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*Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* welcomes articles, project descriptions, conference reports, book reviews and notes on all topics connected with the written cultures of the Mediterranean Near and Middle East and related traditions or offering a comparative perspective. Contributions should be sent to Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies, Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg, Alsterterrasse 1, 20354 Hamburg, Germany; [eugenia.sokolinski@uni-hamburg.de](mailto:eugenia.sokolinski@uni-hamburg.de). For submission guidelines and former issues visit <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/publications/bulletin.html>.

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# **Scribal Practices among European Scholars during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Cases of Auguste Steinschneider (Auerbach), Moritz Steinschneider, and Martin Schreiner\***

*Sabine Schmidtke, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ*

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

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

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

\* My thanks to Camilla Adang, Glen Bowersock, and Sarah Stroumsa for their comments on an earlier draft of this short communication, and to Kinga Dévényi, Christoph Rauch, and Arnoud Vrolijk for helpful comments on some of the codices and archival materials of Budapest, Berlin, and Leiden discussed here. I also thank the following libraries for permission to include in this paper images of manuscripts in their possession: the library of The Jewish Theological Seminary, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, the National Library of Israel, and Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (hereafter: BANLC), Rome.

1 See e.g. van Lit 2020 (to be used with caution).



Fig. 1. Manuscripts and microfilm rolls (© Photograph Andrea Kane, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ 2019).

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

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

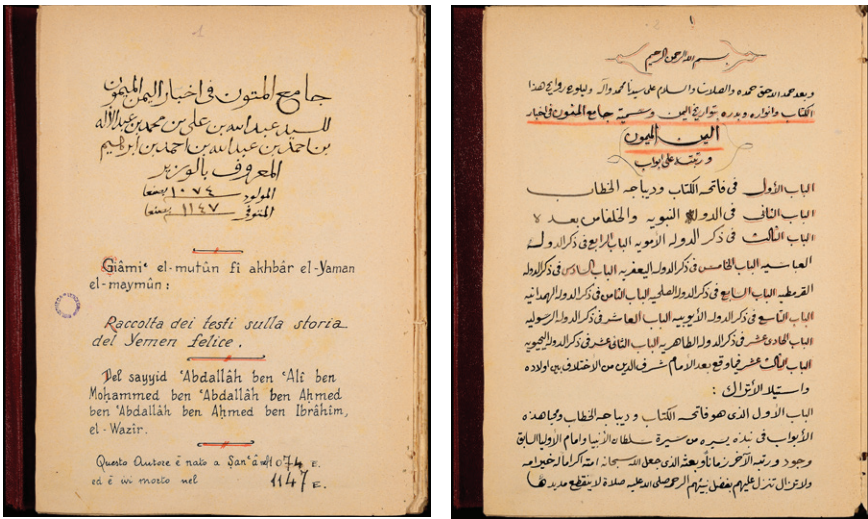


Fig. 2a–b. MS Rome, BANLC, Or. 356 [ZMT 01755], (a) title page and (b) f. 1r (courtesy of the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana).

European libraries that had been prepared at the request of van Arendonk, as well as numerous excerpts in his hand from Yemeni manuscripts held by other European libraries.<sup>2</sup>

When it came to manuscripts located in the Middle East, scholars often commissioned copies on which they relied later when writing their publications. Copies of some of the major sources for the history of Mecca were produced, for example, for Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (b. 1857, d. 1936).<sup>3</sup> The Italian medical doctor Cesare Ansaldi, who sojourned in Yemen from

- 2 His research materials and personal notes are preserved at Leiden University Library under the shelf marks Or. 8261–8305. See Witkam 1981, 61: 'Until 1946 the keeper of Oriental manuscripts and printed books was C. van Arendonk, who was possessed of such wide erudition that he was considered, during the thirty years of his employment in the library, to be its walking manuscripts' catalogue'. See also Kramers 1947, 148: 'Kwam aldus zijn wetenschappelijke arbeid zelden tot het niveau der gedrukte openbaarheid, hij kwam in anderen vorm ten goede aan de zeer velen, die in binnen- en buitenland in zijn functie of als vrienden met hem in aanraking kwamen. Hij was een van het welbekende type van conservatoren, die zichzelf en hun tijd niet spaarden om anderen de gewenschte in- en voorlichting te geven. Door zijn bemiddeling vonden de schatten van de Leidsche handschriftenverzameling overal heen hun weg, terwijl zij, die op het Legatum Warnerianum kwamen werken, zich ieder oogenblik van zijn bereidheid konden overtuigen om hun moeilijkheden op te helderen'.
- 3 See Witkam 2018.



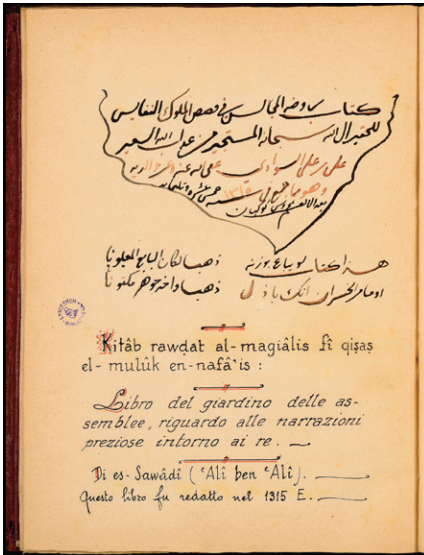


Fig. 3. MS Rome, BANLC, Or. 357 [ZMT 01756], title page (Courtesy of the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana).

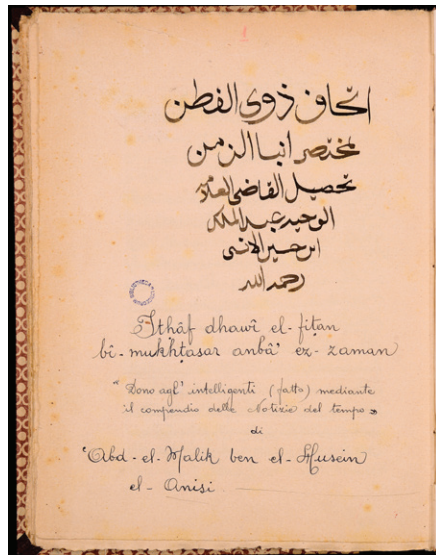


Fig. 4. MS Rome, BANLC, Or. 361 [ZMT 01760], title page (Courtesy of the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana).

1929 to 1932 as a member of the Italian health mission, collected manuscripts of Arabic medical texts. The codices he brought to Italy, which are now in the possession of the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, were clearly produced at his request.<sup>4</sup> Although not dated, their uniform, immaculate *mise-en-page*, with title pages in both Arabic and Latin characters (Figs 2–5), indicate that he had most likely even determined their desired arrangement. The correspondence between Henri Corbin and Wladimir Ivanow (1947 through 1966), the former based in Tehran, the latter in Bombay, often revolved around manuscripts they were trying to obtain, and in several instances they helped each other by commissioning local copyists to produce transcripts of manuscripts that the other was in need of.<sup>5</sup>

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

5 Schmidtke 1999, *passim*.



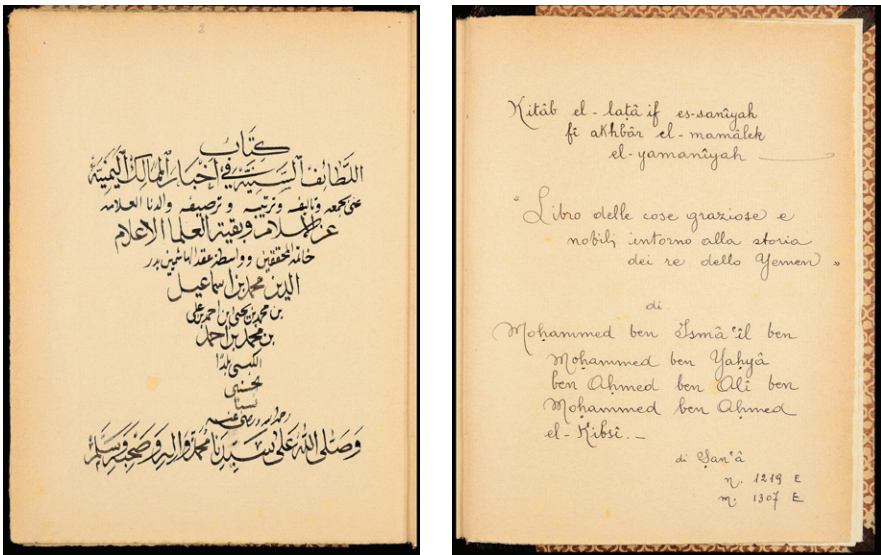


Fig. 5a-b. MS Rome, BANLC, Or. 362 [ZMT 01761], (a) title page (Arabic) and (b) title page (Italian) (Courtesy of the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana).

Interesting examples of manuscript sharing among European scholars during the second half of the nineteenth century can also be observed in connection with Martin Schreiner (b. 1863, d. 1926), Ignaz Goldziher's (b. 1850, d. 1921) former student, who, between 1894 and 1902, taught at the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin.<sup>6</sup> Those eight years constitute the most fruitful period of Schreiner's scholarly career. For the first time, he had an enormous corpus of Muslim literature literally at his fingertips, and, from his arrival in Berlin in December 1893 until 1902, when his scholarly career came to an abrupt end, he made ample use of this opportunity. This is indicated by the regular entries in the readers' register, 'Im Lesezimmer der Handschriften-Abtheilung benutzte Berliner Mss. Orientalia', which minutely records Schreiner's visits to the Königliche Bibliothek reading room to consult the library's Arabic (and Hebrew) manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> Additional evidence for his work on the Berlin manuscripts is provided by the Martin Schreiner Archive, held in the National Library of Israel, which contains his excerpts from numerous manuscripts from the Berlin collection

6 On him, see Schmidtke forthcoming.

7 MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hs. or. Sim. 8948. See Schmidtke forthcoming, Appendix I ('Manuscripts (Arabic and Hebrew) consulted by Martin Schreiner').

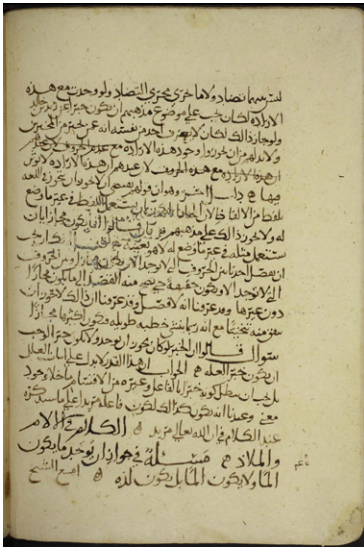


Fig. 6. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 12, f. 77v (Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

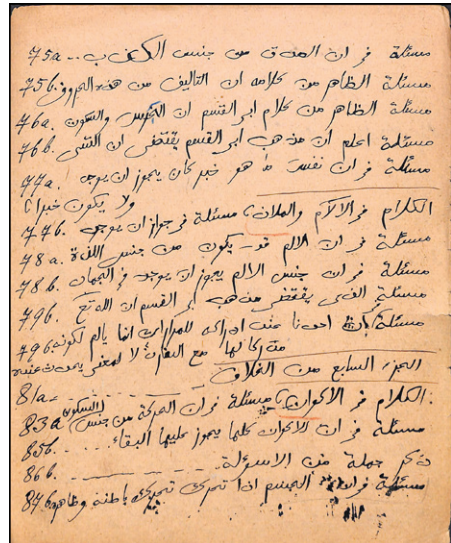


Fig. 7. Portion of table of content of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 12, prepared by Martin Schreiner (Martin Schreiner Archive, Archives Dept., National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, ARC. Ms. Var. 347-6 a) (Courtesy of the National Library of Israel).

(in addition to manuscripts from Leiden, Vienna, and Gotha),<sup>8</sup> from his correspondence with Ignaz Goldziher and others,<sup>9</sup> as well as in his published and unpublished work.<sup>10</sup> Most importantly, in Berlin Schreiner was able, for the first time, to access some of the writings by Muslim Mu‘tazilite thinkers, and he was the first modern scholar to do so. It was only a decade prior to Schreiner’s arrival in Berlin that the Königliche Bibliothek had purchased two collections of Arabic manuscripts that had been brought together by Eduard Glaser (b. 1855, d. 1908) during his first two trips to Yemen: the first collection, consisting of 23 manuscripts, was purchased in 1884, the second one, consisting of 242 manuscripts, was purchased in February 1887. Karl Vollers (b. 1857, d. 1909), assistant librarian at the Königliche Bibliothek between 1882 and

8 MS National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Archives Dept., ARC. Ms. Var. 347. See Schmidtke 2012; Greenstein 2019; Schmidtke forthcoming, Appendix I and passim.  
 9 The Hungarian Academy of Sciences preserves 157 letters by Schreiner to Goldziher, written between the years 1887 and 1901, in Hungarian, Hebrew, and Arabic. For Schreiner’s correspondence, see Schmidtke and Zsom forthcoming.  
 10 Schreiner 1983; Schmidtke forthcoming, Appendices II, III, and V.



Fig. 8. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 52, f. 5r (Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

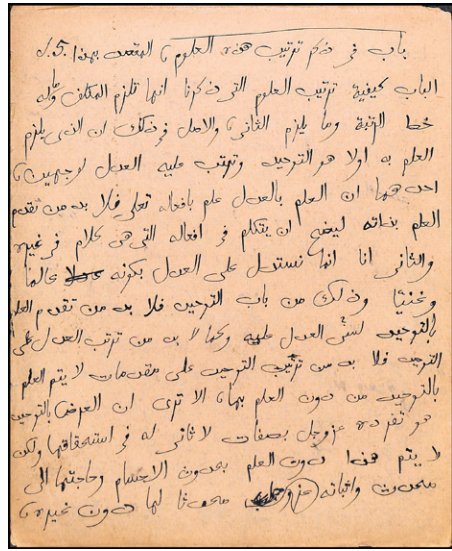


Fig. 9. Beginning of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 52, f. 5r, copied by Martin Schreiner (Martin Schreiner Archive, Archives Dept., National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, ARC. Ms. Var. 347-6 8) (Courtesy of the National Library of Israel).

1886,<sup>11</sup> had published in 1884 a short notice about the first Glaser collection in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*,<sup>12</sup> and in 1887 Wilhelm Ahlwardt (b. 1828, d. 1909) published his *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Glaser'schen Sammlung arabischer Handschriften*, a handlist covering the first and second Glaser collections.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, since Ahlwardt was about to finalize his monumental catalogue of the entire Berlin collection of Arabic manuscripts when the Glaser manuscripts were purchased, he was able to include their descriptions in the catalogue. Thus information on the materials included in the collection was accessible even before Schreiner moved to Berlin,<sup>14</sup> and it is likely that he was aware of the existence of Muʿtazilite writings in the Berlin collections prior to his arrival. Between 30 October 1894 and 17 August 1895, Schreiner worked on MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin,

11 For Vollers, see Mangold 2007, passim; *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* at <<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/vollers-karl>> (accessed 19 May 2020).  
 12 Vollers 1884.  
 13 Ahlwardt 1887. The handlist largely relies on an inventory of the manuscripts prepared by Eduard Glaser.  
 14 Ahlwardt 1887–1889.

Glaser 12, a unique copy of the *Kitāb Masā'il al-ḥilāf bayna l-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baḡdādiyyīn* by Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, the foremost student of the chief *qāḏī* and head of the Bahšamiyya, 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḡānī (d. 415/1024) (Figs 6, 7), and between 2 February and 17 August 1895, he consulted MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 52, containing a portion of Ibn Mat-tawayh's paraphrastic commentary on 'Abd al-Ġabbār's *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* (Figs 8, 9).<sup>15</sup> Both texts are discussed in detail in Schreiner's publications of 1895 ('Der Kalām in der jüdischen Literatur') and 1900 ('Jeschu 'a ben Jehuda').<sup>16</sup>

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

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

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

16 Schreiner 1895, 1900.

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

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

19 Schreiner 1885a, 10 n. 26 ('Dr. Kaufmann D. tanár úr szíves közbenjárása folytán a commentárnak boroszlói másolatát (a boroszlói rabbiképző könyvtárának 193 sz. kézír.) és az illető helynek két más kéziratból való másolatát használtam'), and Schreiner 1886, 221 n. 2 ('Durch die gütige Vermittelung des Herrn Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann habe ich die Breslauer Copie des Commentars (Hs. Nr. 193 der Biblio-



er (b. 1850, d. 1913),<sup>20</sup> Ignaz Goldziher,<sup>21</sup> and later on also Carlo Landberg (since 1884 Count de Landberg-Hallberger; b. 1848, d. 1924).<sup>22</sup>

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

It must have been towards the end of Schreiner's student days in Budapest that Steinschneider shared with him his copy of Moshe b. Ezra's (d. after 1135) *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa-l-muḍākara*, a theoretical treatise on Hebrew poetics. Schreiner prepared his own transcription of the book, which he ended with a colophon, dated 1 Elul 5647[/21 August 1887] (Fig. 10a–d). He first referred to the work in his 1888 publication, 'Zur Geschichte der Polemik'.<sup>23</sup> Shortly afterwards, he devoted a detailed study to the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara*, a

- thek des Breslauer Rabbinerseminars) und die Copien der Stelle aus zwei anderen Handschriften benutzen können') referring to a copy of a commentary on *Sefer ha-Yezira*, attributed to Isaac Israeli (b. c.832, d. c.932). Schreiner 1888, 607 n. 5 ('Die in Beilage I mitgetheilten Stücke sind aus meiner Abschrift der im Besitze des Herrn Prof. Kaufmann befindlichen Handschrift des *Kitāb al-muḥtawī*, über die Frankl in der erwähnten Schrift Bericht erstattet hat'), referring to (nowadays) MS Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann A 280.
- 20 Schreiner 1885c, 270 n. 1 ('Durch die Güte des Herrn Prof. Bacher habe ich in das Arabische Einsicht nehmen können'), referring to MSS Oxford, Bodleian, Pococke 136 and Marsh 659.
- 21 Schreiner 1885b, 139 n. 2 ('Folgende Notiz ist Excerpten aus cod. Lugd. Bat. Warner 480 entnommen, die Herr Dr. I. Goldziher angefertigt hat und die ich durch seine Güte benutzen durfte'), referring to MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 480. Schreiner 1886, 250 n. 1 ('Diese Ausführungen theile ich aus den Excerpten des Herrn Dr. Goldziher mit, die er aus der Leidener Handschrift des Werkes كتاب الأجيبة الفاخرة عن الأسئلة الفاجرة dieses Schriftstellers angefertigt hat und die er mir gütigst zu Gebote stellte'), referring to MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 1510. Schreiner 1888, 671 n. 3 ('HS. der Leipz. Universitätsbibl. 21 b. Herr Dr. Goldziher hatte die Güte mir seine Excerpte zu Gebote zu stellen'), referring to MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliotheek, Vollers 855/1.
- 22 Schreiner 1896, 254 n. 1 ('Seit dem Erscheinen meiner Abhandlung [i.e. Schreiner 1895, S.S.] wurde es mir durch die Güte des Herrn Grafen C. von Landberg-Hallberger ermöglicht, eine zweite Hsr. des Kitāb al-milal, die sich im Besitze desselben befindet, zu benutzen. Nach dieser Hsr. kann ich noch folgende Stellen emendiren ...'); Schreiner 1897, 496–497 ('Ich gebe in Beilage I nach einer im Besitze des Herrn Grafen v. Landberg-Hallberger befindlichen Handschrift das umfangreichste Stück ...'), referring to (nowadays) MS New Haven, Yale University Library, Landberg 1.
- 23 Schreiner 1888, 602 n. 4 ('Im Kitāb al-muhadara des Moses b. Ezra, dessen Durchzeichnung ich durch die Güte des Herrn Dr. Steinschneider benutzen durfte, heisst es Bl. 102r ...').





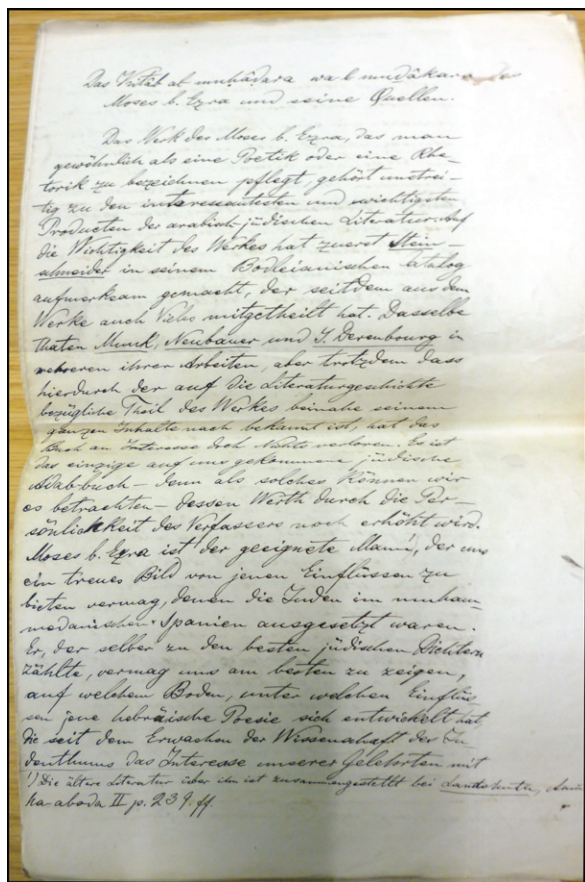


Fig. 11. Beginning of Schreiner 1890 in German original (Martin Schreiner Archive, Archives Dept., National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, ARC. Ms. Var. 347-3 כ"ו) (Courtesy of the National Library of Israel).

French version of which he submitted for publication to the *Revue des études juives* in 1889, which was published in 1890 and 1891.<sup>24</sup>

Towards the beginning of this study Schreiner remarks that '[p]our ce travail nous nous servons d'une copie faite d'après celle que M. Steinschneider a calquée sur le manuscrit d'Oxford, et qu'il a mise obligeamment à notre disposition'.<sup>25</sup> Steinschneider's copy to which Schreiner refers is nowadays preserved as MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464. It was purchased by the Königliche Bibliothek in 1891, when the library acquired

24 Schreiner 1890, 1891.

25 See Schreiner 1890, 98. Schreiner's *Nachlass* comprises the unpublished German original of this study (Fig. 11; MS Var 347-3 כ"ו).

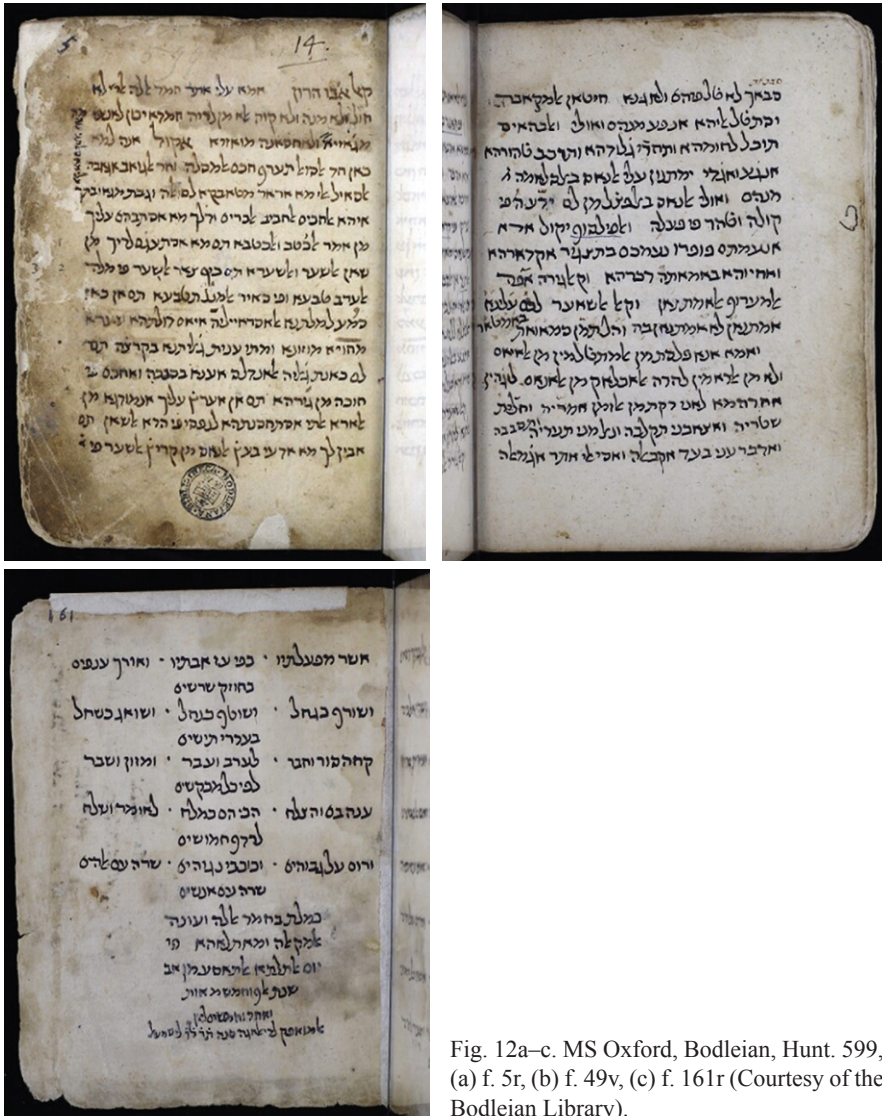


Fig. 12a–c. MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 599, (a) f. 5r, (b) f. 49v, (c) f. 161r (Courtesy of the Bodleian Library).

an entire collection of manuscripts from Moritz Steinschneider.<sup>26</sup> However, contrary to Schreiner’s brief note, the manuscript had not been produced by Moritz Steinschneider, but rather by his wife, Auguste. As is indicated on the title page of MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464 (Fig. 13a), as well as in the relevant entry in Steinschneider’s catalogue of the He-

26 Figeac 2008, 28.

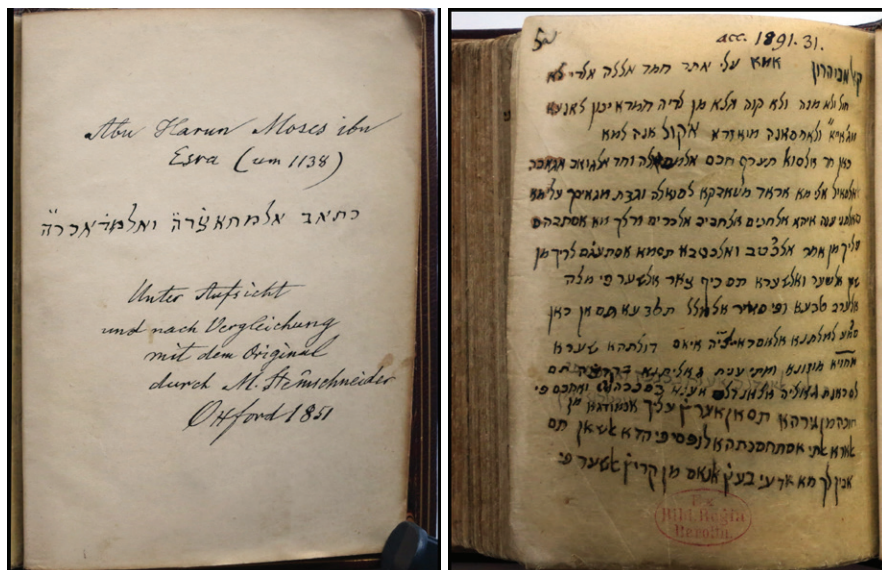


Fig. 13a–b. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464, (a) title page, (b) f. 5r (Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

brew manuscripts of the Königlische Bibliothek,<sup>27</sup> it was Auguste Steinschneider who produced in 1851 a precise reproduction (*Durchzeichnung*) of MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 599 (Fig. 12a–c), which her husband, Moritz, had revised.<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, the text is written on tracing paper and thus found only on the recto pages of each folio, while the numbering of the pages reproduces the foliation of the Bodleian antigraph (Fig. 13c–e). This method of producing a copy of a manuscript by tracing the hand in the antigraph was common practice among scholars at that time. Schreiner's transcript of Auguste Steinschneider's tracing (*Durchzeichnung*) of the Bodleian manuscript is preserved

27 See Steinschneider 1897b, 29 ('Oct. 464. 161 Bl.; sorgfältige Durchzeichnung des Bodleianischen ms. bei Uri 499 (v. J. 1240, Neubauer 974) durch meine Frau Auguste im J. 1851 und von mir revidirt'); <[http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook\\_islamhs\\_00004278?XSL.Style=print](http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00004278?XSL.Style=print)> (accessed 20 May 2020).

28 Digital images of the Berlin manuscript are available at <[https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS990001753250205171](https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990001753250205171)> (accessed 21 May 2020). For a digital surrogate of MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 599, see <[https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS990000645360205171](https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990000645360205171)> (accessed 21 May 2020). For Auguste Steinschneider (Auerbach) (b. 1823, d. 1898), see Steinschneider 1995.



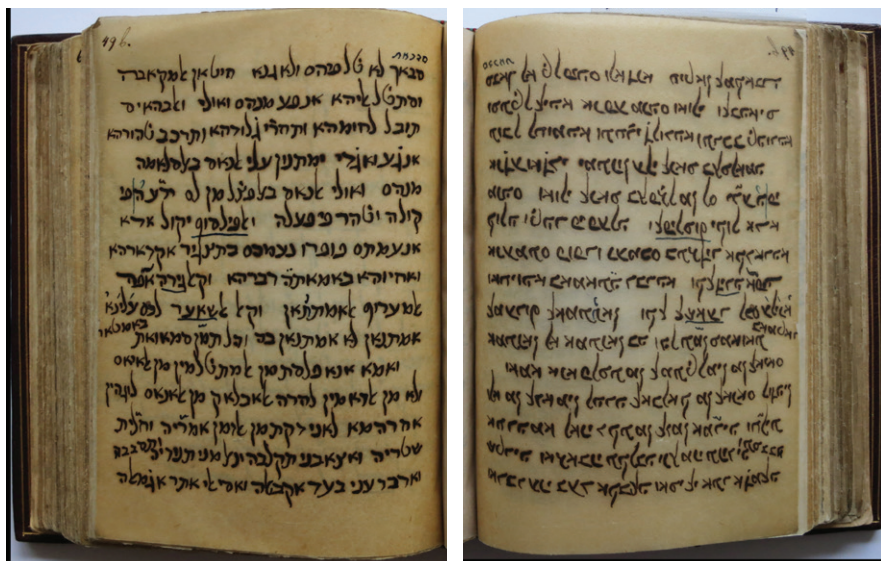


Fig. 13c–d. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464, (c) 49v, (d) 49v (reverse) (with kind permission of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

in the ‘Martin Schreiner Archive’ (Fig. 10a–d).<sup>29</sup> As is the case with all of his preserved excerpts and transcripts from manuscripts, Schreiner never attempted to emulate the hand of the original. On the contrary, he concludes his copy of the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara* with his own dated colophon, and he adds a table of contents for the entire work (Fig. 10d)—whether he had ever intended to publish a critical edition of the work remains uncertain.<sup>30</sup>

In December 1897 or the beginning of 1898, when Schreiner was already in Berlin, Steinschneider handed him a copy of Samaw’al al-Maḡribī’s (d. 570/1175) polemical text against Judaism, *Iḥām al-Yahūd*. The work was first mentioned in 1840 by Salomon Munk (b. 1803, d. 1867), who discovered an incomplete witness of the *Iḥām* among the Arabic manuscripts kept in the library of the Benedictine abbey of Saint Germain-des-Prés in Paris

29 MS Var 347-6. Steinschneider had also shared his wife’s tracing (*Durchzeichnung*) of the Oxford manuscript with Samuel Landauer (b. 1846, d. 1937). See Steinschneider 1897b, 29 (‘Abschriften aus meiner ihnen vorliegenden Durchzeichnung nahmen Dr. Landauer und Schreiner’); Steinschneider 1902, 150 § 101 (‘Copien daraus in Par., bei S. Landauer in Strassburg u. M. Schreiner in Berlin’).

30 An editio princeps was later published by Halkin 1975. In addition to MS Oxford, Bodleian Hunt. 599, Halkin consulted fragmentary witnesses from the Genizah collections in the National Library of Russia (Firkovitch collections), the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, and Cambridge University Library (Taylor-Schechter collection). See Halkin 1975, 312–313.

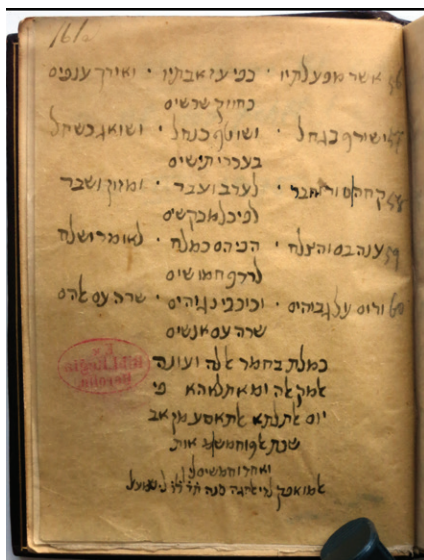


Fig. 13e. MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Or. Oct. 464, f. 161r (with kind permission of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

(MS S. Germain 214, today: MS Paris, Bibliothèque de France, Arabe 1456).<sup>31</sup> Steinschneider, who still listed the Paris manuscript as a unique witness of the work in his *Polemische and apologetische Literatur* of 1877,<sup>32</sup> became aware of the existence of another, apparently complete witness of the text in the Khedival Library in Cairo, on the basis of volume six of the catalogue, published in 1308[1890–1891],<sup>33</sup> but he was unable to get hold of a copy of the Cairo manuscript.<sup>34</sup> He discussed the matter with an acquaintance of his, ‘Herr S. Friedmann’, who at the time spent winters in Cairo.<sup>35</sup> The latter managed to procure a copy of the original codex, which was completed on 20 *Ġumādā II* 1315[16 November 1897] and dispatched to Steinschneider in Berlin, where it arrived on 17 November 1897. Steinschneider describes the beautiful moment as follows:

- 31 For a description of the manuscript and access to a digital surrogate, see <<http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc90666s>> (accessed 25 May 2020).
- 32 Steinschneider 1877, 26–27 no. 8.
- 33 See *al-Ġuz’ al-sādis min Fihrist al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, 113 (MS Cairo, Khedival Library, 9 [general number: 8157]).
- 34 Steinschneider 1896, 83 n. 5 (‘Von der ‚Beschämung der Juden‘ waren bisher nur Fragmente bekannt; ms. Khedive VI, 113, vielleicht vollständig, ist hier zum *ersten Male* zur Kenntnis gebracht.’).
- 35 Perlmann identifies ‘S. Friedmann’ as the German philanthropist and early Zionist Paul Friedmann (b. 1840, d. c. 1900). See Perlmann 1964, 26 n. 36 (Introduction). This is possible though not entirely certain.

Von der Schrift dieses Renegaten (um 1170) hat Munk nur ein Fragment in Paris entdeckt. In der Bibliotheca Mathem. ... (Jahrg. 1896 S. 83 n. 5 [see above (S.S.)]) brachte ich zum ersten Male die Existenz eines ms. in der Bibliothek des Khedive zur allgemeinen Kenntnis und sann über einen Weg zur Erlangung einer näheren Nachricht und event. einer Abschrift. Mit einer solchen wurde ich soeben sehr angenehm überrascht. Der Hergang ist folgender: Herr S. Friedmann, geb. Christ, aber Abkömmling von Veitel Heine und Fiduciar der Stiftung, besuchte mich bei seinem wiederholten Aufenthalt hier und gab mir Gelegenheit, seinen edlen selbstlosen Charakter zu erkennen, ... Im vorigen Sommer bat ich ihn, da er die letzten Winter in Cairo verlebte, sich für meinen Wunsch zu interessiren. Am 17. December erhielt ich durch die Post eine im November d.J. von einem Muslim beendete, sehr schöne Abschrift von 103 Octavseiten zu 17 Zeilen in Maroquinband, worin die hebräischen Citate aus Bibel und Gebetbuch in arabischer Umschreibung durch rothe Schrift sich hervorheben. Der Titel ist افحام طائفة اليهود; aber auf die Einleitung folgt S. 8 die Ueberschrift (die ich hebr. umschreibe) אפחאם אליהוד ואלנסארא באלהגה אלעקליה אלך, also: das zum Schweigen-Bringen der Juden und Christen durch rationelle Argumente. Näheres wird ein Specialartikel eines gelehrten Freundes [i.e. Martin Schreiner (S.S.)] bringen. In dem, das schöne Geschenk begleitenden Briefe des Hrn. Fr. heisst es: ‚Ein Muslim hat es geschrieben, ein Hindu hat es gebunden, ein Christ schickt es durch einen Kopten (mein Postdirektor) einem Juden zu Weihnachten. Kann man sich ein schöneres Zusammengehen aller Religionen denken. So hoffe ich, dass Sie diese Kleinigkeit von mir—und Dr. Moritz,<sup>36</sup> der mir geholfen—werden annehmen wollen und ihr ein Plätzchen in Ihrer Bibliothek gönnen. Möge der *Isham al-Jahud* Ihnen so wenig den Mund stopfen, als er es bisher den anderen Juden gethan.‘ Das erste, was der *Isham* mich auszusprechen veranlasst, ist ein Dank an die g. Herren, auch im Namen der Wissenschaft, die stets das letzte Wort hat.<sup>37</sup>

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

36 He can be identified as Bernhard Moritz (b. 1859, d. 1939), who from 1896 to 1911 served as head of the Khedival Library in Cairo. See Mangoldt 2007, 69–71.

37 Steinschneider 1897a.

38 See Schreiner 1898, 123–124 ('Nachdem Herr Prof. Steinschneider, ... in den Besitz einer guten Abschrift gelangt war, hatte er die Güte, sie mir zur Verfügung zu stellen, wofür dem hochgeehrten Altmeister auch an dieser Stelle meinen verbindlichsten Dank auszusprechen, mir eine angenehme Pflicht ist.'). That Schreiner had written the study in a very short period of time is suggested by Schreiner 1899, which contains an unusually long list of 'Nachträge und Berichtigungen'. This publication was not included by Perlmann in his collection of articles by Schreiner (Schreiner 1983), possibly because Perlmann had himself published an edition of



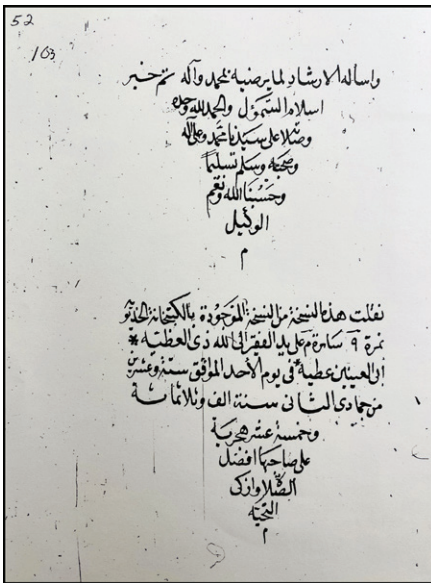


Fig. 14. MS New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Steinschneider 39, f. 52r (Courtesy of the Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary).

with other manuscripts of the Steinschneider collection, to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, where it is nowadays kept as MS New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2289 (Steinschneider 39).<sup>39</sup>

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the *Iḥām* (Perlmann 1964), which may have rendered Schreiner's earlier publication obsolete in his eyes.

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

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