Private Oriental manuscript collections convey mixed messages.\(^1\) There can be no doubt that they reflect to a large extent the scholarly interests of their collectors, but in the background other factors are also at play. Availability plays a prime part, and anyone who has ever attended an auction will readily admit that one’s desire to possess an object is not always commensurate with the depth of one’s pocket. If the scholar in question travelled to the Orient he could tap directly at the source, but unlike their seventeenth-century predecessors, eighteenth-century Dutch Orientalists were not of the travelling kind, with the main exception of Johannes Heyman (1667–1737), who had been pastor of the Dutch Protestant community in Izmir before taking up the Chair of Oriental languages at Leiden in 1710. He owned a small collection of Oriental manuscripts which was dispersed after his death.\(^2\) In isolated cases scholars could perhaps use the intermediary of diplomatic channels. The lively booktrade in the Dutch Republic did not import manuscripts as such, but a modest number of handwritten volumes arrived through the well-developed Dutch trade in Asian commodities. Some employees of the Dutch East India Company or Protestant missionaries acquainted themselves with Oriental languages such as Persian and Malay, and sometimes assembled collections which they took home upon retirement. As a result, the best opportunity to acquire manuscripts was to attend the auctions of deceased predecessors, and collections kept on being recycled from one generation to another. This inevitably limited one’s choice, so the presence of a certain manuscript, or the absence of others, does not necessarily fully reflect a scholar’s own tastes or proclivities.

A case in point is the Dutch Orientalist and Islam scholar Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), who never set foot outside his native country but nevertheless left

\(^1\) I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my fellow curator Dr Bart Jaski of Utrecht University Library for his constant support and advice in the preparation of this contribution.

\(^2\) See Schmidt, ‘Between Author and Library Shelf’, pp. 43–45.
a collection of about 155 Oriental manuscripts, which were sold many years after his death. In this contribution we shall investigate the Reland manuscripts kept in the Special Collections of Leiden University Libraries. We shall set off selected items against Reland’s professed scholarly interests, and devote special attention to the intricate byways through which Reland’s manuscripts ended up in a library which, to our knowledge, did not acquire any manuscripts directly from his auction. Last, but certainly not least, we shall look into the problem of identifying manuscripts in the Leiden collections on the basis of the often laconic and erroneous descriptions provided by the auctioneer. At the end of this contribution the reader will find an appendix with a list of the Reland manuscripts which were previously detected in the Leiden collections from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, as well as a number of new additions (pp. 391–393).

1 Two Persian Manuscripts by Antoine Galland

Adriaan Reland was nominated professor of Oriental languages in 1701. He accepted his nomination by giving an inaugural lecture on the importance of the Persian language ‘and related Oriental letters’ [Fig. 12.1].

In another Dutch professorial oration from 1990, almost three centuries later, the Persian scholar J.T.P. de Bruijn argued that Adriaan Reland was not particularly aware of the chronological development of Iranian languages and the distinction between Old, Middle and New Persian. Reland, he explained, stressed the value of Persian first and foremost for the study of Scripture and Classical Antiquity, and secondly for the conversion of the Muslims to Christianity. The latter theme found its maturest expression in Reland’s magnum opus De religione Mohammedica of 1705 (second edition 1717). Reland’s call for the study of Persian, however flawed, did not remain an empty promise: he elaborated on the theme in the second volume of his Dissertationes miscellaneae, dating from 1707. It contains both a Dissertatio de reliquis veteris linguae Persicae (‘Treatise on the ancient vestiges of the Persian language’) and a Dissertatio de Persicis vocabulis Talmudis (‘Treatise on Persian words in the
Figure 12.1 Adriaan Reland’s inaugural lecture on the merits of the Persian language, Utrecht, 1701

COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, PORTEF. 109 NO. 20
Talmud’). This, if nothing else, shows that Reland’s focus was on Antiquity rather than Modern Persian.

This second volume of the Dissertationes is dedicated to the French numismatist, antiquary and Arabist Antoine Galland (Rollot, Picardy 1646—Paris 1715), whose fame rests mainly on his translation of the Thousand and One Nights, a work that would profoundly change the course of literature in Europe and beyond. This dedication is hardly surprising, since Galland and Reland shared the same interest in Oriental coins, inscriptions and the history of the Middle East in Antiquity. Three years later, on 24 June 1710, Galland sent two Persian manuscripts to Reland together with a lengthy dedication in the most flattering terms, in which he called Reland clarissimus, eruditissimus and dignissimus (‘most eminent, erudite and worthy’). At the age of 64 Galland complained that Oriental studies were being utterly neglected in Europe. He had copied, annotated and translated the manuscripts into Latin 30 years earlier during his stay in Istanbul and subsequently after his return to France, but he now urged Reland to edit and publish them, for he was convinced that he was the greatest Persian scholar of his day. Although Galland did not say so explicitly, it would appear that at his age he no longer had the willpower nor the energy to undertake such a task himself [Fig. 12.2].

The first of the two manuscripts contains the text of the Pandnāma (‘Book of exhortation’), a work that is often but erroneously attributed to the famous Persian poet and mystic Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār of Nishapur (c.1145–1221 CE). It is a popular didactic poem on Islamic ethics, probably from the fifteenth century CE, which gained a wide circulation in the Ottoman Empire. The Bulbulnāma, undisputably by ʿAṭṭār, is a true literary poetical text with strong Sufi overtones like most other works of this author. Galland’s parallel Latin translation and profuse commentary are, of course, of special interest. Galland was never a prolific author, who, apart from his translation of the Thousand and One Nights, mostly limited himself to concise treatises on subjects such as coins, Oriental maxims or coffee. His most substantial work is the posthumous edition of Barthélemy d’Herbelot’s influential encyclopaedia Bibliothèque orientale, published in 1697. Unfortunately, neither Reland nor any other scholar after him went to the trouble of publishing Galland’s work on the Pandnāma or Bulbulnāma, and both manuscripts now languish on the shelves of the Leiden University Library, neglected and all but forgotten.

8 Reland, Dissertationum miscellanearum pars altera, pp. 95–266, 267–324.
9 On ʿAṭṭār and the two texts under discussion see Reinert, ʿAṭṭār, Farīd al-Dīn’; Storey and De Blois, Persian Literature, vol. 5, pt. 2, pp. 298–300 (Bulbulnāma), 308–314 (Pandnāma). But note, however, that the Leiden manuscripts with Galland’s translation are not mentioned.
Figure 12.2 Antoine Galland's dedication to Adriaan Reland in his own copy and translation of the Pandānāma.

COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, OR. 1226, FLYLEAF
The text of the Pandnāma, though of spurious origin, fared much better in the hands of Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), the doyen of Oriental studies in the decades after the French Revolution. In 1819 he published his own edition with French translation and commentary at the Imprimerie royale in Paris: Pend-nâmeh, ou le Livre des conseils. Later in the nineteenth century a German translation appeared by Georg Ferdinand Heinrich Nesselmann (1811–1881), printed in 1871 at Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad, Russian Federation). The Bulbulnāma has never found a Western translator.

The fact that Reland published neither work, however, does not necessarily mean that he ignored them altogether. In the second edition of his De religione Mohammedica from 1717 he added an appendix with an ‘Index Manuscriptorum’ not only from his own private collection, but also other manuscripts belonging to the German Orientalist Heinrich Sike or Henricus Sikius, who taught Arabic to Reland in Leiden and then at Utrecht, or from the City Library of Amsterdam.10 Under item XXII we find the two Persian manuscripts kindly donated by his ‘dearest friend’ (amicissimus) Antoine Galland. The extent of Reland’s actual use of the Pandnāma and Bulbulnāma, however, is yet to be ascertained, but it seems very limited.

Apparently Reland had no interest in Modern Persian belles-lettres. He did not dwell on the subject in his inaugural lecture of 1701, nor in any other of his works. Perhaps Galland was too optimistic about Reland’s scholarly interests and ambitions, but one should also bear in mind that Reland died at an early age, and it is quite possible that he would have turned his mind to it if he had lived to a ripe old age. In any case, the Persian manuscripts are not only testimonies to the cordial relationship between Antoine Galland and Adriaan Reland, but also to the scholarly networks in the early-eighteenth-century Republic of Letters at large.

2 Provenance

In September 1780 the extensive private library of Jan Jacob Schultens (1716–1778) was put up for sale by the Leiden bookseller Hendrik Mostert. Schultens had been professor of Oriental languages and theology at Leiden from 1749

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10 This Index Manuscriptorum in the second edition of De religione Mohammedica (1717) is unpaginated. It is slightly expanded in comparison with the same Index in the first edition of 1705. Below, we shall be referring to this second edition. On Heinrich Sike, see Hamilton, ‘Sike, Henry (bap. 1669, d. 1712)’, and idem, ‘Arabists and Cartesians at Utrecht’, pp. 100–103.
until his death in 1778. At the auction Leiden University Library purchased 81 Oriental manuscripts, a momentous acquisition after its Oriental collections had lain almost dormant for more than a century (Codices Or. 1222–1302). The information currently available in the extant Leiden catalogues reveals that the purchase included the two Galland manuscripts which had formerly been in the possession of Adriaan Reland. They were registered and at a certain point received the pressmarks Or. 1226 (Pandnāma) and Or. 1297 (Bulbulnāma). The Galland provenance was duly accounted for in the catalogues, but the Reland connection appears to have been forgotten. A few remarks on the line of ownership between Reland and the last private possessor J.J. Schultens therefore seem to be in order.

On the inside cover of the Bulbulnāma (Or. 1297) is a note reading JJ Schultens. Dono Optimi Bergii 1761 (‘J.J. Schultens. Gift from the Excellent Bergius, 1761’). This ‘Bergius’ is the German scholar Johann Peter Berg from Bremen (1737–1800), who on 26 September 1758 matriculated at the University of Leiden as a student of theology. He studied under Jan Jacob Schultens and returned to Bremen in 1762. The following year he accepted a nomination as professor of theology at the University of Duisburg, where he spent the rest of his career. His relationship with the Schultens family was close. In 1797, for instance, he contributed widely to Das Buch Hiob, a German translation of Hendrik Albert Schultens’s posthumous edition of Het boek Job from 1794. It is most likely that J.P. Berg acquired the Bulbulnāma at some point between 1758 and 1761 during his sojourn in the Dutch Republic, and made a present of the manuscript to J.J. Schultens out of recognition shortly before his departure to his home country. But how did he obtain this manuscript from the Reland collection in the first place?

11 See Cat. Schultens 1780, p. 602, no. 3848, p. 604, no. 6995; Dozy and De Jong, Catalogus codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, vol. 2, p. 115, nos. 658 and 660; Witkam, Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden, vol. 2, pp. 73 (sub Or. 1226), 106 (sub Or. 1297).
12 Du Rieu, Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, col. 1061; Möller, Denkschrift zur Ehre des Namens und der Verdienste des Herrn Johann Peter Berg; Krafft, ‘Berg, Johann Peter’, Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, vol. 2, 1875, p. 364. Seven manuscripts from Berg’s auction, mostly copies from Leiden manuscripts, were purchased by the Amsterdam professor Joannes Willmet (1750–1835). At his death these came into the possession of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, and were later given on permanent loan to the Leiden University Library, see De Jong, Catalogus codicum Orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum, p. xi; see also the introduction to Witkam, Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, pp. 4–5.
13 Weidenbach, Das Buch Hiob.
To begin with, Reland’s Oriental manuscripts were not auctioned off after his death in 1718, for they are conspicuously lacking in the sales catalogue that was printed by his regular publisher Willem Broedelet in Utrecht, *Pars magna Bibliothecae [...] Hadriani Relandi*. Rather, they remained in the possession of Adriaan Reland’s son and heir Jan Hubertus Reland or Relandt, a citizen of Utrecht and councillor and alderman of the town of Zierikzee in the province of Zealand. He died on 10 September 1760 and the following year, in April 1761, his library was sold from his home on Nieuwegracht in Utrecht, by Willem Kroon and Gijsbert Tieme van Paddenburgh. At the end of the auction catalogue a special sixteen-page appendix was added with the Oriental manuscripts of Jan Hubertus’s father Adriaan. Judging from a note scribbled on the front cover of a rare surviving copy of the auction catalogue, this Oriental appendix was compiled by Sebaldus Ravius or Sebald Rau (1721–1818), professor of theology and Oriental languages and librarian at Utrecht University. At the auction the *Bulbulnāma* fetched a price of 5 guilders. It is therefore only reasonable to assume that Johann Peter Berg attended the auction in 1761 and passed the manuscript on to Jan Jacob Schultens shortly afterwards as a token of his recognition. At the same auction Schultens bought the *Pandnāma* for himself for 4 guilders and 5 stuivers (Or. 1226). Their shopping spree did not end there as we shall see below, but it must here be noted that Schultens, after all a Leiden professor, failed to act on behalf of his employer, and as a result Leiden University bought nothing at the auction. But the presence of the two Galland manuscripts alone implies that there is indeed such a thing as a Reland collection at Leiden, which reached the university in various ways.

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14 Cat. Reland 1718, see Van Selm et al., *Dutch book sales catalogues, 1599–1800*, microfiches, nos. 4715–4716. For the updated and expanded electronic successor to the previous resource, see *Book Sales Catalogues Online*. For bibliographic metadata see also *Bibliopolis*. The microfiches were made on the basis of an original kept at the National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, shelfmark 16.77.1.42. Reland’s collection was auctioned ‘at the home of the deceased’ in Utrecht on 7 November 1718.

15 Cat. Reland 1761. See p. 5, quarto 13 for the *Pandnāma* (Or. 1226) and p. 11, octavo 23 for the *Bulbulnāma* (Or. 1297). See also Van Selm et al., *Book Sales Catalogues, 1599–1800*, microfiche, no. 493, based on an original copy in the library of the University of Amsterdam, collection Bibliotheek van het Boekenvak; see also *Bibliopolis*, and *Book Sales Catalogues Online*. The Amsterdam copy of the catalogue contains a handwritten annotation on the first page of the Appendix, ‘concinnatus a cl. Sebaldo Ravio, ling. Oriental. in Acad. Ultrajectina Professore Ordinario’ (‘Prepared by the most eminent Sebaldus Ravius, ordinary Professor of Oriental languages at the Utrecht Academy’). On Ravius see Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, pp. 114–118. For an overview of the manuscripts in Cat. Reland 1761, see also Appendix 2 in this volume.
In the second half of the nineteenth century Leiden scholars such as Reinhart P.A. Dozy, Michaël Jan de Goeje and Pieter de Jong authored new and comprehensive catalogues of the Oriental holdings of the Leiden University Library, most prominently the six-volume *Catalogus codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*.¹⁶ In these catalogues they devoted varying attention to the provenance of the manuscript collections, but no one was more active in this respect than Pieter de Jong, (assistant) curator of Oriental manuscripts at Leiden from 1855 onwards, and from 1859 lecturer of Persian and Turkish. In 1868 he moved to Utrecht, where he accepted the Chair of Hebrew. In 1862, several years before his removal to Utrecht, De Jong made a catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), which had been given in permanent loan to Leiden in 1856.¹⁷ Practically all manuscripts in this collection had previously belonged to Joannes Willmet (1750–1835), professor of Oriental languages at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam.¹⁸ Willmet turned out to possess a small collection of Reland manuscripts, and in his description of the collection De Jong painstakingly added the details of the Reland auction held in 1761, scrupulously referring to the auction catalogue together with the exact page and item number, but without ever mentioning the exact title of the catalogue.¹⁹ This is intriguing, for the original auction catalogue has not been preserved in the Leiden University Library, and all knowledge of it was subsequently lost until a microfiche was published in 1990.²⁰ The English translation of De Jong’s catalogue, published in 2006, reproduces the page and item references but refrains from mentioning the title of any auction catalogue connected with the Reland auction and its aftermath.²¹

Willmet, born in 1750, was evidently much too young to have attended the Reland auction in 1761, but De Jong also identified the intermediate stages in the line of ownership between Reland and the last private owner Willmet,

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¹⁶ More generally known as *cco*, 6 vols, Leiden, 1851–1877.
¹⁷ De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*.
¹⁸ On Willmet see Nat, pp. 102–103.
¹⁹ See, for instance, the description of MS Leiden Acad. 10 in De Jong, *Catalogus Academiae Regiae*, p. 189: ‘Willemsenus eum emisse videtur e bibl. Hadr. Relandi, [v. Cat. Mss. p. 2 n. 16]’ (‘Apparently Willemsen bought it from the library of Adriaan Reland, [see the Manuscript catalogue, p. 2, no. 16]’).
²⁰ See above, n. 13.
²¹ Witkam, *Inventory of the Royal Academy*. 
which appeared to have run along a very regular pattern. In 1800 Willmet had bought Reland manuscripts from the auction of Jacobus Johannes de Bruin or de Bruyn of Middelburg, Zeeland, who had read law at the now defunct University of Harderwijk in the 1750s. In his professional life he had held public office in his home town Middelburg in various capacities such as councillor, alderman, treasurer and burgomaster. He was also one of the directors of the local Chamber of the Dutch West India Company (WIC), which at any rate suggests that he was actively engaged in the West African slave trade, a highly profitable enterprise. Apart from his death in 1799, no further details are known about his life and there is nothing to indicate that he was particularly interested in Oriental studies.

In his turn De Bruin acquired Oriental manuscripts from a much more likely owner, Jacobus Willemsen (1698–1780), also from Middelburg, Zealand. He studied Hebrew and theology in Utrecht and was actually a pupil of Reland, whose funeral he attended in his birthplace De Rijp in 1718. There may have been a special affinity between Reland and his student Willemsen, for at the funeral Reland’s widow bestowed a silver medal on him in memory of the deceased. He taught as professor at the Athenaeum in Middelburg and also served as a minister of the established Dutch Reformed Church. He possessed a vast fortune through his marriage to a rich lady from the Dutch East Indies, who, upon her untimely demise, left him the sum of 800,000 guilders. Grief-stricken, he promptly sought refuge in the fashionable watering hole of Spa in the Ardennes to restore his spirits. His exquisite private library was so large that after his death it had to be sold on two separate occasions. When his books and manuscripts on theology, Classics and Oriental studies came up for sale at the firm of Luchtmans in Leiden in 1781, the auction took no less than nine days. Most probably Willemsen had bought books and manuscripts directly from the Reland auction in 1761 in memory of his old professor.

In all, Pieter de Jong discovered seven Oriental manuscripts in the Royal Academy loan collection which had passed along these lines from Reland

22 De Jong, Catalogus Academiae Regiae, p. xi.
23 Cat. De Bruin 1800, see Van Selm et al., Book sales catalogues, microfiches, nos. 1170–1172; see also Bibliopolis, and Book Sales Catalogues Online.
24 For De Bruin’s matriculation at the University of Harderwijk see Van Epen, Album studiosorum Academiae Gelro-Zutphanicae, p. 104b.
25 Van den Broeke, ‘Het pryeel van Zeeland’, pp. 349–350.
26 Hoek, ’300 jaar Adriaan Reland’, p. 11.
27 Nagtglas, Levensberichten van Zeeuwen, pp. 954–958; Molhuysen et al., Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, vol. 5, cols 1128–1129.
28 Cat. Willemsen 1781.
to Willmet, and his approach was so thorough that only three more Reland items have now come to the surface in this particular collection. The efforts of his Leiden colleagues to detect Reland manuscripts in the other holdings of Leiden University Library, however, proved much less successful. The results were mixed at best, but in the case of the private library of the aforementioned Jan Jacob Schultens the score was abysmally low with only one single Reland manuscript, which was traced only because De Jong had found a similar one in the Royal Academy loan collection and made a note of it in his catalogue. As a result, only fifteen Reland manuscripts were previously known to exist at Leiden.

By going through the Reland auction catalogue and checking it against the complete Leiden holdings acquired before the close of the nineteenth century, it was possible to identify another twenty-four manuscripts which had not previously been ascribed to Reland. In the collection of Jan Jacob Schultens alone there turned out to be nine Reland manuscripts instead of only one. Among these twenty-four, one undetected Reland manuscript was brought to our attention by Anna Pytlowany of the University of Amsterdam, a Persian-Dutch glossary with Hindustani elements which had ended up in the collection of the Society for Netherlands Literature kept at Leiden University Library (LTK 589). Bart Jaski, Keeper of Manuscripts at Utrecht University Library, contributed three new items: a collective manuscript on magic (Or. 1576); Mukāshafat al-qulūb or ‘Disclosure of the Hearts’, a work attributed to Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (Or. 1634); and the Dīvān or collected works of the Persian poet Qāsim-i Anvâr, who died in 1433 CE (Or. 1893). In combination with the fifteen listed so far, this has resulted in a new total of 39 manuscripts at Leiden which may be ascribed to Reland with varying degrees of certainty. Ironically for a university which bought nothing at the Reland auction of 1761, this makes it the largest single Reland collection in the world.

Other collections with a Reland provenance exist outside Leiden, most notably in Utrecht, the Vatican and Berlin (Staatsbibliothek), each with their own particular strands of ownership, but, as such, they are beyond the scope of the present contribution, unless there is a direct link with a Leiden manuscript. For the other manuscripts we refer the reader to Bart Jaski’s contribution to the

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29 See the description of Acad. 39, Jāmī-i ʿAbbāsī, in De Jong, Catalogus Academiae Regiae, pp. 237–238. This codex never belonged to Reland. His manuscript of the Jāmī-i ʿAbbāsī, which was acquired by J.J. Schultens, now bears the Leiden pressmark Or. 1283. Reland possessed two manuscripts of this text; the other one is now in the Vatican, ms Vat. Pers. 15, see Rossi, Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana, p. 41.

30 See also Appendix 2, A oct 28, D 4 and A oct 4.
present volume. Where appropriate, reference will be made to individual items and their provenance.

4 The Enigmas of an Auction Catalogue

An analysis of the Leiden Library catalogues from the nineteenth century reveals that the authors recorded a Reland provenance only if they encountered his name in a manuscript, and consequently worked their way backwards through the various auction catalogues until they arrived at the Reland catalogue from 1761, of which they had a copy at their disposal which is now lost. For the present identification of additional Reland manuscripts—i.e. the ones that bear neither his name nor in many cases his annotations—the opposite procedure was adopted. Starting from the 1761 catalogue, we tried to link the Latin descriptions to existing items in the Leiden collections. Generally speaking, however, auction catalogues from the eighteenth century can be exasperatingly vague, and many scholars must have been driven to despair when confronted with elusive descriptions such as ‘Liber Persicus incerti argumenti’, ‘A Persian book on an uncertain subject’, and what could they think of ‘Liber Arabicus ignoti auctoris’ , ‘An Arabic book by an unknown author’? Sebaldus Ravius, the scholar who prepared Reland’s catalogue, must have been a competent Hebraist but his knowledge of other Oriental languages was negligible. He therefore limited himself to blindly copying the author and title details that Reland had left behind in his manuscripts and for the rest simply tried to make the most of it.

The only listing that Reland himself made of his collection is the aforementioned Index Manuscriptorum which is attached to both editions of De religione Mohammedica. The Latin descriptions in this Index percolated into the auction catalogue together with a numbered reference. But Reland also provided additional details in his Index, especially in Arabic, that cannot be found in the auction catalogue. Glaring mistakes can be very helpful, as in the case of the utterly obscure name ‘Anhaswaliensis’, which occurs both in the Index and the auction catalogue, but which turns out to be based on a misreading of al-Jazuli, the renowned Moroccan author of the Dalā'il al-khayrāt, an immensely popular devotional work (for more details see below under the description of MS Leiden, Acad. 32). Otherwise catalogue entries, however garbled, usually contain snippets of useful information such as part of a name, isolated title words, a date, a previous owner or even the format.

Furthermore, it may be argued that a text such as the Qur'ān, which enjoyed a wide circulation even in the West, is difficult to associate with a specific
manuscript. A description such as ‘Selecta quaedam capita Corani’, ‘Certain selected chapters of the Qur‘ān’, will not help you find a corresponding manuscript on the shelf before you. Conversely, rare texts by authors who are not particularly well known will be correspondingly easier to identify.

We have already discussed the efforts of a scholar such as Pieter de Jong to trace manuscripts along a fixed line of ownership from Reland to Willemsen, De Bruin, Willmet and finally the loan collection of the Royal Academy. It is therefore hardly surprising that a closer look at Willmet’s collection disclosed more Reland manuscripts, and the same applies to the Leiden professor Jan Jacob Schultens, who was the grateful recipient of a gift from his German student Johann Peter Berg. It often turned out that the descriptions in the Reland catalogue, as erroneous and idiosyncratic as they are, were echoed—often verbatim—in the auction catalogues of one or more subsequent owners, suggesting that it concerned the same manuscripts which had passed from one owner to the next. But here a caveat is in order: certain Reland items in the Leiden collections whose provenance seemed to be established with a fair degree of certainty also appear in the auction catalogue of a scholar such as Johann Peter Berg, the student of Jan Jacob Schultens, whose books and manuscripts came under the hammer in Duisburg in 1801. The descriptions in this catalogue also hail back to the Reland catalogue of 1761.31 This may be explained in various ways: either Reland possessed more than one copy of a text, or the attribution of a Leiden manuscript to Reland is possibly wrong. The latter question is not easy to decide, for only in isolated instances can Berg’s manuscripts be traced in modern public collections. But there is also the third possibility that a manuscript passed from Reland to J.P. Berg, but eventually found its way back to the Netherlands. A previously identified and described example is Leiden Or. 1628, an Ottoman Turkish work on oneiromancy.32

Finally, one must assume that an auction catalogue can hardly be regarded as the alpha and omega of a scholar’s collection. If the descriptions of individual items are faulty, it is not very likely that the entire listing will be complete and without error. The auctioneer or the heirs of the deceased may have decided to withhold certain items. During a scholar’s lifetime his collection remained fluid; he may have bought certain manuscripts and sold or even
given away others—as Galland did with his two Persian manuscripts. So, if we find a manuscript that unequivocally belonged to Reland, we should not be surprised if it does not appear in the auction catalogue.

5 Reland’s Manuscripts in the Leiden Collections

Below, the reader will find a brief survey of a selection of recently detected manuscripts that may have belonged to Reland, together with a discussion of the considerations that led to their identification. As already said, the attributions have varying degrees of certainty, but are never wholly speculative. If an ascription to Reland is problematic in any way this will be noted, and if it remains doubtful after all, the pressmark will be marked with an asterisk, for example ‘[Or. 1296*]’. The survey will be followed by an appendix with the short titles and pressmarks of all manuscripts under consideration.33

[Or. 1232] *Anvār-i Suhaylī, ‘The lights of Canopus’, the Persian version of the fables of Bidpai by Ḥusayn Vāʿīz Kāshīfī, who died in 1504 CE. Undated, but probably from the sixteenth century CE and written on indigenous paper. A luxury manuscript with illuminated opening pages and several miniatures. The title is written in minute script in the centre of the sarlavh or headpiece on fol. 1b. It may be identical with Cat. Reland 1761, p. 3 folio 24, ‘Liber Persicus Continens vari generis Historias & Fabulas (titulo deaurato)’, ‘A Persian book containing various kinds of stories and fables (with a title illuminated in gold)’. It is listed in the auction catalogue as a folio manuscript; our Leiden manuscript is technically speaking not a folio but a very large octavo, but with its height of c. 26.5 cm it could easily pass for a folio. It sold for 4 guilders and 8 stuivers, which is far above the average price. In the Schultens Cat. 1780, p. 604, no. 7006, it appears as an octavo manuscript with the correct title ‘Anwâr Soheili s[ive] versio Persica Fabularum Bidpai s[ive] Coleilah we Dimnah’, ‘The lights of Canopus, or the Persian translation of the fables of Bidpai or Kalīla wa-Dimna’. The manuscript was rebound, probably in the late eighteenth century, and all flyleaves or pastedowns which might have contained a name or other inscriptions are lost. Both the subject (stories and fables) and the exceptional illumination in gold of the opening pages suggest that this is indeed the manuscript that once belonged to Reland [Fig. 12.3].

[Or. 1275] *Waṣiyyat al-Nabī li-ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, an anonymous work with admonitions of the Prophet Muhammad to his son-in-law ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib,
Figure 12.3 The ‘titulus deauratus’ (gilded title page) of a manuscript of Anvār-i Suhaylī by Vāʿiẓ Kāshīfī

COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, OR. 1232, FOL. 1B
the fourth caliph of Islam. The quarto manuscript is of North African origin and bears the date 932 AH / 1526 CE. It is listed in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 7 quarto 28 as ‘Waziato l’Nabi sive praeceptum Muhammedis Prophetae Ali datum [...]. See also Cat. J.J. Schultens Bibliotheca Schultensiana 1780, p. 601 no. 3826: ‘Libellus, quo continetur paraenesis Mohammedis ad Alin Ben Abi Talib [...].’ It is a rare text which is not mentioned in Carl Brockelmann’s Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (GAL), and may be a fragment of a larger work. The chances are but slight that two different copies of such a rare manuscript in the same quarto format and with the same title would turn up twice within a period of forty years, but the same title is mentioned in the J.P. Berg auction catalogue of 1801. Most likely, Reland possessed two copies of this text.

[Or. 1280] The Ottoman Turkish Dīvān or collected poetry of ‘Azmizāde Ḥāletī (1570/71–1631), a Supreme Judge (Kazasker) of Rumelia who was also active as a poet like many of his fellow jurists or clerics. This is yet another item acquired by Leiden at the J.J. Schultens auction in 1780, see his Cat. 1780, p. 604, no. 7002 (Codices Manuscripti Orientales in octavo). In the Reland Cat. 1761, p. 11 octavo 12, it is described as ‘Poëmata Persica Halati [...] ex Bibliotheca J. Golii’, ‘Persian poems by Halati [...] from the library of J. Golius’. The same inscription—but with ‘Persica’ crossed out and corrected into ‘Turcica’—is found on fol. 1a of the Leiden manuscript, together with the number ‘Msc. qto N. 63’. The manuscript appears under exactly the same number in the auction catalogue of Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), professor of Arabic at Leiden between 1625 and 1667. An interesting detail is that Golius bought the manuscript during the author’s lifetime, and he may actually have known him during his sojourn in Istanbul in the late 1620s.

[Or. 1296*] Bahāristān, ‘The Spring Garden’ of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (1414–1492), an octavo Persian manuscript dating from 959 AH / 1552 CE. Also part of the J.J. Schultens collection, see his Cat. 1780, p. 604, no. 6991 (Codices Manuscripti Orientales in Octavo). In Reland’s Catalogue 1761, p. 11 octavo 13, we find a ‘Liber Persicus dictus Baharistaran’, ‘A Persian book called Baharistan’ also in octavo, with the remark ‘scriptus à celeberrimo poëta Gjami Herbelot in Bibl. orient., hac voce’, a reference to the entry ‘Giami’ in Barthélemy d’Herbelot’s Bibliothèque orientale of 1697. The fact that two octavo Baharistāns, after all a popular text, occur in two consecutive catalogues is inconclusive as such, but the entry in the Schultens catalogue reiterates the

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34 Though not listed by Brockelmann, it appears as a separate entry in Ahlwardt, Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 3, p. 446, no. 3959.
35 Cat. Berg 1801, p. 434, no. 6817: ‘Wasiyyat al-Nabi Praeceptum Muhammedis Ali Ibn Abi Taleb commendatum, arabice, charactere Africano’.
36 See Cat. Golius 1696, p. 29, no. 63.
Bibliographic references are rare in the Schultens catalogue, and this would allow for the assumption that we are dealing with one and the same manuscript. If this is true, it is also interesting to note the assertion in the Reland catalogue that this manuscript once belonged to the German scholar Heinrich Sike, who taught Arabic to Reland in Leiden and Utrecht. Nevertheless, the Reland provenance remains uncertain.

[Or. 1299] Risāla-yi Ḥasaniyya (also: Kitāb-i Ḥasaniyya), a very rare Shi'iite compendium in Persian on religious obligations (ʿibādāt), mostly on the requirements of ritual purity and prayer, by ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Āmulī (further particulars unknown). This work is listed as no. IV in the Index Manuscriptorum of Reland’s De religione Mohammedica: ‘Systema Persicum theologiae Mohammedanicae, auctore [in Arabic script: Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Āmulī] Antistite Adsaddino Amoliensi, cui titulis [in Arabic script: Risālat-i Ḥasaniyya]’. Golius possessed a manuscript of this text (Cat. Golius 1696, p. 21, no. 80). Not mentioned as such in the Reland auction catalogue. It was bought at the J.J. Schultens auction of 1780, but the specific title cannot be found in his auction catalogue either. The manuscript was rebound in the eighteenth century and it no longer contains any information about its previous European owners, so it is not immediately possible to establish a link for the Leiden codex Or. 1299 between Golius, Reland and J.J. Schultens.

Interestingly, however, Reland possessed at least one copy of the Risāla-yi Ḥasaniyya, which is hidden behind a very generic description in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 4 quarto 1: ‘Institutiones Religionis Muhammedicae, quibus continetur tum dogmata fidei, tum Liturgiae, tum aliae cerimoniae Arabice & Persice’, ‘The institutions of the Mohammedan religion, containing the dogmas of the faith as well as the liturgy and other ceremonies, in Arabic and Persian’. Reland apparently obtained this item from Golius, see Cat. Golius 1696, p. 16, no. 3, where it is listed under exactly the same title. At the Reland auction it fetched 10 guilders and 10 stuivers, an exceptionally high price. The item was acquired by J.P. Berg and his auction catalogue (Cat. Berg 1801, p. 436–437, no. 6823) informs us that it actually consisted of a convolute of three individual texts, including Kitāb-i Ḥasaniyya. The other two texts are Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn, ‘Book of forty principles of Islamic theology’, by the great theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111) and the Risāla or ‘Treatise’, a famous Islamic creed by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (922–996).

Please note that this is not the present-day Leiden MS Acad. 145, which is a folio copy by Jacobus Golius’s copyist Shāhīn Qandī or Sjahin Kandi, see Cat. Golius 1696, p. 22, no. 6, and De Jong, Catalogus Academiae Regiae, p. 217.
These three texts were acquired at the J.P. Berg auction by the Prussian diplomat and Orientalist Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817) and are now in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. Diez quarto 102. They are not original manuscripts but modern apographs, most likely made by Golius’s amanuensis Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo or Nīqūlā ibn Buṭrus al-Ḥalabī. Nicolaus Petri also transcribed an unrelated fragment at the end of Risāla-yi Ḥasanīyya which harks back to an addendum in a different hand at the end of the Leiden Cod. Or. 1299 (pp. 313–314). This unique addition allows us to conclude that the codex Or. 1299 served as the exemplar for Nicolaus Petri’s apograph, and also that Or. 1299 actually belonged to Golius. It equally allows us to assume that Or. 1299 passed from Golius to Reland and thence to Schultens, not only because of the unique addition but also the overall rarity of the text.

[Or. 1337] Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn, ‘The meadow of fragrant herbs on the stories of the saints’, by ‘Abdallāh ibn Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī (d. 1367 CE), a Sufi treatise in Arabic on Muslim saints. Bought at auction before 1830 (Brockelmann, GAL, II 177, S II 228). The Reland connection was already known, because the manuscript contains an acquisition note ‘Adrianus Reeland MDCC’. But all cataloguers appear to have missed the inscription in faded brown ink on the pastedown of the front cover: ‘Misc. qto N. 28’. This is a familiar reference to the Golius collection, and indeed it appears under this number in his auction catalogue of 1696, p. 17, no. 28: ‘Vita religiosorum. Arab’, ‘Life of Holy Men, in Arabic’. But unfortunately this manuscript cannot be identified in any recognisable form in the Reland auction catalogue.

[Or. 1343*] Tārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhī, a history of the eponymous dynasty of Golconda (now Hyderabad), dedicated to the ruler Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, who died in 1625. Acquired from the estate of Nicolaas Willem (Nicolaus Wilhelm) Schroeder, professor of Oriental languages at Groningen (1721–1798). At the Reland auction Schroeder bought the Leiden codices Or. 1347 (mentioned immediately below) and Or. 1893, and we shall now explore the possibility that Schroeder also acquired the present Leiden codex Or. 1343 on

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38 For Risāla-yi Hasanīyya see W. Pertsch, Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, p. 246–247, no. 193. For al-Ghazālī’s Kitāb al-arbaʿīn see W. Ahlwardt, Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 2, p. 318, no. 1717; for the Risāla of Ibn Abī Zayd see ibid., vol. 4, p. 53, no. 4447/3.

39 I am indebted to my colleague Dr Christoph Rauch of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for sending me some sample pages of Cod. Diez quarto 102, which allowed me to establish the Reland provenance and the identity of the copyist, Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo.

40 Cat. Schroeder 1834, pp. 4–5, no. 10. On N.W. Schroeder see Nat, pp. 74–79.
the same occasion. According to an annotation on the last folio 474b, the manuscript Or. 1343 was acquired on 17 October 1680 by Cornelis van Murter (also: Cornelis Mutter), whose name occurs frequently in the Reland auction catalogue. Mutter was born in Overschie near Rotterdam in 1659 and followed a career in the Dutch East India Company, serving as a clerk and interpreter in Golconda in 1674–1680 and afterwards in Batavia. He was also considered as a candidate for a new Malay Bible translation, but this came to nothing and he appears to have returned to his native country in or shortly after 1698. He died around 1704, leaving a considerable number of manuscripts in Persian and Malay or Javanese. Most of the Malay or Javanese items which came into Reland’s possession went to the Vatican, where they constitute the core of the Southeast Asian collections. Eight Mutter manuscripts, all of them in Persian, were acquired by the German scholar Johann Friedrich Winckler (1679–1738) and are now in the Staatsbibliothek in Hamburg. The Leiden MS Or. 1343 also contains the name ‘Jo.Frid. Winckler’ on fol. 1a, but it did not end up in Hamburg like the others. It is enticing to assume that at some point this manuscript came to Reland and that it appears in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 9 quarto 55 as ‘Historia Coronationis Regis Persiae antecedit historia praelii ab ipso commissi, Persice’, ‘History of the coronation of a Persian king, preceded by the history of a battle fought by him’. No such text is know in Persian historiography, but on fol. 1a there is a note in Dutch in a seventeenth-century hand (possibly Mutter’s): ‘No. 13—den Cronijk der Cronijken / vande Indise Coningen’, ‘The chronicle of chronicles / of the Indian kings’. The final ‘n’ of ‘Cronijken’ is partly obscured by the tab of a more recent flyleaf. It is quite possible that it was misread as ‘Croninghen’, coronations. This error is all the more understandable since it results in the perfectly alliterating and rhyming title ‘den Cronijk der Croninghen / vande Indise Coningen’, ‘The chronicle of the coronations / of the Indian kings’. And in fact, the word julūs or enthronement occurs frequently in the rubricated headings, as is only to be expected in a dynastic history. Moreover, the word ‘Indian’ was ‘corrected’ into ‘Persian’ by

41 Leiden cod. Or. 1893, Dīvān-i Qāsim-i Anvār, Cat. Reland 1761, p. 10 octavo 4, not found in Cat. Schroeder 1834.
42 For Mutter’s manuscripts in Reland’s possession, see De Jong, Catalogus Academiae Regiae, p. 216 n. 2 (sub no. CLXI = Acad. 138).
43 See Rossi, Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana, p. 49, sub Vat. Pers. 21; Swellengrebel, ‘Verkorte weergave van Prof. Dr. A.A. Censes ontwerp-beschrijving’; Reid, ‘Indonesian Manuscripts in the Vatican Library’, p. 53. See further the contribution of Bart Jaski in this volume, pp. 325–330.
44 On J.F. Winckler see Bertheau, ‘Winckler, Johann Friedrich’. On Winckler’s Mutter manuscripts in Hamburg see Brockelmann, Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg, sub nos. 148, 151, 171, 209, 210, 213, 216, 217.
an unknown hand on the new flyleaf, resulting in the Latin title ‘Liber persicus seu chronicon regum persarum’ or ‘Persian book or chronicle of the kings of the Persians’. In combination, this could very well have led to the entry in the auction catalogue. But in spite of all considerations, the Reland attribution remains uncertain.

Incidentally, Leiden University Library possesses two more manuscripts with a Mutter connection. The first is MS Acad. 138, a copy of Sa’dī’s Gulistān or ‘Rose Garden’ from 1086 AH / 1676 CE, which was partly transcribed by Mutter’s friend and VOC colleague Daniël Havart, who had learned Persian together with him in Golconda in the year 1675. This manuscript probably never belonged to Reland. The second one is the aforementioned Leiden manuscript LTK 589, a Persian-Dutch vocabulary with additions in Hindustani, judging from the handwriting also by Havart, which is most likely identical with the ‘Vocabularium Persico-Belgicum’ in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 6 quarto 23. There can be little doubt that this Havart manuscript came to Reland through Cornelis Mutter.

[Or. 1347] al-Taqrīb fī ʾl-fiqh or Mukhtaṣar fī ʾl-fiqh, ‘The approach (or compendium) of Islamic jurisprudence’, by Abū Shujāʿ Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 1106 CE, Brockelmann, GAL, I 392, S II 676). An Arabic manuscript with an incomplete interlinear Malay translation. The manuscript does not mention Reland’s name, but there is a title entry on the first flyleaf in a hand that may be safely attributed to him: ‘Liber iste est [in Arabic script: Mukhtaṣar fī ʾl-fiqh] i.e. Breve compendium Juris Mohammedanorum secundum sectam Schafaeorum [etc.].’ A detailed table of chapters and subjects on the pastedown reveals that the owner had a profound knowledge of Islamic law, and in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic this could only have been Reland. Like Or. 1343 mentioned above, and indirectly also Or. 1893 (Dīvān of Qāsim-i Anvār, Cat. Reland p. 10, octavo 4), this manuscript was also bought by Leiden from the estate of Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder, professor of Oriental languages at Groningen, who died in 1798.

But note, however, that this work on Islamic law by Abū Shujāʿ is not the same as an anonymous theological work mentioned in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 8 quarto 46, under practically the same title: ‘Compendium Theologicum

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45 Havart donated this manuscript to Mutter in Utrecht on 25 January 1701, which means that Mutter had returned to the Dutch Republic by 1700 at the latest. See the note on the first flyleaf of ms Leiden Acad. 138, and also De Jong, Catalogus Academiae Regiae, pp. 215–216.
46 Cat. Schroeder 1834, p. 4, no. 8: ‘Breve Compendium Juris Mohammedanorum...’ Please note that the Leiden codex Or. 1893 does not occur in Cat. Schroeder 1834, but it has an annotation on the first flyleaf, ‘Ex Bibl. N.G. Schroederi’.
ex mente Muhammedanorum secundum Sectam Schafaeorum [etc.]. This latter manuscript, essentially an Islamic creed, is listed in Reland's Index Manuscriptorum as no. XXI. It was sold to J.P. Berg, Cat. 1801, p. 436, no. 6820, and it is now in the Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, MS Prov. o. 378.\footnote{47} In his Index Manuscriptorum, no. 15, Reland cites the legal compendium by Abū Shujāʿ among the manuscripts he borrowed from the City Library of Amsterdam,\footnote{48} but he does not mention a manuscript of this text from his own private library, and neither does it appear in any recognisable form in his auction catalogue of 1761. Nevertheless, it would seem that Reland owned, or had access to, multiple copies of this text. This is corroborated by the fact that Or. 1347 bears the inscription ‘Codex A’ on the flyleaf, implying that there is also a codex B. This second codex is no doubt identical with MS Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, no. XV, covered in the same decorative paper as the Leiden codex Or. 1347, and also with a title entry that may be attributed to Reland. This manuscript was given by Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder to his younger brother Johann Wilhelm, professor at Marburg (d. 1793).\footnote{49}

[Or. 1634] Mukāshafat al-qulūb (‘Disclosure of the hearts’), a work on religious ethics attributed to Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111, Brockelmann, GAL, I 425, S I 755 sub no. 61). It is neither in Reland's Index Manuscriptorum nor in his auction catalogue. But, as Jan Schmidt noted, there is an inscription on the pastedown in Reland's handwriting reading ‘Scheich Soliman Efendi liber de praxi pietatis erga Deum, de munditia, de precibus &c., de jejunis etc. Arabice’ (Book by Shaykh Sulaymān Efendi on the practice of piety towards God, on ritual purity, on prayers et cetera, on fasting et cetera. In Arabic). Reland, who was unaware of the text's attribution to al-Ghazālī, mistook a certain Sulaymān Efendi, who endowed the book as waqf, for its author.\footnote{50} Bought in 1851 from Belinfante publishers and booksellers, The Hague.

[Or. 1661] Riyāż al-inshāʾ, ‘The meadows of epistolography’, or Inshā- yi Khvāja-Jahān, ‘Epistolography of Lord Jahan’, a Persian work by the Indian vizier ‘Imād al-Din Mahmūd Gāwān from Gilān (d. 1481). Acquired from the
Van Voorst auction, January 1860.51 Signed and annotated by Reland on fol. 1a: ‘Formulae aliquot Epistolarum, ad Principis aliosque mittendarum. Persice. Hadriani Relandi’, ‘Some models of letters to be sent to princes and others’. The same annotation can be found in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 10 octavo 11. It was not previously known, however, that this manuscript was once in the possession of Jacobus Golius, see the second note on the same fol. 1a in faded brown ink, ‘Misc. qto N. 40.’, referring to the Golius auction of 1696, see his Catalogue, p. 18, no. 40, ‘Litterae familiares Persicæ, elegantissimæ conscriptæ’, ‘Private letters in Persian, most elegantly written’.

The Van Voorst auction proved to be an important source for Reland manuscripts at Leiden: among the 63 Oriental manuscripts offered for sale, Leiden bought no fewer than 33, and five of these revealed a Reland provenance (Codd. Or. 1649, 1652, 1661, 1665, 1666). The auction comprised the vast private library of Jan Jacob van Voorst (1791–1869) and his father Dirk Cornelis (1752–1833), both ministers of the established Dutch Reformed Church in Amsterdam. Neither of them could have bought manuscripts directly from the Reland auction, but the names of the intermediate owners are at present unknown. Jan Jacob studied at Leiden under Johan Hendrik van der Palm (1763–1840), the son-in-law of Hendrik Albert Schultens, who was the last in a line of three consecutive generations of Schultenses who occupied the Chair of Oriental Studies at Leiden University. Under the guidance of Van der Palm, Jan Jacob van Voorst would have taken a special interest in the Arabic language, which would explain his interest in Oriental manuscripts.52

[Or. 1945] A folio Qurʾān with a Malay interlinear translation from the island of Manipa, close to Ambon, Indonesia, with a richly illuminated opening page in the Western style, dated 1694 CE. Listed in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 2 folio 8 as ‘Alcoranus, Arabice, nitidissime conscriptus, Manippæ in insula Ambon à quodam Batou Langkay sive Antistite Urbis Tomilehou, & a quatuor aliis Iman [sic, A.V.] anno MDCXCIV collatus […].’ This is obviously a translation of an annotation in Dutch on fol. 249a.53 It is listed under the same Latin title in Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 165, no. 725. A subsequent owner was Everard Scheidius, professor of Oriental languages at Harderwijk and Leiden (1742–1794), who

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51 Cat. Van Voorst 1859, p. 4, no. 31: ‘Inschâ de Khodja-Djihan. 8vo’. For the Van Voorst MSS acquired by Leiden, see Witkam, Inventory Leiden University, vol. 2, pp. 208–215.
52 Prins, ‘Levensbericht van J.J. van Voorst’, p. 178.
53 ms Leiden, Or. 1945, fol. 249a: ‘Dese Corân is op Manipa, een eijland onder Ambon, door batou Langkaj, imâm van Tomilêhou, uitgeschreven, en van 4 andere imâms aldaar nagesien, in ‘t jaar na Christi geboorte 1694’ (‘This Qurʾān has been copied on Manipa, an island below Ambon, by batu Langkay, imam of Tomilehu, and verified there by 4 imams in the year 1694 after Christ’s birth’).
probably bought it at the Willemsen auction. According to an annotation on fol. 1a, Scheidius made a gift of this Qurʾān on 2 May 1792 to a certain J.H. Brinkhoff, who may be identical with Joannes Henricus Brinkhoff of Arnhem, who matriculated at the University of Harderwijk on 20 September 1791.\textsuperscript{54} This would in any case explain the absence of the Qurʾān in Scheidius’s auction catalogue of 1806,\textsuperscript{55} but it is difficult to see why Scheidius should have given such a splendid Qurʾān to a mere novice. The manuscript was donated to Leiden in 1870 by a certain Mr Rinse Koopmans van Boekeren (1832–1896), an author of children’s books whose connection with Brinkhoff, his heirs or other possible previous owners has yet to be established [Fig. 12.4].

[Or. 3083] and [Acad. 197] Two copies of the Capitulations granted by the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV, sent to the States General of the Dutch Republic in The Hague and dated in the last decade of Shaʿbān 1043 / 19–28 February 1634. The first, Or. 3083, is an apograph, probably by Shāhīn Qandī, who worked as a copyist for Jacobus Golius.\textsuperscript{56} On the inside cover it bears a handwritten title in Latin, ‘Epistola authentica Morad Chan Imperatoris Turcarum scripta ad Ordines Belgii Foederati anno Christi 1633’, ‘An authentic letter of Murad Khan, Emperor of the Turks, written to the States General of the Dutch Republic in the year of Christ 1633’. It bears Reland’s name and appears under exactly the same title in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 2 folio 18. It was bought by Everard Scheidius and features in his auction catalogue from 1806 as ‘an apograph of a letter from the Governor of Algiers [sic!, A.V.] to the Government of the Netherlands’, most likely because the author of the catalogue mistook ‘Qustanṭīniyya’, the official Ottoman name of Constantinople, for Constantine in Algeria.\textsuperscript{57} It came to Leiden in 1887 through the descendants of Sebald Fulco Johannes Rau (d. 1807), Scheidius’s successor in Leiden. However, the fact that this apograph is erroneously described as ‘authentic’ has created great confusion in establishing the provenance of the second manuscript, Acad. 197. This is not an original ferman either but a certified copy made in Istanbul and therefore at any rate a genuine Turkish document. Pieter de Jong linked this copy to Reland, and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} MS Leiden, Or. 1945, fol. 1a: ‘Huncce Coranum amicissime donavit E. Scheidius LL: Or: Prof: Ord: die 2 Maji Anno MDCCXCI. J.H. Brinkhoff’; for Brinkhoff’s matriculation see Van Epen, \textit{Album studiosorum Academiae Gelro-Zutphanicae}, p. 149b.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Cat. Scheidius 1806, pp. 87–99.
\item \textsuperscript{56} On Golius’s copyist Shāhīn Qandī (in Dutch: Sjahin Kandi) see Juynboll, \textit{Zeventiende-eeuwse boeefenaars van het Arabisch}, pp. 167–169.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Cat. Scheidius 1806, p. 98, no. 70.
\end{itemize}
FIGURE 12.4 Opening page of a Qur’an from Manipa (near Ambon, Indonesia), dated 1694 CE

COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, OR. 1945, FOL. 1B
simultaneously detected the richly illuminated original ferman in the collections of the National Archives in The Hague.\textsuperscript{58}

[Acad. 29] A collective volume in Arabic with 1) \textit{Tashīl al-maqāṣid li-zuwwār al-masājid}, ‘Providing easy access to the visitors of the mosques’, by Aḥmad ibn ‘Īmād al-Dīn al-Aqfahsī (d. 1405 CE, Brockelmann, GAL, II 94), and 2) \textit{al-Qawl fi tafsīr al-kalimāt al-ṭayyibāt}, ‘A word of explanation on the Delightful Words’, by the same author (Brockelmann, GAL, II 94). The Leiden MS Acad. 29, bound in parchment, corresponds exactly to Cat. Reland 1761, p. 5 quarto 9: ‘Liber de ritibus & caeremoniis Turcarum praecipue in Templis […]; ‘Book of the rites and ceremonies of the Turks, most notably in the Temples […].’ The same description can be found on fol. 1a of this manuscript in Reland’s own hand. Although almost obliterated, his name is at the top of the page, ‘Sum Adriani Reelandi’, together with the date 1702. See also Reland’s Index Manuscriptorum, no. 7. An earlier owner’s inscription or auction catalogue number has been almost completely erased, but one must assume that it once belonged to Golius, for the manuscript is in the hand of his copyist Shāhīn Qandi. On the pastedown of this manuscript we read that it is an apograph from MS Leiden Or. 1284, and this could very well be true: Or. 1284, a convolute dated 847 AH / 1443 CE, starts with these very same two texts by al-Aqfahsī, but more research will be needed to establish the exact relationship between the two MSS. This second manuscript, Or. 1284, was bought at the auction of J.J. Schultens, cat. 1780, p. 601, no. 3827: ‘Tashil Al Mokazed li zour al mesgiad […] auctore Omad Acfahesbi.—Accedit Minhagi ila al Giannat […] auctore Al-Gazali’. And indeed, this Leiden MS contains not only the \textit{Tashīl al-maqāṣid} by al-Aqfahsī (and ‘al-Kalimāt al-ṭayyibāt’) but also \textit{Minhāj al-ʿābidīn ilā jannat Rabb al-ʿālamīn}, ‘The way of the Lord’s servants to Paradise’, by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111 CE, Brockelmann, GAL, I 423, S I 751). The manuscript bears some isolated annotations which may be attributed to J.J. Schultens’s father Albert Schultens (1686–1750), also professor of Oriental languages at Leiden (see, for instance, fol. 121a in Latin, and fol. 122b in Arabic). It is not clear how A. Schultens came by MS Or. 1284, but the fact that he possessed it at all seems to rule out Reland’s ownership. Golius possessed two manuscripts containing the \textit{Tashīl al-maqāṣid} by al-Aqfahsī. On a conjectural basis it is possible to identify Acad. 29 with Cat. Golius 1696, p. 15, no. 82 (Libri Miscellanei M.S. in Folio), although the format does not match; Or. 1284 may be identical with Cat. Golius

\textsuperscript{58} De Jong, \textit{Catalogus Academiae Regiae}, pp. 246–247. The original of the \textit{Ahdnâme or Capitulations of 1634} is kept at the National Archives, The Hague, access, no. 1.0.1–02, inv., nos. 12593.47A–12593.47B2, online via https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/en (accessed 23 March 2021).
1696, p. 24, no. 4 (Libri Miscellanei m.s. incompacti in Quarto &c.). It is listed as ‘incompactus’, unbound, but note that the present binding dates from the late eighteenth century [Fig. 12.5].

[Acad. 32*] Dalāʾil al-khayrāt, ‘Manifestations of benefactions’, a very popular devotional work by the Moroccan author Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (1404–1465, Brockelmann, GAL, II 252, S II 359). This undated manuscript in the maghribī script, though lacking either Reland’s name or annotations, might be identical with Cat. Reland 1761, p. 6 quarto 19, ‘Sylloge Eulogiarum ad Muhammedem instituendarum autore Abdalla Muhammed Ibn Sokeiker Anhaswaliensi’, ‘Compilation of eulogies of Muhammed, by Abdalla Muhammed Ibn Sokeiker Anhaswaliensis’. The auction catalogue contains an explicit reference to, no. 15 of the ‘Index Manuscriptorum’: Sylloge precum & eulogiarum auctore Abu Abdalla Mohammed Ibn Sokeiker، أَبُو أَبْنُ سُلَيْمَانُ الصُّلُمَلِيُّ، ‘Sokeiker’ surely stands for Sulaymān and the Arabic letter combination اُهُزَلَيْنِ is no doubt an erroneous reading of اُمُلُؤَيْنِ، al-Jazūlī. One may suspect that Reland pronounced it as ‘Anhazwali’, which turns up as ‘Anhaswaliensis’ in the auction catalogue. In the Willemsen auction catalogue of 1781 the ‘Anhaswaliensis’ from the Reland auction catalogue has been corrected into ‘Al Gazwaliensis’, a closer approximation of al-Jazūlī. After Willemsen, the manuscript was owned by both De Bruin and Willmet. However, the same title description as in Reland with the author’s name ‘Anhazwaliensis’ occurs in J.P. Berg’s catalogue of 1801, p. 435–436, no. 6818. As a result, the Reland attribution of the Leiden MS Acad. 32 remains uncertain: either he possessed more than one manuscript of the text, or Willemsen obtained his manuscript from a source other than Reland.

[Acad. 188] A Persian collective volume dated 1034 AH / [1625 CE], containing Niẓām al-tawārīkh, ‘Methodical arrangement of histories’, a brief compendium of the history of the world and especially Persia by the famous jurist and exegete ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286 CE). Secondly, it contains Risāla-yi Ḥātimiyya, a work on the proverbial generosity of the pre-Islamic figure Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī and his daughter by Vāʿīẓ Kāshīfī (d. 1504 CE). On fol. 1a there is a note in Reland’s own hand, ‘Compendium chronologiae Persicae item Elogium matronae [sic, A.V.] Persicae Hatem Tai’, ‘Compendium of Persian chronology, as well as a eulogy of the Persian lady Hatem Tai’. This manuscript was previously in the possession of Jacobus Golius, see Cat. Golius 1696, where it is listed twice with minor variations in the title under Miscellanei in quarto, p. 18, no. 39, and Addenda, Libri m.s.s. Compacti in quarto, no. 2. This work does

59 Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 167, no. 1777 (for the title description see, no. 1776); De Jong, Catalogus Academiae Regiae, pp. 168–169. See further Appendix 2, A qua 19.
Figure 12.5 Annotations by Adriaan Reland in a convolute beginning with *Tashīl al-maqāṣid* by al-Aqfahšī

*Courtesy Leiden University Libraries, Acad. 29, fol. 1a*
not occur in Reland’s auction catalogue of 1761, but it is listed in Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, no. 1819 under the title ‘Compendium Chronici Persici, incerto auctore. (Codex bene scriptus AH 1034.’). Afterwards it followed the regular trail of ownership to the Royal Academy loan collection at Leiden.

Nevertheless, it is deceptively easy to associate this manuscript with an entry in Cat. Reland 1761, p. 6 quarto 16: ‘ABDALLAE BEIDAVI historia Chajatae, sermonae Persico’. After all, it is by the same author al-Bayḍāwī; it is a history in Persian and the mysterious word ‘Chajatae’ may be a garbled rendering of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī. But this is actually a completely different manuscript in Reland’s possession, containing a history of China which was formerly ascribed to al-Bayḍāwī. The word ‘Chajatae’ is indeed garbled, but it should have read ‘Chatajae’, ‘of China’, in Persian Ḫaṭāy or Khīṭāy. The manuscript was once in the possession of Jacobus Golius, who took a lively interest in China, and it occurs in his Cat. 1696, Addenda Libri compacti in quarto, no. 10: ‘Fragmentum historiae Chateorum, Arabice [sic, A.V.], cum annotationibus Jacobi Golii’. In 1696 it was acquired by Heinrich Sike, who added his own annotations. It subsequently passed to Reland and thence in 1761 to Jacobus Willemsen (Cat. Willemsen 1781, p. 166, no. 1817). If it had been purchased by Joannes Willmet it would now have been at Leiden, but in this instance it ended up in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek of Göttingen, MS Pers. 30.

6 The Golius Factor

A name that recurs time and again is that of Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), the second professor of Arabic at Leiden between 1625 and 1667. The history of his private collection of manuscripts, which he assembled on his travels in Morocco and the Middle East, has been described in detail in Jan Just Witkam’s publication Jacobus Golius en zijn handschriften from 1980. In 1696, nearly
three decades after Golius’s death, this collection came up for sale in Leiden. Archbishop Narcissus Marsh of Dublin (1638–1713), Anglican Primate of Ireland and consequently a wealthy man, sent an agent and £200 to Leiden to buy up the greater part of Golius’s manuscripts. But he left many of the smaller and less important items to the locals. It is more than likely that the 20-year-old Adriaan Reland came over from Utrecht to attend the auction. Among the 39 Leiden manuscripts now attributable to Reland, no fewer than nineteen can be traced back to Golius—almost fifty per cent. This only confirms the general idea that Oriental manuscripts were recycled from one generation to the next in a scholarly community where few manuscripts were imported directly from the Orient.

Before concluding, though, a few words may be added about the acquisition policy of the Leiden University Library. As already said, Leiden did not attend the Reland auction of 1761. Among the 39 Reland manuscripts that trickled into Leiden before the late nineteenth century, only four do not belong to the familiar triad of Arabic, Persian or Ottoman Turkish, and not a single penny was paid for any of these: Or. 1692, the Malay manuscript of Tāj al-salāṭīn (‘Crown of the sultans’), a work in the mirror-for-princes genre, was transferred from the Delft training college for colonial civil servants in 1864;64 Or. 1945, the aforementioned Qurʾān from the Moluccas with an interlinear translation in Malay, was donated in 1870 by Mr Koopmans van Boekeren, whilst Acad. 223, a Chinese manuscript with quotations from the Lunyu of Confucius, entered the Leiden library as part of the permanent loan collection of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences in 1856.65 Finally, a Russian Orthodox Calendar of Saints from c. 1593 was donated to the Society of Netherlands Literature (Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde) in 1887 by S.J.E. Rau, a descendant of the Professor Sebaldus Ravius who had prepared the Reland catalogue of 1761 (LTK 965). This small and delicately made manuscript was previously catalogued as a ‘work on astrology and chiromancy’, and it is under this title that it occurs in Reland’s cat. 1761, p. 12 octavo 29: ‘Libellus de Xeiromantia & arte divinandi’. On the pastedown is a brief dedication from the German Orientalist Heinrich Sike to Reland, ‘Relando suo Sikius’.66

64 Wieringa, Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University, vol. 1, pp. 33–34.
65 Kuiper, Catalogue of Chinese and Sino-Western Manuscripts in the Central Library of Leiden University, pp. 68–69.
66 [Blok], Catalogus compendiarus, vol. 4, p. 51. In this description of the manuscripts of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde of 1937 Sike is still mentioned as the author and the subject as astrology and chiromancy. For a correct description of the manuscript see Meijer, ‘Slavjanskie rukopisi’, p. 263 no. 6 (LTK 965).
This illustrates the persistent reluctance of a university such as Leiden to explore new languages and fields of study until well into the nineteenth century. At the same time, however, the 1761 auction catalogue shows us that an academic like Reland was quick to follow up the scholarly activities of early travellers and missionaries in the Dutch colonial empire. This, if nothing else, can only increase our admiration for Adriaan Reland, a dedicated scholar from Utrecht with a catholic interest in many Oriental languages, who respected the tradition of his predecessors and understood the value of the handwritten sources. It more than justifies his reputation as the finest Oriental and Islam scholar of his day.

Appendix: Conspectus of Reland MSS in Leiden University Library

| No. | Classmark | Contents                          | Reland previously known? | 1761 Auction Link with Golius? |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1   | Or. 1226  | Pandnamah                         | o                        | p. 5, no. 13                   |
| 2   | Or. 1232  | Anvar-i Suhayli                   | o                        | p. 3, no. 24                   |
| 3   | Or. 1272  | Confusio sectae Mahometanae       | o                        | p. 7, no. 34                   |
| 4   | Or. 1275  | Wasiyyat al-Nabi                  | o                        | p. 7, no. 28                   |
| 5   | Or. 1280  | Divan-i Haleti                    | o                        | p. 11, no. 12                  |
| 6   | Or. 1283  | Jami'-i Abbasi                    | x                        | p. 10, no. 1 or 2 x            |
| 7   | Or. 1296  | Baharistan                        | o                        | p. 11, no. 13                  |
| 8   | Or. 1297  | Bulbulnamah                       | o                        | p. 11, no. 23                  |
| 9   | Or. 1299  | Risala-yi Hasaniyya               | o                        | ?                              |

Unknown collection, auction Amsterdam (c. 1830)

| No. | Classmark | Contents                          | Reland previously known? | 1761 Auction Link with Golius? |
|-----|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 10  | Or. 1337  | Rawd al-rayahin, by al-Yafi'i      | x                        | ?                              | x                              |
| No. | Classmark | Contents                                | Reland previously known? | 1761 Auction | Link with Golius? |
|-----|------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 11  | Or. 1343   | Tarikh-i Qutb Shahi                      | o                        | p. 9, no. 55 | o                |
| 12  | Or. 1347   | Muhktasar fi ʾl-fiqh                     | o                        | ?            | o                |
| 13  | Or. 1576   | Liber de arte magica                     | o                        | p. 12, no. 28| o                |
| 14  | Or. 1628   | Interpretation of dreams                 | x                        | p. 6, no. 20 | x                |
| 15  | Or. 1634   | Mukashafat al-qulub (attr. Ghazali)      | o                        | ?            | o                |
| 16  | Or. 1649   | Erpenius Arabic dictionary               | o                        | p. 1, no. 6  | o                |
| 17  | Or. 1652   | Diwan-i ‘Urfi                           | o                        | p. 10, no. 5 | x                |
| 18  | Or. 1661   | Riyaz al-insha’                        | x                        | p. 9, no. 62 | x                |
| 19  | Or. 1665   | Kanz al-lugha                           | x                        | p. 4, no. 4  | o                |
| 20  | Or. 1666   | Khulasa-yi ʾilm-i sarf                   | o                        | p. 6/7, no. 27| o                |
| 21  | Or. 1692   | Taj al-salatin (Malay)                   | x                        | p. 6, no. 22 | o                |
| 22  | Or. 1893   | Divan of Qasim-i Anvar                   | o                        | p. 10, no. 4 | x                |
| 23  | Or. 1945   | Moluccan Qur’an                         | o                        | p. 2, no. 8  | o                |
| No. | Classmark | Contents | Reland previously known? | 1761 Auction Link with Golius? |
|-----|------------|----------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 24  | Or. 3080   | *Translation Golius*
              *Subhat ul-ahbar*          | o                        | p. 3, no. 29                  | x                            |
| 25  | Or. 3081   | *Schedae Golianae*                  | x                        | p. 4, no. 41                  | x                            |
| 26  | Or. 3082(2)| *Excerpta Ibn al-Farid*             | o                        | p. 2, no. 17                  | x                            |
| 27  | Or. 3083   | *Ferman Sultan Murad IV* (copy)    | x                        | p. 2, no. 18                  | x                            |
| 28  | Acad. 10   | *Synod of Dordrecht*               | x                        | p. 2, no. 16                  | x                            |
| 29  | Acad. 29   | *Tashil al-maqasid*                | x                        | p. 5, no. 9                   | x                            |
| 30  | Acad. 30   | *Ghunyat al-mutamalli*             | o                        | p. 8, no. 48                  | o                            |
| 31  | Acad. 32   | *Dalaʾil al-Khayrat / Burdat al-Busiri* | o                   | p. 6, no. 19                  | o                            |
| 32  | Acad. 152  | *Bahr al-maʿarif*                  | x                        | p. 8, no. 42                  | x                            |
| 33  | Acad. 182  | *Subhatu l-ahbar*                 | x                        | p. 6, no. 17                  | x                            |
| 34  | Acad. 188  | *Nizam al-tawarikh*                | o                        | p. 6, no. 16                  | x                            |
| 35  | Acad. 197  | *Ferman Sultan Murad IV* (authentic copy) | x | p. 2, no. 18 | x |
| 36  | Acad. 211  | *Collective vol. in Turkish*        | x                        | p. 8, no. 43                  | o                            |
| 37  | Acad. 223  | *Lunyu (Confucius)*               | x                        | p. 1, no. 4                   | o                            |
| 38  | LTK 589    | *Vocabularium Persico-Belgicum*    | o                        | p. 6, no. 23                  | o                            |
| 39  | LTK 965    | *Russian Calendar of Saints*       | o                        | p. 12, no. 29                 | o                            |

NB: o = no; x = yes; ? = not found
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