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Jacob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834) and his Books

Abstract: Textual studies have always depended on the discovery of new manuscripts. Oriental scholarship in Germany and Denmark in the late 18th and early 19th century, on which this article focuses, not only actively promoted the search for new sources, but also developed new tools to describe, date and localise manuscripts in order to put them at the disposal of textual scholars. One particularly intriguing figure in this context is Jacob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834), who studied – and actually physically examined – an unprecedented range of Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic manuscripts as a young scholar, which he consulted during his travels to the main libraries of Europe. While on this *peregrinatio academica*, he documented his observations in a number of notebooks, none of which have hitherto attracted attention or even been discussed. These notebooks show a scholar at work and record his thoughts on the manuscripts he consulted, particularly on the repository of texts they contained and on their physical appearance. He drew upon this preliminary work later in a number of books that he published. Adler perceived both aspects as being intrinsically connected and, indeed, inseparable, much in contrast to later research, which degraded the study of the material embodiment of texts to a mere *Hilfswissenschaft* (ancillary discipline).

The subsequent pages are concerned with the history of Oriental scholarship in Germany and Denmark in the late 18th and early 19th century. They follow the studious paths of Jacob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834), an accomplished and meticulous philologist fascinated by all things Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic. Adler was a multifaceted figure indeed, hailing from a long line of reformed pastors and himself likewise a churchman committed to the ideas of the Enlightenment

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at a time of political turmoil in the wake of the French Revolution. As well as attending to religious duties, he was a translator of rabbinic literature, the author of one of the very first Syriac grammars to be written and a collector with a keen interest in Muslim coins and Arabic palaeography.

From his father, Adler had inherited the humanist mandate to return *ad fontes*; Georg Christian Adler had been a provost in the town of Altona, a theologian and a classicist who had toiled arduously in narrating the history of ancient Rome.¹ His son, however, discovered his main interest in the critical study of biblical texts, which the Reformation had made the prime engine of remaking Church and society and which had furthermore led him directly to Oriental philology. First came Hebrew and Syriac and then while at university he also devoted himself to studying Arabic with Oluf Gerhard Tychsen (1734–1815), a figure who would remain his life-long mentor. He recalls his occupation with these languages as ‘mein Lieblingsstudium’.² As a young scholar, Adler studied – and physically held – an unprecedented range of manuscripts, which he consulted during his travels to the main libraries of Europe. While on this *peregrinatio academica*, he documented his observations in a number of notebooks, none of which have hitherto attracted attention or even been discussed. Along with the manuscripts that he gathered, these are now housed at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg (SUBHH), the Universitätsbibliothek Kiel (UBK) and partly at the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock (UBR). His notebooks are filled with text-critical annotations, linguistic meditations and descriptions of scripts, layouts and colophons. Glued-in slips of yellow tracing paper were intended to capture the different styles of writing and preserve the physical shape of handwritten books he perused for future reference. Occasionally, Adler slips into mundane matter, too, gathering notes about women, alcoholic drinks and tobacco. It is, however, their focus on the material state of Adler’s sources comparative codicology and palaeography, we would say today – that turns them into enlightening documents in terms of Oriental scholarship and, indeed, his intellectual biography and learned travels on the whole. These notebooks show a scholar at work and record his own scholarship: crammed with information and hastily written as the time he had to consult his sources was ever so short. He created them as a repository of texts and

1 Between 1775 and 1776, Georg Christian Adler edited and published Georg Christian Matern de Cilano’s *Ausführliche Abhandlung der römischen Alterthümer*, and between 1778 and 1779, he worked on the eight tomes of de Cilano’s translation *Des Titus Livius aus Padua Römische Geschichte*. Furthermore, he published *Ausführliche Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, mit 15 gefalteten Kupferstichen und Plänen*, between 1781 and 1782 and in 1783, there followed a work called *Nachricht von den Pomtinischen Sümpfen und deren Austrocknung mit einer genauen Charte derselben*.

2 Adler, Jacob Georg Christian 1783, 1.

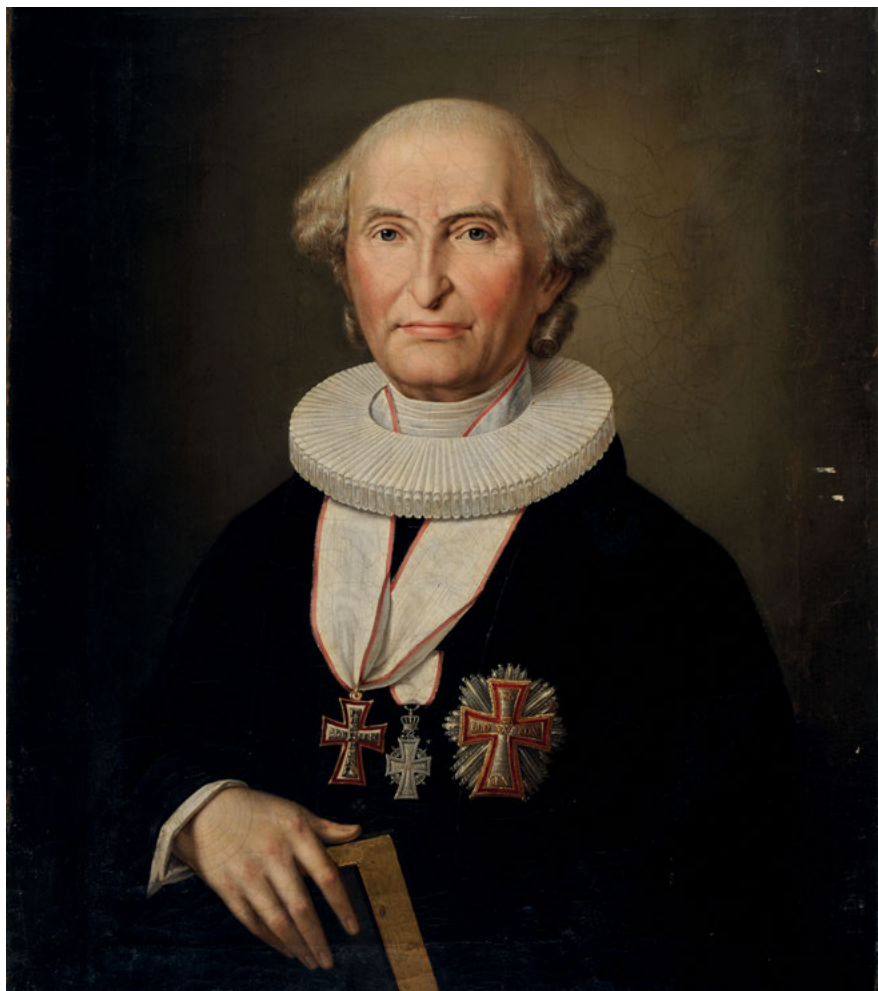


Fig. 1: Portrait of Adler by Carl Andreas August Goos (1797–1855): © Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek.

ideas, which he would later retrieve for his published books. This makes them interesting documents in view of the humanist practice of note-taking.³

Like every scholar, Jacob Adler was buried twice in a sense – physically, at his final resting place in Giekau not far from Lütjenburg in Schleswig-Holstein, and ‘virtually’ many a time after that in the learned footnotes of later generations

³ To mention just two examples here, see Blair 2010a, and Blair 2010b.

of scholars as most of his discoveries had become received knowledge by the 19th century. As scholarship moves on and so does time's devouring lust, his contribution inevitably falls into oblivion. Adler lives on in modern memory mostly as an enlightened reformer of the Protestant Church in Schleswig-Holstein, a clergyman whose name became associated with a new prayer book (*Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchenagende*, 1797) and a re-organisation of the school system 1814.⁴ By singling out Adler's Oriental studies, my contribution to this volume only covers a small, albeit central, aspect of his legacy. It is meant as an initial outline of his intellectual biography (which has yet to be written) and of the archival and manuscript sources available at the time.

1 His early life

Little is known about Adler's life apart from the few lines that a number of obituaries and entries in lexicons of learned men relate, repeating each other without adding any new sources.⁵ He was born on 8 December 1756 in Arnis, Schleswig (part of the kingdom of Denmark at the time) and was one of a total of six children. His parents were Georg Christian Adler (1724–1804) and Johanna Elisa Schulze (1729–1806). His father, born in Alt-Brandenburg, ministered at a church there. In 1759, Georg Christian Adler was appointed provost of the parishes of Altona and Pinneberg at the Church of St Trinitatis. The family moved to Altona as a result.

His father supervised the education of his sons himself and became Adler's first major influence. He maintained the opinion that every chaplain 'who thinks highly of himself had his own Jew, from whom he learnt Hebrew and on whom he practised his missionary skills'.⁶ He therefore sent his two older sons, Jacob Georg Christian and Johann Christoph Georg (b. 1758), to the Jewish community in Altona to study Hebrew. In a letter dated 12 February 1772, Adler's father recounts:

⁴ On the reform of the the school system, see Schöler 1977.

⁵ Cf. Ehrencron-Müller 1924–1939, vol. 1, 64; Schmidt 1836, 634–637; Brickam 1887, vol. 1, 101–105; Bickell 1875, vol. 1, 85–86; Steinschneider 1896; Striedl 1953; and Göbell 1958. There is also a further work that was compiled only eight years after Adler's death and is a valuable source of information on his life: Friedrichsen 1842.

⁶ '[J]eder Pastor, der etwas auf sich hielt, [hatte] seinen Juden, bei dem er Hebräisch lernte und an dem er seine Bekehrungskünste übte'; letter to Tychsen, 12 February 1772: UBR, Mss. orient. 284(4).

Ob meine Söhne noch ein bisschen *Gemore* lernen werden, stehet dahin. Sie haben schon mit ein paar Rebbei gesprochen, die wissen aber nicht, ob es erlaubt wäre, ihnen Unterricht zu erteilen. Sie wollen aber nun vom Emdener Rabbi ein Gutachten einholen.⁷

I don't know whether my sons will study the *Gemore* a bit more. They have already spoken to a number of rabbis, who doubt whether it would be permissible to teach them. They are now seeking expert advice from Rabbi Emden [i.e. Jacob Emden, 1697–1776].

At the time of writing this letter, Adler was sixteen and his brother, Johann Christoph Georg, fourteen. The letter indicates that they had both been learning Hebrew and studying Jewish literature with members of the Jewish community in Altona for a while. The request to Jacob Emden seems to have been answered positively. While the letters remain silent with regard to this matter, he would soon embark on his study of the Talmudic tractates (see below). Jacob b. Zevi Emden became known on account of a controversy that developed with Jonathan Eybenschütz (1690–1764), chief rabbi of 'the Three Communities' (Altona, Hamburg and Wandsbek), which ignited over the former's alleged inclination to Sabbateanism. Emden appeared to be a 'proto-*maskil*' and maintained a position he had adopted from rational philosophy.⁸

Adler's father also instructed him in Syriac:

Weil uns das Arabische zu bunt war, so machten wir uns an das Syrische. Ich half ein wenig mit, bis sie etwas lesen konnten: nun aber, da sie mehr Zeit haben, daran zu wenden als ich, sind sie mir vorbey gekommen und haben schon ein gutes Stück aus dem Syrischen N.T. vor sich explicirt.⁹

Since we felt [learning] Arabic was going too far, we dedicated ourselves to Syriac. I assisted them [i.e. the sons] a little until they were able to read a little. But since they have more time on their hands than I do to work on it, they got ahead of me und can already interpret a good deal of the N.T. in Syriac.

The letters written by Adler's father were addressed to Oluf Gerhard Tychsen, a close associate of the family and professor of Oriental languages at the University of Bützow at the time. It is Tychsen who appears to have introduced Adler to the Jewish community in Altona – on his father's initiative, it seems – and he was to remain his teacher and mentor his entire life. In the years to come, he not only established his academic fields of interest and his approach to sources, but

⁷ Letter to Tychsen, 12 February 1772: UBR, Ms. orient. 284(4).

⁸ On the controversy and the importance of Jacob Emden, see Graupe 1977.

⁹ 22 December 1772, UBR, Ms. orient. 284(1).

Lectionentabelle.						
Stunden.	Montags.	Dienstags.	Mittwochs.	Selecta.	Donnerstags.	Freitags.
den 8 bis 9.	Naturgeschichte.	Naturgeschichte.	Experimentalnaturleh.	Fransösisch.	Das Neue Testament.	Das Neue Testament.
9 - 10.	Mathematik.	Mathematik.	Mathematik.	Metaphysik.	Metaphysik.	Metaphysik.
10 - 11.	Heineccii fund. illi.	Cic. Quæst. Tufcul.	Cicerois quæst. Tufc.	Heineccii fund. illi.	Horatii Epistolæ.	Horatii epistolæ.
11 - 12.	Gefchichte.	Gefchichte.	Experimentalnaturleh.	Hebräisch.	Nieuportii antiq. rom.	Conferens.
2 - 3.	Xenophontis Cyropædia.	Xenophont. Cyropæd.		Xenophontis Cyropæd.		
3 - 4.	Thompsons Miscellaneæ.	Thompsons Miscellan.		Miltons Paradise lost.	Fransösisch.	
Prima.						
8 - 9.	Erdbefchreibung.	Erdbefchreibung.	Naturlehre.	Fransösisch.	Das Neue Testament.	Das Neue Testament.
9 - 10.	Ouidii Metamorphof.	Ouidii Metamorph.	Ouidii Metamorphof.	Gefneri Chrest. Cic.	Gefneri Chrest. Cic.	Stilübungen.
10 - 11.	Gefneri Chrest. gr.	Gefneri Chrest. gr.	Mathesis.	Mathesis.	Liuius.	Liuius.
11 - 12.	Gefchichte.	Gefchichte.	Naturlehre.	Hebräisch.	Deutsche Mufarbeitt.	
2 - 3.	Naturgefchichte.	Naturgefchichte.		Fundamentale hebr.		
3 - 4.	Engliſch.	Engliſch.		Engliſch.	Fransösisch.	
Secunda.						
8 - 9.	Religionsunterricht.	Religionsunterricht.	Historiæ selectæ.	Historiæ selectæ.	Biblische Gefchichte.	Biblische Gefchichte.
9 - 10.	Cornelius Nepos.	Cornelius Nepos.	lat. Stilübungen.	Fransösisch.	Fransösisch.	lateinische Stilübung.
10 - 11.	Amusemens philol.	Amusemens philolog.	Deponas Sprachlehre.	Büfchingii liber. lat.	Büfchingii lib. lat.	Deutsche Sprachüb.
11 - 12.	Aeliani hift. var.	Aeliani hift. var.	Eulgers Vorübungen.	Freyeri fasc. lat.	Freyeri fascic. lat.	
2 - 3.	Büfchingii lib. lat.	Phædri fab.		Phædri fabulæ.	Büfchingii lib. lat.	
3 - 4.	Gefchichte.	Gefchichte.		Geographie.		
Tertia.						
8 - 9.	Religionsunterricht.	Religionsunterricht.	Historiæ selectæ.	Historiæ selectæ.	Biblische Gefchichte.	Biblische Gefchichte.
9 - 10.	lat. Sprachlehre.	lat. Sprachlehre.	Milleri Chrest. lat.	Fransösisch.	Fransösisch.	Milleri chrest. lat.
10 - 11.	Eutropius.	Eutropius.	Deutsche Grammatic.	Büfchingii lib. lat.	Büfchingii lib. lat.	Griech. Sprachlehre.
11 - 12.	Aelianus.	Aelianus.	Eulgers Vorübungen.	Milleri Chrest. lat.	Milleri chrest. lat.	
2 - 3.	Büfchingii lib. lat.	Phædri fabulæ.		Phædri fabulæ.	Büfchingii lib. lat.	
3 - 4.	Gefchichte.	Gefchichte.		Erdbefchreibung.	Erdbefchreibung.	

Fig. 2: Adler's lessons at the Christianeum 1777. <http://www.christianeum.org/images/stories/schulpr.chr.1777.lektionen2.jpg>. © Christianeum Hamburg.

also introduced him to a tightly-knit network of international scholars. Tychsen, who was born in Tondern in Schleswig in 1734, received his early education between 1750 and 1756 by attending a school in Altona called the Christianeum, a *gymnasium academicum*.¹⁰ Hebrew had been part of his curriculum since he had attended Latin school, and at the Christianeum he was tutored in this subject by the headmaster himself, Johann Christoph Sticht.¹¹ While he was a pupil there, he maintained close ties with the Jewish community and was even admitted to attend their own school in Altona. Rabbi Eybenschütz became his teacher in rabbinics and the Talmud.¹² Tychsen was a hard-working student of Jewish life and Judaism

¹⁰ See the note on his entry to the Christianeum in Elsner 1998, 60 (n. 209). The most extensive scholarly investigation on Tychsen's intellectual biography to date is French 1984. His writing is currently being digitised and catalogued as part of a DFG-funded project; cf. http://www.ub.uni-rostock.de/ub/xDLib/tychsen_xen.shtml.

¹¹ Sticht obtained his doctorate on the subject of *qere* and *ketiv*: *Dissertatio de Keri et Ketibh vocabulis*, 1760. Tychsen corresponded with him throughout his later life; cf. for example, UBR, Ms. orient. 284(12), fols 313–314.

¹² French 1984, 5 and 17.

with interests ranging from Jewish texts, languages and customs to legal practice from biblical times up to his own. Furthermore, he acquired a fair command of Yiddish and Portuguese while in Altona. In 1756, he embarked on his study of rabbinics at the University of Halle, where he also made his first acquaintance with Adler's father, Georg Christian Adler.¹³ Both men were associated with the pietistic movement connected to the *Franckesche Stiftungen*. As a delegate of the *Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum*, a pietistic missionary organisation, he then journeyed through Germany and Denmark in 1759 and 1760 on a fruitless mission to convert the Jews who lived there. In the second year, he was employed as a Hebrew lecturer (*magister legens*) at the newly founded University of Bützow in Mecklenburg. His appointment was at the behest of Frederick II, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, whom he tutored in Hebrew from then on. Three years later, and under the patronage of Johann Christoph Döderlein, founding provost of the university, he was appointed as a full professor of Oriental languages (*linguae orientalis*). He remained there for some years until the university ceased to exist (1789), then became chief librarian and director of Rostock Museum. As a scholar, Tychsen owed his reputation to many achievements, to his erudition in the fields of rabbinics, Yiddish, Syriac, and Arabic literature. He kept up a daunting amount of intellectual correspondence with all the principal scholars in his field, such as Giuseppe Simone Assemani, Stefano Borgia, Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi and Carsten Niebuhr.¹⁴

Jacob Adler and his brother Johann were engaged in correspondence with Tychsen in Hebrew and Yiddish as early as 1772. Jacob demonstrated his excellent mastery of both languages in these letters. In the first one to Tychsen, he wishes him a happy new year and brags of his progress in writing in Hebrew and in learning the *leshon ha-qodesh* 'by conversing with the Jews'.¹⁵ The letter also mentions a visit that Tychsen paid to Altona when Jacob was just four years old, on the occasion of which he taught him, as Adler recalls, the Hebrew expression *יראת אלהים ראשית חכמה* (sic!), i.e. 'the awe of God is the beginning of wisdom'. Subsequent letters also give one the impression that he was passionate about Jewish knowledge and the Hebrew language. Furthermore, like Tychsen before him and probably as a result of his intercession, his teachers were among the most esteemed members of Altona's Jewish community. Although Jacob and his brother do not seem to have

¹³ On his teachers there, see French, 1984.

¹⁴ On his correspondence with Niebuhr, see Krieger 2002, and on his correspondence with Borgia, see Stuijver 2009.

¹⁵ Dated 19 January 1772 (14 Shevat [5]532); cf. UBR, Ms. orient. 267b, fols 261–262. A letter by his brother, dated 13 April 1772 (10 Nisan [5]532), is in UBR, Ms. orient. 267b, fols 259–260.

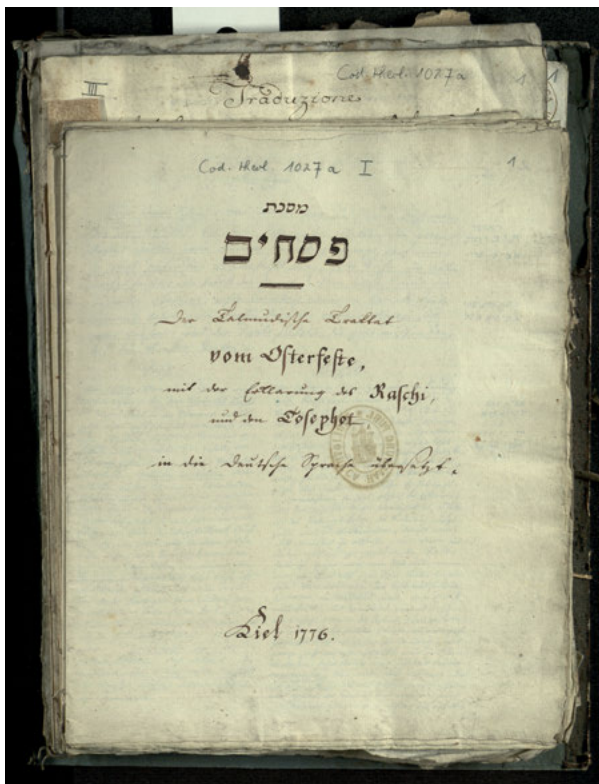


Fig. 3: State and University Library Hamburg, Cod. theol. 1027a, fol. 1r.
© State and University Library Hamburg.

been tutored by Emden directly, we know they received tuition in Hebrew and Yiddish from members of his circle of colleagues and acquaintances. His teacher, Jacob b. Reuben the Elder, is described as a decent man, yet a bit opaque, ‘like all Jews’.¹⁶ He taught Adler Hebrew and rabbinic literature as well as serving him and Tytsen as a broker for Hebrew books and Islamic coins (see below).¹⁷ A letter by Adler’s brother, Johann, also mentions that they visited Jacob Emden, who was frail and almost blind by that time.¹⁸

¹⁶ Dated 3 February 1772: UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 241–242.

¹⁷ However, in UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 323–324, Adler’s brother speaks about another book dealer, Moshe Rotenburg from Hamburg. What’s more, in UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 247–248, he mentions having acquired Johann Christoph Sticht’s private library. With regard to Islamic coins, several letters mention their acquisition; cf. UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 243–244 and 249–250.

¹⁸ UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 323–324.

The curriculum consisted of a *Minhagim* book in Yiddish and the 613 *mizvot*, the midrash *Leqah Tov*, and a work named *Seder Tiqqune Sheṭarot*¹⁹ in Hebrew. In 1773, at the young age of seventeen, Adler published a German translation of the latter (*Seder Tiqqune Sheṭarot Sammlung von gerichtlichen jüdischen Contracten: Rabbinisch und Deutsch*), which came to fruition as a direct result of his studies with his teacher Jacob, one could argue.²⁰

In the year 1774, Adler and his brother were admitted to the Christianeum, just like Tychsen before them.²¹ Founded by King Christian VI within the greater Danish kingdom, the school effectively served as a university despite it only being a *gymnasium academicum*; in fact, it was second only to the University of Copenhagen. When the great Danish kingdom incorporated the city of Kiel in 1773, the Christianeum lost its royal privileges to the University of Kiel. Adler enrolled in Theology and Oriental Languages there, but only stayed at the university until 1777 when he moved to the newly founded University of Bützow.²² It was here that he proceeded to study Arabic. Thanks to his knowledge of Hebrew, which he shared with nearly all the other German Orientalists at the time, and his grasp of Syriac, the structure of Arabic must have been quite easy for him to pick up.²³ Most of his studies, however, seem to have concentrated on rabbinic literature and the Babylonian Talmud. While still in Kiel, he prepared a German translation of the tractate called *Pesaḥim*, along with the commentaries provided by Rashi and the Tosafot. This work was not published, but is now archived as SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a. The three quires (each with three bifolia) contain a fair copy with the final layout and pagination and bear the title *Der Talmudische Traktat vom Osterfeste mit der Erklärung des Raschi und den Tosephot in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt* (Kiel, 1776). The upper part of the page displays the Mishna and Gemara. Rashi's

19 This text can be identified with a work bearing this very title and printed in Amsterdam (1721), cf. http://rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE119511.

20 In UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 249–250, dated 23 February 1772, Adler mentions that the final proof of the book will arrive tomorrow. The printing had been planned to take place soon after Pesach; see UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 243–244. Steinschneider called the whole work 'ein interconfessioneller Betrug', Steinschneider 1896, 113.

21 Elsner 1998, 99 (n. 428 and n. 429).

22 The entry in the university's list of students can be seen here: <http://purl.uni-rostock.de/matrikel/100011848>.

23 It is unclear whether he was instructed in Arabic while he was still in Altona. His father, in the letter quoted above, preferred Syriac and had rejected Arabic as part of the two sons' curriculum. A letter to Tychsen by his brother, UBR, Ms. orient. 267.b, fols 323–324, dated September 1774, mentioned they had finally found someone who could translate from Arabic.

comments on the left and the Tosefot's remarks on the right face each other on the lower part. It is unclear why this scholarly work was never published.

While he was attending the University of Bützow, his focus was also on the Talmud. The same manuscript mentioned above – SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a – shows his study notes on the tractate *Yoma*, based on the commentaries of Rashi and 'Ovadya Bartenura. The frontispiece displays the title *Ad libellum Mischnico-Talmudicum Joma* (Altona, 1778). In 1779, Adler published a Latin translation of and a commentary on *Massekhet Soferim* (*Judaeorum Codicis sacri rite scribendi leges, e libello Thalmudico Massechet Soferim in lat. conversae*, 1779). The translation is based on the Wilna-Romm edition of the Babylonian Talmud, to which the tractate is appended. His interest seems to go back to his years of studying in Altona's Jewish community. Jacob Emden had prepared a commentary on the same text some years earlier, notably academic in its approach and dealing with manuscript readings, so Adler's choice does not seem to have been incidental.²⁴ In the same year, Adler was permitted to proceed to his doctoral examination, as we see from Tychsen's request to the faculty.²⁵ A later note on the document, however, states that the process was brought to a halt and never completed; Adler's father had insisted he should return to Altona for reasons that are no longer clear.²⁶

As it turned out, the period between 1780 and 1782 was to become Adler's most formative – one in which his focal point in scholarship shifted to Syriac and Arabic. He found a potent patron in Ove Høegh-Guldberg, a Danish professor of Theology, but also a statesman and *de facto* prime minister of Denmark from 1772 to 1784. Adler's father had recommended him to the Danish statesman, who had owed him a favour ever since the former had acquired an important collection of Islamic coins on the latter's behalf at an auction in Altona. Adler had carried out an inventory and composed a description of the auctioned coins as he had developed an interest in Islamic coinage early on in his career, which he shared with his teacher, Tychsen. Some early samples of his occupation can be found in SUBHH, Cod. orient. 173a.²⁷ As a return gesture, he was invited to come to Copenhagen on an extended visit under the auspices of his new patron, where a group of early Quranic fragments from the Abbasid period that had

²⁴ Cf. Blank 1999, 21 and 25.

²⁵ Cf. UBR, Ms. orient. 284(1), fols 316–317.

²⁶ Friedrichsen 1842, 551, speaks of 'irksome things' ('Verdrießlichkeiten'), which had forced Adler's father to do so.

²⁷ In a letter to Tychsen dated 28 October 1774 (UBR, Ms. orient. 284(1), fol. 30), Adler's father speaks about the descriptions of Islamic coins that his son had written and sends him tracings of the coins.

recently entered the Royal Library attracted his interest. Whereas all his earlier studies had been based on printed material, Adler was now drawn to earlier, unpublished texts in the form of manuscripts and their ancient scripts, a subject for which he developed a voracious scholarly appetite and in which he was to develop considerable expertise. Manuscripts became a required source of study, to be met with focused devotion. His detailed attention to the material aspects of hand-copied texts, which was to become an important aspect of his work, clearly sets him apart from his teacher Tychsen, who depended on printed books and transcripts of manuscripts that others had prepared for him.

In 1780, he published a study of the fragments in his *Descriptio Codicum quorundam cuficorum partes Corani exhibentium in Bibliotheca Regia Hafniensi et ex iisdem de Scriptura Cufica Arabum observationes novae: praemittitur disquisitio generalis de Arte Scribendi apud Arabes ex ipsis auctoribus arabicis iisque adhuc ineditis*.²⁸ Adler supplemented his description with tables, facsimiles, palaeographic charts and an analysis of orthography and vocalisation systems.²⁹ Such early Quranic manuscripts were scarce in Europe at that time; prior to Adler, only Niebuhr had brought a sample back from his travels and few copies were to be found in Paris.³⁰ Niebuhr, like other scholars before him, had called the script 'Kufic', i.e. from Kufa, a term that Adler also found corroborated in the works of mediaeval Arab authors and that became widely accepted in the 18th century. Furthermore, he compared the fragments, which can be identified with Copenhagen, Royal Library, Cod. Arab. 36–42 today, with Abraham Hinckelmann's edition of the Quran (1694)³¹ and added text-critical notes. Adler's study is prefaced with a chronological survey of Arabic scripts that became the foundation of Arabic palaeography.³²

28 He had been discussing his finds with Tychsen ever since the summer of 1779, cf. French 1984, 68–69.

29 Cf. Perho 2007, 86–108. The fragments were in the possession of Friedrich Buchwald (1605–1676), who acquired them on his journeys, and came into the Library's possession during the reign of King Christian VII (1766–1808).

30 Adler refers to Niebuhr's *Beschreibung von Arabien*, which contains samples of a Kufic codex, plates IV and V, and quotes a letter by Étienne Fourmont, professor of Arabic at the Collège de France, in which he described the Parisian fragments, cf. *Descriptio Codicum*, 22–23. De Phélo had sent traced copies of the four sample folios in Copenhagen to Fourmont earlier on. See Déroche 1980.

31 Hinckelmann 1694.

32 Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy followed his approach in de Sacy 1808. See Déroche 1980 for an appraisal of Adler's contribution to Arabic palaeography.

In the same year, Adler received a royal travel stipend on Høegh-Guldberg's recommendation and, equipped with a letter of reference from Tychsen, was dispatched on a mission to peruse biblical manuscripts in all the major libraries of Europe. Høegh-Guldberg, drawn by the idea of composing a new Danish translation of the Greek New Testament (which would eventually be published in 1794), was eager to include new text-critical sources. A number of scholars contributed to this project, among them Adler, Friedrich Münter and Andreas Birch, who received two stipends between 1781 and 1784.³³ The money provided Adler with the financial means to embark on a *peregrinatio academica*.

2 His *peregrinatio academica*

Adler's journey took place over the period between 27 June 1780 and 27 August 1782 and initially took him southwards from Altona to various German towns and cities (Wolfenbüttel, Nuremberg and Altdorf), then to Austria (Vienna), Italy (Venice, Padua, Mantua, Parma, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Florence again and Milan), France (Paris) and, eventually, the Netherlands (Leiden and Amsterdam). While in Venice, he met Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, for whom Tychsen had prepared a letter of introduction. De Rossi invited him to Parma and granted him access to his collection of manuscripts. In Rome, Adler maintained a close friendship with Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who was secretary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* at the time.

In 1783, shortly after his return, Adler published a general academic survey of his travels entitled *Jacob Georg Christian Adler: Kurze Übersicht seiner biblisch-kritischen Reise nach Rom* in honour of the king of Denmark, who had acted as his patron and funded his travels. The volume may be described as a learned itinerary that relates information on the destinations that Adler visited as a philologist and humanist antiquarian. The account includes dates, distances and means of transport as well as being an eloquent description of the major architectural and cultural attractions in each city and outlining the everyday life of its inhabitants. Furthermore, he presents the reader with details of local universities, learned societies and manuscript collections, keeping a log of the scholars he met and the most exciting manuscript discoveries he made during his journey. What is

³³ Adler and Birch published their text-critical observations on the New Testament in 1788 as a gesture of gratitude under the general editorship of Høegh-Guldberg: *Quatuor Evangelia Graece: cum variantibus a textu lectionibus*.

more, Adler was a close observer of the local Jewish communities, furnishing notes on their origins and languages in use. His accounts on Jewish settlements outside a closed-off Ghetto in Italy and on the admission of Jews to the University of Padua, are brought as samples of political and cultural inclusion promised by emancipation, which he must have felt unfulfilled in his native Schleswig-Holstein. A year later, his brother Johann furnished an expanded version of the travel itinerary intended for a more general audience: *Reisebemerkungen aus einer Reise nach Rom: Aus einem Tagebuche hrsg. von seinem Bruder, Johann Christoph Georg Adler*. This work dispenses with most of the academic details.

Much of Adler's active scholarship during this period remained in his notebooks, however – hitherto unknown and hence unpublished. Filled with reading-notes and excerpts, and now kept in Hamburg and Kiel, this material displays his desire for painstaking philological precision. It captures his various fields of interest, keeps track of the many manuscripts he perused along with their scripts, and is hence an important source of information on Adler's intellectual development from his time as a student to him becoming an independent and highly respected scholar of Semitic literature. Adler's notebooks show him at different stages of 'knowledge in the making', partly in the process of storing and sorting records, hastily and in rushed handwriting, and partly making a clear attempt to organise, cross-reference and accumulate his ideas with a view to publishing them later.³⁴

Although his notebooks seem to fall neatly into the two separate categories just mentioned, they actually share a number of characteristics as well. They are penned on paper, either single sheets of various sizes or pre-made booklets (mostly acquired from stationery shops in Rome, as the watermarks seem to imply), and are written in various languages: German, Latin and Italian, often interchanging freely in one and the same document. Adler fluently employed the Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic scripts, all of which had been familiar to him since his early studies, and he also possessed basic writing skills in Coptic, which he learnt from a monk in Rome; his notes on Coptic grammar can still be seen in SUBHH, Cod. orient. 277a. Furthermore, we know that two notebooks that have now been lost dealt with biblical matter in Coptic.³⁵ Among other scripts and languages, they included discussions of Samaritan (UBK, Cod. ms. ori 4 and – now lost – SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1338a), Armenian (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a, XIV and XV), Iberian (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a, III), Judaeo-Persian (SUBHH,

³⁴ The term 'knowledge in the making' has been borrowed from Hoffmann/Wittmann 2013.

³⁵ *Catalogus bibliothecae Rabbinicae et orientalis quam reliquit Jacob Georg Christian Adler* 1836, 33–34, items 13–15 (see below).

Cod. theol. 1466, fols 61v–63v), Pahlavi (SUBHH, Cod. orient. 277a, fols 7–8), Palmyrene (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a, XVI and Cod. theol. 1466, fols 171r–173r), Phoenician and Parthian (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466, fols 174r–177r).

The first category includes his rough study notes, which he took in a hasty hand and often on single leaves of paper. SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a (III–XIX), for example, contains various topics ranging from the mundane to the scholarly: lists of tobacco and alcoholic drinks, notes on how to address Roman clergymen, exercises in Italian, and notes on manuscripts. SUBHH, Cod. orient. 17d mostly contains excerpts from Arabic manuscripts on a broad range of subjects, the notes on geography, history and liturgy being taken on corresponding occasions. SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466 appears to have been his main travel notebook (except for fols 165r–213v, which contain independent notes) as it documents – in quite a chronological order – his work on biblical manuscripts in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic stemming from the various collections that he viewed. The focus is on textual criticism here and includes long lists of collations. Slips of yellow-coloured tracing paper glued between the pages preserve a visual record in the form of palaeographic samples and transcriptions of colophons.

The second kind of notebook presents expanded and neatly copied notes on one particular subject, well arranged for future publication. Two such examples are SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1346a and UBK, Cod. ms. ori 2, both of which deal with the Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic versions of the Gospels. Large parts of them constitute the penultimate stage of the writing process – the one before making the final fair copy – in preparation for Adler's *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae*, which we shall return to shortly.

Despite the care and dedication with which he pursued the study of the Talmud in his earlier years, this field of interest is conspicuously absent in his notebooks. A number of other subjects are discussed several times. His preoccupation with the Syriac Gospels, for example, is apparent in almost all of his notebooks (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466, Cod. theol. 1346a, Cod. orient. 17d, fols 7–8; and UBK, Cod. ms. ori 2). This interest went back to his very first years of study under the tutelage of his father and would become the field to which Adler made his most lasting contribution. Furthermore, he systematically consulted Arabic translations of the Pentateuch and transcribed entire manuscripts, such as the Old Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch (UBK, Cod. ms. ori 4). Although he obtained a transcription of an additional manuscript from the Bodleian Library later, which pertained to another type of translation (cf. UBK, Cod. ms. ori 6), his work remained unpublished. What's more, SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466 contains notes on various recensions of Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, to which the discussion also returned in his *Kurze Übersicht* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mss. Or. 57, fols 128v–130v, and Or. 112, fols 128r–128v; Vatican,



Fig. 4: State and University Library Hamburg, Cod. theol. 1466, fol. 85r, Hebrew palaeographic sample. © State and University Library Hamburg.

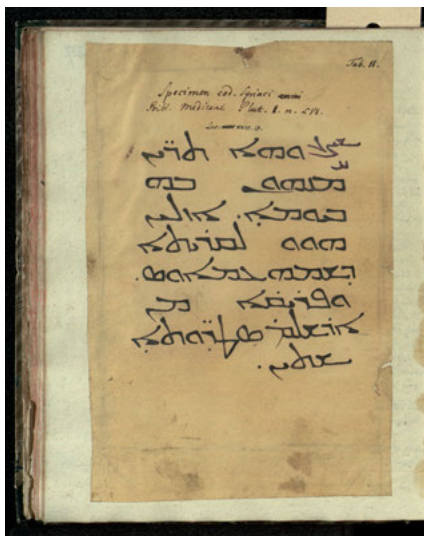


Fig. 5: State and University Library Hamburg, Cod. theol. 1466, fol. 37v, Syriac palaeographic sample. © State and University Library Hamburg.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Ms. Borg. ar. 129, fols 116r–118v; London, British Library (BL), Ms. Add. 11855 (previously at the Library of the Propaganda Fide), fols 119v–121v; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Ms. Ar. 1, fols 149r–149v).

Historiographic texts in Arabic also take a prominent place in his notes (e.g. SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466, 153r–164v; SUBHH, Cod. orient. 17d, fols 3–6). Adler gathered excerpts from Marʿī ibn Yūsuf al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (SUBHH, Cod. orient. 17d, fols 1–2), al-Maqrizī (SUBHH, Cod. orient. 17d, fols 8–17) and historiographic work on the Samaritans (UBK, Cod. ms. ori 5). In addition to this, he obtained Johann Jacob Reiske's own transcription of Abū al-Fidā's (d. 732/1331) *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh*, copied on 8 June 1745 and based on Leiden, University Library, Ms. Ar. 554, which he compared with the original during his travels (UBK, Cod. ms. ori 17). From 1789 to 1794, he published Reiske's draft in five volumes together with his own emendations of it: *Abulfedae annales moslemici arabice et latine*.

Lastly, another focus of his was on Islamic coinage (SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1027a, VII and IX). While Tytsen, who had been studying Islamic coins since 1765, first in Bützow and then Rostock, relied on limited samples found in Viking treasure troves in Northern Germany, Adler was allowed access to Stefano Borgia's numismatic cabinet in Velletri during his travels owing to his close friendship

with him.³⁶ This privilege eventually turned him into the foremost expert on the subject. A study on Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Ayyubid and Seljuk coinage from the Borgia collections including palaeographic charts was published in 1782 as *Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris Illustravit*.³⁷

A recurring topic and, in fact, the most striking feature in his notes is Adler's close observation of the material embodiment, i.e. the physical form, of his sources. A telling illustration of this can be found in SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1466, fol. 131, onto which he sewed a fragment of the manuscript binding he was describing. It is this approach – which is also palpable in his publication of the Copenhagen Quran fragments, with which he set the foundations of Arabic palaeography – that demonstrates that his interest clearly transcended the texts that manuscripts contained. His notes imply that he studied the manuscripts as a whole, both in terms of their textual and physical aspects. Adler carefully sorted different scripts, established chronologies and pondered on criteria for localising and dating them – also with regard to Hebrew and Syriac. For almost all of the manuscripts he analysed, he produced palaeographic samples that he traced on transparent, yellowish paper and attached to his notes.

In the case of Syriac, he differentiated between Estrangelo, Serto and Eastern scripts and provided – almost *en passant* – the first study of Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Hebrew manuscripts were divided into German, i.e. Ashkenazic, and Spanish, i.e. Sephardic, according to their handwriting. Painfully aware of his imperfect grasp of Hebrew scripts, he envisioned a larger, systematic study:

Die hebräischen Codices lassen sich also nicht füglich in Classen nach verschiedenen Epochen ihres Alters setzen. Aber es wäre der Mühe werth, sie nach den verschiedenen Ländern, wo sie geschrieben worden, einzuteilen.³⁸

The Hebrew codices cannot be arranged easily into groups according to their age. However, it would be worth the effort to sort them according to the various countries they were copied in.

3 A professor in Copenhagen

Upon his return to Copenhagen in 1783, Høegh-Guldberg's patronage led to Adler's appointment as Professor of Syriac at the University of Copenhagen.

³⁶ See for example, Heidemann 2005.

³⁷ A second volume followed in 1792. On Borgia's celebrated collection, the *Museum Borgianum*, see Nocca 2001.

³⁸ Adler, Jacob Georg Christian 1783, 11.

Soon after that, in 1784, Adler published the first two instalments of a series of works that rely heavily on his consultations of manuscripts: *Nonnulla Matthaei et Marci Enunciata, ex indole linguae Syriacae explicantur. Adduntur observationes quaedam in historiam utriusque evangelii* and *Brevis linguae Syriacae institutio in usum tironum*. While the first of these deals with text-critical observations on the Gospels of Matthew and Marc in Syriac, culled from his notebooks, the latter is a brief grammar of the Syriac language.³⁹

In 1785, Adler was appointed chaplain at Frederik's Church in Copenhagen, replacing the famous bibliophile Josias Lorck, who had just passed away.⁴⁰ Lorck had gathered an impressive collection of printed bibles in various languages, the celebrated *Biblicae Lorckianae* that was sold to Charles Eugene, Duke of Württemberg after his demise and became the founding stock of the Ducal Public Library of Stuttgart (now the Württembergische Landesbibliothek), though not before Adler had made an inventory of it, which he published in 1787: *Bibliotheca Biblica serenissimi württembergensium ducis olim lorckiana*. The inventory describes polyglots, editions of the *Biblia Hebraica* and the New Testament in Greek as well as editions of the *Targumim*, the Samaritan Bible, and bibles in Syriac, Yiddish, Latin, French and German. In the same year, he married Dorothea Maria Lorck, the daughter of Josias Lorck.⁴¹ A year earlier, Adler had been awarded a doctorate in Theology from Copenhagen University, with a dissertation on the passages in the Old Testament that predict the coming of Christ, entitled *Nonnulla de vaticiniis veteris testamenti de Christo*.

Finally, in 1788, Adler became *extraordinarius* of Theology and Oriental Languages at the University of Copenhagen. It was 1789 when he finished his last and probably most influential book: the *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae simplex, philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana*. The work contains a dense technical description and text-critical study of the Peshitta NT, the Harklean (which he believed to be

³⁹ I have not been able to locate and consult the former. The *Brevis* opens with a short introduction to Syriac script (Estrangelo, which he calls *antiquae*, and Serto, i.e. *recentes*), vocalisation and differential signs, then it discusses pronouns, nouns and verbs. It is appended with a brief chrestomathy containing excerpts from Barhebraeus (culled from Vatican, BAV, Ms. syr. 173), Jacob of Edessa's commentary on the books of Genesis and Joshua (Vatican, BAV, Ms. syr. 103), and the *Chronicle of Edessa*, Assemani 1719–1728, vol. 1, 390.

⁴⁰ Lorck met Tychsen in 1759 and they corresponded with one another after that. Tychsen supplied him with some editions of the Hebrew Bible that were missing in his collection.

⁴¹ I do not know much about their marriage. In his correspondence with Stefano Borgia, he regularly passes on his wife's regards and joyfully recounts to his namesake how they had his first son baptised by the name of Stefano. They appear to have had six children, Stuiber 2012, 258.

the Philoxenian) and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic versions.⁴² He was not the first one to note the distinction between the different New Testament versions, as Andreas Masius (1514–1573), Giuseppe Simone Assemani (1687–1768) in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Joseph White (1745–1814) and others had preceded him, but Adler brought more copies to his readers' attention and demonstrated their value in textual criticism. Furthermore, he seems to have been the first person to have taken an interest in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic version, i.e. the *versione hierosolymitana* as he calls it, found in Vatican, BAV, Ms. syr. 19 and first made known by Stefano Evodio Assemani's catalogue.⁴³ His study on the codex also contains a description of the Christian Palestinian Aramaic script, a palaeographic chart of which Johann David Michaelis, having coined it 'Adlerianum', included in his *Grammatica Syriaca* (1784).⁴⁴

In the years that followed, Adler was mostly active outside the academic world. When appointed royal court chaplain in 1789, he appears to have been overwhelmed by his varied duties and felt obliged to request a reduction in his teaching commitments. Besides these obligations, he ran an orphanage in Copenhagen and became consistorial councilor and general superintendent of Schleswig (later Holstein) in 1792. He carried out all of these functions up till 1796, when, on his own wish, he returned to Tondern in Holstein to minister a church. In this latter part of life, he was an active reformer of the Church, indebted to the ideas of the Enlightenment.⁴⁵ He authored the new prayer book *Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchenagende* and wrote a study that led to the re-organisation of the school system in 1814, that became associated with his name.⁴⁶ By the time Adler died in Giekau in 1834, he had been elected a member of all the major learned societies in Europe.

⁴² He describes Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. I.40, *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae*, 52–55, Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica, Ms. or. 74 (59–63), Paris, BnF, Ms. Syr. 64 (55–59), and Vatican, BAV, Mss. syr. 267 (64–65) and syr. 268 (63–64). The confusion between the Philoxenian and the Harklean versions prevailed until Sebastian Brock's work appeared, Brock 1981.

⁴³ Assemani 1756–1759, vol. 2, 70–103. It contains the beginning of the Gospel of John, according to the Peshitta, Harklean (called Philoxenian) and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic version.

⁴⁴ Michaelis 1784, plate V.

⁴⁵ Collections of his sermons have been published on various occasions, e.g. 1790 *Einige Predigten, gehalten vor den königlichen dänischen Herrschaften und auf allerhöchsten Befehl herausgegeben*, 1796 *Seine Sammlung von Predigten, in der Friedrichskirche zu Kopenhagen gehalten, uns seiner ihm unvergeßlichen Gemeinde zum Andenken gewidmet*, 2 vols, 1797 *D. Jac[ob] Georg Chr[istian] Adlers Predigten über die Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien durchs ganze Jahr*, 2 vols, and 1799 *Predigten über einige wichtige Gegenstände*.

⁴⁶ Adler, Jacob Georg Christian, *Kirchen-Agende 1797*, and *Nöthiger Unterricht 1797*.

It will be up to a future biographer to explore Adler's life in greater detail. This brief exposition of his books – those he published on the one hand and his manuscripts, notebooks and volumes of correspondence on the other – is naturally far from complete. My intention here has been to point out Adler's place in 18th-century Oriental scholarship and the learned practices that render it tangible. First and foremost, Adler's intellectual biography was shaped by his erudite travels: his journey through Europe, which gave the aspiring young man unparalleled access to manuscripts in public collections and private cabinets. Furthermore, it forged new connections to and reinforced existing networks with other scholars as well. Coupled with his collation and consultation of manuscripts made 'portable' in his notebooks, this transregional perspective sets Adler apart from his learned teacher, Tychsen, who relied on printed books and excerpts that his correspondents had sent him throughout his life, never actually leaving any of the places he taught in. There are other contrasting aspects in both scholars besides this point: Tychsen was attached to pietistic and even missionary movements, while in Adler's case, who had favoured the social and political inclusion of Jews, close reading of the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Syriac almost appears to have been his sole pious exercise. This disparity also seems to be reflected in their Jewish teachers from early on: Tychsen had been attached to the rather traditional circle around Rabbi Eybenschütz, while Adler studied in the schoolhouse run by Rabbi Emden, an early *maskil* and author of philological commentaries on Talmudic tractates. What we encounter in Adler is a reformer for whom his studious pursuits and re-organisation of his Church were intrinsically connected.

4 Jacob Adler's books

Adler left behind three kinds of books: printed works, manuscripts and his private notebooks, most of which were auctioned on 24 May 1836, two years after his death (they were bought by the University of Kiel for 300 Marks and by the University of Hamburg for an unspecified price).⁴⁷ Some of the notebooks remained in his family's possession, however, and were bequeathed to the University of Hamburg by his son-in-law, Krukenberg, in 1854 and his daughter in 1871.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ An auction catalogue exists: (1836) *Catalogus bibliothecae Rabbinicae et orientalis quam reliquit Jacob Georg Christian Adler*. Also see Bülck 1960, 237. Theodor Nöldeke grew enthusiastic when Kiel University Library acquired Adler's books, Bobzin 2002, 97.

⁴⁸ See the notes in Brockelmann 1908, XII.

Manuscripts

Universitätsbibliothek Kiel

1. **Cod. ms. ori 1 (olim K.B. 12)**
Syriac Gospels, 217 fols; contains the Gospel of Matthew (9:27–13:44 and 26:44–27:39 are missing) and Mark (15:32–42 are missing), according to the Harklean version (item 3 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 32). Cf. Ratjen 1863, 6.
2. **Cod. ms. ori 6 (olim K.B. 16)**
Palaeographic tracing of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Cod. ms. ori 345, 171 fols; contains an Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Some of the pages show annotations made by Adler. Cf. Ratjen 1863, 7–8.
3. **Cod. ms. ori 7**
Ottoman Quran, probably item 338 or 339 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 29.⁴⁹
4. **Cod. ms. ori 8 (olim K.B. 18)**
Commentaries on Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, 465 fols, item 7 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33. Cf. Ratjen 1863, 9.
5. **Cod. ms. ori 17 (olim K.B. 21)**
Johann Jacob Reiske's own transcription of Abū al-Fidā's (d. 732/1331) *Kitāb al-tārīkh*, copied on 8 June 1745 and based on Leiden, University Library, Ms. Ar. 554, 452 fols, item 6 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33. Cf. Ratjen 1863, 10.
6. **Cod. ms. ori 34 (olim K.B. 25)**
Maps with Turkish descriptions, item 12 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33. Cf. Ratjen 1863, 10–11.⁵⁰

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg

1. **Cod. orient. 47b**
Quran, 8 fols, sura 6:54–91 (probably item 338 or 339 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 29). Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 7.

⁴⁹ Samples can be found in Wischermann 2004.

⁵⁰ Wischermann 2004.

2. **Cod. orient. 149a**
Grammar, 1 fol., treatise on verbal inflection in Arabic. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 59.
3. **Cod. orient. 169a**
Rhetorical texts in Arabic, 14 fols, treatise by Mahmūd b. Salām b. Fahd al-Ḥalabī (d. 725/1325). Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 48–49.
4. **Cod. orient. 171a**
Rhetoric, grammar and logic, 25 fols. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 74–75.
5. **Cod. orient. 171b**
Notebook, 7 fols, containing notes on grammar and *tafsīr*, lists the names of the months in Arabic, Coptic, Persian and Latin. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 75–76.
6. **Cod. orient. 92**
Collection of suras and prayers, 142 fols (probably corresponding to items 340–47 (*octo varii libri precum arab. cum suris nonnullis Corani*) in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 29). Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 127.
7. **Cod. orient. 251a**
Seven notes of quittance from Aleppo. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 135.
8. **Cod. orient. 26a**
Historical account on the Maronite community, 1771, 2 fols. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 169.
9. **Cod. orient. 22a–e**
Excerpts from liturgical books in Arabic, 92 fols. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 171–172.

Notebooks

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg

1. **Cod. orient. 173a (30 fols, Altona, various dates, 1773–1793)**
While most of Adler's notebooks contain material from the journeys he undertook between 1781 and 1782, this bundle of papers contains early notes on Islamic numismatics, predating the other books. Fol. 2r bears the title 'Images and descriptions of new Arabic coinage, by Jacob Georg Christian Adler, skilled in theology and Oriental languages' (*Abbildungen*

und Erklärung einiger neuen Arabischen Münzen von Jacob Georg Christian Adler, der Gottesgelahrtheit (sic!) und orientl. Sprachen beflissen). Fols 11r and 21r include tracings of coins that Adler made in 1773 and 1774. Fols 24–28 contain correspondence with Tychsen on the subject from 1777, 1784 and 1793. Fol. 29r shows a tracing of one of the seals published by Niebuhr. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 191–192.

2. **Cod. theol. 1027a (104 fols, various places, various dates)**

This volume of private documents was bequeathed to the Staatsbibliothek by his daughter in 1781. It contains two unpublished but proofed books on Talmudic tractates (fols I, 1–27 and fols II, 1–27) and quite diverse notes from his sojourn in Rome.

I, 27 fols *Der Talmudische Traktat vom Osterfeste mit der Erklärung des Raschi und den Tosephot in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt* (Kiel, 1776).

II, 27 fols *Ad libellum Mischnico-Talmudicum Joma, adnotationes et explicationes necessariae* (Altona, 1778).

III, 16 fols *Traduzione del Libro scritto in carattere Pali, o Bali, sopra Ole Dorate, che si conserva in Roma nella Biblioteca di Propaganda, fatta per commissione di Monsig. Stefano Borgia* (Rome, 1776).

IV, 1 fol. Handwritten notes in Italian on the right protocol to follow when dealing with cardinals.

V, 1 fol. Pricelist of a merchant selling tobacco and various spirits.

VI, 6 fols Geographical notes written in Adler's hand in Italian.

VII, 2 fols Notes on coins, Rome, 13 January 1780, in Italian.

VIII, 2 fols Notes on the Iberian script, in Italian.

IX, 4 fols Notes on coins, 22 February 1782, in Italian.

X, 1 fol Notes in Italian.

XI, 3 fols Notes and exercises in Italian (on the verbs *havère* and *essere*).

XIII, 16 fols Notes (e.g. on the sects of the Assassins).

XIV, 2 fols Notes on a Pentateuch manuscript in Armenian.

XV 2 fols Explanations concerning an colophon in Armenian.

XVI, 2 fols Palaeographic samples, in Palmyrene.

XVII 5 fols Notes on a Greek Psalter, Vatican, BAV, Ms. gr. 754.

XVIII, 8 fols Notes on the Palatine manuscripts at the BAV.

XIX, 2 fols Notes on the Hebrew Palatine manuscripts at the BAV.

Cf. Becker 1975, 13.

3. **Cod. orient. 277a (8 fols, undated)**

Mostly contains notes on Coptic grammar: its alphabet (1r), pronunciation (1^v), gender, number and cases (2r), pronouns (3r), nouns

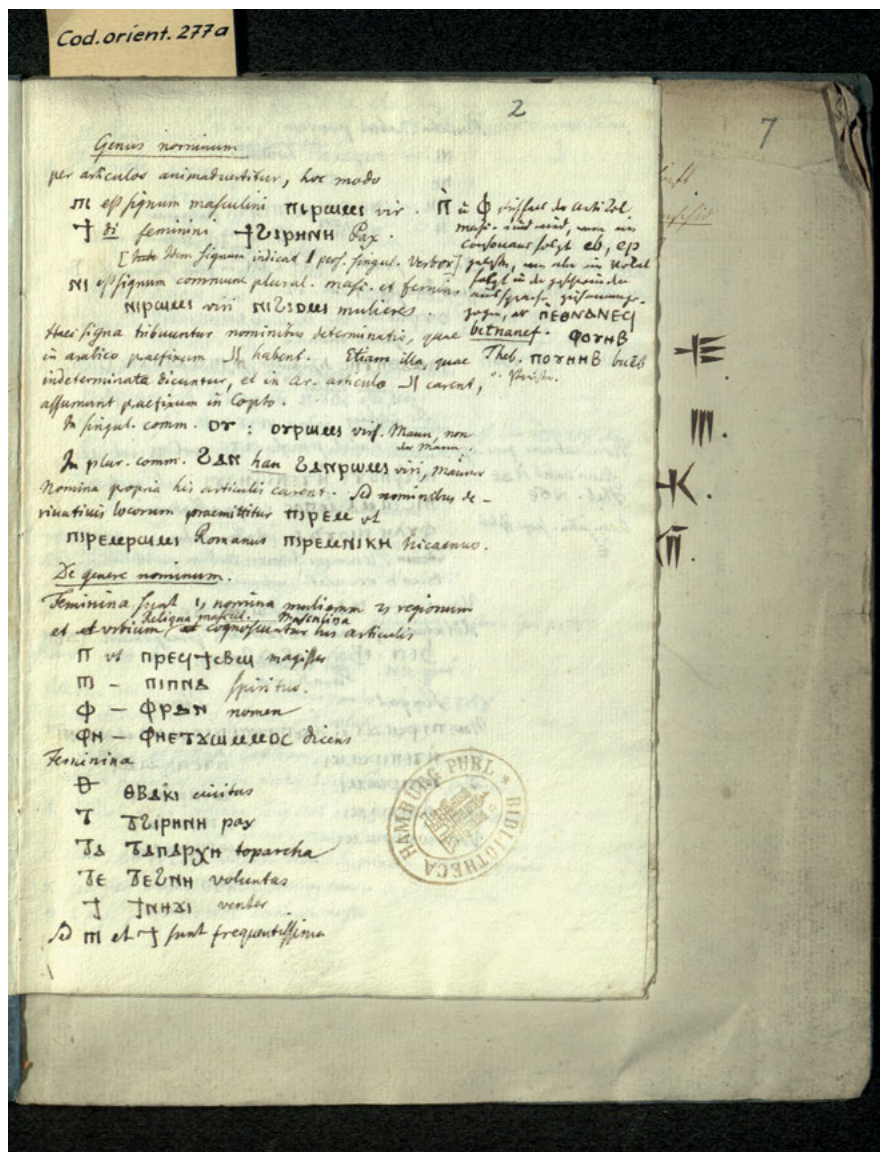


Fig. 6: State and University Hamburg, Cod. orient. 277a, fol. 2r.

(3v), verbs, negation and suffixes (4r-4v), glossary of particles (5r-5v). Fols 7-8 list the Pahlavi alphabet from Niebuhr's travel descriptions. Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 173-174.

4. **Cod. theol. 1346a (47 fols, 1781-82, Rome)**

Contains his notes preparing for *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae*. Fol. 1r bears the titles *Animadversiones criticae in versionem Syriacam Philoxeniam Novi Testamenti, e codicibus antiquis Bibliothecarum Angelicae, Assemanianae, Barberinae, Medicieae, Regiae, factae a JGCA 1782*.

Describes the following manuscripts, noting variant readings: Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. or. 74 (fols 1-9), Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. syr. 267, syr. 268 and a third manuscript⁵¹ (fols 10-34); a manuscript from the Barberini collection (fols 35-41); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. I.40 (fols 42-43), and Paris, BnF, Syr. 64 (fols 44-47).

Between the pages (fols 9-10, 23-24 and 33-34) there are slips of tracing paper containing palaeographic samples of the described manuscripts and/or descriptions of the colophons. Seems to belong with UBK, Cod. ms. ori 2.

Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 192; and Krüger 1985, 28.

5. **Cod. theol. 1466 (214 fols, Rome, 1780-82)**

The largest part of this volume contains his academic travel notes from 1780-83. Fol. 1r bears the title *Beobachtungen in verschiedenen auswärtigen Bibliotheken, vorzüglich in Italien, die Kritik der Bibel betreffend. Angestellt auf einer in den Jahren 1780.1781.1782 gemachten gelehrten Reise von JGCA. Nebst vielen Schriftproben und Zeichnungen*. Many palaeographic samples on tracing paper are included.

Fol. 2r Wolfenbüttel (4 July 1780); peruses the Syriac Gospels of Athanasius Kircher, cf. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 3. 1. 300.

Aug. fol. He also saw Kufic Quran fragments and the palimpsest of Uphila's Gospel translation.

Fol. 5v Nurnberg (2 August 1780); consults Syriac Gospels and a Hebrew Bible.

Fol. 6r Altdorf, Syriac Gospels.

Fol. 7r Vienna (7 August 1780); collates 15 Hebrew manuscripts (Kennicott 254, 593, 595, 588, 594, 592, 589, 590, 596, 591 and five additional Mss) 'to get some practice' ('zu meiner Übung', *Kurze Übersicht*, 3), noting text-critical observations and colophons and palaeographic notes. Further, he consulted

51 I have not been able to identify its current shelfmark.

the Purple Gospels and Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. N. F. 97 (olim Lambecii codex XLIV), a Gospel manuscript in Arabic.

Fols 19–32v Venice (25 September 1780); reports the closure of the Biblioteca Marciana, leaving him with only two days for consultation. Meets de Rossi.

Fol. 33r Padua (21 October 1780), at the Biblioteca Santa Giustina.

Fols 33v–35v Mantua; sees the library kept by Rabbi Jacob Saraval.

Fol. 36r Parma; allowed to consult de Rossi's private library and at the Biblioteca Ducale (Palatina).

Fol. 36v Bologna.

Fols 37r–46v Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Palatina, mostly Syriac manuscripts.

Fols 47–126v Rome (21 December 1780), consults the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (there mostly biblical versions in Syriac, Arabic and even Judaeo-Persian and Hebrew Bible manuscripts), Biblioteca Vallicelliana (Alcuin's revision of the Vulgate is there), the Library of the Maronite College (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. ar. 467–468), the Biblioteca Barberina, Biblioteca Casanatense, the Library of the Propaganda Fide (mostly Arabic versions of the Bible are kept there).

Fols 127v–141r Florence (April 1782), Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mss. Or. 57 and Or. 112)

Fols 142r–147v Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

Fols 148r–152v Paris (10 June 1782), Bibliotheca Regia, Libraries of Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Germain-des-Près.

Fol. 153r–164v Leiden and Amsterdam.

Fol. 165 Notes on Arabic inscriptions.

Fols 166r170r Excerpts from several publications dealing with inscriptions.

Fols 171r–173r Description of Palmyrene inscriptions from the Capitoline Museum.

Fols 174r–177r Notes on Parthian, Samaritan and Phoenician coins.

Fols 180r–187v Title: *Anmerkungen über die vulgare arabische Sprache, und dessen Dialekte. Ein Beweis der näheren Verwandtschaft des Ar. mit dem Hebr.*

Fols 188r–210v Excerpts from Syriac manuscripts, palaeographic samples.

Fols 212r–213v Title: *Genealogia Matterniana*.

Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 193–194, and Krüger 1985, 50.

6. Cod. orient. 17d (25 fols, various texts).

This volume contains various notes and excerpts.

Fols 1–2 Excerpts from Copenhagen, Royal Library, Codices Arab. 151 and 152; contains the beginning of a historiographical account on Egypt by Marʿī

ibn Yūsuf al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1033/1624).

Fols 3–6 Notes on Deguine's *Histoire des Huns*.

Fols 7–8 Collations of the Gospels and book of Psalms in Syriac, Arabic and Greek, based on Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Mss. syr. 12, syr. 13, syr. 23 and gr. 754.

Fols 8–17 Excerpts from al-Maqrizī, based on Leiden, University Library, Ms. Ar. 854.

Fols 18 Excerpts from an Arabic prayer book.

Fols 19–25 Excerpts from a Christian-Arabic treatise.

Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 189–190.

Universitätsbibliothek Kiel

1. **Cod. ms. ori 2 (olim K.B. 13), (33 fols, 1781–82, Rome), item 2 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 32.**

Title: *Descriptio et collatio codicis unici Vaticani versionis Syriacae Hierosolymitanae vel Palaestinae Novi Test. Criticus omnibus ignotae, auctore JGCA, Romae 1781 et 1782* (frontispiece).

Fol. 1^r *Codex Syriacus Vaticanus XIX, Evangelia eclogadia dialecti Syriacae Palaestinae*.

Contains notes on Vatican, BAV, Ms. syr. 19 and a palaeographic tracing of Matth. 27:12–22 (after fol. 33), used in preparation of *Novi testamenti versiones syriacae*, in particular 137–202. Seems to belong with SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1346a.

Cf. Ratjen 1863, 6.

2. **Cod. ms. ori 4 (olim K.B. 14), (vol. 1 has 80 fols and vol. 2 78 fols, 1781–82, Rome), item 8–10 in *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33.**

Two volumes (Gen–Lev and Num–Deut) containing a transcription of an Arabic column found in the Samaritan triglot Vatican, BAV, Ms. Barb. or. 1.

Tracing paper with palaeographic samples can be found between fols 78 and 79.

Title: *Penteteuchus Arabicus Samaritanus Peirescianus ex egregio ms. codice τριγλωττω bibliothecae Barberinae Romae descriptus et propriis Arabum literis redditus a Jac. G. Christiano Adler*.

Seems to belong with SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1338a (now lost).

Cf. Ratjen 1863, 6–7.

3. **Cod. ms. ori 5 (olim K.B. 15), (26 fols, 1782, Paris), item 11, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 3.**

Contains excerpts from historiographic work on the Samaritans, copied from Paris, BnF, Ms. Sam. 10.

Title: كتاب تاريخ السامري *Historia Samaritanorum auctore Meselm ben Jospeh Samaritano. E codice ms. bibliothecae regiae descripta.* Parisiis, 1782, JGCA (fol. 1r). Fols 25v and 26r contain notes on the provenance of the Parisian codex.

Cf. Ratjen 1863, 7.

Now lost

1. **SUBHH, Cod. theol. 1338a (79 fols, 1782, Rome)**

Contains a collation of the first Barberini Polyglot, Vatican, BAV, Ms. Barb. or. 1. *Collatio pentateuchi hebraeo-samaritici cum judaico, e codice insigni τριγλωττω Bibliothecae Barberinae Romae, in quo nonnullae varietates habentur a kennicotto aliisque praetermissae. Accedunt obervationes quaedam in versionem arabicam samaritanorum ex eodem codice.*

Seems to belong with UBK, Cod. ms. ori 4. Tychsen copied this notebook (UBR, Ms. orient. 116).⁵²

Cf. Brockelmann 1908, 192–193, and Krüger 1985, 25.

2. **item 4, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 32**

Excerpts from Bar Bahlul's lexicon, found in manuscripts from the Vatican and Florence.

3. **item 5, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33**

Litterae patentes Patriarchae Antiocheni.

4. **item 13, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 33**

Mentions another notebook, with observations on the Coptic version of the Book of Job.

5. **item 14–15, *Catalogus bibliothecae*, 34**

Notes on the Coptic version of the Gospel of John.

52 Cf. <http://opac.lbs-rostock.gbv.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=880986190>

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