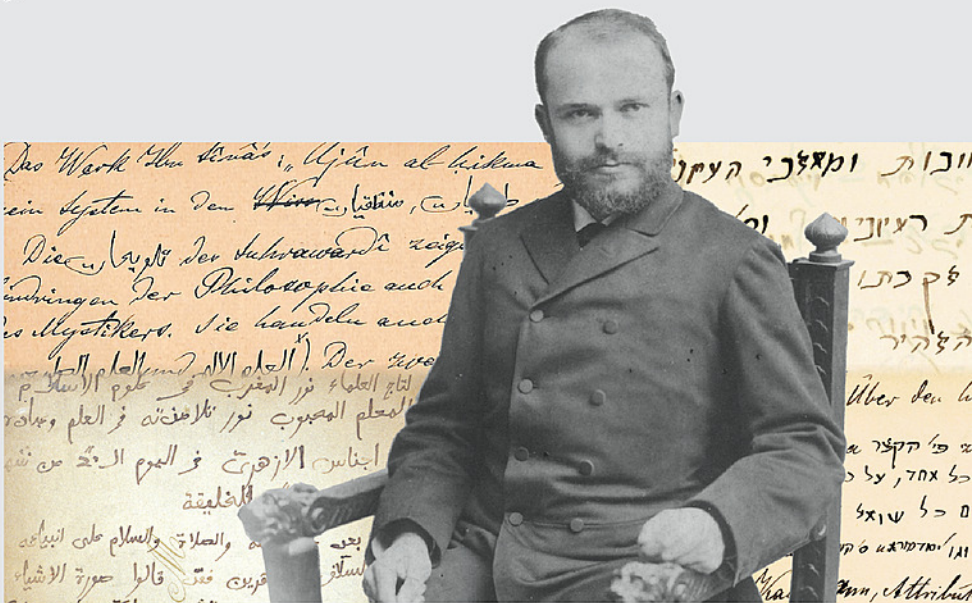


Sabine Schmidtke

Martin Schreiner between Islamic Studies and »Wissenschaft des Judentums«



*Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen
des Leo Baeck Instituts 86*

Mohr Siebeck

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Sabine Schmidtke

Martin Schreiner
between Islamic Studies and
“Wissenschaft des Judentums”

Reconstructing His Scholarly Biography

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

My interest in Martin Schreiner dates back to the late 1990s, and it was sparked by my work on the history of Mu'tazilism. Looking into the modern history of scholarship on the movement, I was struck by Schreiner's pathbreaking studies: he was the first (and for long time the only) scholar to consult writings by both Jewish and Muslim Mu'tazilites.¹ Later, when I was invited to write a scholarly biography of Moshe Perlmann (1905–2001) for a memorial volume in his honor in the mid-2000s,² I became engaged with another aspect of Schreiner's work – namely, interreligious polemics and the legal and social status of Jews in the lands of Islam. Perlmann had not only published in 1983 Schreiner's *Gesammelte Schriften*; his entire scholarly oeuvre was largely inspired by Schreiner's earlier work. In particular, Perlmann's two most important publications, critical editions and translations of Samaw'al al-Maghribi's *Iḥām al-yahūd* and Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth*, concerned works that Schreiner had already dealt with.³

¹ He was also one of the first to realize the intimate relation between *kalām* and legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*); see, e. g., Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte des Aśaritentums," pp. 95 ff.; Appendix I, letter 2. See also Schwarb, "Uṣūl al-fiqh im jüdischen kalām," p. 78.

² Schmidtke, "Moshe Perlmann: A Scholarly Biography"; Schmidtke, "Moshe Perlmann: List of Writings and Publications."

³ Perlmann excluded from the *Gesammelte Schriften* Schreiner's partial edition of *Iḥām al-yahūd* ("Samau'al b. Jaḥjā al-Mağribi"), of which Perlmann had produced a critical edition (to which he refers in *Gesammelte Schriften*, p. 638), as well as Schreiner's contributions in the German Jewish press and, of course, his Hungarian publications. In the introduction to the *Gesammelte Schriften*, Perlmann does not specify his selection criteria and simply states: "The present volume is a collection of the scholarly writings of a researcher whose productive period embraces the years 1885–1902, and whose work was primarily centered on the medieval Islamic world and the life of the Jews within it" (*Gesammelte Schriften*, p. vii). Perlmann also added an appendix to *Gesammelte Schriften*, at the beginning of which he explains (p. 627): "The editorial work consisted of: 1) correcting misprints, mistakes, etc., partly in accordance with the author's notes." There is no further explanation of what he means by "the author's notes," but the remark suggests that Perlmann had access to offprints with Schreiner's handwritten corrections, at least for some of the studies included in the volume. In some cases, Perlmann explicitly quotes Schreiner's later additions to some of the studies; e. g., *Gesammelte Schriften*, pp. 649, 650, 669. Perlmann's library catalog, which exclusively lists books and excludes offprints, contains just a single title by Schreiner, "Der Kalām in der jüdischen Literatur." See *Catalogue of Moshe Perlmann's Library: 1) Works in European Languages other than Russian*, p. 160.

In December 2009 I had the opportunity to consult the Martin Schreiner Archive at the NLI,⁴ which, together with the Moritz Lazarus and the Leopold Zunz Archives, had been salvaged from Berlin and in 1939 brought to Israel, where it was eventually deposited at the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL; today the National Library of Israel [NLI]).⁵ I prepared an inventory of its holdings.⁶ When going through the archive, I was struck by the richness of the material – I encountered an advanced book manuscript by Schreiner, *Systematische Religionsphilosophie (Grundzüge einer jüdischen Religionsphilosophie)*; several close-to-final drafts of articles, some in German and some in Hungarian, that never made it into print; inventories of Schreiner’s personal library; his study notes and papers; and his many transcriptions of manuscripts from Leiden, Berlin, Gotha, Vienna, and other places. Since my first consultation of the material,⁷ the Martin Schreiner Archive has been reinventorized under the auspices of the collaborative German-Israeli project “Traces and Treasures: Preserving and Exploring German-Jewish Collections in Israeli Archives,”⁸ and its individual sections have been assigned new shelf marks.⁹ Moreover, in recent years a number of scholars have published on aspects of Schreiner’s scholarly oeuvre, invariably from within Jewish studies,¹⁰ and one of Schreiner’s studies – *Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen Bewegungen im Islâm*, his most comprehensive contribution to the intellectual history of Islam, originally published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen*

⁴ ARC. Ms. Var. 347, Martin Schreiner Archive, NLI (henceforth abbreviated as Martin Schreiner Archive).

⁵ Weil, “Das Zunz-Archiv,” pp.148–150; Litt, “Zeugnisse,” pp.204–207. See also below, n. 878.

⁶ Schmidtke, “ARC. Ms. Var. 347 Martin Schreiner Archive.” A description of the Martin Schreiner Archive was already included in Lessing, Maurer, and Rosenthal, “Archivbestände.” The earliest inventory of Schreiner’s papers was prepared in 1905 and is nowadays part of the Martin Schreiner Archive under the title *Verzeichnis der Handschriften des Herrn Dr. Martin Schreiner* (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 04 05); see Appendix VI.

⁷ I had the opportunity to inspect the Martin Schreiner Archive again *in situ* in 2012, 2016 and 2018, and I received digital images of most parts of the archive in 2022.

⁸ For the project and some of its results, see Levy, “Orientalist Collections”; Levy, “Archive as Storyteller.” See also “Traces and Treasures.”

⁹ See, e. g., Greenstein, “The 19th-Century Jewish Orientalist.” It is the new shelf mark system that is used throughout this study.

¹⁰ Turán, “Martin Schreiner”; Fraisse, “Martin Schreiner’s Unpublished Systematic Philosophy of Religion”; Greenstein, “The 19th-Century Jewish Orientalist”; Schmidtke, “Scribal Practices”; Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher*, pp. 213–215 (I thank Tamás Turán for having made his book accessible to me prior to its publication). In addition, Antal Babits presented a paper, “Klein Mór vs. Schreiner Márton és Spiegler Gyula bölcselete,” at a conference entitled “A Magyar zsidó szemle első öt évfolyamáról” (November 17, 2015, Magyar Tudomány Ünnepe). This was not accessible to me.

Gesellschaft (ZDMG) in two installments in 1898 and 1899 – was recently translated into Arabic.¹¹

Besides my work on the contents of the Martin Schreiner Archive, I began to search for additional sources on Schreiner's biography and scholarly trajectory. Epistolary exchanges are typically one of the most revealing sources about scholars of this period, and in Schreiner's case the mother lode of pertinent information is his correspondence with his former teacher and mentor Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), of which 157 letters from Schreiner to Goldziher written between 1884 and 1901 are held by the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (LHAS). Since Goldziher was also acquainted with many of Schreiner's colleagues and students, especially those in Berlin, Goldziher's correspondence with some of them provides additional insights into Schreiner's character and fate. However, the picture offered by the correspondence remains fragmentary – Schreiner apparently did not keep any letters he received, and none of Goldziher's letters to Schreiner have come down to us. With a few exceptions, this also holds true for Goldziher's letters to Schreiner's colleagues and students in Berlin in which he talks about Schreiner. Moreover, since until 1902 Schreiner and Goldziher met regularly in person, the correspondence reflects only a portion of their ongoing conversation. Schreiner also corresponded with others, but only a fraction of this material has been preserved.¹² Within this material, the twenty letters he wrote to Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907) between 1886 and 1897 are particularly important.¹³

¹¹ Schreiner, *Min tārīkh al-ḥarakāt al-dīniyya fī l-Islām*. The translator, the Syrian Mahmoud Kabibo (1941–2020), had received part of his academic training in Bonn, Germany, and translated a number of publications by German Orientalists, including Hans A. Winkler's (1900–1945) *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (*al-Rumūz wa-l-ḥalāsīm 'inda l-Muslimīn*; originally published in 1930, Arabic translation published in Baghdad in 2013), selections from Max von Oppenheim's (1860–1946) *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf durch den Haurān, die Syrische Wüste und Mesopotamien* (*al-Durūz*; originally published in 1899–1900, Arabic translation published in London in 2006), Oscar Reuther's (1880–1954) *Das Wohnhaus in Bagdad und anderen Städten des Irak* (*al-Bayt al-Trāqī fī Baghdād wa-mudun Trāqiyya ukhrā*; originally published in 1910, Arabic translation published in London in 2006), Heinz Halm's *Die Schia* (*al-Shī'a*; originally published in 1988, Arabic translation published in Baghdad in 2011), Tilman Nagel's *Geschichte der islamischen Theologie von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart* (*Tārīkh 'ilm al-kalām al-islāmī min al-nabī Muḥammad ḥattā al-waqt al-ḥāḍir*; originally published in 1994, Arabic translation published in Beirut in 2018), and others.

¹² A critical edition of Schreiner's correspondence with Goldziher is in preparation by Sabine Schmidtke and Dora Zsom. See also Scheiber, "Zeugnisse," offering a small selection from the Schreiner-Goldziher correspondence in German translation; and Turán, "Martin Schreiner," pp. 77–81, offering English translations of Schreiner's letters to Goldziher of 11 May 1887 and 21 December 1887.

¹³ For a critical edition of Schreiner's letters to Steinschneider, see Appendix I.

Schreiner led a consistently solitary life. Although he traveled regularly throughout continental Europe, especially after moving to Berlin in 1894, he mostly visited his family back in his hometown Nagyvárád and in Kovászna, Goldziher in Budapest, his preferred summer resort Norderney,¹⁴ apparently Vienna, where he had some acquaintances in whom he confided, and a few other destinations. It is doubtful that he ever traveled as far as England,¹⁵ and he never went to the Near East.¹⁶ There is also no indication that he ever attended a scholarly conference, such as the International Congresses of Orientalists held in Stockholm and Christiania (today Oslo) in 1889, London in 1892, Geneva in 1894, Paris in 1897, and

¹⁴ Between 1820 and 1933, Norderney was a popular resort for Jewish tourists; see Brenner, “Zwischen Marienbad und Norderney”; Pauluhn, *Zur Geschichte der Juden auf Norderney*; and the relevant contributions to Andryszak and Bramkamp (eds.), *Jüdisches Leben auf Norderney*. Of relevance is also the exhibition “Juden auf Norderney” curated by the Museum Nordseeheilbad Norderney (19 December 2006–13 May 2007); see <https://www.museum-norderney.de/2006/12/19/19-12-2006-13-05-2007-juden-auf-norderney/> (accessed 6 June 2020). According to *Fremdenlisten des Seebades Norderney*, Schreiner sojourned on the island during the summer of 1898 (at Hotel Falk, departure date: 9 August 1898), 1899 (at Kreuzstr. 9, departure date: 18 August 1899), 1900 (at Dirks’ Logierhaus, departure date: 10 August 1900), and 1901 (at Dirks’ Logierhaus, departure date: 8 August 1901). I thank Matthias Pausch (*Stadtarchiv Norderney*) for having provided me with digital images of the relevant entries of the *Fremdenlisten* that were published in *Norderneyer Badezeitung*, where the dates of departure are recorded, but not the dates of arrival.

¹⁵ On two occasions, Schreiner relates to Goldziher that he will be unable to travel to England; see letters Schreiner to Goldziher, 26 June 1894 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/063): בעת חרותנו אל ארצי ואל מולדתי אלך אל עיר קאואסנא במדינת שבע ערים בצורות אשר שמה יושבת היום אמי מורתי שתחיה כי אין בידי להשלים את חפצי ללכת לאנגליא כי תש כחי והוצרכתי לנוח איזה שבועות וגם כבוד אמי יקר הוא בעיני.
and 6 July 1895 (GIL/38/01/150): “Szerettem volna Angolországba menni, de nem érzem magamat elég erősnek arra, hogy Oxfordban koplalva dolgozhatnám és a télen meg ne sinleném.”

¹⁶ The Martin Schreiner Archive (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 24) includes a page on which Schreiner noted down manuscripts on *tafsir* and *al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* kept at the Khedival Library in Cairo that were of interest to him; to compile the list, Schreiner had consulted the first part of *Fihrist al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-mahfūza bi-l-Kutubkhāna al-Khadīwiyya*, published in 1884. But there is nothing to suggest that he ever saw them either *in situ* or as surrogates. This is corroborated by Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte des Aš‘aritentums,” pp. 90–91 n. 5 and 108 n. 5: Schreiner refers to information included in the *Catalog der Bibliothek des Chedive I*, but it is evident that he has not seen the manuscripts in question. These references further indicate the *terminus ante quem* for Schreiner’s consultation of the *Fihrist*. The Martin Schreiner Archive also includes notes and reference lists on the manuscript holdings of libraries in Spain (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 29), but there is again no indication that Schreiner ever visited any of those libraries in person or borrowed any manuscripts from them. Moreover, the same folder includes a list of manuscripts from the Bodleian Library, in Oxford, based on Adolf Neubauer’s (1831–1907) *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Again, there is no reason to think that Schreiner ever consulted any of those manuscripts. For Schreiner’s unsuccessful attempt to consult Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 599, see below.

Rome in 1899.¹⁷ One of his students in Berlin described Schreiner as a *Sonderling*,¹⁸ who shunned all kinds of social gatherings – his single focus was his scholarship and his Judaism. A former fellow student of Schreiner mentioned that the latter had an aversion to letter writing.¹⁹ This, as well as his brief active life, may explain why the documentary footprint Schreiner left behind is so small.

Besides correspondence, I encountered additional material, pertinent especially to Schreiner's time in Berlin, 1894 through 1902. The classes he taught as a faculty member at the *Lehranstalt* (formerly *Hochschule*) für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (HWJ) and his lecturing activities beyond the HWJ are mentioned in the annual reports of the HWJ and the local Jewish press. Schreiner's work on the manuscripts of the Berlin Royal Library during these years are minutely recorded in the Register of Readers of Oriental Manuscripts (*Im Lesezimmer der Handschriften-Abtheilung benutzte Berliner Mss. Orientalia*).²⁰ Moreover, the reminiscences of many of his students in Berlin provide often very personal glimpses into Schreiner's personality. Finally, his own scholarly writings – both published and unpublished – constitute an important source for reconstructing his scholarly trajectory and assessing his originality as a scholar. The picture that emerges from the available documentary material is that of an exceptional scholar in many respects. Much more could and should be said about his scholarly achievements in the many fields of study to which he contributed, but beyond putting the available biographical material into context, this study will focus on Schreiner as a scholar of Arabica and Islamica.

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¹⁷ Remarkably, Schreiner's colleague on the HWJ faculty in Berlin, Siegmund Maybaum (on whom see below, Chapter 2.A), had participated in 1899 in the Rome gathering; see letter Siegmund Maybaum to Moritz Lazarus, 29 October 1899 (NLI, Moritz Lazarus Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 298 03 98).

¹⁸ See Appendix III, letter II.

¹⁹ See letter Adolf Büchler to Ignaz Goldziher, 10 June 1902 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/06/19/15): "Schreiner töl nem várhatunk egyhamar levelet, mert a levélírástól mindig irtó-zott, mostani állapotában pedig egyáltalában nem is igéri." I thank Kinga Dévényi for her help in deciphering the letter. That Schreiner was not an avid letter writer is also indicated by his apologies to Goldziher that he had not responded any earlier that are found in the opening lines of most of his letters to Goldziher. For Büchler, see below, nn. 144, 925.

²⁰ Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, or. sim. 8948, abbreviated in the following as "Im Lesezimmer."

ner Chorherrenstift St. Florian), Michal Bušek (*Židovské muzeum v Praze*), Nikolaus Bütikofer (*Universität Bern, Universitätsarchiv*), the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (Jerusalem), Kinga Dévényi (Budapest), Silke Ebster (*Stadtmuseum Bad Vöslau*), Ayala Eliyahu (Jerusalem), Andreas Fingernagel (*Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*), Mathias Ghyoot (Princeton), Alexander Gordin, Stefan Litt, Rachel Misrati, Samuel Thrope, Raquel Ukeles, and Zmira Reuveni (National Library of Israel, Jerusalem), Rainer Herrn (Berlin), Volker Hess (Berlin), *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (Universitätsarchiv)*, Robert Jütte (Stuttgart), Samir Kaddouri (Doha), Andrew Katz (Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York), Ágnes Kelecsényi and János Boromissza (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest), Grigory Kessel (Vienna), Mátyás Király (Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest), Arthur Kiron and Bruce E. Nielsen (Library at the Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania), Tamas Kiss (Budapest), Feras Krimsti and Monika Hasenmüller (*Forschungsbibliothek Gotha*), Rita Kuczynski (Berlin), *Leibniz Zentrum Moderner Orient* (Berlin), Tamer el-Leithy (Baltimore and Princeton), Uri Melammed (Jerusalem), Omer Michaelis (Tel Aviv), National Library of Israel in Jerusalem (Archives Department), Uta Nitschke and María Mercedes Tuya (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ), Matthias Pausch (*Stadtarchiv Norderney*), Meira Polliack (Tel Aviv), Christoph Rauch (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*), Ulrich Rieske (Berlin), Najih Salhab (Jerusalem), Tami Siesel (Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem), Patrice Stern-Schattat (*Kammergericht Berlin*), Guy and Sarah Stroumsa (Jerusalem), József Szécsi (Jewish Theological Seminary, Budapest), Zoltán Szombathy (Budapest), Balázs Tamási (Jewish Theological Seminary, Budapest), Jan Thiele (Madrid), Tamás Turán (Budapest), Giuseppe Veltri (Halle), Arnoud Vrolijk (Leiden), Clemens Wachter (*Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Kanzlerbüro – Universitätsarchiv*), Sabrina Zinke (*Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg*), Dora Zsom (Budapest), and Philipp Zschommler (*Hochschule für Jüdische Studien, Heidelberg*). Camilla Adang, Kinga Dévényi, Omer Michaelis, Dora Zsom, and an anonymous peer-reviewer kindly read an earlier draft of this study, and I am grateful for their comments on it. Thanks are also due to Hanna Siurua for her careful copyediting of the final manuscript. Financial support for the purchase of digital surrogates of archival materials consulted during the preparation of this study was generously provided by the Gerard B. Lambert Foundation. Moreover, I gratefully acknowledge the School for Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, which supported the final production of the study through its Publication Fund. I further thank Mohr Siebeck in Tübingen, especially Henning Ziebritzki, Elena Müller, Markus Kirchner, Susanne Mang, and Katharina Gutekunst, for their interest in this book from early on and for their patience in seeing it slowly evolve over more than a decade.

Table of Contents

Preface	V
Abbreviations	XIII
List of Illustrations	XV
 Chapter 1: Hungary	 1
A. From Nagyvárad to Budapest, 1863–1887	5
B. Dunapentele, Csurgó, and Budapest, 1886–1893	13
 Chapter 2: Berlin	 33
A. <i>Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums</i> , 1893–1902	33
B. Schreiner’s Curriculum and His Students	63
C. Beyond the <i>Lehranstalt</i> : Moritz Steinschneider, Abraham Berliner, and the Royal Library	104
D. Jewish Student Associations and Fraternities	117
E. Crisis, Breakdown, and Hospitalization	131
 Chapter 3: Schreiner’s Scholarly Trajectory	 139
 Chapter 4: Schreiner and Mu‘tazila Studies	 161
 Chapter 5: Schreiner and Geniza Studies	 181
 Chapter 6: Schreiner’s Unfinished and Unpublished Work	 187
 Chapter 7: Schreiner’s Personal Library	 197
 Appendix I: The Unfolding of a Scholar – Martin Schreiner’s Letters to Moritz Steinschneider (1886 through 1897)	 213
 Appendix II: Schreiner’s Negotiations with the <i>Curatorium</i> of the <i>Lehranstalt</i> – From the Letters of Adolf Jellinek and Moritz Lazarus to Ignaz Goldziher (1893)	 229
 Appendix III: Schreiner’s Mental Illness before World War I – From the Letters of Samuel Fuchs, Salomon Neumann, Arthur Biram, and Micha Josef Berdyczewski (“Bin Gorion”) to Moritz Lazarus and Ignaz Goldziher (1902/3, 1913)	 235

Appendix IV: Manuscripts Consulted by Schreiner	257
Appendix V: Catalog of Schreiner's Personal Library	321
Appendix VI: Schreiner's Study Papers and Research Notes	499
Appendix VII: A Selection of Schreiner's Unpublished Works	503
Editorial Notes	503
1. <i>Rede bei der Einführung in die Lehranstalt</i> (26 December 1893)	514
2. <i>Zur Kenntniss der jüdischen Secten im Zeitalter der Gaonen</i> (1894)	517
3. <i>Das jüdische Erbrecht in den Ländern des Islâms</i> (1894)	520
4. <i>Zur Geschichte der Juden in Aegypten</i> (1895)	524
5. <i>Jüdische Wezîre</i> (ca. 1895)	531
6. <i>Arabische Gutachten des R. Isak Alfâsi</i> (between 1895 and 1899)	534
7. <i>Ein Bericht aus dem XV Jahrhundert über die Feste der Kopten</i> (1897 or later)	538
8. <i>Das Gedicht des Abû Ishâk aus Elwira gegen Josef ha-Nagid</i> <i>und die Juden</i> (1897 or later)	560
9. <i>Wintersemester 1899–1900</i>	567
10. <i>Ein Wort über jüdische Sittenlehre</i> (1899/1900)	573
11. Comment on Anton Baumstark's <i>Syrisch-arabische Biographien</i> <i>des Aristoteles: Syrische Commentare zur Eisagōgē des Porphyrios</i> (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900) (1900/1)	576
12. <i>Fortschritte der Islamforschung, 1880–1890</i> (1900)	578
13. <i>Systematische Religionsphilosophie [Grundzüge einer jüdischen</i> <i>Religionsphilosophie]</i> (1896 or 1897)	580
Bibliography	743
Archival Sources	743
Jewish Journals and Periodicals	745
Non-Jewish Journals and Periodicals	747
Published Sources	747
Index	795
Index of Personal Names	795
Index of Geographical Names, Institutions, and Associations	815
Index of Premodern Book Titles	822
Index of Manuscripts	828

Abbreviations

AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
AJGV	Akademischer Verein für jüdische Geschichte and Literatur
AJR	Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain
AJSLL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AJYB	<i>American Jewish Year Book</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
ASP	<i>Arabic Sciences and Philosophy</i>
AZJ	<i>Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums</i>
Bericht	<i>Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums</i>
BHR	Brocke, Michael, and Julius Carlebach (eds.), <i>Biographisches Handbuch der Rabbiner</i> , 2 vols. in 4 parts, Munich: K. G. Saur, 2004–2009
BRS	Eliav, Mordechai, and Esriel Hildesheimer, <i>Das Berliner Rabbinerseminar 1873–1938: Seine Gründungsgeschichte – seine Studenten</i> , trans. Jana Caroline Reimer, ed. Chana Schütz and Hermann Simon, Teetz and Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2008
BSOS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i>
CAHJP	The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CJA	Archiv der Stiftung Neue Synagoge-Centrum Judaicum Archiv, Berlin
DLZ	<i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i>
DMG	<i>Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft</i>
EJGK	<i>Enzyklopädie jüdischer Geschichte und Kultur</i>
EJIW	<i>Encyclopaedia of Jews in the Islamic World</i>
EJJS	<i>European Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
GB	<i>Der Gemeindebote: Beilage zur "Allgemeinen Zeitung des Judenthums"</i>
GGA	<i>Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HWJ	<i>Hochschule/Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums</i> , Berlin
IFH	<i>Israelitisches Familienblatt</i>
IR	<i>Israelitische Rundschau</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBDI/DIYB	<i>Jahrbuch des Dubnow Instituts = Dubnow Institute Yearbook</i>
JCH	<i>Jewish Culture and History</i>
JHI	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
JHS	<i>Jewish Historical Studies</i>
JIM	<i>Journal of Islamic Manuscripts</i>
JJE	<i>Journal of Jewish Education</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>

JLZ	<i>Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung</i>
JNUL	Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Jüdische Rundschau</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSAI	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam</i>
JSJT	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought</i>
JSS	<i>Jewish Social Studies</i>
JTSA	Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York
JTS Breslau	<i>Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar Fraenkel'sche Stiftung, Breslau</i>
JZfWuL	<i>Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben</i>
LBIB	<i>Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts</i>
LBIYB	<i>Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute</i>
LHAS	Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
MGWJ	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
MSOS II	<i>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen: Westasiatische Studien</i>
MZsSz	<i>Magyar-zsidó szemle</i>
NDB	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i>
NLI	National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
NLR	National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg
OC	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
ÖWS	<i>Dr. Bloch's Österreichische Wochenschrift</i>
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
PAJHS	<i>Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society</i>
PrJ	<i>Preußische Jahrbücher</i>
PWMbl	<i>Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter zur Belehrung über das Judentum für Gebildete aller Konfessionen</i>
REEH	<i>Revue Européenne des Études Hébraïques</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
RTP	<i>Revue des Traditions Populaires</i>
SAWW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-Hist. Klasse</i>
SEP	<i>Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy</i>
SOS	<i>Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin</i>
UA	University Archive
VJSt	<i>Verein Jüdischer Studenten</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZfS	<i>Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete</i>
ZfVpsSprw	<i>Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft</i>
ZHB	<i>Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie</i>
ZvglRWiss	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft</i>

List of Illustrations

- Figure I:* Portrait picture of Schreiner, with dedication to Goldziher,
dated 7 July 1892 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, Goldziher 142/49) XVI
- Figure II:* Gravestone of Martin Schreiner, Weißensee cemetery
(photograph by Sabine Schmidtke, 2013) 4
- Figures III–VI:* *Anmeldebuch des Stud. phil. George Alexander Kohut
aus New York America Inscribiert in der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft
des Judentums zu Berlin* (Yale University at Beinecke Library,
Hebrew +82y, “George Alexander Kohut, in memoriam”) 79 ff.
- Figure VII–XX:* Schreiner’s edition of Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek,
or. oct. 406, fols. 22v–32v (*fuṣūl fī dhikr a’yād al-Qubṭ min al-Naṣārā*)
(Martin Schreiner Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 26) 546 ff.



Figure 1: Portrait picture of Schreiner, with dedication to Goldziher, dated 7 July 1892
(LHAS, Oriental Collection, Goldziher 142/49, with kind permission)

Chapter 1

Hungary

On 30 August 1906, Martin Schreiner wrote to the librarian of the HWJ in Berlin, Moses Barol, asking him to dispatch some books to him. In the letter, Schreiner, who had been diagnosed with mental illness (*Spaltungsirresein*, i. e., schizophrenia) in April 1902 at the age of thirty-eight and was writing from the private psychiatric clinic *Sanatorium Berolinum* in Berlin Lankwitz, where he was hospitalized, expresses hope of an imminent discharge.¹ In another letter to the secretary of the

¹ Letter Schreiner to Moses Barol, 30 August 1906 (Martin Schreiner Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 347 03 07): “Geehrter Herr Doctor! Ich hatte geglaubt, dass das Zurücksenden der Bücher zumindest zur Folge haben würde, dass ich in kürzester Zeit von hier hinauskomme. Da dies bisher nicht geschehen ist, ersuche ich Sie, mir von denselben Werken die folgenden aus meiner Bibliothek, – wenn ich nicht sofort hier hinauskommen sollte, – mir [sic] gütigst einsenden zu wollen: פיר' ומכילתא, סיפרי ספרא, ספרי תרגומים, ירושלמי חומש עם ג' תרגומים, מורה הנבוכים, מלחמות ד', הרד"ק, טהרות משניות ס' זרעים ונזיקין וקדשים, רלב"ג, מורה הנבוכים, מלחמות ד'. Aus der Bibliothek der Lehranstalt: Aristoteles, *Metaphysik* (Kirchmann) und von der Gesamtausgabe den Band, in dem die *Rhetorik* Loeb enthalten sind. Von meiner Abschrift des *Muhtawî* von *Josef al-Bašîr* die 3 Hefte, die ich nicht hier habe. תשובות הגאונים, ed. Harkavy. Wenn Sie auch die letzten Hefte der Revue [des Études Juives], des [Jewish] Qu[arterly] Rev[ue] und M[onats]schr[ift] M[agyar] Zs[ift] Sz[emle] und einzelne Jahresberichte mir einsenden würden, so wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar. Mit bestem Gruss, Dr. Martin Schreiner.” The letter has marks in a different hand and ink, indicating that Barol (on whom see below, Chapter 2.A) collected the titles Schreiner had requested and dispatched them to him. This is confirmed by a draft of a letter from Barol to Schreiner’s guardian, Benno Braun (on whom see below, Chapter 2.E), on 16 September 1906, in which he informs Braun of the titles he has sent to Schreiner (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 03 07). The letter has several corrections, and the final version seems to read: “Sehr geehrter Herr! Hierdurch teile ich Ihnen ergebenst mit, daß ich am 9. d. Ms. Herrn Dr. Martin Schreiner zu Lankwitz bei Berlin auf seinen ausdrücklichen Wunsch nachstehende Literatur seiner bei der Lehranstalt aufbewahrten Büchersammlung geschickt habe: 1) Hebr. Bibel ... 1 Bd. 2) Pentateuch (569 [112]) 5 Bde 3) Mischnajoth (535 [566]) 6 Bde. 4) Talmud jer. (705 [118]) 1 Bd. 5) Baer, Gebetbuch (50 [60]) 1 Bd. 6) Mechilta (517 [559a]) 1 Bd. 7) Sifra (670 [11]) 1 Bd. 8) Sifre (671 [255]) 1 Bd. 9) Maimonides More Neb. 1 Bd. (497 [537]) Crescas, Or Adonai (146 [157]) 1 Bd. 11) Levy b. Gerson Milchamot (452 [474]) 1 Bd. 12) Gebete für die Festtage (491 [522]) 2 Bde. 13) al-Gazâli Tahâfut al falasifa (II 41 [270a]) 1 Bd. Hochachtungsvoll die Bibliotheksverwaltung der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums Dr. M. Barol.” The numbers following the individual titles in round brackets refer to those in *Verzeichnis der Druckwerke des Herrn Dr. Martin Schreiner* (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 04 05), followed in square brackets by the numbers as assigned to the titles in Appendix V. Whether Barol also dispatched the titles Schreiner had requested from the library of the

HWJ, likewise written in Lankwitz and dated 19 May 1920, Schreiner asks for more titles from his library to be delivered to him.² Finally, the Martin Schreiner Archive includes a draft of a short letter from Schreiner to an unidentified recipient, dated 12 April 1922.³ These three letters are Schreiner's last written testimonies. His men-

HWJ is uncertain. Fraisse, in "Martin Schreiner's Unpublished Systematic Philosophy of Religion," p. 247 n. 7, erroneously assumes that Schreiner's letter of 30 August 1906 was addressed to the head of the *Berolinum*, Dr. Fraenkel (on whom see below, n. 4): "As a son of Daniel Fraenkel (1821–90), who was a rabbi in Frankfurt an der Oder, he was probably able to read Schreiner's list of books, which were mostly written in Hebrew characters. Whether Schreiner's wish was granted or no. is unknown."

² The letter is preserved at NLI in the Abraham Schwadron Collection under Schreiner, Martin, Schwad Aut. Coll. 01 21 379. It reads as follows: "Lankwitz, Kurhaus (Berolinum), den 19. Mai 20. An das verehrl. Secretariat der Lehranstalt f. d. Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin. Für Ihre freundlichen Mittheilungen und Sendungen will ich nochmals sehr gedankt haben. Ich erlaube mir auch, Sie erg. zu bitten, mit den Rest meiner verlangten Bücher und Abschriften gütigst einzusenden 1) *Al-Tha'labî*, 'Arâ'is (A040 [769a]); 2) *Themistius*, de Caelo, ed. Landauer; 3) *Al-Samarḳandî*, Tanbîh al-ġâfilîn (A035 [678]); 4) 'Abd al-Ḳâdir al-Ġilânî, *Al-insân al-kâmil* (A001 [403]), 5) Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'ikd al-farîd*, Bd. II (A020 [356]), Josef al-Baṣîr, *Al-muḥṭawî* (meine Abschrift) 3 Hefte, *מהכימת פתי* (Abschrift, mein Eigenthum) *תשובות שאלות* (eigene Abschrift). Ich habe auch Herrn Dr. Barol ersucht, dass er mir das *Vocabulaire arabe-français* und die *Mu'allakât*, ed. Arnold, mir [*sic*] einseude, aber ich habe bisher Nichts erhalten. Wenn Sie veranlassen würden, dass ich das Wörterbuch, welches für mich unentbehrlich ist, auf irgend eine Weise erhalte, so würde ich dafür stets sehr danken. Von den übrigen schon verlangten Büchern darf ich augenblicklich nicht sprechen, in Folge der eigenthümlichen Verhältnisse, unter denen ich hier lebe, obwohl es mir sehr erwünscht wäre, sie hier zu haben. Mit ergebenstem Dank u. Gruss Dr. Martin Schreiner." The numbers following the individual titles in round brackets again refer to those in *Verzeichnis der Druckwerke des Herrn Dr. Martin Schreiner* (Martin Schreiner Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 347 04 05), followed in square brackets by the numbers as assigned to the titles in Appendix V. The second title, *Themistii in Libros Aristotelis De Caelo paraphrasis: hebraice et latine*, ed. Samuel Landauer (Berlin: Reimer, 1902) is not recorded in *Verzeichnis der Druckwerke des Herrn Dr. Martin Schreiner*, and neither are the two last mentioned titles, Jean Baptiste Belot's *Vocabulaire arabe-français* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1881) and *Kitâb al-Sumûṭ al-sab'a al-mu'allaqât min ash'âr al-'Arab ma'a sharḥ muntakhab = Septem Mo'allakât, carmina anti-quissima Arabum*, ed. Friedrich August Arnold (Leipzig: Vogel, 1850). For the Schwadron Collection, see Misrati, "Jewish National Collection."

³ The letter reads: "Lankwitz, Kurhaus, Viktoria-Str. 59–60, den 12. Apr 22. Ich ersuche Sie hierdurch, mir gef. 6 Pf Mazzen zu schicken. Hochachtungsvoll Dr Martin Schreiner." Whether this letter was ever dispatched is uncertain. It is part of a folder (Martin Schreiner Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 39) that consists of carelessly written notes, all in pencil, some apparently prayers or doctrinal deliberations, occasionally based on literary sources that Schreiner evidently had at his disposal at Lankwitz. Many pages carry Schreiner's name. Occasionally, there are some words scribbled in Arabic, invariably on the margins of the pages and possibly added later by Schreiner. It is possible that these notes belong to the corpus Schreiner wrote while hospitalized in Lankwitz. Samuel Fuchs reports that Schreiner constantly wrote letters while in Lankwitz but that these were as a rule not mailed; see Appendix III, letters 11, 12, 13. It can be assumed that

tal disorder put a painful and sudden end to the rich, albeit brief, career of a prolific and versatile scholar. Schreiner published nothing more after his hospitalization, although he lingered on for more than two decades until his demise on 9 October 1926.⁴ He was buried on 12 October, at 10 a. m., in the Jewish cemetery in Berlin's Weißensee district, where his grave was placed in the row of honor (*Ehrenreihe*), located in section 1 A of the cemetery (grave no. 71887). Leo Baeck (1873–1956), a former student of Schreiner's at the HWJ (1893–1897) who served as rabbi of Berlin between 1912 and 1943 and had joined the ranks of the HWJ faculty in 1913,⁵ led the funeral *honoris causa*. These facts attest to the high esteem Schreiner enjoyed among his former colleagues and students, who still remembered him at the time of his death.⁶

Schreiner also wrote down his thoughts extensively for himself during those years; see Appendix III, letter 18. The notes were apparently numbered, though it is unclear what these numbers refer to and how they were generated. One of the notes (no. 35) has a marginal addition stating, "5. Juni [19]22 19 Bll. 4^o + 15 Bll b. Juli"; another note (no. 287) states, "27 Juli [19]22 36 Bll"; note no. 59 has "20 Sept [19]22 14 Bll."; and note no. 275 has "3 Nov. [19]21 7 Bll." The additions suggest that the bulk of this material was produced in 1922. The same folder includes what seem to be letters, possibly addressed to Schreiner and mostly written in Yiddish, as well as other material, mostly in Hebrew but occasionally in German, not in Schreiner's hand.

⁴ The physician in charge of the mental hospital was Dr. med. James Fraenkel (1859–1935), the cofounder (with Albert Oliven, 1860–1921) and director of the *Berolinum*. Fraenkel also signed Schreiner's death certificate (CJA, Sterberegister Nr. 71887). On the *Berolinum* and Fraenkel, see Kreuter, *Deutschsprachige Neurologen*, vol. 1, pp. 377–378; Arbeitskreis Historisches Lankwitz, *Zum Gedenken*, passim; Müller, "Die neurologische Abteilung"; "Erholung für die Seele" (2018); Verlohren, *Krankenhäuser in Groß-Berlin*, p. 300. For the landscape of clinical neurology and psychiatry in Germany and especially Berlin from the second half of the nineteenth century until 1933, see Engstrom, *Clinical Psychiatry*; Holdorff, "Founding Years of Clinical Neurology"; and the relevant contributions to Holdorff and Winau (eds.), *Geschichte der Neurologie in Berlin*.

⁵ On him, see, e. g., Ullendorff, "Berlin Hochschule," p. 199; Meyer, "The Thought of Leo Baeck"; Meyer, *Rabbi Leo Baeck*; Wiener, "The Writings of Leo Baeck"; Heuer (ed.), *Lexikon*, vol. 1, pp. 289–302; *BHR*, vol. 2/1, pp. 29–46 no. 1980; Hamburger, "Leo Baeck." For Leo Baeck as a student at the HWJ, see below, Chapter 2.B. For his appointment to the HWJ, see "[Protokoll] Gemeinsame Sitzung des Kuratoriums und Lehrerkollegiums am 23. Juni 1912 vormittags 10 Uhr" (NLI, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah. 38 01 287.3): "16. Die Uebernahme der homiletischen Dozentur durch Herrn Rabbiner Dr. Baeck soll mit Beginn des Sommersemesters 1913 erfolgen, wovon Herrn Dr. Baeck Nachricht zu geben ist."

⁶ See "Jüdische Gemeinde Berlin: Beerdigungs-Anmeldung für Friedhof Weissensee. Grab Nr. 71887. 11 October 1926" (CJA, Sterberegister Nr. 71887). For the Weißensee Jewish cemetery, see Nachama and Simon, *Jüdische Grabstätten*, pp. 36–42 and passim; Wauer and Losier, *Der jüdische Friedhof Weissensee*; Etzold et al., *Jüdische Friedhöfe*, pp. 83 ff. and passim. When he died, Schreiner was probably mostly forgotten by the new generation of teachers and students at the HWJ. The *JLZ (Beilage)* 7, no. 27 (8 July 1927), p. 5, contains a brief notice under the rubric "Von der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums" that states: "Der frühere Dozent Herr Dr. Schreiner ist gestorben." It was still in 1915 that Ismar Elbogen (1874–1943) mentioned Schreiner



Figure II: Gravestone of Martin Schreiner, Weißensee cemetery
(photograph by Sabine Schmidtke, 2013)

A. From Nagyvárad to Budapest, 1863–1887

Martin (Márton) Mordechai Schreiner⁷ was born on 8 July 1863 in Nagyvárad (Großwardein), a provincial town in the Körösvidék (Kreischgebiet) region that belonged to Hungary until the end of World War I and thereafter became part of Romania (Oradea).⁸ His father, Albert, a ritual slaughterer in the local orthodox Jewish community, is said to have taught Schreiner Hebrew and to have introduced him to the Talmud.⁹ Schreiner's father passed away in 1881, the year Schreiner completed high school in his hometown;¹⁰ his mother died only in 1896.¹¹ We

in an article on the HWJ; see Elbogen, “A zsidó tudomány Berlinben,” p. 19: “A tantestület legismertebb tagja a magyar származású, híres berlini hitszónok *Maybaum* professzor. Ugyancsak magyar származású a nagytehetségű tudós dr. Martin *Schreiner*, akit súlyos betegsége már egy évtizede távol tart a tanítástól.” In 1917 Lajos Venetianer (1867–1922), Schreiner's successor in Csurgó (see below, n. 56), reminded his readers of Schreiner's prominence as a teacher; see Venetianer, “Rabbiképzők,” p. 164: “Ezen iskolának volt egyik legkiválóbb tanára a pesti iskolából kikerült Dr. *Schreiner* Márton.” For Venetianer, see Lengyel, *Moderne Rabbinausbildung*, part 2, no. 168.

⁷ Brief biographical accounts of Schreiner are provided by Elzász, “Schreiner Márton”; Scheiber, “Zeugnisse”; Schmelczer, “Martin Schreiner”; Perlmann's introduction to Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*; Turán, “Martin Schreiner”; Greenstein, “The 19th-Century Jewish Orientalist.”

⁸ Imré Schmelczer (Hermann Schmelczer, 1932–2020) erroneously gives 8 August 1863 as the date of Schreiner's birth (Schmelczer, “Martin Schreiner,” p. 83). Schreiner mentions his birthday on the back of a portrait photo of himself that he sent to Goldziher on 12 Tammuz 5652 (في اليوم الثاني من شهر تموز سنة ١٢٧٢), i. e., 7 July 1892, on the occasion of his twenty-ninth birthday (LHAS, Oriental Collection, Goldziher/142/49). For the history of Nagyvárad, see Schares, “Großwardein/Oradea” (with further references); Ujvári, *Magyar zsidó lexikon*, <http://mek.niif.hu/04000/04093/html/szocikk/13538.htm> (accessed 15 August 2023). For Schmelczer, see Lauer, “Rabbiner Hermann Schmelczer.”

⁹ Elzász, “Schreiner Márton,” p. 317. For the profession of his father, see Turán, “Martin Schreiner,” pp. 75–76 n. 100.

¹⁰ Schreiner's high school degree is dated 11 June 1881 (Martin Schreiner Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 01). The Martin Schreiner Archive includes earlier annual school reports and some of Schreiner's notebooks from his high school days (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 02, 01 03, 01 04, 01 05, 01 06, 01 07), as well as further materials in the hand of Schreiner's father, Albert (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 03 and 02 10). Facsimiles of samples of some of these documents are included in Greenstein, “The 19th-Century Jewish Orientalist.”

¹¹ In his correspondence with Goldziher, Schreiner occasionally mentions his mother; see, e. g., letter Schreiner to Goldziher, 16 October 1891 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/143): “E héten édes anyám elhagyta a kórházat s az Isten különös kegyelme meg a dr. Báron művésze nagy csapást háritott el feőlem.” Translated in Scheiber, “Zeugnisse,” p. 59: “Diese Woche hat meine Mutter das Krankenhaus verlassen, und Gottes besondere Gnade und die Kunst des Dr. Baron haben einen großen Schlag von mir abgewendet.” Letter Schreiner to Goldziher, 17 September 1895 (GIL/38/01/151): “... de anyám ott van most Kovásznán hugomnál, a kinek lebetegedését várja.” In his letter of 7 September 1896 Schreiner thanks Goldziher for his condolences on the occasion of his mother's death (GIL/38/01/055).

also know of a brother, who married in 1894¹² and lived in Nagyvárad in 1902,¹³ and an older sister, who later lived in Kovászna and in Sepsiszentgyörgy¹⁴ and to whom Schreiner remained attached throughout his life.¹⁵ The Martin Schreiner Archive further holds an attestation by Schreiner's parents, Albert Schreiner and Fanni Weiss, that their daughter Fanni Schreiner was born in November 1865. This sister was thus about two years younger than Martin Schreiner.¹⁶ Schreiner remained closely connected to his family. He returned to Nagyvárad and Kovászna for regular visits until 1902 and supported his family financially throughout his career.¹⁷ The attachment of Schreiner's family to him is evident from their desperate efforts to stay in contact with him in and after 1902 when he fell ill¹⁸ and from their attempts, around 1908, to get Schreiner discharged from the hospital to go and stay with them.¹⁹

¹² Elzász, "Schreiner Márton," p. 320.

¹³ See letter Lipót Kecskeméti to Ignaz Goldziher, 8 June 1902 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/20/31/01); see below, n. 572.

¹⁴ See letter Lipót Kecskeméti to Ignaz Goldziher, 8 June 1902 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/20/31/01); see below, n. 572.

¹⁵ See letter Schreiner to Goldziher, 8 August 1898 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/040).

¹⁶ See Martin Schreiner Archive (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 24). The note reads as follows: "Alulírottak ezennel bizonyítjuk, hogy Schreiner Fanni, Schreiner Albert és Weiss Fanni törvényes házasságából az 1865. évi november hóban (Kiszlév hó 1. Napján született)." I thank Dora Zsom for deciphering and interpreting the note. Whether this sister survived childhood is uncertain. That Schreiner had more than one sister is confirmed by Samuel Fuchs; see Appendix III, letter 13. See also Appendix III, letter 10, where a certain "Frau Schwarz in Belényes" is mentioned; she might be either a sister of Martin Schreiner or an acquaintance who may have written on behalf of Schreiner's sister – the wording in the letter is ambiguous. The information provided by Fuchs is corroborated by Lipót Kecskeméti's letter to Ignaz Goldziher, 2 April 1903 (see below, n. 592), who also writes about two sisters of Schreiner, one in Belényes and another in Sepsiszentgyörgy.

¹⁷ See, e.g., letters Schreiner to Goldziher, 27 July 1893 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/144), 28 September 1894 (GIL/38/01/062), and 19 March 1895 (GIL/38/01/149); letter Schreiner to József Bánóczi, 29 January 1894 (*Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár*, Budapest, Archive Bánóczi József, K.71.1.304). The Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives (*Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár*) in Budapest holds three additional letters from Schreiner to Bánóczi, dated 11 March 1889 (K.71.1.306), 4 January 1894 (K.71.1.303), and 21 September 1887 (K.71.1.305); see below, nn. 65, 148, 149, 234. I thank Mátyás Király, assistant archivist at the Hungarian Jewish Museum, for having provided me with images of all four letters. Schreiner's continuing financial support for his family is mentioned by Elzász, "Schreiner Márton." The poor conditions in which Schreiner's sisters lived are also mentioned in Lipót Kecskeméti's letter to Ignaz Goldziher, 2 April 1903 (see below, n. 592).

¹⁸ See Appendix III, letters 10, 13.

¹⁹ See letter Bertalan Kohlbach to Ignaz Goldziher, 20 May 1908 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/21/31/02); see also Chapter 2.E. For Bertalan (Bartholomäus) Kohlbach (1866–1944), see Lengyel, *Moderne Rabbinerausbildung*, part 2, no. 89.

After his graduation from high school, Schreiner moved to Budapest, where he enrolled both in the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary (*Országos Rabbiképző Intézet*) and Budapest University (renamed Pázmány Péter University in 1921 and Eötvös Loránd University in 1950). He studied Semitic and Islamic studies as well as philosophy, the typical disciplines chosen by students of the Rabbinical Seminary. The Rabbinical Seminary was at the time under the leadership of Moses Löb Bloch (1815–1909; Talmud and liturgy). Schreiner's principal teachers were Wilhelm Bacher (1850–1913; Bible and Midrash) and David Kaufmann (1852–1899; Jewish history, philosophy of religion, and homiletics), both former students of the *Jüdisch-Theologische Seminar* (JTS) in Breslau. Bloch, Bacher, and Kaufmann had constituted the core faculty ever since the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary had opened its doors on 4 October 1877.²⁰ In 1886, Schreiner defended his doctoral dissertation, entitled *Adalékok a bibliai szöveg kiejtésének történetéhez*, on the history of the pronunciation of the biblical text, at Budapest University. The thesis includes a chapter on the transcription of biblical names and terms among Muslim writers, evidence of his proficiency in Islamic literature.²¹ In his dissertation, as well as his 1885 publication “Das ‘große Ístikâk’ bei Abulwalîd,” Schreiner expresses his grati-

²⁰ For the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary, see Bánóczy, “Die Geschichte des ersten Jahrzehnts”; Schill, *A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző Intézet története*; “A szeminárium jubileuma”; Bánóczy, *Az Országos Izraelita Tanítóképző-Intézet története, 1875–1897*; Schweitzer, “Rabbinical Training in Hungary”; the contributions to Carmilly-Weinberger (ed.), *The Rabbinical Seminary*; Lengyel, *Moderne Rabbinerausbildung*, pp. 118–135, and passim; Thulin, *Kaufmanns Nachrichtendienst*, pp. 178–194; the relevant contributions to Turán and Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship*; Rac, “German Wissenschaft des Judentums.” For the Seminary's faculty and selected former students, see also the relevant contributions to Blau, Hevesi, and Friedman (ed.), *Emlékkönyv*, vol. 2. For today's seminary (National Rabbi Training Institute), see <https://or-zse.hu/az-or-zse-tortenete/> (accessed 26 August 2022). For Moses Löb Bloch, see Kaufmann, “Rede bei der achtzigsten Geburtstagsfeier des Professor Moses Bloch (1895)” and the pertinent contributions to the Bloch *Festschrift*, Krauss and Weisz (eds.), *Bloch Mózes*. For Wilhelm Bacher, who had studied in Budapest, Breslau, and Leipzig, see Eisler, “Professor Dr. Wilhelm Bacher”; Blau, *Bibliographie*; Schechter, “Wilhelm Bacher”; Dotan, “Wilhelm Bacher, Linguist”; Patai, “Wilhelm Bacher”; Vajda, “Identitäts- und Wissenschaftskonzept”; Rac, “German Wissenschaft des Judentums”; Lengyel, *Moderne Rabbinerausbildung*, part 2, no. 5. For David Kaufmann, see Thulin, *Kaufmanns Nachrichtendienst*; Thulin, “Connecting Centers”; Thulin, “Jüdische Wissenschaft”; Kohler, *Reading Maimonides' Philosophy*, pp. 96–101. For Bacher's, Bloch's, and Kaufmann's respective teaching programs, see Blau and Klein, *Emlékkönyv*, pp. 43–47 (Bacher), 50–51 (Bloch), 57–58 (Kaufmann).

²¹ Schreiner, *Adalékok*. In 1886 Schreiner republished his original dissertation with additions and corrections in *Egyetemes philologiai közlöny*, as well as an abbreviated version in German translation under the title “Zur Geschichte der Aussprache des Hebräischen” in ZAW. See Schmelczer, “Martin Schreiner,” p. 89 nos. 10, 11; see also below. The Martin Schreiner Archive contains a folder with Schreiner's preparatory materials for the German publication of his dissertation (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 32). The folder includes several different drafts, some of which

tude to Bacher and Kaufmann for their respective comments on selected passages and for having provided him with access to some of the manuscript material he consulted during his research.²² Between 31 January and 16 February 1887, Schreiner successfully passed the final written and oral exams at the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest, and he received his rabbinical ordination on 17 February 1887.²³

That Schreiner remained in contact with Bloch is suggested by an undated draft letter to Bloch that is preserved in the Martin Schreiner Archive.²⁴ The considerable number of Bacher's publications in Schreiner's private library as offprints as well as books, including some that were published after 1894, when Schreiner left Budapest, further indicates continued contact between Bacher and Schreiner beyond the latter's student days.²⁵ Moreover, in his 1890 monograph *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Bacher acknowledges Schreiner's reference to Pierre Daniël Chantepie de la Saussaye's (1848–1920) *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*.²⁶ Schreiner, in turn,

differ from the published version, as well as excerpts of relevant passages from works by Muslim authors (Ibn Khaldūn, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and others).

²² For details, see Appendix IV, passim. See also Schreiner, "Adalékok," pp. 374 n. 26, 388 n. 23.

²³ *Der Zehnte Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest*, p. 1: "Die Rabbinerprüfung wurde von drei Candidaten abgelegt. Nachdem dieselben, und zwar Dr. Julius Fischer, Dr. Manuel Herzog und Dr. Martin Schreiner, die schriftlichen Prüfungsaufgaben mit Erfolg gelöst hatten, legten sie am 31. Januar und am 1. Februar 1887 die schriftliche Clausurprüfung, am 14., 15. und 16. Februar die mündliche Prüfung ab. Vorsitzender der Prüfungskommission war Abraham Hochmuth, Oberrabbiner von Veszprim, Mitglieder derselben waren ferner Dr. Moritz Klein, Oberrabbiner von Gross-Beckerek, Mitglied der leitenden Commission, und die examinirenden Professoren. Nachdem die drei Candidaten die Prüfungen mit Erfolg bestanden hatten, erhielten sie am 17. Februar in der Synagoge der Anstalt mit der üblichen Feierlichkeit ihre ungarischen und hebräischen Rabbiner-Diplome Die genannten Candidaten bekleiden bereits das Rabbineramt, Dr. J. Fischer in Raab, Dr. M. Herzog in Kaposvár, Dr. M. Schreiner in Csurgó." For the parallel Hungarian wording, see *A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet X. értésítője az 1886–87-iki tanévről* (1887), p. 1. See also the detailed account in *MZsSz* 4, no. 3 (March 1887), p. 192, and 4, no. 6, p. 392. For Julius [Gyula] Fischer (1861–1944) and Manuel [Manó] Herzog (1862–1942?) and their respective careers, see Blau and Klein, *Emlékkönyv*, pp. 37 nos. 25, 53–54 (Fischer), 38 no. 48 (Herzog); Ujvári, *Magyar zsidó lexikon*, pp. 279–280 no. 7 (Fischer), 360 (Herzog); Carmilly-Weinberger (ed.), *The Rabbinical Seminary*, pp. 307 (Fischer), 309 (Herzog). See also Frojimovics, *Neológ (kongresszusi)*, passim.

²⁴ ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 22. Moreover, Schreiner also addressed some letters to Bloch in 1902 and 1903 when already hospitalized in Lankwitz; see Appendix III, letters II and 12.

²⁵ See Appendix V, nos. 35, 38–55, 366, 367, 524, 526, 642. That Schreiner kept abreast with Bacher's ongoing scholarly production is also indicated by Appendix III, letter 6. The relevant passage also suggests that Schreiner had studied Persian as a student. For Bacher's contributions to the study of Judeo-Persian, see Shaked, "From Bacher to Telegdi."

²⁶ Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. 2, p. 451 n. 1: "Dr. M. Schreiner macht mich darauf aufmerksam, daß die Aufstellung der Bilder Verstorbener eine in den religiösen Anschauungen der alten Egypter begründete allgemeine Sitte war. Die Bilder sollten eventuell an die Stelle

tells Goldziher in a letter of 19 April 1888 about his discovery and reading of this book (volume 1 was published in 1887),²⁷ so April 1888 is the *terminus post quem* for Schreiner's pointing Bacher toward the book. Bacher's legacy was given to the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest some time after his death in 1913, and according to an inventory published in 1935 it included four letters from Martin Schreiner, which he had sent from Berlin;²⁸ these, like many other parts of the Bacher legacy, are no longer preserved.²⁹ Moreover, Bacher acknowledges Schreiner's help with the reading of a term in his 1896 publication "Inedited Chapters of Jehudah Hadassi's *Eshkol Hakkofer*,"³⁰ and Schreiner occasionally mentions his epistolary exchanges with Bacher in his letters to Goldziher.³¹ Schreiner also encountered Bacher occasionally during his summer vacations on Norderney.³²

der zerstörten Mumie treten, als Grundlage der Wiedervereinigung der Seele mit dem Körper. S. Chantepie de la Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte I, 290 Die Zerstörung der Bilder hatte daher eine ähnliche Bedeutung, wie die des Leichnams selbst."

²⁷ See letter Schreiner to Goldziher, 19 April 1888 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/115): "Nagy szívességet tett Tanár Úr a R. H. R. ama számának elküldésével. Általa figyelmessé lettem egy könyvre, a melynél tanulságosabbat még nem olvastam, a Chantepie de la Saussaye vallástörténetére. Én igen jó tájékoztató munkának találtam. A fenomenologiai részben több fejezet egészen az én malmomra hajtja a vizet, a mint egyáltalában erős meggyőződés, hogy a pentateuchusnak újabb kritikája s a vallástörténelem rettenetes fegyvereket adnak a zsidó theologia kezébe. – A védák auktoritásáról szóló fejezet teljesen illik a Koránra is. Érdekes az is, hogy a védáknak is van 'anyjuk' (إمّ الكتاب)." Some of Schreiner's notes on and excerpts from the *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* are preserved in the Martin Schreiner Archive (ARC. Ms. Var. 347 01 11).

²⁸ See *A Budapesti Ferencz József Országos Rabbiképző-intézet értesítője az 1934/1935-iki tanévről*, p. 27.

²⁹ Portions of Bacher's legacy, consisting of some 285 letters he had received, was auctioned off in 2019 by Kestenbaum & Company to an unknown buyer; see <https://www.kestenbaum.net/auction/lot/Auction-83/083-128/> (accessed 8 November 2022) and <https://www.kestenbaum.net/auction/lot/Auction-80/080-097/> (accessed 28 August 2023). The NLI also owns a collection of around 454 postcards, as well as some letters, addressed to Bacher (not including any by Schreiner); these are included in the "Science of Judaism" letter collection, ARC. Ms. Var. 236 02. Selected items of Bacher's correspondence, notably with Solomon Schechter (1847–1915), have been published; see Scheiber, "Letters."

³⁰ See Bacher, "Inedited Chapters," pp. 433–434 n. 11.

³¹ See, e. g., letters Schreiner to Goldziher, 21 December 1887 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/119) and 3 November 1897 (GIL/38/01/048). It should be noted that Bacher harshly criticized Schreiner's 1897 study, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibel," in *REJ* (1897), pp. 128–130.

³² See, e. g., letter Schreiner to Goldziher, undated [written between July and November 1899] (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/029):

בין החונים פה מצאתי רבנים וחכמים כמו הדר' באכער, מאיבויס, רוזענצווייג, פרענקעל. גם נדברתי אתם כפי היחס אשר בינינו הנודע אצלך מאז. נחת רוח לא מצאתי אצלם ועל כן רוב היום אני הולך יחידי כאשר הורגלתי בזו גם ימים רבים.

Schreiner was evidently not a reverent student, and he openly disagreed with his teachers and fellow students whenever he saw reason to do so.³³ In his letters to his teacher and friend Ignaz Goldziher, Schreiner writes critically about Bacher on various occasions.³⁴ Schreiner's relationship with Kaufmann seems to have been equally complicated. This is indicated by Schreiner's occasional mocking remarks about him in his letters to Goldziher as well as by Schreiner's harsh criticism of Kaufmann's notion of the essence of Judaism in his *Systematische Religionsphilosophie (Grundzüge einer jüdischen Religionsphilosophie)*.³⁵ Kaufmann in turn occasionally criticized Schreiner's scholarship.³⁶ In his attitude toward Bacher and Kaufmann, Schreiner may have been influenced by Goldziher, whose disregard for the faculty of the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary and the institution itself, demonstrated on numerous occasions throughout his *Tagebuch*, was prompted by his disappointment that he was not invited to join the faculty in 1877 or in 1899 after Kaufmann's death.³⁷ On the other hand, there is ample evidence that Schreiner re-

³³ This was also observed by Bernát Elzász; see Elzász, "Schreiner Márton," p. 318: "Erős öntudatossággal telítve – igen érzékeny is volt – másokról alkotott sokszor lenéző ítélete és ennek kinyilvánítása nem tették éppenséggel kollégái előtt rokonszenvenné, sőt sokszor kijelentései által tanárai előtt is kellemetlen lett."

³⁴ See, e.g., letter Schreiner to Goldziher, 6 February 1887 (LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/076).

³⁵ See Appendix VII.13, p. 273 (original pagination): "In neuerer Zeit hat ein hervorragender Kenner der mittelalterlichen philosophischen Literatur der Juden, David Kaufmann, die Ansicht aufgestellt, das Judenthum besitze nur ein Dogma, den Monotheismus, sonst wäre das Judenthum nur eine gewisse Art zu leben. Abgesehen davon, dass der Satz eine Entgeisterung des Judenthums enthält, wie wir ihr in der Geschichte kaum entgegen, ist sie auch sonst von modernen Gesichtspunkten aus irrig. Nie hat ein Jude geglaubt, er brauche nur an Gott den Einig Einigen zu glauben und die religiösen Gebote zu erfüllen um Jude zu sein." See also Turán, "Martin Schreiner," pp. 56, 58.

³⁶ See, e.g., Kaufmann's review of Samuel Poznański's *Eine hebräische Grammatik aus dem XIII. Jh.* in *MGWJ* 38 (1894), p. 336: "... P. hat sich hier aber noch zu einem weiteren Missverständnis verführen lassen, indem er, Schreiner folgend, die komische Behauptung wiederholt, die Compendien des arabischen Lexicons Kitáb al-Ajin hätten dieses Wort ebenso erklärt ..." Kaufmann refers here to Schreiner, "Le Kitáb al-Mouhâdara wa-l-Mouhâkara," p. 242.

³⁷ See Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, pp. 87–88: "Nach langen Geburtswehen wurde 1877 ... das aus Haynauischer Brandschatzung gestiftete Rabbinerseminar in Budapest eröffnet. Die berufenen Professoren waren zumeist Mährer ihrer Geburt und ihrem Charakter nach. Jahrelang war ich als Professor dieser Schule in Aussicht genommen und in allen Vorarbeiten als solcher designirt. Ich wurde ins leitende Comité berufen, in welchem ich bereits 1876 meinen Standpunkt gegenüber der Corruption der Gesinnung, welche als Grundstein und Eckpfeiler dieser hochwichtigen Anstalt declarirt ward, mit aller Entschiedenheit einnahm und nicht aufhörte laut zu verkünden. Es ward also im obern Rathe das Schlagwort ausgegeben, mich als Feind des Judenthums, als Gefahr für das ungarische Israel zu verschreiben, und diesen meinen Charakter dem Pöbel, und allen Leuten, die mich unter den Lehrern vermissen sollten, aufzubinden. Das haben die Herren mit einer

Index of Personal Names

- Aaron ben Elija (ca. 1328–1369) 170
 Aaron ben Yosef (fl. thirteenth century) 170
 Abarbanel [Abravanel], Isaac ben Judah (1437–1508) 596, 621, 654, 654n, 655, 657, 728
 R. Abbahu 671, 715
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 389/999) 289
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥijāzī al-Sharqāwī (1150–1227/1793–1812) 314
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Sahl b. Yūsuf al-Mursī (d. 480/1087) 532, 532n
 ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1024) 165, 169, 169n, 170, 173, 215, 216
 ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Qudwāī al-Qannawjī “Mun‘im Khān” (fl. twelfth/eighteenth century) 278
 Abel, Ludwig (1863–1900) 42, 74, 74n, 75, 89n, 110, 111, 114n
 Abraham b. Dāwūd (ca. 1110–1180) 153, 174, 188, 560, 561, 564, 694, 695, 695n, 696, 696n, 700n, 717n, 725, 732
 Abraham Ibn Ezra (betw. 1089 and 1092–betw. 1164 and 1167) 88, 170
 Abraham, Adolf (1826–1904) 63n
 Abrahamov, Binyamin 73n
 Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Arrāq (d. 933/1526) 272
 Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbāī (d. 303/916) 162, 169n
 Abū l-‘Atāhiya (d. 210/825 or 211/826) 697
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī (Rhazes) (d. 313/925 or 323/935) 310, 696, 697
 Abū l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh b. Malkā al-Baghdādī (ca. 1077–ca. 1165) 104, 192, 192n, 193n
 Abū Dāwūd al-Sijjānī (202–275/817 or 818–889) 527
 Abū l-Faraj al-İṣfahānī (al-İṣbahānī), ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (284–shortly after 360/897–shortly after 971) 150n, 168, 204
 Abū l-Fidā’, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī (672–732/1273–1331) 15, 15n
 Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) 316, 520, 529
 Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāī (d. 321/933) 162, 169, 169n
 Abū l-Hudhayl al-‘Allāf (d. 226/840–41) 165n
 Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) 169, 216, 216n
 Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī (d. 459/1067) 500, 506, 560, 561, 564
 Abū Naṣr Ṣadaqa b. Yūsuf al-Falāḥī 532
 Abū Nuwās (d. betw. 198/813 and 200/815) 537
 Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka’bī al-Balkhī (d. 319/931) 169, 517
 Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī 169, 169n, 170, 170n, 173, 175, 175n, 176, 177n, 257
 Abū Sa’d al-Tustarī (d. 439/1047) 532
 Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī (235–322/850–934) 276
 R. Ada ben Ḥanina 718
 Adler, Elkan Nathan (1861–1946) 181, 181n, 183, 184, 184n, 189
 Ahlwardt, Wilhelm (1828–1909) 169, 170
 Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq (secretary of Khādīm Sulaymān Bāshā) 263, 524, 526
 Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamawī al-Qādirī al-Ḥanbalī (763–844/1361 or 1362–1440 or 1441) 282, 283
 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) 529
 Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Ghazzāl al-Fāsī (fl. twelfth/eighteenth century) 264
 R. Akiva ben Joseph 631, 670, 672, 682, 683, 683n, 685, 712, 714, 720, 721
 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Karārī 544

- Albo, Joseph (ca. 1380–1444) 64, 64n, 133n, 239, 655, 661, 735, 735n, 736, 737, 737n, 738, 738n, 740, 741n
- Albrecht, Michael 135n
- ‘Alī b. ‘Abbās 226, 226n
- ‘Alī b. Mūsā 262
- Altman, Alexander 190n
- al-Ālūsī, Maḥmūd Shukrī (1856–1924) 90n
- Amīr Qābūs b. Washmagīr (d. 403/1312) 318
- R. Ammi 688
- ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (d. 40/661) 543n
- Andrae, Tor (1885–1947) 157n
- al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (d. 481/1088) 280
- Antigonos of Sokho 598
- Aristotle 1n, 174, 175, 265, 508, 576, 582, 621, 675, 677, 679, 700, 704, 739
- Arnold, Friedrich August 2n
- Arnold, Thomas Walker (1864–1930) 177n
- Asad al-Dīn al-Malik al-Manṣūr Shīrkūh (d. 564/1169) 528
- al-Ash‘arī, Abū l-Ḥasan (260–324/874–936) 150, 695n
- Asín Palacios, Miguel (1871–1944) 190n, 191n
- Auerbach, Jakob (1810–1887) 58, 58n
- al-Awzā‘ī, Abū ‘Amr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr (d. 157/774) 527
- al-‘Azīz bi-amr Allāh (d. 386/996) 531, 539
- Babits, Antal VI n
- Bacher, Wilhelm [Vilmos] (1850–1913) 7, 7n, 8, 8n, 9, 9n, 10, 11, 11n, 20, 21, 21n, 22, 23n, 24n, 26n, 34n, 39, 39n, 90, 90n, 91n, 92, 92n, 139, 140, 140n, 166n, 183, 183n, 184n, 195n, 208, 231, 240, 313, 519n, 598n, 599n, 631n, 635n, 638n, 669n, 670n, 672n, 683n, 684n, 685n, 686n, 687n, 688n, 689n, 690n, 691n, 694n, 710n, 711n, 712n, 714n, 715n, 716n, 717n, 720n, 723n, 725n, 730n, 731n
- Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs (d. 465/1075) 560, 561, 562, 564
- Badr, Muḥammad 171n
- Baeck, Leo (1873–1956) 3, 3n, 84, 84n, 105n, 135, 256, 256n
- Baer, Seligmann (1825–1897) 1n
- Baethgen, Friedrich (1849–1905) 44, 76n
- al-Baghdādī, ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir (d. 429/1037) 171, 171n, 173, 284, 503, 504, 517, 519
- al-Bākharzī, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī (d. 467/1075) 281
- Bánde, Zoltán 180
- Baneth, David Hartwig (Zwi) (1893–1973) 48n
- Baneth, Eduard Ezekiel (1855–1930) 47n, 48, 48n, 49, 49n, 50, 50n, 63, 63n, 67, 68n, 69n, 70, 88n, 94, 95n, 100, 100n, 101n, 102, 118, 133, 133n, 136n, 206n, 208, 243
- Bánóczy [Banoczy], József [Joseph] (1849–1926) 6n, 15n, 21, 21n, 22, 25n, 30, 35n, 36n, 38n, 54, 54n
- al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib (d. 403/1013) 215, 216n
- Barol, Moses (1855–1929) 1, 1n, 2n, 46, 57, 58, 58n, 59, 59n, 94n, 135, 188, 190, 197, 197n, 198, 198n, 199, 246, 253
- Baron, Dr. 5n
- Baron, Sally 113n
- Barqūq, al-Malik al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 801/1399) 541
- Barth, Jacob (1851–1914) 24n, 42, 51, 51n, 63n, 72n, 76n, 77n, 78, 88n, 93n, 94, 96n, 98n, 99n, 100n, 101, 101n, 106, 106n, 107, 107n, 108, 108n, 109, 110, 111, 112n, 113n, 114n, 206n
- Barzawayh 145n
- Basset, René (1855–1924) 145n, 156n
- al-Baṭalyawsī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Sīd (444–521/1052–1127) 73n
- Baumstark, Anton (1872–1948) 25, 508, 576, 577
- Baybars, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 676/1277) 542, 543, 543n, 544
- al-Bayḏawī, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar (d. 685/1287, 691/1293, or 692/1293) 316
- al-Bazdawī al-Ḥanafī, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (ca. 400–482/1009–1089) 287
- Becker, Carl Heinrich (1876–1933) 115
- Beer, Georg 84n
- Belot, Jean Baptiste 2n
- R. Benaja (Banna’a) 598

- Benjamin al-Nahāwandī (fl. first half of the ninth century) 518, 519
- Bennett, David 175n
- Bentwich, Norman 100n
- Benzian, Julius 223n
- Berdyczewski (Bin-Gorion), Micha Josef (1865–1921) 40n, 85, 86, 86n, 135, 137, 235, 256, 256n
- Berger, Emil 97n
- Berger, S. 99n
- Berliner, Abraham [Adolf] (1833–1915) 88n, 104, 107, 107n, 108, 108n, 112n, 113n, 143, 184n, 203, 208, 209, 246
- Berliner, Bertha 108n
- Berlinger, Jakob (1866–1945) 112, 112n
- Bernstein, Béla (1868–1944) 206, 206n
- Bezold, Carl (1859–1922) 77, 77n, 78n, 94, 94n, 100n, 101n, 102, 109n, 114n
- Bickell, Gustav (1838–1906) 98n, 99n, 207n
- Biedermann, Alois Emanuel (1819–1885) 590, 590n, 632, 632n, 639n
- Bin-Gorion → Berdyczewski (Bin-Gorion), Micha Josef (1865–1921)
- Biram, Arthur (1878–1967) 58n, 75n, 102, 102n, 105n, 109, 109n, 111, 120, 135, 137, 175, 175n, 176, 176n, 177, 177n, 178, 178n, 235, 239, 249, 250, 251, 254, 254n, 255, 255n
- al-Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (362–ca. 440/973–1048) 152, 153, 153n, 184n
- Blau, Ludwig [Lajos] (1861–1936) 38n, 39n, 49, 50, 195n
- Bloch, Joseph Samuel 130n
- Bloch, Mózes Arie [Moses Löb] (1815–1909) 7, 7n, 8, 8n, 208, 247, 247n, 249
- Blumenthal, Louis Lewin (1866–1943) 72, 72n, 105n
- Blumfeld, Ignaz 596n
- Bodenheimer, Max (1865–1940) 123
- Bogdányi, Mór (1854–1923) 32
- Bolling, George Melville (1871–1963) 115
- Borisov, Andrei I. (1903–1942) 158n
- Brainin, Reuven [Reuben ben Mordechai] (1862–1939) 40n, 158
- Brann, Marcus Mordechai (1849–1920) 22, 22n
- Braun, Alice *née* Joelsohn (1873–1942) 134n
- Braun, Benno (1856–1929) 1n, 134, 134n, 135n, 197, 197n, 198, 198n, 199, 199n, 200
- Braun, Henriette Elisabeth Melitta (b. 1903) 134n
- Braun, Henriette *née* Türk (1841–1902) 134n
- Braun, Paul Ernst (1898–1942) 134n
- Braun, Simon 134n
- Braun, Tobias (1833–1909) 134n
- Brentano, Franz (1838–1917) 207n
- Breysig, Kurt (1866–1940) 114n
- Brockelmann, Carl (1868–1956) 24n, 109n, 115, 209, 541n
- Brody, Heinrich [Chaim] (1868–1942) 105n, 113, 113n, 184n, 185n, 194
- Browne, Edward Granville (1862–1926) 209
- Broydé, Isaac David (1867–1922) 157
- Brückner, Aleksander (1856–1939) 43, 75, 77n, 205n, 207n
- Brugsch, Heinrich Karl (1827–1894) 540n
- Büchler, Adolf (1867–1939) 1Xn, 34n, 38n, 39n, 132, 132n, 207, 207n
- Büdinger, Max (1828–1902) 207n
- al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) 153, 168, 520, 521n, 649n
- Burger, Izidor 180
- Bušek, Michal 203n
- Caspari, Carl Paul (1814–1892) 209
- Cassel, David (1818–1893) 34, 34n, 35n, 36n, 37, 38, 47n, 51, 57, 63, 71, 72n, 75, 77, 77n, 78n, 205n, 208, 230
- Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (1855–1927) 194, 194n
- Chantepie de la Saussaye, Pierre Daniël (1848–1920) 8, 9n, 204, 210, 585n, 595n
- Charlemagne (Charles the Great) (d. 814) 623
- Cheikho, Louis (1859–1927) 116, 116n
- Chester, Greville John (1830–1892) 185n
- Cohen (Cohn), Naphtali (1874–1939) 112, 112n
- Cohen, Hermann (1842–1918) 54, 54n, 97, 133, 134, 134n, 210, 507, 507n, 573, 574, 574n, 575
- Cohn, Emil Moses [Emil Bernhard] (1881–1948) 75n, 94, 95, 95n, 96, 96n, 120, 127

- Cohn, Julius (1878–betw. 1939 and 1942) 102, 102n, 112n
- Conrad, Lawrence I. 12n
- Constantine the Great (d. 337) 623
- Cornill, Carl Heinrich (1854–1920) 201
- Crescas, Ḥasdai (1340–c. 1410) 1n, 38, 64, 65n, 654, 655, 661, 705, 705n, 706, 734, 734n, 735, 738, 739, 739n, 740
- Cureton, William (1808–1864) 149
- al-Ḍabbī, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā 532, 532n, 533
- al-Damirī, Muḥammad b. Mūsā Kamāl al-Dīn (742–808/1341–1405) 224, 224n, 543n
- Darghaṭmash, *amīr* 544
- Dashian, P. Jacobus (Hakovbus Tashean) (1866–1933) 115
- David, Moritz (1875–1956) 206, 206n
- Davidovic, Emil (1912–1986) 201, 201n, 202
- De Boer, Tjitze Jacobs (1866–1942) 209
- de Condillac, Étienne Bonnot (1714–1780) 500
- De Goeje, Michaël Jan (1836–1909) 149, 149n, 150n, 177, 177n, 209, 209n, 286
- De Jong, Pieter (1832–1890) 204, 204n, 286
- de Lagarde, Paul (1827–1891) 152n, 193, 193n, 193n–194n
- de Slane, William McGuckin (1801–1878) 168n
- Delitzsch, Friedrich (1850–1922) 42, 42n, 88n, 93n, 94, 96n, 98n, 100n, 109, 110n, 120n, 175, 175n, 206n
- Derenbourg, Hartwig (1844–1908) 24n
- Derenbourg, Joseph [Naftali] (1811–1895) 24n, 505
- Dessau, Hermann (1856–1931) 44, 77n
- Dessoir, Max (1867–1947) 44, 75, 76n, 93n, 94, 205n,
- Deussen, Paul (1845–1919) 43, 72n, 208
- Deutsch, Aladár (1871–1949) 114, 114n
- Deutsch, Henrik 31n
- Dévényi, Kinga IXn, 12n, 31n, 132n, 136n, 252n
- al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 748/1348) 204, 204n, 289
- Dhū Nuwās (r. 517–527) 170n
- Di Matteo, Ignazio (1872–1948) 147n
- Dieterici, Friedrich (1821–1903) 42, 72n, 75, 76n, 77n, 78, 88n, 93n, 94, 104n, 109, 109n, 111, 114n, 206n, 208, 576, 576n
- Dillmann, August (1823–1894) 44, 72n, 77n, 114n, 208
- Dilthey, Wilhelm (1833–1911) 43, 72n, 75, 93n, 96n, 98n, 112n, 205n, 207n
- Dorn, Moritz 119n
- Dozy, Reinhart P. A. (1820–1883) 506, 560
- Droysen, Gustaf (1838–1908) 120n
- du Bois-Reymond, René (1863–1938) 45, 75, 205n, 207n
- Dukes, Leopold (1810–1891) 73n
- Dyroff, Karl (1862–1938) 116
- Ebbinghaus, Hermann (1850–1909) 44, 77n, 114n
- Ebster, Silke 239n
- Egers, Jacob (1834–1891) 72n, 78n
- Ehrenpreis, Marcus [Mordekhai] (1869–1951) 105n, 205, 205n
- Ehrlich, Jakob (1877–1938) 252, 252n
- Elbogen, Ismar (1874–1943) 3n, 47, 48, 48n, 51, 51n, 63n, 97n, 102, 133, 133n, 136n, 137n, 188, 197, 198, 198n, 244
- Eleazar of Modī'im 689
- R. Eliezer ben Horkonus 633, 686, 721, 722
- R. Eliezer ben Jacob 684, 686, 710
- Elijah ben Solomon (Elia Wilna) (1720–1797) 575
- Eliyahu, Ayala 73n
- Elzász, Bernát (Elsass, Bernard) (1866–1939) 10n, 15, 15n, 135, 135n, 188n–189n, 221
- Emden, Jacob (1697–1776) 575
- Eneström, Gustaf (1852–1923) 154n
- Epicurus 700
- Erman, Adolf (1854–1937) 43, 77n, 541n, 542n
- Eschelbacher, Max (1880–1964) 46, 206, 206n
- Ewald, Georg Heinrich August (1803–1875) 647n
- Fabian, Leo (1868–1918) 115
- Fabricius, Johann Albert (1668–1736) 715n
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (543–606/1149–1209) 8n, 83n, 146, 150,

- 150n, 151, 153, 153n, 158, 164, 165, 167,
168, 169, 169n, 204, 213, 213n, 214, 215,
260, 269, 289, 300, 305, 309, 313, 499,
520n, 522n, 648n
- al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) 109, 262, 703n, 729n
- al-Fāsī, Isaac ben Jacob (1013–1103) 53, 53n,
68n, 505, 534, 534n
- Fechner, Gustav Theodor (1801–1887) 596,
596n, 618, 619, 619n
- Feilchenfeld, Ludwig [Elieser] (1871–1898)
208, 208n
- Fingernagel, Andreas 18n
- Firkovitch, Abraham (1787–1874) 158n, 181,
182, 182n
- Fischer, August (1865–1949) 43, 43n, 93n,
98n, 99n, 100n, 110, 111, 175, 175n
- Fischer, Dávid 14n
- Fischer, Josef 83n
- Fischer, Julius (Gyula) (1861–1944) 8n
- Fischer, Kuno (1824–1907) 77n, 78n, 94
- Fleischer, Heinrich Leberecht (1801–1888)
13, 13n, 17n, 21n, 23n, 33, 51, 104n, 108
- Flügel, Gustav (1802–1870) 167n, 314, 316
- Formstecher, Salomon (1808–1889) 658
- Fraenkel, Abraham (1891–1965) 107n
- Fraenkel, Daniel (1821–1890) 2n
- Fraenkel, James (1859–1935) 2n, 3n
- Fraenkel, Siegmund (1855–1909) 9n, 24n,
108n, 109n, 115, 115n
- Fraisse, Ottfried 2n, 188n
- Franck, Adolphe (1809–1893) 22n
- Frankel, Zacharias (1801–1875) 22
- Frankl, Pinkus Friedrich (1848–1887) 72n,
162, 163, 164, 164n, 165, 165n, 166, 166n,
167, 179n, 182, 203, 217, 293, 294, 600n
- Freimann, Aron (1871–1948) 105n, 113
- Frenkel, Miriam 78n
- Friedemann, Adolf (1871–1932) 122n, 123,
123n
- Friedlaender, Israel (1876–1920) 148, 148n,
148–149, 149, 206, 206n, 244
- Friedlaender, Walter (1873–1966) 114, 114n
- Friedländer, Max (1852–1934) 43, 96n
- Friedländer, Moses 58, 58n
- Friedmann, Paul (1840–ca. 1900) 154n
- Friedmann, Saul 154, 154n, 155n
- Fuchs, Alice *née* Blumenstein (1876–1972)
93n
- Fuchs, Samuel (1876–1928) 2n, 6n, 51n,
74, 89, 89n, 90, 90n, 91, 91n, 92, 92n, 93,
97n, 98n, 109, 109n, 111, 120, 132, 133, 135,
136n, 137, 137n, 178n, 197n, 235, 238, 239,
239n, 241, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 249n,
250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 254n, 255, 256n,
302
- Fück, Johann (1894–1974) 24n
- Fürstenthal, Raphael Jacob (1781–1855)
90n
- Gábor (Goldberger), Andor 180
- Galliner, Julius (1872–1949) 88, 88n, 97n,
105n
- Galliner, Siegfried 113n
- R. Gamaliel I 633, 670
- Gärtner, Eugen 97n
- Geiger, Abraham (1810–1874) 20, 24n, 29,
41n, 50, 50n, 111, 162, 223, 582, 590, 617n,
621n, 622, 622n, 627, 627n, 646, 646n,
650, 650n, 658, 658n, 659, 659n, 660,
660n, 722, 732n
- Geiger, Ludwig (1848–1919) 41, 41n, 44,
76n, 111, 208
- Geldner, Karl Friedrich (1852–1929) 240,
240n
- George Syncellus (d. 810) 715n
- Gerson, József 180
- Geyer, Rudolf (1861–1929) 19, 19n, 213n,
302, 317
- al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b.
Muḥammad (450–505/1058–1111) 1n,
15n, 73, 74n, 83, 83n, 142n, 151, 151n, 153,
163, 163n, 167, 168, 169n, 203n, 215, 215n,
216, 239, 269, 279, 292, 294, 297, 528,
530, 654n, 656, 701n, 703n, 706, 706n,
724, 739
- Ginsberg, Max 135n
- Glaser, Eduard (1855–1908) 24n, 169, 170,
170n
- Goitein, Hirsch (1805–1859) 691n
- Goldberg, Adeline (1858–1942) 228, 228n
- Goldberg, Julie 228, 228n
- Golde, Margarete 134n
- Goldmann, Felix (1882–1934) 102n–103n
- Goldziher, Ignaz (1850–1921) VII, VIIIn,
VIII, VIIIIn, IXn, XVI, 5n, 6n, 9, 9n, 10,
10n, 11, 11n, 12, 12n, 13, 13n, 14n, 15, 15n,

- 16, 16n, 17, 17n, 18, 18n, 19, 19n, 20, 20n, 21, 21n, 22, 23, 23n, 24n, 25n, 26, 26n, 27, 28n, 30, 30n, 31, 31n, 32n, 33, 34n, 35n, 38n, 39, 39n, 40n, 48, 49, 49n, 51n, 53n, 54, 54n, 55, 55n, 60n, 61n, 62n, 63n, 65n, 70n, 71, 71n, 75n, 78, 86, 86n, 87, 87n, 89n, 90n, 92n, 93, 95, 95n, 99, 100n, 103n, 104, 104n, 105n, 106, 106n, 107, 107n, 108, 108n, 109n, 114n, 115, 116, 116n, 117, 117n, 131n, 132, 132n, 133, 135, 136n, 137, 137n, 139, 140, 140n, 141, 141n, 142, 142n, 143, 143n, 144, 144n, 145, 145n, 146, 146n, 147, 147n, 148, 148n, 150, 150n, 151, 151n, 152, 152n, 153, 155, 155n, 156, 156n, 157, 157n, 158, 158n, 164n, 165, 165n, 166n, 170, 170n, 171, 171n, 172, 172n, 173, 173n, 176, 176n, 177, 177n, 178, 178n, 179, 179n, 180n, 183, 183n, 185, 185n, 187n, 189, 189n, 190n, 191, 191n, 192n, 193, 193n, 194, 195n, 197n, 198n, 203, 203n, 204, 204n, 207n, 208, 213n, 229, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 239n, 245, 245n, 246, 247, 249, 249n, 250, 251, 252, 253, 253n, 254, 256, 256n, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 284, 285, 288, 289, 290, 294, 297, 299, 300–301, 302, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 313, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 504, 505, 508, 509, 509n, 526, 578n, 590n, 596, 596n, 636n, 648, 648n, 683n, 697n, 708n
- Gosche, Richard (1824–1889) 210
- Goussen, Heinrich (1863–1927) 115, 115n
- Graetz, Heinrich (1817–1891) 22, 58, 59n, 217, 519n, 560, 594n
- Grünbaum, Max 670n
- Güdemann, Moritz (1835–1918) 188, 188n
- Gunkel, Hermann (1862–1932) 44, 96n, 100n
- Günzburg, David (1857–1910) 24n
- Gustav, Dr. 99n
- Guttman, Jacob (1845–1919) 62n, 158n, 174, 691n, 694n
- Haarbrücker, Theodor (1818–1880) 149
- al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ‘Umar b. Abī ‘Īsā Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-İṣbahānī al-Madīnī (501–581/1107–1185) 275, 522, 523
- Ḥafẓ al-Qūfī (al-Fūṭī) 223, 223n
- Hai ben Sherira (Hai Gaon) (939–1038) 142, 179n, 187, 187n
- Ḥājji Khalīfa (Kātip Çelebi) (1017–1068/1609–1657) 216, 216n
- al-Ḥākīm bi-amr Allāh (d. 411/1021) 530n, 540
- Halberstam, Solomon Joachim (1832–1900) 184n
- Halévy, Joseph (1827–1917) 170n
- Hallberger, Eduard (1822–1880) 148n
- Hallberger, Gabriele (1850–1915) 148n
- Halm, Heinz VIIIn
- R. Ḥama ben Ḥanina 687
- Ḥananel ben Ḥushiel (fl. eleventh century) 53n
- R. Ḥanina ben Doša 670
- R. Ḥanina ben Ḥama 688, 689
- R. Ḥanina ben Teradyon 685, 714
- Hannes, Ludwig (1868–1907?) 84n, 206, 206n
- Happel, Julius (1843–1912) 626n
- al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (ca. 165–243/782–857) 280
- Harkavy, Albert [Avraham] (1835–1919) 1n, 166n, 182, 182n
- Hartmann, Angelika 192n
- Hartmann, Martin (1851–1918) 43, 100n, 111, 111n, 116, 116n, 117, 117n, 171n, 208, 210, 251
- Ḥasday b. Shaprūt (ca. 905–ca. 975) 531
- Hatvany, Lajos (1880–1961) 136n, 137n
- Ḥayyūj, Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyā ben David al-Fāsi (before 940–before 1013) 140, 140n
- Hecker, Oskar (b. 1867) 120n
- Heine Ephraim, Veitel (1703–1775) 155n
- Heinrich, Gusztáv (1845–1922) 21n
- Heller, Bernát (1871–1943) 12n
- Hensel, “Oberlehrer” 207n
- Herbart, Johann Friedrich (1776–1841) 619, 638
- Herlitz, Georg (1885–1968) 47, 47n, 56n
- Herrmann, Wilhelm (1846–1922) 88n
- Hertz, Joseph H. (1872–1946) 183n, 184n
- Herzl, Theodor (1860–1904) 95n, 120, 120n, 249, 251
- Herzog, David (1869–1946) 105n, 112, 112n, 191, 191n

- Herzog, Manuel (Manó) (1862–1942?) 8n
Heschel, Susannah 24n
Hildesheimer, Ezriel (1820–1899) 70, 112n
Hildesheimer, Hirsch (1855–1910) 112n
Hillel 631, 682, 690, 719, 720
Hirsch, Emil G. (1851–1923) 105n
Hirsch, Markus (1833–1909) 29
Hirsch, Samson Raphael (1808–1888) 582, 658
Hirsch, Samuel (1815–1889) 658
Hirschfeld, Hartwig (1854–1934) 83n, 166n, 183n, 646n
Hirschfeld, Otto (1843–1922) 88n, 97
Hochfeld, Samson (1871–1921) 72, 205, 205n
Hochmuth, Abraham 8n
Hoffmann, David Zvi (1843–1921) 107, 107n, 112n, 113n
Holdheim, Samuel (1806–1860) 29, 29n
Holzer, Isaac (Isak) (1873–1951) 113, 113n
Holzmann, M. 63n
Horowitz, Josef (1874–1931) 25n, 42, 42n, 96n, 111, 171n
Horowitz, József 180
Horowitz, Saul (1858–1921) 25n, 48n, 50, 50n, 183n
Horten, Max (1874–1945) 171n
R. Hoshaya 687, 715
Houtsma, Martijn Theodoor (1851–1943) 152, 210, 508
Hubert, Zsigmond 28, 30
R. Huna 671, 688
Ḥunayn b. Ishāq 218
al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ahdal al-Yamani (779–855/1377–1451) 279
al-Ḥuṣṣrī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Tamīm al-Qayrawānī (d. 413/1022) 167n
Huth, Georg (1867–1906) 42, 76n, 111, 111n

Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh (d. ca. 68/687–88) 527
Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (246–328/860–940) 2n, 167, 214, 214n
Ibn Abī ‘Awn, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (fl. third/ninth century) 282
Ibn Abī al-Dam 531
Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a (after 590–668/after 1203–1270) 218, 226, 227
Ibn Abī Zamānayn 561
Ibn al-Akfānī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 749/1348) 303
Ibn ‘Allān 532
Ibn al-‘Arabī, Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (560–638/1165–1240) 72, 72n, 156, 156n, 157, 157n, 290, 291
Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan (d. 636/1239) 165n, 168, 168n, 531, 532n
Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 391/1061) 277
Ibn Bājja (Avenpace) (d. 533/1139) 39, 40n, 158, 189, 189n, 190, 190n, 191, 191n, 265, 284, 308, 309
Ibn al-Faqīh, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadḥānī (fl. 290/903) 276
Ibn Gabirol, Solomon ben Judah (Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā) (fl. eleventh century) 567, 653
Ibn Ḥazm (384–456/994–1064) 142, 142n, 146, 147, 148, 148n, 149, 149n, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 165, 168, 168n, 198n, 213, 213n, 215, 221, 247, 247n, 300, 301, 310, 316, 564, 566, 596
Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, Abū Bakr Taqī al-Dīn b. ‘Alī (767–837/1366–1434) 223, 223n
Ibn Janāḥ, Jonah (Abū l-Walīd Marwān) (betw. 985 and 990–ca. 1050) 91, 91n, 217, 312, 313, 505, 533n
Ibn al-Jawzī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj (510–597/1126–1200) 283
Ibn Jinnī, Abū l-Faṭḥ ‘Uṭhmān (ca. 320–392/ca. 932–1002) 17, 18n, 140, 217, 218, 220, 281, 294, 295, 300, 304
Ibn Kammūna, ‘Izz al-Dawla Sa’d b. Maṣṣūr (d. 1284) V, 16, 16n, 158, 214, 214n, 217, 218, 265, 266, 267, 314
Ibn Kannān, Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā (d. 1153/1740) 292
Ibn Khaldūn (732–808/1332–1406) 8n, 16, 72, 167, 169, 204, 215, 216, 216n, 560
Ibn Khallikān (608–681/1211–1282) 168, 168n

- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd al-Salmānī, Lisān al-Dīn (713–776/1313–1374) 270, 273, 506, 561, 563n, 564
- Ibn Killis, Abū l-Faraj Ya‘qūb (930–991) 531
- Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (d. 840/1436–37) 173, 176, 176n, 177n, 178, 259
- Ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī al-Nisābūrī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq (223–311/838–923) 288
- Ibn Mattawayh, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad (d. 469/1076) 169, 170, 170n, 173, 176, 178, 258
- Ibn al-Muqaffā‘ (d. 139/756) 145n, 259
- Ibn al-Nadīm, Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d. 385/995 or 388/998) 167, 167n
- Ibn Paqūda, Baḥya (Abū Ishāq) ben Joseph (ca. 1040–1120) 90, 90n, 91, 91n, 92, 92n, 118n, 139, 157, 158n, 170, 600, 600n, 601, 653, 677, 677n, 678, 679, 679n, 694, 723
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (691–751/1292–1350) 152, 262, 286, 287, 289, 303, 305
- Ibn Qudāma, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 620/1223) 288
- Ibn Qutayba, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim (213–276/828–889) 89, 89n, 90n, 302
- Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī (ca. 174/790–betw. 246/860 and 256/870) 261, 309
- Ibn Rafā‘a 526
- Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī (d. 456/1064 or 463/1070) 297
- Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (520–595/1126–1198) 265, 307, 739
- Ibn Sab‘īn, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Ibrāhīm (d. 668 or 669/1269 or 1271) 149, 191, 191n, 288, 306
- Ibn Sam‘ūn (d. 387/997) 593–595
- Ibn Shāhīn, Nissim ben Jacob (990–1062) 179n
- Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) (d. 428/1037) 262, 264, 304, 567, 696, 739
- Ibn Taymiyya (661–728/1263–1328) 142, 142n, 156, 156n, 260, 262, 278, 288, 289, 291, 303, 311, 526, 526n, 528, 529, 530, 544n
- Ibn Tibbon, Judah ben Saul (ca. 1120–after 1190) 90n, 91n
- Ibn Tibbon, Samuel ben Judah (ca. 1160–1232) 577
- Ibn Ṭufayl, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 581/1185) 306
- Ibn Ḥafar, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. betw. 567/1172 and 598/1202) 153, 203, 218, 218n
- Ibrāhīm b. Mas‘ūd b. Sa‘īd al-Tujībī al-Ilbīrī 564
- Ibsen, Henrik 620n
- al-Ījī, ‘Aḥud al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 756/1355) 163, 163n, 167, 703n
- ‘Īsā b. Nasturus (d. 1000) 531
- Isaac ben Salomon Israeli (ca. 855–955) 174, 293
- Isak b. al-Fu‘āl 534n
- Ishmael ben Phabi (Fabus) 633, 710
- Jackson, V. Williams (1862–1937) 115
- Jacob, Georg (1862–1937) 116, 116n, 117, 117n, 210
- Japheth ben Eli ha-Levi (Abū ‘Alī Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Lāwī al-Baṣrī) (alive in 1006–7) 518
- al-Jāhīz, Abū ‘Uthmān (d. 255/868) 263
- Jakobovic, Chaja 201
- Jalāl, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān (1828–1889) 103
- Jastrow, Morris 140n
- Jastrowitz, Moritz (1839–1912) 250, 251
- Jehoseph ha-Nagid ibn Naghrella 500, 506, 531, 560, 561, 563n, 564
- Jellinek, Adolf (1821–1893) 33, 33n, 202, 202n, 229, 230
- Jerusalem, Wilhelm (1854–1923) 99n
- Jesup, Morris Ketchum (1830–1908) 148
- al-Jilānī, ‘Abd al-Qādir (470–561/1077 or 1078–1166) 2n
- al-Jīlī, ‘Abd al-Karīm Quṭb al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm (767–ca. 832/1365–1428) 61n
- Jodl, Friedrich (1849–1914) 99n
- Joël, Manuel (1826–1890) 704n, 705n, 706n, 725n, 728n, 733n, 740n
- Joelsohn, Julius (ca. 1836–1904) 134n
- John of Damascus 156n
- R. Jonathan 671n
- R. Jonathan ben Eleazar 687

- R. Joseph 716
 Josef ibn Zaddik (1075–1149) 118n, 170, 174, 696, 696n
 Joseph, Max (1868–1950) 120n, 206, 206n
 Joseph ben ‘Aqnān (d. 1226) 101
 Josephus (Flavius Josephus) 621, 682, 707, 714, 714n
 R. Joshua ben Ḥanania 721, 722
 R. Joshua ben Levi 689
 Judah (Abū l-Ḥasan) ben Samuel ha-Levi (betw. 1075 and 1080–1141) 65, 139, 153, 596, 653, 653n, 654, 694, 695, 696, 697, 701n, 723, 724, 724n, 725, 725n, 732
 Judah ben Barzilai (fl. eleventh-twelfth century) 93
 Judah ben Bathyra 689
 Judah Hadassi (fl. twelfth century) 170
 R. Judah ha-Nasi 629n, 684, 710n
 al-Juwaynī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn (419–478/1028–1085) 146, 147n, 150, 151, 153, 165, 168, 169, 213, 213n, 216, 216n, 299, 599n, 700n
- Kabibo, Mahmoud (1941–2020) VIIIn
 Kahana, Abraham (1874–1946) 194, 195n
 Kahle, Paul E. (1875–1964) 116
 al-Kalābādhi, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq (fl. late fourth/tenth century) 157, 318
 Kampffmeyer, Georg (1864–1936) 43, 111, 301
 Kant 134n, 602
 Karo, Joseph (1488–1575) 634n
 Karpeles, Gustav (1848–1909) 70, 70n, 130, 130n, 131n
 al-Kātibī, Najm al-Dīn (d. 675/1276) 150, 168, 213, 213n, 305
 Kattenbusch, Ferdinand (1851–1935) 538n
 Kauffmann, Felix 105n, 114, 114n
 Kaufmann, David (1852–1899) 7, 7n, 8, 10, 10n, 11, 11n, 20, 20n, 22, 23, 31, 31n, 34n, 38n, 40n, 62n, 139, 139n, 151n, 152, 153, 164, 164n, 165, 165n, 179, 179n, 180n, 183, 183n, 184n, 189, 194, 208, 209, 213n, 231, 293, 577, 653n, 660, 661, 691n, 694n, 724n, 736n
 Kayser, August (1821–1885) 609n, 612n, 621, 621n, 663n, 664n, 667n
 Kecskeméti, Lipót [Leopold] (1865–1936) 6n, 132, 132n, 136, 136n
 Kellermann, Benzion (1869–1923) 97, 97n, 105n, 205–206, 206n
 Kellner, Leon (1859–1928) 99n
 Kern, Friedrich (1874–1921) 103, 104, 104n, 113, 192, 192n, 193, 193n, 197n, 198n
 Kessel, Grigory 115n
 Khādīm Sulaymān Bāshā (ca. 861–954/1457–1547) 263
 Khamārtakīn (d. 508/1114) 532
 Khan, Zadok (1839–1905) 22n, 251
 al-Khayyāt, Abū l-Ḥusayn (d. ca. 321/913) 169
 al-Kinānī, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Yaḥyā (d. betw. 218–240/833–854) 286
 al-Kinānī, ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad (d. 767/1365–66) 522, 523
 Király, Mátyás 6n
 Kirchheim, Raphael (1804–1889) 596n
 Kirsch, Raphael (1863–1927) 115
 Kirschstein, Moritz 62n, 69n
 Klein, Ábrahám 180
 Klein, Miksa 180
 Klein, Moritz 8n
 Klein, Sámuel 180
 Kleinert, Hugo Wilhelm (1837–1920) 44, 72n, 88n, 93n, 96n
 Klemptner, D. 102n
 Knauer, Vincenz Andreas (1828–1894) 207n
 Koepp, Friedrich (1860–1944) 43, 76n
 Kohlbach, Bertalan [Bartholomäus] (1866–1944) 6n, 136n
 Kohler, Josef (1849–1919) 95n
 Kohn, Sámuel [Samuel] (1841–1920) 141n
 Kohut, Sándor [Alexander] (1842–1894) 76–77, 77n, 629n
 Kohut, George Alexander (1874–1933) 11, 16n, 76, 76n, 77, 78, 78n, 79, 80, 81, 82, 105n, 106, 111, 139, 194
 Kompert, Leopold (1822–1886) 85, 85n
 “König” Rind(t)fleisch 605n
 Konow, Sten (1867–1948) 115
 Krall, Jakob (1857–1905) 98n, 99n
 Kraus, O. 102n
 Kraus, Paul (1904–1944) 25n, 100n
 Krausz [Krauss], Sámuel [Samuel] (1866–1948) 39n, 49, 184n, 195n
 Krausz, Ignác 180

- Kuenen, Abraham (1828–1891) 609n
 Kührātīn 532
 Künstlinger, David (1867–1940) 87, 87n, 88n, 105n, 111
 Kurz, Emil (1849–1900) 94, 94n, 114n
 al-Kutubī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shākīr (d. 764/1363) 106n, 168, 544n
- Landauer, Samuel (1846–1937) 2n, 16, 17n, 215, 216, 217, 577
 Landberg, Carlo (1848–1924) 141, 141–142, 142n, 147, 147n, 148n, 171n, 210, 213n, 218, 310, 311
 Lane, Edward William (1801–1876) 538n
 Lange, Friedrich Albert (1828–1875) 617, 617n, 618, 618n, 619
 Langermann, Y. Tzvi 158n
 Lányi, György 180
 Lasson, Adolf (1832–1917) 43, 94, 96n, 120n
 Lasswitz, Kurd (1848–1910) 54, 54n
 Lauterbach, Jacob (1873–1942) 113, 113n
 al-Layth b. Sa’d (d. 175/791) 527
 Lazarus, Moritz (1824–1903) VI, IXn, 33, 33n, 34, 34n, 36n, 37, 38n, 39, 39n, 40n, 47n, 48n, 51n, 54n, 62, 62n, 63n, 69, 69n, 70, 70n, 72n, 75, 130, 130n, 131n, 144n, 188, 200, 201n, 206n, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 241, 242, 243n, 309, 507, 507n, 509, 573, 588
 Lazarus, Nahida Ruth 130n
 Lecomte, Gérard (1926–1997) 90n
 Lefkovits, Heiman 208n
 Lefkovits, Moritz 207, 208n
 Lehmann, Joseph (1872–1933) 103n
 Lehmann, Samuel 113n
 Lehmann-Haupt, Carl Friedrich (1861–1938) 43, 94
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm (1646–1716) 696
 Lenz, Friedrich Wilhelm (1885–1952) 120n
 Leveen, J. 88n
 Levi ben Gerson [Gersonides] (1288–1344) 1n, 97n, 704, 704n, 705, 705n, 706, 733, 734
 Lévi, Israël (1856–1939) 15n
 Lewin, Martin 102n
 Lewin, Moses (b. 1870) 113, 113n
 Lewit, Julius (1866–1934) 102n
 Lichtenstein, Max 97n
- Lidzbarski, Mark (1868–1928) 115
 Liebermann, Felix (1851–1925) 62n, 144n, 208
 Lipsius, Richard Adelbert (1830–1892) 618, 618n, 630n, 638, 638n, 659n
 Litt, Stefan 201n
 Littmann, Enno (1875–1958) 116
 Loeb, Isidor (1839–1892) 644, 644n, 645, 665n, 667n
 Loewe, Dr. 293
 Loewy, Jacob Isaac (1860–1930) 105n
 Lotze, Hermann (1817–1881) 619n, 638n, 639n
 Löw [Lów], Immanuel [Immánuel] (1854–1944) 102n, 141n, 158, 158n
 Löwenstein, Julius 114, 114n
 Löwenthal, Karl (1897–1932) 245
 Lucas, Leopold (1872–1943) 103n
 Luther, Martin (1483–1546) 716
- al-Ma’arrī, Abū l-‘Alā’ (363–449/973–1058) 224, 304
 Macdonald, Duncan B. (1863–1943) 24n, 83n
 Madelung, Wilferd (1930–2023) 171n
 Magnes, Judah Leib (1877–1948) 56n, 74n, 75n, 98n, 100, 100n, 101, 101n, 105n, 109, 109n, 110, 110n, 111, 111n, 119n, 120, 120n, 121, 121n, 122n, 125n, 129, 129n, 130n, 254n, 255n
 Maimonides, Moses [Moses ben Maimon] (1135–1204) 1n, 40, 61, 61n, 64, 64n, 67, 68n, 95, 101n, 106n, 117, 118n, 148, 170, 174, 184n, 190n, 215, 499, 567, 573, 577, 584, 586, 601, 601n, 602, 645, 645n, 646, 650, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 661, 696, 697, 697n, 698n, 700, 700n, 701, 701n, 702, 702n, 703, 703n, 704, 717, 725, 726, 727, 727n, 728, 728n, 729, 729n, 730, 730n, 731, 731n, 732, 732n, 733, 733n, 734, 735, 737, 737n, 739, 740, 740n
 al-Makḥūlī, Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasaḥī (d. 508/1114) 150, 213, 213n, 301, 302, 317, 595n
 al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥārithī (d. 386/996) 157n, 159, 319
 Malakhi ben Jacob ha-Kohen 733n
 Mālik b. Anas (93–179/711–795) 521, 529

- Malik al-Ramli (fl. mid-ninth century) 518, 519, 519n
- Malik-Shāh I b. Alp Arslan (r. 465–485/1072–1092) 532
- Malter, Heinrich [Henry/Hirsch/Zvi] (1867–1925) 78, 83, 83n, 84n, 101n, 105, 111, 205, 205n, 269
- al-Manā'ī, 'A'isha Yūsuf 192n
- Mann, Oskar (1867–1917) 114, 114n
- Mansoor, Menahem 92n
- al-Manşūr, Khalil 506
- al-Manşūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān (d. 614/1216) 258
- al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 1041/1632) 560
- al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī (766–845/1364–1442) 506, 539n, 540n, 542n, 544n, 545, 545n
- Marcon, Isaak (1875–1949) 105n
- Margoliouth, George (1853–1924) 94, 94n, 166n
- Margolis, Max L. 83n
- Mar'ī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1033/1624) 260
- Marks, Dr. 114n
- Marmorstein, Arthur (1882–1946) 112, 112n
- Marx, Alexander (1878–1953) 84, 102n, 105n
- al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) 153, 153n
- al-Māwardī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī (364–449/975–1058) 154, 284
- Maybaum, Siegmund (1844–1919) IXn, 5n, 9n, 13, 26, 26n, 27, 27n, 28, 33n, 34n, 37, 38n, 39, 39n, 46n, 47n, 48, 48n, 49, 49n, 50, 50n, 52, 54, 54n, 55, 55n, 56n, 57n, 60n, 62, 62n, 63n, 67, 67n, 69, 69n, 70, 72n, 75, 75n, 78n, 88n, 94, 95n, 100n, 101n, 102, 107n, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 122n, 123, 124, 124n, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 133n, 136, 136n, 188, 188n, 199, 199n, 200, 202, 205n, 206n, 208, 243, 243n, 244, 248, 507, 507n
- Mehren, August Ferdinand (1822–1907) 191, 191n, 210
- R. Meir 672n, 683, 686, 690, 699, 710n, 715, 736
- Melammed, Uri 52n
- Memon, Muhammad Umar 156n
- Mendelssohn, Moses (1729–1786) 46, 582, 652, 657, 658, 661
- Merx, Adalbert (1838–1909) 77n, 78n
- Meyer, Eduard (1855–1930) 88n, 193n, 194n, 604, 604n, 605, 605n
- Meyer, Moritz (1811–1869) 33, 33n, 94n
- Meyer, Paul 85
- Meyer, Sigmond 27, 27n
- Michaelis, J. D. 125n
- Michaelis, Omer 73n, 252n
- Minor, Jakob (1855–1912) 99n
- Mittwoch, Eugen (1876–1942) 25n, 98n, 102, 103, 103n, 113, 181, 182n, 206, 206n
- Molière (d. 1673) 103
- Molnár (Morgenstern), Ernő 180
- Montefiore, Claude Joseph Goldsmid (1858–1938) 62
- Moritz, Bernhard (1859–1939) 115, 155n
- Moses (Abū Harūn) ibn Ezra (d. after 1138) 16, 16n, 17n, 18n, 22, 22n, 142n, 214, 214n, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 268
- Moses de León (d. 1305) 270
- Moses ibn Chiquitilla (fl. eleventh century) 140, 500
- Moses of Narbonne (d. after 1362) 191
- Moses Taku (Moses Tachau/Moshe ben Ḥasday Taqu) (fl. 1250–1290) 575, 596
- Mosse, Albert 85
- Mu'āwiya (r. 661–680) 521
- Muḥammad Amīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūnus al-Ḥusaynī al-Mawşilī 275
- Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Surūr al-Muqaddasī al-Ḥanbalī (fl. 630/1233) 272
- Mühlbacher, Engelbert (1843–1903) 207n
- Muir, William (1819–1905) 578
- Müller, August (1848–1892) 143n, 218
- Müller, Friedrich (1834–1898) 99n, 207n
- Müller, Friedrich Max (1823–1900) 616, 616n
- Müller, Joël [Julius] (1827–1895) 38, 47n, 48, 48n, 49, 52, 52n, 53, 53n, 67, 67n, 72n, 75, 77, 78n, 117, 205n, 208, 505, 534, 534n
- Münch, Wilhelm (1843–1912) 88n
- Munk, Salomon (1803–1867) 25n, 83n, 154, 154n, 161, 181, 181n, 191, 191n, 560, 576, 577
- al-Muqammaş, Dāwūd b. Marwān (fl. mid-ninth century) 166n, 170

- al-Mustanşir bi-llāh (r. 427–487/1036–1094) 532
- Nagel, Tilman VIIIn
- Nascher, Simon (1848–1901) 24n
- Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) 295
- al-Nāşir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341) 542, 543, 544
- R. Nathan ben Joseph 686
- al-Nātiq bi-l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buḥḥānī al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1033) 258
- R. Nehemiah 686
- Neubauer, Adolf (1831–1907) VIIIn, 16, 22n, 162, 166n, 173n, 182, 182n, 184n, 215, 215n, 223n, 720n
- Neumann, Salomon (1819–1908) 33, 33n, 34n, 55, 55n, 62, 62n, 63n, 69, 69n, 131, 131n, 133n, 135, 136–137, 137n, 235, 236, 238, 239, 239n, 240, 241, 242, 243n, 244, 246, 247, 250, 253, 256n
- Neumark, David (1866–1924) 75, 75n, 102n, 174, 206, 206n, 243, 243n
- Neumark, Manass (1875–1942) 103n, 105n
- Nicholson, Reynold A. (1868–1945) 115
- al-Nifārī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. al-Ḥasan (d. 354/965) 296
- Nizām al-Mulk, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī (d. 485/1092) 532
- Nöldeke, Theodor (1836–1930) 23n, 51, 51n, 88n, 92n, 108, 145, 145n, 146, 146n, 578, 621n
- Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (d. 565/1170) 528
- Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī (d. 912/1506) 272
- Oettli, Samuel (1846–1911) 114n
- Oliven, Albert (1860–1921) 3n, 245, 245n
- el-Omeri, Racha 175n
- Oncken, Hermann (1869–1945) 120n, 207n
- Oppenheim, Gustav (1862–1940) 105n
- Oppert, Jules (1825–1905) 22n, 255, 255n
- Patton, Walter Melville (1863–1928) 209
- Paulsen, Friedrich (1846–1908) 43, 72n, 75, 77n, 88n, 93n, 94, 96n, 98n, 100n, 112n, 114n, 120n, 175n, 205n, 207
- Pausch, Matthias VIIIn
- Peltesohn, Leopold (d. 1904) 35n, 36n
- Péner, Miklós 180
- Perles, Felix (1874–1933) 195n
- Perles, Joseph (1835–1894) 147, 147n, 221
- Perlmann, Moshe (1905–2001) V, Vn, 5n, 154n
- Perreau, Pietro 293
- Pertsch, Wilhelm (1832–1899) 151, 151n, 297
- Petuchowski, Marcus M. (1866–1926) 113, 113n
- Pfannmüller, Gustav (1873–1953) 24n
- Pfleiderer, Otto (1839–1908) 44, 96n, 208–209, 610n, 614n, 630n, 632, 632n, 635, 635n, 636n, 637, 637n, 638, 638n, 639, 677n, 678n
- Philippson, Ludwig (1811–1889) 29, 29n, 69n
- Philippson, Martin (1846–1916) 69, 69n, 70, 130, 131, 242, 243, 244
- Philo, of Alexandria 187, 187n, 621, 668, 712, 713, 713n, 714, 719n
- R. Pinchas ben Yair 633
- Pines, Shlomo (1908–1980) 193n
- Pinkuss, Hermann Israel (1867–1936) 103n
- Pinsker, Simḥa (1801–1864) 162, 518
- Plato 134n, 582
- Pococke, Edward (1604–1691) 149
- Pollak, Isidor (1874–1922) 99, 99n, 100n, 105n, 113
- Poznański, Samuel Abraham (1864–1921) 10n, 17n, 77, 77n, 78, 78n, 83n, 94n, 97n, 105n, 106, 106n, 111, 132n, 166n, 183n, 185, 185n, 202, 205, 205n, 244, 244n
- Preger, Wilhelm (1827–1896) 594n
- Qaraya, Shim‘on (fl. ninth century) 732n
- Qāsīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥalabī (d. 982/1574–75) 291
- al-Qāsīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860) 171, 171n, 172, 172n, 259
- al-Qāsīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Munāzir al-Wāsiṭī al-Ḍarīr (d. 626/1229) 295
- al-Qāsīmī, Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn (1866–1914) 90n
- al-Qaşṭallānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (851–923/1448–1517) 168, 520, 520n
- al-Qazwīnī, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 270

- al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyyā' b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (b. ca. 600–682/1203–1283) 257, 543n
- al-Qirqīsānī, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb 166n
- al-Qūnawī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. Yūsuf (668–729/1269 or 1270–1329) 157, 159, 318
- al-Qushayrī, Abū l-Qāsim (376–465/986–1072) 157n, 159, 319
- Quṣṭa b. Lūqā (d. ca. 300/912–13) 272
- Rabbīner, Zemach (1865–1936) 105n
- Rachmuth, Michael (1865–1944) 86, 86n
- Rathgen, Karl (1856–1921) 100n
- Rauch, Lipót 14n
- Rausnitz, Hermann and Magdalena 239n
- Rawitz, Bernhard (1857–1932) 45, 75
- Reckendorf, Hermann (1863–1923) 25n
- Regensburg, Joseph (b. 1875) 102n, 207, 207n
- Reiner, Juda (b. 1871) 207, 207n
- Renan, Ernest (1823–1892) 623, 623n
- Renzer, Jakob S. 94, 105n, 120, 206
- Reuss, Eduard (1804–1891) 586n
- Reuther, Oscar (1880–1954) VIIIn
- Réville, Albert (1826–1906) 589, 591, 612n, 624n
- “Rex” Armleder 605n
- Richter, Salomon (1853–1906) 105n
- Rieger, Paul (1870–1939) 102n, 105n, 112
- Rödiger, Emil (1801–1874) 42, 104n
- Rosenberg, Salamon 180
- Rosenthal, Erwin (1889–1981) 190n
- Rosenthal, Ludwig August (1855–1928) 57
- Rosenzweig, Adolf (1850–1918) 9n, 105n
- Rosin, David (1823–1894) 50, 702n
- Rudolf, Crown Prince of Austria (d. 1889) 14n
- Runze, Georg August Wilhelm (1852–1938) 114n, 207n
- Sa'adya Gaon (882–942) 64, 113n, 118n, 139, 153, 162, 170, 174, 178, 179n, 183n, 185, 185n, 312, 519, 519n, 600, 600n, 621, 652, 652n, 653, 653n, 661, 673, 674, 674n, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679n, 691, 691n, 692, 693, 693n, 694, 696, 717n, 722, 723, 738
- Sacerdote, Gustavo (1867–1948) 105n
- Sachau, Eduard (1845–1930) 42, 42n, 43, 43n, 72, 72n, 73, 74, 75, 76n, 77n, 88n, 93, 93n, 94, 96n, 98n, 99n, 109, 109n, 111, 114n, 152, 152n, 175, 175n, 178, 178n, 205n, 206n, 209, 210
- Sachs, Hans (d. 1934) 97, 97n
- Sa'd al-Dawla b. Ṣafī b. Hibat Allāh b. Muḥadhdhib al-Dawla al-Abharī (d. 1291) 531
- al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-Ḥanafī (d. 536/1141) 277
- al-Sakūnī, Abū 'Alī 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl (d. 717/1317) 271
- Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb (Saladin) (r. 567–589/1174–1193) 521, 522, 528
- Sale, Samuel (1854–1937) 105n
- al-Ṣālīḥ b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (r. 743–746/1342–1345) 544
- Salmon b. Jeroham [Sulaym b. Ruḥaym] 185, 185n, 312
- Salmon, G. 158n
- Salomon, Benjamin Falk (1876–1940) 103n
- Salomonski, Martin (1881–1944) 26n, 103n
- Salzberger, Georg (1882–1975) 41n, 42n, 46, 59, 96, 96n, 109, 109n, 110n
- al-Samarqandī, Abū l-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad (d. 373/983–984 or 393/1002–1003) 2n, 61n, 142n, 143n, 157n, 168, 315, 521n, 649n
- Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 570/1175) V, 154, 311
- Sambari, Joseph ben Isaac (1640–1703) 643
- Samuel, Ernst 102n
- Samuel, Salomon (1867–1942) 72, 72n, 105n
- Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon (d. 1013) 165, 179n, 184n, 312
- Samuel ben Joseph ha-Nagid Ibn Naghrel-la (993–1056) 531, 532n, 560, 561n, 563, 732n
- Samuel ben Naḥman 689
- Sandler, Neumann 722n, 723n, 725n
- Sayf al-Dīn Salār al-Tatarī al-Ṣālīḥī al-Manṣūrī 542
- Schäfer, Dietrich (1845–1929) 120n
- Schapiro, Israel (1882–1957) 103n, 105n

- Schechter, Salomon (1847–1915) 9n, 105n, 181, 183, 183n, 244n
- Scheffer-Boichorst, Paul (1843–1902) 43, 76n, 120n
- Scheiner, Julius (1858–1913) 93n
- Schiemann, Theodor (1847–1921) 207n
- Schlössinger, Jacob 98n
- Schlössinger, Max (1877–1944) 97, 97n, 98n, 99n, 100n, 105n, 109, 111, 119, 127, 130n, 202, 203n, 255n
- Schmekel, August (1857–1934) 44, 75, 207n
- Schmelczer, Imré (Schmelzer, Hermann) (1932–2020) 5n, 102n
- Schmidt, Erich (1853–1913) 44, 75, 88n, 112n, 114n, 120n, 205n
- Schmidt, J. 88n
- Schmiedl, Adolf (1821–1913) 717n, 723n, 725n
- Schmoller, Gustav Friedrich (1838–1917) 44, 75, 100n, 207n
- Schoenberger, Davin (1897–1989) 93n
- Schoenberger, Ilse *née* Fuchs (1905–1997) 93n
- Scholem, Gershom (1897–1982) 58
- Schönberger, Philipp (1856–1908) 105n
- Schorrstein, Nahum (b. 1871) 93, 93n, 94, 94n, 112, 120, 120n
- Schrader, Eberhard (1836–1908) 42, 42n, 72n, 77n, 114n, 209,
- Schreier, Bernhard 113, 113n
- Schreiner, Albert 5, 5n, 6, 6n, 500
- Schreiner, Fanni 6, 6n
- Schreiner, Martin [Márton] (1863–1926) V, Vn, VI, VIIn, VII, VIIIn, VIII, VIIIIn, IX, IXn, XVI, 1, 1n, 2, 2n, 3, 3n, 4, 5, 5n, 6, 6n, 7, 7n, 8, 8n, 9, 9n, 10, 10n, 11, 11n, 12, 12n, 13, 13n, 14n, 15, 15n, 16, 16n, 17, 17n, 18, 18n, 19, 19n, 20, 20n, 21, 21n, 22, 22n, 23, 23n, 24, 24n, 25, 25n, 26, 26n, 27, 27n, 28, 28n, 30, 30n, 31, 31n, 32, 32n, 33, 33n, 34, 34n, 35, 35n, 36, 36n, 37, 37n, 38, 38n, 39, 39n, 40, 40n, 41n, 47, 47n, 48, 48n, 50, 51, 51n, 52, 52n, 53, 53n, 54, 54n, 55, 55n, 56, 56n, 57, 57n, 60n, 61, 61n, 62, 62n, 63, 63n, 64n, 65, 65n, 66, 66n, 67, 69, 69n, 70, 70n, 71, 71n, 72, 73, 73n, 75, 76, 76n, 77, 78, 78n, 83, 83n, 84, 84n, 85, 86, 87, 87n, 88, 88n, 89, 89n, 90, 90n, 91, 92n, 93, 94, 95, 95n, 96, 96n, 97, 97n, 98, 98n, 99, 100, 100n, 101, 101n, 102, 102n, 103, 103n, 104, 104n, 105, 105n, 106, 106n, 107, 107n, 108, 108n, 109, 109n, 110, 111, 112n, 115n, 116, 116n, 117, 117n, 118, 118n, 119, 119n, 121, 121n, 122, 122n, 123, 124n, 125, 125n, 126, 127, 128, 129, 129n, 130, 131, 131n, 132, 132n, 133, 133n, 134, 134n, 135, 136, 136n, 137, 137n, 139, 139n, 140, 140n, 141, 141n, 142, 142n, 143, 143n, 144, 144n, 145, 145n, 146, 146n, 147, 147n, 148, 148n, 149, 149n, 150, 150n, 151, 151n, 152, 152n, 153, 153n, 154, 155, 155n, 156, 156n, 157, 157n, 158, 158n, 159, 161, 165, 165n, 166, 166n, 167, 167n, 168, 168n, 169, 169n, 170, 170n, 171, 171n, 172, 172n, 173, 173n, 174, 175, 175n, 176, 176n, 177, 177n, 178, 178n, 179, 179n, 181, 182–183, 182n, 183, 183n, 184, 184n, 185, 185n, 187, 187n, 188, 188n, 189, 189n, 190, 190n, 191, 191n, 192, 192n, 193, 193n, 194, 194n, 195, 195n, 197, 197n, 198, 198n, 199, 199n, 200, 200n, 201, 201n, 202, 202n, 203, 203n, 204, 204n, 205, 205n, 206, 206n, 207, 207n, 208, 209, 209n, 210, 213, 213n, 215, 215n, 216, 216n, 217, 218, 218n, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 224n, 225, 226, 226n, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 237n, 238, 239, 239n, 240, 241, 242, 243, 243n, 245, 246, 247, 247n, 248, 249, 249n, 250, 251, 252, 253, 253n, 254, 256, 256n, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 267n, 268, 269, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 499, 501, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 530, 694n, 698n, 717n, 722n, 724n, 729n
- Schürer, Emil (1844–1910) 707n, 712n, 719n
- Schwally, Friedrich (1863–1919) 115
- Schwarz, Benjamin 180
- Schwarz, “Frau” 6n, 246
- Schwarz, Hermann (1843–1921) 207n
- Schwarz, Miksa (1854–1902) 25n
- Sezgin, Fuat (1924–2018) 24n

- al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) 520, 521, 529
 al-Shahrazānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm (479–548/1086–1153) 149, 150, 161, 163, 167, 171, 273
 al-Shahrazūrī, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (alive in 687/1287) 226, 226n, 264, 266
 Shalom, Abraham (d. 1492) 706
 R. Shammai 719, 720
 Shapira, Moses Wilhelm (1830–1884) 181, 181n, 183
 al-Sha'rānī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad (d. 973/1565) 168, 694n
 al-Sharif al-Murtaḍā, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (355–436/967–1044) 172, 172n, 173
 Shaykh al-'Amrī, *amīr* 544
 al-Shazarī (or al-Shayzarī), Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ja'far 276
 Sherira Gaon (ca. 906–1006) 187, 187n, 252, 252n, 720
 R. Sheshet 670n
 R. Shimon bar Yochai 630–632, 686
 R. Shimon ben Lakish 687n
 Shlomo Yizḥaqī (Rashi) (1040–1105) 575
 al-Shujā'ī al-Miṣrī, Shams al-Dīn 283
 Siebeck, Hermann (1842–1920) 207n
 Siegfried, Carl (1830–1903) 712n, 713n
 al-Sijistānī, Abū Ḥātim (d. 255/869) 172, 172n
 al-Silafī, Abū Ṭāhir (d. 576/1180) 521–522, 522
 Silberberg, Moritz (1867–1932) 115
 Silberstein, Emil (1867–1946) 105n
 Simmel, Georg (1858–1918) 44, 75, 88n, 96n, 100n, 101n, 175n, 205n, 207n, 209
 Simmons, L. M. 83n
 al-Simnānī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (361–444/971 or 972–1052) 168
 Simon, Hermann Veit (1856–1914) 199
 Singer, Isidor (1859–1939) 194
 Smend, Rudolf (1851–1913) 113n, 679n, 706n
 Snouck-Hurgronje, Christiaan (1857–1936) 145, 145n
 Sobernheim, Moritz (1872–1933) 113
 Solomon ben Abraham Adret (1235–1310) 147, 221
 Somogyi, József 140n
 Spinoza 602, 658, 728, 728n
 Spitta, Wilhelm (1853–1883) 150, 209
 Spitz, Löw 28, 30
 Sprenger, Aloys (1813–1893) 209, 578, 647n, 649n
 Stade, Bernhard (1848–1906) 207n
 Stein, Leopold (1873–1916) 88, 88n, 97n
 Stein, Ludwig (1859–1930) 94, 94n, 114n
 Steindorff, Georg (1861–1951) 43, 77n
 Steiner, Heinrich (1841–1889) 161, 163, 167n
 Steinhart, Nathan (b. 1871) 207, 207n
 Steinheim, Salomon Ludwig (1789–1866) 582, 658
 Steinschneider, Auguste *née* Auerbach (1823–1898) 16, 16n, 17n, 214n, 268
 Steinschneider, Moritz (1816–1907) VII, VIIIn, 16, 16n, 17, 17n, 18n, 20, 25n, 26, 26n, 27, 27n, 28n, 33, 40n, 51, 53n, 60n, 62, 72n, 76, 76n, 77, 78n, 83, 83n, 88n, 94, 97n, 98n, 99, 100n, 101, 101n, 103n, 104, 104n, 105, 105n, 106, 106n, 107, 107n, 108n, 109, 109n, 112n, 113, 113n, 114n, 132n, 140, 143, 147n, 150n, 152, 152n, 153, 154, 155n, 158n, 161, 167n, 175n, 183, 184n, 189, 190n, 191, 191n, 194, 203, 206n, 209, 213, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 223n, 224, 225, 226, 227, 249, 266, 267, 268, 269–270, 270, 281, 282, 294, 299, 301, 302, 306, 505, 538n, 650, 650n, 717n, 718n
 Steinthal, Chajim [Heymann] (1823–1899) 25n, 34n, 37, 40n, 46, 47, 47n, 48, 50n, 55, 61n, 67, 67n, 69, 69n, 72n, 75, 76, 76n, 78n, 88n, 94, 104n, 188, 205n, 206n, 208, 231, 241, 507, 507n, 509, 569, 570, 571, 588, 607, 607n, 659, 659n, 664, 664n, 682n
 Stern, Ludwig (1846–1911) 538n
 Stern, Moritz 184n
 Sternfeld, Richard (1858–1926) 43, 76n, 120n
 Stern-Schattat, Patrice 135n
 Stier, Josef-Salomon (1844–1919) 27, 27n
 Stöhr, Alois (1855–1921) 99n
 Strack, Hermann Leberecht (1848–1922) 44, 76n, 88n, 93n, 105n, 113, 114n, 120n, 209
 Strauss, David Friedrich (1808–1874) 626, 626n, 639, 678n, 696n, 728n
 Stroumsa, Sarah 190n

- Stumme, Hans (1864–1936) 175
 Stumpf, Carl (1848–1936) 44, 75, 96n, 112n
 al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (727–771/1327–1370) 298, 504, 521, 522
 Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) 527
 al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (539–632/1145–1234) 192, 215, 215n, 296, 317
 al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn (d. 587/1191) 158, 191, 191n, 239, 239n, 265, 267, 271, 314, 315
 Sulaymān Pāshā (governor of Ottoman Egypt 1525–35 and 1537–38) 525
 al-Sulamī, ‘Izz al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Salām (577–660/1181 or 1182–1262) 279, 280
 al-Sultān al-Muẓaffar Bahā’ al-Dīn 290
 al-Su‘ūdī, Abū l-Faḍl al-Mālikī (fl. tenth/sixteenth century) 503, 518, 519
 al-Suyūfī, Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jalāl al-Dīn (849–911/1445–1505) 168, 168n, 531
 Szabolcsi, Miksa (1857–1915) 32

 al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr (224/225–310/839–923) 193
 al-Ṭahāwī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 321/933) 295
 al-Tāhir b. ‘Awf al-Iskandarī 521
 Tāj al-Dīn b. Sa‘īd al-Dawla 543
 Tangl, Michael (1864–1921) 120n
 Tanḥum bar Ḥiya 721
 al-Tanūkhī, Abū ‘Alī Muḥassin b. ‘Alī (d. 384/994) 298
 Tānzer, Aron Arnold (1871–1937) 206, 206n
 Täubler, Eugen (1879–1953) 97, 120
 al-Tha‘ālibī al-Nīsābūrī, Abū Manṣūr ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad (350–429/961–1038) 274, 275, 531, 531n
 al-Thābit b. Qurra (d. 901) 310
 al-Tha‘labī, Abū Ishāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 427/1035) 2n, 540n
 Themistius 2n
 Thiele, Johannes (1860–1935) 45, 100n
 Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) 567
 Thon, Osias (1870–1936) 84n, 105n, 205, 205n

 Tiktin, Salomon (b. 1863) 207, 207n
 al-Tilimsānī, ‘Afif al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ‘Alī (601–690/1204–1291) 285
 Tillinger 102n
 Ṭinbughā al-Maridānī 544
 al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) 520n, 521n, 529n, 643n
 Tizengauzen, Vladimir G. (1825–1902) 115
 Tolstoy, Leo (1828–1910) 736n
 Tomás de Torquemada (1420–1498) 605n
 Tornberg, Carl J. (1807–1877) 168n
 Tūnjuz, *amīr* 544
 Turán, Tamás VIn, 70n, 118n, 158n
 Tylor, Edward Burnett (1832–1917) 591

 ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644) 524, 526, 527, 528, 529, 543n, 650
 ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Fāriskūrī (d. 1018/1610) 290
 al-‘Ushī al-Farghānī, Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān (d. 575/1179–80) 316

 Vacha, Ardaschir (Ardeshir) M. (1866–1936) 43, 93n, 98n
 Vajda, Georges (1908–1981) 180n
 Vallabha (Vallabhacharya Mahaprabhu) (1479–1531) 595
 Vámbéry, Ármin (Hermann) (1832–1913) 12, 12n
 van den Ham, Frederik Jacob (1846–1912) 116, 503, 518n, 539n
 Vandenhoff, Bernhard (1868–1929) 114, 114n
 Venetianer [Venetiáner], Ludwig [Lajos] (1867–1922) 5n, 14n
 Vierkandt, Alfred (1867–1953) 44, 96n
 Violet, Bruno (1871–1945) 114
 Vogelstein, Hermann (1870–1942) 102n, 105n, 112, 205, 205n
 Vollers, Karl (1857–1909) 41n, 103–104, 104n, 169, 169n
 von Bezold, Friedrich (1848–1928) 207n
 von Bohlen, Peter 316
 von Gizycki, Georg (1851–1895) 43, 75, 77n, 112n, 114n, 205n, 207n
 von Harnack, Adolf (1851–1930) 208
 von Hartmann, Eduard (1842–1906) 193, 193n, 194n, 603, 603n, 610n, 617n, 618n,

- 623n, 624, 635, 635n, 638, 638n, 639, 639n, 703n
- von Karabaček, Joseph (1845–1918) 98n, 99n
- von Kokowzoff, Paul (Коковцов, Павел Константинович) (1861–1942) 17, 17n, 115
- von Kremer, Alfred (1828–1889) 18, 18n, 19, 19n, 156n, 161, 163, 210, 508, 578, 600, 600n, 625n, 647, 694n
- von Lemm, Oscar (1856–1918) 115
- von Müller, David Heinrich (1846–1912) 18, 19, 19n, 25n, 98n, 99n, 207n
- von Negelein, Julius (1872–1932) 116
- von Oppenheim, Max (1860–1946) VIIIn
- von Scala, Arthur (1845–1909) 166n
- von Schroeder, Leopold (1851–1920) 240, 240n
- von Steinmeyer, Elias (1848–1922) 74n
- von Stradonitz, Reinhard Kekulé (1839–1911) 96n
- von Treitschke, Heinrich (1834–1896) 43, 75, 77n, 114n, 207n
- von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich (1848–1931) 44, 88n, 209
- von Zeissberg, Heinrich (1839–1899) 207n
- von Zimmermann, Robert (1824–1898) 207n
- Vrolijk, Arnoud 204n
- Wachter, Clemens 74n, 89n
- Wagner, Adolf (1835–1917) 44, 75, 175n, 205n, 207n
- Wahl, Samuel Friedrich Günther (1760–1834) 617n
- Walter, Isidor (1872–1943) 60n, 102n, 103n
- Walters-Warschauer, James Julius 73n
- Warschauer, Bertha 134n
- Warschauer, Malwin (1871–1955) 26n, 36n, 45, 45n, 46, 47n, 71, 71n, 72, 73, 73n, 74, 74n, 83n, 109, 109n, 111
- Wassermann, Oscar 135n
- Watson, William Scott (1862–1944) 115
- al-Waṭwāt, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Warrāq al-Anṣārī al-Kutbī (632–718/1235–1318) 277
- Weil, Gotthold (1882–1960) 66n, 67n, 93, 102, 105n, 106n, 109, 120, 127, 128, 146n, 178, 178n, 179, 179n, 197n, 198, 198n, 201n, 252, 321, 499
- Weil, Gustav (1808–1889) 25n
- Weiss, Fanni 6, 6n
- Weiss, Isaac Hirsch (1815–1905) 671n
- Weiß, Max 85
- Weisse, Samson (1857–1946) 135, 135n, 246, 246n, 248, 252
- Weisz [Weiss], Moritz Moses (1868–1915) 206, 206n
- Weisz, Heinrich (b. 1868) 205, 205n
- Wellhausen, Julius (1844–1918) 113n, 210, 609n, 610, 610n, 611n, 612, 612n, 627, 627n, 630, 630n, 631, 632, 632n, 634, 646, 647, 647n, 648, 648n, 713n
- Wetzstein, Johann Gottfried (1815–1905) 104n
- Weyl, Max (1873–1942) 112, 112n
- Wickhoff, Franz (1853–1909) 99n
- Wiener, Max 97n
- Winckler, Hugo (1863–1913) 42, 76n
- Winkler, Hans A. (1900–1945) VIIIn
- Wohlgemuth, Joseph (1867–1942) 88n, 107, 107n, 139, 209
- Wohlsohn, Ludwig (b. 1878, d. unknown) 206n
- Wolff, Christian (1679–1754) 657
- Wolfsohn, Ludwig 102n, 206, 206n
- Worms, Moses (1864–1920) 105n, 112, 112n, 202
- Wreschner, Leopold 112n
- Wreszinski, Celina “Lina” 134n
- Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand (1808–1899) 506
- Ya’ari, Abraham 244n
- al-Yāfi’ī, ‘Abd Allāh b. As’ad (d. 768/1367) 61n
- Yagic 207n
- Yahuda, Abraham Shalom (1877–1951) 90n, 92n, 102, 134, 134n, 136n
- Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 748/1347) 543
- al-Ya’qūbī, Ibn Wāḍiḥ (fl. late third/ninth century) 152
- Yefet b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Barqamānī 226n
- Yehudah Leon ben Moses Mosconi 301
- Yeshu’a ben Yehuda 144n, 172, 173, 173n, 189, 192n, 306, 307, 308

- R. Yohanan ben Zakkai 613, 629, 632, 671,
671n, 688, 712, 720
- R. Yose ben Ḥalafta 672, 684, 710
- R. Yose ben Yehuda 686
- Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣīr, Abū Ya‘qūb (d.
betw. 1037 and 1039) 1n, 2n, 149, 151, 153,
161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 165n, 166, 168, 179,
179n, 183, 189, 213, 293, 294, 308, 600,
600n, 653, 653n, 693, 693n
- Zakī al-Kurdī, Faraj Allāh (1882–1940) 90n
- al-Zamakhsharī, Jār Allāh (d. 538/1144)
161n, 163
- Zeller, Eduard (1814–1908) 44, 72n, 75,
77n, 114n, 205n, 602n
- Zetterstéén, Karl Vilhelm (1866–1953) 115,
148n
- Zinke, Sabrina 83n
- Zlocisti, Isidor (1878–1938) 120, 120n, 128n
- Zschommler, Philipp 182n
- Zsom, Dora VIIIn, 6n, 21n, 28n, 70n, 131n
- Zunz, Leopold (1794–1886) VI, 20, 200,
201n

Index of Geographical Names, Institutions, and Associations

- Abauj-Szanto 205n
Akademischer Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Kultur (AJGV) 52, 117, 117n, 118, 118n, 193, 509
Almeria 532
Altschönefeld 34n
al-Andalus 539
Assyria 571, 608
Auschwitz 134n
Austria 19n, 75n
Austrian National Library (Imperial Court Library/*Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek*) 18, 19, 302, 317
- Babylonia 613, 647
Baden 125, 127
Baden-Baden 128
Baghdad VIIIn, 527, 625, 626
Banū Wā'il 539, 540
Basel 292
Basra 527, 532
Bavaria 148
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich) 200n
Beinecke Library, Yale University 76n
Beirut VIIIn, 2n, 203
Beiuș → Belényes (Beiuș)
Belenyes (Beiuș) 6n, 136, 136n, 246
Ben Ezra Geniza 181
Ben Ezra Synagogue (Fusṭāṭ) 181
Benedictine abbey of Saint German-des-Près 154
Berlin VI, VII, VIII, IX, IXn, 1, 1n, 2n, 3, 3n, 5n, 9, 11, 13, 17n, 18n, 20n, 23n, 26, 26n, 27n, 33, 34n, 35n, 36n, 38, 38n, 39n, 40, 40n, 42, 45, 47, 48n, 50, 51, 54, 55n, 59n, 61, 62, 65n, 66n, 67, 71, 71n, 72n, 73n, 74, 75, 76, 76n, 77, 77n, 78, 78n, 83, 83n, 84, 84n, 85, 86, 86n, 87, 88n, 89, 90n, 92, 93n, 94, 95, 95n, 97, 98n, 99n, 100, 100n, 101n, 102n, 103, 103n, 104, 104n, 105, 105n, 106, 107, 107n, 108n, 109, 109n, 110, 111, 112, 112n, 113, 113n, 114n, 115, 116, 116n, 117, 117n, 118, 118n, 119, 120n, 121, 126, 127, 128, 130n, 131, 132, 132n, 134n, 135, 139, 142n, 143, 143n, 144n, 145n, 148, 149, 154, 156n, 162, 166n, 169, 170, 171, 171n, 172, 172n, 175n, 176n, 177, 177n, 181, 182n, 183, 183n, 188, 190n, 193n, 194, 199, 200, 200–201, 201, 202, 202n, 203, 203n, 204, 205, 205n, 206, 206n, 207, 207n, 208, 217, 222, 225, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 239, 242, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 254n, 268, 275, 280, 281, 291, 309, 314, 503, 504, 506, 508, 510, 524, 531, 538
Berlin Charlottenburg 97n, 118
Berlin Kreuzberg 45
Berlin Lankwitz 1, 1n, 2, 2n, 8n, 72, 86, 132, 133, 135, 148, 188n, 190, 192, 201, 203, 204, 245, 256n
Berlin Mitte 35n, 36n, 104, 134n, 503
Berlin Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary (*Rabbinerseminar für das orthodoxe Judentum*/Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary) 42n, 49, 51, 65n, 66n, 68n, 70, 88, 88n, 97, 102n, 103, 103n, 105, 107, 107n, 110, 112, 112n, 113n, 206, 206n, 207n, 208n
Berlin Spandau 84n, 112n
Berlin State Library (*Königliche Bibliothek* [Royal Library]/*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*) IX, 16, 16n, 18n, 34n, 36n, 58n, 73n, 91, 104, 106, 106n, 110, 110n, 113n, 114n, 116, 133, 143, 145n, 154, 156n, 169, 170, 170n, 172, 173, 176, 178n, 181, 205n, 219, 249, 253, 256n, 257, 259, 267n, 270, 273, 285, 299, 301, 306, 307, 308, 309, 531, 538
Berlin Steglitz 75n

- Berlin University (*Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität*) 41, 41n, 42, 42n, 43n, 45, 46, 47n, 51, 60n, 67n, 72n, 75, 76, 76n, 77, 77n, 83, 88, 88n, 93, 93n, 94, 96, 97, 98, 98n, 99, 100, 100n, 102n, 103n, 107, 109, 109n, 110, 110n, 111, 111n, 112n, 113n, 114n, 117, 117n, 120n, 175, 175n, 179, 205n, 206n, 207, 207n, 208n, 230, 240n
- Berlin Weißensee 3, 3n
- Berliner Gemeindebibliothek* (Jewish Community Library) 59n, 182n, 197, 197n, 198
- Berliner Philharmonie* 95n
- Bern 94, 206, 207, 208
- Bern University 86, 87, 87n, 94, 114n
- Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris) 90, 91n, 92, 157–158, 255
- Bielsko (Bielitz) 50, 50n
- Bischofswerda 75n
- Black Forest (Schwarzwald) 231
- Bodleian Library (Oxford) VIIIIn, 90, 185
- Bohemia 85n, 201, 201n
- Bombay 43, 249n, 250
- Bonn VIIIn, 95n
- Bonn University 115n
- Bratislava (Pressburg) 208n
- Breslau (Wrocław) 7, 7n, 26n, 50, 62n, 84, 84n, 102n, 103n, 115, 119n, 202, 205, 206n, 207n
- Breslau University 102n, 162, 206n, 207n
- British Library (London) 166n
- British Museum (London) 94, 94n, 181
- Budapest VIII, 5, 6n, 7, 7n, 8, 12, 13, 14n, 15, 15n, 18n, 20n, 21n, 25n, 29, 30, 30n, 31, 35, 35n, 36n, 37, 38n, 39n, 49, 62n, 91, 91n, 94, 116, 116n, 132, 135, 139, 143n, 144n, 147, 149, 153n, 164, 177n, 183, 203, 206n, 207n, 208, 209n, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 222, 235, 236, 247, 247n, 249, 509
- Budapest Rabbinical Seminary (*Országos Rabbiképző Intézet*) 7, 7n, 8, 9, 10, 10n, 12n, 23n, 26n, 28, 29, 30, 31, 31n, 35n, 36n, 38n, 39n, 71, 94, 141n, 179n, 247n, 268, 281
- Budapest University 7, 7n, 12, 89, 179
- Budapest University Library 18, 18n, 31, 214, 219
- Café Monopol (Berlin) 72, 72n
- Cairo VIIIIn, 90n, 115, 142n, 150, 154, 155n, 167n, 168n, 171n, 172n, 181, 192, 192n, 193, 193n, 214n, 223n, 524, 526, 527, 528, 529, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544
- Cambridge University Library 181
- Canaan 653
- Cassels Hotel and Restaurant* (Berlin) 35n, 36n, 503
- Center for Jewish History at the Leo Baeck Institute (New York) 292
- Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* 125n, 126
- China 643
- Christiania (today Oslo) VIII, 141
- Cincinnati 75
- Collegio rabbinico* (Florence) 48n
- Cologne (Köln) 121, 122n, 123
- Courland 207n
- Csurgó 5n, 8n, 13, 13n, 14, 14n, 15, 15n, 16, 18, 18n, 20n, 22n, 25, 25n, 26n, 28, 30, 31n, 38n, 143, 143n, 151n, 165, 166n, 202n, 203, 209n, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224
- Czechoslovakia 201
- Dallas (Texas) 76n
- Damascus 90n, 147n, 643
- Dan Wyman Books (New York) 184n
- Danube (Donau) 642
- Dār al-Salām (Cairo) 192n
- Denia 53n, 534, 534n
- Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund* 65n, 66n
- Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (DMG) 20, 20n, 21n
- Dortmund 201
- Dresden 227, 230
- Dunapentele 13, 13n
- E. J. Brill (Leiden) 177, 177n, 178n, 239n, 250
- East Prussia 88
- Eastern Europe 69n
- Eger (Erlau) 25, 25n
- Egypt (Aegypten/Miṣr) 87n, 104, 148, 182, 247n, 504, 524, 527, 528, 530, 531, 538, 539, 540, 541, 541n, 542, 543, 543n, 544, 605, 608, 653

- England VIII, VIII n
 Erlangen 42, 73, 74, 102n, 110, 112n, 205, 206, 206n
 Erlangen University 74, 74n, 89, 89n, 112n, 113n
 "Esra" Verein zur Unterstützung ackerbau-treibender Juden in Palästina und Syrien 119, 119n
 Essen 95n
 Euphrates 527, 713
 Europe VIII, 61n, 182, 194, 568, 642

 F. A. Brockhaus (Leipzig) 20n
 Florence 48n, 244
 Frankfurt am Main 72n, 83n, 178n, 182n, 208n, 256n, 507
 Frankfurt an der Oder 2n, 255n
 Fraustadt (Posen) 206n
 Freiburg im Breisgau 201
 Friedrichstadt (Courland) 207n
 Funk and Wagnalls (New York) 194
 Fuṣṭāṭ (Old-Cairo) 181, 539

 Galicia 87, 87n, 93
 Gebrüder Friedländer (*Juwelierfirma*) 45, 45n
 Gemeinde Mädchenschule (Berlin) 105n
 Geneva VIII, 292
 German Rabbinical Association (*Verband der Rabbiner Deutschlands*) 26, 26n, 67, 120, 121n, 122, 122n, 123, 123n, 124, 124n, 125, 126, 128, 129, 129n, 130n
 Germany VII n, 3n, 21, 24n, 42, 59n, 68n, 100n, 194, 201, 204n, 568
 Ghetto Zentralbücherei (Ghetto Central Library) (Theresienstadt) 201, 201n
 Gibraltar 643
 Gießen 97, 206, 207
 Gießen University 112n, 207n
 Gimbsheim (Rhine-Hesse) 206n
 Gizah 543
 Goldziher Institute 12n
 Görlitz 206n
 Gotha VI, 151, 151n, 192n, 294, 295, 296, 306
 Göttingen 113n, 193n
 Göttingen University 113n, 114n
 Granada 560, 561, 562, 563, 564

 Grätz 115
 Groningen 115
 Gross-Becskerek 8n
 Großherzoglich-badisches Gymnasium (Heidelberg) 98n
 Großwardein → Nagyvárad (Großwardein)
 Gymnasium of the Reformed Church in Csurgó (*Csurgói Református Gimnázium*) 28, 28n, 30, 220

 H. Itzkowski (Berlin) 227
 H. Reuther's *Verlagsbuchhandlung* (Berlin) 204
 Haifa 175n
 Halle 72n, 73n, 99n, 109n, 110, 112n, 120n, 193n, 205, 206, 207
 Halle University 26n, 120n
 Hamburg 115, 245n, 255n
 Hamburg University 192n
 Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati) 75
 The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 48n, 101n, 107n, 178n
 Heidelberg 75n, 77, 77n, 78n, 83n, 94, 94n, 98n, 99n, 100, 100n, 101n, 109n, 114n, 201, 201n, 205, 255n
 Heidelberg University 77n, 78, 78n, 83, 83n, 88, 93n, 94, 95, 96, 100n, 102, 109n, 114n
 Helgoland 144n
 Heringsdorf 108, 108n, 109n, 227
 Herzogliche Bibliothek Gotha 18, 151
Ḥevrat Mekize Nirdamim 209, 209n
 Hochschule für Jüdische Studien (Heidelberg) 200n, 201
 Hochschule/Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (HWJ) IX, IX n, 1, 1n, 2, 2n, 3, 3n, 5n, 11, 13, 23n, 24n, 26, 33, 34, 34n, 35, 35n, 36, 36n, 37, 37n, 38, 38n, 39n, 40, 40n, 41, 41n, 42n, 43, 45, 45n, 46, 47, 48n, 50, 50n, 51, 52, 55, 55n, 56, 56n, 57, 57n, 58, 58n, 59, 59n, 60n, 61, 61n, 62, 63, 63n, 65, 65n, 66n, 68, 68n, 69, 69n, 70, 70n, 71, 71n, 72n, 73n, 74, 75, 75n, 76, 76n, 77, 78, 79, 84, 84n, 88, 88n, 91, 93, 93n, 94, 95n, 96, 96n, 97, 98n, 99, 100, 100n, 101, 102, 102n, 103n, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 109n, 111, 111n, 112n, 112n, 113n, 117, 117n, 118, 119, 119n, 120, 120n,

- 121, 124, 124n, 125, 127, 128, 129, 129n, 130, 130n, 131, 131n, 132, 132n, 133, 133n, 134, 134n, 135, 135n, 136n, 137, 143, 162, 165n, 171n, 174, 175, 175n, 179, 183n, 188, 188n, 190, 193, 194, 197, 198, 199, 199n, 200, 200n, 201, 202, 204, 205, 205n, 206n, 207n, 208, 208n, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 242, 243, 244, 252, 294, 499, 503, 505, 507, 508, 509, 514, 569, 570
- Holland 110
- Holleschau (Moravia) 207n
- Höxter 205n
- Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* 36n
- Hungarian Academy of Sciences 13, 21, 31, 31n, 155
- Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives (*Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár*) (Budapest) 6n, 25n
- Hungarian National Museum 15, 31
- Hungary 5, 12n, 20n, 24n, 25, 29, 31, 71, 85, 89, 136, 143, 143n, 144n, 205n, 206n, 208n, 217, 222, 623
- India 240
- Iran 114n
- Isfahan 517
- Israel VI, 10n, 201, 597, 606, 608, 609, 610, 611, 620, 621, 628, 629, 630, 633, 634, 636, 637, 663, 664, 667, 679, 680, 681, 686, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 718n, 723, 724, 727, 728, 732, 740
- Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* (Vienna) 33n
- Jabne 719
- al-Jawdariyya (Cairo) 530n
- Jena 41n, 103
- Jena University 41n, 103
- Jerusalem 78n, 107n, 141n, 292, 609, 613, 688, 707, 719
- Jewish Community Central Committee (Mexico City) 292
- Jewish Community Council (Berlin) 58, 59
- Jewish Museum (Prague) (*Židovské muzeum v Praze*) 201, 202
- Jewish National and University Library (JNUL) (Jerusalem) VI, 47n, 78n, 141n, 178n, 201, 201n
- Jewish Religious Community Library (Prague) 203n
- Jewish Teacher Training School (*Országos Izraelita Tanítóképző Intézet*) (Budapest) 30, 222
- Jews College (London) 207n
- Joelsohn & Brünn Manufakturwarenhandlung* 134, 134n
- Johannisbad 164
- Jordan (river) 605, 653, 713
- JTS Breslau (*Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar Fraenkel'sche Stiftung*) 7, 26n, 47–48, 48n, 50, 50n, 70, 70n, 102n, 112n, 141n, 162, 164, 183n, 206, 206n, 207n, 292, 293
- JTSA (Jewish Theological Seminary of America) (New York) 16n, 107n, 155n, 181, 182n, 183, 183n, 184n, 244n
- Judaea 611
- Jüdische Lesehalle und Bibliothek Berlin* 35n, 36n, 59n, 135n, 197
- Kairouan 179n
- Kaiser-Alexander-Schule* (Friedrichstadt) 207n
- Kaposvár 8n
- Karlsburg (Transylvania) 206n
- Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania 28n, 83n
- Kerak 541
- Kestenbaum & Company 9n
- Khedral Library VIIIn, 115, 154, 155n, 172n, 192, 193
- Khuljān 541
- Khuzestan 532
- Kiel 95n
- Kiel University 88
- Königliches Amtsgericht I* (Berlin) 134, 198n, 199n
- Königsberg 116, 143n
- Konstanz am Bodensee 84n
- Korosvidek (Kreischgebiet) 5
- Kovácszna VIII, VIIIn, 5n, 6, 40, 132, 171n, 252n
- Krakow (Krakau) 83n, 84n, 87, 87n, 240
- Krotoszyn (Krotoschin) 49
- Kufa 527
- Landsberg am Lech 135

- Landsberg an der Warthe 224
Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums → *Hochschule/Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (HW)
 Leiden VI, 90n, 110, 146, 146n, 147n, 149, 150n, 153, 164, 176, 177n, 180, 239n, 257, 259, 273, 285, 297, 298, 300, 303, 304, 305
 Leiden University Library 146, 149n, 161, 257, 259, 273, 285, 299, 301, 306, 307, 308
 Leipzig 2n, 7n, 34n, 40, 43n, 87, 87n, 99n, 104n, 110, 111, 158, 163, 175n, 177n, 193n, 206, 207, 230, 250, 254n, 309, 508, 576
 Leipzig University 112n, 175, 254n, 309
 Leipzig University Library 308, 309
 Lemberg (Lviv) 205n
 Leo Baeck College (New York) 200n
 Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (LHAS) (Budapest) VII, 86, 89n, 92n, 116n, 195n
 Library of the University of Toronto 86n
 Lindenstraße synagogue (Berlin) 45, 45n, 46, 47
Literarische Anstalt Rütten & Loening 256n
Lokalkomitee Berlin der Alliance Israélite Universelle 135n
 London VIIIn, VIII, 91, 94n, 207n
 Lucena 53n, 534
 Luxembourg 91, 92, 254, 255, 256n
 Lviv → Lemberg (Lviv)
- Maghrib 86
 Marburg 54n, 207
 Marburg University 134n, 207, 208n
 al-Maṭba'a al-Adabiyya (Cairo) 148, 247n
 Maṭba'a at Būlāq 167n, 168n, 215n
 Maṭba'a at Idārat al-Waṭan 531
 al-Maṭba'a al-Khayriyya (Cairo) 142n
 Maṭba'a at Kurdistān al-'Ilmiyya (Cairo) 90n
 al-Maṭba'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Amīriyya 150
 Maṭba'a at Nukhbat al-Akhhbār 249n
 al-Maṭba'a al-Zāhira (Cairo) 214n
 Mediterranean Sea 605
 Mesopotamia 647
 Mexico City 292
 Middle East 114n, 181, 517
 Mohács 25n
 Mondorf 255
- Moravia (Mähren) 11n, 207n, 252n
 Moritz Meyer Foundation 94n
 Munich (München) 110, 116, 194n
 Münster 114n, 202
Museum Nordseeheilbad Norderney VIIIIn
 Nagyvárad (Großwardein/Oradea) VIII, 5, 5n, 6, 25, 25n, 47n, 71, 132, 132n, 136n, 143n, 246n
 National Library of Israel (NLI) (Jerusalem) VI, 2n, 9n, 23n, 53n, 62n, 78n, 99, 140n, 141n, 178n, 200n, 206n, 207n, 292
National-Jüdischer Verein der Hörer an der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums zu Berlin 119, 119n, 121, 121n, 124n, 127, 128, 129, 129n, 130, 130n, 131
 National Library of Russia (NLR/Imperial Public Library) (Saint Petersburg) 158n, 181, 182n
 National Rabbi Training Institute (Budapest) 7n
 National Széchényi Library 31
 Near East VIII, 181
 Neolog Dohány Synagogue (Pest) 141n
Neue Synagoge (Berlin, Oranienburger Straße) 27n, 71n
 New York 79, 80, 81, 82, 194, 244n
 Nile 87, 542, 542n, 543, 543n, 544, 545
 Norderney VIII, VIIIn, 9, 53n, 108n, 109n, 144, 144n, 237
 North Africa 86
 Norway 141
- Odessa 58
 Oppeln 84n
 Oradea (Romania) → Nagyvárad (Großwardein/Oradea)
Österreichisches Handelsmuseum (Vienna) 166n
Orientalisches Museum (Vienna) 166n
 Otto Harrassowitz (Leipzig) 177n, 250
 Oxford VIIIn, 16, 16n, 17, 17n, 90, 91n, 185, 191
- Palestine (incl. Mandatory Palestine) 119, 122, 124n, 178n, 518, 714, 718n, 723n
 Paris VIII, 17n, 90, 90n, 91n, 92n, 110, 111, 154, 154n, 158, 158n, 255

- Persia 173
 Pest 141n, 233
 Pishon 713
 Posen 134n, 206n
 Prague 99, 113n, 114n, 201, 202, 203

 Raab 8n
 Ramle 518
 Reali School (Haifa) 175n
Reichssicherheitshauptamt Judenbibliothek
 200, 202
 Rhine (Rhein) 642
 Riga 134n
 Romania 5, 252n, 246n
 Rome IX, IXn, 246
 Rostock 206
 Russia 182n, 194, 195n, 207n, 640, 642

 Saint Petersburg 17, 90, 158n, 162, 164,
 164n, 166n, 181
Sanatorium Berolinum (Berlin Lankwitz)
 1, 2n, 3n, 72, 132, 135, 148, 200, 245, 245n,
 246, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256
 Sankt Georgen → Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sankt
 Georgen/Sfantu Gheorghe)
 Sátoraljaújhely 208n
 Saxony 144
 School of Oriental Studies (The Hebrew
 University of Jerusalem) 48n
 Schüttenhofen 86n
 Sebnitz (Saxony) 114n, 144, 144n
Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen (SOS)
 (Berlin) 43, 43n, 93n, 98n, 100n, 103,
 109, 109n, 110, 111, 116
 Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sankt Georgen/Sfantu
 Gheorghe) 6, 6n, 132n, 136, 136n, 252,
 252n
 Sevilla 53n, 534, 534n
 Sfantu Gheorghe → Sepsiszentgyörgy
 (Sankt Georgen/Sfantu Gheorghe)
 Shubrā 542, 543
 Silesia 201
 Sinai 30, 664, 708, 709, 710, 710n, 717, 721,
 724, 728, 731, 732, 733, 735, 737
Société des Études Juives 22
 Somogy County 13
Sophien-Gymnasium (Berlin) 112n
 Southern Arabia 19, 19n

 Spain VIIIIn, 174, 656, 725
 St. Florian 19n
 St. Louis 508
 Stockholm VIII, 141, 154n, 157n
 Straßburg 16, 17n, 92n, 206, 207, 207n, 208
 Straßburg University 114n
 Sudan 527
 Sudetenland 201
 Sweden 141
 Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities
 292
 Sylt 144, 144n
 Syria 87n, 119, 527, 528, 539, 647
 Szekszard 25
 Szentes 25, 25n
 Szepsi 206n
 Szezerzek 75n

 Technical University (Berlin Charlotten-
 burg) 118
 Texas 76n
 Thal 218
 Theresienstadt 201, 201n
 Tiberias 719
 Tigris 713
 Transylvania (Siebenbürgen) VIIIIn, 206n
 Tutzing 147n, 148, 148n

 United States of America 75n, 93n, 95n, 194
 University of Pennsylvania Libraries 87n
 Uppsala 148n
 Uppsala University 148n, 157n

 Várpalota 206n
Veitel Heine Ephraim'sche Lehranstalt 51n,
 72n, 73n, 76, 76n, 77, 78n, 83, 88n, 97,
 100n, 103n, 105, 105n, 106n, 112n
Verband für Statistik der Juden 135n
Verein Jüdischer Studenten (VJSt) 118, 118n
 Veszprém (Weißbrunn) 8n
 Vienna (Wien) VI, VIII, 18, 18n, 19, 19n, 33,
 33n, 87, 87n, 98n, 99n, 118, 131, 132, 147,
 158, 159, 166n, 202, 207, 207n, 213n, 229,
 230, 236, 238, 239, 249, 280, 287, 302,
 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 596n
 Vienna Jewish Theological Seminary (*Is-
 raelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt*) 98n,
 207n

- Vienna University 19, 97, 98n, 99n, 207
Vöslau 132, 132n, 177, 207n, 238, 239, 239n,
241
- Waidhofen a. d. Thaya 86n
Walther & Apolant *Sortiments-Buchhand-
lung* 200
Wāsiṭ 90n, 527
Weißensee Jewish cemetery 3n, 4
Westerland 144n
Wiener Library for the Study of the Holo-
caust and Genocide 71n
- Wiesbaden 108n
Württemberg 127
- Yale University 148
Yemen 169, 170, 181n
- Zinten (East Prussia) 88
Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland
118, 118n, 121, 122n, 123, 126, 127, 128
Zloczow (Galicia) 93, 93n
Zunz Foundation 62, 62n, 63n, 88, 88n,
135n, 205, 227, 235
Zürich 292

Index of Premodern Book Titles

- K. al-ʿAdad al-maʿdūd fī l-adab* 274
K. al-Afāl dhawāt hurūf al-līn (Ḥayyūj) 140
K. al-Aghānī (Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī) 150n, 168, 204, 204n
Aḥkām al-jihād wa-faḍāʾilihi (al-Sulamī) 279
K. al-Aḥkām al-mutaḍamman li-fiḥḥ aʿimmat al-islām (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 260
ʿAjāib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt (al-Qazwīnī) 257, 543n
K. al-Ajwiba al-fākhira ʿan al-asʾila al-fājira (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya) 305
Akhbār al-muʿammarin min Kitāb al-Ghurur wa-l-durar fī l-muḥāḍarāt (al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā) 172n
K. Alām al-nubuwwa (al-Māwardī) 154, 284
K. al-Ahwāḥ al-imādiyya (Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī) 192, 239n, 267
K. al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt (Saʿadya Gaon) 64, 64n, 519n, 600n, 652n, 653n, 674n, 693n
ʿAnqāʾ mughrīb fī khatm al-awliyāʾ wa-shams al-maghrib (Ibn al-ʿArabī) 291
K. al-Anwār wa-l-marāqib (al-Qirqisānī) 166n
al-Anwār al-zāhiya fī Dīwān Abī l-ʿAtāhiya 116n
al-ʿAqīda al-Ḥamawiyya (Ibn Taymiyya) 288
al-ʿAqīda al-Tadmuriyya (Ibn Taymiyya) 289
al-ʿAqīda al-Wāsiṭiyya (Ibn Taymiyya) 288
ʿArāʾis al-majālīs (al-Thaʿlabī) 2n, 540n
Ṣ. ha-ʿArayot (Yeshuʿa ben Yehuda) 173n, 307
K. al-Ashkāl (Ṣuwar al-aqālīm) (Abū Zayd al-Balkhī) 276
K. al-Āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya (al-Bīrūnī) 152
ʿAwārif al-maʿārif (ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī) 215, 215n
Awrāq al-dhahab fī ʿilm al-muḥāḍarāt wa-l-adab (Muḥammad Amīn b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī al-Mawṣilī) 275
Bāb dhikr al-Muʿtazila min K. al-Munya wa-l-amal fī sharḥ K. al-Milal wa-l-niḥāl (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 177n
Badʿ al-Amālī (Sirāj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-ʿUshī al-Farghānī) 316
Baḥr al-kalām (Mubāḥathat ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa maʿa l-firaq al-ḍālla wa-l-mubtadīʿa) (al-Nasafī al-Makḥūlī) 150, 213, 213n, 301, 302, 317, 595n
Baḥr al-madhāhib (Munʿim Khān) 278
K. al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār al-jāmiʿ li-madhāhib ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 173, 176, 177n, 178, 259
al-Barq al-lāmiʿ al-mughrīb fī sharḥ ʿAnqāʾ mughrīb (Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥalabī) 291
Bayān al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa (Risāla fī uṣūl al-dīn) (al-Ṭaḥāwī) 295
Bereshit Rabba (attrib. to Yeshuʿa ben Yehuda) 173, 173n, 189, 189n, 306, 308
Budd al-ʿārif (Ibn Sabʿīn) 191, 191n, 288
Bughyat al-multamis fī tārikḥ rijāl ahl al-Andalus (al-Ḍabbī) 532n
K. al-Buldān (Ibn al-Faqīh) 276
K. al-Buldān (al-Shazarī or al-Shayzarī) 276
K. al-Burhān (al-Juwaynī) 216

- Bustān al-ārīfīn* (al-Samarqandī) 143n, 157n, 168, 521n, 649n
- K. al-Dawā'ir al-wahmiyya* (Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawṣī) 73n
- De anima* (Aristotle) 265
- De caelo* (Themistius) 2n
- De iustitia* (Philo) 719n
- Dhamm al-kāfir al-jaḥūd min al-umma al-ghaḍabiyya al-Yahūd* (Aḥmad b. Abi Bakr al-Qādirī) 283
- K. Dhayl* (or *Tatimmat*) *al-Yatīma* (al-Tha'ālibī) 274, 531
- Dīwān* ('Afif al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī) 285
- Dīwān* (al-Manṣūr bi-llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza) 258
- K. Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-ūṣrat ahl al-‘aṣr* (al-Bākhzarī) 281
- al-Durr al-naẓīm fī ahwāl al-‘ulūm wa-l-talīm* 303
- Ṣ. ha-Emuna ha-rama* (Abraham b. Dāwūd) 695n
- al-Fann al-thānī min Mabāhij al-fikr wa-manāhij al-‘ibar* (al-Waṭwāṭ) 277
- K. al-Farā'id wa-l-qalā'id* (Amīr Qābūs b. Washmagīr) 318
- al-Faraj ba'da l-shidda* (al-Tanūkhī) 298
- K. al-Farq bayna l-firaq* (al-Baghdādī) 171, 171n, 173, 284, 285, 503, 504, 517
- Faṣl al-maqāl* (Ibn Rushd) 307
- Fawāt al-wafayāt* (al-Kutubī) 106n, 168, 168n, 544n
- R. Fī anna li-l-māqī mabda'an zamāniyyan* (Ibn Sīnā) 304
- R. Fī ikhtilāf al-nās fī siyarihīm wa-akhlāqihīm wa-shahwātihīm wa-khtiyārātihīm* (Qusṭā b. Lūqā) 272
- al-R. Fī madhhab al-Imām al-awḥad Mālik b. Anas* ('Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī) 289
- Fī tadbīr al-mutawahḥid* (Hanḡagat hamitboded) (Ibn Bājja) 190n, 191, 191n
- K. Fī uṣūl al-dīn 'alā madhhab al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa* 315
- K. al-Fihrist* (Ibn al-Nadīm) 167, 167n
- K. Firdaws al-ḥikma fī l-ṭibb* (Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī) 309
- K. al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwā' wa-l-niḡal* (Ibn Ḥazm) 142, 142n, 146, 147, 148, 148n, 149, 149n, 150, 153, 165, 168, 168n, 198n, 213, 213n, 247n, 300, 310, 316, 595n
- K. al-Furqān fī awliyā' al-Raḥmān wa-awliyā' al-shayṭān* (Ibn Taymiyya) 289
- Fuṣūl fī dhikr a'yād al-Qubṭ min al-Naṣārā* 505, 546–558
- Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Ibn al-'Arabī) 156n
- al-Futūḡāt al-makkiyya* (Ibn al-'Arabī) 156n
- Ghurar al-fawā'id (al-Amālī)* (al-Sharīf al-Murtaḡā) 172, 172n, 173, 173n
- Halakhot gedolot* (Shim'on Qaraya) 732n
- K. Ḥall Maqāṣid al-ri'āya li-l-Ḥārith al-Muḡṣibī* (al-Sulamī) 280
- Ḥayāt al-ḡayawān al-kubrā* (al-Damīrī) 224, 224n, 543n
- K. al-Ḥayda wa-l-i'tidhār fī l-radd 'alā man qāla bi-khalq al-Qur'ān* (attrib. to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yahyā al-Kinānī) 286
- R. Ḥayy b. Yaḡzān fī asrār al-ḡikma al-mashriqiyya* (Asrār al-ḡikma al-Mashriqiyya) (Ibn Ṭufayl) 149, 306
- K. al-Hidāya ilā farā'id al-qulūb/Ḥovot halevavot* (Ibn Paḡūda) 90, 90n, 91, 91n, 92, 92n, 158n, 600n, 677n, 679n
- K. Hidāyat al-ḡayārā fī ajwibat al-Yāḡūd wa-l-Naṣārā* (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya) 305
- al-ḡikma fī makhlūḡāt Allāḡ 'azza wa-jalla* (al-Ghazālī) 292
- ḡikmat al-ishrāḡ* (Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī) 158, 191, 315
- Hilkhot teshuva* (Maimonides) 700n
- ḡusn al-muḡāḡara fī tāriḡh al-Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* (al-Suyūṭī) 531
- ḡusn al-ṭaṣarruf fī sharḡ K. al-Tā'arruf li-madhhab al-ṭaṣawwuf* (al-Qūnawī) 157, 318
- Īḡāḡ al-bayān li-mā arādahu l-ḡujja min "laysa fī l-imkān abda' mimā kāna ..."* (Nūr al-Dīn al-Samḡūdī) 272

- K. al-Ifāda fī tārīkh al-a'imma al-sāda* (al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn) 258
- Iḥām al-yahūd* (Samaw' al al-Maghribi) V, Vn, 154, 154n, 155n, 311
- Iggeret Rav Sharira Gaon* 720
- K. al-Iḥāta fī tārīkh al-Gharnāta* (Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb) 270, 273, 506, 561, 564
- Ihyā' ulūm al-dīn* (al-Ghazālī) 167, 215, 215n, 654n
- Ijāza* (Ibn al-'Arabī) 290
- Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'* (al-Ṭabarī) 193
- K. Ilal al-sharā'i wa-l-asbāb* (Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummi) 277
- Ilal al-tathniyya* (Ibn Jinnī) 304
- al-Ilm al-ilāhī* (Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī) 696
- K. al-Imān* (Ibn Taymiyya) 142, 142n, 311
- al-Insān al-kāmil fī ma'rīfat al-awākhir wa-l-awā'il* (al-Jilī) 2n, 61n
- al-Intiqād li-l-āyāt al-mu'tabara fī kamāl al-ijtihād* (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 173, 260
- al-Iqd al-farīd* (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī) 2n, 167, 167n, 214, 214n
- S. ha-Iqqarīm* (Albo) 64, 64n, 133n, 655, 735n, 738n, 741n
- K. Iqtidā' al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (Ibn Taymiyya) 156, 278
- K. al-Irshād fī uṣūl al-i'tiqād* (al-Juwaynī) 146, 147n, 150, 153, 165, 168, 213, 213n, 216, 299, 599n, 700n
- K. Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid* (Ibn al-Akfānī) 303
- K. al-Irshād al-sārī fī sharḥ al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* (al-Qaṣṭallānī) 168
- K. al-Jadal* (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Muqaddasī al-Ḥanbalī) 272
- al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar min sirat sayyid al-bashar* (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 173, 260
- Jawāmi' al-'ulūm wa-sirr al-maktūm* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 300
- K. Jawharat al-ghawwāṣ wa-tuḥfat ahl al-ikhtishāṣ* (Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Arrāq) 272
- al-Juyūsh al-islāmiyya fī l-radd 'alā l-firqa al-jahmiyya* (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya) 286, 303
- K. al-Kāfī* (al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marrākushi) 261
- K. al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya fī l-intiṣār li-l-firqa al-nājiyya* (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya) 287
- al-Kalām 'alā ḥaqīqat al-Islām wa-l-imān* (Ibn Taymiyya) 262
- Kalīla wa-dimna* 145n
- K. al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh* (Ibn al-Athīr) 165n, 168, 168n, 531, 532n
- Kashf al-faḍā'ih al-yūnāniyya wa-rashf al-naṣā'ih al-imāniyya* → *Rashf al-naṣā'ih al-imāniyya wa-kashf al-faḍā'ih al-yūnāniyya* (*Kashf al-faḍā'ih al-yūnāniyya wa-rashf al-naṣā'ih al-imāniyya*) (Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī)
- Kashf al-ghīṭā' 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tawḥīd wa-aqā'id al-muwahḥidīn* (Ibn al-Ahdal al-Yamanī) 279
- Kashf al-ghumma 'an mūrāth ahl al-dhimma* ('Alī b. al-Kāfī b. 'Alī al-Subkī) 522
- al-Kashshāf* (al-Zamaksharī) 161n, 163
- al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī manāqib al-mujtahid Ibn Taymiyya* (Mar'ī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī al-Ḥanbalī) 260
- Ketav Tamīm* (Moses Taku) 596n
- K. al-Khaṣā'ish* (Ibn Jinnī) 294
- Khaṣā'ish Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal* (Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Iṣbahānī al-Madīnī) 275
- Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar* (Ibn Ḍafar) 203, 218, 218n
- Khizānat al-adab wa-ghāyat al-arab* (Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī) 223, 223n
- Khulāṣat al-wafā' bi-ikhtishār rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* 250, 250n
- K. al-Kunnāsh wa-Firdaws al-ḥikma fī l-ḥibb* (Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī) 261
- Kuzari* (Judah ha-Levi) 65, 65n, 101n, 701n, 724n, 725n
- Laḥn al-'awāmm fīmā yata'allaq bi-'ilm al-kalām* (al-Sakūnī) 271
- K. Lawāqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt [al-sāda] al-akhyār [al-kubrān]* (al-Sha'rānī) 168
- Lubb al-ādāb fī radd jawāb dhawi l-albāb* (Ibn Abī 'Awn) 282
- K. al-Luma' fī l-naḥw* (Ibn Jinnī) 17, 18n, 140, 217, 218, 220, 281, 295

- K al-Luma'* (Ibn al-Janāh) 312, 313, 505, 533n
- K. al-Ma'ād* (Ibn Sīnā) 262
- K. al-Ma'ālim* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 309
- Ma'amar 'al Yishma'el* (Solomon ben Abraham Adret) 221
- Ma'ānī al-naḥs* (attrib. to Ibn Paqūda) 157, 158
- Ma'azene ha-iyunim* (attrib. to al-Ghazālī) 73, 73n, 74, 83n
- K. al-Mabāhith al-mashriqiyya* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 269
- al-Maḥnūn* (al-Ghazālī) 83, 83n
- Maḥāṭīḥ al-ghayb* (*Tafsīr*) (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 146, 150, 150n, 153, 153n, 164, 165, 167, 204, 204n, 214, 499, 520n, 522n, 648
- al-Majmū' fī l-Muḥīṭ* (Ibn Mattawayh) 170, 170n, 173, 176, 178, 258
- Majmū' al-Shaykh Sahl b. Bishr fī aḥkām taḥāwīl al-sinīn wa-ghayriḥā* 261
- K. Manāzil al-sā'irīn* (al-Anṣārī al-Harawī) 280
- al-Maqāla al-muḥsiniyya li-ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa al-badaniyya* (Yefet b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Barqamānī) 226, 226n
- al-Maqālāt al-musfira 'an dalā'il al-maghfi-
ra* (Nūr al-Dīn al-Samhūdī) 272
- Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* (al-Ghazālī) 83, 83n, 84n, 269
- Ma'rīfat al-dalīl wa-tafsīr al-murāghama* 261
- K. al-Masā'il fī l-khilāf bayna l-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādiyyīn* (Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī) 170, 170n, 173, 175, 175n, 177n, 178, 257
- K. al-Maṭālib al-'aliyya* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 260
- al-Mawāqif* (Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Nifārī) 296
- al-Mawāqif fī 'ilm al-kalām* (al-Ījī) 163, 163n, 167, 703n
- Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael* 1n, 632n, 633n, 669n, 686n, 688, 688n, 711n, 714n, 715n, 719n
- Ş. Meqor ḥayyim* (Ibn Gabirol) 653
- Mevo ha-talmud* (Samuel ben Joseph ha-Nagid) 732n
- Mifalot Elohim* (Abarbanel) 728n
- al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 173, 259
- al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* (al-Shahrastānī) 149, 150, 161, 163, 167
- Milḥamat ha-Shem* (Gersonides) 1n, 704n, 705n, 733n
- Milḥat al-i'tiqād* (al-Sulamī) 279
- Ş. Mishkan ha-eduth* (R. Moses de Leon) 270
- Mishnayot* 1n
- Mishne Tora* (Maimonides) 654, 702, 718, 727, 732, 732n
- Miyār al-uqūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 173, 260
- Mizān al-i'tidāl* (al-Dhahabī) 204, 204n
- More ha-nevukhim* (Maimonides) 1n, 64, 64n, 67, 68n, 190n, 577, 601n, 654, 697n, 698n, 700n, 702n, 703n, 727n, 728n, 729n, 730n, 731, 731n, 740n
- K. al-Mu'amarīn* (al-Sijistānī) 172, 172n
- al-Mufaṣṣal sharḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal* (al-Kātibī) 150, 213n, 305
- K. Mufīd al-'ulūm wa-mubīd al-humūm* (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī) 270
- K. al-Muḥāḍara wa-l-Mudhākara* (Moses ibn Ezra) 16, 16n, 17, 17n, 18n, 22, 142n, 214n, 215, 221, 222, 268, 500
- K. Muḥaṣṣal* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 150, 168, 169n, 213, 213n, 214, 305
- al-Muḥīṭ* ('Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī) 170, 173
- Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (Ibn Qutayba) 89, 89n, 90n, 302
- K. al-Mukhtār min kalām Abī 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiẓ* 263
- al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (*Annales*) (Abū l-Fidā') 15, 15n
- Mukhtaṣar al-jawāḥir al-muḍ'ā fī ṭabaqāt al-'ulamā' al-ḥanaḥfiyya* 314
- Mukhtaṣar rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī manāqib al-ṣāliḥīn* (al-Yāfī'ī) 61n
- al-K. al-Muḥtawī fī 'ilm al-tawḥīd wa-l-'adl* (*Ş. ha-Ne'imot*) (Yūsuf al-Baṣīr) 1n, 2n, 149, 151, 153, 161, 162, 164, 164n, 165, 165n, 168, 179, 179n, 180n, 183, 189, 190, 192n, 213, 293, 294, 308, 600n, 653n, 693n

- Munāzara fī l-i'tiqād* (Ibn Taymiyya) 291
al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl (al-Ghazālī) 163, 163n
al-Muntakhab al-jalīl min takhjiḥ man ḥar-rafā l-Injīl (al-Su'ūdī) 503
K. al-Muntazam (Ibn al-Jawzī) 283
al-Munya wa-l-amal sharḥ al-Milal wa-l-niḥal (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 176n, 177n
al-Muqaddima (Ibn Khaldūn) 16, 16n, 167, 167n, 204, 215, 216n
al-Mustaṣfā (al-Ghazālī) 15n, 142n, 151, 151n, 168, 216, 297
K. al-Mu'tabar fī l-ḥikma (Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī) 104, 168, 192, 192n, 193, 193n
K. al-Mu'tamad (Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī) 169, 216, 216n
- Natijāt al-ijtihād fī l-muhādana wa-l-jihād* (Aḥmad b. Maḥdī al-Ghazzāl al-Fāsī) 264
Nawādir al-falāsifa (Muṣare ha-filosofim) (Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq) 218
Neveh shalom (Abraham Shalom) 706n
Nihāyat al-iqdām fī 'ilm al-kalām (al-Shahrastānī) 171, 273
K. al-Nūniyya (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya) 287
Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ fī tawāriḫ al-ḥukamā' al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-muta'akhhirīn (al-Shahrazūri) 226, 226n, 266
- Or Adonai* (Ḥasdai Crescas) 1n, 38, 64–65, 65n, 654, 705n, 734n, 739, 739n
- Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* 634n, 649n
- al-Qalā'id fī taṣḥīḥ al-'aḳā'id* (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 173, 259
Qaṣida (al-Ghazālī) 279, 294
al-R. al-Qushayriyya (al-Qushayrī) 159, 319
Qūt al-qulūb (Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī) 157n, 159, 319
- al-Radd 'alā l-Zindīq al-la'īn Ibn al-Muqaf-fa'* (al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī) 259
Rasā'il (al-Ma'arrī) 304
Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā 73n, 249, 250, 250n
- Rasā'il al-Shajara al-ilāhiyya fī 'ulūm al-ḥaqā'iq al-rabbāniyya* (al-Shahrazūri) 264
Rashf al-naṣā'ih al-īmāniyya wa-kashf al-fadā'ih al-yūnāniyya (*Kashf al-fadā'ih al-yūnāniyya wa-rashf al-naṣā'ih al-īmāniyya*) (Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī) 192, 296, 317
Riyādat al-afḥām fī laṭīf al-kalām (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 173, 176, 176n, 177n, 259–260
Rosh amana (Abarbanel) 654n
- al-Ṣawā'iq al-mursala 'alā firaq al-Mu'tazila al-Jahmiyya al-mu'aṭṭala* (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya) 262
Shajarat al-ma'ārif wa-adillat al-aḥkām (al-Sulamī) 279
K. al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn (al-Juwaynī) 216
K. al-Sharā'ī (Samuel ben Ḥofni) 184n, 312
Sharḥ al-Luma' (al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Munāẓir al-Wāsiṭī al-Ḍarīr) 295
Sharḥ al-Talwīḥāt (Ibn Kammūna) 158, 265, 314
Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-ḥikma (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 158, 313
S. ha-Sheṭarot (Judah ben Barzalai) 93
al-Shifā' (al-Ilāhiyyāt) (Ibn Sīnā) 264
Shi'ur qoma 673
Shulḥan arukh 68n, 95
Ṣifra 1n, 683n
Ṣifre debe Rab 1n, 598n, 683n, 684n, 686n, 714n, 715n, 719n, 739n
Ṣiḥḥat al-istidlāl bi-l-shāhid 'alā l-ghā'ib (Yūsuf al-Baṣīr) 179
Sirr al-ṣinā'a (Ibn Jinnī) 300
al-Sumūt al-sab'a al-mu'allaqāt min ash'ār al-'Arab 2n
Ṣūrat su'ālāt wa-jawābāt fī dhikr al-kanā'is wa-l-baḥṭh 'alayhā (Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq) 263
R. al-Suyūf al-murḥafa fī l-radd 'alā zanādiqat al-mutaṣawwifa (al-Fārisikūrī) 290
- K. al-Ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* (al-Kalābādhi) 157, 318
Ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn (al-Suyūṭī) 168

- Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā* (al-Subkī) 298, 504, 521
- Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (al-Ghazālī) 1n, 203n, 701n, 703n, 706n
- al-Taḥqīq fī l-ikfār wa-l-tafsīq* (Ibn al-Murtaḍā) 173, 259
- Talkhīṣ al-Maṭālib al-'aliyya fī 'ilm al-kalām* 260
- K. Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal* (Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī) 295
- al-Talwīḥāt* (Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī) 158, 191–192, 265, 271, 314
- al-Tamyīz* (Sa'adya Gaon) 183n
- al-Tamyīz* (Yūsuf al-Baṣīr) 2n, 161, 162, 164, 164n, 308
- Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* (al-Samarqandī) 2n, 61n, 142n, 157n, 315
- Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn al-ḥayārā 'alā mā wa-rada min al-nahy 'an al-tashabbuh bi-l-Naṣārā* (Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥamawī al-Qādirī al-Ḥanbalī) 282
- al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* (al-Mas'ūdī) 153n
- Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth* (Ibn Kammūna) V, 16, 16n, 214n, 266, 267
- K. Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥ wa-awlādihī min sanat 737 wa-ilā sanat 745* (al-Shujā'ī 283)
- Tatimmat al-Ghurar* (al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā) 172n
- K. Ṭawālī' al-anwār min maṭāli' al-anzār* (al-Bayḍāwī) 316
- K. al-Tawḥīd wa-ithbāt ṣifāt al-Rabb* (Ibn Khuzayma al-Sulamī) 288
- I. Teman* (Maimonides) 194
- Thamāniyya fuṣūl* (Maimonides) 727n
- al-Tuḥfa al-bahiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya* ('Abd Allāh b. Hījāzī al-Sharqāwī) 314
- Tur* (Jacob ben Asher) 95
- K. al-'Uluww li-l-'Alī al-'alā al-ghaffār* (al-Dhahabī) 289
- K. al-'Umad* ('Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī) 216, 216n
- al-'Umda fī maḥāsīn al-shī'r wa-ādābihī* (Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī) 297
- K. Uṣūl al-'adl wa-l-tawḥīd wa-nafy al-jabr wa-l-tashbih* (al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī) 171n, 172n
- K. Uṣūl al-fiqh* (al-Bazdawī al-Ḥanafī) 287
- K. Uṣūl al-fiqh* ('Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd al-Bukhārī al-Ḥanafī) 277
- K. al-'Uyūn wa-l-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq* 286
- Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān* (Ibn Khallikān) 167, 168n
- Waṣiyya* (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) 289
- R. al-Widā' (I. ha-Peṭira)* (Ibn Bājja) 40n, 158, 190, 190n, 191, 308, 309
- Yad Malakhi* (Malakhi ben Jacob) 733n
- Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsīn ahl al-Miṣr* (al-Tha'ālibī) 274, 275
- K. al-Yawāqīt wa-l-jawāhir fī bayān 'aqā'id al-akābir* (al-Sha'rānī) 694n
- Ṣ. ha-Yezira* (Isaac Israeli) 293
- Ṣ. Yuḥasin* (Zacuto) 530n
- Zahr al-adāb wa-thamar al-albāb* (al-Ḥuṣrī) 167n

Index of Manuscripts

- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz
 - Diez A quart. 133 257
 - Glaser 3 176, 178
 - Glaser 12 170, 170n, 173, 176, 178, 257
 - Glaser 34 258
 - Glaser 37 258
 - Glaser 52 170, 170n, 173, 176, 258–259
 - Glaser 101 171, 259
 - Glaser 108 176n
 - Glaser 230 173, 176, 177n, 178, 259–260, 264
 - Landberg 8 260
 - Landberg 158 260–261
 - Landberg 221 261
 - Landberg 248 89
 - Landberg 266 116n, 261, 309
 - Landberg 305 262
 - Landberg 368 262
 - Landberg 428 263, 504, 524
 - Landberg 828 263
 - Landberg 894 264
 - Landberg 904 264
 - Minutoli 229 264–265
 - Ms. or. fol. 1056 83n
 - Ms. or. fol. 1233/2 72n
 - Ms. or. fol. 1321 265
 - Ms. or. fol. 1338 256n
 - Ms. or. fol. 1387 265–266
 - Ms. or. oct. 93 265
 - Ms. or. oct. 217 226n, 266
 - Ms. or. oct. 256 16, 266–267
 - Ms. or. oct. 399 192, 239n, 267
 - Ms. or. oct. 406 267–268, 505, 538, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558
 - Ms. or. oct. 464 16, 214n, 217, 220, 221, 222, 268
 - Ms. or. quart. 13 268–269
 - Ms. or. quart. 59 83n, 269
 - Ms. or. quart. 521 83n, 269
 - Ms. or. quart. 650 73, 83n
 - Ms. or. quart. 833 269–270
 - Ms. or. quart. 933 266
 - Ms. or. sim. 8948 IXn
 - Petermann I 75 270, 506, 561, 564
 - Petermann I 250 172n
 - Petermann I 258 172n
 - Petermann I 369 270–271
 - Petermann I 678 192, 271
 - Petermann II 30/3 271
 - Petermann II 35 272
 - Petermann II 65 h 272
 - Petermann II 169 172n
 - Petermann II 226 272–273
 - Petermann II 579 171n, 273
 - Petermann II 586 273
 - Petermann II 644 273–274, 504, 531
 - Petermann II 654 274, 276
 - Petermann II 663 143n, 274–275
 - Petermann II 664 275
 - Petermann II 707 274, 275–276
 - Sprenger 1 276
 - Sprenger 2 276
 - Sprenger 12 277
 - Sprenger 563 277
 - Sprenger 599 277
 - Sprenger 706 278
 - Sprenger 718 156n, 278
 - Sprenger 793 278–279
 - Sprenger 814 279
 - Sprenger 836 279–280
 - Sprenger 872 280
 - Sprenger 875 280
 - Sprenger 1007 17, 140, 217, 219, 281
 - Sprenger 1185 281

- Sprenger 1205 282
 - Sprenger 1962 282–283
 - Wetzstein I 7 283
 - Wetzstein I 8 283
 - Wetzstein I 87 190, 190n, 191n, 283–284
 - Wetzstein I 106 154, 284
 - Wetzstein I 107 171n, 173, 284–285, 503, 517
 - Wetzstein II 175 285
 - Wetzstein II 342 285–286
 - Wetzstein II 382 286
 - Wetzstein II 385 286–287
 - Wetzstein II 425 287
 - Wetzstein II 743 87, 87n
 - Wetzstein II 1495 287
 - Wetzstein II 1524 191, 287–288
 - Wetzstein II 1533/1 288
 - Wetzstein II 1536 288–289
 - Wetzstein II 1537 289
 - Wetzstein II 1538 289–290
 - Wetzstein II 1723 290
 - Wetzstein II 1735 290–291
 - Wetzstein II 1767/1 291
 - Wetzstein II 1774/3 291
 - Wetzstein II 1817/2 291–292
 - Wetzstein II 1962 292
- Breslau, Bibliothek des Breslauer Rabbinerseminars
- 193 292–293
- Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Akademie of Sciences
- Kaufmann A 280 164n, 165, 179n, 189, 293–294, 600n
- Cairo, al-Kutubkhāna al-Khādīwiyya (now Dār al-Kutub)
- adab 495 172
 - 9 (general number: 8157) 154n
 - 645 193n
- Göteborg, Forschungsbibliothek
- orient. A 28/2 294
 - orient. A 186 294
 - orient. A 210 295
 - orient. A 644 295
 - orient. A 663 295–296
 - orient. A 857 192n, 296
- orient. A 880 296
 - orient. A 925 142n, 151, 168, 296–297
- Jerusalem, National Library of Israel
- Ar. 2 172n
- Leiden, Leiden University Library
- Or. 22 (Cod. Golius 22) 297
 - Or. 61 (Cod. Golius 61) 298
 - Or. 73a, b 298, 504
 - Or. 146 (Cod. Golius 146) 147n, 150, 153, 213n, 299, 599n, 699n–701n
 - Or. 429/1 (Cod. Warner 429[1]) 299–300
 - Or. 431 (Cod. Warner 431) 300
 - Or. 480 (Cod. Warner 480) 142n, 146, 148n, 153, 198n, 213n, 300–301, 595n
 - Or. 583 176n
 - Or. 661/3 (Cod. Warner 661[3]) 150, 213n, 301–302, 317, 595n
 - Or. 882 89, 89n, 302
 - Or. 958/42 (Cod. Warner 958[42]) 302–303
 - Or. 996 (Cod. Warner 996) 303
 - Or. 1016/2 (Cod. Warner 1016[2]) 303
 - Or. 1020a/12 (Cod. Warner 1020[12]) 304
 - Or. 1049 (Cod. Warner 1049) 304
 - Or. 1071/3 (Cod. Warner 1071[3]) 304–305
 - Or. 1510 (Cod. Testa 1510) 152, 305
 - Or. 2925 (Ar. 2283) 150, 150n, 168, 213n, 214, 305–306
 - Or. 2933 306
 - Or. 4743 (Cod. Warner 5) 189, 306–307
 - Or. 4763 (Cod. Warner 25) 307
 - Or. 4774 (Cod. Warner 15) 307
 - Or. 4779 (Cod. Warner 41) 161, 161n, 164, 180, 189, 308
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek
- B. H. fol. 19/4 190, 308–309
 - Vollers 855/1 309
- London, British Library
- Arundel Or. 41 309–310
 - Add 7473 Rich. 310
 - Or. 2568 164n

- New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
- Landberg 1 310–311
 - Landberg 25 142n, 311
- New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America
- 2289 [Steinschneider 39] 155n, 311
 - ENA 2753.8 184n, 312
 - ENA 2750.1 and 2750.2 185n, 312
- Oxford, Bodleian Library
- Heb.e.44/15 185n
 - Hunt. 599 VIIIn, 16, 17, 17n, 142n, 214n, 215n, 268
 - Marsh. 659 312–313
 - Pococke 136 313
 - Pococke 206 190n, 191, 191n
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
- arabe 1456 154
 - hébreu 1340 158
- Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia
- Evr. I 687 164
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
- Cod. A. F. 266 302, 315
 - Cod. A. F. 346 315–316
 - Cod. A. F. 409 316
 - Cod. Mixt. 189 313
 - Cod. Mixt. 214 313–314
 - Cod. Mixt. 215 314
 - Cod. Mixt. 453 314–315
 - Cod. Mixt. 469 192, 315
 - Cod. N. F. 216 147, 316–317
 - Cod. N. F. 266/1 213n, 317
 - Cod. N. F. 267 192, 317
 - Cod. N. F. 280/1 318
 - Cod. N. F. 289 157, 318
 - Cod. N. F. 290 318–319
 - Cod. N. F. 291 319