The Manuscript Collection of Adriaan Reland in the University Library of Utrecht and Beyond

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When on 4 November 1700 Adriaan Reland (1676–1718) was appointed as professor of Oriental languages at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Utrecht, this was something of a break with the past. In effect, he succeeded Johannes Leusden, who had taught the sacred languages at the Faculty of Theology from 1650 until his death in 1699, and had published widely on Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac in relation to biblical texts. Leusden had been a faithful pupil of the strict Calvinist theologian Gijsbert Voet (Voetius), who from the foundation of the university in 1636 until his death in 1676 had dominated the Faculty of Theology, and indeed the university itself.

Reland had studied in Utrecht, among others Hebrew under Leusden, but had a different outlook on the relationship between theology and philosophy than his teacher, as his dissertation of 1694 already shows.¹ He had acquired an interest in the Arabic language, stimulated by his fellow student Heinrich Sike (Sikius), who had come from Bremen to study in Leiden and later worked in Utrecht.² In subsequent disputations and in his oration of 1701 Reland would argue for the use of the knowledge of Oriental languages—in particular Arabic and Persian—for the study of Christian theology and its defence against Islam.³ He names those who had already reaped the fruits of this study, including Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), who had all lectured in Leiden, and Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), who died before he could do so.⁴

1 Reland, *Disputatio philosophica inauguralis, De libertate philosophandi* (1694); see further Van Amersfoort, *Liever Turks dan Paaps?*, pp. 19–28; Hamilton, 'Arabists and Cartesians'.

2 Hamilton, *ibid.*, pp. 100–103; Forster, 'Henry Sike of Bremen (1669–1712)', pp. 253, 258–259. Sikius went to Cambridge in 1704.

3 Reland, *Exercitatio philologico-theologica De symbolo Mohammedico (non est Deus nisi Unus) adversus quod S. S. Trinitas defenditur* (1696); *idem, Exercitatio philologico-theologica De consensu Mohammedanismi et Judaismi* (1696); *idem, Oratio Pro lingua Persica et cognatis litteris Orientalibus* (1701). See also de Bruijn, 'Iranian Studies in the Netherlands', pp. 170–171.

4 Reland, *Oratio Pro lingua Persica*, p. 6; cf. Reland, *De symbolo Mohammedico*, p. 5.

Reland wanted to continue this approach in Utrecht, but found the university library ill-equipped to satisfy his own needs and those of his students. When the University of Utrecht was founded in 1636, the existing city library also became the university library. The city library had been founded in 1584 by the new Protestant city council, who decided that the libraries of the Utrecht monasteries and chapters had to be confiscated and brought to Saint John's Church. The newly founded city library thus consisted mainly of medieval manuscripts and early printed books about theology. This changed when two large libraries were donated to the city library, those of the former canon Huybert van Buchell (d. 1599) and the jurist Evert van de Poll (d. 1602), but their collections contained little that related to Oriental studies.

The city council was loath to open its purse for the acquisition of books, and this did not change when the city library also became the university library, for the city council still controlled its budget. This situation is reflected in the collection. When the university library printed its catalogue in 1718, in the same year that Reland died, the section on Hebrew and Oriental books numbered 66 titles, most of them printed in the sixteenth century.⁵

It thus appears that Reland's tenure as professor of Oriental languages, to which Hebrew antiquities were added in 1713, did not have any bearing on the collection of the library; there is no notable increase in books, let alone manuscripts, on these topics. Whatever Reland needed for his studies and students, he bought himself. At his unexpected death by smallpox in 1718, his will of 1703 was invoked, which stated that all his worldly goods (including books) were to be inherited by his wife, Johanna Catharina Teelinck (d. 1744).⁶ She was the daughter of the former mayor of Zierikzee in Zeeland, whom Reland had married in 1702. The couple had two surviving children, Catharina Elisabeth,

5 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Trajectino-Batavae* (1718), second part, pp. 142–145 (wrongly numbered 445). At an unnumbered page at the end (missing in certain copies) there is a list of twelve Oriental manuscripts the itinerant German scholar Christian Ravis (Ravius) had donated to the library of the young University of Utrecht, where he had briefly lectured in 1643. Nine of these are listed in the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ultrajectinae* of 1670. Three remained in the library of the Senate of Utrecht, and were transferred to the university library in 1718 (see Grosheide, Monna and Pesch, *Vier eeuwen Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht*, p. 98). The complete list is also in the *Auctarium Catalogi Bibliothecae Trajectino-Batavae* of 1754, pp. 33–34 (with the ancient shelfmarks 278.a–n). They correspond with MSS 1430, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1444, 1448, 1449, 1450 (via Gerbrandus Ansloo), 1466, 1469, 1474, 1475 and 1477. Ravius also donated Mss. 352, 1009 and 1374, and v oct 852 rar, a compendium of Christian doctrine printed in Japan, which Reland studied, as he added its title in Latin.

6 Her name is also spelled 'Teeling'. The will is now: Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Toegang 34–4 (Notarissen in de stad Utrecht, 1560–1905), nr. U138a002, aktenummer 60 (5-1-1703), H. van der Mark, notary. I owe this reference to Dr Tobias Winnerling.

who was born in 1703, and Jan Hubertus, who was but one year old when his father died.

1 The Two Auction Catalogues

All the printed books in Reland's collection, over 2,500 titles in all, were auctioned in Utrecht on 7 November 1718.⁷ As far as I have been able to establish, the University of Utrecht did not buy a single book of this collection at the time.⁸ And this notwithstanding the fact that only sixteen days after his death, Reland was succeeded as professor of Oriental languages by David Mill (Millius), who was 25 years old at the time. The city council was not wont to seize opportunities such as these, especially not in times of crisis in which, then as now, the budgets were immediately tightened.⁹

It has to be noted that Reland's library had been filled with books about theology, history and other subjects. Books directly relevant to the study of Hebrew number about fifty, and there are only a few works about Oriental languages or Islam.¹⁰ Reland's collection of manuscripts was not auctioned, but came into the possession of his son, Jan Hubertus, who became a member of the city council of Zierikzee. After his death in 1760, the manuscript collection was auctioned on 6 April in Utrecht the following year, together with Jan Hubertus' collection of printed books, plays, seashells, ancient coins and other items. The section on manuscripts contains 168 lots, and most of them concern Arabic and Persian manuscripts, but there are also Malay, Turkish, Chinese and Japanese manuscripts, as well as a few in other languages such as Slavonic and Greek. Hebrew manuscripts are almost absent. Some rare printed books are included as well.¹¹

7 Cat. Reland 1718.

8 Two annotated books on the list were acquired by the University Library at a later stage, as is discussed below.

9 Grosheide, *Vier eeuwen*, pp. 99–101.

10 Cat. Reland 1718, pp. 146–150, lists about thirty books in Hebrew, the rest is spread out over the other rubrics.

11 Cat. Reland 1761, second part (*Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum*), pp. 1–16. The lots are divided into four groups, the first three according to size: 46 in folio, 66 in quarto, 41 in octavo, and 15 in the rubric Chinese and Japanese manuscripts. In some cases one lot consists of two or more manuscripts or a collection of documents. For Reland's acquisition of some Chinese manuscripts, see the contribution of Ton van Hal in this volume, pp. 152–153. See Appendix 2 in this volume for a complete overview of all the known manuscripts from his collection (excluding letters, for which see Appendix 3).

The two auction catalogues give the impression that Reland relied mainly on printed works for his Hebrew studies, but that for his Oriental studies he was more dependent on manuscripts. This is no doubt a reflection of the fact that many Hebrew texts had already been published in print, whereas this was not the case with Oriental texts. This is fully borne out in Reland's *De religione Mohammedica*, first published in 1705, of which an expanded and revised second edition appeared in 1717. At the end of his book Reland gives an 'Index' of thirty manuscripts which he has used and which are cited in his work.¹² Of these, he consulted two in the City Library of Amsterdam,¹³ and four in the library of his friend Sikius. The rest he had acquired himself. The auction catalogues of 1761 and 1718 give us additional information about the provenance of his manuscripts and annotated books. Several manuscripts also contain marks of previous ownership.

Reland notes in his 'Index' that he obtained many manuscripts at the auction of Golius' library in 1696.¹⁴ As far as can be ascertained, this applies to 31 manuscripts.¹⁵ Golius had obtained quite a number of codices himself in the Orient. From his friend Sikius, Reland obtained at least seven manuscripts and books.¹⁶ He also acquired other manuscripts from academic colleagues and friends.¹⁷ Yet Reland acquired most of his manuscripts through his contacts with men who were or had been in the Orient themselves.

12 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica libri duo. Editio altera auctior* (1717), pp. [277]–[286]; see Appendix 2, rubric B. The 'Index' is also printed in the first edition of *De religione Mohammedica libri duo. Quorum prior exhibit Compendium theologiae Mohammedicae* (1705), pp. [193]–[199], but with only 24 items.

13 He made a copy of these, see Appendix 2, A qua 31.

14 Reland, *De religione Mohammedica* (1717), pp. [281–282], no. 16. Cat. Golius 1696 is virtually the same as Cat. Golius 1668, but the latter misses the addenda on pp. [29–30]. The auction in 1668 never actually took place; only Golius' printed books were sold that year, see Witkam, *Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) en zijn handschriften*, pp. 65–71.

15 Appendix 2, A fol 10, 11, 16, 17, 18 (two copies, the second uncertain and not counted), 25, 29, 41, 45, qua 1a–c (one set containing three manuscripts and two 'originals', counted as five in total), 5, 9, 17, 20 (from Franciscus Raphelengius, 1539–1597), 33, 34, 42, 44, oct 2, 4, 5, 8 (from Erpenius), 11, 12, C 2, D 1, 2. Reland also acquired A qua 16 from Golius' library via Sikius. Additionally, Reland acquired other manuscripts that had belonged to Erpenius (A fol 6) and Raphelengius (A fol 7).

16 Appendix 2, A qua 16 (from Golius), oct 13, 29, 35, 36, C 7 (see below), D 6. Sikius also copied excerpts of manuscripts in Reland's possession, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 408; see Nicholl, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Orientalium Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars secunda Arabicos complectens*, p. 391, no. 393.

17 His student Johannes Croonenburgh (Appendix 2, A fol 42), the French Orientalist Antoine Galland(us) (A qua 13 and oct 23, see the contribution by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume, pp. 365–367), the jurist Jacobus Meyer (author of *Dissertatio juridica inauguralis de matrimonio*, 1694) (A qua 48), Jacob Rhenferd, professor of Oriental languages in

2 **Contacts in the East: Van der Vorm and Mutter**

In his 'Index' Reland states at no. 21, the *Compendium theologiae Mohammedicae*, that it was sent to him from Batavia (modern Jakarta) in the Dutch Indies by the Reverend Petrus van der Vorm, 'owing to whose liberality I possess many Oriental manuscripts'.¹⁸ Peter van der Vorm (1664–1731) became a preacher in the Moluccas in 1689, and in Batavia from 1698 until his death.¹⁹ We can relate three manuscripts in Reland's collection directly to Van der Vorm.²⁰ The above-mentioned *Compendium*, written in Arabic with its interlinear Javanese translation, was probably typical of other manuscripts Reland acquired through Van der Vorm.²¹ A Malay translation of Exodus contains Reland's note *Hic liber ad mei missus est ex Batavia Indiae Orientalis* ('This book was sent to me from Batavia in India in the Orient'), and a grammatical tract *ex insula Java ad me missa* ('sent to me from the island of Java'), and these were probably sent to him by Van der Vorm.²² One may suspect that this also applies to many other Malay manuscripts, even if Van der Vorm is not mentioned, but this can only be established by further investigation.²³ We know that Reland obtained printed

Franecker from 1654 until his death in 1712 (A qua 53), Theodorus Ryckius (see at n. 23 below), and Petrus Texelius (see at p. 348 below).

18 *De religione Mohammedica* (1717), p. [282] no. 21 (Appendix 2, A qua 46): 'cujus liberalitate plurima possideo MSSa orientalia'.

19 Swellengrebel, *In Leijdeckers voetspoor*, vol. 1, p. 14.

20 Appendix 2, A fol 3, qua 27, 46. For A qua 27 (a Persian treatise on Arabic grammar, with a partially Malay interlinear translation) from Van der Vorm, see the description of Leiden, University Library, Or. 1666, in Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental manuscripts in Leiden University Library*, vol. 2, pp. 212–213.

21 Compare another manuscript by Van der Vorm, with the note 'Genesis Arabice cum interlineari versione Malaica', now München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 233; see Wieringa, 'Arabisch-Malaiische Genesis'. It was transferred from the Court library of Count Palatine Carl Theodore (reigned 1742–1799) in Mannheim to Munich in 1803/4. Compare Appendix 2, A qua 24, which, however, appears to be a different manuscript.

22 Appendix 2, A qua 25, A fol 19, and see also A fol 27 (part f), Vatican, BAV, Vat. Ind. 23, for which see Swellengrebel, 'Verkorte weergave', p. 366 (copy of *Hikayat Puteri Johor Manikam*, written in Batavia in 1694).

23 Candidates are e.g. Appendix 2, A fol 22 (cf. Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey*, p. 43), 39 (a palm leaf manuscript, cf. Peters, *De wijze Koopman*, p. 357, who refers to Cat. Reland 1761 'lot 13' and a price of fl. 8, which seems to be a mistake), qua 8, 10, 30, 32, 35, 38, 40, 57, 58, 61, and A oct 9. For other manuscripts from Van der Vorm, see, for example, Voorhoeve, 'De oude gouvernementen-handschriften', p. 345 no. qua 3 (at p. 347 is suggested this may be the same as Leiden, University Library, Or. 1700) and p. 346 no. oct 1. Note also A fol 37 and A fol 44 (both about a temple on Ternate in the Moluccas); Reland acquired the first (and probably also the second) from the library of Theodorus de Rijcke (Ryckius) (1640–1690), professor of history and rhetoric in Leiden.

Chinese books and Oriental manuscripts via Richard Munniks, 'procurator' in the Dutch East Indies, whose family probably came from Utrecht.²⁴

A Malay translation of the Gospel of Matthew, *ex Bibliotheca Leydekkeri*, probably also found its way to Reland via Van der Vorm.²⁵ It is one of the few handwritten testimonies of the translation of the Bible in Classical (High) Malayan by Melchior Leydecker (1643–1701). This undertaking, commissioned by the Batavian church council, was completed after Leydecker's death by Van der Vorm and printed in Latin (rather than Arabic) letters.²⁶ François Valentijn (1666–1727) also belonged to this circle of translators. He had studied briefly in Utrecht under Leusden,²⁷ and became a preacher in Ambon (in Maluku province, Indonesia) in 1686. Three years later he was joined there by Van der Vorm. In 1694 Valentijn and his family returned to the Netherlands and settled in Dordrecht. Valentijn possessed a translation of the Bible in Ambonese (Low) Malayan, and vehemently defended the usefulness of 'his' version against that of Leydecker.²⁸ In the period from 1705 to 1713 Valentijn tried to reestablish himself in the Dutch Indies, but problems with the authorities forced him to return for a second time. Valentijn donated at least two manuscripts to Reland.²⁹

Remarkably, one of Van der Vorm's manuscripts is a Persian translation of the Gospels, in an elegant script copied in the Indian sultanate of Golconda (around Hyderabad and the area to the eastern shore).³⁰ This was where another of Reland's contacts had been active, Cornelis Mutter (also: Van der Murter) (1659–1701 to 1704). Little is known of Mutter, but his legacy is quite

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- 24 See the chapter by Anna Pytlowany in this volume, p. 294, where she also discusses a manuscript of tree bark Reland obtained from Nicolaes Witsen.
- 25 Appendix 2, A qua 52. Other manuscripts from Leydecker also came to the Netherlands via Van der Vorm, e.g. Leiden, University Library, Or. 1961 and Acad. 233. Another manuscript from Leydecker is Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Or. 2 (Al-Toma, *De arabischen Handschriften*, pp. 43–47), which belonged to Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder, who is discussed at p. 331 below. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 408 also contains a copy of a manuscript on Islamic law owned by Leydecker, cf. n. 16 above.
- 26 Leydecker and Van der Vorm, *Al-Ḳawl al-'Atīk: ʿīya ʾītu Səḡala sūrat Pērjanjān Lāma*, 1733. This Melchior Leydecker is not to be confused with his namesake (1642–1721), professor of theology in Utrecht.
- 27 Habiboe, *Tot verheffing van mijne natie*, p. 17. This work gives a detailed account of Valentijn's life and publications, but does not refer to his contacts with Reland.
- 28 Swellengrebel, *In Leydeckers voetspoor*, vol. 1, pp. 13–20; Habiboe, *ibid.*, pp. 54–57, 63–64. Valentijn probably used a translation already made by one of his predecessors. See also Steenbrink, 'François Valentijn'; Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, pp. 78–81. Valentijn asked Reland for advice in the matter, see Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 3, p. 112.
- 29 Appendix 2, A qua 7 and 37 (see below).
- 30 Appendix 2, A fol 3. The Latin title is followed by the inscription 'Adriano Relando donate a P. van der Vorm' (Donated to Adriaan Reeland by P. van der Vorm).

profound. His name is closely linked to that of another Dutchman in Golconda, Daniel Havart (1650–1724), who had come to Hyderabad in 1673, where he worked for the Dutch East India Company (VOC).³¹ Together with Mutter he learned Persian from a certain Shāh Qāsim.³² In 1677 Mutter presented a copy of the Arabic-Persian dictionary in verse by Badr al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Farāhī ‘out of brotherly love to my best friend Daniel Havart’.³³ In 1685 Havart left for Batavia and subsequently returned to the Dutch Republic, where three years later he published a Dutch translation of a Persian poem, Sa’dī’s *Bustān*.³⁴ He graduated in Utrecht as a medical doctor in 1691.

Mutter remained in the Orient as a translator, and in 1698 was considered as a possible member of the commission to oversee the translation of the Bible in Malay, together with Leydecker and Van der Vorm. This was not to be, for the same year he returned to the Dutch Republic.³⁵ There he met his old friend again, and in 1701 Havart gave Mutter a copy of Sa’dī’s *Gulistān*, copied by Shāh Qāsim in Golconda in 1676, to which Havart added his own Latin translation based on the printed edition by Georgius Gentius from 1651.³⁶

Reland acquired at least nine or ten manuscripts from Mutter. They include Persian copies, written by Shāh Qāsim, from Sa’dī’s *Bustān* and *Gulistān*, the last with Mutter’s translation in Dutch on interleaved European paper. Both were begun in 1677.³⁷ A copy of the Malay text *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja* was sent to Reland from the Dutch Indies and contains a short letter from Mutter to Reland with a remark about payment.³⁸ Mutter also sent two other manuscripts to Reland from the Orient, a Persian-Malay-Dutch vocabulary and a Malay-Dutch

31 Kruijtzter, ‘Pomp before Disgrace’, p. 170; idem, ‘Daniel Havart’.

32 Utrecht, University Library, MS 1473, is a collection of petitions and diplomatic papers from Golconda copied by Shāh Qāsim in 1679, many with a Dutch translation by Havart. It comes from the collection of Sebaldus Rau (Cat. Rau 1818, p. 69, no. 4).

33 Brockelmann, *Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg, Teil I*, p. 109, no. 213 (Cod. Orient. 243): ‘uyt een broederlyke genegenheyt aan myn beste vrund Daniel Havart’.

34 Havart, *Den Persiaanschen bogaard* (1686). The interleaved manuscript written by Shāh Qāsim with Havart’s translation is now The Hague, Royal Library, KW 130 C 17.

35 Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 4, pp. 86–87, cf. pp. 324–326, for his position as translator; Swellengrebel, ‘Verkorte weergave’, pp. 366–367.

36 Leiden, University Library, Acad. 138. Shāh Qāsim had already written an Arabic dictionary for the *Gulistān* in 1678/9, also for Mutter. It was accompanied by a similar dictionary in a different arrangement, now Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 158 and 192; see Brockelmann, *Katalog Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, pp. 110–111, nos. 216–217.

37 Appendix 2, A qua 3 and A fol 2. The identity of the scribe I conjecture from the foregoing.

38 Appendix 2, A fol 30; Reid, ‘Indonesian Manuscripts in the Vatican Library’, p. 56. Reid does not identify the text, but the Latin and Malay titles show it to be *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja*, cf. Yock Fang, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, pp. 144–149.

lexicon with about 13,000 words, a considerable achievement and probably unique for its time.³⁹ Reland also obtained a copy of the Arabic-Persian vocabulary by Abū Naṣr Farāhī, with Mutter's mark of ownership, added in Golconda in 1679.⁴⁰ Another manuscript from Golconda, which Mutter acquired in 1680, concerns the history of the ruling dynasty of Golconda.⁴¹

While Reland may have acquired some of Mutter's manuscripts while the latter was still in the Far East, he also received four manuscripts as a legacy after Mutter had died, at some time between 1701 and 1704. These are the aforementioned *Gulistān* with translation, a Persian lexicon, a combined Malay-Dutch lexicon and Dutch-Malay grammar, and an Arabic grammar.⁴² Mutter may also have been the owner of a manuscript with a rare Persian text on the (Muslim) patriarchs.⁴³ On top of this, Reland also acquired Havart's Dutch-Persian dictionary, probably also via Mutter.⁴⁴ And this was not all, for eight of Mutter's manuscripts were acquired by Johann Friedrich Winckler (1679–1738), probably during his study trip in the Dutch Republic and England, before he became professor of Oriental languages in Hamburg in 1704 [Fig. 11.1].⁴⁵ Other documents from India may also have arrived in Reland's collection through Mutter.⁴⁶

39 Appendix 2, A fol 32 and A qua 36; see for the latter Reid, 'Indonesian Manuscripts', p. 57; perhaps it is based on Leydecker's Dutch-Malay lexicon Reland refers to on p. 58 in his *Dissertationum miscellanearum pars tertia et ultima*, published in 1708. See also Voorhoeve, 'De oude gouvernements-handschriften', p. 344, no. fol. 18.

40 Appendix 2, A oct 20.

41 Appendix 2, A qua 55; see the contribution by Arnoud Vrolijk to this volume, at pp. 379–381. It contains the inscription 'Jo. Frid. Winckler', and it seems that Winckler, after he had acquired several of Mutter's manuscripts (see below), gave or sold this particular copy to Reland.

42 Appendix 2, A fol 5, A fol 1 and A qua 61 no. 1 (Reid, p. 60). The first two are not mentioned in Reland's *De religione Mohemmedica* from 1705, but are present in the second edition of 1717 (Index no. 23 and 20). Mutter had probably died one or a couple of years before 1705, as Johann Friedrich Winckler probably acquired several of his manuscripts before he became professor in Hamburg in 1704, see below.

43 Appendix 2, A qua 6, now Utrecht, University Library, MS 1471, discussed below.

44 Appendix 2, A qua 23. I follow here the argument by Arnoud Vrolijk in his contribution to this volume, see p. 381. Leiden, University Library, LTK 589, digitised at <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1668395> (accessed 19 June 2019).

45 Brockelmann, *Katalog Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, p. 81, no. 148 (Cod. Orient. 175), p. 83 no. 151 (Cod. Orient. 177), p. 90, no. 171 (Cod. Orient. 230), pp. 107–108, no. 209 (Cod. Orient. 196), p. 109, no. 210 (Cod. Orient. 151) and n. 32, 34 and 36 above. Some of these manuscripts are dated and were written by Shāh (Muḥammad) Qāsim (ibn Faḍlī); and some were given a number by Mutter. On Winckler, see Bertheau, 'Winckler, Johann Friedrich'. Winckler also acquired one of Reland's manuscripts (Appendix 2, A qua 55), see the argument by Arnoud Vrolijk in his contribution to this volume, see pp. 379–381.

46 Appendix 2, A fol 26, which includes material related to Adriaen Verdonck and Justus van den Heuvel, mainly from the 1680s, see Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, pp. 59–62 (Vatican, BAV, Vat. Pers. 33). Both men had been directors of

FIGURE 11.1 Inscription by Cornelis Mutter in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 177: 'Dit boek genaamt ichlaak almohsanien heeft geschreven een molla mahammed hosseyn my Cornelis vander murter. Masulip. den 12e Sept. Ao. 1680' ('This book entitled *Akhlāq al-Muhsinī* was written by mullah Muhammad Hussein for me, Cornelis van der Murter')

In the early and middle of the seventeenth century the most important scholars had acquired many of their Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts by going to the Near East, especially Istanbul. They were often sponsored by their

trade in Persia (see Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 5, p. 205), just as Joan Joshua Ketelaar had been a few decades later, cf. Appendix 2, A qua 14, see further below. Other manuscripts from India include A fol 12, 21; 38 and 40 (both probably palm leaf manuscripts), A qua 15 (see below) and A oct 1 (written in Hyderabad, 1636).

university or by the state.⁴⁷ For information about the languages and cultures of the Far East, this was not possible. In this case, European scholars had to rely on contacts with merchants and others with a knack for exotic languages to provide them with the necessary manuscripts, be it original texts and documents, copies thereof, or self-made dictionaries, lexicons, vocabularies or grammars.⁴⁸ And so Van der Vorm and Mutter, and to a lesser degree Valentijn, served as Reland's 'dealers', and this enabled him to publish about Far Eastern languages in his *Dissertationum miscellanearum*.⁴⁹ In turn, academic lecturers and their published studies helped preachers and merchants to acquire knowledge of the languages and culture of the areas in which they were going to be stationed.⁵⁰

3 The Dispersal of Reland's Manuscripts

For all its wealth and usefulness, Reland's manuscript collection was not sold for the benefit of collectors, scholars or institutions directly after his death. When the collection finally came to be auctioned, 43 years later, it was less relevant than if this had happened in 1718. Nonetheless, there was sufficient scholarly interest and competition to engender a successful sale. The description of the manuscript collection had been made by Sebalduus Rau (Ravius, 1725–1818), who had become extraordinary professor of Oriental languages in Utrecht in 1750, next to Mill, whom he succeeded in 1756. In most cases, Rau simply took over the descriptions which Reland had written on a flyleaf or title page of the manuscript in question, which helps to identify Reland's manuscripts in modern collections. In the copy of the auction catalogue of 1761 which is in the University Library of Amsterdam the prices paid at the auction are noted in the margin.

These annotations show that the auction of Reland's manuscripts in 168 lots generated about fl. 500 in all.⁵¹ Some lots consist of several manuscripts or

47 Bevilacqua, *Republic of Arabic Letters*, pp. 17–29 and 36–37.

48 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 30.

49 Reland, *Dissertationum miscellanearum pars tertia*, pp. 57–139 (*Dissertatio De linguis insularum quarundam Orientalium*).

50 In 1632 Caspar Barleus had already argued for business being served by obtaining 'academic' knowledge, including learning Arabic when trading in the Orient, see Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens*, pp. 43–44, 79–80. I owe this reference to an anonymous reviewer.

51 The abbreviation 'fl.' denotes the Dutch currency 'florin(s)' or 'guilder(s)'; stuivers (1/20th of a florin) are added after a dash. Compare the fl. 500 with the fl. 415 paid for Blaeu's expensive *Atlas Maior* and accompanying atlases, nineteen volumes in all, by Gerard Meerman (1722–1771), see Cat. Reland 1761, first part, p. 1. The *Atlas Maior* (Latin, eleven

even collections of documents. Until now, no attempt was made to investigate the whereabouts of all these manuscripts. The results of my research in this matter are published in Appendix 2, where those who had one or more of the auctioned lots in their possession are listed. The first buyers are only known for about half of the lots, so our knowledge of who attended the auction of 1761—either in person or represented by an agent—is limited. Yet it gives us some insight into who bought what, and how the collection was dispersed.

The main spender at the auction was the Vatican Library, although the details of their acquisition remain unclear, and they may have conducted their sale via an unknown dealer or agent. We know for certain that 24 lots of the Reland auction of April 1761 entered the Vatican Library in August 1763. All 24 can be identified in the auction catalogue. The annotations in the catalogue show that some of these lots were combined and sold for one price, but three manuscripts of such combined lots did not end up in the Vatican Library: two manuscripts which were mainly written in Dutch (their present whereabouts are unknown) and one which had been owned by Mutter and Winckler, as discussed above, and which became a part of the collection of Nicolaus Wilhelm Schroeder (1721–1798), professor of Oriental languages in Groningen.⁵²

According to Angelo Mai in his catalogue of 1831, the manuscripts of Reland had been ‘acquired by Cardinal Passionei, S.R.E., librarian, for the increase of the Vatican Library, anno 1763.’⁵³ Domenico Silvio Passionei (1682–1761) died in Italy on 5 July 1761, and was not present in Utrecht at the auction in April. Yet he had been in Utrecht in 1712 for the peace talks.⁵⁴ On this occasion he may have met Reland and have been aware of his collection. If he ordered books to be bought in Utrecht via an agent, we may presume that this agent bought at least 27 lots for more than fl. 103. They included an elegantly copied manuscript of the Gospels translated into Persian (fl. 26/10) and a copy which Golius

volumes) is now The Hague, Museum Meermanno, 40 A 1, 77; see further Moorman, *Discovering Rome through Joan Blaeu's Admiranda Urbis Romae*, pp. 48–49; <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/28635> (accessed 16 August 2019), and the chapter by Anna Pytlowany in this volume, p. 301.

52 Appendix 2, A fol 21, qua 26, qua 55 (which were bought by the same unknown buyer as A fol 20, qua 25 and qua 54 according to the notes in the margin of the Amsterdam exemplar of the auction catalogue of 1761). A qua 54 and 55 were sold together for six stuivers, which is almost certainly a mistake, for A qua 55 (Leiden, University Library, Or. 1343; see the chapter by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume, pp. 379–381) contains 932 pages.

53 Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collection e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. 4, p. 644, sub no. XXXIII: ‘... a card. Passionaeco S.R.E. bibliothecario, ad incrementum bibliothecae vaticanae, anno 1763. comparata’; Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, p. 13.

54 [Goujet], *Éloge historique de M. le cardinal Passionei*, pp. 70 and 225.

made of the *Chronicon Samaritanum* from Scaliger's collection in Leiden (fl. 40).⁵⁵ After Passionei's death, however, his successor, Cardinal Alessandro Albani (librarian from 1761 to 1768), may have refused a number of lots, such as the two in Dutch, so that in the end 24 lots remained which were transported to the Vatican Library.⁵⁶

The other big spender at the auction was Jacobus Willemsen (1698–1780) of Middelburg, a former student of Reland's. He bought at least thirteen lots for over fl. 90, including an Arabic treatise on precious stones which has some fine decorations (fl. 38) and a Qur'ān from Ambon (fl. 21/10). Most of the manuscripts he bought ended up in Leiden.⁵⁷

Sebald Rau spent over fl. 56 on sixteen lots. His main prize was an Arabic manuscript on rhetoric (fl. 33/10, together with a Persian manuscript). As will be discussed below, some of his acquisitions were for the Utrecht University Library, the rest for himself.⁵⁸

The German scholar Johann Peter Berg (1737–1800) carried off sixteen lots for over fl. 48, none costing more than fl. 10/10. Afterwards he spent 36 years as a professor of Oriental languages in Duisburg. After his death his collection was auctioned, and several manuscripts of the Reland collection found their way into German libraries. The whereabouts of about half of Berg's Reland collection is as yet unknown. Berg had been a student of Jan Jacob Schultens (1716–1788), professor of Oriental languages in Leiden, to whom he gave one of his acquisitions as a gift.⁵⁹ Schultens himself acquired a more modest amount of seven lots for about fl. 12.⁶⁰

55 Appendix 2, A fol 3 and qua 44. The remaining lots are mainly Oriental biblical translations and grammars.

56 Appendix 2, A fol 1, 3, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 30, qua 8, 25, 26, 36, 44, 52, 54, 55, 61, 62, oct 1, 3. All but the three exceptions are among the 22 manuscripts listed in Vatican, BAV, Arch. Bibl. 34, ff. 117r–118v. Certain lots were put together and other split when they arrived in the Vatican Library in August 1763. The acquisition is briefly described in Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI*, p. 168 and p. 178 n. 102. I am grateful to Delio Vania Proverbio, Scriptor Orientalis at the Vatican Library, for discussing this matter with me by e-mail, and Arnoud Vrolijk for pointing out to me that Passionei was in Utrecht in 1712.

57 Appendix 2, A fol 2, 4, 8 (Ambonese Qur'ān), 16, 41, qua 3, 5 (precious stones, discussed below), 9, 16, 17 (price unknown), 33, 42, 43, 45, 48. Not counting A fol 18b, qua 19b. On Willemsen, see further the chapter by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume.

58 Appendix 2, A fol 9, 10 and 11 (Arabic and Persian manuscripts), 31, qua 6, 12, 14, 15, 37, 41, 49, 51, oct 9, 17, 22, 24. The manuscripts for the Utrecht University Library were bought for fl. 43/10.

59 Appendix 2, A fol 23, 33, qua 1 (a–c), 2, 10, 18, 19a, 20, 21, 28, 46, oct 8, 16, 19, 20, 23 (gift to Schultens).

60 Appendix 2, A fol 24, qua 13, 34, oct 2, 12, 13, 28. Not counting A qua 1cb and 28b.

Not all of those present were Orientalists. The classical scholar Petrus Burmannus Secundus (1713–1778) became the new owner of six medieval manuscripts with the poems of Ovid, for which he paid fl. 60—the highest price for a combined lot in the entire manuscript auction. Most of the six manuscripts had previously been in the libraries of the classicists Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Petrus Francius (1645–1704), one of Reland's teachers when he studied in Amsterdam. Reland's brother, the jurist Pieter (1678–1714), acquired them afterwards, and at Pieter's untimely death Reland had inherited them.⁶¹

A detailed chain of ownership such as this is quite rare. For about one third of the lots we have no information about their whereabouts whatsoever.⁶² In other cases we know that scholars such as Berg or Rau owned a number of Reland's manuscripts of which the present locations are now unknown. In other cases the first buyer in 1761 remains unknown, but the titles of certain lots pop up in later auction catalogues, such as the one of the collection of Jan Jacob van Voorst (1791–1869) and of his father Dirk Cornelis (1752–1833), both preachers.⁶³ In other cases there appear to have been several copies of the same manuscript, sometimes apparently both from Reland's library, although only one copy of them is mentioned in the auction catalogue of 1761.⁶⁴ A more thorough study of auction and library catalogues and of the currently identified manuscripts in the various library collections may bring more clarity in these matters.

From the available evidence it can be concluded that, with the exception of the Vatican and Utrecht, the Reland collection was not bought by institutions but by dealers, private scholars and collectors. Most manuscripts circulated for several decades, usually up to the beginning or middle of the nineteenth century, before they arrived in an academic library. In some cases, the manuscripts were important enough to stimulate new studies and publications, but many subsequently lay dormant in depots once they were catalogued. We shall see that this situation also applies to the thirteen manuscripts of the Reland collection which found their way to the Utrecht University Library.

61 Appendix 2, A qua 63 a–c and oct 32–34. The six manuscripts are now in Berlin.

62 This includes thirteen of the fifteen lots in the rubric *Manuscripta Sinica & Japonica*, among them the *Speculum Jedo* in four volumes (Appendix 2, A sj e), sold for fl. 26.

63 Appendix 2, A fol 6, 7, 25, qua 4, 7, 27, oct 5, 11. Some of these are now in Leiden.

64 Appendix 2, A fol 18 (Willemsen and Scheidius), and qua 1 (1c: Berg and Schultens), both pertaining manuscripts from the library of Golius, and A qua 19 (Berg and Willemsen) and 28 (Berg and Schultens). See also A fol 13 and qua 29 (original and copy); A qua 17 and fol 29, an original manuscript and a draft translation of it, both from the collection of Golius; A qua 39 and D 5, of which the latter includes the same text as the former; A qua 46 and D 3, which may contain copies of the same text. Several of these 'doublets' are discussed in Arnoud Vrolijk's chapter in this volume.

4 Sebald Rau and the Oriental Manuscript Collection in Utrecht

Of the sixteen lots Rau bought at the auction of 1761, eight were destined for the city and university library, as is noted in a handwritten list.⁶⁵ Seven of these were given consecutive shelfmarks, 280.n until 280.t.⁶⁶

We may be certain that these documents were bought at the auction for the Utrecht University Library by Rau. He may have acquired the two manuscripts written in Greek at the request of one of the professors of theology at the time. Why the price of MS 21 differs from the auction catalogue is unclear. The eight manuscripts on the list will be discussed below.

MS 10 has two notes on the title page (fol. 1r) which read: 'Don Francisco Bravo de Acuna, cauallero, noble de Espana';⁶⁷ 'Origenes in Marcum ex Bibliothecae Regis Christianissimi beneficio amicissimi Rigaltii' ('Don Francisco Bravo de Acuña, knight, nobleman of Spain'; 'Origen on Mark, from the library of the most Christian king, by the beneficence of the most kind Rigaltus'). The Rigaltus in question is the French classical scholar Nicolas Rigault (1577–1654), who published a number of annotated editions of Roman and Greek authors, including the Church Fathers. He made this copy while he was librarian at the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, in the service of Louis XIII. The recipient was the Spanish nobleman Francisco Bravo de Acuña, knight of Calatrava. In a letter sent from Madrid, the painter Peter Paul Rubens says that Acuña searched for manuscripts of the Church Fathers in the Escorial monastery near Madrid. In the autumn of 1628, Acuña went to Antwerp, where his uncle Don Juan was governor. In November 1629, Rubens writes that he mourns the loss of Acuña, who had exchanged the muses for weapons.⁶⁸ Hence it seems that the manuscript was copied in 1629, probably when Acuña visited Paris. As the notes indicate, Acuña thought that the commentary on Mark was written by the

65 This list, which is partly culled from the city archives, covers the years 1602 to 1785, and is bound at the front and back at the *Auctarium Catalogi* of 1754 in the collection of Utrecht University Library, with the obsolete shelfmark *Historia Litteraria Folio No. 131 bis*. The list is entered under the year 1761. This information is lacking in Miedema, *Resolutiën van de Vroedschap van Utrecht*.

66 This probably only happened after 1800. Four interleaved copies of the *Auctarium Catalogi* of 1754 in the collection of Utrecht University Library, with the sigla D, F, G and H, all have the eight (and other) manuscripts entered in handwriting, but in all four copies with different shelfmarks in the 280 group, including MS 1439. The 280.n to 280.t marks were written in the manuscripts themselves, but MS 1439 seems to have been overlooked in the process.

67 The part 'cauallero, noble de Espana' is added by another hand.

68 Huet, *De brieven van Rubens*, pp. 269–270 (no. 119, cf. p. 401), 297 (no. 128), 307–308 (no. 132).

TABLE 11.1 Rau's eight lots bought for the Utrecht University Library

Current cat. no.	Old shelf- mark	Title in the handwritten list	No. in auction catalogue 1761	Price in guilders / stuivers in cat.; list
MS 10	280.0	Victor Antiochenus, in Marcum, Gr(aece)	fol 31	7/15
MS 21	280.p	Paralipomena Jeremiae, Graece	qua 49	1/5; 3/6
MS 1439		Opus de inventione rhetorica, Arabis	fol 10	33/10
MS 1468	280.n	Liber aethicus, Persice	fol 11	^^
MS 1478	280.r	Instructie der Indostance taal	qua 14	0/8
MS 1479	280.s	Onderwijzingen in de Malabaarse taal	qua 15	^^
MS 1482	280.t	Historia Mosis Malabarice	qua 37	0/6
MS 1483	280.q	Vocabularium Formosanum	qua 12	0/6

Greek Church Father Origen,⁶⁹ notwithstanding the fact that Victor of Antioch had already been identified as the author in the Latin edition of the text.⁷⁰ The Greek text was published in 1775,⁷¹ and this may have quickly diminished the value of the manuscript for research.

MS 21 contains only sixteen folios (excluding the interleaved pages), and is also a copy of a Greek manuscript. Unfortunately, the header of the text has been crossed out, so its provenance is unclear. The title ΠΑΡΑΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ, LIBER APOCRYPHUS is written in capitals on the title page, probably by Reland (see Fig. 11.3 below).⁷² *Paraleipomena (tou Prophetou) Jeremiou* is a short pseudographic text, also called 4 Baruch, of which several manuscript witnesses exist.⁷³ Reland also added a note on the last page about *The dialogue with Trypho* by Justin Martyr, which shows that he

69 It is partially a copy of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Grec, MS 703, fol. 246^v–294* (twelfth century, where the text is attributed to Origen), see Ormont, ‘Catalogue des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Pays-Bas (Leyde excepté)’, p. 207, no. 43.

70 Victor of Antioch, *Commentary on Mark*, ed. Peltanus, *Victoris Antiocheni In Marcum, et Titi Bostrorum episcopi in Euangelium Lucae commentarij ...* (1580). For recent literature on this tract, see Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*.

71 Victor of Antioch, *Commentary on Mark*, ed. Matthaei, *Biktōros Presbyterou Antiocheias kai allōn tinōn hagiōn paterōn Exēgēsis eis to kata Markon hagian euaggelion* (1775). Utrecht University Library holds a copy of this work.

72 The same capital letters are also on the title page of MS 1483, see below.

73 See Kraft and Purinton, *Paraleipomena Jeremiou*, pp. 3–5.

had taken an interest in the manuscript. Although the first edition of the work was published in 1861, MS 21 does not seem to have attracted much attention by scholars, and even now it is unclear from which manuscript it was copied.

Of the two 'genuine' Oriental manuscripts Rau acquired, MS 1439 is the most beautifully written and has some simple decoration. In the auction catalogue of Golius' manuscripts of 1696 it is advertised as: 'Outcries of praise for Muhammad, by the author Ibn Huggja Alhammovi. Most carefully written and very rare, taken from the library of the King of Egypt. Arabic.'⁷⁴ In the auction catalogue of 1761 the description is somewhat different: 'The book of Ibn Hozje Alhammovi on the invention of rhetoric and on both verbal and real forms. A book written in most elegant letters, AH 826 [1422–23 CE]. This exemplar was previously in the library of a certain Sultan of Egypt.'⁷⁵ The first part was taken over from what Reland himself had written by way of title page in 1700 on the manuscript itself [Fig. 11.2],⁷⁶ and what is also found in the 'Index'.⁷⁷

The description in the auction catalogue of 1761 is misleading, however, for it suggests that the manuscript itself was written in 826/1422–23, but this is the date when Ibn Hija al-Ḥamawī (1366–1434) composed the text copied here, *Taqdīm Abī Bakr*.⁷⁸ The title, 'Giving Precedence to Abū Bakr', refers to both the caliph Abū Bakr, the first successor of the Prophet Muhammad, and to a part of the author's own name, to testify to his superiority in the realms of poetry and

74 'Praeconia laudem Muhammedis, auth. Ibn Huggja Alhammovi. Liber accuratissime scriptus, rarissimusque ex Bibliotheca Regis Aegyptii translatus. Arab.', see Cat. Golius, p. 10, no. 18 ('This number is also written on a flyleaf in the manuscript itself'), and compare no. 20: 'Poëmata Alferesdak Persae. Translatus hic liber ex Bibliotheca Regis Aegypti, nitidissimeque majusculo caractere conscriptus'. See Vrolijk, Schmidt and Scheper, *Turcksche boucken*, pp. 10–16, for a discussion of Golius' stay in Istanbul in 1627–1629.

75 'Ibn Hozje Alhammovi de Inventione rhetorica & figuris tam verbalibus quam realibus. Liber elegantissimis litteris scriptus, anno Hegirae DCCCXXVI. Fuit hoc exemplar olim in Bibliotheca cujusdam Sultani Aegypti', Cat. Reland 1761, second part, p. 2, no. 10.

76 'Liber Ibn Haggiae de Inventione rhetorica, & de figuris tam verbalibus quam realibus. Elegantissimus liber. Fuit hoc exemplar olim in Bibliotheca Regis Aegyptii'. In the right corner Reland notes 'See the praise of this tract in the preface of the most learned Hinkelmann on the Qur'ān' ('Vide Enconium hujus scriptoris in praefatione Cl. Hinkelmanni ad Alcoranum'), which refers to Hinkelmann, *Alcoranus sive Lex Islamitica Muhammedis, filii Abdallae pseudoprophetae* (1694), quire Ibv. A small bifolium written in Arabic, perhaps by Reland, was left in the manuscript.

77 Reland, *De religione Mohemmedica* (1705), p. [197], no. 15 (16 in the edition of 1717). A small printed sheet (perhaps a proof version of the 'Index') with the same text is glued on a flyleaf of MS 1439.

78 His name in full is Abū al-Mahāsin Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Hija al-Ḥamawī al-Qādirī al-Ḥanafī; see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, pp. 18–19 (3. Buch, 1.1.25). For Ibn Hija al-Ḥamawī's own commentary on the poem, see Ibn Hija al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-adab wa-ghāyat al-arab*, ed. Diyāb.

FIGURE 11.2 Inscription on the flyleaf of Utrecht, University Library, MS 1439

rhetoric.⁷⁹ MS 1439 was actually written in AH 1005 (1596/7 CE) and was owned by the otherwise unknown ‘Abdarrahmān b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Jibli.⁸⁰ This means that it was not from a library from an Egyptian sultan, for the Mamluk sultanate ceased to exist in 1517 with the Ottoman conquest, but from the library of one of the Ottoman governors or viceroys of Egypt.

Compared with the previous manuscript, MS 1468 is a simpler affair. It is a Persian text written by Kamāl al-Din Ḥusayn Wā‘iz, better known by his pen name al-Kāshifī (1436/7–1504/5), ‘The Unveiler’. His *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, ‘Ethics of Muḥsin’, is so called after Abū al-Muḥsin, the son of al-Kāshifī’s patron, Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyqarā (1438–1506).⁸¹ The Dutch Orientalist Martijn Theodoor

79 Pinckney Stetkevych, ‘From *Jāhiliyyah* to *Badī‘iyyah*’, pp. 274–275; al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters*, pp. 102 and 354–355.

80 De Jong, ‘Codices Orientales Rheno-Trajectinae’, p. 264, no. 2673. The manuscript has some decoration with gold paint and blue at the beginning, and has been annotated in Arabic. The leather binding with envelope flap appears to be original.

81 Subtelný, ‘Kāshifī, Kamāl-al-Din Ḥusayn Wā‘iz’; Wickens, ‘Akhlāq-e Muḥsinī’; al-Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, ed. Keene, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī, or, the Morals of the Beneficent*. For a copy made for Mutter, see Fig. 11.1 above.

Houtsma (1851–1943) wrote a short description of MS 1468, dated 19 March 1942, which is glued on one of the flyleaves at the end of the text. It says that this is a well-known work: libraries in London, Paris, Berlin and elsewhere own half a dozen copies or more of it. The first leaf and ten to twelve leaves at the back are missing. It is a faulty copy, with parts left out or inserted. The script is not bad, although occasionally sloppy. Houtsma does not say that the manuscript contains marginal notes in Dutch and Arabic, written by an unidentified hand which is not that of Golius, who owned the manuscript before Reland.⁸²

The four other manuscripts Rau acquired for the Utrecht University Library were the cheapest, but in hindsight the most important ones. Three of them, MSS 1478, 1479 and 1483, all concern Dutch grammars and/or vocabularies of Oriental languages.

MS 1478 is entitled: 'The instruction or teaching of the Hindustani and Persian languages, besides their declinations and conjugations as well as a comparison between Hindustani and Dutch measures and weights, together with the meaning of a couple of Moorish names, etc.' [Fig. 11.3].⁸³

At the bottom of the title page the name of the author is crossed out, which is also the case on fol. ii^r.⁸⁴ Hyperspectral imaging has revealed that the name is that of Joan Josua Ketelaar (1659–1718). This is a name well-known from the archives of the Dutch East India Company. Ketelaar was born (as Kettler) in Elbing (Elbląg in present day Poland), but fled to the Dutch Republic when he was prosecuted for criminal offences. He made his career in Surat, a major port to the north of Mumbai. In 1687 he was promoted from clerk to assistant and in 1696 to accountant. Via an appointment as deputy head of the trading post in Ahmedabad in Gujarat, north of Mumbai, he became head of the trading post in Agra in northern India in 1700.

As we also see from later sources and activities, Ketelaar had a knack for languages, and, mindful that knowing the local language is an asset for commercial

82 An example of Golius' hand is printed in Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands: Minor Collections*, p. 91. The annotations in MS 1468 are typical of the way that the writer starts the 'z' with a curl above it, so that it looks as if the 'z' has an 'o' on top of it.

83 'Instructie of onderwijsinghe der Hindoustanse en Persiaanse taalen: nevens haare declinatie en conjugationes als mede vergelijckigh der hindoustanse met de hollandse maat, en gewigten, mitsgaders beduijdingh eeniger moorse naamen, etc'. The following is based on Pytlowany, *Ketelaar Rediscovered*, especially pp. 63–90. See also Jaski, 'The Earliest Hindustani Grammar', <https://www.uu.nl/en/utrecht-university-library-special-collections/collections/manuscripts/modern-manuscripts/instructie-of-onderwijsinghe-der-hindoustanse-en-persiaanse-taalen-by-ketelaar> (accessed 28 April 2021).

84 There is no sign that Reland ever possessed it, apart from its inclusion in the auction catalogue of 1761, see Appendix 2, A qua 14.

FIGURE 11.3 Title page of Utrecht, University Library, MS 1478, with crossed out: 'door Ian Iosua Ketelaar, Elbengensis'

activities, he wrote his *Instructie* c. 1697–8 in Agra. Three handwritten copies are known. MS 1478 is the most extensive and probably the most original one, but its date and place are unknown. Another copy was made in 1698 in Lucknow, about 300 km west of Agra, by Isaacq van der Hoeven from Utrecht.⁸⁵ The third copy was finished in Surat in 1714.⁸⁶ The copyist of this third version has been identified as Gideon Boudaan, chief of the trading post in Deshima (Japan) from 1715 to 1716. In 1728, eleven years after his return to the Dutch Republic, Boudaan acquired a minor lordship near Utrecht. In all likelihood

85 The Hague, National Archives, Inv. no. 1.13.19.02, Coll. Sypestein, Supplement no. 2. It was bought by King William I at an auction in London in 1822.

86 Paris, Hôtel Turgot, Fondation Custodia library, Institut Néerlandais, Inv. no. 1991–A615. The manuscript was in Paris in the late nineteenth century, but the Fondation Custodia bought it from the Amsterdam antiquarian Israel in 1991.

he lent his copy of the *Instructie* to David Mill, who used it for a chapter in his *Dissertationes selectae*, published in 1743.⁸⁷ Reland's copy was at that point still in the house of Jan Hubertus, and Mill probably never knew about it. It is remarkable that Reland should have already acquired his copy of the *Instructie* while Ketelaar was still alive, which testifies to his good connections. Perhaps he owed it to his contacts with Mutter.

This may also apply to MS 1479, another manuscript with a long title: 'Attempt to make a neat description of the quality, power and the use of Malabarian vocals, letters, etc. in comparison with other languages'.⁸⁸ On the last page, fol. 28^v, is a note in which the author says he had wanted to add a section on the conjugation of verbs, but as he is moving house to Chavagacheri he does not have the time to do so, and he shall send it over at the first occasion.⁸⁹ Chavagacheri on the northern peninsula of Sri Lanka is adjacent to Jaffna, where the Dutch captured the Portuguese fortress in 1658. It is interesting to see that this manuscript served linguistic purposes rather than commercial ones, and was apparently written upon request. As Anna Pytlowany suggests, the manuscript may be closely related to, or is perhaps even an autograph of, the Dutch minister Philip(pus) Baelde (Baldaeus, 1632–1671/2), who was stationed in Jaffnapatnam from 1658 to 1665, and had an interest in the Tamil language.⁹⁰ In 1666 he returned to the Dutch Republic and settled in Geervliet (south of Rotterdam). How Reland acquired the manuscript on the Malabarian language is unknown, but he appears to have had an interest in Tamil.⁹¹

MS 1483 is entitled *Vocabularium Formosanum*. Reland's name does not appear anywhere, but the capital letters in which the title is written is the same as that of MS 21 discussed above [Fig. 11.4 and 11.5], and the headings 'Formosana' and 'Belgica' on p. 2 are also in his hand.

87 Mill, *Dissertationes selectae varias* (1743), pp. [ii]–[iii]; 455–509.

88 'Poginge om net te beschrijven d'eygenschap, kragt en het gebruyk van de Malabaerse vocalen, letteren etc. in vergelijking met die van andere talen'. Reland has written the title 'Grammatica linguae Malabaricae' and his name on the flyleaf.

89 See Pytlowany, *Ketelaar Rediscovered*, p. 47, which gives the Dutch text and an English translation.

90 See *ibid.*, pp. 43–47, 52, where she also discusses Baldaeus' name in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 283, for which see also Muru, 'Early Descriptors and Descriptions', p. 8. For a short Tamil grammar included in Baldaeus' *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel* (1672), see Ziegenbalg, *Grammatica Damulica*, ed. Jeyarai, *Tamil Language for Europeans*, pp. 18–21.

91 Pytlowany, *Ketelaar Rediscovered*, p. 50.

FIGURE 11.4 AND 11.5 Title pages of Utrecht, University Library, MS 1483, compared with MS 21, both by the same hand, which was probably Reland's. He possessed both manuscripts and the titles of both works also appear in the auction catalogue of 1761.

The text is written on paper. Pages 2 to 49 contain a vocabulary of 1072 words, pages 50 to 55 dialogues in which pupils with Dutch names talk about school.⁹² The Dutch were present on the island of Formosa (now Taiwan) from 1624 to 1668. In 1644 the church council of Batavia ordered the compilation of a Sakam dictionary, so named after the village where, in 1653, the Dutch built Fort Provintia, close to their main settlement, Fort Zeelandia. This was in the area where the indigenous population of the south-west of the island spoke Sinckan (Sinkang) or Siraya, an Austronesian language related to Malay and Javanese, not to Chinese. MS 1473 reflects the Siraya language at the time, and is the earliest written representation of the coastal dialect.⁹³ From the

92 Van der Vlis, 'Over een woordenboek der Formosaansche taal' (1840); idem, 'Formosaansche woorden-lijst, volgens een Utrechtsch handschrift' (1842).

93 Li, *Studies of Sinkang Manuscripts*, pp. xii–xxii, who also points out that Christian texts translated into Formosan and printed by Daniel Gravius in 1661–1662 reflect the outlying Siraya dialects of Taivuan and Makatau. In 1650 Gilberus Happert wrote a dictionary of the Favorlang language which is found in a manuscript copied by Jacobus Vertrecht. These

FIGURE 11.6 Inscription by François Valentijn on the title page of *Hikayat nabi Musa*, to which Reland added the title in Arabic script and the Latin 'sermone Malaico'

dialogue it is clear that the text was used at a Christian school, and sources state that Sirayan pupils began to learn Dutch in 1648 and even requested a list of Dutch names because they planned to use these names in the future.⁹⁴ We may consequently place the manuscript in the period of c. 1650. It is possible that when school masters or preachers returned to Batavia, as was usual, one of the copies of the vocabularies found its way to Reland via his network of suppliers.

One of these suppliers of manuscripts was François Valentijn, who, as we have seen, was in close contact with Reland. He dedicated MS 1482, a copy of *Hikayat nabi Musa* ('History of the Prophet Moses') 'to the most learned man, Master Adriaan Reland, incomparable examiner and wonderful promotor of Oriental languages' [Fig. 11.6].⁹⁵

It is a copy of 54 pages on European paper, carefully written in Arabic script by Valentijn's wife Cornelia. The original from Valentijn's collection is presumably a manuscript now Leiden, University Library, Or. 1625.⁹⁶ Valentijn

names and the Sakam dictionary are discussed in Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 88–89, 92–93. On the Siraya language, see also Adelaar, *Siraya: Retrieving the Phonology, Grammar and Lexicon of a Dormant Formosan Language*.

94 Chiu, *The Colonial 'Civilizing Process' in Dutch Formosa: 1624–1662*, p. 199, cf. pp. 309–313.

95 As written on the title page: 'clarissimo viro D(omino) Hadriano Reland, orientalium linguarum scrutatori incomparabili, ac promotori stupendo'. The nature of the relationship between Reland and Valentijn remains unclear.

96 Damsté, 'De slang in de steen en de twee Cornelia's Valentijn', pp. 172–174; Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay*, p. 25. It was used to teach Malay to Valentijn's daughter, also called

similarly dedicated another manuscript copy made by his wife, of *Hikayat Isma Yatim* ('History of Isma the Orphan') to Reland. It is now in Manchester.⁹⁷ It was copied from a version by a scribe named Ismail written in 1702, found in a compilation now in Kuala Lumpur.⁹⁸ Valentijn donated the two copies made by his wife to Reland between 1714 and 1718, after he had returned from his second stay in the Dutch Indies.

This completes the manuscripts Rau obtained for the University Library of Utrecht. It is a small and diverse collection, and the reasons for acquiring them may have been various. It should be emphasized that Utrecht is the only institution we know of for sure that bought manuscripts directly at the auction. That Rau was involved in the auction no doubt stimulated this, but for Utrecht this was an unprecedented way of adding Oriental manuscripts to their collection. It was not until the 1970s that several Oriental manuscripts were again bought at auctions or elsewhere.⁹⁹

5 From Rau to Rau: The Provenance of MS 1443

MS 1443 is a copy of Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Tifāshī (1184–1253/4), *Kitāb Azhār al-afkār fī jawāhir al-ahjār* ('Flowers of Thoughts on Precious Stones').¹⁰⁰

Cornelia (1701–1761), and her siblings. Two of her own, incomplete copies of this version now form Breda, Koninklijke Militaire Academie, 6620 ('Scripta a Domina Cornelia Valentijn, A°. 1726'). This institution, founded in 1828, also acquired three manuscripts from Reland's collection via the Culemborg mayor B.T. Nedermeijer Bosch (died 1847), see Appendix 2, A qua 29, 35 and 39. A copy of MS 1482 is now Leiden, University Library, Or. 7333.

97 Appendix 2, A qua 7; Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, p. 130 (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Malay 3).

98 This version of the text, the oldest now extant, is in Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya, Museum of Asian Arts (Muzium Seni Asia), MS 81.163, see Braginsky, 'Newly Found' Manuscripts that were Never Lost'. It contains three texts: *Hikayat Isma Yatim* (copied by Ismail in 1702), a compilation about Islam, and *Syair Perang Mengkasar* (a copy of Cornelia Valentijn senior of this text is Leiden, University Library, Or. 1626(3)). There is a facsimile edition of this compilation, *Syair Perang Mengkasar, Ma'rifat Islam, Hikayat Isma Yatim*, published in 1994. The binding (in white vellum) resembles that of MS 1482, according to *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Indian and Persian Miniatures from the Celebrated Collection by Sir Thomas Phillipps*, p. 38, no. 663. This manuscript is listed as 'Systema religionis Mohammedanae cum versione Malaisca interlineari' in *The Phillipps Manuscripts*, ed. Munby, p. 71, no. 4428.

99 This happened at the initiative of the Turcologist and librarian Henri Franciscus Hofman (1917–1998), see Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts*, pp. 273–274, 282–318.

100 For a modern edition, see al-Tifāshī, *Kitāb Azhār al-afkār*, ed. Ḥasan and Basyūnī, *Kitāb Azhār al-Afkār fī Jawāhir al-Ahjar*; see also ed. and tr. Raineri, *Fior di pensieri sulle pietre preziose di Ahmed Teifascite* (1818); tr. Zilio-Grandi, *Il libro delle pietre preziose*.

It is devoted to 25 precious stones and their qualities, including their price and medical applications.¹⁰¹ This is the oldest and arguably the most beautiful manuscript of Reland's in the collection of Utrecht University Library [Fig. 11.7].

On p. 208 we read that it was copied by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad in AH 769 (1367 CE). Below the note of Golius' auction catalogue (Nº. 7º Bot. fol.) on the first flyleaf before the beginning of the text, Reland wrote 'De Gemmis Liber auctore Abulabas Ahmed ben Tousaefa Abu Mohammed. Adriani Relandi' ('About Precious Stones. A book by author ...'). He repeats this somewhat differently on the second flyleaf and on the title page, above the decorated cartouche which gives the title [Fig. 11.7]. The repetition of the title may indicate that Reland was particularly pleased to possess this manuscript, which was among the most expensive manuscripts of the auction of 1761. Reland added notes in the margin in Latin, but there are also a few notes not written by him.

The first scholar to study the manuscript and describe it in some detail was the son of Sebald Rau, Sebald Fulco Johannes Rau (1765–1807).¹⁰² The father presided at his son's public lecture on al-Tifāshī's text on precious stones in 1784, which was subsequently published. Rau junior describes how one of the four manuscripts which he consulted came into his possession when his father bought it from the collection of Jacob Willemsen after the latter's death in 1780.¹⁰³ Rau junior had planned to publish a complete edition and translation of al-Tifāshī's text, but the explosion of a ship full of gunpowder in Leiden in 1807 destroyed his home with all his notes and many of his books and manuscripts. While Rau was not among those who were killed, a short disease the same year led to his death. He had six children, and his son Sebald Jean Everhard donated more than twenty manuscripts from his father to Leiden University Library in 1887.¹⁰⁴ Yet our MS 1443 was not among them. At some time between Rau junior's death in 1807 and its description in 1873 it entered

101 Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Erster Supplementband*, p. 904, no. 5; Rosenfeld and İhsanoğlu, *Mathematicians, Astronomers and other Scholars of Islamic Civilisation and their Works (7th–19th C.)*, p. 206, no. 585.

102 On his career, see Glasius, *Godgeleerd Nederland. Biographisch woordenboek van Nederlandsche godgeleerden*, vol. 3, cols. 140–146.

103 Rau, *Specimen Arabicum: continens descriptionem et excerpta libri Achmedis Teifaschii de gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis* (1784), pp. 26–29. Willemsen's acquisition of Reland's manuscripts in 1761 is discussed above. MS 1443 is not found in Cat. Willmet 1837, pp. 165–168.

104 Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental manuscripts*, vol. 4, pp. 25–26. Four of these had been from Reland, see Appendix 2, A fol 17, 18, 29, 41.

FIGURE 11.7 Title page of Utrecht, University Library, MS 1443

Utrecht University Library.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps Rau senior regained the manuscript and donated it to the collection of which he was the librarian.

6 The Manuscripts of Swijghuisen Groenewoud

As discussed above, Sebald Rau did not only buy manuscripts for the University Library, he also bought a number for himself. In 1765 Rau became librarian of the university, and he fulfilled this office for more than 40 years, next to his professorships in Oriental languages and theology. When he died in 1818 his book collection was auctioned, including manuscripts which had belonged to Reland.¹⁰⁶ Two of these were bought by Jacob Cornelis Swijghuisen Groenewoud (1784–1859), who had studied in Utrecht and had even taken over some lectures for the aged Rau. In 1817 he became professor of Oriental languages at the University of Franeker, but in 1831 he returned to Utrecht, where he spent the rest of his academic career.¹⁰⁷ Between 1860 and 1871 Doedonea Swijghuisen Groenewoud donated hundreds of books and manuscripts from her late husband's library to Utrecht University Library.¹⁰⁸ Among them were two manuscripts from Reland's collection.¹⁰⁹

MS 1447 is a small, damaged manuscript of which only the first nineteen pages remain. It is a tract by 'Abd al-Bārī al-Rifā'ī al-'Ashmāwī (fl. sixteenth

105 De Goeje, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 5, p. 269, no. 2689.

106 Cat. Rau 1818. See Appendix 2, A qua 6 (discussed below), 41, 51, oct 9, 17 (discussed below), 22, 24.

107 De Bie and Loosjes, *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*, vol. 3, pp. 361–362.

108 Grosheide, *Vier eeuwen*, p. 216.

109 Among the documents the widow of Swijghuisen-Groenewoud donated is also an Esther scroll (*Megilat Ester*) from which Jews read during the festival of Purim ('Lots'). Now MS 1426, it contains the text only, written in a regular, accomplished Hebrew script assigned to Germany in the eighteenth century. It may be the same as is mentioned in the Cat. Willmet 1837, p. 27, no. 215. Willmet had acquired several manuscripts of Reland's collection via Willemsen and Jacobus Johannes de Bruin (see the chapter by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume), but as this scroll was not among them, it is unlikely to be the 'Volumen Estrae' in Cat. Reland 1761 (Appendix 2, A fol 36), which fetched a relatively high price (fl. 4/5). By contrast, MS 1426 is a simple manuscript, does not have a mark of Reland's ownership, and may well be later in date than 1718. Equally uncertain is MS 1470, also donated by the widow of Swijghuisen-Groenewoud. It is a copy of the *Silsilat al-zahab* ('The Chain of Gold') by the Persian poet Jāmī, written in Persian. Yet it has the title 'Catena aurea. Liber Arabicus' on the title page, and is surely identical to the manuscript with the same title in Cat. Rau 1818, p. 71, no. 42. The mistake is curious, the title was not written by Reland and differs from 'Catena aurea gloria justorum, Liber moralis, Persice', in Cat. Reland 1761 (Appendix 2, A oct 30), which concerns the same title.

century CE), entitled *al-Muqaddima al-‘Ashmāwiyya fi ‘l-‘ibādāt* ('The ‘Ashmāwī Introduction to Acts of Worship’).¹¹⁰ It is an introductory text that covers ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), prayer (*ṣalāh*) and fasting (*ṣawm*), and is one of the standard introductory texts in the Mālikī school of law.¹¹¹ There are some marginal comments in Arabic, especially at the beginning, but for the rest it is simply the text. Later authors wrote extensive commentaries on this work, which survive in far greater numbers than the manuscripts that only have the text itself.¹¹²

Of greater interest is MS 1471, which is described in the auction catalogue of 1761 as ‘*Mazabich a l’Calub*, a Persian book, in which the lives of the first members of mankind—Adam, Noah, Abraham—and the sacred rites are discussed’.¹¹³ In his catalogue entry of MS 1471,¹¹⁴ Pieter de Jong notes that this work is included in the monumental literary bibliography of Ḥājji Khalifa (Kâtip Çelebi) (1609–1659), the *Kashf al-Zunūn*. The entry therein reads:

Maṣābīḥ al-qulūb, The Lights of the Hearts. [A book] about [providing] exhortation, in Persian. By Shaykh Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Sabzavāri al-Bayhaqī al-Shāfi‘ī, who died in ... It is divided into 53 chapters, and, according to what I have seen, it belongs to the Shī‘ī books, or is full of guiles (? *aw madsūs*).¹¹⁵

110 The title-page has *Kitāb al-‘Ashmāwiyya fi ‘l-fiqh*.

111 Appendix 2, A oct 17 (as usual, the title in the auction catalogue of 1761 reflects the one given by Reland on the title-page, after which he has written the title in Arabic).

112 C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Zweiter Supplementband*, p. 435, no. 2b.

113 ‘*Mazabich a l’Calub*, liber Persicus, in quo agitur de vitis primorum hominum Adami, Noachi, Abrahami & de ritibus sacris’; see Cat. Reland 1761, second part, p. 5, no. 6; Appendix 2, A qua 6. This reflects the title written by Reland on the second flyleaf before the title page, on which Reland notes the work consists of 53 chapters. It has 230 folio’s and is incomplete at the end, where the story of Salomon abruptly ends due to missing pages.

114 De Goeje, *Catalogus codicum*, vol. 5, pp. 274–275, no. 2707. See also Tiele, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae*, p. 345, cat. 1471, who adds that the author’s nickname is Salīmī.

115 ‘*Mesābīḥ el-colūb*, lucernae cordium. Opus paraeneticum persice scriptum a Sheikh Abu Ali El-Hasan Ben Mohammed Sebzewāri Beihacki Shafiita, qui anno ... obiit. Dispositum est in quinquaginta tres sectiones, et, ut vidi, ad libros shiiticos pertinet aut ex occulto doctrinam shiiticam docet’; see Flügel, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustafā Ben Abdallah, Katib Jelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalfā celebrato compositum*, vol. 5, p. 573, no. 12134. Christian Lange informs me that Flügel’s translation of the last part, ‘aut ex occulto doctrinam shiiticam docet’ (‘or teaches from occult Shī‘ī doctrine’), does not correctly translate the Arabic text which Flügel also prints. The author’s correct name is Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, better known as al-Shī‘ī al-Sabzavāri.

The author, Shīʿī Sabzavārī (fl. AH 757/1356 CE), was from the city of Sabzavār in the Bayhaq area, now in north-eastern Iran. The period in which he lived was unknown to Ḥājji Khalifa. Few other manuscript copies are known, at least in Europe.¹¹⁶

Reland included an entry of this manuscript in his 'Index' (no. 24), where he notes that various religious matters are discussed, the history of the prophets, sacred rituals, etc., but that it has 40 chapters rather than 53 as he noted himself on the title page of the manuscript itself. It is a gift from the Reverend Texelius, the brightest person in Den Briel. This is no doubt Pieter van Tessel (1640–1715), who had studied theology in Leiden. In the 'Index' of the first edition of *De religione Mohammedica* (also no. 24) Reland states that the book was 'discussed with me' (*communicavit mecum*) by Texelius,¹¹⁷ suggesting that Reland did not have it in his possession in 1705—this was just before or after Texelius's death in 1715.

How would this rather obscure minister have obtained this rare Persian manuscript? A short description in Dutch in the top margin of the first page of the actual text (fol. 1^v) contains a clue. It appears to read: 'No. 6 named Mosabieh al koloeb, an historical story about the blessed patriarchs, and lessons from the Qurʾān'.¹¹⁸ One may at first presume that this was written by Texelius, but the script, phrasing and numbering are quite identical to annotations in two other Oriental manuscripts, both from the collection of Cornelis Mutter, but brought to Hamburg by Winckler.¹¹⁹ As we have established that Mutter died between 1701 and 1704, there are no chronological objections to the argument

¹¹⁶ Péri, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, pp. 26–28 (Persza Qu. 09/2, written in 1651). Here it is described as 'a commentary on fifty-three traditions of the Prophet Muhammad highlighting various ethical and moral issues. The work, intended for beginners who wished to learn the art of preaching, is divided into fifty-three chapters'. See further Shīʿī Sabzavārī, Abū Saʿīd Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn, *Masābīḥ al-qulūb: sharḥ-i Fārsī-i panjāh va siḥ ḥadīs-i akhlāqī az payāmbār-i Islām*, ed. Sipihri.

¹¹⁷ Reland, *De religione Mohammedica* (1717), p. [283]; p. [199] in the edition of 1705. The discrepancy between the entry in the 'Index' and Reland's description of the contents in the manuscript (taken over in the catalogue of 1761, cf. Appendix 2, A qua 6) is odd, and the 40 chapters may be an oversight by Reland (perhaps he was confused with Appendix 2, A fol 11). The title in Arabic script in the 'Index' is the same as that in the manuscript, and in the catalogue of 1761 it is identified with that in the 'Index' no. 24.

¹¹⁸ 'No. 6—genaamd mosabieh al koloeb, een historis verhaal van den godsaligen oudvaders. en lessen van den al Coraan'.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix 2, A qua 6: see Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Orient. 175 (No. 10) and 196 (no. 1), see Brockelmann, *Katalog Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, p. 81, no. 148 and pp. 107–108, no. 209. I am grateful to Monika Müller for helping me to get digital scans of specimens of Mutter's handwriting. Another manuscript by Mutter, Leiden,

that Mutter possessed MS 1471 in or some time before 1705. Mutter would have been in a perfect position to both acquire the manuscript in India and to have understood its contents. If this is a correct deduction, one may suspect that Reland was aware of it but that he chose not to record it.

7 Two Annotated Printed Books

Finally, we come to the two printed books which contain marginal annotations. Both were sold in the auction of 1718, but neither entered the University Library of Utrecht directly after that. MS 1551 is an edition of the classical poet Propertius, edited by Joan van Broekhuizen, who gave this copy to Reland, as is clear from the title-page.¹²⁰ Broukhusius (1649–1707) was a professional soldier with an interest in classical literature. He shared a number of acquaintances with Reland, such as Petrus Francius and Petrus Burmannus senior (1668–1741).¹²¹ Reland appreciated the gift: on several pages he added notes in Latin, Greek and Dutch in the margins. The printer's mark on the title page has an inscription that reads 'Andreae Gochenii, Jo. Lud. filii', written by Andreas Gochenius (1728–c. 1765), who was a preacher in Amerongen (province of Utrecht) from 1751 to 1764, when he retired at a young age due to failing health. He was thus not the one who bought the annotated Propertius in 1718. The book is first recorded in the library catalogue of 1835.¹²²

With regard to Oriental studies, v fol 89 rar is of greater interest. It is Gentius' edition of the Persian *Rosarium politicum*, printed in 1651.¹²³ It has the Persian text on the left and the Latin translation on the right. This, too, was a gift to Reland, this time from his friend Sikius, as the inscription on the title page 'Relando Sikius' shows. A further note, written by an unknown hand, adds: 'It is collated with handwritten codices and throughout are added the roots

University Library, Or. 1343 (Appendix 2, A qua 55), has the number 13 and the title in Dutch, so Arnoud Vrolijk has informed me, but he is not sure the hand is that of Mutter.

120 Sextus Propertius, *Elegiae*, ed. [J. Broukhusius], *Sex. Aurelii Propertii Elegiarum libri quatuor* (1702); Appendix 2, C 8. The dedication reads: 'Clarissimo Relando donavit', to which Reland has added 'Auctor Janus Broukhusius'.

121 Rietbergen, 'Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe', pp. 18–19. See further the chapter by Remke Kruk and Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume, pp. 133–137, and the literature there cited.

122 *Bibliothecae Rheno-Trajectinae Catalogus* (1835), p. 751.

123 Muşliḥ al-Dīn Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, ed. Gentius, *Musladini Sadi Rosarium politicum, sive Amoenum sortis humanae theatrum* (1651); Appendix 2, C 7.

of Persian words clarified by Henricus Sikius'.¹²⁴ This is indeed what we find: almost all the pages with the Persian text and some pages with the Latin translation are annotated by Sikius [Fig. 11.8].¹²⁵

But Reland appears to have made some additions as well. One of his notes begins with 'in MS.to. meo inscribitur hoc ...' ('in my manuscript is here written ...') (p. 41). We know that he had a manuscript of the *Gulistān*, with the Persian text and a Dutch translation by Mutter on interleaved pages, written between 1676 and 1680.¹²⁶ He also had another version in which he noted the passages in this manuscript that were missing in Gentius' edition.¹²⁷ A third name written on the title-page is that of 'S. Ravius', and so, again, it was Sebald Rau senior who came into the possession of one of Reland's books. The library kept a record of its printed acquisitions, and we consequently know that this was catalogued in 1818, the year when Rau died. The acquired manuscripts are not listed.¹²⁸

8 Conclusion

With Sikius and Rau we have come full circle. For it was Sikius who stimulated Reland to pursue Oriental studies at the beginning of his career, while Rau stands at the other end and was the one who stimulated his university to acquire eight manuscripts from the Reland collection at the auction of 1761. Yet this could not prevent Utrecht from remaining in the shadow of Leiden as a centre of Oriental studies, and in the end it was Leiden which, in various ways, and more by coincidence than by design, collected most of Reland's library of manuscripts and annotated and rare printed books. According to the present

124 'Collatum est cum codd. MSSis, & adscriptis passim vocum Persicarum radicibus illustratum ab Henrico Sikius'.

125 Note his peculiar way of writing '&c', as he does on pp. 46, 52 and 326. There are some references to words in Hebrew, Greek and Arabic, see, for example, pp. 120, 164 and 250.

126 Appendix 2, A fol 2, now Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS pers. 8, see *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im preussischen Staate. I Hannover 3 Göttingen 3*, p. 397.

127 Appendix 2, A oct 7: *Gulistan, sive Rosarium, auctore Scheih Saadi, Persice, in fronte notavit [Relandus] multa in hoc codice haberi, quae in editione Gentii non extant.*

128 The number at the back, 9602, corresponds to the handwritten *Index librorum quibus ab anno inde 1816 aucta est Academiae Trajectinae Bibliotheca* in Utrecht University Library. It is also in the *Bibliothecae Rheno-Trajectinae Catalogus* of 1835, p. 854.

FIGURE 11.8 Marginal notes by Sikius and Reland ('Hic videtur ...') on p. 42 of G. Gentius (ed.), *Musladini Sadi Rosarium politicum, sive Amoenum sortis humanae theatrum...*, Amsterdam, Johannes Blaeu, 1651

tally, Leiden now has 39 items,¹²⁹ the Vatican 25,¹³⁰ Utrecht 13,¹³¹ Berlin 12,¹³² Göttingen 5,¹³³ Bonn 4,¹³⁴ Breda and Oxford 3 each,¹³⁵ and Cambridge, Chicago, Copenhagen, Jena, Manchester, Paris and The Hague 1 each.¹³⁶ This gives a total of 109, which is a bit more than half of the manuscripts and annotated and rare printed books we know of.¹³⁷ This dispersal of manuscripts is of course typical of a time in which private collections were not acquired wholesale by academic institutions. Our view is complicated by manuscripts of Reland which exist in multiple copies or which do not appear in his auction catalogue. This is what we encounter elsewhere, as in the case of the collection of Golius, the dispersal of which still has to be investigated in detail. We have seen from their respective auction catalogues that Reland himself acquired 31 manuscripts from the former library of Golius. Yet Reland also possessed two manuscripts with Arabic translations of biblical books by the Jewish Moroccan Saadia ben Levi Azkanot (fl. 1629–1650). Saadia produced at least two such translations at the request of Golius, and these had already been acquired, probably shortly after Golius' death in 1667, by Thomas Marshall (1621–1685), rector of Lincoln College in Oxford, while he was acting as a preacher to English merchants in the Netherlands from 1647 to 1672.¹³⁸ It may well be that Reland had obtained two other manuscripts written by Saadia from Golius' library.

The use Reland made of his manuscripts deserves further study, not only with regard to the *De religione Mohammedica*, even though it contains the 'Index' of the manuscripts he used, but also with regard to his other publications, in

¹²⁹ See the list in the chapter by Arnoud Vrolijk in this volume.

¹³⁰ Appendix 2, A fol 1, 3, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 26, 27, 28, 30, qua 8, 25, 36, 44, 52, 54, 61, 62, oct 1, 3, 25.

¹³¹ A fol 10, 11, 31, qua 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, 37, 49, oct 17, C 7, C8. All these manuscripts have been digitised and are available online.

¹³² A fol 42, qua 1 (a-c, counted as three), 63a, 63b, 63c, oct 32, 33, 24, SJ c, D 5.

¹³³ A fol 2, qua 3, 16, oct 20, 35.

¹³⁴ A qua 2, 10, 18, 21.

¹³⁵ A qua 29, 35, 39; D 7, 8, 9.

¹³⁶ D 6; A qua 19; A qua 1a; A qua 46; A qua 7; A qua 59; A oct 36; not counting A oct 15 (Glasgow?).

¹³⁷ Exact figures are hard to give, since the lots in the auction catalogue of 1761 do not always correspond with the individual manuscripts in modern collections.

¹³⁸ See Appendix 2, A fol 14 and 15 (both written in 1641; now kept as one manuscript, Vatican, BAV, Vat. Ar. 24). Saadia's translation of Maimonides is now Oxford, Bodleian, MS Marshall 186, and his transcription of a legal compendium, written in Amsterdam, is now MS Marshall 362; both had belonged to Golius, see Poole, 'Early Oxford Hebraism', p. 80. For Marshall, see Dekker, 'The Old Frisian Studies', pp. 121–122. Saadia's translation of Genesis, Psalms and Daniel is now London, British Library, Harley 5505, see Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, vol. 2, p. 232. Leiden, University Library, Or. 1228, contains one or two letters from Saadia to Golius.

which he also refers to the manuscripts he consulted.¹³⁹ His interest in manuscripts as expressed in his letters needs to be investigated too.¹⁴⁰ These and other letters also give evidence of Reland's international network, which partially overlaps with his network and contacts as evidenced by his manuscripts and other books, and which extended to the Far East.

Reland's vast amount of publications, broad interests, impressive knowledge and formidable network are among the aspects of his scholarly life which we are still learning to understand and appreciate. He certainly fulfilled his aim to prove and promote the usefulness of Oriental studies in Utrecht, but his untimely death may have prevented him from solidifying this.¹⁴¹ Successive professors in Oriental languages were appointed: David Mill (1718–1756), Sebald Rau (1750–1810), Jean Henri Pareau (1815–1830), Jacobus Cornelis Swijghuisen-Groenewoud (1830–1855) and Hendrik Christiaan Milliës (1856–1868). It is telling that the oration of Hendrik Christiaan Milliës should have been entitled *About the necessity of (studying) Oriental literature with Christian theology*.¹⁴² Ironically, shortly after the professorship in Oriental languages disappeared, the Oriental manuscripts in Utrecht, including those of Reland, were described and published in the catalogues of de Goeje (1873) and Tiele (1887).

The torch of the study of Oriental languages, religions and cultures was now taken over by three successive professors of Hebrew literature and antiquities, Pieter de Jong (1832–1890), Martin Theodoor Houtsma (1851–1943), who retired in 1917, and Theodoor Willem Juynboll (1866–1948); all three had studied in Leiden. In 1925 the Faculty of Indological Studies was founded, in which an

139 See, for example, the note at Appendix 2, A oct 24.

140 See, for example, London, British Library, Add. 4277, fol. 138 and 56, written by Reland on 20 July and 27 October 1706 to Joseph Wasse (1672–1738), a scholar at Queen's College, Cambridge, who worked on an edition of the works of the Latin historian Sallust. The second letter is transcribed in Bernhard, Birch and Lockman, *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, vol. 8, p. 717 (for 'Voolio' read 'Koolio': Johannes Koolius of Amersfoort). The letters mention the names of several scholars Reland knew, including Sikius.

141 It should be noted that during the time that Reland was professor in Utrecht, the vast majority of students in Utrecht graduated in either law or medicine, very few in theology or philosophy, Reland's department. In the *Album promotorum* of Utrecht Reland is not mentioned as a promotor, and not a single student wrote his dissertation on Oriental studies, although he presided over the public examinations of philological disputations by Johannes Boddens (*De filo rubro altaris Hierosolymitani*, 1714), Hieronymus van Alphen (*De barbaris et Scythis. Coloss. 3:11*, 1717), Petrus van der Hagen (*De tryphone Judaeo, Justini martyris antagonista*, 1717) and Emo Lucius Vriemoet (*De uxore domiseda. Epist. ad Titum*, n. 5, 1717, which has three arguments partially in Arabic script). Reland's successor David Milliüs graduated one day after he had become professor.

142 Milliës, *Oratio De literarum Orientalum cum theologia Christiana necessitudine* (1856).

interest in Oriental languages and Islam was fostered to prepare students for a career in the Dutch Indies. After the definitive loss of the Dutch Indies in 1949, Oriental studies continued in the department of Oriental languages and cultures, which, under Jan Gonda (1905–1991), focused mainly on the study of Sanskrit. This department was abolished in 1992, and within the department of Religious Studies the study of Islam rose again to prominence. It is also in the last few decades that the Oriental collection in Utrecht, including the Reland manuscripts, has begun to attract the notice of scholars. This heralded a renewed appreciation of Reland and his collection which was long overdue. Now, more than 300 years after his death, Adriaan Reland is finally regaining the stature that he enjoyed during his own lifetime.¹⁴³

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¹⁴³ I would like to express my gratitude to my fellow editors for their help, support and corrections to earlier versions of this contribution, and to my fellow curator Arnoud Vrolijk of Leiden University Library, who frequently discussed the identification of items in Reland's collection with me (see also Appendix 2), and whose many suggestions and corrections have improved this study in an important way. I alone remain responsible for any shortcomings.

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