

IBN AL-WARDI	IBN AL-WARDI, Siradij al-Bin Rikabi $\frac{1}{3}$
IBN WÄSIL	Zayn al-Din Rikabi $\frac{1}{3}$ Thayyat $\frac{1}{2}$
IBN YA'ISH	v. Fück
IBN YAMIN	Ryplka
IBN YUNUS	Kennedy $\frac{1}{2}$
IBN YUNUS	Rosenthal $\frac{1}{2}$
IBN ZAFAR	Pellet
IBN ZAFAR	Rizzitano
IBN ZÄFIR	Pellet
IBN AL-ZAKKÄK	de la Granja $\frac{1}{2}$
IBN ZAMRAK	Hadji-Padok $\frac{1}{3}$ de la Granja
IBN AL-ZARKÄLA	[v. al-Zarkati]
IBN ZAYDÜN	Tha Zaydin Dewidun $\frac{1}{4}$ Lecomte 1
IBN ZAYLA	Crochon $\frac{1}{3}$
IBN AL-ZAYYÄT	Tha al-Zayyat Coudet $\frac{1}{3}$
IBN AL-ZUBAYR	Tha al-Ziba'in Fauve $\frac{2}{3}$ Fück $\frac{1}{3}$ Hopkins $\frac{1}{4}$
IBN ZUHR	Arnaldos
IBN ZÖLÄK	B. Lewin
IBN ZUR'Ä	?
IBRÄHİM	Parat - Vajda
IBRÄHİM B. 'ABD ALLÄH	Veissa Vajl $\frac{2}{3}$
IBRÄHİM B. ADHAM	F. Meier + Barat.
IBRÄHİM I B. AL-AGHLAB	} Talbi 2
IBRÄHİM II B. AL-AGHLAB	
IBRÄHİM B. AHMAD	i. A.

A History of the *Encyclopaedia* of Islam

By Peri Bearman

Resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies

A HISTORY OF THE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

RESOURCES IN ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

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Number 9
A History of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

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ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

Peri Bearman

 LOCKWOOD PRESS

Atlanta, Georgia

2018

A HISTORY OF THE *ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM*

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ISBN: 978-1-948488-04-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018934567

Cover design by Susanne Wilhelm

Cover image: A page of Joseph Schacht's list of entries (Grey Book)

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper.

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Series Editors' Preface

The first two editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* were—we daresay remain—the leading resource in the field of Arabic and Islamic Studies. When we began our graduate careers in the mid-1980's, the Second ('New') Edition had only reached the letter J, and the First Edition, which appeared from 1913–1936, had been reprinted. We had completed our PhDs and were already teaching when the Second Edition came to an end in 2005. We would hear stories from our teachers and from the editors—about the challenges and pitfalls of commissioning, vetting, editing, translating, copyediting, proofing, and delivering the articles, about the personalities involved, about the conflicts and concessions. Like everyone else in the field, we always wanted to know more about the history of this monumental work of scholarship. When we learned, therefore, that Peri Bearman—the only scholar who was both an in-house editor at Brill, the publishing house that for over a century produced the *Encyclopaedia*, and also a member of the editorial board—had completed a manuscript on the history of the *Encyclopaedia*, we asked if she would let us publish it. She immediately agreed. We are especially delighted to include, as part of our Resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies series, this engaging history of one of the premier resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies.

Joseph E. Lowry
Devin J. Stewart
Shawkat M. Toorawa

Preface

This is the untold history of the first two editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the unrivaled reference work on Islam in the twentieth century.¹ Conceived at the dawn of collaborative scholarship, in 1892, interrupted by two world wars, and completed at the dawn of the electronic era, in 2004, it is a story of a monumental project undertaken by the greatest scholars of the age; a story of friendship and rivalry; and a story of the extraordinary circumstances in which it took shape.

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* started as a wisp of an idea, but became a colossus, not only because of its significance as the major research tool in the field of Islamic Studies for so many decades, but also because it consumed the lives of those intimately involved. “As soon as I find someone to take over the chairmanship [of the encyclopedia board] I’m resigning,” proclaimed Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who was in charge of keeping the encyclopedia afloat in its first decade.² “Damn this Encyclopaedia,” wrote Victor Ménége in the 1970s.³ The prospect of such a lengthy purgatory, however, was absent when the encyclopedia project was proposed in 1892 at the animated meeting of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London. In the late nineteenth century, the novelty of scholarly conferences and of meeting colleagues face to face had not yet dulled, ideas flowed freely among new acquaintances and old friends, and grand plans flourished, even if impractical in the extreme. There were many gaps to fill in the nascent field of Islamic Studies, which at that time was but a small subdivision of Oriental scholarship, just emerging from its role in supplying scholars of theology and practitioners of missiology with enough facts—however misinformed—to refute the veracity and call of Islam.

A few wrong turns in the first years sealed the fate of the encyclopedia. Had the author of the proposal, a Cambridge University professor, not abruptly died before any steps could be taken, the project might well have appeared with Cambridge University Press; had the first chosen editor been less modest and more organized, the Dutch might not have formed a bastion at the head; and had there not existed such amity between one

1. Hereafter, for the most part, referred to as “the encyclopedia.”

2. Letter Snouck Hurgronje to Theodor Nöldeke of March 1, 1915, in P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke* (Leiden, 1985), 227. Hereafter, unless given a qualification, all correspondence is epistolary.

3. Victor Ménége to Emeri van Donzel, December 6, 1974. In author’s possession.

of the towering Dutch Arabists and professor at Leiden and the esteemed Dutch publisher's co-owner in the late 1800s, the encyclopedia could have perished stillborn. But with the surreptitious arrangement between the two Dutchmen, the outcome was shaped, for the scholar was methodical and resourceful, the publisher eager and experienced, and the Dutch view of the world not fettered by the weight of an international language—it is difficult to imagine that a British or German publisher would have welcomed an encyclopedia in three separate language editions, which was to be the fate of the first edition.

Those three languages—English, French, German—and, in particular, the cultural attitudes that were harbored in them, would cause no end of trouble, extra work, and tensions, but the prospect of money flowing from as many countries as possible required acceding to these very cultural demons. With no omen of the First World War on the horizon, when Germany—and Germans—would fall out of favor, and with an expectation that the national Academies were rife with funds that they would spend freely on an international project such as the much-needed encyclopedia when published in their own language, another surreptitious agreement was entered into. The ultimate editor of the first edition, also a Dutchman, faced a *fait accompli*; but the unorthodox decision was both better than having to choose one of the three languages to publish in—not to mention far better than a polyglot edition, which was tentatively considered—and more successful in cementing the scholarly loyalty it relied on than had it embraced only one. Yet, the trilingualism of the first edition required an assortment of native or quasi-native speakers of German, English, and French to assist in the editing, and in particular, the translating of articles. As is described in chapter one, this was not always a smooth process. The aggravation of translation persisted with the second edition, although the languages had been reduced to English and French (figs. 1 and 2). Also in contrast, this edition began with three editors, one for each of the encyclopedia languages and a Dutch scholar based in Leiden, continuing the legacy of the Dutch involvement.

After the First World War, scholars from the Central Powers faced a wall of reproach and were barred from conferences and other scholarly ventures until the welcome sign was hung out again in 1926. The encyclopedia was more tolerant—although some Germans involved in the encyclopedia had waved the flag of war in reprehensible fashion, their involvement continued, their contributions requested and published. This tolerance was likely due in large part to the Dutch majority presence, for the Netherlands was neutral in the war, did not suffer as much as other countries, and had ties to Germany that were historically close and lengthy. It is conceivable that the German edition was the most consulted in the Netherlands; this certainly played a role in the conniving after the Second World War of the Dutch editor to re-include German in the second edition. Although he was not successful, it seems to have been less anti-German sentiment that dispatched it than the overriding desire to continue in just one language—English. The attempt to eliminate the French edition was thwarted, however, by heroic posturing by the French editor who pulled the equivalent of Khrushchev banging his shoe on the table.

The first edition was completed in 1936, and when the International Congress of Orientalists resumed meeting after the Second World War, in 1948 in Paris, plans were laid to bring out a second edition of the encyclopedia. The growth of the field of Islamic Studies and the changing world order, especially as the imperialist enterprise neared its end, cried out for an update. The second edition was planned to be only slightly larger than the four-volume first edition, but when it reached four volumes, it was still struggling with the first half of the alphabet. It was finally completed in twelve volumes, in 2004.⁴ A third edition, not treated here, was begun before the ink was even dry—indeed, while the editors of the second edition were still hard at work. Unlike the first two editions, it was initiated by the publisher, driven principally by the spectre of lost income rather than scholarship for scholarship's sake.

The extended service of the preeminent reference work in Islamic Studies demands an overview, but dredging up history can be a fraught enterprise. There might well be anxiety about potential revelations, for the combing of archives has the potential to smudge ensconced reputations. Indeed, there was considerable backbiting in the early years—getting the encyclopedia off the ground and keeping it in the air was a constant worry that did not always bring out the best in people, and being caught up in a world war against former friends and colleagues also had an adverse effect on the finest in one's character. But from the vantage point of at least a hundred years later, reading the testy remarks is more amusing than horrifying, and makes flesh and blood scholars of the names we have consigned to iconic status. As for the encyclopedia's second edition, most of those involved appear to have succumbed mutely to the rote routine of editing, or willfully self-censored when putting irritated thoughts to paper. Fiery words, malicious gossip, and the casting of aspersions are rare. Flashes of spitefulness and disappointment can be spotted in the background or read between the lines, but for the most part the second edition's fifty-five years seem to have passed in harmony, or in a civilized imitation thereof. During my time as editor—in the latter years of the second edition—I remember spoken indictments, of course, and even hurled some myself, but these cannot be footnoted; since this history is not intended as a memoir in which recall and regurgitation are given free rein, oral history is only sporadically relied upon. Even then, I have chosen to exercise discretion by omitting identifying particulars or indelicate details (possible readerly Schadenfreude notwithstanding). Any peccadillos, in any case, rarely transcend the norm for academe—prose too logorrheic, contributors too forgetful of deadlines, scholars too touchy about turf.

The first and second chapters cover the two editions, respectively, in a purely chronological order—chapter one moves from 1892 to 1936, and chapter two from 1948 to 2004. Chapter three treats the publisher, E. J. Brill, and the hugely complex publishing process.

4. The English edition was completed in 2004, the French edition in 2006. Both the first and second editions included a supplement volume; and the second edition added a thirteenth, index volume.

Chapter four discusses the swirling world into which the encyclopedia was thrust. This chapter, which covers the times in which the encyclopedia was proposed and then toiled on, and the external processes that shaped it, is necessarily succinct in its coverage of context. So much has been written on the two world wars and on the large issues of nationalism, colonialism, and orientalism that any collective treatment in a chapter could only be seen as summary. It is hoped that chapter four nevertheless adds an historical dimension to the encyclopedia by treating some of the invisible influential events, without pretending to delve into the isms that have spawned literary genres of their own. The volume ends with three appendices: the first reproduces the sample of lemmata (*Spécimen*) prepared in 1899 to attract contributors and funding bodies to the project; the second is a translation into English of a French booklet written by a disgruntled editorial assistant who was let go in 1909; and the third is a brief history of two supplementary publications, *An Historical Atlas of Islam* and the indexes to the second edition.

Importantly, the encyclopedia was a European product. Americans did become involved—principally through the National Endowment for the Humanities, which was responsible for the luxurious funding it enjoyed for its last thirty years—but its sensibilities and the traditions it held onto were European. The cauldron of languages, the nationalist temperament, the aura of business attended to by venerable gentlemen—all were fundamental to the encyclopedia’s DNA, elevating it and encumbering it at will. To write its history is to bounce back and forth between English, French, German, Dutch, and a smattering of Italian and Spanish. Principal sources for the history of the first edition include: a Dutch dissertation on the first editor; Goldziher’s German diary; De Goeje’s Dutch letters to his friend Nöldeke and Nöldeke’s German letters in return; and the cantankerous booklet in French on the Encyclopedia’s presumed failures noted above. For the second edition, I relied heavily on the encyclopedia’s own archive of letters and reports of meetings, now in my possession, which bring the seminal figures of Sir Hamilton Gibb, Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Joseph Schacht, Charles Pellat, and Edmund Bosworth to life in the full epistolary glory of their native and adopted languages. In addition, the Harvard University Archives has two boxes of Gibb material, including two folders that relate to the encyclopedia, which I was able to consult, and Harvard University has an almost unparalleled library collection.

To impart the historical flavor of the era, I have taken over quotes originally in English verbatim, including typos, errors of grammar, lack of punctuation, and underlinings to indicate emphasis. I have chosen to avoid noting [*sic*] at every turn, so as not to overwhelm the text. When I paraphrase what someone has said or written, I include the original phrasing in a footnote, but otherwise I have translated nearly all quotations from the multiple languages into English. It is therefore merely a mirage that the encyclopedia embraced a lingua franca and that everyone spoke and wrote a fluent English.

Some technical matters: I followed Dutch onomastic conventions, thus M. J. de Goeje but on its own, De Goeje; E. van Donzel but on its own, Van Donzel, and so on. All referenced online sites were last accessed in August 2017, but since “the average life of a Web

page is about a hundred days” I have kept a copy of every webpage I reference.⁵ When citing encyclopedia articles, I have omitted the ligatures. For currencies, I use \$ for the American dollar, £ for the English pound, f for the Dutch guilder, DM for the German mark, and FF for the French franc (and anciens francs up to 1960).⁶ Finally, because I intend this to be as objective a history of the encyclopedia as possible, despite having some irreverent feelings about various matters described, I have chosen to speak of myself in the third person, however jarring that is.

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I am deeply indebted to family, friends, and colleagues for help with this volume, either actively—by giving of their time—or passively—by tolerating my absentminded self and not counting the days, months, and years that were taken up by it. In the first place, I owe my esteemed and treasured fellow editors, Thierry Bianquis, Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, and Wolfhart Heinrichs a large debt of gratitude for their friendship and for the trust they placed in me. I will forever miss our good times together. I am grateful as well to the two French editors, Gérard Lecomte and Charles Pellat, whose lives I briefly shared, for accepting me into the fold although I represented much that raised their hackles, being female, American, and plainspoken. To fill in gaps or shore up my porous memory, I asked much of the far better ones of Hans de Bruijn, Julian Deahl, F. Th. Dijkema, Emeri van Donzel, Simone Nurit, and Roger Savory, and I am very appreciative of their willingness to help and delve deep. For giving freely and sweetly of their time to read drafts, advise, and encourage, I owe much to Daniël van der Zande and to my very good friend Anna Livia Beelaert; for help beyond the call of duty, and for general amenability all around, I am very grateful to Michael Hopper and Arnoud Vrolijk, and their respective libraries at Harvard and Leiden; and for his special brand of enthusiasm, matched with warmth and wisdom, I am beholden to Shawkat Toorawa, whose improvements to the text were always on the mark. Lastly, I thank my publisher and editors for including this volume in RAIS and for miraculously finding a reader who did not mind “pretty much another book in the footnotes.”

Words go only so far in thanking Harrie for his bottomless vat of love, patience, and support. It was a fine day when we met, and the weather has never turned. This work is dedicated to him and to Jule and Dashiell, who without choice but always without complaint came along for the encyclopedia ride.

5. Quote from Jill Lepore, “The Cobweb: Can the Internet Be Archived?” *The New Yorker*, January 26, 2015.

6. Historical rates of conversion or currency worth are notoriously difficult to access. I have consulted various sources—printed and online—and only offer conversions in the footnote for an approximate understanding.

Abbreviations

ACLS	American Council of Learned Societies
BSMES	British Society for Middle Eastern Studies
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
EI2	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition</i>
Elr	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
LUL	Leiden University Library
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

Conclusion

Ever since the publication of its first fascicule in 1908, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* has been an indispensable mine of knowledge, and an undisputed and barely challenged authority. Students and advanced scholars alike turn to it as their first resource. Its articles have provided the germ of many an idea, the origin of many a research project. For many years, it was sui generis and obtainable, or so it seemed, without any effort, ex nihilo. Yet, producing a monumental work such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*—over many decades of inadequate funding, through the efforts of multiple personalities, beset by national and international rivalries exacerbated by two world wars—was no small feat. From the very beginning, the exhilaration and expectations raised in 1892 from Robertson Smith’s proposal to fill a large gap in the field were dampened when he succumbed to a fatal disease soon after. Without the timely reminder by Goldziher two years later, the project might have slid as nothing more than a footnote into the history books. Goldziher’s intervention itself proved to be only nominal, and again the encyclopedia might have derailed but for De Goeje’s taking the reins. Then, almost exclusively by dint of De Goeje’s strong leadership behind the scenes, his acting as liaison with the publisher, and his mentorship of the eventually appointed editor of the first edition, Houtsma, did the encyclopedia plan bear fruit. Snouck Hurgronje, the worthy successor to De Goeje in 1909, secured the much-needed funds to carry the first edition to the finish. Its final years were less arduous, and his death in 1936 coincided with its completion.

The encyclopedia may have been favored by fortune, but it succeeded because it was the brainchild of eminent scholars who recognized and hoped to fill a gaping lacuna in their field of scholarship; because there were in total fourteen editors over the course of more than one hundred years who spent innumerable hours involved in the fundamentals; and because there was a continuous stream of colleagues willing to double down and contribute when asked. This grinding work would have been no less remarkable had it been properly remunerated, but it was not. It is taken for granted that scholars will do all manner of academic work in their nonworking hours as a labor of love.

It is an axiom that success breeds success, and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* serves as proof. It has spawned many spin-offs, the more so once publishers awoke to the pecuniary advantages of churning out reference works. Some, such as *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, were endorsed by the encyclopedia as an institution, while others, such as *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, were personally supported by the editors. Both claim that the “inadequacies” of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* account for their existence (although it is worth noting that the

encyclopedia never intended complete coverage of the Turkish and Iranian civilizations).¹ At play would seem to be “the dialectics of progress” whereby the urge to improve what exists works to one’s advantage over the original, which sets the pace but loses its head start by not adapting.²

There never was much question of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* adapting to changes in the discipline midway through the second edition, however, when so many scholarly perspectives were being revised. Tradition weighed heavily. Some innocuous stylistic alterations took place, in most cases without forethought or even awareness,³ but the grist of the encyclopedia was philological and historical research, and this did not waver. The social sciences, their new methodologies and theoretical approaches, played little role. The contemporary world, with its politics, economics, and cultural institutions, was seen as so much news reporting. The heartland of Islam was the focus; it was the rare occasion when, save for North Africa, the periphery of the Muslim world was remembered and included. The Grey Books, which listed the entries decided upon in the early years, were added to, but nobody really wanted to extend the life of the second edition, which outlived its original estimate by a factor of three, any longer than needed. Like every other informational work, the encyclopedia became obsolescent the minute it appeared; the editors expected that changes to the core philosophy of the work would have to take place with the successor to the second edition.

A successful collaborative enterprise like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, especially when it is ongoing for many decades, needs be marked by the understanding among those involved that the collective is more important than the individual. Irritations and disagreements might flare up, but the strength of the working relationship, impelled by a shared philosophy and sustained during its long years, will pay off in the end. When the shared philosophy is shattered into disparate parts, or when an individual interest gains the upper hand, the enterprise comes under considerable strain. The persistent search for funds, which also affected the second edition until the National Endowment for the Humanities stepped in, was an unabated and constant obstacle for the editors. Letters on

1. Viz., the history of the two encyclopedias at respectively <http://english.isam.org.tr>, under Publications, and the article on *Elr* (Elton L. Daniel), in *Elr*, 8,4:430–32.

2. The Marxist-leaning philosophical theory based on the Dutch expression “wet van de remmende voorsprong” is by the historian Jan Romein, “De dialektiek van de vooruitgang,” *Forum* 4 (1935), 752–77, accessible at www.dbnl.org.

3. For instance, the early volumes of the second edition used the distinguishing spaced letters, a left-over from the first edition—e.g., the entry *Hābīl wa Qābīl* (note absence of hyphen following the *wa-*), “names of the two sons of Adam”; this disappeared once the Germanic influence was no longer in play, as did subtle differences between the French and English editions in, e.g., transliteration of the definite article (Engl. ’l vs Fr. -l). But although by the 1990s none of the editors much liked the clumsy ligatures for *dhāl*, etc., or the *ḵ* for the *q*, all knew that radical changes to the transliteration system were not advised.

the subject of the foraging for money are invariably filled with despair, whether dating from the early or the late decades of the twentieth century. Remuneration for authors, fees for translators, editorial expenses of travel—the costs themselves, but certainly the time and energy spent in finding ways to cover them are invisible in the physical project; it is therefore a source of extra disappointment that the latter years were stained by short-term preoccupation about profit on the part of the publisher.

Sifting through the documentation that reveals the history of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* brings a renewed admiration for all the collaborators, especially for its early pioneers and the hurdles they cleared. Any large scholarly project guarantees intense work, but the grumbles of those involved in the encyclopedia did not stem from the actual work involved so much as from the accruing demands, which brought stress and distress to the creative process. The fact that the editors and contributors knew no better and that there was no recourse does not alter the fact that the aggravation and time lost because of slow-moving post, of the need to make carbon or write out second, third, or more copies of manuscripts and letters for use and recall, of the handwritten manuscripts to decipher, copy, translate, and edit, and of Lilliputian handwritten corrections to disentangle, were a huge burden. As was the fact of the trilingual (later, bilingual) encyclopedia requiring an industry of translation, which might have been a necessary evil but was no less a vexation.⁴ Associates hired to assist the editor in the early years tended to be temporary; if they lasted longer than the norm, this was a double-edged sword, for more often than not their continued employ was a sign that their personalities, and thus their durability, would be a thorn in the editor's side. As was discovered, the engaging of at least three associates in the first decade—Herzsohn, Seligsohn, and Bauer—meant headaches waiting to happen.

As for the second edition, the autonomous nature of the French and English editions—effectively a two-headed editorship—was sometimes its worst headache. Language aside, the French–English relationship was not always smooth. On balance, it seems safe to conclude that the second edition should never have appeared in French. That it did is due to Lévi-Provençal remaining on the editorial board and his insistence that the encyclopedia would otherwise be shunned by French contributors—his bluff should have been called. The French had to absorb the uneven allocation of articles, the far heavier burden of translation, and the indifference of French funding bodies when it came to

4. Rued by Snouck Hurgronje still many years after it was an accepted circumstance. As he wrote to Thomas Arnold in 1910 in connection with the latter taking on the English editing: “Originally only a single edition has been planned. As the grants from France and England were given on the condition of French and English editions being published at the same time as the German, this condition seems to have been accepted in the hope that the difficulties connected with the execution of a plan so differing from what has been considered firstly, would not be so great as experience proved them since to be.” Letter Snouck Hurgronje to Arnold, February 1, 1910. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11.

walk the walk. The French edition fought with misplaced pride a losing battle against the dominance of the English language in scholarship. It ended up being very hard on the process and on the people.

The toil on the encyclopedia—on all collaborative academic enterprises—is a product of a rarely acknowledged ingrained sense of collegial duty in the academic psyche. Far more time than assumed by those outside the profession is spent researching, consolidating, and presenting the most important information in the least amount of words, and far more time than assumed is spent editing them. Without the academic mill of unpaid scholarly effort in advancing the cause of scholarship, those to whom knowledge is important would suffer. As everyone is aware, the irony is that while the university pays the scholar to teach and contribute to the life of the university, while all the while satisfying the demands of research it places on her and on which it derives its reputation, it then is forced to buy back the results of that very work. In fact, without university library sales, the scholarly publisher would not be in business. At the same time, without the scholarly publisher, the scholar would be out of a job, and without the scholar, the university would have to close its gates. Until something in this chain breaks, the academic industry is largely one that feeds upon itself.

The scholarly publisher's business is self-limiting. The more scholarly the work, the more restrictive its sales, yet a popular work will not gain traction within the publisher's channels of distribution and its sales potential will suffer accordingly. E. J. Brill's immediate appreciation of the inchoate encyclopedia in the late nineteenth century is of great interest, and it is unfortunate that we are not privy to the conversations that must have taken place between De Goeje and De Stoppelaar at the onset. A primitive cost analysis seems to have been made in 1895, but given that many important particulars had yet to be worked out—such as the type of encyclopedia, the market it would appeal to, and its planned size—it must have been very provisional. Even the old-fashioned E. J. Brill had to earn a return on its expenses in order to function. Despite its near cornering of the market in Oriental Studies at that time, one wonders how much store was put into making a profit off the encyclopedia versus the genteel nature of doing business and the mission E. J. Brill's publishers understood to be theirs. With good reason, the publisher had agreed only to cover production costs, which until 1989 were minimized by vertical integration, that is, the encyclopedia was typeset and printed by the publisher's own printing operations.⁵ Though much later the income from the encyclopedia comprised such

5. A study of one publisher–printer in Leiden (De Erven Bohn) and the cost of publication in the period 1867–1900 revealed that eight to twelve percent of the total cost of a book was spent on typesetting, twenty to thirty percent on paper, four to eleven percent on printing, thirty to forty percent on authors' honoraria, and “the rest on illustrations, advertising, and the like.” If at all analogous to E. J. Brill, the refusal to pay honoraria resulted in a good-sized saving. Van Lente, “Drukpersen, papiermachines en lezerspubliek,” 259.

a large part of the publishing firm's total annual revenue that the editors in the 1990s were often told that the encyclopedia was "the cork on which the firm was floating," this could not have been assumed one hundred years earlier. Indeed, money was invested—in the person of Herzsohn, who was paid to produce the *Stichwörter*; in printing the *Spécimen*, meant to drum up contributors and editorial funds—for a project that was as yet an idea. Despite the earning potential, which must have been clear to the businessman De Stoppelaar, it is refreshing to think that the mindset in the late nineteenth century was less concerned with prospering on the basis of commercial calculations than producing a valuable resource for the market it sold to. E. J. Brill could not have known how valuable the encyclopedia would become, but by dint of its own resourcefulness and its trust in those who labored to make it happen, it helped carve a place for itself and for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* that is now impossible to erase from history.