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Mind Your Language: A Longitudinal Study of the Catalogues of Leiden University Library's Hebrew Manuscripts Collection

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Citation
Shalev, N. (2022). *Mind Your Language: A Longitudinal Study of the Catalogues of Leiden University Library's Hebrew Manuscripts Collection*.

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Mind Your Language:

A Longitudinal Study of the Catalogues of Leiden University Library's Hebrew Manuscripts Collection

M.A. Thesis by Nitzan Shalev

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Wordcount: 23,080 | Submission date: 1 July 2022

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Abstract

Catalogues have been a staple library feature for the last several centuries, a useful finding tool for readers and organizational aid for librarians; they are also a representation of a particular place and time. The form and content of a catalogue can provide insights into the social norms and scholarly interests of the era in which it was created. Employing a longitudinal and comparative approach, this thesis examines the published catalogues of Leiden University Library's Hebrew manuscripts collection throughout its four centuries of existence. I compare these catalogues, mark the differences in the ways they describe Hebrew manuscripts, and illuminate the social changes or emerging scholarly fields that likely influenced their creators.

Throughout this thesis, I argue that when it comes to Hebrew manuscripts, any examination of historical cataloguing trends or choices cannot be complete without also considering that era's societal attitudes toward Jews, the original creators of the language and texts contained in said manuscripts. I conclude that there exists a direct correlation between the quality of the catalogues' manuscript descriptions and the cataloguer's knowledge of the Hebrew language and of Jewish literature and culture; I extrapolate the implications of this conclusion for the future of manuscript cataloguing in the digital age.

Cover image: UBL Or. 4723, p. 370.

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Abbreviations

AARC	Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules
DC	Leiden's Digital Collections
FJMS	Friedberg Jewish Manuscript Society
HMC	Leiden's Hebrew manuscript collection
HPP	Hebrew Palaeography Project
IIIF	International Image Interoperability Framework
IMHM	Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts
IRHT	*Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*
Ktiv	International Collection of Digitized Hebrew Manuscripts
LB	*Leidse Boekjes*
LOC	Library of Congress
MARC	MAchine-Readable Cataloging
NLI	The National Library of Israel
OC	Leiden's Online Catalogue
SC	Leiden's Special Collections
The 1595 Catalogue / The *Nomenclator*	Bertius, Petrus, *Nomenclator avtorvm omnivm, …* 1595.
The 1612 (Heinsius) Catalogue	Heinsius, Daniel*, Catalogvs librorvm bibliothecæ lvgdvnensis …* 1612.
The 1623 (Heinsius) Catalogue	Heinsius, Daniel *Catalogvs bibliothecæ pvblicae lvgdvno-batavae …* 1623.
The 1640 (Heinsius) Catalogue	Heinsius, Daniel, *Catalogvs bibliothecae pvblicae lugduno-batavae …* 1640.
The 1674 Catalogue	Spanheim, Friedrich, *Catalogus bibliothecæ publicæ lvgdvno-batavæ noviter recognitus …* 1674.
The 1716 Catalogue	Leiden University Libraries, *Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum …* 1716.
The 1858 Catalogue / Steinschneider's Catalogue	Steinschneider, Moritz*, Catalogus Codicum Hebraeorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*. 1858.
The 1977 Catalogue Supplement / The Supplement	Heide, Albert van der, *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library*. 1977.
The Inventory / Witkam's Inventory	Witkam, Jan Just, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in Leiden University Library*, 25 vols. 2007.
UBL	Leiden University Library (*Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*)
UL	Leiden University (*Universiteit Leiden*)

Introduction

1. Introduction

Writing to a friend in 1602, Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) complained that 'few among us' knew Hebrew 'even moderately well.'[1] Scaliger would certainly have been in position to know; the French Calvinist had spent the previous ten years as a scholar at the relatively new Leiden University (UL), where he studied and sometimes taught theology, history, Hebrew, and other 'Oriental' languages.

According to Bertius' 1595 *Nomenclator,* Leiden University Library's (UBL) first printed catalogue, at the end of the sixteenth century there were very few Oriental manuscripts and books in the collection – mostly in Hebrew, and strictly theological in nature.[2] Scaliger certainly knew the value of good books in the scholar's quest for knowledge; in the sixteen years he spent in Leiden, he collected some two thousand books.[3] Upon his death in 1609, Scaliger bequeathed all his Oriental manuscripts and printed books, including over two hundred items in Hebrew and its 'dialects', to the UBL. It was 'a legacy the like of which has never been paralleled' in all of its history, creating the foundations for Leiden's Oriental collections, and within it, the Hebrew manuscripts collection (HMC).[4]

Founded in 1575 as a gift from King William of Orange to the city of Leiden after withstanding the Spanish siege, UL was established as a Protestant university. It taught theology, but its faculties also included law, medicine, and the arts;[5] its 'trilingual erudition' of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, the languages considered 'pivots of civilization,' was in line with the new Humanist wave Western Europe was experiencing in the wake of the Renaissance.[6] The attitude toward the study of the Hebrew language in Europe had changed drastically throughout the sixteenth century; Scaliger's complaint expresses a very real challenge, in which academic tools and knowledge had not yet caught up with his and his contemporaries' scholarly ambitions. Imagining these great men attempting to decipher the ancient and obscure Hebrew tongue, as if their various pursuits for knowledge hinge on cracking a Rosetta Stone-like code, paints a skewed picture. For indeed, the 'us' Scaliger references in his letter – his fellow Protestant theologists, philologists, and Christian Hebraists –

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[1] S. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century.* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 104-105.
'O mi Casaubone, rari sunt inter nos, qui mediocriter Hebraice sciant, quum tamen rari sint, qui omnino nesciant Hebraice'.
J. Scaliger to Isaac Casaubon, Leiden, April 22, 1602, printed in J. Scaliger, *Epistolae,* ed. by Daniel Heinsius, (Francofurti, 1628), p. 201.
[2] K. van Ommen, 'Chapter Three: The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger in Leiden University Library Catalogues, 1609-1716', in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print,* ed. by Malcom Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 51-82 (p. 54).
[3] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger…', p.53.
[4] C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas: Leiden University's Great Asset: 425 Years Library Collections and Services* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), p. 61.
W. Drewes, and L. Warner, *Levinus Warner and His Legacy: Three Centuries Legatum Warnerianum in the Leiden University Library: Catalogue of the Commemorative Exhibition Held in the Bibliotheca Thysiana from April 27th till May 15th 1970*, (Leiden: Brill, 1970), p. 1.
[5] W. Otterspeer, *Good, Gratifying and Renowned: A Concise history of Leiden University*, (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2015), p. 11.
[6] A. L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah,* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 11.

disregards a significant group of contemporaries who did happen to have a perfect grasp of Hebrew: Jews.

2. *A Brief Introduction to Hebraic Studies in Europe and Leiden*

Though the institutional proliferation of Hebrew language studies was relatively new in Scaliger's time, Hebraism – the Christian study of Jewish texts –[7] has had a 'long and colorful history' in Europe.[8] Before the Renaissance, it was concerned mainly with the study of scripture – the Old and New Testaments – which did not always necessitate the study of Hebrew.[9] The concept of the 'original' biblical text – what Jerome referred to as *Hebraica Veritas* – eventually came to mean the *Vulgate*, a Latin translation based on the original Hebrew.[10] When Hebrew was studied, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was usually 'out of a missionary goal'.[11] Christians used Hebrew to read Jewish post-Biblical literature and argue against Jews based on its evidence, 'such as they would interpret it'.[12] These arguments could be anything from outright criticism and condemnation of their 'blasphemies' to arguing that the texts actually supported the Christian interpretation.[13]

In the fifteenth century, Protestants sought to reject Roman Catholic teachings and 'looked for a new, biblical basis' for their faith.[14] For those seeking 'doctrinal certainty' through *sola scriptura*, reading Hebrew was a way to not only consult the original scriptures, but to avoid the pitfalls of 'Judaizing' their understanding of the text with uncritical acceptance of 'corrupted' Jewish glosses and interpretations.[15] For centuries, Christian Hebraists relied on finding Jewish tutors to privately instruct them,[16] a process that was overwhelmingly difficult and frustrating for both parties.[17] The desire to 'free Christians from the need of Jewish teachers of Hebrew'[18] would become a reality in the course of the seventeenth century; scholars educated in 'trilingual' colleges – like Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564-1629), a student of Scaliger – took advantage of the rapidly advancing printing industry and published Hebrew grammars, dictionaries and textbooks to enable self-study.[19]

For Humanists, the study of the ancient world, which was originally in the service of uncovering Christian truths, evolved into an interest in the 'continuity and discontinuity'

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[7] The term 'Christian Hebraism' can have a variety of interpretations, but generally speaking it refers to 'the study and use of Hebrew-language texts, biblical and post-biblical, by religiously motivated Christians'.
D. L. Goodwin, 'Christian Hebraism', *Encyclopedia of Jewish-Christian Relations Online* (De Gruyter, 2021) <https://doi.org/10.1515/ejcro.12646166>

[8] Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis,* p. 8.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Vauchez, André, ed., 'Hebraica Veritas', in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[11] Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis*, p. 9.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p.2.

[14] Ibid., p. 9.

[15] Ibid., p. 9.

[16] Or formerly-Jewish Christian converts.
Goodwin, 'Christian Hebraism'

[17] S. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning.* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 26-27.

[18] Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis*, pp. 9-10.

[19] Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies,* p. 5.

between past and present.[20] Scaliger's interest in historical chronology was closely linked with his studies in classical philology, and his explorations of the history of languages included grouping them into categories and finding a scientific basis for etymology.[21] This type of scholarship served as a 'springboard' to the study of the history and languages of the Near East;[22] by the early seventeenth century, Hebraists increasingly regarded the study of other Semitic languages – like Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac and Ge'ez (Ethiopic) – as a part of their task.[23] Philology, chronology, and antiquarianism collided with European 'commercial, diplomatic, and missionary' expansion, into the Ottoman Empire and farther east.[24] The result was a perfect storm, creating the conditions for the academic discipline of Orientalism.

3. A Brief Introduction to Orientalism

Scaliger, whom Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck counts among the 'first Orientalists', never visited the East himself. The next generation of Orientalist scholars, however, could venture there themselves and purchase books locally.[25] Levinus Warner (1618-1665), a German scholar and Orientalist who had studied philosophy, Hebrew and Middle Eastern languages at Leiden University, spent the last twenty years of his life living and working as a diplomat for the Dutch Republic in Istanbul.[26] The city was at that time a flourishing center for the book trade, and during his years there Warner formed an impressive collection of approximately a thousand manuscripts and printed books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew and other languages, focusing mostly on non-religious subjects like linguistics, science and philosophy. Warner's collection was donated to the UBL upon his death in 1665;[27] along with Scaliger's legacy, it is the base of the UBL's Oriental Special Collections and forms the bulk of its Hebrew Manuscripts Collection.[28]

All these items needed to be organized and catalogued to be useful to library users. Over the past four centuries, the library catalogue has changed drastically in form and intended function, as did the way it presented Hebrew books and manuscripts. Though the UBL includes the HMC as part of the Oriental Collections, many Leiden catalogues treat Hebrew items separately from the 'other' Oriental items.[29] To understand the reason and implications of these choices, and to connect the treads between them and the different

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[20] Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis,* p. 12.
[21] J. Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 51.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era,* p. 42.
[24] Turner, *Philology,* p. 52.
[25] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas,* p. 93.
[26] Vrolijk, Arnoud, 'Collection Levinus Warner', *Leiden University Libraries,* 2013 <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1887390>
[27] Ibid.
[28] The presence of Warner's Legacy in the Oriental collection is so significant that, on occasion, the collection in its entirety was referred to as *Legatum Warnerianum*, and the role of its manager was named the *Interpres Legati Warneriani*.
Ibid.
[29] J. J. Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', in *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 263-275 (p. 266).

attitude toward Hebrew we have seen, it would be useful to first consider the scope of these definitions.

Attempting to define a 'Hebrew' manuscript is a relatively painless endeavor; Hebrew manuscripts are generally accepted to be items written or copied by hand in the Hebrew alphabet. Hebrew characters are used in the Hebrew language of course, but also in the everyday languages of the historic Jewish diaspora – Yiddish, Ladino, Judeo-Arabic – as well as in Aramaic, the 'second language' of the Jews in the pre-medieval period.[30] The question at hand, then, is not the manuscripts' *content* but their *context* – particularly, their intermediate inclusion or exclusion from the broad category of 'Oriental'.

In Edward Said's landmark 1978 monograph *Orientalism,* the author defines the titular concept as 'a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident"'; the 'east' is defined by the 'west', and in opposition to it. [31] In the scholarly sense, then, anyone who 'teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient' in any academic field is an Orientalist.[32] Still today, 'Orientalism' is generally accepted as a useful lens through which to analyze and critique past (and current) studies and artistic depictions of the 'Orient', its people, culture, religions, and languages. It is a constructed concept, and as such does not have clear or objective criteria, at times in history referring to the Near East and at others stretching to the far edge of the Asian continent. Today, Leiden's Oriental collections include items in a wide array of languages, including Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit, Tamil, Japanese, and Malay, among many others.[33]

The question of who is or isn't Oriental, and particularly where the line is drawn between East and West, is historically contested, often tied to religion, and almost always extremely political. For the purposes of this paper, therefore, an examination of the Hebrew manuscripts' relationship to the Oriental collection is a layered matter. Though the UBL traditionally considered Hebrew to be an Oriental language, many the Hebrew manuscripts in its possession are of European origin.[34] Which of these aspects should take precedent? Choosing or changing the answer could, of course, be informed by technical adjustments in philology or bibliographical taxonomy, but it is also a highly political choice, reflective of both the personal views of the cataloguer and the societal consensus of their time. The

[30] E. G. L. Schrijver, 'Towards a Supplementary Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana', (Dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 1993), p. 1.
[31] E. W. Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 10.
[32] Ibid.
[33] More specifically, it is separated into two collections: the 'Asian Special Collections,' which covers materials originating in (South, East, and South-East) Asia, and the 'Middle Eastern Special Collections', which includes 'Middle East and North Africa, Central Asia and Western China, and the Jewish World'.
Leiden University Libraries, 'Asian Special Collections' <https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/special-collections/collections/asian-special-collections> (30 Jun. 2022)
Leiden University Libraries 'Middle Eastern Special Collections' <https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/special-collections/collections/middle-eastern-special-collections> (30 Jun. 2022)
[34] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 266.

reason for this is because contemplating Hebrew is not just about language: it always means, by proxy, contemplating the Jews.

4. Literature Review

This paper aims examine Leiden's Hebrew manuscripts collection throughout history as presented in its published catalogues, while continually assessing the attitudes implicit in these catalogues towards the people who originated the collected materials. Catalogues are an extension of the library they depict; comparing their content and construction can offer a glimpse into the scholarly expectations and social values of the time, as well as the goals of the institution they represent:

> The history of library classification is dominated by innumerable tensions: between ideas, the ordering of knowledge, the activities of authors and publishers, accessions policies, fortunes and practices, and the sheer physical demands of finding space for books on shelves. Such issues are further complicated by demands to keep books together according to some other order, such as by donor, or by date of acquisition, and by the accidents and vagaries of how books on wholly different subjects can be bound up together, whether on the instruction of a librarian or at the whim of a bookbinder.[35]

This quotation, by David McKitterick, is a good summary of the many of the challenges faced by past and present librarians. Though he focuses on England, his chapter in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, a collection which informs the method and conclusions of this paper, is still applicable for our purposes; the seventeenth-century book trade was international in nature, and thus his observation on its effects on libraries' organization of knowledge run parallel to the changes experienced in Leiden. In the next volume, P. S. Morrish's study details the many challenges faced by a Baroque librarian: quickly growing collections, fluctuating classifications of topics and faculties, an attempt to standardize the catalogue, and the constant battle to protect their books from flame, floods, and sticky-fingered students.[36] The policies of English institutions influenced Leiden librarianship as well, as seen in their attempts to model their catalogues after those published in Oxford and Cambridge.[37] The chapter by Peter Freshwater gives another conducive overview of university libraries, their role within their institutions and towns, the needs of their users, and the ways they expanded their collections by purchase, gifts and bequests.[38] Similar dynamics can be observed in the institutionalization of the UBL as an essential organ of Leiden University.

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[35] D. McKitterick, '25. Libraries and the Organization of Knowledge', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol. I: To 1640*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 592–615 (p. 594).
[36] P. Morrish, '14. Baroque Librarianship', *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol. II: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 212-238.
[37] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 117.
[38] P. Freshwater, '22. Books and Universities' in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol. II: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 345-370.

This study also builds on observations in Willem Otterspeer's *Good, Gratifying and Renowned* which is, as its subtitle suggests, *A Concise History of Leiden University*, its institutions, and the evolution of its scholarly culture.[39] For a more detailed view of Leiden University Library, particularly up to the twentieth century, this paper relies heavily on, and extends the conclusions of, Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck's *Magna Commoditas: Leiden University's Great Asset,* which recounts the formations of its many collections, the various physical locations it occupied, the works and attitudes of its generations of librarians, and the circumstances surrounding the publications of its catalogues.[40]

Most sources that discuss the HMC in detail focus on a specific aspect or a limited time frame. Kasper van Ommen's chapter on Scaliger's legacy succinctly recounts the content, organization, and cataloging of this part of the collection up to and including the 1716 catalogue.[41] *Levinus Warner and his Legacy* extends a similar treatment to its subject, but its pays closer attention to the study and cataloguing of Warner's Arabic manuscripts, which made up most of his collection.[42] *Studies on Steinschneider* provides a thorough examination of the life and works of the creator of the 1858 Catalogue;[43] for this paper, I particularly built upon the chapters dedicated to his involvement in developing the discipline of Hebrew manuscript studies,[44] and the analysis of how he applied his methods to Leiden's HMC.[45] In the preface to his 1977 Supplement, Albert van der Heide provides the first complete survey of the whole HMC up to that point, in which he pays special attention to manuscript provenance and clarifying the collection's internal organization.[46] Jan Just Witkam's *Inventory* of the entire Oriental collection builds on Van der Heide's Supplement and Steinschneider's Catalogue;[47] his update from 2007 remains the most recent source, which I aim to rectify by rounding up the survey and bringing it into the current age. As I discuss the challenges and opportunities of the HMC's digital present and future, I apply ideas from Cornelis van Lit's philosophy of creating and studying digitized Oriental

[39] W. Otterspeer, *Good, Gratifying and Renowned: A Concise history of Leiden University*, (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2015).
[40] C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas: Leiden University's Great Asset: 425 Years Library Collections and Services* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012).
[41] K. van Ommen, 'Chapter Three: The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger in Leiden University Library Catalogues, 1609-1716', in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print,* ed. by Malcom Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 51-82.
[42] W. Drewes and L. Warner. *Levinus Warner and His Legacy: Three Centuries Legatum Warnerianum in the Leiden University Library: Catalogue of the Commemorative Exhibition Held in the Bibliotheca Thysiana from April 27th till May 15th 1970*, (Leiden: Brill, 1970).
[43] R. Leicht, and G. Freudenthal, eds, *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012).
[44] J. Olszowy-Schlanger, '11. The Father of Hebrew Bibliography: Moritz Steinschneider and the Discipline of "Hebrew Manuscripts Study"', in *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 247-261.
[45] J. J. Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', in *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 263-275.
[46] A. van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1977).
[47] Witkam, Jan Just, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in Leiden University Library*, vol. 5. (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007).

manuscripts,[48] paired with the specificities and scholarly history of Hebrew codicology as outlined by Malachi Beit-Arié.[49]

5. Methodology and Outline

In my research, I will consider the HMC as a distinct unit and adopt an explicitly comparative approach to its catalogues by assessing the following aspects: What information does each include, and how detailed is it? Do they describe the textual content of a manuscript, and if so, how is the religious or cultural context explained? What reference is made to the materiality of the book? How is the Hebrew language treated – in Hebrew type, in translation, or transliteration? If any details are missing or incorrect, why? How is the catalogue different from its predecessor, and what can we learn from its changes or improvements?

This study takes a longitudinal perspective and frames the HMC within the scholarly and cultural context of the four centuries of its existence. Since catalogues can reflect the people and institutions that created them, they are an ideal tool for this purpose: examining them may shed a light on the identity and needs of their intended audience, the scholarly trends of the time, and even the worldview of the cataloguer. Additionally, a running thread throughout this paper will be the treatment of the Hebrew language, its changing place in scholarly discourse, and how it is related to historical perspectives on the Jewish people, both in academia and in general society.

Chapter 1 covers the first century and a half of the HMC, from the donation of Scaliger's legacy to the mid-1740s; it will discuss Baroque-era developments in library organization and cataloguing and the birth of Hebraic studies at UL. In this chapter I will examine the Heinsius Catalogues (1612, 1623, 1640), the 1674 Catalogue, and the 1716 Catalogue – the last time the UBL would be able to contain the entire collection in one printed volume.

Chapter 2 discusses the changing scholarly priorities in the nineteenth century, in which manuscripts came to be regarded as distinctly different from printed books – no longer tools, but rather becoming themselves material objects of study. The effect of this change on the HMC is seen clearly in the 1858 Catalogue; it will be examined through a discussion of the life and scholarship of its author, Moritz Steinschneider, the 'father of Hebrew bibliography',[50] and his role in the Jewish intellectual movement *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

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[48] L. W. C van Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts: Philology, Codicology, Paleography in a Digital World*, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012).

[49] M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Medieval Hebrew Codices based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts until 1540 using a Quantitative Approach* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2022), pp. 51-2

[50] *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* qtd. in Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 263.

Chapter 3, which studies the twentieth century, discusses the role of Hebrew books and manuscripts in the attempted destruction – and eventual reconstruction – of the Jewish people. From the plunder of Jewish libraries and archives by Nazi forces to the titanic conservation efforts in the fledgling State of Israel, the Hebrew book in this era served as a catalyst for building identity. The twentieth century, with its rapidly advancing technology, also saw the introduction of quantitative methods for manuscript studies. Van der Heide's 1977 Supplement to the previous catalogue portrays a step into quantitative codicology, a field helmed by the study of Hebrew manuscripts.

Finally, chapter 4 discusses the present and future of Hebrew manuscript cataloging in the twenty-first century. While Witkam's Inventory finally caught up with the language of modern scholarship, the digital revolution is changing the expectations of users at breakneck speed, and libraries must adapt. When discussing the opportunities created by Leiden's Online Catalogue (OC) and its Digital Collections (DC), I also explain the technical and ethical challenges at hand; namely, the dilemmas faced by Western universities as they wrestle with their past of talking *about* – but never *to* – 'foreign' cultures. This chapter argues that the way forward can only be through cooperation with those communities; as a case study, I share my experience as an intern for the UBL's HMC digitization project, a collaboration with the National Library of Israel (NLI).

Throughout this paper, I hope to prove that the catalogues of the HMC reflect the ideas and needs of the era in which they were created; additionally, I hope to show that examining these catalogues through a longitudinal approach does indeed produce a richer and more nuanced overview of the collection and its catalogues – one which takes into account not only the people who collected, studied and catalogued these manuscripts, but also those who created them. Finally, I hope to successfully argue that the linguistic, structural, and cultural deficiencies in the catalogues of the HMC and similar collections can only be corrected and improved by engaging with their 'originator communities'.[51]

[51] L. Haberstock, 'Participatory Description: Decolonizing Descriptive Methodologies in Archives', *Archival Science*, 20 (2020), pp. 125–138 (p. 136). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09328-6>.

Chapter 1: Welcome to the Library

1. *Introduction: Libraries and Catalogues in the Baroque Era*

The Baroque era – a nebulous definition that can loosely include the years between 1600-1750 – was a time of flourishing intellectual and scholarly communication throughout Europe's 'Republic of Letters'.[52] As printing became increasingly accessible, ideas traveled and developed more quickly, bolstering, in turn, the printing, acquisition and circulation of books. Libraries, which now needed to deal with books in 'quantities such had never before been encountered',[53] needed to reconsider not only their available physical space but the increasingly complex system of knowledge classification.

The traditional library organization system, which was based on 'fixed location, collocation by format,' and 'subject division derived from the medieval curriculum'[54] was quickly becoming inefficient and insufficient. [55] There were simply too many new books and too many new topics which did not fit neatly in one category or another, until it was no longer possible to find the right volume by simply browsing a topic's designated shelves. The library catalogue, which was previously predominantly a librarian's tool for stock inspection, now needed to serve also as a finding device for readers. Unfortunately, these two goals were at odds in a practical sense. For a scholar, the best way to facilitate the independent finding of texts would be a systematically alphabetized catalogue, organized by topic and author name.[56] Librarians, however, required a 'shelf-list' – a catalogue that followed the order of the items' physical locations on shelves, which would allow them to easily ensure that all volumes were in place and in order. This persistent problem often resulted in maintaining separate catalogues or interleaving a printed catalogue with a patchwork of handwritten lists, and would not be solved for quite a while; 'prising the catalogue apart from the shelf-list' would later be 'one of the heroic feats' of the Romantic-era library.[57]

A wave of new catalogues attempted to figure out ways to coherently arrange books in context, 'in such a way that they could be recalled for use'.[58] Soon there was also a concerted attempt at standardization, facilitated by the new opportunities afforded by the international book trade.[59] The Bodleian Library at Oxford was a key influencer: its 1620 catalogue was the first to be organized alphabetically, a method which was quickly widely adopted;[60] its 1674

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[52] D. van Miert, 'What was the Republic of Letters? A brief introduction to a long history (1417-2008)', *Groniek*, 204/205 (2016), pp. 269-287 (pp. 272-4).
[53] McKitterick, 'Libraries and the Organization of Knowledge', p. 598.
[54] Namely: Arts, law, medicine and theology.
Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', p. 220.
[55]Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', pp. 219, 223.
[56] First appeared in the Oxford Bodleian Library Catalogue, 1620.
[57] W. Clark, 'On the Bureaucratic Plots of the Research Library', in *Books and the Sciences in History*, ed. by Marina Frasca-Spads and Nick Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 190-206 (p.193).
[58] McKitterick, 'Libraries and the Organization of Knowledge', p. 601.
[59] C. O. Frost, 'The Bodleian Catalogs of 1674 and 1738: An Examination in the Light of Modern Cataloging Theory', *The Library Quarterly* 46:3 (1976), pp. 248-270 (pp. 248, 252).
[60] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 277.

edition, which included a detailed guideline for cataloguing, became renown throughout Europe as other libraries attempted to implement its method.[61] Despite all efforts, no one system could fit every library perfectly, and the Baroque-era cataloguers' quest for improvement resulted in many divergent attempts, which split along a variety of choices. The 'historical versus logical classification of books' questioned whether to organize primarily by authors or disciplines;[62] The physical attributes of the book were hardly ever described in author catalogues, but their format was sometimes needed in shelf-lists, since most libraries still shelved books by size;[63] There was also no clear method for cataloguing works with anonymous authors or no title – by keywords, first line, or perhaps perceived consensus? The cataloguing of manuscripts,[64] particularly, was quite inadequate in this era, both by standards of the time as well as by our own modern perspective, and commonly included 'misdating, misreading and disregard for codicological detail'.[65]

Names and their spellings were a recurring problem: alphabetic order was catching on, but name inversion to give prominence to surnames was not yet a universal practice.[66] The trend of Latinizing author names and the lack of orthographic and transliteration standards made it difficult to identify author names consistently – particularly for 'non-European' names – and often required cross-reference indices.[67] The challenge of 'foreign' languages extended to titles, as well: Hebrew titles, for example, were brought in their original script with Latin translation in some catalogues,[68] but not in others, or not consistently – sometimes appearing only in translation or transliteration.

Leiden University was among the institutions attempting to adapt to these new challenges. Since the publication of the *Nomenclator* in 1595, the library collections grew significantly; specifically, Scaliger's bequest meant that following catalogues would include a wealth of materials in 'foreign' languages and non-Latin scripts. This chapter will examine subsequent attempts, touching briefly on the Heinsius Catalogues (1612, 1623, 1640) and critically examining the Catalogues of 1647 and 1716. To understand why certain decisions were made, we will need to examine them in context, and consider the identities, specialties, and scholarly needs of their creators and users. As we shall see, during the first few centuries of the HMC's existence, these consisted overwhelmingly of Western European Christian scholars engaging in Hebraism and Orientalism.

[61] Including Leiden University Library (UBL), which decided to partially model its 1716 Catalogue after it. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p.117.
[62] Clark, 'On the Bureaucratic Plots of the Research Library', p .195.
[63] Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', pp. 224-226.
[64] As opposed to printed books.
[65] Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', p. 226.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Frost, 'The Bodleian Catalogs of 1674 and 1738', pp. 252-3; Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', p. 225.
[68] Frost, 'The Bodleian Catalogs of 1674 and 1738', p. 254.

2. *A 'Prehistory' of Leiden's Hebrew Manuscripts Collection*

a. *Christian Hebraism in the Dutch Republic*

By the early seventeenth century, Leiden University had gained a reputation in the study of theology, a field which included both 'the training of young men for the ministry and the academic investigation of sources of religious knowledge'.[69] The lively scholarly discussions that ensued in the Dutch Republic included debates on the nature of Protestantism, mainly between stricter Calvinists and sects that leaned toward Humanism, referred to as Arminians or Remonstrants.[70] In their arguments, both sides engaged in Christian Hebraism – the study of post-biblical Jewish literature.

The rising interest in Christian Hebraism was enabled by the unique historical features of life and society in this place and era, which produced 'an environment far more receptive to the open practice of Judaism than was found almost anywhere else at this time.'[71] The result was a remarkable level of theological and cultural interchange between Jews and Christians,[72] especially for Christian Hebraist circles. Calvinists sought Hebraic studies to 'help in the exposition of their own traditions', and even employed the *typus* of the chosen nation of Israel to argue for a United Netherlands that should 'run according to God's word' and root out 'idolatry'.[73] Particular attention was paid to the Karaites, a Jewish sect that eschewed the Talmud and other post-biblical literature, which Protestants equated to their own rejection of heretical Catholicism.[74] The classically-oriented Arminians, considered by some to be forerunners of the Enlightenment, wished to return to cultural 'sources', including texts by early church fathers, Greek and Roman traditions, as well as from the Jewish tradition.[75] Both groups, of course, had only marginal tolerance for the Jews of the Netherlands; those who sought to learn from Judaism 'also sought to confront it'.[76] Even the Arminians, whose approach might be called 'humanistically religious' rather than doctrinal or missionary, still hoped for the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, much like their Calvinist contemporaries.[77] Learning to read Hebrew was crucial for these endeavors, as well as for accessing the uncorrupted source of the Old Testament.[78]

At this time, Hebrew instruction at Leiden University was highly regarded for its quality, though it was taught almost exclusively as a theological tool, and not for its own sake. In the early seventeenth century, scholars like Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) published

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[69] Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis,* pp. 16-17.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid, p. 15.
[72] It should be kept in mind that this 'interchange' was more of a suspicious cultural awareness and begrudging linguistic reliance rather a fruitful academic dialogue.
[73] Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis*, p. 24.
[74] D. J. Lasker, 'Karaism and Christian Hebraism: A New Document', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59:4 (2006), pp. 1089-1116 (pp. 1094-1096).
[75] Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis*, p. 26.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., p. 28.
[78] S. G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century.* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 103.

grammars, dictionaries, and manuals to help students learn Hebrew and Aramaic;[79] soon after, Dutch Hebraists were also translating many works of rabbinic literature into Latin.[80] The study of the Hebrew language, which had previously been considered little more than an offshoot of the Theology faculty,[81] had now gained independent status at the University. Hebrew books began to be actively collected 'in a structural way'; Leiden scholars like Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) and Levinus Warner (1618-1665) acquired hundreds of Hebrew books and manuscripts, which they eventually gifted to the University.[82] These bequeathments laid the foundation of the UBL's Hebrew manuscripts collection – and all these new additions needed to be catalogued.

b. The Heinsius Catalogues (1612, 1623, 1640)

Petrus Bertius (1565-1629), Flemish historian, theologist and cartographer, created the UBL's first printed catalogue, the *Nomenclator*, published in 1595. Bertius organized it as a shelf-catalogue; it followed the books' locations on the shelves, which were at the time organized by *plutei* according to the classical division of knowledge.[83] Described even today as an 'exceptionally accurate and modern catalogue', it included details like 'place and year of publication, often with the name of the printer'.[84] The few Hebrew items it included were under the 'Theology' category; Leiden University Library's HMC, as we think of it today, did not really take full form until Warner's bequest was finalized in 1669. Still, Scaliger's legacy of over three hundred items – which included around twenty Hebrew manuscripts and a hundred Hebrew printed books –[85] was significant enough to warrant an update to the *Nomenclator*.

In 1612, Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), recently appointed UBL librarian, published an updated catalogue of the entirety of the library holdings. Heinsius was a great admirer of Scaliger and saw his legacy as the UBL's most important Oriental holding. He used the new catalogue as an opportunity to express this and dedicated a portion of the catalogue to describing the bequest in its entirety. The description seemingly follows the volumes' order on the shelves of the *Arca Scaligeri,* the legacy's dedicated cabinet, which means that there is no separation between printed books and manuscripts, and no alphabetical order. It is grouped by language, with the larger groups (Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin) also divided by size.[86] As he was the librarian, and since he considered himself the 'ultimate keeper' of

[79] Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies,* p. 5.
[80] T. Dunkelgrün, '"Neerlands Israel": Political Theology, Christian Hebraism, Biblical Antiquarianism, And Historical Myth', *Myth in History, History in Myth*, ed. by Laura Cruz and Willem Frijhoff (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 201–236 (p. 222).
[81] Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies,* p. 134.
[82] A. Vrolijk and R.M. Kerr, 'Hebrew Manuscripts and Early Printed Books Collection', *Leiden University Libraries,* 2007 <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1887222>
[83] Theology, law, medicine, history, philosophy and the arts.
[84] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, pp. 33-35.
[85] A. Bouwman and A. Vrolijk, 'Collection Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609)', *Leiden University Libraries*, 2007 <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1887327>
[86] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger' pp. 69-70.
The other languages – Syriac, Ethiopian, and Russian – were few in number and not organized by size.

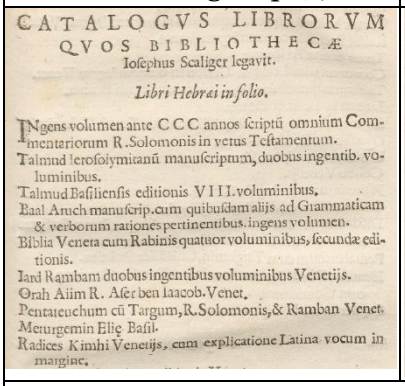
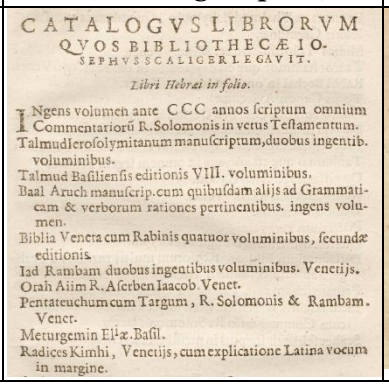
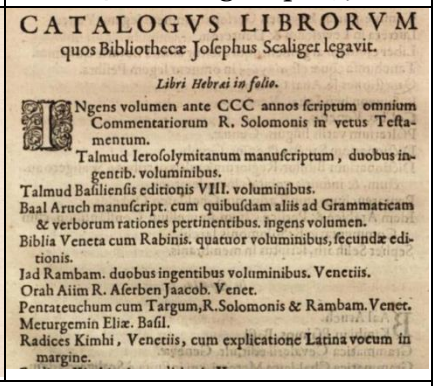
Scaliger's Oriental legacy, Heinsius believed that 'he, and no one else, was to compile the catalogue.'[87] Unfortunately, being neither an Arabist nor a Hebraist, Heinsius had a difficult time describing the titles of Scaliger's Oriental bequest; though it is possible he received some help from fellow scholars, the titles were all ultimately given only in Latin translation, and many are incomplete or inaccurate.[88]

As for the non-Scaliger Hebrew manuscripts, which remained spread across the Theology sections of the catalogue, Heinsius' most notable change was transferring the *Talmud Babylonicum* to a more prominent location,[89] better suited to its increasingly accepted position as an important part of theological studies.[90] Aside from that, this catalogue is modelled after the *Nomenclator* in form and scope, and provides very minimal bibliographic details. It is, all in all, an 'unorganised medley of titles,' and was likely only used by librarians as a shelf-list to verify holdings.[91]

Heinsius' following two catalogues, published in 1623 and 1640 by Elsevier, mostly reproduced the previous version, listing newly acquired books according to shelf location.[92] The clearest change in the new editions when it comes to the Oriental collections concerns improvements in the cataloguing of the Arabic manuscripts: in the 1623 catalogue, the most important Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts were described in greater detail and placed before the printed books; by 1640, the Arabic collection had grown significantly due to active collecting by pioneering Orientalist Jacobus Golius (1596-1667), who compiled the new section of the catalogue himself because 'Heinsius had delivered an inferior product that Elsevier refused to print'. Golius' expertise enabled him to make use of Arabic type, but unfortunately this was not retrospectively implemented for Scaliger's Arabic manuscripts.[93]

The Hebrew manuscripts did not receive this treatment, either, and most of the titles stayed in Latin translation or Latin script transliteration (see fig. 1, below). Nevertheless, these catalogues signal the beginning of a shift toward the separation of printed books from the 'unique and more valuable' manuscripts.[94] As printed books became less rare and the UBL's holdings grew, the difference between 'collections' and 'special collections' began to solidify – as did the UBL's focus on the Oriental collections.

1612 Catalogue, pp. 79-88.
[87] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', p. 68.
[88] Ibid., pp. 67-70.
[89] From Pluteo ד (D) in the 1595 Catalogue (cc1r) to Pluteo A in the 1612 Catalogue (p. 1).
[90] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', pp. 67-69.
[91] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', pp. 70-71.
[92] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 65.
[93] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', p. 74.
[94] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', p. 72.

Figure 1: comparison of sections from the Heinsius catalogues (excerpts)		
1612 Catalogue (p. 79)	1623 Catalogue (p. 127)	1640 Catalogue (p. 159)
 CATALOGVS LIBRORVM QVOS BIBLIOTHECÆ Iosephus Scaliger legavit. *Libri Hebræi in folio.* INgens volumen ante CCC annos scriptũ omnium Commentariorum R. Solomonis in vetus Testamentum. Talmud Ierosolymitanũ manuscriptum, duobus ingentib. voluminibus. Talmud Basilienſis editionis VIII. voluminibus. Baal Aruch manuscrip. cum quibusdam aliis ad Grammaticam & verborum rationes pertinentibus. ingens volumen. Biblia Veneta cum Rabinis quatuor voluminibus, secundæ editionis. Iad Rambam duobus ingentibus voluminibus Venetijs. Orah Aiim R. Aſer ben Iaacob. Venet. Pentateuchum cũ Targum, R. Solomonis, & Ramban Venet. Meturgemin Elię Basil. Radices Kimhi Venetijs, cum explicatione Latina vocum in margine.	 CATALOGVS LIBRORVM QVOS BIBLIOTHECÆ IO. SEPHVS SCALIGER LEGAVIT. *Libri Hebræi in folio.* INgens volumen ante CCC annos scriptum omnium Commentariorũ R. Solomonis in vetus Testamentum. Talmud Ierosolymitanum manuscriptum, duobus ingentib. voluminibus. Talmud Basilienſis editionis VIII. voluminibus. Baal Aruch manuscrip. cum quibusdam alijs ad Grammaticam & verborum rationes pertinentibus. ingens volumen. Biblia Veneta cum Rabinis quatuor voluminibus, secundæ editionis. Iad Rambam duobus ingentibus voluminibus. Venetijs. Orah Aiim R. Aſerben Iaacob. Venet. Pentateuchum cum Targum, R. Solomonis & Rambam. Venet. Meturgemin Eliæ. Basil. Radices Kimhi, Venetijs, cum explicatione Latina vocum in margine.	 CATALOGVS LIBRORVM quos Bibliothecæ Josephus Scaliger legavit. *Libri Hebræi in folio.* INgens volumen ante CCC annos scriptum omnium Commentariorum R. Solomonis in vetus Testamentum. Talmud Ierosolymitanum manuscriptum, duobus ingentib. voluminibus. Talmud Basilienſis editionis VIII. voluminibus. Baal Aruch manuscript. cum quibusdam aliis ad Grammaticam & verborum rationes pertinentibus. ingens volumen. Biblia Veneta cum Rabinis. quatuor voluminibus, secundæ editionis. Iad Rambam. duobus ingentibus voluminibus. Venetiis. Orah Aiim R. Aſerben Jaacob. Venet. Pentateuchum cum Targum, R. Solomonis & Rambam. Venet. Meturgemin Eliæ. Basil. Radices Kimhi, Venetiis, cum explicatione Latina vocum in margine.
The description of Hebrew manuscripts remained virtually unchanged throughout these catalogues.		

3. The 1674 Catalogue

Friedrich Spanheim the Younger (1632-1701), a scholar of theology, accepted the role of UBL librarian in 1672, at a time when it was clear that the library – and its catalogue – needed significant updating and reorganizing. In earlier times, access to the library had been quite limited to protect the safety of the books: 'common students' were banned entirely for several decades and required special permission during others, and even professors needed to sign a receipt to get a key.[95] Throughout the early seventeenth century, this practice began to change and restrictions were not enforced as regularly – which, combined with an insufficient loan register, meant that many books went missing,[96] eventually leading to a return to strict enforcement in the 1650s.[97] Additionally, the rapid increase in book production, as well as the fragmentation and specialization of knowledge that ensued, meant that shelving practices needed to adapt, for both practical and conceptual reasons; to achieve this, the 1653 renovation by Johannes Thysius broke up the central *plutei* and instead lined bookcases against the wall to maximize storage. [98] As a result of all these factors, the existing catalogues reflected neither the Library's correct contents nor its and organization. With the addition of Warner's legacy of nearly one thousand items in 1669,[99] the UBL's collection was double what it was in 1640 – and a new catalogue was in order.[100]

Spanheim wished for the library to be a center of research and study, where 'all the erudition, knowledge and wisdom from East and West'could be accessed by every member of the university community, including the students. [101] Spanheim and his contemporaries among Leiden University professors and administrators thought it important that students be given access to modern, quality tools, for their studies; in medicine and the exact sciences this

[95] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 69.
[96] Ibid, pp. 69, 85.
[97] Ibid., p. 87
[98] Ibid., p. 85
[99] A. Vrolijk, 'Collection Levinus Warner', *Leiden University Libraries,* 2013 <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1887390>
[100] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, pp. 85, 93.
[101] Ibid., p. 95.

meant new laboratories, and for law, arts and theology this meant increased access to a well-stocked library.[102] In addition to the purchase of additional books to fill gaps in the collection, Spanheim had many books rebound as a precaution to combat their 'anticipated mistreatment' by students.[103] To assist students and professors in navigating the immense number of tomes, Spanheim set out to create a new catalogue – one which would be useful as a research tool, and not just for confirming inventory.

Published in 1674 by Elsevier, Spanheim's catalogue is a true representation of the transitional nature of Baroque librarianship, and 'displays a mixture of tradition and innovation'.[104] Its organization by faculties remained, reflecting the physical organization of the library shelves, as did its sub-categorization by format, a holdover from the era of shelf-lists.[105] An important innovation, however, is the addition of numerical shelfmarks, added at the end of each entry and corresponding to a number that had been added in ink to the spine of each volume.[106] Another new feature is that every format sub-category was now alphabetized.[107] The previous librarian, Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611-1671) had a detailed interleaved copy of the 1640 catalogue in which he compiled alphabetized lists of the UBL's collections, and Spanheim was able to build upon his predecessor's work.[108]

This type of collaboration was crucial: though it was Spanheim who was tasked by University administrators to create a new catalogue, the Library's collections had become 'so diverse that it was no longer possible for one person to keep track of it'.[109] It was lucky, then, that the incredible challenge of cataloguing the Warner bequest had already been achieved: a preliminary inventory of it was drawn up in 1668 by the Danish Orientalist Theodorus Petraeus (d. 1672) from Flensburg, and expanded in 1699 by Shahin Qandi, an Armenian scholar employed in Leiden by Jacob Golius (1596 -1667) as a copyist of Arabic and Turkish manuscripts.[110] Though their inventory has not been published or preserved, it was later used by the German student N. Boots, whose description of the collection, edited by Spanheim, was the one included in the 1674 catalogue.[111] Kasper van Ommen argues that this catalogue is evidence that the UBL's focus had shifted toward its Oriental collections, which it was now advertising.[112] This is a very reasonable conclusion, particularly because its 'incomparable treasure' of Oriental books are clearly mentioned in its (sub)title.[113]

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[102] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 95.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., p. 85.
[106] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', p. 76.
[107] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 95.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid., p. 93.
[110] J. Schmidt, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library at Manchester.* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 324. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004186699.i-358>
[111] Vrolijk, 'Collection Levinus Warner'.
[112] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', p. 74.
[113] *Catalogus Bibliothecae publicae Lugduno-Batavae noviter recognitus. Accessit Incomparabilis Thesaurus Librorum Orientalium*. (Newly revised catalogue of Leiden's public library, containing in incomparable treasure of Oriental books.

The trend of drawing a distinction between manuscripts and printed books, as seen in the later Heinsius catalogues,[114] continued to gain traction. The 1653 renovation now placed books on shelves separately from manuscripts in locked cabinets. This separation is reflected in the 1674 Catalogue, which has separate categories for manuscripts and printed books. Furthermore, new additions to item descriptions clarify the differences: most manuscripts now specify that they are written '*In membr[ana]*' (= on parchment), and many of the printed books also include their city and/or year of printing. This change imbues each item with a sense of materiality and temporality that was not considered up until this point. In my eyes, this is in line with the shifting ideal of knowledge on the eve of the Enlightenment. As science and scholarship developed rapidly and new insight about the world seemed to grow by the day, the ideal path of pursuing academic knowledge also changed: shifting 'from erudition to research'[115] – from learning all existing finite truths to seeking the yet unknown. It so follows that library items would be linked to their geographical and temporal anchor, the metaphorical 'world' in which they were written. Now, readers might contextualize each text and evaluate how 'far' it was from their own perspective – whether it be the specific city and year of publication or simply 'so old that it is handwritten on parchment'.

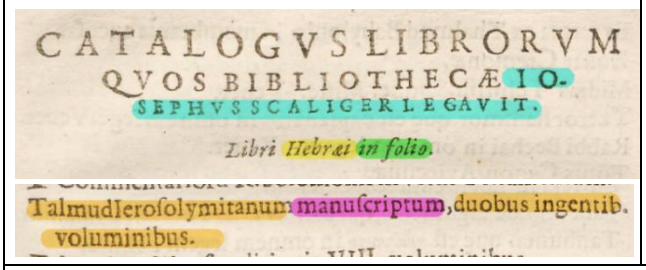
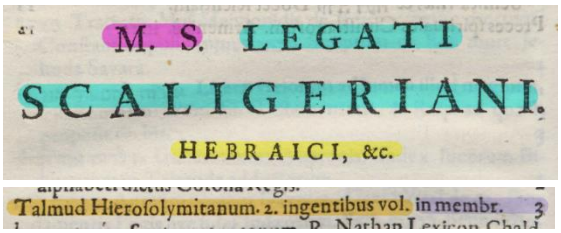
The Oriental collections seemingly attempt to adopt this revolutionary new concept. At the same time, the emphasis on Oriental collections existed hand in hand with the reverence toward the famed Orientalists whose bequests made them possible. This is expressed in the physical library: the Scaliger and Warner legacies were stored separately from other books and manuscripts, in their own dedicated cabinets.[116] It is also seen in some clumsy cataloguing decisions. The 1674 Catalogue has no table of contents, but attempting to outline one (see fig. 2, below) shows the difficulties Spanheim must have faced when trying to sort the titles into categories while also retaining the respective identities of collection legacies.

[114] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', p. 72.
[115] Clark, 'On the Bureaucratic Plots of the Research Library', p .190.
[116] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, pp. 85, 91.

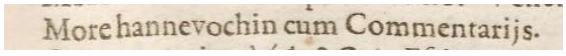
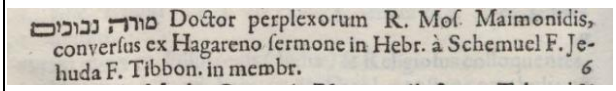
Figure 2: Content outline for the 1674 Catalogue (excerpt)[117]				
Category	Subcategory	Format	Pp.	Comments
LIBRI ORIENTALES Impreſſi & MS. tam communis Bibliothecæ quàm Legati Scaligeriani ae Warneriani	Impreſſi Bibliothecæ communis.	In Folio.	249	The titles are sorted by: Writing method Legacy, Language, Size
		In Quarto.	250	
	Impreſſi Legati Scaligeriani.	In Folio.	252	
		In Quarto.	254	
		In Octavo.	257	
	EXCUSI LEGATI WARNERIANI	In Folio.	259	
		In Quarto	265	
		In Octavo.	274	
M.S. LEGATI SCALIGERIANI	HEBRAICI, &c.		276	
	ARABICI, PERSICI, TURCICI.		278	
M.S.S. LEGATI WARNERIANI.	HEBRAICI, &c.		283	
	APPENDIX LIBRORUM Qui ſerius acceſſerunt.		286	
LIBRI M.S.S. ARABICI, PERSICI, TURCICI LEGATI WARNERIANI			316-390	
CATALOGUS LIBRORUM MMS. TAM GRÆCORUM QUAM LATINORUM Quos Illuſtriſſimus Joſephus Scaliger Bibliothecæ Legavit.			391-395	
LIBRI MANUSS. GRÆCI AD Bibliothecam ſpectantes.			396 - 398	
APPENDIX LIBRORUM MMS Subjungendorum Legato WARNERIANO, Qui nempepoſt Catalogum priorem adornatum ex ejus quâdam arcâ eruti fuerunt.	MSS. ORIENTALIA.	In Folio.	420	
		In Quarto.	421	
		In Octavo.	424	
		In Vigeſimo quarto.	424	

Many of the more complex organizational decisions implemented throughout the 1674 Catalogue were either not applied to the Oriental collection or applied only partially. In the Heinsius catalogues, books and manuscripts were catalogued together and sorted by size; this detail carries over to the Oriental printed books in the 1674 catalogue. The manuscript sub-categories, however, do not sort by size; it is possible that because there are relatively few Oriental manuscripts, which were held in their own cabinets, sorting by size was deemed unnecessary, particularly with the recent addition of locational shelfmarks. Since the size information for manuscripts was not included anywhere else, it was essentially lost from the catalogue apart from the occasional adjective (see fig.3, below). To the modern scholar, this would seem like an incredible oversight; at the time, though, it might have simply been unimportant, since scholars were still only concerned with study of the texts, rather than of the manuscript's physical features. As we shall see, standard descriptions of manuscript sizes (folio, quarto, octavo) would eventually be re-introduced in Steinschneider's 1858 catalogue, before being modernized, with dimensions in millimeters, in Van der Heide's 1977 *Supplement*.

[117] I have not modernized the spelling; it appears here as it does in the original 1674 Catalogue.

Figure 3: Comparison of catalogue entries for the Jerusalem Talmud (Or. 4720 [Scal. 3])	
The 1623 Heinsius Catalogue (p. 127)	The 1674 Catalogue (p. 276)
	
Most of the previous information is preserved: Writing method (manuscript), Legacy (Scaliger), Language (Hebrew), Descriptions (title: Jerusalem Talmud. Number of volumes: two. General description: *ingentibus* [=huge]). Standard descriptor of Size was lost in the catalogue transition. New details include material and shelfmark.	

Despite its rather awkward organization, the 1674 Catalogue improves greatly upon its predecessors when it comes to cataloguing the Hebrew collection items. Spanheim evidently 'attempted to enrich the descriptions of the books with new and relevant information',[118] and most entries now include some bibliographic details, including author name, language(s), translator information, and sometimes further details about the content or topic (see fig. 4, below). Many titles were now given in Hebrew script along with their Latin translation. However, no system of alphabetization was applied here, perhaps because it was deemed too complicated; alphabetizing would necessitate choosing between the original title in a 'foreign' script (whose order might be difficult to remember and thus unhelpful as a search feature), the romanized title (which might be difficult to find due to a lack of transliteration standards or orthography), or the Latin title (which might not be well known or consistently translated).

Figure 4: Comparison of catalogue entries (Or. 4723 [Scal. 6])	
The 1623 Heinsius Catalogue (p. 127)	The 1674 Catalogue (p. 276)
	
The 1674 catalogue adds new information: Title in Hebrew script, Latin translation of title, Author name, language and language of origin, translator name, material, and shelfmark.	

[118] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', p. 75.

4. The 1716 Catalogue

The purchase of the Bibliotheca Vossiana in 1690 effectively doubled the number of books in the library, necessitating a new catalogue.[119] The University bestowed the task upon Jacobus Gronovius (1645-1716), professor of Greek and history, and then-librarian Wolferdus Senguerdus (1646-1724). Senguerdus was a professor of philosophy, but also 'regarded the combination of experimentation and rational thought as the only reliable source of true knowledge,' and introduced experimental physics to the curriculum. His appointment to the position of librarian in 1701, instead of the usual philologist or historian, was a break in tradition that signaled the University's entrance into the Age of Enlightenment; his collaboration on the new catalogue with Gronovius was an exercise in interdisciplinarity as universities began placing value on 'a more encyclopaedic form of knowledge'.[120]

The University instructed Senguerdus and Gronovius to model their work after the catalogues of the University Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, which had become renown throughout Europe. These catalogues were frequently bought by other libraries and 'functioned as a yardstick for the quality of book collections',[121] in terms of both their holdings and their organization system. Leiden University wished to gain the prestige that would come with a similar widely-circulating catalogue, and the Leiden printer Pieter van der Aa 'offered to publish the catalogue at his own expense' with the expectation that it would appeal to the curious readers' 'quest for knowledge' and turn a large profit.[122] The collaboration soon turned sour– Senguerdus and Gronovius' draft of the catalogue was designed like an internal shelf catalogue, and followed the Library's layout (by faculty and shelf-number) instead of the didactic system Van der Aa expected (by faculty, more specific units of knowledge, then alphabetized by author name).[123]

Unable to come to a resolution, the project stalled for several years until the University nominated replacement authors: Carolus Schaaf (d. 1729), reader of Hebrew and other Oriental languages, and Johannes Heyman (1667-1737), professor of Oriental languages.[124] The two reorganized the catalogue to be more like the Bodleian catalogue, which utilized author surnames as its primary ordering method.[125] The catalogue was finally published in 1716; ultimately, it would succeed neither as a reader's introduction to the Republic of Letters nor as a practical tool for librarianship.

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[119] Isaac Vossius, a classical philologist and manuscript collector, died in 1689. Leiden University purchased his collection from his heirs in 1690, but only received it in its entirety in 1704 after a lengthy legal battle.
A. Bouwman, 'Collection Isaac Vossius', *Leiden University Libraries*, 2007 <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1887221>
[120] Berkvens-Stevelinck*, Magna Commoditas,* p. 115.
[121] Ibid., p. 117.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger', p. 78.
[125] Frost, 'The Bodleian Catalogs of 1674 and 1738', p. 252.

Though Senguerdus and Gronovius were representatives of the new intellectual age, they still had a foot in the conservative past by opting for a practical solution which followed the UBL's shelving system. The dismissal of their choice made the outcome inconvenient as a monitoring tool for librarians – eventually, a shelf-catalogue was compiled by hand for internal use, which was never published.[126] Following in the steps of the Bodleian might have been appealing for the University and the printer, but choosing to align with the spirit of the age included the risk of succumbing to its rapid evolutions. Throughout the following decades, the progressive purchasing policies of the next librarian, Pieter Burman (1668-1741), introduced countless more books, novels, and scholarly journals in a wide range of fields, part of the wave of cultural development arising in Europe. As a result, the 1716 Catalogue was almost instantly outdated, and ended up as a commercial failure with many copies going unsold; [127] soon after, a supplement was required, which was published in 1741.[128]

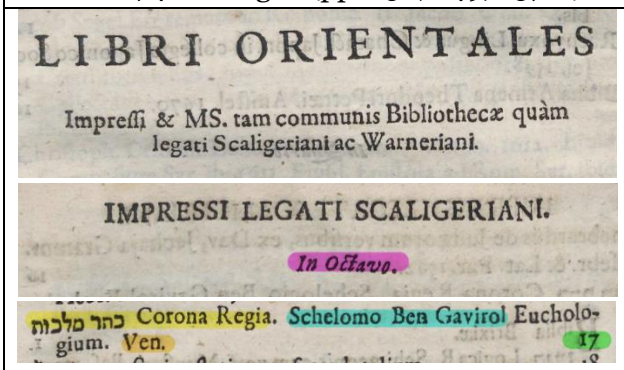
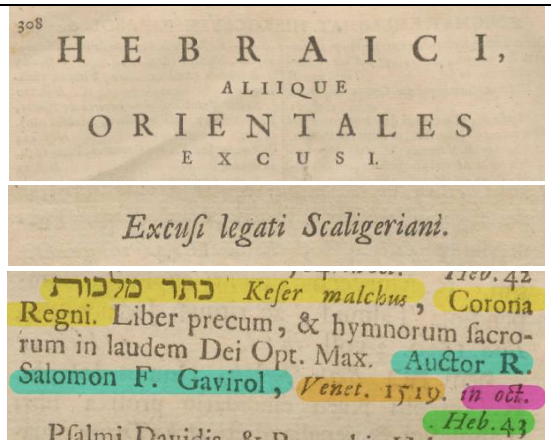
Despite being within the realm of expertise of Schaaf and Heyman, the descriptions of Hebrew manuscripts remained generally the same as the previous catalogue, apart from some minor changes and additions (see fig. 5, below). Titles in Hebrew script, which already appeared with Latin translations in the 1674 Catalogue, were now supplemented with transliterations. In the Bodleian catalogue, transliterations were used to fit Hebrew books into the alphabetization system where no author name was available,[129] but this option was not applied here. Additionally, the transliterations were not ideal, at least from a modern perspective; for example (fig 5., in yellow), the choice to transliterate כתר מלכות as *Kefer malchus*, as opposed to *Keter malchut* betrays the cataloguer's over-zealous adherence to the technicalities of *nikud*,[130] possibly as described in a grammar, to the detriment of consistent orthography. I assume that this portion was written by Schaaf, since at around this time he was also writing a Hebrew grammar based on the works of Buxtorf,[131] a Hebraist who famously took *nikud* as gospel.[132] The alternative, that this was Heyman's work, is less likely: his formal education included Biblical Hebrew, but while living in Ottoman Izmir he studied 'colloquial Hebrew' with a local Rabbi.[133] Whether this means he studied Ladino (Judeo-

[126] Berkvens-Stevelinck*, Magna Commoditas,* pp. 121- 125.
[127] Berkvens-Stevelinck*, Magna Commoditas*, pp. 121- 125.
[128] UBL, *Supplementum catalogi librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae, ab anno 1716 usque ad annum 1741* (Leiden, 1741). (UBL DOUSA 80 1020: 2) <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:290729>
[129] Hyde, Thomas, *Catalogus impressorum librorum bibliothecæ Bodlijanæ in academia Oxoniensi* (Oxonii [Oxford]: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674), p. 337.
[130] Nikud is a system of diacritical signs – dots and markings added to Hebrew letters – used to represent vowel vocalization or to distinguish between alternative pronunciations of letters.
Keter Malkhut, or 'Kingly Crown', is an eleventh century poem by Solomon ibn Gabirol.
[131] Schaaf, Carolus, *Epitome grammaticae Hebraeae, ex Buxtorfii grammatica, Altingii fundamentis punctationis linguae sanctae et propriis observationibus, ad commodiorem studiosae Juventutis usum composita, (*Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden]: Impensis auctoris Auteur, 1716).
[132] Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies,* p. 241.
[133] M. H. van den Boogert, 'Chapter 12: Learning Oriental Languages in the Ottoman Empire: Johannes Heyman (1667–1737) between Izmir and Damascus', in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 294-309 (p. 298).

Spanish) or the Sephardic pronunciation of Biblical Hebrew is unclear, but either way Heyman would have likely learned to transliterate ת as *t*, not *s*.

Another point of transliteration worth observing, which was already evident in the 1674 Catalogue but is clearer here, is the method of spelling names. Traditionally, Arabic and Hebrew names do not have surnames, but rather patronyms (usually 'ibn', 'bin' or 'ben', meaning 'son of', followed by the father's name).[134] The cataloguers apparently chose Latin *translation* rather than phonetic *transliteration,* replacing the prefix with *F.* (short for *filii*, or 'son of' in Latin). In attempting to make the catalogue subtly more accessible for their intended audience – Christian Western European scholars – the cataloguers have taken liberties with the identities of the authors. The result is a jarring objectification of the 'Oriental' subject (see fig. 5, below).

Figure 5: Comparison of catalogue entry for a printed book

The 1674 Catalogue (pp. 258, 249, 257-8)	The 1716 Catalogue (pp. 308, 310, 313)
	

In yellow: Title transliteration added.
In blue: Author name and surname prefix is 'Latinized': *Schelomo* to *Salomon*, *Ben* to *F.*
In orange: Place of publication expanded partially, and publication date is added.
In pink: Printed books no longer sorted by size, but the information is retained in the description.
In green: Internal reorganization required new shelfmark.

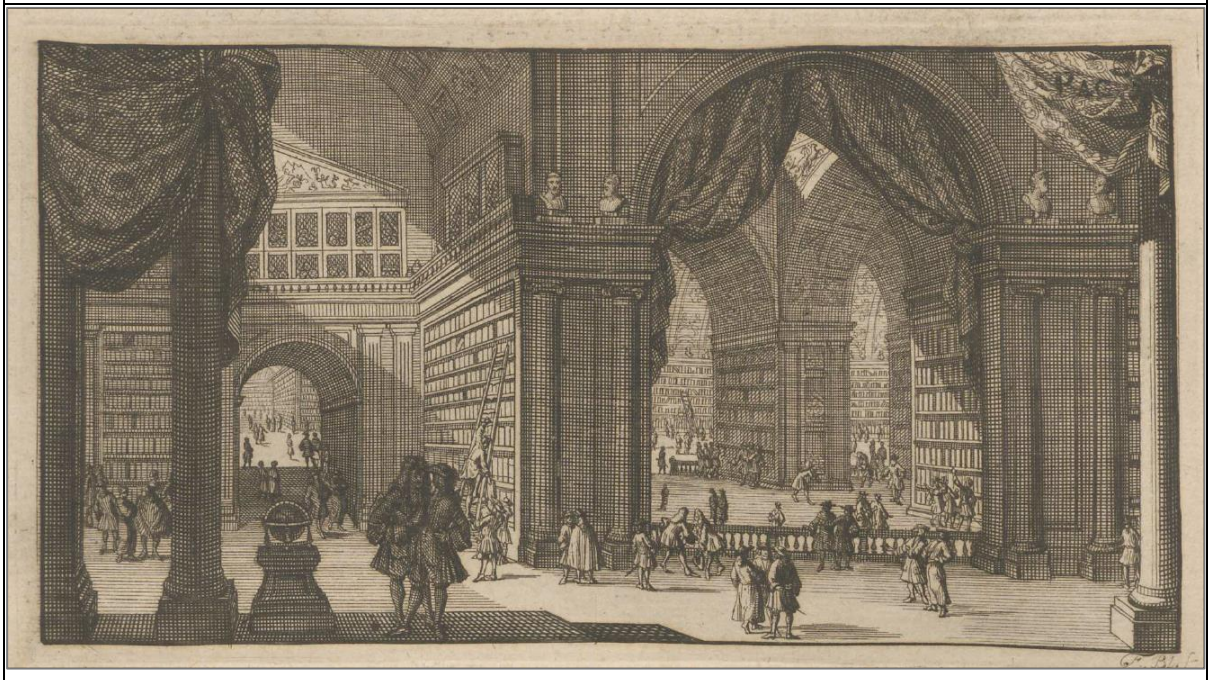
The 1716 Catalogue was a grand project, but evidently too ambitious for its own good – and was the last library catalogue to encompass Leiden's entire collection in one printed volume.[135] Still, despite its drawbacks examined with respect to the descriptions of the HMC, it introduces many improvements and new information courtesy of its interdisciplinary team of compilers. It is also easier to use than previous attempts, as it includes an alphabetical author index compiled by Siwart Haverkamp (1684-1742),[136] as well as the welcome addition of a table of contents. Though it failed commercially, it still represented the prestige and

[134] Wikipedia, 'Patronymic', <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patronymic#Arabic> (30 Jun. 2022)
[135] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas, pp.* 121- 125.
[136] Ibid., p.119.

intellectual wealth of the collections, which it complemented with some inspiring illustrations.

Finally, in its descriptions and organization, it also reflects the growing separation between books as tools *for* research, and manuscripts as items *to be* researched – and preserved. Throughout the eighteenth century, the need to maintain order and protect valuable items required meticulous recordkeeping of lending and acquisitions, leading to the eventual professionalization of librarianship.[137] As the Age of Enlightenment unfolded and different types of readers began appearing on the scene, the spirit of access and generosity which featured in Spanheim's era 'made way for a cautious protectionism.'[138] Soon, librarians would need to determine who would be admitted to their halls of treasures – and they didn't always like the guests that came knocking.

Figure 6: An illustration from the 1716 Catalogue (p. 1)



This grand illustration heads the first section of the catalogue.[139] The gigantic halls 'create an impression of infinite learning;' locked manuscript cases can be seen (top left).[140]

[137] Ibid., p. 127.
[138] Ibid. p. 129.
[139] 1716 Catalogue, p. 1.
[140] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas,* p. 121.

Chapter 2: Hebrew Manuscripts, a Bibliography of

1. *Introduction*

The 328 Jewish families living in Prossnitz, Moravia in 1829 were confined to a ghetto of 48 houses consisting of 120 apartments. They were required to pay exorbitant taxes and only the first-born son of every family was legally allowed to marry.[141] The world that Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907) was born into was not kind to its Jewish population, and it surely wasn't interested in what they had to say. Today, Steinschneider is regarded as a highly influential figure in the field of book history whose insights and cataloguing methods are the cornerstone of the modern discipline of Hebrew codicology, but the path he took to reach his position was as rare for his era as it was challenging. Receiving both Jewish and secular education from an early age, Steinschneider dedicated himself to the study of languages, Oriental and Hebrew literature, and bibliography. In 1836, on account of being a Jew, he was refused entry to the Vienna Oriental Academy and barred from viewing the Hebrew books and manuscripts in the Imperial Library; by the end of his life, the 'father of Hebrew bibliography'[142] had published over 1400 books, papers, and manuscript catalogues – including the 1858 catalogue of Leiden University's Hebrew manuscript collection, *Catalogus Codicum Hebraeorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*.

In this chapter, I will endeavor to relay the unique, intertwined web of circumstances, created in the wake of the Enlightenment, which enabled this evolution. In doing so, I will explore the development of new scholarly fields during this period, explain the revised expectations of academics and their institutions, and examine how these connect to the evolving notions of Jewish identity and suffrage in the nineteenth century. Finally, in light of all these ideas, I will evaluate Moritz Steinschneider's revolutionary methodology as depicted in his 1858 Leiden catalogue, and explain why, exactly, it was not only an improvement on its forerunners – but a foundation to all of its successors.

2. *Scholarship and Social Change in the Long Nineteenth Century*

a. *New Fields, New Standards, and Manuscript Materiality*

The Enlightenment changed scholarly priorities, particularly in the scientific fields; Learned journals, which first appeared in the seventeenth century as a kind of newspaper aimed at members of the Republic of Letters, were adopted in the nineteenth century by learned societies and academies. These institutions, who 'specialized in making judgments on matters of science', began publishing their own specialized periodicals.[143] As they became

[141] M. L. Miller, 'Rabbis and Revolution: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Moravian Jewry', (Dissertation, Columbia University, 2004), pp. 25–32, 51–7. Ref. in: I. Schorsch, '1. A Jewish Scholar in Nineteenth-Century Europe, Moritz Steinschneider: The Vision Beyond the Books', in *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 1-36.

[142] *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* qtd. in Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p.263.

[143] A. Csiszar, *The Scientific Journal: Authorship and the Politics of Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), pp. 5-6.

widely adopted not only as sources for scientific news but also as 'archives of discovery, it became more common to conceive of science as a series of discrete discovery events localized in time'.[144] Reading about the newest developments in multiple scholarly journals, rather than established knowledge in a few older works, became the order of the day.

As a result, the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, the heart of the library collection shifted from 'the rare and extraordinary' to the regular and 'serial', and acquisition policies increasingly preferred to budget for contemporary works and specialized journals in lieu of rare or antique items.[145] Naturally, this influenced library use. Before, students and scholars were expected to rely on their own privately owned books, supplementing them only sparsely by occasionally lending out library books.[146] With the quick growth of new publications, however, it became increasingly unlikely that even the wealthier among them would be able to personally purchase all the relevant materials for their studies,[147] and they began to rely more heavily on library collections.[148]

With the change in use patterns, facilities needed to be adapted. The early modern libraries of North-Western Protestant Europe were rather uninviting places; as their main goal was the safety of their books and not the comfort of their users, lamps were often prohibited for fear of fire, leaving their rooms dark and damp[149] As students gradually needed to make more frequent use of library resources, physical and organizational changes were required; this era saw the introduction of comfortable reading rooms,[150] better lighting, and a 'pragmatic' division of resources that favored a user-friendly layout over a philosophical system of knowledge.[151]

The study of manuscripts did not cease in this scholarly transition, but it did change in nature. The eighteenth century saw the first inklings of interest in the materiality of manuscripts as a topic worth examining for its own sake. No longer mere carriers of text, manuscripts were now seen as complex objects that could be analyzed to determine their date and origin.[152] Much of this analysis hinged on the newly-developing field of paleography, in which scholars studied handwriting and the history of scripts,[153] both Latin and, increasingly, non-Latin.[154] Access to manuscripts proved to also be crucial to developments in the field of philology – the study of the structure and historical

[144] Csiszar, *The Scientific Journal*. P. 8.
[145] Clark, 'On the Bureaucratic Plots of the Research Library', p. 202.
[146] F. Lerner, *The Story of Libraries: From the Invention of Writing to the Computer Age,* (Continuum, 1998), p. 126.
[147] Lerner, *The Story of Libraries,* P.125.
[148] P. Freshwater, '22. Books and Universities', p. 358-360.
[149] Lerner, *The Story of Libraries,* p. 128.
[150] P. Freshwater, '22. Books and Universities', p. 362.
[151] Clark, 'On the Bureaucratic Plots of the Research Library', p. 202.
[152] O. da Rold, 'Tradition and Innovation in Cataloguing Medieval Manuscripts', *Anglia* 139.1 (2021), pp. 32–58 (p .35).
[153] P. Beal, 'Palaeography', in *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[154] French scholar Bernard de Montfaucon first defined the term 'paleography' in his 1708 *Palaeographia Graeca* (Greek Palaeography), a groundbreaking work that was the first to analyze non-Latin scripts and treated the physical manuscript as a valid item for study. Olszowy-Schlanger, '11. The Father of Hebrew Bibliography', p. 251.

development of languages – as scholars began to compare the appearance of certain texts throughout different manuscripts, which, alongside new textual criticism, 'highlighted the value of collating as many variants as possible'.[155] During the nineteenth century, these evolving fields of scholarship gave rise to codicology, a branch of research that examined the whole material book as a cultural and historical artefact.[156]

The evolution of the academic library and of the scholarly approach to the material book rippled into changes in the expected function and purpose of the library catalogue. Catalogues and lists, which were since medieval times designed as simple memory aide for librarians and readers seeking specific books and texts,[157] were now expected to 'provide the reader with a set of building materials as complete as possible for a literary history of a particular language or cultural area'.[158] Additionally, the first half of the nineteenth century saw the almost universal adoption of the alphabetized author catalogue, which was found to be more practical for regular library visitors than older cataloguing systems based on the seventeenth century 'archeology' of collectors or the eighteenth century 'topology' of disciplines.[159] Established universities needed to adapt to new expectations if they hoped to continue running efficiently and to meet the needs of their staff and students, and the UBL was no exception.

b. Meanwhile in Leiden: Commissioning the 1858 Catalogue

The new focus on scholarly journals, combined with the increase in book production and availability, meant that by the late eighteenth century the UBL was faced with a challenge common to many other European libraries at the time: a distinct lack of space. The steady influx of new books and journals overwhelmed the Library's physical capacity, to the point that books and 'more especially, Oriental manuscripts were piled up on the floor'.[160] Renting additional properties in Leiden for book storage alleviated the problem only briefly; by the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Library's facilities were again bursting at the seams. The construction of a new library building on the Rapenburg was completed in 1822; this included dedicated reading rooms for the Oriental and Western manuscripts.[161]

In the manner of similar developments elsewhere in Europe, and particularly influenced by German libraries like Göttingen, Leiden's focus 'was now on the readers, not the books'.[162] Students enjoyed increased library access and the ability to loan out books, scholars were permitted to loan out even unique items and manuscripts, new funds were

[155] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commodita,* p. 135.
[156] O. da Rold, 'Tradition and Innovation', p. 37.
[157] O. da Rold, 'Tradition and Innovation', p. 33.
[158] Witkam, Jan Just, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', in Studies on Steinschneider […], pp. 263-275. P. 267
[159] [159] On the bureaucratic plots of the research library. William Clark. Books and the Sciences in History. Cambridge University Press. 2000. P.203.
[160] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commodita*, p. 137
[161] Ibid., pp. 163-165.
[162] Ibid., pp. 165.

allocated to fill gaps in the collections (including Oriental manuscripts purchased in auction), and the head librarian at the time, Jacobus Geel, trained library staff 'in an attitude of obliging helpfulness'.[163]

In line with the mission of making the library more accessible to users, updated catalogues were required. Geel opposed printing catalogues on the principle that they would, by definition, be out of date the moment they were finalized, yet still oversaw the printing of two new catalogues of newly acquired printed works and Western manuscripts, in 1848 and 1852 respectively.[164] A catalogue of the Oriental holdings in six volumes was methodically written and published between 1851-1877.[165] Notably, the Hebrew manuscript collection (HMC) was not included in the plan; the 1858 Hebrew catalogue was published as a parallel yet separate project, a decision which will be expanded on later.

Theodor W.J. Juynboll (1802-1861), a theologian and professor of Oriental languages who was *Interpres Legati Warneriani* ('interpreter' or curator of the Oriental collection) during this time, commissioned Bohemian bibliographer Moritz Steinschneider to re-write the Hebrew manuscripts catalogue.[166] At this point in the early 1850s, Steinschneider, already an established Orientalist and scholar of Hebrew literature, had been working on the ambitious task of creating a multi-part catalogue of the Hebrew collections at Oxford's Bodleian library. Today, these catalogues are considered a masterful work which almost single-handedly 'raised Hebrew bibliography to a scholarly level'.[167] They are organized alphabetically by author name (with the exception of anonymous works) and include information about each author, a list of their other works, along with references to secondary literature. Steinschneider also added a list of related printers, publishers and patrons, and an index of the Hebrew form of geographical names.[168]

Though publication of the Bodleian catalogue series had not yet concluded, it is likely that the quality of the parts that were finished was a convincing factor in hiring him for a similar task at Leiden;[169] the catalogues of Oxford University's libraries have had a long history of serving as aspirational examples of optimal book organization.[170] There is no doubt that, as a scholar of Hebrew literature, Steinschneider's considerable talent and breadth of knowledge made him the right scholar for the job; however, I will also argue that the fact that he himself was Jewish is an important aspect to consider in order to create a rounded historic analysis of his catalogue.

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[163] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commodita*, pp. 167-169.
[164] Ibid., p. 167.
[165] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 267.
[166] Steinschneider, Moritz*, Catalogus Codicum Hebraeorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden: Brill, 1858). (UBL OOSHSS A 23) <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:113179>
[167] Encyclopaedia Judaica, 'Steinschneider, Moritz', <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/steinschneider-moritz> (30 Jun. 2022)
[168] Steinschneider, Moritz, Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana (Berlin: Berolini, 1852-1860).
[169] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 268.
[170] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commodita*, p. 117.

c. Wissenschaft des Judentums *and 'The Jewish Question'*

By the late eighteenth century, Jewish life in Europe was on the verge of a substantial evolution. Bolstered by the values of the Enlightenment, the Jewish intellectual movement of *Haskala* advocated supplementing traditional Talmudic and Biblical studies with secular education and the study of European languages.[171] Hoping to improve the social and economic position of the Jews and integrate in European life after centuries of segregation and discrimination, this movement coincided with sweeping tides of social change in Europe, including the slow adoption (and sometimes retraction) of Jewish emancipation in many European countries and their colonies throughout the nineteenth century.

Wissenschaft des Judentums, or 'the Science of Judaism',[172] was conceived of in the first quarter of the nineteenth century by the young Jewish intellectuals of Berlin's second *Haskala* generation.[173] In the fashion of the era, this movement was promoted through learned societies,[174] and its discussions were facilitated by the variety of scholarly journals they published.[175] This movement set out to study Judaism, particularly its post-biblical literature, in an academic rather than theological manner 'by subjecting it to criticism and modern methods of research' aligned with European standards;[176] Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), one of the movement's founders who coined its name in a 1818 pamphlet, instructed his readers in the appropriate methods for examining their sources in order to 'ascertain the periods and the places of authors, their personalities, and the reliability of the evidence which they handed down'.[177]

The wider scholarly community, including Leiden University, began to notice the changes brought on by these new ideas. The emancipation of the Jews in the nineteenth century and the growth of non-religious Jewish academic endeavors meant that for the first time, 'a section of Dutch society from outside the academic world could be identified as cultural stakeholders in a sub-collection of the manuscripts in the Leiden library'.[178] This shift was accepted on one hand yet undermined by the other. Juynboll hired Steinschneider following a suggestion by his predecessor in the role, H. E. Weijers, who had previously proposed that a Jewish scholar should be the one to take on the task of cataloguing the HMC.

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[171] *Haskala* – השכלה, from the Hebrew word *sekhel,* meaning 'reason' or 'mind'.
Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia, 'Haskala', *Encyclopedia Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Haskala> (30 Jun. 2022)

[172] *Wissenschaft*, usually translated to English as 'science', used here not in the strict sense of natural sciences but rather in the sense of a field of knowledge.

[173] *Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden* (Society for the Culture and Science of the Jews) was established in 1819. *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, a journal of the Science of Judaism, was first published in 1823.

[174] Including the *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Society for the Advancement of Jewish Scholarship) and *Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden* (The Society for the Culture and Science of the Jews), among many others.

[175] Encyclopaedia Judaica 'Societies, Learned', <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/societies-learned> (30 Jun. 2022)

[176] Encyclopaedia Judaica, 'Wissenschaft des Judentums', <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/ wissenschaft-des-judentums> (30 Jun. 2022)

[177] Ibid.

[178] S. Harvey and R. Fontain, '13. Creating a New Literary Genre: Steinschneider's Leiden Catalogue', in *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 278-299 (p. 273).

This, according to Witkam, was a revolutionary suggestion which 'reflects the changing ideas within the Protestant establishment' about the involvement of disenfranchised groups in scholarly discussions.[179] The same Juynboll, however, was also displeased that the rise in interest in Hebrew studies, especially by German Jewry, resulted in 'even those with no business to do so [...] daring to publish Hebrew works'.[180] He suspected that the publication of the 1858 catalogue would lead to an increase in Hebrew manuscript lending requests by a Jewish readership that was 'learned but non-academic', and appealed to university directors, as a precaution, to allow him to be more discerning and restrictive regarding lending requests.[181]

'The Jewish Question',[182] a query which gained public attention in the nineteenth century, asks 'whether Jews were Oriental and therefore foreign to European culture, or rather a religious group that could be integrated into that culture'.[183] The answer to this question – deciding whether the Jews of Europe are *of the west* or *of the east* – has significant ramifications for a wide array of discussions, ranging from the authority of Jewish philosophy over Christian theological thought, to the rights of Jews as emancipated citizens of Europe, and even, more recently, the political legitimacy of the modern state of Israel. The 'scientists' of Judaism in the nineteenth century were not strangers to this discussion, for they were living in its midst; *Wissenschaft des Judentums* was not a hypothetical scholarly experiment, but also a prism through which to contemplate contemporary politics, serving, perhaps, as their own answer to the Jewish Question:

> Indeed, one of the overarching objectives of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* was to demonstrate that post-biblical Judaism played a vital role in the shaping of European culture. Hence, the Jews sought political emancipation and integration into the social and cultural life of Europe not as alien, 'Asiatic' interlopers, but as co-progenitors of the modern spirit by right of patrimony.[184]

With this in mind, consider this brief summary of the Hebrew manuscripts' position in relation to the Oriental collection so far, which I will set forth with very limited commentary: In the 1595 *Nomenclator*, the few Hebrew manuscripts in the library's possession were mostly Biblical, not post-Biblical, and as such fit neatly among the other theological books; their Hebrew writing is a matter of historicity, a steppingstone on the way to their 'final form' as parts of the Christian canon, and as such had no relation to the social position of the Jews

[179] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 268.
[180] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commodita*, p. 189.
[181] Harvey and Fontain, '13. Creating a New Literary Genre', p. 273.
[182] First expressed in the 18th century, 'the Jewish Question' became widespread in the 19th century in the wake of Jewish emancipation in Germany. Since the 20th century, the phrase is most associated with the Nazi regime, which conceived of the Holocaust as the 'Final solution to the Jewish question'; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 'The "Jewish Question"', *Holocaust Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-jewish-question> (30 Jun. 2022)
[183] A. Raz-Krakotzkin, 'Orientalism, Jewish Studies and Israeli Society: A Few Comments', *Philological Encounters* 2.3-4 (2017), pp. 237-269 (p .237).
[184] P. Mendes-Flohr, 'Introduction', *Jewish Historiography Between Past and Future: 200 Years of Wissenschaft des Judentums,* ed. by Paul Mendes-Flohr, Rachel Livneh-Freudenthal, and Guy Miron (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), pp. 1-6 (p. 1).

in the mind of a gentile cataloguer. In the 1674 catalogue, with its sorting system which relied heavily on the books' donors, the Hebrew manuscripts are contained in a sub-category of the Oriental items. In the 1716 catalogue, which is essentially a modified version of its predecessor, the Hebrew materials were mostly categorized as separate from the other Oriental items regardless of their legacy-affiliation. The Hebrew theological manuscripts were the exception, registered along with texts on Christianity as a sub-heading under the Oriental Manuscripts category.[185] In the 1858 Catalogue, the Hebrew items stand on their own – an individual publication, unrelated to the Oriental catalogue series – and even the title Steinschneider chose for it makes no mention of any Oriental connections.[186]

3. The 1858 Catalogue and Steinschneider's Methodology

Like his friend Zunz, Moritz Steinschneider supported the fostering of a Jewish scholarship that aimed for 'objective truth and impartial research' uninfluenced by theological considerations.[187] He was the first to compile a comprehensive review of Jewish literature,[188] edited the journal *Hebraeische Bibliographie* [189] where he published hundreds of articles concerning 'library history, booklore, philology and cultural history',[190] and conducted pioneering research on the cultural transference of classical Greek knowledge to Western European culture through Hebrew and Arabic translations,[191] in addition to his nearly fifty years as an educator. His greatest interest, which became his legacy, was the scientific study and bibliography of Hebrew manuscripts, a field which Steinschneider believed 'fully deserves to occupy its legitimate place as a tool for studying the historical sources in learned institutes', as well as 'to become a subject of dedicated monographs and encyclopaedias'.[192]

In 1897, Steinschneider published *Vorlesungen über die Kunde hebräischer Handschriften* (Lectures on the Discipline of Hebrew Manuscripts), a collection of articles based on a series of lectures he gave during 1859-1860 at the *Veitel Heine Ephraim'sche* School in Berlin, which was, at the time, the only secular Jewish academic institution. Steinschneider's description of the school is very much in line with the ideals of the 'Science of Judaism': it was a school founded 'purely on science', not reliant on pious donors, which endowed the teachers with 'a feeling of freedom in their activities, and the students with the

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[185] This category contains titles from a wide range of topics, from Islamic theology to medicine to mathematics to poetry, written mostly in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but also Hebrew, Samaritan, Armenian, Greek, Russian and more.

[186] The 1858 catalogue is titled: 'Catalogus Codicum Hebraeorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae'
Soon after, the Hebrew manuscripts were re-incorporated into the category of 'Oriental': 1864, a large donation of Sanskrit and Batak manuscripts necessitated a streamlining of shelf-marks. In the process, the Hebrew manuscripts were officially designated as a section of the Oriental collection. Their new category, 'Hebr.', also included Syriac, Samaritan and Ge'ez (Ethiopic) manuscripts – written in other 'semitic' languages – as well as Coptic and Armenian items.

[187] Encyclopaedia Judaica, 'Steinschneider, Moritz'.

[188] Steinschneider, Moritz, 'Jüdische Literatur', *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste,* ii.27, ed. by Johann Samuel Ersch and Johann Gottfried Gruber (Leipzig: Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, 1850), pp. 357–376.

[189] *Hebraeische Bibliographie: Blätter für neuere und ältere Literatur des Judenthums* (Berlin: Verlag von A. Asher & Co., 1858-1882). <https://archive.org/details/HebraeischeBibliographie>

[190] Encyclopaedia Judaica, 'Steinschneider, Moritz'.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Steinschneider qtd. in Olszowy-Schlanger, '11. The Father of Hebrew Bibliography', p. 261.

pure joy of study for its own sake'.[193] Though it is one of his lesser-known works, the *Vorlesungen* allows us insight into Steinschneider's theory and methodology; its later translation into Hebrew, published in 1965, would eventually inform aspects of modern Hebrew paleography and codicology, as developed in Paris and Jerusalem.[194] Most importantly for our purposes, although the *Vorlesungen* was published in 1897, it contains lectures given a mere year after the publication of the 1858 Leiden catalogue, and thus arguably presents the theory and methodology he applied to it.

Steinschneider valued his paleographer predecessors but thought that their tendency to focus on the shapes of letters alone left much to be desired. He preferred to follow developments by his contemporaries in Germany, who, in the early nineteenth century, were beginning to look at other physical aspects of manuscripts.[195] Steinschneider's methodology rejects the chronological distinction, common in his time, between manuscripts and printed books as artifacts of separate eras – before and after the invention of print. Instead, he sees them as parts of the same continuum, and thus 'firmly places the study of manuscripts in the center of the history of book production'.[196] This can be seen very clearly in practice in the 1858 Leiden catalogue: the type of carrier (parchment vs. paper) and writing method (handwriting vs. print), while prominent in item descriptions, are not decisive factors in the catalogue's overall organization, unlike in previous catalogues.

Steinschneider's *Vorlesungen* goes on to deal with multiple other aspects of the study of Hebrew manuscripts, including the book materials (parchment, paper, and ink) and details that could help trace the item's history (binding, colophons, ownership and sale notes, family lists, calendars, and censor marks).[197] Additionally, he defines several terms and goes to some lengths to rationalize his perspective. Steinschneider's contemporaries often viewed a 'codex' as one physical book (a 'bound volume' in modern codicology), but he argued that this was misleading: just because pages are bound together physically does not mean they belong together thematically, as the binder's decision might have been purely technical which could lead to 'bibliographical havoc'.[198] Instead, Steinschneider's definition focuses on the perspective of book production: as opposed to a *codex*, which is 'a book which has its place on a library bookshelf' (a bound volume), a *manuscript codex* is book that was deliberately set out to be created from the outset and is copied by one hand throughout –

[193] Quotes from Steinschneider's *Vorlesungen* are my own translation from the Hebrew version, unless they are indicated to be from what I assume is Olszowy-Schlanger's own translation from the original German in her chapter.
Steinschneider, Moritz, *Hartsa'ot al Kitvei-Yad Ivri'im* trans. by Israel Eldad (Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1965), p. 7. <https://tablet.otzar.org/he/book/book.php?book=156290&&pagenum=1>
[194] Olszowy-Schlanger, '11. The Father of Hebrew Bibliography', p .249.
[195] Ibid., p. 251-2
[196] Ibid., p. 253.
[197] Ibid., pp. 253, 257.
[198] Ibid., p. 258.

even if it contains several different texts or was copied over an extended period of time.[199] (Today, the more precise term 'codicological unit' is preferred).[200]

Following through on these ideas for the HMC meant that while each codex ('bound volume') has its own shelfmark, Steinschneider itemizes their content and gives each codicological unit, or 'manuscript codex', a secondary number – which are, in most cases, still in use today. Each of these units receives an extensive bibliographic treatment, including the exact range of pages they occupy in the codex. Many of the codices Steinschneider catalogues in this detailed way result in very long entries,[201] as comparison to previous catalogues illustrates:

Figure 1: Comparison of Catalogue entries for Or. 4752 [Warn. 14]

1716 Catalogue (p. 409)	1858 Catalogue (pp. 39-40)
ספר המצות *Sepher hammitzvos*, Liber Præceptorum R. Aharonis F. Eliæ. 14	WARN. 14. Or. 4752 [Cod. chart. fol., ff. 245, charact. ad f. 252 usque majore robusto (v. Specimen ex f. 106), forsan inter Karaiticos hujus Bibliothecae *antiquissimus*, quem suum dicit *Jehuda*, seu *Gur Arje b. Menachem* רכיצו (v. ad Cod. 50, 4), cujus monogramma complicatum (f. 1), paullo lucidius in Cod. *W.* 41, et in sigillo in Cod. *W.* 52 legi potest. Lineae ultimae passim in lineolas obliquas dissolutae et disjectae sunt.]. 1) [גן ערן] Hortus Eden, auctore Karaeo AHRON B. ELIA; incip.: שויתי ה׳ לנגדי, i. e. sectio שמאה, ut Cod. W. 21 f. 129, et, ut in eo, desinens f. 233 v. 2) (f. 234 a) אגרת, *Epistola* auctore SALOMO NASI ad *Ahron b. Jehuda*. Genealogia, subscripto auctoris nomini subjuncta (f. 242), usque ad Anan tantum adscendit, ita ut post ואחיו וכלל הנשיאים הגדולים ראשי הגליות לברכה עיני בני המקרא claudetur: ולתהלה ולכבוד אמן סלה, atque nominibus enumeratis unum tantum epitheton נשיא addatur, omissis aliis appositis in Cod. *W* 52, 12, ubi vide notanda. 3) (f. 242 v.) [חידה] *Aenigma*: הקבצו נא מתי בינה ראות (sic) פלאי ותתמהו אשר היו בעיר אחד (!) מתי מספר בארבעה ונם אחד מביניהם וקבץ מחנות שבעים והכניסם בכור כרזל והוציאו אשה יפה ושמוה בצד צדיק וקראו את שמה שרה ואם תמצא בחידתי אני אקנה לך . . . Vox ultima, lacerata partim, forsan est עשרה, quae aenigmatis solutio videtur, quamquam, si id recte suspicamur, metrum non accurate observatum est. 4) (ib.) כ״י י״ח״מ״ד״ו זו האגרת אשר שלח אותה החכם משכילנו רבינו ישראל המערבי מאור עינינו אודות הסבה אשר בקהל אחד שאיש אחר נשא אשה ונתן לה בתוך עדים רבים טבעת אחד בדרך קנין . . . , *Epistola* ISRAEL HA-MAARABI (v. Cod. W. 60, 2), inquirens utrum uxor, quae a marito repudiata annulum retinuerit sponsorium, postquam alii nupserit viro, etiam secundo illicita sit. Reponsi fragmentum (quod jam f. 244 v. excipit aliud fragm. mihi ignotum) incipit: הקשיבו אחי ורעי בני ישראל יראי י״י חושקים בתורתו ועובדים ושוקדים בעבודתו; citatur in medio fragmento *Jeschua b. Jehuda*, ejusque liber השרשית.

[199] As Olszowy-Schlanger points out, Steinschneider overlooks the different possible cases in which the identity of the copyist should not reasonably be decisive in defining a codex, for example when 'a trainee contributes a few shaky lines in the middle of a page' or when a manuscript is conceived of as one unit but is 'eventually copied by several different scribes, often belonging to the same family, who worked together'. Olszowy-Schlanger, '11. The Father of Hebrew Bibliography', p. 258-9.

[200] J. P. Gumbert Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex', *Signo e Testo* 2.17 (2004), pp. 17–42 (p. 33).

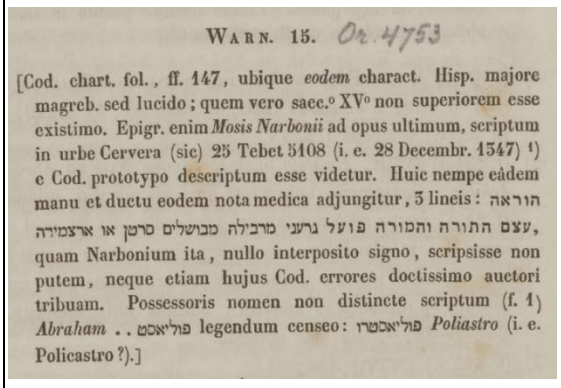
[201] Entries that are 2-3 pages in length are quite a common sight; one of the longest entries, Warn. 20 (Or. 4758) is over 25 pages long.

Steinschneider's approach, which focused on scribal intention rather than the book's current physical reality, was quite new for the time, and was likely influenced by his era's evolving approach to biblical interpretation. A comparison can be drawn to the new hermeneutics of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who predicated the interpretation of a text on the reader's understanding of the mind of its author; a holistic understanding would involve a 'grammatical' and a 'technical' interpretation, requiring an understanding of both the language used and the wider cultural context of the text's creation.[202] Part of the reason this Catalogue improves so significantly on that of his predecessors is that Steinschneider was an expert in the languages, topics, and historical contexts of the manuscripts he discusses. He was incredibly well-versed in Jewish literature and medieval philosophy, as opposed to previous bibliographers, who, learned as they might have been, 'were not scholars' of those fields, and 'apparently did not read the philosophic books they catalogued'.[203] Additionally, Steinschneider could also read Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, among other languages, and as such could easily read the texts he catalogued.[204] He was also able to point out and correct the mistakes of past cataloguers, of whom he is quite critical, writing in his preface that they were likely 'neither sufficiently instructed in general literature, nor knew enough Hebrew to fulfil their very difficult task'.[205]

The University's directors asked that the new catalogue 'would answer the needs of the modern age' without any further specifications.[206] In his preface to the 1858 Catalogue, Steinschneider sheds light on his methodology: a balance between descriptions of the items' form and contents, aiming for 'accuracy, completeness and clarity' in each entry.[207] He did so by following a consistent format: shelfmark, codicological details, then the main entry clearly beginning with the Hebrew and Latin titles.[208] It is particularly the codicological note (usually containing 'material, number of folios, script, legibility, scribe, date, owner and general condition'),[209] which embodies Steinschneider's scientific treatment of the books as material and historical items:

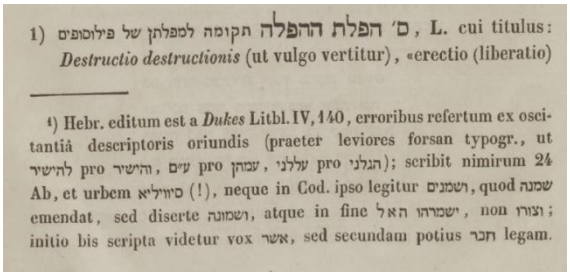
[202] F. D. E. Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutics and Criticism*, ed. by Andrew Bowie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 229-231.
[203] Harvey and Fontain, '13. Creating a New Literary Genre', p. 280.
[204] Ibid. p. 284.
[205] Ibid. p. 286.
[206] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p.269.
[207] Ibid., p.269.
[208] Harvey and Fontain, '13. Creating a New Literary Genre', p. 282.
[209] Ibid.

Figure 2: Example of codicological notes for Or. 4753 [Warn. 1](excerpts, p. 40)



WARN. 15. Or. 4753

[Cod. chart. fol., ff. 147, ubique *eodem* charact. Hisp. majore magreb. sed lucido; quem vero saec.° XV° non superiorem esse existimo. Epigr. enim *Mosis Narbonii* ad opus ultimum, scriptum in urbe Cervera (sic) 25 Tebet 5108 (i. e. 28 Decembr. 1347) [1]) e Cod. prototypo descriptum esse videtur. Huic nempe eâdem manu et ductu eodem nota medica adjungitur, 3 lineis: הוראה עצם התורה והמורה פועל גרעני מרבילה מבושלים סרטן או ארצמירה, quam Narbonium ita, nullo interposito signo, scripsisse non putem, neque etiam hujus Cod. errores doctissimo auctori tribuam. Possessoris nomen non distincte scriptum (f. 1) *Abraham* .. פוליאכטו legendum censeo: פוליאכטרו *Poliastro* (i. e. Policastro?).]



1) ס' הפלת ההפלה תקומה למפלתן של פילוסופים, L. cui titulus: *Destructio destructionis* (ut vulgo vertitur), «erectio (liberatio)

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[1]) Hebr. editum est a *Dukes* Litbl. IV, 140, erroribus refertum ex oscitantiâ descriptoris oriundis (praeter leviores forsan typogr., ut להישיר pro והישיר, עמהן pro ע"ם, הגלני pro עללני); scribit nimirum 24 Ab, et urbem סיוויליא (!), neque in Cod. ipso legitur ושמנים, quod שמנה emendat, sed diserte ושמונה, atque in fine ישמרהו האל, non וצורו; initio bis scripta videtur vox אשר, sed secundam potius חכר legam.

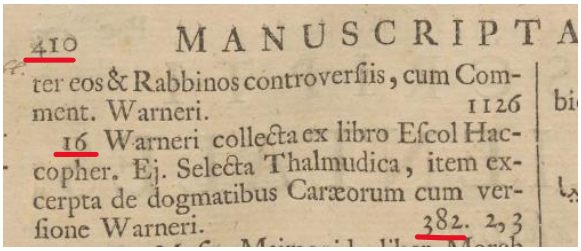
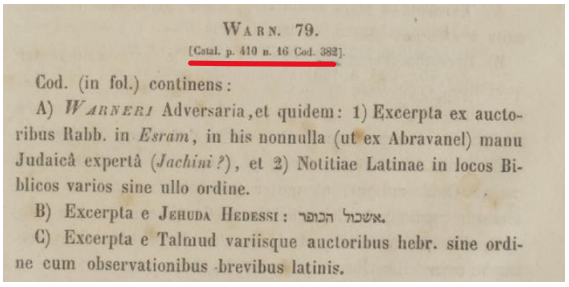
Aspect	**Latin**	**Commentary**
Item type	*Cod.*	Codex
Material	*chart.* (charta)	Paper
Folio count	*ff. 147*	
Hand (identity)	*ubique* eodem *charact.*	All in the same character / (hand)
Hand (type)	*Hisp. [...] magreb.*	Maghrebi Sephardic script
Quality comparison	*sed lucido; quem vero saec.° XV° non superiorem esse existimo*	Clear, but not superior to others from the fifteenth century
Location	*scriptum in urbe Cervera* (sic)	Written in the city of Cervera (sic.)
Date	*25 Tebet 5108 (i.e. 28 Decembr. 1347)*	(Jewish calendar date and its Georgian calendar equivalent)
Scholarly references and corrections	*Hebr. editum est a* Dukes *Litbl. IV, 140, erroribus refertum [...] et urbem* סיוויליא *(!)*	(This text has been previously described by Leopold Dukes, and Steinschneider points out what he perceives to be many mistakes. For example, he criticizes him for mis-interpreting the city of 'Cervera' as 'Sevilla'.)

Steinschneider's system of organization is a significant improvement on its predecessors. Firstly, the obvious difference of collecting all the Hebrew manuscripts into a dedicated catalogue makes it inherently easier to use as a collection-specific resource. Additionally, he did away with the cumbersome distinction between printed books and manuscripts and the inconsistent division by size. Doing so allowed him to 're-unify' the scattered items into neat legacy-based categories: the Warner collection, the Scaliger collection, and items that arrived after the Warner collection.[210] As a result, some items 'migrated' categories and needed a new shelfmark; Steinschneider supplied these and made sure to clearly reference the previous one from the 1716 Catalogue (see fig. 3, below). For good measure, he also includes a chart comparing the old and new shelfmarks as an appendix.[211] Furthermore, facilitated easier navigation by attaching a legacy reference to each

[210] No information was lost in the process, as codex size and materials, no longer category factors, were now simply included in the item description.
[211] 1858 Catalogue, p. 422.

individual shelfmark (e.g., manuscript N°.3 in the Scaliger legacy and manuscript N°.3 in the Warner legacy would now be known as 'Scal. 3' and 'Warn. 3', respectively). Finally, despite its rising popularity at the time, he decided to forego implementing an alphabetized order, which was probably for the best; choosing whether to follow the Hebrew or Latin order would be tricky, and in any case not every item has an agreed title, nor an established author identity.

Figure 3: Comparison of catalogue entries for Or. 382 [Warn. 79]

1716 Catalogue (p.409)	1858 Catalogue (p.297)
	

410 MANUSCRIPTA

ter eos & Rabbinos controverſiis, cum Comment. Warneri. 1126

16 Warneri collecta ex libro Eſcol Haccopher. Ej. Selecta Thalmudica, item excerpta de dogmatibus Caræorum cum verſione Warneri. 382. 2, 3

WARN. 79.

[Catal. p. 410 n. 16 Cod. 382].

Cod. (in fol.) continens:

A) *Warneri* Adversaria, et quidem: 1) Excerpta ex auctoribus Rabb. in *Esram*, in his nonnulla (ut ex Abravanel) manu Judaicâ expertâ (*Jachini?*), et 2) Notitiae Latinae in locos Biblicos varios sine ullo ordine.

B) Excerpta e Jehuda Hedessi: אשכול הכופר.

C) Excerpta e Talmud variisque auctoribus hebr. sine ordine cum observationibus brevibus latinis.

In the 1716 catalogue, this manuscript, which was part of the Warner legacy, was classified under 'Oriental books' as *N°.382*. Since Steinschneider organized his catalogue by legacy, he re-numbered this item *Warn. 79*. When the Oriental Special Collections were later re-organized in the late nineteenth century, all items were given a standardized Oriental classmark; since this item already had an Oriental shelfmark, its classmark going forward would be *Or.382*, which is still used today.

The 1858 catalogue is much more than a reference tool – it is a study companion, going above and beyond the utilitarian bibliographic content of previous catalogues. It serves as an impressive specimen of the new catalogues of this era, which were expected to be a complete overview of a particular field or language.[212] Steinschneider's remarkably detailed entries incorporated 'a wealth of information' whenever available.[213] He shares his insights on the quality and legibility of the manuscript, and draws attention to 'variant readings', where the form or content of the same texts appear otherwise in manuscripts of other libraries.[214] He also mentions which other texts and authors a manuscript references, and vice versa.[215] In addition, he includes biographic information on the author, internal chapter divisions, references to relevant contemporary scholarly texts, and much more.[216]

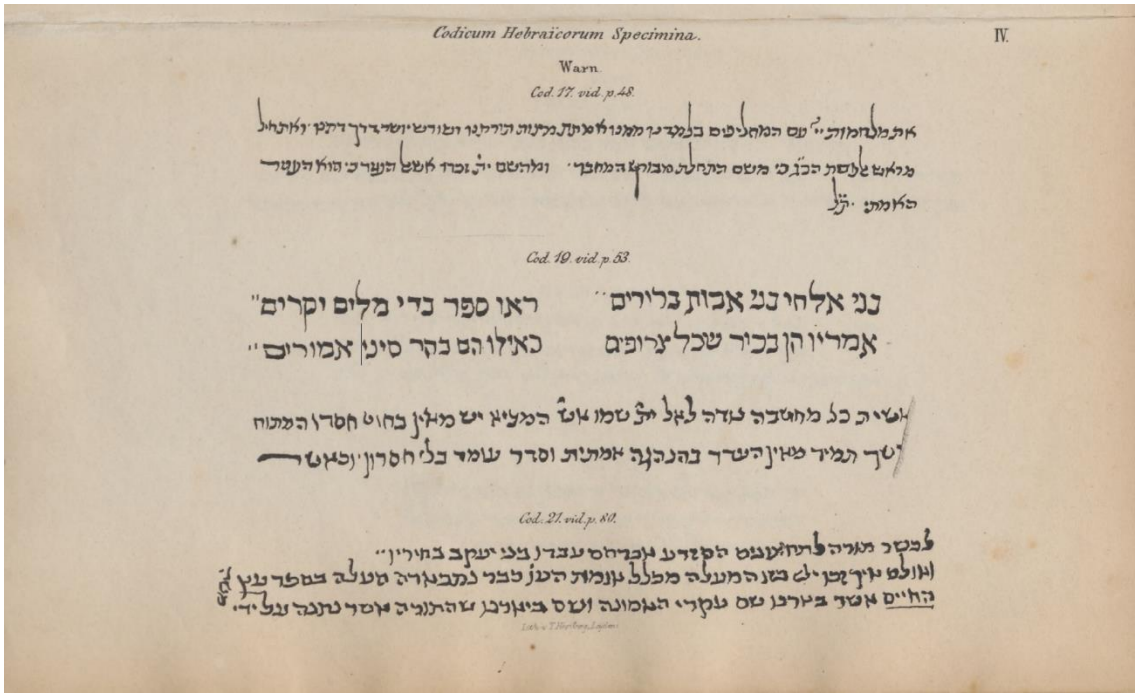
Steinschneider pays special attention to the Karaite and philosophical manuscripts, as well as to astronomical/astrological manuscripts and medical texts; many of these are translations of Arabic texts, and as such also serve as sources on the history of Islamic philosophy, 'the study of the transfer of knowledge among Jews from the Islamic world to

[212] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 267.
[213] Harvey and Fontain, '13. Creating a New Literary Genre', p. 282.
[214] Ibid., p. 283.
[215] Ibid., pp. 282-3.
[216] A. van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1977), p. 1.

Christian countries',[217] and, more broadly, 'the relationship between Jewish and general cultures', [218] – which, as discussed earlier, was a highly debated issue at that time.

Additionally, the catalogue also includes an extensive appendix, containing '19 passages from texts described in the catalogue', four indices of 'authors, titles, scribes and owners',[219] and, perhaps most impressively, multiple lithographed images of script examples from various manuscripts – a magnificently useful addition for readers who could not examine every manuscript themselves (see fig. 4, below).

Figure 4: Script examples from the 1858 Catalogue (p. 431)


Codicum Hebraicorum Specimina. IV.

Warn.

Cod. 17. vid. p. 48.

Cod. 19. vid. p. 53.

נג אלהי נג אבות ברירים ראו ספר נדי מלים וקרים
אמריו הן בכור שכל יצופים כאילו הם נהר סינן אמורים

Cod. 21. vid. p. 80.

Steinschneider's catalogue was the most extensive inspection of Leiden's HMC conducted up to that point – a title it kept for much longer than it reasonably should have. For example, Van der Heide's 1977 publication is not a new catalogue but a supplement to that of Steinschneider, striving only to fill codicological gaps and 'cannot be used without constant reference to Steinschneider's catalogue'.[220] That said, while he extols the catalogue's many positive qualities, Van der Heide acknowledged that it had 'all the drawbacks of a work that was written 120 years ago', including 'antiquated spelling and transcription of proper names', a very compact presentation style that demands 'a fair knowledge of Hebrew literature and subjects relating to its study', and a now-rare knowledge of Latin, which had in the meantime been replaced by English as the international language of scholarship.[221]

[217] Harvey and Fontain, '13. Creating a New Literary Genre', p. 285.
[218] Encyclopaedia Judaica, 'Steinschneider, Moritz'
[219] Harvey and Fontain, '13. Creating a New Literary Genre', p. 281.
[220] A. van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library* (1977 Supplement), p. VIII.
[221] 1977 Supplement, p.2.

Thankfully, Witkam's Inventory, created throughout the 2000s, relies heavily on Steinschneider's descriptions of the Hebrew manuscripts – in fact, many of his catalogue entries are essentially summaries of Steinschneider, translated into English for the benefit of modern readers.[222]

The work of the 'father of Hebrew bibliography'[223] remains influential to this day, however, and when considering the astounding leap the 1858 catalogue displays compared to its predecessors, it's easy to see why. Steinschneider's Leiden project 'redefined the nature and purpose of Hebrew manuscript catalogues'[224] to the extent that scholars Harvey and Fontain even argue that it created a 'new literary genre'.[225] With his extensive detailing of lesser-known works, his spirit of academic rigor, and his employment of a consistent format and methodology, Steinschneider created a foundational research tool which still has merit today, at a distance of more than a century and a half. Additionally, it serves, in my eyes, unequivocal proof that collections benefit from the involvement of scholars who are experts in the topics and languages they set out to catalogue. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this catalogue continues to uphold that ideal which its author had hoped to realize: it gives Hebrew manuscripts – with their textual and material aspects – their well-deserved place as both a tool and topic for historical inquiry.

[222] Witkam, 2007 inventory, Vol.1. Preface to the First Edition. P. 5
[223] *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* qtd. in Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 263.
[224] Harvey and Fontain, '13. Creating a New Literary Genre', p. 298-299.
[225] Ibid., p. 298-299.

Chapter 3: The People, and the Books

1. Introduction

During the early nineteenth century, as discussed in the previous chapter, changes in the scholarly priorities of scientific fields influenced the purchasing policies and organizational directions of academic libraries. This trend showed no sign of slowing down as the years went on; the Belle Epoque, the years between 1880 and 1914, was a 'period of unbridled expansion in every field', including for institutions in the cultural heritage sector, such as museums, archives, and libraries.[226] With this expansion also came a change in the responsibilities of those who managed these institutions, and a distinct professionalization of their roles. For university libraries, the position of librarian, which was previously a secondary task designated to a professor or scholar, was now considered a professional role which required specific knowledge and training.[227]

As professions and fields of research became more specialized, the people engaged with them could harness new technologies to pursue them. A good example would be the use of photography. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, Leiden University Library had gone by a 'principle of generosity', allowing scholars to borrow unique Western and Oriental manuscripts, even internationally.[228] It was clear that this policy would be difficult to sustain in the long run, and a solution was offered in the form of revolutionary new reproduction techniques, which enabled photographs of rare manuscripts to be taken without damaging the original. The photo could then be printed many times to be shared across institutions – a noble yet arduous challenge which Leiden University took the lead on in 1893. Though this process proved too costly to be widely applied, it set the ground for the increased adoption of the practice as technology continued to evolve – first with the popularization of microfilm photographs in the middle of the twentieth century, and then with the onset of digital photography toward its end.[229]

This bright period of progress and cooperation was soon halted as Europe was rocked with two World Wars which left it forever changed. Though this paper will not delve into the atrocities of the Second World War and the Holocaust, their impact cannot be ignored. This era and its aftermath brought Hebrew books and manuscripts out of the library – often literally – and onto the stage of politics and nationalism, where they were alternately used for the destruction and reconstruction of Jewish identity. This chapter will explore the effects of these events for the field of Hebrew manuscript studies, and as well as its indirect influence on the construction of Leiden's HMC 1977 Supplement.

[226] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 199.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid., p. 189
[229] Ibid., p. 189-191

2. *Plunder, Preservation, and National Identity*

In May 1940, the Netherlands surrendered to invading Nazi forces, beginning a five-year period of occupation. At Leiden University Library, some of the rare and valuable items were packed away in chests, stored first in the dunes at Vogelenzang and later in the fireproof vault of Leiden's Pieterskerk. Other exceptional items that remained in the library were packed in watertight bags for easy removal if needed, and the library catalogues were moved to the basement for safer storage.[230] The head librarian at the time, Tietse Pieter Sevensma (1879-1966), maintained the safety and accessibility of the library's collections with a cool professionalism, using a technicality to circumvent the German ban on the lending out of Jewish books and managing to stop the theft of a number of manuscripts that Nazi forces were planning to remove from the library and send to German institutions.[231] Though scarce details are available about the UB and its Special Collections during this period, we can safely say that when it comes to material loss, they survived the war relatively unscathed. Sadly, the same could not be said about the tremendous human loss,[232] nor about the material loss suffered elsewhere by public libraries and Jewish collections.[233]

Even during wartime – and perhaps particularly in light of it – the study and documentation of manuscripts and the potential applications of this field in the process of nation-building and revisionist history was not far from the minds of both scholars and policymakers. The Nazi regime put an emphasis on intellectual and scientific study, in part to build a rational justification for their antisemitism and ideas of Arian racial superiority, and research departments and courses for the study of the 'Jewish Question' were established in many German universities.[234] By the time the Nazis rose to power, Europe's 'long history of antisemitic assaults on Jewish books had already been playing itself out for centuries',[235] but the Nazi approach quickly shifted away from book burnings and censorship and turned toward widespread collection. Researchers loyal to the party concluded that Jewish archives and libraries would need to be confiscated for study and 'designated for a specifically German end'.[236]

The 'end' in question was quite varied; Jewish books were to be preserved 'as a relic of the great, evil civilization that they were confident would soon be no more', and their

[230] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, pp. 211-213.
[231] Ibid., pp. 213-215.
Using his own surviving diaries and the recounting of his contemporaries, Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck paints a somber portrait of Sevensma – a man who, for all his accomplishments, was 'apparently unmoved' by the dismissal and death of his Jewish colleagues or by the fear and desperation of his other colleagues and students. For further detail, see Magna commoditas 211-215.
[232] The university's 31 Jewish employees were dismissed in November 1940, including two women employed as library assistants, both of which died soon after: Elsa R. Molhuysen-Oppenheim (1885-1941) died by suicide in 1941, and Caroline van Loen (1886-1944), who had gone into hiding, was discovered, arrested by German forces, and sent to Auschwitz concentration camp where she died by genocide.
[233] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, pp. 213-215.
[234] Glickman, *Stolen Words: The Nazi Plunder of Jewish Books* (University of Nebraska Press, 2016), pp. 104-106.
[235] Glickman, *Stolen Words,* pp. 67-68.
[236] Ibid., pp. 104-106.

content could be co-opted and re-shaped to fit the Nazi's historical worldview,[237] including searching them for 'proof' of an international Jewish conspiracy to rule the world.[238] The Nazis stole millions of books, manuscripts and documents during their reign, plundered from private homes, seminaries, and community libraries, and stashed them away for future reference.[239] This included the Netherlands, where in Amsterdam alone 'the haul included 25,000 volumes from the *Bibliotheek van het Portugeesch Israelietisch Seminarium* [...] and 100,000 from the *Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana*', among many others.[240]

In the years of post-war reconstruction, Jewish books continued to serve as an instrument for constructing a national identity: this time by the nascent state of Israel. In the immediate aftermath of the war, the question of restitution – returning looted property to its rightful owner – was nearly impossible. Most of the Jewish owners of looted books and property were either dead or displaced,[241] and the newly-formed company for Jewish Cultural Reconstruction (JCR) was given permission to sort the unidentifiable materials found in German storage locations and re-distribute them to Jewish population centers – which, at this time, meant predominantly the United States and Israel. [242] The Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (now the National Library of Israel, NLI)[243] had a sudden influx of books and manuscripts – just over 190,000 items within the span of a few short years – which needed to be catalogued.[244] As we shall soon see, the post-war climate would create impetus for this to be done in a systematic way, introducing cataloguing standards and practices and influencing the trajectory of the field.

Organizing the items recovered after the Holocaust was not a mere administrative task – it was a critical political tool. The turbulent early years that followed the creation of the Jewish state included not only military conflict and economic struggles, but also the challenge of reconstructing the shattered remains of European Jewry into a unified Israeli identity. For the 'People of the Book', this included the preservation of written heritage – books, manuscripts, and other documents. Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion (1886-1973), believed that 'the source of spiritual power for the Jewish people in their new country would be their ancient literature'; preserving and availing them of their lost corpus of Hebrew literature and history would help the people overcome their 'very material challenges'.[245] Realizing it would be impossible to gather every physical manuscript globally,

[237] Glickman, *Stolen Words*, pp.67-68.
[238] Ibid., p. 117
[239] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[240] Ibid., p. 125.
[241] Ibid., pp. 197-199.
[242] Ibid., pp. 257-264. Glickman goes into depth about the trials and process of restitution projects in the post-war decades.
[243] Ibid., pp. 257-264.
[244] Ibid., p. 273.
[245] Shapell, 'Ben-Gurion the Archivist', <https://www.shapell.org/blog/ben-gurion-the-archivist> (30 Jun. 2022)

in 1950 Ben Gurion established the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) to collect a microfilm copy of every extant Hebrew manuscript.[246]

Studying the Bible, even without strict religious observance, was a key aspect in forming the new Israeli identity, for it circumvented the centuries of life in the diaspora and served as a bridge to the Jewish people's past in the Land of Israel, 'a golden age when the nation was formed and its attributes forged', and endowed the Zionist cause with 'a mythological-historical foundation to consolidate its distinctiveness around its ancestral land'.[247] This trend was complemented by a rising local interest in archeology, and Israeli archeologists in the 1940s-1960s tended to firmly link their material discoveries with biblical sources, paying special attention to discoveries that would help solidify the Jewish people's claim to the land.[248] This included the study of Hebrew manuscripts, with the most significant example being the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls between 1947 and 1956 – a group of over 900 'manuscripts of biblical texts, sectarian literature, and other ancient material', written mostly in Hebrew and dating between the fifth century BCE and the second century CE.[249] These discoveries enriched the knowledge of 'Jewish society in the Land of Israel during the Hellenistic and Roman periods'.[250]

3. Quantitative Codicology: What, How and Why

As mentioned before, as academic fields became narrower and more specialized, their output became more detailed, especially when bolstered by technological advancements. In the field of codicology, the twentieth century saw the formation and popularization of quantitative codicology, a scholarly methodology which relies on codifying complex material information into simple elements (like measurements) and using that data to conduct 'systematic investigations of entire populations of volumes'.[251] It can be seen as a continuation of the eighteenth and nineteenth century's 'scholarly awakening' to the importance of the contextual materiality of manuscripts and their production practices.[252] Advancing slowly, the quantitative method only really found its footing in the late twentieth century, as technical computational abilities aligned with and influenced scholarly ambitions. Since then, the 'quantitative method has enabled scholars to make large breakthroughs in European manuscript studies' and continues to support future lines of inquiry.[253]

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[246] National Library of Israel, 'About the "Ktiv" Project', <https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts/about> (30 Jun. 2022)
[247] A. Shapira, 'The Bible and Israeli Identity', *AJS Review* 28.1 (2004), pp. 11-41 (p. 13).
[248] A. Mazar, 'On the Relation between Archaeological Research and the Study of the History of Israel in the Biblical Period', *Ḳatedrah be-toldot Erets-Yiśraʾel ṿe-yishuvah* (August 2001), pp. 66-88.
[249] Glickman, *Stolen Words*, p .32.
[250] A. Roitman, and others, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls', *The Israel Museum, Jerusalem* <https://www.imj.org.il/en/wings/shrine-book/dead-sea-scrolls> (30 Jun. 2022)
[251] M. Maniaci, 'Statistical Codicology: Principles, Directions, Perspectives', in *Trends in Statistical Codicology*, ed. by by Marilena Maniaci (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 1-32 (p. 2).
[252] O. da Rold, 'Tradition and Innovation', pp. 35-36.
[253] Ibid., p. 51.

Citing earlier scholars like Humphrey Wanley and Ludwig Traube as his methodological influencers, the first volume of E. A. Lowe's 1934 '*Codices Latini antiquiores*' included details regarding quiring, ruling and layout. Lowe suggested that statistical analysis of these kinds of measurements could 'offer further insights into the significance of books' dimensions and the ruling of their quires'.[254] During the 1940s and 1950s, scholars of Greek and Latin manuscripts began to deduce local and temporal characteristics of manuscripts from examining their material elements and analyzing them based on groupings according to provenance. These elements included internal codicological elements like pricking and ruling, as well as external characteristics.[255] The term 'codicology' was originally coined by Alphonse Dain in 1949 as an equivalent of the German *Handschriftenkunde* ('the study of manuscripts'), denoting 'the history of books after their completion' – the history of their collection, provenance, and the work of cataloguing them.[256] This meaning was not widely adopted and was quickly supplanted by François Masai in 1950, who described codicology as the 'archeology' of the manuscript, a field of research 'dealing with the material and technical aspects of codex production', alongside but independent from palaeography, the study of scripts.[257]

The 1950s and 1960s, meanwhile, saw the popularization of quantitative history, a term referring to the application of 'methods of statistical data analysis' to the study of history through examining multiple events or historical patterns, as opposed to classical historical research which mostly relies on 'textual records, archival research and the narrative as a form of historical writing'.[258] This field grew as new journals, university courses, and textbooks began to appear throughout the 1960s and 1970s, many of which 'adopted theory and methodology from the social sciences', promoting interdisciplinarity.[259]

As part of this wider movement, in the late 1970s and early 1980s the field of codicology 'underwent a methodological turn of great impact', as new papers and journals adopted positivistic and empirical methods of manuscript research.[260] This quantitative codicology saw manuscripts not only as individual items, but rather, as mentioned earlier, as members of groups – each with their own recurring elements and typologies, which could be uncovered by comparative examination. Advocates for this approach 'called for the collecting of measurable data from as many manuscripts as possible, so as to enable their investigation from a variety of angles'.[261]

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[254] O. da Rold, 'Tradition and Innovation', p. 36.
[255] Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology,* pp. 51-52.
[256] A. P. Kazhdan, ed. 'Codicology', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
[257] Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology,* pp. 51-52.
[258] M. Anderson, 'Quantitative history', in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Science Methodology, ed. By* William Outhwaite and Stephen P. Turner (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2007), pp. 248-264.
[259] M. Anderson, 'Quantitative history'.
[260] Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology,* p. 52.
[261] Ibid.*,* pp. 52-53.

The forerunners of quantitative codicology established the field's theoretical foundations and typologies through analysis of Latin manuscripts. These included Carla Bozzoli and Ezio Ornato in 1980, and Albert Derolez in 1984, among others. At Leiden University, Professor of Western Palaeography and Codicology G. I. Lieftinck (1902-1994) set the ground for palaeography's transition into an 'autonomous science'.[262] He participated in the founding of the *Comité International de Paléographie Latine* in 1953,[263] played a central role in creating and implementing their ambitious projects aimed at facilitating 'international understanding and collaboration' in the field of Latin codicology,[264] like a standardized vocabulary for paleographical terms and the *Catalogues des manuscrits datés*.[265]

Succeeding Lieftinck in 1972, celebrated Leiden professor J. P. Gumbert (1937-2016) was notorious for focusing mainly on the physical aspects of the Latin manuscript, almost entirely disregarding its literary contents; he treated paleography and codicology as distinct fields of scholarship, and not as 'auxiliary field[s] in the service of history or literature'.[266] By the late 1970s he had taken an interest in quantitative methodology and took to counting and measuring the quires, ruling, and parchment formats of manuscripts from Western collections in Leiden and the Hague.[267] In 'Fifty Years of Codicology', his retrospective of the field published in 2004, Gumbert argues that the quantitative method enables the investigation of questions that could not have treated or even conceived of before its adoption.[268] In his eyes, the 'innate attitude' of nay-sayers who dismiss the value of material and quantitative codicology is unfortunate and undeserved.[269]

This quantitative approach to research – in codicology as well as other aspects of history – hinges on two requirements: the availability of a significant amount of data, and the technical ability to analyze it. Scholars like Gumbert, working at established and historic European universities, would need to spend precious time and resources gathering data and measurements for their new and experimental research methods. Scholars in Israel, however, had a notable advantage: by the time the Hebrew Palaeography Project (HPP) was founded in 1965, the IMHM had already spent fifteen years identifying, cataloguing from scratch, and creating microfilm copies of a large portion of the manuscript collection that

[262] L. E. Boyle, *Medieval Latin Palaeography: A Bibliographical Introduction* (University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 88.
[263] J. P. Gumbert, 'Gerard Isaäc Lieftinck (1902-1994)', Gazette du livre médiéval, 24 (1994). <http://www.palaeographia.org/cipl/obituarium.htm>
[264] A. Derolez, 'The Publications sponsored by the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*', Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, 2003 <http://www.palaeographia.org/cipl/derolez.htm> (30 Jun. 2022)
[265] A. Derolez, 'The Publications sponsored by the Comité International…'
[266] J. Biemans, E. Overgaauw, and J. Hermans. 'A "Codicological Unit": Peter Gumbert', *Quaerendo* 33.1-2 (2003), pp. 5–11 (p. 8).
[267] *Ibid.,* pp .9-10
[268] J. P. Gumbert, 'Fifty Years of Codicology', *Archiv für Diplomatik: Schriftgeschichte, Siegel, und Wappenkunde* 50.JG (2004), pp. 505–526 (p. 523).
[269] Ibid., pp. 254-6.

was given in bulk to the NLI.[270] This allowed the HPP to become an early adopter and base its research on quantitative methods, 'albeit without establishing a theoretical framework'.[271]

Inspired by Colette Sirat's work at the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* (IRHT) in Paris, the HPP's goal was to comprehensively document all datable medieval Hebrew manuscripts and classify their 'measurable material features and scribal practices'.[272] Malachi Beit-Arié (b. 1937), head of the project and a leading scholar of modern Hebrew codicology, reflected that their quantitative approach 'assumed that the research aimed at bringing to light the evolution of the codex should be carried out only after an exhaustive field-research,' and from the resulting data relevant typologies would arise.[273] This assumption was eventually validated; among the many breakthroughs of the HPP was their ability to group codicological features according to regional traditions and track how features transform and overlap throughout different areas and time periods. For example, viewing these groups and their outliers through the lens of migration – a recurring aspect of Jewish life in Europe – helped make sense of the 'blurring of distinctive script types' and the 'coeval cohabitation of several script cultures' in various manuscript groupings.[274] Another goal of the project was to provide tools for users wishing to study these manuscripts. Such a tool was very soon at hand: by 1990 the *SfarData* electronic database was already functional, and even in its early form allowed for 'endless querying of the data, clustering and statistics'.[275] This sophisticated ongoing project – freely accessible through the NLI's website since 2013 – is still continually improving, and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter of this thesis.

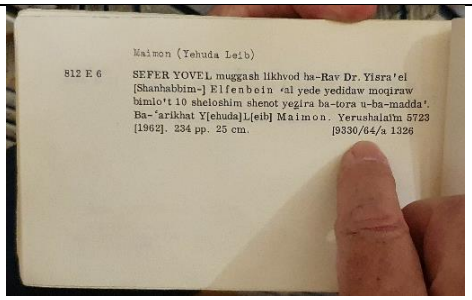
[270] At the time called the Jewish National and University Library. In 2008 its name was changed to The National Library of Israel.
[271] Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology*, p. 54.
[272] National Library of Israel, 'About Sfardata', <https://sfardata.nli.org.il/#/about_En> (30 Jun. 2022)
[273] Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology*. p. 54.
[274] Ibid., p. 58.
[275] M. Beit-Arié, 'Sfardata', *Gazette Du Livre Medieval,* 25: Automne (1994), pp.24-29 (p. 24).

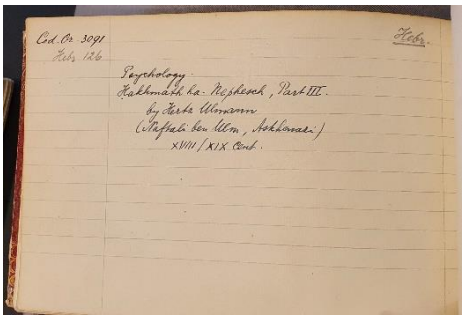
4. *Leiden's 1977 Catalogue Supplement by Albert van der Heide*

In the late nineteenth century, Leiden University Library was thriving. Use of its facilities and reading rooms was rising, the budget for growing its collection of books and journals was increasing, and additional specialized employees were hired.[276] As the growing collection became steadily unwieldy, one of the organizational reforms implemented in the 1860s included the development of the *Leidse Boekjes* by library curator P.A. Tiele (1834-1889).[277] In lieu of a complete printed catalogue, which would become quickly outdated, this system included writing (and later, typing) the item's information on cards, which would be bound by strings into booklets and could be easily removed, added, or changed.[278] Though this system was officially used only for printed books and not manuscripts, during the twentieth century, a different type of *Leidse Boekje* was used to register Oriental manuscripts, and included a thin volume for Hebrew and related languages. However, this anomaly was used for administrative purposes only, and the entire system was retired in the 1980s with the transition to a digital catalogue.[279]

Figure 1: *Leidse Boekjes* examples[280]

A standard *Leidse Boekje* (above) was different from the Hebrew Manuscript Collection *Boekje* (below).





Entries in a *Leidse Boekje* (above) were standardized and printed, while those for Hebrew manuscripts varied widely in quality, and many were never typed (below).

[276] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 187.
[277] Ibid., pp. 171-173.
[278] Ibid., 173.
This method was not dissimilar to the system of card cataloguing gaining prominence in the United States and England in the 1870s and 1880s, though those included loose cards in specialized cabinets. LISWiki, 'History of the card catalog', <https://liswiki.org/wiki/History_of_the_card_catalog> (30 Jun. 2022)
[279] A. Vrolijk, Email to Nitzan Shalev, 25 May 2022.
[280] Leiden University Libraries (UBL), bound card catalogue ('Leidse Boekjes'), vol. S-812.
Leiden University Libraries (UBL), bound card catalogue for manuscripts in Hebrew and other Semitic languages with the exclusion of Arabic.

During the twentieth century, the Special Collections, both Western and Oriental, continued to expand thanks to increased purchasing budgets and many new bequests. The acquisition of new Hebrew manuscripts, however, remained quite limited; Van der Heide's 1977 Supplement catalogues only around ninety new Hebrew items, a very modest growth for the nearly 120 years that passed since Steinschneider's 1858 catalogue. Additionally, most of these additions were not new accessions, but rather re-catalogued items from Leiden's existing collection (like fragments found in bindings,[281] previously-archived letters, or items moved from one part of collection to another,[282]) or photocopied reproductions from other collections.[283] Only a small handful were new acquisitions purchased from private owners,[284] the majority of which came from Yemen, not Europe.[285] This is understandable considering the delicate issue of restitution following the Second World War. The plundered materials discussed earlier – found in official German storage locations and redistributed to Jewish institutions – represented a small part of the Jewish books and manuscripts lost to war and time, and countless items remained 'hidden in back rooms, moldering in basements', or shelved and forgotten in libraries of the Eastern Bloc.[286] Items like these occasionally pop up for sale in auction houses or online,[287] but purchasing such specimens without firm proof of their lawful obtainment automatically comes with the burden of contested ownership. For the modern university, such a purchase was and is more trouble than it's worth.

Still, by the 1970s enough had changed to make it clear that Steinschneider's 1858 catalogue was due for an update. Although it was thought that Steinschneider's manuscript descriptions did not need corrections, the codicological information would need to be expanded to meet the needs of modern research, particularly new interest in quantitative methods.[288] In addition, the growth of other parts of the Oriental collection required a general reorganization. Already by 1896 all the Hebrew items had been given new classmarks (starting with 'Or.')[289] and re-recorded in the library's accessions register. The old shelfmarks ('Warn.', 'Scal.' And 'Hebr.'), which indicated the item's location on the bookcase, fell out of general use except by the Special Collections librarians.[290] Without a new printed catalogue, however, the only way to compare the marks were handwritten additions in pencil on the Library's copy of Steinschneider's catalogue, and the only way to know if new items were

[281] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 15, p. 1.
[282] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 13, p. 281.
[283] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 15, p. 94.
[284] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 15, p. 179.
[285] Van der Heide, Supplement, p. 18.
[286] Glickman, *Stolen Words*, p. 290.
[287] J. Edwards, 'An auction house tried to sell Jewish artifacts looted during the Holocaust. Federal agents just seized them', *The Washington Post,* 23 Jul. 2021 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/07/23/looted-jewish-artifacts-seized> (30 Jun. 2022)
[288] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 274.
[289] Van der Heide refers to these as 'press-marks' (or 'pressmarks'), but I will call them 'classmarks' as this is the current term used in the collection guide.
[290] Van der Heide, Supplement, p. ix.

added was to ask the librarians to check the accessions register or the perplexingly inconsistent cards of the Hebrew *Leidse Boekje*.

Albert van der Heide (b. 1942), a Leiden professor of Hebrew and Judaism, took on the task of creating a supplement to Steinschneider's catalogue which would describe the new items and 'fill codicological gaps'.[291] The added information was mainly quantitative, the type of data that he saw as 'indispensable to modern research':[292] size of pages (in millimeters), the size of the written area within the page, average number of lines, and 'formulas' to express quiring and corrected foliation.[293] Of course, it also served as a printed reference for the new classmarks.

The publication was deliberately designed as a supplement, not a stand-alone catalogue, even following the order of manuscripts as they appeared in Steinschneider. In his preface, Van der Heide stresses that most of this work 'cannot be used without constant reference to Steinschneider's catalogue';[294] the reader would need both books on hand to make use of either. Criticizing this decision, Witkam said that such a reader 'has proved to be purely fictive', particularly since few at this time could even read Steinschneider's catalogue – it was written in Latin, which had in the meantime been replaced by English as the main language of scholarship.[295]

[291] Van der Heide, Supplement, pp. vii-viii.
[292] Ibid.
[293] For foliation: Steinschneider's catalogue includes a page count for each manuscript, but van der Heide issues some corrections and expressly distinguishes between main pages and fly-leaves.
For quiring: only given when expressly indicated by the scribe or binder; Tightly bound manuscripts in the standard Library binding were skipped.
Van der Heide, Supplement, pp. vii-viii.
[294] Van der Heide, Supplement, p. viii.
[295] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', p. 275.

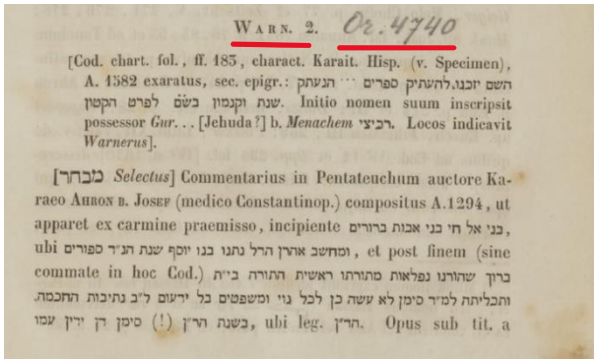
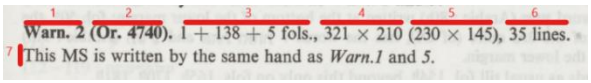
Figure 2: Descriptions of Or. 4740 [Warn. 2]	
1858 Catalogue (excerpt, p. 5)	1977 Supplement (p. 27)
 WARN. 2. Or. 4740 [Cod. chart. fol., ff. 185, charact. Karait. Hisp. (v. Specimen), A. 1382 exaratus, sec. epigr.: הנעתק ... השם יזכנו,להעתיק ספרים שנת וקנמון בשם לפרט הקטן. Initio nomen suum inscripsit possessor *Gur*. . . [Jehuda?] b. *Menachem* רביצי. Locos indicavit *Warnerus*]. [כבחר *Selectus*] Commentarius in Pentateuchum auctore Karaeo AHRON B. JOSEF (medico Constantinop.) compositus A.1294, ut apparet ex carmine praemisso, incipiente כני אל חי כני אבות ברורים, ubi ופחשב אחרן הרל נתנו בנו יוסף שנת תנ״ר ספורים, et post finem (sine commate in hoc Cod.) ברוך שהורנו נפלאות מתורתו ראשית התורה בית והכליתה למ״ר כימן לא עשה כן לכל גוי ומשפטים בל ידעום ל״ב נתיבות החכמה. סימן רן ירין עמו (!) בשנת הרן, ubi leg. תרן. Opus sub tit. a	 Warn. 2 (Or. 4740). 1 + 138 + 5 fols., 321 × 210 (230 × 145), 35 lines. This MS is written by the same hand as *Warn.1* and *5*. 1: Old shelfmark 2: New classmark 3: Foliation formula which includes fly-leaves. Van der Heide erroneously replaces 183 with 138. Witkam later corrects this. 4: Size of pages, height by width, in millimeters. 5: Writing area measurement in the same manner. 6: Line count per page. 7: Commentary on script / scribe identity.

Figure 2 (above) is an example of the standard supplemental description, which adds quantitative codicological details to an item already adequately described by Steinschneider. It repeats no details unless it is for the purpose of correction or clarification; new analysis extends only to a pointed comparison of scribal hands. No details are given about the content of the manuscript; without Steinschneider's catalogue, Van der Heide's entry would be essentially useless for all but the most specifically quantitative lines of inquiry. In his introduction, Van der Heide includes interesting details relating to the provenance of many manuscripts, including the one described in figure 2, but he does not refer to it in the actual Supplement entry since the information is already accessible in Steinschneider (see fig. 3, below). In order to find it, though, one would need to read Van der Heide's introduction in full, correctly locate all the relevant sections in the 1858 catalogue, and be able to read Latin.

Figure 3: 1977 Supplement, Introduction (excerpt). p.13.
Jehuda Gur Aryeh ben Menaḥem (the first three names, which are essentially synonymous, do not occur in any fixed order nor are all three always used) stamped *Warn. 2, 14, 26, 41, 52* and *60* with his own ornate monogram. His surname was probably *Revitzi* (Steinschneider : Rachizi, see also p. 226 and p. 420, note 4) [39]. A Josef Revitzi, also known as Sinan Tchelebi, was a well-known and influential member of the 17th-century Karaite community of Istanbul.

Not all entries are quite as minimal as the example in figure 2; some are longer and include additional details. Van der Heide sometimes mentions whether the manuscripts include catchwords, points out clearly visible ruling (but disregards 'doubtful or hardly visible drypoint ruling'),[296] identifies script types using modern terminology,[297] suggests possible datings, and points out interesting features such as the appearance of tables and figures. Occasionally, he indicates where Steinschneider's description is inadequate or

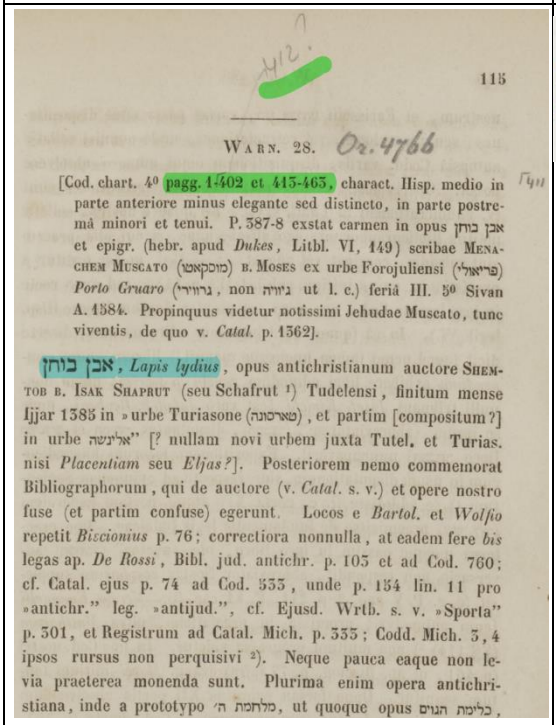
[296] Van der Heide, Supplement, p. vii.

[297] The Modern script categories are: Sephardic (previously: Iberian-Provencal-Maghrebic), Ashkenazi (previously: Franco-German), Byzantine, Italian, Oriental, Yemenite. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology,* p .58.

erroneous and expands on it, often with references to further reading in other academic sources (see fig. 4, below).

Figure 4: Descriptions of Or. 4766 [Warn. 28]

1858 Catalogue (excerpt, p. 115)



115

WARN. 28. Or. 4766

[Cod. chart. 4⁰ pagg. 1-402 et 415-463, charact. Hisp. medio in parte anteriore minus elegante sed distincto, in parte postremâ minori et tenui. P. 387-8 exstat carmen in opus אבן בוחן et epigr. (hebr. apud *Dukes*, Litbl. VI, 149) scribae MENACHEM MUSCATO (מוסקאטו) B. MOSES ex urbe Forojuliensi (פריאולי) *Porto Gruaro* (גרוירי, non גיוזה ut l. c.) feriâ III. 5⁰ Sivan A. 1584. Propinquus videtur notissimi Jehudae Muscato, tunc viventis, de quo v. *Catal.* p. 1362].

אבן בוחן, *Lapis lydius*, opus antichristianum auctore SHEMTOB B. ISAK SHAPRUT (seu Schafrut [1]) Tudelensi, finitum mense Ijjar 1385 in »urbe Turiasone (טארטונה), et partim [compositum?] in urbe אלישה" [? nullam novi urbem juxta Tutel. et Turias. nisi *Placentiam* seu *Eljas?*]. Posteriorem nemo commemorat Bibliographorum, qui de auctore (v. *Catal.* s. v.) et opere nostro fuse (et partim confuse) egerunt. Locos e *Bartol.* et *Wolfio* repetit *Biccionius* p. 76; correctiora nonnulla, at eadem fere *bis* legas ap. *De Rossi*, Bibl. jud. antichr. p. 105 et ad Cod. 760; cf. Catal. ejus p. 74 ad Cod. 533, unde p. 154 lin. 11 pro »antichr." leg. »antijud.", cf. Ejusd. Wrtb. s. v. »Sporta" p. 301, et Registrum ad Catal. Mich. p. 333; Codd. Mich. 3, 4 ipsos rursus non perquisivi [2]). Neque pauca eaque non levia praeterea monenda sunt. Plurima enim opera antichristiana, inde a prototypo מלחמת ה׳, ut quoque opus כלימת הגוים,

1977 Supplement (pp. 31-32)

Warn. 28 (Or. 4766). 212 × 148 MS I : (170 × 126) 26/31 lines.
MS II : (135 × 95) 30/32 lines.
I : p. 1-411 : "*Lapis Lydius*. Shem Tob ben Isak Shaprut. Additamenta".
In my opinion the additions can be found on the following pages of the MS, contrary to Steinschn.'s indications : a. 388-9, b. 389-91, c. 391-92, d. 392-93, e. 393-400, f. 401-2, g. 402-4, h. 404-11.

Catchwords from page to page.
II : p. 413-461 : *The Gospel of Matthew*, translated by Shem Tob Shaprut.
p. 462-463 : A list of books or private catalogue in a hand that differs from the rest of the MS.
This part of the MS is not adequately described by Steinschn. For references to it see pp. 116, 117, 118 of his *Catalogus*. Perhaps these pages originally formed a separate MS. The quality of the paper differs, the text is written with a diff. pen, perhaps by a diff. hand.
The MS contains a Hebrew translation of the Gospel of Matthew and is introduced as the 12th Section of the work *Even Bochan*, but it is not the 12th section of the preceding text of *Even Bochan*. The text is divided into 114 paragraphs, interrupted by pieces beginning : אמר המעתיק
The text begins thus :
השער הי״ב באונגיליו״ש· אמ׳ המחבר שם טוב ב״ר יצחק נב״ת בן שאפרוט ראיתי להשלים חיבורי זה אשר קראתיו אבן בחן להעתיק ספרי האונגיליו״ש עם היותם מהספרים היותר אסורים לנו לקרא ···
הנני משביע לכל מעתיק בחי העולם לבל יעתיק ספרי האונגיליו״ש אם לא יכתו׳ בכל מקום ההשנות אשר כתבת(י) כפי אשר סדרתי׳ וכתבתים הנה· ואתחיל בספר מיטיב(ו) אשר הוא השרש שבהם· פרק ראשון· אלה תולדות ישו בן דוד בן אברהם אברהם הוליד את יצחק ···
The MS ends :
··· ולמדו אותם לקיים כל הדברים אשר צויתי אתכם עד עולם· אמר המעתיק ···
ובזה נשלם אונגיליו״ש מיטיב(ו) יבא אחריו אונגיליו״ש מרק·
For this translation see : J. B. De-Rossi, *Bibliotheca Judaica antichristiana* (Parma 1800) p. 104. A. Herbst, *Des Schemtob ben Schaphrut hebr. übersetzung des Evangeliums Matthæi…* (Göttingen 1879) esp. p. 10. A. Marx, *Studies… in mem. A. S. Freidus* (New York 1929) p. 265-273. Pinchas E. Lapide, "Der "Prüfstein" aus Spanien", *Sefarad* 34 (1974) 227-272.

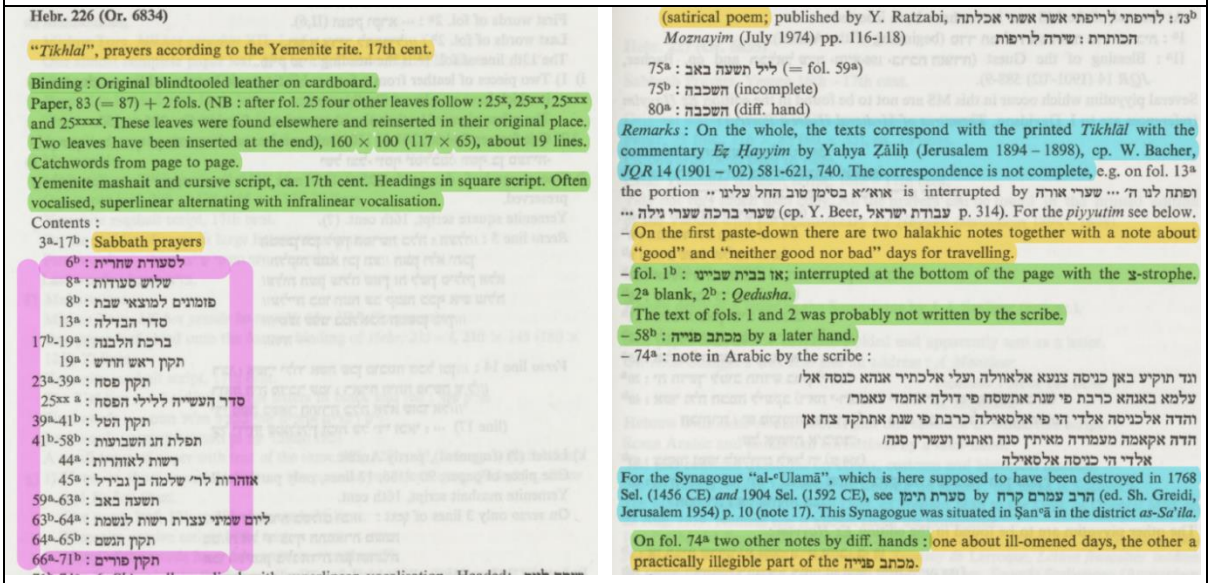
In green: Van der Heide corrects chapter divisions and page counts. Presumably, some of the additions in pencil in the Library's copy of Steinschneider (left) is a remnant of his research process since it appears as Van der Heide's own conclusion in the Supplement (right).
In yellow: Van der Heide notes where the 1858 description is insufficient in his opinion, and includes an excerpt of the overlooked portion with references.
In blue: Example of inconsistencies in names and titles.

One unfortunate feature of the Supplement is its inconsistency in the way it conveys names and titles: for example, in figure 4 (above, marked in blue), despite clearly being able to print text in Hebrew script, Van der Heide disregards the Hebrew title (אבן בוחן), and only includes the Latin translation (*Lapis lydius*) and transliteration (*Even Bochan*). This problem reoccurs in the general index of names and titles, in which, bizarrely, some names are transliterated into Latin letters while others are presented only in Hebrew script.[298] Neither aspect is ideal for searchability and accuracy, and this decreases the Supplement's usefulness. Additionally, a cataloguing handbook published by the UBL that same year indicates that the Library had adopted a specific standard for Hebrew transliteration some fifteen years prior, which Van der Heide made no attempt to follow.[299]

[298] Van der Heide, Supplement, pp. 117-119.
[299] G. H. A. Scholte, *Handleiding bij het catalogiseren van boeken en periodieken, geschreven in Aziatische en Afrikaanse talen* (Leiden: Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit, 1977).
The standard in question was the one officially sanctioned by the Academy of the Hebrew Language in 1957. To be fair to Van der Heide, it includes diacritics, which automatically makes it less appealing for consistent use.

In the portion of the Supplement which treats the items not described by Steinschneider, Van der Heide continues to follow quantitative and comparative methods, focusing mostly on the items' measurable features. When the content of the manuscript is expanded on, details usually include listing the text's internal division and comparison to other manuscripts which contain the same text. Some insights regarding the literary, historic, or religious meaning of the text itself are directly provided by Van der Heide, but some details must be inferred by the titles of the itemized sections, which are provided only in Hebrew (see fig. 5, below).

Figure 5: Description of Or. 6834 from the 1977 Supplement, (excerpts, pp. 82-85)



Hebr. 226 (Or. 6834)

"*Tikhlal*", prayers according to the Yemenite rite. 17th cent.

Binding : Original blindtooled leather on cardboard.
Paper, 83 (= 87) + 2 fols. (NB : after fol. 25 four other leaves follow : 25ˣ, 25ˣˣ, 25ˣˣˣ and 25ˣˣˣˣ. These leaves were found elsewhere and reinserted in their original place. Two leaves have been inserted at the end), 160 × 100 (117 × 65), about 19 lines. Catchwords from page to page.
Yemenite mashait and cursive script, ca. 17th cent. Headings in square script. Often vocalised, superlinear alternating with infralinear vocalisation.
Contents :
3ª-17ᵇ : Sabbath prayers
6ᵇ : לסעודת שחרית
8ª : שלוש סעודות
8ᵇ : זמונים למוצאי שבת
13ª : סדר הבדלה
17ᵇ-19ª : ברכת הלבנה
19ª : תקן ראש חודש
23ª-39ª : תקן פסח
25ˣˣ ª : סדר העשיית לילי הפסח
39ª-41ᵇ : תקן הטל
41ᵇ-58ᵇ : תפלת הג השבועות
44ª : רשות לאוזרות
45ª : אזהרות לר׳ שלמה בן גבירל
59ª-63ª : תשעה באב
63ᵇ-64ª : ליום שמיני עצרת רשות לנשמת
64ª-65ᵇ : תקן הגשם
66ª-71ᵇ : תקן פורים

(satirical poem; published by Y. Ratzabi, *Moznayim* (July 1974) pp. 116-118) 73ᵇ : לריפתי לריפתי אשר אשתי אכלתה הכותרת : שירה לריפות

75ª : ליל תשעה באב (= fol. 59ª)
75ᵇ : השכבה (incomplete)
80ª : השכבה (diff. hand)

Remarks : On the whole, the texts correspond with the printed *Tikhlāl* with the commentary *Eṣ Ḥayyim* by Yaḥya Ẓāliḥ (Jerusalem 1894 – 1898), cp. W. Bacher, *JQR* 14 (1901 – '02) 581-621, 740. The correspondence is not complete, e.g. on fol. 13ª the portion אוא״א בסימן טוב החל עליגו .. is interrupted by שערי אורה ... ופתח לנו ה׳ ... שערי ברכה שערי גילה ... (cp. Y. Beer, עבודת ישראל p. 314). For the *piyyutim* see below.
– On the first paste-down there are two halakhic notes together with a note about "good" and "neither good nor bad" days for travelling.
– fol. 1ᵇ : או בבית שביעי; interrupted at the bottom of the page with the צ-strophe.
– 2ª blank, 2ᵇ : *Qedusha*.
The text of fols. 1 and 2 was probably not written by the scribe.
– 58ᵇ : מכתב פנייה by a later hand.
– 74ª : note in Arabic by the scribe :
וגד תוקיע באן כניסה צנעא אלאוולה ועלי אלכתיר אנתא כנסה אל/
עלמא באנתא כרבת פי שנת אתשסה פי דולה אחמד עאמר/
והדה אלכניסה אלדי הי פי אלסאלה כרבת פי שנת אתתקד צה אן
הדה אקאמה מעמודה מאיתין סנה ואתנין ועשרין סנה/
אלדי הי כניסה אלסאלה
For the Synagogue "al-ʿUlamā", which is here supposed to have been destroyed in 1768 Sel. (1456 CE) *and* 1904 Sel. (1592 CE), see סערת תימן by הרב עמרם קרח (ed. Sh. Greidi, Jerusalem 1954) p. 10 (note 17). This Synagogue was situated in Ṣanʿā in the district *as-Saʿila*.

On fol. 74ª two other notes by diff. hands : one about ill-omened days, the other a practically illegible part of the מכתב פנייה.

This is an item described by Van der Heide, which did not appear in the 1858 catalogue.
In yellow: Religeous / cultural details about the text.
In pink: Itemized sections of the text's content, provided only in Hebrew.
In green: Codicological details, mainly quantitative, some comparitive.
In blue: Refrences to other sources.

Despite its drawbacks, the Supplement has several admirable elements to its credit. The first and most important one is its lengthy and well-researched introduction, which recounts the history of the Hebrew manuscripts collection at Leiden – a complete survey of which had yet to be published at that time.[300] Additionally, several indexes are included: an index of names and titles,[301] an index of Hebrew poetry which appears throughout the manuscripts,[302] a concordance comparing the old shelfmarks with the new classmarks,[303] and an index of manuscripts which have definitive or estimated dates.[304] Additionally, Van der Heide also briefly describes a handful of items from the Western Manuscripts

[300] The supplement's preface, in which van der Heide explains what quantitative details he had added and why, is a crystalized example of a moment in time wherein quantitative codicology was still developing. It's an interesting primary source for the study of historic catalogues – although admittedly this is a niche perspective.
[301] Van der Heide, Supplement, general index, pp. 117-119.
[302] Van der Heide, Supplement, index of poetry, pp. 120-125.
[303] Van der Heide, Supplement, index of press marks, pp. 126-127.
[304] Van der Heide, Supplement, paleographical index, p. 128.

Department which include Hebrew script, like a polyglot book of Psalms.[305] This decision, of mentioning manuscripts from outside the without arguing for their transfer, foreshadows the discipline's upcoming interest in comparative manuscript studies, which will be explored in the next chapter of this thesis. It acknowledges, perhaps, that in an increasingly interdisciplinary and interconnected world, a manuscript doesn't inherently belong in just one context, within one collection. Like a polyglot book, it offers many potential interpretations – any reader, depending on their particular skills and frame of reference, might interpret it differently.

Even when considering these features, the Supplement is perhaps not as useful as it had the potential to be. Jan Just Witkam, UBL curator and professor of Islamic Codicology who would eventually completely overhaul the Oriental catalogues, recounts the 'unhappy' circumstances surrounding the Supplement's publication: originally, Van der Heide decided to publish only a supplement because a re-print of Steinschneider's 1858 catalogue was in the works, and the two publications could 'nicely complement one another'. Sadly, lack of communication between their publishers put a dampener on that idea. Additionally, most of the Supplement's copies were lost early on by the publishing house – according to Witkam, it seems that at 'a certain moment in the hectic 1980s' the boxes of freshly-printed booklets 'must have fallen off a truck,' never to be seen again.[306] Witkam does not mourn the loss of this 'unattractive and indeed unreadable book,' and even sees it as a blessing in disguise 'as it makes room for new initiatives'.[307]

Such initiatives were, indeed, not long to arrive – and were not limited to Witkam's endeavors. Right around the corner, the digital age would usher in new possibilities. Digital photography, computerized datasets, and the World Wide Web would soon revolutionize the way scholars communicated and collaborated. The field of manuscript studies, and of course, the scholarly catalogue, would change forever. The 1977 supplement would be the last time Leiden's Hebrew manuscript collection would receive a new printed guidebook – and perhaps the last time it stands alone as an independent collection.

[305] Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (UBL), BPG 49a.
[306] Witkam, '12. Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', pp. 274-5.
[307] Ibid., p. 275.

Chapter 4: Pardon my Latin: A Digital Future for Manuscripts

1. Introduction

At Leiden University, the second half of the twentieth century, with its post-war reconstruction, was marked by rapid growth. The democratization of higher education, which had already begun at the end of the previous century, was in full swing by the 1960s, and continued throughout the next decades; as the number of university students and faculty swelled, the library needed to accommodate their needs. These social developments, combined with an increase in publications after the Second World War, 'explains in part the unprecedented growth of the library: from one million books in 1939 to over two million in 2000'.[308] Once again, more space was required, and the new University Library at Witte Singel opened in 1983.[309] Unlike its many preceding expansions and renovations, the plan for the new library attempted – and so far, succeeded – in planning ahead not only to account for additions of many more physical books, but also to incorporate upcoming academic trends and technological developments. For example, certain areas were equipped to allow for the future installment of computer screens in case they became common and necessary – which they of course did. The entire catalogue was digitized between 1978 and 2000; the *Leidse Boekjes*, which were already falling out of use, were officially retired in 2005 with the launch of Leiden's Online Catalogue (OC).[310]

Convenient online catalogues are today considered a cornerstone of any well-organized library, not only for locating its many physical books but also due to the increased prominence of digital-first material. These days, most of the library's purchasing budget goes toward digital editions of books and journals, which they explicitly prioritize over physical copies.[311] Library users soon came to expect that all library holdings, not just the born-digital ones, are accessible online. This included special collection items; the growing accessibility of digital photography converged with shifts in the field of codicology from quantitative towards comparative methodologies, which resulted in increased demand for digitized manuscript reproductions.

The digital revolution has therefore created two different yet linked expectations from libraries: they should provide both online information *about* library holdings, and, ideally, direct *online access* to those holdings. When it comes to Leiden's Special Collections (SC), and particularly the Hebrew manuscripts at the center of this research, both goals have unique challenges and solutions. In this chapter, I will explore the ways Leiden's Hebrew manuscript collection (HMC) has been catalogued and digitized in the first two decades of

[308] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 223.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Ibid., pp. 227-9.
[311] Leiden University Libraries, 'Selection' <https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/about-us/collections/selection> (30 Jun. 2022)

the twenty-first century. I will examine Witkam's Inventory, a gargantuan endeavor which, despite its forward-thinking attitude, could be considered the HMC's last 'traditional' catalogue; I will compare it to Leiden's Online Catalogue (OC), whose modern amenities and powerful search tools are weighed down by centuries of cataloguing history and the technical hurdles of copyright. Finally, I will delve into Leiden's Digital Collections (DC), its exciting present and future of digitized manuscripts, and the role it can play in nurturing international scholarly cooperation as we set out toward the final frontier of facilitating digital access to cultural heritage.

2. *Comparative Codicology*

The surge of interest in quantitative codicology in the 1970s-1980s steadily evolved into a more holistic approach which could generally be referred to as comparative codicology. This approach includes quantitative methods as part as a wider range of material, cultural and historical information. One of its prominent champions in the field of Hebrew manuscripts was paleographer Colette Sirat (b. 1934), whose work on Hebrew manuscripts at the IRHT inspired the Hebrew Paleography Project (HPP).[312] She argued that for studying Hebrew manuscripts, quantitative methods alone are insufficient since they require comparable sizes of 'populations' that are representative of the total manuscript production in that era – which does not occur for Hebrew manuscripts since most of the surviving specimens are from between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. She also sees the production and use of the physical book as inseparable from the text it carries, and stresses that ignoring this fact devalues any analysis; she therefore 'defends the idea of the specificity of each manuscript as an historical artefact subject to cultural analysis', which would include its physical features, its textual content, and the history of the codex.[313]

Comparative codicology influenced not only the way manuscripts were described in catalogues, but also the choice of which items to catalogue together. Historically, most manuscript catalogues concern a single library or collection, but beginning in the mid-twentieth century some catalogues began to use different thematic, visual, geographic or other criteria to create 'special' cross-institutional catalogues. For Hebrew manuscripts, the geographical distribution of their production was a key aspect of their study, especially when keeping in mind that migration was a recurring theme of Jewish life in Europe. This trend gained more prominence in the late 1990s and into the twenty-first century, when Hebrew manuscript catalogues by scholars like Javier del Barco and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger focused on Hebrew manuscripts produced in specific geographic regions, regardless of which

[312] Including its leader, Malachi Beit-Arié, with whom Sirat co-authored several volumes cataloguing Hebrew manuscripts.
M. Beit-Arié, C. Sirat, and others, *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques portant des indications de date jusqu'à 1540*, 3 vols, (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972-86).
[313] A. Bausi and others, eds., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2015), pp. 497-498.

institution held the physical item.[314] Beit-Arié's research with the HPP, which was also based on quantitative approaches and was discussed in the previous chapter, was able to not only categorize Hebrew scripts by area but also show that they were influenced by the non-Hebrew scripts 'used by the surrounding host culture'.[315] The successful use of the comparative method for the study of Hebrew manuscripts lead to its wider adoption; soon after, scholars of western manuscript cultures began comparing the 'production techniques of Latin, Greek, Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts' in order to identify common structural elements, hoping to identify a 'universal grammar of the codex'.[316]

As comparative codicology gained prominence, it became increasingly necessary to reference manuscripts held in different collections; in that sense, a manuscript could now 'belong' to multiple different conceptual groups, regardless of where it is physically held, depending on what element of it one chooses to examine. Of course, the idea that a certain text can be located in a variety of ways was nothing new – as early as the seventeenth century many libraries had parallel topic and author catalogues,[317] and the *Leidse Boekjes* had always been designed to allow for different search options.[318] No tool, however, had been able to separate the manuscript from its physical location as successfully as the internet. With the development of the World Wide Web came the revolutionary ability to link data with ease; now, it is possible to connect data from different online catalogues based on a variety of criteria and create endless 'hypercatalogues' of any number of manuscripts located globally.[319]

Technological advancement, which made it easier to conceptualize comparative studies, eventually also enabled conducting them in practice. As high-quality digital photography became more accessible and affordable, it became increasingly possible to compare multiple manuscripts without traveling to the various institutions where they are held. Year by year this process becomes easier and more accessible, especially with the growing adoption of the International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF) by many libraries and other cultural heritage institutions.[320] Compatible manuscripts can be viewed and compared, collected, manipulated and annotated in a IIIF web viewer; this step toward solving the issue of non-standardized image presentation has been lauded as a 'revolution' for digitized manuscripts.[321] Digital access to manuscripts, which is improving day by day, means that the comparative method can be applied to almost any codicological field – from

[314] Bausi and others, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies,* pp. 498-499.
[315] Ibid, p. 299.
[316] M. Maniaci, qtd in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies*, p .499.
[317] Clark, 'On the Bureaucratic Plots of the Research Library', pp. 193-5.
[318] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, pp. 171-173.
[319] Bausi and others, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies*, pp. 533-4.
[320] M. de Vos, 'IIIF – The digitized manuscripts revolution we've all been waiting for!', *Digitized Medieval Manuscripts Blog,* 27 Mar. 2017, <https://blog.digitizedmedievalmanuscripts.org/iiif-international-image-interoperability-framework> (30 Jun. 2022)
[321] Ibid.

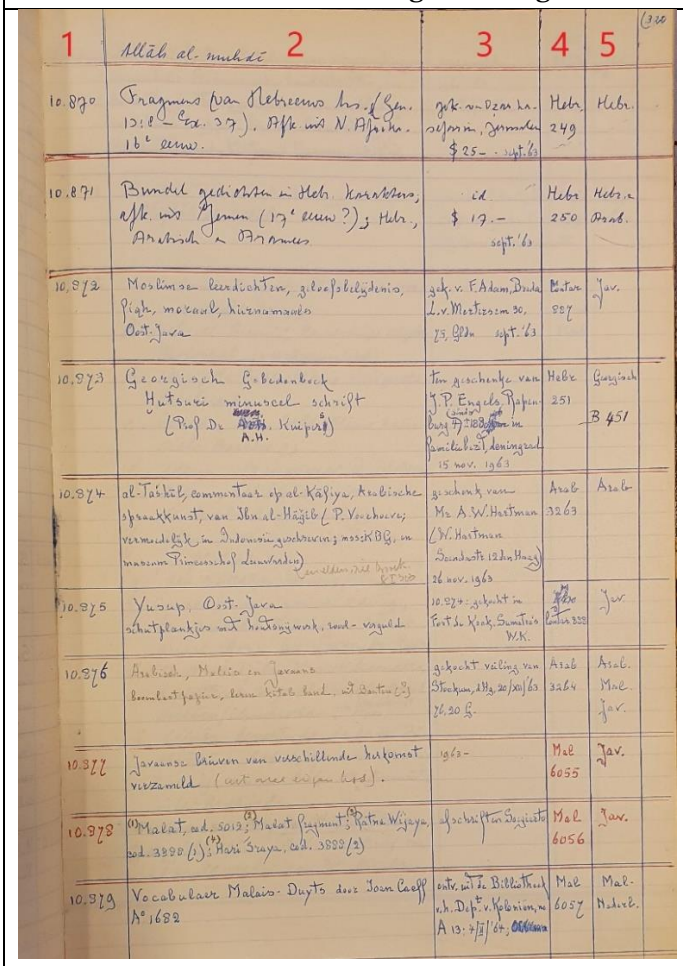
'classical' palaeography to large scale studies in the digital humanities that employ a distant reading methodology.[322] For the time being, it seems that comparative codicology will remain the dominant approach – if only because it has the potential to encompass so many different avenues of research.

3. *Digitizing Catalogues*

a. *Witkam's Inventory*

For a long while, and 'mostly for lack of anything better', the Oriental Collections' handwritten accessions '*Journaal*' was the main tool for recording and retrieving new acquisitions.[323] Such records often included sensitive details, and UBL directors preferred to keep the ledger closed to the public – making it difficult for library users to discover and request new items. Between the late 1970s and the early 2000s several cataloguing projects for various Oriental languages took place to remedy this, including Van der Heide's Supplement, but such focused attempts were doomed to 'always be far behind the actual pace of acquisition'.[324]

Figure 1: Page from a *Journaal.*[325]



Column details
1: Oriental classmark
2: Various bibiliographic information
3: Provenance / price paid / date purchased
4: Shelfmark
5: Language(s)

The handwritten *Journaal* included basic bibliographical information about new accessions: Oriental (Or.) classmark, shelfmark, and language. It also sometimes registered additional details, including provenance and price paid. These last elements were deemed confidential as it was thought they could jeopardize the library's negotiating position in the antiquarian market.

[322] van Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts,* pp. 4-7.
[323] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 25, p. 3.
[324] Ibid.
[325] Leiden University Libraries (UBL), *Inventaris Legatum Warnerianum: Nummerlijst (Journaal*), vol. 2.

In 1999, curator of Oriental manuscripts Jan Just Witkam (b. 1945) decided to create an 'electronic' inventory list of the entire Oriental collection. The project, which took him nearly twenty years to complete and spans nearly 7,000 pages, was published incrementally as its volumes were completed. Witkam's Inventory is openly accessible online in PDF form through a dedicated website,[326] as well as Leiden's Digital Collections. It was published by Ter Lugt Press,[327] and though it has never been printed, it is occasionally updated and re-uploaded. Witkam specifically set out for it to be 'not a catalogue, nor a handlist' but a chronological inventory. Each volume details one thousand items, divided by Oriental classmark – and so, for example, Vol. 1 covers manuscripts Or. 1 – Or. 1000, Vol. 2 covers Or. 10001- Or. 2000, and so on up to Vol. 25.[328] The order is chronological in the sense that it follows the order in which items were registered with their Oriental classmark, but not necessarily the order in which they first arrived in the library. For example, Vol. 5 covers 1896-1905, even though many of the items in Vol. 5, which includes most of the Scaliger and Warner Hebrew manuscripts, have been in the library since the seventeenth century – but had only been re-catalogued with an Oriental classmark in 1869.

Leiden's Oriental manuscript collection is massive, and includes items in over a hundred languages. Acknowledging that 'there is no person on earth who is able to compile such an inventory by first-hand knowledge',[329] much of Witkam's data relies on previous catalogues, which he cites and sometimes confirms for himself in autopsy.[330] Most of the information for Hebrew manuscripts, for example, are English translations of Steinschneider's Latin entries. Whether he intended it or not, Witkam's bibiliographic information successfully follows Sirat's cataloging recommendations for comparative codicology, which he presents in a fixed format:[331]

> 1. class-mark, 2. language(s), 3. details of physical description, 4. survey of the contents, 5. provenance, 6. location on the shelf. […] The collective provenance of a series of manuscripts may be concentrated into a short text, preceding that series, without being repeated under each class-mark.[332]

Witkam began this project as the world at large, and the library along with it, was on the verge of a seismic shift in information technology. By the time the most recent volume of the inventory was published in 2019,[333] the prospect of perusing a physical catalogue would be entirely foreign to most university students. From the outset, Witkam's aim was to create an

[326] J. J. Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in Leiden University Library*, 25 vols. (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007) <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html> (30 Jun. 2022)
[327] As far as I can decipher, Ter Lugt Press is owned and/or operated by Witkam.
[328] Vol. 25 ends with items catalogued in the year 2002. Subsequent volumes were planned but never published, presumably because they were made unnecessary with the launch of the UB's modern online catalogue in 2005.
[329] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 25, p. 4.
[330] Witkam distinguishes this by marking the shelfmark of items he did not examine himself in (round backets), and items that he did [* in square brackets and an asterisk].
[331] Witkam allows for some format exceptions and divergences if deemed necessary by the nature of the material.
[332] Witkam, Inventory, vol 4, p .3.
[333] Witkam, Inventory, vol 9, was published in 2019. Witkam published the volumes out of order, and often went back to update them.

electronic resource, which by its very nature would be enhanced with 'powerful search possibilities which no work on paper has'.[334] He hoped that it could be made available to the public combined with a search engine for bibliographic queries, and would be regularly updated 'on CD-Rom' or whatever medium is 'more suitable by that time', possibly implementing the then-still-developing tools of 'linking, imaging and the like'.[335] The stated goal of continual and regular updates is what sets this inventory apart from the other catalogues discussed in previous chapters. The fact that a catalogue was outdated from the moment it was printed was a recurring point of exasperation; attempting to solve this issue in an analogue way has brought librarians only as far as the card catalogue. Witkam's inventory was published as a series of PDF files, one of the most static digital formats; nevertheless, as a born-digital product it has the spirit of progress, and is open to future academic and technological changes:

> The present inventory is not a publication in the old-fashioned sense that it is an unchangeable monolith, just as the earlier catalogues are. Books of this sort need no longer be written in such a way. It is nothing more than a reflection of the state of research of today on the Oriental manuscripts which it contains.[336]

While Witkam's vague notion of developing a search engine related to his inventories did not pan out per se, it did result in the next best thing: his work was used for creating most of the entries for the Oriental manuscripts in Leiden's Online Catalogue (OC).

b. Leiden's Online Catalogue (OC)

As a rule, the metadata created for the OC was based on the *Leidse Boekjes* (LB). Leiden's Special Collections (SC), as established earlier, did not use the LB system consistently, and usually relied on traditional printed catalogues. The SC had multiple different catalogues for every language, all of which varied widely in their level of detail, accessibility, and recency of update, with many items only registered in the handwritten *Journaal*. Since Witkam's Inventory was the most robust and recent source of information, and was already accessible online, digitizing the SC entries according to his work seemed logical. An obstacle to this decision, however, was that Witkam was not commissioned by the UBL, but rather published the Inventory on his own accord – and therefore holds the intellectual copyright for his work. As a result, only the most basic details were included: almost always author name, title, and language; occasionally page count and date; never dimensions, as Witkam excluded that detail. To make up for gaps in information, the OC entries reference previous catalogues.[337] Witkam's already-online Inventory, as well as scanned PDFs of Steinschneider's Catalogue and Van der Heide's Supplement,[338] may be

[334] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 25. p .5.
[335] Ibid.
[336] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 25, p. 5.
[337] A. Vrolijk, Email to Nitzan Shalev, 11 Nov. 2021
[338] Available through Leiden's Digital Collections.

consulted for additional details and for the background they provide on the history of the collection.

Figure 2: Descriptions of Or. 4792

Witkam's Inventory	Online Catalogue (excerpt)
Or. 4792 Hebrew, paper, 3 + 185 + 2 ff. *Peer*, supercommentary composed in 1579 by the Karaite author Elia Rabbino b. Jehuda Tishbi, on the beginning of the pericopes as in the commentary by the Karaite author Ahron b. Josef on the Pentateuch. Partly edited (f. 1) by Steinschneider in his Appendix 12 (pp. 398-399). The author of the supercommentary is the copyist of Or. 4763, above, which was copied in 1575. With notes by Levinus Warner (1619-1625), which is also clear from Or. 1099 A, above, which contains notes and abstracts by Warner from the present manuscript. Illustrated by Steinschneider in his *Catalogus* (1858), Specimina, table X. See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 252-253. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), p. 37. (Hebr. 54)	MANUSCRIPT Peer [Place of production not identified] : [producer not identified] [Date of production unknown] Or. 4792 Available > Details Title: Peer Shelfmark: Or. 4792 Description: Reference: Van der Heide = A. van der Heide, Hebrew manuscripts of Leiden University Library. Leiden 1977, page 37 Reference: Witkam 2007 = J.J. Witkam, Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden. Vol. 5. Manuscripts Or. 4001-Or. 5000 (Leiden 2007) Publisher: [Place of production not identified] : [producer not identified] Date: [Date of production unknown] Form: [Extent unknown] ; [dimensions unknown] Language: Hebrew

Though the OC has powerful functions for searching and filtering, its potential and user experience is diminished by the inconsistent digitization of SC catalogue entries. The example above (fig. 2) shows an OC entry that lacks crucial information from Witkam – date, author(s), page count, writing material – which would be incredibly useful when compiling manuscripts for various comparisons. Additionally, composite manuscripts,[339] which have been registered under a single classmark ever since Steinschneider first itemized them, are now quite difficult to track. The OC gives each item an individual URL, which are all linked together as a 'series' (see fig. 3, below). The disparate works now stand on their own, perhaps in alignment with their intellectual identity – but from a codicological perspective, it is difficult to conceptualize them as one material object, particularly when extensive composites need to be opened in multiple separate browser tabs. Another perplexing aspect are changes in terminology between the Inventory and the OC – though it seems like a small change, it is enough to confuse users and needlessly complicate their search (see fig. 4, further below).

[339] Witkam refers to these as 'collectuve volumes'; A 'composite manuscript' is an established term for a codex which contains multiple texts. However, it is used slightly differently throughout different decades and in reference to different manuscript cultures; some scholars use the term to refer to an intentional production process of multiple texts, while others relate it to the incidental binding of codicological units which were previously independent. Witkam might have used the term 'collective volume' to avoid implications of intentionality for the manuscripts he catalogued. Contemporary scholars suggest the term 'multiple-text manuscript' for the same reason.
For further detailed discussion of these terms, and particularly their nuances when studying non-Western manuscript cultures, see:
M. Friedrich and C. Schwarke, 'Introduction - Manuscripts as Evolving Entities', in *In One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, ed. by Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), pp. 1-28.

Figure 3: Descriptions of Or. 4722

Witkam's Inventory, Or. 4722	Online Catalogue, Or. 4722:1 (excerpts)
Or. 4722 Collective volume with texts in Hebrew, parchment, 490 ff., 2 columns, prickings, blind ruling, an owner's note of Jacob b. Elia, from Trier, is dated 1 Adhar 5164 (1404 AD). (1) ff. 1-. *Mahberet*. Hebrew dictionary by Menachem ibn Saruk. (2) ff. ??. *Hasagot*. Notes with relevance to the previous text, by Dunash ibn Labrat. (3) ff. ??. *Arukh*. Talmudic dictionary by Natan b. Jechiel (1101 AD) See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 344-346. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), p. 61. Earlier provenance: 'Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerij. Emi a Bombergo 8 v 1563'. The latter is, of course, the famous printer Daniel Bomberg (d. 1549). (Hebr. Scaliger 5)	MANUSCRIPT Mahberet Menachem ibn Saruk.; Elia, Jacob b. [Place of production not identified] : [producer not identified] 1549-1563 Or. 4722 : 1 Available Details Title: Mahberet Author/Creator: Menachem ibn Saruk. ; Elia, Jacob b. ; Shelfmark: Or. 4722 : 1 Description: Note: Hebrew Dictionary/Linguistic texts. Provenance: 'Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerij. Emi a Bombergo 8 v 1563'. The latter is, of course, the famous printer Daniel Bomberg (d. 1549). Reference: Witkam 2007 = J.J. Witkam, Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden. Vol. 5. Manuscripts Or. 4001-Or. 5000 (Leiden 2007) Publisher: [Place of production not identified] : [producer not identified] Date: 1549-1563 Form: [Extent unknown] ; [dimensions unknown] Language: Hebrew Links More information about the series this volume belongs to

Figure 4: differences in catalogue terminology

Example	Van der Heide's Supplement (1977)	Witkam's Inventory (1999-2019)	Online Catalogue
Hebr. 52	Shelfmark / Shelf-mark	Shelfmark / Shelf-mark	Call Number
Or. 4790	Press-mark / Serial no.	Classmark / Class-mark	Shelfmark

Finally, and most unfortunately, there is no easy way to filter and display the entire HMC in the OC; the best option would be to specify as many advanced search features as possible, keep the Inventory at hand, and hope for the best. After centuries of dedicated scholarly cataloguing, the modern desire for complete unification of all UBL collections into one centralized portal has diffused the HMC in the digital ocean, leaving it unclear and undefined. However, unlike past catalogues, whose faults were sealed upon printing, the OC can and should continue to improve over time. The best and perhaps only realistic way to do so is to take advantage of the new possibilities afforded to us by the digital age, namely data-linking and international scholarly cooperation. As an example, we can consider transliteration, one of the biggest difficulties when cataloguing Hebrew manuscripts, and the ways it benefitted from the digital revolution.

4. Into a Digital Future: Challenges and Opportunities

a. Ein 'ivrit, Tirkedu*: The Cultural and Technical Difficulties of Transliteration*

In Leiden's Online Catalogue, all Hebrew names and titles are transliterated – that is, they convey Hebrew words only through the Latin alphabet. This situation, though it is far from ideal is quite common – and understandable in context, to a point. Throughout history, methods of cataloguing are often reflective of the unique environment and resources of the libraries that created them, but gradually it became necessary to implement uniform standards. In the twentieth century the international library community worked with increased collaboration to achieve this, creating the AACR standard for card catalogues, which was later adapted into MARC for computerized catalogues.[340] These standards, though they became widely accepted, were not without their flaws, particularly in their approach to names and titles in non-Latin alphabets. Like most of the cataloguing codes developed earlier in the twentieth century, AACR defaulted to romanizing non-Latin scripts, which remained its official directive until 2002.[341] Despite its widespread use, the act of romanization (or transliteration), is widely agreed to be an ineffective bibliographic tool, an 'exercise in futility' which causes more chaos than control.[342] In the last decade, the romanization systems created by the Library of Congress seem to be gaining prominence, which should hopefully help standardization going forward – but it doesn't change the existing problem, in which inconsistent romanization creates difficulties for end users.[343]

Witkam, whose transliteration decisions carried over to the OC, did his best to optimize the Inventory's searchability by simplifying his transliterations; namely, he attempted to follow 'international standards' while eliminating diacritics, except in occasional annotations.[344] While Witkam is aware of the shortcomings of this choice, he argues that 'the alternative would have been a severe flaw in the functionality'.[345] Considering the immense scope of the Inventory and the number of languages it discusses, this is understandable; in any case, Witkam stresses the importance of also having access 'to the original catalogues or, preferably, to the manuscripts themselves'.[346]

As long as transliteration is widely used, it is important for it to be as accurate as possible – otherwise, it can very easily be misleading. One also must not forget that even the most accurate attempt can never capture the nuances of traditional spellings and pronunciations. Transliteration inherently sidelines native scripts and has even been

[340] In this case, 'international' mostly means Western Europe and North America.
[341] J. E. Agenbroad, 'Romanization Is Not Enough', *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly*, 42.2 (2006), pp. 21-34 (p. 24).
[342] H. Wellisch, 'Multiscript and Multilingual Bibliographic Control: Alternatives to Romanization', *Library Resources & Technical Services* 22.2 (Spring 1978), pp. 179-80.
[343] M. El-Sherbini and C. Sherab 'An Assessment of the Need to Provide Non-Roman Subject Access to the Library Online Catalog', *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 49.6 (2011), pp. 457-483 (p. 469).
[344] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 1. Preface to the first edition. p.10.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid.

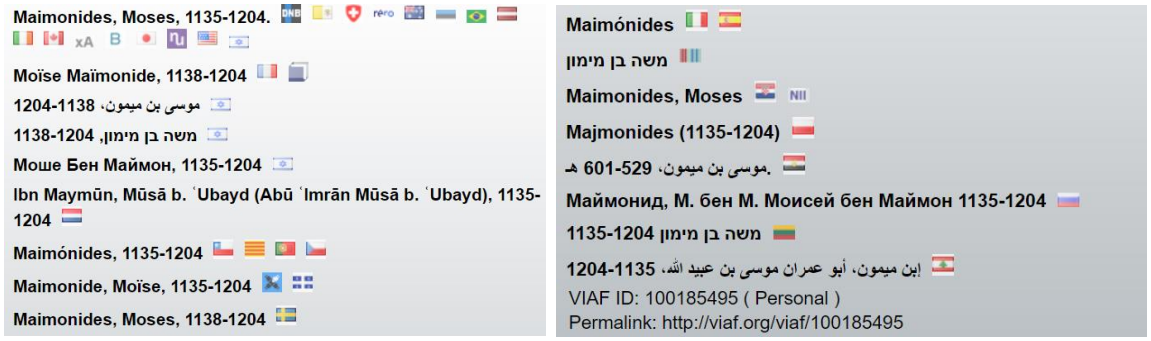
condemned by some scholars as not only disrespectful, but as a Western act of 'violence to the Principle of Local Variation'.[347] An alternative would be to 'simply' include names and titles in their original script, an option that most users and librarians agree would be beneficial.[348] There is, of course, nothing simple about this solution – though it is not as impossible as it seemed in the past. Unlike the early days of standardized and computerized cataloguing, modern version of cataloguing rules and encoding languages do enable and support non-Latin scripts.[349] Such an overhaul would undoubtedly, be a costly and time-consuming undertaking for most libraries,[350] but they needn't do it alone – unlike the historically sisyphean and solitary nature of the task, modern cataloguing can be done communally, and benefits greatly from it. Ideally, this would include considerate imput from native speakers of those languages.

While standardized systems like MARC gave early computerized catalogues a shared *vocabulary* for documentation, the development of the semantic web led to the adoption of structured ontologies – a shared *grammar* – for storing that data.[351] In other words, the databases created in the Web 2.0 era can be easily linked to each other. In the early days of the web, the practice of copy-cataloguing seemed exciting and promising: libraries could re-use catalogue entries from other institutions, with or without editing, and incorporate them as needed into their own OCs. This time-saving feature seemed especially promising for quickly digitizing a catalogue from scratch, especially in developing countries.[352] This idea has slightly fallen out of practice,[353] with attention shifting away from record *copying* toward record *sharing*.[354] Enabled by linked data, cooperative online cataloging projects like WorldCat are able to collect countless separate instances of an item's appearance in different databases and link them all together to one authoritative entry. This idea of an authority file is a useful path to consider for solving the issue of non-Latin names and titles; online databases, like VIAF, collate the different spellings of author names under a unified authority file (see fig. 5, below). Making use of these resources can not only correct the

[347] S. R. Ranganathan, *Heading and Canons* (1955). Qtd in Agenbroad, 'Romanization Is Not Enough', pp. 24-25.
[348] M. El-Sherbini and C. Sherab 'An Assessment…', pp. 471-3.
[349] For example, Leiden's original digital catalogue system (Leiden Public Network, launched in 1995) was eventually replaced by Ex Libris library systems (Aleph in 2005, Primo in 2011 and Alma in 2016). Ex Libris is an Israeli company, founded at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem – it was literally designed to support Hebrew, as well as other scripts, alongside the Latin alphabet.
Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 227.
Ex Libris, 'Leiden University Library: Ex Libris Services Empower a Leading European University To Take Greater Control of Its Data', *Library Journal* (1 Jun. 2022) <https://www.libraryjournal.com/story/leiden-university-library-ex-libris-services-empower-a-leading-european-university-to-take-greater-control-of-its-data-lj220701> (30 Jun. 2022)
[350] Unless their primary language of operation is in a non-Latin script, in which case the focused conversion into it would be worthwhile.
[351] K. Deepjyoti and others, 'Searching the Great Metadata Timeline: A Review of Library Metadata Standards from Linear Cataloguing rules to Ontology inspired Metadata Standards', *Library Hi Tech* 39.1 (2020), pp. 190-204 (pp. 198-202). <https://doi.org/10.1108/LHT-08-2019-0168>
[352] R. Chandrakar and J. Arora, 'Copy cataloguing in India: a point-of-view', *The Electronic Library*, 28.3 (2010), pp. 432-437.
[353] Tough it is still commonly used for single details, like Dewey numbers, to improve workflow.
Library of Congress, 'Copy Cataloging', <https://www.loc.gov/aba/dewey/practices/copycat.html> (30 Jun. 2022)
[354] R. Sellberg, 'Cooperative Cataloging in a Post-OPAC World', *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 48.2-3 (2010), pp. 237-246 (p. 241).

harmful limitations of transliteration, but also facilitate wider global collaboration and improve catalogue descriptors related to non-Latin scripts and marginalized cultures.[355]

Figure 5: Example of an authority file (VIAF) (excerpt)[356]



As the digital revolution swiftly took the world by storm, librarians and other information professionals happily 'welcomed digital technologies that increase access to their collections'.[357] Linked data became the norm, ebooks and online journals were widely adopted, and it became increasingly possible to provide users with access to digitized versions of analog material through scans and photography. As 'the lines between data and metadata, between resource and surrogate, and between content and carrier' began to blur,[358] users soon began expecting not only digitized *catalogues,* but wholly digitized *collections*.

b. New Standards, New Expectations: Digitizing Manuscripts

Modern scholars, students and administrators 'assume that all materials have been, or ultimately will be, converted to a digital format', including rare manuscripts, documents and other special collection items.[359] Though the technology to do so is becoming more affordable and accessible by the day, libraries still have limited resources: they must prioritize their projects and find them a budget, while carefully navigating the potential issues those decisions create.

When selecting items for digitization, libraries have several possible approaches. The first is to digitize items according to user requests,[360] with the assumption that 'materials requested once will likely be requested again',[361] and are therefore worthy additions to a digitized collection. Leiden University began offering a paid on-demand digitization service

[355] OCLC, 'Advancing racial equity: our core values', <https://www.oclc.org/en/about/diversity-and-advancing-racial-equity.html> (30 Jun. 2022)
[356] VIAF, 'Maimonides, Moses', *Virtual International Authority File* <https://viaf.org/viaf/100185495/> (30 Jun. 2022)
[357] A. Mills, 'User Impact on Selection, Digitization, and the Development of Digital Special Collections', *New Review of Academic Librarianship* 21.2 (2015), pp. 160-169 (p. 162).
[358] Sellberg, 'Cooperative Cataloging in a Post-OPAC World', p. 246.
[359] Mills, 'User Impact…', p. 162.
[360] This usually involves charging a fee per item.
[361] Mills, 'User Impact…', p .165.

over a decade ago,[362] but does not rely on this method as its primary approach. The second and preferable option is deliberate digital collection building by internally assessing which items would potentially have the most research value to users. This 'fairly straightforward' method is usually defined by the research needs or focus area of the institution,[363] and relies on the choices of librarians and archivists, who presumably know their collections better than the average user.[364] Deliberate collection building has the best potential to expose 'hidden' or overlooked content to a wider audience,[365] but it also runs the risk of subjectivity.[366] What can seem to one selector as unimportant or unaligned with the 'institutional mission' could be a treasure trove to another.[367] The impact of this subjectivity – which runs the risk of falling along ethnic, religious, or gendered lines, among many other potentially discriminatory distinctions – can and should be mitigated through thoughtful collaboration.

Another significant influence on project selection is funding opportunities and the priorities of donors.[368] The nature of a project's funding source – whether it be a scholarly, commercial, or national – can influence not only its focus topic but its accessibility, or lack thereof. During the last decade or so, the UBL has been conducting an ambitious project to digitize its Special Collections, particularly the 'fragile and unique' items which need to be preserved, to create its Digital Collections (DC).[369] To secure adequate funding, the UBL partnered with various institutions. The process required some partnerships with various institutions to secure. For example, the Yemeni manuscript digitization project was lead and funded by several American research institutions with the express goal of making them freely available online, which they now are.[370] On the other hand, the UBL's famous collection of Islamic manuscripts was digitized through a 'public-private' partnership with Brill publishers;[371] in practice, this means that Brill bought their distribution rights.[372] The manuscripts are therefore not open access but rather stored behind a paywall, accessible only through institutional subscription or by purchase of an individual day pass.[373]

Perhaps it goes without saying, but it is clear to me that digitized manuscripts are better off being Open Access. It is not only beneficial for the institution, which could make

[362] A. Wagenaar, 'Digitising Leiden University's Special Collections on Demand. Or, How to Reinvent the Wheel in Novel Ways', *LOGOS* 20.1-4 (2009), pp. 64-69 (p.65).
[363] B. J. Daigle, 'The Digital Transformation of Special Collections', *Journal of Library Administration* 52.3-4 (2012), pp. 244-264 (pp. 252-3).
[364] Alexandra Mills (2015) User Impact…. P.166.
[365] Bradley J. Daigle (2012) The Digital Transformation of Special Collections, Journal of Library Administration, 52:3-4, 244-264, DOI: 10.1080/01930826.2012.684504. pp. 252-3
[366] Mills, 'User Impact…', p. 167.
[367] Ibid., p. 166.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 251.
[370] A. Vrolijk, 'Digitisation Project of Yemeni Manuscripts at Leiden University Libraries', *Leiden Special Collections Blog*, 15 Nov. 2018, <https://www.leidenspecialcollectionsblog.nl/articles/digitisation-project-of-yemeni-manuscripts-at-leiden-university-libraries> (30 Jun. 2022)
[371] Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, p. 251.
[372] van Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts*, p. 75.
[373] Brill, 'Middle Eastern Manuscripts Online 1: Pioneer Orientalists', <https://brill.com/view/db/mm1o> (30 Jun. 2022)

use of all the digital advantages previously discussed, but also inherently fairer and more democratic – particularly if the original manuscripts are not easily accessible to members of the cultures who originated them. I believe a good example of a mutually beneficial and culturally sensitive collaboration is the UBL's recent collaboration with the National Library of Israel.[374]

c. *Digitizing Leiden's Hebrew Manuscript Collection with the National Library of Israel's Ktiv Project: A Case study*

In the 1950s, the IMHM, which was discussed in the previous chapter, had set out to photograph and document every extant Hebrew manuscript.[375] As technology advanced, in the 2010s the NLI – which had in the meantime been charged with running the institute – partnered with the Friedberg Jewish Manuscript Society (FJMS) to create The International Collection of Digitized Hebrew Manuscripts (Ktiv),[376] a project aimed at enabling 'global centralized digital access to the complete corpus of existing Hebrew manuscripts'.[377] They began digitally scanning their collection of microfilms, as well as partnering with various institutions to fund the high-quality, IIIF-compliant digitization of their Hebrew manuscript collections. In 2017, with around half the collection digitized, Ktiv's website was launched, equipped with a detailed search engine and a simple yet powerful viewer. Since its launch, the project continued to expand; in December 2020, the NLI and Ktiv donated funds to the UBL for the purpose of digitizing 166 selected Hebrew manuscripts, which would be freely accessible through the digital repositories of both parties.[378]

Of course, the mere availability of digitized resources does not automatically guarantee their usability; digitized books and manuscripts must also be 'well described, organized, and promoted to ensure they are visible and readily accessible'.[379] In addition to manuscript photographs, this project required improving Leiden's existing catalogue data for the HMC. As seen throughout this paper, the temporally patchworked nature of library catalogues means that decisions made by past cataloguers usually stick around unless an active effort is made to correct them. This is a particular problem for 'foreign' materials, whose content, language and script a cataloguer might be unfamiliar with. Just as the HMC was immensely enriched by hiring Steinschneider, a Jewish scholar, to write the 1858

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[374] Leiden University Libraries, 'Donation for digitisation of Leiden Hebrew manuscripts', 10 Dec. 2020, <https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/news/2020/12/donation-for-digitisation-of-leiden-hebrew-manuscripts> (30 Jun. 2022)

[375] Over the decades, the IMHM successfully photographed around 90-95% of the estimated 85,000-100,000 Hebrew manuscripts worldwide. As of June 2022, Ktiv have digitized nearly 95,000 manuscripts from over 580 collections, which they claim means their project is 85% complete. Since these are all estimations, it is understandable that numbers and percentages vary.
National Library of Israel (NLI), 'Ktiv: The International Collection of Digitized Hebrew Manuscripts'; 'About the "Ktiv" Project'; 'FAQ', <https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts> (30 Jun. 2022)

[376] *Ktiv* (In Hebrew: כתיב), meaning 'written' or 'the (hand)written word'.

[377] National Library of Israel, 'About the "Ktiv" Project'.

[378] Leiden University Libraries, 'Donation for digitisation of Leiden Hebrew manuscripts'.

[379] Mills, 'User Impact…', p. 161.

catalogue, so too would catalogue revisions and transliteration corrections benefit from involving native Hebrew speakers. In this respect, I speak from experience.

In summer of 2021, I took on an internship at the UBL, during which I reviewed and corrected catalogue entries for the Hebrew manuscripts included in the digitization project.[380] I corrected romanizations of titles (to better match LOC standards) and of names (to better match the spelling that an English-language reader would search for).[381] Additionally, I enhanced the existing information with missing details from past catalogues,[382] like dimensions, folio count, date of creation or print, name of copyist or secondary author, as well as form and content notes (like carrier material or topic category). Finally, I added Hebrew translations for important details, like titles,[383] names,[384] and information from content notes that would be useful if someone searched for specific keywords in Hebrew. Adding the Hebrew information was crucial to ensure interoperability with Ktiv's bilingual interface; in an almost comical reversal, most of Ktiv's data, which is based on IMHM catalogues, is available *only* in Hebrew.[385] Some details, like subject categories and script styles, have been translated into English as they were important for building the Advanced Search feature, but at this stage there are no plans to translate the rest of the Hebrew catalogue information.[386]

While working, I managed to correct many transliteration inaccuracies which had crept into manuscript descriptions – as well as some resulting mistranslations – that a non-Hebrew speaker would likely not notice. For example, the title for Or. 4763:10, as it appears in Witkam and the digital catalogue, was transliterated as *Sefer ha-Eser*. Reversing the title into Hebrew script would likely result in ספר העשר – grammatically odd, but roughly meaning 'the book of ten'. However, Witkam's English translation of the title is 'the Book of treasures'.[387] I concluded that the discrepancy was likely the result of a lack of *nikud* in the manuscript;[388] עשר could be read as עֶשֶׂר (*eser* = ten) or as עֹשֶׁר (*osher* = wealth). After

[380] Special thanks to Dr. Arnoud Vrolijk, Curator of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Works at the UBL, for the opportunity to be involved in this project, and his supervision throughout it.
[381] According to the most common spelling on VIAF or Wikidata. If available, I would add author dates and sometimes alternate names.
[382] Mostly from Witkam (whose information is usually derived from Steinschneider) or Van der Heide.
[383] I would use the official title for a work if I could find it (usually through Google Books, Wikipedia, or Da'at, the Jewish scholarly encyclopedia). Otherwise, I'd check to see if Steinschneider included the title in Hebrew script in his catalogue, try to approximate the spelling from the Romanized title alone, or occasionally order the physical manuscript for viewing in the Special Collections reading room to check its spelling 'in autopsy'.
Da'at Jewish Encyclopedia, <https://www.daat.ac.il/encyclopedia/index.asp> (30 Jun. 2022)
[384] According to the most common Hebrew spelling on VIAF or Wikidata.
[385] Ktiv's catalogue information in based on the data collected by the IMHM; unlike most Western libraries, the IMHM had the ability and the will to catalogue their manuscripts and microfilms in the Hebrew script, which they did, for better or worse.
[386] To compensate, Ktiv invests 'substantial resources' into improving catalogue entries and enriching their information by linking to external databases and catalogue records; it also makes extensive use of an internal bilingual name authority system.
NLI, 'Ktiv Vesion 2.0 Overview', <https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts/ktiv-version>
[387] Witkam, Inventory, vol. 5, p. 160.
[388] Nikud is a system of diacritical signs – dots and markings added to Hebrew letters – used to represent vowel vocalization or to distinguish between alternative pronunciations of letters. It is used only occasionally, and a native speaker would usually be able to tell the words apart by context.

consulting other resources to confirm my suspicion, I was able to correct the title's romanization to *Sefer ha-Osher*.[389]

While working, I needed to strike a balance between including important information and keeping a quick and steady workflow that would allow me to complete my project within the set timeframe. To do so, I needed to make some compromises, especially when it came to correcting romanized titles. Library of Congress (LOC) standards for Hebrew use diacritics to differentiate similar sounds,[390] but these are not crucial technically (since search engines disregard diacritics) or linguistically (as the inclusion of the Hebrew translation should alleviate spelling ambiguities).[391] Since their benefit seemed limited to me when weighed against how time-consuming they would be to implement, I opted to follow Witkam's example and disregard them, which I believed would yield sufficiently accurate results (see fig.6, below).[392]

Figure 6: Romanization comparison

(Online) Shelfmark	Original title (Leiden's Online Catalogue)	'Correct' romanization (LOC)	My version (Internship)	Hebrew translation
Or. 4730:3	Mis-Sefer Shibolei- hal-Leket be-Hilkhot Smehot	Mi-Sefer Shibolei ha-Leḳet be-Hilkhot Śmaḥot	Mi-Sefer Shibolei ha-Leket be-Hilkhot Smahot	מספר שיבולי הלקט בהלכות שמחות
Or. 4730:14	Sefer diqduq [we-hu Sefer Mahalak sevile ha-daat]	Sefer Diḳduḳ [ṿe-hu Sefer Mahalakh Shvilei ha-Da'at]	Sefer Dikduk [ve-hu Sefer Mahalakh Shvilei ha-Da'at]	ספר דקדוק [והוא ספר מהלך שבילי הדעת]

As institutions continue to digitize their collections, they are sure to come up against new problems and challenges at every turn just as quickly as new technology evolves to try to address it. Online translation tools are improving by the day, which can assist cataloguers with languages they are not familiar with;[393] Optical Character Recognition (OCR) for manuscripts is 'still in its infancy' but has been showing promising results.[394] Harnessing digital tags generated by library users to improve online records was a novel idea that yielded mixed outcomes;[395] there is no shortage of scholarly research data for medieval manuscripts, but incorporating it into digital frameworks must consider the issue of intellectual

[389] Whether this correction is significant enough to warrant the time spent on it is certainly up for debate, although I suppose this is why this project was conducted by a student intern and not a salaried library employee.
[390] Library of Congress, 'Hebrew and Yiddish Romanization', <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/hebrew.pdf> (30 Jun. 2022)
[391] I am aware that the assumption that the Hebrew translation would be helpful is a bit ironic in light of my reoccurring complaint of the inaccessibility of Latin catalogues.
[392] N. Shalev, 'Internship Report: Enhancing, Standardizing, and Translating Bibliographical Metadata for the Hebrew Manuscripts Digitization Project at Leiden University Libraries' (unpublished internship report, Leiden University, submitted 21 Nov. 2021)
[393] J. DuBose, 'Russian, Japanese, and Latin Oh My! Using Technology to Catalog Non-English Language Titles', *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 57.7-8 (2019), pp. 496-506 (pp. 501-504)
[394] B. W. Hawk, Brandon, 'Modelling Medieval Hands: Practical OCR for Caroline Minuscule', *Digital Humanities Quarterly,* 13.1 (2019) <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/13/1/000412/000412.html> (30 Jun. 2022), p. 88.
[395] M. Gerolimos, 'Tagging for Libraries: A Review of the Effectiveness of Tagging Systems for Library Catalogs', *Journal of Library Metadata* 13.1 (2013), pp. 36-58 (p. 54).

copyright.[396] Partnering with 'originating communities' to catalogue non-Latin or non-Western materials is a step in the right direction for institutions aiming to engage with 'decolonizing methodologies',[397] but the prescriptive knowledge organization systems that underly most established institutions may still hinder development.[398] Still, as argued by Da Rold, 'we must accept that having some material online is better than having none'.[399] Though initially we shall experience 'uneven' results in digital descriptions, it is best to adopt a flexible attitude and 'make sure that an appropriate infrastructure is in place' for continuous future improvement.[400] If done right, and with an open mind, today's projects will provide generations to come worldwide with digital – and hopefully, open – access to important items of shared cultural heritage.

[396] O. da Rold, 'Tradition and Innovation', p. 42.
[397] Haberstock, 'Participatory Description', p. 136.
[398] H. Turner, 'Decolonizing Ethnographic Documentation: A Critical History of the Early Museum Catalogs at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History', *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly*, 53.5-6 (2015), pp. 658-676 (pp. 659, 665).
[399] O. da Rold, 'Tradition and Innovation', p. 50.
[400] Ibid, p. 51

Conclusion

This paper aimed to prove two main ideas. Broadly, that library catalogues reflect the values of their creators, and that examining their patterns, themes and changes throughout the centuries can provide insight into the social norms and scholarly interests of an era, as well as the institutional goals of their related library at time of writing. More specifically, that when it comes to Hebrew manuscripts, any examination of cataloguing trends or choices cannot be complete without first understanding the societal attitudes at the time towards Jews, the originators of the language and texts contained in said manuscripts.

In my research, I examined the published catalogues of Leiden's Hebrew manuscripts collection through the four centuries of its existence, and evaluated each catalogue within the societal and academic context of the era. I considered aspects like the religious debates prominent at the time, the state of librarianship, the technology afforded to the cataloguer, and of course, the position of the Jews in European society. I assessed how each catalogue categorized and described the HMC: its relation to other UBL collections, namely whether it was considered part of the Oriental collection; what information is included in item entries, and how detailed it was; how and to what extent the Hebrew language and script was incorporated.

In addition to evaluating each catalogue, I compared them to each other. Library catalogues are created in an iterative process: with each new attempt, cataloguers must reckon with the decisions made by previous generations, and decide whether to build upon it, in part or in whole, or eschew it entirely. Either way, to understand the context for a cataloguer's decisions, one must consider the attempts that came before it. For this reason, I believe that taking a longitudinal approach for this study was the correct approach; it allowed me to consider each HMC catalogue not only within the frame of its era, but also as a moment within a larger process – influenced by the past and affecting the future.

Using this methodology, I believe I have successfully proven my main arguments through the conclusions I arrived at while examining some key themes:

First, library catalogues do reflect the social ideals of the time, as well as the prominent goals and challenges of the era's scholarship. Changing ideas about the scope and division of knowledge, notions of academic prestige, and the evolution of the role of libraries and librarians have all affected cataloguing decisions. A prominent aspect in this theme is the role technological advancements played: the proliferation of print required cataloguers to consider how to keep up with growing collections, and also created a divide between our perception of printed books and manuscripts. As technology continued to advance, it created new ways to study manuscripts, and later catalogues adapted to meet new user needs and interests.

Second, my study has shown that an analysis of the HMC catalogues cannot be complete without considering the Jews. The way cataloguers treat Hebrew items – what details are included, and even how many manuscripts exist in the collection – reflects the status of Hebrew studies, which, in turn, is historically linked to Jewish-Christian relations; the position of the HMC in relation to the Oriental collection is associated with the cataloguer's position on the Jew's place in Europe; the development of Hebrew manuscript studies has had widespread implications for the field of codicology in general, but understanding the connection necessitates an understanding of the Jewish book in recent history, in both Europe and Israel.

Finally, I have shown that at every turn, the depth, scope, and accuracy of catalogue descriptions stand in direct relation to the cataloguer's level of understanding regarding the materials at hand. The better a cataloguer's understanding of the language(s) a manuscript's text is written in, and the more they know about the cultural, historic, and religious background of the work and its author, the more likely they are to provide a useful, detailed, and high-quality outcome. For Hebrew manuscripts, I conclude that the best way to attain this is to involve native Hebrew speakers in future endeavors. As Scaliger wrote about his Hebrew teacher:

> [W]e read a great deal of the Talmud together with equal profit and pleasure [...] his skill as a Talmudist was extraordinary, and such as only a Jew who has been trained since childhood can attain. Therefore the efforts of our Christians are certainly vain. They can learn nothing in that literature perfectly without the help of a Jew trained in the Jewish manner.[401]

As we continue along the path toward digitized collections, this last point shall be crucial, because its opposite is also true. When Hebrew manuscripts are catalogued without sufficient understanding of their language and context, the result can be at best poor or lacking, or at worst – disrespectful and harmful. Historically, many non-Latin texts or non-western have been collected, studied, displayed, and catalogued with limited to no input from their 'originating communities'.[402] Whether by policy or circumstance, people from these often-marginalized groups have been barred, sometimes literally, from accessing pieces of their cultural heritage. It is therefore my conclusion that going forward, the cultural heritage sector has a moral and scholarly duty: to harness the tools of the digital age, use them to engage members of those communities, and re-evaluate past narratives and cataloguing norms and as part of the digitization process. This will give them a chance to not only rectify historic injustices, but to enrich our world with knowledge, courtesy of the people who know – and care – most about it.

[401] Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era,* p. 27.
[402] Haberstock, 'Participatory Description', p. 136.

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Appendix: Summary in Hebrew – תקציר התזה בעברית

כותרת: מחקר אַרכִּי של הקטלוגים המודפסים של אוסף כתבי-היד העבריים בספרייה של אוניברסיטת ליידן
עבודה זו מוגשת כחלק מהדרישות לשם קבלת תואר מוסמך במסלול ללימודי הספר ומדיה דיגיטלית, הפקולטה למדעי הרוח, באוניברסיטת ליידן, הולנד. 2022.

שם הסטודנטית: ניצן שלו

מילות מפתח: כתב-יד ; מצחף ; קטלוג ; ארכיון ; הספר העברי ; היסטוריה של הספר ; תירגום ; דפוס ; אוריינטליזם ; יהדות ; יהדות אירופה ; יהדות הולנד ; עברית ; מדעי היהדות ; חכמת ישראל ; משה שטיינשניידר ; הבראיזם ; פלאוגרפיה ; קודיקולוגיה ; קודיקולוגיה עברית ; מלאכי בית-אריה ; הספרייה הלאומית ; דיגיטציה ; ספר-דתא ; כתיב ; מדיה דיגיטלית ; גישה חופשית ; מאגרי מידע ; ספרייה ; אוספים מיוחדים ; הולנד ; ליידן.

תקציר התזה:[403]

אוניברסיטת ליידן (א״ל), בהולנד, הוקמה בשנת 1575 כמתנה מהמלך ויליאם מבית אורנג׳ לתושבי העיר ליידן עבור גבורתם במהלך המצור הספרדי במהלך מלחמת שמונים השנה. א״ל הוקמה כמוסד פרוטסטנטי, ובנוסף לתיאולוגיה לימדה גם משפטים, רפואה, ומדעי הרוח. היא קידמה הוראה ׳תלת-לשונית׳ של השפות שבאותה תקופה נחשבו ל׳עמודי התווך׳ של התרבות האנושית : לטינית, יוונית, ועברית. בעוד תפיסת העולם הקתולית נשענה על תרגומי התנ״ך והברית החדשה ללטינית, הפרוטסטנטים החל מהמאה ההחמש-עשרה דגלו בחזרה למקורות העבריים והיוונים. הבראיסטים – מלומדים נוצרים שביקשו ללמוד עברית – נאלצו לשכור את שירותם של משכילים יהודים מקומיים להוראה פרטית של השפה, עד שהידע האקדמי וטכנולוגיית הדפוס השתפרו דיה בראשית המאה השבע-עשרה בכדי לאפשר הוצאה לאור של ספרי לימוד ומילונים עבריים לצורך למידה עצמאית.

בראשית ימי האוניברסיטה, לספריית א״ל היו מעט מאוד ספרים בעברית – בעיקר כתבי-יד של התנ״ך – והעדות לכך נמצאת בקטלוג המודפס הראשון של הספרייה משנת 1595. לאורך השנים, מלומדים ׳אוריינטליסטים׳ בליידן צברו אוספים מרשימים של ספרים, אותם הם תרמו לספרייה בצוואתם. אוספו של יוזף יוסטוס סקליגר (Scaliger, 1540-1609), המונה יותר מ-300 ספרים, מהם רבים בעברית, מהווה אבן היסוד של האוסף האוריינטלי בספריית ליידן. סקליגר התעניין במיוחד בכרונולוגיה ובבלשנות שמית ; הוא חקר עברית, ערבית, ארמית, סורית, געז ועוד. באותה תקופה, אומות אירופה החלו התפשטות משמעותית אל המזרח לצורכי מסחר ודיפלומטיה, ומלומדים החלו להתעניין בעתיקות ובמחקר ארכיאולוגי. הדור הבא של האוריינטליסטים לא רק למדו על המזרח מקריאת ספרים אלא נסעו לשם לתקופות ארוכות ; בעשרים השנים בהם חי באיסטנבול כשגררי הרפובליקה ההולנדית, לוינוס וורנר (Warner, 1618-1665) אסף כאלף ספרים בערבית, טורקית, פרסית ועוד, והאוסף כולו – כולל כ-300 פריטים בעברית – הורש אף הוא לספריית א״ל.

לאורך ההיסטוריה של ממסד הספרייה, ובפרט לאורך המאות האחרונות, הקטלוג המודפס היווה כלי חשוב לקוראים ולספרנים כאחד, אשר אפשר להם לאתר פריטים במדפי הספרייה בקלות ולשמור על סדרם. עידן הנאורות במאה השבע-עשרה הביא רעיונות חדשים שהתפתחו בקצב שיא, ופריחת עולם הדפוס באותה התקופה אפשר הדפסה והפצה של ספרים וכתבי-עת חדשים בקצב חסר תקדים. ספריות, ובמיוחד ספריות אקדמיות, ניסו לעמוד בקצב ובדרישות הקוראים, ולרכוש פריטים חדשים ורלוונטים. ספריית א״ל עלתה על גדותיה שוב ושוב, נאלצה להתרחב ולעבור בין בניינים, והספרנים ניסו בקושי רב לתעד את פרטיו, תוכנו ומיקומו של כל פריט חדש לצורך עדכון עתידי של הקטלוג.

קטלוג הספרייה מהווה מקור ייחודי המשקף את התקופה בה נכתב : דרך חקירת הקטלוג והשוואתו לגרסאות קודמות ניתן ללמוד אודות הציפיות והנחות היסוד של עולם האקדמיה בתקופות שונות, התפתחותן של דיסציפלינות מחקריות לאורך השנים, הערכים הרווחים בחברה, שינויים במבנה וארגון הספרייה, מטרות המוסד האקדמי המשויך אליה, ואפילו תפיסת העולם והיקפי הידע של מחבר הקטלוג. בתזה זו, אחקור את הקטלוגים המודפסים של ספריית א״ל מהמאה השבע-עשרה ועד היום תוך התייחסות לנקודת הזמן בהיסטוריה בה נכתבו,

[403] נספח זה הוא תקציר בלבד. רעיונות מפורטים, ציטוטים מלאים ומראי מקום מדויקים זמינים בגוף העבודה באנגלית.

ואשווה בין הגישות שלהם לתיעוד אוסף כתבי היד העבריים (כי״ע). עבור כל קטלוג לגופו, ובהשוואה אחד לשני, אשאל: אילו אלמנטים נכללים, ועד כמה התיאור מפורט? האם ניתן לכתב-היד הסבר והקשר דתי-תרבותי? מה נכתב בנוגע למראה והמבנה הפיזי של הספר? האם הכותרת העברית של הטקסט תועדה בדפוס עברי, או רק בתרגום ללטינית או בתעתיק לאותיות לטיניות? האם חסרים פרטים חשובים, ואם כן – מדוע?

חוט השני המנחה את המחקר הזה הוא היחס של הקטלוגים כלפי השפה העברית, ומה יחס זה מעיד על מיקומה המשתנה של שפה זו בעולם ההשכלה והמחקר האקדמי באירופה, שלעתים ראה בעברית אבן יסוד של תרבות המערב, ולעתים שפת-סתרים זרה מהמזרח. ניתן להבין את השינויים ביחס כלפי העברית לאור ההתפתחות ההיסטורית של העניין בתרבות המזרח, או ה׳אוריינט׳. אדוארד סעיד מגדיר ׳אוריינטליזם׳ כצורת מחשבה המבוססת על הבחנה אונטולוגית ואפיסטמולוגית בין ה׳מזרח׳ אל מול וכנגד ה׳מערב׳. ה׳אוריינט׳ הוא מונח רחב ולא חד-משמעי; תלוי בכותב ובתקופה, הוא עשוי לכלול מגוון אזורים, מהמזרח התיכון למזרח הרחוק. הקו שבין ה׳מזרח׳ ל׳מערב׳ – השאלה של מי נחשב ׳אוריינטלי׳ ומי לא – הוא נושא מורכב ושנוי במחלוקת. ספריית א״ל לאורך השנים סיווגה את השפה העברית כשפה אוריינטלית, אך מרבית מכתבי-היד העבריים שבאוסף זה נוצרו על אדמת אירופה – אילו אלמנט משמעותי יותר? השינויים הניכרים בקטלוגים של ספריית א״ל לאורך השנים משקפים התפתחויות בתחומי הבלשנות ומחקר הספר, אך לא ניתן לנתק אותם מהשאלה המהדהדת של זרותה של העברית – ובהשאלה, זרותם של היהודים. לאורך מחקרי אטען כי לא ניתן לקבל תמונה מלאה של היחס של הקטלוגים של א״ל כלפי כתבי היד העבריים והשפה העברית מבלי לבחון את היחס באותה התקופה באירופה כלפי היהודים – בני התרבות שיצרה את כתבי יד אלו, ששפתם ומחשבתם ממלאים את דפיהם.

הפרק הראשון של תזה זו יבחן את אוסף כי״ע החל מתרומת האוסף של סקליגר ב1609 ועד אמצע המאה השמונה-עשרה. אשווה בין הקטלוגים של הנסיוס (1612, 1623, 1640), הקטלוג של 1674, והקטלוג של 1716 – האחרון שכלל בתוכו את כל אוספי הספרייה בעותק מודפס אחד. פרק זה מציג עידן שבו מוסד הספרייה עבר שינויים רבים, ותפקיד הספרן החל להשתרש כמשרה מקצועית ולא כמשימה משנית של חבר פקולטה אקראי. ספריות עדיין נאבקו למצוא שיטה אחידה והגיונית למעקב אחר האוספים שלהם: האם הקטלוג אמור לסייע לספרנים לבדוק שכל הספרים במקומם, או לסייע לקוראים למצוא ספרים בקלות? על פי אילו קריטריונים מחלקים ספרים לנושאים? האם הקטלוג אמור לשקף חלוקת ידע תיאורטית, או את המבנה הפיזי של הספרייה? האם לאמץ את הרעיון החדשני של סדר אלפביתי – ואם כן, לפי שם הסופר או כותרת הספר? פרק זה מציג מאה קריטית בהיסטוריה של מוסד הספרייה באירופה, ההשפעה של עידן הנאורות על עולם הדפוס והאקדמיה, מאבקים ליצירת שם נודע ויוקרה לא״ל בהשוואה למוסדות אחרים, והאתגרים שעמדו בפני כותבי הקטלוגים בניסיונם לתעד כתבים ׳זרים׳ אותם הם לא הבינו היטב.

הפרק השני דן בסדרי העדיפויות המשתנים של האקדמיה במאה התשע-עשרה. בתקופה זו התחילה להיווצר הפרדה בין ספרים מודפסים לבין כתבי-יד. עם התפתחות תחום הקודיקולוגיה – חקר הספר כאובייקט פיזי – חוקרים החלו לראות בכתבי-יד כפריט היסטורי הראוי למחקר בפני עצמו, ולא רק כמנשא לטקסט אותו ביקשו לקרוא. השינוי הזה ניכר בקטלוג של 1858, אשר נכתב על-ידי משה שטיינשניידר, ׳אבי הביבליוגרפיה העברית׳ והיהודי היחיד שכתב קטלוג לאוסף כי״ע בליידן. פרק זה ירחיב על שיטת הקיטלוג החדשנית של שטיינשניידר, ומקומו החשוב בתנועת ההשכלה היהודית ׳חכמת ישראל׳. הקטלוג של שטיינשניידר עשיר בהרבה מקודמיו, במיוחד בפן ההקשרים הדתיים-תרבותיים של הטקסטים. אף שנכתב בלטינית, בהתאם לנורמות של התקופה, הוא נחשב עד היום לתיעוד המקיף והמדויק ביותר של אוסף כי״ע בליידן. אטען בפרק זה כי זהותו הייחודית של שטיינשניידר היא שאפשרה לו ליצור קטלוג כה מקיף: כבן הדור השני לתנועת ההשכלה, שטיינשניידר למד לימודי קודש יהודים וגם לימודי חול אירופאים. בניגוד לכותבים של הקטלוגים הקודמים, שטיינשניידר ידע את השפה העברית על בוריה וגם היה בעל ידע נרחב בספרות ופילוסופיה יהודית, ועל כן הצליח להבין לעומק ולחקור את כתבי היד אותם הוא תיעד בקטלוג.

הפרק השלישי מסקר את המאה העשרים, ואת מקומו של הספר העברי בניסיון ההשמדה – ולאחר מכן, במשימת התחייה – של העם היהודי. השלטון הנאצי בזז ספריות וארכיונים יהודים לא בהכרח בכדי להשמיד את הספרים והמסמכים, אלא כדי להשתמש בהם כנגד היהודים וכדי לבנות את הזהות הלאומית הגרמנית. לאחר מכן,

במדינת ישראל הצעירה, נעשו מאמצי שימור כבירים בכדי לארגן, לתעד ולשמר את מאות אלפי הפריטים היתומים, להחזירם לידי הציבור היהודי, ולהשתמש בהם במשימה ליצירת זהות ישראלית. אחת התוצאות של מאמצים אלו היא צמיחה מהירה של התחום המודרני של מחקר כתבי-היד העבריים. שיטות המחקר החדשניות שפיתחו חוקרי מפעל הפליאוגרפיה העברית בירושלים שימשו כבסיס לתחום הקודיקולוגיה הכמותית, צורת מחקר שתפסה תאוצה בשנות ה-70 של המאה ה-20, והשפעותיה ניכרות בקטלוג כי״ע של ליידן משנת 1977.

הפרק הרביעי מציג את הקטלוגים של אוסף כי״ע בעידן הדיגיטלי, וכיצד ההתפתחות המהירה של רשת האינטרנט שינו באופן מהותי את ציפיותיהם של משתמשי הספרייה בשני העשורים הראשונים של המאה העשרים-ואחת. הקטלוג של ויטקם (Witkam) מאמצע שנות האלפיים הצליח לתרגם ולהתאים את הקטלוגים השונים של האוספים האוריינטלים לשפה ולמבנה הסטנדרטים של קטלוג מודרני, ולמרות שהוא פורסם באופן דיגיטלי, עדיין מדובר במסמך סטטי. במקביל, א״ל השלימה את תהליך הקמת הקטלוג המקוון שלה, אך גם זה רק ההתחלה: משתמשי ספרייה מודרניים מצפים לקבל גישה מקוונת לא רק למידע על אוספי הספרייה, אלא גם לגישה מקוונת לטקסטים ולספרים עצמם, כולל אוספים מיוחדים וכתבי יד עתיקים. פרק זה מציג את האתגרים הטכניים העומדים בפני ספריות בניסיונן להתאים את פועלם לעידן הדיגיטלי, ואת הפתרונות האפשריים לכך. פרק זה גם מציג את הדילמות האתיות העומדות בפני מוסדות תרבות מערביים בניסיונם ליצור הנגשה דיגיטלית לאוספים המיוחדים שלהם, במיוחד לאור הגישות האוריינטליסטיות של עברם ומורשת הקולוניאליזם. בפרק זה אטען כי הפתרון האידיאלי לכך הוא יצירת שיתופי פעולה מכבדים עם קהילות המקור של פריטי המורשת האלו, במיוחד בנושאי תרגום ושכתוב ערכים ביבליוגרפים. בתור מקרה לדוגמה, אציג את שיתוף הפעולה בין ספריית א״ל ופרויקט 'כתיב' של הספרייה הלאומית של ישראל לצורך דיגיטציה של אוסף כי״ע. השתתפתי כמתמחה בפרויקט זה, והשתמשתי בכישוריי כמתרגמת וכחוקרת בכדי לתקן, להרחיב, ולערוך מידע ביבליוגרפי אודות כתבי היד, ולתרגם מידע רלוונטי לעברית בכדי להבטיח שכתבי יד אלו, בהיותם פריטי מורשת יהודים, יהיו זמינים לחיפוש ואיתור ברשת בשפה של קהילת המוצא שלהם.

בתזה זו נקטתי בגישה אַרכִּית והשוואתית, בה בחנתי כל קטלוג לאור העידן בו נוצר ובהשוואה לקטלוגים מעידנים אחרים, דבר שאפשר לי להתייחס לכל קטלוג גם כייצוג של נקודת זמן אחת, וגם כשלב אחד בתהליך ארוך ומשתנה. לאורך מחקר זה הוכחתי שהקטלוגים של אוסף כי״ע בספריית א״ל הושפעו מהסביבה והעידן בו נכתבו, ושניתן להבין את החלטות כותב הקטלוג בנוגע למבנה, תוכן, וחלוקת ידע אם לוקחים בחשבון את נסיבות התקופה, כגון המחלוקות הדתיות העיקריות בתקופתו, הטכנולוגיה הזמינה לו, ותפקידה של הספרייה. כמו כן, טענתי שניתן להבין את ההקשר המלא ליצירתם ולשינויים ביניהם רק אם לוקחים בחשבון גם את מעמדה של השפה העברית ואת היחס החברתי כלפי היהודים באותה התקופה, ובפרט שאלת קבלתם או זרותם בתרבות האירופאית. לבסוף, הצגתי שבכל שלב בהיסטוריה של אוסף כי״ע, איכות הקטלוג מושפע ישירות מרמת הידע של כותבו בנושא האוסף. ככל שכותב הקטלוג בעל ידע רחב יותר בשפה והספרות של כתבי היד, ובדת והתרבות של יוצריהם, כך עולה הסיכוי שהקטלוג שהוא יוצר יהיה מועיל ומדויק. המסקנה המתבקשת היא שמוסדות תרבות מערביים, בבואם ליצור גישה דיגיטלית לאוספים הלא-מערביים שלהם, בפרט אלו שכוללים טקסטים בשפות 'זרות', צריכים לשאוף לנצל את האפשרויות הרבות העומדות בפניהם בעידן הדיגיטלי וליזום שיתופי פעולה עם חוקרים ופעילים תרבותיים מקהילות המקור של פריטים אלו.