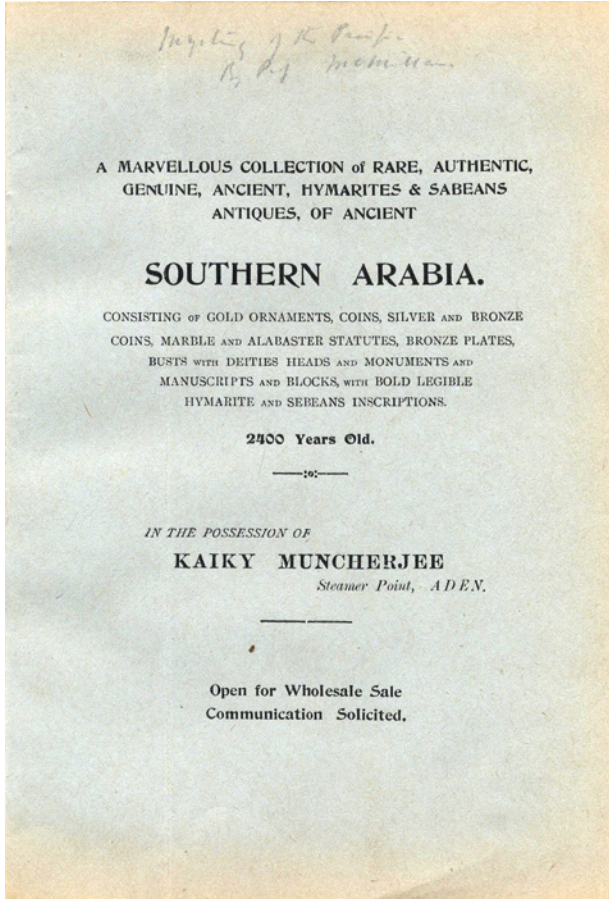


FIGURE 1

The catalogue in question may in fact be the one that was auctioned off some years ago for £ 2,500 at Bonhams in London.¹⁰⁴ On the title page that is displayed on the auction house's website, there is Eugen Mittwoch's hand to be seen on the top of the page (fig. 1). Moreover, the handwritten inventory of the Nachlass Hans Schlobies (on which see below) that was prepared by Maria Höfner has an entry that reads "5. Zahlreiche Photographien von altsüdarab. Inschriften und Altertümern, darunter ein Album mit Photos der Sammlung von Kaiky Muncherjee. Brauchbar, vor allem für Vorlesungszwecke."

While Hermine Mittwoch was unable to help Ryckmanns on the issue at hand, her reply to Ryckmanns, dated 24 September 1967, provides new insights

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/22715/lot/2/> (accessed 24 October 2022).

into Eugen Mittwoch's library back in 1939, when his wife and children moved to England, and some of the preparatory steps prior to its sale after Mittwoch's death in 1942. Hermine Mittwoch writes:

Dear Professor Ryckmans,

Thank you for your letter of 19th. I am sorry to say, I never saw this catalogue. After my husband's death Professor Schacht very kindly catalogued the library which went in bulk to the Cadbury Library in Selly Oak. I think it is most unlikely that it was included in the books that went there. There is a possibility of its disappearance which I will outline to you though it cannot give you much comfort. When in spring 1939 I had in absence of my husband to prepare our emigration, I was informed one day that permission to take out the library could be given only after expert inspection. The visit of this man turned out to be a mere formality. But one could not know that beforehand. So Dr. Schlobies who had offered to be helpful to me, came and took out a great many items which he wheeled away on a cart. He told me afterwards that Herr von Hentig had stored them in a room of the Auswärtige Amt. Later developments you may see best from the correspondence which I enclose.

I wish I could be of more service to you.

Yours sincerely

H. Mittwoch

While the letter partly contradicts Gottschalks account – Hermine Mittwoch's account suggests that the entire library was sold to Selly Oak – and partly complements it – Gottschalk did not mention, and perhaps was unaware, of Schacht's involvement in the preparation of a catalogue of the library, the letter shows that Mittwoch's library was only partially moved to London – the attached correspondence Hermine Mittwoch refers to here has not been preserved with the letter. Hans Schlobies, Mittwoch's former student and colleague as well as collaborator,¹⁰⁵ who had joined the German diplomatic service in 1934,¹⁰⁶ was doubtlessly honest in his attempt to help Hermine Mittwoch to get permission to take the library to England. "Herr von Hentig" certainly refers to Werner Otto von Hentig (1886–1984), a German diplomat who since 1937 was

105 Since 1935 Mittwoch and Schlobies worked together on the South-Arabian inscriptions that were held by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, and the results of their joint work were published between 1936 and 1938. See bibliography for details.

106 On Schlobies, see Höfner, "Hans Schlobies"; *Biographisches Handbuch des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes*, vol. 4, pp. 91–92. Schlobies's Nachlass is preserved today in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.

at the helm of the Near and Middle East Department of the German Foreign Office. Von Hentig was a critic of the Nazi regime and a supporter of the Zionist idea to establish a Jewish State.¹⁰⁷ Both Schlobies and van Hentig certainly acted in all honesty to keep some portions of Mittwoch's library safe back in Berlin, to be returned to him at a later stage, while at the same time making sure that Hermine got the permission to take along the remaining library. What is unlikely, however, is that any of Mittwoch's library left behind in Berlin had survived the ensuing World War II.¹⁰⁸

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107 On him, see von Hentig (ed.), *Werner Otto von Hentig; Biographisches Handbuch des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes*, vol. 2, pp. 275–278.

108 For the enormous difficulties for Jews to get permission to take their library abroad during the first half of 1939, see, for example, the case of Aron Freimann (1871–1948) and his library; see Heuberger, *Aron Freimann*, pp. 153–157.

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