van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude. The edition enjoys the patronage of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (the translation and commentary to the text are in French).

This review of Brill's publication of research into Judaism is by no means complete, but we shall close it with a consideration of those activities to which the theological faculty of the University of Leiden has devoted special attention in recent years. These concern the so-called Pseudo-epigrapha: texts written by Jews or in a Jewish milieu, to which the names of figures from the Israelite past have been attributed as authors, but whose transmission took place in a Christian environment and which are usually written in Greek. In the series 'Pseudopigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece', edited by A.-M. Denis and M. de Jonge, Brill's are publishing critical editions of these texts. Alongside these is a series of monographs with the title 'Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha'. The cultivation of this branch of scholarship forms a good way of rounding off the Judaica output of the press, because what is being investigated here is in fact an often forgotten bridge linking Judaica to world history.

This report bears impressive testimony to the capacity and will of the house of Brill to open the field of ancient Judaism to scholars in all its breadth and multiplicity. For this Brill deserves the thanks of scholars, authors and readers, together with all good wishes for fruitful work in the future.

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

by

C. D. BLOKHUIS

The decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs by Jean François Champollion, announced by him in his famous Lettre à M. Dacier, Paris, 1822, is generally acknowledged as the birth certificate of Egyptology. Already before that time, however, the cultures of the Ancient Near East and their enigmatic scripts had caught the imagination of quite a few scholars in Europe. Champollion himself had two famous predecessors, the Swedish diplomat Akerblad and the English physician Th. Young, who put him on the right track towards his own decipherment. Mention should also be made here of the efforts of scholars like E. de Rouge, F. Chabas and G. Maspero in France, of R. Lepsius and H. Brugsch in Germany and of S. Sharpe and S. Birch in England, who were to continue and complete the work begun by Champollion. It is they who provided a sound basis for Egyptology as a scholarly discipline.

Decipherment of the cuneiform scripts turned out to be a more complex and gradual process. Already in 1621 the well-known Italian traveller Pietro della Valle had sent a letter to a friend in Europe with a drawing of five cuneiform signs copied by him in ancient Persepolis, but it was not until 1778, when exact facsimiles of inscriptions at Persepolis were published by C. Niebuhr, that sufficient material was available for serious attempts at decipherment. In 1802 G. F. Grotefend succeeded brilliantly in determining 36 characters of the Persian cuneiform. But to Major General H. C. Rawlinson, sometimes nicknamed 'the father of Assyriology', is due the honour of completing the decipherment of the Persian cuneiform in 1846 with the aid of a trilingual inscription of Darius which he himself had copied at great pains at Behistun.

Taking the personal names of Xerxes and Darius as a starting-point E. Norris was able to decipher most of the Susian, or Elamite, cuneiform, consisting of some 123 different signs. It took him from 1838 to 1851 to bring this work to an end. Later N. L. Westergaard improved upon many of Norris' readings and J. Oppert finally completed the decipherment in 1859. It was not until fifty years after Grotefend's first results that the highly complex Akkadian cuneiform was deciphered thanks to the arduous and painstaking efforts of scholars like

On the whole one can say that the nineteenth century was a very propitious time for the study of the ancient Near Eastern cultures all over Europe.

In Holland one outstanding scholar in the field of archaeology was C. J. C. Reuven, who was to be the founding father of Dutch Egyptology. Born in 1793, his original destination was to become a judge. But as a student of law at the then still existing university of Franeker he grew more and more interested in Antiquity and archaeology. In 1818 King William I appointed him the first professor of archaeology at the university of Leiden and supported him very generously in his attempts to set up a national museum of antiquities of which he was to be the first director. The dream of bringing together a collection of Egyptian antiquities that could compete with those in the British Museum and the Louvre took Reuven to many places in Europe and acquainted him at a very early stage with Champollion’s decipherment of which he was a staunch supporter. As a result he was very much interested in the papyrus scrolls from the d’Anastasy collection acquired by him for his collection in 1828. One papyrus in particular drew his attention: papyrus Leiden 1383, now known to be the one half of the demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden of which the other half is kept in the British Museum. Reuven at once perceived its importance for the decipherment of Demotic because of the numerous glosses in Graecization it contains, although he mistook the contents of the papyrus for gnostic texts. Consequently the papyrus became known as the ‘Leiden Gnostic’ and the term ‘gnostic’ has been passed on to the London half of the manuscript. It was not until the final publication by F. L. Griffith and H. Thompson in 1904 that this name was abandoned in favour of the better suited ‘Magical papyrus of London and Leiden’. After a careful study Reuven had published in 1830 his admirable essay Lettres à M. Letronne sur les papyrus bilingues et grecs with Luchtman’s firm, in Leiden, which was to change its name shortly afterwards to Brill’s. After this book, one of the very first on the ancient Near East ever to be printed by Brill, the company accepted the challenge in the good tradition of the Leiden publishers and went on to specialize in the publication of books and series in this field. In what follows, we shall mention the highlights of works printed or published by Brill since then. (Publications referred to without mention of the publisher’s name may be taken as being those of Brill.)

C. Leemans, had entered Leiden University in 1825 as a student of theology but very soon he came under the influence of Reuven and in 1828 he changed over to Classical studies and received his archaeological training under the direct guidance of Reuven. His collaboration with Reuven roused his particular interest in the Egyptian monuments of which the Museum of Antiquities has such a rich collection. During a stay in Paris from July to September 1829 Leemans carefully and minutely studied under Reuven’s direction the collection of Champollion at the Musée Charles X. Champollion himself was in Egypt at the time and Leemans never actually met the great master then or on a later occasion. Back in Leiden, however, Leemans started his Egyptological studies on the basis of Champollion’s works and thus can be said to have been one of the first pupils of Champollion after Rosellini and Salvatini. In his studies Leemans profited greatly from the prolonged stay in Leiden, in 1834, of François Salvatini, who had acquired wide experience at the feet of his master and was willing to share it with Leemans. On the 8th of April 1835 Leemans presented his admirable and still valuable thesis Horaeopinii Nilui Hieroglyphica... printed by J. Muller of Amsterdam. This thesis won Leemans international recognition and soon afterwards he started a busy correspondence with, among others, scholars like Rosellini, Lepsius, Mariette, Chabas, Brugsch. (The letters received by Leemans have been collected and published in extenso by W. F. Leemans in L’Egyptologie Conrad Leemans et sa correspondance. Contribution à l’histoire d’une science..., 1973.) The thesis was soon to be followed by other publications: Reuven’s plans to have the ‘Leiden Gnostic’ (I 383) published in full had been frustrated by his untimely death. Leemans took it upon himself to complete the explanatory text and in 1839 Brill published his Egyptian papyrus in Demotic script with Greek overscriptions in het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden. Meanwhile Leemans, who had been appointed keeper and shortly afterwards director of the collection of antiquities, had managed after the death of Reuven to find an adequate housing for the collection. In 1840 he published the Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens closely following the example set by Champollion in the latter’s Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du Musée Charles X. That same year saw the publication of Korte opeave der Egyptische monumenten van het Nederlandsch museum van Oudheden te Leiden, a concise catalogue in Dutch also compiled by Leemans. In the previous year Leemans had by order of the government started the publication of the famous Monumenti egiziici del Museo d’Antichità de Leyde (title in Dutch: Egyptische monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leiden), which was published simultaneously in French and Dutch. It took Leemans the rest of his working years to see all the instalments published in collaboration with Brill, which he once called in a letter of October 6, 1874 ‘my editor’. Even after his death, in 1893, some more fascicles were published under the supervision of W. Pleyte and P. A. A. Boese...
tively. Most of the plates in this pièce de résistance were executed by the skilled lithographer T. Hooiberg, who had already been employed by Reuven and who had provided, for instance, the plates for Leemans’ thesis. For more than a century the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden was to be the only museum in the world to attempt the systematic publication of its Egyptian treasures on such a scale; it was not until 1904 that the huge Catalogue Général of the Cairo museum was begun. It is about the Monuments that H. Schäfer wrote in Sinn und Aufgaben des Berliner Museums, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920, p. 11: ‘[…] so werden wir doch auch erahnen, dass damals eigentlich nur das Leidener Museum es für nötig erachtet hatte, seine kleinen Aertstümer, auch die unscheinbaren, zu veröffentlichen’. The publication of the Monuments and his work as director of the museum left Leemans very little time for the study of what he was publishing. Nevertheless he was duly honoured on the 50th anniversary of his directorship, in 1885, with the publication of Études archéologiques, linguistiques et historiques, dédiées à Mr. le Dr. C. Leemans, à l’occasion du 50e anniversaire de sa nomination aux fonctions de directeur du Musée Archéologique des Pays-Bas.

Another very colourful Dutch Egyptologist was W. Pleyte. When he graduated from Utrecht University in theology in 1860 he was completely unable to find a post as a minister, so he decided to use his free time for the study of Egyptology. One has to consider that at the time there were as yet very few grammar books, that there was no reliable dictionary, Brugsch’s dictionary being in the course of publication, and that Egyptology as such was not taught at any of the Dutch universities. So Pleyte had to pursue his Egyptological studies entirely under his own steam. In 1862 he published his first book in the field of Egyptology, La religion pré-révéndale, recherches sur le dieu Seth. Basing himself on too hastily drawn conclusions he tried to prove that the ancient Egyptian god Seth was in origin an old Hebrew deity. His book justly met with much criticism but this did not discourage Pleyte. He continued his studies and very soon after his first book he published the Lettre à M. Th. Devèria, sur quelques monuments relatifs au dieu Seth in 1863 and Set dans la barque du Soleil in 1865. In the preface of his Lettre à M. Devèria Pleyte remarks: ‘Comme les imprimeries ici en Hollande ne possèdent de types égyptiens je me vois obligé […] de suivre ainsi un système de transcription.’ In his own energetic way he tried to find a remedy for this lack of hieroglyphic types in Holland. A letter of Devèria dated 23 February 1864 had informed him that ‘l’imprimerie impériale de Paris est si jalouse de ses types hiéroglyphiques [i.e. the Letronne types still in use at the Institut Français at Cairo], qu’elle a cherché par tous les moyens possibles à éviter précisément ce que vous me demandez, c’est-à-dire, que ses types servent à en faire d’autres à l’étranger…’. So he decided to design his own hieroglyphic font containing 400 punches. Together with a hieratic font and a Coptic font also designed by Pleyte it was cut in 1864-1866 by L. Carkerine of the type foundry of N. Tetterode in Amsterdam. Pleyte’s type-face is black like the Letronne types and faces to the right because Pleyte intended to use the types parallel to the hieratic, which without exception faces right. Pleyte is best known for his hieratic font. In 1865 was published the Catalogue raisoné de types hiéroglyphiques de la fondée de N. Tetterode, à Amsterdam, dressé par W. Pleyte. Although enthusiastically received by other Egyptologists, Ch. E. Moldenke in the U. S. A. was the only one to actually buy a set of the hieratic types, with which he printed The tale of the Two Brothers. A fairy tale of ancient Egypt. The d’Orbigny Papyrus in hieratic characters in the British Museum, Watchung, N. J., The Elsinore Press, 1899. Before printing the book Moldenke had learned the craft of type-cutting in order to provide for additional signs that were missing from Pleyte’s font. The only other Egyptologist to use the three fonts—hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Coptic—was Pleyte himself in his Études égyptologiques, published in three volumes and seven parts in 1866-1869. Of the Études, the Étude sur un rouleau magique du Musée de Leide dealing with the reverse of Papyrus Leiden I 348 deserves special mention. It took until 1971 when J. F. Borghouts published The magical texts of papyrus Leiden I 348 (O. M. R. O., vol. 51) before a new edition of this highly interesting text saw the light. Borghouts published The magical texts of papyrus Leiden I 348 (OMRO), saying: ‘The work contained a translation and a commentary — which, though antiquated by modern standards, show a deep insight into the peculiarities of the text…’ (c. p. 1).

According to a letter of N. Tetterode dated 3 October 1883 Pleyte sold the copyright to the hieratic font to Brill, probably because by then his son C. M. Pleyte had become one of the co-directors of the firm.

Because of an ‘incomptabilité des humeurs’ Leemans was not quite eager to see Pleyte as a member of his staff at the Leiden Museum and when against Leemans’ will Pleyte was nevertheless appointed keeper of the museum in 1869 Leemans assigned him to the department of Dutch antiquities. Although unable to work on the Leiden collection of Egyptian antiquities Pleyte published the still valuable Papyrus de Tivin in collaboration with F. Rossi in 1869-1876. Famous too is Pleyte’s last work, Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 162-174, 1881-1882, 3 vols. This publication has as yet not been replaced by anything more recent. It is remarkable that Pleyte chose to have this last work lithographed by J. Bijtel using neither his hieratic nor his hieroglyphic types. Brill eventually chose to use the Theinhart types designed by E. Weidenbach in collaboration with the German Egyptologist R. Lepsius and cut by F.
Theinhardt of Berlin. The probable reason for this choice was that, being an outline script, the Theinhardt types stand out less strikingly in a printed text than the black hieroglyphs of Pleyte do. Moreover the size of the Theinhardt types (18 pt.) is much better suited to the typographical needs of printers than the rather large size (24 pt.) of Pleyte’s types. But Brill still holds stocks of Pleyte’s hieroglyphic and hieratic types as can be seen from Specimens of type faces, 1970, p. 132, 134.

During the nineteenth century Assyriology had attracted even less attention than Egyptology in Dutch universities. E. A. Wallis Budge, mentioning Dutch Assyriology in The rise and progress of Assyriology, London, 1925, p. 243, wrote of this situation: ‘Holland cannot claim as a son any editor or translator of cuneiform texts on a large scale’. W. Cnops Koopmans had presented a thesis, Disputatio de Sardanapolo, Amsterdam, 1819, at the Mennonite Seminary of that town, but it had been completely based on Classical sources and in no way paid any attention to the new archaeological and philological discoveries by scholars abroad. In fact the only book published in the field of Assyriology was De Assyrische en Babyloniëse ongedenken met betrekking tot schrift en taal beoordeeld door Prof. Euwald te Göttingen, in 1851. What is remarkable about it is the fact that it is a translation in a slightly adapted form by L. J. F. Jansen of a German book review and that it was issued as a separate booklet. Jansen was keeper of the department of Dutch antiquities at the Leiden museum at that time. He was also one of the very few in Holland, however, who showed some interest in the historical and archaeological aspects of Assyriology. Although he had originally been trained as a theologian he was not inclined to see Assyriology merely as the handmaid of biblical criticism, a prejudice which handicapped Assyriology in many respects at its beginning. Furthermore Jansen had the advantage of having at hand primary publications on the new discoveries in Mesopotamia, like the works by Botta and Layard. Apart from issuing this little book, Jansen wrote several articles on the archaeological discoveries in Mesopotamia and held lectures on the subject. He even invented a Dutch neologism for cuneiform script: ‘pijlschrift’ (i.e. arrow-script), a word which, frankly, never came to general use.

Thanks to C. P. Tiele, Assyriology did not completely plunge into oblivion after Jansen. As a young minister of the parishes at Moordrecht and Rotterdam, it had been his experience that Assyriology was not taken seriously anywhere in Holland by the biblical scholars and theologians of the time. After being appointed professor in the history of religion at Leiden University he had the courage to resist this general mood and he propagated the view that Assyriology, like Egyptology, was vital to the study of religion. Tiele published several books on the religions of Mesopotamia and Egypt but the books issued by Brill in the field of Assyriology at the turn of the century and afterwards were all written or edited by foreign scholars. This can clearly be seen from the following list: Ashurbanapal, Annals (V Rawlinson Pl. 1-IX). Autographed text by Robert J. Lau, with a glossary in English and German, and brief notes by Stephen Langdon, 1903; Nabû-šîd. The Abu Habba Cylinder (V Rawlinson Pl. 61f). Autographed text by Robert J. Lau with an introduction and a glossary in English and German by J. Dyneley Prince, 1905 and W. J. Hinke, Selected Babylonian Kidurru inscriptions, 1911, all three in the ‘Semitic Study Series’. B. Meissner, Assyrisch-babylonische Christomatie für Anfänger, 1895. M. Streek, Die alte Landschaft Babyloniën nach den arabischen Geographien, 1901. A. Sarsowsky, Keilschriftliches Urkundebuch zum Alten Testament […] , part 1, 1911. And two books by A. Ungnad Selected Babylonian business and legal documents of the Hammurabi period, 1907 and Selected business documents of the Neo-Babylonian period that also appeared in the ‘Semitic Study Series’. When Tiele died in 1902 his point had been accepted and in 1913 the university of Leiden appointed G. J. Thierry an extraordinary professor of Assyriology. Thierry had studied theology but also knew Sanskrit, Hebrew and Aramaic, and in the very year of his appointment had presented a thesis on an Egyptian subject, De religiöse betekenis van het aegyptische koningschap, 1. De titulatuur. Although in 1927 Thierry gave up his chair in Assyriology, which had become an ordinary professorship in 1917, in favor of the chair in Hebrew he remained interested in Assyriology, and in 1934 he published his academic lecture Vorsten uit Oud Babylon tijdens de eerste bloeitijd van de stad Lagas. Thierry was succeeded that same year by F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl. Böhl, born in Vienna in 1882 to a German father and a Dutch mother, had studied theology and the Ancient Near East at several German universities as well as at the university of Paris. In 1909 he had presented a thesis Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe (‘Leipziger Semitische Studien’ 5/2) at the university of Leipzig, an important work on the language of the Amarna letters and its relation to Canaanite. In 1911 he presented a second thesis, Kanaʻänēr und Hebrāēr (‘Beiträge z. Wissenschaht vom Alten Testament’, 9), at the university of Bonn. In 1913 Böhl had come to Holland after accepting the professorate of Hebrew and Hebrew antiquities at the university of Groningen. After his appointment in Leiden Böhl did much for the advancement and popularization of Assyriology. He brought together a well-known collection of cuneiform tablets. He also translated the Gilgamesh epic for the general public. This translation enjoyed great success, as is apparent from the fact that it had to be reprinted three times. It remains curious that of the more than 300 books and articles written by Böhl, only his Akkadian christomathy, vol. 1, 1947
was published by Brill, in addition to the Festschrift presented to him on his 90th birthday, *Symbalae Biblicae et Mesopotamiae Francisco Mario Theodoro De Liagre Böhl dedicatae*, ed. M. A. Beek, A. A. Kampman, C. Nijland, J. Ryckmans, 1973. Böhl created his own school and had a number of pupils, who included G. Gensler, A. A. Kampman, B. A. van Proosdij, R. Franken, J. J. van Dijk and R. Borger. J. J. A. van Dijk published *La sagesse suméro-akkadienne* in 1953 dealing with Sumerian wisdom texts which form welcome additions to analogous Akkadian ones, such as *Ludul bēl nēmeqi*, sometimes called the Babylonian Job. At the time of writing, Van Dijk's monumental and long-awaited edition and translation of the Lugal-e epic (*Lugal ud me lām-bi nīr-gal*) is in the press. R. Franken, who was professor of Akkadian, Hebrew and Israeliite antiquities at the university of Utrecht from 1965 until his premature death in 1974, published *Tākultu. De sacrale maaltijd in het Assyrisch rijk* in 1954, an edition with commentary of some important ritual texts from Assyria, followed by a complete list of all deities venerated in Assyria. In 1965 he published his inaugural lecture *Kanttekeningen van een Assyriolog* by Ezechiel in which he traces back the words and motives of this prophet to the Izra epic discovered and collated by him in Istanbul. A. A. Kampman who studied history at the university of Leiden was from the outset very much interested in the ancient Near East. Consequently he also attended the lessons of A. de Buck in Egyptology and of Böhl in Assyriology. His personal enthusiasm made him one of the founders of the well-known society ‘het Vooraziaatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux’ at the early age of 21. After some preliminary talks with Böhl this society was founded on the 22nd of May 1933 in the study of B. A. van Proosdij. Van Proosdij became chairman and Kampman secretary, a post that he held for some forty years. Thanks to the interest and the financial support of Th. Folkers, at the time director of Brill, the newly founded society was able to publish its *Jaarbericht* from the very start. In a few years the *Jaarbericht* had changed from a newsletter of only sixteen pages into an internationally acknowledged and valued periodical on the Ancient Near East. Very soon it was to be complemented by a series of memoirs, the *Mededelingen en Verhandelingen ... E. O. L.* Some of the memoirs that have appeared since 1934 are here mentioned: W. D. van Wijngaarden, *Van Hearnias tot Boeris. Drie eeuwen Egyptologie in Nederland* (1602-1935), 1936; A. de Buck, *De godsdienstige opvatting van den slaap inzonderheid in het oude Egypte*, 1939; H. Th. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-Her-Akhî ...*, 1943, the only study on this mastaba in the Leiden museum published so far; *Kernmomente der antike beschaving en haar moderne belevenis*, 1947, a special memoir on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the society that owing to war circumstances had to be published four years later; E. Dhorne, *Hommage à la mémoire de ... François Thureau-Dangin*, 1946; several memoirs by B. H. Stricker, like *De Grote Zeelander*, 1953, *Oorstroming van de Nijl*, 1956 and *De geboorte van Horus* published in parts since 1963; J. Hoftijzer, *Religie Aramaïs*, 1968; *An ancient Egyptian crossword puzzle*, 1966 and *The Teaching of Sihuwau*, 1977, both by J. Zandee; and last but not least R. Borger, *Drei Klässistiken. Alka Tadema, Ebers, Vosmaer*, 1978.

Although mostly interested in the Hitites, about whom he was to publish many articles in the above mentioned *Jaarbericht*, Kampman never lost his interest in the Ancient Near East in general. Apart from being the inspirational force behind the founding of several institutes like het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten in Leiden and the Dutch Historical and Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, he oversaw the birth of several periodicals and series, all printed by Brill. The periodicals in question are *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, founded 1943, *Persica*, founded 1964 as a direct result of the visit of the Shah to the Netherlands in that year, and *Antalnia*, founded 1967. Being the librarian and the administrator of het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten Kampman saw to the publication of several books under the auspices of this institute; Böhl's Akkadian chrestomathy has already been mentioned; A. de Buck published *The Egyptian readingbook* and the *Grammaire élémentaire du moyen égyptien*, the Egyptologist J. M. A. Jansen wrote *Rameses III*, the first and only essay on this important pharaoh in Dutch; and Th. A. Busink published *De Babylonische tempelspreken*. Busink who had been trained as an architect saw it as his duty to make the sacral architecture of the Ancient Near East better known from the architectural point of view. Of his later books his monumental and well-documented *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodot*, 2 vols., 1970-1980 deserves mention. These books were published in the series ‘Studia Francisci Scholten Memoriae Dicata’, edited by Kampman. B. A. van Proosdij, already mentioned, published in collaboration with L. Vanden Berghe two volumes of the *Bibliographie analytique de l’Assyrologie et de l’Archéologie du Proche-Orient* in 1956-1960 and he has acted as secretary for the editorial committee of the series *Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*. Another Dutch Assyriologist was P. van der Meer, who entered the Dominican order after leaving secondary school and studied Semitic languages at the university of Nijmegen. In 1926 he was sent to the École Biblique et d’Archéologie Française at Jerusalem, where he became the pupil of the Assyriologist P. Dhorne. At the invitation of the French government he accompanied the archaeological expedition to Susa in 1934 as a philologist. After that expedition he was for some years the assistant of S. Langdon in Oxford. When because of the war Van der Meer returned to
Holland in 1939 he was offered two professorates, one in Washington, D.C., the other at the university of Amsterdam. He chose to accept the Amsterdam professorship and since then he taught there Akkadian and the kindred languages of Asia Minor as well as Hitite. Shortly after World War II he published Chronology of ancient western Asia and Egypt, 1947, as the second volume in the series ‘Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui’. It was this publication that won him a world-wide reputation, and as a result of its appearance a special session of the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale was devoted to the problems of chronology. In his book Van der Meer makes it clear that he is an adherent of the so-called short chronology. A second, revised edition was published in 1955. A third, revised edition was under consideration and subscriptions for it had already been placed when Van der Meer died in 1963, and it never appeared. The above mentioned series ‘Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui’ contains many more monographs worth mentioning. There are two books by Count R. du Mensil du Buisson, Le sautoir d’Atargis et la chaîne d’amulettes, 1947, and Baghane, l’ancienne Coridhé, Le tell archaïque et la nécropole de l’âge du bronze, 1948. J. Gray published The Krit text in the literature of Ras Shamra, 1964, in which he deals with the legend of King Kri, which is particularly important for the study of kingship and related problems in Canaanite history. Other books include L. Vanden Berghe’s fundamental handbook Archéologie de l’Iran ancien, 1959, reprinted 1966, and J. Friedrich’s Die hethitischen Gesetze ..., 1959. H. Asselbergs, a self-taught Egyptologist of great repute, published an interesting book on aeneolic Egypt, Chaos en beheersing ..., Summarized as Chaos and Control ... in 1961. B. de Ravezilwitz devoted a book to the well-known ‘Tomber of the Butcher’ along the causeway of the pyramid of King Unas at Saqqarah under the title The rock-tomb of Irwe-ki-Pth, 1960. Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate’s The Luwian population groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic period appeared in 1961 and had to be reprinted in 1965. Further monographs from this series are: J. Vandier d’Abbadie, Nestor l’Hôte (1804–1842); Choisir des documents conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale et aux Archives du Musée du Louvre, 1963; C. Epstein, Palestinian bichrome wares, 1966; W. H. P. Römer, Sumerische Königshymnen der Eisszeit, 1965; D. Homès-Fredericq, Les cachets mésopotamiens proto-historiques, 1970; C. Blankenberg-van Delden, The large commemorative scarabs of Amenhotep III, 1969; H. J. Franken, Excavations at Tell Deir ‘Alla, Part 1, 1969; H.-S. Schuster, Die hittitisch-hethitischen Bilingua I ..., Teil I, 1974; R. Givon, Les bédouins Shous des documents égyptiens, 1971; and the crucial book by J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, Aramaic text from Der ‘Alla, 1976.

When De Liagre Böhl retired from his professorship in 1953 he was succeeded by F. R. Kraus from Vienna. Kraus published Ein Edikt des Könige Ammisaduqa von Babylon in 1958 and in 1964 he started the corpus Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung. W. F. Leemans published three monographs on trade and merchants in Mesopotamia, De koopman ten tijde van Hammurabi, 1950, Foreign trade in the Old Babylonian period ..., 1960 and The Old Babylonian merchant, 1959, reprinted 1968, the last two in the series ‘Studies et Documenta ad Iuris Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia’. Apart from this he edited the correspondence of his famous namesake, as has already been mentioned. K. R. Veenhof, who has succeeded Kraus, in his turn published Aspects of old Assyrian trade and its terminology in this same series in 1972. Due attention has also been paid to Assyriology and all the other aspects of the ancient Near Eastern cultures in the Handbuch der Orientalistik. In the field of Iranian studies Brill has published, apart from the section ‘Iranistik’ in the Handbuch der Orientalistik, the series ‘Acta Iranica’ since 1974 and the periodical Iranica Antiqua.

It took Egyptology longer than Assyriology to win academic recognition in Holland despite the work already accomplished by Reuvenis, Leemans and Pleyte and despite the fact that Tiele had been succeeded by W. Brede Kristensen who like him emphasized the importance of Egyptology. In 1902 P. A. A. Boerse began giving instruction in Egyptology at the Leiden university as a Privatdozent. In 1910 he was appointed reader in Egyptology by this same university, but it was not until 1939 that this readership was turned into a professorship under his successor A. de Buck and that Egyptology was in this way finally acknowledged as a fully-fledged academic discipline. Boerse, who had studied modern languages at Leiden and had presented a thesis in this field in 1884, had afterwards taken lessons in Egyptology with Pleyte and had continued and completed his studies in Berlin under the guidance of A. Erman and G. Steindorff. After his return to Holland Boerse worked for some years on an unsalaried basis in the Leiden museum until he was appointed keeper of the Egyptian department in 1892. During his years at the museum he did much to extend the collection of this department and he acquired many new objects for it, such as the Papyrus Insering, a Demotic wisdom-text, as well as the mastaba of Hetep-her-Akhty. After Pleyte’s death Boerse rearranged the Egyptian department on a chronological basis and in 1907 he published the Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Egyptische afdeling. Two years before, 1905, he had begun publication of the Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung ..., printed by Martinus Nijhoff of The Hague. As a scholar Boerse’s main interest lay in Coptic and Demotic. Already in 1897 he had published in
collaboration with Pleyte. *Manuscrits copiés du Musée d’Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*. In 1900 this was followed by *Catalogue du Musée d'Antiquités à Leide, sous-division E. E. Egypte, Antiquités Copiées*. The main work on both books had been done by Boeser. His acquisition of Papyrus Inssinger had whetted Boeser’s interest for Demotic and in 1923 he published *Transkription und Ubersetzung des Papyrus Inssinger* ("Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit ‘s Rijksmuseum van Oudheden’, Nieuwe Reeks, 3/1), in which he gave an accurate and careful translation, which has not been superseded by Fr. Lexa’s later edition of the papyrus published by Geuthner of Paris in 1926. Some of Boeser’s pupils who had to complete their Egyptological studies in Germany where H. P. Blok, G. van der Leeuw, W. D. van Wijngaarden and A. de Buck. H. P. Blok published his much-debated thesis *De beide volksverhalen van papyrus Harris 500 verso* in 1925. G. van der Leeuw, who was to become professor of theology at the university of Groningen and who is best known for his hand-book *Phänomenologie der Religion*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1933, published his thesis *Godsvoorstellingen in de oud-egyptische pyramiddedachten* in 1916. W. D. van Wijngaarden followed Boeser as keeper of the Egyptian department in 1925 and became director of the Leiden museum in 1939. He devoted much time and attention to the publication of the "Oudheidkundige Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden" (OMRO), printed by Brill, ever since he became editor of this museum bulletin. A. de Buck who is perhaps best known for his magisterial edition of the Coffin Texts became reader in Egyptology in Boeser’s place in 1929. When during World War II foreign grammars had become unobtainable in Holland De Buck decided to publish a concise grammar in Dutch, *Eggetische grammatica*, 1941, as a chrestomathy *Eggetisch lesboek*, 1941. After the war both publications were adapted for more international use. In 1948 the *Egyptian readingbook* was issued and in 1952 the *Grammaire élémentaire du moyen égyptien* appeared. Some of De Buck’s pupils that may be mentioned here are J. M. A. Janssen, A. Klasens and J. Zandeke. Following his vocation J. M. A. Janssen had studied at the Roman Catholic seminaries of Roermond and Rolduc and was ordained in 1932. The young priest’s predilection for Egyptology, however, was recognized by the bishop of Roermond, Mgr. Lemmens, who sent Janssen to Leiden to study under De Buck. In 1941 he completed his studies and in 1946 his thesis, *De traditionele Egyptische autobiografie één het Nieuwe Rijk*, was published. In the meantime he had started, in 1940, to teach Egyptology at the university of Amsterdam, at first as an ‘assistant’ and from 1962 as extraordinary professor. The year 1947 turned out to be decisive for Janssen’s scholarly career. Most impressed by his bibliographical skills shown in the articles that he regularly published in the *Jaarbevicht Ex Oriente Lux* the meeting of Egyptologists at Copenhague called upon him to compile an annual analytic bibliography. Janssen consented and in 1947 the first volume of this indispensable tool for any Egyptologist appeared, the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*. Janssen even found time to compile an index to cover the first ten years. Apart from the *Bibliography* Janssen found time to contribute numerous articles to periodicals and to publish some books. In 1948 appeared the above-mentioned essay on Ramesses III. This was followed in 1952 by *Hiereigleien. Over lezen en schrijven in Oud-Egypte*, a popular treatise on hieroglyphs inspired by J. Capart. *De liés des hiéroglyphes*, Brussels, Lebègue, 1946. In 1954 Janssen published *Spreken de pyramidens*, an attack on the pseudo-sience concerning Egypt. A. Klasens, who was to become de Buck’s successor, published his thesis *A magisch status base (sacile Behauge) in the Museum of Antiquities (OMRO), N. R. 33* in 1952. J. Zandeke published two theses on *De Hymmen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 330*, 1947, and *Death as an enemy* (‘Studies in the History of Religions’, 5) in 1960. Besides works by Dutch Egyptologists Brill has published a number by foreign Egyptologists as well. The series ‘Probleme der Ägyptologie’ deserves mention, as the *Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* and ‘Nag Hammadi Studies’ do. (for further details of the latter two publications see p. 00). Another very important series of monographs edited by M. J. Vermaseren, begun 1961, is the ‘Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l’Empire Romain’, commonly known by the acronym of *EPD* (for further details see p. 00). The monographs that have already been published in this series are so numerous that there is no sense in citing them one by one. Sufficient to say that this series has earned a well-deserved reputation among scholars in many fields.

In the field of the comparative law of Antiquity it has been M. David who held the professorship at the university of Leiden for many years. David was mainly interested in documents from Greco-Roman Egypt but he also paid attention to the Babylonian and Assyrian laws. He started his career in 1933 as Privatdozent in oriental law and Greco-Roman papyrology. His inaugural lecture was published in 1934 as *Vorm en ussen van de huwelijkssluiting naar oud-oosterse rechtsoordaging*. This publication was followed by *De Codex Hammurabi en zijn verhouding tot de westbewalgingen in Exodus in 1941* and by *En ein fine ondentele Babylonishe wet uit de tijde oör Hammurabi in 1949*, dealing with the Laws of Eshunna discovered on two clay tablets found in 1947 at Tell Harmal, a suburb of Baghdad. Of the *Papyrological primer*, published in collaboration with B. A. van Groningen, a fourth edition had already become necessary in 1965. Thanks to David’s initiatives the Papyrological Institute of Leiden was founded. Moreover he started two well-known series: ‘Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia’ and ‘Papyrologica
Lugduno-Batava'. In 1968 David was honoured by the *Festschrift* edited by J. A. Ankum, R. Feenstra and W. F. Leemans: *Symbolae urldicae et historicae Martino Davi dedicaae*, 2 vols. David was succeeded by P. W. Pestman, who is continuing the 'Papyrologica' series.

It has been the purpose of this contribution, not to list all books and periodicals on the Ancient Near East published or printed by Brill over the years, but to give some stories behind books. Anyone browsing through a Brill catalogue will realise that such a list would have occupied many times more space than the length of this essay. Let us hope that Brill will continue its long-standing tradition as oriental publisher and that it will meet the challenge of any new developments in this field of Orientalism.

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ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

by

J. BRUGMAN

Arabic and Islamic studies were never more than peripheral to the activities of the Luchtmans, the publishing family which in 1683 founded the firm which was later to be known as E. J. Brill. This was probably due in part to the fact that Arabic studies, which had flourished at Leiden since the nomination of Erpenius to the chair of Arabic, suffered a decline after the death of Erpenius' successor Golius. Only with the appointment of A. Schultens, in 1729, did Arabic studies in the Netherlands begin to regain a European reputation, although they would never recover the leading position which they had occupied in the seventeenth century.

A. Schultens, the first of the three Schultens to occupy the chair of Arabic at Leiden, published by no means all his works with Luchtmans. This firm did, it is true, publish his re-edition of Erpenius' famous Arabic grammar, the *Rudimenta*, an edition justly criticized by Reiske, but other of his works appeared elsewhere, for instance with Luzac, then still based in Leiden, with Bleck in Franeker, and with other publishers, none of whom seems to have had a monopoly in the publishing of Arabic texts or of books on the Orient. For Orientalists in universities other than Leiden Luchtmans was, of course, not the only choice either: Reland (d. 1718), for instance, published his famous *De religione Mohammedica* (1705) in Utrecht, with Broedel.

Nevertheless Luchtmans' merit as publishers of Orientalia should not be underestimated. The company did, for example, publish extensive works such as Willmet's *Lexicon linguae Arabicae in Conamum Harritium et Vitae Timuri* (1784) and Scheidus' *Glossarium Arabico-Latinum manuscula*, the latter an extract from Golius' famous dictionary. In the nineteenth century it continued its activities with various publications of, among others, Hamaker, for example his *Specimen catalogi codicum miss orientalium Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavorum* (1820). Other Dutch Arabists also often published their work with Luchtmans, for example Uylenbroek, whose *De Ibn Haukal geographo cum descriptione tracciae Persicae*, one of the many studies by Dutch scholars on this Arabic geographer, appeared in 1822, and Meursinge, to name only one of many others. The latter's edition of al-Suyūtī's *Tabaqāt al-mufassrin* appeared under Luchtmans' imprint with the Latin title *Liber de interpretibus Corani* in 1839.
TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS

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Published on the Occasion of the Company’s Tercentenary

LEIDEN — E. J. BRILL — 1983
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ISBN 90 04 67012 5

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS
FOREWORD

Strange though it may seem, the history of Brill’s, a publishing house with one of the longest histories in the Netherlands, has been poorly looked into. Apart from a couple of short surveys published after the middle of the last century this subject only in fact began to receive more serious treatment around the middle of this century—Th. Folkers’ article ‘De geschiedenis van de oostersche boekdrukkerij te Leiden’, in Cultuurl Indië, vol. 3 (1941), pp. 53-68 can be regarded as the first coherent treatment of this topic. Nor until this period was a start made to build up an archive of Brill’s own publications. The reason for this apparent paradox is without doubt the preoccupation of the firm with the present—production and sales—rather than with the past. We are happy to let others decide whether it is the same mental attitude which has made possible the long and unbroken existence of the firm.

Whatever the precise truth of the matter may be, various circumstances have contributed to a growth of interest in the firm’s history within the company itself in recent years. And it was also in the context of this renewed interest that the idea was conceived of seeing whether a new contribution to our knowledge of the company’s history might be made ready in time for the celebration of its three-hundredth birthday.

The firm, which was founded by the Luchtmans family and taken over in 1848 by Evert Jan Brill, has always been a scholarly publishing house. However, it was not until the second half of the last century that the firm stepped to any great extent beyond its own national boundaries and began to operate on an international scale. It seemed therefore a good idea to ask experts in the various subject-areas in which Brill’s specialise to throw some light on this development.

The firm would like to take this opportunity to express its thanks to the various authors who have been kind enough to contribute articles. They have more than deserved it in view of the often great enthusiasm with which they accepted and completed their tasks.

It only remains for us to explain to the curious reader that the title of this volume, which is also the motto of the firm and which was first used at the beginning of the eighteenth century on the title-pages of its publications, has—alas—yet to be given a satisfactory historical explanation. It seems to be the case that the motto, even if in variant forms (“Tuta aegide Pallas”, “Tuta est aegide Pallas”), first appears in the course of the history of the University of Leiden, and was apparently adopted by the firm, probably as an expression of the ties which were felt to bind it to the scholarly world.