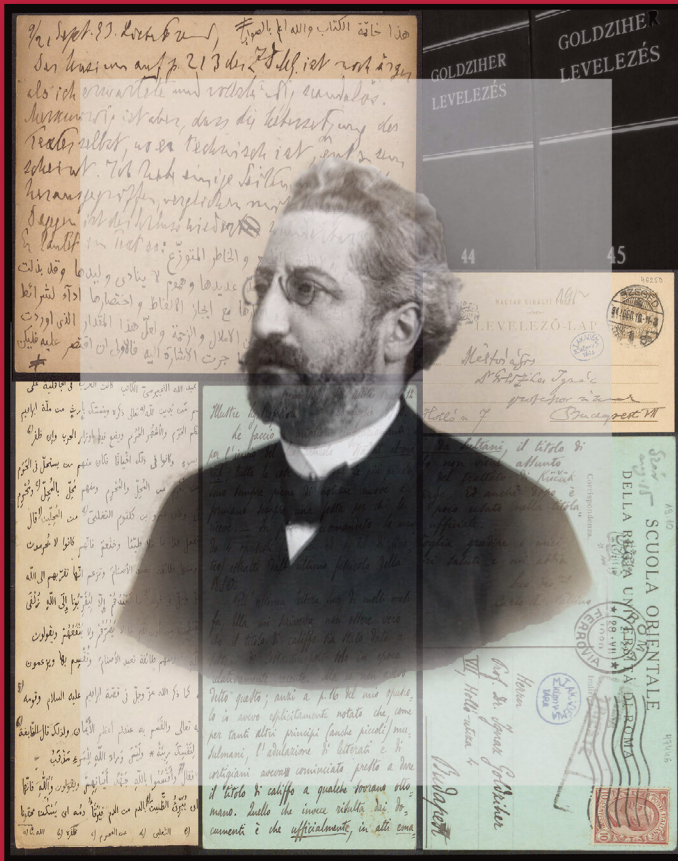


Building Bridges: Ignaz Goldziher and His Correspondents

*Islamic and Jewish Studies
around the Turn of the Twentieth Century*



EDITED BY

HANS-JÜRGEN BECKER, KINGA DÉVÉNYI,
SEBASTIAN GÜNTHER, SABINE SCHMIDTKE

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Scholarly Correspondence: Mapping the DNA of Scholarship. An Introduction

As consumers of scholarship, we are as a rule limited to what has come down to us in published form. But if we want to understand the genetic makeup of the final product—what it was that prompted a scholar to approach a certain topic or problem, how he or she selected and analyzed the material at hand, and what guided him or her throughout the process—we need to get our hands on some of the material that reflects the genesis of the published work. And we have to consider these factors in light of the wider social, political, and intellectual context in which a scholar worked, as well as the relevant material and economic constraints.

Occasionally, some of these questions are addressed in the publications themselves, in the preface, the acknowledgements, the annotations, and other ancillary notes, but whatever is said there has passed through a careful process of filtering, polishing, selecting, and possibly self-censorship. The more authentic raw material is typically found in the discards that were never intended for publication, which may include any kind of working material and notes, such as a reader's margin notes in books, excerpts and study notebooks, reader registers, inventories of personal libraries, and drafts, as well as diaries. With the history of knowledge and knowledge transmission increasingly coming to the forefront of scholarship, some of this material has garnered attention in recent years and has been studied in a systematic manner, as in the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation-funded project “The Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe,” exploring historical reading practices through the lens of manuscript annotations preserved in early printed books.

Another genre that is particularly fruitful in the reconstruction of a scholar's intellectual trajectory is epistolary exchanges. Letters and letter-collections are ubiquitous—we encounter this genre from antiquity until today and in virtually all cultures and languages. Some disciplines, such as medieval and early modern European history, are very advanced in the study and handling of this important historical source, others less so.

Scholarship in the humanities, past and present, appears to be a solitary undertaking as the single-authored publication, be it a monograph or journal article, continues to be the predominant end product. And indeed, creativity and originality in research often flourishes best when the scholar has the

privilege of complete seclusion, at least temporarily, to focus on the material and reflect on its interpretation. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, before photography and microform technology became available and affordable, entertaining a close network of peers was indispensable for gaining access to and circulating knowledge. Scholars were typically limited to their local library, with access perhaps to some other libraries in their immediate vicinity. Travelling from one city or even country to another to visit different libraries and transcribe the manuscripts one needed for one's own research was time-consuming and costly. Especially in a field like Islamic studies, where manuscripts continue to be the bread and butter of virtually all historical research, the limited access a scholar might have had to only a few libraries posed a serious impediment to scholarship. Scholars were often generous and creative in finding ways to assist one another, providing colleagues with excerpts of manuscripts one had access to, checking references for other scholars, or collating one another's work with the manuscripts within one's reach, keeping one another informed about new publications and discoveries, discussing new findings, reading one another's drafts, purchasing books on behalf of others whenever opportunities arose, and, of course, exchanging offprints and publications. These were indispensable work habits for scholars during those days, and most of it took place through the medium of letters.

The scholars involved in "Oriental studies" during the late modern period—European scholars for the most part but also some who were based outside Europe—constituted a veritable Republic of Letters. The material that has come down to us is voluminous. The relevant holding institutions increasingly understand the value of the treasures they possess, and the preparation of detailed inventories and digitization of entire corpora of correspondence is on the rise.

When Ignaz Goldziher, the doyen of Arabic and Islamic, as well as Jewish, studies during his lifetime, passed away on 13 November 1921, he left behind a corpus of scientific correspondence consisting of more than 13,500 letters from about 1,650 persons, in eleven languages (German, Hungarian, French, English, Hebrew, Arabic, Italian, Spanish, Persian, Yiddish, and Russian). His *Nachlass*, including the letters as well as his hand-written notes and works, was bequeathed to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The corpus, which is freely accessible in its entirety in digital form, constitutes the single most important source on the history of Arabic, Jewish, and Islamic studies and cognate fields during Goldziher's time. Selected portions of the Goldziher correspondence are available in critical editions, while other portions have been consulted for studies on the history of the field, but the bulk of the material has as yet remained untapped. In November 2021, the editors of this volume convened an

international online conference, “Islamic and Jewish Studies around the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Ignaz Goldziher and his Correspondents,” focusing on the correspondence between Ignaz Goldziher and colleagues from different countries preserved in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and elsewhere, addressing aspects of the history of the discipline as seen through the letters. Some of the papers that were delivered on this occasion are included in this volume, in addition to other pertinent studies that were invited after the conference.

Camilla Adang’s “In vollkommener Verehrung’: Israel Friedlaender’s letters to Goldziher” examines, in a fascinatingly vivid manner, the academic exchange between Goldziher and his younger colleague and admirer, Israel Friedlaender (1876–1920). The study is based on thirty-three letters and postcards that Friedlaender sent Goldziher between 1901 and 1920. Friedlaender, a Semitic studies scholar (he had received much of his training in Strasbourg, under the supervision of Theodor Nöldeke), shared with Goldziher a passion for Jewish-Arabic studies. As is evident in the letters studied, he consulted him more than once on issues in classical Arabic-Islamic intellectual culture, including the early history of the Shī’a and Maimonides’ use of Arabic sources. Adang’s article also reveals the great joy Friedlaender seems to have felt when dealing with questions in Arabic studies and related fields of Judaica, whereas his ‘official discipline’ was Bible studies (from 1903, when he was appointed Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, a position he held until he was killed in 1920, at the age of 44, in Ukraine, on a mission for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, in an attempt to help starving Jews in Poland and Ukraine). Against the general background of events in Friedlaender’s active life, with its manifold scholarly and humanitarian commitments, Adang’s study particularly highlights the great respect that Friedlaender held for Goldziher as a mentor and colleague. However, it also shows Friedlaender’s frustration with the lack of an inspiring intellectual environment at his workplace, the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and his somewhat limited scholarly output.

In her paper, **Kinga Dévényi** analyzes the correspondence between Ignaz Goldziher and Duncan B. Macdonald (1863–1943), the founder of the first school in the U.S. devoted to Christian missionary work in the Middle East, who considered Goldziher his unrivalled master, whose influence he acknowledged without reservation. The paper traces the connection between the two scholars from their first exchange of publications, through critical remarks well-received on both sides, to intimate disclosures on difficult periods. Goldziher was very attentive to the needs of his diverse students. This predisposition for passing on knowledge met with Macdonald’s need of a mentor, as is clearly expressed in the letters, which provide a true imprint of their relationship. The

correspondence is unique not only because Macdonald is among the most frequent of Goldziher's correspondents but also because it contains Goldziher's letters as well.

Livnat Holtzman and **Miriam Ovardia's** "Ignaz Goldziher: The Founding Father of Gesture Studies in Arabic and Islamic Studies" focuses on "Ueber Geberden und Zeichensprache bei den Arabern" (Gestures and Sign Language among the Arabs), a short article published in 1886. With this publication, Goldziher was the first modern scholar to observe that the literature of Islamic prophetic traditions includes abundant information about the physical gestures transmitters of *ḥadīth* used to support their verbal teachings. Goldziher continued to pursue this subject in several more articles on the gestures and sign language used among Arabs. However, he stood virtually alone with this research in his own time and for several generations of scholars in Arabic and Islamic studies, as well as in Jewish studies. Through their close examination of Goldziher's pioneering insights on gestures in Arab culture and their reception in the scholarly circles of his time, Holtzman and Ovardia reveal the complexity of the topics Goldziher researched, his creative reading of the Arabic sources, and his lasting contribution to modern gesture studies.

Amit Levy writes on "Rediscovering the Goldziher Legacy in Jerusalem: Religion, Language, and History in the Making of a Hebrew University." As is well known, after Goldziher's death, his library was purchased and brought to Jerusalem, where it formed the basis for the Oriental Department of the National and University Library. But Goldziher also had a direct influence on the emerging university through a 1919 letter outlining his vision for a Hebrew university, which he wrote at the request of its organizing committee. In it, he recommends the establishment of five departments in addition to those usually found in European universities: Semitic Religions, Oriental Languages, Archaeology of the Holy Land, Jewish History, and Jewish Literature. Levy examines Goldziher's reasoning, the problematics of his proposals, and their impact, addressing core issues that were later debated again and again. He also describes how scholars of Arabic and Islamic studies associated with Goldziher and his legacy for decades by translating his works into Hebrew.

Dóra Pataricza and **Máté Hidvégi**, in their contribution entitled "On *The Kiss*: An Early Piece of Correspondence between Ignaz Goldziher and Immanuel Löw," analyze a postcard written by Goldziher to Immanuel Löw, shedding new light on the circumstances under which the first version of this important folkloristic study by Löw was written. A close friend of Goldziher, Immanuel Löw (1854–1944), the Chief Rabbi of Szeged, Hungary, was one of his time's most significant Neolog (progressive) rabbis and scholars. He was not only outstanding as a rabbi but also as an academic in various fields. The article also

establishes the milieu in which Goldziher was working on one of his most important studies (*Die Zâhiriten*) during the summer of 1882, when he received a copy of *The Kiss*.

Christoph Rauch's paper deals with a difficult topic, as is apparent already from its title: "A Complicated Relationship: Carlo Landberg's Friendship with Ignaz Goldziher—Between Ambition and Anti-Semitism." The article presents some aspects of the Swedish Arabist and independent scholar Carlo Landberg's (1848–1924) multifaceted life and activities, based on hitherto unstudied sources. The author traces the friendship between Landberg and Goldziher, from their first meeting in Damascus in 1872, through many important shared events, until Landberg's last postcard in 1921, announcing the publication of the first volume of his *Glossaire datinois*, which Goldziher had encouraged as a capstone to Landberg's scholarly work. The resulting portrait is especially interesting for the history of scholarship, since Landberg stood outside academic institutions.

Valentina Sagaria Rossi's paper, entitled "*Arabicae Investigationes* in the Correspondence between Carlo Alfonso Nallino and Ignaz Goldziher, 1893 through 1920," sheds light on a hitherto understudied aspect of Goldziher's correspondence, i.e., the letters exchanged with his Italian colleagues. Carlo A. Nallino (1872–1938) was an emblematic figure of Arabic studies in Italy and long-time chair of Muslim History and Institutions at Rome's La Sapienza University, and his diverse interests and engagements make their correspondence highly important for the history of the field. This is especially so because none of Nallino's correspondence has been edited so far and because Goldziher's letters to him were also preserved. After a detailed presentation of Nallino's life and scholarly achievements, the paper contains an edition of the correspondence, with an in-depth study of its contents and the differences and similarities between the two scholars.

Sabine Schmidtke discusses in her paper "Ignaz Goldziher, Walter Gottschalk, and the *Kitāb al-Aymān* by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Najīramī" Goldziher's and Walter Gottschalk's (1891–1974) correspondence both before and after World War I, revolving around Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Najīramī's (fl. fourth/tenth-century) *Kitāb al-Aymān* and Goldziher's editorial work on the text, which was never published. The study concludes with a sketch of Gottschalk's scholarly career after World War I, when he served as librarian at Berlin State Library and from 1935, when he was ousted from his position and eventually had to flee Germany.

Jan Thiele's "Publishing Ibn Tūmart's 'Book' in Colonial Algeria" studies the correspondence Ignaz Goldziher received between 1901 and 1903 while he was writing an introduction of some 100 pages to *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Tou-*

mert, Mahdi des Almohades (published 1903 in Algiers). This first critical edition of the political-religious writings attributed to Ibn Tūmart (d. 1130), the founder and messianic figure of the Almohad empire, was prepared by Jean-Dominique Luciani (1851–1932), a French Orientalist and member of the French colonial administration in Algeria. Luciani's letters to Goldziher, as well as those from two other French Orientalists, Edmond Doutté (1857–1926) and Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1862–1957), who had been commissioned to translate Goldziher's introduction to this edition from German into French, reveal two important aspects: first, the prestige Goldziher enjoyed in his time as an authority on Almohad history, and second, the constructive dynamics and eventual success of this international academic joint venture early in the 20th century.

Samuel Thrope describes in his "The Goldziher Collection at the National Library of Israel" this collection, with its wide variety of printed books, journals, and manuscripts, many of them annotated by Goldziher's own hand. He traces how this collection ended up in possession of the Zionist Organization and became one of the building blocks of the nascent Hebrew University, despite efforts of many other interested parties worldwide. The archives show that, contrary to what one might assume, it was not the mediation work of Jerusalem-born Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Goldziher's protégé and friend of his family, that tipped the scales, but the persevering efforts of Israel Cohen, the then-general secretary of the Zionist Organization in London. The nearly 6,000 volumes represented a massive addition to the Jerusalem library's holdings and had a decisive influence on the further development of its Islamic collection.

Tamás Turán in his essay "Goldziher and Jewish Scholarship in Light of His Correspondence with Immanuel Löw and Michael Guttman," documents and exemplifies how Goldziher, through questions, encouragement, and feedback, stimulated the work and research of his meritorious and renowned Hungarian friends Immanuel Löw (1854–1944) and (former disciple) Michael Guttman (1872–1942), in the field of Judaic studies. Services were reciprocal: In the extensive correspondence with Löw, many questions of comparative Semitic philology are discussed, while Guttman's letters contain detailed scholarly information on Jewish religious and folkloristic parallels to Islam. Goldziher's strong comparative interest and curiosity about Jewish scholars are evident here, even though he increasingly instrumentalized Jewish scholarship and put it at the service of his Islamic studies. At the same time, his policy of using comparatist findings remained complex and elusive.

Maxim Yosefi's paper, "Friend, Teacher, "Shaykh": Goldziher and the Founders of Islamic Studies in St. Petersburg," explores the scholarly and personal connections that linked Ignaz Goldziher to three generations of pioneers in

Islamic studies in St. Petersburg. It examines the unique aspects of Goldziher's correspondence with Baron Viktor von Rosen (1849–1908), Alexander von Schmidt (1871–1939), and Ignaty Kratchkovsky (1883–1951). This is complemented with recollections of these scholars as recounted by their contemporaries and disciples. Through this approach, the paper achieves two main objectives: First, it sheds light on the significant contributions of the renowned Hungarian scholar to the establishment of Islamic studies in Russia, as well as the support provided by scholars in St. Petersburg to Goldziher's work and what became his intellectual legacy. Second, it situates the development of Arabic and Islamic studies in St. Petersburg within the broader context of the Western European tradition in these fields.

Dora Zsom's "Goldziher as a Master: The Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Martin Schreiner" deals with Goldziher's amazing patience with and forgiveness of his disciple, while Schreiner (1863–1926) in his 150 letters repeatedly attacked him or wrote in a confrontational manner. Apparently, Goldziher did not take offense. This seems to contradict the passionate, resentful, and often contemptuous outbursts recorded in Goldziher's diary, which gives the impression of a quick-tempered person, swift to take offense and slow to forgive. But his diary shows marked similarity to Schreiner's letters, in that they frequently voice scorn for his colleagues. Schreiner's admiration for Goldziher was beyond question, and he expressed his affection and loyalty again and again, sometimes in exaggerated terms, while Goldziher, who, with his own lack of self-confidence, was himself in need of recognition and approval, nevertheless tolerated Schreiner's occasional confrontations, no matter how ill-tempered they were.

The volume concludes with a bibliographical guide to Goldziher's published correspondence, prepared by **Kinga Dévényi** and **Sabine Schmidtke**. The publication and analysis of Goldziher's correspondence is an ongoing project to which the bibliographical guide provides just a "snapshot" to assist researchers in finding the gaps yet to be filled. Another version of this bibliographical guide, which is continuously being updated, is accessible via <https://doi.org/10.48706/XSDD-CQ10>.



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We hope that the present volume will serve as an impetus and encouragement for further studies into the rich holdings of the Oriental Collection in Budapest.

Hans-Jürgen Becker

Kinga Dévényi

Sebastian Günther

Sabine Schmidtke

“In vollkommener Verehrung”: Israel Friedlaender’s Letters to Goldziher

Camilla Adang

The present contribution deals with the letters sent to Ignaz Goldziher by his younger colleague Israel Friedlaender, who shared Goldziher’s passion for Jewish Arabic studies. Friedlaender was born on 8 September 1876 in Włodawa, a small town in Poland (“Russisch-Polen”), and raised in the Praga suburb of Warsaw. Since Jews were barred from attending public schools, he received his education in Hebrew and Jewish topics at the local Cheder and on secular topics at home, from private teachers. In 1896 he moved to Berlin to study at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität as well as at the Hildesheimer Rabbiner Seminar für das orthodoxe Judentum.¹ In addition, he attended classes at the Ephraim Veitel-Heine Stiftung. Four years later we find him at the Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität in Strasbourg, pursuing his studies in Semitics, in the widest sense, under Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930).² It would seem that it was Nöldeke, who was on excellent terms with Goldziher, who first encouraged Friedlaender to write to him in Budapest, and it was Goldziher who suggested the topic of Friedlaender’s dissertation. The Oriental Collection of the Library

¹ He was never ordained a Rabbi.

² Autobiographical details are supplied by Friedlaender in the Vita at the end of his dissertation (see note 5) and in a nine-page document that forms part of the Friedlaender Papers kept at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York (ARC. 39, Box 8). Both include lists of his teachers at the different institutions he attended. In the JTS document Friedlaender moreover describes his readings, his early publications, and plans for future research. I thank Sabine Schmidtke for providing me with digital images of this important document, which was also used by Baila Round Shargel for her detailed biography of Friedlaender entitled *Practical Dreamer. Israel Friedlaender and the Shaping of American Judaism*, New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1985. Shargel has not used the letters presented here. Additional information on Friedlaender’s life, scholarship and activism may be found in Kohn, Jacob, “Israel Friedlaender. A Biographical Sketch,” in *American Jewish Yearbook* 23 (1921), 65–79; Cohen, Boaz, *Israel Friedlaender. A Bibliography of His Writings With An Appreciation*, New York: Moinester, 1936; Marx, Alexander, “Israel Friedlaender the Scholar,” in *idem, Essays in Jewish Biography*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 5708/1947, 280–298, and Graff, Gil, “Jewish Education, Past and Present: Israel Friedlaender Revisited,” in *Journal of Jewish Education* 82, no. 4 (2016), 311–328.

of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences includes 34 pieces of correspondence sent by Friedlaender to Goldziher between 1901 and 1920.³ Unfortunately, we possess only some letters sent to him by Goldziher, but the contents of the ones that have not come down to us can, to a large extent, be reconstructed from Friedlaender's comments. Friedlaender did not write often, and not always in great detail, for he felt that he should only write to Goldziher if he truly had something to report. On scholarly matters, that is, for there was actually quite a lot going on in his life when, after his move to New York in 1903, he had thrown in his lot with the Zionist movement, on whose behalf he traveled throughout the United States to address public gatherings. By all accounts, he was a passionate speaker. It was on a mission for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee that he traveled to Ukraine where he was killed, aged 44, together with his companion, Rabbi Bernard Cantor. The circumstances of their assassination are unclear and are the topic of various theories.⁴ Friedlaender rarely wrote to Goldziher about this aspect of his deep commitment to Judaism, and he jealously separated his scholarly life from his activism. In this contribution I shall provide a summary of the contents of Friedlaender's letters, which I paraphrase without including the detailed philological issues. A fully annotated edition of the Friedlaender-Goldziher correspondence, with additional letters by Theodor Nöldeke, is currently being prepared by Sabine Schmidtke and myself. A sample of Friedlaender's at times challenging handwriting may be found in the Appendix.⁵

1. The first of Friedlaender's letters to Goldziher in the Budapest archive was sent from Strasbourg and is dated 19 December 1901.⁶ The fact that he does not introduce himself may indicate that he had already written to Goldziher before. The letter accompanies the first part of Friedlaender's doctoral dissertation entitled *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*, with numerous references to Goldziher, which he hopes the latter will regard as an expression of his gratitude for the enjoyment and inspiration he derived from his works.⁷ Friedlaender also uses the opportunity to consult Goldziher about the putative her-

3 In fact, there are 34 items: The wedding invitation that was enclosed in letter no. 12 is listed separately in the catalogue and has its own call number; see note 35.

4 See Shargel, *Practical Dreamer* 34–35; Beizer, Michael, "Who Murdered Professor Israel Friedlaender and Rabbi Bernard Cantor: The Truth Rediscovered," in *The American Jewish Archives Journal* 55, no. 1 (2003), 63–114.

5 I should like to thank Mrs. Angela Ballaschk (Berlin) for her first transcription of Friedlaender's letters.

6 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Strasbourg, 19 December 1901, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/03.

7 Friedlaender, Srul (Israel), *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides, ein Lexikalischer und Grammatischer Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Mittelarabischen. 1: Lexikalischer Teil, Erste Hälfte*

esiarch ‘Abd Allāh b. Saba’, and asks him to recommend a work about the early Shī‘a.⁸ He adds that he has of course read Goldziher’s article on the literary history of the Shī‘a.⁹ He has consulted the classical Arabic sources, including the Leiden manuscript of Ibn Ḥazm—the reference is to *Kitāb al-Fiṣal* (or *Faṣl*) by the Andalusī polymath Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Ḥazm of Cordoba (d. 1064 CE).¹⁰ This does not mean that Friedlaender went to Leiden in person to consult the manuscript, as Goldziher had done before him, in 1871: From a later publication, which I shall refer to below, we understand that the Leiden manuscript, as well as a manuscript from Vienna, was actually sent to Friedlaender in Strasbourg.¹¹ Although this is nowadays inconceivable, it was quite common practice in the late 19th, early 20th centuries for libraries or manuscript collections to dispatch some of their holdings to reputable scholars. Thus the Hungarian Orientalist Martin Schreiner (1863–1926), a direct student of Goldziher, ordered and was supplied with manuscripts from the Oriental Collections at Leiden University. He also received a number of manuscripts from the Landberg collection through the mediation of Goldziher.¹²

(ص - ا). Als Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde eingereicht bei der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität zu Strassburg, Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1901. Friedlaender refers, among other works, to Goldziher’s “Das arabische Original von Maimuni’s Sêfer Hammiṣewôt,” in *WZKM* 3 (1889), 77–85. Goldziher had mentioned the dissertation in a letter to Nöldeke, who scribbles in the corner of the postcard he sent on 28 December 1901: “Dass Friedländer’s Schrift Ihnen gefällt, freut mich sehr. Fr. ist ein sehr tüchtiger Mensch,” Nöldeke, Theodor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Strasbourg, 28 December 1901, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/32/01/117; reproduced in Simon, Róbert, *Ignác Goldziher. His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences / Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986, 244.

8 Friedlaender’s lasting interest in ‘Abd Allāh b. Saba’ was to result in a lengthy study that will be referred to below, n. 62. For a critical assessment of Friedlaender’s views, see Anthony, Sean W., *The Caliph and the Heretic. Ibn Saba’ and the Origins of Shī‘ism*, Leiden: Brill, 2012.

9 The reference is to Goldziher’s “Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī‘a und der sunnischen Polemik,” in *Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 78 (1874), 439–524, reprinted in Goldziher’s *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, ed. Joseph Desomogyi (Hildesheim: Olms, 1967–1973), 261–346.

10 See on him Adang, Camilla, Maribel Fierro, and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba. The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker*, Leiden: Brill, 2013.

11 See Friedlaender, Israel, “The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm. Introduction,” in *JAOS* 28 (1907), 23: “The first manuscripts I was able to peruse were those of Leyden and Vienna, which by the courtesy of the respective libraries were sent to me at Strasbourg (Germany), where I lived at the time.”

12 See Sabine Schmidtke’s forthcoming monograph *Martin Schreiner between Islamic Studies and Wissenschaft des Judentums. Reconstructing His Scholarly Biography*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2024.

2. Goldziher obviously replied to Friedlaender in great detail, with many comments on his work on Maimonides, for in the second letter, of 7 January 1902, also sent from Strasbourg, Friedlaender thanks him profusely for the wealth of information Goldziher provided, which he hopes to be able to include in the second part of his book.¹³ Goldziher clearly also addressed Friedlaender's queries about Ibn Saba' and the Saba'iyya. Friedlaender concurs with him that the information in the sources is confused, and adds that only some details in the *Bayān* of al-Jāhīz (d. 868 CE) come across as reliable. He has found a somewhat shorter version of this information in the relevant chapter in Ibn Ḥazm. Friedlaender writes that he has finished copying out this entire chapter—apparently from the Leiden and Vienna manuscripts of Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal*—nevertheless he gratefully accepts Goldziher's generous offer to send him his personal transcript ("Abschrift"), promising to return it to him immediately after collating it, hoping that it is not an imposition.

3. From the third, short letter, sent slightly over a week later, we understand that Goldziher kept his promise and sent his transcript of the relevant passages from the *Fiṣal* to Friedlaender.¹⁴ In the accompanying letter, Goldziher had inquired about the second part of Friedlaender's *Sprachgebrauch des*

13 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Strasbourg, 7 January 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/05. This second part never materialized.

14 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Strasbourg, 16 January 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/04. The Oriental Collection at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has an Abschrift, but this is not the one that was seen by Friedlaender; the latter mentions sections on Shī'ism, whereas this text mainly contains fragments in which Ibn Ḥazm polemicizes against theologians of the Ash'arī school. The text that Goldziher made available to him was based on two manuscripts that were in possession of his good friend Count Carlo von Landberg (1848–1924). As Friedlaender writes in the first part of his "Heterodoxies of the Shiites" (24): "[...] Professor Goldziher with characteristic kindness offered me his copy of this chapter made by him in 1878 from two twin manuscripts belonging to Count Landberg one of which is now in the possession of the library of Yale University." If Friedlaender's date is correct, it is strange that Landberg should write to Goldziher in 1892: "Von الملل الخ الس ابن حزم habe ich zwei sehr schöne und gute Exemplare." See Landberg, Carlo von, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Tutzing, 20 June 1892, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/037. On Goldziher's friendship with Landberg and his regular visits to Schloss Tutzing in Bavaria, see Hopkins, Simon, "The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher," in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000, Budapest, Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 121–122; see also Christoph Rauch's contribution to the present volume. Goldziher provides lively descriptions of his visits to Tutzing in his *Tagebuch* (ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 175–182, 192–194. In his entry of 18 August 1895 (*Tagebuch* 193) he mentions having worked with "die prachtvollen Ibn Hazm-Handschriften" in Landberg's library.

Maimonides. Friedlaender replies that he had started to work on it from the moment the first part was finished, and that he expects to complete it in the following week. He had not been able to deal with lacunae that had apparently been pointed out by Goldziher, and promises to send him the study immediately upon its completion.

4. On 18 February 1902 Friedlaender returns Goldziher's transcript from Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal* to him, with repeated thanks.¹⁵ He writes that the manuscripts that were collated by Goldziher seem to go back to a different, shorter recension than the one he has been using himself, and that they add clarity to the text of the Leiden manuscript. On many points the details encountered in Ibn Ḥazm's text offer interesting deviations from what is found elsewhere, and it should be rewarding to carry out a more elaborate comparison, he says. Perhaps he will expand and revise his work on the Saba'iyya in light of this fact. Friedlaender attaches a now complete draft of his study on Maimonides' use of Arabic, and promises to add the additions and corrections so kindly sent by Goldziher in the second part. Unfortunately, he has to postpone work on the grammatical material for now, as he is otherwise occupied, but he will come back to it as soon as possible.

5. About six months later, on 8 August 1902, Friedlaender informs Goldziher that he passed his “Habilitation” at the University of Strasbourg, with a lecture on “Muhammedanische Geschichtsconstructionen” and a thesis entitled “Der Schiitismus in der Darstellung Ibn Hazm's.”¹⁶ (He is 26 years old at the time.) The latter work includes, besides an edition of the chapter on Shī'ism from Ibn Ḥazm's work and additional passages concerning Shī'ism from the same tract that served as the basis for the thesis, an elaborate introduction, detailed notes about events and persons mentioned in the text, as well as a lengthy excursus, in the Appendix, about the mythological figure of al-Khiḍr, on which he found interesting material in Ibn Ḥazm.¹⁷ He regrets not having been able to include all his findings, as he was eager to finish with the Habilitation for personal reasons. Thus, he has not been able at this point to add an appendix dealing

15 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Strasbourg, 18 February 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/06.

16 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Strasbourg, 8 August 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/07. While his lecture was eventually published (see below), I have not been able to access his thesis.

17 On Khiḍr, variously spelled by Friedlaender as Chiḍr, Chaḍir, or Chadhir see Franke, Patrick, *Begegnung mit Khidr. Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam*, Beirut: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 2000, and the entry “Khiḍr” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE by the same author. Franke has made ample use of Friedlaender's publications on Khiḍr.

with the Saba'iyya. Concerning Khiḍr he shares a number of his conclusions with Goldziher that even Nöldeke, "der alte Skeptiker," as he calls himself, finds acceptable. Once again he has realized the enormous contribution that Jewish literature can make to the study of Islam. Friedlaender writes that in the introduction of his work he has duly acknowledged his indebtedness to Goldziher: It is, after all, thanks to the fact that he sent the author his collation of the Ibn Ḥazm manuscripts that the Habilitationsschrift came into being at all. As a token of his gratitude, Friedlaender encloses a copy of the text of the lecture he gave as part of the Habilitation procedure, though adding that it will probably be of no academic value to Goldziher. This self-effacing tone is characteristic of his letters.

6. On 22 August 1902 Friedlaender writes that he had not expected that Goldziher would judge his *Vorlesung* so favourably, especially since it had no academic pretensions whatsoever.¹⁸ He is especially happy that his views on Islam, with which he has only recently started to occupy himself, were on the whole acceptable to Goldziher. The extent to which Friedlaender has been influenced by Goldziher's works is plain to see, he says, even without specific references, and it is therefore more than a mere coincidence that at the beginning of his studies he turned to the topic that had already occupied him, Goldziher, thirty years earlier. He will incorporate Goldziher's comments. In his letter Goldziher had encouraged Friedlaender to publish his lecture, but although he is flattered, Friedlaender declines, as he is of the opinion that a young person, especially a young Jewish person, should show circumspection, this not just being a matter of propriety but also of wisdom. He does not exclude the possibility of making up for it on some future occasion, however. The remainder of the letter deals with Friedlaender's work in progress on Ibn Saba' and Khiḍr, both of which still require further study and revision, although he takes the liberty of sending Goldziher a summary of his findings on Khiḍr, hoping that it will not take up too much of his precious time. The manuscript includes handwritten comments by Nöldeke as well as by Professor Landauer,¹⁹ who acts as a second referee. Nöldeke had only been able to take a cursory look at this study, but will examine it more closely later on. Friedlaender would be delighted and honored finally to meet Goldziher in Hamburg and to hear his views on his work. In a postscript, Friedlaender adds that A.S. Yahuda—another student of Nöldeke's—told him in Strasbourg of his intention to edit the work of Baḥya b.

18 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Berlin, 22 August 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/08.

19 Samuel Landauer (1846–1937) taught Oriental languages at the University of Strasbourg from 1875.

Paqūda. Friedlaender is sorry that someone beat him to it, as this is a project that he had been wanting to undertake since the very beginning of his studies, but he is glad that it is Yahuda who beat him to it, for he is supremely qualified to complete an edition of such importance.²⁰

7. On 3 May 1903 Friedlaender thanks Goldziher for sending him a copy of his positive review of his Maimonides book.²¹ It would fully make up for the petty and grumbling review by Seybold—if he were not indifferent to it to begin with.²² Shortly after assuming a lectureship at the University of Strasbourg and delivering his inaugural lecture entitled “Die Messiasidee im Islam,” Friedlaender had thought of copying the text out for Goldziher, but he refrained from doing so because the paper’s inclusion in the “Jubelschrift” for Dr. Berliner meant that he had to hand over his typescript. Moreover, he had been promised that offprints would soon be made available. So far, this has not happened, so that he was deprived of the opportunity to send Goldziher another token of his gratitude. However, as he tells Goldziher, the entire volume will be published in the next two weeks, giving him a much more convenient occasion to read the lecture.²³ Friedlaender mentions that he has not been able to produce much because he has been overworked. After a vacation he now feels better, and plans to rework his study on Khidr, taking due account of Goldziher’s comments. After that, he wants to prepare his Habilschrift for publication, but for that he would need to collate the London manuscript of Ibn Ḥazm’s work, since in the manuscripts he had been able to consult up to that point the proper names are in part badly distorted. However, he cannot count on his British colleagues: Margoliouth is too busy and he does not want to turn to Hirschfeld “aus einem bestimmten Grund.”²⁴ This reason remains unexplained, but in all like-

20 On A.S. (Abraham Shalom) Yahuda (1877–1951) and his edition of *al-Hidāya ilā farāʾiḍ al-qulūb*, often referred to as *Duties of the Hearts* by the Andalusī Jewish philosopher Baḥya b. Paqūda (c. 1050–1120), see Yazaki, Saeko, “Muslim-Jewish Relations in the *Duties of Hearts*: A.S. Yahuda and His Study of Judaism,” in Josef Meri (ed.), *Jewish-Muslim Relations in Past and Present: A Kaleidoscopic View*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 137–161.

21 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Strasbourg, 3 May 1903, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/09. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find this review. What is meant here is perhaps Marx’ positive review, which appeared in *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung* 4 (1903), 165–167 and in the course of which Goldziher is frequently mentioned.

22 For C.F. Seybold’s review, see *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland* 54, no. 14 (1903), 487–488.

23 Friedlaender, Israel, “Die Messiasidee im Islam,” in A. Freimann and M. Hildesheimer (eds.), *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag A. Berliner’s*, Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1903, 116–130. An English version was published in Friedlaender, Israel, *Past and Present. A Collection of Jewish Essays*, Cincinnati: Ark Publishers, 1919, 139–158 under the title “The Messianic Idea in Islam.”

24 Hartwig Hirschfeld (1854–1934) was another student of Nöldeke’s in Strasbourg, where he

lihood has to do with Hirschfeld's less than flattering review of Friedlaender's Maimonides book, a slightly revised version of his dissertation.²⁵ Afterwards he hopes to be able to dedicate himself academically to Judaism, which he is now also seeking to serve in various practical ways, on which he does not elaborate. Friedlaender writes that he has not heard from Yahuda for a long time. He had been in Strasbourg earlier and had shown Friedlaender the impressive results of his research on Ibn Paqūda's *Farā'id al-qulūb* and told him that in the summer semester he plans to submit a section from the work as his doctoral dissertation.²⁶ Friedlaender adds that he finds it regrettable that during his studies Yahuda had not taken sufficient advantage of the university in Strasbourg and that he had left Nöldeke. He expresses his disapproval with a reference, in Hebrew, to the Book of Jeremiah, 2:13, which in full reads "For my people have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed out cisterns for themselves, broken cisterns that can hold no water."

8. In the meantime, eminent Jewish Studies scholar Solomon Schechter (of Cairo Geniza fame) had invited Friedlaender to take up a professorial position at the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in New York, of which he had been appointed chancellor a year earlier, having left Cambridge.²⁷ From Eugen Mittwoch²⁸ Friedlaender learned that Goldziher is aware of the negotiations, and

received his doctorate in 1878. Like Friedlaender's, his research focused on Jewish Arabic literature, but he also made important contributions to Qur'anic studies. Most of his scholarly career was spent in London, which is where Friedlaender would have met him. See the brief "Obituary Notice Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld" by M. Gaster in *JRAS* 67/1 (1935), 229–230. George Margoliouth (1853–1924) was a Polish-born, German-educated scholar of Semitic Studies who worked at the Department of Oriental Books and MSS. of the British Museum, where he prepared catalogues of Hebrew and Samaritan, as well as Syriac and Karshuni manuscripts. He regularly published in the *JQR* on topics as diverse as Kabbalah, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the exilarchate and gaonate, and Yemenite Jewish liturgy, making use of Geniza fragments, and wrote an introduction to J.M. Rodwell's translation of the Qur'an. It may be assumed that Friedlaender would be in regular contact with him during his repeated visits to the British Museum.

25 It was published under the title *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides. Ein lexikalischer und grammatischer Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Mittelarabischen. I. Lexikalischer Teil* (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1902). For Hirschfeld's review, see *ZDMG* 57 (1903), 402–405.

26 Yahuda's edition was eventually published as *Al-Hidāja 'ilā farā'id al-qulūb des Bachja ibn Jōsēf ibn Paqūda aus Andalusien*. Im arabischen Urtext zum ersten Male nach der Oxforder und Pariser Handschrift sowie den Petersburger Fragmenten herausgegeben. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1912. Yahuda dedicated the edition to Goldziher.

27 The classic biography on Schechter (1847–1915) is *Solomon Schechter. A Biography* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1938) by Friedlaender's brother-in-law Norman Bentwich. For a more recent appreciation, see Thulin, Mirjam, "Wissenschaft and correspondence: Solomon Schechter between Europe and America," in *Jewish Historical Studies* 48, no. 1 (2017), 109–137.

28 On Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942), see Schmidtke, Sabine, "The Library of Eugen Mittwoch

in his letter of 12 July 1903²⁹ he turns to him with a request for a recommendation, since Schechter wants to gather as many letters as possible in order to have a strong file to present to the body that has to ratify Friedlaender’s appointment.³⁰ He hopes that in light of Goldziher’s positive view of his work he will agree to write in his support. Finally, he expresses his regret that a turn of fate has prevented them from meeting in person. He hopes that they will have an opportunity to meet before Friedlaender’s move to America, via England.

9. That the matter of the recommendation was urgent is also shown by the telegram that Friedlaender sent to Goldziher on the same day from the Hotel Continental in Berlin.³¹

10. Goldziher must have acted forthwith, for on 16 July, that is, a mere three days after his request, Friedlaender writes to Goldziher thanking him for the recommendation he sent.³² It has had its desired effect and will no doubt contribute to securing and strengthening his position in the New World. He is not so presumptuous as to believe that he is worthy of it, but, he says, if he isn’t yet, he will take it as an encouragement to make sure he will be in the future. He confesses to Goldziher that he is not altogether pleased with the fact that Schechter expects him to devote himself entirely to Biblical studies, but that he will try, to the extent possible, to serve two masters, that is, Jewish-Arabic studies as well as Bible studies. He adds that he plans to prepare his study on *Khidr* for publication before his move to “the other side” (das “Jenseits”), insofar as his nerves, from which he has been suffering a lot, will allow it. After finalizing

(1876–1942),” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 11 (2023), 267–301; Schmidtke, Sabine, “From *Wissenschaft des Judentums* to *Wissenschaft des Islams*. Eugen Mittwoch between Jewish and Islamic Studies,” in *Historical Interactions in Religious Cultures* 1 (2024), 103–145.

29 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Berlin, 12 July 1903, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/11.

30 Friedlaender was not Schechter’s first choice for the position; it had first been offered to another Polish Jewish scholar of Arabic and Judaic studies: Samuel Poznański (1864–1921). See on him Frenkel, Miriam, “Samuel Abraham Poznański’s Karaite Mission: From *Wissenschaft* to Jewish Nationalism,” in Ottfried Fraisse (ed.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context: Rationality, European Borders, and the Search for Belonging*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019, 121–144.

31 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Berlin, 12 July 1903, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/01.

32 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Heringsdorf, 16 July 1903, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/10. Friedlaender became aware of the contents of Goldziher’s recommendation once he had taken up his position at the JTS: A transcript of the letter, in Friedlaender’s own hand, is included among the Friedlaender Papers kept at the Jewish Theological Seminary (ARC. 39, Box 8).

his arrangements in Strasbourg, he will probably have to follow doctor's orders and pass some time at a resort in the mountains before departing for America, in mid-September or October.

11. After a ten-month hiatus in the correspondence, Friedlaender writes on 9 May 1904 that he hopes that Goldziher will not interpret his long silence as a lack of gratitude after he contributed in such a meaningful way to his appointment.³³ The fact that he has neither been able to keep up his correspondence nor to do much academic work is the result of a weakness of nerves from which he has been suffering since his Habilitation, and which has only got worse because of the capricious weather in America. Besides, says Friedlaender, he has had very little to report. His new institution, the JTS, is not all that different from similar places in Europe, except that, in the land of the dollar, as he puts it, it is built on a broader material base. However, he complains that there is nothing there like the atmosphere that a scholar needs in order to be productive. Little importance is attached to science, except of the practical and lucrative kind, and the social status of scholars is utterly deplorable. But Goldziher will be able to see all this for himself when he comes to the World Fair in St. Louis.³⁴ However, the real reason for his letter, says Friedlaender, is a delicate one. He himself has received an invitation from Carl Bezold to contribute to a "Jubelschrift" for his teacher Theodor Nöldeke, as has his colleague, the Talmudist Louis Ginzberg. Solomon Schechter, however, has not received an invitation, probably through an oversight, though it may be assumed that he would be happy to honor Nöldeke with an article. If Goldziher could please have a word with Bezold ... Schechter will, of course, never hear of this. Friedlaender uses the opportunity to consult Goldziher about the possible topic of his own contribution to this volume. Would it be appropriate to offer a revised version of the lecture he gave in Strasbourg as part of his Habilitation procedure, which Goldziher had praised at the time and which Nöldeke himself had heard? The only reason he has come up with this idea, of which he feels rather embarrassed, is that, with the current state of his nerves, he is incapable of providing anything better. Friedlaender admits that he already has difficulty writing correct German, even before he has become fully familiar with English. He assures Goldziher that he will immediately drop this idea if it would negatively affect the volume, which will surely be of a very high level. He writes that he may undertake a trip to Europe to rest his nerves, though it is more likely that he will

33 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York (N.Y.), 9 May 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/12.

34 The St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 was held from 30 April till 1 December.

spend the summer somewhere in the mountains closer to home. As he plans to be back in New York by the end of August, he hopes to see Goldziher there.

12. In September 1905 Friedlaender sends Goldziher a letter containing a wedding announcement, apologizing for the fact that he had not announced his engagement: It was a combination of his terrible “Schreibfaulheit” on the one hand, and the annoying English custom not to send engagement announcements on the other.³⁵ The bride to be, Lilian Ruth Bentwich, belongs to a family that is well respected in Jewish circles and like himself completely devoted to the cause of Judaism.³⁶ The wedding is to take place on the 26th of September.³⁷ Friedlaender had been introduced to the Bentwich family by none other than Solomon Schechter.³⁸

In one of his letters Goldziher had asked Friedlaender to take a Josef Sternbach (whom I have not been able to identify) under his wing and to show him how to get about in New York. Friedlaender now writes that since Goldziher recommended him, he shall be happy to do so, but that he had lost contact with Sternbach. The latter had told Friedlaender that Goldziher was still debating whether to accept the invitation to come to America this year. However, he

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- 35 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, London, September 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/14; Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, London, September 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/13 [= Wedding announcement].
- 36 On Lilian's life before, during and after her marriage to Israel Friedlaender, see the biography by her sister Margery Bentwich entitled *Lilian Ruth Friedlander. A Biography*. Foreword by Leonard Bernstein, Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1957.
- 37 On the Bentwich family, see Krischer, Ofri and Arie M. Dubnow, “The Bentwich Saga,” in *Israel: Studies in Zionism and the State of Israel. History, Society, Culture 27–28* (2021), 271–312 [in Hebrew]. The authors describe the Bentwichs as a middle-class Anglo-Jewish family, who were British patriots, early adherents of Zionism, and enthusiasts for British imperialism. Lilian's overbearing and ambitious father, Herbert Bentwich (1856–1932), was a leading member of the English Hovevei Zion. See on him Rubinstein, Hilary L., “Bentwich, Herbert,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-59277>, last accessed 26.7.2023. For a critical look at the “Bentwich dynasty,” see the 2015 film entitled “The Bentwich Syndrome,” directed by one of its Israeli scions, Gur Bentwich (available on YouTube).
- 38 An earlier suitor who had been introduced by Schechter and whom Lilian had been eager to marry, had been rejected by her father. As Margery Bentwich writes: “he was found to be suffering from a weak heart and failed to satisfy the medical standard demanded by her parents.” See Bentwich, *Lilian Ruth Friedlander* 15. Schechter admitted that “to marry, with the possible chance of soon becoming a widow, would be a positive sin.” (Bentwich, *Lilian Ruth Friedlander* 16). No one could have anticipated that Friedlaender would be killed in 1920, leaving Lilian a widow at the age of 38 with six young children.

would be delighted if Goldziher would visit again. This confirms that the two had already met on American soil, on the occasion of the St. Louis fair in 1904, where on 23 September Goldziher had given a lecture on the progress of Islamic Studies in the previous thirty years.³⁹ Friedlaender assumes that Goldziher has received his two English lectures and an offprint from *JQR*.⁴⁰ He apologizes for writing in a hurry: It is shortly before Shabbat.

13. 10 September 1906: a year has passed since Friedlaender last wrote to Goldziher. As if to make up for it, he addresses a long letter to him from Carmelcourt, the Bentwich family home in Birchington, Kent.⁴¹ The main topic is his work on the chapter on Shī‘ism from Ibn Ḥazm’s heresiographical work. You may recall, Friedlaender writes, that about four years ago you kindly lent me your transcript of the chapter on Shī‘ism from Ibn Ḥazm, collated with two codices from the Landberg collection.⁴² This chapter, he reminds Goldziher, forms the basis of his Habilschrift “Der Schiitismus in der Darstellung Ibn Ḥazm’s”. Since then, he has had an opportunity to collate the manuscript from the British Museum which, he has found, is virtually identical with the Leiden codex which no doubt had the same Vorlage as the British Museum codex. Somewhat later he had collated his material with the manuscript held by Yale University in New Haven, and found it to be identical to the one indicated by Goldziher in his collations as Codex B. Friedlaender kindly asks Goldziher to inform him of the whereabouts of the codex he calls A: Goldziher had once written to him that both these manuscripts are in America, but Yale has only one and he does not know where the other one is kept.⁴³ As Goldziher can

39 Goldziher, Ignaz, “The Progress of Islamic Science in the Last Three Decades,” in Howard J. Rogers (ed.), *Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904*, vol. 2: *History of Politics and Economics, History of Law, History of Religion*, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906, 497–517. On Goldziher’s participation in the World’s Fair and his meeting with his American colleague Duncan B. Macdonald, see Kinga Dévényi’s contribution to the present volume.

40 The latter item is possibly Friedlaender’s “The Arabic original of the report of R. Nathan Hababli,” in *JQR* 17, no. 4 (1905), 747–761.

41 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Birchington, 10 September 1906, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/15.

42 See above.

43 Goldziher may not have answered this query, or not in time for Friedlaender to include the information in the first part of his “Heterodoxies of the Shiites,” as he writes (on p. 24, n. 1): “In Professor Goldziher’s copy the two manuscripts are designated as A and B. The Yale manuscript is unquestionably identical with B (...). I have been unable to find out where A is at present.” Friedlaender was the first to realize that the various manuscripts reflect two different recensions of Ibn Ḥazm’s work. This now confirmed, on a much broader textual basis, by Samīr Qaddūrī (Kaddouri), who acknowledges the importance

see, Friedlaender is still interested in Shī‘ism, and he is rather sad that his work, with all the material he has gathered, should remain unread. He has therefore decided, thanks to the encouragement of Yale professor Torrey, to publish his work in the forthcoming issue of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.⁴⁴ The print publication of Ibn Ḥazm’s *al-Milal wa’l-niḥal* in Cairo has forced him to change his original plans.⁴⁵ Although this edition is in fact no more than a simple reproduction of a manuscript that has the same Vorlage as the Yale codex and is of inferior quality, he has decided, instead of providing an *edition*—as he had done in his Habilschrift—to offer a *translation* of Ibn Ḥazm’s sections on Shī‘ism with notes on the most important variants from the other manuscripts, all this preceded by a detailed introduction and enriched with a running commentary in a series of some quite elaborate excurses which form the actual focus of his work. As an additional advantage of publishing in the journal Friedlaender mentions that he will receive 250 offprints, so that he will be able to make his work available to colleagues in the field. Friedlaender has taken advantage of his lengthy stay in England to work in the British Museum and has made much progress with his study on Khidr, which has grown exponentially and which now only remains to be cast in a literary form. He believes that his findings are important and to some extent quite surprising, and that they constitute a great improvement over his earlier efforts. He does not want to disturb Goldziher with points of detail, but would be very happy if he would allow him to show him the study once it is completed. With Nöldeke he has corresponded about possible publication venues. Apparently Nöldeke does not have a high opinion of *ZDMG*, but does he, Goldziher, not think that it is still read more than any other orientalist journal despite its current decline? Friedlaender mentions that during the summer he was also in

of Friedlaender’s studies; see his *Tārīkh naṣṣ al-Faṣl fī l-mīlal wa’l-niḥal li’bn Ḥazm wa-sabab ikhtilāf nusakhīhi wa-baṣṭ khuṭṭat taḥqīqīhi* (Qatar: Maktabat ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Khālīd b. Ḥamad Āl Thānī, 1436/2015) as well as his new edition, Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī l-mīlal wa’l-ārā’ wa’l-niḥal, muḥaqqaq ‘alā makḥṭūṭāt al-ibrāza al-thāniya min al-kitāb*, 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Mālikiyya, 2023.

- 44 Charles Cutler Torrey (1863–1956), was an American scholar of Islamic and Biblical studies. He, too, had studied with Nöldeke in Strasbourg, where he received his doctorate in 1892. He taught at Yale University from 1900 until 1932, and for many years was editor of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. See on him Burrows, Millar, “A Sketch of C.C. Torrey’s Career,” in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 132 (1953), 6–8.
- 45 *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fī l-mīlal wa’l-ahwā’ wa’l-niḥal*, 5 vols., Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Adabiyya, 1317/1899. This edition, reprinted many times, is the basis for the almost complete translation of the work by Spanish Arabist Miguel Asín Palacios: *Abenḥázam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las religiones* (Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, 1927–1932, reprinted Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1984), vols. 2–5.

Cambridge, where he held a popular lecture about Maimonides as an exegete⁴⁶ and spent a week studying a Geniza document that Schechter had reserved for him. Among the materials is an autograph by Maimonides.⁴⁷ In the British Museum, too, he copied out several Geniza fragments and he will go to Oxford for the same purpose. In London a private scholar put a peculiar Geniza fragment at Friedlaender's disposal, which he will publish in *JQR* under the title "A Muhammedan book on augury in Hebrew characters."⁴⁸ As Goldziher can see, he has devoted himself mainly to his studies during the summer. But for some weeks he has had the pleasure to enjoy excellent sea air and a wonderful sea view from his desk. He and his family will return to London and from there will depart for America on 6 October. Friedlaender confesses that he is always extremely happy when he can return to his Arabic studies, but that his joy is dampened by the realization that he is grazing in foreign pastures, since his official discipline is Bible studies. It would be a gain for him personally as well as for scholarship if he were to be given a different discipline. Coming back to the letter of 9 May 1904 in which Friedlaender consulted Goldziher about his idea to offer the text of his Habilitationsvortrag for the volume in honor of Theodor Nöldeke: apparently Goldziher persuaded him to submit another piece, for in his long letter of 10 September 1906 Friedlaender writes: "You have probably seen my essay "Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wan-Niḥal" in the volume in honor of Nöldeke. I should be very happy to hear that you agree with my analysis of the work."⁴⁹ At the end of his letter, Friedlaender apolo-

46 The lecture was first published in 1907 in the *Jewish Literary Annual*. Friedlaender later incorporated it in his *Past and Present*, 193–216.

47 The fragment was published by Friedlaender in his article "Ein Autograph des Maimonides," in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 52 (n.s. 16), nos. 9/10 (1908), 621–625.

48 Friedlaender, Israel, "A Muhammedan Book on Augury in Hebrew Characters," in *JQR* 19, no. 1 (1906), 84–103. Whereas in his letter Friedlaender does not reveal this man's name, he identifies him in the article as David Sassoon (p. 88). About Sassoon and his fabled manuscript collection, see Rabinowicz, H., "The Sassoon Treasures," in *JQR* 57, no. 2 (1966), 136–153. (Recently, one of the collection's gems, a late 9th or early 10th century Hebrew Bible manuscript known as the Codex Sassoon, was put up for auction by Sotheby's. It was acquired for the permanent collection of ANU—*Museum of the Jewish People* in Tel Aviv.)

49 Friedlaender, Israel, "Zur Komposition von Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa'n-Niḥal," in Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (2. März 1906) *gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, 2 vols., Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906, i, 267–277. Friedlaender argues that Ibn Ḥazm not only inserted an originally independent polemical work against the Jewish and Christian scriptures into his *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, as had been demonstrated by Goldziher, but another originally separate work as well that deals with the objectionable views of the Mu'tazila, the Khawārij, the Murji'a and the Shi'a. This is the

gizes for trying Goldziher's patience and hopes that he will forgive him this long epistle if he remembers that besides Nöldeke he, Goldziher, is the only one who shows an interest in his specialist research. Friedlaender politely inquires if Goldziher is not thinking of another visit to America.

14. On 26 May 1908 Friedlaender writes to Goldziher on board the RMS ADRIATIC, which will carry him and his wife back to the USA after one of their many lengthy stays in England, where his wife spent time with her family while he consulted manuscripts in London, Cambridge and Oxford.⁵⁰ He thanks Goldziher for some offprints that he received, and in turn sends him some of his own articles, on Maimonides.⁵¹ The second part of his Shi'ites article should appear in the August issue of the *Journal of American Oriental Society*, he writes. It will include Friedlaender's commentary on Ibn Ḥazm's Shi'ism chapter. As he has invested much time and energy in this study, he is hoping that it will not have been completely in vain. The publication of his *Selections from the Arabic writings of Maimonides* has unfortunately been delayed because of the sluggishness of the printers at Brill.⁵² Friedlaender would have written earlier if certain serious circumstances had not rendered him incapable of any correspondence. As a result of the adverse living conditions in New York, his dear wife had fallen ill and he had to send her to England, together with their son, to recover in London, where her parents live. During this time, he moreover received the sad news of his mother's passing, at the age of forty-eight. He is now eagerly looking forward to being reunited with his family. They are thinking about taking a trip to Germany and in all likelihood he will participate in the Congress of Orientalists in Copenhagen, where he hopes to see Goldziher.⁵³

section entitled *Dhikr al-faḍā'ih* (or *al-'azā'im*) *al-mukhrija ilā l-kufr*. Friedlaender raises the possibility that the long chapter on *al-Imāma wa'l-mufāḍala* could once also have been a separate tract.

50 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, [On board R.M.S. "Adriatic"] 26 May 1908, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/16.

51 Possibly the two articles Friedlaender contributed to the volume *Moses ben Maimon. Sein Leben, seine Werke und sein Einfluss*. Zur Erinnerung an den siebenhundertsten Todestag des Maimonides herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, Band 1, Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann 1908, ed. W. Bacher, M. Brann et al. The titles of the articles are "Die arabische Sprache des Maimonides" (429–438) and "Der Stil des Maimonides" (429–438). An English version of the second piece was included by Friedlaender in his *Past and Present* 217–228.

52 E.J. Brill, Leiden.

53 Both men did indeed attend the Congress, which took place in Copenhagen between 14 and 20 August 1908. Friedlaender presented a paper entitled "Der Prophet al-Chadir und der Alexanderroman," while Goldziher lectured on "Neoplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Hadith."

15. It is only on 21 May 1909 that Friedlaender resumes the correspondence and sends Goldziher the second part of his study on Shī'ism; the first part he had already received a year and a half earlier.⁵⁴ He expresses his dissatisfaction with the final product: He is aware of the inadequacies in his work, and its division into two parts has prevented a systematic and exhaustive treatment of many relevant issues.⁵⁵ He already has many things to add and to correct, and has no doubt that Goldziher will find numerous additional errors. He has made an effort to keep informed, but has to admit that he has only been partly successful, as he finds it very difficult to find a proper balance between the discipline he has to teach and the one on which he would prefer to work. He takes comfort in the thought that all the effort expended on this work has not been in vain: The material he has brought together from manuscripts might in part be useful and he believes that he has interpreted some points better than his predecessors. Friedlaender writes that his indebtedness to Goldziher can be noted on virtually every page of his article. Without his kind lending of his "Abschrift" of Ibn Ḥazm he would not have been able to begin the article, and without his works he could not have completed it. He is therefore anxious to see what Goldziher thinks of it. "If you think the work is worthy," he writes, "I would be very grateful if you could mention some words to that effect in public. I really do not ask you out of vanity, but because I fear that the article will not be made available nor be included in catalogues in accordance with the statutes of the Oriental Society, and that it will thus be completely ignored and left unused." Friedlaender continues by saying that he is preparing an article about 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' for the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, having gathered many materials. He has decided to write the article in German although, as he

54 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York City, 21 May 1909, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/19. The first part was published as Israel Friedlaender, "The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm. Introduction," in *JAOS* 28 (1907), 1–80. The text he mentions here is probably only a draft or a proof.

55 In 1909 the two parts were published together in one volume, apparently by the American Oriental Society; the title page only states year and place (New Haven). Friedlaender used the opportunity to make a small number of corrections; see his Prefatory Notes. Perhaps it is to this publication that Goldziher refers when, on 16 June 1909, he writes to Nöldeke: "Ich habe viel Freude an Friedländer's Schi'a-Arbeit gehabt; er hätte nur die einschlägige Literatur etwas umfangreicher kennen müssen. Auch Ibn Sa'd hätte ihm manches für die Anfänge der Bewegungen bieten können. Aber im ganzen ist die Arbeit sehr förderlich für schi'itische Studien und ein Zeugnis für die Kompetenz des Verfassers, dem ich s.Z. dies Unternehmen empfohlen hatte." See Simon, *Ignác Goldziher* 313. For a recent appreciation of Friedlaender's studies on Shī'ism, see Bar-Asher, Meir M[ichael], "The Contribution of Israel Friedlaender (1876–1920) to the Study of the Shī'a," in *JSAI* 51 (2021), 1–12.

once more stresses, he is embarrassed to admit that he feels quite awkward writing in German, an experience he knows is shared by many native Germans in America. He is moreover thinking of writing an article about the origins of Jewish sects that arose under Islam, such as the ʿĪsāwiyya and the Yudghāniyya and plans to take up his work on Khiḍr as soon as possible.⁵⁶ The first part of his study on “Chadir und Alexander der Große” is about ready to be printed, but he does not know yet where to publish this work.⁵⁷ The Maimonides anthology is finished and should appear at the end of the summer. Friedlaender writes that he read with great interest the works by Goldziher that he was able to obtain. He recently purchased his *Maʿānī al-naḥs*,⁵⁸ but much to his embarrassment he has to admit that he has not been able to read more than the notes—which frankly constitute the most valuable part of the epistle—due to the fact that he had been busy during the last months with his own work. He had intended to make a thorough study of the *Maʿānī* and to review it, but this proved to be impossible. He hopes to be able to carry out his plan once the *JQR* resumes its publication in Philadelphia.⁵⁹ He recently read Goldziher’s article on Gnosticism in Islam⁶⁰ with great pleasure; he will need to refer to it frequently in his own article on ‘Abd Allāh b. Saba’. Friedlaender writes that the academic year at the JTS has ended. He looks back on it with satisfaction, as it marked a distinct improvement over the previous year. The student population is very good, though he remarks that on the whole, the level of young people’s general education is not very high as a result of the low level of American educational institutions. Friedlaender announces that he will travel to Europe with his family on 23 June, and will spend most of the summer in London. He adds that Dr.

56 This clearly means that his intentions to finish the manuscript before his move to America notwithstanding, he had not succeeded.

57 Two articles on Khiḍr and Alexander were published by Friedlaender in 1910: “Geschichte der Chadhirlegende,” in *ARW* 13 (1910), 92–110, 154, and “Alexanders Zug nach dem Lebensquell und die Chadhirlegende,” in *ARW* 13 (1910), 161–246. His monograph *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman. Eine sagengeschichtliche und literarhistorische Untersuchung* was published in 1913 (Leipzig, Berlin: B.G. Teubner).

58 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Kitāb maʿānī al-naḥs: Buch vom Wesen der Seele. Von einem Ungenannten. Auf Grund der einzigen Handschrift der Bibliothèque nationale herausgegeben, mit Anmerkungen und Exkursen versehen* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge, IX/1), Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907.

59 The *Jewish Quarterly Review* was published in London between 1889 and 1908, when it was discontinued. A new series was established in 1910 and was published by the Jewish Publication Society of America in Philadelphia.

60 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Neoplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṭ,” in *ZA* 22 (1908), 317–344. This is the paper Goldziher had presented in Copenhagen.

Schechter is well, and they often talk about Goldziher. He encloses his study on the Šī'a, two small contributions and two offprints that he hopes will be of interest to Goldziher.⁶¹

16. On 26 July 1909 Friedlaender writes from London.⁶² He starts out by thanking Goldziher for his study on Islamic and Jewish philosophy, which he read with the greatest interest.⁶³ He offers a number of comments and corrections. He can report that he has submitted a long article about 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' to Carl Bezold.⁶⁴ It includes some hypotheses that will certainly not be generally accepted but, he adds, because of the fact that he has used manuscript materials, especially by al-Baghdādī (d. 1037 CE) and al-Isfarā'inī (d. 1027 CE), the article cannot be completely devoid of value. Friedlaender cannot remember if he has already written to Goldziher about his decision to act promptly after the publication of an article about Khiḍr by Karl Vollers.⁶⁵ He now wrote an article entitled "Zur Entwicklung der Chadhirlegende" in which he presents his findings and which, like Vollers' study, will appear in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*. Another article, "Der Prophet Chadhir und Alexander der Große," is about ready for publication. The editor of the *Archiv*, Richard Wunsch, has offered to publish it either in this journal or in the *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, and Friedlaender will be happy to submit the article to him if it does not turn out to be "allzu arabistisch". Another contribution, about Khiḍr and Elijah, will be published in *JQR*. After all this, he hopes to be done with Khiḍr. Friedlaender has a request: Could Goldziher please help him out. He had once kindly sent him an offprint of his *lā misāsa* article, but he does not have it with him in London. He also needs the complete reference to another article of Goldziher's: "Le culte des saints."⁶⁶ The British Museum is not of much help in this respect: "Der Zeitschriftenbetrieb am British Museum ist einfach shocking." If it is not too much to ask, Friedlaender would be grateful to receive an offprint of Goldziher's "Gnostische Elemente."

61 These publications may include Friedlaender's "Das arabische Original der antikiräischen Verordnung des Maimonides," in *MGWJ* 53 (1909), 469–485.

62 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, London, 26 July 1909, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/17.

63 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Die islamische und die jüdische Philosophie," in *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* [Die Kultur der Gegenwart, vol. 1, 5] Berlin, Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1909, 45–77.

64 Published in two parts; Friedlaender, Israel, "Abdallāh b. Sabā, der Begründer der Šī'a, und sein jüdischer Ursprung," in *ZA* 23 (1909), 296–327; *ZA* (1910), 1–46.

65 Vollers, K[arl], "Chidher," in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12 (1909), 234–284.

66 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Lā misāsa," in *Revue africaine* 52 (1908), 23–28; Goldziher, Ignaz, "Le culte des saints chez les musulmans," in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 2 (1880), 257–351.

He had read it back in America, but cannot rely on his memory. Another article he would be thankful to receive is “al-Amr al-Ilāhī.”⁶⁷ Friedlaender inquires when Goldziher’s book on the Shī’a will appear. In a sense he is glad that it has not come out yet, for he would probably have put aside his own attempts to cover the topic. After his recent reading of Goldziher’s *Muhammedanische Studien* he felt that his own contribution was quite shabby by comparison.⁶⁸ He would be happy if he could assist Goldziher in any way with the Shī’a book, for example by preparing the index or other such tasks. At the end of his letter, Friedlaender mentions that he plans to stay in England until the beginning of October. He regularly speaks with Dr. Büchler,⁶⁹ among other things about the situation of the Jews in England, of which both of them are rather critical, so much so that Friedlaender concludes: “Als Jude würde ich es jeder Zeit vorziehen in Amerika zu leben,” this despite his unhappiness with his life in the USA.

17. About two weeks later, in his postcard of 10 August 1909, Friedlaender thanks Goldziher for his offprint.⁷⁰ Whether this is one of the articles he requested in his previous letter or another one is not clear. In return, Friedlaender sends Goldziher a copy of his Maimonides-anthology, for which he hopes Goldziher will have some use. Unfortunately, it contains many printing errors, starting with the title page, for which he is not responsible. He reports that in his most recent letter Nöldeke complains about his deteriorating eyesight, and that he is considering having an operation.

18. On 8 September 1909 Friedlaender sends Goldziher the second part of his article on Ibn Ḥazm’s discussion of Shī’ism.⁷¹ Of this publication he can truly say *לך נתנו וכל ומידך נתנו לך* (1 Chron. 29:14: “For all things come from thee and of thy own have we given thee”). After all, he says, you were the first one to draw my attention to the relevant chapter in Ibn Ḥazm’s *Milal wa’l-niḥal*. The

67 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Mélanges judéo-arabes XXI: Le Amr ilāhī (hâ-‘inyân hâ-êlôhī) chez Juda Halévi,” in *REJ* 50 (1905), 32–41 (reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften* v, 1–10).

68 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1898–1890.

69 Adolf Büchler (1867–1939), Hungarian historian and specialist in Rabbinics; he studied with Goldziher in Budapest, moved to England and acted for over three decades as principal of Jews’ College in London. See on him Marmorstein, Bruno, “Adolph Büchler, Principal of Jews’ College, 1906–1939,” in *Jewish Historical Studies* 30 (1987–1988), 219–226.

70 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Birchington, 10 August 1909, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/18.

71 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York City, 8 September 1909, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/20. Apparently this is a pre-publication draft of Friedlaender’s “The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm. Commentary,” in *JAOS* 29 (1908), 1–183 cf. above, n. 54.

commentary section will appear in the following issue of the journal, i.e. six months later. “You of course do not need my פירוש (interpretation), but much of the manuscript material that I gathered might interest you. I am sending this first part to you and Professor Nöldeke only, and will otherwise wait till the whole thing is ready,” he writes. He encloses a copy of an article on biblical exegesis, which may be of some interest to Goldziher.⁷² He has to admit, however, that he does not think much of biblical scholarship as an academic discipline.⁷³ He much prefers Arabic studies and those fields of Judaica that are related to it, and is particularly interested in the former discipline, even though it is not represented at the JTS. His current project is an anthology of texts by Maimonides for the Semitic Studies Series edited by [Richard] Gottheil and [Morris] Jastrow.⁷⁴ He has already submitted the main text and grammatical notes, but the introduction and additional notes remain to be finalized. He had never realized how difficult it would be to prepare a Middle Arabic text for students who are used to working with the grammars of Caspari or Wright.⁷⁵ If Goldziher has the patience and the time to examine his materials, Friedlaender will send him the proofs, which would greatly enhance the quality of the book, though he fears that such a request is rather impertinent. He expresses his hope that Goldziher will visit America this year. He would have the opportunity to see the real America, to which those living in New York, where only 17% of the population is American, do not have access, he writes. On the occasion of the

72 This is probably Friedlaender's “A New Specimen of Modern Biblical Exegesis. A review of *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, by Charles A. Briggs,” in *The American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger* 81 (5 July 1907), *Literary Supplement*, 3–7. It is included in Friedlaender's *Past and Present* 113–137.

73 See Shargel, *Practical Dreamer* 45: “When Israel Friedlaender accepted the position of Sabato Morais Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, he acknowledged his limitations as a Bible scholar and pledged to remedy the situation. [...] Friedlaender's meager output in biblical scholarship indicates that he did not fulfill his pledge to Schechter; he neither clarified major issues nor did he offer solutions to the problems raised by biblical criticism.” On Friedlaender's biblical scholarship, see also Orlinsky, Harry M., “Jewish Biblical Scholarship in America (Continued),” in *JQR* 47, no. 4 (1957), 345–353.

74 Published as *Selections from the Arabic writings of Maimonides*, edited with introduction and notes, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1909 (reprinted 1951).

75 Caspari, C[arl] P[aul], *Arabische Grammatik. Fünfte Auflage bearbeitet von August Müller*, Halle a. S.: Verlag der Buchhandlung de Waisenhauses, 1887 or another edition; Wright, W., *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Translated from the German of Caspari and edited with numerous additions and corrections, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The first edition was published in two volumes, in 1859 and 1862 respectively. The second, revised edition appeared in 1874, and a third edition in 1896–1898. It is not clear to which edition Friedlaender is referring.

approaching Jewish New Year, Friedlaender conveys his best wishes to Goldziher and his wife (whom he had also met on various occasions).

19. On 29 October 1909 Friedlaender writes to Goldziher, thanking him for his comments about his article.⁷⁶ He now reluctantly sends him the proofs of his first article on Khidr for the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*. It includes a reference to his forthcoming article “Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman,” which was also accepted by Wunsch for the *Archiv*. Friedlaender is not at all happy with the result, but felt he had to publish his materials so as not to let it slip away. The academic year has started and much of Friedlaender’s time is taken up by his classes. In addition, he is preparing an article for the *JQR* on “Shiitic Elements in Jewish Sectarianism.” He has found much interesting information on early Jewish sects. He once again tells Goldziher that he eagerly awaits his book on Shi’ism, and repeats that he will be happy to be of assistance in any way.

20. On 12 June 1910 Friedlaender writes to convey his best wishes on the occasion of Goldziher’s sixtieth birthday, quoting a number of passages from the Talmud praising the wisdom that comes with age.⁷⁷ Friedlaender writes that he had so wished to be able to dedicate the first instalment of his *Jewish-Arabic Studies* to Goldziher on the occasion of his birthday and as a token of his gratitude for the great kindness and helpfulness he has shown him. Unfortunately, publication of this article had to be postponed because the printer did not yet have all the blocks for the emphatic letters. It will now appear in the second issue (of the *JQR*’s new series, that is). As he had already mentioned in his previous letter, it deals with “Shiitic Elements in Jewish Sectarianism.”⁷⁸ In the second instalment Friedlaender wants to publish al-Qirqisānī’s polemic against Abū ‘Isā al-Īṣfahānī on the basis of a British Museum manuscript,⁷⁹ while the remaining instalments, for which he has gathered much material, will depend on the space made available to him in the new journal. The

76 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York, 29 October 1909, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/21.

77 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York City, 12 June 1910, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/22. Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat, 152a: “It was taught, R. Ishmael son of R. Jose said: As for scholars, the older they grow the more wisdom they acquire, for it is said, With aged men is wisdom, and in length of days understanding.”

78 Friedlaender, Israel, “Jewish-Arabic Studies. I. Shiitic Elements in Jewish Sectarianism,” in *JQR* n.s. 1, no. 2 (1910), 183–215. The article is continued in *JQR* n.s. 2, no. 4 (1912), 481–516 and *JQR* n.s. 3, no. 2 (1912), 235–300.

79 Friedlaender, Israel, “Qirqisānī’s Polemik gegen den Islam,” in Carl Bezold (ed.), *Festschrift Ignaz Goldziher von Freunden und Verehrern gewidmet* [= ZA 26], Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911, 93–110.

Archiv für Religionswissenschaft will now publish Friedlaender's study on the "Alexanderroman und die Chadirlegende" in a series of instalments. He is far from happy with this arrangement and realizes that the *Archiv* is not the suitable venue for the work; it belongs rather in the *ZDMG*, but as long as Fischer held sway there, he had refused to work with that journal.⁸⁰ He hopes to be able to rework his material completely in the monograph version of his study. Friedlaender writes that in the coming year he will be exceptionally busy, as he will have to replace Professor Schechter, who will be traveling. In addition, he is dedicating a considerable part of his free time to various public engagements on behalf of the Jewish community and hopes this will not affect his academic work.⁸¹ He sends Goldziher the text of a lecture, which may be of interest to him but which may not meet with his approval.⁸² He thanks Goldziher for his short communication on the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*.⁸³

21. On 16 December 1910 Friedlaender writes to Goldziher that he has finally received offprints of his *JQR* article "Shiitic elements," which he has dedicated to him.⁸⁴ He intends to continue working on the topic, but unfortunately, he will be terribly busy this winter, leaving him with no time. In Professor Schechter's absence, he is responsible for running the *JTS* and a number of earlier commitments also claim his attention. He has received Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über den Islam* from the publisher, and thanks him for his kindness.⁸⁵ He has started reading the book, and equally admires and enjoys Goldziher's subtle presentation. He may take the liberty of writing to him again after reading the entire work, and especially the chapter on sects.

80 August Fischer's (1865–1949) editorial policies were severely criticized not only by Friedlaender, but also by Goldziher, Nöldeke and Dutch Orientalist M.J. de Goeje (1836–1909); see Engberts, Christiaan, "The Scholar as Judge. A Contested Persona in Nineteenth-Century Orientalism," in *BMGN—Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016), 105–106.

81 Baila Round Shargel devotes four chapters of her book on Friedlaender to his public activities; see her *Practical Dreamer* 101–201.

82 It may have been one of Friedlaender's Zionist speeches. Goldziher is known not to have sympathized with Zionism; see Conrad, Lawrence I[rvin], "The Dervish's Disciple: On the Personality and Intellectual Milieu of the Young Ignaz Goldziher," in *JRAS* 1990/2 (1990), 262–263.

83 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Über die Benennung der 'Ichwān al-ṣafā'" in *Der Islam* 1 (1910), 22–26; *Gesammelte Schriften* v, 197–201.

84 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, [New York (N.Y.)], 16 December 1910, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/23.

85 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910.

22. Another year has passed since Friedlaender's last letter. On 11 December 1911 he writes to Goldziher that he has reread the *Vorlesungen*.⁸⁶ He thanks him for the offprints, especially his review of al-Baghdādī's *Kitāb al-faraq* [*sic*], in which he honors him, Friedlaender, with numerous references to his work.⁸⁷ He confesses that Goldziher's writings actually discourage him. The more he admires his learning, wealth of ideas and writing, the more he is embarrassed and feels ridiculous about his own work. It is only thanks to the encouragement of men like Goldziher and Nöldeke that he dares to offer his modest contribution. Friedlaender praises the *Vorlesungen*, and wonders why Judaism has yet to be treated in a similar way: objectively, without apologetics or distortion, and with proper historical insight. This brings Friedlaender to the following point: The week before he had received an invitation from the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin to write a book on Judaism and Islam. "I am fully convinced, and wrote to them to this effect, that such a book can only be written by you," he states. It has become more and more clear to him that only someone with equal mastery of both fields can do justice to such an important project. He has written to the Gesellschaft that they can think of him only after all attempts to persuade Goldziher to take it on have come to nought. Friedlaender writes that it is not clear from the introduction to the *Vorlesungen* if the book has already been translated into English. Such a translation would be of the highest importance, and he wishes that he had the time to dedicate himself to this undertaking. He hopes that in a future translation or in a new edition the notes will be arranged differently, as their current presentation is terribly inconvenient. As to himself, he only returned from London with his family a month earlier. During the summer he had worked regularly in the British Museum and finally completed his study about *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, which has developed into a book. It is currently being printed and will hopefully still appear this winter. For all the material he has gathered for the book, it remains a patchwork that he is not happy with, he writes. At the moment he is busy finalizing his second article about "Shiitic Elements in Jewish Sectarianism." He has found the extent of Islamic influences, or at least parallels, to be simply astonishing. As soon as he will have completed this article, he will turn his attention to the manuscript

86 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York City, 11 December 1911, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/24.

87 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Anzeigen: Kitāb al-farq bejna-l-firaq wa-bajān al-firqa al-nāgija minhum von Abū Manṣūr 'Abdalkāhir al-Baḡdādī herausgegeben von Muḥammad Badr. (Kairo, maṭba'at al-ma'ārif, 1328/1910)," in *ZDMG* 65 (1911), 349–363.

of Maimonides' *Iggeret Teman* in its Arabic original, which was acquired by the library of the JTS and which Friedlaender aims to edit. It contains a lengthy, and highly important paragraph about false Messiahs that is given short shrift in the Hebrew version, he says. Friedlaender is thinking of combining this text with a number of other epistles by Maimonides, but unfortunately he has very little time. He is teaching a lot and has multiple commitments that cannot be deferred. Dr. Adolf Büchler told him that he had seen Goldziher in Budapest.

23. Friedlaender writes again on 19 February 1912, replying to a letter from Goldziher dated 27 December 1911.⁸⁸ He regrets to learn that the celebration of Goldziher's forty-year academic jubilee had already taken place in December, while he had been convinced it would only be in March. Had he known, he would not have failed to congratulate him. He writes that he cannot understand that English publishers have not pounced on Goldziher's Islam book, which provides in-depth information on one of the most important religions in the British Empire, and this in such a fascinating way. The Americans have no interest whatsoever in Islam, neither political nor scientific, and Friedlaender himself has no connection with publishing houses in the country. But he will keep his eyes open, perhaps an opportunity will present itself.⁸⁹ He had given Goldziher's book to Schechter, who immediately read it and was very impressed with it, even though it is not his field. Schechter mentioned that he had sent Goldziher his *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* a while ago and was surprised not to have got a confirmation of receipt. He assumes that something went wrong in the mail. Goldziher was obviously not eager to take on the assignment of the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums to write a book on Judaism and Islam, for we learn from Friedlaender's letter that he encouraged him to take it on himself after all, and thus to accept the Gesellschaft's original invitation. Friedlaender expresses his gratitude for Goldziher's encouragement, which he is sure he does not deserve. However, he has decided to decline the invitation, as he is already overcommitted. First he has to see *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman* through the press; he has not even

88 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York City, 19 February 1912, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/29.

89 The book was translated into English by Kate Chambers Seelye and published in 1917 by Yale University Press under the title *Mohammed and Islam*. However, Goldziher did not authorize it and the book was withdrawn by the publisher. It was only in 1981 that a new translation came out, with Princeton University Press: *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, translated by Andras and Ruth Hamori, with an Introduction and additional notes by Bernard Lewis.

had the time to look at the proofs. Then he has to edit Maimonides' *Iggeret Teman* to be published by the JTS. In addition, he has committed himself, many years ago, to write a popular Jewish history book for the Jewish Publication Society, which should have been ready by September 1910 but which he has not even started to work on. Moreover, he has realized, much to his dismay, that his German is deteriorating. For all these reasons, he thought it advisable not to commit himself further. He will address the topic in a systematic way once he has the possibility to do so; he has no doubt that he will find a publisher. Friedlaender sincerely hopes that Goldziher will not make good on his threat to discontinue his “Mélanges”.⁹⁰ They were read and appreciated more than Goldziher perhaps realized. You know very well, he tells him, that there is no one who can probe and uncover the connections between Judaism and Islam like you. Friedlaender reminds Goldziher of the saying from Proverbs (3:27): “Do not withhold good from those to whom it is due, when it is in your power to do it.” He reports that he recently completed his “Shiitic Elements in Jewish Sectarianism”. The topic is of great interest, but much remains hypothetical. He has just submitted his “Gratulationsbrief an Maimonides” for the forthcoming “Jubelschrift” for Hermann Cohen.⁹¹ He ascribes the short, fragmented text to Ibn ‘Aqnīn. Unfortunately, he finds little time for scholarly pursuits, as he teaches quite a lot and moreover takes an active part in Jewish public affairs, which he regards as his duty. He will send Goldziher a number of offprints of his article on al-Qirqisānī, for which he may have some use.

24. On 7 April 1912 Friedlaender sends Goldziher an article of his, which owes its existence to Goldziher's encouragement to publish it.⁹² Friedlaender had initially sent it to the journal *Orientalisches Archiv*, which had accepted it. He had already received and corrected proofs when a conflict broke out between editor Hugo Grothe and publisher Karl W. Hiersemann. The former requested

90 Goldziher's “Mélanges judéo-arabes” were published between 1901 and 1910 in the *Revue des études juives*. See Trautmann-Waller, Céline, “Les ‘Mélanges judéo-arabes’ d'Ignaz Goldziher: transculturalité et cohabitation,” in Michel Espagne and Perrine Simon-Nahum (eds.), *Passeurs d'Orient. Les Juifs dans l'orientalisme*, Paris: Editions de l'éclat, 2013, 141–161.

91 Friedlaender, Israel, “Ein Gratulationsbrief an Maimonides,” in *Judaica—Festschrift zu Hermann Cohens siebzigstem Geburtstage*, Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1912, 257–264.

92 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York City, 7 April 1912, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/26. The article in question is “Muhammedanische Geschichtskonstruktionen,” in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients* 9 (1911), 17–34. This is of course Friedlaender's Strasbourg lecture which as early as 1902 Goldziher had suggested he publish (see letter no. 6).

that Friedlaender withdraw his article, which he felt did not fall within the scope of the journal. Friedlaender did not insist, as he did not wish to become embroiled in the dispute. He received three copies of his article in brochure format, and sends Goldziher one of them as a “bibliographische Rarität.” In the end Grothe included the article in the book series *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, also edited by him. Friedlaender asks Goldziher about a certain reference which he had sent him earlier, but which Friedlaender cannot now find.

25. The next letter is dated 1 July 1912.⁹³ Friedlaender writes that he is sending Goldziher the second part of his article on “Shiitic Elements,” which had been delayed in part through his own fault. A further fifty pages are to follow, which are already with the printer’s. At the moment he is busy with the final version of his *Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, which could come out in two months’ time. It includes a reference that was once given him by Goldziher, but which he can no longer find. (It is the same reference about which Friedlaender already inquired in his previous letter.⁹⁴) Friedlaender writes that the family moved to Palisade, in New Jersey, on the other side of the Hudson river exactly opposite the JTS.

26. After about a month Friedlaender writes again, thanking Goldziher for his letter and his interest.⁹⁵ He values it all the more since he is virtually alone with his studies and because even the president of the JTS, who is officially one of the editors of the *JQR*, does not read his articles in that same journal.⁹⁶ Friedlaender asks Goldziher about a possible parallel between a passage from the Qur’ān or the *ḥadīth* and a statement by messianic pretender Sabbethai Zvi. With characteristic self-deprecation he states that this query shows his ignorance.

27. The next day, 31 July 1912, he writes a quick note to Goldziher saying that he found that the presumed parallel with a verse in the Qur’ān was not all that apt after all.⁹⁷

93 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palisade (NJ), 1 July 1912, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/28.

94 Reading the letters one after the other, we see that on numerous occasions Friedlaender repeats queries and pieces of information, as if he has forgotten what he had written earlier; apparently he did not keep copies.

95 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palisade (NJ), 30 July 1912, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/27. See the Appendix.

96 At the time the president of the Seminary is still Friedlaender’s former patron, Solomon Schechter, who occupied the position from 1902 until 1915.

97 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palisade (NJ), 31 July 1912, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/25.

28. Almost six months pass before Friedlaender picks up his pen to write to Goldziher.⁹⁸ He thanks him for his kind words about his book, knowing full well that they are not deserved. But he also knows that without his encouragement and that of Professor Nöldeke, he would have cast the whole project aside and would not have produced the Chadhir book. He hopes that Goldziher will not only convey his appreciation, but also his criticism. Goldziher had apparently asked Friedlaender about ‘Abbās Effendi (1844–1921), the son and successor of Bahā’ Allāh (1817–1892), the founder of the Bahá’í faith. ‘Abbās Effendi, also known as ‘Abd al-Bahā’, had come to the USA and settled, or considered settling, in Montclair, NJ. Friedlaender had made inquiries and learned that ‘Abbās Effendi had already returned to Akko. It is possible that he had indeed intended to settle permanently in Montclair, but if so, Friedlaender does not know why nothing came of it.⁹⁹ He has unfortunately never had an occasion to come into contact with Bahá’ís: The problems of Jewish life are so complicated here that it is difficult to turn to other matters, he says.

29. Some two weeks later, on 13 February 1913, Friedlaender sends Goldziher a clipping from the New York Times about the visit of ‘Abd al-Bahā’, to America, which he may find of interest.¹⁰⁰ He mentions to Goldziher that he never received the second edition of his survey of Islamic and Jewish philosophy.¹⁰¹ Since this is the second time this happens, he would be grateful if Goldziher could let him know if he really did send the copy, whose arrival he is eagerly awaiting. He writes that his brother-in-law (Norman Bentwich) wrote to him from Cairo that Goldziher had been kind enough to provide him with a recommendation to his old sheikh.¹⁰² His brother-in-law is probably studying Arabic

98 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palisade (NJ), 29 January 1913, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/32.

99 Later in that year, on 11 April 1913, ‘Abd al-Bahā’ visited Goldziher at his home in Budapest. He writes in his *Tagebuch* 275: “Ich konnte dem Propheten in meiner Stube die Überraschung bereiten, ihm einen Band Rasā’il seines göttlichen Vaters zu zeigen, das er nicht kannte.” On his correspondence with ‘Abd al-Bahā’; see Léderer, György “Goldziher’s ‘Bahá’í correspondence,” *The Arabist. Budapest Studies in Arabic* 1 (1988), 103–119.

100 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York City, 13 February 1913, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/30.

101 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Die islamische und die jüdische Philosophie des Mittelalters,” in *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* [Die Kultur der Gegenwart, vol. 1, 5] Leipzig, Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 2nd ed., 1913, 301–337.

102 Muḥammad Amīn al-Abbāsī al-Mahdī (1827–1897), the Grand Mufti of Egypt, had examined Goldziher and allowed him to attend the lectures at al-Azhar. After receiving assurance of his purely scholarly intentions, Goldziher was entrusted to the care of one of the greatest scholars of al-Azhar at that time, Muḥammad al-Ashmūnī (1803–1903). Goldziher presumably refers here to al-Ashmūnī. See Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 70, 76; also

and hopes soon to be able to introduce himself to Goldziher's friends. Should Goldziher find the time to read his *Khidr* study, Friedlaender writes, he would be very grateful if he could point out the inevitable mistakes and blunders. On his side of the Atlantic the book has not yet found a reader, and he hardly expects it to find one. In a postscript Friedlaender asks Goldziher to help him with a difficult passage in Maimonides' *Iggeret Teman*.

30. On 1 October 1913,¹⁰³ Friedlaender writes that he was about to convey his good wishes to Goldziher on the occasion of the beginning of the Jewish New Year, when he received a letter from Professor [Henry] Malter telling him about Goldziher's accident.¹⁰⁴ He is extremely happy to learn that it was not serious and hopes that Goldziher was not hurt. He thanks Goldziher for sending him the second edition of his "Philosophy". He himself recently wrote several articles for *JQR* that are due to appear soon. He repeats that if it were not for him and Professor Nöldeke, nothing would have come of the Chadhir book. He will review Yahuda's work for the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.¹⁰⁵ Otherwise he is busy with Maimonides' *Iggeret Teman* and the other minor epistles.

31. On 26 January 1914 Friedlaender writes to Goldziher, thanking him for his postcard of 10 December.¹⁰⁶ Goldziher had inquired about a passage from Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal*. In his book *Die Zāhiriten* he had quoted it from the Leiden manuscript, but Friedlaender was able to tell him where it appears in the printed edition.¹⁰⁷ As to his long silence: Friedlaender explains that when it comes to Goldziher, he goes by the biblical rule "They shall not appear empty-handed" (Deut. 16:16). He regrets that he did not have anything meaningful to offer. In the summer he had produced several short articles, four of which

Dévényi, Kinga, "Al-Azhar: An Institution That Affected The Lives of Three Hungarian Scholars," in *Egypt in the Current Research of Hungarian Arabists*, Cairo: The Office of the Hungarian Cultural Counsellor in Cairo, 2022, 9–23. For a brief sketch of the political and academic career of Norman Bentwich (1883–1971), see Zander, Walter and Robert Brown, "Bentwich, Norman de Mattos," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30811;jsessionid=AE332DD7BF435F838214969045B6FB0E> (last accessed 26 July 2023).

103 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, [New York (NY)], 1 October 1913, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/33.

104 On Henry Malter, see Marx, Alexander, "In Memoriam: Henry Malter," in *American Jewish Yearbook* 28 (1926), 261–272.

105 I have not been able to locate this review; it may never have been published.

106 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palisade (NJ), 26 January 1914, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/34.

107 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Die Zāhiriten. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der muhammedanischen Theologie*, Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1884 (reprinted Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967). English translation: *The Zāhirīs. Their Doctrine and their History. A Contribution to the History of Islamic Theology*, trans. Wolfgang Behn, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971 (reprinted 2008).

are due to appear in the *JQR*. Among them is a piece on a topic that is totally new to him: “The Rupture between Alexander Jannai and the Sadducees.”¹⁰⁸ In another contribution he deals with a manuscript by Maimonides,¹⁰⁹ and in addition he wrote a detailed review of Eugen Mittwoch’s study on Islamic ritual. For the government in Washington he produced a long essay about Jewish education in America, which has been printed but not yet published.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, he will not be able to write more comprehensive studies, since his time is completely taken up by teaching at the Seminar and the Teachers’ Institute as well as by his considerable public activities. He may be wrong, but he cannot close his eyes to the terrible problems of the Jewish community in New York. In the little free time that remains, he is preparing Maimonides’ shorter epistles for publication. During the next summer he intends to write the volume on Jewish history. It should have been ready in 1910, and there is a great need for such a book in English. The Jewish Publication Society, which commissioned it, is now demanding results.¹¹¹ As he is planning to spend the summer months in England, it may be that he and his wife will come to the Continent. He would be extremely happy if there were an opportunity to visit Goldziher. Rather than in Hungary, this would probably be in Germany, where Goldziher usually spends his summers, and Friedlaender would arrange his travel plans accordingly. By disposition and partly also by education, he feels very close to Hasidism, and for him, to travel to a Rebbe is a true need. He is happy to conclude from Goldziher’s card that he is well, and he is looking forward to his lecture or, as he himself calls it, a sermon. He vividly recalls the wonderful lecture Goldziher had given ten years earlier at the JTS. Before his move to America Friedlaender had never given a speech in a synagogue, but now he does it very

108 Friedlaender, Israel, “The Rupture between Alexander Jannai and the Pharisees,” in *JQR* n.s. 4, no. 3 (1914), 443–448.

109 Friedlaender, Israel, “A New Responsum of Maimonides concerning the Repetition of the ‘Shmoneh Esreh,” in *JQR* n.s. 5, no. 1 (1914), 1–15.

110 Friedlaender, Israel, “The Problem of Jewish Education in America,” a revised version of a longer report published under the title “The Problem of Jewish Education in America and the Bureau of Education of the Jewish Community of New York City.” It is included in his *Past and Present*, 279–307.

111 See Sarna, Jonathan D., *JPS. The Americanization of Jewish Culture 1888–1988. A Centennial History of the Jewish Publication Society*, Philadelphia, New York, Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 5749/1989, 161: “The Society turned to Israel Friedlaender, and in 1907 he agreed to accept the commission, promising to complete the work in three years. Unfortunately, Friedlaender’s manifold other obligations prevented him from carrying out his plan. In 1910, and again in 1914, he requested extensions. By the time of his tragic murder in 1920, the volume had still not materialized, although the need for it had become greater than ever.”

often, both in English and in Yiddish, he writes. But he must stop here, as he is about to go to one of the four lectures given by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) at Columbia University. He speaks with admiration of Snouck's English style and pronunciation.

32. On 25 February 1914 Friedlaender writes to thank Goldziher for his most interesting paper on "Tradition and Dogma," which he received just before his lecture tour, which took him to Chicago.¹¹² The conception of Judaism that he represents will no doubt appeal to some, but whether it will be able to draw the average Jew to the Jewish religion is of course a complicated question. Friedlaender benefited greatly from the paper, and when he now sends Goldziher his short article about Alexander Yannai, it in no way pretends to be equivalent, but merely an expression of his thanks. The next issue of *JQR* will contain a detailed review of Mittwoch's *Islamischer Kultus*.¹¹³ With the exception of a brief note on an article by Halper about Maimonides,¹¹⁴ this is the last piece of Jewish Arabic scholarship produced by Friedlaender, who now devotes all his energy to lecturing and writing, in English and in Yiddish, and for a wider public, about the integration of Jewish immigrants, Jewish education, the plight of the Jews in Poland and Russia, Zionism and other topics that he probably did not think would interest Goldziher.¹¹⁵

33. More than six years have gone by since Friedlaender's last letter. On 7 June 1920 he writes to him from Warsaw, en route to fulfill his mission in Ukraine.¹¹⁶ It is the third time that he passes through the city, and he is pleased

112 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, New York (N.Y.), 23 February 1914, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/31. He refers to Goldziher's "Tradition and Dogma: A Sermon delivered in the Synagogue at Stockholm on the Second Day of Rosh-Hashono, Oct. 3, 1913," in *The Reform Advocate* (Chicago) 47 (1914), 6–9, 39–42.

113 Friedlaender, Israel, "Mittwoch's Islamic Liturgy and Cult. *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* by Eugen Mittwoch," in *JQR* n.s. 4, no. 4 (1914), 641–649.

114 Friedlaender, Israel, "Note on 'An Autograph Responsum of Maimonides' ('JQR.," VI, 225 ff.," in *JQR* n.s. 6, no. 4 (1916), 588–589, reacting to B[enzion] Halper, "An Autograph Responsum of Maimonides," *JQR* n.s. 6, no. 2 (1915), 225–229.

115 See the list of Friedlaender's publications in Cohen, *Israel Friedlaender*. Among his main publications in the last years of his life, mention should be made of his monograph *The Jews of Russia and Poland: A Bird's-Eye View of Their History and Culture*, New York, London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1915, and his translations (from the Russian) of Simon Dubnow's three volumes on the history of the Jews in Russia and Poland; on this aspect of Friedlaender's scholarship, see Shargel, *Practical Dreamer* 86–99; Terpitz, Olaf, "Berlin als Ort der Vermittlung—Simon Dubnow und seine Übersetzer," in Verena Dohrn and Gertrud Pickhan (eds.), *Transit und Transformation: Osteuropäisch-jüdische Migranten in Berlin 1918–1939*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010, 118–123.

116 Friedlaender, Israel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Warsaw, 7 June 1920, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/11/09/02.

to have an opportunity to send Goldziher a sign of life, especially since his master will soon be celebrating his seventieth birthday. Under normal circumstances, he would of course not have let the opportunity go by to express his admiration for the doyen of his discipline. Now, however, he has to content himself with conveying his warmest wishes and heartfelt thanks for everything he has meant to him. Hopefully it will soon be possible to make up for it. Friedlaender asks Goldziher if he ever hears from Nöldeke. He had heard in America that Nöldeke had passed away, but fortunately it turned out that this was not true and that he is still in Strasbourg. He had written to him right away, but got no reply. Hopefully he has moved to Karlsruhe by now, where he can receive proper care. Should he have the opportunity to travel to Germany, he will certainly visit Nöldeke. At the moment, however, he is about to go to Kiev on behalf of a number of charitable committees,¹¹⁷ but he hopes to be back in western Europe after a few weeks and to visit his old home towns.

A month later he would be dead.

What is the impression we come away with, reading Friedlaender's letters to Goldziher? First of all, this is very much a scholarly correspondence. Only sporadically do we get a glimpse of Friedlaender's personal life, thus for example when he writes about his wife's problems adapting in America and his mother's death.¹¹⁸ Having said that, Friedlaender is quite open about his mental state: Time and again he mentions the fraught state of his nerves which saps his energy and affects his scholarly output. He is brimming with ideas, but with little energy to put pen to paper. Nöldeke, too, is aware of the problem. In his letter of 17 July 1904 he tells Friedlaender that he was asked by an insurance company to supply medical details about him. Does Nöldeke think it likely that Friedlaender will live to an old age? Is he aware of any illness? Nöldeke writes that he could not withhold the fact that Friedlaender had occasionally suffered from neurasthenia, if that is the correct term for his condition.¹¹⁹ And in his letter of 27 August 1904, the revered master writes: “Übrigens war auch Bismarck sehr nervös und ist doch sehr alt geworden!”¹²⁰

117 On Friedlaender's eagerness to take part in the relief work by the Joint Distribution Committee and other organizations—and its tragic outcome—see Shargel, *Practical Dreamer* Chapter 2.

118 Needless to say, their personal interaction during their meetings on European and American soil may have been quite different.

119 Nöldeke, Theodor, *Letter to Israel Friedlaender*, Strasbourg, 17 July 1904, JTS, Friedlaender Papers, ARC. 39, Box 8.

120 Nöldeke, Theodor, *Letter to Israel Friedlaender*, Strasbourg, 17 July 1904, JTS, Friedlaender Papers, ARC. 39, Box 8.

(But as we know, Friedlaender ended up being brutally murdered at the age of 44 in the course of a humanitarian mission.) From the very beginning Friedlaender is clearly in awe of Goldziher, whose kindness, wisdom and learning he praises. And the fact that Goldziher sent Friedlaender his personal transcript of a text that was essential for the successful completion of his dissertation is exemplary of his generosity. Friedlaender is eager for his approval, and delighted when Goldziher reacts positively to his publications. He thanks him profusely for the offprints he sends him. Now and then Friedlaender even allows himself a suggestion or comment, but most of the time it is clear that he feels distinctly inferior compared to Goldziher's undisputed brilliance. This is reflected in his self-effacing tone. He is forever worried that his work will not be appreciated and will be ignored. On the other hand, he is confident that what he has to offer is original and important and may be of use, not only to Goldziher, but also to others. It is the constant encouragement by intellectual giants such as Goldziher and Nöldeke that makes him believe in the value of his work. Their support is all the more important since there is no one at the JTS with whom he can discuss his findings. The letters point to several factors exacerbating his frustration and insecurity: the distance from the European centers of Orientalist scholarship, the lack of an inspiring intellectual environment at the JTS; his administrative duties at the Seminary; the fact that he was required to devote his time to a discipline he had no affinity with; the difficulties to have his work published—due largely to its interdisciplinary character—or to have it published in a format to his liking, rather than in instalments,¹²¹ and his sense that he was losing his ability to write in German, which was still the most important language in his chosen discipline.¹²² The letters constitute a valuable addition to our knowledge about one aspect of Friedlaender's scholarly trajectory, namely his work on Jewish Arabic studies, which is where his interests and Goldziher's coincided. Once he almost completely stopped writing in this field and turned his attention elsewhere, he felt he had little to offer to Goldziher and withdrew into silence.

121 His work on *Khidr* in particular has a very confusing publication history.

122 In addition, there were various disappointments that are not mentioned here. He had applied for the chair in Semitic languages and been nominated for the presidency of Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning but was passed over, and he may have expected to succeed Solomon Schechter at the helm of the JTS; see Shargel, *Practical Dreamer* 10, 131. If he was aware, as he must have been, of the fact that his wife Lilian had previously been engaged to another man, and that the position at the JTS had become his only after Samuel Poznański had declined, this cannot have contributed to his fragile self-esteem.

Appendix

Palisade, N.J.

den 30 Juli 1912.

Hochverehrter Herr Professor!

Herzlichen Dank für Ihre liebenswürdigen Zeilen und das in ihnen zutage tretende Interesse. Ich würdige dieses umsomehr als ich hier mit meinen Studien fast ganz allein dastehe und meine Artikel selbst von unserem Präsidenten, obwohl er offiziell als Mitherausgeber des JQR figuriert, nicht gelesen werden. Doch was Sie von sich selber und Ihren eigenen Arbeiten sagen, gereicht mir zum Troste, denn לוייתן הועלה בחכה¹²³. Für heute möchte ich mir eine שאלת חכם gestatten, für deren Beantwortung ich aufrichtig dankbar sein werde. In der Fortsetzung m/r Shiitic Elements vergleiche ich Shabbathai Zevis Behauptung, daß er Gott als Jüngling gesehen habe (בחור דומה לו), mit einem Koranvers, in dem, falls ich mich nicht täusche, Muhamed etwa sagt, er habe s/n Herrn als Jüngling einen oder zwei Wurfspieße entfernt gesehen. Ich habe mir große Mühe gegeben, den Vers zu finden, kann es aber nicht. Könnten Sie mir denselben angeben? Oder steht er irgendwo im Ḥadīth? Sie können daraus meine עם הארצות ersehen! Für Ihren freundlichen Bescheid herzlichst dankend, bin ich, mit verehrungsvollem Gruß

Ihr ergebener I. Friedlaender

¹²³ Babylonian Talmud, Mo'ed Katan, 25b: “If Leviathan by hook be hauled to land, What hope have fishes of a shallow strand?”

Palisade, N. J.
 Den 30 Juli 1912.
 Liebesvater Herr Professor!
 Herzlichen Dank für Ihre lebens-
 würdigen Zitate mit der in Ihnen zutiefst
 bewunderten Güte. Ich würde das Buch
 als ich für mich mit meinen Kindern fast ganz
 allein las und meine Artikel selbst
 von meinem Präsidenten, obwohl er offiziell
 als Mitverfasser der JOR fungiert,
 nicht gelassen werden. Das war Sie von
 sich selber und Ihren eigenen Arbeiten sa-
 gen, gewisse mir zum Trost, denn es
 ist nicht leicht. Für mich weiß ich nur
 nun so viel, gefallen, für den Berau-
 tung ist aufrichtig dankbar sei werde.
 In der folgenden mit Ighitic Elements verknüpft
 ist Shabbath: Zweis Befragung, ob es Gott
 als Jüngling gesehen habe (11. 13. 182), und
 einen Koranvers, in dem, falls ich mich
 nicht täusche, Mosam Abu sagt, er habe
 sie schon als Jüngling einen oder zwei
 Wüßlingen kuffent gesehen. Ich habe eine
 große Mühe gegeben, die Vers zu finden,
 kann es aber nicht. Koran ist mir da-
 gegen unbekannt, oder Hoffe es irgendwo
 im Hadith & Sin. Können Sie mir
 ein Wort sagen! für Ihre freundliche
 Befriedigung dankend, bin ich, und
 versprochen. Herzlich
 J. Friedlaender

FIGURE 2.1 Letter no. 26, Friedlaender, Israel, Letter to Ignaz Goldziher, Palisade (NJ),
 30 July 1912
 BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GIL/11/09/27 (VERSO)



FIGURE 2.2 Overleaf postcard
 BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GIL/11/09/27 (RECTO)

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“Your unconscious personal influence started me on my course”: On the Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Duncan B. Macdonald

Kinga Dévényi

The opening words of the title were written by Duncan Black Macdonald—the founder of the first school in the United States devoted to Christian missionary work in the Middle East—in his last letter, dated 25 October 1921 to Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), his unrivalled master, whose influence Macdonald acknowledged without any reservation and on whose judicious remarks he could always rely. Goldziher—according to all reports—was not only a great scholar, but an exceptional teacher, very attentive to the needs of his diverse students from Hungary and abroad.¹ This predisposition to passing on knowledge met D.B. Macdonald’s need for a master, as is clearly expressed in their letters, which provide a true imprint of their relationship.

Their correspondence is special not only because Macdonald was among the most frequent of Goldziher’s correspondents, but also because he complied with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences’ request to send the letters he had received from Goldziher after the inauguration of the Goldziher room in 1933. Until the opening of the Oriental Collection in 1951, Goldziher’s vast correspondence—together with his manuscripts and a small collection of photographs sent mainly by his correspondents—was kept in this dedicated room, where researchers from Hungary and abroad had access to the material.²

1 Testimony from several students attests to Goldziher’s dedication to teaching. Since most of this testimony is in Hungarian, the English reminiscences of his last student can be singled out here: de Somogyi, Joseph, “My Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher” in *MW* 51 (1961), 5–17.

2 On the opening of this room, see Pukánszky, Béla, “Die Goldziher-Sammlung der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,” in *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 13 (1933), 371–372. Pukánszky’s article was sent to forty leading scholars in the field of Islamic studies worldwide, including Karl Budde (1850–1935), Arent Jan Wensinck (1882–1939), Franz Babinger (1891–1967), Rudi Paret (1901–1983), and Cyrus Adler (1863–1940), all of whom welcomed this event with great enthusiasm. After World War II, similar to other rooms dedicated to special collections, this room was dissolved, and the documents were incorporated into the holdings of the newly estab-

1 Who Was Duncan Black Macdonald?

In addition to his scholarly publications, D.B. Macdonald (1863–1943), a Scottish Presbyterian cleric who lived most of his life in Hartford, Connecticut, is primarily remembered as one of the initiators of Arabic and Islamic Studies in the United States. Operating as an academic unit within the Hartford Seminary since 1973, the Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations bears his name, commemorating his dedication to Arabic and Islamic studies at Hartford.³

In the autumn of 1892, Macdonald was appointed Instructor of Semitic Languages at the Department of Exegetical Theology of the Hartford Theological Seminary, where, by identifying himself as an Arabist, an Islamicist, and a historian, he emphatically argued for the validity of the study of Arabic in its own right and as an essential requirement for a serious study of Islam.⁴ His pioneering work in introducing the study of Arabic and Islam for their own sake into the United States cannot be denied.

During his years at the University of Glasgow, which was located in his native town, Macdonald studied some Arabic and Syriac—in addition to Hebrew—with William Robertson Smith (1846–1894).⁵ He also considered Eduard Sachau

lished Oriental Library, today known as the *Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (hereinafter referred to as LHAS).

- 3 Further information on the Center is available at The Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, <https://www.hartfordinternational.edu/religion-research/macdonald-center> (last accessed: 20 April 2022). On the foundation and the activities of the Center together with that of the founder of Arabic studies at Hartford, see Bijlefeld, Willem A[braham], “A Century of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Hartford Seminary,” in *MW*, 83 (1993), 103–117; Bodine, J[ohn] Jermain, “The Legacy of Duncan Black Macdonald,” in *Occasional Bulletin/Overseas Ministries Study Center* 4 (1980), 162–165; and Michot, Yahya, “Duncan Black Macdonald,” in David Thomas et al. (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500–1900 online*, Leiden: Brill, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_31381 (last accessed: 20 April 2022).
- 4 Bijlefeld, “A Century” 104. Goldziher completely agreed with this opinion, and even more, in a letter to Macdonald he quoted an opinion he approved of and according to which any historian of Europe should inevitably learn two languages: Latin and Arabic (Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 14 August 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/05). The abbreviation *GIL* stands for *Goldziher Ignaz's Letters* and is the beginning of the call numbers of the archive of his letters kept in the Oriental Collection of the LHAS.
- 5 Scottish minister, Old Testament scholar, and Arabist, who was reader (1881–1889), then professor of Arabic (1889–1894) at the University of Cambridge until his death. On his life and works, see Maier, Bernhard, *William Robertson Smith: His Life, His Work and His Times*, Tübingen:

(1845–1930) his master in this field,⁶ under whose guidance he studied during the academic year of 1890–1891 in Berlin.

In addition to this scholarly work, his many articles and three books on Islam⁷—*The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, and *Aspects of Islam*—Macdonald is primarily remembered for doing ground-breaking research on al-Ghazālī for which he set the tone in his first, lengthy 60-page article.⁸ This first voluminous article was a forerunner of his al-Ghazālī research.

This article also had a far-reaching consequence in establishing his relationship with Goldziher, because he seems to have dispatched an offprint to Goldziher immediately after its appearance. This we know from the first surviving letter in the correspondence, which is Goldziher's acknowledgment of the article with three hand-written pages concerning its content. It is not without interest to quote this letter in full since it immediately set the tone of their subsequent correspondence.⁹

VII. Holló-utcza 4

Budapest d[en] 25. Mai 1899

Sehr geehrter Herr College!¹⁰

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6 Sachau was a professor of Semitic philology at the University of Vienna and later at Berlin University. For his life and scholarly accomplishments, see Hanisch, Ludmila, *Die Nachfolger der Exegeten: Deutschsprachige Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, 38, 40–44, 56, 204, 223.

7 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York: Charles Scribner, 1903; Macdonald, Duncan Black, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago: University Press, 1909; Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Aspects of Islam*, New York: MacMillan, 1911.

8 Macdonald, Duncan Black, "The Life of al-Ghazzālī, with Especial Reference to His Religious Experiences and Opinion," in *JAOS* 20 (1899), 71–132. For an in-depth evaluation of this article, see Garden, Kenneth, "Duncan Macdonald's Pioneering Study of al-Ghazālī: Paths not Taken," in *MW* 104 (2014), 62–70.

9 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 25 May 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/08. The original orthography of the letters was kept in the quoted material. No attempt was made to correct slips of the pen, modernize spelling, or amend punctuation.

10 An abridged English translation follows:

Empfangen Sie meinen aufrichtigen Dank für die Zusendung Ihrer ausgezeichneten Abhandlung über Al-Ġazālî, die ich, so wie die Beilage (Job & Muslim Cosmography)¹¹ mit vielen Vergnügen und Nutzen gelesen habe. Ich finde, daß Sie das Verständniß al-Ġazālî's in sehr erheblichen Maasse gefördert haben und man muß Ihnen dankbar sein, daß Sie die Materialien des schwer zugänglichen السيد المرتضى¹² verarbeitet haben. Es wird Sie interessiren, daß in neuerer Zeit ein šâfi'itischer Mufti von Mekka Muhammad Sa'îd Bâbesîl,¹³ in der anti-wahhabitischen Streitschrift, die ich ZDMG 52, 156¹⁴ (unten) erwähnt habe, ein eigenes Kapitel zum Ruhme Gazâlî's eingefügt hat; er stellt ihn mit dem Imâm al-Šâfi'î auf eine Linie

“Receive my sincere thanks for sending your excellent treatise on al-Ghazālî, which I have read with much pleasure and benefit together with the enclosures. I find that you have advanced the understanding of al-Ghazālî very considerably and one must be grateful to you for processing the materials of the difficult-to-access al-Sayyid al-Murtaḏā. It will interest you that in our time a Šāfi'î *muftî* of Mecca, Muhammad Sa'îd Bâbasîl, in an anti-Wahhâbî polemic aligns him with the Imâm al-Šāfi'î and says that righteous Muslims can be recognized by their sympathy for al-Ghazālî. From Ibn al-Abbâr's *Mu'jam* (ed. Codera) we learn of a vigorous movement by the theologians of Almeria against the auto-da-fé prepared by Ibn Ḥamdîn on the writings of al-Ghazālî. I am surprised that there was no mention of this countermovement in the reports relating to Ibn Ḥamdîn's actions. One cannot bluntly state, as you do, that the *madhhab* of Abû Ḥanîfa is inextricably linked to the dogmatic system of al-Mâturîdî. The Ash'arî renaissance under Sultan Toghrîl was not directed against the Mâturîdiyya, but against the Ḥanbalî ultras and other old conservative dogmatists. They did not want to leave the *tashbîh* and *tajsîm* and from this point of view had frowned upon the teachings of al-Ash'arî. Perhaps you are also interested in learning that I have spoken in detail about the Mujaddidûn doctrine in my treatise: On the Characteristics of Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûtî.

Take my remarks as a sign of the great interest your beautiful treatise has aroused in me. I also enjoyed reading the note about Behemoth, Leviathan. Much material is still available in al-Damîrî. I am immensely excited and hopeful about the prospect that you are continuing your studies of al-Ghazālî.”

- 11 Macdonald, Duncan Black, “Job and Muslim Cosmography,” in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 15, no. 3 (1899), 168–169.
- 12 Al-Sayyid al-Murtaḏā, i.e., Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murtaḏā al-Ḥusaynî al-Zabîdî (1145–1205/1732 or 1733–1791) whose voluminous commentary on al-Ghazālî's *Iḥyâ 'ulûm al-dîn* entitled *Ithâf al-sâda l-muttaqîn* was also used by Macdonald (Macdonald, “Life of al-Ghazzâlî” 72n1).
- 13 Muḥammad Sa'îd Bâbaşîl (1245–1330/1829–1912) was Šāfi'î *muftî* of Mecca after Aḥmad b. Zaynî Daḥlân's death in 1886.
- 14 It is, in fact, volume 53. Goldziher, Ignaz, “[Review of] Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna, A Biography of the Imâm Including an Account of the Moḥammedan Inquisition called the Miḥna, by Walter M. Patton, Leiden, Brill, 1897,” in *ZDMG* 53 (1899), 155–160.

und spricht den Kanon aus, daß man den rechtschaffenen Muslim an seiner Sympathie für al-Gaz.[âlî] erkennt. [/p. 2]

Aus Ibn al-Abbâr, Mu‘gam ed. Codera¹⁵ nr.¹⁶ 270,¹⁷ *Takmila* nr. 1841 erfahren wir von einer kräftigen Bewegung der Theologen von Almeria gegen das Auto da fé, das Ibn Ḥamdîn¹⁸ den Schriften Ġazâlî’s bereitete. Es wundert mich, daß vor dieser Gegenbewegung in den auf die Action des Ibn Ḥamdîn bezüglichen Berichten (Dozy etc.)¹⁹ nicht die Rede war.

Man kann nicht, wie auch Sie es (79 note 2) thun, (vgl. auch Brockelmann I 195)²⁰ schroff hinstellen, daß das *مذهب أبي حنيفة* [*madhhab* Abî Ḥanîfa] mit dem dogmatischen System das Mâtârîdî²¹ (so, nicht Mâtûrîdî)

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- 15 The reference is to the biographical dictionary of Ibn al-Abbâr, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allâh, *al-Mu‘jam fî aṣḥâb al-qāḍî al-imâm Abî ‘Alî al-Ṣadafî = Almôcham de discipulis Abu Ali Assadafî, ab Aben al-Abbar scriptum*, ed. Franciscus Codera et Zaydîn, Madrid: Rojas, 1886.
- 16 Nr. is crossed over by a different hand, probably that of Macdonald, in pencil, and corrected to *pp*.
- 17 Between 270 and *Takmila*, a *b* is inserted, again by pencil, above the line. This may stand for German *bei*.
- 18 Abû Ja‘far Ḥamdîn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdîn (d. 546/1151) was the judge and governor of Cordoba between 536/1142 and 540/1145 during the period of transition between Almoravid and Almohad rule. See ‘Inân, Muḥammad ‘Abd Allâh, *Dawlat al-islâm fî l-Andalus: al-‘aṣr al-thâlith ‘aṣr al-Murâbitîn wa-l-Muwahḥidîn fî l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus, al-qism al-awwal: ‘aṣr al-Murâbitîn wa-bidāyat al-Dawla al-Muwahḥidīyya*, Cairo: al-Khânjî, 1997, 312–316.
- 19 See Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne, *Histoire des musulmans d’Espagne jusqu’à la conquête de l’Andalousie par les Almoravides*, 4 vols., iv, Leiden: Brill, 1861, 254, where the confiscation and burning of al-Ghazâlî’s *Iḥyâ’ ulûm al-dîn* is described in detail, but there is no mention of the reactions made against this act.
- 20 On al-Mâtûrîdî (d. 333/944), see Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols., vol. i, Weimar: Felber, 1898, 195.
- 21 Goldziher was not right in asserting that the name of this theologian is al-Mâtârîdî and not al-Mâtûrîdî. The relevant sources do not fail to point out that the *tâ’* is followed by a *ḍamma* [u]. See, e.g., ‘Abd al-Raḥmân b. Abî Bakr Jalâl al-Dîn al-Suyûtî, *Lubb al-lubâb fî taḥrîr al-ansâb*, Leiden: Luchtmans, 1842, 232, s.v. al-Mâtûrîdî. The name refers to a locality (*maḥalla*) in Samarqand, spelled *Mâtûrîd* or *Mâtûrîd*. It is unclear why Goldziher was convinced of this form of the name. His authority and the influence he exercised on Macdonald is evident from the latter’s answer (Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 21 August 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/030), where he already uses the form *al-Mâtârîdî* as suggested by Goldziher. Another scholar, Friedrich Kern (1874–1921), who corresponded with Goldziher between 1899 and 1912 in his letters between 1902 and 1907 also used the name with an *a*, whereas in his later letters to Goldziher he switched to *u*. That correspondence, however, is one-sided, so we can only suppose that Kern was influenced by Goldziher in the form of the name he used. See Schmidtke, Sabine, “‘Er versinkt aber in einem Meer von Handschriften’: Friedrich Kern (1874–1921) and His Studies on the Dogmatic History of Ḥanafism and Mâtûrîdîsm,” in

unlösbar verknüpft ist. Die aś‘arische Renaissance unter dem Sultan Toghril²² war nicht gegen die ماتريدية [Māturīdiyya] gewendet, sondern gegen die hanbalitischen Ultras und sonstige altconservative Dogmatiker, die nicht vom تشبيه [tashbīh] und تجسيم [tajsīm]²³ lassen wollten und aus diesem Gesichtspunkte die Lehren des Aś‘arī verpöht hatten.

Vielleicht interessiert es Sie auch, zu 96, Anm. 2²⁴ zu erfahren, daß ich über die مجددون [Mujaddidūn]-Lehre in meiner Abhandlung: Zur Charakteristik Ġalāl al-dīn [/ p. 3] al-Suyūṭī’s (Wiener Akademie 1871) eingehend gesprochen habe.²⁵

Betrachten Sie meine Bemerkungen als Zeichen des hohen Interesses, das mir Ihre schöne Abhandlung eingeflösst hat.²⁶ Auch die Note über Behemoth, Leviathan habe ich mit Wohlgefallen gelesen. Ich glaube, daß an Ihrer Auffassung von بلهوت [Bulhūt]²⁷ nicht zu zweifeln ist. Über die eschatologische Bedeutung jener Thiere im Islam (wo sie aus rabbinischen Legenden entnommen sind) ist viel Material noch bei Damīrī²⁸ s.v. بالام [Bālām] I 140 (der Ausgabe von 1284), s.v. ثور [thawr] ibid. 226 zu finden.

Ich bin auf Ihre in Aussicht gestellte Fortsetzung der Ġazālī-Studien ungemein gespannt und hoffe dieselbe recht bald lesen zu können.

Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt (eds.), *Sammler—Bibliothekare—Forscher: Zur Geschichte der orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2022, 315–386, *passim*. It is worth noting that by 1910 Goldziher himself used the name with a *u* as is attested by Goldziher, Ignaz, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1910, 110–116, 136.

22 Sultan Toghril is the founder of the Seljuk Empire, ruling from 429/1037 to 455/1063. See Bosworth, Clifford Edmund, “Toghrīl (I) Beg,” in *ET²*, x (2000), 553–554.

23 *Tashbīh* and *tajsīm* are two terms denoting different types of anthropomorphism in Ash‘arī theology. See, e.g., Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 123–125.

24 In this footnote Macdonald mentions those renewers of religious life (*mujaddidūn*) who are sent every hundred years according to a tradition. To these belonged al-Ash‘arī (d. ca. 324/935) and al-Ghazālī.

25 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Zur Charakteristik Ġalāl ud-dīn us-Suyūṭī’s und seiner literarischen Thätigkeit,” in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 69 (1871), 7–28, esp. 8–13.

26 The following remarks refer to Macdonald, “Job,” in which Macdonald gives an analysis of a part in the cosmography described by al-Tha‘labī, Abū Ishāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’ al-musammā bi-l-‘arā’is*, Miṣr: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kāstaliyya, 1298 [1881].

27 In his interpretation of Bulhūt, Macdonald (“Job” 168) followed al-Tha‘labī, according to whom it is the *kunya* of the mighty fish on which the earth rests.

28 Al-Damīrī, Muḥammad b. Mūsā, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Būlāq: Dār al-Ṭibā‘a al-Miṣriyya, 1284 [1868].

Nochmals aufrichtigen Dank, verehrter Herr College, für die mir und meinen anspruchslosen Schriften zugewendete Aufmerksamkeit und die ehrerbietigen Grüße
Ihres ergebenen
Dr Goldziher

This letter was sent on 25 May 1899.²⁹ The correspondence started slowly as Macdonald thanked Goldziher for the kind and useful remarks only on the 21st of August. In this letter he voiced his feeling to be alone with his thoughts and research in the United States. He writes: “[your recognition] has encouraged me to go on in my studies in a line which is little if at all followed in this country. I doubt if, among our few Arabists, there is another besides myself who pays the slightest attention to Muslim theology.”³⁰ He does not fail to point out that he had found Goldziher’s references very useful, especially since they directed his attention to authors and works hitherto unknown to him, such as al-Damīrī’s *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*.

The full text of this typewritten letter is as follows:

“The Roost,” New Harbor, Maine, U.S.A., August 21. 1899.

My dear Professor Goldziher:—

Your letter of criticism on my al-Ghazzālī paper has given me the greatest pleasure. From no other writer on Muslim life and thought have I gained a tithe of what I have learned from you in your books; and now there is added to that your most kind and appreciative letter. Believe me that I am very grateful for such recognition from the greatest master in the subject; it has encouraged me to go on in my studies in a line which is little if at all followed in this country. I doubt if, among our few Arabists, there is another besides myself who pays the slightest attention to Muslim theology.

You will understand how valuable your criticisms and suggestions are to one who like myself has been working at this subject without any teacher to refer to. I am only beginning to find my way in the great labyrinth and your many references have opened up new paths of advance to me. On my first opportunity I must work through ad-Damīrī; You will hardly believe that I have not yet read a page of him—my knowledge

29 Goldziher, *Letter to Macdonald*, 25 May 1899.

30 Macdonald, *Letter to Goldziher*, 21 August 1899.

of Arabic literature is still very slight. The passages which you quote on Ibn Ḥamdīn’s auto da fé of al-Ghazzālī’s writings have especially interested me. I am occupied just now in trying to work out a little sketch of the religious position of Ibn Rushd and my grand puzzle at present is about the cause, or causes, of his sudden fall from favour with Abū Yūsuf al-Manṣūr and his equally sudden restoration. Your “Zahiriten” is of much value for this. As for al-Mātarīdī, the SM³¹ knows next to nothing about him. He refers to lives in the *Jawāhir al-mudī’a* of Muḥyī ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Wafā al-Qurashi and in the *Kitāb al-ansāb* of Majd ad-Dīn Ismā‘īl al-Balbīsī [*sic*] al-Qāhirī but he complains that *kullun minhumā ‘alā-l-likhtisār* [*sic*]. Something also is to be learned about him *fi-ntisāb kutub al-madhhab*. Evidently the SM was as much in the dark as we. But he has some excellent remarks on the relation of al-Ash‘arī and al-Mātarīdī to their predecessors and to the great Imams.

For some time past I have been trying to gather copies of your different Abhandlungen but I did not succeed in getting your As-Suyūṭī till my article was in type. When your letter came I had already noted on the margin a reference to what you say on the *mujaddidun*.

With repeated thanks for your kind criticism and encouragement,
I remain,

Yours faithfully,

Duncan B. Macdonald

Macdonald, as is well reflected in his study on al-Ghazālī, approached Islam with an open mind. Even concerning missionary methods, he advocated—among others—the following axioms:

- Avoid controversy.
- Seek points of contact.
- Foster the idea that the Bible may be worth reading.
- Assimilate yourself to Muslims in language as far as conscience will permit.
- Be perfectly clear that our notion of God [is] different.
- Remember [the] distinction of Religion and Theology.³²

This openness to Islam and Muslim Arabs lay at the core of his thinking, which seems to have provided a common ground between himself and Goldziher.

31 That is, al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā.

32 Duncan B. Macdonald’s notes in the Archives of the Case Memorial Library. Quoted by Bodine, “Legacy” 163.

Another reason for their sympathies with each other may be that they were both greatly disappointed in their careers. Macdonald was very unhappy that his application for the Hebrew Chair at the University of St. Andrews was turned down in 1902 because—as he writes to Goldziher—“The local influence was too strong, and they secured the appointment of one of their own graduates. I do not think he has done any work as yet as an orientalist.”³³ He was also unsuccessful later that year in his Cambridge application. In the first case he enjoyed Goldziher’s full support and recommendation.³⁴ This testimonial—without having consulted Goldziher for lack of time—was attached by Macdonald’s brother Norman to his Cambridge chair application.³⁵ However, this move put Goldziher in an embarrassing situation, since he has already given his support to Edward Granville Browne (1862–1926),³⁶ who in fact was elected to that post.

Although not related, it may be interesting to note that upon the death of Robertson Smith in 1894, E.G. Browne did his best to convince Goldziher to accept the Sir Thomas Adams Chair of Cambridge University, as is evidenced by his three letters.³⁷

Macdonald’s disappointment must have been enormous, especially since he had entertained high hopes of going back to his native land. He wrote to Goldziher in 1902: “To get back to my own country and into closer touch with Arabists will mean much to me. Here I do not believe there is one besides myself who studies Islam for its own sake. To all it is the purest *Nebenfach* and you know what that means.”³⁸

Although Goldziher’s university career was totally different from that of Macdonald, he was also denied his dream for a long time. Since the age of 21,

33 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 24 April 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/022.

34 As attested by Macdonald, Norman, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Glasgow, 18 February 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/05/03.

35 Macdonald, Norman, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Glasgow, 18 April 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/05/01.

36 British Iranist who held the Cambridge Chair of Arabic Studies from 1902 until his death. On his life and works, see Wickens, George Michael, Juan Cole, and Kamran Ekbal, “Browne, Edward Granville,” in *EIr*, iv (1990), 483–488.

37 Browne, Edward Granville, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Cambridge, 25 April 1894, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/06/06/28; Browne, Edward Granville, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Cambridge, 4 May 1894, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/06/06/27; Browne, Edward Granville, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Cambridge, 25 May 1894, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/06/06/26.

38 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 17 March 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/025.

he had been teaching as the first Privatdocent of Jewish faith at the University of Pest,³⁹ and expected to be soon promoted to the Chair of Semitic Philology, as had been promised by his mentor, Minister József Eötvös (1813–1871).⁴⁰ However, Ágoston Trefort (1817–1888), successor to Eötvös as Minister of Education and Religious Affairs, offered the chair to somebody else, and although Goldziher was promoted to titular professorship in 1894, he could only hold the chair after the retirement of his predecessor,⁴¹ from 1905.⁴²

More important, and returning to the correspondence, Macdonald did not fail to emphasize in many of his letters his indebtedness to Goldziher. Several examples could be quoted in which he mentions how he followed Goldziher's views in his own compositions. There are, however, also more general observations:

“My face-to-face teachers in Arabic were Professor [William] Robertson [Smith] in Glasgow and Professor [Eduard] Sachau in Berlin, but, with all dutiful respect to them, I feel that I have gained still many from your writings, and that especially if I have any insight into Muslim life and thought, it is due to you. I trust you will accept this, the homage of a pupil who has never seen you,”

39 Cf. Goldziher, Ignaz, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden: Brill, 1978, 50–51; *Almanac of the Royal Hungarian University, 1871–72* [A M. Kir. Tudomány-egyetem almanachja 1871–72-ről], Buda: Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1872, 21. See also *List of courses at the Royal Hungarian University of Budapest for the Winter of 1874–5* [A Budapesti Magyar Királyi Tudomány-egyetem tanrende 1874–5. tanév téli szakára], Budapest: Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1904, when he delivered the following lectures: On Muhammedan Religion and Its Institutions (two classes), Grammar of Semitic Languages with Literary Exercises (three classes), and The Mythos of Semitic Peoples (one class). During the spring semester of the same academic year, he taught the following courses: Qur'anic Exegesis (three classes), On the Branches of Islam (two classes), The Cultural History of the Hebrews until the Babylonian Captivity (one class) (*List of courses at the Royal Hungarian University of Budapest for the Summer of 1874–5* [A Budapesti Magyar Királyi Tudomány-egyetem tanrende 1874–5. tanév nyári szakára], Budapest: Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1905).

40 See the letter of József Eötvös to Gedeon Tanárky, in Eötvös, József, *Letters* [Levelek], ed. Ambrus Oltványi, Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1976, Nr. 283, Karlsbad, 10 September 1868.

41 In the year of Goldziher's university appointment, not only his predecessor, Péter Hatala (1832–1918), retired, but his former professor Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913) also resigned from the university (*Almanac of the Royal Hungarian University of Budapest, for the academic year 1905–1906* [A Budapesti Királyi Magyar Tudományegyetem Almanachja az 1905–1906. tanévre], Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1906, 57).

42 *Almanac of the Royal Hungarian University of Budapest* 1906, 57: “Ignaz Goldziher ... a full professor of Semitic philology ... was endowed with the title and character of a full professor, and thus became a full member of the faculty on 1 August 1894. He was appointed full professor on 24 May 1905.”

wrote Macdonald to Goldziher in one of his first letters to him on 8 January 1902.⁴³

Goldziher reciprocated Macdonald's intimate remarks by being totally frank with Macdonald and expressing his innermost feelings, his disappointment, and being hurt by others. In addition, he often complained that he was not feeling well enough to work.

2 Goldziher's Personality as Reflected in His *Tagebuch* and His Correspondence

Goldziher started to write a diary in German⁴⁴ on his fortieth birthday, 22 June 1890. It seems appropriate to compare its contents with the tone of his letters and the views expressed therein.

Goldziher was an exceptionally sensitive and fragile person. This seems to have been due largely to the constant mental strain to which he was exposed since early childhood. His diary helped him maintain his mental health, which was threatened by various factors. These included the need to provide for himself and his family as a secretary of the Jewish community, which took valuable time away from research, as well as frequent illnesses that often prevented him from working due to insomnia and severe headaches. However, the diary was Goldziher's lifeline, where he could express his innermost feelings without hurting anyone. In his letters, however, he generally conceals his struggles well, and from them an entirely different personality emerges, revealing someone who is very similar to the descriptions given by his disciples, friends, and acquaintances, all of whom described Goldziher as a kind person who, despite his vast knowledge, was able to converse easily with anyone, even a child.⁴⁵

The question arises as to whether this constantly benevolent personality was Goldziher's true self. The recollections of those who knew him personally seem to prove that we can answer this question in the affirmative. With a select circle of his closest friends, however, he was completely honest. To them he expressed

43 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 8 January 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/021.

44 Goldziher, *Tagebuch*.

45 Sebestyén, Károly, "Ignaz Goldziher, the man" [Goldziher Ignác, az ember], in Samu Szemere (ed.), *Yearbook of the Hungarian Israelite Literary Society [Az Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat évkönyve]*, Budapest: Lampel, 1932, 37–39.

his innermost feelings, disappointment, and possible resentment of others. In these letters he wrote about being able to conceal his feelings extremely well and, if necessary, hiding his emotions with an unflinching face.⁴⁶ It seems that Macdonald belonged to this intimate circle to whom he often complained that he was not feeling well enough or that he did not have time to work on his writings due to his busy schedule.⁴⁷

3 Goldziher’s “Spell”

From the point of view of his correspondence with Macdonald, it is important to emphasize that although Goldziher was a true believer of the Jewish faith, practicing his religion to his last breath, his religiosity did not influence his personal contacts in any sense. On the contrary, he welcomed Muslim and Christian students alike to the peaceful retreat in the pleasant villa in Buda that he rented for over a decade during the summer.⁴⁸ From among the latter, mention must be made of William Henry Temple Gairdner (1873–1928), a British missionary with the Church Missionary Society in Cairo who, upon the recommendation of several scholars and last but not least D.B. Macdonald, went to study *kalām*, philosophy, Sufism, and Islamic law under the guidance of Goldziher in the summer of 1911 during his 18-month-long leave from Cairo.

As evidenced by a letter from Gairdner written in Rotterdam on 8 July 1911, it was Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) who managed to convince him to summon his courage and write to Goldziher, the “leader in Arabic and Islamic studies,” as Gairdner writes, to ask whether he would accept him as his student before his return to Egypt. Prior to this, however, Macdonald was also instrumental in acquainting Gairdner with the works of Goldziher, as we learn from the same letter, in which Gairdner mentions that he had spent six months

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- 46 See Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Zoltán Ferenczi*, Westerland a/Sylt, 14 August 1905, Budapest, LHAS Department of Manuscripts, Ms 326/780, in which he writes (in Hungarian): “I was totally worn out in Pest during the past few weeks ... I was careworn and weakened to the point of ruin, although I hypocrised outward humor and spiritual strength as usual.”
- 47 For example, Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 27 February 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/10.
- 48 A picture postcard showing the so-called Wellisch villa is found in Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Zoltán Ferenczi, Zugliget*, Budapest, 28 July 1910, Budapest, LHAS Department of Manuscripts, Ms 326/783.

studying under professor D.B. Macdonald and many times spoke to him about Goldziher, whose books were often the theme of their discussions.⁴⁹

Such was Goldziher's charm that ten years after his stay in Budapest, Gairdner was sending Goldziher and his wife a 20-kg package of food from Cairo, as attested by a letter dated 30 June 1921 in which Gairdner indicates his wish to help Goldziher after the deprivation of the war and the turbulent years following it.⁵⁰

The form of address Gairdner employed in his first letter to Goldziher after the necessary silence imposed during the long years of World War I indicates the depth of his feelings for Goldziher. He wrote: "My dear, venerated, beloved Professor."⁵¹

The war greatly affected Goldziher because it required him to sever ties with many of his friends, resulting in "intellectual famine and isolation," as Gairdner put it.⁵² Goldziher's correspondents, including Louis Massignon (1883–1962), sensed his isolation and Massignon arranged for magazines to be sent to Goldziher during the war years so that he might not feel too deserted.

Macdonald, who lived in the United States, could correspond more freely with his colleagues in the four corners of the world and was able to share with Goldziher the news he received from others. His letters during the war years must have meant a lot to Goldziher, although he could not write back, which caused Macdonald much anxiety.⁵³

So Massignon, Gairdner, and Macdonald, three notable Christians, all fell, together with several others, under the spell of Goldziher, whose influence was the same on his Muslim acquaintances as well. Young people make friends easily, so we might not find anything peculiar in that Ibrāhīm al-Lāqānī (1848–1908), the future journalist and attorney, who at the beginning of the 1870s was still a student at the Azhar University of Cairo, wrote a rhyming composition⁵⁴ to Goldziher—a fellow student—when the latter had to leave the university on 25 February 1874 due to his father's fatal illness. It seems more

49 Gairdner, William Henry Temple, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Rotterdam, 8 July 1911, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/04/08.

50 Gairdner, William Henry Temple, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Cairo, 30 June 1921, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/04/23.

51 Gairdner, William Henry Temple, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Cairo, 19 December 1920, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/04/24, 1.

52 Gairdner, William Henry Temple, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Cairo, 19 December 1920, 1.

53 See, e.g., his card: Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 13 January 1917, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/094.

54 Laqānī, Ibrāhīm, *Inshā'*, Cairo, 25 February 1874, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/04/01.

relevant to mention the feelings expressed by ‘Abd al-Bahā’ (1844–1921), the eldest son of Bahā’ Allāh and the head of the Bahā’ī Faith between 1892 until his death in 1921, after meeting Goldziher in Budapest in 1913. As a token of their quickly formed friendship, ‘Abd al-Bahā’ even sent Goldziher a Persian rug.⁵⁵

4 The Goldziher–Macdonald Correspondence in Numbers

Macdonald was among the most frequent of Goldziher’s correspondents. Having written 119 letters landed him in the company of those 20 persons who wrote Goldziher more than a hundred letters each. A total of 79 letters written by Goldziher were preserved by Macdonald and there is no reason to think that any of his letters were not kept or were lost. Three letters from Norman Macdonald, Duncan’s brother; two from Mrs. Macdonald (*née* Mary Leeds Bartlett [d. 1929]); one from Laura Goldziher (*née* Laura Mittler [1854–1925]); two from Károly (Karl) Goldziher written after the death of his father; and two visiting cards from the Macdonalds should be added to this number.

Duncan Black Macdonald always wrote his letters in English, although he knew a variety of other European languages as well. Goldziher, however, used four languages in his correspondence with Macdonald. He wrote 37 letters in English, 33 in German, eight in French, and one in Arabic. His preference for one language over another can sometimes be easily explained, for example, when he expressed the fact that having written other letters in French made it easier for him to continue writing to Macdonald in that tongue.⁵⁶ His invitation to visit St. Louis in 1904 and his two-week stay in Cambridge⁵⁷ earlier that year on the occasion of his honorary degree made him more confident in English, even though Macdonald, as a native speaker, tried to dissuade him from employing English in scholarly discussions or papers because he felt that Goldziher could not express his thoughts in that language as precisely as he

55 ‘Abd al-Bahā’, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Port-Said, 2 July 1913, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/03/16/05, 07; ‘Abd al-Bahā’, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Port-Said, 18 July 1913, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/03/16/06.

56 See, e.g., Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 30 June 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/11, in which Goldziher reports that he wrote to several Algerian scholars that day.

57 In one of his letters to Macdonald, Goldziher vividly paints the difficulties of learning a language in old age and the great help of a relatively short stay in an area whose inhabitants speak this language as their mother tongue (Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 9 July 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/06).

could in German. Other times, however, his choice seems completely arbitrary, as, for example, in the year 1911 when he penned seven letters in both languages. His only letter in Arabic is, in fact, not a proper letter but a postcard⁵⁸ containing nothing other than two quotations, one from Ibn Sa'd's (168/784 or 785–230/845) *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, and the other from Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī's (d. 974/1566) *Fatāwī ḥadīthiyya*, copied by Goldziher certainly as a response to an inquiry by Macdonald. That letter, however, seems to have been lost.

5 Main Topics of the Two Scholars' Correspondence

5.1 *A Survey of the Topics*

The correspondence covers the following topics:

- sending their publications to each other;
- reviewing the publications of the other;
- alerting the other about publications useful for the other;
- requesting and providing references, with quotes from publications which the other did not have access to;
- their views on some recent publications in their field;
- advising on topics (for publications and talks),
- Macdonald's research on al-Ghazālī and the *Thousand and One Nights*;
- personal issues (family, health, etc.).

Macdonald considered Goldziher “the most eminent living authority on the civilization of Islam”⁵⁹ as expressed in the opening words of a paper given at the St. Louis Congress of 1904. His older colleague, however, also held him in great esteem since the moment of reading Macdonald's article on al-Ghazālī. Goldziher considered Macdonald worthy of holding a prestigious chair—as attested by his recommendation—and, in addition to his scholarly insights, shared with him his joys and sorrows.

Goldziher's genuine appreciation for Macdonald's work has remained a constant feature of his reviews, but to this was added a feeling of personal sympathy, as expressed by Goldziher himself in a letter written after having met Macdonald at the St. Louis Congress in 1904. He wrote:

58 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 20 November 1906, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/48.

59 Macdonald, Duncan Black, “The Problems of Muhammadanism,” in Howard Jason Rogers (ed.), *Congress of Arts and Science: Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904*, 8 vols., ii, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906, 518–534, esp. 518.

Dear friend! I will never forget the happy days I passed in your circle and the sentiments of true friendship I experienced from you and Mrs. Macdonald. I suppose that there are not only scientific interests which are the groundwork of our friendship, but the feelings of personal sympathies.⁶⁰

Among the many issues touched upon in their letters, I would like to mention only three that show their cooperation. These are Macdonald’s article for Nöldeke’s⁶¹ *Festschrift*,⁶² the St. Louis Congress, and the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* edited by James Hastings.

5.2 *Macdonald’s Contribution to Nöldeke’s Festschrift*

For Nöldeke’s *Festschrift* Macdonald had originally intended sending an article concerning Islamic law and asked Goldziher’s opinion. Goldziher did not want to dissuade Macdonald to write on *fiqh*, and especially on Shāfi’ī’s *Risāla*.⁶³ How could he, since he had previously called Macdonald’s attention to that book.⁶⁴ In contrast, he described in a quite detailed way how Macdonald should proceed and what he should focus on if he were to write about it.⁶⁵ However, in addition to deeming the topic “appropriate,” he remarked that “N. is known not to be very fond on Fikh-subjects”. This remark was enough for Macdonald to think about a more suitable topic for the *Festschrift*, one that would certainly delight Nöldeke as well.⁶⁶ So, he decided to deal with the *1001 Nights*. This choice of his was endorsed by Goldziher who wrote that “the choice you have made for your contribution to the Nöldeke-*Festschrift*, is very lucky, our Shaikh being very fond of the Alf-Lailah-Literature”. Since Macdonald’s decision was made quite late, Goldziher also asked Carl Bezold, the

60 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 3 November 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/47.

61 Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) was not only Goldziher’s mentor and friend but also his most important corresponding partner. Their correspondence has survived in its entirety and was partially edited by Simon, Róbert, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence*, Budapest: MTAK, and Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986.

62 Bezold, Carl (ed.), *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906.

63 In this work Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi’ī (150–204/767–820) has laid the foundations of the discipline of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (the principles of jurisprudence).

64 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 8 April 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/008.

65 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 19 April 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/07.

66 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 1 June 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/013.

editor of the volume to grant Macdonald the necessary delay.⁶⁷ This is how Macdonald wrote his article on “The Story of the Fisherman and the Jinnī. Transcribed from Antoine Galland’s manuscript⁶⁸ of ‘The Thousand and One Nights’.”⁶⁹

5.3 *The Louisiana Purchase Exposition and the Congress of Arts and Science in 1904*

In 1904, the city of St. Louis, Missouri, hosted a World’s Fair, officially known as the *Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, to celebrate the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, when the territory of Louisiana was acquired by the United States from France. This fair, which ran from 30 April until 1 December, included an event organized by the International Congress of Arts and Science, held from 19 to 25 September. “The idea of the congress grew out of the thought that the subdivision and multiplication of specialties in science have reached a stage at which investigators and scholars may derive both inspiration and profit from a general survey of the various fields of learning.”⁷⁰

Having considered the size of the event and the disciplines covered, only two scholars were asked to represent each discipline. In the case of Islam, the choice of the Committee fell on Goldziher and Macdonald. Macdonald was thrilled both at the prospect of giving a talk with Goldziher and because of the rare opportunity to meet him. He writes on 20 December 1903:

But all these are matters which I trust to have a chance to talk out with you next September at St. Louis. The Committee of the Congress of Arts and Sciences [*sic*] tell me that you have consented to give one of the two papers on the history of Muhammadanism and have asked me to give the other. I need not say how much I feel honoured by being yoked with you in this matter. Further, if I understand rightly, your, the leading paper, is to sketch the history of Muhammadanism as it has now been marked out,

67 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 18 January 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/82.

68 The French scholar Antoine Galland (1646–1715) was the first to introduce the stories of the *Thousand and One Nights* to Europe. On his life and activities in connection with this work, see, Marzolph, Ulrich and Richard van Leeuwen, with the collaboration of Hassan Wassouf, *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, 2 vols., i, Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004, 556–558.

69 Macdonald, Duncan Black, “The Story of the Fisherman and the Jinnī: Transcribed from Galland’s MS of ‘The Thousand and One Nights,’” in Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906, 357–383.

70 “The International Congress of Arts and Science,” in *Science* 20, no. 497 (1904), 33.

and then I am to take up the story and state the remaining problems. It is a gigantic job to get into two lectures, and it will probably be well for us to come to some understanding. Before September that should be possible.⁷¹

This letter was followed by several others written by both parties, clarifying the contents of their talks. Macdonald even advised Goldziher to lecture in German instead of following Goldziher's original intention of delivering his talk in French.⁷² Goldziher's reaction to this proposition was that the best solution would be to read it in English.⁷³ Later, Macdonald also took care of reviewing the proofs of the forthcoming English publication.⁷⁴

5.4 The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics

Creating the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* was a tremendous undertaking that resulted in the publication of 13 volumes (including an index volume) between 1908 and 1926, which were reedited and reprinted more than once.

After long negotiations that started in 1903 concerning the entries and the deadlines, Goldziher wrote six entries. These are *bismillāh*,⁷⁵ Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf (al-Ẓāhirī),⁷⁶ Education (Muslim),⁷⁷ Ghair Mahdī,⁷⁸ Ibn Ḥazm,⁷⁹ and Ibn Taimīya.⁸⁰ With the exception of his piece on Muslim education, none of the entries is very long. His study on education, however, has remained a frequently cited, comprehensive presentation of this topic.

71 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 20 December 1903, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/007.

72 On the language used in the talk, see, Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Duncan B. Macdonald*, Budapest, 14 January 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/04/09, 3, and Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 5 February 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/010, 2.

73 Goldziher, *Letter to Macdonald*, 27 February 1904, 1.

74 See Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 20 December 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/001, 1–2, where Macdonald also expresses his view that Goldziher does not do himself justice in expressing his thoughts in English, so instead of correcting the proofs, he would have preferred to translate the article from Goldziher's German version himself to get all the meanings according to the author's full intentions. He also hoped that Goldziher would take this remark rightly from him, which was indeed what happened.

75 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Bismillāh,” in *ERE*, ii (1909), 666–668.

76 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf (al-Ẓāhirī),” in *ERE*, iv (1912), 405–406.

77 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Education (Muslim),” in *ERE*, v (1912), 198–207.

78 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Ghair Mahdī,” in *ERE*, vi (1914), 189.

79 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Ibn Ḥazm,” in *ERE*, vii (1914), 70–72.

80 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Ibn Taimīya,” in *ERE*, vii (1914), 72.

Goldziher fell exceedingly short of the great expectations of the editor, James Hastings,⁸¹ who, having been advised by Duncan B. Macdonald on matters related to Islam,⁸² asked Goldziher to write many more entries and, above all, a comprehensive article on “Muhammadanism.” Between the years 1903 and 1914, Hastings tried to persuade Goldziher, with the help of Macdonald, to write this major contribution. It seems that after all Goldziher agreed to do so but asked for some delay, which was granted, but eventually the events of World War I made the realization of this project on behalf of Goldziher impossible. Volume 8, which contains the article on Muhammadanism, appeared in 1915 signed by other scholars.

By the beginning of 1905, Goldziher, in a short note attached to the letter written by his wife to Mrs. Macdonald, tried to back out, writing that “Mr Hastings ... asks a large Islam-article from me; but having written the last two years two times on that very matter, it should be very suitable if an other [*sic*] fellow Islamist would undertake that task, and that other must be—you.”⁸³

This must also have been the argument that he sent to Hastings, who checked Goldziher’s article on Islam in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* and found it much shorter than what he intended for this encyclopaedia, referred to in his letters as “Dictionary of Religion.”⁸⁴ This is not to say, however, that that article would be short, running from column 651b to 659a. Given that the article published in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* is not short at all, we can rightly conclude that this would have been a truly comprehensive article.⁸⁵ The other writing Goldziher alluded to was his contribution to a volume edited by Theodor Mommsen.⁸⁶ However, that was in German and not a lexicon, so did not really interfere with Hasting’s request.

81 James Hastings (1852–1922) was a Scottish United Free Church minister and biblical scholar. He left a lasting impact as a tireless editor of enduring volumes of religious scholarship. His character and editorial work are well described in his obituary: “Sudden Death of the Rev. Dr James Hastings, Editor of the Famous Bible Encyclopaedia,” in *The Aberdeen Daily Journal* Monday 16 October (1922), 7–8.

82 Macdonald’s role in the preparation of the *ERE* was far more important as is attested by its introduction, according to which he belonged to the small circle of those scholars who “worked over every article from the beginning”; Goodale, Grace Harriet, “[Review of] Hastings’ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,” in *The Classical Weekly* 13, no. 22 (1920) 171–176, 171.

83 Goldziher, *Letter to Macdonald, Budapest*, 18 January 1905.

84 Hastings, James, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Cyrus, 3 January 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/16/02/21.

85 Ignaz Goldziher, “Islam,” in *JE*, vi (1904), 651b–659a.

86 Ignaz Goldziher, “Islam,” in Theodor Mommsen (ed.), *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker: Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905, 101–112.

Macdonald did everything he could to convince Goldziher to write the entry on “Muhammadanism” for which the latter could hardly brace himself. Macdonald wrote in a letter dated 31 January 1905:

Now about the Hastings article: I simply can't take it and you simply must. This is no ordinary encyclopedia article. You can boil down into it the results of your life and lay a basis for that great work on the Muslim civilization which you are to write. If I understand Mr Hastings's plan rightly, there will be epoch marking articles on all sides.

Mr Hastings has now in his hands the system of articles as I have planned them and if he approves of that system, you will have it before you long before this reaches you. Please consider it all very carefully. I am depending on you to seeing us through and to give weight to our work. There is simply no one else for the job!⁸⁷

How right Macdonald was is proven by the entry on Muhammadanism in the *Encyclopaedia* to which six scholars contributed their portion of Islam in its different geographical distributions, but none attempted to write a comprehensive article as had been envisioned by Macdonald and Hastings.⁸⁸

In connection with the lexicon entries, the editor, James Hastings, also contacted Goldziher directly. It is perhaps relevant to quote his letter in its entirety:⁸⁹

St. Cyrus [Scotland]
20 February 1905

Dear Sir

I learn that you have been in communication with Professor Macdonald of Hartford. I hope he has told you that the article upon *Muhammadanism* for the Dictionary of Religion will give you an opportunity of placing your whole life's work in a thorough and satisfactory way before the world. The articles in this dictionary will all be exhaustive and scientific, and I shall

87 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 31 January 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/005.

88 Thomas Walker Arnold (India), Friedrich Giese (Turkey), Martin Hartmann (China), David Samuel Margoliouth (Central Africa, North Africa, Arabia), Ármin Vámbéry (Central Asia), and Thomas Hunter Weir (Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia).

89 Hastings, James, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Cyrus, 20 February 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/16/02/22.

give you space for a very full article on Muhammadanism. Perhaps the title should be Muhammad and Muhammadanism Professor Macdonald suggests the following outline.

(1) Life of Muhammad and beginnings of Islam. A full treatment covering antecedent conditions and sources down to the death of M[uhammad]. The Qur'an is treated formally elsewhere as a book: Some treatment of it here in relation to Muhammad cannot be avoided. Duplication at this point is no disadvantage.

(2) Later development of Islām in theology, law and state: tradition, reason, mysticism: *ḥadīth*, Sunnah, analogy, agreement, schools of theology and law: Khalifate and Imamate: Sunnites, Shī'ites and Kharijites: Murjiites, Qadarites and Mu'tazilites: Umayyads, 'Abbasides and 'Alids: Hanbalites, Ash'arites and Maturidites, etc. that is, a history of the development generally, omitting the last analysis into sects.

(3) Outline of the resultant theology of Islam, and statement of the creeds of the present day in their broad differences.

(4) Sketch of Muslim literature on (1) (2) and (3).

I quote that sketch to show you that you will have an opportunity of doing the work thoroughly, not to fix the method of treatment; I shall leave you free to choose your own method.

Besides the article on Muhammadanism, I should be much obliged if you would also undertake

- (1) Dā'ūd az-Zāhirī
- (2) Education in Islam
- (3) Eschatology
- (4) Ibn Hazm
- (5) Miracles
- (6) Early sects
- (7) Philosophy
- (8) Poetry
- (9) Saints
- (10) Ibn Taymīyah⁹⁰

I am advised by Prof. Macdonald to offer you the above. Professor Nöldeke bids me ask if you will also undertake *Knowledge* (Muslim attitude), and *Superstitions in Islam*.

Yours faithfully
James Hastings

⁹⁰ As we saw earlier, only four (1, 2, 4, 10) of those listed here were written by Goldziher.

In later letters Hastings asked for other entries as well, but with meagre result. During World War I—after the British declaration of war on Austria-Hungary on 12 August 1914—the two could no longer correspond, which meant an end to Goldziher’s contribution to this monumental project.

6 Epilogue

As has been pointed out earlier, World War I very adversely affected Goldziher because he had to sever his ties with several of his friends and colleagues. Between the years 1900 and 1913 he received an average of 455 letters per year, the peak year being 1913 when he got 482, apart from 1910, when because of the congratulations pouring in for his sixtieth birthday, he received 730 letters. This number dropped to 365 by 1914 and continued to diminish until his death. Compared to the jubiliations of 1910, his seventieth birthday celebrations attracted only 284 letters, while in the turbulent year of 1919, he only got 139, his average in these years being 246 letters per year.

Until the United States entered the war on 6 April 1917, Macdonald had continued writing to Goldziher even without receiving an answer. After that time, the two resumed their communication only in 1920, while the last letter from Macdonald, written on 25 October 1921, sadly arrived only after Goldziher’s death.

Macdonald heard from Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (1868–1945)—who was in regular contact with Goldziher in 1920 and 1921 due to Goldziher’s contribution to the Browne *Festschrift*⁹¹—that Goldziher had been sick and in hospital, but also that he was at home again, so Macdonald hastened to express his well wishes and hopes that they can get back on the old terms. In this letter, he pays tribute to Goldziher saying:

Your unconscious personal influence started me on my course, whatever it has amounted to. It was through your writings, of course at first, but it was not the dead writings but the man in them. Since then I have gone on upon paths with which you may have less sympathy—mystical of all kinds; 1001 Nights; missionary-training—but in all of them I have tried to use your spirit of sympathetic insight into and judgement on the world of

91 Arnold, Thomas Walker and Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (eds.), *Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Professor E.G. Browne ... on His 60th Birthday, 7 February 1922*, Cambridge: University Press, 1922.

Islam. You undoubtedly have been my father and begetter in this and, as so long ago in the preface to my first book, I render you homage now for that.⁹²

In this letter, Macdonald also outlined common projects with the master to whom he was proud to be linked by a direct *silsila*.⁹³ However, due to Goldziher's sudden death, this was not meant to be.

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92 Macdonald, Duncan Black, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hartford, 25 October 1921, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/27/03/071.

93 This is a chain of transmitters that enables and authenticates the transfer of knowledge.

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Ignaz Goldziher: The Founding Father of Gesture Studies in Arabic and Islamic Studies

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1 Introduction*

In 1886, the Jewish Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) published a brief article entitled “Ueber Geberden- und Zeichensprache bei den Arabern” (“On the language of gestures and signs among the Arabs”; henceforth, “Ueber Geberden”).¹ From the opening paragraph of “Ueber Geberden” we learn that Goldziher’s inspiration in writing this article came from the concurrent wave of publications on gestures in Western academia. Goldziher writes:

In recent years, much has been written about the language of gestures and signs among the primitive peoples (Naturvölker). Many scholars have pointed out that paying attention to these modes of expression was beneficial for the elementary questions of “folk psychology” (*Völkerpsychologie*). Their studies therefore prompted me to attach significance to a small collection of texts concerning this subject in the field of Arabic.²

* This research was supported by The Israel Science Foundation (grant ISF 162/19). We are grateful to the anonymous reviewers of this study for their helpful insights and suggestions.

- 1 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Ueber Geberden- und Zeichensprache bei den Arabern,” in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 16 (1886), 369–386. Reprinted in Goldziher, Ignaz, *Ignaz Goldziher: Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Joseph De Somogyi, 6 vols., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967–1973, ii, 155–172. For a French summary of the article, see Bousquet, G[eorges]-H[enri], “Du langage par gestes et signes chez les Arabes,” in “Études Islamologiques d’Ignaz Goldziher. Traduction analytique (IV),” in *Arabica* 8 (1961), 269–272. We refer to Bousquet’s summaries of Goldziher’s oeuvre throughout our discussion. Accordingly, our nonliteral rendering of the opening paragraph of “Ueber Geberden” relies on both the original German article by Goldziher and Bousquet’s French summary. As Wolfgang H. Behn, one of Goldziher’s translators to English lamented, Goldziher’s “Hungarian German” challenges his readers and translators. Goldziher, Ignaz, *Schools of Koranic Commentators*, trans. Wolfgang H. Behn, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006, ix–x.
- 2 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 369; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 269. Goldziher did not consider the Arabs primitive people. See a clarification in Holtzman, Livnat, *Anthropomorph-*

The unpretentious and terse tone of this opening paragraph is misleading. “Ueber Geberden,” a brief article of seventeen pages, which—according to Goldziher—merely presents “a small collection of texts” is in fact a pioneering article, the first modern discussion on gestures in the Arabic and Islamic culture. In the academic climate of the 19th century, “Ueber Geberden” filled a gap as it introduced Arabic material to the then-thriving discourse on gestures. Indeed, in this article, Goldziher signaled to European academia that gestures are meaningful and intrinsic parts of the Arabic language and culture. Furthermore, Goldziher mentioned that Arabic and Islamic studies (what was then known as *Arabic philology* and *Oriental studies*) should be a full participant in multidisciplinary discussions on gestures.

In the opening paragraph of his article, Goldziher connects gestures and sign language with the term *Völkerpsychologie* (literally, *folk psychology*; in some sources it is translated as *ethnic psychology*). This term appears in the title of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (the journal of folk psychology and linguistics), which published Goldziher’s article. This journal was founded by two Jewish scholars who were prominent figures in 19th-century European intellectual life: the philosopher Heymann Steinthal (1823–1899) and his brother-in-law the psychologist Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903). Steinthal and Lazarus coined the term *Völkerpsychologie* to denote the academic inquiry of peoples, namely, ethnic groups, and their *Volksgeist* (literally, the *people’s spirit*). As Ivan Kalmar remarks, the term *Volksgeist* is similar if not identical to the modern concept of “culture.”³ Steinthal and Lazarus’ vision for their journal was “more anthropological than psychological,” as it was intended to cover “language, mythology, religion, cult, oral literature (*Volksdichtung*) ... and customs (*Sitte*).”⁴ “Ueber Geberden” introduced the unexplored field of gestures and sign language in the Arabic language and culture to the journal’s German readership. The article, which presented a rich collection of textual evidence on the usage of gestures in various social and cultural contexts, was therefore a perfect fit for Steinthal and Lazarus’ journal.

Over the years, Goldziher continued the line of investigation that he himself established in this seminal article. Between 1896 and 1907, he published four additional articles in which he concentrated on the Prophet Muḥammad’s

ism in Islam. The Challenge of Traditionalism (700–1350), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018, 170 n. 2.

3 Kalmar, Ivan, “The *Völkerpsychologie* of Lazarus and Steinthal and the Modern Concept of Culture,” in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48 (1987), 671–690, esp. 675.

4 This is a quotation from Steinthal and Lazarus’ editorial foreword as quoted and translated by Kalmar, “The *Völkerpsychologie*” 674.

habitual, ritual, and supposedly magical gestures.⁵ As Goldziher paid considerable attention to body language in the Arabic sources, references to gestures, mannerisms, and sign language are scattered throughout his oeuvre. Thus, we find valuable though brief and laconic observations on gestures in the monographs *Die Zāhiriten*, (published in 1884) and *Muhammedanische Studien* (two volumes, published between 1888–1890).⁶ Despite the centrality of these publications, Goldziher remained alone in his attempts to reveal the existence of gestures in the Arabic and Islamic discourses. In 1986, the editors of the second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* mentioned Goldziher's studies on gestures and remarked that "more research needs to be done on the ritual or symbolic gestures, which with the Arabs go back to remote antiquity, to complete and amplify the observations of I. Goldziher, and to verify the opinions he has advanced in a number of publications."⁷

In this study, we identify Goldziher as the first scholar in Arabic and Islamic studies who considered gestures as important components of the Arabic language and culture. We pay tribute to Goldziher's contribution to gesture studies by focusing on the two pinnacles of his investigation of gestures: the above-

5 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1896; Goldziher, Ignaz, "Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern," in *ZDMG* 50 (1896), 465–506; Goldziher, Ignaz, "Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet," in Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke um siebzigsten Geburtstag 2 März 1906*, Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906, 303–329 (= *Gesammelte Schriften* v, 32–38); Goldziher, Ignaz, "Über Zahlenfiguren," in *ZDMG* 61 (1907), 756–757.

6 See the example of the use of sign language in the judicial court in the chapter on the oath of condemnation (*Kitāb al-ṭalāq, Bāb al-li'ān*) in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. See al-Bukhārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, in Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh (ed.), *al-Kutub al-sitta*, 2 vols., Riyadh: Dār al-Salām, 1419/1999, i, 458. Goldziher mentions this example in *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols., Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1888–1890, ii, 235–236; Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muslim Studies*, trans. C[hrista] R[enate] Barber and S[amuel] M[iklos] Stern, 2 vols., London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966–1971, ii, 217–218. This example was analyzed by Holtzman, Livnat, "Gestures in the Process of *ḥadīth* Transmission. The Case of Divine Hearing and Seeing," in *JSAI* 46 (2019), 291–357, esp. 303–305. Another example is the famous gesture of descending from the *minbar* that was attributed to Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). Goldziher mentions this controversial gesture in Goldziher, Ignaz, *Die Zāhiriten. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Muhammedanischen Theologie*, Leipzig: Schulze, 1884, 189–190; Goldziher, Ignaz, *The Zāhiris. Their Doctrine and Their History. A Contribution to the History of Islamic Theology*, trans. Wolfgang Behn, Leiden: Brill, 2008, 173–174. The analysis of this example was further developed by Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism* 330–333.

7 Ed[itors], "*ishāra*" in *EI*², iv (1978), 113–114. The editors of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, refer to Goldziher's *Abhandlungen*, "Neue Materialien," and "Zauberelemente" when mentioning the French summaries of Goldziher's oeuvre that Bousquet prepared. Bousquet, "Études Islamologiques (1)" 22–23, "Études Islamologiques (1v)" 269–272.

mentioned “Ueber Geberden” from 1886 and “Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet” (“Elements of Magic in the Islamic Prayer”; henceforth, “Zauberelemente”) from 1906. These two articles belong to the second period of Goldziher’s career (between 1876 until 1910), during which he focused on the religion of Islam, Islamic culture, and Arabic literature.⁸ In “Ueber Geberden” and “Zauberelemente” Goldziher harnessed the traditional tools of classical philology to serve as an overall theory of the reciprocity of language, religion, and culture without explicitly addressing this theory. We therefore read Goldziher’s search for gestures in the Arabic sources as an original and unique attempt to gain more understanding of the Arabs and their culture. In his monumental article on Goldziher’s language studies, Simon Hopkins observes that Goldziher was “primarily a historian of culture and ideas,”⁹ and that “[l]anguage was for him first and foremost a key with which to unlock the secrets of literary texts and to gain access to the culture which produced them.”¹⁰ Hopkins’ observation inspired and crystallized our reading of “Ueber Geberden” and “Zauberelemente.” Evidently, in these two articles Goldziher wanted to demonstrate the potential contribution of the classical philological inquiry of the Arabic language to the rapidly evolving trends in anthropology and culture studies. We therefore read his two articles on gestures in light of his grand intellectual ambitions, and not as specific cases of 19th-century philological methodology.

This study comprises six parts: Part 1 is the introduction. In Part 2, we analyze Goldziher’s interest in gestures in relation to Steintal and Lazarus’ concept of *Völkerpsychologie*. Part 3 presents the inner logic of “Ueber Geberden” and explicates its main argument. In Part 4, we discuss Goldziher’s most significant insights on gestures, which he presented in “Zauberelemente.” Part 5 discusses the reception of “Ueber Geberden” and “Zauberelemente” in academic circles while presenting three letters from Goldziher’s correspondents that mention these groundbreaking articles. In Part 6, we present our conclusions. We argue here that although Goldziher established the foundations of the study of gestures in Arabic language and culture, there was no continuity to his research endeavors in this particular field. Although Goldziher’s contemporaries and the subsequent generation of Arabic philologists and Orientalists were aware

8 For the periodization of Goldziher’s work, see Németh, Julius [Gyula], “Goldziher’s Jugend,” in *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 1 (1950), 7–24, esp. 10–11; Fück, Johann, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1955, 226–231; Hopkins, Simon, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher” in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 83–137, esp. 104–108.

9 Hopkins, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher” 130.

10 Hopkins, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher” 100.

of his work on gestures, in the long run, scholars in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies showed little interest, if any, in his findings. Goldziher's work on gestures had some impact in Jewish studies, but as a rule, here, too, his studies on gestures were neglected and almost completely forgotten. In this study, we see it as our role to present the secrets of gestures that Goldziher revealed through his laborious readings in the gigantic corpus of the Arabic sources, to highlight the impact of Goldziher's work on gestures in various fields, and to articulate the value of Goldziher's findings on gestures for future research.

2 Goldziher and His Interest in Gestures

Western scholarship was aware of gestures since classical antiquity. Yet, in 1872 this awareness took a scientific form with the publication of Charles Darwin's (1809–1882) *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals*. In this work, Darwin identified gestures as a subject of scientific interest. He argued that the expression of emotions by means of habitual facial and body movements is a universal phenomenon shared by humans and animals alike.¹¹ Darwin's approach in this book was integrated into the trend of experimental psychology which gave preference to nonverbal and bodily expressions of emotions over verbal expressions.¹² This trend included the works of anthropologists and ethnographers, such as Garrick Mallery (1831–1894) and Edward Tylor (1832–1917), and the works of psychologists. Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), who is considered the founder of experimental psychology, played a prominent role in the study of gestures and their relationship with spoken language.¹³ Darwin's work also inspired philologists to examine gestures in their respective fields. In 1890, the German philologist and archeologist Carl Sittl (1862–1899) published *Die*

11 Darwin, Charles, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, ed. Francis Darwin, London: John Murray, 1890, republished in 2009, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–27. The book followed Darwin's major works *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871). In parallel with Darwin's claim of the universality of gestures, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* abounds with examples that imply a cultural relativity of gestures. Darwin's generalizations regarding emotions and their expressions in gestures were harshly criticized by 20th-century scholars. These scholars were more sensitive to universal gestures as opposed to gestures emanating from specific social constructions. Plamper, Jan, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. Keith Tribe, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, 164–172.

12 Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 170.

13 Kendon, Adam, *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 43, 57–61.

Gebärden der Griechen und Römer. Sittl detected gestures in the literary body of work of the classical world and its artistic legacy, and based his observations on Darwin's work.¹⁴ Sittl broadened the definition of gestures to include "all non-mechanical movements of the human body," while paying special attention to both intentional and instinctive facial expressions.¹⁵ The study of gestures thus emerged and thrived at the junction in which the well-established disciplines of history and philology met new disciplines such as psychology and anthropology.

"Ueber Geberden" (1886) and "Zauberelemente" (1906) were Goldziher's contribution to the thriving trend of studying gestures in different contexts. These unconventional publications were facilitated by Goldziher's openness to the cutting-edge ideas that were sown in the fertile field of his thorough academic training in philology, linguistics, and languages. In 1868, Goldziher began studying in Leipzig under the great Orientalist and philologist Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–1888). While taking his formal internship in traditional philology, Goldziher became interested in the connection between language and psychology, a new and exciting topic that buzzed in German academia. The history of the development of the human mind intrigued him, and he was fascinated by "the larger questions of mind and language, imagination and myth, culture and religion," which the contemporary combined research of linguistics and psychology sought to answer.¹⁶

In 1869, Goldziher—still a student—visited Berlin, where he joined the lectures of the aforementioned German-Jewish philologist and philosopher Heymann Steinthal. Steinthal, then a professor of general linguistics at the University of Berlin, introduced Goldziher to his overall theory on the reciprocal influence of language and culture, henceforth, *Völkerpsychologie*. Goldziher was inspired by Steinthal's enthusiasm about the origin of myths, the primitive mind, and the mystical and symbolic sides of language—all of which comprise *Völkerpsychologie*.¹⁷ Both Steinthal and his brother-in-law Moritz Lazarus presumed that language influences the various psychological processes that create and shape cultural communities. They sought to understand the process in which groups that speak the same language become peoples, namely,

14 Gruber, Mayer I., *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East*, 2 vols., Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980, i, 1–4.

15 Sittl, Carl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1890, 1.

16 Hopkins, "The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher" 95.

17 Füek, *Die arabischen Studien* 227–228; Hopkins, "The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher" 95–96; Simon, Róbert, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986, 34–35; Turán, Tamás, *Ignaz Goldziher as a Jewish Orientalist: Traditional Learning, Critical Scholarship, and Personal Piety*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023, 146–147.

distinctive ethnic groups. Both scholars formulated the concept of culture as “an interpretive, symbolic system used in the social construction of reality.”¹⁸ In the long run, this concept of culture paved the way for the modern discipline of anthropology.¹⁹

Steinthal and Lazarus’ understanding of culture reacted to the racist theories that European anthropologists disseminated under the guise of highbrowed academic publications. Both scholars also criticized the work of the French scholar of Semitic studies, Ernest Renan (1823–1892).²⁰ Renan argued that the stagnant Semitic peoples could not have created a mythology due to their inferior imagination; therefore, he said, these peoples did not contribute substantially to the development of human civilization. Goldziher attacked this argument in his 1876 study *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*.²¹ Goldziher, who was inspired by Steinthal,²² wrote this work as a direct response to Renan.²³ Evid-

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- 18 Kalmar, Ivan, “Steinthal, the Jewish Orientalist,” in Hartwig Wiedebach and Annette Winkelmann (eds.), *Chajim H. Steinthal: Linguist and Philosopher in the 19th Century*, Leiden: Brill, 2002, 135–152, esp. 137; Simon, Ignác Goldziher 35.
- 19 Kalmar, “Steinthal, the Jewish Orientalist” 135–137, 151–152; Kalmar, “The *Völkerpsychologie* of Lazarus and Steinthal” 671–690.
- 20 Veltri, Giuseppe, “Ethischer Monotheismus und Prophetie. Zu Steinthals dynamischer Deutung der Schöpfung,” in Hartwig Wiedebach and Annette Winkelmann (eds.), *Chajim H. Steinthal: Linguist and Philosopher in the 19th century*, Leiden: Brill, 2002, 171–185, esp. 175–176; Kalmar, “Steinthal, the Jewish Orientalist” 142–145; Shavit, Yaacov, *Athens in Jerusalem: Classical Antiquity and Hellenism in the Making of the Modern Secular Jew*, trans. Chaya Naor and Niki Werner, Oxford: Liverpool University Press, 1997, 263–264; Shavit, Yaacov and Jehuda Reinharz, “Introduction” in Goldziher, Ignaz, *A Lecture on Orientalism: in Memory of Ernest Renan* [הרצאה על אוריינטליזם לזכר ארנסט רנאן], Ra’anana: The Open University Press, 2016, 9–57, esp. 40–48; Stroumsa, Guy G., *The Idea of Semitic Monotheism: The Rise and Fall of a Scholarly Myth*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021, 171–177.
- 21 Conrad, Lawrence I[rvin], “Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan. From Orientalist Philology to the Study of Islam,” in Martin Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam. Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999, 137–181, esp. 137–139, 142–147; Shavit and Reinharz, “Introduction” 20–22.
- 22 We learn about Goldziher’s profound friendship and professional relationship with Steinthal from their long-term correspondence; see Belke, Ingrid, *Moritz Lazarus und Heymann Steinthal, 11/2: Die Begründer der Völkerpsychologie in ihren Briefen*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986, 486–488; Schorsch, Ismar, “Beyond the Classroom. The Enduring Relationship Between Heinrich L. Fleischer and Ignaz Goldziher,” in Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary. The “Science of Judaism” Between East and West*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017, 75–114, esp. 139, 144; Shavit and Reinharz, “Introduction” 40–48.
- 23 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern und seine geschichtliche Entwicklung: Untersuchungen zur Mythologie und Religionswissenschaft*, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1876, 4–13 (erstes Kapitel); Goldziher, Ignaz, *Mythology Among the Hebrews and Its Historical Development*, trans. R. Martineau, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877, 3–11. On the

ently, in *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, Goldziher fully adopted the concept of *Völkerpsychologie*. We note the vehement tone in which Goldziher argued for the existence of a universal human spirit shared by all nations:

The development of the myth in any nation is mainly determined by two factors, which give to this development the direction actually taken. One group of these factors is *psychological*, the other belongs to the *history of civilization*. The psychological factors in the development of all myths are the same, not changing with the special character of the people whose myths form the subject of our consideration. For the same general laws everywhere determine the life of the soul; no difference in them is introduced by the ethnological life and the peculiarity of race of the people in question.²⁴

Goldziher argued that because the mental, psychological, and spiritual elements of humanity are shared among all peoples, every nation has the capacity to create its own myths. In the following passage, Goldziher further elaborates his understanding of *Völkerpsychologie*:

There is a psychology of mankind, or as it was called when Lazarus introduced the science, a Psychology of Nations (*Völkerpsychologie*). This is not a contemplation of the modes in which the intellectual life of various nations exhibits itself as acting in opposite directions, but of the modes in which the same laws find their expression and validity in the intellectual life of the most various nations. **But there is no special psychology of races.** On the other hand, the factors belonging to the *history of civilization* are not everywhere alike but are as various as the historical fates of the nations among themselves are various.²⁵

circumstances that led to the writing of *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* and this book's negative effect on Goldziher's career, see Löwinger, David Samuel, "Prof. Yitzhak Yehuda (Ignaz) Goldziher," in Simon Federbusch (ed.), *The Wisdom of Israel in Western Europe* [חכמת ישראל במערב אירופה], 3 vols., Jerusalem-Tel-Aviv: 'Ogen, 1958, i, 166–181, esp. 169–170; Niewöhner, Friedrich, "Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) oder: Der Mythos als Apologie," in Yossef Schwartz and Volkhard Krech (eds.), *Religious Apologetics. Philosophical Argumentation*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004, 175–185, esp. 177, 181–183; Niewöhner, Friedrich, "Kritik und Liebe: Einleitung," in Ignaz Goldziher, *Renan als Orientalist. Gedenkrede am 27 November 1893*, trans. Peter Zalán, Zürich: Spur-Verlag, 2000, 10.

24 Goldziher, *Der Mythos* 45–46; Goldziher, *Mythology* 35–36. The quotation is taken from the English translation.

25 Goldziher, *Der Mythos* 45–46; Goldziher, *Mythology* 35–36. The emphasis in the text is ours. The quotation is taken from the English translation.

The fundamental argument of *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* is that all modes of expression are the result of “the psychological uniformity of all races.” Hence, “[t]he Myth is the result of a purely psychological operation, and is, together with language, the oldest act of the human mind.”²⁶ Goldziher emphasized:

I start from the conviction that the Myth is something universal, that the faculty of forming it cannot *a priori* be denied to any race as such, and that the coincidence of mythical ideas and **modes of expression** [*Ausdrucksweisen*] is the result of the uniformity of the psychological process which is the foundation of the creation of myths in all races; and this very uniformity of mythical ideas may consequently serve to folk-psychologists [*Völkerpsychologen*] as an argument for the thesis of the psychological uniformity of all races.²⁷

Goldziher advanced another key concept in *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*: Language (which includes the multiple ways of human expression), mythology, and religion are complementary parts of a single abstract unity, which is human culture.²⁸ For him, religion merely represents a higher developmental stage of mythology, whereas myths are the primitive products of the language. The myths would be obliterated in the following stage of human development, when religious concepts emerged.²⁹ Céline Trautmann-Waller remarked that due to the catastrophic reception this monograph faced in Europe (other than in England), and due to other factors, Goldziher, who was enthusiastic about *Völkerpsychologie*, distanced himself completely from theoretical models. In the later phase of his career, he totally refrained from discussing *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*.³⁰ We note that the case of “Zaubere-

26 Goldziher, *Der Mythos* 1; Goldziher, *Mythology* 1.

27 Goldziher, *Der Mythos* x; Goldziher, *Mythology* xvi. The quotation is taken from the English translation. The *Völkerpsychologen* may be regarded here as linguists and philologists. The emphasis in the text is ours.

28 Simon, *Ignác Goldziher*, 34–35, 78, 135–136; Hopkins, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher” 95.

29 Goldziher, *Der Mythos* 16–17, 62; Goldziher, *Mythology* 14–15, 50; Fodor, Alexander, “Goldziher and Magic in Islam,” in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 51–66, esp. 53–56; Shavit, *Athens in Jerusalem*, 26–36. For a coherent description of Goldziher’s view of language, myth, and religion see Trautmann-Waller, Céline, “Semites and Semitism: From Philology to the Language of Myth,” in *Philological Encounters* 2 (2017), 346–367, esp. 351–360.

30 Trautmann-Waller, Céline, “Y a-t-il une ‘méthode’ Goldziher?” in *Ignác Goldziher: un autre orientalisme?* ed. Céline Trautmann-Waller, Paris: Geuthner, 2011, 115–138, esp. 124–125.

lemente" (which was published in 1906) proves that Goldziher did not completely withdraw to the warm and safe embrace of traditional philology. In this work, we see that he continued to make his daring and innovative observations on language, culture, and religion within the framework of philological inquiry.

In the earliest phases of his career, Goldziher intended to write a comparative history of world cultures and religions that implemented his wide-ranging view of the interaction between language and religion. However, in 1876 (shortly before the publication of *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*) he became disillusioned with attaining this goal when he realized that he would not be able to secure any academic position in Hungarian academia.³¹ Without the security of an academic appointment, he was compelled to take the position of secretary of the Budapest Jewish community, a position he occupied until 1905.³² This deplorable situation deprived him of the proper atmosphere in which to conduct his research the way he wanted, that is, to read about Judaism and Islam and to systematically study the disciplines of prehistory and ethnology. As a consequence, Goldziher was compelled to limit his intellectual ambitions to Arabic and Islamic studies.³³ Instead of writing a monumental history of religions, he found a different path to express his approach to language, mythology, and religion: He published dozens of articles (some of which are as bulky and elaborate as full-fledged monographs). As Simon Hopkins observed in his comprehensive survey of Goldziher's language studies, these articles "were devoted to less hackneyed topics, on which he could bring to bear in an original way the fruits of his colossal reading in Arabic sources and his unique familiarity with the highways and byways of Islamic civilization." Hopkins then mentions "Ueber Geberden" as one of these "independent contributions."³⁴

Trautmann-Waller relies on the testimony of Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933) in the obituary that he dedicated to Goldziher. Becker, C[arl] H[einrich], "Ignaz Goldziher," in *Der Islam* 12 (1922), 214–222, esp. 214.

31 Shavit and Reinharz, "Introduction" 21; Goldziher, Ignaz, *Tagebuch*, Alexander Scheiber (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1978, 109–110.

32 The time frame of 1876 through 1905 covers most of the middle period of Goldziher's career. The end of this period is marked by the publication of the iconic *Vorlesungen über den Islam*. The early period ends in 1876/78, the middle period begins from 1876/78 to 1910, and the late period covers the years from 1911 to 1921. This is Németh's periodization, which was adopted by Fück and Hopkins. Németh, "Goldzihers Jugend" 10–11; Fück, *Die arabischen Studien*, 228–229, 231; Hopkins, "The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher" 104–108.

33 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 109–110.

34 Hopkins' observation is among the few references to "Ueber Geberden" in Arabic and Islamic studies. Hopkins, "The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher" 111.

In 1885, one year before the publication of “Ueber Geberden,” Goldziher’s friend, the Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), urged him to pursue new research trajectories in Islamic studies. As a result of Snouck Hurgronje’s encouragement—as Goldziher recorded in his diary—Goldziher shifted his focus to the intellectual development of Islam and the life of Muslims. Goldziher mentioned in his diary that during a seven-year period (presumably 1876–1883), he read all available sources, including travel logbooks, which clarified his understanding of “the individuality within Islam” (*die Individualität innerhalb des Islam*). By *Individualität* Goldziher meant the cult of personality that characterized the Berber tribes in North Africa. Indeed, as he further clarified, the fruit of this vast reading was his monumental article on the Almohad movement.³⁵ However, during this seven-year period, Goldziher also collected material for other articles on various topics. While reading the Arabic sources, Goldziher identified and documented dozens of references to gestures. He was not intentionally looking for references to gestures in the incredibly vast amount of Arabic literature that he read. Rather, his sensitivity for culture and its various expressions enabled him to notice the existence of gestures in the texts, and especially in the *ḥadīth* literature.

Goldziher’s publications on the *ḥadīth* are the crown jewel of his work on Islam, and many of these works remain indispensable to this day.³⁶ In his monumental *Muhammedanische Studien* (published in 1888–1890, two years after “Ueber Geberden”), Goldziher devoted the majority of the second volume to an exploration of the development of the *ḥadīth* literature. Approaching the *ḥadīth* as the reservoir of Arab memory, Goldziher noted that in his reading method “the Hadith will not serve as a document for the history of the infancy of Islam, but rather as a reflection of the tendencies which appeared in the community during the mature stages of its development.”³⁷ Goldziher saw the *ḥadīth* as “the typical product of the religious spirit of the epoch.”³⁸

35 Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 110. For Goldziher’s understanding of “Individualität” as a cult of personality, see Goldziher, Ignaz, “Materialien zur Kenntniss der Almohadenbewegung in Nordafrika,” in *ZDMG* 41 (1887), 30–140, esp. 51.

36 Fraisse, Ottfried, “From Geiger to Goldziher. Historical Method and Its Impact on the Conception of Islam,” in Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary. The “Science of Judaism” Between East and West*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017, 203–222, esp. 205–206; Fraisse, Ottfried, *Ignác Goldziher’s monotheistische Wissenschaft: Zur Historisierung des Islam*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014, 140–142; Jung, Dietrich, “Islamic Studies and Religious Reform. Ignaz Goldziher—A Crossroads of Judaism, Christianity and Islam,” in *Der Islam* 90 (2013), 106–126, esp. 121–122.

37 Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 5; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 19. The quotation is taken from the English translation.

38 “The religious spirit of the epoch” (des religiösen Geistes jener Geschichtsepoche). Goldzi-

By “the epoch” Goldziher meant the first century of Islam, when “[t]he pious cultivated and disseminated in their orders the little that they had saved from early times or acquired by communication.” He adds: “They also fabricated new material for which they could expect recognition.”³⁹ As is well known, the fabrication of *ḥadīth* material, which is broadly discussed in *Muhammedanische Studien*, became a cornerstone of Goldziher’s perception of the formation of the *ḥadīth*.⁴⁰ This perception, however, does not contradict Goldziher’s basic approach to the *ḥadīth* as “a rich source for the intellectual history of early Islam and a record of how Muslims sought to establish their sense of self-identity as individuals and as a community of faith.”⁴¹ And indeed, when he writes about gestures in the *ḥadīth*, his approach is clearly non-skeptical: He does not criticize the sources but conveys their content faithfully.

Although he did not explicitly refer to *Völkerpsychologie* in *Muhammedanische Studien*, Goldziher perceived the *ḥadīth* as a source of studying the *Sunna*. This term refers to an obligatory or recommended behavior of the Prophet that would be imitated by later generations. Goldziher perceived the *Sunna* as the traditions and customs that reverted to the pagan pre-Islamic existence of the Arabs. With the rise of Islam, the *Sunna* of the pagans was clad in Muslim garments and preserved in the *ḥadīth* as the sayings, customs, and manners of the Prophet Muḥammad and his followers.⁴² In his presentation of the *Sunna* and its power as “the normative principle in the Muslim’s life,”⁴³ Goldziher stressed that the term *Sunna* applied to “important institutions of communal life and social conduct” just as it was related to “the trivial circumstances and usages of private life.”⁴⁴ To demonstrate the point that the *ḥadīth* records trivialities and allegedly insignificant details, Goldziher cited a *ḥadīth* in which the narrator, the *ṣaḥābī* ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar (d. 73/693, son of the second caliph), claimed to

her, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 208; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 193. The quotation is taken from the English translation.

39 Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 34; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 43. The quotation is taken from the English translation.

40 This topic was exhausted by numerous studies, for example, see Motzki, Harald, “Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey,” in *Arabica* 52 (2005), 204–253.

41 Conrad, Lawrence I[rvin], “The Pilgrim from Pest. Goldziher’s Study Tour to the Near East (1873–1874),” in Ian Richard Netton (ed.), *Golden Roads. Migration, Pilgrimage, and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1993, 93–137, esp. 119.

42 Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 13; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 25–26.

43 Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 19; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 31. The quotation is taken from the English translation.

44 Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 17; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 29. The quotation is taken from the English translation.

have seen the Prophet touch only the two southernmost stones at the corners of the Ka'ba. Accordingly, 'Abd Allāh imitated the Prophet every time he visited the sanctuary in Mecca.⁴⁵ In this case, as in many others, the supposedly insignificant gesture of touching the stones became a *Sunna*, a habitual custom that is considered significant in the daily ritual. Moreover, the *ḥadīth* literature records nonverbal and nonobligatory expressions of other historical figures. Goldziher collected these descriptions and wove them into the densely rich "Ueber Geberden," which observes the Arabic culture through the unprecedented lens of gestures.

3 The Inner Logic of "Ueber Geberden"

In 1860, Steinthal and Lazarus founded the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (henceforth, *ZfVS*) as a platform that intended to cover the entirety of human culture and to promote their idea of *Völkerpsychologie* and *Volksgeist*. Today this journal would be considered a journal of anthropology, but at that time the term *anthropology* was connected to theories that rationalized the existence of different ethnic groups by using biological, physiological, and racial terms. According to Steinthal and Lazarus, the *Volksgeist* (the people's spirit)—an abstract entity—defines a certain group of people and differentiates them from any other group. According to their theory, the manifestations of the *Volksgeist* (language, myth, oral culture, cult, and customs) can be influenced by physiology as well as by climatic and geographic conditions. The essence of the *Volksgeist* on the other hand is psychological, hence the study of the *Volksgeist* is *Völkerpsychologie*. In other words, the character of an ethnic group is a matter of "spirit" rather than a matter of "blood."⁴⁶ During its 30 years of publication, the journal (officially closed in 1891) gained some visibility in German academia, but did not have as wide an impact as Steinthal and Lazarus hoped. The journal's main message, that "there was no scientific way to evaluate one *Volk* (people) as inherently superior to another," failed to strike

45 Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 18–19; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 30. The *ḥadīth* is quoted from Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatta'*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī, 8 vols., Abu Dhabi: Zayed Charitable & Humanitarian Foundation, 1425/2004, iii, 480–482 (*Kitāb al-Ḥajj, bāb al-'amal fi 'l-ihlāl, ḥadīth* 195).

46 Kalmar, "The *Völkerpsychologie*" 673–679, esp. 676 where Kalmar addresses the similarity between Steinthal and Lazarus' *Volksgeist* and the dominant conception of culture in anthropology today: Culture is perceived as a homeostatic system of symbols that organizes our perceptions of reality.

the right chord in German academia, which continued to explain cultural differences between communities in biological and racial terms.⁴⁷

Goldziher contributed three articles to the pluralistic *ZfVS*: An article on metaphors in Arabic (published 1882), “Ueber Geberden” (published 1886), and an article on folk etymology (published 1888).⁴⁸ Although these three articles are the product of Goldziher’s genuine enthusiasm and creativity, they also reflect a certain degree of compliance with the editorial line of *ZfVS*. This compliance is most evident in “Ueber den Ursprung einiger metaphorischer Ausdrücke der arabischen Sprache” (“On the origin of some metaphorical expressions in Arabic”), which is the earliest of the three articles. In this pioneering article, Goldziher argues that metaphors and figurative expressions are “remnants of actual actions and concrete practices.”⁴⁹ To corroborate his argument, Goldziher provides ample textual evidence from the pre-Islamic and the early Arabic literature. Although he has no recourse to other studies, either from within Arabic and Islamic studies or from other fields, he refers to the contribution of “the recently flourishing trend of the investigations of primeval social customs” to the study of language.⁵⁰ This remark is not followed by any example of such a study apart from a brief mention of Edward Tylor’s (one of the forefathers of gesture studies) “various studies,” which remain unspecified.⁵¹ This ambiguous reference is only a token gesture of the contemporary trends of ethnology and ethnography, and provides no substantial contribution to the article. Goldziher probably thought that his innovative argument needs no external support from other studies. Nevertheless, he was obligated to pay tribute to the ideas of *Völkerpsychologie* and *Volksggeist* by providing some reference to the contemporary research that he read and mastered.

The two later articles, “Arabische Beiträge zur Volksetymologie” (henceforth, “Arabische Beiträge”) and “Ueber Geberden” with their overwhelming examples from the Arabic sources, demonstrate a certain degree of commit-

47 Kalmar, “The *Völkerpsychologie*” 686–687.

48 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Ueber den Ursprung einiger metaphorischer Ausdrücke der arabischen Sprache,” in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 13 (1882), 250–261; Goldziher, Ignaz, “Arabische Beiträge zur Volksetymologie,” in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 18 (1888), 69–82.

49 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Ueber den Ursprung” 251.

50 Goldziher, “Ueber den Ursprung” 250. See Hopkins’ appraisal of the article as “highly original” Hopkins, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher” 110.

51 Goldziher, “Ueber den Ursprung” 251 n. Goldziher also mentions Jean-Jacques Ampère’s (1800–1864) work on the history of the French literature in the Middle Ages. Apart from Tylor and Ampère, he refers to an inaccurate French translation of an Arabic verse. Goldziher, “Ueber den Ursprung” 257 n.

ment to the concept of *Völkerpsychologie*.⁵² As we already indicated in the first section of this study, Goldziher specifically mentioned *Völkerpsychologie* in the introduction of “Ueber Geberden,” although he did not explain or elaborate on this concept.⁵³ In “Arabische Beiträge” he did not mention *Völkerpsychologie*; however, in the detailed introduction of “Arabische Beiträge” he connected this article with a previous 1880 *ZfVS* article on folk etymology.⁵⁴ With this reference, Goldziher signaled that his current contribution to *ZfVS* corresponds to the “spirit” of the journal. As in the case of “Ueber Geberden,” Goldziher declared that his purpose in writing “Arabische Beiträge” was merely to draw the attention of German academia to the possible contribution of Arabic literature to the study of folk etymology. Therefore, he provided examples in “an aphoristic way” and not in a systematic order.⁵⁵ Evidently, “Arabische Beiträge” was a perfect fit for *ZfVS*. This is a rich article about popular far-fetched etymologies that ethnic groups apply to proper names and loanwords from Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Kurdish, and Coptic. These names and words were assimilated into the vernacular and literary Arabic.⁵⁶ The breadth of the examples in this article is dazzling, as it ranges from the Qur’ān to the 19th-century Cairene marketplace. From the popular etymology of the name of the Qur’ānic Elijah (Ilyās, Q 6:85) to the colloquial *abū šigāra* (the cigarette vendor),⁵⁷ “Arabische Beiträge” unfolds the tapestry of the Arab civilization through the vivid manifestations of Standard Arabic and the Arabic dialects.

52 See Céline Trautmann-Waller’s remark on Goldziher’s mistrust of the German “Religionswissenschaft” (science of religion), and his detachment from the theories that Steintal and Lazarus advanced in their journal. Trautmann-Waller, Céline, “Du « caractère des peuples sémitiques » à une « science de la mythologie hébraïque » (Ernest Renan, Heymann Steintal, Ignác Goldziher),” in *Revue germanique internationale* 7 (2008), 169–184, esp. 182.

53 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 369; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 269.

54 Goldziher, “Arabische Beiträge” 69. The article that Goldziher refers to is Weise, Oskar, “Zur Charakteristik der Volksetymologie,” in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 12 (1880), 203–223.

55 Goldziher, “Arabische Beiträge” 70.

56 According to Hopkins, this supposedly modest article “remains among the most fascinating contributions to Arabic philology that have ever been written.” See Hopkins, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher” 112. Hopkins also points out that the article was originally published in Hungarian in 1881. The contribution of “Arabische Beiträge” to Arabic philology is enormous, because it is the first research on folk etymology in Arabic. In fact, Goldziher’s article is among several works dedicated to folk etymology in any language. Mutzafi, Hezy, “Folk Etymology in the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects,” in *Aramaic Studies* 16 (2018), 215–233, esp. 217.

57 Goldziher, “Arabische Beiträge” 71, 73.

“Ueber Geberden,” the unidentical twin of “Arabische Beiträge,” also tersely presents the richness of expressions in various Arab societies. However, unlike “Arabische Beiträge,” in “Ueber Geberden” Goldziher goes to great lengths to describe the relevant ethnographic research that inspired him to write his article. Basically, “Ueber Geberden” presents the numerous references to gestures that Goldziher collected throughout the many years of his diligent readings of Arabic sources. In addition, the article presents Goldziher’s impressions of gestures that he witnessed during his travels to the Middle East. Presumably, Goldziher would not have attributed any importance to these references (what he called his “small collection of texts”)⁵⁸ had he not read the studies of Garrick Mallery and other ethnographers. In the opening paragraph of “Ueber Geberden,” Goldziher acknowledges the contribution to his own work of these unnamed and unspecified studies on gestures and sign language. Indeed, he briefly mentions Mallery’s works on the Native American systems of signs and gestures.⁵⁹ Although this laconic reference does not lead to an appraisal of Mallery’s fieldwork, methodological notes, and findings, one can guess that Mallery’s richly illustrated reports fascinated Goldziher.⁶⁰ We assume that Goldziher chose not to quote Mallery’s works because he thought that they were not applicable to his own findings in the Arabic literature. On the other hand, in “Ueber Geberden” Goldziher quotes exceptionally lengthy passages from the work of ethnographers and travelers to the Middle East that he deemed relevant for his argument. In our opinion, these lengthy citations, which are not typical of his writing, provide the key to understanding Goldziher’s approach to gestures.

In the following section, we examine these citations and their contribution to Goldziher’s main argument in “Ueber Geberden.” The task of identifying this argument was difficult because “Ueber Geberden,” which lacks both a conven-

58 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 369; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 269.

59 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 369 n. 1. Goldziher mentions the annual report that Garrick Mallery composed for the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology on the sign language of Native Americans. Mallery, Garrick, “Sign Language,” in *Internationale Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* 1 (1884), 193–210; Mallery, Garrick, “Sign Language Among the North American Indians Compared with that Among Other Peoples and Deaf-Mutes,” in John Wesley Powell (ed.), *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1879–80*, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1881, 269–552.

60 Mallery, “Sign language” 193–197. Mallery accompanied the description of the Native American sign language with illustrations and methodological notes. The empirical part of these works is supported by a substantial theoretical background and a historical survey. See, for example, Mallery, “Sign Language Among the North American Indians” 286–312.

tional introduction and a conclusion, does not explicitly articulate a specific argument. Moreover, other than a laconic reference to the meaning of gestures (“when someone expresses his thoughts through gesture”),⁶¹ Goldziher does not provide his views of gestures, mannerisms, and body and sign languages. In this article one would have expected to find a remark on the importance of gestures as a means of communication, especially since “Ueber Geberden” is the first article to introduce the role of gestures in Arabic language and culture. Nonetheless, Goldziher does not delve into definitions and theories. In addition, there are other peculiarities in “Ueber Geberden.” For example, the article lacks a much-needed historical background and context. Indeed, without proper explanations and even citations, the gestures in “Ueber Geberden” are presented as independent items extracted from Arabic literature. The task of understanding the gestures and placing them in their proper context remains almost in its entirety to the readers.

The article opens with a set of references to the Arabic sources, while the reason for quoting a given text is not stated. Goldziher rarely indicates the meaning of the gestures that he mentions, and he does not explain why such a collection of gestures is important at all. However, a closer look in “Ueber Geberden” reveals that all the above-mentioned theoretical and historical components exist in the article in one way or another. Part I of “Ueber Geberden” presents several records of hand, face, and body gestures as witnessed by 18th- and 19th-century Western travelers to the East. Goldziher then connects these records with textual evidence taken from the twelfth-century chivalric epic romance *Sīrat ‘Antar*, a text that he often quoted in his work.⁶² Part II of the article lists several gestures (*ishāra* pl. *ishārāt*) of the Prophet Muḥammad as recorded in the *ḥadīth* literature.⁶³ This sequence of citations provides the historical perspective of the gestural discourse in Arabic, as we see that the Arabs of late antiquity paid attention to gestures. Their observations were transmitted in the oral literature (poetry, *ḥadīth*) that was written centuries later. In sum, Part I and Part II can be considered an introduction, because one can infer from these parts Goldziher’s methodological principles and how he perceived the gestural discourse in the Arabic language and culture. The core of the article lies in Parts III and IV. Part III opens with a discussion on the Arabic gestures of affirmation and negation, and the gestures of rejection, disownment, and dissociation.⁶⁴ In addition, Part III extracts references of gestures

61 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 369; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 269.

62 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 369–373; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 269–270.

63 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 373–377; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 270–271.

64 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 377–379; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 271.

performed by various historical figures in different settings (such as the *bay'a*, the symbolic gesture of allegiance to the caliph) from a wide range of sources such as the *ḥadīth* literature, historical chronicles, and works of *tafsīr*.⁶⁵ Part IV presents a brief discussion on Arabic dactylophony (*al-'aqd*).⁶⁶ Most of the references in "Ueber Geberden" are to the *ḥadīth* literature; however, the purpose of the article is not to present the gestures in the *ḥadīth*. The focal point of "Ueber Geberden" shifts from the gestures in the *ḥadīth* to the common (and contemporary) usage of gestures in colloquial Arabic. This shift indicates that by writing "Ueber Geberden," Goldziher aspired to provide an overall view of past and present Arabic gestures.

In the beginning of "Ueber Geberden," Goldziher posits two principles that he extracted from his vast readings of Arabic sources. First, he determines that in Arabic *qāla bi-* (literally, "er spricht mit," "he spoke with") stands for "he gesticulated." This idiomatic expression (*Sprachausdruck*)⁶⁷ has several variations according to the object with which the speaker gesticulates: "He gesticulated with his hand, with his fingers, with his cane, etc."⁶⁸ Second, Goldziher remarks

65 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 379–382; Bousquet, "Du langage par gestes" 271–272.

66 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 383–386; Bousquet, "Du langage par gestes" 272.

67 Seeing *qāla bi-* in its different variants as an idiomatic expression corresponds to the analysis of the *ḥadīth* scholar Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606/1210, the brother of the more famous historian 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, d. 630/1233). According to Ibn al-Athīr, when attached to other words as part of an expression, the verb *qāla* and its verbal noun *qawl* denote various actions instead of simply "saying" and "speaking." Ibn al-Athīr interprets *qāla bi-yadihi* as "he took" (*akhadha*) rather than "he gesticulated." However, in another illuminating example the verb *qāla* forms a metaphoric expression: "They said: He speaks the truth. But they did not speak; rather, they nodded with their heads as a sign of affirmation." Indeed, Ibn al-Athīr refers to this expression as *majāz* (metaphor). Ibn al-Athīr, Majd al-Dīn, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa'l-athar*, eds. Ṭāhīr Aḥmad al-Zāwī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, 5 vols., Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Ilmiyya, 1399/1979, iv, 124. The passage is also quoted in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, eds. 'Abd Allāh 'Alī al-Kabīr et al., 6 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d, v, 3780 (the verb *q.w.l.*). Cf. our reading to Guillaume's reading of the same passage. Guillaume, Alfred, *Prophecy and Divination Among the Hebrews and Other Semites*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938, 173. Ibn al-Athīr's passage is also mentioned in Izutsu, Toshihiko, *Language and Magic: Studies in the Magical Function of Speech, The Collected Works of Toshihiko Izutsu*, vol. i, Tokyo: Keio Institute of Philological Studies, 1956, 20–21.

68 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 369; Bousquet, "Du langage par gestes" 269. Goldziher's examples are taken from al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*. The first example is the story of the heart surgery that symbolizes Muḥammad's initiation as a prophet. One of the angels who performed this surgical procedure "gesticulated with his hand to his right" (*qāla bi-yadihi yamnatan minhu*). al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* [*Annales*], ed. M.J. de Goeje, 15 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1964 (photocopy of the 1876–1901 edition), prima series, ii, 975. The second example is the story about the governor of

that one finds “the language of gestures” (*die Geberdensprache*) among the four or five ways of expressing one’s thoughts, as described in the works of the famous philologist and litterateur al-Jāhiz (d. 255/868–869).⁶⁹ Goldziher does not quote the insightful and educational passages from al-Jāhiz. Furthermore, he does not explain that al-Jāhiz provided general observations on gestures (hence, a full-blown theory on gestures) as well as specific examples.⁷⁰ Instead, Goldziher presents 18th- and 19th-century travelers and ethnographers. At first reading, this abrupt transition to the modern period seems perplexing. However, by making this transition, Goldziher both signals to German academia (and not necessarily to the philologists of Arabic) that the Arabic language of gestures is a rich and promising subject for a future study and provides the theoretical framework for the numerous textual proofs from the classical Arabic literature that he later cites. In other words, Goldziher draws a direct line from al-Jāhiz’s theory of gestures to the findings of 18th- and 19th-century ethnographers and travelers.

The several quotations from the works of ethnography that Goldziher cites in “Ueber Geberden” vary from general observations to specific examples. The arrangement of these quotations and paraphrases allows readers to reconstruct Goldziher’s basic assumptions about gestures. For example, the Irish missionary and traveler Josias Leslie Porter (1823–1889) observed that “[t]he Arabs are frequently in the habit of communicating intelligence even to each other in this way, signs they consider more impressive than words.”⁷¹ Porter’s observation that gestures occupy a central place in the everyday communication

Iraq, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (d. 67/686) who started gesticulating with his cane (*fa-ja‘ala yaqūlu bi-qaḍibihi*) when the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 61/680) was brought to him. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh secunda series*, i, 286.

69 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 369; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 269.

70 In *Kitāb al-Bayān wa’l-tabyīn*, al-Jāhiz claimed that although “the gesture and the speech are partners (*wa’l-ishāra wa’l-lafẓ sharikān*),” the gesture reveals more about a person’s thoughts than his words. Al-Jāhiz depicts a wide range of gestures: “by the hand, the head, the eye, the eyebrow, the shoulder—if two persons stand at some distance from one another—and also by the garment and the sword.” Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa’l-tabyīn*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn, 4 vols., Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānī, 1418/1998, i, 77–78. See also Holtzman, “Gestures” 296. In *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, al-Jāhiz lists gestures conveying all sorts of emotions: “Gestures from a close distance are raising the eyebrows, lowering the eyelids, curving the lips, moving the neck, and wrinkling the skin of the face. A long-distance gesture is to stick a piece of cloth in the entrance of a ravine so people can see it.” Al-Jāhiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Muḥammad Bāsīl ‘Uyūn al-Sūd, 7 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1424/2003, i, 37.

71 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 371, quoting Porter, J[osias] L[eslie], *Five Years in Damascus: Including an Account of the History, Topography, and Antiquities of That City with Travels and Researches in Palmyra, Lebanon, and the Hauran*, 2 vols., London: John Murray, 1855, i, 209; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 269.

of the Arabic-speaking communities seems to be the fundamental argument in “Ueber Geberden.” The observations of both the German psychologist and anthropologist Theodor Waitz (1821–1864) and the English explorer Claude Reignier Conder (1848–1910), on “the secret language” (*die Geheimsprache*) of secluded communities (African and Native American tribes, Bedouin tribes in Palestine),⁷² prompted Goldziher to remark that the Arabic literature records “the secret language” of distinctive communities like the ‘Ayyārūn (the paramilitary chivalry bands of the premodern era)⁷³ and the Sufis. Here, Goldziher refers to his 1872 article on the language and literature of the Sufis.⁷⁴ In the 1872 article, Goldziher presented another fundamental argument: Every community has its unique vocabulary of gestures that is inaccessible to outsiders.

Among the references to the works of ethnography in “Ueber Geberden,” the lengthy passage from the travelogue of the German Orientalist Julius Heinrich Petermann (1801–1876) stands out. In the paragraph that precedes this passage, Petermann praises the Bedouins’ remarkable hospitality, but warns his European readers: “They have many peculiar gestures and customs, that one must learn first.”⁷⁵ What follows is an inventory of Arab gestures, which Goldziher quoted in full in “Ueber Geberden”:

When they [i.e., the Bedouins] greet someone or express their gratitude, they bend down and take with their right hand some dust, so to speak, from the ground. With this hand they touch their breast, mouth, and forehead. The subordinate takes the right hand of his superior, kisses it, and then lays the superior’s hand on his (the subordinate’s) head as a token of his submission to him. To wave at someone, they make almost the same movement with their hand as we do when we turn something down or refuse it. Whenever they want to say “yes,” they shake their head. Whenever they want to say “no,” they lift their head up and click their tongue, a gesture that can also mean “stop”. To indicate that they have nothing, they place the tip of the nail of the right thumb on the upper teeth and then pull it off. If they want to make it clear that they have no

72 Waitz, Theodor, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 2 vols., Leipzig: F. Fleischer, 1860–1877, ii, 213; Conder, Claude Reignier, *Tent Work in Palestine*, 2 vols., London: R. Bentley and Son, 1878, ii, 277.

73 On the ‘Ayyārūn, see Tor, Deborah, “‘Ayyār,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, three, fasc. 1 (2014), 38–40.

74 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 370, n. 2; Goldziher, Ignaz, “Linguistisches aus der Literatur der muhammedanischen Mystik,” in *ZDMG* 26 (1872), 764–785.

75 Petermann, J[ulius] H[einrich], *Reisen im Orient*, 2 vols., Leipzig: Veit, 1860–1861, i, 172.

part in something, they grab the upper part of their garment with their right hand and shake it.⁷⁶

Petermann's observations inspired Goldziher to locate textual evidence for some of these gestures in the classical sources (mainly, the *ḥadīth*). The outcome of Goldziher's response to Petermann is a lengthy and obscure deliberation of the gestures of affirmation and negation and the gesture of rejection. Unfortunately, this text is almost unreadable mainly because here Goldziher alludes to his sources instead of quoting them (a problematic tendency when the *ḥadīth* material is involved). Furthermore, he admits that not all the sources to which he refers prove his point. Finally, his argument is obscure and implicit. No wonder that Georges-Henri Bousquet, the faithful translator and epitomizer of Goldziher's articles, summarized the three-page discussion in a brief and laconic paragraph and omitted most of the examples that Goldziher included.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, this lengthy passage—despite its obscurity—represents the *raison d'être* of "Ueber Geberden." The demanding task of deciphering Goldziher's argumentation and locating his sources is therefore necessary. The following is an explication of Goldziher's argument about the gestures of affirmation and negation and the gesture of rejection, disownment, and dissociation.

Goldziher sets out to see whether the *ḥadīth* literature proves or disproves Petermann's observation about the head nods for affirmation and negation in the Arabic culture. First, he remarks that indeed Europeans visiting the East are often surprised to find out that "the head-gestures of 'yes' and 'no' in the Orient stand for almost the opposite head-gestures that we use in the Occident."⁷⁸ Here it seems that Goldziher accepts Petermann's categorical observation that in the Arabic culture shaking the head means "yes" and nodding the head means "no." Then, Goldziher remarks that indeed the rich narrative of the *ḥadīth* literature abounds with indications of head nods, but unfortunately, the direction of the movement of the head is never described in the sources.⁷⁹ The textual evidence that Goldziher located in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (his main source

76 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 370, quoting Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* i, 172–173; Bousquet, "Du langage par gestes" 269.

77 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 377–379; Bousquet, "Du langage par gestes" 271. Georges-Henri Bousquet (1900–1978) was a French scholar of law and Islamic studies and a professor at the University of Algeria. Between 1960 and 1962, he published French summaries of several of Goldziher's articles in *Arabica*.

78 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 377; Bousquet, "Du langage par gestes" 271. From this point onward, Bousquet does not summarize this part of the article.

79 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 377.

of reference in “Ueber Geberden”) neither supports nor disproves Petermann’s observation. Indeed, these texts illustrate the richness of the details one can find in the *ḥadīth* literature, but they do not prove that Petermann’s observation was correct. At best, one piece of textual evidence suggests that Petermann’s observation has a grain of truth in it.

In the first *ḥadīth* that Goldziher quotes, Asmā’ the daughter of the caliph Abū Bakr (d. 73/692), reminisces about a visit to the house of ‘Ā’isha, Asmā’’s half-sister and the wife of the Prophet (d. 58/678). The visit occurred during the solar eclipse (*khasafati ‘l-shams; al-kusūf*), a frightful event that drove people to pray. Asmā’ asked ‘Ā’isha what was wrong and why were people praying. ‘Ā’isha, who herself was praying, responded by pointing with her hand heavenwards. Asmā’ then asked whether the eclipse was a sign from God. ‘Ā’isha nodded with her head in affirmation (*fa-ashārat bi-ra’sihā ay na’am*).⁸⁰ In the second report, the nodding of the head is described to be external to the prophetic narrative. Here, a student asks a question during a *ḥadīth* class. The teacher, the *muḥaddith* Thābit al-Bunānī from Basra (d. between 124–127/740–744), confirms what the student said (*taṣḍīqan lahu*) by moving his head (*fa-ḥarraka ra’sahu*).⁸¹ As Goldziher indicates, the direction of the head movement is unspecified in both cases. Goldziher, however, locates a third example in the *ḥadīth* literature that depicts the direction of the head movement. This example describes an unmarried young woman who was walking in the streets of Medina wearing her silver jewelry. A Jew attacked her, crushing her head between two stones. While barely alive, she was brought to the Prophet. The Prophet named one man and asked the woman whether this man was her assassin. She lifted her head upwards (*fa-rafa’at ra’sahā*) to indicate that this was not the perpetrator.

80 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 377. Al-Bukhārī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, in Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh (ed.), *al-Kutub al-sitta*, 2 vols., Riyadh: Dār al-Salām, 1419/1999, 10, *ḥadīth* 86 (*kitāb al-‘ilm, bāb man ashāra al-futyā bi-ishārat al-yad wa’l-ra’s*), 72, *ḥadīth* 922 (*kitāb al-jum’a, bāb man qāla fi ‘l-khuṭba ba’da ‘l-thanā’ ammā ba’du*). A different wording that indicates that ‘Ā’isha nodded with her head in affirmation (*qālat bi-ra’sihā an na’am*) appears in another version, which Goldziher does not mention; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 607, *ḥadīth* 7287 (*kitāb al-i’tisām bi’l-kitāb wa’l-sunna, bāb al-iqtidā’ bi-sunan rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam*). Other versions of the *ḥadīth* indicate that ‘Ā’isha gesticulated with her hand (*fa-ashārat bi-yadihā ay na’am*). Some versions indicate that she gesticulated without referring to her hand or her head. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 18, *ḥadīth* 184 (*kitāb al-wuḍū’, bāb man lam yatawaḍḍa’ illā min al-ghashy al-muthqil*), 83, *ḥadīth* 1053 (*kitāb al-jum’a, bāb ṣalāt al-nisā’ ma’a ‘l-rjāl fi ‘l-kusūf*), 96, *ḥadīth* 1235 (*kitāb al-jum’a, bāb idhā kullima wa-huwa yuṣallī fa-ashāra bi-yadihi*).

81 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 344–345, *ḥadīth* 4200 (*kitāb al-maghāzī, bāb ghazwat Khaybar*).

The Prophet asked about another man, and again she lifted her head in negation. Finally, when the Prophet named a third man, she lowered her head (*fa-khafadat ra'sahā*) in affirmation. The man was then brought to the Prophet, who ordered that her assailant be executed by crushing his head between two stones.⁸²

In the next part of his discussion, Goldziher associates the evidence from the post-*ḥadīth* literature with evidence from the European travel literature. He mentions gestures of the head, finger, and hand, while focusing on gestures that signify negation or rejection. Specifically, Goldziher observes that the finger gesture of negation is documented in the sources. In a footnote, he directs us to a remarkable report in which the Mālikī scholar Saḥnūn (d. 240/855) recounts a dream that he had about 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim (d. 191/806), an early jurist and the most prominent disciple of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796). In this dream, Saḥnūn asked Ibn al-Qāsim about his position in heaven and inquired as to which of his deeds on earth merited his entry into heaven. Ibn al-Qāsim retorted that his most worthy deed on earth was his daily recitation of the Qur'ān. Saḥnūn asked: "And what about the responsa (*wa'l-masā'il*)?"—Saḥnūn was referring to the numerous responsa according to the teachings of Mālik that Ibn al-Qāsim issued. Ibn al-Qāsim "pointed with his finger as if these responsa were unimportant (*fa-kāna yushīru bi-iṣba'ihī yulashshihā*)."⁸³ As this gesture of annulment is not described, one can only imagine how it

82 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 378. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 573, *ḥadīth* 6877 (*kitāb al-diyāt, bāb idhā qutla bi-ḥajarin aw bi-'aṣan*). The other versions of this *ḥadīth* indicate that the girl either pointed with her head (*awma'at bi-ra'sihā*) in the direction of her perpetrator or gesticulated with her head (*ashārat bi-ra'sihā*) in negation (*ay lā*) or confirmation (*ay na'am*). Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 573, *ḥadīth* 6879 (*kitāb al-diyāt, bāb man aqāda bi'l-ḥajar*); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 189, *ḥadīth* 2413 (*kitāb al-khuṣūmāt, bāb mā yudhkaru fī 'l-ishkhāṣ wa'l-khuṣūma bayna 'l-muslim wa'l-yahūd*).

83 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden," 378, n. 3. Goldziher does not quote the text. He correctly observes that the text mentions a finger gesture of negation (*verneinende Fingerbewegung*). The anecdote is quoted in Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, 3 vols. (*al-Maktaba al-Andalusīyya* 11–13), Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī, and Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1410/1989, 1, 55–56 (the biography of Abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, d. 401/1011). It is also quoted in al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, *Sīyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūṭ et al., 25 vols., Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1405/1985 (3rd ed.), ix, 229 (the biography of 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb, d. 197/813). The editor of *Sīyar* remarks in a footnote that the verb *lashshā* means to say that something is "nothing" (*lā shay*). Cf. Dozy, Reinhart, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden: Brill/Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1927, ii, 529. We note that as far as we were able to verify, the verb *lashshā* in the second form is not documented in the classical dictionaries. Dozy, for example, mentions *lashā* and *lāshā* in the first and third forms, respectively.

appeared. Presumably, Ibn al-Qāsim moved his index finger right to left, several times.

Finally, Goldziher presents the most effective gesture of disownment and dissociation, namely, the shaking of one's garment. Goldziher connects Petermann's description of the shaking of the upper part of one's garment with the gesture that the people of Quraysh performed when Muḥammad presented to them the One God. According to a report that is recorded in al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*, upon hearing Muḥammad's lecture on the One God, the Qurashites, who were seated for the tribe's gathering "stood up terrified and shook their garments (*fa-qāmū fazi'in yanfuḍūna thiyābahum*)."⁸⁴ This gesture symbolized their disownment of Muḥammad. Strangely, Goldziher does not mention the Biblical reference to the same gesture: "I also shook out the fold of my garment (*gam ḥoṣnī na'artī*) and said, 'So may God shake out everyone from house and from property who does not perform this promise'" (Nehemiah 5: 13).⁸⁵ In Hebrew, the concrete action of shaking the garment transformed into a figure of speech, whereas in Arabic the symbolic gesture did not transform into a metaphor. Goldziher indeed refers to the tearing of garments as a symbol of grief in his 1882 article on metaphors, but not to the shaking of garments.⁸⁶ We do not exclude the possibility that such a reference exists in the colossal body of work that Goldziher has left, but to date we have not found one.

In his discussion on the gestures of affirmation and negation, Goldziher proves that gesturing is a trait of the Arabic culture and is a part of the Arabic lexicon, as much as the Arabic vocabulary itself. We arrive at this conclusion from the association that Goldziher creates between the previously mentioned texts from the *ḥadīth* and post-*ḥadīth* literature, and an 18th-century report about the routine gestures of the Jewish women of Aleppo. Goldziher located this report in the travel book of the Scottish naturalist Alexander Russell (ca. 1715–1768). Russell served as a physician in Aleppo between 1740 and 1754. According to Russell, the Jewish women of Aleppo "have also a peculiar way of expressing an absolute negative, by biting the thumb nail of the right hand, and then quickly thrusting the hand forward."⁸⁷ To strengthen the relevance of the evidence from both the classical and the more recent sources, Goldziher

84 Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 379; Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* secunda series, i, 1178.

85 Coogan, Michael (ed.), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 692. In Biblical Hebrew, *ḥoṣen* is the hem of the garment.

86 Goldziher, "Ueber den Ursprung" 260–261.

87 Russell, Alexander, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, 2 vols., London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1794, ii, 62. The passage is quoted in German in Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 379.

adds: “The same gesture of denial which according to Russell is performed by the Jewish women in Aleppo is seen daily in Damascus where it is performed by people of different faiths.”⁸⁸

Goldziher presents additional evidence about different gestures of negation that demonstrate the rich and nuanced spectrum of gestures in Arabic. However, he does not analyze or explain the citations that he provides. The inner logic of the arrangement of his textual evidence is possibly designed to show a gradual increase in the volume and the intensity of the gesture. A simple nod of the head is less effective than biting one’s thumb nail and thrusting the hand forward. Gestures of a theatrical nature are effective and convey powerful messages. Thus, Goldziher mentions that a gesture of disregard or disrespect is “to blow between one’s two hands” to indicate that whatever has been said was unimportant “like a wind.”⁸⁹ The chain of textual evidence continues, and Goldziher presents numerous examples of such evidence regarding the gesture of allegiance⁹⁰ and dactylonomy.⁹¹

“Ueber Geberden” reflects Goldziher’s profound understanding of gestures as an essential building block in *Völkerpsychologie*, namely, the complicated structure of culture and language. This pioneering work provides a nonsystematic attempt to assemble references to gestures from the rich Arab literary heritage and connect some of these gestures to the descriptions of gestures of later centuries. Goldziher succeeds in proving that gestures were continuously recorded in the classical Arabic sources; however, he fails to establish a continuous line between the textual evidence of late antiquity and the observations of 18th- and 19th-century travelers to the Middle East. “Ueber Geberden” is on firm ground when it comes to the classical Arabic texts: Goldziher possessed a remarkable ability to locate his textual evidence from the Arabic sources. However, the presentation of the anthropological fieldwork of travelers to the Middle East, combined with Goldziher’s own recollections of his travels, leads to a rather chaotic outcome. This inherent flaw in “Ueber Geberden” and its

88 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 379.

89 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 379. Goldziher refers to an anecdote from al-Maqqarī’s (d. 1041/1632) *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*. This anecdote describes the great *ḥadīth* scholar Abū Ṭāhir al-Silfī (d. 576/1180) who recited two verses on dubious *ḥadīth* scholars, and then “blew between his two hands to indicate that these things are [as worthless] as the wind.” Al-Maqqarī, Abū Ṭāhir al-Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-andalus al-raṭīb wa-dhikr wazīrīhā Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb* [*Analectes sur l’histoire et la littérature des Arabes d’Espagne*], eds. R. Dozy et al., 2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1858, ii, 46.

90 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 379–382; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 271.

91 Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 383–386; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 272.

publication in *ZfVS*, which was by no means a natural “home” for scholars of Islam, partly explain the failure of “Ueber Geberden” to leave its mark on Islamic studies.

4 Gestures in “Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet”

Goldziher’s enduring interest in gestures and language ripened into a thought-provoking argument that he published in 1906 in “Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet.” This article reflects how Goldziher’s interest in language, folklore, culture, and comparative religions is interwoven with his study of Islam and its orality. In the twenty years that separated the issuance of “Ueber Geberden” and “Zauberelemente,” Goldziher’s position in the international academic community became firmly established. In 1905, he was finally appointed as a full professor at the University of Budapest. One of the many indications of his stature as an esteemed member of the European community of scholars of Islamic studies was his suggestion to issue a *Festschrift* commemorating the 70th birthday of the illustrious scholar of Islam, Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930). Goldziher was also a member of the editorial committee of this high-profile publication.⁹² He contributed “Zauberelemente” to this two-volume *Festschrift*, which comprised philological studies on Semitic languages and studies on the cultures of the “Orient.” The *Festschrift* was therefore a suitable setting for Goldziher to present his ideas on gesture and language. Due to the *Festschrift*’s visibility within the community of scholars of Islamic studies, “Zauberelemente” was positively received by the academic milieu, unlike “Ueber Geberden,” which was published in the controversial and perhaps marginal *ZfVS* of Steintal and Lazarus.

While “Ueber Geberden” lacks a clear focus, “Zauberelemente” is dedicated to one topic: the power attributed by the Arabs to the combination of magical words and gestures. Throughout this coherent and systematic article, Goldziher uses some of the material that he meticulously collected for a future publication (which he did not complete) on oaths and vows. This was a topic that he considered crucial for acquiring knowledge on the beliefs of the pagan Arabs of the Jāhiliyya.⁹³ “Zauberelemente” provides observations on

92 See the introduction to the *Festschrift*, penned by the Dutch scholar Michael Jan de Goeje (d. 1909); de Goeje, Michael Jan, “Hochverehrter Professor Nöldeke!,” in Carl Bezold (ed.) *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, 2 vols., Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906, i, v–vii.

93 Dévényi, Kinga, “Information Exchange Before the Internet: On *law aqsama ‘alā llāh la-*

the customs of the pagan Arabs and the early Islamic community and moves forward to examine different Islamic customs that prevailed in various settings and periods. Goldziher reveals here a dazzling array of examples from the Arabic literature combined with his observations on the magic practices of the inhabitants of the ancient Near East (including the ancient Hebrews), Greece, and even China.⁹⁴ Alexander Fodor has already analyzed Goldziher's oeuvre on magic in the Jāhiliyya and early and later Islam against the backdrop of prevalent 19th-century theories on comparative mythology and magic.⁹⁵ We therefore refrain from delving into Goldziher's interest in magic. Instead, we concentrate here on Goldziher's discussion of the gesture of extending the index finger, which he presented in Part v of "Zauberelemente." We also refer here to three publications from 1896, which serve as an introduction to his thesis on this particular gesture. However, to fully grasp Goldziher's achievement in his approach to this index-finger gesture, we briefly present the rationale and main argumentation of "Zauberelemente."

"Zauberelemente" is an example of Goldziher's interest in the *residua*, the remnants of an ancient culture that survived in the present culture.⁹⁶ Goldziher identifies such remnants in the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) and the individual prayer (*du'ā'*). In the introduction of "Zauberelemente," Goldziher remarks that since the *ṣalāt* and *du'ā'* form the ultimate manifestation of the submission of the Muslim community and the Muslim individual to God's omnipotence and rule, "any memory of pagan magic had to be completely erased from the prayer." Accordingly, the rhymed prose (*saǰ'*) that was habitually used in Jāhili magic spells (*Zauberspruch*) was completely banned in the Islamic prayer. However,

abarrah in Goldziher's Correspondence," in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 21–36, esp. 30–32. The archive of Goldziher's correspondence, which has become available online, will be useful for a future investigation of his notes about oaths. In this context, see Sabine Schmidtke's contribution to this volume.

- 94 Goldziher mentioned the practices of the Chinese of Xiamen (Amoy, in Fujian, the southeastern coast of China) deployed during years of drought. Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 31 n. 2. In this observation, Goldziher relies on the study of the Dutch Sinologist and historian of religion J[an] J[akob] M[aria] de Groot (d. 1921); de Groot, J.J.M., *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui (Amoy): étude concernant la religion populaire des Chinois*, Annales du Musée Guimet 11, Paris: E. Leroux, 1886, esp. 72.
- 95 Fodor, "Goldziher and Magic in Islam" 51–53, 58.
- 96 Fodor summarizes a lecture that Goldziher delivered in Hungarian in 1892 on the connections between the science of religions and ethnography. In this lecture, Goldziher discussed the *residua*. Fodor, "Goldziher and Magic in Islam" 55–57. See also Turán, Tamás, "Academic Religion: Goldziher as a Scholar and a Jew," in Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary: The "Science of Judaism" Between East and West*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017, 223–270, esp. 254.

continues Goldziher, despite these efforts, the Islamic prayer still preserves elements that allude to man's relationship with the supernatural powers. This idea is part of the culture of magic, which the Arab tribes of the Jāhiliyya supposedly cultivated.⁹⁷ Among the remnants of pagan magic in the Islamic practice, Goldziher identifies two customary gestures that accompany the Islamic prayer: the gesture of extending the index finger (*al-ishāra bi'l-sabbāba*) and the gesture of raising both hands in prayer (*rafʿ al-yadayn*). In Part v of "Zauberelemente," Goldziher argues that these gestures originated in pre-Islamic magical practices.⁹⁸

In the introduction of "Zauberelemente," Goldziher emphasizes that although the Islamic faith demands its believers to remain humble and submissive in their prayer to God, the mindset of the pagan Arabs allowed them to behave in an unrestrained manner when interacting with the deities. Goldziher postulates that the magical worldview that prevailed in pre-Islamic times both presumed the existence of supernatural powers and ascribed to humans the ability to use these powers to subordinate and control the divine. The tribal sorcerer summoned the spirits verbally as well as by certain actions. The communication with the deities was therefore both verbal and nonverbal. Goldziher explains that despite some opposition, the *ḥadīth* assimilated popular elements of magic, such as raising hands in prayer, in the description of the Islamic prayer and other customs and settings. The *ḥadīth* attributed these popular elements to the charismatic authority of the Prophet and his companions. Later, Muslim theologians struggled to eradicate the trace of such magical elements from the *ḥadīth* by way of interpretation.⁹⁹

In Part 1 of "Zauberelemente," Goldziher presents the Muslim saint as the successor of the mythical sorcerer (*sāḥir*) and soothsayer (*kāhin*) of pre-Islamic times.¹⁰⁰ Basing this argument on numerous proofs from the *ḥadīth* literature, Goldziher concludes that the Muslim saint's ability to compel God to execute the saint's wishes by uttering oaths and threats was validated by sayings that were attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad himself. For example, the Prophet told his companions that they were about to meet a man from Yemen whose name was Uways b. ʿĀmir al-Qaranī (d. 37/657). This man was a leper who was

97 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 303; Bousquet, G[eorges] H[enri], "Éléments magiques dans la prière musulmane," in "Études Islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher. Traduction analytique (1)," in *Arabica* 7 (1960), 18–26, esp. 18.

98 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 320–328; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 23–25. See also Fodor, "Goldziher and Magic in Islam" 59.

99 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 303–304; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 18.

100 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 304–308; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 18–20.

cured of his leprosy almost completely—except for a small area of disease on his skin, the size of a dirham—due to the power of his prayer to God. The *ḥadīth* records the Prophet's appraisal of Uways and other virtuous men of the community and their ability to persuade God to act on their behalf. According to a well-quoted *ḥadīth*, the Prophet said: "Among God's worshippers, there are men whose oaths—when they take them—He fulfills."¹⁰¹

Goldziher demonstrates the power of oaths taken by virtuous men through the story of Ḥōnī Ha-Me'agel (d. first century BC), a Jewish scholar from Galilee (in fact, one of the so-called early pietists, *ḥasīdīm rishōnīm*) whose prayer for rain was miraculously answered after he drew a circle on the ground, stood in the middle of the circle, and informed God that he would not move until it rained.¹⁰² The story of Ḥōnī is connected to Part II of "Zauberelemente" in which Goldziher concentrates on textual evidence of later attempts in the Islamic history to prompt God to act by conducting the prayer for rain (*ṣalāt al-istisqā'*).¹⁰³ In Parts III and IV of "Zauberelemente" Goldziher discusses the magical origin of the verbal formulae that are used in the Islamic personal supplication to God (*du'ā'*) as described in the *ḥadīth*, including various forms of imploration (*ilḥāḥ*). He also connects the Islamic custom of invoking God by uttering His ninety-nine beautiful names (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*) with the practices of the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians, who, while invoking one of the deities, uttered this deity's exact name.¹⁰⁴

The lion's share of Part V of "Zauberelemente" is dedicated to the gesture of raising the hands (*raf' al-yadayn*) in the personal supplication (*du'ā'*).¹⁰⁵ As we intend to dedicate an article to this topic, we will briefly mention Goldziher's theory about the pre-Islamic origins of *raf' al-yadayn*. First, he argues that the gesture of raising the hands was a remnant of the magical invocations of supernatural powers that were prevalent in the ancient Near East.¹⁰⁶ Then, Goldziher

101 Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, in Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh (ed.), *al-Kutub al-sitta*, 2 vols., Riyadh: Dār al-Salām, 1419/1999, 1123, *ḥadīth* 6492 (*kitāb faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba, bāb min faḍā'il Uways al-Qaranī*). For further references to the *ḥadīth*, see Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 307.

102 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 308; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 19–20. For the story of Ḥōnī, see *Babylonian Talmud*, trans. Michael L. Rodkinson, 2 nd ed. 10 vols., Boston: New Talmud Publishing Company, 1918 (2nd ed.), viii, 48 (*Ta'anit* Tract, chapter 3).

103 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 308–312; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 20.

104 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 313–320; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 21–22.

105 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 320–328; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 22–25. A separate discussion on this gesture will be forthcoming; Ovadia, Miriam, "The Practice of *raf' al-yadayn* in the Thought of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya" (in preparation).

106 Referring to a work of the English archaeologist and Assyriologist, Leonard W[illiam] King (1869–1919), Goldziher cursorily mentions an analogous magical gesture that appears in

identified three trends regarding the raising of hands in the Arabic sources. The first trend criticizes the gesture, describing it as either a Jewish or a Christian habit. Thus, for example Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 78/697), one of the Prophet’s companions, was asked whether pilgrims were permitted to raise their hands when they entered Mecca and saw the Ka’ba. Jābir answered: “I have never seen anyone but the Jews act in such a manner. I accompanied the Prophet in his pilgrimage to Mecca, and he did not act in this way.”¹⁰⁷ The second trend condemns this gesture while implicitly connecting it to pagan magic and the unrestrained behavior of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Thus, the Prophet is quoted scolding his companions who raised their hands during prayer “like the tails of horses.”¹⁰⁸ Unlike the first and second trends, the third trend in the *ḥadīth* literature approves of this gesture, and attributes it to the Prophet and his companions. The Prophet is depicted in the *ḥadīth* as either “raising his hands” (*rāfi’an yadayhi*) in supplication near the piles of pebbles in Minā (one of the stations of the Ḥajj), or during his prayer for rain.¹⁰⁹ This trend was reinforced by historical anecdotes of caliphs who raised their hands in supplication (*qunūt*) of God. This supplication was habitually supplemented in the morning prayer or the prayer of *witr* (a nonobligatory prayer that is performed after the evening prayer).¹¹⁰ Goldziher concludes that the *aḥādīth* of the third trend were circulated in abundance during the third/ninth century by scholars who wished to legitimize the raising of hands during *qunūt* in addition to its being a part of the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*). We note that raising the hands while uttering *Allāh akbar* during *ṣalāt* is a custom that Muslims (except the Ḥanafis) perform to this day.¹¹¹

Babylonian rituals. Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 322 n. 3 mentions King, Leonard W[illiam], *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, Being “The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand”* (London: Luzac, 1896); Bousquet, “Éléments magiques” 23–24. Cf. Fodor, “Goldziher and Magic in Islam” 59.

107 Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 321 n. 4; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, in Šāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh (ed.), *al-Kutub al-sitta*, 2 vols., Riyadh: Dār al-Salām, 1419/1999, 1361, *ḥadīth* 1870 (*kitāb al-manāsik, bāb dukhūl Makka*). References to Goldziher’s observations on *raf’ al-yadayn* as a Jewish gesture are mentioned in a brief footnote in Vajda, Georges, “Juifs et Musulmans selon le *ḥadīth*,” in *JA* 229 (1937), 57–127, esp. 84 n. 2.

108 Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 322; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 747, *ḥadīth* 119/430 (*kitāb al-ṣalāt, bāb al-amr bi’l-sukūn fī al-ṣalāt*).

109 Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 324–327; Bousquet, “Éléments magiques” 24–25; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 135, *ḥadīth* 1752 and 1753 (*kitāb al-ḥajj, bāb raf’ al-yadayn ‘inda jamrati al-dunyā wa’l-wusṭā, bāb al-du‘ā ‘inda ‘l-jamratayin*); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 1309, *ḥadīth* 1168 (*kitāb al-ṣalāt, bāb raf’ al-yadayn fī ‘l-istisqā’*).

110 Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 323–324; Bousquet, “Éléments magiques” 24.

111 Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 325; Bousquet, “Éléments magiques” 25.

We review now Goldziher's discussion on the gesture of extending the index finger (*al-ishāra bi'l-sabbāba*) during the ritual daily prayer (*ṣalāt*), which is no less thought-provoking than his treatment of *rafʿ al-yadayn*. This discussion of extending the index finger illuminates the essence of Goldziher's treatment of gestures, namely, his perceptive eye and his ability to extract far-reaching insights from supposedly trivial details. Goldziher begins his discussion of this gesture in "Zauberelemente" with a remark that pagans believed that the index finger had a magical power; hence, in the pre-Islamic era, the gesture of extending the index finger served as a weapon against enemies. He argues that this iconic gesture gradually became an Islamic emblem symbolizing God's oneness (*tawhīd*).¹¹² This original argument, however, received scant attention in modern scholarship, probably because it was briefly mentioned in different publications. Goldziher did not provide the evidence for this argument in "Zauberelemente," but the evidence is found in three publications from 1896. These works are entitled "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hiġâ'-Poesie," which was published in Part I of *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*; "Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern"; and the introduction to Part II of *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, which prefaces a critical edition of *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn* (The book of those whose lives God prolonged) of Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 255/869).¹¹³

The gesture of extending the index finger is one of the Prophet's trademarks in the *ḥadīth* literature. A text that Goldziher does not quote but no doubt knew, describes the Umayyad prince Bishr b. Marwān (d. 74/694) standing on the *minbar* and raising his hands (*rāfiʿan yadayhi*). ʿUmāra b. Ruwayba, an old *ṣaḥābī* remarked: "May God curse these two hands! I saw the Prophet, and he never added [to the prayer] anything but the following gesture." Thereafter, ʿUmāra extended his index finger.¹¹⁴ In the above-mentioned publications, Goldziher refers to the pre-Islamic roots of the gesture of extending the index finger and connects the gesture with the curses that the pre-Islamic poets used to cast on their rivals. Goldziher claims that these curses developed into the genre of *hiġāʿ*, namely, defamatory poetry. In "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hiġâ'-Poesie," Goldziher argues (based on a sole textual reference) that the pre-Islamic poets

112 Goldziher, "Zauberelemente" 320; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 22.

113 Goldziher refers to these publications in "Zauberelemente" 320 n. 4. For Bousquet's summary of the passages on the magical gestures from "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hiġâ'-Poesie" and "Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern," see Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 22–23 (4 bis.).

114 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 814, *ḥadīth* 53/874 (*kitāb ṣalāt al-musāfirīn wa-qaṣruḥā, bāb takhfiḥ al-ṣalāt wa'l-khuṭba*).

claimed they had magical forces inspired by supernatural powers. The sources record evidence of pre-Islamic poets who recited rhythmic defamatory poems and enhanced the powerful curses in the poems by extending their index fingers.¹¹⁵

Al-sabbāba, the Arabic word for the index finger, alludes to the primordial perception of the gesture of extending the index finger as a means of cursing one's rivals. Goldziher located an explanation of this word in a rare manuscript. Apparently, the pre-Islamic origin of the word *al-sabbāba* was the verb *sabba*, to curse. The index finger was called *al-sabbāba* "because they were pointing it while cursing (*sabb*), quarreling, etc."¹¹⁶ The term *al-sabbāba* for the index finger remained while its origin was almost forgotten. In the *ḥadīth* literature, *al-ishāra bi'l-sabbāba* is attributed to the Prophet, who raised and rapidly moved (*taḥrīk*) his index finger during prayer. In other words, the *ḥadīth* literature "Islamized" the pre-Islamic gesture. Following the Prophet, Muslims throughout the world habitually performed this gesture—and continue to perform it to date—while uttering the *shahāda* (*tashahhud*), the Islamic profession of faith, to illustrate the *tawḥīd*, the belief in God, the One. Accordingly, the index finger is also called *al-musabbīḥa* (literally, the praising) because its movement during *tashahhud* occurs while uttering the words *Praise the Lord!* (*subḥān Allāh*).¹¹⁷ Another name for the index finger is *al-da'ā'a*, because "it prays, whereas *al-sabbāba* casts curses."¹¹⁸

In "Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammandanern" Goldziher admitted that the textual evidence to support the theory he presented in "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hiġâ'-Poesie" was insufficient. Goldziher therefore combed through the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), a gigantic noncanonical *ḥadīth* collection that he regarded as a textual reservoir of the Arab past. We note that in the precomputer age, the task of

115 Goldziher mentions additional gestures that stem from pre-Islamic practices in tribal feuds, e.g., dropping the mantle as a sign of wrath and removing a shoe as a symbol of abrogating the oath of allegiance. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* i, 27, 42, 55–57.

116 Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* i, 56. Goldziher references here the (yet) unpublished manuscript of the onomastic monograph of the lexicographer Majd al-Dīn al-Firūzābādī (d. 817/1415), entitled *al-Ishārāt ilā mā fi kutub al-fiqh min al-asmā' wa'l-amākin wa'l-lughāt* (*Indications of names, places and dialects in the books of jurisprudence*). We located an identical passage in Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūt et al., 26 vols., Damascus-Beirut: Dār al-Risāla al-'Ālamiyya, 1434/2013, xx, 255–256, *ḥadīth* 6505 (*kitāb al-riqāq, bāb qawl al-nabī bu'ithtu anā wa'l-sā'a kahātayni*).

117 Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* i, 56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, xx, 255–256, *ḥadīth* 6505 (*kitāb al-riqāq, bāb qawl al-nabī bu'ithtu anā wa'l-sā'a kahātayni*).

118 Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* i, 56; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'arab* ii, 1386 (d.'w).

retrieving a specific text from the *Musnad* was almost impossible because it was (and still is) arranged according to the names of the Prophet's companions, and not by topics. Goldziher's ability to locate several indications of gestures in the *Musnad* is therefore remarkable, and his efforts to read the *Musnad* from cover to cover are no less than Herculean. In "Neue Materialien," Goldziher emphasizes that a careful and critical reading of the *ḥadīth* enables us to identify the pagan undercurrents beneath the Islamic surface; namely, the pagan beliefs, habits, and rituals behind the Islamic beliefs, habits, and rituals.¹¹⁹ Such a reading—which challenges Islam's self-perception—contributes to the history of culture.¹²⁰

Goldziher's efforts to sift through the dozens of hundreds of *aḥādīth* that comprise the *Musnad* bore fruit, and he located "a few valuable grains" ("einige werthvolle Körner"), namely, several texts that supported his theory. One of these texts reflects a controversy among the scholars of Medina in the first half of the second/eighth century. These scholars argued whether the Prophet raised his index finger while saying *subḥān Allāh*. One of the *muḥaddithūn* quoted the following story to prove that the Prophet indeed raised his index finger. The noteworthy point in the anecdote—which Goldziher highlights—is that the pagans ascribed magical powers to this gesture:

A man from Medina recounted: Once I performed my prayer in the mosque of the Ghifār tribe. When I sat down to conclude the prayer, I laid my hand on my left thigh and extended my index finger. Khufāf b. Imā' al-Ghifārī (year of death unknown) who was a companion of the Prophet, saw me. When I finished my prayer and turned away, he said to me: My son, why did you extend your finger this way? I said: Why are you surprised by it? I have seen other people do the same thing. Then Khufāf said: You have done right, for the Prophet did the same in his prayer. The pagans used to say that Muḥammad gesticulated thus with his finger to cast spells. But this was a lie because the Prophet gesticulated with his finger to profess that His Creator was one.¹²¹

119 Goldziher's ability to identify the pagan past of Islam from a dearth of textual evidence can be compared to that of Moses Maimonides (1138–1204), who wrote about the pagan roots of the monotheist religions. See Stroumsa, Sarah, *Maimonides in His World: Portrait of a Mediterranean Thinker*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009, 84–124.

120 Goldziher, "Neue Materialien" 495.

121 Goldziher, "Neue Materialien" 495–496; Bousquet, "Éléments magiques" 23; Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Marwazī, *Musnad al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, eds. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūṭ et al., 50 vols., Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1421/2001, xxvii, 10, *ḥadīth* 165726 (*Musnad al-madaniyin, ḥadīth Khufāf*).

Another textual proof from the *Musnad* suggests that the early Muslims ascribed power to the gesture of extending the index finger. Thus, the prolific *ṣaḥābī* ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar (d. 73/693) who was the son of the second caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644), used to place his hands on his knees during prayer, extend the index finger, and move it rapidly while following its movement with his gaze. When he was asked about this gesture, he replied: “The Prophet used to say: The index-finger is more effective against Satan than iron.”¹²²

Goldziher provides additional precious pieces of evidence for the meaning of this gesture in the introduction of his edition of *Kitāb al-Mu‘ammarīn* (Part II of *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*). Although these texts seem irrelevant at first glance, they in fact connect all the dots in Goldziher’s perception of the meaning of the gesture of extending the index finger in the Muslim tradition. Goldziher proves that Muslims from different places throughout centuries revered this gesture. He presents the textual evidence and requires that his readers reconstruct the frame narrative that he wishes to convey. Thus, he quotes an anecdote about the Sufi Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ (d. 284/897). While walking in the street, a stranger harassed Ibrāhīm. The stranger demanded that Ibrāhīm remove his garments and give them to the stranger. Ibrāhīm vehemently refused this demand. The stranger persisted in harassing Ibrāhīm, and finally, Ibrāhīm pointed his index finger at the man. As a result of this gesture, the man became blind in both eyes.¹²³

From this anecdote, we infer that the belief in the special miraculous powers of Sufi saints included a belief in the magical powers of their gesticulations. Still, the gesture of pointing with the index finger was considered powerful, regardless of who performed it. In accordance, a marginal *ṣaḥābī*, Abū ‘Uwaymir al-Aslamī (death date unknown) claimed that the Prophet Muḥammad uttered a general prohibition to extend the index finger toward lightning.¹²⁴ This saying, which was not regarded as a legitimate and trustworthy Prophetic dictum, clearly reflects a popular belief in the efficacy of the gesture. Because of its dubious nature, this saying was recorded in the biographical dictionary of al-Dhahabī, and not in one of the canonical *ḥadīth* compilations. Another

122 Goldziher, “Neue Materialien” 496; Bousquet, “Éléments magiques” 23; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 10, 204, *ḥadīth* 6000 (*Musnad al-mukaththirīn min al-ṣaḥāba*, *musnad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar*).

123 Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, cv; al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, *Āthār al-bilād wa-akḥbār al-‘ibād*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1380/1960, 379.

124 Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* ii, cv; Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Izz al-Dīn, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma’rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, eds. ‘Alī Muḥammad Mu’awwad et al., 8 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1415/1994, vi, 229 (the biography of Abū ‘Uwaymir).

dubious *ḥadīth* that Goldziher mentions attributes the extension of the index finger to the Jews. According to this *ḥadīth*, the Prophet forbade the Muslims “to greet someone by extending the index finger, because this is what the Jews do.”¹²⁵ Again, this is not a legitimate *ḥadīth*, but a reflection of a popular superstition that the gesture of raising one’s finger resulted in bad luck or misfortune to the recipient of this gesture. This belief was circulated in the attire of a prophetic dictum.

In his deliberations on the pre-Islamic malice gesture of extending the index finger, Goldziher relied on descriptions of a similar gesture that formed part of the Babylonian repertoire of counterspells against enemies. His knowledge of this gesture derived from modern studies of the ancient Near East, such as François Lenormant’s (1837–1883) research from 1874 on Chaldean magic and divination. Based on what he read in Lenormant’s research, Goldziher hypothesized that the extension of the index finger in the Islamic prayer originated in Babylonian sorcery and was preserved in the popular Arabic culture of Iraq for two millennia.¹²⁶ In contrast to the malicious interpretation of this gesture, we find a positive view of this iconic gesture. Here, Goldziher hypothesizes that alongside the fear of the magical power of this gesture, a gradual process of Islamization assimilated this gesture into the ritual of daily prayer. After the gesture was Islamized, non-Muslims were forbidden to extend their index finger. The evidence for this hypothesis is found in the memoir of the Jewish Italian merchant and traveler Meshullam of Volterra (d. 1508). In 1481, Meshullam traveled to Egypt, and his visit to Cairo left him with the following impression: “It is forbidden for a Jew or a gentile to extend his index finger.”¹²⁷

125 Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, i, 55 n. 6; al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl fi naqd al-rijāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, 4 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifā, 1382/1963, iii, 36 (the biography of ʿUthmān ibn Abī Shayba). See equivalent references in Goldziher, Ignaz, “Ueber jüdische Sitten und Gebräuche aus muhammedanischen Schriften,” in *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 29 (1880), 302–315 (Anfang), 335–365 (Schluss), esp. 355; Goldziher, Ignaz, “Usages Juif d’après la littérature religieuse des Musulmans,” in *REJ* 28 (1894), 75–94, esp. 80. Meir Kister provided additional texts on the supposedly Jewish greeting by raising the index finger in Kister, Meir J., “Do Not Assimilate Yourselves ...: *lā tashabbahū*,” in *JSAI* 12 (1989), 321–371, esp. 325.

126 Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* i, 57 n. 1 mentions Lenormant; Lenormant, François, *La magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines Accadiennes: les sciences occultes en Asie*, Paris: Maissonneuve, 1874.

127 Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* ii, cvi; Bousquet, “Éléments magiques” 23. The text of Meshullam was first published in Luncz, Avraham Moshe (ed.), *Yerushalayim: Sefer kevuṣat maʿamarim* [ירושלים: ספר קבוצת מאמרים להאיר ולהעיר על הארץ הקדושה מצבה וקורותיה] *Jerusalem: Year-Book for the Diffusion of an Accurate Knowledge of Ancient and Modern Palestine*,

We must recall that Goldziher's interest in the gesture of extending the index finger stemmed from his investigation of the crucial role that the pre-Islamic poets played in intertribal battles. The poet contributed to these battles when he recited defamatory poems (*hijā'*) against the enemies of his tribe. As part of the recitation, the poet cast curses on the enemy and accompanied the recitation of such curses by extending his index finger. As we have shown, Goldziher's treatment of the extension of the index finger in both "Zauberelemente" and in earlier publications was thorough and clear. He described the pre-Islamic roots of this gesture among the Arabs and other Semitic groups.¹²⁸ However, his theory on the ancient roots of the gesture of extending the index finger was not further investigated and developed by other scholars. In fact, his theory was completely overlooked. Thus, the authors of the entry "Hidjā'" (defamatory poems) in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* mention Goldziher's "Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Higā'-Poesie"; however, the authors ignore both his important observations on the role of this gesture during the recitation of *hijā'*, and his suggestion that this gesture, which is identified with the Prophet Muḥammad and the Islamic rituals, originated in Babylonian culture.¹²⁹

5 The Reception of "Ueber Geberden" and "Zauberelemente"

Goldziher's contemporaries acknowledged "Ueber Geberden" and "Zauberelemente" almost immediately upon its publication. Thus, for example, in 1889 the French philosopher and translator François Picavet (1851–1921) wrote an enthusiastic review of "Ueber Geberden" in which he faithfully summarized the article and highlighted the prospective contribution of the study of gestures and sign language to *psychologie ethnique* (his rendering of *Völkerpsychologie*).¹³⁰ In 1913, the Dutch Semitist Arent Jan Wensinck (1882–1939) mentioned "Zaubere-

Vienna: Georg Brög 1882, 186–187 [in Hebrew; added title: *Jerusalem: Jahrbuch zur Beförderung einer wissenschaftlich genauen Kenntnis des jetzigen und des alten Palästinas*]. Goldziher refers to this publication. The text is also found in Ya'arī, Avraham (ed.), *Masa' Meshullam mi-Volterra be-Erets Yisra'el bi-shenat* [5]241 (148r) [מסע משולם מוולטרה בארץ], Jerusalem: The Bialik Foundation, 1948, 58.

128 Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination* 233 ("magic and sorcery") esp. 244–245, 258; Izutsu, *Language and Magic* 193.

129 Pellat et al., "Hidjā'."

130 Picavet, François, "Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft herausgegeben von Lazarus und Steinthal," in *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger* 28 (1889), 553–560, esp. 557–558.

lemente” in an important article on spirits and demons in Islam. This rich article presents an abundance of material from Arabic and Hebrew sources. In this article, Wensinck acknowledges Goldziher’s work on the gesture of raising hands during prayer and supports Goldziher’s theory that this pagan gesture was believed to provide protection from demons.¹³¹

We also learn about the immediate reception of “Ueber Geberden” and “Zauberelemente” in several letters from Goldziher’s correspondents. In February 1886, Snouck Hurgronje, with whom Goldziher maintained an ongoing correspondence, sent Goldziher two consecutive letters praising “Ueber Geberden” and admiring Goldziher’s capacity to extract “interesting fruits out of the chaos of readings.”¹³² In these letters, Snouck Hurgronje focuses on the typical dactylogy of the Ḥaḍramī merchants whom he saw in the markets of Mecca and Jeddah during his sojourn in Arabia in 1884 through 1885. “The details of this finger-language (*Fingersprache*) are quite simple,” Snouck writes, “but I have not kept them in mind.” Snouck mentions the common use of two gestures: An open palm turning upward signifies “daytime,” and turning the open palm with the back upward signifies “nighttime.” Snouck then validates Petermann’s reports on the gestures of affirmation and negation as cited in “Ueber Geberden” and states that these gestures are common in Mecca as well.¹³³ From the second letter, we learn that Goldziher requested Snouck’s permission to publish his observations about the dactylogy of the Arabian merchants. Although Snouck granted him permission,¹³⁴ Goldziher did not pursue this topic. In 1888, Snouck Hurgronje published *Mekka*, his two-volume study and travel book, which is interspersed with countless additional observations on gestures in the daily lives of the Arabs. Goldziher’s “Ueber Geberden” is not mentioned in Snouck’s *Mekka*, although it is evident from Snouck’s letters that this article inspired Snouck to record his observations on gestures in writing.¹³⁵

131 Wensinck, Arent Jan, “Animismus und Dämonenglaube im Untergrunde des jüdischen und islamischen rituellen Gebets,” in *Der Islam* 4 (1913), 219–235, esp. 230.

132 Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher. From the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, ed. P. Sj. van Koningsveld. 2 vols., Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Rijksuniversiteit 1985, ii, 57–60 (letter 27), 60–62 (letter 28). This citation appears in ii, 57.

133 Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship* ii, 58. The letter is dated 16 February 1886.

134 Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship* ii, 60. The letter is dated 22 February 1886.

135 Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan, *Mekka: I Der Stadt und ihre Herren. II Aus dem heutigen Leben*, The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1888–1889, 2 vols., ii, 67, 129 n. 1, 145, 276, 306; Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and*



Goldziher's article also influenced Georg Jacob (1862–1937), the founder of Turkish studies in Germany. In 1897, Jacob published *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, his study of the life of the ancient Arab Bedouin. In Jacob's introduction, he acknowledges Goldziher's contribution to his study,¹³⁶ indeed, Goldziher is cited more than thirty times in this book. The two scholars corresponded between the years 1895 and 1896, during which time Jacob requested that Goldziher comment on the early drafts of the book.¹³⁷ One of the subjects that Jacob discusses in his book is the language of the pre-Islamic Arabs, which included various kinds of signs, signals, and gestures. Jacob notes that the communication via gestures was highly developed among these ancient Arabs. Based on "Ueber Geberden," Jacob determines in this book that "while sometimes the language of gestures was left to the creativity of the individual, several 'pantomimes' had a wide circulation."¹³⁸ In one of his letters to Goldziher, Jacob commented on Goldziher's description of the body posture of the Umayyad caliphs in the Friday sermon (*khutba*), which appears in *Muhammedanische Studien*. Goldziher claims there that the Umayyad caliphs changed the way the ruler delivered his traditional *khutba*: Instead of holding both speeches while standing—as was customary—the caliph delivered the first *khutba* while standing, and the second one while sitting. Goldziher notes that to justify this change and safeguard the Umayyads' prestige, the scholars of *ḥadīth* fabricated *aḥādīth*, which attributed this custom both to the caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (d. 35/656), who was venerated by the Umayyads, and to the Prophet Muḥammad. Jacob, who located a description of the caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (d. 96/715) delivering the first *khutba* while sitting and the second one while standing, requested Goldziher's opinion on his finding.¹³⁹

The renowned Italian Arabist Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938) mentioned "Zauberelemente" in a particularly noteworthy letter. In 1906, immediately upon the publication of "Zauberelemente," Goldziher sent the article to Nallino. In a letter dated 26 April 1906, Nallino—who was then a professor

Learning. The Muslims of the East-Indian Archipelago, trans. J.H. Monahan. Leiden: Brill, 2007, 47, 63, 117, 128, 216, 239.

- 136 Jacob, Georg, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben: Nach den Quellen geschildert*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1897, page v of the preface (*Vorrede*).
- 137 Jacob, Georg, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Zoppot, 7 October 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/19/10/008.
- 138 Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* 164.
- 139 Jacob to Goldziher (Zoppot, 7.10.1895). Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 40–44; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* ii, 49–52. The source that Jacob read was al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, secunda series ii, 1234. For Goldziher's sources, see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* ii, 43; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ii, 51 nn. 2–3.

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Zoppot 7/10 95

Hochverehrter Herr Professor,

Heute möchte ich Ihnen nur eine kleine Notiz zur Nachprüfung mitteilen, die sonst verloren gehen würde und Sie vielleicht doch interessiert. In der interessanten Stelle Tabari II 2 S. 1117f oben heisst es nämlich, dass Walid in Medina die erste Khutba sitzend, die Zweite stehend abhielt. Ich kann die von Ihnen Muh. Stud II S. 43 für den umgekehrten Usus angegebenen Quellenbelege hier nicht nachsehen. Doch scheint hier ein Widerspruch zwischen Tabari und jenen zu bestehen.

Ich sitze jetzt ganz in der Bräujadenzeit vergraben, die ich in ähnlicher Weise die die vorläufige zu behandeln gedenke. Die von Ihnen Muh. Stud. II S. 420 citirte Arbeit Geldemeisters scheint nun doch durch Schicks Nachweis byzantinischer Flarambanten ein Loch erhalten zu haben.

Mit hochachtungsvollem Grosse Ihr ergebener
Georg Jacob

FIGURE 4.1 Jacob, Georg, Letter to Ignaz Goldziher, Zoppot, 7 October 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/19/10/008

of Arabic at the University of Palermo—thanked Goldziher for having sent him the “very instructive” article “which would have otherwise remained inaccessible to me in Palermo.”¹⁴⁰ The lion’s share of the letter is dedicated to Nallino’s criticism of a 1905 article by the French Orientalist Alfred Bel (1873–1945) on the Islamic prayer for rain (*ṣalāt al-istisqāʿ*), and the North African rain rites.¹⁴¹ Goldziher, who reviewed the volume in which this article was published, was duly impressed by Bel’s research, and mentioned it in “Zauberelemente.”¹⁴² Based on Bel’s article, Goldziher claimed that the Islamic prayer for rain (*istisqāʿ*) and the popular rain rites prevalent in different communities throughout the Islamic world preserve residua of pagan times.¹⁴³ For example, Bel described a procession of old women and children that occurs routinely during the drought years in ‘Ayn al-Ṣafra’, Algeria. The participants carry a large wooden spoon that they dress in rags to represent a bride. This bride-like doll (named *ghunya*) leads the procession to the tombs of the local saints, while the participants sing to God imploring Him to water *ghunya*.¹⁴⁴ In his letter to Goldziher, Nallino writes that he saw a similar doll (named *tango*) made from a wooden cross and decorated with colored rags and papers in rain rites in Tunisia. According to Nallino, this custom is prevalent in several places in Tunisia, where the children carry the doll and sing to God: “Oh Helper, have mercy on us and water us, pour the rain on us.” Nallino considers it probable that *ghunya* and *tango* are primitive imitations of the crucifix that was carried around in the Christian procession on Rogation Days (festival days devoted to special prayers for crops). With this suggestion, Nallino expresses an implicit criticism of Goldziher, who, based on Bel, understood the North African ritual to be a remnant of paganism. Instead of criticizing Goldziher, Nallino directs his criticism to Bel, whose findings he considers “questionable.”¹⁴⁵ Nallino’s implicit criticism of Goldziher surfaces in another part of the letter. Although Nallino acknowledges the complexity of

140 Nallino, Carlo, Alfonso, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palermo, 26 April 1906, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/15, 1. We are grateful to Valentina Sagaria Rossi for bringing this letter to our attention. For an edition and image of this letter, see Valentina Sagaria Rossi’s contribution to this volume, pp. 246, 247 (Figure 8.5).

141 Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 312, n. 2; Bel, Alfred, “Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de sécheresse chez les musulmans maghribins,” in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes*, publié en l’honneur du X^{iv}e congrès des orientalistes, Algiers: Fontana, 1905, 49–98.

142 Goldziher, “L’École supérieure” 226–227.

143 Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 311–312; Bousquet, “Éléments magiques” 20.

144 Bel, “Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie” 64–65.

145 Nallino, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palermo, 26 April 1906, 2.

the topic of magic in Islam, he seems skeptical that it is a worthwhile field of study. Nallino states that although he purchased several books about the Arabic occult sciences, he stopped reading them, because they seem to him as “inferior redaction of the Egyptian papyri and the ostraca of the Hellenistic era.”¹⁴⁶ We cannot tell whether this remark was meant to compliment Goldziher for his diligence in locating the remnants of the Arabic magical cult in the Islamic sources, or to rebuke him for wasting his time. Nallino also complains that Goldziher provides references in the article to Arabic works that were printed in India. These works—says Nallino—are not listed in the catalogs of the publishing house of Haupt, Harrassowitz, etc. Accordingly, they are unavailable to him. Finally, Nallino inquires whether the Arabic book merchants in India have catalogs, probably because he wishes to purchase books from them.¹⁴⁷

“Zauberelemente” became one of Goldziher’s most-known articles. Accordingly, his observations on the pre-Islamic elements that were embedded in the Islamic prayer were warmly embraced by a heterogenous audience of readers. For example, the American missionary, Islamist, and founder of the journal *The Muslim World*, Samuel M. Zwemer (1867–1952), based his 1918 article about the Islamic belief in spirits and its reflection in the Muslim prayer on Goldziher’s observations in “Zauberelemente.”¹⁴⁸ In *La preghiera (The prayer)*, a study from 1928 on the phenomenology of prayer, the Italian philosopher and Christian theologian, Mario Puglisi (1867–1954), mentioned Goldziher’s theory that the raising of hands in prayer in different cultures is “a very old magical gesture (un antichissimo gesto magico).”¹⁴⁹ In *Islamic Influences on the Jewish Worship*, a study (in Hebrew) from 1947, the Orthodox Jewish rabbi and academic scholar Naphtali Wieder (1905–2001) relied on “Zauberelemente” when he addressed the question of body and hand gestures and their role in the obligatory prayers and supplications in Judaism and Islam.¹⁵⁰ Another study that dedicated a con-

146 Nallino, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palermo, 26 April 1906, 1.

147 Nallino, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Palermo, 26 April 1906, 3.

148 Zwemer, Samuel M., “Animistic Elements in Moslem Prayer,” in *MW* 8, no. 4 (1918), 359–375, esp. 368–373.

149 Puglisi, Mario Pico, *La preghiera*, Turin: Bocca, 1928, 107; Puglisi, Mario Pico, *Prayer*, New York: Macmillan, 1929, 82–83.

150 Wieder refers to the obliteration of ritualistic body gestures from the Jewish prayer after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. In addition, Wieder refers to the call of Abraham (1186–1237), the son of Moses Maimonides, to restore prostration during prayer and other customs that were preserved in the Islamic prayers. Wieder, Naphtali, *Hashpa’ot islāmīyot ‘al ha-pulḥan ha-yehūdī* [השפעות אסלאמיות על הפולחן היהודי], Oxford: East and West Library, 1947, 47–49, 81–82. Reprinted in Naphtali Wieder, *The Formation of Jewish Liturgy in the East and the West* [התגבשות נוסח התפילה במזרח ובמערב], Jerusalem: The

siderable place to “Zauberelemente” is the 1948 study *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum* by the German Benedictine priest Thomas Ohm (1892–1962). In addition to numerous references to Goldziher’s theory on the gestures used in the Islamic prayer,¹⁵¹ Ohm mentions the religious expression of pious crying among the Arabs, a topic that Goldziher discussed in another article.¹⁵² The section in “Zauberelemente” on *istisqā’* (the prayer for rain), *munāshada* (a prayer of petition that includes a threat or coercion directed at God), and *qunūt* (the interval of silence that is maintained during prayer as an expression of one’s humility before God) ignited a wave of studies on these topics. Thus, the relevant entries in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* heavily rely on “Zauberelemente.”¹⁵³ The gesture of raising the hands in prayer was discussed in a series of studies that addressed the legal controversy about this gesture. This controversy started in the ninth century and continued for centuries. Although the focus of these studies differs from Goldziher’s interest in the pre-Islamic origins of this gesture, he was duly cited in them.¹⁵⁴

Throughout the years, “Zauberelemente” retained its vitality as a thought-provoking study that presents an engaging theory; accordingly, the article is still quoted in leading studies.¹⁵⁵ “Ueber Geberden,” however, had a slightly different fate. The beginning of “Ueber Geberden” was promising. Despite the low visibility of *ZfVS*, the journal in which it was published,¹⁵⁶ “Ueber Geberden” received the recognition of Wilhelm Wundt, one of the founding fathers of gesture studies. Wundt cited Goldziher’s 1886 article in the first volume

Ben Zvi Institute and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, 1998, ii, 659–777, esp. 703–704 and 735–736.

- 151 Ohm, Thomas, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum*, Leiden: Brill, 1948, 4, 19, 43–44, 235, 255, 261, 319, 428, 443, 450.
- 152 Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden* 200–201. Here Ohm refers to another article by Goldziher on uncovering the head: “Die Entblößung des Hauptes,” in *Der Islam* 6 (1915–1916), 301–316 (= *Gesammelte Schriften* v (1986), 323–338).
- 153 Fahd, T[oufic], “Munāshada,” in *EI*², vii, 546–565; Fahd, T[oufic], “Istisqā’,” in *EI*², iv, 269–271; Wensinck, A[rent] J[an], “Kunūt,” in *EI*², v (1986), 395.
- 154 Pedersen, Johannes, “The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher,” in *WI* n. s. 2 (1953), 215–231, esp. 227; Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣās wa’l-mudhakkirīn*, ed. and trans. Merlin L. Swartz, Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1971, 120–121 n. 5; Fierro, Maribel, “La polémique à propos de *raf’ al-yadayn fī l-ṣalāt* dans al-Andalus,” in *SI* 65 (1987), 69–90, esp. 70 n. 4.
- 155 See, for example, Kohlberg, Etan, “Barā’a in Shī’ī Doctrine,” in *JSAI* 7 (1986), 139–176, esp. 141–142; Bashear, S[uliman], “*Qunūt* in *tafsīr* and *hadīth* Literatures,” in *JSAI* 19 (1995), 36–65, esp. 36; Daiber, Hans, “Magie und Kausalität im Islam,” in Sebastian Günther and Dorothee Pielow (eds.), *Die Geheimnisse der oberen und der unteren Welt: Magie im Islam zwischen Glaube und Wissenschaft*, Leiden: Brill, 2019, 155–177, esp. 155.
- 156 Kalmar, “The *Völkerpsychologie*” 686.

of *Völkerpsychologie*—Wundt's 1904 ten-volume cross-cultural study of myth, religion, and language.¹⁵⁷ Wundt relied on Goldziher's investigation of gestures when he introduced his own ideas about the different forms of gestural communication. Considering the "Orient" as a particular field for observation, Wundt notes that "among the Islamic Arabs, gestural expression seems to have been a much-used aid to speech, recognized by the philosophers of that people not only as a means to assure understanding, but also as a sentient interpretation of the spoken word (the Prophet himself preferring it)."¹⁵⁸ In his classification of "basic gestural forms," Wundt similarly depends on Goldziher's "Ueber Geberden" when he discusses symbolic gestures, which "lack an internal connection between the gesture and meaning." Furthermore, Wundt endorsed Goldziher's theory suggesting that the gestures of affirmation, such as shaking the head, and negation, characterized by throwing the head back and clicking the tongue simultaneously, persist in modern Arab culture as remnants of habitual gestures prevalent in the early Islamic community, possibly predating the rise of Islam.¹⁵⁹

As discussed in the third section of our study, Goldziher's hypothesis on the gestures of affirmation and negation combined the findings of Petermann with Goldziher's own findings from the Arabic sources. Wundt's spotlight on Goldziher's hypothesis drew the attention of Salem Shihadeh George (1892–?), an American psychologist of Arab origin. George, who forthrightly rejected Goldziher's hypothesis and findings, insisted that Arabs use the same gestures of affirmation and negation that are used in the West.¹⁶⁰ Despite George's critique, which relied on his own experience, Wundt's acknowledgment of Goldziher's ideas marked "Ueber Geberden" as an important contribution to the study of gestures.

During the first half of the 20th century, scholars from various disciplines discovered "Ueber Geberden." For example, in 1909, the German expert on the sign language of the deaf, Emil Reuschert (death date unknown), argued in his book on sign language among the deaf that only one gesture of the Prophet

157 Wundt adopted the name that Steinthal and Lazarus dubbed their theory; however, he adopted little of the theory's substance. Kalmar, "The *Völkerpsychologie*" 680.

158 Wundt, Wilhelm, *Völkerpsychologie: Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte*, 10 vols., Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1904–1915 (2nd ed.), i, 149–50; Wundt, Wilhelm, *The Language of Gestures*, with an introduction by Arthur L. Blumenthal and additional essays by G.H. Mead and K. Bühler, The Hague: Mouton, 1973, 66.

159 Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie* i, 180; Wundt, *The Language of Gestures* 92; Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 370.

160 George, Salem Shihadeh, "The Gesture of Affirmation Among the Arabs," in *The American Journal of Psychology* 27, no. 3 (July 1916), 320–323.

Muḥammad corresponded to a modern gesture used by the profoundly deaf: namely, covering the mouth with the hand to indicate silence. Reuschert relied on Goldziher's remark in "Ueber Geberden" that this gesture reverts to biblical times: "I lay my hand on my mouth" (Job 40:4).¹⁶¹ In 1932, the French scholar Jean-Gabriel Lemoine (1891–1970) mentioned "Ueber Geberden" in a bibliography on dactylonomy.¹⁶² The Dutch linguist Jacques van Ginneken (1877–1945) referred to "Ueber Geberden" in his 1939 work on ancient languages. While discussing "the domination of gestures and the birth of hieroglyphs" (chapter 5), van Ginneken relied on Goldziher's observations to claim that the gestures we use today are remnants of a primordial human existence in the Islamic world as well as in Europe.¹⁶³

The reading of "Ueber Geberden" by experts in fields other than Arabic and Islamic studies sometimes led to inaccuracies. Thus, the German philologist Ludwig Flachskampf (death date unknown) quoted "Ueber Geberden" in a 1938 study on Spanish body language. This study was recently reprinted, which is an indication of a renewed interest in this topic.¹⁶⁴ Flachskampf used some of Goldziher's observations in comparing Spanish and Arab gestures. For example, Flachskampf compared a gesture in which the two index fingers are extended, side by side in parallel, which is used in Spanish to denote "a good-natured mockery of the friendly or loving inseparability of two people" with a similar gesture made by Prophet Muḥammad. However, the gesture that the Prophet performed was intended to illustrate the proximity between his arrival and the Day of Resurrection and cannot be interpreted as a gesture of fondness or affection. Although Flachskampf noted in passing Goldziher's explanation that in this case the Prophet's gesture symbolized a proximity of time, he clearly understood the eschatological dimension of the Prophet's gesture. It is therefore quite perplexing that Flachskampf listed this gesture under gestures

161 Reuschert, Emil, *Die Gebärdensprache der Taubstummen und die Ausdrucksbewegungen der Vollsinnigen*, Leipzig: H. Dude, 1909, 28, quoting Goldziher, "Ueber Geberden" 377.

162 Lemoine, Jean-Gabriel, "Les anciens procédés de calcul sur les doigts en Orient et en Occident," in *REI* 6 (1932), 1–58, in 57. See Pellat, Ch., "Ḥisāb al-'aḳd," in *ET*² iii (1971), 466–468.

163 Van Ginneken, Jacques, "La reconstruction typologique des langues archaïques de l'humanité," in *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 44. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1939, 1–182, here 148.

164 Flachskampf's study was reissued in 2001 with two additional studies from the early 20th century on the body language of the Latin peoples in one volume. Krüger, Reinhard (ed.), *Drei Studien zur Körpersprache der Romanen*, von Hermann Urtel, Ludwig Flachskampf, Mario Wandruszka, Berlin: Weidler, 2001.

representing “brothers, friends and lovers,” which is obviously the incorrect criterion for such a gesture.¹⁶⁵

We also find that scholars who were trained in Arabic and Islamic studies and then shifted to other fields included “Ueber Geberden” in their studies. This shift enabled Goldziher’s view of gestures to permeate other disciplines. The most conspicuous case involves the Danish scholar Johannes Pedersen (1883–1977), one of the founders of the Scandinavian school of Old Testament research. Pedersen was a Semitic philologist with a particular interest in Hebrew and Arabic. Between 1909 and 1912, Pedersen studied under Goldziher in Budapest, and the two scholars corresponded from 1910 to 1921.¹⁶⁶ In 1914, Pedersen published his doctoral thesis, entitled “Der Eid bei den Semiten.” The thesis explores different aspects of biblical oaths and curses and refers several times to “Ueber Geberden.” Pedersen was especially attentive to gestures, as evidenced by his mention of the *bay‘a*, the pledge of allegiance that was sealed by a handshake. Pedersen then referred his readers to “Ueber Geberden.”¹⁶⁷ Elsewhere, Pedersen relies on “Zauberelemente” when he observes that “there are certain gestures for casting a curse [such as] pointing with the fingers [...] This gesture is found in the Arabic literature, and Goldziher gathered many other gestures.”¹⁶⁸ In two articles from 1948 and 1953, Pedersen departed from Goldziher’s observations on the pre-Islamic origins of gestures, and focused on the performance of Islamic poets, storytellers, and preachers in different settings. In both articles, Pedersen is attentive to the dynamic interrelation between speech and gestures, and supplies numerous examples that add to Goldziher’s observations on the body language of the storytellers and preachers.¹⁶⁹ Pedersen also describes the emotions that the preachers’ performance elicited in their audience: Fear, sadness, and hope ultimately brought

165 Flachskampf, Ludwig, “Spanische Gebärdensprache,” in *Romanische Forschungen* 52 (1938), 205–258, esp. 230 quoting Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 374–375; Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 270. Cf. Holtzman’s analysis in “Gestures” 298–299.

166 Hvidberg, Flemming and Løkkegaard, Frede, “Johannes Pedersen,” in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* on lex.dk. Published 18 July 2011 https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Johannes_Pedersen (last accessed 1 June 2022). Also cf. the Goldziher correspondence GIL/33/21/24 written on 24 March 1921.

167 Pedersen, Johannes, *Der Eid bei den Semiten, in seinem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen sowie die Stellung des Eides im Islam*, Strasbourg: K.J. Trübner, 1914, 59 n. 3, quoting Goldziher, “Ueber Geberden” 380. Cf. Bousquet, “Du langage par gestes” 271.

168 Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 95 n. 2, 96 n. 1 quoting Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 320 f. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* i, 55 f. See also Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 171 n. 1, 173 n. 3, quoting Goldziher, “Zauberelemente” 303, 309–310.

169 Pedersen, Johannes, “The Islamic Preacher *wā‘iz*, *mudhakkir*, *qāṣṣ*,” in David Samuel Löwinger and Joseph Somogyi (eds.), *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, 2 vols., i, Budapest:

the audience to burst into tears.¹⁷⁰ Goldziher's attitude about gestures was thus perfected by Pedersen, and through Pedersen, this attitude impacted the field of biblical criticism and the study of preachers and sermons in Islam.¹⁷¹

Haim Schwarzbaum (1911–1983) is another example of a scholar trained in Arabic and Islam who contributed to other disciplines. In 1968, Schwarzbaum published *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore*, an important study of the role of modern Jewish folk literature in the dissemination of both oral and literary (written) folktales from East to West and vice versa. Due to its importance in the field, the monograph was reissued as an e-book in 2015.¹⁷² Schwarzbaum, who majored in Arabic and Islamic studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, was well read in and deeply influenced by Goldziher's work. Accordingly, he employed a comparative approach to Jewish and Islamic written scriptures (the Bible and the Qur'an) and oral traditions (Aggadah and *hadith*). This approach resembles Goldziher's approach.¹⁷³ In *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore*, Schwarzbaum determines that “the *unwritten* legends of Jews and Muslims were rooted in *written* documents, magnified and embellished by later legendary lore” (emphases appear in origin). Thereafter, he refers to Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* when he describes the Jewish and Muslim storytellers “who were held in little esteem amongst the orthodox, official religious leaders of Judaism and Islam throughout the centuries of history. Even nowadays,”—Schwarzbaum adds—“the official ‘pillars’ of Jewry and Islam look askance at non-literary, oral stories expanding the old patterns embedded in the Holy Writ.”¹⁷⁴ *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore* is abundant in observations on body language, gestures, and mimicry in the Hebrew, Arabic, Jewish, Slavic, and European folklore. A richly detailed subchapter in *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore* is dedicated to “gestures which were misunderstood” in the Jewish and Arabic folklore.¹⁷⁵ In this chapter, Schwarzbaum observes that

Globus, 1948–1958, 226–251, esp. 233–234, 243, 250; Pedersen, “The Criticism” 218–219, 222–223, 227.

170 Pedersen, “The Islamic Preacher” 240–42, 246–249; Pedersen, “The Criticism” 228, 230.

171 The leading example of Pedersen's impact on the field of preachers and sermons in Islam is Linda Jones' study, which does not mention Goldziher, but acknowledges Pedersen's works. Jones, Linda G. *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 10, 161, 183.

172 On the importance of this work, see the preface authored by Dov Noy in Schwarzbaum, Haim, *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968 (e-book 2015), vii–viii.

173 Schwarzbaum's comparative approach is apparent also in his study (in Hebrew) on the folkloristic aspects of Judaism and Islam, *Mi-mekor Yisra'el ve-Yishma'el* [ממקור ישראל וישמעאל], Tel Aviv: Don, 1975.

174 Schwarzbaum, *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore* 19–20.

175 Schwarzbaum, *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore* 116–122.

“symbols and sign-language are very popular both in ancient and modern Jewish folk-literature” and refers his readers to “Ueber Geberden.”¹⁷⁶

“Ueber Geberden” was one of the harbingers of modern gesture studies. Goldziher’s work preceded the publication of Carl Sittl’s *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, published in 1890, and Wilhelm Wundt’s *Völkerpsychologie*, whose first volume was published in 1904. Goldziher’s unique contribution to the study of gestures was acknowledged in recent years by several scholars; apparently this acknowledgment has not yet found the appropriate audience, however, and as a general rule, “Ueber Geberden” has fallen into oblivion.¹⁷⁷ Thus, for example, in 1990 the German linguist and semiotician Winfried Nöth mentioned “Ueber Geberden” in the *Handbook of Semiotics*, a semi-encycopedic semi-indexic publication. In the entry “Gestures,” Nöth remarks that “gestures in Arab countries are described and discussed by Goldziher (1886).”¹⁷⁸ Naturally, this reference does not reflect the essence of “Ueber Geberden.” Catherine Hezser, an expert in Jewish studies, was the first scholar to observe that “Ueber Geberden” was a pioneering article that preceded Sittl’s above-mentioned work. However, her important observation is hidden in a footnote in her 2017 critical study on the body language of the rabbinic scholars of Byzantine Palestine.¹⁷⁹ Apparently, the best proof for the dismaying ignorance of Goldziher’s contribution to gesture studies is the absence of his name from the general surveys of gesture studies in the works of Adam Kendon, who today is the leading authority in the field.¹⁸⁰

176 Schwarzbaum, *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore* 119–120.

177 Holtzman, “Gestures” 294.

178 Nöth, Winfried, *The Handbook of Semiotics*, enlarged translation of *Handbuch der Semiotik*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995, 397.

179 Hezser, Catherine, *Rabbinic Body Language. Non-Verbal Communication in Palestinian Rabbinic Literature of Late Antiquity*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 10 n. 58. Hezser informed us in an email (dated 31.10.2021) that she learned about “Ueber Geberden” at a conference on the “Science of Judaism” (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*) held at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Central European University in Budapest in October 2012. The outcome of the conference is the collected volume *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary. The ‘Science of Judaism’ Between East and West*, ed. Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

180 Adam Kendon’s *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*, which is the “Bible” of gesture studies, dedicates a chapter to the four forefathers of gesture studies in the West, including Wilhelm Wundt, but Kendon omits Goldziher. Kendon, *Gesture*, 43–61. A more recent survey of the history of the field is Kendon, Adam, “History of the Study of Gesture,” in Keith Allan (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 70–89. Here, too, the text does not acknowledge Goldziher. Another updated survey is Payrató, Lluís and Ignasi Clemente, *Gestures We Live By: The Pragmatics of Emblematic*

“Ueber Geberden” has not yet left its mark in Arabic and Islamic studies, although the potential that this article holds for future research has been acknowledged in two cases. The first is Peter Heine’s 1998 article, entitled “Islamic Studies and Social Anthropology. On the Relation Between Two Disciplines.” Peter Heine, a leading German scholar of Islamic studies, called for the implementation of interdisciplinary approaches in both disciplines while describing the points of interface between Islamic studies and social anthropology or ethnography. Heine mentions Goldziher’s publications as an example of an interdisciplinary approach to which scholars of Islam should aspire. Heine also remarks that “one also thinks of [Goldziher’s] article ‘Ueber Geberden- und Zeichensprache bei den Arabern’ and many other publications of this founding father of the Western discipline of Islamic studies.”¹⁸¹ Heine’s general observation does not highlight specific directions in which Goldziher’s approach in “Ueber Geberden” can be implemented in social anthropology. Nonetheless, this observation serves as a possible stimulant for future studies on gestures in Arabic. A more systematic attempt to develop Goldziher’s observations on gestures is found in Livnat Holtzman’s 2019 “Gestures in the Process of *Ḥadīth* Transmission. The Case of Divine Hearing and Seeing.” In this article, Goldziher’s approach to gestures in the *ḥadīth* is applied to doctrinal and theological texts.¹⁸²

6 Conclusions

In this study, we described Goldziher’s contribution to gesture studies. We highlighted Goldziher’s insights and observations in “Ueber Geberden” and “Zauberelemente.” We demonstrated the breadth and depth of his readings in the Arabic sources as reflected in these two articles. We also observed that he was extremely well read in other fields: Jewish studies, the history and arche-

Gestures, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019, 5–30. This survey also does not acknowledge Goldziher’s work on gestures.

- 181 Heine, Peter, “Islamic Studies and Social Anthropology. On the Relation Between Two Disciplines,” in Helmut Buchholt and Georg Stauth (eds.), *Islam—Motor or Challenge of Modernity*, Yearbook of the Sociology of Islam 1/1998, Hamburg: Lit, 1998, 121–127, esp. 121–122 n. 3.
- 182 Holtzman, “Gestures” 291–296. See also Holtzman, Livnat, “Does God Really Laugh? Appropriate and Inappropriate Descriptions of God in Islamic Traditionalist Theology,” in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, Its Meaning, and Consequences*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010, 165–200 esp. 176–177, n. 37; Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism in Islam* chap. 3.

ology of the ancient East, and ethnography. Today, his method of reading is called *interdisciplinary*. To Goldziher, and indeed to his generation of European scholars, to read whatever one found was a basic requirement of a scholar. However, Goldziher was unique in his ability to synthesize his readings with innovative insights. In a 2017 article, Tamás Turán observed that “Goldziher was among the first to deploy ethnographic and folkloristic methods in the academic study of religion, and of Judaism and Islam in particular.”¹⁸³ Our extensive readings in both Goldziher’s works and the primary sources in Arabic and Hebrew that he studied support Turán’s observation. By unraveling the close-knit fabric of Goldziher’s discussion and highlighting the importance of his findings and insights, we have shown that his interdisciplinary approach enabled him to describe gestures as a language that needs to be deciphered and studied.

As highlighted here in section two, “Ueber Geberden” is a difficult read for today’s scholars for the following four reasons. First, the article lacks both a conventional theoretical introduction and a conclusion. In addition, Goldziher does not define any relevant terminology, such as gestures, mannerism, body language, or sign language. Second, Goldziher does not provide any historical background; instead, he delves directly into the Arabic sources. Third, the apparent clarity and alleged simplicity of his examples allow him to eschew any interpretation of the gestures. Fourth and last, he rarely addresses the meaning of the gestures and their typology, and he does not explicitly state the importance of such a collection of gestures to the study of language, literature, religion, and culture. Goldziher’s reluctance to summarize, discuss, clarify, and analyze—all the essential components expected from a scholar in the humanities—is evident in one of his letters to the renowned scholar of Karaism, Samuel Abraham Poznański (1864–1921). Goldziher wrote: “I have always had a great aversion to chewing the cud. Maybe that is why many people do not consider me a ‘kosher animal’ (*behema keshera*).”¹⁸⁴ Our reading of “Ueber Geberden” therefore included tracking down the sources that Goldziher read, adding references to the printed editions of these sources, analyzing, and clarifying some of Goldziher’s examples, while emphasizing the meaning of the

183 Turán, “Academic Religion” 252–253. See also Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher as a Jewish Orientalist*, 138–139, 152–154.

184 “Von Widerkäuen habe ich immer großen Widerwillen gehabt. Vielleicht halten mich viele auch deshalb nicht für eine *behema keshera*.” Goitein, Shelomo Dov, “Goldziher from His Letters: Goldziher’s Letters to A.S. Poznanski, 1901–1921” [in Hebrew], in David Samuel Löwinger and Joseph Somogyi (eds.), *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, 2 vols., Budapest: Globus, 1948–1958, i, 3–23, esp. 5. Goldziher’s letters to Poznański are archived in the National Library of Israel.

gestures. Most of all, we endeavored to remain attentive to what Goldziher says, both explicitly and implicitly, in the article. Based on our research, we can now articulate four conclusions that were crystallized during our reading and analysis of the texts.

First, we established that Goldziher developed a profound interest in gestures as a major category of language. He apparently noticed gestures everywhere because his many observations on this fascinating topic are scattered throughout his oeuvre, and in works we would least expect to find them. For example, in his *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* from 1920, his masterpiece on the commentary of the Qurʾān, he briefly mentions the habit of students to kiss the teacher on the head after an exciting class, as a token of their enthusiasm and gratitude. The footnote that accompanies this brief remark is abundant in references that can fill an entire book chapter.¹⁸⁵ Thus, we must admit that our article did not come close to covering the entire scope of Goldziher's interest in gestures. For example, Goldziher presented more gestures in his 1897 article on the refusal to kneel,¹⁸⁶ and his 1921 article on idiomatic expressions.¹⁸⁷ As we continue our investigation into Goldziher's writings, we assume that many more findings will surface from his other publications.

Second, Goldziher's interdisciplinary approach enabled him to extract the meaning of gestures in different settings and contexts. Apparently, his ability to notice gestures and attach meaning to them is rooted in his awareness of the diversity of the human ways of expression and their emotional dimension. His sensitivity as a reader combined with his imagination enabled him to identify patterns of communication in numerous texts on the one hand, and to reconstruct elaborate scenes from very small text units on the other. In other words, although he was concerned with the textual details, he knew how to attach these texts to a bigger story. And so "Zauberelemente" is not a collection of anecdotes, but a perceptive survey on the interface between religion and emotion. This interface becomes apparent when we see the pious gestures of the monotheistic prayer, not as the outcome of the directives of the Prophet, but as remnants of the pagans' emotionally stormy and unrestrained bodily expressions. "Ueber Geberden," by contrast, concentrates on much more mundane topics such as the gestures of affirmation and negation. However, Goldziher

185 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden: Brill, 1970 (photocopy of the 1920 edition), esp. 71–2; Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic Commentators* 47.

186 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Die verweigerte Kniebeugung," in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 7 (1897), 441–443 (= *Gesammelte Schriften* iv, 156–158).

187 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Zwischen den Augen," in *Der Islam* 11 (1921), 175–180 (= *Gesammelte Schriften* v, 451–456).

manages to see the reflection of an entire culture through these gestures. From this vantage point, “Ueber Geberden” holds more promise for future studies in various fields, such as anthropology and language, than “Zauberelemente.”

Third, although Goldziher’s work on gestures as described in “Zauberelemente” and “Ueber Geberden” was known to scholars of various disciplines, successive generations of scholars of Islamic and Arabic studies have not continued to develop his line of research. In her 2005 article, Ludmila Hanisch determined that Goldziher’s “ethnological” works, which are interdisciplinary, were generally ignored by the German scholars of Arabic and other Semitic languages. Hanisch explains that these scholars concentrated on philology and avoided anthropological observations and theories.¹⁸⁸ We discovered that Goldziher’s observations on gestures as part of the orally transmitted traditions were particularly welcome by scholars, such as Johannes Pedersen and Haim Schwarzbaum, who were engaged in oral literatures in disciplines other than Arabic and Islamic studies. However, as a rule, only a few scholars shared Goldziher’s enthusiasm for and understanding of gestures. It is beyond the scope of our discussion to speculate why Goldziher’s work on gestures was not continued by other scholars. Indeed, gesture studies are not yet considered to be a worthwhile subject of research in Arabic and Islamic studies. We prefer not to comment and not to speculate on the reasons for this neglect. We do point out, however, that with the significant number of studies on gestures in various disciplines, such as anthropology, psychology, folklore, classical studies, and Jewish studies, there is no question that there is room for more scholars of Arabic and Islamic studies to contribute to this field.

Fourth, our study demonstrates that Goldziher’s publications on gestures pioneered the work of the esteemed pillars of gesture studies, Carl Sittl and Wilhelm Wundt. From this perspective alone, Goldziher should be regarded as one of the first scholars to draw the attention of modern scholarship to gestures. Moreover, the volume of his work on gestures, the complexity of the topics that he researched, and his creative and imaginative reading of the sources in quest for more and more gestures are sufficient to consider him the forefather of gesture studies in Arabic and Islamic studies. We believe that in due course, more scholars in these fields will become acquainted with the many treasures that Goldziher bequeathed and reestablish the discipline of gestures within Arabic and Islamic studies. We see this article as a first step in this direction.

188 Hanisch, Ludmila, “Some Observations Concerning the Reception of Goldziher’s Works in Germany,” in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 67–73, esp. 70.

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Rediscovering the Goldziher Legacy in Jerusalem: Religion, Language, and History in the Making of a Hebrew University

Amit Levy

My teacher, Professor Josef Horovitz, once told me: During small talk among scholars [*siḥat ḥulin shel talmidei ḥakhamim*, lit. mundane talk of students of sages], the famous orientalist Theodor Nöldeke, who was extremely old, said: “Some say I am a genius. A genius? Wellhausen was a genius. Snouck Hurgronje was a genius. And Goldziher—he was a true genius.”¹

These words, some sort of modern European Orientalist *isnād*—chain of transmission—open the translator’s introduction to the 1951 Hebrew edition of Ignaz Goldziher’s *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (1910). The translator who wrote them was Yosef Yoel Rivlin (1889–1971), born to one of the branches of the ubiquitous Eastern European Ashkenazi Rivlins who immigrated to Jerusalem. Yosef—known for his Hebrew translations of the Qur’ān and *One Thousand and One Nights*—went to Frankfurt am Main for his doctoral studies, instructed by Horovitz (1874–1931), the Jewish professor of Oriental languages mentioned in his introduction.² The scientific editor of the Hebrew translation was the Posen-born Martin Meir Plessner (1900–1973), who habilitated under the supervision of Horovitz, also in Frankfurt.³

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- 1 Rivlin, Yosef Yoel, “Translator’s introduction” [in Hebrew], in Yitzhaq Yehuda Goldziher, *Lectures on Islam, scientifically edited by Meir Plessner*, Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1951, 5. Translations from Hebrew are my own unless otherwise indicated.
 - 2 On Rivlin’s years in Frankfurt and his academic upbringing, see Harif, Hanan, “Islam in Zion? Yosef Yo’el Rivlin’s Translation of the Qur’an and its Place within the new Hebrew Culture,” in *Naharaim* 10 (2016), 39–55; Roded, Ruth, “A Voice in the Wilderness? Rivlin’s 1932 Hebrew *Life of Muhammad*,” *Middle East Critique* 18 (2009), 39–59.
 - 3 On Plessner see Mendel, Yonatan, “German Orientalism, Arabic Grammar and the Jewish Education System: The Origins and Effect of Martin Plessner’s ‘Theory of Arabic Grammar,’” in *Naharaim* 10 (2017), 57–77; Levy, Amit, “A Man of Contention: Martin Plessner (1900–1973) and His Encounters with the Orient,” in *Naharaim* 10 (2016), 79–100.

When the translation was published, both Rivlin and Plessner were faculty at the institute established by Horovitz in Jerusalem 25 years earlier: the Hebrew University's School of Oriental Studies. This was one of the first departments to be opened at the university, which was inaugurated in 1925; in the humanities, it was preceded only by the Institute of Jewish Studies.⁴ That was no coincidence: As the flagship project of cultural Zionism, university leaders wanted to show the scholarly world that—although the language of instruction was Hebrew, and the faculty and staff were all Jewish—their institution was neither exclusively Jewish nor interested only in Jewish topics.⁵

Although Goldziher died four years before this inauguration, his legacy was very present at the Hebrew University, well known within the discipline of Oriental Studies, which in its first decades was synonymous with the study of Arabic and Islam. Usually, when Goldziher's role in the beginnings of Zionist Oriental studies is discussed, it is from a material angle: Following his death, his library was purchased and brought to Jerusalem, where it formed the base for the Hebrew University's Oriental section in its National and University Library.⁶ This purchase, to which I will return, was indeed invaluable; in many ways, it made the establishment of the School of Oriental Studies possible. That said, I would like to focus on other, less familiar aspects of Goldziher's intellectual and political legacy, using previously unpublished archival materials, some taken from the Goldziher correspondence corpus at the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, others from various archives in Jerusalem.

Mainly, I wish to reveal here rare testimony to Goldziher's direct influence on the emerging university, in the form of a 1919 letter he sent to its organizing committee in response to an invitation to outline his vision for a Hebrew university. In what follows, I present this exceptional document and delve into the different proposals made by Goldziher, their context in his life

4 Milson, Menachem, "The Beginnings of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem," in *Judaism* 45 (1996), 169.

5 Levy, Amit, "Conflicting German Orientalism: Zionist Arabists and Arab Scholars, 1926–1938," in *BJMES* (2022), doi: 10.1080/13530194.2022.2064819.

6 Milson, "The Beginnings" 177; Lazarus-Yafe, Hava, "The Transplantation of Islamic Studies from Europe to the Yishuv and Israel," in Martin Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1999, 257–258; Katz, Shaul, "The Scion and its Tree: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and its German Epistemological and Organizational Origins," in Marcel Herbst (ed.), *The Institution of Science and the Science of Institutions: The Legacy of Joseph Ben-David*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2014, 118. See also Samuel Thrope's contribution to this volume.

and work, and their meaning for the development of the Hebrew University. The Goldziher vision, I argue, reflects several themes contemplated both by Goldziher, who was not sympathetic toward Zionism, and some of the Hebrew University's actively Zionist founding fathers; in that sense, it allows us to rediscover his role in shaping Jewish scholarship in Jerusalem and beyond. After this discussion, I scrutinize other material and intellectual layers of the Goldziher legacy in Zionist Oriental studies. These show how his cultural presence in Jerusalem was amplified by now-local Jewish scholars who sought to strengthen their emerging institution's lineage to this giant of Islamic studies.

1 Proposals for a Hebrew University

The endeavor to establish a Jewish university in Jerusalem, then under British control, was renewed in the wake of World War I. Following the initial approval to move forward with this plan at the Zionist Congress of 1913, the Zionist movement had purchased land in the remote Grey Hill mansion on Mount Scopus, north of the Old City of Jerusalem.⁷ A cornerstone-laying ceremony was held there in 1918; among the attendees were Zionist officials; General Edmund Allenby, the commanding general of the British forces in Palestine; and local Jewish, Christian, and Muslim dignitaries, including the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Kāmil al-Ḥusaynī.⁸ Originally imagined as an institution that would solve the problem of Eastern European Jewry, whose enrollment at universities was limited by anti-Semitic *numerus clausus* regulations, by this time the planned institution, now called the *Hebrew University*, had become the flagship project of cultural Zionism. Zionist rhetoric compared it to the Temple itself.⁹

7 Dolev, Diana, *The Planning and Building of the Hebrew University, 1919–1948: Facing the Temple Mount*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016, 13–16.

8 Reinharz, Jehuda, *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Statesman*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, 259; Goren, Arthur A., “The View from Scopus: Judah L. Magnes and the Early Years of the Hebrew University,” in *Judaism* 45 (1996), 204.

9 Myers, David G., “Hebräische Universität,” in Dan Diner (ed.), *Enzyklopädie jüdischer Geschichte und Kultur*, 7 vols., iii, Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2012, 14. On the origins and evolution of the Hebrew University idea, see Bartal, Israel, “The Emergence of Modern Jewish Academe: From Religious Academies in Eastern Europe to a Secular University,” in Nicolas Berg et al. (eds.), *Konstellationen: Über Geschichte, Erfahrung und Erkenntnis. Festschrift für Dan Diner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011, 15–43. On the Zionist image of the university in Jerusalem as a modern-era Temple, see Dolev, *The Planning and Building* 16–21.

The university had a place, but it was still unclear what this place would be filled with. It was under these circumstances that the Central Zionist Office in London established a Department for Education and Culture, headed by longtime Zionist organizer Shmaryahu Levin (1867–1935). A rabbi and political activist who was eventually forced to flee the Russian Empire due to his activism, Levin—today, a somewhat neglected figure in the English-language historiography on Zionism—had experience leading Zionist educational causes.¹⁰ Therefore, in 1919 he started working on a systematic plan for the university's organizational structure and scholarly content.

Attempting to recruit prominent names to the cause of the Hebrew University, Levin sent out letters seeking advice on university matters to established Jewish scholars and intellectuals, mostly from Europe.¹¹ One of these scholars was Ignaz Goldziher, who by that time was one of the most influential European Jewish scholars of Islamic Studies (*Islamwissenschaft*), a discipline that in many ways owed its existence to him.¹² Along with many other greetings and requests from prominent Zionist activists, Levin's letter can be found in Goldziher's vast correspondence archive at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.¹³

Writing in his characteristically flowery Hebrew, Levin explained that now that the war had ended, "our ancient hopes have started to shine again upon the eastern horizon." As "one of the magnates and flag bearers of Hebrew science, for whom their people's revival, and spiritual revival, is close to heart," Levin

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- 10 Bernstein, Judah M., "A Preacher in Exile: Shemaryahu Levin and the Making of American Zionism, 1914–1919," in *American Jewish History* 102 (2018), 323–324. For Levin's biography see Shur, Shimon, *Like a Cypress in Storm: On the Life and Deeds of Dr. Shemaryahu Levin* [in Hebrew], Haifa: The Herzl Institute for Study Zionism–University of Haifa, 2007; and Levin's autobiographical writings in Samuel, Maurice (ed. and trans.), *Forward from Exile: The Autobiography of Shmarya Levin*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967.
- 11 Lavsky, Hagit, "From Foundation Stone to Opening: The Establishment of the Hebrew University, 1918–1925" [in Hebrew], in Shaul Katz and Michael Heyd (eds.), *The History of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Origins and Beginnings*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2000, 127.
- 12 Marchand, Suzanne L., *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 330. Among the other scholars of Arabic and Islam who received the exact same letter was Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942), who after heading the *Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient* (German Intelligence Bureau for the East) during World War I, was appointed professor of Semitic languages at Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin: Shemaryahu Levin, *Letter to Eugen Mittwoch*, London, 30 October 1919, Jerusalem, Central Zionist Archives, L12102\1.
- 13 Shemaryahu Levin, *Letter to Ignác Goldziher*, London, 30 October 1919, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/25/18/03.

hoped he would assist in this “revival work.” Seeing the planned university as “Hebrew to its full extent, where Hebrew character shall be demonstrated [...] not only with regard to the institution’s language but also concerning its studied disciplines,” Levin hoped that Goldziher could provide ideas for the departments and chairs that should be established at the university and for the topics that might be studied there—in comparison with existing universities in Europe. Elegantly formulating his main question, Levin asked for Goldziher’s opinion on “how to make the Hebrew University—**Hebrew**.”¹⁴

Goldziher responded a few weeks later, also in Hebrew, though he refrained from using the term *Hebrew University*.¹⁵ What he referred to simply as the university that is “about to be established in the Holy City,” Goldziher emphasized, must not be inferior to any Western university. It should include all the departments and disciplines these institutions possess while abiding by the standard set by them in both scope and level. The uniqueness of the university in Jerusalem should be embodied in the fact that, in addition to the full-on European model it must replicate, it would also promote the research and teaching of five additional subjects, which are derived from “the land [i.e., its location] and the purpose of the university.” He listed these subjects as follows:

- a. A department for the “Science of Religion” [*hokhmat ha-’emunot veva-datot*].¹⁶ This department was to focus on “the beliefs of the nations that descended from ‘Shem, son of Noah,’”—on the Semitic religions, that is—and study “the rich and vast literature regarding our belief [*’emumatenu*] that we [Jews] have produced from the time of our holy scriptures and until recent times.”
- b. The teaching of “Oriental languages” and the study of Oriental philology. These are needed as the university will be situated in a land where “Arabic

14 “eikh la’asot et ha-universita ha-’ivrit—le-’ivrit.” Underlined in the original.

15 Although the original letter was apparently lost, luckily a transcript of it, which Levin had sent to Zvi Perez Chajes, can be found today at the Central Zionist Archives. Goldziher sent his response on 6 November 1919. In his letter, he only used the Hebrew date, 13 Cheshvan. The year mentioned in the letter is 5679, but it must be a mistake, since it would date the response to 1918, before Levin sent his first letter. Clearly, either Goldziher himself or the person who transcribed the letter made a mistake, and the correct Hebrew year should have been 5680: Shematyahu Levin, *Letter to Zvi Perez Chajes*, London, 7 January 1920, Jerusalem, Central Zionist Archives, A30\142. I thank Adi Livny for her discovery of the document, which she generously shared with me.

16 The term was written in English in brackets within the Hebrew text as an equivalent for the Hebrew term. Perhaps Goldziher did not find his Hebrew suggestion clear enough. His Hebrew phrasing echoes the title of Saadia Gaon’s renowned tenth-century Judeo-Arabic work, *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-l-i’tiqādāt* (*The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, in Hebrew: *sefer ha-’emunot veva-de’ot*).

- is common among its inhabitants.” This would help students in their work on “our important [Jewish] literature which was composed in Arabic” and enable the discovery and publication of unknown manuscripts.
- c. A department for the archaeology of Palestine [*’eretx yisra’el*]. This is required to conduct excavations revealing Jewish history and related field trips.
 - d. The study of Jewish history from antiquity to contemporary times as an independent field, investigated as a separate primary subject and not “something adjacent [*davar ha-nitpal*] to general history.”
 - e. The study of literature written by Jews of all lands [*sifrut ha-yehudim be-khol gvuleyhem*].

Goldziher did not mention it in his letter, but these suggestions echo a document he prepared decades earlier that included his proposals for the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest. In 1880, three years after the seminary was opened, Goldziher composed a memorandum in which he called for the introduction of three main themes to its curriculum: a comparative history of religions, including the history of Jewish theology; biblical studies; and the geography, archaeology, and ethnography of Palestine.¹⁷ Goldziher’s proposals, reflecting his perceptions of how religion should be studied academically within a Jewish institution, were met with strong opposition from the local Jewish community. This added to his growing sense of rejection—the “exile” that eventually led him to focus his academic career on Islamic studies and not Jewish studies.¹⁸

Almost 40 years later, now a well-established scholar whose opinions were widely respected and no longer marginalized, the creation of a Jewish university in Jerusalem seemed to Goldziher the right moment to resuscitate his old proposals, with some additions and slight adaptations. His letter to Levin is an illuminating document that encapsulates several aspects of his scholarly ideology and religious thought.

17 Turán, Tamás, “Academic Religion: Goldziher as a Scholar and a Jew,” in Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary: The “Science of Judaism” between East and West*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, 239, based on the full memorandum in Hungarian, which can be found in Schmelczer, Hermann Imre, “Goldziher Ignác beadványa az Országos Rabbiképző Intézet tantervének ügyében,” in György Landesman and Róbert Deutsch (eds.), *Hetven év: Emlékkönyv Dr. Schweitzer József születésnapjára*, Budapest: Budapesti Zsidó Hitközség, 1992, 127–136. I thank Tamás Turán for his illuminating remarks regarding the similarities between the respective 1880 and 1919 documents.

18 Turán, “Academic Religion” 230–231.

1.1 *Comparative Semitic Religions*

It is not coincidental that Goldziher's first and most detailed suggestion for the Hebrew University concerned the establishment of a department for the comparative study of Semitic religions, which should investigate "the history of our belief and its foundations since earlier times and until the development of monotheism [*ʿemunat ha-yehud ha-muḥlat*]." The roots of his call go back to his well-known response—from his nascent academic years—to French linguist and historian Ernest Renan's (1823–1892) influential and controversial treatise, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (*General and Comparative History of Semitic Languages*, 1855). In this exhaustively researched text, Renan presented his historical analysis of Semitic peoples and Semitism: That the spirit, character, and language of the entire Semitic race, including Israelites, were forged in the immensely uniform desert.¹⁹ For that reason, the entire Semitic race is intolerant, unchanging, and lacks creativity or curiosity; as such, it is inherently inferior to the Aryan race, which developed in polytheistic surroundings.²⁰ Renan's psycho-racial argument on Semitic inferiority, though rejected by contemporary Jewish and also some Christian scholars, would become the ground upon which anti-Semitic thinkers in the 19th and 20th centuries would base their arguments.²¹

Twenty-one years after Renan published his treatise, Goldziher published his own response. He had recently returned home from his formative 1873–1874 journey to the Middle East, his "muhammedanisches Jahr" ("Muslim year"), which included a few months at *al-Azhar*.²² Following the great disappointment he experienced after the professorship in Semitic philology promised to

19 See, for example, Bierer, Dora, "Renan and His Interpreters: A Study in French Intellectual Warfare," in *Journal of Modern History* 25 (1953), 375–389; Arvidsson, Stefan, *Aryan Idols: Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science*, trans. Sonia Wichmann, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006, esp. 91–96. See also Trautmann-Waller, Céline, "Semites and Semitism: From Philology to the Language of Myth," in *Philological Encounters* 2 (2017), 346–367, which provides a wider historical-intellectual context for *Semitism* as a modern category that combined linguistics, psychology, and cultural history.

20 Arvidsson, *Aryan Idols*, 95.

21 Bierer, "Renan and His Interpreters" 380.

22 Marchand, *German Orientalism* 325–326. For Goldziher's accounts of this life-changing journey, see Patai, Raphael, *Ignaz Goldziher and his Oriental Diary: A Translation and Psychological Portrait*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987; and Conrad's corrections to Patai's translation and analysis: Conrad, Lawrence I[rvin], "The Near East Study Tour Diary of Ignaz Goldziher," in *JRAS* 122 (1990), 105–126. See also Conrad, Lawrence I[rvin], "The Dervish's Disciple: On the Personality and Intellectual Milieu of the Young Ignaz Goldziher," in *JRAS* 122 (1990), 225–266. Describing his religious feelings when he managed to infiltrate a mosque in Cairo under the disguise of a Muslim attending the Friday prayer,

him was given to a Catholic scholar who had no knowledge of Arabic, Goldziher had already begun working as the secretary of the Jewish community in Pest.²³

In his 1876 German-language response, entitled *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern und seine geschichtliche Entwicklung* (*The Myth among the Hebrews and Its Historical Development*), which was partly written during Goldziher's journey to the East, he differed from other critics of Renan.²⁴ Although others showed proofs of Jewish cultural creativity, Goldziher—in a move that was heavily criticized for decades after its publication—accepted Renan's claim that polytheism is a precondition for the creation of myth (and consequently, creativity), but went on to cite biblical and prebiblical sources proving that Semites—ancient Hebrews and Arabs—were themselves polytheistic. Hebrew myth existed, first and foremost, because the capacity for myth is universal. According to Goldziher, civilization would not develop without myths.²⁵

When sending his suggestions to Levin in 1919, Goldziher was no longer the young, frustrated scholar. At 69, he was a full professor at the University of Budapest, a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and one of the most senior members of the European Orientalist community, his reputation built on his groundbreaking studies of Islam. The "Myth," as he referred to this early piece, was not among his main body of work. And yet, Goldziher saw in the establishment of the Hebrew University an opportunity for a thorough, institutional study of the crystallization of Semitic monotheism.

Goldziher wrote: "never in my life have I felt more devout, truly devout, as I have in that sublime Friday" (Ignác Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden: Brill, 1978, 72).

- 23 Simon, Róbert, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1986, 49. Péter Hatala (1832–1918) received the chair at the Faculty of Arts since the Hungarian Minister of Religion and Education was forced to remove him from the Faculty of Theology due to his opposition to the papal infallibility doctrine. When Hatala retired in 1905, Goldziher succeeded him.
- 24 Originally appearing in German and later translated into English (as *Mythology among the Hebrews and Its Historical Development*, 1877) and other languages, a Hebrew translation of this work never came into being. However, in 2016 a related text—Goldziher's 1894 Hungarian lecture in memory of Renan—was translated into Hebrew: Goldziher, Ignaz, *A Lecture on Orientalism: In Memory of Ernest Renan* [in Hebrew], trans. David Tarbay and Michal Peretz, Introduction and notes by Yaacov Shavit, Jehuda Reinharz, Ra'anana: The Open University of Israel Press, 2016.
- 25 Conrad, "Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan" 145; Moshfegh, David, *Ignaz Goldziher and the Rise of Islamwissenschaft as a 'Science of Religion'*, Berkeley (PhD Diss.): University of California at Berkeley, 2012, 198–199. See also Mangold, Sabine, "Ignác Goldziher et Ernest Renan—Vision du monde et innovation scientifique," in Céline Trautmann-Waller (ed.), *Ignác Goldziher: un autre orientalisme?*, Paris: Geuthner, 2011, 73–88.

Although Goldziher continued to develop his ideas regarding monotheism, the cold shoulder his thesis received from the Jewish community drove him to focus on monotheism in another Semitic religion: Islam.²⁶ For him, the study of Islam, and its scrutinization through the critical tools of the science of religion, were the path to the development of a refined, universal monotheism toward which the cultural and religious history of all humanity leads. It started with a myth, continued with polytheism, and moves forward into critical monotheism.²⁷ Jewish ethics that were influenced by monotheism, he wrote to Levin, are “the purpose of our existence to this day [...] our duty among the nations.” The establishment of a Jewish university in Jerusalem was, therefore, a golden opportunity to give institutional life to Goldziher’s monotheistic mission.

1.2 *Oriental Languages and the Arab–Jewish Question*

Goldziher’s second suggestion called for the teaching and philological study of Oriental languages, and especially Arabic—the most commonly spoken language in 1919 Palestine, as Goldziher himself noted. One might expect that this call stemmed from his resentment toward the Zionist movement, his fear of the consequences of its actions in Palestine, or his wish to bring the monotheistic religions and their peoples, Jews and Muslims, closer together.²⁸

It may therefore be surprising that, when Goldziher introduced the study of Arabic as one of the fields that could benefit from the establishment of a university in Jerusalem, the reasons he offered did not include Arab–Jewish rapprochement. This was an argument frequently mobilized by some of the university’s founders, who explicitly addressed the positive role the university could play in the context of the Arab–Jewish conflict. Time and again, both pub-

26 Turán, “Academic Religion” 251; Moshfegh, *Ignaz Goldziher* 306. Goldziher himself had attested to the general disapproval his work met in the scholarly community, see Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 86–87.

27 Moshfegh, *Ignaz Goldziher* 189. Compare with Salaymeh, Lena, “Deutscher Orientalismus und Identitätspolitik: Das Beispiel Ignaz Goldziher,” in *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 45 (2017), 140–157, where Goldziher’s attitude toward Islam in his scholarship is analyzed as reproductive of imperialist and colonialist thought.

28 Goitein, Shelomo Dov, “Goldziher from His Letters: Goldziher’s Letters to A.S. Poznanski, 1901–1921” [in Hebrew], in Samuel Löwinger and Joseph Somogyi (eds.), *Ignace Goldziher Memorial volume*, Part 1, Budapest: Globus, 1948, 20–23; Conrad, “The Dervish’s Disciple” 262–263; Turán, “Academic Religion” 254–255. Goldziher’s student Bernát Heller wrote that only three things attached his teacher to Zionism: his wish that Jews in Romania and Russia will find refuge; his hope that Jews, Christians and Muslims will get along in Palestine and everywhere else; and his recognition of the yearn for the Holy Land expressed in Jewish prayers. See Massignon, Louis, “In Memoriam Ignace Goldziher (1850–1921),” in Bernard Heller, *Bibliographie des œuvres de Ignace Goldziher*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1927, viii n. 1.

licly and privately, Zionist leaders, such as Menachem Ussishkin (1863–1941) and Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952)—both of whom were heavily involved in the preliminary planning of the university—had expressed their hopes that the university would promote political rapprochement and be open to members of all religions.

In the years that followed, especially after its official inauguration, the question of how the university's character and curriculum should reflect its location became the driving force behind several steps taken by the institution. The most substantial of the actions taken by university leaders was the establishment of the School of Oriental Studies, a research (and later teaching) institute dedicated to the study of Arabic and Islam, where founder Josef Horovitz hoped scholarship would become a "ground of intellectual interests common to Jewish and Arabic scholars," therefore helping "to promote the good feeling between these two communities."²⁹

Read against these ideals, Goldziher's considerations seem eminently practical and research oriented: At a university built in Jerusalem, within the Orient, it would arguably be easier to master the region's languages and especially Palestine's majority language, Arabic; and knowing Arabic is crucial for understanding innumerable Jewish texts. When mentioning Oriental philology, Goldziher once again merely stressed that it would facilitate new discoveries in the ancient history of Israel.

Not only practical, these explanations also indeed seem narrow. Even though they acknowledge the existence of an Arab majority in Palestine, they in no way suggest that the study of the majority language might promote improvement in Arab-Jewish relations.³⁰ Of course, Levin had asked Goldziher for advice on how to make a Hebrew university, a concept that Goldziher interpreted as promoting a better, more comprehensive, and scientific understanding of Judaism itself. Perhaps, for that purpose, and leaving aside national considerations, he

29 Horovitz, Josef, *Unaddressed Letter*, Frankfurt, 28 March 1928, Jerusalem: Central Archives of the Hebrew University, file 91\1, 1928. For a detailed analysis of the rapprochement rhetoric and the attempts to implement it in the Hebrew University's School of Oriental Studies, see Levy, "Conflicting German Orientalism."

30 Not long before Goldziher's death, Zionist activist Nahum Sokolow (1859–1936) tried to convince him to set out on a trip to Palestine with the aim of promoting mutual understanding between the Zionist movement and local Arabs. See, e.g., Sokolow and Weizmann's telegram for Goldziher's 70th birthday in which they ask Goldziher to "cooperate [in] upbuilding national home [and] particularly in establishing friendly relations with Arabs." Goldziher refused, ascribing his refusal to his old age but also implying it had to do with his general resentment of Zionism; Sokolow, Nahum and Chaim Weizmann, *Telegram to Ignác Goldziher*, London, 20 June 1920, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/41/02/02; Goitein, "Goldziher from His Letters" 21, 25.

deemed any discussion of other prospective outcomes of the study of the Orient and Oriental languages irrelevant.

1.3 *Jewish History, General History*

While the suggestions to investigate both the Jewish archaeology of Palestine and Jewish literature are perhaps self-explanatory—how could a Jewish university in Palestine not study them?—the recommendation to separate Jewish history from general history stands out.³¹ Goldziher's words touched upon a contested issue that would become the source of ongoing debate at the Hebrew University once it was opened, and that in a way still overshadows the historical discipline in Israel to this day: Should the study of Jewish history be embedded in the general historical discipline, or detached from it?³²

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Jewish history was usually left outside European universities, and Jewish scholars who wanted to pursue the subject would mostly do so within Jewish rabbinical seminars or the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin.³³ It was during this period that the field of general history crystallized at these universities, becoming a modern academic discipline with universal aspirations. At that time the teaching and research of general history in various countries were dictated not only by a Eurocentric point of view, but also by a clear national tone, particularly when approaching modern history.³⁴

31 Indeed, Jewish archaeology and literature were among the earliest suggested disciplines to be studied at the planned Hebrew University. See Reinhartz, Jehuda, "Laying the Foundation for a University in Jerusalem: Chaim Weizmann's Role, 1913–1914," in *Modern Judaism* 4 (1984), 1–38.

32 This debate at the Hebrew University, its European roots, and resulting decisions were thoroughly discussed in Rein, Ariel, "History and Jewish History: Together or Separate? The Definition of Historical Studies at the Hebrew University, 1925–1935" [in Hebrew], in Shaul Katz and Michael Heyd (eds.), *The History of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Origins and Beginnings*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2000, 516–537. See also Myers, David G., *Re-inventing the Jewish Past: European Jewish Intellectuals and the Zionist Return to History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995; Bartal, Israel, "Jewish History—'The Punching Bag Syndrome' of the Humanities" [in Hebrew], in *Cathedra: For the History of Eretz Israel and its Yishuv* 81 (1996), 177–180.

33 Schorsch, Ismar, "Converging Cognates: The Intersection of Jewish and Islamic Studies in Nineteenth-Century Germany," in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 55 (2010), 6–7. See Jospe, Alfred, "The Study of Judaism in German Universities before 1933," in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 27 (1982), 295–319; Fraisse, Otfried, "From Geiger to Goldziher: Historical Method and Its Impact on the Conception of Islam," in *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary: The "Science of Judaism" Between East and West*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, 203–222.

34 Gilbert, Felix, "The Professionalization of History in the Nineteenth Century," in John Higham, Leonard Krieger and Felix Gilbert (eds.), *History*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice

This was the common model that the three historians—the German-Jewish Yitzhak (Fritz) Baer (1888–1980) and Richard Koebner (1885–1958) and the Russian-Jewish Victor A. Tcherikover (1894–1958), all holding PhDs from German universities—sought to import to the Hebrew University, whose ranks they joined during its formative first decade.³⁵ Their wish to embed Jewish history into general history met strong opposition from most members of the nascent university's Institute of Jewish Studies (founded in 1924). The latter mainly feared that such a fusion would undermine the strong position of their institute and its monopoly on academic Jewish Studies in Palestine. They preferred that—like all other subjects that concerned Judaism and the Jewish people—Jewish history also be studied under the institute's umbrella, separately from general history, which would thus be rendered, *de facto*, as the “history of others.”³⁶ In this debate, the latter gained the upper hand, and the two subjects were indeed separated.³⁷

Goldziher's suggestions, penned five years before the Institute of Jewish Studies was established, could not have been motivated by such organizational politics. What, then, drove him to acknowledge the importance of singling out Jewish history within a national university—in opposition to the European model that emerged during his years of academic activity there? Bearing in mind Goldziher's belief that the Jewish people have a key role to play in bringing monotheism to all mankind, the key here may be his call in the suggestions letter to prevent Jewish history from becoming “adjacent to general history.” By embedding Jewish history into general history with a national tone,

Hall, 1965, 333–335. See also Muhlack, Ulrich, “Universal History and National History: Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century German Historians and the Scholarly Community,” in Benedikt Stuchtey and Peter Wende (eds.), *British and German Historiography 1750–1950: Traditions, Perceptions and Transfers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 25–48.

35 Rein, “History and Jewish History” 525–528. Rein notes that as time went by, Baer did lean more toward the idea of separation between Jewish and general histories.

36 Rein, “History and Jewish History” 531–532, 536. On the Institute of Jewish Studies and the “Jerusalem School” vis-à-vis its *Wissenschaft des Judentums* roots, see Myers, *Re-inventing the Jewish Past*; Schwartz, Daniel R., “From Rabbinical Seminaries to the Institute of Jewish Studies” [in Hebrew], in Shaul Katz and Michael Heyd (eds.), *The History of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Origins and Beginnings*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2000, 457–475. As Rein explains, a few scholars from the institute did side with the embedded approach, at least to some extent, among them the German-Jewish philosopher Gershom Scholem (1897–1982): Rein, “History and Jewish History” 533–534.

37 In most Israeli universities, this separation continues to this day: Each has a department for Jewish history, which is separate from that for general or European history.

the religious exceptionalism of Jews—which does not belong to the realm of nationalism—would be lost.³⁸

Levin passed Goldziher's letter along to others and assured him that “each and every item in the important letter” shall be considered.³⁹ Some sources even suggest that the Budapest-based scholar might have also submitted a more detailed program for an Oriental institute to be established at the Hebrew University to the Zionist Organization's offices in London.⁴⁰ It is unclear whether such a program ever existed; in any case, the suggestions made by Goldziher were not mentioned in any of the later documents accompanying the eventual establishment of the Hebrew University's School of Oriental Studies, which was opened in 1926, five years after Goldziher's death.

The importance of Goldziher's letter, instead, lies in the unparalleled evidence of his direct and active connection with the Hebrew University as an institution and not merely an idea. Although not all suggestions in the letter touched directly on “Orientalist” topics, the fundamental issues they raise—the relation of Judaism and Islam as two Semitic religions, Arabic as the lingua franca of the region, and the place of Jewish history within other histories—derived from Goldziher's experiences as a European Orientalist and continued to occupy the minds of Jewish scholars of Arabic and Islam in Jerusalem for many years to come.

38 In 1889, Goldziher wrote to a Hungarian-Jewish colleague, József Bánóczy (1849–1926), that “Jewishness is a religious term and not an ethnographical one” (translated into English in Simon, *Ignác Goldziher* 61).

39 Levin, Shemaryahu, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, London, 30 December 1919, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/25/18/01.

40 In a letter to Chaim Weizmann from 2 January 1922, philosopher Hugo Bergmann (1883–1975), an active member of the university planning committees and director of the Jewish National and University Library, mentioned the Oriental department, for which “establishment plans were prepared by [Chief Rabbi of Vienna, biblical scholar and Zionist activist, Zwi Perez] Chajes and Goldziher, and are now deposited in the archive of the London office [of the Zionist Organization].” See Bergmann, Hugo, *Letter to Chaim Weizmann*, Jerusalem, 2 January 1922, Rehovot, Weizmann Archives, Yad Chaim Weizmann, 5–688. These plans, “a detailed memorandum in Hebrew,” were also mentioned in a newspaper article published in the Israeli daily *Haaretz* on the 25th anniversary of Goldziher's passing: Fuerst, Aharon, “Prof. Yitzhaq Goldziher, in Memoriam: 25 Years Since His Passing” [in Hebrew], in *Haaretz*, 13 December 1946, 9. That article did not mention Chajes' involvement. It is likely that the said plan is, in fact, the letter of suggestions Goldziher sent to Levin. Another possibility is that Chajes, to whom Levin had sent Goldziher's suggestions, reworked them into a more detailed memorandum. In any case, if such a plan ever existed, no archival traces of it have been found to date.

2 Further Layers to the Goldziher Legacy

The Goldziher legacy, in any case, also manifested in other forms. As I previously mentioned, the most well-known manifestation is material: After his death, the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL; today the National Library of Israel) purchased Goldziher's vast library—some 6,000 titles related to the study of Arabic and Islam and rare prints from Egypt and Russia. Purchase from the Goldziher family was a complicated process requiring the involvement of scholars from Palestine and Europe, together with Zionist activists, and even the British Foreign Secretary. Other libraries and institutions, among them the Japanese government, sought to purchase this exceptional collection: Not only for the titles themselves, but also for Goldziher's erudite and—no less important—neatly written *marginalia*, adding to their scholarly value. On hearing that it was not yet disposed of, Weizmann immediately set about raising funds in the United States and elsewhere, adding some of his own to them, to purchase it from Charles Goldziher for approximately \$30–35,000.⁴¹ Thus the precious library reached Jerusalem in 1924, where it was first placed in a separate little building downtown Jerusalem, on Abyssinian Street, forming part of the library of the Hebrew University.⁴² The books became the main component of the JNUL's Oriental Department, which also served as the main library for the School of Oriental Studies, established two years later.⁴³

Considering the discipline's roots, this collection's scholarly importance for Oriental studies in Jerusalem cannot be overstated: At German universities, the developing field was based, more than anything, on textual-philological work and scientific editions of manuscripts.⁴⁴ Without it, those who researched and taught in Jerusalem could not have found much continuity with the scholarly work they began in Europe. In that sense, the Goldziher legacy in Jerusalem,

41 \$30,000 in 1924 is worth \$539,773.68 today.

42 See Yahuda, Abraham Shalom, "Die Bedeutung der Goldziherschen Bibliothek für die zukünftige hebräische Universität," in *Der Jude* 8 (1924), 576. An earlier, shorter version of this text was published in English: Yahuda, Abraham Shalom, "The Goldziher Library," in *The Jewish Chronicle Supplement* (25 April 1924), iv–v. See also Loewe, Heinrich, *Ignaz Goldziher: Ein Wort des Gedenkens von Heinrich Loewe*, Berlin: Soncino-Gesellschaft 5689 [1929]; De Somogyi, Joseph, "My Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher," in *MW* 57 (1961), 5–17.

43 Horowitz, Josef, *Vorschläge für die Errichtung eines Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies* in Jerusalem, Frankfurt, 14 May 1925, Jerusalem, Central Archives of the Hebrew University, file 91, 1925–27.

44 Wokoeck, Ursula, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945*, Oxon: Routledge, 2009, 211.

mediated through German Orientalist training, can be seen as the cornerstone of Zionist Oriental studies.

However, Goldziher's personal involvement in Hebrew University affairs had its limits. Although the archival evidence from the university side is very sparse, it seems that university officials offered him a professorship for Oriental studies, specifically, Islamic studies.⁴⁵ Growing old, tired, and not particularly fond of Zionism, Goldziher politely declined the offer—as he did with other offers he received throughout the years—and suggested his longtime protégé, the Jerusalem-born Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951), instead.⁴⁶ Apparently, some members of the planning committee heeded this advice and invited Yahuda to return to his hometown from Madrid, where he was a professor of rabbinic language and literature, another position for which Goldziher had recommended him.⁴⁷ Negotiations, it seems, hit some obstacles, and eventually Yahuda was left out of the Hebrew University faculty, becoming a vocal critic of what he condemned as a “European” bias amid its ranks.⁴⁸ By that time, however, his admired teacher Goldziher was already gone.

On 19 November 1921, the scholar of Islamic art and archaeology Leo Ary Mayer (1895–1959) wrote a short letter to Goldziher. Mayer, a Galician-born Jew who combined Oriental and Jewish studies in his doctoral years in Vienna, who was also a Zionist, had immigrated earlier that year from Berlin to Jerusalem and started working at the British Government's Department of Antiquities.⁴⁹ It was not the first time Mayer had written to Goldziher: In 1915, as a young doc-

45 Following the correspondence with Goldziher, Levin invited him to participate in a conference that was supposed to take place in January 1920 in Basel: Levin, Shemaryahu, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, London, 26 November 1919, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/25/18/04. The conference, to which prominent Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish scholars were invited, together with other Zionist intellectuals and activists, was eventually cancelled due to low response rates and poor scheduling: Lavsky, “From Foundation Stone” 129. Whether Goldziher planned to attend or not remains unknown.

46 Loewe, *Ignaz Goldziher* 5.

47 Gonzalez, Allyson, “Abraham S. Yahuda (1877–1951) and the Politics of Modern Jewish Scholarship,” in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 109 (2019), 413–414.

48 Evri, Yuval, “Return to Al-Andalus Beyond German-Jewish Orientalism: Abraham Shalom Yahuda's Critique of Modern Jewish Discourse,” in Ottfried Fraisse (ed.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context: Rationality, European Borders, and the Search for Belonging*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018, 342.

49 For Mayer's biography in English, see Hussein, Mostafa, “Scholarship on Islamic Archaeology Between Zionism and Arab Nationalist Movements,” in Suzannah Heschel and Umar Ryad (eds.), *The Muslim Reception of European Orientalism: Reversing the Gaze*, London: Routledge, 2018, 187–188. See also Irving, Sarah, “Stephan Hanna Stephan and Evliya Çelebi's *Book of Travels*: Tracing Cooperation and Conflict in Mandate Palestinian Translations,” in Anthony Gorman and Sarah Irving (eds.), *Cultural Entanglement in the Pre-*

toral student in Vienna, he inquired whether Goldziher knew of any Arabic or Turkish inscriptions in Hungary that had yet to be published.⁵⁰

This time, writing from Jerusalem, Mayer's inquiry was quite different: Explaining the lack of any work written in modern Hebrew on Islam, he asked for Goldziher's permission to translate his *Vorlesungen* into Hebrew.⁵¹ Another example of the significance Goldziher's intellectual legacy had for Zionist scholars of Oriental studies in Palestine, this letter could, however, never have received an answer. Mayer had not received the sad news that his addressee passed away less than a week earlier, on 13 November. This was just one of the many obstacles the Hebrew translation of the *Vorlesungen* encountered before its eventual publication in 1951, 30 years after Mayer sent his letter (which was, of course, the year that also marked 30 years since Goldziher's passing).⁵² However, once it was published, it became an essential book in the curriculum of Israeli Islamic studies from which generations of students were taught.⁵³

A year later, another (far less well-known) work of Goldziher's was translated into Hebrew: his 1908 textbook on Arabic literary history for Muslim high school students, commissioned by the Austro-Hungarian colonial government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Pessah Shinar (born Schusser, 1914–2013), who immigrated from Riga in the 1930s and graduated from the School of Oriental Studies, translated this work from its Bosnian edition, which was translated from the original manuscript that Goldziher had submitted in Hungarian.⁵⁴ In the Introduction to his Hebrew translation, which was published by the Hebrew University's Magnes Press and was to be used as a textbook for the School of

Independence Arab World: Arts, Thought and Literature, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020, 217–237.

50 Mayer, Leo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Vienna, 9 April 1915, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/29/07/01.

51 Mayer, Leo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Jerusalem, 19 November 1921, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/29/06/01.

52 Correspondence among the publishing house, the Bialik Institute, and the scientific editor of the translation, Martin (Meir) Plessner, sheds some light on this book's rugged road to publication. See, e.g., Hamenachem, Ezra, *Letter to Meir Plessner*, Jerusalem, 6 November 1950, Jerusalem, Central Zionist Archives, S83\1252.

53 Bar-Asher, Meir M[ichael] and Meir Hatina, "Introduction" [in Hebrew], in Meir M[ichael] Bar-Asher and Meir Hatina (eds.), *Islam: History, Religion, Culture* [in Hebrew], Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2017, vii–viii.

54 Rac, Katalin Franciska, "Arabic Literature for the Colonizer and the Colonized: Ignaz Goldziher and Hungary's Eastern Politics (1878–1918)," in Suzannah Heschel and Umar Ryad (eds.), *The Muslim Reception of European Orientalism: Reversing the Gaze*, London: Routledge, 2018, 80, 97 n. 7. An edition of the original Hungarian manuscript was published by Kinga Dévényi in 2013 as Goldziher, Ignác, *A klasszikus arab irodalom története* [The History of Classical Arabic Literature], ed. Kinga Dévényi, Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 2013. It is accessible at <http://real-eod.mtak.hu/9408/>.

Oriental Studies' students, Shinar thanked L.A. Mayer for his support in the publication.⁵⁵ The chain of transmission continued.

One final layer of the Goldziher legacy concerns the Jewish scholars of Arabic and Islam in Jerusalem as brokers of that very same legacy. Mayer, Rivlin, and Plessner all contributed to the dissemination of the Hungarian-Jewish Orientalist's scholarship to Hebrew audiences, in the university and beyond. But the audience was not limited to those who know Hebrew. Their colleague in Jerusalem—Shelomo Dov Goitein (1900–1985), the world-renowned *genizah* scholar who was another one of Horovitz's *Doktorkinder* in Frankfurt—published an article in the Cairo-based journal *al-Kātib al-maṣrī* (*The Egyptian Writer*) in 1946 commemorating Goldziher and his work and marking 25 years since his death.⁵⁶ Entitled “Goldziher, Father of Islamic Studies,” a note at the bottom of the article's first page stressed that Goitein wrote it in Arabic especially for the journal.⁵⁷ This was added per the initiative of the journal's editor, Egyptian writer and central cultural figure, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973), who also initiated the translation of Goldziher's *Vorlesungen* into Arabic, which was published the same year.⁵⁸

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- 55 Shinar, Pessah, “Introduction” [in Hebrew], in Ignaz Goldziher, *A Short History of Arabic Literature*, trans. Pessah Shinar, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1952, ii.
- 56 Funded by the Jewish Harari family of Cairo, *al-Kātib al-maṣrī* was a monthly journal that appeared from 1945 until 1948: Abdulhaq, Najat, *Jewish and Greek Communities in Egypt: Entrepreneurship and Business before Nasser*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2016.
- 57 Goitein, Shelomo Dov, “Goldziher abū l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya,” in *al-Kātib al-maṣrī* 5, no. 14 (1947), 85–95. Goitein also contributed an article to the memorial volume that was published in Budapest in memory of Goldziher in 1948: Goitein, “Goldziher from His Letters: Goldziher's Letters to A.S. Poznanski, 1901–1921.” For this article, he read the 118 letters Goldziher sent to Samuel Abraham Poznański (1864–1921) between 1901 and 1921. These letters were kept at the JNUL in Jerusalem, as part of Poznański's archive.
- 58 Barak, Efraim, “Egyptian Intellectuals in the Shadow of British Occupation,” in *IJMES* 35 (2008), 180–181. Walid Abdelgawad is currently working on a much-needed study of the reception of Goldziher's work in the Arab world and his relationships with intellectuals in Egypt and beyond. See Abdelgawad, Walid, “Vom Nahen Osten nach Europa und zurück: Ignaz Goldziher im Austausch mit Ali Mubarak,” in *Mimeo: Blog der Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden am Dubnow-Institut*, 13 November 2021, <https://mimeo.dubnow.de/vom-nahen-osten-nach-europa-und-zurueck> (last accessed: 3 November 2023).

A frequently mentioned fact is that in 1911, Prince Fu'ād of Egypt invited Goldziher (and other prominent European scholars of Islam) to teach at Cairo University, but even though Fu'ād came to Budapest to try to persuade him, Goldziher refused, again explaining that he was too old for such stays away from home, see Goitein, “Goldziher from His Letters: Goldziher's Letters to A.S. Poznanski, 1901–1921” 21–22; Reid, Donald Malcolm, “Cairo University and the Orientalists,” in *IJMES* 19 (1987), 56; Ormos, István, “Ignaz Goldziher's Invitation to the Egyptian University,” in *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 23 (2001), 183–192.

3 Conclusions

It is not hard to understand why the scholars of Arabic and Islamic studies in Jerusalem wanted, for many decades, to associate themselves with Ignaz Goldziher and his legacy. With his library at their disposal, they could be seen as his direct successors; while Europe was becoming increasingly hostile to Jewish scholarship, the university in Jerusalem was one of the safe havens not only for Jewish scholars but also for their intellectual legacy.⁵⁹ The emerging Orientalist center at the Hebrew University, aspiring to prove itself to the regional and international scholarly communities, had a lot to gain from establishing a lineage to the founder of *Islamwissenschaft*. After all, like them, and unlike many of his generation, Goldziher had come from Europe for a first-hand encounter with the Orient, whose language and history he studied (although he did ultimately return to his one and only fatherland, Hungary).

Even if it did not resonate at the time, the seeds of this legacy are already contained in the 1919 letter of suggestions that Goldziher sent to Levin. In his own words, he drew up what he perceived as the most important guidelines for a future Hebrew university. These guidelines, as I have shown, can be traced back to elements in the scholarly ideology he developed in almost half a century of intellectual activity. The Zionist circumstances under which the dream of a Jewish university in Jerusalem started to become a reality were not necessarily the most favorable ones to him; but they provided an opportunity to finish what he tried to start after failing in Budapest.

In retrospect, we see that Goldziher listed those themes for a good reason. His proposals, and the various issues they touched upon—Judaism and Islam as two Semitic religions; the study of Arabic, the region's main language; and Jewish history and its relationship with other histories—have since then proven themselves to be core issues that were time and again contemplated and debated by Zionist and Israeli scholars in Palestine/Israel. While particularly relevant to scholars of Jewish studies—the discipline Goldziher seemed most interested in, as far as the Hebrew University is concerned—this was also true for scholars of Arabic and Islam. To them, Goldziher was a forefather and a role model.

59 Weiss, Yfaat, "Ad Acta. Nachgelassenes in Jerusalem," in *Naharaim* 13 (2019), 104.

תענית.

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ב"ה פה בודפשט י"ג חשוון תרפ"ט.

אדוני מאד נעלה,
 אגרתו השלומה אלי אשר יצאה מקיר מושבו ביום ו' להדש
 יעבר לא באה לשונית כ"א קרוב לג' שבועות אחרי שלומה, לרגל
 העקובים המתרחשים כעת במרוץ בי דואר, ע"כ לא אחר להשיב לשלולי
 דבר בענין המבוקש ואם גם יכריחני מצב כריאות גופי לקצר במקום
 אשר היה ראוי להאריך.

לפענ"ד בית המדרש הכולל אשר הולך בעז"ה להוסד ב-- בעת"ק
 לא יוכל להשפל למטה ממדרגת האוניברסיטאות המערביות ר"ל בכל מה
 שנוגע אל עקב הפנימי וכל החכמות הנדרשות בבתי מדרשות כאלה, בארצות
 המערב צריכות לשפוט מקומן בנבילית השלמות, הן החכמות הלמודיות
 והן הטבעיות, אמנם לא די להגביל הדבר על החכמות האלה, ב"א נוסף
 על כל זה צריך להשוב מחשבה על החכמות התליות בארץ ובמסורת האוניברסיטה
 המסוגלות ונכלל להזכיר מפרטי (מבלי להכיל).

א) מן הנחוץ לנתן מחלקה (פקולטאם) בענין חכמת האמונות והדתות
 (*Scientia religionis*) ובפרט אמונות האומות אשר תיוחסנה אל, שם בן
 נח"א יחיים תיחדות אל אמונות העמים, - תולדות אמונתנו ויסודה מזמנים
 היותר קדומים עד התפתחות אמונת היהוד המוחלט, ופעולתה על הבחינה
 המוסרית (*ethical*) אשר לא תמלט להיות נסועה בנפש כל איש אשר
 יכתוב ידו לאמונת נביאנו, לכל ענפיה ומעייפיה אשר היא תלית קיומנו
 עד היום הזה והיא החובה המוטלת עלינו בין העמים ואשר בעז"ה נתעלמנו
 ממנה ולא יצאנו ידי חובתנו בזה. - במחלקת הזאת דרוש ודרוש
 על המפרות עשייה והגדולה אשר הולדנוה בעניני אמונתנו מזמן כתבי
 קדשנו (העומדים להדרש על אדני החכמה הכיבלית אשר גברה בימינו)
 עד הזמנים המאוחרים (ר' מעדיה, ר' יהודה הלוי, אבן גבירול, רמב"ם
 וכו') ומן המאוחרים בני דורנו ר' שמשון רפאל הירש, ר"א צייגר
 וכיוצא בהם).

ב) והיות ששם המכוון יוסד בארץ מארצות המזרח ובפרט בארץ
 אשר תלפה הערבית שגורה בפי היושבים והיה מגמת המיטתם ליתן מקום
 השוב ללמוד השלשונות המזרחיות כדי שיהיה ביד התלמידים לדרוש בספרותנו
 החשובה אשר חברה בלשון ערבית ולהוציא לאור הכתבים שיצאו מן
 הגניזות אשר פוזרו בהם תלי תלים מן הדברים הנשכחים והנעלמים
 (ויצטרך סמינר מיוחד למקצוע זה).

ג) חוץ מזה מן הצריך להתעקב בתכלית השקידה בכל מקצועות הפילולוגיא
 המזרחיות, אשר יפיצו אור על קדמוניות ישראל או יש להם המשך עתה

FIGURE 5.1 Transcript of a letter from Ignaz Goldziher to Shmaryahu Levin, Budapest, 6 November 1919. Although the original letter with Goldziher's proposals for a Hebrew University is lost, this surviving transcript was attached to a letter from Levin to Zwi Perez Chajes, London, 7 January 1920, Jerusalem, Central Zionist Archives, A30\142 (page 1)

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לא משפה ולהנץ כ"א תפשיטה או בהדירה היורדת עד עמקי הדברים.

ג) מקלרי ארץ ישראל ר"ל ארכיאולוגיות הארץ הקדושה וראוי
 בצירוף עם זה לקחת חלק במעשי החפירות הלמודיות אשר תפשיטה אור
 על קדמוניות ישראל בזמן הבית וקודם לזה אבהבור עם הדרוש הזה
 יתקנו מילום למוקיים לשום בארץ לארכה ולרחבה כאשר ירגילו לעשות
 בבתי המדרש הנוסדים מאנשי אשכנז ואמריקא ואחרים.

ד) מובן מעצמו שתולדות ישראל על כל גדותיהן מזמנים הקדומים
 עד היום הזה בכל ארצות התפורנו היא מן המקצועות הראשיות ולא
 ידרשוה כדבר הנמפל אל ההסטוריה הכללית כי אמך דרוש תדרש
 בפני עצמה מקורים ואינל מוטל על על אחד ואחד מן התלמידים
 לאחוז בכל פנסי המקורים כ"א יחלק הדבר ביניהם כפי נפשת נפסם
 וכל הרוצה לסול יבוא ויסול הפרס אשר מענין אותו ואשר יעמיק
 בחקירתו ואשר יובא לחדש בו דבר (ואין ב"תמ"ד בלא חדוש).

ה) וגם זה מוכן ממילא שלמוד מפרות היהודים בכל גבוליהם
 יקום במקום חשוב ומעולה בבית"מ הירושלמי והוא כעין חום השדרה
 בלמוד תולדותנו הרוחנית ובפרס יתפסם הלמוד הזה על פעולת היהודים
 וחכמיהם הסופרים והמתרגמים על התפשות החכמות והשארות וכו' הכל
 כאשר לכל עפ"י המקורים ואין צריך להאריך בדבר הזה.

ו) וכל הלמודים האלה אשר קדם זכרם יהלש לאחדים ובמחלוקת
 מיוחדת ומסולת.

את כל אלה רחש לבי בענין המבוקש ואחתום ברגשי כבוד ויקר
 חק' יצחק יהודה גולדציהר.

FIGURE 5.2 Transcript of a letter from Ignaz Goldziher to Shmaryahu Levin, Budapest, 6 November 1919. Although the original letter with Goldziher's proposals for a Hebrew University is lost, this surviving transcript was attached to a letter from Levin to Zwi Perez Chajes, London, 7 January 1920, Jerusalem, Central Zionist Archives, A30\142 (page 2)

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On *The Kiss*: An Early Piece of Correspondence between Ignaz Goldziher and Immanuel Löw

Dóra Pataricza and Máté Hidvégi

Immanuel Löw (1854–1944), the Chief Rabbi of Szeged, Hungary, was one of the most significant Neolog (progressive) rabbis and scholars of his day, with scholarly interests spanning various fields. He wrote his folkloristic study *The Kiss*, a piece on kissing in Jewish and non-Jewish literature, in 1882, in Hungarian in its first version, for the wedding of a friend. He extended this essay and translated it into German in 1920, during the thirteen months he was held in detention and house arrest on false accusations. A hitherto unknown postcard written by Ignaz Goldziher to Löw in the summer of 1882, concerning the first version of *The Kiss*, will be discussed in this paper.

1 Snapshot

In July 1882, the members of the Goldziher family enjoyed their summer holidays. Ignaz Goldziher worked in the monastic libraries of the Benedictine Order in Austria, in Melk and Admont. His wife,¹ together with her mother, relaxed at Herkulesfürdő (Herkulesbad), a popular spa in Transylvania (today Băile Herculane in Romania). Goldziher's mail from Budapest was forwarded to Melk. It was here that Goldziher received a small parcel addressed to his wife, in which Immanuel Löw sent his book *The Kiss* [*A csók*] as a gift. Goldziher thanked Löw for the present in a postcard sent from Melk.

2 Goldziher and the Löws

Among the few figures who had a lasting impact on the intellectual development of Ignaz Goldziher, either as mentors or as friends, the Löws played a sig-

1 Laura Mittler (1856–1925), daughter of Miksa Mittler, a physician from Aradszentmárton (today Sînmartin, in Romania). Their wedding was held in 1878, in the synagogue of Arad (today Oradea, in Romania).

nificant role.² Leopold (Hungarian: Lipót) Löw (1811–1875) and Immanuel Löw, father and son, both outstanding scholars, served as rabbis of the Szeged Jewish community from 1850–1875 and 1878–1944, respectively. The rabbinical and scientific works of the Löws were characterized by modernity and innovation, and both father and son showed an almost self-sacrificing loyalty to their wider community (including the Magyar homeland).³ For political reasons, both of them suffered longer or shorter periods of pretrial detention, and after their release, both spoke about the sustaining power of trust and faith in God.⁴ It has been suggested that religious development and progress were a kind of “leit-motif” in Goldziher’s life and work.⁵ Thus, a scholarly ethos (“intellectual honesty”), characterizing Goldziher’s scientific approach and distinguishing him from most of his fellow Orientalists, was a value he shared with the Löws.⁶ The Löws had no disciples because neither ever held a teaching position.⁷ Nevertheless, Leopold Löw can be regarded as one of Goldziher’s mentors—Goldziher’s first papers on Jewish subjects were published in Löw’s journal, *Ben Chananja*, in 1867.⁸

“You were perhaps closest to Goldziher among all of his friends,” wrote Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) to Immanuel Löw on 21 November 1921, deeply

2 For a recent in-depth discussion of the topic, see Turán, Tamás, *Ignaz Goldziher as a Jewish Orientalist*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023, 192–196, 210–213.

3 In 1921, while in pretrial detention, Immanuel Löw wrote a short autobiography. Here he writes: “I have lived for my profession, my scholarship, and my family. I was far away from politics, parties. I did not even enter a casino. I did not join any political party but clung to my country. I did not trade it for anything else, even though foreign countries invited me to many places, luring me with the promise of huge income and big cities’ charm. [...] I stayed here in my country. [...] This is how I turned old in Szeged, nurturing the national feeling. [...] It is from my love for the Hungarian people that I lovingly care for all the manifestations of the Hungarian people’s psyche.” Löw, Immanuel, “Biography. Written in prison by Immanuel Löw,” [Önéletrajz. Börtönében írta: Löw Immanuel] in *Egyenlőség* (9 April 1921), 4–5.

4 On the imprisonment of Leopold Löw, see Hidvégi, Máté, “Leopold Löw’s Prison Diary from 1849” [Löw Lipót 1849-es börtönnaplója], in *Múlt és Jövő* 1 (1998), 116–124. On Immanuel Löw’s detention, see Hidvégi, Máté, “The Löw Trial” [A Löw-per], in *Múlt és Jövő* 3 (1996), 85–96.

5 Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher* 17.

6 Turán, Sinai (Tamás), “Leopold Löw and the Study of Rabbinic Judaism—A Bicentennial Appraisal,” in *Jewish Studies* 48 (2012), 70.

7 Although they both received such invitations, they declined the offered positions. In 1871, Leopold Löw was invited to be the rector of the Berlin Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. See *Szegedi Híradó* (13 October 1871), 3. In 1924, Immanuel Löw was offered a professorship at the Hebrew University, Institute of Jewish Studies, in Jerusalem. See Hidvégi, “The Life of Immanuel Löw” [Löw Immanuel élete] in Máté Hidvégi and Tamás Ungvári (eds.), *Selected Works of Immanuel Löw I* [Löw Immanuel válogatott művei], Budapest: Scolar, 2019, 49.

8 See Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher* 192–196.

troubled as he was by the news of Goldziher's death, brought to him by Carl Bezold (1859–1922).⁹ Goldziher's friendship with Immanuel Löw seems to date back to the mid-1870s, based on Goldziher's message to Löw in 1914, on Löw's 60th birthday:

Dear Friend, if a serious obstacle had not intervened, I would have preferred to personally shake hands with you on the sixtieth anniversary of your birth. Now I must write this down and after that, *in the spirit of our four-decade friendship*, express my most sincere wishes for good luck. I am doing this not only on behalf of myself and my family, but also on behalf of many of your national and international academic friends and admirers [...] your good old friend, Ignaz Goldziher.¹⁰

It is not known, however, exactly when and where this friendship started. We can consider Baron József Eötvös (1813–1871), Minister of Religion and Education and advocate of Jewish emancipation in Hungary, as a spiritual link between Löw and Goldziher. A reformer and influential cultural politician, Eötvös was a friend of Leopold Löw. In the summer of 1866, Immanuel Löw, age 12, met him personally.¹¹ Upon Eötvös' death, the Piarist grammar school in Szeged, where Löw had studied, held a memorial service in the town hall, where one of the two speakers was Immanuel Löw.¹²

9 Immanuel Löw, "Goldziher Ignác" in *Száz beszéd* [One hundred sermons] 1900–1922, Szeged 1923, 304. Quoted in Hidvégi, Máté, "Immanuel Löw's reflections on 'The Essence and Evolution of Judaism' in his letters to Ignaz Goldziher in 1888," in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 304.

10 "Kedves barátom! Ha komoly akadály nem lépett volna közbe, szívesebben személyesen szorítottam volna veled kezét születésed hatvanadik évfordulója alkalmából. Most ez írással kell beérnem és ezúton kifejeznem, *négy évtizedes baráti kapcsolatunk szellemében*, legőszintébb szerencsekívánataimat. Teszem ezt nemcsak a magam és családom nevében, hanem számos hazai és külföldi tudós barátod és tisztelőd nevében is, [...] régi jó barátod: Goldziher Ignác." Goldziher's message to Immanuel Löw, quoted in "Immanuel Löw is 60 Years Old" [Löw Immanuel hatvan éves], in *Szegedi Napló*, (21 January 1914), 6. Emphasis added.

11 Eötvös visited Szeged on 6 August 1866 for the funeral of Gábor Klauzál (1804–1866), a friend of Leopold Löw who had served as Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Trade during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. Because Leopold Löw was bedridden at the time of the funeral, Eötvös visited him after the funeral. Immanuel Löw kissed Eötvös' hand and, even in his old age, recalled this as a defining experience of his life.

12 See Hidvégi, "The Life of Immanuel Löw" 13–15 for details.



FIGURE 6.1 Ignaz Goldziher, Budapest, 1878. Engagement photograph given to Laura Mittler by Goldziher, Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archive, F.66.101

It is well known that it was Eötvös who set Goldziher on the path to professional development and fulfilment through the scholarship funds he donated.¹³ At the University of Pest, Goldziher was promised a chair, but the realization of Eötvös' vision of having a young Jewish man of outstanding talent as a professor of Semitic languages in Pest was prevented by the benefactor's premature death.¹⁴ In the memorial speech given upon Goldziher's death, Löw explained that Goldziher (like Löw himself) had not succumbed to material temptation and had remained loyal to his homeland through his dedication to Eötvös' ideals.¹⁵

3 Leopold Löw's Legacy and Goldziher's and Immanuel Löw's Correspondence about It

Goldziher and Immanuel Löw corresponded in Hungarian.¹⁶ Löw's letters to Goldziher are held in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a smaller group of letters Goldziher wrote to Löw—four of which deal with the administration of the literary legacy of Leopold Löw—is preserved in the National Library of Israel.¹⁷ As early as 8 November 1881, Immanuel Löw reviewed Goldziher's Hungarian book on Islam in *Szegedi Napló*,¹⁸ and the earliest extant letter from Goldziher to Löw also dates from that year.¹⁹ Immanuel Löw also consulted with Goldziher on the formatting for the publication of his father's collected writings, which he intended to edit,²⁰ and on what should and should not be published from his father's unpublished legacy. He also asked Goldziher to proofread the manuscripts to be sent to the

13 See Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978, 46–47.

14 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 52.

15 Löw, Immanuel, "Ignaz Goldziher" [Goldziher Ignác], in Máté Hidvégi and Tamás Ungvári (eds), *Selected Works of Immanuel Löw 1* [Löw Immanuel válogatott művei], Budapest: Scholar, 2019, 194–203.

16 For details, see Tamás Turán's contribution to this volume.

17 Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Immanuel Löw Archive, ARC. 4* 794 01 68; the dates of the letters are 1 February 1888; 5 February 1888; 10 April [1888]; and 7 November 1892.

18 Löw, Immanuel, "Islam: Studies on the History of the Muhammadan Religion by Ignaz Goldziher. Budapest, 1881" [Az iszlám: Tanulmányok a muhammedán vallás története köréből írta Goldziher Ignác. Budapest, 1881], in *Szegedi Napló* 4 (November 1881), 8.

19 See Scheiber, Sándor, "Ignaz Goldziher's Letters to Immanuel Löw. On the quarter-century anniversary of Goldziher's death" [Goldziher Ignác levelei Löw Immanuelhez. Goldziher halálának negyedszázados fordulójára], in *Uj Élet* (12 December 1946), 8.

20 Löw, Leopold, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Immanuel Löw. 5 vols., Szegedin: Ludwig Engel, 1889–1900.

press.²¹ Towards the end of this enterprise Löw requested Goldziher to write an evaluation of his father's scholarly work: "I am sending the final portion of the work. Would you write a scientific profile for this booklet? It would be difficult for me as his son [Nekem, mint fiúnak, bajos]."²² Goldziher, apparently overcommitted, did not comply with Löw's wish, writing to Löw in April 1888:

I have a lot of work right now. [...] My health is not the best. The many night jobs are already starting to take their toll on my nerves. And this is an untenable state. I barely have 1–2 hours to use during the day, and that is only after lunch. I am eagerly awaiting the start of the Collected Works.²³

Immanuel Löw dedicated three (of the five) volumes of his father's *Gesammelte Schriften*²⁴ to the Jewish scholars he venerated most—he dedicated volume 3 to the Viennese preacher and scholar Adolf Jellinek (1821–1893), volume 5 to the memory of David Kaufmann (1852–1899), a former faculty member of the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary, and volume 4 to Ignaz Goldziher.²⁵

4 *The Kiss*

In 1882, Immanuel Löw published his essay, *The Kiss* [*A csók*] in Hungarian,²⁶ his first folkloric work that reviewed material on the kiss and kissing in Jewish and non-Jewish literature. Although the study of folklore constitutes a minor

21 Löw, Immanuel, *Letters to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged 10 April 1888 (GIL/26/09/008), 2 November 1888 (GIL/26/09/001), and 25 June 1889 (GIL/26/09/005), Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection. Goldziher's legacy in the Oriental Collection of the LHAS contains some manuscripts written by Leopold Löw (call number Goldziher/098a–b).

22 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 6 August 1897, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/057.

23 "Nagyon sok most a munkám. [...] Egészségem nem a legjobb. A sok éjjeli munka már kezdi magát idegeimen megbosszulni. És ez kiállhatatlan állapot. Nappal alig van felhasználható 1–2 órával és az is csak ebéd után. Várva várom a Gyűjtött munkák kezdetét." Letter by Goldziher to Immanuel Löw, 10 April [1888] (Jerusalem, NLI, ARC. 4* 794 016).

24 Löw, Leopold, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Immanuel Löw, 5 vols., Szegedin: Ludwig Engel, 1889–1900.

25 Ignaz Goldziher | dem treuen Förderer seiner Arbeit | zugeeignet | vom Herausgeber [for Ignaz Goldziher | the loyal supporter of his work | dedicated | by the Editor] in Löw, *Gesammelte Schriften*, iv (1898), iii.

26 Löw, Immanuel, *The Kiss* [*A csók*], Szeged: Traub, 1882.

part of Immanuel Löw's scholarly work, he regularly published important studies in this field.²⁷ As József Schweitzer wrote: "Löw's studies are pioneering because the first of these was published when research on folklore among the Jews had not yet begun."²⁸ At its first appearance, this essay was printed as a private publication with a limited number of copies.

Löw revealed the reasons for the publication of the original essay only decades later, in 1921, with the publication of his introduction to the German translation of a revised and extended version of the original study, which he wrote during the time of his trial, while in detention.²⁹ The author remarks:³⁰

Im Jahre 1882 habe ich als Gelegenheitschrift zur Hochzeit eines seither heimgegangenen Jugendfreundes ein Quartheft von 22 Seiten unter dem Titel: A csók (der Kuß) erscheinen lassen.

Only three copies of *The Kiss* are known to exist today. The copy owned by Mrs. Ignaz Goldziher was transferred to the newly opened Hebrew University of Jerusalem together with the Goldziher Library.³¹ Löw's own copy is in the possession of one of the present authors (M.H.). This copy contains the author's marginal notes. The third copy was given by Immanuel Löw to his sister Leontin Löw.³² The author's autographed dedicatory note appears on the flyleaf: "To my dear sister Lotti, Szeged, May 31, 1882." The total number of printed copies

27 Löw, Immanuel, *Studien zur jüdischen Folklore*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Hildesheim: Olms, 1975.

28 József Schweitzer, "Studies on folklore by Immanuel Löw" [Löw Immánuel folklorisztikus tanulmányai], in *Új Élet* no. 11 (1 June 1975), 2.

29 On the charges and proceedings brought against Immanuel Löw, which attracted the attention of the world press and ended with the 13-month pretrial detention of the innocent chief rabbi, see Hidvégi, "The Life of Immanuel Löw" 34–43. Löw writes in the 1921 introduction: "In unfreiwilliger Muße einer längeren Untersuchungshaft habe ich versuchen, eine alte Arbeit zu ergänzen." ["During an involuntary 'seclusion' time during a long pretrial detention, I tried to supplement an old work of mine."] Löw, Immanuel, "Der Kuß," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 65 (N.F. 29), no. 7/9 (1921), 253.

30 "In 1882, I published a quarto booklet of 22 pages under the title "A csók" (The Kiss) for the occasion of the wedding of a boyhood friend, who has since passed away." Löw, "Der Kuß" (1921), 253. = Löw, *Studien zur jüdischen Folklore*, 32. See also Scheiber, Alexander, "Vorwort," in Löw, Immanuel, *Studien zur jüdischen Folklore*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Hildesheim: Olms, 1975, vii.

31 Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, call number: S 25 C 8804.

32 Leontin (Lotti) Löw (1864–1938), Mrs. Antal Boros; She was the 13th child of Leopold Löw, and the sister of Immanuel Löw. She is buried in the Neolog Jewish cemetery on Kozma Street in Budapest; see Hidvégi, "The Life of Immanuel Löw" 69.



FIGURE 6.2 Immanuel Löw, Szeged, ca. 1882, Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archive, IV/1.
14-3

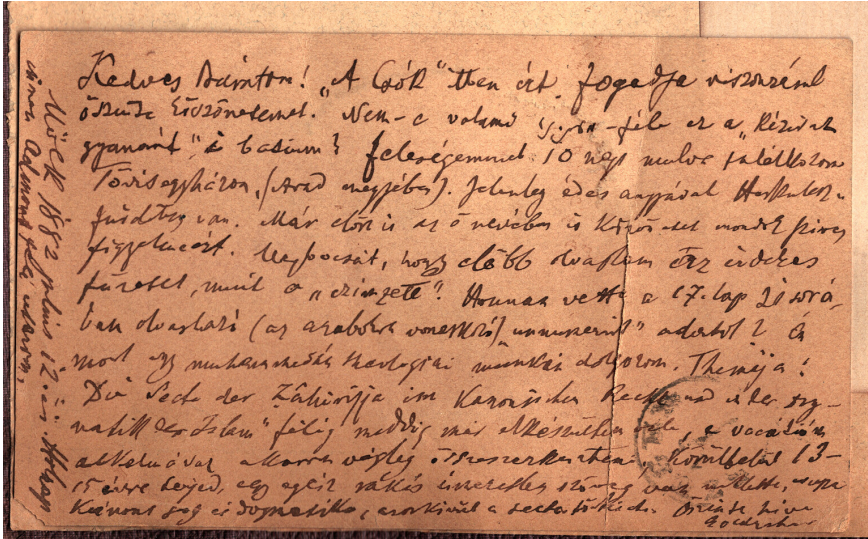


FIGURE 6.3 Postcard Goldziher to Immanuel Löw, 12 July 1882, Hidvégi Collection, Budapest

is known from Löw's autographed note glued onto the title page: "Printed on May 26, 1882, in 30 copies, two of which have a few lines more on page 20."³³

5 Goldziher's Postcard

A postcard written on 12 July 1882 by Ignaz Goldziher, thanking Immanuel Löw for his gift of a copy of *The Kiss*, was glued by Löw to the inside cover of his own copy. The postcard sheds light on Goldziher's way of thinking.

It reads as follows:³⁴

My dear friend! *The Kiss* found me here. In exchange, please receive my sincere gratitude. Isn't this basium [kiss, Lat.] a kind of meinyano (מענינו), published "as a manuscript"? I will see my wife in 10 days at Tövisgyháza

33 In 2022 the booklet was reprinted as a facsimile edition with an afterword by M. Hidvégi and D. Pataricza for the 140th anniversary of the original publication: Löw, Immanuel, *The Kiss [A csók]* (facsimile edition), Szeged: Szeged Jewish Community [Szegedi Zsidó Hitközség], 2022.

34 "Kedves Barátom! „A Csók” itten ért. Fogadja viszonzásul őszinte köszönetemet. Nem-e valami מענינו-féle ez a „kézirat gyanánt”-i basium? Feleségemmel 10 nap múlva találko-

(Arad County). Currently, she is at Herkulesbath with her mother. On her behalf, I would like to thank you in advance for your kind attention. Forgive me for reading the interesting booklet before the “addressee”. Where did you get the “unreferenced” data on page 17, line 21, referring to the Arabs? I am currently working on a Muhammedan theological work. Its topic is: “The sect of the Zāhiriyya in canon law and in the dogmatics of Islam”; [it] is halfway done; I want to make the final edition of it during my holiday. It is an overview of ca. 13–15 author’s sheets, with a whole bunch of unknown texts attached to it, all on canon law and dogmatics, as well as the sect’s history. Yours sincerely, Goldziher. Mölk, July 12, 1882. Tomorrow, I will travel to Admont.

Notes on Goldziher’s text:

- *Style*: The first thing the reader may notice is that the style of the letter is formal; thus, the correspondents were not yet on first-name terms. We know from Löw’s letters to Goldziher that their informal relationship—that is, when they addressed each other by first-names—began sometime between September 1901³⁵ and December 1902.³⁶ Löw most likely had met Laura Goldziher earlier, since he had dedicated a copy of his essay to her. (Figure 6.4).
- *Places mentioned*: Goldziher was in Melk when he received the package from Löw and intended to travel from Melk to Admont the following day. Tövisegyháza (today Şimand, in Romania), mentioned by Goldziher, was a village where the Goldzihers had a place to stay, presumably for family holidays or visits, as Izidor and Zsigmond Mittler, Goldziher’s brothers-in-law, owned land there.³⁷ Goldziher liked its quiet environment, and it is known that

zom Tövisegyházon, (Arad megyében). Jelenleg édes anyjával Herkulesfürdőben van. Már előbb is az ő nevében is köszönetet mondok szíves figyelméért. Megbocsát, hogy előbb olvastam az érdekes füzetet, mint a “czimzett.” Honnan vette a 17. lap 20. sorában olvasható (az arabokra vonatkozó) “unnummeriert” adatot? Én most egy muhammedán theologiai munkán dolgozom. Themája: “Die Secte der Zāhirijja im Kanonischen Recht(e) und in der Dogmatik des Islam” félig meddig már elkészültem vele, a vacatióm alkalmával akarom végleg összeszerkeszteni; körülbelül 13–15 ívre terjed, egy egész rakás ismeretlen szöveg van mellette, csupa kánoni jog és dogmatika, azonkívül a secta története. Őszinte hive, Goldziher. Mölk 1882. július 12-én. Holnapi nap Admont felé utazom.”

35 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 30 September 1901, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/083.

36 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 8 December 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/086.

37 For Zsigmond Mittler, see “Hungarian tobacco exhibitors at the Vienna Exhibition” [Magyar dohánykiállítók a bécsi kiállításon], in *Pesti Napló* (31 July 1890), 5.

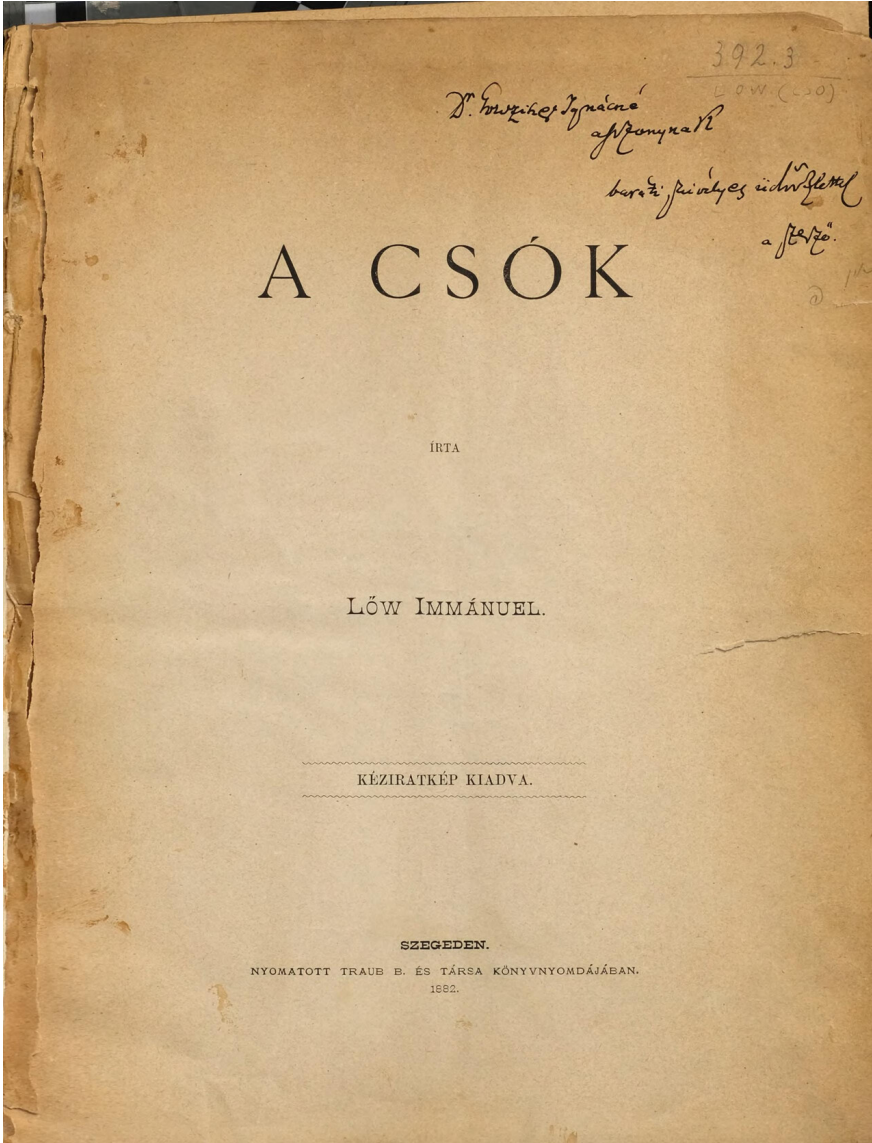


FIGURE 6.4 Title page of *A Csók*, Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, S 25 C 8804

in 1893 he “passed some time in Puszta Tövisgyház reading Ovid and Virgil.”³⁸

- *Goldziher’s question*: Goldziher asks about the source of the statement about the Arabs found on page 17, line 20 of *The Kiss*. It is unfortunate that I. Löw’s earliest letter in the LHAS dates from 1885, so we do not know his answer to this query. The text he referred to is as follows:

As a sign of worship and adoration, objects dedicated to or reminiscent of religious service are kissed: the Torah (118, 119), the tzitzit (120), the mezuzah (121), in which Immanuel Vita Ricchi (122) tends to see a kabbalistic secret, and the doorjamb of the synagogue is kissed too. This custom among Christians, despite opposition, was inherited by the Christians from the Pagans, in such a way that they fell on the threshold before entering the church (123), a custom we also know among the Arabs.³⁹

- *Goldziher’s work during his holiday*: Goldziher, as he mentions, was working on “the sect of the Zāhiriyya in canon law and the dogmatics of Islam,” and the study, *Die Zāhiriten: Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, was eventually published in January 1884 in Leipzig; Goldziher’s preface is dated November 1883.⁴⁰

6 “A kind of מַעֲנִינוּ,” or Who Were the Beneficiaries of *The Kiss*?

Goldziher grasped the solution to the term מַעֲנִינוּ when he suggested that the purpose of *The Kiss* could be deduced and thus understood from the context. This understanding is exactly what the text was about. Although it was an essay written as a wedding gift, the identity of the beneficiaries remained unknown for another 133 years. It was László Péter who first suggested the “friend in youth” to be László Szivesy (1852–1906).⁴¹

38 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 164; see also Hopkins, Simon, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher,” in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 94.

39 “Hódoló, imádó tisztelet jeléül az istentiszteletnek szentelt vagy reá emlékeztető tárgyakat csókkal illetjük: a tórát (118, 119), a ciciszt (120), a mezuzát (121), miben különös kabbalisztikus titkokat lát rejleni Immanuel Vita Ricchi (122) és a zsinagóga kapufélfáját—a mely szokás a keresztényeknél, ellenkezés dacára, a pogányoktól átvett oly módon, hogy az egyházba lépés előtt a küszöbre borulva ezt megcsókolák (123), a mely szokáshoz hasonló az araboknál is ösmerünk.”

40 The copy in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is dedicated to his teacher, Ármin Vámbéry; call number 713.831, see http://real.mtak.hu/121373/1/713_831.pdf.

41 Péter, László, “To whom did Immanuel Löw dedicate *The Kiss*?” [Kinek ajánlotta A csókot Löw Immánuel?], in *Délmagyarország* (20 July 2015), 13. We thank Ferenc Apró for this reference.

One of the present authors (M.H.) proved Péter's hypothesis to be correct. Péter, a polymath from Szeged, studied the life and work of Lajos Kálmány (1852–1919), a Roman Catholic priest and folklorist, and in the course of this work he also dealt with Kálmány's classmates in secondary school, among them two Jewish youngsters who were also best friends: Immanuel Löw and László Szivesy. Péter concluded that Löw's friend from his youth, at whose wedding *The Kiss* was presented and who had long been dead when the German-language extended version of the essay in question was published, was László Szivesy.⁴²

In Löw's copy of the book, written on the pasted-down endpaper, there is a list of the twenty-eight people who had received a copy of *The Kiss* from Löw. László Szivesy is the first person on this list. Szivesy's fiancée was Júlia (also known as Juliska) Prosznitz (1864–1936). Their engagement took place in November 1881, and they were married 28 May 1882,⁴³ in the Szeged synagogue.⁴⁴ It was Immanuel Löw who officiated at the wedding,⁴⁵ and since the printed essay was ready by Friday, 26 May, Löw could present the gift at the time of the wedding.

László Szivesy was a lawyer and a master of the Árpád Masonic Lodge in Szeged.⁴⁶ Szivesy maintained a close friendship with Immanuel Löw, and their

42 In 1890 László Szivesy changed his name to Szivessy; see "Vital register of the Szeged Jewish Community, birth register," vol. 2, p. 7, entry 112, n. 3, added by Immanuel Löw in 1890 (Reel no. 004227629, familysearch.org).

43 "In Szeged, in recent days, Dr László Szivessy, a lawyer, and Juliska Prosznitz, the daughter of a merchant, were engaged," news on the engagement in: "Hymen" in *Fővárosi Lapok* (5 November 1881), 1499; "In Szeged, Dr László Szivessy, a young lawyer, married Miss Juliska Prosznitz on Pentecost Sunday," news on the marriage in: "Hymen" in *Fővárosi Lapok* (27 May 1882), 756.

44 Once the Szeged (New) Synagogue was finished and in use, by May 1903, the previous synagogue, built between 1840 and 1843, became the Old Synagogue. Oszkó, Ágnes Ivett, and Dóra Pataricza, "The Heritage of the Jewish Religious Buildings in Szeged," in Rastislav Stojšavljević (ed.), *Synagogues and Jewish Heritage in Southeastern Europe*, Novi Sad: Arhiv Vojvodine, 2021, 313–345.

45 Marriage register of the Szeged Jewish Community, year 1882, Szeged, Hungary, 93, entry 10.

46 See Lányi, Pál, *Jewish Nobility: The Outstanding Members of the Bamberger, Benedikt, Kárász, Landesberg, Prosznitz and Szivessy Families in Szeged* [Zsidó Csekonicsok: a szegedi Bamberger, Benedikt, Kárász, Landesberg, Prosznitz és Szivessy családok kiválóságai], Szeged: Szegedi Zsidó Hitközség Dr Birnfeld Sámuel Könyvtára; 2019, 12; Takács, János et al. (eds.), "Documents from the History of 135 Years" [Dokumentumok 135 év történetéből] in *The Sons of Light. Excerpts from the History of 135 Years of Freemasonry in Szeged, 1870–2005* [A világosság fiai. Szemelvények a 135 éves szegedi szabadkőművéség történetéből, 1870–2005], Szeged: Bába Kiadó és Árpád a Testvériséghez Páholy: 2005, 157.

fathers, József Szivesy and Leopold Löw, were lifelong friends as well. Once married, Júlia was actively involved in the Szeged Jewish Women's Association as a board member, attending concerts, soirées, and parties. She donated to various causes and was a well-known patron of the arts in Szeged. László and Júlia had six children. Although several family members perished in Birkenau–Auschwitz in 1944, their descendants are found all over the world.⁴⁷

7 Conclusion

The correspondence between Ignaz Goldziher and Immanuel Löw, as reflected in the text of the previously unpublished postcard presented here, offers a glimpse into the intricate network of friendship and scholarship that characterized the lives of these two influential scholars. Immanuel Löw's *The Kiss*, originally written as a wedding gift for his friend László Szivesy, showcases Löw's pioneering contribution to Jewish folklore studies. An early piece of correspondence between Goldziher and Löw sheds light on the intellectual and personal connections that linked the two families, demonstrating how their friendships spanned decades and transcended the professional realm. The postcard itself serves as a tangible reflection of Goldziher's way of working and how he engaged in scholarly discourse. The significance of this correspondence extends beyond the mere exchange of letters. It reflects the interconnectedness of these two scholars and the spirit of collaboration, fostering the exchange of ideas and leaving a lasting legacy.

47 For Júlia Prosznitz, see Máté Hidvégi and Dóra Pataricza, "The Kiss: The Story of a Wedding Present. Afterword to the Reprint Edition of Immanuel Löw's Study *The Kiss*" [A csók: Egy nászajándék története. Utószó Löw Immanuel A csók című tanulmánya reprint kiadásához], Budapest 2021, iv. On Júlia's activity in the Szeged Jewish Women's Association, see "The work of Mercy" [A könyörület munkája]. *Szegedi Híradó*, 21 June 1891, 7; news on donations, e.g.: "Thank you" [Köszönetnyilvánítás], in *Szeged és vidéke*, 17 January 1904, 8. "The income of the amateur soirée" [A műkedvelő estély jövedele], in *Szeged és vidéke* (8 February 1903), 9. On the children, see birth registers of the Szeged Jewish Community. On their fates in the Holocaust and their descendants: Pál Lányi's booklet on the family, (Lányi, *Jewish Nobility*). Pál Lányi is the great-grandson of László Szivesy and Júlia Prosznitz.

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A Complicated Relationship: Carlo Landberg's Friendship with Ignaz Goldziher—Between Ambition and Anti-Semitism

Christoph Rauch

Mir thut es in der Seele weh, aus der Feder eines meiner intimsten Jugendfreunde solche Dinge zu lesen.

IGNAZ GOLDZIHHER TO CARLO LANDBERG, 25 January 1909



The papers of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) that are currently preserved in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences include his correspondence with the Swedish orientalist Carlo Landberg (1848–1924).^{*1} Judging by the amount of material that has survived, Landberg was one of Goldziher's most active correspondents. The more than 170 letters and postcards span the period from 1883 to 1921. Landberg and Goldziher met in person only from time to time. However, some of their encounters remained key experiences that Goldziher describes vividly in his diary and recalls fondly: their first meeting in Damascus in 1873, the award of the gold medal at the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm in 1889 by King Oskar II, and finally his two visits to Landberg's residence at Tutzing Castle in Bavaria in 1894 and 1895. Although Landberg was controversial among contemporary Orientalists, Goldziher remained loyal to him over the years. The friendship did not cease even after Landberg uttered numerous stereotypical anti-Jewish resentments in his letters, which increased in intensity after his failed South Arabian expedition of 1898/99 and the conflict with its co-leader, David Heinrich Müller (1846–1912).

* I would like to thank Colinda Lindermann and Sabine Mangold-Will for reading a draft of this paper and for their valuable comments, corrections and suggestions.

1 From 1884 until 1900 he was named Graf Carlo von Landberg-Hallberger, from 1900 he was Graf Carlo von Landberg.

This study aims to present some aspects of Landberg's multifaceted life and activities on the basis of hitherto unstudied sources. Wherever the name Landberg appeared, an outcry of indignation was not far off. Because Landberg's undertakings and publications fueled numerous debates and his attitude often had a polarizing effect, his biography seems an ideal one to use to illuminate the ambivalence of mentalities and attitudes present in the field of Oriental studies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a subject this study will also touch upon. Moreover, we find in Landberg an example of the radicalization of hostility toward Jews in the German Reich.² It is not the intention of this article to deal with this complex issue in its entirety, nor to pass easy moral judgment on a scholar; rather, the article uses a concrete example, the private correspondence between the scholars Goldziher and Landberg, to show in which situations anti-Jewish clichés were reinforced and how, in a specific social and intellectual environment, an anti-Semitic mindset developed from this.

1 Carlo Landberg—Researcher, Traveler, Manuscript Dealer, and Squabbler

Although a biographical introduction of Goldziher can be dispensed with in this volume, a few words should be said about Landberg before their relationship can be discussed in more detail.³ Carlo Landberg was born in the Swedish city of Göteborg (Gothenburg) in 1848 as the son of a wholesaler. In 1869, he began to study Hebrew⁴ and subsequently took up various other subjects, such as European linguistics, archaeology, Sanskrit, Turkish, and Arabic, while living in various European cities. To improve his language skills, he spent the years from 1873 to 1881 mainly in the Middle East and North Africa.⁵ From 1882

2 There are well-known examples of anti-Semitic scholars among Orientalists, the most prominent of whom is certainly Paul de Lagarde, see Behlmer, Heike, Thomas L. Gertzson and Orell Witthuhn (eds.), *Der Nachlass Paul de Lagarde: Orientalistische Netzwerke und antisemitische Verflechtungen*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.

3 A well-founded biography of Landberg has so far been a desideratum. Basic information that is often referred to is available in Hofberg, Herman et al. (eds.), *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon*, Stockholm: Bonnier, 1906, ii, 16–17. Another main Swedish source is Zetterstéen, Karl Wilhelm, *Carlo Landberg som orientalist*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1942.

4 Landberg, Carlo, *Jeder tut was ihm passt, denn reden werden die Leute immer: Arabisches Sprichwort im Dialekt von Haurân und Daṭīnah mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar. Festgabe zu seinem vierzigjährigen Jubiläum als Orientalist*, Leiden: Brill, 1909, 7.

5 In 1881 he published an account of his journey through Egypt: Landberg, Carlo, *I Öknar och Palmulunder: Skildringar fran Österlandet*, Stockholm: C.E. Fritzke, 1881.

he studied in Leipzig under Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, receiving his doctorate in 1883 with the dissertation *Proverbes et dictons du peuple arabe*.⁶ Being a pupil of Fleischer was something Landberg shared with Goldziher, and he often referred to this coincidence in his correspondence. In 1884, Landberg married Henriette Gabriele Hallberger (1850–1915), the daughter of a wealthy and successful publisher. In the same year he received the *titre de noblesse* “Count” (German: “*Graf*”) in Italy from King Umberto I; it is not entirely clear what the occasion for this honorific was.⁷ Landberg settled in Germany and lived partly in Stuttgart and in Tutzing, a beautiful summer retreat for the upper class at Starnberger See (Lake Starnberg), south of Munich. He often spent part of the summer undergoing medical treatments in German spa resorts or on sailing trips in Sweden, where he owned a yacht. During the winter seasons, he regularly traveled to Middle Eastern or North African destinations. Between 1888 and 1893, he served as the Swedish consul in Egypt. From 1894 on, he repeatedly visited Southern Arabia during the winter seasons.

His correspondence with Goldziher reveals a haunted man who often complained about nervousness and illness and who could not find enough time and energy for his academic studies. A rough sketch of Landberg’s travel activities in the year 1890 can serve as an example: On 15 October 1889, he traveled to Cairo via Rome with his wife.⁸ In February 1890, he wrote from Cairo that he has had visitors from the Swedish royal family and that he has been ill for two months.⁹ Only in May does he seem to leave Cairo and travel via Stuttgart to Tutzing to take care of his affairs there: the administration of his estate and

6 Hanstein, Thoralf, “Fleischers Promovenden,” in Hans-Georg Ebert and Thoralf Hanstein (eds.), *Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer—Leben und Wirkung: Ein Leipziger Orientalist des 19. Jahrhunderts mit internationaler Ausstrahlung*, Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2013, 313–342, here 332.

7 Some sources say that Landberg was raised to hereditary nobility by king Umberto I of Italy because he helped the population of Ischia after a large earthquake in 1883. Oskar II made his Italian title valid in Sweden. See Brendemoen, Bernt, “The Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, Held in Stockholm/Uppsala and Christiania (1–14 September 1889), and its echo in Turkish literature,” in Éva Á[gnes] Csátó et al. (eds.), *Turcologica Upsaliensia: An illustrated collection of essays*, Leiden: Brill, 2021, 129–144, here 131. Zetterstéen writes that Landberg was elevated to the rank of count because of his numerous and significant humanistic, diplomatic, and scientific merits for the Kingdom of Italy, see Zetterstéen, *Carlo Landberg* 19.

8 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 11 October 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/008.

9 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 10 February 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/029.

assets.¹⁰ In particular, he was responsible for the operation of the local brewery, the Schlossbrauerei. In August of the same year, however, he writes from Tutzing that he has just returned from a long sailing trip together with the sons of the Egyptian Khedive to the North Cape and will now start a spa treatment in Elgersburg (Thuringia).¹¹ In September 1890, he is already making new travel preparations for Cairo. He reports to Goldziher from Cairo in December: “State visit for two months now. I am absolutely jiggered!”¹²

The years 1899 and 1900 brought drastic changes for Landberg. His failed participation in the South Arabian expedition, which is discussed below, put a severe damper on his academic ambitions, and his divorce forced him to leave Tutzing. At least, he did not seem to have had any financial problems: for the rest of his life, he spent most of the year in Nice, leaving this place only for the summer to do some research in Munich or take a trip to Scandinavia. As an elderly man, he became an enthusiastic *automobiliste* and drove long distances from 100 to 150 km almost daily.¹³ From the correspondence with Goldziher emerges a picture of a man with various faces. Phases of restless work were followed by stages of sickness and years in which he managed to keep work and leisure in good balance.

Today, Carlo Landberg’s name is mainly associated with large collections of Arabic manuscripts that reached Leiden, Berlin, Princeton, New Haven, and Uppsala, partly through his mediation and partly through the sale of his own collections.¹⁴ Landberg’s scholarly output is, however, quite remarkable too, especially in the light of his manifold other activities and constant travels. Despite all the criticism and mutual hostility in which he was involved (or better: which he caused), Landberg became a respected researcher in the field of Arabic dialect studies. He was, however, more respected for the unceasing publication of linguistic documents he collected during his fieldwork than

10 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 3 May 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/033.

11 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 11 August 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/032.

12 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 23 December 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/031: “Seit 2 Monaten Staatsbesuch. Ich bin ganz kaputt!”

13 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 10 November 1911, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/117.

14 Rauch, Christoph, “‘Im Wettkampfe mit den Bibliotheken anderer Nationen’: Die Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin und der Erwerb arabischer Handschriftensammlungen zwischen 1850 und 1900,” in Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt (eds.), *Sammler—Bibliothekare—Forscher: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2022, 123–127, 135–140.



FIGURE 7.1 Portrait of Carlo Landberg (1887 or earlier)
PARIS, BNF

for his own philological conclusions. His best known and probably most-cited work is the *Glossaire daṭīnois*, a dictionary of dialects spoken in the sheikhdom of Dathīna in Southern Arabia.¹⁵ He published numerous linguistic studies on tribes in the interior of the Southern parts of Yemen.¹⁶ Much of Landberg's

15 Landberg, Carlo, *Glossaire daṭīnois*, 3 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1920–1942 (vol. 3 was edited posthumously by K.V. Zetterstéen).

16 Landberg, Carlo, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*. 1. Ḥaḍramoût; 2. Daṭīnah. *Textes et Traduction; Commentaire des textes prosaïques*; 3. Daṭīnah. *Commentaire des textes poétiques. Articles détachés et Indices*, Leiden: Brill, 1901–1913.

research was published between 1886 and 1898 in the five volumes of *Critica Arabica*, his publication series that also became a medium used to criticize colleagues through reviews written by him. This, together with his ostentatious personality, gained him many enemies. Some colleagues attested his boastful behavior if not outright imposture. Landberg had a confrontational attitude—his pleasure in attacking colleagues was coupled with his vulnerability when confronted with the scholarly shortcomings in his own character. Among Landberg's harshest critics was Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), who met Landberg in Leiden in 1883. Snouck, after initial friendly contact, was quickly convinced that Landberg was a braggart of low character marked by excessive ambition.¹⁷ In Snouck Hurgronje's opinion, the only possible explanation for the fact that Landberg was admitted to the circle of European Orientalists and met with such a servile attitude was his wealth.¹⁸ In the letters that Snouck Hurgronje wrote to Goldziher, he neither hid his contempt of the “swindling count,”¹⁹ nor his astonishment that Goldziher remained fond of this “characterless individual.”²⁰ But Goldziher remained committed to Landberg: “In loyalty to me, few can equal him,” he would write appreciatively in his diary a few years later.²¹

2 Landberg's First Encounter with Goldziher

Ignaz Goldziher was already a distinguished scholar when a grant from the university in Pest allowed him his first trip to the Middle East and North Africa in 1873. He stayed in Damascus for a while and later in Cairo, where he was able to enter a study circle in the al-Azhar University. In September 1873 Carlo Landberg, who visited Damascus to learn Arabic, was introduced to Goldziher at a lunch to which they both were invited. Landberg was a bit too self-confident to Goldziher's taste, as he noted later in his diary:

17 Letters Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 5 October 1883 and 12 August 1886, in Koningsveld, P. Sj. van (ed.), *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher. From the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest*, Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit, 1985, 12 and 69.

18 Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship* 199: letter Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 23 September 1899.

19 Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship* 161: German: *Schwindelgraf*.

20 Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship* 124–125: letter Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher, 15 November 1889.

21 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden: Brill, 1978, 177: “An Treuherzigkeit gegen mich kommen ihm wenige gleich.”

One day, one of the table companions, Mr. Hummel, introduced us to a young Swedish scholar coming from Italy, whose card showed the words “Carlo Landberg, Chevalier, chargé d’une mission scientifique”. A European colleague, then. He behaved a little too learned, but when during a conversation with me he realised that I was somewhat superior to him, he softened his tone and was sincere enough to ask me to give him lessons. In my teaching fanaticism, I gladly agreed, and so I taught Landberg some very elementary affairs of Arabic studies; I took him with me now and then when I visited Arabs, and he could not stop marvelling at how fluently I could speak to the people in their own language. As he confessed to me, the dream of his life now was to make it as far as I had made it.²²

Although Goldziher’s diary entry was written in retrospect, his travelogue reflects his immediate impression of Landberg’s capabilities and ambitions in a more pointed way: “God give him success, for apart from God, nobody can help him.”²³

To improve his knowledge of Arabic Landberg spent several more years in the Middle East and Egypt and took lessons from renowned scholars such as the Lebanese Yūsuf al-Asīr (1817–1889).

In 1882 Landberg moved to Leipzig. It was not only in the choice of his doctoral advisor, Fleischer, that he followed Goldziher. It was Goldziher who motivated him to pursue his Arabic philological studies seriously and intensely in the first place, as is clear from their correspondence: “I am happy to have your friendship, for you stand before me like a picture of my long life in the Orient.”²⁴ The encounter with Goldziher in Damascus in the year 1873 was the

22 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 63: “Eines Tages führte uns einer der Tischgenossen, Herr Hummel, einen aus Italien kommenden jungen schwedischen Gelehrten vor, dessen Karte die Worte sehen liess ‘Carlo Landberg, Chevalier, chargé d’une mission scientifique’. Also ein europäischer Fachgenosse. Derselbe trat wohl etwas zu gelehrt auf, aber als er in einem Gespräch mit mir merkte, dass ich ihm wohl einigermassen überlegen war, mässigte er den Ton, ja war aufrichtig genug, mich zu ersuchen, ihm Unterrichtsstunden zu erteilen. Darauf gieng ich in meinem Lehrfanatismus gerne ein und so habe ich denn Landbergen in sehr elementaren arabistischen Dingen Unterricht erteilt; ich führte ihn hin und wieder mit mir, wann ich arabische Besuche machte und da konnte er nicht genug darüber staunen, wie flüssig ich mit den Leuten in ihrer Sprache reden könne. Wie er mir gestand, war der Traum seines Lebens nun der, es so weit zu bringen, wie ich es gebracht habe.”

23 Patai, Raphael, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary: A Translation and Psychological Portrait*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987, 127.

24 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 11 October 1889: “Ich bin glücklich, Deine Freundschaft zu haben, denn du stehst mir wie ein Bild meines langen Lebens im Orient vor.”

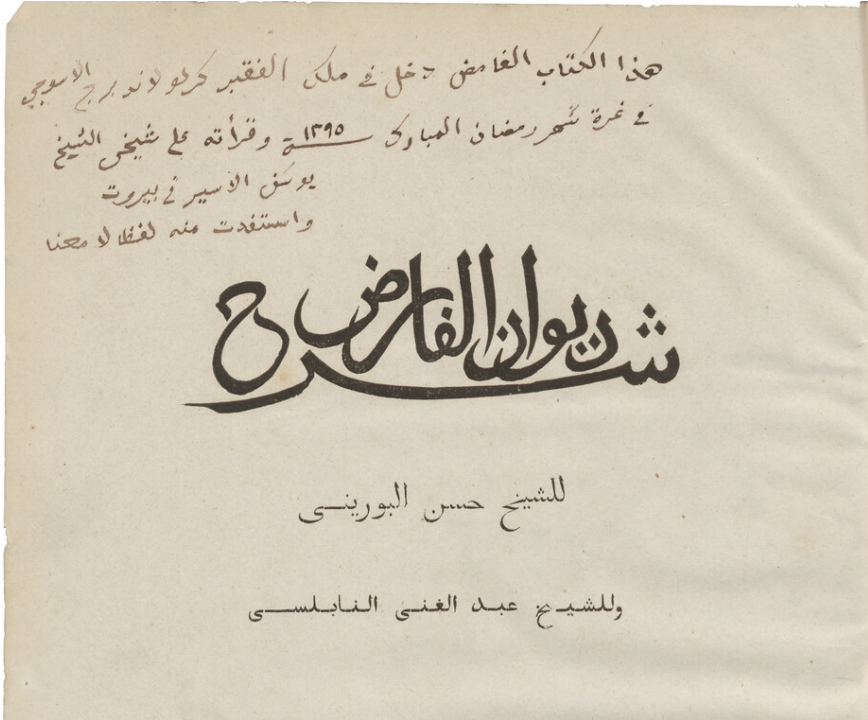


FIGURE 7.2 Reading note by Landberg in a printed copy of a commentary on *Dīwān* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, which he studied with Yūsuf al-Asīr in Beirut in 1295/1878
SBB-PK, ORIENTABTEILUNG, BIBL. FLEISCHER 248

beginning of a friendship between two very different characters. Even though they may have met in Europe on an occasional stopover, their connection solidified only many years later, when Goldziher became part of Landberg's spectacular staging of the Orientalist Congress in Scandinavia. As Goldziher fondly remembered this event for a long time afterward, it is discussed here in more detail.

3 The International Orientalist Congress in Stockholm/Christiania

Carlo Landberg was the secretary general of the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, which took place in Stockholm and Christiania (now Oslo) from 1 to 14 September 1889. He had already served as the Swedish delegate to the Seventh Congress in Vienna in 1886, where he had successfully secured Sweden's nomination. Landberg, who had been Swedish consul in Alexandria since 1888, was on good terms with the Swedish royal family. He accompanied members of

the royal family on several trips to Egypt and Turkey. King Oskar II gave Landberg all possible support to turn the Congress into an extremely lavish event for the time. Due to the Swedish union with Norway, the Congress opened in Stockholm on 1 September 1889 and continued in Christiania from 8 September, where all delegates were taken by special trains. The number of participants, 713, was much higher than at previous Congresses.²⁵ Another new feature was that a significant number of the conference participants came from African and Asian countries.²⁶ Among them was the Ottoman intellectual Aḥmed Miḥat Efendi (1844–1912), who published an account of his trip to Europe.²⁷ It was through Landberg's initiative, who at that time was one of the few Arabists who could fluently chat with Arabs in their language,²⁸ that this was the first congress to include Arabic as an official language. To Goldziher he wrote: "Yes, my mission is to establish firm, friendly relations with the Orient, and I will be lucky in this, as in many other things!"²⁹ With the internationality of the participants, Landberg certainly also pursued the goal of making the Congress a dazzling event. And he did not fail to achieve this goal. The elaborate conference and accompanying program, which included numerous lavishly organized dinners, receptions, and excursions, yielded detailed and enthusiastic reports in various newspapers. The *Schwäbischer Merkur*, a newspaper from Stuttgart, the official residence of the Landberg-Hallberger couple, featured a daily report

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- 25 The 1883 Leiden Congress officially had 454, and the 1886 Vienna Congress had 424 participants. See Weber, Albrecht, *Quousque tandem? Der achte internationale Orientalisten Congress; Und der neunte?* Berlin: Reuthers, 1891, 2. On the International Orientalist Congresses see Rabault-Feuerhahn, Pascale, "‘Les grandes assises de l’orientalisme’: La question interculturelle dans les congrès internationaux des orientalistes (1873–1912)," in Wolf Feuerhahn and Pascale Rabault-Feuerhahn (eds.), *La Fabrique internationale de la science: Les congrès scientifiques internationaux de 1865 à 1945 = Revue germanique internationale* 12 (2010), 47–67.
- 26 A complete list of participants was published in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet*, 9 September 1889, <https://www.nb.no/items/2d7c56a0e378c77a0a6204daca3e57c6?page=0> (last accessed 22 July 2023).
- 27 Brendemoen, "The Eighth International Congress" with further references given. For the impressions of the Egyptian delegation see Mitchell, Timothy, *Colonising Egypt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 1 and 7.
- 28 Landberg's frequent and constant relations with Arab scholars and sheikhs are well documented. His extensive correspondence with them is edited in Bā-Faḥīḥ, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir, *al-Mustashriqūn wa-āthār al-Yaman: Qiṣṣat al-mustashriq al-suwaydī al-Kaunt Kārūlū di Landbirg min khilāl murāsālāthi al-yamaniyyīn 1895–1911*, 2 vols., Ṣan'ā': Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḥūth al-Yamanī, 1988.
- 29 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 26 August 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/010: "Ja mein Ziel ist feste, freundschaftliche Beziehungen mit dem Orient anzuknüpfen, und ich werde darin wie in vielen andern Sachen Glück haben!"

by the German theologian Eberhard Nestle.³⁰ Ignaz Goldziher also wrote regularly about the Congress events in *Pester Lloyd*, a German-language Hungarian newspaper.³¹ The conference reports convey a vivid picture of the opulent celebrations and receptions that accompanied the scientific events and show the great public interest and the hospitality of the Scandinavians. In his conference report, Goldziher highlighted another objective the presence of Asians and Africans was supposed to achieve, namely, to increase the cultural and political influence of Europe in these continents.³²

However, the presence of these “Orientals,” as well as the extensive accompanying program,³³ provoked critics who would have liked the Occidental scholars to keep to themselves. In the eyes of the German Indologist Albrecht Weber, the “Orientals,” who according to his calculation accounted for 1/14 of the total number of participants, constituted a critical mass that “did not fail to assert itself in the most diverse ways.”³⁴ In addition to the public attention they attracted through their exotic dress, Weber was particularly annoyed by the fact that the “Orientals” were allowed to lecture in their national languages, “in nasal, mournful cadences, at times almost reminiscent of the meowing of a cat.”³⁵ In his view, their lectures were scientifically and culturally worthless. In contrast to Weber, Goldziher praised the scientific value of the lectures given in Arabic (seven in all), for instance, that of the Cairo-based reform scholar Ḥamza Faṭḥ Allāh (1849–1918) on the Arab women’s question.³⁶ Other Arabic lectures were devoted to Egyptian proverbs or the art of reciting Arabic poetry.

30 *Schwäbischer Merkur* 5, 6, 9–14, and 17 September 1889, <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/kxp776859692-1889> (last accessed 22 July 2023).

31 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress,” in *Abendblatt des Pester Lloyd* 204 (6 September 1889), *Beilage des Pester Lloyd* 249 (10 September 1889), 250 (11 September 1889), *Morgenblatt des Pester Lloyd* 254 (15 September 1889), and 255 (16 September 1889), <http://real.mtak.hu/id/eprint/127936> (last accessed 22 July 2023); reportages by various Orientalists, including Goldziher, were translated into Swedish and published in Nylander, Carl Uno, *Orientalistkongressen i Stockholm-Kristiania några skildringar från utlandet*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1890.

32 Goldziher, “Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress” 204.

33 The actual scientific conference work within the sections was limited to four to five hours each day. See Gradolt, Christian, “*Hvad vilja orientalisterne?*” *Idéer och konflikter vid den åttonde internationella orientalistkongressen i Stockholm och Kristiania 1889*, Stockholm (Bachelor thesis): Södertörn University 2019, 24 (<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn%3Anbn%3Ase%3Ash%3Adiva-40547>).

34 Weber, Albrecht, *Quousque tandem* 2.

35 Weber, *Quousque tandem* 3: “in nasalen, kläglichen, hier und da fast an das Miauen einer Katze erinnernden Cadenzen.”

36 Goldziher, “Vom Stockholmer Orientalisten-Kongress” 249.



NY ILLUSTRERAD TIDNING
 REDAKTÖR: OLOF GRÄNBERG

Nr 37. Tidningens tryck: Sveriges tryckeri i Stockholm.
 Tilläggen utkommer hvarje helgförlördag.
 För inlämnade manuskriften svaras ej.

STOCKHOLM d. 14 Sept. 1889.

Prenumerationspris: Helt år 2 kr., 1/2 år 1 kr., 1/4 år 50 ö.
 Lösningspriset 25 ö.
 Annonser: 25 ö. för raden för 1 lin., 40 ö. för 2 lin. och så vidare.

Årg. 25.

Egypter. De båda delegerade från Algier. Grefve Landberg. Grefvinnan Landberg. Moschin Khan. Armentier.
 FRÅN GREFVE CARLO LANDBERGS FEST Å "GRAND HOTEL" FÖR DEN 8:DE ORIENTALISTKONGRESSENS LEDAMÖTER.
 Teckning af VIKTOR ANDRÉN.

FIGURE 7.3 Count and Countess Landberg-Hallberger's party at the Grand Hotel in Stockholm
 ILLUSTRATION FROM *NY ILLUSTRERAD TIDNING*, SEPTEMBER 14, 1889

It might be fruitful to conduct a more thorough study of the organization, course, and reception of the Congress, for instance, with a view to the internationality of its participants and the consequent confrontation of the Orientalists with their “object of research.” Increasing imperialist tensions in Europe were also to be observed, erupting in particular in the disputes about the next venues and the future orientation of the Congress in terms of its program and venue.³⁷ That Germans were disproportionately represented in Stockholm and Christiania and that opening speeches at both venues were held in German was noted by observers.³⁸ Landberg liked to describe himself as a Germanophile.³⁹ The excursion to Uppsala by the Congress participants was accompanied by a ceremony at burial mounds attributed to the deities Frey, Thor, and Odin, in whose honor mead was served from drinking horns. According to Landberg’s plans, a gilded drinking horn was to be passed on to the presidents of future Orientalist congresses.⁴⁰ At this point, however, we must limit our discussion to Goldziher’s experiences in Scandinavia. Goldziher received a gold medal as the highest scientific award of the Congress from the hands of the Swedish king.⁴¹ The award was planned well in advance: In the year before, Landberg had written to Goldziher:⁴²

37 The openness with which Landberg met the “Orientals” should not obscure the fact that the focus of his interest was perhaps less on friendly relations with Africa and Asia than on the game played by the European powers. The Congress was perceived by many as dominated by Germany. A commission initiated under Landberg’s leadership, which, however, did not include Italy, France, England, or Russia, even suggested Cairo or Constantinople as the next venue for the Congress. Opposition was formed against this, one of whose main actors was Gottlieb Leitner, who spoke out strongly against Landberg’s Stockholm staging; see Gradolt, “*Hvad vilja orientalisterne?*” 28–31. See also Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 11 March 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/030.

38 Gradolt, “*Hvad vilja orientalisterne?*” 27–28.

39 Landberg, *Jeder tut was ihm passt* 9–10.

40 Brendemoen, “The Eighth International Congress” 135.

41 Theodor Nöldeke, who did not attend the Congress, was also awarded this prize. King Oskar II had advertised several prize contests on the occasion of the Congress. Goldziher submitted an essay on the history of Arab civilization before Muhammad. However, the jury, which apparently included Nöldeke himself, did not select a winner. The medals were thus independent of this competition.

42 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 15 November 1888, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/005: “In Stockholm werden Sie von Seite des König auf besondere Weise ausgezeichnet werden. Sie und alle werdet dann sehen was für ein Freund ich bin. Der König hat meinen Vorschlag bereits vollkommen angenommen und approbirt. Sie müssen also nicht fehlen. Als mein Gast kostet Ihnen der ganze Aufenthalt in Schweden und Norwegen nichts, und so gute und alte Freunde sind wir doch, daß Sie ohne [one word not readable] mir diese Freude der Ausübung der Gast إضافة gönnen können und wollen.”

In Stockholm, you will be honoured by the King in a special way. You and everyone will then see what a friend I am. The King has already fully accepted and approved my proposal. So you must not be absent. As my guest, your entire stay in Sweden and Norway will cost you nothing, and we are such good and old friends that you can and will provide me this pleasure of granting *إضافة*.⁴³

A few months later Landberg wrote: “Your medal is very beautiful. You see that the Damascene friend does not forget.”⁴⁴ On the basis of these quotations it becomes obvious that Goldziher’s award was part of Landberg’s overall staging of the Congress. It was due to his efforts that Goldziher found the Congress days so moving. He described the friendly attention and sympathetic interest in his scientific work shown to him by King Oskar II as “jubilee days of friendship” and “jubilee days of my scientific recognition.”⁴⁵ In a letter to his family, he expressed his overwhelming enthusiasm: “From now on, in my devotional hours, I also pray for the happiness of King Oskar II of Sweden. No one has ever been so kind to me, not even Moses Wahrmann.”⁴⁶ In contrast to the emotions this event stirred in Goldziher, he did not mention at all this personal conference highlight in his extensive newspaper reports—presumably, because he assumed that the award was a protest against his homeland.⁴⁷ Goldziher refers to the Congress several times in his diary, mostly in connection with situations in which he had to deal with humiliation. In December 1907, on the occasion of the King’s death he writes:

Today the news of the death of King Oskar of Sweden is in the newspapers. Gone now is the brazen serpent to which I have looked through many years when the bites of the wicked wanted to wound and poison me. I

43 *Iḍāfa*: Arabic for hospitality.

44 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 26 August 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/010: “Ihre Medaille ist sehr schön. Sie sehen, daß der Damascener Freund nicht vergisst.”

45 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 118–120: “Jubeltage der Freundschaft” and “Jubeltage meiner wissenschaftlichen Anerkennung.”

46 Schweitzer, József, “Briefe zu der Biographie von I. Goldziher,” in Robert Dán (ed.), *Occident and Orient: A Tribute to the Memory of Alexander Scheiber*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988, 353–359, here 355: letter Goldziher to his family, Stockholm, 2 September 1889: “Von nun ab bete ich in meinen andächtigen Stunden auch für das Glück König Oskars II von Schweden. So liebenswürdig war noch nie ein Mensch gegen mich, auch Moses Wahrmann nicht.” Moritz (Moses) Wahrmann (1832–1892) was the first Jewish parliamentarian in Hungary and president of the Jewish congregation in Pest between 1883–1892.

47 Schweitzer, “Briefe zu der Biographie” 355.

have nourished my soul with the memory of the benevolent gaze of which this noble majesty had once honoured me. I have bathed my spirit in this memory as if it were a well of consolation. What a boon this thought has been to me during the past 19 years!⁴⁸

Immediately after the Congress, however, Goldziher was criticized for having participated in this staging by Landberg. The Zionist and physician Max Nordau (1849–1923), for example, wrote to Goldziher in 1891 referring to the 1889 Congress: “One has feasted and caroused, not worked, promoted the disgracefully unworthy Count Landberg, licked the saliva of the vain fool Oskar II, and wanted to turn the free assembly into a closed guild that would have become a temple of Landberg.”⁴⁹

4 Ignaz Goldziher's Visits in Tutzing

The Scandinavian experience strengthened the friendship between Goldziher and Landberg and after the Congress they switched to the familiar form of address in their correspondence. From this point, Landberg now emphatically invited his friend to spend the summer with him in Tutzing. At the end of the nineteenth century, the villages around Starnberger See attracted numerous guests during the summer months. Aristocrats, artists, scholars, and other prominent people came to spend the holidays there. A popular meeting place for intellectuals was the villa of the famous Egyptologist and writer Georg Ebers (1837–1898), whom Goldziher is known to have greatly admired. The Landberg-Hallbergers also received many visitors. Goldziher followed Landberg's invitation in July 1894 and spent four weeks enjoying the favorable working conditions he was offered there for his academic studies:

48 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 258: “Heute geht die Botschaft vom Tode König Oskars von Schweden durch die Zeitungen. Dahin ist nun die eiserne Schlange, auf die ich durch viele Jahre geblickt, wenn mich die Bisse der Bösen verwunden und vergiften wollten. Ich habe meine Seele genährt von dem Andenken an den huldvollen Blick, dessen mich diese edle Majestät einst gewürdigt hatte. Und wie in einer Quelle des Trostes badete ich meinen Geist in dieser Erinnerung. Was hat mir dieser Gedanke in den letzten 19 Jahren wohlgethan!” See also 130–132, 189, and 206 for other references to Oskar II in the diary.

49 Scheiber, Alexander, “Max Nordau's Letters to Ignace Goldziher,” in *Jewish Social Studies* 18 (1956) 3, 199–207, here 204: “Man hat geschmaust und pokuliert, nicht gearbeitet, für den schmachvoll unwürdigen Grafen Landberg Reklame gemacht, des eiteln Narren Oskar II Speichel geleckt und die freie Versammlung in eine geschlossene Zunft verwandeln wollen, die ein Tempel Landbergs geworden wäre.”



FIGURE 7.4 Tutzing Castle around 1870, woodcut by Julius Lange

EAT BILDARCHIV

The most delicious thing I can enjoy here is my friend's fabulously rich Oriental library. About 1000 pieces of rare manuscripts and a collection of printed literature seldom found in such completeness are at my free disposal. As soon as I leave the breakfast table, I go into the library room, rummage and excerpt, revel and enjoy in the midst of this immense treasure.⁵⁰

During the summer of 1895, when Goldziher stayed in Tutzing a second time, he not only enjoyed working with Landberg's marvelous library but also benefited from listening to Arabic dialect poetry and tales recounted by the two Ḥaḍramīs Sa'īd 'Awāḍ from Shibam and Maṣṣūr Bā Drīs, who had traveled through

50 Goldziher, *Tagebuch 177*: "Das Köstlichste aber, was ich hier geniessen kann, ist die fabelhaft reichhaltige orientalische Fachbibliothek meines Freundes. An 1000 Stück seltener Handschriften und eine in solcher Vollständigkeit wohl selten vorkommende Sammlung der gedruckten Literatur steht zu meiner freien Verfügung. Sobald ich den Frühstückstisch verlasse, begeben mich in den Bibliotheksaal, wühle und excerpiere, schwelge und genieße inmitten dieses immensen Schatzes."



FIGURE 7.5
Muṭrib Saʿīd with his lute
 ILLUSTRATION FROM LANDBERG, CARLO, *CRITICA ARABICA*, VOL. III, LEIDEN: BRILL, 1895

Ḥaḍramawt for the past twenty years and, according to Landberg, knew all dialects of the region.⁵¹ Because Landberg did not enjoy the climate conditions and the food in Aden, he had convinced the two artists to travel with him to Cairo and later to Bavaria. Goldziher also found this convenient: “[...] the incessant daily contact with them [i.e., the Ḥaḍramīs], the lively penetration into their language, their songs, their world of ideas well outweighs a journey to Southern Arabia for me. I could hardly be as comfortable there as I have been with them here.”⁵² But the Ḥaḍramī visitors were just as uncomfortable with the German cold as Landberg disliked the climate in Aden, and in October 1895 he sent his guests home.⁵³ In 1896, Landberg and Goldziher edited a popular tale that emerged from a transcript of a session with the two Ḥaḍramīs, the legend of the monk Baršīšā.⁵⁴ Landberg endeavored to intensify scientific cooperation with Goldziher and asked him to jointly launch a journal titled *Revue de l’Orient musulman*, an idea that they did not follow up on, however.

51 Landberg, Carlo, *Critica Arabica*, vol. III, Leiden: Brill, 1895, 9–10.

52 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 193.

53 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 10 October 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/070.

54 Goldziher, Ignaz and Carlo Landberg, *Die Legende vom Mönch Baršīšā*, Kirchhain: Schmer-sow, 1896.

Let us return to Goldziher's summer impressions from 1894. Goldziher observed the behavior of the aristocratic summer visitors with a mixture of fascination and contempt: "The countesses and baronesses I accompany at the table, are still human beings. Not everybody can be a sponger or a Jewish clerk; there must be other people, too."⁵⁵ Goldziher feels exotic among the aristocratic summer guests, who constitute an entirely different world, in which the "refinement of manners" is paramount. Among the many aristocrats and prominent guests at Tutzing Castle whom Goldziher describes in his diary were Count Levetzow of Mecklenburg (1855–1921) with his wife, the wife of Court Marshal Eduard von Liebenau (1840–1900), an educator and military advisor of Emperor Wilhelm II, and the former Egyptian Foreign Minister Tigrane Pasha (d. 1904). Landberg proved to be an extremely gracious host. He always introduced Goldziher as his best friend and prepared a "royal life" for him. The guests, and especially Landberg's wife, the countess, gave him the feeling that their respectful behavior toward him as a Jew was an exception:

The countess was an uppity lady who, despite her education and knowledge of the world, suffers from a superficial world view. She is absorbed in vain luxury and sports, finds her ideal in life in the "refinement of manners" and also judges her fellow human beings from this point of view. She seems to make an exception for me. Undoubtedly steeped in anti-Semitism, she makes every effort to do me honour.⁵⁶

Occasionally, discussions arose in which ideas about the racial characteristics of the Jews and their aspired world domination were expressed. Anti-Semitic remarks would be concluded with a statement in Goldziher's direction: "Of course you are not meant, you are an exception; for you we have the highest respect and nothing we say includes you."⁵⁷ Goldziher's diary entries of those

55 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 178: "Die Comtessen und Baronessen, die ich zu Tische führe, sind ja trotzdem Menschen. Es kann nicht jeder ein Schnorrer sein, oder ein jüdischer Vorsteher; es muss auch andere Leute geben."

56 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 176: "Die Gräfin war eine hochnäsige, trotz ihrer Bildung und Weltkenntnis an Oberflächlichkeit der Weltanschauung leidende Dame, die in eitel Luxus und Sport aufgeht und ihr Lebensideal in der 'Feinheit der Manieren' findet, und auch ihre Nebenmenschen von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus beurtheilt, scheint mit mir eine Ausnahme zu machen. Unzweifelhaft antisemitisch durchdrungen, giebt sie sich alle Mühe, mir Ehre zu erweisen."

57 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 180: "Sie sind natürlich nicht gemeint, Sie bilden eine Ausnahme; vor Ihnen haben wir die höchste Achtung und nichts, was wir sagen, kann Sie mit einbeziehen."

days are not only a vivid testimony of his friendship to Landberg, but also of the normality, banality, and ubiquity of anti-Semitic attitudes in the circles Landberg lived in.

5 First Signs of Landberg's Anti-Semitic Attitudes

With the founding of the German Empire in 1871, legal equality for Jewish Germans was established for the first time. In interaction with an economic crisis in the early 1870s, this equality paradoxically fuelled anti-Semitism and the spread of anti-Jewish stereotypes. The Christian Social Workers' Party, founded in 1878 by Adolf Stoecker (1835–1909), became the rallying point for various anti-Semitic currents. At the same time, the historian Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896), who triggered the so-called anti-Semitism controversy and whose abbreviated quote “Die Juden sind unser Unglück!”⁵⁸ was to achieve sad fame during the Nazi era, was teaching in Berlin. The strong politicization of anti-Jewish tendencies in the late nineteenth century meant that basic anti-Semitic attitudes permeated all strata of society.⁵⁹ Anti-Jewish debates also developed in Oriental studies, which of course could not always be lumped together with a de Lagarde-style anti-Semitism, but rather moved on a philological level, as in the case of the Babel–Bible dispute triggered by Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922) over the Babylonian roots of the Old Testament.⁶⁰

Soon after Goldziher left the summer idyll of Tutzing, Landberg already missed his friend and expressed this in his own peculiar way: “I long to see you and if you don't come, I will become a raging anti-Semite.”⁶¹ A month later, he writes:

58 “The Jews are our misfortune!”

59 See the chapter “Das Kaiserreich als antisemitische Konsensgesellschaft” in Schäfer, Peter, *Kurze Geschichte des Antisemitismus*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 2020, 202–213. However, Christoph Nonn convincingly argues that this “consensus” did not exist in the German Empire, see the chapter “Antisemitismus im deutschen Kaiserreich,” in Nonn, Christoph, *12 Tage und ein halbes Jahrhundert: Eine Geschichte des deutschen Kaiserreichs 1871–1918*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 2020, 396–406.

60 Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva and Thomas L. Gertzen, *Der Babel-Bibel-Streit und die Wissenschaft des Judentums: Beiträge einer internationalen Konferenz vom 4. bis 6. November 2019 in Berlin*, Münster: Zaphon, 2021.

61 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 22 October 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/061: “Ich sehne mich sehr nach Dir, wenn wir uns nicht bald sehen können, werde ich ein rasender Antisemit.”

I am becoming more and more convinced that you are really a Jew, you have many traits of your race. Restless work day and night without having a break, a production addiction out of all proportion to the yield, the consequences of which are nervousness, poor health, bulging eyes, crooked legs and bad feet. Do you think this is good? Why will you not adopt some of the Christian attributes? A sedate life with a cigar in your mouth, a *dolce far niente* in the family, reading a Zola novel now and then, and only occasionally, decently, a book on the electro-magnetic forces of the transcendental emanation of the heat of the sun, so as not to fall completely & utterly into the جاهلية.⁶² That would be something for you. You forget your duties as a father and husband. Life is beautiful in itself and does not need to be decorated by book advertisements craving validation and pompous academic speeches. You are addicted to decoration, want to become a famous man, which you already are, and forget that you only live once and that the body is a clockwork that always needs to be mended and repaired. Through all the sitting, your عيز⁶³ has grown to a truly gigantic proportion. In the Orient you would certainly be very lucky as a *demoiselle*. That is a consequence of your erudition. I warn you against overexertion. I too have been feeling it in the highest degree for some months.⁶⁴

62 Jähiliyya: Qur'anic term for the era of pre-Islamic Arab paganism, here in the meaning of "ignorance."

63 Ījz: *buttocks*. The Arabic term is not entirely legible in the letter. Landberg first wrote a word that started with عَج but obviously he got the third letter wrong, so he crossed it out and started again, this time omitting the second letter, ج.

64 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 24 November 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/062: "Ich werde mehr & mehr davon überzeugt, daß du wirklich ein Jude bist, du hast viele Charakterzüge deiner Rasse. Rastlose Arbeit bei Tag & Nacht ohne Ausruhen, eine Produktionssucht, die in keinem Verhältnis zur Ausbeute steht, & deren Folgen Nervosität, schlechte Gesundheit, ausstehende Augen, krumme Beine & schlechte Füße sind. Findest Du das schön? Warum willst Du nicht etwas von den christlichen Eigenschaften annehmen? Behäbiges Leben mit der Zigarre im Mund, ein *dolce far niente* in der Familie, ab & zu die Lektüre eines Zola'schen Romans & nur zuweilen anständigerweise, ein Buch über die elektro-magnetischen Kräfte der transcendentalen Emanation der Sonnenhitze, um nicht ganz & gar der جاهلية zu verfallen. Das wäre etwas für dich. Du vergißt deine Pflichten als Vater & Ehemann. Das Leben ist doch schön an & für sich & braucht nicht von reclamesüchtigen Bücherannoncen & hochtrabenden Akademiereden ausstaffiert zu werden. Du hast die Decorationssucht, willst ein berühmter Mann werden, was Du schon bist, & vergißt dabei, daß man nur einmal lebt & daß der Körper ein Uhrwerk ist, das stets geflickt & repariert werden muß. Durch das viele Sitzen ist Dein عيز zu einer wahrhaft riesenhaften Proportion angewachsen. Im Orient würdest Du als *demoiselle* sicher viel Glück haben. Das ist eine Folge deiner Belesenheit.

These sentences cannot fail to cause a certain unease in the reader. Such statements show not only Landberg's temperament but also a tendency to vulgarity. Complemented by Goldziher's diary entries, these statements also reveal how strongly the social milieu Landberg was part of was permeated by anti-Semitic prejudices and clichés. Landberg's anti-Semitic attitude took an even clearer shape some years later, a development that became evident during the 1898/99 South-Arabian expedition and the affront, insults, and public humiliation to which Landberg felt exposed after his resignation and the partial failure of this venture.

6 The Catalyst of Landberg's Anti-Semitism: The Expedition to Southern Arabia 1898/99

As a result of important research by scholars, such as David Heinrich Müller (1846–1912) or his student Eduard Glaser (1855–1908), Austria was a center of South Arabian studies at the end of the nineteenth century. During the International Orientalist Congress in Vienna in 1886, where he was the Swedish representative, Landberg had already established relations with the Austrian Academy of Sciences. In the spring of 1897, Carlo Landberg presented his request to the Austrian Academy of Sciences to equip an Austrian navy ship for a research expedition to Southern Arabia. The aim of the expedition was to penetrate the interior of the country from Aden to Shabwa and then to explore the island of Soqatra. The Academy agreed to do so. In addition to results in the field of linguistics and a rich yield of inscriptions, the parties involved also hoped to gain findings relevant for the natural sciences.⁶⁵

The planned expedition was a costly undertaking, which Carlo Landberg also supported financially. Through the mediation of Oskar II, a Swedish ship could be chartered, as other offers proved too expensive. Landberg emphasized to the Academy his particular suitability for this undertaking, his very good knowledge of the region, and his excellent connections, expecting to become leader of the expedition. Perhaps not surprising, however, the Austrian Academy of Sciences wanted an Academy member to lead the expedition



Ich warne Dich vor Überanstrengung. Auch ich fühle es seit einigen Monaten im höchsten Grad."

65 The preparation and the course of the expedition is described in detail in Sturm, Gertraud, *David Heinrich Müller und die südarabische Expedition der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1898/99: Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Darstellung aus Sicht der Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015, 103–182.

1562 45318

Sekretariat
des
Herrn Grafen von Landberg-Hallberger.

Schloss Fultzing, den 24/11 1895

Lieber Syngas!

Deinen Brief habe ich schon bekommen & will
ich sofort beantworten. Ich würde mich so sehr
sicher überzeugt, daß du wirklich ein Held bist
du hast viele Charakterzüge Deiner Rasse. Richtig
Ordnung bei uns, nach dem Bedürfnis, ein Fortschritt
sich, du in keinem Verhältnis zur alten Welt
& von deinen Hauptzügen, welche hauptsächlich aus
sichere Ordnung, keinen Grimm & welche Liebe sind.
Sindst du ein Mann? Warum willst du nicht
etwas von den wichtigsten Eigenschaften annehmen?
Beschäftige dich mit der Sprache in Wien, ein
dabei für meine in der Familie, ab zu den hal-
ben nicht Lohne für Romant & mir zu werden
ausdrücklicher Weise, ein Brief über die elektrische-
mischen Punkte der menschlichen Evolution zu

FIGURE 7.6 Letter from Landberg to Goldziher, 24 November 1895
BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GIL/24/15/062

and appointed David Heinrich Müller in addition to Landberg. Müller was from Galicia and had received a traditional Jewish education in his home region before enrolling at the University of Vienna, where he began an exemplary career as an Orientalist and became one of the most respected researchers in the field of Semitic philology.⁶⁶ Landberg had first met him at the Orientalist Congress in Stockholm in 1889, where, on Landberg's initiative, Müller had been awarded the Swedish Order of the Polar Star for his scientific achievements.

The Academy in Vienna decided that Landberg was only to be in charge of the excursion into the interior of Southern Arabia. Landberg was not very enthusiastic about this decision, especially as Müller insisted on accompanying the expedition to Inner Arabia. The leadership dispute affected the enterprise from the beginning. Landberg continued to claim in public that he was the sole director. He also pointed out on several occasions that Müller, as a Jew, would get into trouble in South Arabia.⁶⁷

On 14 November 1898, the expedition members arrived in Aden and shortly afterward set off by ship for Balḥaf to move forward from there to 'Azzān. Here, the further expedition into the interior, which should have led the travelers to Shabwa, was abandoned. The reason for this was the lack of safety guarantees and disagreement among the expedition leaders on how to proceed. It turned out that Landberg's knowledge of the country was insufficient and mainly based on statements made by his Aden acquaintances. After the failure to reach Inner Arabia under Landberg's guidance and many controversies with his co-travelers, he was dismissed. In December 1898, leadership of the expedition was entirely entrusted to D.H. Müller. After receiving permission from the British Gouverneur, the group headed to Soqotra, where they successfully executed their research. Landberg returned to Europe.

On his return, Landberg found that the Austrian press had already turned against him and portrayed him as incompetent. At first, the Academy did not comment publicly on the events. Landberg now hurried to present his view of things.⁶⁸ In his writings, he raised serious accusations against other parti-

66 Procházka, Stephan, "Müller, David Heinrich Freiherr von," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 18, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1997, 354–355.

67 See Sturm, *David Heinrich Müller* 134–135.

68 Landberg, Carlo, *Die Südarabische Expedition der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien und das Vorgehen des Prof. Dr. David Heinr. Müller: Actenmässig dargestellt von Dr. C. Graf Landberg*, Munich: Franz, 1899; Landberg, Carlo, *Die Expedition nach Süd-Arabien: Bericht an die Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, als Manuskript gedruckt*. Munich: Seitz & Schauer, 1899; Landberg, Carlo, *Die Hunde von 'Azzân und ihre Bestrafung durch die Engländer: Eine Erinnerung an die südarabische Expedition*, Munich: Straub, 1903.

participants in the expedition, especially Müller. According to Landberg, one of the reasons for the failure of the expedition was Müller's refusal to hide his Jewish identity after the expedition arrived in Aden by going straight to a synagogue. Then again, the other expedition members later accused Landberg of spreading the information of Müller's Jewishness among the Arabs. Müller hastened to put his view of things into print as well.⁶⁹ Landberg saw his reputation and his hopes of becoming a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences dwindling. To his view, it was the (Jewish) press in Vienna that ruined his reputation. Landberg was particularly upset that the smear campaign did not stop at the Austrian border: An article full of accusations against him appeared in the *Svenska Dagbladet* on 26 April.⁷⁰ Landberg assumed that the publication of this article was also controlled by the Viennese press.⁷¹

Following the failed expedition, Landberg's attitude toward Judaism increasingly became a subject of correspondence with Goldziher. Landberg apparently felt summoned to position himself on several occasions: "I am not an enemy of the Jews, I have probably proven this to you repeatedly, but my wife is."⁷² "My friendship for you always remains the same, and I am not an anti-Semite."⁷³ "Always rely on my friendship: It stands firm and my anti-Semitism is solely limited to D.H. Müller!"⁷⁴ From Landberg's reply to a letter from the same year that, like most of Goldziher's letters, probably did not survive, we can deduce that Goldziher accused him of increasing hostility toward Jews and asked Landberg why he would no longer invite him to Tutzing. Landberg admitted that his wife hated Jews and that she accused him, Landberg, of socializing with the "dirty Jews." Another reason he stated was his marital crisis, which made life in Tutzing almost unbearable for him.⁷⁵ Landberg beseeched Goldzi-

69 Müller, David Heinrich, *Die südarabische Expedition der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien und die Demission des Grafen Carlo Landberg*, Vienna: Braumüller, 1899.

70 A German translation was published by Landberg, *Die Südarabische Expedition 168–170* (the date is incorrectly given there as 27 April).

71 Landberg, *Die Südarabische Expedition* viii, 168.

72 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 17 March 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/100: "Ich bin kein Judenfeind, so habe ich dir wohl wiederholt bewiesen, aber meine Frau ist es."

73 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 27 April 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/099: "Meine Freundschaft für dich bleibt immer dieselbe, und ich bin kein Antisemit."

74 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 20 August 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/097: "Verlasse dich immer auf meine Freundschaft: die steht fest und mein Antisemitismus beschränkt sich nur auf D.H. Müller!"

75 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 17 March 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/100.

her to visit him and join him on his yacht in Sweden or at least to meet with him in Vienna to discuss his marital problems, disclosing intimate information in his letters and inserting explosive details, for example, about his wife's infidelity, in Arabic.⁷⁶

Three years later, after Goldziher had repeatedly expressed his displeasure with Landberg's attitude and characterized it as unbecoming for a scholar, Landberg replied with a much more radical statement:

I have become an anti-Semite, I was not before, but I have never had anything to do with a Jew without experiencing unpleasantness. I do make distinctions and do not extend my antipathy to old friends. But I no longer associate with Jews. They are too boastful, domineering, scheming and inconsiderate for me. From the Jews we have taken their Babylonian astral myths, their anthropomorphic vengeful god, their theory of revelation and redemption, transferred to the Jew Jesus, their legends which were supposed to represent history. All this is still taught by rabbis and Jews, as well as by priests and state churches, and has made men slaves to a lie. Now you know what I think and have thought for a long time, and if you do not want to have relations with the "uneducated man" because of this, you are free to do so. I need no one, and can go my way alone. Millions still think as I do, but they seldom have the courage to say so.⁷⁷

Landberg's publications are now full of anti-Jewish clichés and resentments.⁷⁸ He even traces back the existence of the numerous stone inscriptions in South-

76 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 16 May 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/098.

77 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 26 October 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/105: "Ich bin Antisemit geworden, ich war es nicht früher, aber ich habe nie mit einem Juden zu tun gehabt ohne Unannehmlichkeiten zu erfahren. Ich mache doch Unterschiede und dehne meine Antipathie nicht auf alte Freunde aus. Aber ich verkehre nicht mit Juden mehr. Sie sind mir zu prahlerisch, herrschsüchtig, zu intrigant und rücksichtslos. Von den Juden haben wir ihre babyl. Astralmythen, ihren anthropomorphischen Rache-Gott, ihre Offenbarungs- und Erlösungstheorie, auf den Juden Jesus übertragen, ihre Legenden, die Geschichte darstellen sollten übernommen. Alles das ist von Rabbinern und Juden, sowie von Priestern und Staatskirchen noch gelehrt und hat die Menschen zu Sklaven einer Lüge gemacht. Jetzt kennst Du, was ich denke und lange gedacht habe, und willst du mit dem 'ungebildeten Menschen' deshalb keine Beziehungen haben, so steht es dir frei. Ich brauche Niemand, und kann meinen Weg allein gehen. So wie ich denken noch Millionen, aber sie haben selten den Mut, es zu sagen."

78 This was also criticized by other Orientalists. See, e.g., Theodor Nöldeke's review of Landberg, *La langue arabe* in ZDMG 59 (1905), 412–419. The German Semitist Hans Stumme

ern Arabia to the essential characteristic of the Semitic race and thus forms a link to European Jews of his time: “A distinctive feature of the Semitic peoples is precisely their habit of scratching paper, or rather stone. [...] Do we not still see today the Semites of Europe, the Jews, dominating the press, the theater and literature: The Jew is born a writer; he has remained a Semite, despite his European education.”⁷⁹

7 Goldziher's Reactions

How did Goldziher deal with this? Unfortunately, no drafts of Goldziher's correspondence to Landberg have been preserved in the Hungarian Academy, but fortunately a few of Goldziher's letters have survived in Landberg's legacy in Uppsala.⁸⁰ Three letters date from 1909, when Landberg published the second volume of his *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*. Goldziher, while acknowledging Landberg's tremendous work for this volume, comes down hard on his friend. Besides pan-Babylonian views,⁸¹ he is particularly disturbed by the unscientific and vulgar statements about the sexuality of the Arabs.⁸² But above all, he is annoyed by his friend's anti-Semitic statements:

And one more thing. Why do you always drag out anti-Jewish phrases when they don't fit into the context and don't belong at all to the subject under discussion? What does South Arabian philology have to do with it? Is this also in the interest of science? Do you feel comfortable vying with

(1884–1936) writes in his review: “Nur daß L. gelegentlich zu sehr persönlich-angreifend auftritt, will mir nicht recht gefallen,—auch die Angriffe auf die Rasse nehmen sich nicht gut aus. Aber der Deutsche braucht sich nicht zu beklagen, denn Landberg bringt Deutschland und deutscher Gelehrsamkeit die wärmste Verehrung entgegen.” See Stumme, Hans, “[Review of] *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale* par le Comte de Landberg,” in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 171 (1909), 881–892, here 883.

79 Landberg, Carlo, *La langue arabe et ses dialectes: Communication faite au xiv^e Congrès International des Orientalistes à Alger*, Leiden: Brill, 1905, 7: “Un trait distinctif des peuples sémitiques, c'est justement leur manie de gratter le papier, ou plutôt la pierre. [...] Ne voyons-nous pas encore aujourd'hui les Sémites d'Europe, les Juifs, dominer la presse, le théâtre et la littérature: le juif est né écrivain; il est resté sémite, malgré son éducation européenne.”

80 The preserved material forms a collection of five letters and three postcards written between 1886 and 1919.

81 Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes*, II 375 *passim*.

82 Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes*, II 856.

General Mercier and Walsin-Esterhazy?⁸³ Is this good company for an ethically sound person? What were you thinking, for example, on [page] 1220 [line] 6 [from the bottom]? How is it relevant for a scientific discussion whether two people who have different opinions with regard to the etymology of كَرِب are co-religionists [on page] 645, is that a scientific point of view? Why does it not occur to you to note in a polemic between Socin and Praetorius⁸⁴ that they are both Lutherans? On the one hand, the glorification of the *séparation* in France, on the other, the patronization of medieval points of view, which may still be applauded today by mentally retarded people and moral cripples.

It hurts my soul to read such things from the pen of one of my most intimate early friends. I am the child of Orthodox Jewish parents and can say that if there is any virtue in me, I owe it to my Jewish upbringing. And now I, who have experienced and suffered enough hardship and injustice in the world, must read the quite unjust mockery of myself (for I refer everything to myself) in a monumental work on South-Arabian philology, far-fetched as it is (for it really does not belong to the subject) at every turn from the pen of my best friend? You will grant me that I have the right to say this and that I am obliged not to conceal this sentiment. ان الدين لنصيحة⁸⁵

[...]

So dear Carlo, do better! Do not be a Jew-eater,⁸⁶ or better: do not give yourself the appearance of one in your writings, for you are not one at all. And learn to understand that it causes me pain and sorrow to see you like this.⁸⁷

83 Goldziher refers to the French general and minister of war Auguste Mercier (1833–1921) and the French officer Ferdinand Walsin-Esterhazy (1847–1923). Both were protagonists in the Dreyfus affair.

84 Goldziher refers to the orientalist Albert Socin (1844–1899) and Franz Praetorius (1847–1927).

85 *Inna al-dīn la-naṣīḥa* (“for religion is to give advice”), reference to a *ḥadīth* of the prophet Muhammad.

86 “Judenfresser” (English: *Jew-eater*) was a popular term for anti-Semites among advocates of Jewish emancipation in the second half of the nineteenth century. Landberg himself also uses this term, saying that Müller made him out to be a “Judenfresser.” Landberg defends himself by referring to his numerous Jewish friends, and that his best friend was a Hungarian Jew (i.e., Goldziher), see Landberg, *Die Südarabische Expedition* 172.

87 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Carlo Landberg*, 25 January 1909, Uppsala University Library, G146: “Und noch eins. Wozu zerrst Du immer, wo es auch gar nicht in den Zusammenhang passt und überhaupt nicht zu dem verhandelten Gegenstand gehört, judenfeindliche Phrasen herbei? Was hat die südarabische Philologie damit zu thun? Ist dies auch im

Landberg can do little to counter Goldziher's eloquent and emotional criticism and justifies himself by saying that he only hates certain, individual Jews, such as Müller or Glaser, but finds Jews like him, Goldziher, very sympathetic. His further remarks are also unlikely to convince Goldziher:

You are my oldest German friend, that is true, and I have no reason not to treat you as such. You scold me because I am a pain in the neck to the Jews, but I am just as much a pain in the neck to the Christians and other religious comrades. I look at everything only from the historical point of view. Of course, there are Jews I hate, you know them, but there are even more Christians I find even worse.⁸⁸

Landberg is now firmly caught up in his anti-Semitic worldview, which developed over the years. Goldziher finds himself in the position of the tolerated

Interesse der Wissenschaft? Thut es dir wohl, mit General Mercier und Walsin-Esterhazy zu wetteifern? Ist das eine Gesellschaft für einen ethisch korrekten Menschen? Was hast Du dir z.B. bei 1220,6 v.u. gedacht? Welchen Zusammenhang kann es mit einer wissenschaftlichen Verhandlung haben, ob zwei Leute die mit Bezug auf die Etymologie von كَرِبَ verschiedene Meinungen haben, correligionnaires sind (645), ist das ein wissenschaftlicher Gesichtspunkt? Warum kommt es dir nicht in den Sinn, bei einer Polemik von Socin und Praetorius zu bemerken, daß sie beide Lutheraner sind? Auf der einen Seite die Glorification der séparation in Frankreich, auf der anderen die Patronisierung mittelalterlicher Gesichtspunkte, die heute vielleicht noch bei geistig zurückgebliebenen Menschen und sittlichen Krüppeln Beifall finden. Mir thut es in der Seele weh, aus der Feder eines meiner intimsten Jugendfreunde solche Dinge zu lesen. Ich bin das Kind orthodox-jüdischer Eltern und kann sagen daß ich, wenn irgend eine Tugend in mir steckt, sie meiner jüdischen Erziehung zu verdanken habe. Und nun muss ich, der ich Unbill und Ungerechtigkeit genug in der Welt erfahren und erlitten habe, die ganz ungerechte Verhöhnung meiner selbst (denn ich beziehe alles auf mich selbst) in einem monumentalen Werk über südarab. Philologie bei den Haaren herbeigezogen (denn zum Gegenstand gehört's doch bei Leibe nicht) auf Schritt und Tritt aus der Feder meines besten Freundes lesen? Du wirst mir zugestehen, daß ich im Rechte bin, dies zu sagen und daß ich verpflichtet bin, diese Empfindung nicht zu verschweigen. *أَنْ الدِّينَ لِنَصِيحَةٍ*. [...] Also lieber Carlo, bessere dich! Sei kein Judenfresser, oder besser: gebe dir in deinen Schriften nicht den Anschein eines solchen, denn du bist es ja gar nicht. Und lerne es begreifen, daß es mir Schmerz und Kummer bereitet, dich so zu sehen."

88 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Munich, 6 August 1909, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/068: "Du bist ja mein ältester deutscher Freund, das ist wahr, und ich habe gar keinen Grund, dich nicht als solchen zu behandeln. Du schimpfst über mich, weil ich den Juden auf den Leib gehe, aber ich gehe ebensoweit den Christen und anderen Religionsgenossen auf den Leib. Ich betrachte alles nur aus dem historischen Gesichtspunkt. Freilich giebt es Juden, die ich hasse, du kennst sie, aber es giebt noch mehr Christen, die ich noch schlimmer finde."

geben. Das dein Band keinen Index hat, ist
 unweigerlich. Wie soll man da nachkloppen und
 den Reichtum des Inhalts auch später benutzen
 können? Das ist unabhängig vom „Glossar“ = Ich
 fürchte, daß wir darauf wieder 2-3 Jahre warten
 müssen. Vorigen Herbst habe ich in Vöppingen (wo
 ich mich sehr wohl gefühlt habe) Zettersteens kennen
 gelernt. Das ist ein sehr tüchtiger Mann. Von
 Schweden sehe ich jetzt noch nur mit Professor
 Loederblom in schriftlichem Verkehr, mit dem
 ich religionsgeschichtliche Aushandlungen habe.

Also, lieber Carlo, besinne dich! Sei kein
 Judenfresser, oder besser: gebe dir in deinen Schriften
 nicht den Anschein eines solchen; denn, me Herde!
 da bist es ja gar nicht. Und lerne es begreifen, daß es
 mir Schmerz und Kummer bereitet, dich so zu sehen.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen dein alter Freund

Meine l. Frau erwiedert
 الدنيا

اجناس الجوى
 الازهرى
 ؟

FIGURE 7.7 Letter from Goldziher to Landberg, 25 January 1909, Uppsala University Library, G146 (detail)

exception to Landberg, a position he already had in 1894 amid the other summer guests at Tutzing castle. Despite all this, he holds on to his relationship with Landberg. Too valuable are the shared memories, and perhaps also Landberg's flattery and euphoric expressions of friendship over the many years, which can be traced very well in the letters. The few letters that have survived from Goldziher attest to a deep connection with Landberg, to whom he frankly speaks his mind and communicates his feelings. With the beginning of the White Terror in Hungary and the associated pogroms in August 1919, Goldziher experiences at first hand the barbaric consequences of the growing anti-Semitic sentiment in Budapest.⁸⁹ However, as late as October 1919, Landberg receives a lengthy letter in which an exhausted Goldziher, weakened by illness, draws a sad summary of his life and concludes with the hope of soon hearing from Landberg again in greater detail.⁹⁰ The last surviving letter is a New Year's greeting from Landberg for the year 1921 with the announcement of the publication of the first volume of the *Glossaire daïnois*, which Goldziher had repeatedly and vehemently encouraged as a completion of Landberg's scholarly work.⁹¹

8 Conclusions

Landberg was an ambitious Arabist. As an independent scholar, unaffiliated with any institution, it was of great importance for him to gain acceptance in the professional community through activities such as organizing the Orientalist Congress in Scandinavia. Close relationships with respected and internationally networked colleagues also served this purpose. Goldziher was the central figure for Landberg in this regard, for he was one of the few scholars who regarded Landberg's escapades and idiosyncrasies—up to a certain limit—with indulgence. At their first meeting in Damascus, Goldziher succumbed to Landberg's charming efforts to befriend him. But the fact that both called the other a best friend and that their friendship survived professional differences of opinion as well as Landberg's fierce anti-Semitic outbursts can only be explained by the genuine sympathy that both must have had for each other.

89 Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 312–313.

90 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Carlo Landberg*, 28 October 1919, Uppsala University Library, G 146.

91 Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Nice, 4 January 1921, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/152.

It is precisely the fact that Landberg stood outside academic institutions that makes his biography so interesting to the history of scholarship from today's perspective. His academic independence, his prominent social position, and his financial independence allowed Landberg to articulate his opinions relatively free of constraints, uninhibited, and without corrective. In the history of the discipline, numerous sources on imperialist and colonial entanglements in Oriental studies remain to be examined. The publications, correspondence, and activities of the Germanophile and anti-Semitic Arabist Carlo Landberg, who was active on the international stage, provide an example.

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Arabicae Investigationes in the Correspondence between Carlo Alfonso Nallino and Ignaz Goldziher, 1893 through 1920

Valentina Sagaria Rossi

1 Carlo Alfonso Nallino and His Scholarship

Carlo Alfonso Nallino¹ was born in Turin in 1872. His father was a chemistry teacher from Piedmont and his mother was from Lombardy. As a young boy he moved with his parents to Udine, where he attended elementary and middle school. When hardly more than an adolescent—in a period during which colonial expansion surged, in particular, the Italian occupation of Massawa in 1885—he began to study geography and cartography on his own, spurred by a precocious desire to travel and learn about regions lesser known to Europeans, such as Central Africa. The family’s cultured home environment, open to the influence of positivism, combined with his father’s rigorous approach to education, stimulated the young Nallino’s interest in the history of Arabic science. With the help of evening classes, he quickly mastered the most widely spoken European languages and also tried his hand at a broad range of Middle Eastern languages, such as Hebrew, Aramaic, Syrian, Persian, and Turkish, as well as Ethiopian and Armenian, later reflected in his propensity to quote from them.

1 The most comprehensive and in-depth contribution to the figure, formation, and work of Nallino is Giorgio Levi Della Vida’s “Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Oriente Moderno* 18 (1938), 459–482, with a bibliography of his works in the Appendix (pp. 479–482). Many of the most renowned Orientalists, historians, and scientists of his time wrote obituaries and their memories of the scholar, more or less extensive, but all unanimous in recognizing the value of his scientific contributions. Excluding the daily press, going from the earliest to the most recent, these include: Di Matteo, Ignazio, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Archivio storico per la Sicilia* 4 (1938), 582–587; Emanuelli, Pio, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938),” in *Memorie della Società Astronomica Italiana* 11 (1938), 303–309; Fleischmann, Paul, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Der Orient* 20 (1938), 123–124; Gabrieli, Giuseppe, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Nuova Antologia* 73 (1938), 359–360; Krenkow, Fritz, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Islamic Culture* 12 (1938), 459; Littmann, Enno, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino, 1872–1938: Ehrenmitglied der DMG, seit 1934,” in *ZDMG* 92 (1938), 633–652 (translated into Arabic as “al-Mustashriq Nallinū, hayātuhu wa-āthāruhu,” in *al-Muqataṭaf* [Feb. 1939], 1–11); Meyerhof, Max, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–

But it was to Arabic, which he taught himself,² that he decided to devote his future studies.³ In 1889 he enrolled in the Faculty of Letters at Turin University,

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- 1938),” in *Archeion* 21 (1938), 386–389; Rossi, Ettore, “La vita e le opere di Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Rivista delle colonie* 16 (1938), 1101–1108; Sarnelli, Tommaso, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino e i riflessi della sua opera in Oriente e in Africa,” in *L’Italia d’oltremare* 19 (5 October 1938), 5–16; Farina, Giulio, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 74 (1938–1939), 198–202; Pettazzoni, Raffaele, “De Probitate: Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Nuova Antologia* 74 (1939), 253–258; Rossi, Ettore, “Nel primo anniversario della morte di Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Oriente Moderno* 19 (1939), 408–413, which details Nallino’s commemorations in the Italian and foreign daily press; Koschaker, Paul, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938),” in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 59 (1939), 733–735; Guidi, Michelangelo, “Necrologio: Carlo Alfonso Nallino, 16 febbraio 1872–25 luglio 1938,” in *RSO* 18 (1940), 155–171 (with the Appendix: “Bibliografia degli scritti di C.A. Nallino,” 163–171); Salvoni, Faustino, “L’opera orientalistica di Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *La Scuola Cattolica* 72, no. 2 (1944), 132–140; Gabrieli, Francesco, “Ricordando Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Levante* 17, no. 2 (1970), 5–11; Cerulli, Enrico, “Ricordo di Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in *Levante* 20, no. 1 (1973), 7–10; Gabrieli, Francesco, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1935),” in Francesco Gabrieli, *Orientalisti del Novecento*, Rome: Istituto per l’Oriente C.A. Nallino, 1993, 3–13; Soravia, Bruna, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938): Lineamenti di una biografia intellettuale,” in Agostino Cilardo (ed.), *Giornata di studio Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938): Memoria di un maestro e prospettive degli studi arabo-islamici (20 novembre 2008) = Studi Magrebini* n.s. 8 (2010), 9–23; Capezzone, Leonardo, “Nallino, Carlo Alfonso,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 2012, 77, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-alfonso-nallino_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (last accessed 12 August 2023); Lo Jacono, Claudio, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” in Carlo Alfonso Nallino, *La letteratura araba dagli inizi all’epoca della dinastia umayyade*, Rome: Bardi, 2018, 3–32. Short entries on Nallino were also included in biographical dictionaries by Arabic and Turkish authors, e.g., “Kārū Alfūnsū Nallīnū,” in al-Ziriklī, Khayr al-Dīn, *al-A’lām. Qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisā’ min al-‘arab wa-l-musta’ribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, 10 vols., Cairo: s.n., 1955, v, 65–66.
- 2 See Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Cairo, 7 March 1894, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/14 (see below section 3.4), where he mentioned to Goldziher that with restricted resources he had taught himself the Oriental languages, excluding Persian and Hebrew.
- 3 According to Giorgio Levi Della Vida and Nallino’s daughter Maria, old chrestomathies (possibly Kosegarten, Johann Gottfried Ludwig, *Chrestomathia Arabica*, Leipzig: Sumtu Frid. Christ. Guil. Vogelii, 1828; and Oberleitner, Andrea, *Chrestomathia arabica una com glossario arabico-latino*, Vienna: Schmid, 1824) and Sapeto’s grammar (Sapeto, Giuseppe, *Grammatica araba volgare ad uso delle scuole tecniche*, Florence, Genoa: Pellas, 1866)—the latter one procured for him by his father—provided him with the grammatical and lexical rudiments of Arabic, before he was 14 years old, without his being taught by any master; Levi Della Vida, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino” 460–461; Nallino, Maria, “Momenti essenziali nella vita e nella carriera scientifica di mio padre,” in *Levante* 20 (1973), 12. With aids of this kind, he advanced his knowledge of Arabic, and before even entering university he was already able to interpret difficult texts. An overview of his interest in the Arabic language and its foundational texts is presented by Canova, Giovanni, “Nallino e la lingua araba,” in Agostino Cilardo (ed.), *Giornata di studio Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938): Memoria di un maestro e prospettive degli*

no doubt attracted by the presence there of Italo Pizzi (1849–1920), who taught Persian and Sanskrit. Nallino's penchant for geography also brought him frequently to the lectures of the cartographer Guido Cora (1851–1917), a leading authority on colonialism in Africa, which gave him the opportunity to apply his Arabic skills to astronomical geography.⁴

His degree thesis, *Al-Hawārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo*—written in 1893 and published by the Reale Accademia dei Lincei (1894)—inaugurated a series of his works devoted to the history of science and brought him to the attention of the European Orientalists. In Cairo from December 1893 to May 1894, thanks to a further scholarship awarded him by the Ministry of Education,⁵ he was then tasked by the Schiaparelli brothers—Giovanni (astronomer, 1835–1910) and Celestino (Arabist, 1841–1919)—with supervising the publication of the complex and weighty (in both senses) astronomical work *Al-Battānī sive Albatenū Opus astronomicum*, a new edition of the Latin translation of the *Kitāb al-Zīj* by the Syrian mathematician and astronomer Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Jābir ibn Sinān al-Battānī (d. 317/929), which for centuries had been one of the main sources of Arab astronomy as well as, in Latin translation, the manual on that subject most read and studied in the Christian world up until the Renaissance. For this purpose, Nallino was dispatched in the autumn of 1894, on behalf of the Brera Royal Astronomical Observatory, to the Escorial Library to transcribe the only manuscript of the work then known, his impeccable knowledge of Arabic combined with a profound knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, matching the vocation of philologist with that of historian of science.⁶

studi arabo-islamici (20 novembre 2008) = *Studi Magrebini* n.s. 8 (2010), 63–68; see also his numerous contributions in Arabic in Nallino, Maria, “Bibliografia degli scritti di C.A. Nallino,” in Carlo A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, ed. Maria Nallino, 6 vols., vi, Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1948, 436–440.

4 From this dual scientific interest came Nallino's first work, which Cora published in his journal *Cosmos* in 1892 but which had been drafted two years earlier: “Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano secondo i geografi arabi,” in *Cosmos* 2, no. 11 (1892–1893), 20–27, 50–63, 105–121, reprinted in Nallino, Carlo A., *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, ed. Maria Nallino, 6 vols., v, Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1939–1944, 408–457.

5 See here his letter to Goldziher dated 13 December 1893. On his first trip to Egypt, see Canova, Giovanni, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino e *L'arabo parlato in Egitto*,” in *Oriente Moderno* 102 (2023), 345–357.

6 His *magnum opus* on al-Battānī gave him such a wide international reputation that for a long time he was the undisputed authority in all matters concerning the history of astronomical and mathematical sciences of the Arabs; remarkable were his entries “Astrologie,” “Astronomie,” “Ašṭurlab,” and “al-Battānī” to the *ET*¹, i, 502–510, 698–699, and other articles on these topics which he published in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (see Nallino, Maria, “Bibliografia degli scritti di C.A. Nallino,” in Carlo A. Nallino, *Rac-*

From 1894 to 1899 he was lecturer in Arabic at the Royal Oriental Institute of Naples and subsequently associate professor until January 1902.⁷ He was appointed associate professor (“professore straordinario”) of Arabic at Palermo University, a position he held from February 1902 to 1905, then becoming a full professor, a post he held until 1913. That year he also became a member of the Deputazione di Storia Patria (Deputation for Patriotic History) for Sicily, in honor of his contribution to the city of Palermo and the study of Muslim Sicily.⁸ During this period, he made a few trips to North Africa, to Algiers in 1905, on the occasion of the 14th International Congress of Orientalists, and to the other major Algerian and Tunisian cities, also exploring the interior of those countries.⁹ These were years of intense work and profound study. Testimony to his studies on the sources of Arab astronomy were the lectures he gave on the history of Arab astronomy at the Egyptian University of Cairo (founded in 1908) in 1909,¹⁰ followed by lectures on Arabic literature given between 1910 and 1912, all delivered in flawless classical Arabic.¹¹ His lectures were also attended by two Egyptian students who were to become outstanding scholars

colta di scritti editi e inediti, ed. Maria Nallino, 6 vols., vi, Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1948, 436–442). See also his many references to this work in his correspondence with Goldziher from 23 June 1900 onward.

- 7 See here his letters to Goldziher about the Neapolitan period (1895–1902); the subjects of his lectures at L'Oriente are peculiar.
- 8 See Di Matteo, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino” 582. Concerning his time in Palermo, see his letters to Goldziher, dated 1902–1906.
- 9 See his letter to Goldziher dated 26 April 1906.
- 10 His notable contribution *ʿIlm al-falak, taʾrīkh ʿinda l-ʿarab fi l-qurūn al-wuṣṭā*, which was the fruit of his first Cairo lectures, was printed in Rome in 1911 (371 pp.), in a limited printing (s.n.); it was translated posthumously into Italian as “Storia dell’astronomia presso gli Arabi nel Medio Evo,” in Nallino, Carlo A., *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, ed. Maria Nallino, 6 vols., v, Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1939, 88–329. See here the letter from Goldziher to Nallino dated 4 November 1911.
- 11 The themes of these lectures were the concept of a history of Arabic literature, the lack of a true literary history among the Arabs, the printing of Arabic works and the regulations for their protection, and the formation of the Arabic language; all the related articles were published by Carlo Alfonso Nallino in the Egyptian journal *Hilāl*, between 1915 and 1917 (listed by Nallino, Maria, “Bibliografia degli scritti di C.A. Nallino,” 436–437, nos. 28, 29, 30, 37); see also Littmann, “Carlo Alfonso Nallino” 640–641. He became renowned for his lectures at the Egyptian University, as well as for his conversations with students in Cairo, always spoken in elegant classical Arabic with a vocabulary of rare richness. His knowledge of literary Arabic and his long stays in Middle Eastern countries allowed him to master the classical language, enabling him to interact with the cultured Muslim elite; his knowledge of numerous dialects was useful in everyday life; cf. Guidi, “Necrologio” 157–158. Claudio Lo Jacono (“Carlo Alfonso Nallino,” 10–11) remarked that Nallino’s lecturing in Arabic distinguished him from other European scholars who taught in Cairo during the

and who always entertained a friendly relationship with the Italian professor: Aḥmad Amīn (1886–1954) and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973).¹²

Following the Italian conquest of Libya, Nallino was entrusted with various positions of political and educational importance.¹³ In 1912 he accompanied the Minister of the Libyan Colonies on that official's first visit to Tripoli, where Nallino oversaw the reorganization of the Ottoman Political Archive and the establishment of the Translation Office. He was then appointed Royal Commissioner for the reorganization of the Oriental Institute of Naples, from September 1913 to February 1914, with a view to transforming the Institute into a training center for colonial personnel.

In the autumn of 1913, he was appointed to the chair of Muslim History and Institutions at Rome's La Sapienza University, which represented a new discipline on the Italian university scene, established here especially for him, a position he would fill from 1915 until his death in 1938.¹⁴ In 1922 he again accompanied the Minister of the Colonies to Libya, and between 1927 and 1931 he

same years, as indicated by Enno Littmann (1875–1958), who met him there and became one of Nallino's best friends and colleagues.

- 12 See Lo Jacono, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 10–11; Soravia, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 13–14; unlike the two illustrious Arab scholars, who appreciated his extensive knowledge, method, and philological rigor, other Egyptian students contested his rigorous approach, complaining about the difficulty of taking notes during his lectures; see Reid, Donald M[alcolm], *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- 13 Libya and its territories represent one of the peculiar subjects in his private library, as pointed out in Bottini, Laura, "La Libia nella biblioteca di Carlo Alfonso Nallino," in Anna Baldinetti (ed.), *Oltreconfine: Temi e fonti per lo studio dell'Africa*, Rome: Aracne, 2019, 493–514.
- 14 The Italian government's trust in him grew after his move to Rome; supporting colonial policy was his contribution "Norme per la trascrizione italiana e la grafia araba dei nomi propri geografici della Tripolitania e della Cirenaica," in *Rapporti e monografie coloniali del Ministero delle Colonie* 2 (February 1915), 1–41, and two reports on the Italian colonies, written as a member of the post-war Commission: *Trattamento degli indigeni e loro partecipazione all'amministrazione coloniale: ordinamento politico-amministrativo: Relazione della 7. sezione della Commissione del Dopo-Guerra* (Rome: Ministero delle Colonie, 1919); and *L'istruzione nelle colonie: Relazione della 7. sezione della Commissione del Dopo-Guerra* (Rome: Ministero delle Colonie, 1919); Nallino, Maria, "Bibliografia degli scritti di C.A. Nallino" 436–437, nos. 26, 39, 40. As he was appointed to his new chair in 1913, Nallino was entrusted by the then director of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Rome, Giuliano Bonazzi, with the task of acquiring a consistent nucleus of Arabic texts, with the express purpose of bringing the National Library of Rome to the same level as other European national libraries, which, for historical and cultural reasons, were rich in Arabic and Oriental collections. Its acquisition and cataloguing work continued until 1917, when it was interrupted by the war: It was only resumed in 1927 but was stopped shortly thereafter. The collection, therefore, which came to the library through a targeted and planned acquisition, covers various areas of Arabic culture (language, literature, religion,

again taught courses in the history of pre-Islamic Arabia at the Egyptian University of Cairo. He participated in the first projects of the *Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiya* in Cairo, of which he was a member from its founding (October 1933). He took advantage of these trips to Egypt to visit Sudan and many Middle Eastern cities, from Jerusalem to Baghdad and Aleppo.¹⁵

In 1916 he was elected a member of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei and in 1931 he was elected member of the Accademia d'Italia; he was also an honorary member of the Udine Academy of Sciences, a corresponding member of the Turin and Bologna Scientific Academies, and a member of the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. In addition, he was a member of the Egyptian Institute, the *Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* in Damascus (1934), an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (1923), the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (1934),¹⁶ the London International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and the Institut colonial international in Brussels.

In 1921 he was among the founders of the Istituto per l'Oriente in Rome (now the Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino [IPOCAN]), with its house journal, *Oriente Moderno* (OM), founded and directed by Nallino from 1921 until his death; still today it is one of the leading Orientalist publications, possibly the most relevant in Italy.¹⁷ As director of the Sapienza's *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (RSO), founded in 1907, he was also one of its most assiduous contributors: The articles published between 1915 and 1920 deal principally with the Islamic religion, a subject he often revisited in his lectures.

law, and history) and consists of approximately 2,000 Arabic printed works, which can be consulted thanks to a card catalogue available in the Library's Oriental Manuscripts collection. Nallino himself selected and purchased the books in Cairo; see Levi Della Vida, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 469.

- 15 Although Egypt had become almost a second home, Arabia was still unknown to him: One of his aspirations was to make a journey of exploration and study in Yemen, for which he had made meticulous preparations; for his works on Yemen, see Littmann, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 642–643. He never reached this destination but did manage to visit the Hijāz, with his daughter Maria, shortly before he died; see Guidi, "Necrologio" 161–162.
- 16 See Levi Della Vida, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 473–474.
- 17 See Levi Della Vita, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 477, where Levi Della Vita emphasizes how Nallino instructed, admonished, and directed a host of scholars at home and abroad with his writings and teaching from the columns of *Oriente Moderno*; Ettore Rossi focused on his work method in "Come il Nallino dirigeva *L'Oriente Moderno*," in *Oriente Moderno* 18 (1938), 483–486. On his activity as director of the journal and his homonymous institution see also the more recent contributions of Lo Jacono, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 21–32, and Lo Jacono, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino e l'Istituto per l'Oriente," in Agostino Cilardo (ed.), *Giornata di studio Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938): Memoria di un maestro e prospettive degli studi arabo-islamici (20 novembre 2008)*, Naples: Università degli studi "L'Orientale," 2010 = *Studi Magrebini* n.s. 8 (2010), 25–34.

As mentioned, Nallino's study of Arabic was not an end in itself, limited to the language alone, but was meant to allow him entry into Arab–Islamic thought and culture. His juvenile work *Chrestomathia Corani Arabica* already gives an indication of the scope and direction of his later studies.¹⁸ The manual *L'arabo parlato in Egitto* remains a model for approaching language and is a source of valuable information on Egyptian life of the time; it also summarizes the results of his in-depth studies of dialects, especially the Egyptian¹⁹ and those of the Maghrib. With solid erudition and gifted intuition, Nallino ranged over a vast field of scientific knowledge, institutions, usages and customs, philosophy, astronomy, geography, toponymy, history, law, dogmatics, and mysticism. A couple of examples of these gifts are his second edition, with copious annotations, of Michele Amari's monumental work *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, and his previous preparation of two large volumes of memoirs by various authors on Sicily, especially Muslim Sicily, southern Italy in the early Middle Ages, and the history of Islamic civilization more generally, published under the title *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*.²⁰ For him the study of history was not a mere gathering of facts but the careful and discriminating investigation of evolving political, religious, and cultural processes. At the age of 21, Nallino published an article on ancient pre-Islamic Arab society, "Sulla costituzione delle tribù arabe prima dell'Islamismo," in which he already showed that he could compete with established Islamicists in reaching new conclusions on the importance of preexisting local Arab elements in the formation of Islamic religion and law.²¹

18 Its more extensive review came from Goldziher. See here his first letter to Nallino, dated 23 November 1893, and Nallino's letter to Goldziher dated 13 December 1893; the title *Chrestomathia* may have been inspired by the name given to the compilations of classical Arabic texts that were circulating in Europe during the first half of the 19th century.

19 For his achievements in this field, see Canova, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino," and here the postcard from Goldziher to Nallino dated 18 June 1900.

20 Nallino contributed to this work with a relevant monographic study on a late Maghribi chronicler, "Venezia e Sfax nel secolo XVIII secondo il cronista arabo Maqdish," in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, i, 306–356; ii, 640–642, reprinted in Nallino, Carlo A., *Raccolta di scritti editi ed inediti*, iii, 345–402; see Levi Della Vida, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 469.

21 Levi Della Vida considered this essay neglected and scarcely disseminated among Arabists and stressed that only Henri Lammens, 20 years after its publication, highlighted its relevance and referred to it in several passages of his *Le berceau de l'Islam: L'Arabie occidentale à la veille de l'hégire*, Rome: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1914, 206 and *passim*. In contradiction to this Levi Della Vida statement ("Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 464–465), Goldziher began corresponding with Nallino in 1893, asking for this paper on the Arab tribes, then

Nallino has only recently been studied as a connoisseur of codices and manuscript sources;²² it will suffice to mention his outstanding catalogue—among others he left uncompleted—“I manoscritti arabi, persiani, siriaci e turchi della Biblioteca Nazionale e della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino,” extensively quoted in his correspondence with Goldziher.

During the last three decades of his career, once he settled into his Roman professorship, he delved particularly into the study of Islamic law, pursuing new lines of inquiry in this field too, correcting then-current errors and publishing important works, especially on the interdependence of Islamic law and that of the Christian communities of the East.²³ On the occasion of a conference on scientific subjects at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, he laid out his views on relations between Christian Europe and the Muslim world and on the different currents of Islamism, speaking as a scholar and connoisseur of that world, rather than from any particular political stance: “Il mondo musulmano in relazione con l’Europa.”²⁴

During the last 20 years of his life, in addition to continuing to pursue his studies, he served as director of the journal *Oriente Moderno* and, from 1929, of

newly published, eager to receive it (see here Goldziher’s letter to Nallino dated 23 November 1893).

- 22 On his activity as the manuscript cataloguer of Italian collections of Arabic manuscripts (in Turin, Palermo, Rome, and selections from other European collections)—many of the descriptions still unpublished, see Sagaria Rossi, Valentina, “Nallino codicologo,” in Agostino Cilardo (ed.), *Giornata di studio Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938): Memoria di un maestro e prospettive degli studi arabo-islamici (20 novembre 2008) = Studi Magrebini* n.s. 8 (2010), 173–185. On his own collection of Islamic manuscripts (Arabic, Persian, and Urdu) see Bottini, Laura, *Islamic Manuscripts from the Library of the Istituto per l’Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino (Rome)*, Rome: Istituto per l’Oriente C.A. Nallino, 2017, 18. Nallino’s codices are kept at the Istituto per l’Oriente’s Library, some of them from Yemen; a few copies bear Giuseppe Caprotti’s seal.
- 23 In his essay “Libri giuridici bizantini in versioni arabe cristiane dei secoli XII–XIII” (in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, series vi/1, nos. 3–4 (1925), 101–165), he traced the process by which Byzantine law was transmitted to the Arab–Christian world. With equal scholarship he applied himself to studying the genesis and history of Muslim institutions, among other things, to draw from them relevant lessons for the political conduct of European states toward Middle Eastern countries during the first 30 years of the 20th century.
- 24 In *Atti del II Convegno della “Fondazione Volta,”* Rome: Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1933, 1–14; see also my entry on Nallino and particularly on this contribution (“Carlo Alfonso Nallino”) in the forthcoming David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds.), *Christian–Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History*. Volume 21. *South-western Europe (1800–1914)*, Leiden: Brill, 2024, 740–750.

the Eastern Section (*Sezione Oriente*) of the *Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani*, as well as contributing to the *Nuovo Digesto Italiano* and the *Dizionario di politica*, in which he published numerous scholarly articles and reviews of historical, legal, and political content.

During the winter of 1938 Nallino traveled through Arabia, which had been for so long the object of his studies, crossing the Ḥijāz region, visiting Jeddah, and reaching al-Ṭā'if, where he met King Ibn Sa'ūd, but was not able to continue further and explore Yemen, a country he had also studied and whose cultural and literary history he knew well. Soon after his return to Rome from this excursion to the Arabian Peninsula, on 25 July 1938 he died, having managed to complete only the first of the two planned volumes on institutional arrangements in the newly established Arab kingdom.²⁵

His archive and legacy of books is kept at the IPOCAN and, thanks to the recent project of inventorying his archive online, his correspondence with the Orientalists of his time has come to light.²⁶

2 Nallino and Goldziher's Correspondence

The first time I came across the correspondence between Carlo Alfonso Nallino and Ignaz Goldziher was in 2008, while investigating Nallino as a scholar and navigator of Arabic manuscript production, on the occasion of the Nallino Memorial Conference at the University "L'Orientale" in Naples.²⁷ I was then

25 This volume constitutes the first of six volumes of his edited and unedited writings (*Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*), published by the Istituto per l'Oriente under the supervision of his daughter Maria (1908–1974). Orphaned by her mother at an early age (see here Nallino's letter to Goldziher dated 11 May 1914), she followed in her father's footsteps, both as a university lecturer—she was full professor of Arabic Language and Literature at Ca' Foscari University in Venice—and as a scholar at the Istituto per l'Oriente, which she directed until her death; for more on her, see Minganti, Paolo, "Maria Nallino (1908–1974)," in *Oriente Moderno* 54 (1974), 560–563; Zilio-Grandi, Ida, "Maria Nallino and the Birth of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Ca' Foscari," in Laura Di Giorgi and Federico Greselin (eds.), *150 Years of Oriental Studies at Ca' Foscari*, Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2018, 85–93.

26 For a description of the Nallino archive see "Lazio '900" (Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Fondo Carlo Alfonso Nallino), <https://www.lazio900.it/inventario/?id=169571> (last accessed 18 August 2023). The project is led and supported by the Italian Archival Superintendency of the Lazio Region.

27 The proceedings were published in Cilaro, Agostino (ed.), *Giornata di studio Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938): Memoria di un maestro e prospettive degli studi arabo-islamici* (20 novembre 2008), in *Studi Magrebini* n.s. 8 (2010).



FIGURE 8.1
Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1932)

primarily interested in his unpublished manuscript descriptions,²⁸ and searching through his archive, at the time only summarily ordered,²⁹ I found some of the correspondence that has recently been systematically inventoried and described, together with the rest of his archive. Among Nallino's *Epistolario*, the letters from his former student Eugenio Griffini (1878–1925), a pupil of Nallino, are particularly noteworthy, in the light of Griffini's role as the first investigator

²⁸ See Sagaria Rossi, "Nallino codicologo."

²⁹ For a preliminary survey of his papers, see Baldinetti, Anna, *Carte private di Carlo Alfonso e Maria Nallino*, Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1995.

of the Yemeni manuscripts of the Caprotti collection. These are complemented by the rich materials and correspondence (with Nallino and many others) in the Griffini archive.³⁰

Both master and pupil corresponded with Goldziher, and the opportunity to have open access to their archives shed new light on their personalities,³¹ their respective studies (published, unpublished, or unfinished), their working methods, and the networks of their scientific cooperation.

Within the Nallino Archive, including series 1 to 12, his epistolary takes a relevant place: Labeled as *Serie 11. Epistolario, 1891–1938*, it covers 47 years of activity and contains 568 folders of identified correspondents (about one third of Goldziher's 1,650), alphabetically arranged and described on the archival website: Lazio '900.³² Within *Epistolario, Partizione 6. Corrispondenti con l'iniziale G*, folder 244 is titled *Goldziher Ignác, 1893–1911*, and contains five documents: one letter, three postcards, and a visiting card; three documents are missing.

Nallino's letters to Goldziher in the Oriental Collection at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,³³ that are presented in this paper critically with annotation are registered as GIL/30/19/01 through GIL/30/19/08 and GIL/30/19/10 through GIL/30/19/16. The correspondence consists of three letters, ten postcards, and one wedding announcement, dated from 1893 through 1920, and one letter from Giovanni Nallino, Carlo's father.³⁴

As to language, Nallino and Goldziher corresponded in German until 11 July 1902, when Nallino started writing in Italian, without indicating any reason for this change in language.³⁵ This suggests that Goldziher also knew Italian

30 In 2021, together with Sabine Schmidtke, I unearthed the entire Griffini *Nachlass* within the Angela Codazzi Archive in the Biblioteca Comunale Palazzo Sormani in Milan, almost 100 years after the owner's death; see Sagaria Rossi, Valentina, and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Beginnings of Yemeni and Zaydi Studies in Europe: The Eugenio Griffini Archive, Milan," in *Shii Studies Review* 6 (2022), 76–223.

31 Griffini's letters to Goldziher have been published; see Sagaria Rossi, Valentina, "Eugenio Griffini and Zaydi Studies in the Light of His Correspondence with Ignaz Goldziher, 1908 through 1920," in *Shii Studies Review* 5 (2021), 139–199.

32 The archival project Lazio '900 did not include digitization. Thanks to the cooperation of the involved institutions, namely, the IPOCAN, a project of digitization (and investigation) of Arabists' and Islamicists' archives (dealing with Yemen) is being implemented by Sabine Schmidtke and me and already includes the Nallino epistolary.

33 For Goldziher's published correspondence, see Kinga Dévényi's and Sabine Schmidtke's contribution to this volume, "The Published Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher: A Bibliographical Guide".

34 For the role and support of his father in his education, see above.

35 The postcard dated 11 July 1902 is preceded by Goldziher's missing correspondence; it can be assumed that he himself would have told Nallino to write in Italian.

or at least could read it.³⁶ Nallino knew German quite well, as he had attended German evening courses when he was in elementary school at Udine;³⁷ he corresponded and spoke in German with German-speaking scholars. There are only a very few orthographical and grammatical errors in Nallino's letters to Goldziher; Goldziher wrote in German, as he usually did, both in his scholarly publications, including in his diary, and in his correspondence.³⁸

Even though Carlo Alfonso Nallino is widely regarded as the *enfant prodige* of Arabic studies in Italy and one of the more emblematic figures in this field of study, none of his correspondence has been published in full so far.

In their epistolary exchange, which stretched over a period of 27 years (1893–1920), Nallino wrote more frequently than Goldziher did: Although they shared the same scholarly interests, they were twenty-eight years apart in age, with more than a generation between them; Goldziher was an acclaimed and world-renowned scholar; Nallino was just a young man in his 20s, debuting in Arabic and Islamic studies. They were not nor did they become close friends, nor do we know whether they ever met in person, as this subject did not come up in their letters; in any case they held each other in high esteem and read each other's works with keen interest, and through their exchange of letters they shared pieces of their scholarship and their lives.³⁹

The correspondence mainly covers Nallino's scholarly production and academic assignments, with forays into some of Goldziher's works, reviews, and opinions, but it also makes incursions into the personal affairs and feelings of the two men. There are no references to academic events in Goldziher's let-

36 Simon Hopkins did not include Italian among the languages that Goldziher knew; he mentioned his excellent grounding in Latin and Greek, though he did not write in them; it is plausible that it was the same for Italian; Hopkins, Simon, "The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher," in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000, Budapest, Oriental Collection*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 92–93.

37 See Nallino, Maria, "Momenti essenziali" 11; his daughter claimed that since he was a child, he was eager to read geographical texts and travel accounts, which were mostly in German.

38 For the disputed question of Goldziher's native tongue, see Ormos, István, "Goldziher's Mother Tongue: A Contribution to the Study of the Language Situation in Hungary in the Nineteenth Century," in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000, Budapest, Oriental Collection*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 229–231, 235–243.

39 As we know, Goldziher transformed letter writing into a veritable cult. Letters not only provide human and documentary evidence of scientific value, they compensated for the lack of in-person social bonds and relationships, and were a direct medium of communication; Simon, Róbert, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986, 14–16.

ters, which were all sent via Budapest, whereas Nallino corresponded from Cairo, Naples, Udine, Palermo, and Rome. There is a five-year gap, from 1906 to 1911, during which Nallino was active as a lecturer at the Egyptian University in Cairo, and another six-year interruption, from 1914 to 1920, probably related to the war and Nallino's intense institutional work during that time.

Regarding their precocity in approaching Arabic studies, Giorgio Levi Della Vida (1886–1966), in his account of Nallino, compared the two scholars with foresight:

A diciotto anni, dunque, il giovanissimo studioso non solo possedeva la difficile lingua degli Arabi al punto da poter leggere e discutere testi [...], ma dimostrava una copia di cognizioni filologiche, storiche scientifiche, una padronanza del metodo, un acume critico tali da conferirgli nella scienza un grado non inferiore a quello di qualsiasi studioso maturo di anni. Un siffatto esempio di precocità è appena superato, nel campo di studi coltivato dal Nallino, da quello del Goldziher, il sommo islamista ungherese, autore di una memoria scientifica a soli sedici anni [...].⁴⁰

The letters that make up the correspondence between Nallino and Goldziher, along with one letter to Goldziher from Nallino's father, are appended, following these descriptions and notes.

In the first letter, dated 23 November 1893, Goldziher approached the young Italian scholar because he was interested in Nallino's article on the constitution of the Arab tribes before Islam; in the letter he also announced his review of Nallino's monograph *Chrestomathia Qorani Arabica*, both published in 1893. Giovanni, Nallino's father, replied (in bad German) from Udine on behalf of his son, who was in Cairo on a scholarship from December 1893 to May 1894. Willing to provide Goldziher with anything he might need during his stay in Cairo (letter dated 13 December 1893), Nallino was flattered by Goldziher's gratifying and very positive review of his first work (letter dated 7 March 1894), confessing to him that his Arabic was self-taught. It is worth noting that the young scholar was utterly surprised to have aroused Goldziher's interest with *Chrestomathia Qorani*, a work that he basically undertook for self-instruction. Goldziher's very positive critique encouraged him to continue his studies.⁴¹

40 Levi Della Vida, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 461–462.

41 See below, n. 56.

Sure to please, from Naples Nallino dispatched to Goldziher the *Catalogo dei codici arabi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, compiled by Lupo Buonazia,⁴² whose greetings he sent to Goldziher: The two apparently knew each other (letter dated 23 May 1895).

As for correspondence regarding their scholarly production, Nallino's main works stand out. Just a few of Goldziher's selected articles and reviews are brought to the fore, rather than his main monographs (e.g. *Vorlesungen, Abhandlungen arabischen Philologie, Die Zâhiriten*), except his "glänzende" *Muhammedanische Studien*,⁴³ discussed with Buonazia (letter dated 23 May 1895).

From Naples, Nallino announced that he was pleased to provide Goldziher with all the published volumes of *Oriente*,⁴⁴ the journal of the Royal Oriental Institute in Naples, and he also told him that he had made use of his "A muhammedán jogtudomány eredetéről" (on the origin of Mohammedan jurisprudence), from which it can be inferred that Nallino read Hungarian (letter dated 30 March 1897). He acknowledged receipt of Goldziher's paper on the qualifications/epithets *zill Allāh* and *khalīfat Allāh*, as soon as it was published (letter dated 23 October 1897).

Goldziher was pleased to receive these materials and praised Nallino for his grammar of Arabic spoken in Egypt (*L'arabo parlato in Egitto*) but did not fail to add very few minor corrections to Nallino's catalogue of the Turin Oriental manuscripts (letter dated 18 June 1900): Without Nallino's descriptions we would no longer be able to trace the manuscripts burned in the fire that struck the National Library of Turin in 1904 and that ruined many of them irreparably.⁴⁵ From this letter, as well as from his review of *Chrestomathia Qorani*, one can deduce Goldziher's working method: When he had to revise

42 Nallino met Buonazia in 1895 during his stay at the Oriental Institute at Naples, where he had gone to study astronomy and computational mathematics, to master the content of al-Battānī's work. He also wrote Buonazia's obituary, "Lupo Buonazia (1844–1914)," in *RSO* 6 (1915), 1410–1413.

43 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols., Halle: Niemeyer, 1889–1890.

44 Not only did Nallino own entire periodical collections (*Oriente, Oriente Moderno, Rivista degli Studi Orientali*), but since he was a young boy he made lists of articles in periodicals, both Italian and foreign, such as the *ZDMG*, so as to have them systematically catalogued (see Levi Della Vida, "Carlo Alfonso Nallino" 464).

45 Nallino's Catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria (BNU) and the Accademia delle scienze of Turin ("I manoscritti arabi, persiani") contains erudite descriptions of 109 manuscripts. Of those from the BNU, 65 are Arabic, 31 Persian, and 13 Turkish; of the 13 manuscripts from the Accademia delle scienze of Turin, seven are Arabic, one is Arabic-Turkish, three are Turkish, and two are Syriac. The 60 surviving Arabic codices in the BNU were seriously damaged in the fire and in many cases are no

material sent to him by colleagues, he read everything and revised specifically the Arabic words and passages transcribed or transliterated from manuscript sources.

Grateful to Goldziher for the corrections to his catalogue, Nallino replied, explaining point by point the reason for his philological choices or supposed mistakes: copyist's errors, a different graphic tradition for Druze manuscripts (letter dated 23 June 1900). In the same letter he also informed Goldziher about the texts he discussed in his lectures at the Naples Oriental Institute: *Kitāb al-ʿAqida al-ṣaghīra* by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), and other *kalām* works not explicitly named. He also announced the forthcoming publication of the last two volumes of his edition and translation of al-Battānī's *Kitāb al-Zīj*, which he carried out over eight years of hard and ceaseless work (1899–1907).

It is interesting to note their different approaches when describing manuscripts and transcribing passages: Nallino faithfully reported the manuscript passages as he found them, whereas Goldziher tried to amend incorrect words and potential errors. Nallino followed a conservative (positivist) philological method; Goldziher was likely to follow a corrective philological line, in which the presentation of an amended text takes priority over other textual requirements.

From his reading of Goldziher's "Die Sabbatinstitution im Islam," which Goldziher sent to him when it was first published, Nallino wrote back, discussing the days of the week, even and odd days, according to Islamic and Christian usage (letter dated 13 April 1901). Goldziher did not fail to arouse his colleague's interest even with a niche topic.

The following year Nallino informed Goldziher that he had been appointed professor of Arabic at the University of Palermo in February 1902 (where he stayed until 1913), and he mentioned that his students were mainly interested in Arabic for practical rather than scientific purposes. Nallino then updated him again on his work on al-Battānī, hoping to resume Arabic philosophical and theological studies soon, work in which he was supremely interested (letter dated 11 July 1902).

After acknowledging receipt and thanking him for the first part of al-Battānī's work with the Latin translation and commentary by Nallino, Goldziher admitted that he was insufficiently competent in astronomical matters to fully understand the text; nonetheless he found Nallino's very erudite *Praefat-*

longer readable; see Boschis, Alessia, "Ceneri mancate. I manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Universitaria Nazionale di Torino," in *Scrineum* 17 (2020), 331–404.

tio very helpful. However, the purpose of his writing seems to have been to share his low opinion of a bibliography of printed Arabic works, which both scholars had reviewed a few years earlier; at the end of the postcard Goldziher allowed himself a rare outburst: “Hoffentlich geht es Ihnen immer recht gut; besser als mir, eher ich abgespannt und zum äussersten ermüdet bin” (letter dated 19 October 1903). Traces of a depressive phase in his life can be found in his diary for the year 1903.⁴⁶

In hopes of comforting him, Nallino invited Goldziher to Palermo, informing him that in 1902 Count Landberg, the Swedish Orientalist, had stayed there with a Yemeni Bedouin (letter dated 28 October 1903), but Goldziher never went.

Goldziher sent him *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert* (1903) with his introduction,⁴⁷ which Nallino much appreciated, and which perhaps stimulated an inquiry about an Arabic inscription on a gold coin from Ceuta (letter dated 21 February 1904).

Newly back in Palermo from his trip to Tunisia and Algeria in 1905, and after acknowledging the receipt of Goldziher’s “Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet” (1906),⁴⁸ Nallino moves on to the subject of rain rites in the Maghrib, which he had witnessed in person in Tunisia, transcribing from the local Arabic dialect the chants of these rites (letter dated 26 April 1906). He added that he was not attracted by the subject of magic.

In July 1906 Nallino sent his wedding announcement and Goldziher congratulated him. In 1911 Goldziher thanked Nallino on 4 November 1911 for sending his long monographic contribution in Arabic, *Ilm al-falak* (1911), which Goldziher praised, along with Nallino’s teaching activities in Egypt.⁴⁹

46 In that year he experienced humiliation and insults, to the point of despair; he was nominated for a position as chief librarian of the Hungarian Academy in 1902 and because he enjoyed the support of influential people in the hierarchy of the Academy, his getting this position was taken for granted; news were spread prior to his election and eventually the position was not given to him. The position remained vacant for some years, until finally in 1905 Kálmán Szily was appointed; moreover, in May 1903 Goldziher’s candidacy for professorship was dropped; and he reported that he was about to publish in Hungarian works on the history of Arabic literature and an essay on the influence of Buddhism on Islam; Goldziher, Ignaz, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden: Brill, 1978, 233–234.

47 Luciani, Jean-Dominique (ed.), *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert, mahdi des Almohades. Texte arabe accompagné de notices biographiques et d’une introduction [par Ignaz Goldziher]*. Algiers: Fontana, 1903. For this publication, see Jan Thiele’s contribution to this volume.

48 In Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien: Festschrift für Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, 2 vols., i, Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906, 303–329.

49 Although Prince Aḥmad Fu’ād repeatedly tried to persuade Goldziher to accept the invitation to teach a course on the history of philosophical doctrines at the Egyptian University during the winter semester 1911, he did not accept; his friend Max Herz also tried to entice

In 1914, not quite eight years after his wedding, Nallino sadly let Goldziher know that his wife had died, leaving two little children; he also informed Goldziher that in 1913 he had been entrusted with the reorganization of the Oriental Institute of Naples, and that he had recently moved to Rome University La Sapienza (1914), where he had been appointed professor of Muslim History and Institutions (letter dated 11 May 1914).

One of Goldziher's last letters to Nallino is lost. On 28 July 1920 Nallino wrote to Goldziher that he was pleased to receive his article "Ijādat al-marīd" (published in 1919),⁵⁰ and he then argued about the titles of Constantinople's sultans, apparently taking up a discussion begun in Goldziher's lost letter.

Mention of the timely dispatch of their respective publications, their shared mutual esteem, and the pleasure of exchanging views on lesser known issues related to various subjects are elements that characterized their correspondence.

As a fitting capstone to their relationship, upon Goldziher's death, Nallino wrote an obituary, "L'Hungheria perde con il Goldziher il suo sommo orientalista, e la scienza dell'islām il suo più insigne cultore".⁵¹

3 The Correspondence

The text of the original correspondence is faithfully reproduced in the following: Any errors in syntax, grammar, vocabulary, and spelling have been retained uncorrected. Graphical features and writing habits such as the use of capital letters, punctuation, paragraph divisions, lineation, underlining, or brackets have also been retained. Editorial additions are indicated by [square brackets]. To enable identification of incomplete or unclear references in the letters, biographical and bibliographical references, and other comments are given in the apparatus.

him to do so by suggesting that there he could meet scholars such as Ignazio Guidi, David Santillana, Carlo Alfonso Nallino, and Enno Littmann; Ormos, István, "The Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Max Herz," in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000, Budapest*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 183–185; also Ormos, István, "Ignaz Goldziher's Invitation to the Egyptian University," in *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 23 (2001), 183–192; see Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 260–271, 274.

50 In *ZA* 32 (1919), 185–200.

51 Nallino, Carlo A., "Ignaz Goldziher," in *RSO* 9 (1921), 236.

- 3.1 *Goldziher, Ignaz, Letter to Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Budapest, 23 November 1893, Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Fondo Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Series n, Section 6, Folder 244, n° 1*

VII Holló-utcza 4
Budapest d. 23. November 1893.

Verehrter Herr!

Es wurde mir unlängst mitgetheilt, daß von Ihnen eine Abhandlung über das Stämmewesen der Ġâhilijja⁵² erschienen sein soll. Man konnte mir aber die Stelle nicht angeben. Sie entschuldigen, wenn ich mir erlaube, Sie zu bitten mir gef.[älligst] mitzutheilen, wo Ihre Studie, die mich sehr interessieren würde, erschienen ist.

Über Ihre Koran-Chrestomathie, habe ich eine längere Recension an die Pariser Revue de l'histoire des Religions vor einigen Tagen eingesandt.⁵³ Herr Reville⁵⁴ schreibt mir, daß dieselbe in November–December–Heft dieses Jahres zum Abdruck kömmt.

Ihrer Antwort entgegensehend
ergebenst
Ign. Goldziher

p.s. Ho capito che il Goldziher nel 1° periodo oscuro della sua letterina vuole alludere all'art.[icolo] della N.A. [*Nuova Antologia*] perché il G. confuse Ontologia con Antologia.

52 He refers to Nallino's "Sulla costituzione delle tribù arabe prima dell'Islamismo," published in 1893.

53 Nallino, *Chrestomathia Qorani arabica*, which was reviewed by Goldziher in French, in *RHR* 28 (1893), 378–382; this is a very detailed and appreciative review. See here n. 18 and the following letter by Nallino, dated 28 November 1893.

54 Jean Réville (1854–1908) was director of the *Revue d'histoire des religions* from 1884 to 1908.

3.2 *Nallino, Giovanni, Letter to Ignaz Goldziher, Udine, 28 November 1893, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/12*

Udine (Italien) 28 nov. 1893

Hochverehrten Herr Professor Golziher,

Ihre werte Zuschrift von 23 november, habe ich erhalten, kann Ihnen aber leider die erwünschte Antwort nicht geben, da sich jetzt mein Sohn Karl Alphons auf Reise nach Cairo (Aegypt) befindet, wo er sich einige Monate aufhalten wird, um orientalische Studien zu machen. Ich werde ihm Ihrer Brief zusenden, und er wird Ihnen sobald als möglich den gewünschten Aufschluss ertheilen.

Einstweilen, sage ich Ihnen meinen besten Danke, sowohl für Ihren Brief, als auch für Ihre Recension über die Chrestomatie meines Sohnes

Hochachtungswoll
Dr. Giovanni Nallino

Udine, den 28 nov. 1893.

p.s. Das letztere Studium meines Sohnes ist "Sulla costituzione delle tribù arabe prima dell'islamismo" S. Nuova Antologia—Roma—diesi 15 october 1893—.

Separate Abdruck ich kann nicht Ihnen senden, weil der Buchdrucker sie hat vergessen!

3.3 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Letter to Ignaz Goldziher, Cairo, 13 December 1893, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/13*

Kairo, d. 13 Dec. 1893

Hochverehrter Herr Professor!

Gestern habe ich von meiner Familie Ihren gütigen Brief erhalten, dem mein Vater vorläufig geantwortet haben soll.

Mit grosser Freude hätte ich Ihnen meine kleine in der Nuova Antologia vom 15 Oktober erschienene Schrift zugesandt vorher als Sie dieselbe verlangten, wenn ein wirklich sonderbarer Zufall nicht geschehen würde. Nämlich die Druckerei die von mir bestellten Separatabdrücke zu machen vergass! Mein Vater konnte Ihnen also nur ein aus dem Heft der N.A. abgerissenes Exemplar der Costituzione u.s.w.⁵⁵ senden.

Ich sage Ihnen meinen besten Dank für die grosse Ehre einer Recension über meine *Chrestomathia Qorani*.⁵⁶ Es ist immer sehr angenehm wenn wir gütige Rate und Bemerkungen von berühmten und hochverehrten Meistern empfangen; um so mehr ist es mir angenehm, weil ich leider orientalische Sprachen, Persisch ausgenommen, durch Selbstunterricht und mit beschränkten Mitteln erlernen musste.⁵⁷

Ein Stipendium der italienischen Regierung setzt mich im Stande in Kairo bis Ende Mai zu verweilen;⁵⁸ könnte ich irgendwie für Ihnen etwas machen,

55 See here p. 221 n. 21, and p. 227.

56 Goldziher's assessment of Nallino's *Chrestomathia Qorani* must have been very gratifying for him: "Comme Introduction au Coran, par lequel il faut naturellement commencer toute étude de l'Islam, nous possédons heureusement la *Geschichte des Korans* (Goettingue, 1860) de Nöldeke, un modèle de critique pénétrante et d'exposition scientifique attrayante. C'est là un ouvrage que le savant aussi bien que l'étudiant doivent toujours avoir sous la main, toutes les fois qu'ils s'occupent de l'étude du Coran. Ce qui manquait jusqu'à présent pour l'étude première des passages du Coran vient de nous être fourni par l'orientaliste italien, M. Nallino, dans le livre dont le titre est énoncé en tête de cette notice et pour lequel tout professeur d'arabe, tout maître chargé d'enseigner le Coran, lui seront reconnaissants. Dans le choix et la disposition didactique des passages du Coran, M. Nallino a témoigné de beaucoup de tact et d'une claire intelligence des besoins de l'enseignement scolaire comme de l'étude personnelle, dans la forme et dans le fond. Il eût été, sans doute, plus approprié de placer les nos. 17, 18 et 19 (*Sur.*, cxii; cxiv; 1) au début du livre, comme le voulaient et le sujet qu'ils traitent et la langue plus facile dans laquelle ils sont rédigés. Mais ce sera l'affaire du maître de commencer par ces morceaux-là. Les fragments choisis représentent, du reste, d'une manière à peu près complète, les diverses étapes de la révélation coranique avec leur style réellement distinct. Dans un espace relativement restreint (74 p.) ils nous offrent les modèles des différents éléments dont se compose le livre de la révélation de Mohammed: sentences visionnaires, qui ne se distinguent pas beaucoup des Sağ' ou révélations des Kâhin païens, ce qui permet justement de les y rattacher;—textes narratifs, légendes bibliques, enfin des fragments législatifs. Comme tel, le choix de la quatrième surate nous paraît heureux. Aux textes M. Nallino a joint un double commentaire pour en faciliter la compréhension et l'interprétation exégétique, d'une part une explication verbale, d'autre part les éclaircissements qui permettent d'en saisir les éléments historiques. Dans des notes attachées au texte il a réuni tout ce qui, en dehors des renseignements grammaticaux, peut contribuer à l'intelligence des chapitres du Coran utilisés. Dans un glossaire spécial il a fourni ce que l'on peut donner de meilleur, dans un ouvrage de ce genre, au point de vue de la philologie moderne"; (Goldziher, Review of Nallino, Carlo A., *Chrestomathia Qorani arabica*, 379); in his conclusion, Goldziher merely added bibliographical references to Nallino's notes and glossary, also referring to the brief reviews of the same work by Albert Socin and Jacob Barth, who limited their attention to grammatical corrections of individual Arabic terms.

57 See here pp. 215–217.

58 See here p. 217.

würde ich sehr freudig sein. In diesem Fall können Sie mir direkt nach Kairo, poste restante, schreiben; sonst ist meine Adresse Udine, Via Savorgnana 5.

Mit dem besten Dank und in tiefster Verehrung verbleibe ich Ihnen

hochachtungsvoll
Carlo Alf. Nallino

3-4 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Letter to Ignaz Goldziher, Cairo, 7 March 1894, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/14*

Kairo, d. 7. März 1894.

Hochverehrter Herr Professor!

Es ist mein Wunsch Ihnen meinen besten und warmsten Dank für Ihre so gütige und lange Besprechung meiner Chrestomathia auszudrücken.

Als ich mein Büchlein veröffentlichte, nachdem ich orientalische Sprachen (Persisch und Hebräisch ausgenommen) nur durch Selbstunterricht studirt hatte, hätte ich gewiss nicht zu erwarten gewagt dass ein weltberühmter Gelehrter als Sie sind, seine liebenswürdige Aufmerksamkeit auf meine kleine Schrift werden würde.

Ihre grosse Hoflichkeit erregt die innigste Dankbarkeit in meiner Seele; und es ist für mich höchst angenehm Ihre gütigen Worte als die beste Aufmunterung auf die orientalischen Studien zu betrachten.

Wie ich Ihnen schon geschrieben habe, würde ich sehr erfreut, wenn ich, während meines Aufenthalt in Kairo bis Ende Mai, in Stande wäre Ihnen irgendwie nützlich zu sein.

Indem ich Ihnen meinen herzlichsten Dank auch für Ihre durch meinen Vater gesandten Grüsse erneuere, verbleibe ich in tiefster Hochverehrung

Ihnen viel verbunden
Carlo A. Nallino

3-5 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Naples, 23 May 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/05*

Neapel, d. 23 Mai 1895.

Hochverehrter Herr Professor,

Nur heute kann ich Ihnen den Katal.[og] der hiesigen arabischen Handschriften⁵⁹ schicken, weil bisher die beste italienische Buchhandlungen waren nicht im Stande das Buch mir zu schaffen! Nur jetzt durch gütige Vermittelung eines Freundes, konnte ich den Katal.[og] direkt vom Ministerium erhalten. Als ich, vor einigen Jahren, diese Kataloge kaufen wollte, musste ich auch fast drei Monate erwarten. Heimliche Drücke würden gewiss viel und viel leichter zu haben!

Für Ihre gütige Korrekturen zu meiner Chrestomathia bin ich Ihnen recht verbunden. Herr Prof. Buonazia,⁶⁰ mit dem, ich über Ihre glänzende Studien⁶¹ vielmals sprach, lässt sich Ihnen am besten grüssen.

59 He refers to the *Catalogo dei codici arabi della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, compiled by Lupo Buonazia and published in 1880 as a fascicule of the *Catalogo dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia*, Firenze: Le Monnier, 1878–1904, to which different Italian scholars (Ignazio Guidi, Lupo Buonazia, Italo Pizzi, and others) collaborated and described (in this order): the Syriac, Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hebrew manuscripts of the National Library of Rome; the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Turkish, Coptic, and Hebrew manuscripts of the Angelica Library in Rome; the Oriental manuscripts of the Alessandrina Library in Rome; the Hebrew manuscripts of the Palatina Library of Parma; the Arabic manuscripts of the National Library of Naples; the Hebrew manuscripts of the Marciana Library in Venice; the Arabic manuscripts of the National Library of Florence; the Persian manuscripts of the Medicea Laurenziana Library of Florence; the Hebrew manuscripts of the Bologna University Library; the Oriental manuscripts of the National Library of Palermo; the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts of the Casanatense Library in Rome. The project of a comprehensive *Catalogo* of the Oriental manuscripts held in Italian public libraries was initiated and financed by the Italian Ministry of Education as a first step toward creating a joint catalogue of these rich but scattered materials; however, though meritorious and supported for more than 26 years, the project was discontinued soon afterward.

60 Lupo Buonazia (1844–1914), professor of Arabic language and literature at the Istituto Orientale of Naples from 1878 to 1914, knew Goldziher, though the exact circumstances are not explicit; in the Budapest LHAS Collection there is only one letter from Buonazia to Goldziher, dated 19 September 1872 (GIL/06/27/01), in which he mentions their exchanges of news and previous correspondence, also referring to his research around the Cod. 415 (?) and ms. 62 (ancient signature?) of the National Library of Florence, and Buonazia's stay in Beirut. See Nallino's obituary "Lupo Buonazia".

61 The reference is undoubtedly to the Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien*, which Nallino quoted extensively in his catalogue "I manoscritti arabi, persiani, siriaci e turchi," as

Entschuldigen Sie mich, hochverehrter Herr Professor, um meiner so grosser Verspätung, deren ich jedoch gar nicht Schuld bin. In der Hoffnung dass Sie mich immer zu Ihren Diensten haben wollen, verbleibe ich

hochachtungsvoll ergebenster

C.A. Nallino

3.6 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Naples, 30 March 1897, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/01*

Neapel, d. 30 März 97.

Hochverehrter Herr Professor,

Empfangen Sie meinen besten Dank für Ihre so gütige Postkarte.⁶² Ich bin so frei Ihnen alles was vom Oriente⁶³ erschienen ist zu schicken; zur Zeit ist diese Publikation aufgehoben.

Im vorigen Jahre habe ich in der Schule lange die أصول الفقه behandelt;⁶⁴ und ich muss mit grosser Dankbarkeit anerkennen, dass nur durch Ihre glänzende Arbeiten⁶⁵ wurde ich solchen Studien aufmerksam gemacht worden.

Prof. Buonazia erwidert Ihre freundliche Grüsse.

Ihr hochachtungsvoll

ergebener

C.A. Nallino

well as Goldziher's *Die Zâhîriten: Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte* (Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1884).

62 Goldziher's postcard to Nallino is missing from Nallino's archive at IPOCAN.

63 The journal *Oriente*, published by the Royal Oriental Institute in Naples (1894–1896), was suspended that year.

64 On his contribution to Islamic law, see Cilardo, Agostino, "Il contributo di Carlo Alfonso Nallino agli studi di diritto islamico," in Agostino Cilardo (ed.), *Giornata di studio Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938): Memoria di un maestro e prospettive degli studi arabo-islamici (20 novembre 2008)* = *Studi Magrebini* n.s. 8 (2010), 79–94.

65 See Goldziher, Ignaz, "A muhammedán jogtudomány eredetéről" (On the origin of Mohammedan jurisprudence), in *Értekezések a nyelv- és széptudományok köréből* 11 (1884), 3–23; where he sketched out—in Hungarian—the theory that Roman law was one of the chief sources of Islamic jurisprudence.

- 3-7 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Naples, 23 October 1897, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/02*

Udine, d. 23. Okt. 97.

Hochverehrter Herr Professor!

Erhalten Sie meinen besten Dank für die freundliche Zusendung Ihrer Abhandlung über *خليفة الله* und *ظل الله*,⁶⁶ welche ich mit grosser Freude gelesen habe. Sie hat mich noch in Udine getroffen; ich werde nur am Anfang November nach Neapel fahren. Mit den besten Grüssen, verbleibe ich

hochachtungsvoll
ergebenst
C.A. Nallino

- 3-8 *Goldziher, Ignaz, Postcard to Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Budapest, 18 June 1900, Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Fondo Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Series 11, Section 6, Folder 244, n° 2*

18. Juni [1900]

Sehr geehrter Freund! Herzlich danke ich Ihnen für den schönen Turiner Catalog,⁶⁷ den ich soeben erhalten habe und den ich mit Vergnügen lesen werde.

66 Nallino acknowledged receipt of Goldziher's article "Du sens propre des expressions ombre de Dieu, khalife de Dieu, pour désigner les chefs dans l'islam," in *RHR* 35 (1897), 331–338 (I could not find a copy of it in the Nallino Library), which is a study of the religious–historical implications of the two titles, revived later by D.S. Margoliouth, Rudi Paret, and Wadād al-Qāḍī; see Crone, Patricia, and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph. Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 4–23.

67 Nallino dispatched to Goldziher his catalogue "I manoscritti arabi, persiani, siriaci e turchi," as soon as it was printed, so as to incorporate his annotations, which Goldziher punctually sent. The catalogue was published in 1900 but had already been presented in 1899. Drawn on the model of Wilhelm Ahlwardt's catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the Königliche Bibliothek of Berlin (1877–1899) and Joseph Aumer's catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts of the Königliche Staatsbibliothek of Munich (1866–1875), Nallino's descriptions were reputed to be the first case of scientific and analytical cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts in Italy; see also p. 227 and Sagaria Rossi, "Nallino codicologo" 175–178.

Auch für die herrliche Vulgärarab[ische] Grammatik,⁶⁸ die ich durch Löscher erhalten habe, muss ich herzlich danken. Sie arbeiten so wacker und rüstig, daß ich Ihnen nur vom Herzen gratulieren kann zu den vielen Resultaten Ihres Fleisses.

Nochmals herzlichen Dank und Gruß von Ihrem ergebenen
IGoldziher

11, 2 l. 'Adawī.⁶⁹—13, 7 l. المنهى.—20, 3 بالخالة verstehe ich nicht.—21, 13 علمت l عمكت.—23, 12 [وباد] حاضر.—31, 24 شرح l شارح.—44, 15 درر.—45, 8 [...?] l على [من] اتبع.

3.9 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Naples, 23 June 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/06. [See Fig. 8.2].*

Neapel, d. 23. Juni 1900.

Hochverehrter Herr Professor!

Ich danke Ihnen bestens für Ihre freundlichen Berichtigungen zu meinem Katalog.—S. 13, 7 habe ich die falsche Lesart المنهى des Codex (der ganz vocalisirt ist, wie ich am Ende der Beschreibung bemerkte), beibehalten, weil viele ganz eigenartigen Fehler in Drusenhandschriften nicht aus der Unwissenheit der Abschreiben sondern aus einer festgestellten Tradition zu erklären zu sein scheinen.—S. 23,12, Ihre Ergänzung حاضر [وباد] ist natürlich richtig; aber ich habe da viele solcher nichtssagenden Worte unterdrückt.—S. 31, 24 شرح für شارح ist ein Fehler des Codex, den ich nicht corrigieren wollte weil er im Titel vorkommt.—S. 44, 15, was الدرر الفرائد betrifft, so habe ich selbst in der Anmerkung 1 bemerkt dass, der Titel so auch in der Vorrede geschrieben ist.—Die zwei letzten Bände von al-Battānī sind jetzt im Druck und beschäftigen mich sehr viel.⁷⁰ Im 3. Kursus habe ich dieses Jahres den Kommentar des

68 Goldziher thanked and praised Nallino for his *Larabo parlato in Egitto* (1900, reprinted in 1913 and enlarged in 1939), one of the richest collections of Egyptian words (8,000) and dialogues. See also here p. 220.

69 At the bottom of his letter, Goldziher did not refrain adding corrections to the transcriptions of some Arabic words and passages in Nallino's "I manoscritti arabi, persiani, siriaci e turchi," referring to pages and lines in the text. See also p. 221.

70 He refers to his *Opus Astronomicum* by al-Battānī; see also here pp. 216.

Neapel, d. 23. Juni 1900.

Hochwöhrter Herr Professor!

Ich danke Ihnen bestens für Ihre freundlichen Berichtigungen zu meinem Katalog. — S. 13, 7 habe ich die falsche de-sart عرب des Codex (der ganz vocalisirt ist, wie ich am Ende der Beschreibung bemerkte) beibehalten, weil viele ganz eigenartigen fehler in Drusenhandschriften nicht aus der Unwissenheit der Abschreiber sondern aus einer festgestellten Tradition zu erklären ^{zu sein} scheinen.

— S. 23, 12, Ihre Ergänzung [و] سوا ist natürlich richtig; aber ich habe da viele solcher nichtssagenden Worte unterdrückt.

— S. 31, 24 ش für ش ist ein Fehler des Codex, den ich nicht corrigieren wollte weil er im Titel vorkommt. — S. 44, 15, was الفرائد, ال betrifft, so habe ich selbst in der Anmerkung 1 bemerkt dass der Titel so auch in der Vorrede geschrieben ist. — Die zwei letzten Bände von al-Battani sind jetzt im Druck und beschäftigen mich sehr viel. Im 3. Kurst habe ich dieses Jahres den Kommentar des Sanuti zur الحقبة العجوة fast vollständig gelesen; gelegentlich auch Stücke aus anderen Kalam-Werken. — Nochmals Ihnen bestens Dankend verbleibe ich Ihre hochachtungsvoll ergebene C. A. Nallino

FIGURE 8.2 Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Naples, 23 June 1900
BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GIL/30/19/06 (VERSO)

Sanūsī zur العقيدة الصغرى⁷¹ fast vollständig gelesen; gelegentlich auch Stücke aus anderen kalām-Werken.—Nochmals Ihnen bestens dankend verbleibe ich Ihr
hochachtungsvoll ergebene
C.A. Nallino

3.10 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Naples, 13 April 1901, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/07*

Neapel, 13 April 1901.

Hochverehrter Herr Professor!

Besten Dank für die freundliche Zusendung Ihres lehrreichen Aufsatzes über die Sabbathinstitution.⁷² Es ist doch auffallend, dass, trotz ihren Theologen, die Muhammedaner immer die Woche mit dem Sonntag beginnen lassen. Dies ist auch das Gebrauch unserer Astronomen und Chronologen (also feria prima = يكشنبه, يوم الاحد; feria secunda = دوشنبه, يوم الاثنين, u.s.w.); aber im gewöhnlichen Leben ist für die Christen (mindestens in Italien) Montag der erste Tag der Woche.—Dienstag, Donnerstag und Samstag werden also in Italien giorni pari (Tage deren Zahl gerade ist) genannt; dagegen Montag, Mittwoch und Freitag giorni dispari.

Vom 1. Bd. des al-Battānī sind schon gedruckt die lateinische Übersetzung und ein Theil des nothwendigen Kommentares; ich hoffe das Band im nächsten Sommer fertig zu haben.

Mit dem besten Gruss verbleibe ich

hochachtungsvoll
ergebenster
Carlo A. Nallino

71 Nallino overwrote a ك over the ص of الصغرى; he refers to Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), *Kitāb al-'Aqīda al-ṣaḡhīra* (or *al-ṣuḡhrā*); see also p. 228. On the basis of this letter it is known on which sources he based his courses.

72 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Die Sabbatinstitution im Islam," in Markus Brann and Ferdinand Rosenthal (eds.), *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann*, Breslau: Schottlaender, 1900, 86–102.

3.11 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Naples, 11 July 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/08*

Udine, 11 Luglio 1902.⁷³

Pregiatissimo Signor Professore,

La ringrazio della Sua gentile cartolina postale del 4 corr., la quale mi ha raggiunto a Udine,⁷⁴ dove passo le vacanze autunnali. Nel mese di Febbraio ero stato nominato professore d'arabo all'Università di Palermo,⁷⁵ dove ho trovato un buon numero di scolari. Ma la maggior parte di questi ha uno scopo pratico piuttosto che scientifico.

La pubblicazione degli ultimi due volumi d'al-Battānī (circa 550 pagg. in -4° gr.) mi occupa ancora molto; però la stampa è già a buon punto, ed io spero di aver tutto finito nel prossimo inverno.⁷⁶ Allora potrò riprendere gli studi filosofici e teologici arabi, per i quali il mio interesse è sempre vivissimo.

La prego di gradire i miei migliori saluti e di avermi

Suo dev.^{mo}
C.A. Nallino

3.12 *Goldziher, Ignaz, Postcard to Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Budapest, 19 October 1903, Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Fondo Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Series 11, Section 6, Folder 244, n° 3*

Budapest 19. Okt. 1903

Lieber Freund! Herzlich gratuliere ich Ihnen zum erscheinen Ihres latein.[ischen] Battānī und danke für die Übersendung des 1. Pars⁷⁷ der mir soeben von Rom aus zugeht. So sehr mir wegen ungenügender astronomischer Vorbereitung die Materie selbst unbekannt ist, so habe ich bereits die mir sehr lehrreiche Praefatio dankbarst genoßen. Es war mir unbekannt, daß

73 Starting from this date Nallino corresponded with Goldziher in Italian and no longer in German.

74 Goldziher's postcard dated 4 July 1902 mentioned here is missing from Nallino's archive at IPOCAN.

75 See pp. 217, 228.

76 He did not finalize this whole work until 1907.

77 The first volume of al-Battānī's *Opus Astronomicum* was published early in 1903.

lieber Freund! Herzliche gratulation ich Ihnen ^{Erkennung} ~~Abteilung~~ Ihres lobens-
 würdigen und dank für die publ. Übersetzung des I. Bandes ^{von} mir ^{über-}
 von Rom aus zu pub. So sehr mir wegen ungenügender astronomischer
 Vorbereitung die Materie selbst unbekannt ist, so habe ich bereits Sie mit
 sehr lobwürdigen ^{Gratulationen} dankbarst gratuliert. Es war mir unbekannt,
 daß Sie ein ^{مشرق} das schlechte Buch von Van Dyck gehörig charakterisiert
 sind haben. Man hat es mir i.Z. als zu streng angerechnet, daß von das
 arge Buch in der WZKM Bd XI (1897) 231–241 auf seinen
 Worth reduziert haben. Hoffentlich geht es Ihnen immer recht gut;
 besser als mir; eher ich abgespannt und zum äussersten
 ermüdet bin.

Nochmals herzlichen Dank
 von Ihrem treu ergebenen
 IGoldziher

Budapest 19. Oct. 1903

FIGURE 8.3 Goldziher, Ignaz, Postcard to Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Budapest, 19 October 1903
 ROME, ISTITUTO PER L'ORIENTE CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO, FONDO CARLO
 ALFONSO NALLINO, SERIES 11, SECTION 6, FOLDER 244, N° 3

Sie in ^{مشرق} das schlechte Buch von Van Dyck gehörig charakterisiert haben.⁷⁸
 Man hat es mir i.Z. als zu streng angerechnet, daß von das arge Buch in der
 WZKM Bd XI (1897) 231–241 auf seinen Wert von reduziert habe. Hoffentlich
 geht es Ihnen immer recht gut; besser als mir, eher ich abgespannt und zum
 äussersten ermüdet bin.

Nochmals herzlichen Dank

Von Ihrem treu ergebenen
 IGoldziher

78 Goldziher moved on to a completely different subject, one which apparently irritated him, namely, “das arge Buch” (the bad book) by Edward Albert van Dyck, *Kitāb Iktifā’ al-qanū’ bi-mā huwa maṭbū’ min ashḥār al-ta’ālif al-‘arabiyya fi l-maṭābi’ al-sharqiyya wa-l-gharbiyya* (Cairo: Maṭba’at al-Hilāl, 1896), which was reviewed by Goldziher, “Bibliographie arabischer Druckwerke,” in *WZKM* 11 (1897), 231–241, and also by Nallino, in *al-Mashriq*, as Goldziher recalls (I was unable to locate any review by him on this book in *al-Mashriq*). In his long and detailed review of van Dyck’s book (a bibliographic dictionary of Arabic printed works in the East and West) Goldziher identified many errors in the Arabic transcription of titles and names and severely criticized the approach and the method of ordering the works.

Chiarissimo Signor Professore, Palermo, 28 Ottobre 1903.
 Tornato ieri a Palermo, ho trovato la Sua cartolina e la Sua recensione del libro del Blochet. Le sono molto grato d'avermela inviata, tanto più che qui non si trova la *Deutsche Litt. Z.*, e sono anche lieto di vedere che il Suo giudizio è molto d'accordo coll'impressione mia di quel lavoro, interessante ma troppo spesso inferiore agli attuali studi musulmani. — Nel *Mašriq* avevo avuto soltanto occasione di notare le enormi storpiature dei nomi geografici arabi nei libri del Van Dyck (sopra tutto nella letteratura araba scritta insieme col Philippides). — Ora attendo a finire il secondo volume della trad. d'al-Battānī, e nel tempo stesso a preparar una edizione dei Diplomi arabi di Sicilia.
 Mi duole di sentire che lei è stanco; non me ne meraviglio pensando al colossale lavoro da lei fatto sin qui. Veda di riposare, forse un viaggio, che la condurrette per un paio di mesi in Sicilia, le farebbe bene. L'anno scorso fu qui a lungo, il Landberg con un beduino della Datina. — Cordiali saluti dal suo dev^{mo} C. A. Nallino

FIGURE 8.4 Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Palermo, 28 October 1903
 BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GIL/30/19/04 (VERSO)

3-13 **Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Palermo, 28 October 1903, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/04.**
 [See Fig. 8.4].

Palermo, 28 Ottobre 1903.

Chiarissimo Signor Professore,

Tornato ieri a Palermo, ho trovato la Sua cartolina e la Sua recensione del libro del Blochet.⁷⁹ Le sono molto grato d'avermela inviata, tanto più che qui non si trova la *Deutsche Litt. [eratur] Z. [eitung]* e sono anche lieto di vedere che il Suo giudizio è molto d'accordo coll'impressione mia di quel lavoro, interessante ma troppo spesso inferiore agli attuali studi musulmani. — Nel *Mašriq* avevo avuto soltanto occasione di notare le enormi storpiature dei nomi geografici arabi nei libri del Van Dyck (sopra tutto della Letteratura araba scritta insieme col Philippides).⁸⁰ — Ora attendo a finire il secondo volume della trad. d'al-Battānī, e nel tempo stesso a preparar una edizione dei diplomi arabi di Sicilia.⁸¹

79 Goldziher, Ignaz, "[Review of] Blochet, Edgar, *Le messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane*, Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1903," in *Deutsche Literatur Zeitung* 24 (1903), 2535–2539.

80 Van Dyck, Edward, and Constantin Philippides, *Ta'rikh al-'arab wa-ādābihim* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1893), presumably reviewed by Nallino together with van Dyck's *Kitāb Iktifā' al-qanū'* in *al-Mashriq*. (I was unable to locate any review by him on this book in *al-Mashriq*.)

Mi duole di sentire che Lei è stanco; non me ne meraviglio pensando al colossale lavoro da Lei fatto sin qui.⁸² Veda di riposare; forse un viaggio, che La conducesse per un paio di mesi in Sicilia Le farebbe bene. L'anno scorso fu quì a lungo il Landberg⁸³ con un beduino della Daṭīna.—Cordiali saluti dal

Suo dev^{mo} C.A. Nallino

3.14 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Palermo, 21 February 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/03*

Palermo, 21 Febr. 1904

Chiarissimo Signor Professore,

La ringrazio molto d'avermi mandato il Suo nuovo scritto sul fondatore della dinastia degli Almohadi.⁸⁴ Le scrivo dopo averlo letto colla massima attenzione e di avervi trovato una gran quantità di fatti del massimo rispetto; spero anzi di poterne fare un cenno bibliografico in qualche rivista italiana.⁸⁵

In un recente scritto del Codera ho visto che si è trovata una moneta d'oro coniata a Ceuta nel 543, coll'iscrizione:⁸⁶

لا اله الا الله | محمد رسول الله المهدي | الذي يشرك النبي امير | المسلمين يحيى بن ابي بكر |
بن علي بن يوسف

81 This work was never brought to fruition by Nallino.

82 Nallino kindly tries to cheer Goldziher up after his previous outburst and suggested Goldziher take a rest and travel to Sicily.

83 In 1902, a Swedish Orientalist, Count Carlo de Landberg (1848–1924), stayed for a long time on the Italian island with a Bedouin from the southern Yemeni region of Dathīna. Landberg extensively studied the dialects of southern Arabia (*Études sur les dialects de l'Arabie méridionale*, 2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1901–1913, whose second volume, part one, is devoted to the Dathīna region; *Glossaire daṭīnois*, 2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1920–1923; a third volume was edited by Karl V. Zetterstéen, Leiden: Brill, 1942). For Landberg and his friendship with Goldziher, see Christoph Rauch's contribution to this volume.

84 Nallino thanks Goldziher for his book *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert* (I could not find this book in Nallino's library).

85 Among his writings there is no trace of a review dedicated to this work of Goldziher's.

86 Here Nallino transcribes the inscription on a gold coin from Ceuta, dated 543, excerpt from a contribution on Arab-Spanish coins by Francisco Codera y Zaydín, whose formula appears unknown to him. (I could not find this inscription either in Codera's *Tratado de numismática arábigo-española*, Madrid: M. Murillo, 1879, or in any of this author's following studies on coins.)

Questa formula mi riesce del tutto nuova; sa Lei che si riscontri in testi teologici?

Spero che la Sua salute sia buona, e che sia cessata pure la stanchezza di cui mi parlava nell'ultima Sua cartolina. Di nuovo La ringrazio molto della Sua cortesia, e La prego di gradire i miei rispettosi saluti.

Suo dev^{mo}
C.A. Nallino

3.15 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Letter to Ignaz Goldziher, Palermo, 26 April 1906, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/15. [See Fig. 8.5].*
Palermo, 26 Aprile 1906.

Chiarissimo Signor Professore,

La ringrazio cordialmente di avermi mandato il Suo scritto "Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet," che altrimenti mi sarebbe rimasto inaccessibile a Palermo. La sua lettura mi è stata molto gradita ed istruttiva, come Le può facilmente immaginare. Io mi ero procurato un certo numero di libri arabi su scienze occulte, ma ho rinunciato a comprenderli; mi sembrano una riduzione peggiorata dei papiri magici e degli ostraka egiziani dell'età ellenistica. Eppure come sono venduti a Tripoli di Barberia, in Tunisi, in Algeria!

Che cosa pensa Lei delle conclusioni del Bel sui riti della pioggia nel Mağrib?⁸⁷ A me sembrano discutibili.

Nel Mağreb le sole coltivazioni che soffrono per la siccità sono i cereali; si capisce dunque che solo per salvare questi ultimi si facciano le rogazioni. E allora come si può dire che si tratta di "fêtes populaires de la récolte"?

Quanto al rito della *ğongá*, mi pare che l'elemento principale sia la "pou-*pée*" e non la "cueiller à sauce". Io ho veduto alla Malga (المعلقة) presso Tunisi⁸⁸ rogazioni per la pioggia ('aš-štā) fatte da ragazzini musulmani; portavano in giro un legno a forma di croce †, rivestito di stracci e di carta colorata, così da sembrare una bambola colle braccia orizzontali; cantavano:

ommuḥtango be-šḥajebhā
tuṭlub rabbī, (lā mā) ḥajebhā.

Questa bambola viene chiamata tango a Tunisi; si usa anche a Enfidaville (النفیضة).

87 He refers to Bel, Alfred, *Quelques rites en usage chez les musulmans maghribins pour obtenir la pluie*, Algiers: Fontana, 1905.

88 On his journey to North Africa see also here pp. 217, 218.

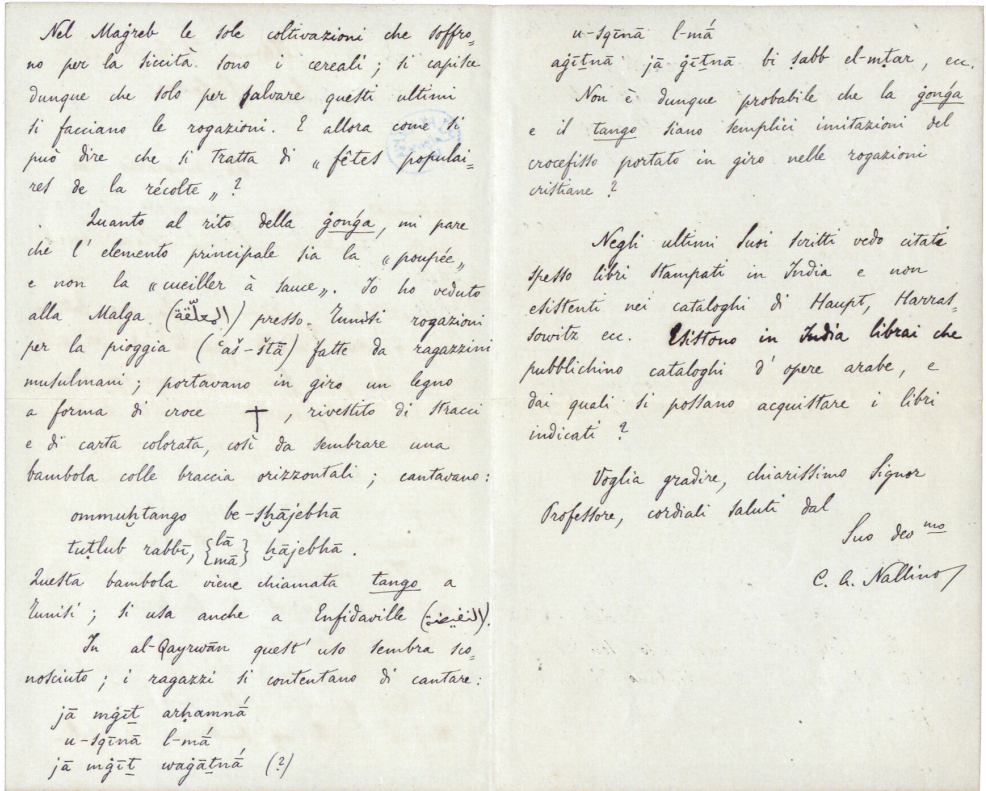


FIGURE 8.5 Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Letter to Ignaz Goldziher, Palermo, 26 April 1906
BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GIL/30/19/15 (VERSO)

In al-Qayrwān quest'uso sembra sconosciuto; i ragazzi si contentano di cantare:

jā mgīt arhamnā
u-sqīnā l-mā
jā mgīt wagāt'nā (?)
u-sqīnā l-mā
ajāt'nā jā gīt'nā bi-šabb al-mṭar, ecc.

Non è dunque probabile che la gonga e il tango siano semplici imitazioni del crocefisso portato in giro nelle rogazioni cristiane?

Negli ultimi Suoi scritti vedo citati spesso libri stampati in India e non esistenti nei cataloghi di Huart, Harrassowitz ecc. Esistono in India librai che pubblicano cataloghi d'opere arabe, e dai quali si possano acquistare i libri indicati?

Voglia gradire, chiarissimo Signor Professore, cordiali saluti dal

Suo dev^{mo}
C.A. Nallino

3.16 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Wedding notice to Ignaz Goldziher, Turin, 28 July 1906, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/16.2*

Giovanna Montini vedova del prof. Giovanni Nallino, ha l'onore di partecipare alla s.v. il matrimonio, oggi celebratosi, di suo figlio Carlo Alfonso con la Sig.^{na} Maddalena Cognetti de Martiis.

Maria Sartoretti vedova del prof. Salvatore Cognetti de Martiis, ha l'onore di partecipare alla s.v. il matrimonio, oggi celebratosi, di sua figlia Maddalena col prof. Carlo Alfonso Nallino dell'Università di Palermo.

Torino, 28 luglio 1906.

Udine—via Savorgnana, 5

Torino—via Madama Cristina, 77

3.17 *Goldziher, Ignaz, Visiting card to Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Budapest, 31 July 1906, Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Fondo Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Series 11, Section 6, Folder 244, n° 4*

31. Juli 1906

Lieber Freund, Die aufrichtigsten Glückswünschen zu Ihrer Verheiratung. Möge Ihr Leben immer schön und glücklich sich gestalten in Familie und Beruf. Empfehlen Sie mich, ich bitte, unbekannter Weise Ihrer Frau Gemahlin.

Ihr getreuer

Professor I. Goldziher

Budapest

- 3.18 *Goldziher, Ignaz, Postcard to Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Budapest, 4 November 1911, Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Fondo Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Series 11, Section 6, Folder 244, n° 5. [See Fig. 8.6].*

Budapest 4. Nov. 1911

Sehr geehrter Freund und Kollege!

Ich bin Ihnen überaus dankbar dafür, daß Sie nach so langer Zeit mir wieder ein Zeichen der Erinnerung in Ihrem trefflicher *علم الفلك تاريخ*⁸⁹ zukommen lassen, wofür ich Ihnen herzlich danke. Soweit ich darin in wenigen Stunden lesen konnte, habe ich mich an der erschöpfenden und lichtvollen Darstellung erfreut.

Ich gratuliere Ihnen von Herzen zu solcher Erspriesslichkeit Ihrer Wirksamkeit in Aegypten.

Nochmals aufrichtigen Dank und freundschaftlichen Gruß

von Ihrem treu ergebenen

I. Goldziher

- 3.19 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Rome, 11 May 1914, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/11*

Roma, 11 Maggio 1914.

Via Attilio Regolo 12

Chiarissimo Signor Professore,

La morte di mia moglie (che mi ha lasciato due piccoli bambini),⁹⁰ le cure del riordinamento dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, ed in fine il mio trasferimento all'Università di Roma,⁹¹ sono state causa di un deplorable ritardo di tutta la mia corrispondenza. Quindi ora soltanto posso ringraziarla del Suo gentile invio dell'articolo «Fikh»,⁹² del quale già ho potuto giovarmi nelle mie lezioni,

89 See here pp. 218, n. 7, 230.

90 Nallino's wife, Maddalena Cognetti de Martiis, died in 1913; shortly afterward Nallino also lost his seven-year-old son.

91 On his appointments in Naples, between 1913 and 1914, and in Rome to follow, see p. 218.

92 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Fikh," in *ET* (1913), 106–111.

Budapest 4. Nov. 1911

Sehr geehrter Freund und Kollege!

Ich bin Ihnen überaus dankbar dafür, daß Sie nach so langer Zeit mit wieder ein Zeichen der Erinnerung in Ihrem trefflichen *Journal* zum Vorschein kommen, wofür ich Ihnen herzlich danke. So weit ich darin in einigen Stunden lesen konnte, habe ich mich an der erstickenden und lichtvollen Darstellung erfreut.

Ich gratuliere Ihnen von Herzen zu solcher Ersparlichkeit Ihrer Wirksamkeit in Kegypten.

Nochmals aufrichtigen Dank und
freundschaftlichen Gruß
von Ihrem treuen ergebenen

J. Goldziher

FIGURE 8.6 Goldziher, Ignaz, Postcard to Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Budapest, 4 November 1911

ROME, ISTITUTO PER L'ORIENTE CARLO ALFONSO
NALLINO, FONDO CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO, SERIES 11,
SECTION 6, FOLDER 244, N° 5

e nel quale ho visto con piacere rammentata l'importanza del libro del Santillana.⁹³

Sono stato chiamato qui alla nuova cattedra di “Storia ed istituzioni musulmane” (religiose e politiche); quindi ho spesso occasione di ricordare Lei ed i suoi lavori sia nella Scuola, sia conversando col Guidi, col Lammens, col Santillana⁹⁴ ecc.

Spero che non mancherà l'occasione di vederla qui a Roma.

Intanto La ringrazio vivamente e La prego di gradire i miei rispettosi saluti.

Suo dev.^{mo}

Carlo A. Nallino

A letter from Goldziher to Nallino is missing from Nallino's archive at IPOCAN (dated from late 1919–early 1920).

3.20 *Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Rome, 28 July 1920, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/30/19/10. [see Fig. 8.7]*

Roma (33), Via Attilio Regolo 12

28 Luglio 1920.

Illustre Sig. Professore,

Le faccio i miei migliori ringraziamenti per l'invio del Suo articolo *Tjādat al-marīd*;⁹⁵ tutte le cose Sue, anche le più piccole, sono sempre una festa per chi le riceve.—In plico raccomandato le mando 4 opuscoli (3 miei ed 1 del Di Matteo) estratti dall'ultimo fascicolo della RSO.⁹⁶

93 He refers to the *Code civil et commercial tunisien* (Paris: J. Picard, 1899), an innovative and authoritative work due almost exclusively to David Santillana (1855–1931), who analyzed the origin of the *Code des obligations et des contrats* promulgated in Tunisia in 1906, adopted by Morocco in 1913, and then in Lebanon and Mauritania, applying an original method of reviewing the sources and understanding the codification.

94 Ignazio Guidi (1844–1935), Henri Lammens (1862–1937), and David Santillana were his colleagues at the University of Rome “La Sapienza.”

95 See here p. 231.

96 More than three contributions were published by Nallino in volume 8 (1919–1920) of RSO; trying to follow a possible logic in his selection, I assume they are: Nallino, Carlo A., “Il poema mistico d'Ibn al-Fāriḍ in una recente traduzione italiana,” in RSO 8 (1919–1920), 1–106; Nallino, Carlo A., “Etimologia araba e significato di 'Asub' e 'Azimut' con una postilla su 'Almucantarar,’” in RSO 8 (1919–1920), 369–400; Nallino, Carlo A., “Ancora su Ibn al-Fāriḍ e sulla mistica musulmana,” in RSO 8 (1919–1920), 501–562; Di Matteo, Ignazio, “Sulla mia interpretazione del poeta mistico Ibn al-Fāriḍ,” in RSO 8 (1919–1920), 479–500.



FIGURE 8.7 Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, Postcard to Ignaz Goldziher, Rome, 28 July 1920
BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GIL/30/19/10 (VERSO)

Nell'ultima lettera Sua, di molti mesi fa, Ella mi scriveva non essere vero che il titolo di califfo sia stato dato a sultani di Costantinopoli solo in epoca relativamente recente. Ma io non avevo detto questo; anzi a p. 16 del mio opuscolo⁹⁷ io avevo esplicitamente notato che, come per tanti altri principi (anche piccoli) musulmani, l'adulazione di letterati e di cortigiani aveva cominciato presto a dare il titolo di califfo a qualche sovrano ottomano. Quello che invece risulta dai documenti è che ufficialmente, in atti emanati da Sultani, il titolo di califfo non viene assunto prima del trattato di Küçük Qainârge.⁹⁸ Ed anche dopo è assai poco usato nella titolatura ufficiale.

Voglia gradire i miei migliori saluti e mi abbia

Suo dev.^{mo}
Carlo A. Nallino

97 Nallino, Carlo A., *Appunti sulla natura del "Califfato" in genere e sul presunto "Califfato ottomano"*, Rome: Ministero delle Colonie, 1917, 16.

98 The treaty was signed in a village of modern-day Bulgaria on 21 July 1774 between the Russian and Ottoman empires and stipulated the cession of many territories by the sultan to Russia, as well as other rights. It was drafted in three official copies, in Italian, Turkish, and Russian. In the event of disagreement, it was decided that the Italian version should prevail, signed in equal texts by the two ambassadors. Even throughout the 18th century, in its relations with Christian states, Italian was chosen as the preferred language by the Sublime Porte, and this choice is still reflected today in the commemorative plaque found on the site.

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Ignaz Goldziher, Walter Gottschalk, and the *Kitāb al-Aymān* by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Najīramī

Sabine Schmidtke

1 The Context

On 8 October 2022, nine memorial stones (*Stolpersteine*) were dedicated in front of the entrance of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Unter den Linden 8, to commemorate nine former librarians who were dismissed and persecuted under the Nazi rule. These included Walter Gottschalk (d. 1974), who since 1919 worked as a librarian in the Oriental department of Berlin State Library until his dismissal on 31 December 1935.¹

Walter Gottschalk was born on 29 January 1891² in Aachen as the son of the merchant (*Großkaufmann*) Benjamin Carl Gottschalk (1861–1923) and his wife, Rosa Gottschalk née Kahl (1868–1923).³ As he relates to Ignaz Goldzi-

1 The other eight former librarians of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin were Emmy Friedlaender (1880–1944), Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt (1895–1972), Ernst Honigmann (1892–1954), Robert Lachmann (1892–1939), Annelise Modrzejewska (1901–1938), Hermann Pick (1879–1952), Arthur Spanier (1889–1944), and Kurt Wieruszowski (1877–1942); see <https://blog.sbb.berlin/verlegung-von-neun-stolpersteinen-vor-der-staatsbibliothek-zu-berlin/> and <https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/geschichte/stolpersteine>. For the larger context, see Hohoff, Ulrich, “Wissenschaftliche Bibliothekarinnen und Bibliothekare als Opfer der NS-Diktatur. Eine Übersicht über 250 Lebensläufe seit dem Jahr 1933. Teil 1: Die Entlassungen,” in *o|bib: Das offene Bibliotheksjournal* 2, no. 2 (2015), 1–32, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5282/0-bib/2015H2S1-32>; and Hohoff, Ulrich, “Wissenschaftliche Bibliothekarinnen und Bibliothekare als Opfer der NS-Diktatur. Eine Übersicht über 250 Lebensläufe seit dem Jahr 1933 Teil 2: Emigration, Widerstand, Deportation und Gefangenschaft,” in *o|bib: Das offene Bibliotheksjournal* 3, no. 2 (2016), 1–41, <https://doi.org/10.5282/0-bib/2016H2S1-41>.

2 The Stolperstein initially had “Jg. 1881” as Gottschalk’s year of birth. By January 2024 the error was corrected.

3 The Gottschalks can be traced back to the eighteenth century when they moved around 1770 from Rheinbach in the vicinity of Bonn to Geilenkirchen, located some 33 km north of Aachen. I owe this information to Karl-Heinz Nieren, who has established the genealogy of the various branches of the Gottschalk family in Geilenkirchen from the eighteenth until the twenty-first century. Benjamin Gottschalk ran, together with his brother Sigmund (1858–1911), the company Gebr. Gottschalk in Aachen, which traded in textiles. Walter was the oldest of four brothers; besides him, there were Richard (1892–1944), Alfred (1894–1973), and Otto (1898–1969). In addition, there was Adolf, who died on 23 October 1895, three weeks

her (1850–1921) in his letter of 11 October 1911 (letter 2), it was Heinrich Jaulus (1849–1927), who served as rabbi in Aachen since 1876, who had introduced Gottschalk to Semitic languages—which languages precisely Gottschalk began to learn with Jaulus is uncertain.⁴ In the spring of 1909 Gottschalk enrolled in Würzburg University, where he spent two terms. His focus was on biblical and Byzantine studies, in addition to some other disciplines that were of interest to him: art history, archeology, philosophy, psychology, and French philology. His principal teachers in Würzburg were the Catholic theologian, Semitist and Assyriologist Johannes F. Hehn (1873–1932); the historian and classicist Julius Kaerst (1857–1930); the archaeologist and specialist of ancient Greek art and sculpture Heinrich Bulle (1867–1945); the art historian Fritz Knapp (1870–1938); the Byzantinist August Heisenberg (1869–1930); the psychologist and linguist Karl L. Bühler (1879–1963); and the philosopher Remigius Stölzle (1856–1921).⁵

after he was born. Richard was murdered in Auschwitz. Alfred, who had studied medicine and specialized in biochemistry, left Germany in 1938 for England, and in 1939 emigrated to Australia, see Neuberger, Albert, “Alfred Gottschalk 1894–1973,” in *Advances in Carbohydrate Chemistry and Biochemistry* 33 (1976), 1–10. The Adolph Basser Library, Australian Academy of Science, holds the Adolf Gottschalk Records (MS080), which includes some archival material pertinent to his formation and early career in Germany and his emigration to England and Australia; see <https://www.eoas.info/archives/BSAR00643.htm> and <https://ais.axiellcollections.cloud/SCIENCE/Details/archive/110000202> (last accessed 1 March 2023). I thank Clare McLennan, the archivist of the Australian Academy of Science, who shared portions of the Alfred Gottschalk Records with me. Otto also managed to leave Germany and, at the end of his life, lived in Norwich, CT, where he is buried; see <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/11322589/otto-gottschalk> (last accessed 27 February 2023). Information on Walter and his family is accessible through Familienbuch Euregio, <http://familienbuch-euregio.eu/> (last accessed 7 March 2023). According to “Familie: Benjamin Carl Gottschalk/Rosa Kahn (F3845),” *Hohenems Genealogie: Jüdische Familiengeschichte in Vorarlberg und Tirol*, <https://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/familygroup.php?familyID=F3845&tree=Hohenems> (last accessed 10 January 2023), Benjamin and Rose Gottschalk also had a daughter, Adele (1891–1944), who was born in Geilenkirchen, in North-Rhine Westphalia. This is evidently an error.

4 For Heinrich Jaulus, who had studied in Breslau (*Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar Fraenckel'sche Stiftung* and Breslau University), Berlin (*Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*), and Tübingen (University), see Brocke, Michael, and Julius Carlebach (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der Rabbiner*, 2 vols., i, Munich: K.G. Saur, 2009, 311–312 no. 2268.

5 See “Studienakte Walter Gottschalk,” Inskriptionsliste Sommer-Semester 1909, Universitätsarchiv der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, where the following courses are listed: “Erklärung der Kleinen Propheten” (Hehn), “Besprechung der biblischen Urgeschichten mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der babylonischen Parallelen” (Hehn), “Geschichte des Altertums” (Kaerst), “Griechische Kunstgeschichte” (Bulle), “Archäologische Übungen” (Bulle), “Griechische Handschriften” (Heisenberg), “Lektüre des Apolloniosroman und Einführung in das Studium des Vulgärgriechischen” (Heisenberg), “Einführungskurs in die experimentelle Psychologie” (Bühler), “Geschichte der deutschen Kunst” (Knapp); see also *Verzeichnis*

It may have been the Assyriologist and Orientalist Maximilian Streck (1873–1945), with whom he studied Arabic grammar during the winter semester of 1909/10, who directed Gottschalk toward Arabic and Oriental studies and who may have suggested to him to continue his studies in Berlin. Streck had earned his doctoral degree in Leipzig in March 1897 for a study in Assyriology,⁶ and he continued his studies in Arabic and Syriac over the next two semesters in Leipzig and Strasbourg. In 1900, he was granted the *venia legendi* in Munich, and in November 1900 he submitted a request to have his *venia legendi* transferred to Berlin University (*Umhabilitation*), a request that was approved by the two ordinaria, Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922) and Eduard Sachau (1845–1930). From 1909 until his retirement in 1939, Streck taught as *ordinarius* in Würzburg.⁷

From the summer semester of 1910 through 1913, Gottschalk studied for seven terms at Berlin University, where he focused on Semitic languages as well as Persian. His principal teachers were Eduard Sachau, Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942), Friedrich Delitzsch, Josef Marquardt (1864–1930), Martin Hartmann (1851–1918), and Georg Kampffmeyer (1864–1936) in *Orientalia*. Besides this, Gottschalk continued to study philosophy, history, and art history with the philosopher, psychologist, and musicologist Carl Stumpf (1848–1936); the philosopher and Kant specialist Alois Riehl (1844–1924); the neo-Kantian philo-

der Vorlesungen welche an der Königlich Bayerischen Julius-Maximilians-Universität zu Würzburg im Sommer-Semester 1909 gehalten werden, Würzburg: Königl. Universitätsdruckerei H. Stürtz A.G., 1909, 4 (Hehn), 16 (Kaerst), 17 (Bulle, Heisenberg), 18 (Knapp, Bühler). In the “Studienakte Walter Gottschalk,” Inskriptionsliste Winter-Semester 1909/10, Universitätsarchiv der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, the following courses are listed: “Erklärung des Propheten Jesaias” (Hehn), “Hebräische Grammatik” (Hehn), “Besprechung ausgewählter alttestamentlicher Stellen” (Hehn), “Griechische Geschichte bis auf Alexander den Grossen” (Kaerst), “Entwicklung der modernen geschichtlichen Auffassung” (Kaerst), “Arabische Grammatik” (Maximilian Streck [1873–1945]), “Einführung in das Wesen der griechischen Kunst” (Bulle), “Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie” (Stölzle), “Exercices de Français” (Joseph Vernay). See also *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen welche an der Königlich Bayerischen Julius-Maximilians-Universität zu Würzburg im Winter-Semester 1909/10 gehalten werden*, Würzburg: Königl. Universitätsdruckerei H. Stürtz A.G., 1909, 4 (Hehn), 15 (Stölzle), 16 (Kaerst, Bulle), 18 (Streck), 19 (Vernay).

6 His thesis, “Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistân und Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften,” appeared in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 13 (1898), 57–110.

7 See “Habitationsakte Maximilian Streck,” Universitätsarchiv, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Phil. Fak. 01–Philosophische Fakultät, Dekanat 1810–1945, 10. Habilitationen, Sign. 1224. For Streck, see also briefly Babinger, Franz, “Ein Jahrhundert morgenländischer Studien an der Münchener Universität,” in *ZDMG* 107 (1957), 268 n. 2.

sopher Benno Erdmann (1851–1921); the sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel (1858–1918); the ancient historian Carl Ferdinand Lehmann-Haupt (1861–1938); and the art historians Heinrich Wölfflin (1854–1945) and Carl Frey (1857–1917).⁸ In Berlin, Gottschalk was also under the tutelage of Friedrich Kern (1874–1921), who had earned his doctoral degree in 1898 in Jena for a study of Muḥammad ‘Uthmān Jalāl’s (1828–1889) rendering of Molière’s *Femmes Savantes* into Egyptian dialect. Moreover, Kern had spent extended periods of time both before and after 1898 in Cairo and was closely familiar with the manuscripts of the Khedival Library in the city. When Gottschalk came to Berlin, Kern, who had also studied at some point with Ignaz Goldziher, was an unaffiliated scholar who spent most of his time in Berlin. Kern was not only an avid reader and intimate connoisseur of Islamic manuscripts, and the Berlin collection in particular, he also possessed one of the finest Orientalists’ libraries in Germany at the time.⁹

Toward the end of his studies, in 1912, Gottschalk joined the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* as a member,¹⁰ and his aim was to embark on an academic career. His principal teacher, Eduard Sachau, had proposed that Gottschalk devote his doctoral dissertation to oaths among the Semites.¹¹ Friedrich

8 See his *Lebenslauf* in “Promotionsakte Walter Gottschalk,” Universitätsarchiv, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Phil. Fak. 01–Philosophische Fakultät, Dekanat 1810–1945, 09. Promotionen, Sign. 588. A detailed list of courses Gottschalk attended between summer semester 1910 and summer semester 1913 is included in *Akten betr. Bibliothekar Dr. Walter Gottschalk*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Band 11. No. 1.9¹⁵⁵, 1919–1939.

9 See below, letter 1; see also Gottschalk, Walter, *Das Gelübde nach älterer arabischer Auffassung*, Berlin: Diss., Mayer und Müller, 1919, v: “Herrn Dr. Friedrich Kern-Wilmersdorf und Herrn Max Kahn-München bin ich ebenfalls zu Dank verpflichtet für ihre stete, selbstlose Bereitschaft, mir über die Nöte der Bibliotheken hinwegzuhelfen. So hat mir vor allem Herr Dr. Kern seine reiche Sammlung seltener orientalischer Drucke jederzeit zugänglich gemacht.” See also Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letter to Theodor Nöldeke*, 1 April 1907, in Goldziher, Ignaz and Nöldeke, Theodor, *The correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Theodor Nöldeke*, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/48: “Vor einigen Tagen sandte mir mein gewesener Schüler, Dr Kern, 22 Stück neuer Kairoer Drucke als Ostergeschenk. Ich muss mich natürlich in die Lektüre dieser Sachen stürzen ...” For Kern, see Schmidtke, Sabine, “‘Er versinkt aber in einem Meer von Handschriften’: Friedrich Kern (1874–1921) and His Studies on the Dogmatic History of Ḥanafism and Māturīdism,” in Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt (eds.), *Sammler–Bibliothekare–Forscher: Zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2022, 315–386.

10 See *ZDMG* 66, no. 3 (1912) xlvi: “... als ordentliche Mitglieder beigetreten: 1490 Herr stud. phil. et orient. Walter Gottschalk in Berlin, NW. 23, Claudiusstr. 12, Gartengeb. 1.”

11 See below, n. 19.

Kern in turn directed Gottschalk to Goldziher's contribution to the *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, published in 1909 (see below, letter 1), in which Goldziher discusses one of the few extant works on the topic, the *K. al-Aymān*, by the fourth/tenth-century author Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Najīramī, announcing that he intends to publish an edition of the text.¹² Kern was intimately familiar with al-Najīramī's text, because it was through him that during the winter of 1899 Goldziher had procured a copy of the single known witness of al-Najīramī's text in Cairo, which Kern had collated with the original.¹³ Kern had dispatched the copy of the manuscript to Goldziher on 16 January 1899 and in the accompanying letter Kern describes the scribe's work as well as his observations when collating the copy with the original manuscript:¹⁴

Hochverehrter Herr Professor! Zugleich mit diesen Zeilen geht das كتاب العرب ايمان an Sie ab. Die Collationierung war sehr interessant, aber auch nötig, da der Abschreiber durchaus nicht immer seine Vorlage mit diplomatischer Treue wiedergegeben hat. Die Punkte sind vielfach von ihm; gelegentlich hat er dabei auch Böcke geschossen. So hat er طيبا anstatt zu طيبا zu طيبا gemacht, قول zu يقول statt zu تقول ergänzt, in dem Zuhairverse aus dem offenbar nicht verstandenen نفاذ نفاذ gemacht. Zweimal hat er das Wort من ausgelassen, da er nicht sicher war, ob es (wie zu lesen ist) wirklich = ومن sei. Teilweise bezwecken meine Randkorrekturen aber nur zu zeigen, was er im Original fehlerhaft vorgefunden und stillschweigend verbessert hat.

Gottschalk was unaware that another copy of the same Cairene manuscript had been commissioned by Carlo Landberg (1848–1924) a few years earlier—his copy was transcribed by his scribe Samīr and completed on 3 January 1892.¹⁵

12 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Notice sur la littérature des Ajmān al-'Arab (serments des anciens Arabes)," in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg, 1844–1908*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1909, 226: "... il faut d'autant plus nous borner à quelques observations générales, que peut-être nous aurons bientôt l'occasion de publier le texte complet de l'œuvre, avec nos observations d'après le manuscrit du Caire."

13 Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 234 *majāmi'*, fols 159–163. Goldziher, "Notice sur la littérature des Ajmān al-'Arab" 226 n. 4: "M. Friedrich Kern a eu l'amabilité de me procurer une copie soignée, fait au Caire dans l'hiver de 1899, et de la collationner avec l'original. Le ms. ne porte pas de date: il n'est pas ancien. L'éditeur devra beaucoup corriger le texte."

14 Kern, Friedrich, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 16 January 1899, Budapest, LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/21/02/19.

15 This copy is currently preserved in New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Landberg 279; see Mathews, Charles D., "The *Kitāb Aīmān*

Landberg and perhaps Goldziher may have known about the work through the catalogue of the Khedival Library, where it is described in volume 7, part 1, published in 1890/1891,¹⁶ though it is possible that Goldziher had also consulted Landberg's copy during one of his regular visits in Landberg's home in Tutzing.

Gottschalk opens his correspondence with Goldziher with a letter dated 10 July 1911 (letter 1). In it he asks when Goldziher's edition can be expected to appear in print; he adds that in case Goldziher no longer intended to edit the text he would be willing to commission a copy of the Cairo manuscript himself and to prepare an edition of it within the framework of his dissertation. It is unclear what prompted Gottschalk to think that Goldziher may have lost interest in bringing the edition to completion—it may have been the years that had passed since the publication of his 1909 paper. It is perhaps more likely that Gottschalk had learned about this from other close acquaintances of Goldziher in Berlin, such as Eugen Mittwoch or Friedrich Kern, both of whom were in regular contact with Goldziher.

Goldziher's response to Gottschalk's initial letter is not preserved but the latter's next letter to Goldziher, dated 11 October 1911 (letter 2), suggests that Goldziher encouraged him to pursue the topic of his dissertation. Moreover, it seems that Goldziher also informed Gottschalk that he had no intention of bringing the edition of al-Najīramī's *Aymān al-ʿArab* to completion. In the meantime, Gottschalk had most likely consulted Friedrich Kern on the matter, who must have told him that an uncollated commissioned copy of al-Najīramī's text would be of such inferior quality that Gottschalk would be unable to work with it. Gottschalk therefore asked Goldziher in his letter of 11 October 1911 whether he might borrow the 1899 transcription of the Cairo copy in his possession for a few weeks. Goldziher immediately obliged with the request, and Gottschalk received the copy on 18 October 1911, together with Goldziher's offer

al-ʿArab wa talāqihā fī l-jāhiliyya of an-Najīramī," in *JAOS* 58 (1938), 615; <https://search.library.yale.edu/catalog/3814583> (last accessed 13 February 2023). Samir was perhaps the scribe Landberg regularly worked with and whom he praises in a different context in his letter to Goldziher of 21 January 1891 (Landberg, Carlo, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/24/15/019): "Die Abschrift von ... ist von meinem نسخ, dem besten in Kairo, den ich seit 2 Jahren nur für mich habe, gemacht und collationiert. Die Abschrift ist ganz genau wie der اصل, der übrigens auch modern ist." Mathews adds that Landberg had collated the copy with the original himself, "although not without some examples of oversight, and several unsettled points questioned in the margin" (Mathews, "The *Kitāb Aymān al-ʿArab*" 615).

16 *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-mahfūza bi-l-Kutubkhāna al-Khidwīyya*, 7 vols., i, Miṣr: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1308/1890–1891, 282.

to share with him also his own edition of al-Najīramī's *Aymān al-ʿarab* (letter 3). Gottschalk copied the manuscript between 18 October and 17 November 1911, when he returned it to Goldziher (letter 4). He was undecided at that point whether he wanted to go ahead to edit the text, but states that if he did decide to do so, he would indeed be grateful for the opportunity to consult Goldziher's edition.

Gottschalk worked on his dissertation intensively between mid-September 1912 and mid-March 1913,¹⁷ and he submitted the final version on 4 August 1913. Sachau's assessment is dated 22 October 1913 to which Delitzsch added his consent (*einverstanden*), and on 5 February 1914 Gottschalk passed the doctoral exam.¹⁸ During the spring of 1914, Gottschalk must have reworked his dissertation to accommodate Sachau's comments,¹⁹ and on 30 June 1914, Sachau and Delitzsch approved the revised dissertation for publication.²⁰ The printing began shortly afterward but was interrupted when World War I broke out a month later, on 28 July 1914.²¹ Gottschalk was drafted on 15 February 1915 and released from military service only on 23 December 1918.

At Sachau's recommendation, Gottschalk served between December 1915 and August 1917 in Istanbul under the command of Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz (1843–1914), and between August 1917 and July 1918 he served under the command of Erich von Falkenhayn (1861–1922) and Otto Liman von Sanders (1855–1929), spending extended periods of time in Aleppo, Damascus, Nablus, and Nazareth.²² While the war had brought Gottschalk's academic career to a

17 Gottschalk, *Gelübde* iii: "Die Bearbeitung des grundlegenden Materials mußte in der Zeit vom 15. September 1912 bis zum 15. März 1913 erfolgen."

18 See "Promotionsakte Walter Gottschalk".

19 Gottschalk, *Gelübde* v: "Es drängt mich, an dieser Stelle denen, die mir hilfreich zur Seite standen, meinen Dank zu sagen, vor allem meinem verehrten Lehrer Herrn Geheimen Oberregierungsrat Prof. Dr. Sachau für die Anregung zu dieser Arbeit, die Vorschläge zu ihrer Erweiterung und die Unterstützung beim Lesen der Korrektur, sodann Herrn Prof. Dr. Eugen Mittwoch, dessen Interesse und guter Rat den ganzen Werdegang dieser Schrift begleitete." Gottschalk's close and long-lasting relationship with Eugen Mittwoch is corroborated by the list of the latter's publications that Gottschalk published a few decades later, in 1937; Gottschalk, Walter, "Die Schriften Eugen Mittwochs: Zum 4. Dezember 1936 verzeichnet," in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 81 (1937) 243–250.

20 See "Promotionsakte Walter Gottschalk".

21 Gottschalk, *Gelübde* v: "Der Ausbruch des Krieges zwang mich zur Einstellung des Mitte Juni [1914] begonnenen Druckes."

22 See "Gesuch um Aufnahme als Volontär an die Preußische Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin," dated 23 February 1919 in *Akten betr. Bibliothekar Dr. Walter Gottschalk*: "An weiterer wis-

halt, those years were certainly beneficial to developing his philological abilities and knowledge of the region. Moreover, it is likely that the personal acquaintance between Gottschalk and Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971), who also spent part of the war in Istanbul, Palestine, and Iraq under von der Goltz's command,²³ dates back to those years.

It was only after the war, in the spring of 1919, that the Dieterich'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei (W. Fr. Kaestner) completed the printing of his dissertation with funding provided by Gottschalk's father,²⁴ and Gottschalk's doctoral diploma was eventually issued on 19 May 1919. Rather than pursuing his initial goal to embark on an academic career, Gottschalk now opted for a career as librarian. His request to be admitted to the *Preußische Staatsbibliothek* as *Volontär* is dated 23 February 1919. On 22 May 1919 he began working in the Berlin State Library as *Volontär* (until 11 May 1920),²⁵ then as *Assistent* (until 31 March 1921), *Hilfsbibliothekar* (until 31 October 1921),²⁶ *Bibliothekar*, and eventually on 1 April 1923 as *Bibliotheksrat*.

senschaftlicher Arbeit wurde ich durch den Krieg verhindert. Meine militärische Laufbahn ist folgende: Am 15. 2. [19]15 zur Feldartillerie einberufen, war ich sechs Monate als Artillerist an der Westfront und kam im Dezember 19[15] auf Empfehlung Geheimrat Sachaus in die Türkei. Bis August [19]17 in Konstantinopel beim Stabe des Feldmarschalls v. der Goltz, wurde ich später zum Stabe der Generale v. Falkenhayn und Liman v. Sanders versetzt und kam bis Juli [19]18 mit diesem nach Aleppo, Damascus, Nablus und Nazareth. Ich hatte Gelegenheit, mir in der Türkei einige Kenntnisse der türkischen Sprache und Schrift anzueignen. Nach meinem militärischen Range bin ich Vicewachmeister des Landsturms; ich besitze das Eiserne Kreuz 2. Kl. und den türkischen Halbmond."

23 See van Ess, Josef, *Im Halbschatten: Der Orientalist Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013, 4–26.

24 See "Gesuch um Aufnahme als Volontär an die Preußische Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin," dated 23 February 1919 in *Akten betr. Bibliothekar Dr. Walter Gottschalk*: "Der Druck der etwa 13–14 Bogen langen Abhandlung, infolge Kriegsausbruch eingestellt, wird jetzt mit möglichster Beschleunigung zu Ende geführt und in spätestens einem Monat vollendet sein." For the funding of his father, see Gottschalk, *Gelübde* v: "Nicht zuletzt habe ich meinem Vater zu danken, der es mir ermöglichte, diese Arbeit gleich als Ganzes drucken zu lassen." His father also funded Gottschalk's work at the Prussian State Library as *Volontär*, i.e., 1 April 1919 through 11 May 1920; see Benjamin Gottschalk's letter of commitment, 24 March 1919 (*Akten betr. Bibliothekar Dr. Walter Gottschalk*).

25 At some point in April or May 1919, the *Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung* intended to have Gottschalk work as *Volontär* at the University Library Königsberg (Prussia), and this apparently went against Gottschalk's wish. This was rectified by mid May 1919, and Gottschalk began to work at the Prussian State Library on 22 May 1919; see *Akten betr. Bibliothekar Dr. Walter Gottschalk*

26 During this time, on 11 January 1921, Walter Gottschalk married Wanda Buxbaum (b. 16 October 1891 in Bochum); see *Akten betr. Bibliothekar Dr. Walter Gottschalk*.

Gottschalk refers to al-Najīramī's *Aymān al-'arab* in his dissertation, where he acknowledges that he consulted the work through Goldziher's copy,²⁷ but the connection between Gottschalk and Goldziher was cut off after Gottschalk's last letter of 17 November 1911 (letter 4). When the dissertation appeared in print in 1919, Gottschalk apparently sent a copy to Goldziher, unless Goldziher had received a copy of the study otherwise.²⁸ Be that as it may, Goldziher acknowledged the dissertation and apparently also inquired on this occasion about Gottschalk's earlier plan to prepare an edition of Najīramī's text. Gottschalk's response of 1 November 1919 (letter 5) is the last item of correspondence between the two scholars that is preserved. In it, Gottschalk informs Goldziher about his new professional orientation, which he indicates would probably keep him fully engaged until about mid 1920—indeed, on 11 May 1920 Gottschalk passed the librarian's exam (*bibliothekarische Fachprüfung*), the final hurdle to becoming a librarian. Only thereafter, he surmised in his 1919 letter to Goldziher, would he be able to devote some time again to his own scholarly work. Gottschalk mentions an additional difficulty, namely, that the copy of the Najīramī text that he had transcribed back in 1911 on the basis of Goldziher's copy was in the occupied Rhine area (possibly in Aachen, where his parents lived and which was under the control of the Belgian army) and thus unavailable to him.²⁹ He therefore asked Goldziher to mail his copy to him once again so that he could have it photographed and eventually prepare it for publication. Gottschalk did not request in this letter Goldziher's edition of the text that the latter had offered to send to him back in 1911.

Al-Najīramī's *Aymān al-'arab* is one of three editorial projects Goldziher embarked upon without ever completing them.³⁰ According to Joseph de

27 See Gottschalk, *Gelübde* 35: "... wie eine Stelle aus der von mir zur Edition bearbeiteten Kairiner Handschrift des Nağīramī über 'Aimān al-'Arab [n. 6: p. 7, 13 ff. in der mir von Prof. Goldziher gütigst überlassenen kollationierten Kopie.] beweist, ..."

28 Goldziher published a short review of Gottschalk's study in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 45, nos. 23–24 (4 December 1920), and it is possible that he received a copy of the book through the journal.

29 During World War I and shortly after, Gottschalk used his parents' address as his, suggesting that all his belongings were in Aachen; see "Verzeichnis der Mitglieder der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft nach dem Bestande vom 25. Juli 1914 unter Eintragung der bis zum 31. Mai 1918 in Erfahrung gebrachten Veränderungen," in *ZDMG* 72 (1918), vii: "Dr. phil. Walter Gottschalk in Aachen, Kaiserallee 89 (1490)."

30 De Somogyi, József, "A Collection of the Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher," in *JRAS* 67 (1935), 150–151; see also Dévényi, Kinga, "Information exchange before the internet: On *law aqsama 'alā llāh la-abarrahu* in Goldziher's correspondence," *Goldziher Memorial*

Somogyi's (1898–1948) account of 1935, the edition was essentially completed and “it contains a detailed introduction, collations, and notes.”³¹ It has been established that Goldziher must have worked on the edition beginning in 1899 when he received the copy and was still (or again) engaged with it in 1907,³² and when Gottschalk approached him in 1911 the work was essentially completed. In the LHAS Oriental Collection, Goldziher's edition is preserved together with an envelope addressed to Walter Gottschalk, Berlin NW. 23, Claudiusstrasse 12, Gartenhaus 1 Tr[eppe] rechts (figs. 9.1 and 9.2), this being the address where Gottschalk lived in 1911.³³ It is likely that Goldziher was ready to dispatch it to him following their exchange during the autumn of 1911, should Gottschalk decide that he wanted to edit the text. Being occupied with his work on the dissertation, followed by the war years, Gottschalk's attention was diverted, and Goldziher was never asked to send his edition to Gottschalk.

What is uncertain, however, is whether Goldziher complied with Gottschalk's request in 1919 to send him again the copy that had been transcribed in 1899 in Cairo and collated by Friedrich Kern. The lack of urgency in getting the copy, the possible difficulties of sending the manuscript by mail during the immediate postwar period, and eventually Goldziher's death on 13 November 1921 may have prevented Gottschalk from ever again receiving Goldziher's copy of al-Najīramī's text. However, this copy is not preserved in the LHAS

Conference, June 21–22, Budapest, Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, eds. Éva Apor and István Ormos, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 30 n. 29.

- 31 De Somogyi, “A Collection of the Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher” 151. Goldziher's edition, with notes and introduction, which are held as Goldziher, Ignaz, *Schwur*, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, Goldziher/063, indeed gives the impression of being in final shape. The unpublished edition was at least temporarily believed to be lost; see Hopkins, Simon, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher,” in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, Budapest, Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 110–111 n. 137. Kinga Dévényi kindly informed me that another folder in the Goldziher legacy, LHAS Oriental Collection, Goldziher/004, is also of relevance in this context. The folder consists of a draft of a comprehensive study by Goldziher on the topic, yet without any reference to al-Najīramī's text, contradicting the catalogue description prepared by de Somogyi.
- 32 Dévényi, “Information Exchange before the Internet” 30–31.
- 33 See letters 2 and 4 below; see also n. 10 above. The envelope is kept together with Goldziher's edition in Goldziher, Ignaz, *Schwur*, LHAS Oriental Collection, Goldziher/063. See also Dévényi, “Information Exchange before the Internet” 31 n. 31. In 1919, Gottschalk lived at a different address: Berlin S. 59, Hasenheide 69ⁱⁱ; see letter 5 below.

Oriental Collection,³⁴ but apparently went, together with the remainder of Goldziher's library, to what is today the National Library of Israel (NLI).³⁵ It is therefore unlikely that Goldziher had sent it to Gottschalk in 1919.

An edition of al-Najīrāmī's *Aymān al-ʿArab* was published in 1343/1924–1925 by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb in Cairo, on the basis of two manuscripts, Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 234 *majāmiʿ* (on the basis of which a copy was transcribed for Goldziher and for Landberg) and Ms. Cairo, al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya, 362 *lugha* (unknown to both Goldziher and Landberg). A parallel endeavor to edit the text was undertaken by the US scholar Charles D. Mathews (1901–1986), perhaps in the framework of his doctoral dissertation, prepared at Yale University under the supervision of Charles C. Torrey (1863–1956).³⁶ Mathews only had at his disposal the copy that had been commissioned by Landberg in 1892. Shortly before submitting his completed work to a publisher, Mathews learned about Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb's edition and therefore refrained from publishing his own edition independently, which is nonetheless included in his 1938 study, "The *Kitāb Aymān al-ʿArab wa-Ṭalāqīha fi'l-Jāhiliyya* of an-Najīrāmī."

34 The LHAS Oriental Collection holds another folder of Goldziher's notes on the topic, "Goldziher, Ignác *Eid und Schwur*," Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, Goldziher/065, but this folder contains nothing about al-Najīrāmī's text.

35 Ms. Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ar. 3 that was part of Goldziher's manuscript collection is a copy of al-Najīrāmī's *Kitāb al-Aymān*, this being most likely the copy Friedrich Kern had commissioned on Goldziher's behalf in Cairo in 1899. For a description and digital images of the manuscript, see [https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990027289740205171/NLI#\\$FL142378725](https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990027289740205171/NLI#$FL142378725) (last accessed 16 July 2023). See also Mathews, "The *Kitāb Aymān al-ʿArab wa talāqīha fi'l-jāhiliyya* of an-Najīrāmī," 615 n. 4. Here Mathews suggests that Goldziher's copy went, together with the remainder of his library, to what is today the National Library of Israel (NLI). For the manuscripts of the Goldziher collection that are nowadays owned by the National Library of Israel, see also Samuel Thrope's contribution to this volume.

36 The date of Mathews' dissertation was 1932. The first public announcement of his editorial work on al-Najīrāmī's text dates to 1936; see "Proceedings of the American Oriental Society at the Meeting at New Haven, 1936," in *JAOS* 56 (1936), 416: "Professor C.D. Mathews, of Birmingham Southern College: An Edition of the *Kitāb Aymān al-ʿArab* of an-Najīrāmī." See also "Article on Arab Vows Published by Dr. Mathews," in *The Gold and Black: The Student Newspaper of Birmingham-Southern College* 21, no. 15 (13 January 1939), 1. For Mathews' contributions to the study of Ḥanbalism, see Mathias Ghyoot, "Ḥanbalism in Late Orientalist Scholarship, 1894-1937" [in preparation]. I thank the author for having shared a preliminary draft of his study with me. In later years, between 1948 and 1961, Mathews apparently worked in Saudi Arabia for the Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco), unless this a different person with the same name; on the latter, see Rubin, Aaron D., *The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman: Grammar and Texts*, Leiden: Brill, 2014, 6.

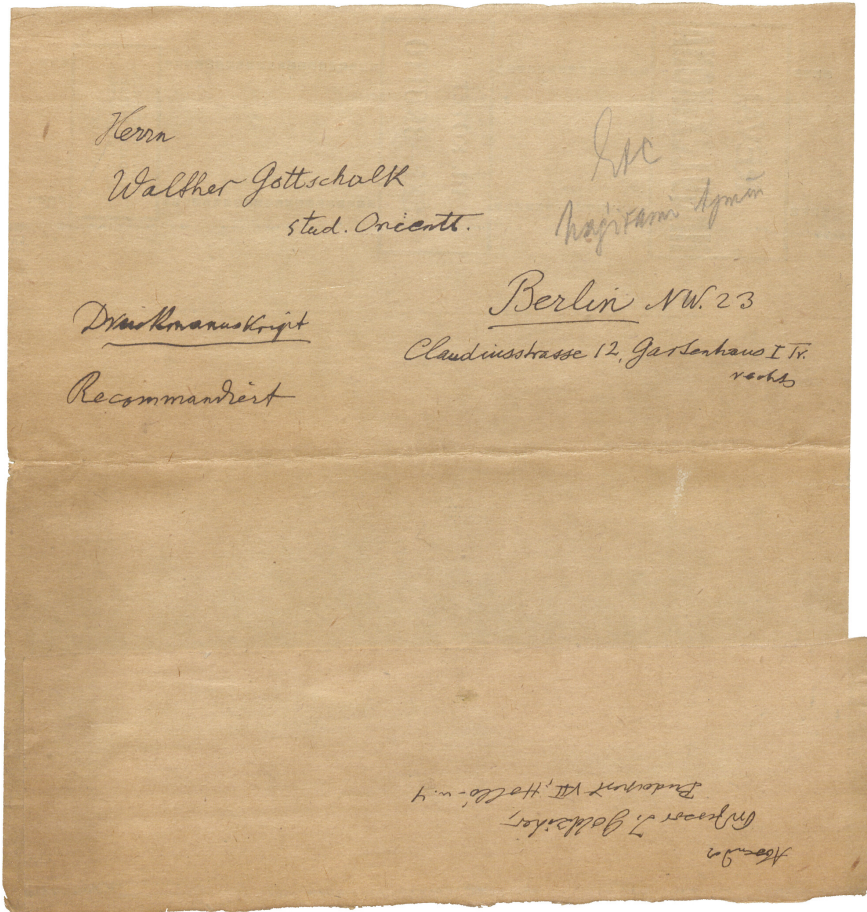


FIGURE 9.1 Goldziher's envelope addressed to Walter Gottschalk, Berlin NW. 23, Claudius-
 strasse 12, Gartenhaus I Tr[e]ppe rechts
 BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GOLDZIH/063

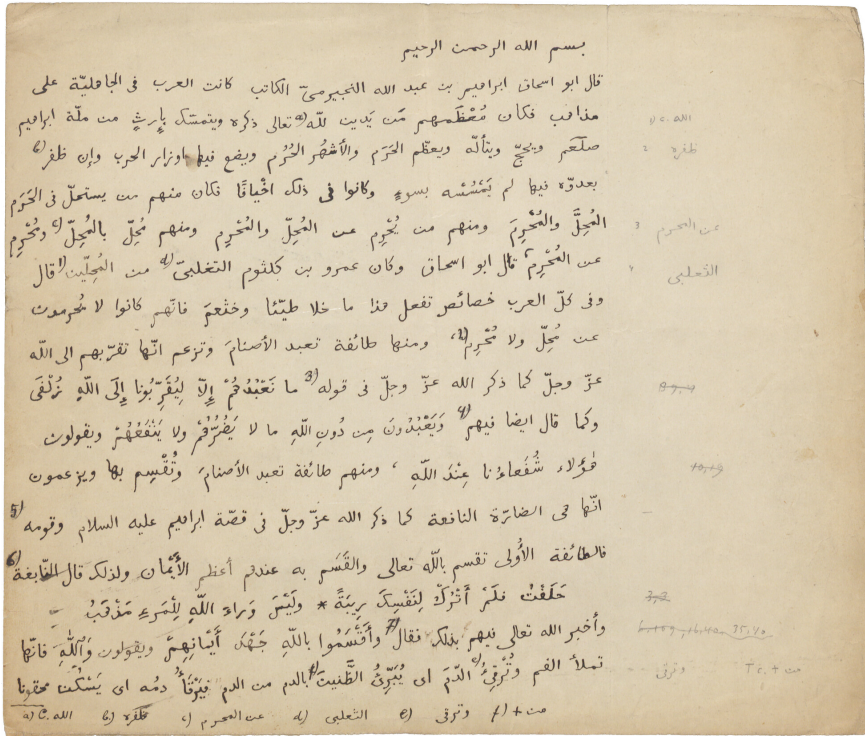


FIGURE 9.2 Page 1 of Goldziher's edition, with notes and introduction, of al-Najīrāmī's *Aymān al-ʿArab*

BUDAPEST, LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GOLDZIHNER/063

2 The Letters

2.1 [Letter 1] Walter Gottschalk to Ignaz Goldziher (10 July 1911)

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/13/10/05

Halensee b. Berlin

Bornimerstr. 3¹, den 10. Juli [19]11.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Ich nehme mir die Freiheit, eine Anfrage an Sie zu richten, deren Beantwortung für mich von entscheidender Bedeutung sein wird.

Ich studiere seit mehreren Semestern Orientalia und wurde vor Kurzem von Prof. Sachau zu einer Dissertation über die Schwüre der Semiten angeregt, bei der für mich vor allem kulturhistorische und sprachliche Gesichtspunkte

in Betracht kämen. Herr Dr. Kern, der sich meiner arabischen Studien sehr liebevoll angenommen, machte mich auf einen Aufsatz von Ihnen in den "Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg" vom Jahre 1909 aufmerksam, in dem ich zu meiner großen Freude reiches Material für eine Arbeit fand. Zugleich sah ich aber auch, daß es töricht wäre, mich jetzt auf das an sich schon so heikle Thema einzulassen, ehe ich die Monographie über die "Schwüre der Araber" von Nağramî zur Hand hätte, deren Edition Sie damals für nächste Zeit in Aussicht stellten. Da ich nun bald ernstlich mit der Arbeit beginnen möchte, so bitte ich Sie ergebenst mir mitzuteilen, wann etwa Ihre diesbezügl. Arbeit erscheinen wird. Falls Sie auf eine Publikation des Textes verzichtet haben,—was natürlich nur eine Vermutung von mir ist,—so wäre ich geneigt, mir eine Kopie des arabischen Textes zu besorgen und die Schrift als Dissertation zu edieren.—

Sie, verehrter Herr Professor, werden es selbst wissen, wie deprimierend es für einen Anfänger wäre, eine Arbeit zu leisten, die kurz nach ihm ein großer Gelehrter viel souveräner und großzügiger schafft, und werden mich gütigst, soweit es nötig ist, über Ihre diesbezügl. Pläne unterrichten.

Ich danke Ihnen schon heute für Ihre Bemühung und bin mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Walter Gottschalk

stud. phil. orient

Halensee b. Berlin

Bornimerstr. 3¹

(vom 1. August an:

Aachen (Rheinland)

Kaiserallee 89)

2.2 [Letter 2] *Walter Gottschalk to Ignaz Goldziher (11 October 1911)*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/13/10/03

Berlin, NW 23, d. 11/X 19[11].

Claudiusstr. 12, Gartenh[aus] 1 Tr[eppe] rechts

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor!

Ihre gütige und lebenswürdige Antwort auf meine Anfrage vom Anfang Juli und die Aufmunterung des Herrn Dr. Jaulus, des Rabbiners meiner Vaterstadt Aachen, der mich die ersten Wege ins Reich der semitischen Sprachen geführt und heute noch als väterlicher Freund meine Studien verfolgt, haben mir den Mut gegeben, mit einer Bitte an Sie heranzutreten, die meiner Bescheidenheit eine schwere Probe auferlegt, und die ich überhaupt nicht an Sie richten würde,

wenn ich nicht die feste Hoffnung hätte, Ihnen in naher Zukunft einmal persönlich danken zu können.

Ich habe die Arbeit über die Eidschwüre der Araber in Angriff genommen, würde sie aber nur dann fortführen können, wenn Sie, verehrter Herr Professor, imstande wären, mir die von Dr. Kern in Kairo kollationierte Abschrift der Nağīramīmonographie über die Eide, die Sie in den *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* pag. 224 erwähnt haben, etwa für einen Monat zu überlassen. Die einzige Bedingung meinerseits wäre, daß Ihnen dabei keine Unkosten erwüchsen. Auch könnte die Sendung an mich, wenn es Ihnen so sicherer erschiene, durch Vermittlung etwa von Dr. Kern, Prof. Mittwoch oder Geheimrat [Jakob] Barth [1851–1914], dessen (letzteren) Einwilligung dazu ich allerdings noch nicht eingeholt habe, geschehen. Daß ich die Abschrift mit der denkbar größten Vorsicht behandeln würde, brauche ich Ihnen nicht zu sagen.—Ich bin deshalb ganz auf Ihr Exemplar, das wohl in Europa das einzige ist, angewiesen, weil man mir allenthalben davon abgeraten hat, eine unkollationierte Abschrift von Kairo kommen zu lassen, nicht nur wegen der großen Kosten, die über den Rahmen einer Dissertation hinausgehen, sondern auch wegen der Unzuverlässigkeit der Abschreiber, die den an sich schon nicht guten Text noch weiter verderben würden.

Bei Ihrer genauen Kenntnis des Gegenstandes werden Sie selbst es wissen, daß ohne die Schrift des Nağīramī ein näheres Eingehen auf diesen Gegenstand nutzlos wäre, und Sie werden vielleicht durch die Erfüllung meiner Bitte einer Arbeit, die erst Sie durch Ihre reiche Materialsammlung angeregt, auch noch einen Schritt weiter die Wege ebnen.—

Ich bin von Herrn Dr. Jaulus, der durch die Feiertage zu sehr in Anspruch genommen war, als daß er meine Bitte an Sie persönlich hätte unterstützen können, beauftragt, Ihnen auf diesem Wege seinen Gruß zu übermitteln.³⁷

Ich selbst bin mit Hochachtung

Ihr ergebener

Walter Gottschalk

stud. phil. orient.

37 That Goldziher and Jaulus knew each other personally is corroborated by some correspondence from Jaulus to Goldziher that is preserved in Budapest, LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/19/23/01 through GIL/19/23/03.

2.3 [Letter 3] *Walter Gottschalk to Ignaz Goldziher (19 October 1911)*
 Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/13/10/02

Berlin NW 23, 19.X.[19]11

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor!

Ich erhielt am 18. morgens die Handschrift wohlbehalten und danke Ihnen von Herzen für Ihre übergroße Freundlichkeit und Bereitwilligkeit. Ich werde gleich morgen, nachdem ich zunächst die betr. Kapitel der Muḥaṣṣaš³⁸ excerpiert, mit der Kopie des Manuscriptes beginnen. Ich hatte es mir kleiner vorgestellt, hoffe aber, trotz meiner sonstigen laufenden Studien und meiner bisherigen Ungeübtheit im Lesen von Handschriften die mir gesetzte Frist nicht erheblich zu überschreiten. Auf Ihr überaus liebenswürdiges Anerbieten, mir Ihre Textfeststellung auch zur Einsicht zu schicken, darf ich vielleicht im Laufe meiner Arbeiten, nachdem ich mir selbst einige Fertigkeit in der Behandlung dieser Fragen verschafft, zurückkommen.

Für heute bin ich, nochmals mit herzlichem Danke,
 Ihr ergebener
 Walter Gottschalk

2.4 [Letter 4] *Walter Gottschalk to Ignaz Goldziher (17 November 1911)*
 Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/13/10/04

Berlin, den 17. XI. [19]11
 NW 23 Claudiusstr. 12 Grths. 1 Tr r.

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor!

Einliegend sende ich Ihnen die Handschrift zurück. Ich habe sie sorgfältig kopiert, habe aber, da ich anfangs ja sehr mit den Schwierigkeiten einer mir bisher ungewohnten Schrift beschäftigt war, nicht allzu viel auf den Inhalt achten können. Trotzdem erkannte ich schon beim Abschreiben, daß diese Monographie Material bietet, das der Verfasser des Muḥaṣṣaš und der der 'Amālî nicht benutzt haben. Wenn ich bei der genauen Durcharbeitung, die ich bereits begonnen habe, mich überzeuge, daß hier wissenswertes, neues aber

38 Referring to the lexicographical work *Kitāb al-Muḥaṣṣaš*, by the Andalusi lexicographer and philologist Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ismā'īl Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066), which was published in Cairo in 17 volumes between 1898 and 1903. Goldziher refers to this source in Goldziher, "Notice sur la littérature des Ajmán al-'Arab" 228. For Ibn Sīda, see Weninger, Stefan, "Ibn Sīda," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, three*, fascicle (2020–2021), 63–65.

doch geschickt gesammeltes Gut vorliegt, so beabsichtige ich, das Schriftchen zu edieren und die bescheidenen Früchte meines eigenen Sammelns und Denkens dazu zu setzen.

Da mir die Ansicht des für diese Stoffe fast allein maßgebenden Gelehrten von großer Bedeutung scheint, so würde ich Ihr gütiges Anerbieten, mir Ihre eigene Textfeststellung zur Verfügung zu stellen, mit freudigem Danke annehmen.

Ihr ergebener
Walter Gottschalk

2.5 [Letter 5] *Walter Gottschalk to Ignaz Goldziher (1 November 1919)*
Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/13/10/01

Berlin, den 1/11 [19]19

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor!

Für Ihre gütige Anerkennung meiner Arbeit meinen ergebensten Dank. Ihre Frage nach dem Nağīramī kann ich erst heute beantworten, da meine Zukunft erst in der letzten Zeit bestimmtere Formen angenommen hat. Ich bin bei der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, frühere Königl. Bibl, als Volontär eingetreten und will mich zu nächst dem bibliothek. Berufe widmen. Bis zur Mitte des nächsten Jahres muß ich all meine Zeit diesem neuen Berufe opfern. Erst dann kann ich mich wieder den Orientstudien zuwenden. Da die Abschrift der Nağīramīhandschr. im besetzten Rheinland lagert u. mir nicht zugänglich ist, wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie sie mir, sobald es die Postverhältnisse gestatten, noch einmal schicken, damit ich sie hier photographieren u. bei erster Gelegenheit publizieren kann.

Ergebenster Gruß
Ihr Walter Gottschalk

Absender: Dr. Walter Gottschalk, Berlin S. 59, Hasenheide 69ⁱⁱ

3 Postscriptum

Gottschalk never got back to work on al-Najīramī's text or any other materials pertinent to the topic of his dissertation. At the Prussian State Library, he served in the Oriental department, which between 1918 and 1931 was under the directorship of Gotthold Weil (1882–1960).³⁹ Gottschalk was a dedicated

39 See Mangold-Will, Sabine, "Zwischen Berlin und Jerusalem: Der Orientalist und Biblio-

librarian,⁴⁰ and among his achievements during the first decade of his career is the establishment of the Oriental Department's reference library⁴¹ and its catalogue, *Katalog der Handbibliothek der orientalischen Abteilung der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, which was published in 1929.

In 1920, Gottschalk became involved in the preparation of indices for Ibn Sa'īd's (168/784 or 785–230/845) *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, an editorial project that was initiated and directed between 1897 and 1929 by Gottschalk's former teacher Eduard Sachau and executed under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.⁴² The edition of this work was completed by the end of 1918.⁴³

thekar Gotthold Weil und die Anfänge der Orient-Abteilung der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek," in Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt (eds.), *Sammler-Bibliothekare-Forscher: Zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2022, 209–238.

40 See Schwarzenegger, Walter, "Erinnerungen an die Staatsbibliothek, hrsg. von Karl Schubarth-Engelschall," in Sabine Mangold-Will, Christoph Rauch, and Siegfried Schmitt (eds.), *Sammler-Bibliothekare-Forscher: Zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Sammlungen an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2022, 296–297.

41 See Gottschalk, Walter, *Letter to Paul Kahle*, 28 November 1938 (see below, n. 57): "Die Handbibliothek des Orientalischen Lesesaales der Staatsbibliothek, die mit ihren 9000 Bänden unbestritten das vorzüglichste orientalische Arbeitsinstrument der Welt darstellt u. als solches auch von Orientalisten aus aller Herren Länder dankbar benutzt wird, ist mein Werk. Ganz besonders oblag mir weiterhin die Betreuung der systematischen Kataloge für die Sprachen u. Kulturen des Vorderen Orients u. weite Gebiete im übrigen Asien u. Afrika. Ich habe diese Kataloge zum großen Teil erneuert u. ihr System mit dem heutigen Stande der Wissenschaft in Einklang gebracht."

42 For the edition, see Sachau's annual reports in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, from 1899; see also Sachau, Eduard, "Bericht über die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad," in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1918. Erster Halbband (Januar bis Juni)*, Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission bei Georg Reimer, 1918, 11–18. See also *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band I (1894–1927)*, Berlin Brandenburg Akademie der Wissenschaft, Akten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1812–1945, Signatur II–VIII, 150; and *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II (1928–1943, 1946)*, Berlin Brandenburg Akademie der Wissenschaft, Akten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1812–1945, Signatur II–VIII, 151.

43 See *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1919), 55: "Der letzte Teil der Ibn-Saad-Ausgabe, Band 13 ... ist gegen Ende des Jahres 1918 ... fertig geworden und damit ist die ganze Textausgabe zum Abschluß gelangt. In derselben Sitzung ist für die Geschäfte der Herstellung der nötigen Indices eine Kommission, bestehend aus den HH. Erman, Wilhelm Schulze, F.W.K. Müller und mir, gewählt." See also *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1920), 117; *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1921), 133; *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1922), lvii. Besides Sachau (i/2, iii/1, vii/2), a number of other scholars

Part one of the index was published in 1921,⁴⁴ and Gottschalk helped to check the proofs.⁴⁵ In 1925, Sachau entrusted Gottschalk with the preparation of an index of transmitters (*fihrist al-ruwāt*), while he would continue working on the index of transmissions (*fihrist al-matn*).⁴⁶ Over the following years, Gottschalk was deeply involved in the project,⁴⁷ and in 1929 Gottschalk was nominated at Sachau's request as a member of the Ibn-Saad-Ausgabe-Kommission by the Prussian Academy.⁴⁸ In 1928 Sachau published part two of the index.⁴⁹ Shortly before Sachau's demise on 17 September 1930, Gottschalk reviewed

were involved in the edition of individual volumes, including Josef Horowitz (ii/1, iii/2), Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen (v, vi), Eugen Mittwoch (i/1 and i/2), Julius Lippert (iv/1, iv/2), Friedrich Schwally (ii/2), Bruno Meissner (vii/1), and Carl Brockelmann (vol. viii). The entire series, with the exception of vol. viii, is available open access at <http://dx.doi.org/10.25673/97759> (last accessed 17 February 2023).

- 44 Sachau (ed.), *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ix/1: Index derjenigen Personen, denen Ibn Saad in seinen Ṭabaqāt Band III bis VIII besondere Artikel gewidmet hat, Leiden: Brill 1921.
- 45 See Gottschalk, Walter, "Zum Ibn-Sa'd-Index," in *Der Islam* 12 (1922) 256–257. That Gottschalk began to work for the Ibn Sa'd project in 1920 is mentioned in his letter to Paul Kahle of 28 November 1938; for the letter, see below, n. 57.
- 46 *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (1926), LXIII: "Die Arbeit an den Indices zu Ibn Saad ist seit der Veröffentlichung von Band IX, Indices, Teil 1, Index derjenigen Personen, denen Ibn Saad in seinen Ṭabaqāt Band III bis VIII besondere Artikel gewidmet hat, im Jahre 1921, zuerst im Sommer 1925 wieder aufgenommen worden, und zwar in der durch die Eigenart von Ibn Saads Werk gebotenen Zweiteilung. Hr. Bibliotheksrat Dr. W. Gottschalk, der sich bereits um die Herstellung jenes ersten Teil verdient gemacht hatte, hat es übernommen, den Index der Überlieferer, fihrist alruwāt herauszugeben, während der Berichterstatter den Index der Überlieferungen, fihrist almatn herzustellen beschäftigt ist. In beiden Abteilungen ist die Arbeit so weit gefördert, daß dem Abschluß der ersten Buchungsarbeiten für sämtliche Bände vielleicht schon mit Ende des Jahres 1926 entgegengesehen werden darf."
- 47 See Gottschalk's regular reports to Sachau (1927, 1928), Wilhelm Schulze (1930, 1931), and Bruno Meissner (1932, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1938; see bibliography). The original reports are included in *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band 11*.
- 48 See letter Sachau to *Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 2 May 1929 (*Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band 11*, Bl. 23). In the same letter Sachau asked to be dismissed from the *Kommission* in view of his advanced age and failing health. For the years 1929 through 1931, his successor was the linguist and classical philologist Wilhelm Schulze (1863–1935), followed later in 1931 by the Assyriologist Bruno Meissner (1868–1947). Gottschalk was notified of his appointment on 31 May 1929; see copy of letter of the *Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* to Gottschalk, 31 May 1929 (*Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band 11*, Bl. 24): "Auf Antrag von Geheimrat Sachau hat die philosophisch-historische Klasse der Akademie beschlossen, Sie zum außerakademischen Mitglied der Kommission für die Herausgabe des Ibn Saad zu ernennen."
- 49 Sachau, Eduard, (ed.), *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ix/2: 1. Verzeichnis der Orts- und Völkernamen. 2. Prophetenworte, alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Satzanfänge. 3. Verzeichnis der Reime der Dichter-Verse. 4. Verzeichnis der Koran-Verse, Leiden: Brill, 1928.

Sachau's work for part three of the *fihrist al-matn*, "Index of persons who are mentioned in the text of Ibn Sa'd's *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*," only to discover that it required far more revision than anticipated.⁵⁰ Gottschalk now focused on the revision of the material and the Prussian Academy first hired Walter Braune (1900–1989) (summer 1930–July 1931),⁵¹ then Paul Kraus (1904–1944) (August 1931–May 1933),⁵² and eventually Walther Hellige (1910–1984) (May 1933) to assist him in this work.⁵³

Gottschalk was forced into retirement from his position as *Bibliotheksrat* at the end of 1935. He spent the next three years in Berlin, where he continued to oversee work on the third part of the Ibn Sa'd index. Moreover, he also taught Arabic at the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*⁵⁴ and in 1937 he published a bibliography of Eugen Mittwoch's writings.⁵⁵ Toward the end of 1938, Walter Gottschalk and his wife tried to find a way to leave Germany. In November 1938, Wanda Gottschalk turned to Albert Einstein (1879–1955) asking for his support in finding an appointment for her husband in Mandatory Palestine or the United States,⁵⁶ and on 28 November 1938 Walter Gottschalk

50 See "Aufzeichnung" dated 30 July 1930 (*Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 34).

51 See *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 60, 63–66, 68, 69, 71, 72.

52 *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 70, 76, 94, 95, 98, 100, 102, 110, 114, 115, 116. Kraus left Germany for Paris at the end of April 1933 after he was ousted from his assistant position at the Institute for the History of Medicine at Berlin University and lost his position as *Privatdozent*. While Gottschalk proposed to Bruno Meissner that Kraus should continue to be entrusted with the revision of the proofs even after his relocation to Paris ("Aufzeichnung" dated 21 April 1933 and signed by Meissner and Kraus; letter Gottschalk to Meissner, 22 April 1933 [*Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 117, 118]), Meissner and the other members of the Ibn Saad Kommission decided on 4 May 1933 against this (*Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 119). Kraus later relocated to Cairo, where he committed suicide in 1944. For Kraus, see Kraemer, Joel L., "The Death of an Orientalist: Paul Kraus from Prague to Cairo," in Martin Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1999, 181–223; de Blois, François, "Husain Hamdani, Paul Kraus, and a Suitcase Full of Manuscripts," in Wafi A. Momin (ed.), *Texts, Scribes and Transmission: Manuscript Cultures of the Ismaili Communities and Beyond*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2022, 47–54; Šćrbačić, Maja, "Von der Semitistik zur Islamwissenschaft und zurück: Paul Kraus (1904–1944)," in *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts* 12 (2013), 389–416.

53 Letter Gottschalk to the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 14 December 1933 (*Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 126); see also Gottschalk, "Ibn-Saad Ausgabe [Bericht des Hrn. Dr. Gottschalk an Hrn. Meissner]," *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1934, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, [19 April] 1934, li.

54 Van Ess, *Im Halbschatten*, 143 n. 38.

55 Gottschalk, "Die Schriften Eugen Mittwochs."

56 Gottschalk, Wanda, *Letter to Albert Einstein*, Jerusalem, Hebrew University, Albert Einstein

wrote to Paul Kahle (1875–1964) asking for Kahle’s advice and support in finding a position outside of Germany, perhaps in India or the United States, providing detailed information about his academic career and trajectory and his achievements as librarian in Berlin.⁵⁷ Gottschalk also turned to others, including Hellmut Ritter.⁵⁸ On 1 December 1938 Gottschalk asked for permission to relocate to Brussels, where he had some relatives. The permission was granted by the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* on 13 February 1939 for one year (1 February 1939 through 31 January 1940; it was renewed on 4 March 1940 until 31 January 1942), and at the beginning of 1939 Walter and Wanda Gottschalk left Germany for Belgium.⁵⁹ However, with Belgium’s surrender to Germany on 28 May 1940, Brussels was no longer a safe haven for the Gottschalks.

Following Gottschalk’s departure from Germany, he was removed from the Ibn-Saad Kommission.⁶⁰ On 15 August 1940, Walter *Israel* Gottschalk—fol-

Archive, 53–184. See also Reisman, Arnold, “Walter Gottschalk: A Pioneer of Modern Library Science and His Interactions with Albert Einstein during the Nazi Era,” in *Covenant: Global Jewish Magazine* 3 (August 2009), 47–52. Although Einstein was unable to help (see Einstein, Albert, *Letter to Wanda Gottschalk*, 12 November 1938, Albert Einstein Archive, 53–185; Weil, Gotthold, *Letter to Albert Einstein*, Jerusalem, 11 December 1938, Albert Einstein Archive, 53–186; Einstein, Albert, *Letter to Louis Ginzberg*, 5 January 1938 [sic; should be 1939], Albert Einstein Archive, 53–187), the Gottschalks continued to be in regular contact with Einstein over the next years. Reismann had access to the privately published book, Elverfeldt, S., *Zusammenstellung der Lebensdaten und Werke von Walter Gottschalk*, Aachen 1979, containing additional documentary material on Walter Gottschalk’s life. I was unable to locate and consult a copy of this collection of material.

57 The letter is preserved as Università degli studi di Torino, Biblioteca di Orientalistica, Fondo Paul Kahle, COR_859, and it is quoted in Schmidtke, Sabine, *German Orientalism in Times of Turmoil: The Kahle–Strothmann correspondence (1933 through 1938, 1945 through 1950)*, Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Chair for Arabic Studies & Csoma de Kőrös Society of Islamic Studies, 2022 (= *The Arabist* 43), 68–69 n. 167.

58 See below, n. 72.

59 Gottschalk, Walter, *Letter to Gotthold Weil*, Bruxelles, 15 March 1939, Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Gotthold Weil Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 362 01 44: “Sehr verehrter Herr Professor, Sie haben wohl schon von Herrn Goldschmidt gehört, daß meine Frau und ich anfangs Februar Deutschland verlassen und zunächst bei unseren belgischen Verwandten (Brüssel, 42 rue de l’Industrie) eine Zuflucht gefunden haben.” Gottschalk perhaps refers here to Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt (see above n. 1), a former colleague of Weil und Gottschalk at the Prussian State Library in Berlin, who emigrated 1936 to Mandatory Palestine where he worked at the Jewish National and University Library. Later, in 1940, the Gottschalks mentioned as their address La Maison Rose, Chain (Brabant) in Belgium.

60 Meissner, “Ibn Saad: Bericht Meissner,” in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1939, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, [28 March] 1933, lv. See also *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 223, 224.

lowing the Executive Order on the Law on the Alteration of Family and Personal Names, Gottschalk was obliged after 1 January 1939 to adopt “Israel” as an additional name—informed the *Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* that he had dispatched on 9 July 1940 his preface and draft of the title pages for part three of the Ibn Sa’d index and, in view of his dire economic situation, he asked on this occasion to be remunerated retrospectively for his work on the Ibn Sa’d project.⁶¹ His request was denied⁶² and the final third part of the index was published instead with a brief preface written by Bruno Meissner.⁶³ Gottschalk was also asked to hand over all the material and preparatory work for part four of the index, that is, the portion of the index that was initially entrusted to him by Sachau (*fihrist al-ruwāt*),⁶⁴ and he complied with the request in November 1940.⁶⁵ Johann Fück (1894–1974) inspected the material in Septem-

61 *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 237, 238.

62 *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 240, 241, 242.

63 Sachau, Eduard (ed.), *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ix/3; Verzeichnis derjenigen Personen die im Matn des Kitāb aṭ-ṭabaqāt al-kebīr des Ibn Saad erwähnt werden, Leiden: Brill, 1940, ix/3. Gottschalk is briefly mentioned in the preface: “Eduard Sachau, der Herausgeber der Indices, war bei seinem hohen Alter nicht mehr imstande, diesen dritten Teil durch den Druck zu führen. Deshalb hat, nachdem er am 17. September 1930 seine Augen geschlossen, sein Schüler, Herr Dr. Walther Gottschalk, damals Bibliotheksrat an der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, diese Arbeit übernommen und hat sie unterstützt von Herrn Dr. W. Hellige innerhalb neun Jahren zu Ende geführt.” To include Gottschalk’s name, Meissner had asked the Academy’s president, Theodor Vahlen (1869–1945) for permission; see *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 189: “Ich bitte, mir auch mitzuteilen, ob mein Vorwort den Beifall des Herrn Präsidenten findet, speziell ob der Name des nichtarischen Bibliotheksrates Gottschalk in der von mir gewählten Form genannt werden soll oder nicht.” Braune’s and especially Kraus’ contributions remain unmentioned in the preface. Gottschalk’s draft of an introduction and title page has not come down to us. Gottschalk later had the opportunity to relate the genesis and history of part three of the index; see Gottschalk, Walter, “Über den dritten Teil der Indices zur Berliner Ibn Saad-Ausgabe,” in *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 106–114. See also Gottschalk, Walter, *Letter to Gotthold Weil*, 18 April 1939, Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Gotthold Weil Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 362 01 44: “Von dem dritten Bande der Ibn-Saad-Indices—Personen u. Stämme in den Mutūn—hatte ich beim Verlassen v. Deutschland 248 Seiten ausgedruckt. Der noch folgende letzte Bogen war umbrochen. Trotz wiederholter Anfragen hat mir Brill aber nicht mitgeteilt, wie die Sache weitergehen soll. Voraussichtlich berät die Akademie noch darüber, wie sie meinen Namen vom Titelblatt wegbekommt. Ich habe Brill aber wissen lassen, daß ich meine Autorenrechte an diesem Bande geltend machen werde. Und ebenso habe ich ihm mitgeteilt, daß ich der einzige Mensch auf der Welt bin, der die Einleitung zu diesem Bande schreiben kann, weil ich Sachaus Aufzeichnungen über seine Indizierungsmethode besitze. Und ohne zu wissen, was eigentlich Sachau indiziert hat u. was nicht, kann niemand den Band benutzen.”

64 *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 225, 226, 227, 228.

65 *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band II*, Bl. 245, 246, 247, 248, 249.

ber 1942 and his assessment was that Gottschalk's preparatory work was done with diligence.⁶⁶ The Academy's efforts to find another Arabist to bring this work to completion never materialized.

During 1939, Walter Gottschalk continued his efforts to secure an appointment outside of Europe.⁶⁷ Eventually several job opportunities opened up, namely, an offer from the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati for a professorship in Arabic language and culture,⁶⁸ and another one for a librarian's position at Istanbul University.⁶⁹ In view of the difficulties involved in obtaining a visa to the United States, Gottschalk pursued the offer from Istanbul.⁷⁰ It is evident that the Turks' request for Gottschalk in 1939 had been initiated by Ritter—the latter wrote a note about Walter Gottschalk that reads:⁷¹

66 *Akten betr. die Ausgabe des Ibn Saad, Band 11*, Bl. 285.

67 On 24 April 1939, for example, Gottschalk wrote to the US American scholar of the Bible and Orientalia, James Alan Montgomery (1866–1949) (Deutsches Exilarchiv 1933–1945, EB 70/117).

68 See also Ginzburg, Louis, *Letter to Albert Einstein*, New York, 13 January 1939, Jerusalem, Hebrew University, Albert Einstein Archive, 53–188: "Dear Professor Einstein: I am in receipt of your letter of January 5 with regard to Doctor Walter Gottschalk. It is a strange coincidence that only a few days ago, Professor Morgenstern of Cincinnati and I talked about Doctor Gottschalk. Professor Morgenstern thought that he might be able to do something for him and I am writing today to ask him about the developments in this case."

69 See Gottschalk, Walter, *Letter to Albert Einstein*, Bruxelles, 17 December 1939, Jerusalem, Hebrew University, Albert Einstein Archive, 55–204; see also Reismann, "Walter Gottschalk" 4. For the larger context of library reforms in Turkey since 1939, see Katipoğlu, "Academic Librarianship in Turkey". For the larger context of German professionals in Turkey during the Weimar Republic and beyond, see Mangold-Will, Sabine, "Deutsche in der Türkei 1933–1945: Mehr als eine Exilgeschichte und einseitiger Modernisierungstransfer," in *Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung blog* (5 September 2014), <https://www.bpb.de/themen/europa/tuerkei/184978/deutsche-in-der-tuerkei-1933-1945/> (last accessed 23 July 2023); Mangold-Will, Sabine, *Begrenzte Freundschaft: Deutschland und die Türkei, 1918–1933*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013, *passim*.

70 Gottschalk, *Letter to Albert Einstein*, Bruxelles, 17 December 1939. Gottschalk may have been aware of the experience of his former colleague Arthur Spanier (1889–1944), who was appointed in December 1938 to the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati as instructor for Rabbinics. Although Spanier was able to get permission to leave Germany (issued on 3 March 1939), he tried in vain to obtain a visa to the United States. Spanier was deported at the end of 1942 to Bergen-Belsen, where he died on 30 March 1945; see Schmidtke, *German Orientalism in Times of Turmoil* 71 n. 168.

71 The note is kept in a folder containing Ritter's correspondence with Walter Gottschalk (*Walter Gottschalk*, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Fonds 340 Ritter b No 329, Privatdienstliche Korrespondenz H. Ritters mit deutschen Wissenschaftlern und Freunden im In- und Ausland, C-G, 1956–1968). Ritter's characteristic spelling conventions have been left unchanged.

Walter Gottschalk. Ehemaliger Bibliothekar in der Orientabteilung der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek. Floh als Jude nach Belgien und schrieb um hilfe. Ich erreichte beim Istanbuler rektor, dass man ihn als bibliothekar an der UB Istanbul anstellte. Da er durch Deutschlan[d] fahren musste, schrieb ich einen antrag über generalkonsul [Ferdinand] Seiler [1890–1951], der—erstaunlich genug—mit hilfe der fr[eu]nde im A.A. durchsetzte, dass er einen pass und die erlaubnis herzureisen bekam. Ein wahres wunder! Ist jetzt seit einigen jahren emeritus in Ffm, arbeitet aber noch. Es ist einer der drei Juden, denen ich das leben retten konnte.

Gottschalk's relocation from Brussels to Istanbul for his new appointment required the approval of the German authorities. On 2 August 1940, Hellmut Ritter submitted a request to the German Consulate in Istanbul to dispatch Walter Gottschalk as expert librarian to Istanbul University Library, a request, Ritter explains, that was made explicit by the Turkish side.⁷² Although the *Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* voiced its opposition to having a Jewish librarian appointed for the task, the *Reichsbeirat für Bibliotheksangelegenheiten* obliged with the Turkish request and supported Gottschalk's appointment (letter 5 October 1940).⁷³ On 16 May 1941 Gottschalk was granted permission by the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* to relocate to Turkey for two years, 1 April 1941 through 31 March 1943, and the Gottschalks' train ride from Brussels to Istanbul through the occupied zones of Europe in a closed train car is legendary.⁷⁴ Gottschalk served as librarian in Istanbul University libraries from 1941 until 1949, when he was appointed the chair of library science at Istanbul University until his retirement in 1954.⁷⁵

72 Josef van Ess refers to Ritter's letter of 28 February 1940 to Rudolf Tschudi, where Ritter related that he expects Gottschalk to arrive in Istanbul very soon; see van Ess, *Im Halbschatten* 144 n. 39.

73 That the director of the Prussian State Library, Hugo Andres Krüß (1879–1945), vouched for Gottschalk was certainly decisive in getting the *Reichsbeirat für Bibliotheksangelegenheiten* to support the appointment; see Schwarzeneker, "Erinnerungen an die Staatsbibliothek" 296.

74 Schwarzeneker, "Erinnerungen an die Staatsbibliothek" 296.

75 Gottschalk provides a detailed picture of his new responsibilities in Turkey in his letter to Gotthold Weil; see Gottschalk, Walter, *Letter to Gotthold Weil*, Istanbul, 28 November 1941, Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Gotthold Weil Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 362 01 44. For an edition of the letter, see below, Appendix. See also Katipoğlu, Serdar, "Academic Librarianship in Turkey: The Historical Context," in *International Journal of Legal Information: The Official Journal of the International Association of Law Libraries* 38, no. 2 (2010), 152–153. For Gottschalk's time in Turkey, see also Ishakoğlu Kadioğlu, Sevtap, and Gaye Şahin-

In 1954, Gottschalk and his wife, Wanda, returned to Germany, where they settled in Frankfurt. While there, Walter Gottschalk remained in close contact with the Oriental Seminar in Frankfurt, especially its head, Rudolf Sellheim (1928–2013), and he was engaged in various projects, including the redaction of an edited volume entitled *Judentum: Schicksal, Wesen und Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1965)—although Franz Böhm (1895–1977) and Walter Dirks (1901–1991) are mentioned as editors on the title page, Gottschalk is named as collaborator (“unter Mitarbeit von”). To judge from the preface, Gottschalk played a major role in the volume’s realization.⁷⁶ During those years in Frankfurt, Gottschalk also regularly corresponded with Hellmut Ritter, though it seems that they never again met in person.⁷⁷

baş Erginöz, *Belgelerle İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesinde Mülteci Bilim Adamları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2017, 161–172; the list of Gottschalk’s publication, *ibid.*, 163, needs to be used with caution, as the Orientalist Walter Gottschalk was conflated with the Romanist Walter Gottschalk (1894–1969), who taught from 1937 until 1945 at Rostock University; on the Romanist, see “Walter Gottschalk,” *Catalogus Professorum Rostochiensium*, <http://purl.uni-rostock.de/cpr/00003481> (last accessed 26 February 2023).

76 See Böhm, Franz and Walter Dirks (eds.), in collaboration with Walter Gottschalk, *Judentum: Schicksal, Wesen und Gegenwart*, 2 vols., i, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1965, ix–x: “Infolge einer schweren Erkrankung des redaktionellen Leiters, Dr. Rudolf Heilbunn, die ihn schließlich zum Ausscheiden aus dieser Tätigkeit zwang, sahen sich die Herausgeber vorübergehend vor ernste Schwierigkeiten gestellt, die aber überwunden wurden, als sich Ende 1959 Herr Bibliotheksrat a. D., Professor Dr. Gottschalk, bereiterklärte, die Aufgabe eines Redaktors ehrenamtlich zu übernehmen. Er hat die 22 Beiträge, die ihm vorlagen, druckfertig gemacht, zum Teil in beständiger Fühlungnahme mit den Autoren. Er hat den größeren und schwierigeren Teil der Fahnenkorrektur erledigt, die Umbruchkorrekturen durchgesehen und das vom Verlag erstellte Personen- und Ortsregister redigiert. Als Orientalist konnte er die Schwierigkeiten beurteilen, die sich namentlich bei den historischen Beiträgen eines Sammelwerks für die redaktionelle Abstimmung ergeben. An ihre Überwindung stellte er hohe Ansprüche und widmete dieser Aufgabe die höchste Sorgfalt. Bei dem Mangel an Hebraisten und Judaisten—einer Folge der Ausrottung und Vertreibung der europäischen Judenheit—mußte er ungemein entsagungsvolle Kleinarbeit darauf verwenden, Einzeldaten zu verifizieren. Seiner Sorgfalt verdankt man die Einheitlichkeit der Schreibung von Orts- und Personennamen, Zitierungen und Bibliographien, soweit sie mit den jeweiligen Wünschen der Autoren vereinbar waren. Eine Erschwerung bedeutete es für ihn, daß er die Aufgabe erst in einem verhältnismäßig späten Zeitpunkt übernahm, in dem er auf die Gesamtgestaltung des Werkes und auf die Gestaltung der einzelnen Beiträge keinen Einfluß mehr nehmen konnte.”

77 See letters Gottschalk to Ritter, 13 February 1962, 7 April 1962, 14 August 1963, 3 January 1965, 11 January 1966, 11 January 1967, and 27 February 1968 (*Walter Gottschalk* [Walter Gottschalk, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Fonds 340 Ritter b No 329, Privat-dienstliche Korrespondenz H. Ritters mit deutschen Wissenschaftlern und Freunden im In- und Ausland, C-G, 1956–1968]).

4 **Appendix: Walter Gottschalk's Letter to Gotthold Weil, Istanbul, 28 November 1941 (Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Gotthold Weil Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 362 01 44)**

Istanbul Kadiköy, den 28. November 1941
Küçük Moda Burnu So. 9

Sehr verehrter, lieber Herr Weil,

Ihre Annahme, dass ich nicht nach Mekka wandern will, ist durch die Tatsachen widerlegt. Denn zum mindesten die Hälfte des langen Weges liegt hinter mir. Ich hätte Ihnen längst davon Kenntnis gegeben. Aber meine monatelangen Versuche, Herrn Goldschmidt⁷⁸ Ihre Adresse, die er als *sirr al-asrār* hütet, zu entlocken, waren vergeblich, bis dann Herr Kirschner⁷⁹ auf der Bildfläche erschien und mit der ihm eigenen Energie ans Werk ging. So erhielt ich Ihre Zeilen, bevor Sie die meinen erhalten. Meine Frau und ich haben uns sehr mit Ihren Grüßen gefreut, und wir hoffen, dass es Ihnen und Ihrer Familie so gut geht, wie es in diesen traurigen Zeiten nur jemandem ergehen kann. Da ich hinsichtlich eines baldigen Wiedersehens nicht so optimistisch bin wie Sie, gebe ich Ihnen lieber einen kurzen, schriftlichen Bericht über meine Arbeit.

Wir sind seit Anfang März d[es] J[ahres] hier. Die Reise war mit allerhand Schwierigkeiten verbunden, aber zuletzt klappte doch alles, und ich konnte sogar zehn Tage an der Stätte unserer gemeinsamen Arbeit verbringen, wo ich alles im wesentlichen völlig unverändert vorfand. Hier erwarteten mich große Aufgaben. Die Türkei verfügt zur Zeit nur über einen einzigen europäisch geschulten Bibliothekar, der aber nur verhältnismäßig kurze Zeit im Ausland war. Dieser Herr ist Direktor der hiesigen UB. Herr Rufai,⁸⁰ mit allen Wassern der Bibliothekswissenschaft gewaschen, hat nicht reüssiert und musste die Museumsbibliothek mit einem Schulkatheder in Samsun vertauschen. Wir haben aber schon ein sehr schönes Wiedersehen hier in Moda gefeiert.

Der Zweck meiner Berufung war ein doppelter. Zunächst sollte meine Erfahrung dem außerordentlich zersplitterten Bibliothekswesen der Universität Istanbul, meiner Brotherrin, zu Gute kommen. Darüber hinaus aber stehe ich auch der Unterrichtsverwaltung in Ankara in den allgemeinen Angelegenheiten der Bibliotheken zur Verfügung.

78 Perhaps a reference to Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt; on him, see above nn. 1 and 59.

79 Perhaps referring to the historian Bruno Kirschner (1884–1964) whose private collection is held at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem (P285).

80 Possibly Ahmet Rufai, with whom Weil corresponded between 1926 and 1930; see National Library of Israel, Gotthold Weil Archive, ARC. Ms. Var. 362 01 124.

Für den ersten Zweig meiner Tätigkeit ist mein Amtssitz die UB Istanbul. Ihr gilt auch der größte Teil meiner Arbeit. Ich beschäftige mich vor allem mit der Akzession und versuche, die vollständig erloschenen Beziehungen zum europäischen Buchhandel wieder anzuknüpfen. Auch einen kleinen Lesesaal für die allgemeinsten Nachschlagewerke will ich einrichten. Auch mit den sonstigen zahlreichen Bibliotheken der Universität habe ich mich zu beschäftigen. Besonders ist mir die des Turcologischen Instituts ans Herz gelegt, die im wesentlichen aus der Bibliothek Katanov besteht.⁸¹ Direktor des Instituts ist Herr [Reşit] Rahmeti [Arat]. Auch unser gemeinsamer Freund Zeki Validi ist Professor an der hiesigen Universität.⁸²

Was die über die Universität Istanbul hinausgreifenden Aufgaben betrifft, so habe ich zunächst eine gewisse Aufsicht über die alten Moschee Bibliotheken und beschäftige mich besonders mit der Konservierung der Bestände. Weiterhin bereite ich einen innertürkischen Leihverkehr vor und habe bereits einen Gesetzentwurf für die Schaffung eines bibliothekarischen Berufes ausgearbeitet, der der Nationalversammlung vorgelegt werden soll.

Das sind so einige Rosinen aus dem Kompott meiner Pflichten. Leider muss ich zunächst das alles ganz allein machen und die jungen Leute, die mir helfen sollen, erst anlernen. Aber die Arbeit macht mir Freude, denn manche dieser Probleme sind des Schweißes des Edlen wert.

Der äußere Rahmen unseres Daseins ist sehr angenehm. Wir leben in wunderbarer Ruhe (noch ruhiger als in Lichterfelde), in einem kleinen Häuschen am Meere in Moda in ländlicher Umgebung, und wenn ich meckere, so stimmen die Ziegen mit ein.

Wir grüßen Sie und Ihre verehrte Gattin aufs herzlichste.

Ihr

W Gottschalk

ps: Ich übersende der jüdischen Nationalbibliothek den *Annuaire Israélite* für Brüssel auf das Jahr 5701. Er ist von besonderem Interesse, weil er unter der deutschen Okkupation gedruckt ist und sich beträchtlich von seinen Vorgängern unterscheidet, die in der Lage waren, eine Darstellung der jüdischen Insti-

81 The library of the Russian Turkologist Nikolay Fyodorovich Katanov (1862–1922), who hailed from Khakassia, was purchased in 1914 by the Turkish Prime Minister Hilmy Pasha and brought to Istanbul; see Mongush, Z.M., “Buddhist Book Collection in Turkish Library of N.F. Katanov,” in *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* 23 (2019), 74–78. For Katanov, see also Geraci, Robert P., *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001, chapter 9.

82 For Zeki Validi Togan (1890–1970), see “Ahmed Zeki Validi,” in *Die Welt des Islams* 14 (1932), 22–25; Schmidtke, *German Orientalism in Times of Turmoil*, *passim*.

tutionen in Belgien zu bringen. Das alles hat mit einem Schlage ein Ende gefunden, nachdem die Menschen, die die Gemeinden leiteten, das Land verlassen haben.

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Publishing Ibn Tūmart’s “Book” in Colonial Algeria: The Correspondence of J.D. Luciani, E. Doutté, and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes with I. Goldziher

Jan Thiele

This chapter explores the correspondence that Ignaz Goldziher received between 1901 and 1903 in the framework of his collaboration on the book *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert mahdi des almohades*, published in 1903 in Algiers and promoted by the French colonial administration. The book contained the first edition of the collected writings attributed to the founder of the Almohad movement, Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130). The edition of the Arabic text was prepared by Jean-Dominique Luciani (1851–1932) and Goldziher contributed an introduction of some 100 pages. Goldziher wrote his text in German. Its translation was commissioned to two French Orientalists: first to Edmond Doutté (1857–1926), who at some point had to withdraw from the task because of health issues, and then to Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1862–1957), who prepared the translation that was finally published. The letters Goldziher received from Luciani, Doutté, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes are part of the voluminous correspondence preserved in his *Nachlass* at the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It offers some insights into the sometimes-arduous finalization of a major achievement in the emerging scholarship on the Almohads.

1 Goldziher’s Correspondents: Jean-Dominique Luciani, Edmond Doutté, and Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes

Goldziher had already exchanged letters with Edmond Doutté and Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes before his work on the Introduction for *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert*. However, the correspondence preserved in Goldziher’s *Nachlass* does not contain any letters from Jean-Dominique Luciani that are unrelated to the book, and so it seems they had no contact before or after their collaboration.

Jean-Dominique Luciani was a member of the French colonial administration in Algeria, who also engaged in scholarly pursuits.¹ He was born in 1851 in Partinello in Corsica. After finishing school in Ajaccio and obtaining his baccalaureate, he joined the prefecture of Constantine (Qusanṭīna) in Algeria as *commis-auxiliaire*, where one of his uncles was head of office. In 1870, he fought in the uprising against French colonization in Kabylia. Afterward, he began to study law and Arabic language and established closer contacts with members of the Arabic population. He then entered the administration of several so-called *communes mixtes* of the *département* of Constantine. A *commune mixte* was one of the three types of territorial subunits of a *département* in French colonies; in Algeria *communes mixtes* had a mixed population with a majority of Indigenous inhabitants and a minority of Europeans. The two other types of *départements* are the *commune indigène* and the *commune de plein exercice*—the latter type was organized like a municipality in France.

Luciani worked in the administration of several municipalities. European settlers accused him of only being interested in the Indigenous population. During this period, he got familiar with Berber languages. In 1888, he was appointed deputy head of the office in charge of Indigenous issues concerning the general colonial government in Algiers. He contributed to developing a new juridical, educational, and economic legislation specifically for the Muslim population. During this time, he also produced French translations and editions of Muslim legal texts with the aim of promoting what he considered a modernization of Muslim institutions and their integration into the system of the colonial administration.

Apart from historical legal texts, Luciani was also interested in Muslim theological writings. In particular, he worked toward promoting a theological tradition that, in his view, was helpful in freeing the Muslim doctrinal system from “superstitious and fanatical practices.” He limited himself to preparing critical editions and translations of premodern texts because he considered that he lacked sufficient time and capacities to outline a synthesis of this system. Apart from Ibn Tūmart’s book, which also includes creedal works, he published editions and translations of a popular didactical creedal poem *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* (1907) by the Egyptian scholar Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī (d. 1041/1631);² the *Muqad-*

1 For Luciani’s biography see Esquer, Gabriel, “M. Dominique Luciani,” in *Revue africaine* 73 (1932), 161–181; Messaoudi, Alain, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale: Annexes*, Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2015, 228–230.

2 Luciani, J.D., *La Djaouhara: traité de théologie, avec notes d’Abdesselem et d’El Badjouri*, Algiers: Imprimerie Orientale Pierre Fontana, 1907.

dimāt (1908) of al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490),³ a highly influential representative of the Maghribi Ash'arī tradition; and of the Ash'arī compenium *al-Irshād* (1938), by the towering Nishapuri Ash'arī scholar al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085),⁴ a text that was very popular in the Islamic West (Luciani's edition and translation was published after his death).

As the head of the office in charge of Indigenous issues related to the general colonial government in Algiers, Luciani's politics were harshly criticized by supporters of the cause of the Algerian Indigenous population as well as the anticolonial historiography. In fact, the office was meant to support a repressive legislation against the colonized population. In an obituary published in the *Revue africaine*, Gabriel Esquer concedes that Luciani's politics took the needs of the majority Indigenous population into consideration in terms of justice, medical assistance, education, and a legislation that facilitated access to French citizenship.⁵ To some degree, his politics were guided by an attempt to understand the culture, tradition, and concerns of the Muslim population. However, his interest in Muslim culture was biased, as his primary concern was to promote what he believed would contribute to a modernization of the tradition. Luciani died in 1932 in Algiers.

Edmond Doutté, who was first commissioned to translate Goldziher's German Introduction, was born in 1857 in Évreux.⁶ After finishing school in Châlons-sur-Marne, he studied medicine and natural sciences in Paris. He worked for some time as personal secretary for the statesman Léon Bourgeois (1851–1925) and participated in the Symbolist literary movement. As a result of contracting tuberculosis, he moved to Algeria, where he began a career in the colonial administration. In 1890 he was appointed unpaid *attaché libre* of the General Government of Algeria and, upon recommendation of Léon Bourgeois, then Minister of Public Instruction, in 1892 he became adjunct administrator of the *commune mixte* of El-Milia in the *département* of Constantine (Qusanṭīna), followed by appointments in the administration of Dellys (Tamazight: Delles), of the *commune mixte* of Attia ('Aṭīyya) in the *arrondissement* Philippeville (Skikda) and of Oran (Wahrān). A sabbatical leave allowed him to study under René Basset (1855–1924) at the *École supérieure des lettres d'Alger*. In 1898, these studies qualified him for a professorship at the Muslim college of higher

3 Luciani, J.D., *Les prolégomènes théologiques de Senoussi. Texte arabe et traduction française*, Algiers: Pierre Fontana, 1908.

4 Al-Juwaynī, Abū l-Ma'ālī, *al-Irshād*, ed. J.D. Luciani, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1938.

5 Esquer, "M. Dominique Luciani" 163–167.

6 For Doutté's biography see Mauss, Marcel, "Edmond Doutté," in *L'Année sociologique, nouvelle série* 2 (1927), 6–7; Messaoudi, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale* 154–156.

education (*madrasa*) of Tlemcen (Tilimsān), one of three such institutions founded by the 30 September 1850 decree of the colonial government for the education of civil servants in charge of Muslim affairs, most important of whom were judges. In 1899 he was sent on a mission to Morocco, from which he returned to Algiers before its completion because of health issues. In the following years he prepared many publications on Maghribi Islam and Sufi saints. In 1900, he was sent again on a mission to Morocco, the specific aim of which was to study regions that had not been exposed to contact with European modernity, but also to explore ways to incorporate the country into the French sphere of influence.⁷ Several other missions to Morocco under the auspices of the Algerian government as well as the French Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Public Instruction followed. Beginning in 1901, he taught at the *École supérieure des lettres d'Alger*. Despite the support of René Basset, Léon Bourgeois, and others, it was only years later, in 1908, that he obtained the chair in Muslim civilization, for which he was eligible without holding a doctoral degree in the Algerian higher education system, but not in France. His missions to Morocco occupied a great deal of his time, yet due to his health problems he was often on leave. During World War I, he directed the new Muslim section of the French foreign propaganda press for the Foreign Ministry, and after the war he became secretary general of the interministerial commission of Muslim affairs ("Commission interministérielle des affaires musulmanes" [CIAM]). In parallel, he taught political and social history of North Africa at the *École libre des sciences politiques* and the *École coloniale* in Paris. He died in 1926 in Paris, shortly before leaving for more anthropological fieldwork in Morocco.

Gaufrey-Demombynes was born in 1862 in Amiens.⁸ From 1881 to 1883 he studied law at the Sorbonne in Paris and graduated in 1884. After three years of inactivity due to health issues, he resumed his studies in international law and modern history at the *École libre des sciences politiques* and *Collège de France* in Paris. Eventually, his doctor suggested he move to Algeria, as the climate would benefit his health. In 1891 he became a student of René Basset in Arabic and Berber language at the *École supérieure des lettres d'Alger*. Living between Algiers and Paris from 1891 through 1895, he earned his diploma in Arabic from the *École des langues orientales* in Paris in 1894 and in 1895 his

7 Doutté, Edmond, *Rapport à Monsieur le Gouverneur général de l'Algérie. Des moyens de développer l'influence française au Maroc*, Paris: F. Levé, 1900.

8 For the biography of Gaufrey-Demombynes see Coëdès, Georges, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Maurice Gaufrey-Demombynes, membre de l'Académie," in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année—Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 103 (1959), 46–60; Mes-saoudi, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale* 176–178.

diploma in Arabic and Berber languages from the *École supérieure des lettres d'Alger*. His first position brought him in 1895 to Tlemcen (Tilimsān) in northwest Algeria, where he became the director of the city's Muslim college of higher education (*madrassa*). In 1898 he left Algeria to become secretary-librarian (*secrétaire-bibliothécaire*) of the *École nationale des langues orientales vivantes* (today Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales [INALCO]) in Paris, where, in 1911, he followed Hartwig Derenbourg (1844–1908) as chair of classical Arabic. In 1905 and until 1911, Gaudefroy-Demombynes was also appointed professor of Arabic at the *École coloniale*. Between 1924 and 1929, he was Chargé de conférence in Arabic at the Sorbonne and in 1927 appointed Directeur d'études d'Islamisme et religions de l'Arabie at the *École pratique des hautes études* (EPHE), fifth section.

Together with Basset and Doutté, Gaudefroy-Demombynes worked to promote the academic field of African Islamic studies and shared his colleagues' interest in raising the visibility of Maghribi studies in social science journals and beyond the field of Oriental studies. Yet his investigations covered also topics beyond African Islam and the Maghrib, for example in the two dissertations he submitted in 1923: The first explores the transformation of the pilgrimage to Mecca from the pre-Islamic to the Islamic era⁹ and the second ("thèse complémentaire") is a study of the administrative organization of Mamluk Syria.¹⁰

Gaudefroy-Demombynes' students include, among others, Muhammad Hamidullah (1908–2002), Henri Laoust (1905–1983), Robert Brunschvig (1901–1990), and Claude Cahen (1909–1991). In 1935 he was elected member of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (AIBL). He died in Hautot-sur-Seine in 1957.

2 Goldziher's Work on the Almohads

The fruit of the collaboration among Luciani as editor, Goldziher as the author of the edition's substantial Introduction, as well as Doutté and Gaudefroy-Demombynes as the Introduction's translators was the first modern edition of the writings attributed to Ibn Tūmart, the founder of the Almohad movement (*al-muwahḥidūn*). The Almohads were a Berber dynasty that emerged during

9 Published as Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice, *Le pèlerinage de la Mekke. Etude d'histoire religieuse*, Paris: Geuthner, 1923.

10 Published as Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes: description géographique, économique et administrative précédée d'une introduction sur l'organisation gouvernementale*, Paris: Geuthner, 1923.

the first half of the sixth/twelfth century in the High Atlas in modern-day Morocco. They fought against the ruling Almoravids, another Berber dynasty, that ruled over large parts of the western part of the Maghrib and the southern portion of the Iberian Peninsula. The Almohads eventually succeeded in defeating the Almoravids and established a caliphate in the Islamic West, comprising large parts of the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib. The Almohad rule marked the history of the Islamic West in a very special way: Although nominally remaining Sunnis, the Almohads claimed political and religious authority. Ibn Tūmart was proclaimed to be a messianic figure, *al-mahdī al-maʿšūm*, “the rightly guided and infallible one,” and he was supposed to return at the end of the days to restore justice and fight the Antichrist, like the eschatological Imām of the Shīʿī tradition.¹¹ Attempting to characterize the Almohads’ rule is puzzling and ambivalent: Their caliphate brought a relative political stability, but also involved such radical moves as forced conversions of non-Muslims; they declared a *jihād* against Muslim religious leanings that were in contradiction with Almohadism, while at the same time their rule provided a framework that intellectually nurtured such towering figures as Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185), Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198, Latin: Averroes), Maimonides (d. 1204) and Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 637/1240).

According to the Almohad narrative, the “Book” attributed to Ibn Tūmart contains the oral teachings of the *mahdī*. Allegedly, it was penned by Ibn Tūmart’s successor as the movement’s leader, the first Almohad caliph, ʿAbd al-Muʿmin (r. 527/1133–558/1163). The book contains legal and creedal texts. The Almohads gave these texts the normative status of true belief and imposed their ideas on their population.

The collection of the bulk of writings attributed to Ibn Tūmart has survived in two manuscripts. One codex copied in 579/1178 is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (BnF; MS Arabe 1451),¹² and a second manuscript, copied in 595/1198–99 was later discovered in Taza in Morocco and is currently held by the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco in Rabat (BNRM; MS *qāf* 1214). In addition, selected texts from the collections are copied in other manuscripts. Luciani’s edition is based on the Paris manuscript

11 Fierro, Maribel, “The Almohads and the Fatimids,” in Bruce D. Craig (ed.), *Ismaili and Fatimid studies in honor of Paul E. Walker*, Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2010, 161–175 offers a convincing explanation for the Shīʿī features of Almohadism, arguing that their rulership and symbolics was deeply informed by the Fāṭimids of Cairo.

12 The manuscript is accessible online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8419211m?rk=21459;2> (last accessed 11 August 2023).

only.¹³ In the Preface to the edition of writings attributed to Ibn Tūmart, Luciani describes the interest of this publication as follows:

The General Government of Algeria thought that it would be of great use for the historical studies dedicated to North Africa to publish and make accessible to all Orientalists the unique manuscript possessed by the National Library in Paris (no. 1451 of the catalogue of the Arabic collection) that contains the doctrines of the *mahdī* Muḥammad b. Tūmart.¹⁴

Goldziher's renown was certainly an important motive for Luciani and the French colonial government to approach him to request an Introduction for the edition of Ibn Tūmart's collected writings. In fact, Luciani's name does not even appear on the book's title page, although he was the one who prepared the edition of the Arabic texts, including "Ibn Tūmart's Book" and the *mahdī*'s biographies that precede it: The title page merely says that the book includes the "Arabic text accompanied by bibliographical notes and an introduction by I. Goldziher, professor at the University of Budapest."¹⁵ Highlighting Goldziher's contribution on the cover was likely to increase its visibility while the important editorial work carried out by Luciani remained unmentioned.

Nonetheless, and irrespective of his prominent name, requesting an Introduction to this edition from Goldziher was not an arbitrary choice. Goldziher had previously done some substantial research on the Almohads and Ibn Tūmart's doctrinal works. In 1887, he published a 110-page article titled "Materialien zur Kenntniss der Almohadenbewegung in Nordafrika" in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 41, no. 1. This study relied substantially on the Paris manuscript of Ibn Tūmart's book (no. 1451) that Luciani edited. An additional article, titled "Die Bekenntnissformeln der Almohaden," and published in 1890 in the same journal (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 44, no. 1), presents one of the short creeds attributed

13 Later editions produced after the discovery of the second manuscript were published by 'Ammār Ṭālibī (1985) and 'Abd al-Ghanī Abū l-'Azīm (1997), none of which is critical.

14 Luciani, Jean-Dominique (ed.), *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert mahdi des almohades. Texte arabe accompagné de notices biographiques et d'une introduction par I. Goldziher*, Algiers: Imprimerie Orientale Pierre Fontana, 1903, iii: "Le Gouvernement général de l'Algérie a pensé qu'il serait d'une grande utilité, pour les études historiques intéressantes l'Afrique du Nord, de publier et de mettre à la portée de tous les orientalistes, le manuscrit unique que possède la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (n° 1451 du catalogue, fonds arabe) et qui contient les doctrines du Mahdi Mohammed ibn Toumert."

15 "Texte arabe accompagné de notices biographiques et d'une introduction par I. Goldziher, professeur à l'Université de Budapest."

to Ibn Tūmart as it is preserved in the margin of a manuscript held in Berlin (Landberg no. 598, fol. 18a).¹⁶ Before writing these two publications specifically devoted to the Almohads and their literature, Goldziher had devoted a section on Almohadism in his 1884 monograph on the Zāhirī school (titled *Die Zāhiriten: Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*), in which he argues that the Almohads aligned with Zāhirī legal theory—a thesis that was later refuted by several scholars.¹⁷

Goldziher's previous scholarly engagement with the history of the Almohad movement as well as his academic prestige must have made him the ideal candidate for Luciani and the colonial government. Accordingly, in his first letter to Goldziher, Luciani writes: "The work you published on the Almohads makes you particularly well suited to present Ibn Tūmart's book to Orientalists and the public with all the authority desired."¹⁸ And, similarly, Luciani thanks Goldziher in his Preface to the published edition, highlighting that "[n]o one was more qualified than Mr Goldziher, through his studies on Islam in general and on the Almohads, to present Ibn Tūmart's book to the public."¹⁹

The relevant material preserved at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences consists of 15 letters written by Luciani to Goldziher between 1901 and 1903; Luciani's business card, in which he thanks Goldziher;²⁰ one letter written by Léopold Boudet on behalf of the publisher to Luciani and forwarded at his request to Goldziher; nine letters written by Doutté to Goldziher between 1901 and 1904; and six letters written by Gaudefroy-Demombynes to Goldziher in 1903.

Luciani approached Goldziher in the final stage of his work on the edition of the Arabic text. The correspondence starts with a letter dated 14 February

16 For the manuscript page see <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001727400000043> (last accessed 11 August 2023).

17 Brunschvig, Robert, "Sur la doctrine du mahdī Ibn Tūmart," in *Arabica* 2 (1955), 137–149; Brunschvig, Robert, "Encore sur la doctrine du mahdī Ibn Tūmart," in *Folia orientalia* 12 (1970), 33–40; Zysow, Aron, *The Economy of Certainty: An Introduction to the Typology of Islamic Legal Theory*, Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2013, 279–280.

18 "Le travail que vous avez publié sur les almohades vous désigne tout particulièrement pour présenter aux orientalistes et au public, avec toute l'autorité désirable, le livre d'Ibn Toumert."

19 "Nul n'était plus qualifié que M. Goldziher, par ses études sur l'islamisme en général et sur les Almohades, pour présenter au public le livre d'Ibn Toumert."

20 The business card (Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/01) has the printed text "J.D. Luciani | Conseiller Rapporteur Adjoint | Directeur des Affaires indigènes | au Gouvernement Général | Alger" and the handwritten note "avec des félicitations et remerciements". It is not dated, but might have reached Goldziher together with the complimentary copies of the published book and the offprints of the introduction.

1901, in which Luciani inquires on behalf of the colonial government of Algeria whether Goldziher, as an authority in the field of Almohad studies, is willing to write the Introduction to the edition. Only a few days later, in a letter dated 22 February 1901, René Basset backs Luciani's attempt to win Goldziher over as a collaborator, mentioning the edition of Ibn Tūmart's book for which Goldziher's studies could serve as an introduction.²¹ It seems that Goldziher's positive response was not long in coming: Less than three weeks later, on 4 March 1901, in his second letter Luciani thanks Goldziher for accepting his request. He describes the publication's Arabic parts in more detail: They shall consist, apart from the Almohad "Book," of Ibn Tūmart's biographies extracted from *al-Muʿjib* by 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. after 621/1224), *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), and *Kitāb al-Ibar* by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406). At this point, Luciani estimates the typesetting of the Arabic parts to be finalized before August 1901—a schedule that was not met, as we can see through reviewing the correspondence. In this letter, Luciani addresses further practical issues: In his acceptance letter, Goldziher must have expressed concerns about his abilities to write in French, and Luciani proposes to commission Edmond Doutté, who was then professor at Algiers' *madrassa*, to translate Goldziher's German text. Goldziher will receive the translation for his approval before it is typeset. Luciani also agrees on Goldziher's request to receive the typeset Arabic edition, which will be sent gradually as the printing progresses. The publisher will give 50 copies of the book to Goldziher. In his response to this letter, Goldziher must have proposed to extend the selection of Arabic biographies of Ibn Tūmart, as Luciani writes him on 7 April 1901 that he took up his suggestion to include the biography in *al-Anīs al-muṭrib* by Ibn Abī Zar' (d. between 710/1310 and 720/1320). Luciani furthermore included a fifth biography in *Wafayāt al-a'yān* by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282). He affirms that any additional suggestions are welcome and that the publication may be further adjusted according to Goldziher's ideas. Along with the letter, Luciani sends the first proof pages covering the biography by al-Marrākushī and the beginning of the one by Ibn al-Athīr, which is based on the 1881 edition by Dozy and corrected here and there. The subsequent correspondence revolves largely around the progressive delivery of the proofs of the Arabic text. The typesetting advances more slowly than scheduled, and Luciani apologizes continuously about its delay. In a let-

21 See Basset, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/03/04/009: "M. Luciani travaille ici à une édition des œuvres d'Ibn Toumert auxquelles vos études serviraient de préface."

ter dated 25 October 1903, more than two and a half years after sending the first typeset pages, Luciani confirms safe receipt of the last proof pages corrected by Goldziher.

An additional issue that takes up some space in the letters between Luciani and Goldziher is the translation of the Introduction from German into French. According to Luciani's Preface to *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert*, Goldziher submitted the German text in August 1901.²² However, from the correspondence we learn that Luciani received the Introduction only after 9 September 1901. In a letter from 4 March 1901, Luciani informed Goldziher that Edmond Doutté should be commissioned with the translation and he provides Doutté's postal address in a letter dated 23 August 1901, so Goldziher can contact him directly. The first time that Doutté mentions the translation to Goldziher is an undated letter. He thanks Goldziher for entrusting him with this task and talks about the difficulties of finding a publisher for the work. In the remainder of this letter, Doutté addresses to Goldziher some questions he encountered in the progress of his studies on marabouts (*murābiṭūn*), that is, the Sufi saints of Northwest Africa.²³ The two also discussed the schedule of the translation: Doutté writes in an undated letter from Algiers that he intends to return the Introduction before he leaves for La Marne in late summer. On 29 August 1901, Doutté is still in Algiers and sends Goldziher a letter to acknowledge receipt and thanks him for sending, in all likelihood, recent publications.

As we learn from a letter by Luciani, dated 9 September 1901, Goldziher suggested to Doutté that Luciani should remain involved as intermediary for the translation and the printing of the Introduction. Luciani agrees and asks Goldziher to send the German Introduction, so that he can take care of handing it over to the translator. On 16 September, Doutté is already in France (in Bagnères-de-Luchon in the Pyrenees) and writes that he has not yet received the Introduction to check whether he feels able to translate it. In a previous letter, Goldziher had asked him questions about Tinmal, the village in the High Atlas that served as a fortress for Ibn Tūmart and his followers. After Ibn Tūmart's death, the first Almohad caliph, 'Abd al-Mu'min, had a mosque built near Ibn Tūmart's tomb in Tinmal, which is still preserved today.²⁴ Doutté had inspected the site during one of his missions and was at that point writing a report for the French Ministry of Public Instruction, and he promises

22 See the preface to Luciani, *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert* v.

23 In 1900, Doutté had already published his *Notes sur l'islām maghrîbin: les marabouts*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900.

24 This is uncertain at this point. The mosque suffered significant damage during the devastating earthquake in the region on 8 September 2023, after the completion of this chapter.

to send Goldziher a copy of the report as soon as it is printed. Soon after his arrival in Châlons in La Marne, Doutté informs Goldziher on 27 September 1901, that his work on the Tinmal report is still in progress, and that he will send proofs.²⁵ Goldziher must have asked him whether the site reveals anything relevant about Ibn Tūmart, which Doutté denies. He affirms that Tinmal has primarily an archeological interest. He emphasizes that the absence of inscriptions in the mosque is glaring and, in his opinion, intentional. He notes that the question as to whether this absence is in any way related to the Almohad doctrine needs further investigation. Further on in the same letter, Doutté asks Goldziher about bibliographical suggestions for studies on "Arabic art in Spain and African art" written in German. Goldziher responded with observations on ornamentations of mosques, and provided some bibliographical references on Islamic art, for which Doutté thanks him after his return to Algiers in a letter on 8 October 1901. In this letter, Doutté also confirms that he eventually received from Luciani the German text of Goldziher's Introduction. He apologizes that he will not be able to finish his translation before 20 December because of other commitments. This was agreed upon by Luciani, who informs Goldziher in a letter dated 24 October 1901,²⁶ that the German Introduction had been handed over for translation, and that further delays are to be expected because of Doutté's illness and a planned period of absence after his recovery. The slow progress of the translation is also addressed in Basset's letter to Goldziher dated 21 October 1901: Basset suggests to commission William Marçais (1872–1956) to translate the Introduction in case Doutté is unable to complete it.²⁷ On 6 November 1901, Doutté sends another update, informing Goldziher that additional travel further delays his work on the translation and his report on Tinmal.

Although unrelated to the work on *Le livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert*, it is worth mentioning that the correspondence between Doutté and Goldziher during this period initiated another productive exchange of letters, that between Goldziher and the Spanish Arabist Miguel Asín Palacios (1871–1944). Asín Palacios had approached Doutté to provide him with Goldziher's address

25 It was published in 1902 as Doutté, Edmond, "Mission au Maroc: Recherches d'archéologie musulmane et portugaise," in *Journal asiatique* 19 (1902), 153–166.

26 The year is missing in the letter, but it can be reconstructed from the context.

27 See Basset, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/03/04/052; "Pour votre mémoire sur les Almohades, il importe qu'il soit traduit. Je ne sais si M. Doutté rapportera aussi vite: je compte le voir dans quinze jours à Alger. S'il ne peut y travailler de suite, je verrai s'il n'y aurait pas moyen d'avoir recours à M. Marçais, de Tlemcen, le même qui vient de publier dans le J[ournal] A[siatique] la traduction du Taqrib d'En Naouaoui".

so as to send him a copy of his 1901 study on al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111).²⁸ Doutté mentions this twice, in the above-quoted letters dated 8 October 1901 and 6 November 1901, and asks Goldziher whether the book is of any interest to him.²⁹

Almost six months later, Doutté informs Goldziher in a letter from Algiers, dated 29 April 1902, that the report on his visit to Tinmal was finally published in *Journal asiatique*.³⁰ Because he did not receive proofs, he was unable to send them to Goldziher prior to the text's publication, as he had promised in his letter of 27 September 1901. Doutté also apologizes because he did not receive offprints of his article and explains that for this reason he could not share his publications with any of his colleagues. As we can see from this letter, Doutté also provided Goldziher with relevant Algerian publications: He mentions in this letter that he had previously sent two recent editions of Arabic texts prepared by Luciani.³¹

It is in this same letter that Doutté finally confirms that he began his work on Goldziher's Introduction, and that he hopes to send some first sample translations soon. However, Doutté's translation never materialized. In a letter dated 5 June 1903, Luciani apologizes—apparently after more than one year and seven months without any news from his end—indicating that Doutté returned Goldziher's text without translation, because his health problems do not allow him to work on it. Luciani promises to get back to Goldziher as soon as he finds a replacement for Doutté, which he does in a letter dated 5 August 1903. During a visit to Paris, he was able to commission the then secretary-librarian (*secrétaire-bibliothécaire*) of the École nationale des langues orientales vivantes in Paris, Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, to do the translation.

From this point on, the finalization of the volume went smoothly. Goldziher received a first letter from Gaudefroy-Demombynes, dated 13 August 1903, which was preceded by another letter that seems to have never arrived. The apparently lost letter included some first-draft translations of the Introduction. Gaudefroy-Demombynes informs Goldziher about the progress of his work: He finished a first draft of the translation that he still needs to revise before

28 Asín Palacios, Miguel, *Algazel: Dogmática, moral, ascética*, Zaragoza: Comas Hnos., 1901.

29 For the exchange between Asín Palacios and Goldziher see Marín, Manuela, "Dos calas en la visión sobre al-Ándalus del orientalismo europeo: A propósito de I. Goldziher y A.R. Nykl," in Manuela Marín (ed.), *Al-Andalus/España: Historiografías en contraste*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009, 195–212. Goldziher reviewed Asín Palacios' *Algazel* in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 22, no. 48 (1901), 3025–3029.

30 See above note 25.

31 It is not clear to which editions Doutté refers since Luciani did not publish any in 1901; for an overview of Luciani's publications see Esquer, "M. Dominique Luciani" 178–181.

sending it to Luciani, who should receive it by the end of August. Gaudefroy-Demombynes fears that he sometimes was unable to translate the German text correctly and therefore invites Goldziher to suggest corrections and send them to his address on the countryside near Romorantin (in the Loir-et-Cher *département*), his residence until the beginning of October.

The five subsequent letters from Gaudefroy-Demombynes to Goldziher (dated 26 August, 8 September, 13 September, 18 September, and 28 September 1903) document the swift completion of the translation. Gaudefroy-Demombynes gradually sends parts of his work, and Goldziher appears to return his responses promptly. They exchange comments about the transliteration of Arabic, with which both are unhappy, but which is imposed by the publisher; Goldziher clarifies a misunderstanding about an abbreviation; and Gaudefroy-Demombynes shares some reflections that Luciani made about Goldziher's translations of several legal terms—interestingly enough, the letters suggest that otherwise Luciani seemed to be very reluctant to engage in any scholarly discussion. Goldziher also sends some additions to his original text. Goldziher was concerned that his original German text was no longer entirely up to date, and so Luciani agrees in this final stage to add the book's Preface, in which he explains that Goldziher's original German text was submitted in 1901 and that no later bibliography is therefore cited in it. In the last letter, dated 28 September, Gaudefroy-Demombynes confirms that he forwarded the last proof pages with Goldziher's corrections to Luciani. In October and November, Luciani gradually sends the typeset Introduction for Goldziher's final approval. The book was published in December 1903. In a New Year's greeting letter for 1904, Douттe congratulates Goldziher on the publication of the book and thanks him "as an Algerian" for having contributed the Introduction.

3 The Letters

3.1 [Letter 1] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/07

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie
République Française
Alger, le 14 février 1901

Monsieur,

Le Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie a décidé de publier le texte arabe du manuscrit de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris, n° 1451, qui contient les doc-

trines de Mohammed ben Toumert. On veut bien me laisser l'honneur de vous demander si vous consentiriez à vous charger de rédiger une introduction en français qui serait imprimée en tête du volume. Le travail que vous avez publié sur les almohades vous désigne tout particulièrement pour présenter aux orientalistes et au public, avec toute l'autorité désirable, le livre d'Ibn Toumert. Je vous serais reconnaissant de me faire connaître s'il vous est possible de satisfaire à la demande que je vous adresse au nom du Gouvernement Général.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur, avec l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus distingués, l'expression de ma profonde déférence,

J. Luciani

3.2 [Letter 2] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/04

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie
 Direction des travaux publics et des mines
 Alger, le 4 mars 1901

Monsieur,

Je vous remercie vivement, au nom de l'administration algérienne et en mon nom personnel d'avoir bien voulu vous charger de faire l'introduction du livre de Mohammed ben Toumert. La publication aura ainsi, grâce à vous, tous l'éclat qu'elle mérite.

Le Gouvernement général s'en rapporte entièrement à vous pour l'étendue à donner à votre travail. Le nombre de trois feuilles d'impression in 8° n'a rien de exagéré—L'impression du texte arabe va commencer. Il sera précédé de quelques extraits biographiques empruntés à Marrakchi, à Ibn El Athir et à Ibn Khaldoun. L'impression en sera terminée sans doute avant le mois d'août. Je vous serai donc très obligé de nous préparer votre introduction le plus tôt possible. Mais s'il vous est matériellement impossible de vous en occuper avant le mois d'août, nous vous attendrons.

Contrairement à ce que vous dites par modestie, votre lettre me prouve que vous êtes très bien en mesure de rédiger votre travail en français. Si vous préférez cependant nous le donner en allemand nous le ferons traduire: mais nous n'imprimerons que la traduction française, et je vous demanderai alors la permission de mettre le nom du traducteur après le votre [*sic*]. Le traducteur sera, si vous n'y voyez pas d'inconvénient, M. Edmond Doutté, professeur à la médersa d'Alger, qui vous est déjà connu. La traduction vous serait soumise avant l'impression.

Selon votre désir les feuilles du texte arabe vous seront envoyées au fur et à mesure.

Je vous fais adresser en un colis postal les ouvrages déjà parus de la collection dans laquelle paraîtra le livre d'Ibn Toumert. Il est convenu que l'auteur de tout travail publié dans la collection en reçoit 50 exemplaires. Les exemplaires vous seront expédiés aussitôt l'impression achevée.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, la nouvelle assurance de mes sentiments les plus distingués et les plus dévoués.

J. Luciani

3.3 [Letter 3] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/03

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie

République Française

Alger, le 7 avril 1901

Cher Monsieur,

Je ne vous ai pas répondu plus tôt parce que je tenais à vous envoyer en même temps la première feuille de notre publication. Je vous l'expédie aujourd'hui même sans pli séparé. Elle comprend la biographie d'Ibn Toumert par Marrakchi, et le commencement de celle d'Ibn El Athir—nous nous sommes servis du texte de Dozy—2^e édition—Leyden—1881—Je vous ai signalé, en marge, au crayon, quelques modifications qui nous ont paru nécessaires. Mais si de votre côté [*sic*] vous pensez qu'elles ne sont pas justifiées, n'hésitez pas à me le dire, nous rectifierons au moyen d'un tableau d'errata à la fin du texte arabe.

Suivant votre désir nous imprimerons à son rang chronologique la biographie d'Ibn Abi Zerâ. Il y aura donc cinq articles biographiques: Marrakchi, Ibn El Athir, Ibn Khallikan, Ibn Abi Zerâ, Ibn Khaldoun—Si vous [avez] d'autres indications à nous donner, il en sera tenu compte. Du moment que nous avons la bonne fortune de votre collaboration, il est juste que la publication soit faite selon vos idées: tout le monde y gagnera.

Je vous prie de me croire, Cher Monsieur, votre cordialement dévoué

J. Luciani

3.4 [Letter 4] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/05

Cabinet du Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie

Alger, le 23 août 1901

Cher Monsieur,

Je suis vraiment désolé du retard que subit en ce moment l'impression du manuscrit d'Ibn Toumert. Il est survenu dans ma situation personnelle un changement qui ne me permet pas d'y consacrer autant de temps que je voudrais. Mais je ne perds pas de vue cette question à laquelle je porte le plus grand intérêt.

Je suis loin de me plaindre du développement que vous avez donné à votre travail : j'en suis au contraire très heureux, car vous aurez pu ainsi traiter la question avec toute l'ampleur qu'elle mérite. Pour la traduction ne pensez vous [*sic*] pas qu'il conviendrait de vous mettre en relation avec notre ami M. Doutté, qui est de retour à Alger depuis quelques temps? Je vous donne ci-après son adresse: M. Ed. Doutté, boulevard Thiers, 12, Mustapha-Algérie.

Vous recevrez par le courrier qui vous apportera cette lettre deux nouvelles feuilles imprimées allant jusqu'à la page 68.—Il est bien entendu que bonne note a été prise des rectifications que vous m'avez indiquées, et qui figureront à la table des errata.

Veillez croire, Cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments les plus distingués et les plus dévoués

J. Luciani

3-5 [Letter 5] Doutté to Goldziher

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/22

10, rue Sadi—Carnot, Mustapha-Agha, (Alger)

Monsieur,

Je vous suis bien reconnaissant des démarches que vous avez bien voulu faire pour m'autoriser à traduire vos Almohades. Le difficile pour nous est de trouver un éditeur; M. Basset n'en voit guère. Peut-être sera-t-on obligé de publier cela dans les Publications de l'Ecole des Lettres d'Alger. Mais il y a d'autres travaux qui attendent et cela ne pourrait alors paraître qu'en 1902. Nous allons chercher encore et je vous tiendrai au courant du résultat de nos recherches.

J'accumule depuis quelques années des matériaux en vue de l'étude de l'Islam Maghribin et je vais en [crossed word] détacher un certain nombre pour en faire un article sur les marabouts dans le nord-ouest de l'Afrique. Ce sera bien incomplet. Je voudrais à ce sujet vous poser une question, si toutefois ce n'est pas indiscret: connaissez-vous des exemples du mot *مرابط* en Orient? Je sais qu'il est employé jusqu'aux ports d'Alexandrie (Hartmann, Lybische Wüste)—Mais il ne doit pas exister dans la littérature classique. Le mot *رباط* dans le sens de couvent est-il très ancien? En Algérie, il avait surtout le sens de forteresse

située aux frontières et où l'on venait combattre les infidèles. Les textes sont nombreux à [crossed word] cet égard (almoravides). Néanmoins je ne trouve pas l'époque où le mot *مرابط* a pris le sens qu'il a aujourd'hui où il est synonyme de *ولي* et même beaucoup plus général puisqu'il s'applique, par exemple, aux arbres.³² Avez-vous des exemples du mot *لا* employé en Orient? Ce mot me paraît bien spécial au Maghrib; il a plutôt une [crossed word] apparence berbère.

Veillez m'excuser d'être aussi indiscret; mais votre bienveillance m'a enhardi et je serais heureux d'avoir simplement votre sentiment sur les questions ci-dessus.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments respectueux
E. Doutté

3.6 [Letter 6] Doutté to Goldziher

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/26

Boulevard Bru, Mustapha-Supérieur
Alger

Monsieur,

C'est bien de la brochure sur le *تعصب* que je voulais vous parler. M. Luciani vous l'a donc seule envoyée: il est vrai que l'autre était sans aucune importance. C'est le récit du voyage d'un arabe de France, sans aucune originalité.

Je vous renverrai la traduction d'Ibn Toumert pour l'époque que vous m'indiquez et aussitôt après je repartirai pour la Marne où je passerai la fin de l'été jusqu'à la rentrée.

Je n'ai rien à vous envoyer et n'aurai probablement rien d'ici longtemps, mais alors ce sera un gros volume, mon travail sur la Marne.

Veillez agréer l'assurance de mes sentiments respectueux et dévoués,
E. Doutté

3.7 [Letter 7] Doutté to Goldziher

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/12

12, Boulevard Thiers, Mustapha—Belcourt
Alger
29 août 1901

32 For the word's use in the meaning of "trees," see Doutté, *Notes sur l'islâm maghribin* 33.

Monsieur,

Il y a seulement une vingtaine de jours que je viens de rentrer d'un assez long voyage au Maroc et que j'ai trouvé sur ma table de travail les différents envois que vous avez bien voulu me faire. Je vous prie donc de vouloir bien excuser le retard que j'ai mis à vous en accuser réception et à vous en remercier. Comme les communications au Maroc sont assez difficiles, j'avais donné ordre de retenir ici toutes mes correspondances, et de ne m'adresser que celles qui avaient un caractère d'urgence.

J'estime toujours autant vos précieux envois ils sont pour moi une source continuelle d'instruction et je vous suis infiniment obligé de vouloir bien m'en faire profiter.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments bien respectueux
E. Doutté

3.8 [Letter 8] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/06

Cabinet du Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie
Alger, le 9 sept[embre] 1901

Cher Monsieur,

M. Doutté, vient de me faire savoir que vous lui recommandez de s'entendre avec moi pour régler la traduction et l'impression de votre travail. C'est une affaire entendue. Je vous prie donc de m'envoyer votre manuscrit que je ferai tenir à M. Doutté, et l'impression commencera aussitôt que la traduction sera achevée.

Veillez agréer, Cher Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments tout dévoués.
J. Luciani

3.9 [Letter 9] *Doutté to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/11

Bagnères-de-Luchon (H^{tes} Pyrénées)
16 septembre 1901

Monsieur,

Je n'ai pas répondu immédiatement à votre aimable lettre parce qu'elle est arrivée au moment où j'allais m'embarquer pour la France.

Dès que le Gouvernement Général m'aura remis votre manuscrit, je l'examinerai et si je me sens incapable, je me mettrai en quête de la personne ferrée dont vous me parlez.

Quant aux ruines de Tin Mel, je [crossed word] donne[crossed characters] un résumé de ce que j'ai vu dans un rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique qui va être imprimé et je ne manquerai pas de vous envoyer le plus tôt possible les bonnes feuilles avec le plus grand plaisir.

Je crains seulement que mon voyage ne retarde un peu tout cela. Je centralise momentanément ma correspondance à Paris, 63, rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments respectueux
E. Doutté

3.10 [Letter 10] Doutté to Goldziher

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/23

Département de la Marne
Chaire d'agriculture
République française
Châlons, le 27 septembre 1901

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu avec le plus vif plaisir vos deux [crossed word] articles sur أصحاب
33 الاصلوان et sur les croyances relatives au nombre³⁴—Ce dernier est particulièrement intéressant pour moi, parce qu'il se rapporte à un ensemble de faits dont je me suis un peu occupé. Je l'ai lu avec plaisir et avec profit, car il y a toujours un grand profit à lire des choses aussi richement documentées que les autres.

Je travaille à mon rapport de mission dont je vous communiquerai les épreuves. En dehors du point de vue archéologique, il n'y aura je crois rien d'intéressant concernant Ibn Toumert. Je vous signale ce fait curieux que la mosquée d'Ibn Toumert, quoique assez grande, ne contient aucune inscription, pas une seule lettre arabe, même autour du mihrab. Cela semble être voulu. J'ignore absolument si c'est en [crossed word] conformité des doctrines du Mahdi: Mieux que moi [crossed word] vous serez à même d'élucider ce point.

Vous me rendez un grand service en me faisant connaître s'il existe en allemand quelque chose de sérieux sur l'art arabe en Espagne [crossed word] et sur l'art africain. En français nous n'avons rien ou à peu près. Je ne parle pas des grands (?) ouvrages d'illustration comme Owen Jones, l'Alhambra ou Prisse d'Avennes, l'Art arabe, mais d'une étude sur l'art arabe d'Espagne ou d'Afrique, son évolution ... Ici je n'ai naturellement aucun livre à ma portée.

33 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Säulenmänner" im Arabischen," in *ZDMG* 55 (1901), 503–508.

34 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Über Zahlenaberglauben im Islam," in *Globus: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 80 (1901), 31–32.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments respectueux et reconnaissants,

E. Doutté

Pendant 5 (?) jours encore : 63, rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris

Puis ensuite : 12, B^d Thiers, Mustapha, Algérie

3.11 [*Letter 11*] *Doutté to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/24

Mustapha—Belcourt, 12, B^d Thiers

8 octobre 1901

Monsieur,

J'ai reçu avec le plus vif plaisir votre lettre du 2 courant (?) où vous me donnez les plus intéressantes indications sur la doctrine musulmane concernant l'ornementation des mosquées : je vous en remercie beaucoup. Pour l'Art arabe, Gayet et Dieulafoy me sont connus. Ils ne m'ont guère convaincu.

M. Miguel Asin, de Saragosse me demande votre adresse, que je m'empresse de lui donner, pour vous adresser un exemplaire de son intéressant livre sur *Al Gazel*

M. Luciani m'a remis votre mémoire : mais je suis au désespoir de constater que je n'aurai pas le temps d'y jeter les yeux d'ici deux mois. Je suis bien chargé de besogne et obligé d'établir un « tour de rôle » Dans 10 jours je vais probablement partir en voyage dans la province d'Oran et ensuite je retournerai au Marne. Je ne compte pas me mettre à Ibn Toumert avant le 20 décembre. C'était ainsi convenu avec M. Luciani. Je vous en présente mes excuses.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments bien respectueux,
E. Doutté

3.12 [*Letter 12*] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/02

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie

Cher Monsieur,

Je suis vraiment désolé du retard que subit l'impression du manuscrit d'Ibn Toumert. Je suis bien loin du délai que je vous avais indiqué dans mes premières lettres.—Je vous envoie cependant par ce même courrier deux nouvelles feuilles ; deux autres vous parviendront dans quelques jours. Votre manuscrit est entre les mains de M. Doutté, qui étant un peu souffrant n'a pu en com-

mencer la traduction. D'autre part il sera voué de s'absenter quelque temps dès qu'il sera rétabli, ce qui sera une nouvelle cause de retard. Je vous prie cependant de croire à mon vif désir de tout terminer dans le plus bref délais possible.

Veillez agréer, cher Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments tout dévoués
24 [Octo]bre

J. Luciani

3.13 [*Letter 13*] *Doutté to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/25

12, B^d Thiers, Mustapha—Belcourt
Alger

Monsieur,

Encore un contre-temps pour Ibn Toumert! Je suis envoyé dans l'Extrême-Sud oranais pour une mission vraisemblablement assez courte et je compte partir d'ici quinze jours. Mais je n'y resterai pas longtemps.

Au reste, il n'y a pas péril en la demeure, car je ne vois pas l'impression du texte arabe finie d'ici bien longtemps et la traduction sera sûrement achevée avant.

Mon rapport sur Tin Mel est également en retard.

Je vous envoie, [crossed words] par ce courrier, une édition d'un texte arabe maghribin qui vient de paraître: cela vous intéressera peut-être.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments respectueux
E. Doutté

p.s.—Récemment D[on] Miguel Asin m'a demandé votre adresse pour vous envoyer son Algazel. Est-ce intéressant?

E.D.

3.14 [*Letter 14*] *Doutté to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/08

Boulevard Bru, Mustapha-Supérieur, Alger
29 avril 1902

Monsieur,

Je reçois aujourd'hui le Journal Asiatique et je vois que mon rapport y figure; je n'ai pas eu de « bonnes feuilles », il paraît qu'il faut les demander exprès. Je n'ai donc pu en envoyer à personne et je m'en excuse spécialement près de vous. Je vous ai fait adresser dernièrement deux brochures arabes éditées par

M. Luciani. Je suis dans votre [crossed word] magnifique travail sur les Almohades. J'espère que [crossed character] le Gouvernement Général aura bientôt quelque chose à vous envoyer : mais nous sommes en pleine période de réorganisation administrative et on n'en sort pas. Je n'ai pas eu les épreuves du Journal Asiatique : c'est pour cela que je ne vous les ai pas soumises. Croyez à mes sentiments respectueux et dévoués

E. Doutté

3.15 [Letter 15] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/16

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie

République Française

Alger, le 5 juin 1903

Cher Monsieur,

Je vous envoie aujourd'hui la 29^e feuille que vous n'avez pas reçue, sans doute par suite d'une erreur de la poste, parce que je suis certain de vous en avoir envoyé un premier exemplaire.

Il y a longtemps que j'aurais dû vous exprimer mes regrets du retard qu'a subi l'impression du manuscrit d'Ibn Toumert, par suite d'événements imprévus. J'espérais au moins que l'impression de votre traduction irait plus vite. Or voilà que, il y a deux jours, M. Doutté m'a renvoyé votre manuscrit sans traduction, en me déclarant que son état de santé, qui est effectivement très mauvais, ne lui permet pas de faire cette traduction. Je m'occupe de trouver quelqu'un de sérieux qui puisse s'en acquitter convenablement, et je vous renseignerai ensuite.

Vous avez dû remarquer que votre tableau des errata ne contient pas toutes les rectifications que vous aviez indiquées. Quelques unes [*sic*] de ces rectifications étaient en effet en désaccord manifeste avec le manuscrit, que j'ai tenu à respecter scrupuleusement.

Veuillez croire, Cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments les plus distingués, et très cordialement dévoués

J. Luciani

3.16 [Letter 16] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/15

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie

République Française

Alger, le 5 août 1903

Cher Monsieur,

J'aurais du m'excuser depuis longtemps du très long retard que subit l'impression de votre ouvrage. Ce retard a eu plusieurs causes. J'ai été obligé depuis l'année dernière de m'absenter très souvent d'Alger. D'autres part notre ami M. Doutté qui devait faire la traduction de votre travail a été très gravement malade. Il y a deux mois seulement il m'a rendu votre manuscrit en exprimant le regret de ne pouvoir faire cette traduction en raison de son mauvais état de santé, qui est véritablement de nature à inspirer les inquiétudes les plus vives.

J'ai profité d'un récent voyage à Paris pour confier la traduction à quelqu'un connaissant à la fois l'allemand et l'arabe. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes secrétaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales a bien voulu s'en charger. C'est ainsi que je peux vous envoyer aujourd'hui les premiers placards. Ceux que je vous ai envoyés il y a deux jours sont à annuler.

Je prie M. Gaudefroy Demombynes de vous renvoyer votre texte au fur et à mesure de la traduction.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur, avec la nouvelle expression de tous mes regrets, l'assurance de mes sentiments cordialement dévoués
J. Luciani

3.17 [Letter 17] *Gaudefroy-Demombynes to Goldziher*
Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/08/05

Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales vivantes
Les Mayens de Sion, le 13 août 1903

Monsieur le Professeur,

Je crois comprendre que la lettre que je vous ai écrite en vous envoyant les premières épreuves de la traduction a été perdue par la personne à qui je l'avais confiée. Si vous l'avez reçue pourtant, tenez celle-ci pour mon avance.

Vous savez comment la santé de M. Doutté ne lui a pas encore permis de se remettre au travail d'une façon suivie et qu'il a renoncé ainsi à traduire l'important [crossed character] mémoire que vous avez bien voulu donner à M. Luciani. C'est ainsi que je m'en suis trouvé chargé. J'avais de grandes craintes au commencement; elles se sont accrues à mesure qu'avancait mon travail. Je crois avoir toujours compris votre pensée; je suis convaincu de ne l'avoir jamais rendue comme il convenait. J'espère que votre profonde connaissance de la langue française vous donnera l'occasion de venir en aide à mon impuissance. La traduction de premier jet est prête depuis [crossed word] deux semaines; mais je dois la revoir, parfois la refaire entièrement avant de l'adresser à M. Luciani, et par ordonnance du médecin, je ne dois point trav-

ailer beaucoup en ce moment. En tout cas, les dernières feuilles de traduction seront à Alger avant la fin du mois d'août: M. Luciani a hâte de paraître pour l'automne.

Je serais très heureux de faire profit de vos observations. Voici mon adresse jusqu'au début d'octobre: à La Noue, Romorantin, (Loir-et-Cher).

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Professeur, l'assurance de mes très respectueux sentiments.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes

3.18 [Letter 18] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/14

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie
République Française
Alger, le 21 août 1903

Cher Monsieur,

Il me sera facile, suivant votre désir, de mettre à votre disposition quelques tirages à part de votre introduction. Veuillez me dire si vous aurez assez d'une vingtaine d'exemplaires, en sus des 50 exemplaires où seront réunis le texte et l'introduction.

Le titre que vous avez indiqué la première fois pour votre mémoire est: Mohammed ibn Toumart et l'état de la théologie de l'islam au Maghrib jusqu'au XI^e siècle. Ce titre sera maintenu à moins d'indication contraire de votre part.

Veillez croire, Cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments sincèrement dévoués
J. Luciani

3.19 [Letter 19] *Gaudefroy-Demombynes to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/08/10

Châtelguyon, le 26 août 1903

Monsieur le Professeur,

Je n'ai pas répondu par le courrier à votre aimable lettre, au milieu du petit effarement où me mettaient la maladie de l'aîné de mes gamins dont j'avais la surveillance et la nouvelle du mal beaucoup plus sérieux du second qui était ici avec sa mère. J'ai dû les rejoindre [crossed word] la nuit dernière, et je suis un peu souffrant moi-même en ce moment. J'ai pu cependant vous envoyer ce matin un paquet d'épreuves allant jusqu'à votre folio 28; j'ai livré à M. Luciani jusqu'au folio 59.

Peut-être vaut-il mieux en effet supprimer tous les accents de [crossed letter] voyelles longues; je les avais tous conservés, mais je vois qu'il sera difficile d'obtenir de l'imprimeur des ĩ; on pourrait supprimer toutes les longues ou seulement les finales. Vous déciderez en dernier ressort et je ferai la correction. Je suis honteux de n'avoir point compris w.m.; vous avez dû voir que j'avais laissé parfois w.m. sur la copie, comprenant bien que mon interprétation était absurde; j'avais bien vu qu'il s'agissait d'ouvrages d'Ibn Toumert, mais je n'ai pas su deviner.³⁵ Je suis très piteux de cela. Je m'entendrai avec M. Luciani pour que la préface tienne compte de votre observation à ce sujet.

Les épreuves en pages vous seront envoyées dès que je les aurai corrigées, pour avoir votre satisfait.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Professeur, l'assurance de mon dévoué regret.
 Gaodefroy-Demombynes
 (jusqu'au 5 septembre):
 Villa Cellier
 Châtelguyon. (Puy-de-Dôme)
 puis à La Noue
 Romorantin (Loir et Cher).

3.20 [Letter 20] *Gaodefroy-Demombynes to Goldziher*
 Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/08/06

Châtelguyon, 3 septembre. Monsieur le Professeur, j'ai tenu compte de vos critiques, qui prouvent une fois de plus que traduttore, traditore. J'ai eu le tort, pris par le temps, de faire tout cela en Suisse sans l'appui d'un dictionnaire.—Ce n'est pas sans ennui que je renonce dans les transcriptions aux lettres pointées; mais il le faut et j'adopterai une transcription bête ذ = dz ض = dh ط = t' ظ = zh et ث = th; je n'ai pas encore pu m'y décider, mais il le faut, à moins que vous n'ayez mieux à me proposer.—M. Luciani a maintenant tout mon manuscrit. Seriez-vous assez bon pour me donner vos appendices dès qu'ils seront faits? J'aime mieux les avoir en allemand, avec votre excellente révision. Tous mes dévoués sentiments,
 Gaodefroy-Demombynes

35 Goldziher used the abbreviation w.m. to refer to Ibn Tūmart's collected writings ("Gesammelte Werke des Mahdī Muḥammad b. Tūmart") as preserved in the Paris manuscript; see the "Vorbemerkung" to Goldziher, Ignaz, "Materialien zur Kenntniss der Almohadenbewegung in Nordafrika," in *ZDMG* 41 (1887), 30–140, here 30.

3.21 [Letter 21] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/13

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie
République Française
Alger, le 9 [septem]bre 1903

Cher Monsieur,

Je n'avais pas l'intention de mettre une préface en tête de votre travail. Mais du moment que cela vous paraît nécessaire, ce sera fait. Il n'y aura du reste que peu de mots, dans lesquels je n'oublierai pas de préciser la date à laquelle votre travail m'a été remis: je remercierai en même temps M. Gaudefroy Demombynes de l'obligeance qu'il a eue de se charger de la traduction.

Veillez croire, Cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments les plus distingués, votre tout dévoué

J. Luciani

3.22 [Letter 22] *Gaudefroy-Demombynes to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/08/07

Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales vivantes
La Noue, le 13 septembre 1903

Monsieur le Professeur,

Je vous envoie par ce courrier les deux premières feuilles de votre mémoire, que je n'ai pas pu corriger aussi complètement que je l'aurais souhaité, l'imprimeur ayant négligé de m'envoyer, comme je lui avais prié, les épreuves des placards corrigées. Pour abréger, je lui écris de vous les adresser directement: je renverrai de nouveau les épreuves en ce moment, [crossed word] où vous me retournerez le tout.

M. Luciani m'écrit qu'on imprime les deux pages de Fagnan; il ajoute: «il y a deux mots que je n'aurais point traduits comme lui. Il traduit علم الفروع par La science des applications juridiques. Cela ne se comprend pas très bien. Je préférerais: L'étude de la jurisprudence fut abandonnée. Ici الفروع ne signifie pas autre chose que الفقه, par opposition aux ouçoul, qoran, sounna. Il y a dans le texte d'al Marrakchi وفي ايامه انقطع علم الفروع.—plus loin, il traduit الرأي par spéculation. Cela me paraît incorrect. On dit, je crois, مذهب اهل الرأي, par opposition à مذهب المحدثين » et il ajoute qu'il me laisse le soin de vous consulter sur ce point. Il me semble que pour suivre la méthode que vous avez donnée dans votre travail, il faudrait simplement transcrire fourou' et ray. Je vous tiens au courant de ce fait, bien que je n'aie pas encore reçu les épreuves.

Je vous rappelle que je serais heureux d'avoir votre avis sur les absurdes transcriptions que vous proposait ma dernière carte postale.

Je puis enfin relire votre beau mémoire sur les Almohades: s'il m'avait été possible de le faire plus tôt, j'aurais évité de ne pas comprendre w.m.³⁶

Veillez croire, M. le Professeur, à l'assurance de mes sentiments respectueux et dévoués.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes

3.23 [*Letter 23*] *Gaudefroy-Demombynes to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/08/01

La Noue, le 18 sept[embre] 1903

Monsieur le Professeur, J'envoie à M. Luciani les placards 78 à 81, sur lesquels j'ai tenu compte de toutes vos corrections. Je vous adresse par ce courrier les placards 82 à fin, sauf votre addition n° 2 qui sera l'appendice II; l'autre addition me semble mieux à sa place à la suite de la note de la p. 72, et je l'y ai fait insérer: elle est courte.—Je vous enverrai la feuille 3, dès qu'elle me parviendra.

Veillez agréer l'assurance de mes respectueux sentiments.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes

Les placards [crossed character] 82 à 99 sont accompagnés de la fin de votre manuscrit: je n'ai donc plus rien entre les mains, en attendant l'épreuve en double que j'ai demandée à M. Luciani.

3.24 [*Letter 24*] *Gaudefroy-Demombynes to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/12/08/09

28 septembre 1903

Monsieur le Professeur,

J'ai adressé ce matin à M. Luciani les derniers placards [crossed character] corrigés selon vos indications. Je suis, comme vous, fort heureux que ce travail ait été mené à bonne fin, grâce à votre minutieuse révision. Je n'ai plus maintenant à faire qu'une révision d'épreuves très rapidement terminée. M. Luciani vous enverra les épreuves des feuilles mises en page, et il est convenu que c'est à lui que vous enverrez directement les observations que vous pourriez avoir à faire sur cette dernière forme de votre travail. Votre silence équivaudra à une approbation.

36 See above note 34.

J'ai été très vivement intéressé par la lecture de votre travail et je suis convaincu qu'il sera très goûté en France, où on s'intéresse tout de même aux choses de l'Islam.

J'aurais voulu que vous désigniez le titre sous lequel vous désirez que paraisse votre mémoire: celui dont vous m'aviez vaguement parlé dans une première lettre était peut-être un peu long. D'autre part, je ne trouve rien qui me satisfasse: [crossed word] «Sur les origines du mouvement almohade;—sur les sources de la doctrine d'Ibn Toumert»;—tout cela ne rend pas un compte exact des idées variées et neuves que renferme votre mémoire. Voudriez-vous, d'un mot, renseigner à ce sujet M. Luciani?

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Professeur, l'expression de mes respectueux sentiments.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes

3.25 [*Letter 25*] *Boudet to Luciani*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/17

Alger, le 5 Octobre 1903

Monsieur Luciani,

Je vous envoie ci-jointes les épreuves de 41 à 71 qui vous ont été remises \en double/ le 10 septembre. Les corrections qui y sont faites ne sont pas celles de l'auteur, ce sont celles provenant de la 1^{re} lecture à l'imprimerie.

Vous avez donc dû les adresser à Budapest vers cette date. Le quatrième envoi manque donc en entier.

Si vous tenez à envoyer de nouvelles épreuves, veuillez, je vous prie, me le faire savoir, je m'empresserai de vous les faire parvenir.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur Luciani, l'assurance de mon respectueux dévouement,

L. Boudet

3.26 [*Letter 26*] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/12

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie

République Française

Alger, le 6 oct[obre] 1903

Cher Monsieur,

N'avez vous [*sic*] pas reçu les premières feuilles de votre ouvrage mise en page. Si vous les avez, veuillez me les renvoyer avec votre bon à tirer. Dans le cas contraire, je vous ferai envoyer de nouvelles épreuves.

Votre tout dévoué

J. Luciani

Je vous envoie aujourd'hui de nouvelles épreuves

J.L.

3.27 [Letter 27] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/09

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie

République Française

Alger, le 25 oct[obre] 1903

Cher Monsieur,

Il y a eu un léger contre temps dans le renvoi des épreuves, mais rien n'est perdu heureusement. Un paquet est resté à Paris pendant quelque temps, en l'absence de M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes. Il me l'a envoyé aussitôt qu'il est rentré à Paris. Actuellement les quatre premières feuilles sont tirées. La cinquième, la sixième et une partie et la septième sont entre les mains de M. G[audefroy-]D[emombynes] pour la dernière correction. Cela va, je crois, jusqu'à la page 105. Il ne reste plus que la fin de votre appendice que je ne crois pas avoir encore reçu.

Selon votre désir, j'ai placé en tête de l'ouvrage un avant propos très court, où après avoir dit quelques mots du livre et de l'auteur, j'ai bien spécifié que votre introduction [crossed word] m'a été remise il y a deux ans, et que vous n'êtes pas responsable du retard apporté à son impression—cela expliquera suffisamment pourquoi il n'y est pas fait mention de certains travaux publiés depuis 1901. Ce que j'en fais, c'est tout simplement pour calmer vos scrupules, car en réalité je crois que vous n'avez rien oublié, puisque dans vos notes vous citez des travaux récents.

J'ai choisi pour titre en français Le Livre d'Ibn Toumert. Je n'ai pas voulu mettre اعز ما يطلب parce que ce n'est là qu'une partie du livre. D'autre part, il n'y a pas d'autre livre que l'on puisse attribuer à Mohammed Ibn Toumert, sauf son Mouatta, dont nous avons un bon manuscrit à Alger, et qui n'est pas à proprement parler son œuvre personnelle.—Pour votre introduction j'ai adopté le titre indiqué par vous Mohammed ibn Toumert et la théologie de l'islam dans le Maghreb du XI^e siècle. Je ferai arranger ce titre pour une couverture spéciale dans le tirage à part de votre introduction.

Veillez croire, Cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments dévoués
J. Luciani

3.28 [Letter 28] *Luciani to Goldziher*
Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/08

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie
République Française
Alger, le 26 oct[obre] 1903

Cher Monsieur,

Je vous envoie aujourd'hui, sous pli séparé, la première feuille du livre d'Ibn Toumert, contenant le titre de l'ouvrage et le petit avant propos dont je vous ai parlé. Je vous envoie également la première feuille de votre introduction, pages 1 à 16. Vous remarquerez qu'il y a deux tirages différents de cette feuille. Dans le premier, qui fera partie de l'ouvrage complet, biographies, texte arabe et introduction, la feuille porte en tête le titre introduction. Dans le second tirage, qui sera le tirage à part de votre travail, le mot introduction est supprimé, et le titre : Mohammed ibn Toumert et la théologie de l'islam dans le Maghreb ou XI^e siècle, est imprimé en gros caractères. Ce titre sera reproduit, avec d'autres dispositions, sur la couverture du tirage à part.

A la page 16, j'ai constaté seulement après que l'impression était terminée, que les numéros des notes étaient mal corrigés (6 et 1 au lieu de 1 et 2). En me reportant à l'épreuve corrigée que m'a renvoyée M. Gaudefroy Demombynes et qui porte également des corrections de votre main, j'ai pu m'assurer que cette discordance a échappé à la correction. Cela n'a pas, je crois, grande importance. Mais il y a une phrase arabe, qui est bien reproduite fidèlement telle qu'elle figure sur la copie que j'ai reçue, et qui ne me paraît pas correcte. C'est celle-ci :
وهي المشتملة بالمعروفة الوفاز حل ومثلثة المستخرجة من كلام الله تعالى

Il y a là certainement une erreur s'il n'y en a pas plusieurs, et je vous les signale le passage [*sic*], bien qu'il soit un peu tard.

Je vous enverrai très prochainement le tirage définitif des feuilles 2, 3 et 4.

Veillez croire, Cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments cordialement dévoués
J. Luciani

3.29 [Letter 29] *Luciani to Goldziher*
Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/10

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie
République Française
Alger, le 7 nov[embre] 1903

Cher Monsieur,

Selon votre désir je vous envoie aujourd'hui les épreuves qui restent à tirer, pages 65 et suivantes. J'attends que vous me les renvoyiez pour donner le bon à tirer. Je suis désolé de l'erreur commise sur votre nom. Bien entendu elle sera rectifiée.

Veillez croire, Cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments, bien dévoués

J. Luciani

3.30 [Letter 30] *Luciani to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/20/11

Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie

République Française

Alger, le 29 nov[embre] 1903

Cher Monsieur,

Je vous ai envoyé hier les épreuves des dernières feuilles. Si vous voulez bien m'autoriser à donner le bon à tirer, le livre paraîtra dans une vingtaine de jours. Il est pris bonne note de l'envoi à faire à M. Harrassowitz. Vous en serez avisé au moment opportun.

Votre cordialement dévoué

J. Luciani

3.31 [Letter 31] *Doutté to Goldziher*

Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/08/38/31

Villa Mahé (?), B^d Bru

Mustapha-Supérieur

jeudi

Cher Monsieur,

Je viens de relire avec admiration votre beau mémoire placé en tête du Livre d'Ibn Toumert. Il fera grand honneur au Gouvernement Général et, comme algérien, je vous en remercie vivement de nous en avoir fournise.

Avec mes souhaits de prospérité pour 1904, je vous prie de vouloir bien agréer l'expression de mes sentiments respectueux,

Edmond Doutté

Acknowledgments

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The Goldziher Collection at the National Library of Israel

Samuel Thrope

In October 1924, the citizens of British Mandate Jerusalem gathered to celebrate the arrival of an intellectual treasure. The Goldziher library, which had arrived in the city a few months earlier, was now being opened to the reading public. Comprising the private library of the Hungarian-Jewish scholar of Islam Ignaz Goldziher, the six thousand volumes had been bought by the Zionist Organization and shipped from Budapest to Jerusalem to found the Islam and Arabic research collection of the nascent Hebrew University and of Israel's National and University Library, now the National Library of Israel.

The celebration was held during the Jewish festival of Sukkot. Although no photographs have been preserved, the event was described in the library's own Hebrew bibliographic journal *Kiryat Sefer*. According to that report, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scholars and notables as well as British Mandate officials and members of the diplomatic corps, came together to mark the occasion. Judah Magnes (1874–1952), the prominent Reform rabbi who would become the first chancellor of the Hebrew University, and Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952), president of the World Zionist Organization, addressed the gathering. Both emphasized how in the Goldziher library “scholars from all the races and religions of the Land of Israel would meet in a collective effort.”¹ The new librarian appointed to manage and catalog the collection spoke as well. This was David Hartwig (Zvi) Baneth (1893–1973), the Arabist and future temporary director of the National Library of Israel.²

A four-room house was rented next to the existing library building to house the new books: Two of the rooms were dedicated to Goldziher's collection and the remainder was left to accommodate expansion.³ Goldziher's 6,000 volumes represented a massive addition to the Jerusalem library's holdings, which only a few years before, in 1919, had stood at 30,000 books.⁴

1 “Goldziher Library” [in Hebrew], in *Kiryat sefer* 2 (1924), 85.

2 Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University, Max Schloessinger Memorial Foundation (ed.), *Studia orientalia: Memoriae D.H. Baneth dedicata*, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995.

3 “Goldziher Library” 85.

4 Shidorsky, Dov, “Shmuel Hugo Bergman and His Place in the Creation of the National Library,” [in Hebrew] in *Cathedra: For the History of Eretz Israel and Its Yishuv* 76 (1995), 125.

The purchase of the Goldziher collection marks a critical turning point in the history and development of Israel's National Library. This article describes both the contents of Goldziher's collection, thereby illuminating a central aspect of his scholarship, and how that collection came into the hands of the Zionist Organization.

1 The Goldziher Library: Provenance and Contents

During his lifetime, Ignaz Goldziher amassed one of the richest private research libraries on Islam in Europe, a collection that included items acquired over his decades of scholarship, beginning with his study trip to the East in 1873.

That year, Goldziher left for a long study tour of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Officially, the aim of the trip was to undertake research in Arabic dialects, but Goldziher did much more. Particularly in Egypt, he forged ties with intellectuals, writers, and activists, among them the famous Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838–1897). Then, Goldziher was privileged to be the first European to study in the famed al-Azhar university, then, and now, one of the leading centers of Muslim learning and scholarship. It was only thanks to his demonstration of fluent Arabic and his command of intricate legal matters to the rector of the university, Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī (1827–1897), that Goldziher was admitted.⁵

On this journey, Goldziher was also charged with purchasing books, 100 in all, for the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; he purchased additional books for his own private library.⁶ This was the beginning of a life-long bibliophilic relationship between Goldziher and the Academy. Throughout his career, Goldziher was consulted by the Academy on acquisitions in the field of Arabic and Islam; he did not buy items for himself that already existed in the Academy's collections—clearly indicating that Goldziher's own intention was that his library would eventually be incorporated into the Academy's holdings.⁷

5 For a discussion of Goldziher's *Oriental diary*, consisting of his notes from this journey, see Patai, Raphael, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary: A Translation and Psychological Portrait*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987, and the important criticism of Patai's work by Conrad, Lawrence I[rvin], "The Near East Study Tour Diary of Ignaz Goldziher," in *JRAS* 122 (1990), 105–126.

6 See Mestyan, Adam, "Ignác Goldziher's Report on the Books Brought from the Orient for the Hungarian Academy of Sciences," in *JSS* 60 (2015), 443–480.

7 De Somogyi, Joseph, "My Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher," in *MW* 57 (1961), 11.

To get a better sense of the contents of Goldziher's collection, we can turn to a catalog prepared following his death in 1921.⁸ The National Library holds one of several copies of this catalog, which was compiled by Goldziher's student Joseph de Somogyi.⁹ The copy now housed in Jerusalem was sent to Hugo Bergmann, the Prague-born philosopher, Zionist, and friend of Buber and Kafka, who served as the National and University Library's first director, from 1920 to 1935.¹⁰

The catalog includes 5,939 items as well as offprints of 1,298 scholarly articles organized by subject: primary sources published in the Islamic world; primary sources published in European editions; modern scholarly studies of Islam, the Near East, and other Orientalist topics; Bible; Hebraica and Judaica; books on philosophy, travel literature, classics, European history, archaeology, and other assorted topics classed under the category "varia"; and academic journals, series, and dissertations.

The catalog demonstrates the variety and breadth of Goldziher's book collecting: from editions of classical Islamic literature in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian published in the Levant, Istanbul, Iran, India, and Egypt, including a number of works published by the famous Būlāq Press in Cairo,¹¹ and European editions and studies of Islam, to Chinese texts in translation; medieval rabbinic literature, Hebrew Bible, and New Testament; and Finno-Ugric linguistics. Although originally kept together and housed, as mentioned, in a dedicated reading room, these books have since been dispersed among the National Library of Israel collection.

In addition to printed books and periodicals, the collection contained at least thirteen manuscripts.¹² These include both late 19th- and early 20th-

8 De Somogyi, Joseph, *Bibliothek Ignaz Goldziher*, s.n., 1921. The National Library of Israel copy of the catalog has been digitized and is available at https://www.nli.org.il/he/books/NNL_ALEPH002236364/NLI. Another surviving copy of this catalog is kept in the Goldziher collection of the LHAS: Goldziher/207, also available online: real-ms.mtak.hu/26921/ (last accessed: 4 December 2023).

9 Somogyi, "My Reminiscences" 11. Israel Cohen writes that six copies of this catalog existed. See Cohen, Israel, *Travels in Jewry*, London: Edward Goldston & Son, 1952, 184.

10 Spector, Scott, "Bergmann, Hugo," in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2010), https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Bergmann_Hugo (last accessed: 26 January 2023).

11 Verdery, Richard N., "The Publications of the Būlāq Press Under Muḥammad 'Alī of Egypt," in *JAOS* 91 (1971), 129–132.

12 Goldziher's manuscripts have all been digitized and are publicly available for online browsing and downloading, thanks to a generous grant from Arcadia, a charitable fund of Lisbet Rausing and Peter Baldwin. The manuscripts can be found by searching for the shelfmarks on the NLI catalog at www.nli.org.il. Ms. Ar. 1, Ms. Ar. 2, Ms. Ar. 3, Ms. Ar. 4, Ms.

century copies of important manuscripts housed in Cairo, Milan, and Oxford,¹³ older Arabic and Persian manuscripts acquired by Goldziher over the course of his scholarly career,¹⁴ and, in one case, a manuscript gifted to him by Louis Massignou.¹⁵

Goldziher wrote extensive marginalia in the volumes in his library, in books and manuscripts alike. His notes, mostly in German and Arabic, comprise annotations, emendations, and corrections of the texts. Goldziher's notes would often extend beyond the boundaries of the page. Circulars, letters, greeting cards, and other scraps were put to secondary use and inserted between the pages. On occasion, letters, drafts, press clippings, and other documents were also interleaved in the volumes: for instance, a letter from Massignou dated 27 January 1919; a letter from the Hungarian linguist Zsigmond Simonyi (1853–1919), dated 1 November 1919; a letter and accompanying press clipping from Mohammad Shah, Financial Secretary of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement for the Propagation of Islam, dated 29 September 1921; and Goldziher's handwritten Hebrew summary of Moses Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*, Book 1, chapters 57–73, written in 1864.¹⁶

By its purchasers, Goldziher's notes were seen as an essential part of the collection's value. Students who read the great scholar's own corrections and comments, it was believed, would have unique insight into his thought and method. Thus, when the books arrived in Jerusalem, the notes were removed from the volumes and kept in envelopes labeled with the book's title and call number. Whatever the original plans for these envelopes were, however, the

Ar. 5, Ms. Ar. 6, Ms. Ar. 7, Ms. Ar. 8, and Ms. Ar. 9 arrived with the remainder of Goldziher's library in 1924. Ms. Ar. 71, Ms. Ar. 72, Ms. Ar. 73, and Ms. Ar. 81 were sent to Jerusalem by Karl Goldziher in 1933. It is not clear why these latter manuscripts were not included with the original shipment nearly a decade earlier.

13 Ms. Ar. 1 (Jarwal b. Aws, *Dīwān al-Huṭay'a*, copied 1890), and Ms. Ar. 2 (Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, *Akhbār al-mu'ammārīn*, copied 1892) were both copied from manuscripts in the Khedival Library, Cairo. Ms. Ar. 71 (Hārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī, *Kitāb al-ʿIlm*, copied 1922) was copied by the Italian Orientalist Eugenio Griffini (1878–1925) from a manuscript in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan (Ms. ar. C 204). Ms. Ar. 73 ('Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baṭalyawsī, *Kitāb al-Ḥadāiq*) and Ms. Ar. 81 (Avicenna, *al-Ḥikma al-mashriqīyya*) were both copied from a single Judeo-Arabic manuscript in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Pococke 181) by the outstanding scholar of the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest David Kaufmann (1852–1899).

14 For example, Ms. Ar. 4 (Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, copied 1603) and Ms. Ar. 6 (*An'am sharīf*, copied 1717).

15 Ms. Ar. 72 (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-radd 'alā ahl al-ahwā' wa-l-bida'*) was copied in 1918 from a manuscript in the Zāhiriyya Library in Damascus and dedicated to Goldziher by Massignou in 1921.

16 National Library of Israel, Goldziher Archive, v 2555.

collection, including the letters mentioned previously, are now housed as the Ignaz Goldziher Archive at the National Library of Israel. The archive will be digitized in 2024 in the framework of an international collaborative project and an inventory will shortly be available.

2 From Budapest to Jerusalem: Competition, Negotiation, and Acquisition

Having considered the fate of the Goldziher library once it arrived in Jerusalem, we can now turn to its acquisition by the Zionist Movement.

When Ignaz Goldziher passed away in 1921, his son Karl (Károly) hoped that the Hungarian Academy of Sciences would purchase the collection. This was, as has been mentioned, in accordance with the scholar's own wishes. However, the difficult economic situation in Hungary following World War I forced the family to seek other buyers. These were not hard to find. The leading collections of Europe and North America, as well as the University of Tokyo approached the family, seeking to purchase the collection. The Japanese were apparently particularly interested in acquiring the library to launch their own institute of Islamic Studies, sending numerous delegations to Budapest, and entering intense negotiations. Only the devastating Tokyo earthquake of 1923 prevented the deal from being concluded.¹⁷

In his recollections of Goldziher, Joseph de Somogyi claims that the acquisition of the library for the Hebrew University was the result of a chance meeting in 1924 between Chaim Weizmann and one of Goldziher's distant American relatives; having heard through the relative of Goldziher's death, Weizmann jumped to raise the funds to buy the collection.¹⁸

As the other sources show, however, the effort to bring Goldziher's library to Jerusalem was by no means an accident. In what follows, I provide a brief account of the role played by two individuals: Abraham Shalom Yahuda and Israel Cohen.

17 In addition to de Somogyi's account of the Goldziher library's purchase, noted above, the contest to acquire the collection is also discussed in detail in Yahuda, Abraham Shalom, "The Goldziher Library," in *The Jewish Chronicle Supplement*, 25 April 1924. Yahuda and his role in the purchase are described in more detail in what follows.

18 De Somogyi, "My Reminiscences" 12.

3 Abraham Shalom Yahuda and the Goldziher Library

Yahuda was born in 1871 into a Jewish family living in Jerusalem and left his home for Germany in 1896, where he earned his doctorate with a thesis on the medieval Andalusian Jewish scholar Baḥya b. Yosef b. Paqūda (c. 1050–1120) from the University of Strasbourg in 1904. Although Yahuda completed his dissertation under the tutelage of Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), the work is dedicated to Goldziher. “He was indeed the first one who prompted me to do this edition of the book that he had loved in his youth,” Yahuda wrote, “He considered it a noble duty to support me in every way and advise me with wise counsel until the end.”¹⁹

Yahuda and Goldziher’s relationship, as reflected in the prolific correspondence between them, dates from 1902 right up until the latter’s death in 1921. Yahuda’s connections with Goldziher’s wife, Laura, and son Karl continued in the years after; so much so that, in 1924, Yahuda persuaded Karl to send him his correspondence with his father, which is now part of the Yahuda archive at the National Library of Israel.²⁰ Goldziher was also instrumental in Yahuda’s academic career. He wrote a letter of recommendation for Yahuda to Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930) in 1907 and encouraged Yahuda to pursue a professorship at Cairo University in 1908, a plan that apparently never came to fruition because Yahuda would not have been allowed to teach Hebrew there. Goldziher also played a central role in helping him secure Europe’s first chair in Jewish Studies at the University of Madrid, which he held from 1913 to 1923.²¹

As a protégé of Goldziher and a lifelong Zionist activist, it is natural that Yahuda would be involved in the purchase of Goldziher’s collection. In fact, he casts himself in a leading role. This is evidenced in one of the most interesting documents about the acquisition: Yahuda’s article “The Goldziher Library,” which was published in the London *Jewish Chronicle* on 25 April 1924, only a few months after the collection had arrived in Jerusalem. After describing its contents, Yahuda writes that the Goldziher library’s move to Palestine will

19 Yazaki, Saeko, “Muslim-Jewish Relations in the *Duties of Hearts*: A.S. Yahuda and His Study of Judaism,” in J[osef] W[aleed] Meri (ed.), *Jewish-Muslim Relations in Past and Present: A Kaleidoscopic View*, Leiden: Brill, 2017. On the dissertation, see Schorsch, Ismar, “Beyond the Classroom,” in Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, 149.

20 Yahuda’s correspondence with Goldziher can be found in the Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archive, National Library of Israel, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah 38 02 3112, in addition to a few items in the LHAS (GIL/25/07/01–06).

21 For more on Yahuda’s Spanish period and its significance, see Gonzalez, Allyson, “Abraham S. Yahuda (1877–1951) and the Politics of Modern Jewish Scholarship,” in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 109 (2019), 406–433.

serve Arabs and Jews alike, inspiring both with the wisdom of ancient Arabian culture—which, in opposition to contemporary Arabian culture, he saw as the proper model for “new Jewish” life.²²

Yahuda was even more elaborate in the later Hebrew translation of his *Jewish Chronicle* article, which appeared in the journal *Ha-Olam*, the official organ of the World Zionist Organization:

Such a library as this, which contains a lovely and amazing treasure of the best of Arabic literature and the finest works of Islam, may indeed become a meeting place for Arab and Jewish scholars alike. There they may sit as brothers in wisdom and friends in scholarship, and the inspiration of enlightenment will impart upon our neighbors, those closest to us both genealogically and in mindset, the same spirit of tolerance, of munificence, kindheartedness, and generosity in which the Arabs excelled in ancient times, during their rule of East and West and during the most sublime generations of their intellectual achievement and culture.²³

From the larger context it is clear that Yahuda saw the Goldziher library as a means by which Jews would acquire the qualities and refinement of the early Islamic period, and “enlightened” Arabs would be drawn closer to European culture and values.

In the article, Yahuda also gives a concise account of the collection’s acquisition:

It is natural that the library of a scholar of such universal interests and so universally known should ... have attracted the attention of such wide circles. From various quarters enquiries and offers reached his family, among them being various important scientific institutes in Europe, America, and even the Far East. It must however be laid to the credit of the Executive of the Zionist Organization that they figured among the first to display lively interest in the collection, and that continued negotiations with the family, till they led to the fortunate success of acquiring the collection.²⁴

22 See further Hussein, Mostafa, “The Integration of Arabo-Islamic Culture into the Emergent Hebrew Culture of late Ottoman Palestine,” in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 109 (2019), 464–469.

23 Yahuda, Abraham Shalom, “The Goldziher Library,” in *Haolam*, 13 June 1924, 477.

24 Yahuda, “Goldziher Library,” in *The Jewish Chronicle Supplement* iv.

This article, as well as Yahuda's close personal relationship with Goldziher and his longstanding involvement in the Zionist movement, led scholars to surmise that Yahuda himself was largely responsible for bringing Goldziher's collection to Jerusalem. However, the archival evidence points in a different direction.

In a brief letter dated 10 March 1923, Professor Gyula (Julius) Németh (1890–1976), the noted Hungarian Turkologist, wrote to Yahuda on the recommendation of Karl Goldziher, asking him to estimate the value of the library.²⁵ By that point, the Zionist Executive had already entered into negotiations with the Goldziher family, negotiations that were ultimately concluded on 8 February 1924.

When faced with the thorny issue of providing an estimate, Karl Goldziher's instinct, it seems, was to turn to a friend of the family who both knew the collection and had experience in the book trade. Yahuda's brother was a well-known book dealer in Cairo, who had sold volumes to Goldziher. Yahuda too had already made a name for himself as a manuscript dealer; he would become one of the most important dealers of the 20th century, selling to Princeton University, the University of Michigan, the National Library of Medicine, and other institutions. At the end of his life, Yahuda bequeathed his remaining manuscripts and archives to the National Library of Israel.²⁶

Yahuda's reply to Németh's short message came in eight typed pages on 10 July 1923. Much like his later published article, the letter extols the breadth and quality of the Goldziher library; only the British Museum and India Office Library in London, Yahuda writes, contain collections to rival it. Given all that, Yahuda estimated a price of 5,300 pounds sterling for the entire collection, a value equal to over 300,000 pounds sterling today.²⁷ Yahuda then goes beyond Németh's specific request, giving his own recommendation for where the library should reside suggesting it should remain in Budapest, "the hometown that he so loved" to be used by future generations of Hungarian students and scholars.²⁸

25 Németh, Gyula, *Letter to Abraham Shalom Yahuda*, 10 March 1923, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archives, National Library of Israel, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah 38 02 3118.

26 On Yahuda's collecting, see Ukeles, Raquel, "Abraham Shalom Yahuda: The Scholar, the Collector and the Collections," in Efraim Wust, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish Manuscripts of the Yahuda Collection of the National Library of Israel*, 2 vols., i, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 1–12, and more recently Davidson, Garrett, "On the History of the Princeton University Library Collection of Islamic Manuscripts," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 13 (2022), 421–479.

27 £5,300 in 1923 is equivalent in purchasing power to about £395,225.55 today, an increase of £389,925.55 over 100 years. The pound had an average inflation rate of 4.41% per year between 1923 and today, producing a cumulative price increase of 7,357.09%.

28 Yahuda, Abraham Shalom, *Letter to Gyula Németh*, 10 July 1923, National Library of Israel, Abraham Shalom Yahuda Archives, ARC. Ms. Var. Yah 38 02 3118.

It is surprising that Yahuda seems to take, within the space of only a few months, such contradictory positions: advocating that the library remain in Hungary in his letter to Németh and extolling its move to Jerusalem in his published article. The dissonance may be explained in part by the different audiences of the two documents: the Jewish and Zionist public, on the one hand, and a Hungarian academic, on the other. Moreover, it was during this very period that Yahuda was offered and then denied, for reasons that are not entirely clear, a position at the newly established Hebrew University; those events may be connected to his differing recommendations for the Goldziher library. Finally, Yahuda's change of heart is in line with a central theme of his biography overall: His life was marked by surprising shifts of allegiance and unexpected about-faces.

4 Israel Cohen and the Goldziher Library

If Yahuda was responsible for estimating the collection's value, the practical work of negotiating the purchase and seeing it through to its conclusion fell to another figure: the journalist and Zionist activist Israel Cohen.

Cohen served as the general secretary of the Zionist Organization in London from 1921 until 1939.²⁹ Even before his appointment to that position, he spent the years following World War I traveling throughout Europe to raise funds for the Zionist movement, including for the projected Hebrew University. In particular, the Zionist Executive, the leadership body of the Zionist movement, was actively seeking to collect books, by donation and purchase, for the new National Library. The files held at the Central Zionist Archives include, among other materials, correspondence with Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) thanking him for the donation of his collected works and a similar letter to Otto Rank (1884–1939) acknowledging his gift of the journals *Images* and *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*.³⁰ The intense interest in acquiring the Goldziher library was part of these larger efforts.

29 Cohen's archive has been digitized and is housed at YIVO. The material related to his work on the Goldziher library is contained in Israel Cohen papers, RG 448, Series 1: Reports on Jewish life in Europe between the wars, Hungary, undated, box 1, folder 13, <https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/7/resources/3279> (last accessed: 26 January 2023). This file includes a draft of the chapter on the Goldziher library later contained in Cohen's *Travels in Jewry*.

30 The correspondence related to the Goldziher Library is archived at the Central Zionist Archives and can be found in the file: "National and University Library, February 1924, L12\17\2."

Cohen's work on behalf of the Zionist movement is chronicled in his 1952 book *Travels in Jewry*. Written in the wake of the Holocaust, Cohen dedicated the work to "the memory of my Jewish fellow-writers whose last journey ended in the Nazi death-camps," and the brief sketches and travelogues that the book contains all share a tone of mourning for a world now lost.³¹

The book includes a separate chapter detailing Cohen's role in the acquisition of the Goldziher library. Cohen describes in gloomy terms Goldziher's residence on Holló utca, which he first visited in 1923, and the library as it stood during the scholar's lifetime.³² Cohen goes on to give a brief account of the dueling bids for the collection, which is in line with that given by Yahuda and other sources, and then goes on to recount his own role. Following the preparation of a preliminary report on the collection by Aron Freimann (1871–1948) of the Frankfurt city library,³³ Cohen writes,

I was despatched to acquire the collection of 6,000 volumes and to superintend the transport to Palestine. Before the First World War this would have been a comparatively simple task, but the post-war conditions in Hungary had made it a problem of incalculable difficulty, as permission to export the books had to be obtained from the Government, and it was dubious whether it would be granted. Friends in Budapest with whom I discussed the matter all shook their heads sceptically [*sic*] and predicted that my efforts would be in vain. But thanks to representations that were made to the British Colonial Office and to the subsequent instructions that were sent to the British Minister in the Hungarian capital, the application addressed by the latter on behalf of the Zionist Organization to the Hungarian Foreign Minister met with a prompt and favorable reply ... Meanwhile I had arranged with a shipping agency to deliver the packing-cases in which the books were to be transported.³⁴

Cohen's description matches the account in the archives. In a letter dated 27 January 1924, John Dalton, a member of the British diplomatic mission in Budapest, wrote to Cohen informing him that the Hungarian government had announced that they had no opposition to the library leaving the country.³⁵

31 Cohen, *Travels in Jewry* 6.

32 Cohen, *Travels in Jewry* 18–183.

33 Shidorsky, "Bergmann" 128.

34 Cohen, *Travels in Jewry* 184. The shipping company Cohen refers to was the Budapest-based firm of Caro & Jelinek, Arany János utca 4. Documents from the company are contained in the Central Zionist Archives file referred to previously.

35 Dalton, John, *Letter to Israel Cohen*, 27 January 1924, Central Zionist Archives, National and University Library, February 1924, A213\278.

The Central Zionist Archives file also contains a 1 February telegram from Foreign Secretary Ramsay MacDonald (1866–1937) indicating that an export license had been secured.³⁶

Despite this permission having been given, secrecy remained a priority. In a letter dated 7 February 1924 from Cohen to David Eder (1865–1936), a psychoanalyst who served on the Zionist Executive in London,³⁷ the former emphasized that the sale terms not be publicized:

I wish to add that the purchase of the Library is being kept as secret as possible here, and it is necessary that this secrecy shall continue at least until the books are out of the country. I presume that you have not mentioned the name of Goldziher in connection with the payment. The name must be kept entirely out of it for special reasons.³⁸

Presumably, despite the government's formal agreement, the Zionist leadership was concerned that popular nationalist sentiment would object to such an important Hungarian scholar's library leaving the country.

In his later written account, Cohen also emphasizes the role played by Goldziher's widow, Laura, in the library's purchase. As the actual packing and removal of the books approached, she became more and more reluctant. Cohen intimates that "to part from the treasures of her husband" was tantamount to a second bereavement.³⁹ Having finally persuaded her, he continues,

The following day two officials from the National Museum arrived with the export license and remained to superintend the packing. Professor Karl Goldziher, the only [living] son of the distinguished Orientalist, first took the books from the shelves and handed them to a couple of workmen, who stowed them in the large wooden cases. The officials now and then examined a volume before it was put away, though they scarce interfered with the progress of the work.

Mrs. Goldziher looked on with a heavy heart and tears glistened in her eyes.⁴⁰

36 MacDonald, Ramsay, *Telegram to David Eder*, 1 February 1924, Central Zionist Archives, National and University Library, February 1924, L12\17\2.

37 On Eder see further, Tidhar, David, "Dr. Montague David Eder," [in Hebrew] in *Encyclopaedia of the Founders and Builders of Israel*, Tel Aviv, 19 vols., iii (1949), 1338–339, <http://www.tidhar.tourolib.org/tidhar/view/3/1338> (last accessed: 9 May, 2022).

38 Cohen, Israel, *Letter to David Eder*, February 7, 1924, Central Zionist Archives, National and University Library, February 1924, L12\17\2.

39 Cohen, *Travels in Jewry* 184.

40 Cohen, *Travels in Jewry* 185.

From a distance of some three decades, Cohen writes of Laura Goldziher (1854–1925) with a great deal of empathy, but his reactions at the time were more tense. In the letter of 7 Februar to Eder, Cohen complains angrily that the final payment of 2000 pounds sterling of a total payment of 3000 pounds sterling for the Goldziher library,⁴¹ to the Goldziher's bank account had been delayed. Having sent numerous telegrams on the matter to London with no response, and with his own personal funds running low, Cohen warns that the deal with the Goldziher family is on the brink of collapse.

They insist that until the Banca Ungaro Ital. receives a wire direct from the Banca Comm. Ital., the books cannot be handed over. That is as I have repeatedly wired to you to see that such an advice is dispatched by the London Bank. Unless and until this is done the packed cases will continue to lodge in the Holló utcza, with the old lady [Laura Goldziher] watching over them. I don't want to waste a further telegram on this matter, but please lose no time in telephoning the Banca Comm. Ital. and ascertaining whether it has sent a wire about your cheque to the Banca Ungaro Italiana, Budapest.

I may add that the Forwarding Agents, Caro and Jellinek, to whom I showed your wire are fully satisfied and undertook to guarantee to the Goldzihers that the 2000 would be in order. But the old lady would not be persuaded. But a telegram from the Banca Comm. Ital. will satisfy her.⁴²

Before sending the letter the next morning, 8 February, Cohen adds a relieved postscript: "I am pleased to say that the Budapest Bank has at last received advice from London, so that the goods can be moved today."⁴³ And so the Goldziher library departed Budapest for Haifa via Trieste and Port Said.

41 The purchase of the Goldziher library was funded by the Bulawayo Women's Zionist Society, a Jewish women's organization in Rhodesia; a trust fund established by Solomon Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh, PA; and the Hebrew University Fund. Shidorsky, "Bergmann" 128. The funding is also discussed in a letter from Reverend M.I. Cohen, B.A. of Bulawayo, Rhodesia, dated March 13, 1924, Central Zionist Archives, National and University Library, February 1924, L12\17\2.

42 Cohen, Israel, *Letter to David Eder*, 7 February 1924, Central Zionist Archives, National and University Library, February 1924, L12\17\2.

43 Cohen, *Letter to David Eder*, 7 February 1924.

5 Conclusions

The acquisition of the Goldziher library by the Zionist movement, and its transfer to the young National Library in Jerusalem is illuminating in several respects. It explains the process of uncovering the history of the library and its collections, in particular those related to the study of Islam, Arabic, Persian, and the histories and cultures of the Middle East. Without having acquired Goldziher's books so early in its history, one can only speculate whether the National Library of Israel would have built such a strong Islamic collection and, if so, what the scope of that collection would be today.

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Goldziher and Jewish Scholarship in Light of His Correspondence with Immanuel Löw and Michael Guttman

Tamás Turán

Four luminaries of Jewish scholarship emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century in Hungary: Wilhelm Bacher, Ignaz Goldziher, David Kaufmann, and Immanuel Löw. One key to their shining accomplishments and academic excellence was their studies at German universities. All four earned a doctorate at Leipzig University. Those familiar with Goldziher's life and oeuvre know that concurrent with becoming one of the founders of modern Arabic–Islamic studies, he gradually moved away from Judaic scholarship.¹ From the 1890s onward he barely published on narrowly Jewish topics. Yet his contributions to Judaic scholarship, even after the 1880s, remain significant and bear the mark of his perceptive genius. His interest in Jewish scholarship did not cease, as also attested by his book reviews, his teaching and mentoring activities at the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest, as well as his correspondence. This essay is devoted to this last dimension, which reflects closely both Goldziher's estrangement and his "residual" interest in Jewish scholarship.

The two sources of correspondence that I survey here are unfortunately uneven and one-sided, in the sense that although 218 letters from Löw to Goldziher are preserved in the Goldziher bequest in Budapest, only a few letters (and some excerpts from letters) from Goldziher to Löw are extant and available today anywhere in the world. As for Guttman, we have 21 letters from him to Goldziher, and not a single letter from the other direction. Yet some major points of Goldziher's letters to these two correspondents can often be reconstructed from the responses to them, and in a few cases, letters of the Goldziher–Löw correspondence can be merged as one responding to the other.

In the following text I survey Goldziher's correspondence with Immanuel Löw, his friend; and Michael Guttman, Goldziher's disciple. Numerous issues germane to Goldziher's personal life and many issues relevant to contemp-

1 Turán, Tamás, *Ignaz Goldziher as a Jewish Orientalist: Traditional Learning, Critical Scholarship, and Personal Piety*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023, 85–99.

ary Jewish religious life and thought in Hungary come up in these correspondences. Here I leave aside such interesting themes and facets; I deal with them elsewhere, also in a contemplated publication of the Goldziher–Löw correspondence. This article is confined to some scholarly aspects of the two sets of correspondence. I consider Goldziher’s engagement with Jewish scholarship in Hungary through the lens of two different types of human interactions and relationships: friendship and mentorship. The two correspondences shed light on scholarly collaboration in Semitic and Jewish studies in Central Europe for a period of approximately 40 years, from 1880 through 1920, and provide new information on the history of these fields. The main characteristics shared by Goldziher’s two mentioned correspondents, Löw and Guttmann, were that both were Hungarian rabbi-scholars belonging to moderately progressive streams of modern European Judaism. There were of course also significant differences between them in their careers and scholarly profiles. I provide basic information on them in the two parts that follow and deal with the two sets of correspondence individually.

1 Goldziher and Löw

Immanuel Löw (1854–1944) served as rabbi in Szeged, Hungary, in the local Neolog community—Neologs were a Hungarian version of moderate reformed Jews²—from 1878 until his death. He was a towering figure of Semitic philology. Goldziher’s relations with Wilhelm Bacher (1850–1913) and David Kaufmann (1852–1899) were strenuous, and most of the time, hostile from his side; not so with Löw, however; they were friends until Goldziher’s death.³ In fact Löw was one of Goldziher’s closest friends: a professional colleague, a confidant, and a religious comrade of sorts in his home country. Quantitatively, in terms of the number of letters with correspondents preserved in Goldziher’s bequest, the 218 letters from Löw to Goldziher⁴ rank him (Löw) as the fourth most prevalent among all of Goldziher’s correspondents, and the first one among his Hungarian correspondents, Jewish correspondents, and correspondents who were Judaic scholars.⁵ The extent of a correspondence depends of course on

2 Turán, Tamás, “150th Anniversary of the Hungarian Jewish Congress,” *Jewish Culture and History* 21 (2020), 204; Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher as a Jewish Orientalist* 37–41.

3 Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher as a Jewish Orientalist*, index.

4 These are preserved at the LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/01 through GIL/26/09/221. Joseph de Somogyi in his list of the correspondence counted 234 items sent by Löw. Somogyi, József, *Goldziher levelezés (The Goldziher Correspondence)*, typewritten list, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, Goldziher/141, p. 16.

5 Dévényi, Kinga, “The Revival of a Correspondence: On the History of the Correspondence

a variety of factors, but in general in the 19th century the quantity of the correspondence was often indicative of the relative importance of a person in the human relations of his correspondent—if we limit these relations to friends who live in different locations and correspondence therefore constitutes their major mode of communication. This was certainly true in the case of Goldziher and Löw: The quantity of letters is indicative of the importance of their friendship to each other. The extant Goldziher–Löw correspondence is also by far the most extensive of that among the four mentioned luminaries of Jewish scholarship in Hungary. The Goldziher–Löw correspondence gives us unique glimpses into the frontiers and hinterland of Jewish scholarship in Central Europe in their generation.

The friendship between Goldziher and Löw was based on overlaps in their academic education and international academic network, similarities in their essentially liberal religious outlook, and some measure of aversion to and disdain for the Neolog religious establishment to which they both belonged. Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–1888) was the Doktorvater for both in Leipzig. Both lived in Hungary all their lives and declined numerous invitations to fill prestigious positions abroad—despite the fact that academically both remained in relatively marginal positions in Hungary for most of their lives. Until 1905, Goldziher's main source of livelihood was serving as the secretary of the Neolog Jewish community of Pest. Lamenting this fact, Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) wrote to Goldziher in a letter from 1888:

It is a scandal of the first order that they let you fill a position for which you are overqualified, and no other [position] is offered to you where you could fully realize your potential. I also find it extremely regrettable that a scholar like Immanuel Löw sits in Szeged, instead of teaching at a university or adorning an academy.⁶

In their relative isolation, both relied on an overlapping international network of teachers, friends, and colleagues, among them Theodor Nöldeke in Strasbourg, Heymann Steinthal (1823–1899) and Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903) in Berlin, Siegmund Fraenkel (1855–1909) in Breslau, and Gottlieb Klein (1852–1914) in Stockholm. A further important common element of their biographies was

of Ignaz Goldziher" [Egy levelezés újraéled: adalékok Goldziher Ignác levelezésének történetéhez], in *Keletkutatás* (2018 ősz), 94. (As for the number of Löw's letters to Goldziher, the figure 216 is given here.)

6 Simon, Róbert, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences / Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986, 169.

that their valuable personal libraries ended up in the National and University Library of Jerusalem. Although not a fulfillment of their wish or will, it was also not a mere coincidence.

Significant differences between the two scholars should also not be overlooked. Their character and temperament were different. Goldziher was irritable and almost permanently frustrated, harboring much bitterness in his private as well as professional lives; Löw was much happier with his lot. Löw writes to his friend in 1890: "You just 'pour out' [...] volumes, and yet you are always discontented. What should I say who is barely able to put out anything [...]."⁷ Both received important stimuli from Leopold Löw (1811–1875), Immanuel's father, and the founder of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Hungary, but these were of different degrees and they took this input in different directions. As a scholar, Immanuel Löw was more of a detached philologist, an armchair scholar, a *Stubengelehrter*.⁸ As a rabbi, however, he took upon himself tasks beyond regular responsibilities of his office with affection, commitment, and dedication. He not only preached and wrote epitaphs diligently, he was fully involved in the architectural, horticultural, and artistic planning of the magnificent new synagogue in his community. All these activities were inspired and informed by his scholarship and manifested originality and creativity. Goldziher was not a rabbi (he ridiculed rabbis, at least Neolog ones),⁹ but the present and future of Hungarian Judaism and of society at large were of much concern to him. He wanted to make an impact on it, at least up to the 1880s.

Goldziher's turn away from Jewish studies is traceable in their correspondence—not only in explicit remarks (from both sides) but also in the overall thematic metamorphosis of the correspondence. Until 1890, his thoughts on Jewish religious and community issues dominated it, later the focus shifted to philological and scientific matters and projects, and the respective international connections of the two scholars. One of Löw's letters from the latter period, quite typical of the entire correspondence (e.g., in mixing scholarly and

7 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 26 March 26, 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/029. For another personal remark, see the end of the postcard reproduced in the Appendix.

8 "Thanks for your lines on my two articles. In any case, besides me only Nöldeke and [Siegmond] Fraenkel will read them, but others are not really important to me"; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 31 August 1908, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/136.

9 Löw remarks to Goldziher: "You will certainly make fun of me if I write to you that I am preparing a big volume of sermons for publication." Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 23 October 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/046.

personal matters; soliciting feedback from the other concerning their publications; exchanging information on friends and acquaintances) is published in the Appendix.

For Goldziher, Löw signified in Hungary what Nöldeke meant for him abroad: a congenial colleague and sympathetic friend. They were apparently the most important readers of each other's work in their home country, helping one another with their linguistic expertise, checking data, locating and copying sources. Their reliance on mutual academic stimulus and assistance (beyond appreciation and advice), is amply documented in the correspondence. From Löw's side, we find some three dozen academic inquiries and requests addressed to Goldziher, mostly related to Arabic lexicography. From Goldziher's side, the letters (indirectly) document approximately the same number of scholarly inquiries and requests to Löw. About half of the latter's inquiries and requests pertain to Arabic lexicography and the other half pertain to rabbinic sources. Most of the issues concerning Arabic lexicography in the correspondence relate to plant names.

Although both Goldziher and Löw much appreciated the "scientific theology" of Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), Geiger's platform was anathema to mainstream Hungarian progressive Judaism, called *Neology*.¹⁰ Goldziher and Löw encouraged and pressed each other to take up this issue. Goldziher expected Löw to popularize critical scholarship on the Bible among Neologs, and Geiger's approach in particular—as we learn from his letter to Löw from 1881.¹¹ Löw, on his part, during the first decade of the 20th century, tried to recruit Goldziher to write a general appreciation of Geiger's thought and scholarship for a memorial volume on Geiger that he helped to edit.¹² Both of them resisted

10 Turán, *Ignaz Goldziher as a Jewish Orientalist*, index, s.v. Geiger, Abraham.

11 See the excerpt of Goldziher's letter to Löw, dated 10 November 1881, published by Scheiber, Sándor, "I. Goldziher's Letters to I. Löw" [Goldziher Ignác levelei Löw Immanuelhez], in *Uj élet* 2, no. 50 (12 December 1946), 8. Some of Goldziher's letters and postcards to Immanuel Löw are today preserved in the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem (Goldziher, Ignaz, *Letters to Immanuel Löw*, Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Immanuel Löw Archive [ARC. 4* 794 01 68]), but those edited by Scheiber are not included among them.

12 See Löw's letters to Goldziher concerning this volume, from 1905–1910: Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 22 May 1907, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/110; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 27 November 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/121; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 14 May 1907, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/129; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 11 April 1908, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/134; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 11 March 1908, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/140; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 6 July 1908, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/141; Löw,

these pressures by the other because they were keen on keeping a distance from sensitive Jewish religious matters and theological controversies in their homeland.

Both also pursued scholarly projects that they abandoned or were unable to realize or finish for various reasons. We learn about four such significant scholarly projects from the Goldziher–Löw correspondence—two from each.

1. In a letter from 1902, Löw encourages Goldziher to work on his “systematic philosophy of religion.” The context implies that at that time, probably for a relatively brief period of time, Goldziher indeed contemplated writing such a work—first as lecture notes in Hungarian, and later maybe a revised version, presumably in German.¹³ This is an interesting piece of information, which is yet to be corroborated by other sources.¹⁴ Although nothing came out of this plan, it was most suitable and timely for a number of reasons. Two years earlier, after Kaufmann’s death, Goldziher took over his classes in Jewish religious philosophy at the Rabbinical Seminary. At the university he offered courses with titles like “The Science of Religion” and “The Development of Religion” with an average of once in every four semesters.
2. Nineteenth-century Judaic scholars, including Leopold Löw, were much interested in the history of “Jewish oath.” This was perhaps among the reasons why Goldziher was interested in the history and folklore of Islamic oath. He published on this subject extensively and planned further publications that he was unable to realize.¹⁵ The correspondence

Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 18 June 1908, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/143; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 6 February 1910, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/145; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 28 February 1910, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/146; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 14 March 1910, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/173.

- 13 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 12 January 1902, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/069.
- 14 Interestingly, Martin Schreiner (1863–1926), Goldziher’s student, also worked on a similar manuscript from the 1890s, which was never completed, abandoned mainly due to his mental illness, which broke out in the same year (1902). See Turán, Tamás, “Martin Schreiner and Jewish Theology: An Introduction,” in *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (2017), 45–84, here 55–61.
- 15 The first works in which Goldziher dealt with some aspects of Islamic (and Jewish) oath were his “Über jüdische Sitten und Gebräuche aus muhammedanischen Schriften,” in *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 29 (1880), 302–315, 355–365, here 363–364; and *Islam: Studies on the History of Muhammadan Religion [Az iszlám: tanulmányok a muhammedán vallás története köréből]*, Budapest: A M.T. Akadémia

documents Goldziher's efforts (from 1899–1900) to collect Jewish comparative material.¹⁶

3. The *Corpus Tannaiticum* was a major international project of utmost importance for research in rabbinic literature, aiming to produce critical editions of early rabbinic (tannaitic) literature.¹⁷ This project produced partial results (critical editions of some halakhic Midrashim) and the project itself was always widely known in scholarly circles, but there are prevalent misconceptions about its origins. Notably, it is virtually unknown and unrecorded in the history of scholarship that it was Immanuel Löw who conceived and initiated this project during the first years of the 20th century at the latest. His pioneering role in this endeavor is attested by other sources too (in Löw's correspondence with Wilhelm Bacher);¹⁸ what is important for us here is that two of Löw's letters to Goldziher in 1907 also mention his involvement with this project.¹⁹

Könyvkiadó-hivatala, 1881, 84–86, and *passim*. See more on this subject in Turán, Tamás, "From the Mouths of Scholars, and (Not) From Books': Goldziher, the Scandinavian School, and the Study of Orality in Ancient Judaism" (forthcoming). See also Sabine Schmidtke's contribution to this volume.

- 16 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 24 August 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/045; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 24 November 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/051; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 30 October 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/053.
- 17 Soussan, Henry C., *The Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 135. See the cursory mention of Löw's initiatory role by József Schindler, "Immanuel Löw" [in Hebrew], Shimon Federbush (ed.), *Jewish Scholarship in Western Europe* [in Hebrew], Jerusalem—Tel-Aviv: s.n., 1958, 314–329, here 320. In a sermon from 1922 Löw mentions that "30 years ago I persuaded the leaders of our scholarly society that the most worthy task of this society is to publish in a comprehensive collection the basic layer of traditional law, the texts of the Tannaim. Part of this Corpus Tannaiticum was published in the critical elaboration of Horovitz [...]" (Löw, Immanuel, *Hundred Sermons 1900–1922* [Száz beszéd 1900–1922], Szeged: Schwarz Jenő, 1923, 320). It is not entirely clear whether he meant the Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur (established by Gustav Karpeles in 1892), the Verbund der Vereine für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur (established by the end of 1893), or the Mekitze Nirdamim Society, or maybe there was an error and the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, established in 1902, is meant. Despite all the spectacular progress in this field, the task is far from being accomplished.
- 18 The planning of the *Corpus Tannaiticum* is mentioned in Löw's correspondence (in Hungarian) since 1902, see Komlós, Ottó, "Letters of Immanuel Löw to Vilmos Bacher" [Löw Immanuel levelei Bacher Vilmoshoz], in *Vidéki Rabbikar Körlevele 2* (1955), 130–142, here 134–138.
- 19 Löw, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 22 May 1907, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/110; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 19 March 1907, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/127.

4. Similarly, Löw's groundbreaking appreciation of the merits of the Leiden manuscript of the Jerusalem Talmud remains uncredited to this day. Scholarship promulgates the view that it was the great Talmudic philologist Jacob Nahum Epstein (1878–1952) who pioneered recognition of the textual–philological value of the Leiden manuscript of the Jerusalem Talmud in 1934.²⁰ In fact, however, Löw not only recognized the significance of this manuscript, but also initiated its publication (presumably in transcription) as early as 1899.²¹

This correspondence is currently our exclusive source of information on two of the mentioned four projects: the first (that of Goldziher), and the last (that of Löw), and it also provides important details on the other two projects.

Folklore was one of Goldziher and Löw's common fields of interest. Responding to an inquiry of Goldziher, in a letter Löw sent him a mini-essay surveying medieval rabbinic sources on the custom of pouring out water in the house of a deceased person.²² Goldziher used this material in his article on water as a prophylactic against demons, and of course gave credit to Löw.²³ A literary–theological (“Aggadic”) motif of common interest for them was Jacob's image engraved on the Divine Throne, and its Muslim parallels. They corresponded on this motif, shared their data with each other, and mentioned the references provided by the other in their articles on Jewish and Muslim sources, respectively.²⁴ Goldziher asked for and received numerous source references

20 Sussmann, Yaakov, “Introduction” [in Hebrew], in Yaakov Sussman (ed.), *Talmud Yerushalmi; According to Ms. Or. 4720 (Scal. 3) of the Leiden University Library, with Restorations and Corrections*, Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2001, 13. Epstein admired Löw, and contributed to a *Festschrift* in his honor. See Turán, Sinai (Tamás), “Leopold Löw and the Study of Rabbinic Judaism—A Bicentennial Appraisal,” *Jewish Studies / Maddae ha-Yahadut* 48 (2012), 72* n. 96.

21 “The *Mekize Nirdamim* again plans to print a bunch of waste sheets, but it does not want to publish the [Talmud] Yerushalmi based on ms. Leiden”; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 11 June 1899, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/043. The same issue comes up more explicitly in a letter two years later: “The *Mekize Nirdamim* keeps on publishing unneeded things. I cannot persuade them to publish the [Talmud] Yerushalmi (ms. Leiden, fragments of Ginzburg, etc).”; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 15 March 1901, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/064.

22 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 21 October 1908, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/144.

23 Goldziher, Ignaz, “Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel,” in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 13 (1910), 20–46, here 41 n. 4.

24 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 22 March 1907, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/103; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 20 November 1907, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/102; Goldziher, Ignaz, “Neoplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṭ,” in *ZA* 22 (1908), 317–344, here 326–328; Löw,

from Löw on other issues of interest to him, such as religious customs and gestures, for example, striking the eye/forehead/face with hands (which may or may not be related to the eye and the “evil eye” notion),²⁵ or folkloristic beliefs on and ritual uses of Psalms 3 and 91.²⁶

2 Goldziher and Guttman

Michael Guttman (1872–1942), Goldziher’s student from the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest at the turn of the 19th century, was a Talmudic scholar. A beneficiary of Goldziher’s network of placement services for talented graduates of the Seminary, Goldziher and Löw helped him to start his career in 1903 as a rabbi in the Neolog community of Csongrád.²⁷ After the death of Moses Bloch (1815–1909), the rector of the Seminary, Guttman succeeded him as professor of Talmud. From 1921 he filled the same position in the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary, where he became the *Seminarrabbiner*, the chief religious authority and de facto leader of the institution. Four years later he was invited to be a pro-

Immanuel, “Der Kuß,” in *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 65 (1921), 253–276, 323–349, here 339–340. Goldziher is mentioned in the latter article on p. 340. It seems Goldziher (see his cited article, 327–328 n. 2) also used some of Löw’s references to Jewish sources (given in his letter of 20 November 1907) but Löw’s name is not mentioned in the article.

- 25 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 5 July 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/078; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 1 January 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/079; Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 29 March 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/081; and Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 1904? Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/082; cf. Goldziher, Ignaz, “Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet,” in Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag [...] gewidmet [...]*, Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906, 303–329, here 322, 327–328. For Goldziher’s studies on gestures, see the contribution by Livnat Holtzman and Miriam Ovadia to this volume.
- 26 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 13 December 1908, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/139. For Goldziher’s relationship with Immanuel Löw, see also Dóra Pataricza and Máté Hidvégi’s contribution to this volume.
- 27 Löw writes to Goldziher concerning Guttman (Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 23 June 1903, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/087): “I envy him and feel pity for him. I envy him for the שבה [praise] that he received from you, and feel pity that [to become rabbi of] Csongrád is his ambition: זו תורה וזו שכרה [such Torah-knowledge and such a reward (b Berakhot 61b)]? I received his dissertation. Of course I will do everything possible for him. He would be better off if you could put him to the Orthodox community of Marosvásárhely.” Two years later Löw writes: “Today the rabbi of Csongrád was here—of all of my acquaintances he is the only one among [Neolog rabbi] colleagues who impresses me. And he is stuck [lit. starves] in Csongrád!” Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 16 May 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/120.

fessor of Talmud at the Hebrew University, and to head its Institute of Jewish Studies,²⁸ but he taught there only one semester before returning to Breslau, partly due to the illness of his daughter.²⁹ With the rise of the Nazis to power in 1933, he returned to Budapest and became the rector of the local Rabbinical Seminary from the same year until his death in 1942.³⁰

Guttman arrived to study at the Rabbinical Seminary (first its preparatory, high school division) at the age of 23 in 1895, already a full-fledged Talmudist. Goldziher often turned to him with inquiries about the rabbinic background of Aggadic motifs and sometimes halakhic concepts. As a rule, it was Goldziher's Islamic studies that aroused his interest in these Jewish parallels.

Let us glance at the type of Jewish themes and motifs on which Goldziher sought Guttman's Talmudic–rabbinic expertise. One example is the gender symbolism of numerals,³¹ in which Goldziher solicited the help of both Löw and Guttman in 1916. Löw's answer was confined to a single reference for secondary literature;³² Guttman gave a more elaborate answer with primary and secondary sources.³³

Another example is the notion of the “common good” as a systemic principle of Islamic law, which makes it possible to override existing norms in the name of “public interest.” This issue was an important element of Goldziher's analysis and apologetics for Islamic law's potential to develop and accommodate historical circumstances; he discussed this repeatedly in his works. Earlier the same year, 1916, Goldziher turned to Guttman with observations concerning *tiqqun ha-olam*, “repairing the world,” a parallel concept in Talmudic law,

28 Guttman, Alexander, “Bible and Talmud,” in Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger (ed.), *The Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest, 1877–1977: A Centennial Volume*, New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1986, 178–183, here 180–182.

29 His daughter passed away in 1926; see the dedication in Guttman, Yehiel Michal ha-Cohen, *A Key to the Talmud* [in Hebrew], 4 vols., iii/2, Csongrád: M. Kohn—Th. Schatzky—D. Rotenberg, 1906–1930, at the beginning of the (149-page-long) entry on “Eretz Israel,” at the end of the volume.

30 Löwinger, Samuel David, “Prof. Yehiel Michal ha-Cohen Guttman” [in Hebrew], in Shimon Federbush (ed.), *Jewish Scholarship in Western Europe* [in Hebrew], Jerusalem—Tel-Aviv: s.n., 1958, 131–133; Turán, Tamás and Wilke, Carsten L., “Wissenschaft des Judentums in Hungary: An Introduction,” in Tamás Turán and Carsten L. Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary: The “Science of Judaism” between East and West*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, 1–34, here 12–13.

31 Endres, Franz Carl and Annemarie Schimmel, *Das Mysterium der Zahl: Zahlensymbolik im Kulturvergleich*, Cologne: Diederichs, 1984, 26–27.

32 Löw, Immanuel, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Szeged, 22 February 1916, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/181.

33 Guttman, Michael, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, [Budapest?], 21 February 1916, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/14/24/23.

asking him for Talmudic sources and cross-checking his hypothesis. Guttman answered with a fully documented mini-essay, with an encyclopedia entry of sorts, with dozens of sources cited.³⁴ Goldziher's inquiry was part of his preparations for a lecture in Vienna on historical and legal aspects of contemporary Islamic reform movements in Egypt.³⁵ In this lecture, Goldziher made explicit reference to *tiqqun ha-'olam* as a Talmudic parallel. This issue serves as an illustration of Goldziher's complex policy of citing or omitting Jewish parallels and backgrounds to Islamic ritual, legal, or folkloristic phenomena.³⁶

Fulfilling another assignment from Goldziher, Guttman collected Talmudic–Midrashic sources on the eventual annulment of a part (or all) of the commandments in messianic times.³⁷ He utilized his own collection of sources in his later, important work on the interpretation and validity of the Pentateuchal commandments in Jewish antiquity.³⁸ It is possible that Goldziher sought the help of Guttman in this matter in preparation for dealing with antinomistic and mystical attitudes in Islam concerning the performance of commandments, but I found no clear indication that Goldziher made use of the sources provided to him by Guttman.³⁹

A total of ten letters from Guttman to Goldziher have been written with the sole or partial purpose of providing sources upon the latter's request. It is abundantly clear that Goldziher approached Guttman with similar inquiries while the latter was his student in Budapest and therefore no correspondence was needed. Guttman's assistance from that period remains undocumented.

34 Guttman, Michael, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, [Budapest?], 24 September 1916, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/14/24/08.

35 Goldziher, Ignaz, "Das muslimische Recht und seine Stellung in der Gegenwart," *Pester Lloyd* 63, no. 303 (31 October 1916), 5–8, here 7.

36 The rabbinic parallel of *tiqqun ha-'olam* was also mentioned previously by Goldziher in his "Das Princip des istishâb in der muhammedanischen Gesetzwissenschaft," in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1 (1887), 228–236, here 229 n. 4, and his "Islam," in *JE*, vi (1904), 651–659, here 657. In *Islam: Studies on the History of Muhammadan Religion*, 354–357, Goldziher referred to the *prosbul*-enactment, a classic example of *tiqqun ha-'olam*, as a Jewish parallel to adjustments in the Islamic laws on land leasing as an example of Islamic law's ability to accommodate to changing historical circumstances. In his *Vorlesungen* no Jewish parallel is mentioned in this context.

37 Guttman, Michael, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Erzsébetfalva, 7 September 1917, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/14/24/11.

38 Guttman, Yechiel Michal ha-Cohen, "An Inquiry into the Scope of the Observance of Commandments" [in Hebrew], in *Bericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars (Fraenckelsche Stiftung) für das Jahr 1930*, [Breslau: Schatzky, 1931], 1–112, here 75–78.

39 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Die Richtungen der islamische Koranlegung*, Leiden: Brill, 1920, 209–210, 237–238, 253–254. On 252 Goldziher cites Bereshit Rabba 44[1], a parallel of which is referred to by Guttman in his letter, too.

However, it seems that Guttman's major, unique, and unfortunately unfinished project, a Talmudic encyclopaedia, was to a large extent an outgrowth of such private assignments brought to him by Goldziher. Guttman prepared his "homeworks" with remarkable erudition and dedication—in an age when, we should not forget, there were no concordances or digital databases available on rabbinic literature. His letter to Goldziher from the end of 1904, when he still served as a rabbi in the countryside, reveals the otherwise unrecorded fact that this project was inspired by Goldziher:

As for my [literary] activities in my free time (which I have plenty of), I can report to you, my dear teacher, that currently I am fully engaged in realizing the lofty idea that you planted in my heart when I was your student, that is, to compile a Talmudic encyclopedia for the benefit of contemporary scholars and students. This is a daunting task that requires many years of work, but my motivation for this work is very strong and I am engaged in it with utmost diligence. Therefore I hope G'd will help me to carry out my plan.⁴⁰

Guttman's Talmudic encyclopedia was planned to follow an alphabetic order. He published four volumes of this work, between 1906 and 1930, covering only the letter "aleph."⁴¹ Later he abandoned or suspended his grandiose project, although he laid virtually all the groundwork for completing it.⁴² Comparing

40 Guttman, Michael, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Csongrád, 28 December 1904, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/14/24/17. In the Hebrew original:

על דבר מפעלי בעתות החופש (ועתות כאלה יש לי למכביר) אוכל להודיעך, מורי היקר, שהנני עוסק עתה בכל כחי להוציא מכח אל הפועל את הרעיון הנשגב שנתת אתה בלבי בהיות בבית מדרשך, והוא לחבר אנציקלופדיה תלמודית הממלאת חפץ חוקרי ולומדי זמננו—היא מלאכה כבדה מאוד, ודורשת עבודת שנים רבות, אמנם תשוקתי עזה מאד למלאכה הזאת ובשקידה יתירה אני עוסק בה. לכן אקוה כי ה' יצליח חפצי בידי. [...]

41 Guttman, *A Key to the Talmud*. The four published volumes cover the entries from אב to אתרוג. Goldziher's name was not mentioned in the prefaces of the published volumes. A possible explanation for this fact is Goldziher's questionable reputation in more conservative Jewish circles, which was apparently the target audience of the book.

42 On Guttman's view of this project and some related efforts to continue it in the 1930s, see Löwinger, David Samuel, *Institute for the Technical Processing of the Material of Jewish Studies: Proposal to the World Congress of Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem* [in Hebrew], Budapest: Gewürz, 1946/47, 10; Löwinger, "Prof. Yechiel Michal ha-Cohen Guttman" 135–137. This latter article contains the most detailed description of Guttman's method in collecting the material for his encyclopedia. The vast collection of Guttman's material for this encyclopedia (tens or hundreds of thousands of cards and notes) perished in the Holocaust; Löwinger, [David] Samuel, "Preface," in Samuel Löwinger (ed.), *Jewish Studies in Memory of Michael Guttman*, i, Budapest: Neuwald Illés

Guttman's concept of a Talmudic encyclopedia with other similar past or contemporary projects (most of them unfinished, and Guttman was far from being the only one whose work did not reach beyond the letter "aleph"⁴³) is beyond our scope here; it suffices to say that it had merits that are lacking in such works available today.⁴⁴ From another letter written to Goldziher from 1906 we learn about a related project of a Mishnaic encyclopedia or index (*Mafteah ha-Mishna*) for which he obtained a preliminary approval from leaders of the *Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums*.⁴⁵

3 Conclusions

As time passed, Jewish scholarship was gradually instrumentalized by Goldziher, who virtually turned it into a handmaiden of his Islamic studies. Yet his strong comparative interest and curiosity in Jewish scholarly matters did not disappear, even if his policy of looking for Jewish parallels and making use of his comparatist findings was complex and elusive. The surveyed correspondences document and exemplify Goldziher's engagement with his colleagues and disciples in supporting each other and fostering research with questions, encouragement, feedback, and different kinds of reciprocal services. The overwhelming majority of the scholarly material in the correspondences surveyed

Utódai, 1946, vii; Scheiber, Sándor, "Library" [Könyvtár], in Samuel Löwinger (ed.), *The Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary, Catalogue, 1943/44, 1944/45, 1945/46*, Budapest: s.n., 1946, 73.

43 See, e.g., Rapoport, Salomo Jehuda L., *Erech Millin* [in Hebrew], i, Prague: M.I. Landau, 1852; Wachsmann, Abraham (Leichtag), *He Who Makes a Way Through the Sea* [in Hebrew], 2 vols., Budapest: Gewürz, 2nd ed., 1938–1939; Maged, Aron, *Bet Aharon* [in Hebrew], 10 vols., New York: Deutsch, 1962–1975.

44 For criticism of Guttman's encyclopedic project by initiators of the most ambitious Talmudic(-halakhic) encyclopaedia to date, in alphabetic order (a work in progress that already covers more than half of the alphabet in 47 volumes), see Berlin, Meir and Zevin, Shlomo Josef, "Introduction" [in Hebrew], in Meir Berlin and Shlomo Josef Zevin (eds.), *Talmudic Encyclopedia for Jewish Law* [in Hebrew], 47 vols., Jerusalem: Hotzaat Encyclopaedia Talmudit, 1947–, i, 17.

45 Guttman, Michael, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Csongrád, June 8, 1906, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/14/24/22. For Guttman's encyclopedic projects, cf. in general Goldziher's encyclopedic project concerning Semitic philology: Hopkins, Simon, "The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher," in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference: June 21–22, 2000, Budapest, Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Budapest: MTA Könyvtára, 2005, 96–98; and on Goldziher's role in the published *Encyclopedia of Islam*: Bearman, Peri, *A History of the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2018, index, s.v. "Goldziher, Ignaz," esp. 1–23.

here pertains to religion and folklore. Goldziher's scholarly exchange—one may say, collaboration—with Immanuel Löw centered around comparative Semitic philology, whereas his correspondence with Michael Guttman dealt with Talmudic and Aggadic subjects. I believe that Judaic scholarship and other disciplines could benefit greatly from the huge amount of comparative material scattered in Goldziher's published works (partly buried in footnotes) and correspondences. To locate, collect, and arrange this material, and to make it available to the public, is a task for digital humanities.

Appendix

Immanuel Löw's postcard to Goldziher, 16 December 1912 (LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/26/09/162)

Dear Friend,

I am happy that the Lurchnamen⁴⁶ is of interest to you! Gn 20.16 הנה הוא לך בסות עינים [lit. it is a covering of the eyes for you]. An Irish expression for atonement: eneclann = face plate, is based on the literarily verifiable custom of expiating an ignominy done to a ruler with a gold plate covering his face.⁴⁷ The analogy is surprising.⁴⁸ You certainly know some similar [type of] vindication.⁴⁹ I would also ask Osztern,⁵⁰ but I do not know his whereabouts. How come Stumme

46 Löw, Immanuel, "Aramäische Lurchnamen, I. Eidechsen" in Carl Bezold (ed.), *Festschrift Ignaz Goldziher* [= ZA 26 (1912), issues 1–3], Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911, 126–147.

47 Zimmer, Heinrich, "Keltische Studien, 17. Ysten Sioned," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 36 (1900), 421–429. Löw cites here Schrader, Otto, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde: Grundzüge einer Kultur- und Völkergeschichte Alteuropas*, Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1901, 1025.

48 Most modern biblical exegetes (at least since Delitzsch, Franz, *Die Genesis*, Leipzig: Dörfeling und Franke, 1852, 291) explain the cited biblical phrase in a similar way, as "penance, reparatory/compensatory gift" (*Sühngeschenk*; referring to Gen. 32:21 as an inner parallel), without bringing any external, comparative evidence; thus, Löw's reference still deserves attention. It should be noted that—unlike extant ancient commentaries and other classical medieval Jewish commentators—Rashi's commentary (ad loc.) offers an interpretation similar to the cited modern one.

49 The German word in the original (*Ehrenerklärung*) is a judicial concept meaning "declaration of innocence" or "verification of honor" of another person.

50 A former pupil of Goldziher at the University of Budapest, Salamon Pál Osztern (1879–1944) was a scholar of Islam, a high school teacher and a journalist. He apparently translated the entire Qur'an into Hungarian from the original Arabic for the first time; his trans-

knows Hungarian? The other day he answered me in Hungarian.⁵¹ Please take a look at my brief article in ZDMG. The מרה שחורה [melancholy; lit. black bile] is איסור גמור [strictly prohibited] for a believing person.

With kindest regards, Löw⁵²

lation, however, has never been published. Piroska, Dezső, "Salamon Osztern dr." [Osztern Salamon], in *A Budapesti II. kerületi M. Kir. Állami Toldy Ferenc Gimnázium [...] Értésítője az 1937/38. iskolai évről*, Budapest: Az iskola igazgatója, 1938, 3–5; Bóka, László, "Osztern Salamon Pál," in *Új Élet* 18, no. 13 (1 July 1962), 35.

51 Hans Stumme (1864–1936) was professor of "Neo-Arabic and Hamitic" languages at Leipzig University, and editor of the ZDMG from 1910 through 1921. Goldziher was instrumental in electing him an external member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1915. For Goldziher's recommendation for his election, and his introductory words at Stumme's inaugural lecture at the Academy, see [Goldziher, Ignác], "[Hans Stumme]" [Stumme János], in *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Tagajánlások*, Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1915, 1–2; [Goldziher, Ignác], "[Opening speech for the 8th session of the 1st class of the Academy on 2 November 1915]" [Megnyitó beszéd, a M. Tud. Akadémia 1. osztályának nyolczadik ülése, 1915. november 2-én], in *Akadémiai Értesítő* 26, no. 12 (1915), 684–685; concerning the inaugural lecture, see esp. Stumme's letter to Goldziher, Stumme, Hans, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Leipzig, 24 May 1915, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/42/16/73; and Stumme, Hans, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Leipzig, 11 October 1915, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/42/16/76. See also Goldziher, Ignaz, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden: Brill, 1978, 283, 287. 82 letters from Stumme to Goldziher are preserved in the Goldziher *Nachlass*. Stumme learned Hungarian; from 1905 onward all his (69) letters, except 17, were written in Hungarian. His elegant Hungarian was not flawless grammatically (cf. also Hopkins, "The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher" 123 n. 193 [addition there by István Ormos]), but he wrote almost without misspellings. One of his motivations to learn Hungarian was to read Ignác Kúnos' works on Turkish folklore and literature; see his letter of 25 January 1905 (Stumme, Hans, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Leipzig, 25 January 1905, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/42/16/63). From 1916 he taught Hungarian language at his university. Immanuel Löw is mentioned in Stumme's letter of 15 July 1917 (Stumme, Hans, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Leipzig, 15 July 1917, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/42/16/28).

52 The text of the postcard in the Hungarian original: "Kedves barátom, örülök, hogy a Lurchnamen érdekel! Gn 20.16 הנה הוא לך כסות עינים, Ein irischer Ausdruck für Busse: eneclann = Gesichtsplatte beruht auf dem litterarisch nachweisbaren Brauch den einen Fürsten angetanen Schimpf mit einer dessen Gesicht bedeckenden Goldplatte zu sühnen. Az analógia meglepő. Te bizonyosan tudsz hasonló Ehrenerklärungot. Oszternt is megkérdezném, de nem tudom hol van. Honnan tud Stumme magyarul? Minap magyarul felelt nekem. Nézd meg, kérlek, kurta cikkemet a ZDMG-ben. A מרה שחורה hívó embernek נגמור איסור. Szíves üdvözléssel hívéd, Löw."



FIGURE 12.1 Immanuel Löw's postcard to Goldziher, 16 December 1912
LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION, GIL/26/09/162 (RECTO)

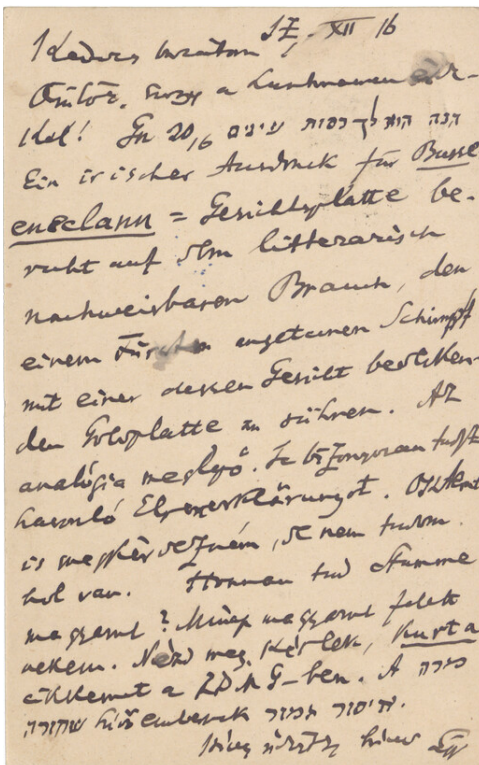


FIGURE 12.2
Immanuel Löw's postcard to Goldziher, 16 December 1912
LHAS ORIENTAL COLLECTION,
GIL/26/09/162 (VERSO)

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Friend, Teacher, “Shaykh”: Goldziher and the Founders of Islamic Studies in St. Petersburg

Maxim Yosefi

Arabists, Islamicists, and scholars of Jewish studies have recently marked the 100 years since the death of Ignaz Goldziher, and, accordingly, a recollection of his influence on the schools of Arabic, Islamic, and Jewish studies all over Europe is a necessary contribution both to the scholar’s memory and to the writing of the history of these academic fields. In this pursuit, the corpus of Goldziher’s scientific correspondence is an indispensable source: It displays not merely the impact he exerted on colleagues via his works, but above all the influence he exercised via personal academic relationships. A good example is the correspondence between Goldziher and his friends and colleagues in St. Petersburg. Illustrating the close ties between St. Petersburg and European schools, this particular correspondence demonstrates that Arabic and Islamic studies in Russia, as founded in the 19th century, functioned fully within the framework of the Western European tradition of Middle Eastern studies maintained by Goldziher across Europe and beyond.

Durable scholarly and personal connections linked Goldziher to three generations of pioneers of Islamic studies in St. Petersburg. Goldziher’s university friend Baron Viktor von Rosen is considered the founder of the contemporary Russian school of Oriental studies. Alexander von Schmidt—a student of both Baron von Rosen and Goldziher—founded the first academic chair of Islamic studies in the country. Ignaty Kratchkovsky—Rosen’s and Schmidt’s student, who became the most renowned Russian Arabist ever—was also in touch with Goldziher and contributed to the dissemination of his ideas.¹ The Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences contains more than 100 letters received by Ignaz Goldziher from Baron Viktor von Rosen, 40

1 On the history of Arabic and Islamic studies in Imperial Russia (i.e., before 1917)—especially in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kazan—see Knysh, Alexander, “Between Europe and Asia: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Imperial Russia,” in Bettina Gräf et al. (eds.), *Ways of Knowing Muslim Cultures and Societies: Studies in Honour of Gudrun Krämer*, Leiden: Brill, 2018, 3–26. The chapter, among others, elucidates the contributions made by Rosen (pp. 15–17) and Kratchkovsky (pp. 21–22).

letters from Alexander von Schmidt, and only three documents sent by Ignaty Kratchkovsky, including a visiting card, a Christmas card, and a short letter not related to academic issues. This correspondence determines our focus on Goldziher's connections with Rosen and Schmidt in the main part of the study and enables us to elucidate his relationship with Kratchkovsky in the final part.²

1 Friend: Baron Viktor von Rosen

Baron Viktor Romanovich von Rosen (1849–1908) was born in Reval (now Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, which at that time was administered by the Russian Governorate of Estonia) to a noble Baltic German family. His father, Robert Freiherr von Rosen (1790–1867), was a vice governor. Rosen received training in Middle Eastern languages and Islamic studies at St. Petersburg University and made a successful academic and administrative career. Among the positions he occupied: Professor and Chair of Arabic at St. Petersburg University (1885–1908), where he also served as Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Languages (1893–1902);³ Director of the Asiatic Museum (now the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts) of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1881–1882); Vice-President of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1900); and Director of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Archeological Society (1885–1908).

Rosen's friendship with Goldziher began in 1870 in Leipzig, in the class of the renowned German Orientalist Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–1888). Rosen studied in Leipzig for two semesters (1870–1871), and his correspondence with Goldziher started in 1871, right after his return to St. Petersburg. It

2 Writing to Goldziher in German, Baron Viktor von Rosen signed his letters as "V. Rosen." In the electronic catalogue of the digitalized corpus of Goldziher's correspondence, most of von Rosen's letters are attributed to "Rozen, Viktor Romanovič," which seems to be a transliteration of the Russian spelling of the German surname. Alexander von Schmidt signed his letters to Goldziher as "A. v. Schmidt." In the electronic catalogue, he is referred to as "Schmidt, Alexander von," but in scholarly literature is mostly mentioned as "Alexander Schmidt." In this study, the surnames are first provided in their full German version, after which they are mentioned without the nobiliary particle—as the scholars themselves usually wrote them in Russian. Referring to the archival sources and listing them in the bibliography, I keep the catalogue's transliteration of names and surnames ("Ignaz" for Ignác, "Rozen" for Rosen and "Ignatij Kračkovskij" for Ignaty Kratchkovsky).

3 In his short biography, compiled on the basis of several in-memoriam articles from 1908 (accessible only with difficulty at present) and published on the website of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, http://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/index.php?option=com_personalities&Itemid=74&person=725 (last accessed 12 July 2023), it is also mentioned that Rosen not once functioned as Acting Rector.

remained very active over several decades and was interrupted only by Rosen's sudden death from pneumonia at the very beginning of 1908. Goldziher's letters to Rosen, which after the death of the baron were handed over by his widow to the Asiatic Museum (from 1930 the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts), include 134 items written during the period from 1871 to 1907. In the Budapest corpus of Goldziher's correspondence, the earliest dated letters written by Rosen are from 1877, and there are only 108 documents in total, which makes me suspect that some early letters written by Rosen to Goldziher may be missing.

During the period of their correspondence, Goldziher and Rosen met in person in 1886 at the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists held in Vienna. After this meeting, that is, after sixteen years of friendship, they changed from using *Sie* to *Du* in their letters. Nevertheless, the intensity, contents, and tone of their correspondence demonstrate that they had become very close friends as early as 1870. Noticeably, their names on the list of incoming members of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* are registered in succession (numbers 757 and 758), which means that they joined the German Oriental Society together. Vasily Bartold, who 100 years ago thoroughly studied the corpus of Goldziher's letters to Rosen, notes several more curious facts that illustrate that by the 1870s a close friendship had developed between the two young scholars. Thus, according to Bartold, Goldziher dedicated to Baron Rosen his first published work in classical Islamic studies—*Die Zâhiriten* (1884). Moreover, as follows from Goldziher's letters of autumn 1885, his famous *Muhammedanische Studien* was initially planned as a succession of works that he would publish within a joint project with Rosen.⁴ Finally, Goldziher often turned to Rosen for moral support for his scholarly endeavors and to share his personal feelings with him.⁵

Young scholars who studied with Fleischer in Leipzig—similar to those in the prior generation in the class of Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) in Paris—considered themselves disciples and successors of their master throughout their careers. As Bartold has written about Fleischer's relationship to Goldziher and Rosen, they saw him as "their common 'shaykh.'"⁶ Thus, they continued a spiritual lineage—a kind of Sufi *silsila*, organized as a succession of great mas-

4 Goldziher suggested the first issue be published under the title *Abhandlungen über muhammedanische Cultur- und Religionsgeschichte*. Herausgegeben von Baron Dr. Rosen and Dr. Goldziher. 1. Heft: Die Nationalitäten im Islam und die Shu'ûbijja-Bewegung, and that the Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) should work on the next issues.

5 Bartold, Vasily, "Ignaz Goldziher, 1850–1921: Obituary" [Игнац Гольдциер: 1850–1921, Некролог], in [*Collected*] *Works* [Сочинения], 9 vols., ix, Moscow: Nauka, 1977, 720–721.

6 Bartold, "Ignaz Goldziher" 720.

ters and disciples transmitting the scholarly and teaching tradition they shared. As the French Orientalist Hartwig Derenbourg (1844–1908), who also studied in the class of Fleischer in Leipzig, attested: “Nous continuons Fleischer, comme il a continué Sacy”.⁷

For the development of Arabic and Islamic studies in Budapest and St. Petersburg, the major consequence of Goldziher’s and Rosen’s studies in the class of Fleischer was that both equally shared and similarly transmitted the professorial tradition of the Leipzig school. Scholars who had the opportunity to meet both Rosen and Goldziher (especially Alexander Schmidt and Ignaty Kratchkovsky) observed that both shared the same style of teaching and discussion, which they most likely inherited from Fleischer.⁸ In the letter sent to Rosen on 16 May 1872, Goldziher stressed that, in his opinion, loyalty to the traditions of the Leipzig school, apart from the research scope, manifested itself in the readiness of its representatives to assist one another at the expense of one’s own time and scholarly priorities. Indeed, as the examples of Goldziher and Rosen illustrate, these disciples of the same master, like brothers in the same Sufi order, remained in contact during their lifetimes and readily helped one another: looking for necessary materials, checking what was necessary to look up in the manuscripts, and supporting one another’s students. Thus, Alexander Schmidt, a student of Rosen, was received by Goldziher in Budapest as a family member, and Goldziher conducted individual classes for him, as Rosen did in St. Petersburg. In the same way, Kratchkovsky, initially trained by Rosen and Schmidt, was assisted by Goldziher after Rosen’s death. The tradition of individual guidance is the most noticeable element that Goldziher and Rosen adopted from their Leipzig master and implemented in Budapest and St. Petersburg. Despite having to spend a considerable amount of time on administrative duties and always experiencing a lack of time for their own scholarly work, both used to invite their disciples (students and young scholars) for individual sessions in their homes, acting as spiritual guides and masters, or *shaykhs* in the Sufi sense of the word.⁹

7 Derenbourg, Hartwig, *Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838): Notice bibliographique par M. Hartwig Derenbourg*, Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1905, viii.

8 Dolinina, Anna, *A Slave of Duty* [Невольник долга], St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoje Vostokovedeniye, 1994, 131; Bekkin, Renat (ed.), *A.E. Schmidt: Biography, Scholarly Correspondence, Selected Works, Bibliography* [Биография, научная переписка, избранные труды, библиография], Moscow: Sadra, 2018, 34.

9 According to Kratchkovsky, for his students Rosen “spared neither effort nor time,” finding in them “consolation in difficult moments of life.” For them, Rosen was “not only a reliable leader in science, but a true spiritual father, who knew to provide moral support, calm and comfort in difficult moments of adversity or mental suffering.” Kratchkovsky, Ignaty, “In Memoriam of Baron V.R. Rosen” [Памяти барона В.Р. Розена], in *Turkestanские Ведомости* 22 (26 January/8 February 1908), 9–10.

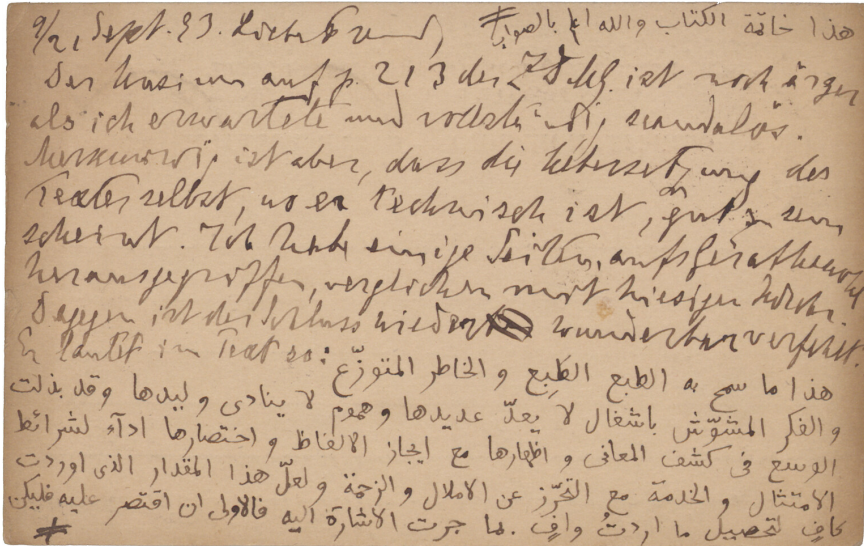


FIGURE 13.1 Postcard sent by Baron Rosen to Goldziher on 21 September 1893, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/050. The Arabic text quotes the conclusion of the manuscript of al-jighmīnī's *Mulakkhḥaṣṣ fi l-hay'ā al-baṣīṭa*. Because of a miscalculation, the final formula *hādḥā khātimat al-kitāb wa-llāhu a'lam bi-l-ṣawāb* (This is the end of the book, and God [alone] knows best the truth) is written on the top of the card.

The correspondence between Goldziher and Rosen reflects the extremely wide circle of their interests, but, above all, the fact that throughout their lives, the scholars provided mutual assistance and could easily approach each other with urgent questions. Because of the positions he occupied, Rosen always had access to the rich St. Petersburg collections of Arabic manuscripts and readily assisted Goldziher by consulting the “local” manuscript copies of classical works. Rosen’s letters demonstrate that he answered promptly. Noticeably, he could check an Arabic quotation for Goldziher and send a short response on a postcard, miscalculating (while in a hurry) the correlation between the space of the card and the size of the required quotation (as on the postcard of 21 September 1893, where Rosen had to write the final words of the quotation on the top of the card; Figure 13.1).¹⁰ Copying large fragments of Arabic manuscripts to

10 Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 9/21 September 1893, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/050. In Russia, the Julian calendar was replaced as the civil calendar by the Gregorian calendar on 1/14 February 1918. In his letters to Goldziher dated from the 1880s and 1890s, Rosen often gives the date according to both systems (Julian/Gregorian). This is reflected in the references to Rosen’s letters and in the list of the archival sources (see Bibliography).

Diese Briefe aber Summe zu machen, wie ich im Briefe 10 Seiten
 so lasse. Ich habe hier zum Mänge von „dunkel“ ^{قانون} ^{قانون}, was
 ich nicht, wie ich das Gesetz nicht verstehen soll. Ich kann nicht
 mich gegen Pöhlmann, wie Spanghain, aber kein Gegen Tausch.
 In diese Angelegenheit sollte ich mich nicht wagen.
 Mit welchem
 W
 geglaubt
 Gottwald
 Ich wünschte ich könnte, die die Convention für die
 hoffte auf baldige Hilfe.
 عبد الله بن ابي داود روى عنه ابو بكر احمد بن محمد
 اليرقاني ابن بنته ابو الحسن احمد بن عمرو روى
 الزهرواني قال ابو بكر الخطيب سالت ابا بكر اليرقاني
 عنه وكان ثقة فقال ما كان حاله يدل الاعلى ثقتة
 او كما قال ثم قال عقلت عنه شيئا يسيرا وكانت ولادته
 في ربيع الاول سنة ثمانمائة ومات في سنة ٣١٤

FIGURE 13.2 Page 6 of the letter sent by Rosen to Goldziher on 6 June 1886, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/034. In the upper part, we find the ending of Joseph Gottwald's letter to Rosen. The lower portion shows a fragment of al-Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*.

send them immediately to his friend, he would continue writing on the blank side of a sheet of paper that turned out to contain, on the reverse side, the last page of a colleague's letter that he had just received (a colleague familiar to Goldziher). This is clearly seen in Rosen's letter of 6 June 1886. Copying for Goldziher a fragment of *Kitāb al-Ansāb* by the historian al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166), Rosen had used the blank side of an occasional, apparently unused, sheet of paper as page 5 of his own letter. Turning it over, he had discovered the end of a German-language letter received from Professor Joseph Gottwaldt (1813–1897, also known as Osip/Iosif Gotwald), the Chair of Arabic and Persian at Kazan University and also a correspondent of Goldziher.¹¹ This did not distract Rosen from helping his friend and he used the partly filled side of the sheet as page 6, to continue copying the manuscript required by Goldziher (Figure 13.2).¹² Quoting manuscripts and books, Rosen provided data that allowed Goldziher to refer to the exact folio or page of the manuscript he needed for his work.

The variety of topics on which Rosen assisted Goldziher with necessary quotations from the manuscripts of the Asiatic Museum is impressively huge. The major areas are the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*) and the Arabic literary-historical tradition, but Goldziher likewise needed information from (and about) the manuscripts of the classical Arabic books on philology, biographies, astronomy, and other fields. For instance, in 1877, to which the earliest *dated* letter from Rosen to Goldziher at our disposal belongs, the friends discussed the Kūfan philologist Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. ca. 244/858). In a letter of 11 April 1877, Rosen, providing Arabic quotations from various sources, clarified details of the scholar's biography.¹³ From 1884 to 1886, Goldziher was occupied, among other topics, with the legacy of the famous Baṣran rationalist theologian and man of letters al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–869). In a series of letters dated in these years, Rosen discussed with Goldziher materials relevant to this scholar, in particular various copies of the classical works *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, *al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-addād*, and *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*.¹⁴ Rosen's postcard of 21 September 1893

11 The Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences contains five letters received by Goldziher from Gottwaldt. All five letters are sent from Kazan from 1884 to 1890. On Gottwaldt, see Knysh, "Between Europe and Asia" 6.

12 Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 25 May/6 June 1886, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/034.

13 Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 11 April 1877, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/006.

14 See, e.g., Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 26 May/07 June 1884, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/026; Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Hapsal, 24 June/06 July 1884, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/022; Rozen,

quotes the conclusion of *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī l-hayʾa al-basīta*—an introduction to Ptolemaic theoretical astronomy by the Khwarazmian physician and astronomer Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Jighmīnī (d. 745/1221).¹⁵

The study of the reports transmitted by al-Jāḥiẓ required data from other sources for comparison. Thus, in the letter of 6 June 1886 Rosen sent to Goldziher two fragments from al-Jāḥiẓ's *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* with variations of the same reports as provided in *Uyūn al-akhbār* by the Basran philologist Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889). One pair of the parallel reports by al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Qutayba that Goldziher needed to consult deals with the verses of the pre-Islamic poet Salama b. al-Khurshub al-Anmarī (late sixth century CE)—composed in the context of the war between the tribes 'Abs and Dhubyān and addressed to a chieftain of the Ghaṭafān named Subay' al-Taghlibī. The second pair of parallel reports by al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Qutayba presents an anecdote describing the reaction of the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644) to a verse by the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (d. ca. 609 CE). In the same letter, Rosen provides two long quotations from *Kitāb al-Ansāb* by the historian al-Sam'ānī. Goldziher was interested in receiving al-Sam'ānī's entries "al-Dāwudī" and "al-Zāhirī." Both contain information about the Zāhirī school of thought founded by Imam Dāwud b. 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Aṣbahānī/Iṣfahānī (d. 270/884). The Zāhirī *madhhab* is sometimes referred to as "*madhhab* Dāwūd."¹⁶ As this piece of correspondence demonstrates, in 1886, two years after his book *Die Zāhiriten* was published, Goldziher continued to busy himself with the history and doctrine of the Zāhirīs.

Goldziher's preoccupation with the study of the prophetic tradition is reflected in his correspondence with Rosen during the decades of their friendship. For instance, as follows from Rosen's letter of 17 September 1885, Goldziher studied various types of *ḥadīth*, and, to argue his point, Rosen drew his friend's attention to *al-Qarab fī faḍl al-'arab* by the Cairene *ḥadīth* scholar 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Irāqī (d. 806/1403).¹⁷ In the letter of 19 September 1889, Rosen supported Goldziher in considering the type of *ḥadīth* in which *matn* (the transmitted report) precedes *isnād* (the chain of transmitters). For this

Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 4/16 October 1884, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/025; Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 5/17 September 1885, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/028.

15 Rozen, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 9/21 September 1893.

16 Rozen, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 25 May/6 June 1886.

17 Rosen mentioned the work as *al-Qarab fī faḍā'il al-'Arab*. See Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 5/17 September 1885, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/028, 7.

purpose, Rosen had copied and sent to Goldziher a large fragment from the St. Petersburg manuscript of *Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* by the Damascene ḥadīth scholar Ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245).¹⁸ The book is also known as *Muqaddimat Ibn Ṣalāḥ*. Finally, as the letter of 22 June 1895 indicates, Goldziher and Rosen discussed the tradition that quotes Muḥammad as predicting the coming of "a man from *Mā warāʾ al-nahr* (Transoxania)¹⁹ called al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarrāth."²⁰

Against the background of topics on which Rosen assisted Goldziher with manuscripts and advice as illustrated here, it deserves mention that Rosen's own research interests in the same years were rather outside this circle. As Rosen's full list of publications compiled by Kratchkovsky demonstrates, regardless of numerous administrative and teaching duties implied by the positions he occupied, Rosen remained a diligent scholar. During the 1870s and 1880s, he was particularly occupied with the study of medieval Arabic sources on the history of the Rus and of the Central Asian lands that in the 19th century constituted Russian Turkestan.²¹ Such a focus is explained by the fact that,

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- 18 Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 19 September 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/044. The letter has been dated to the Gregorian calendar only.
- 19 *Mā warāʾ al-nahr* (lit. What-is-beyond-the-river [Amu Darya; Oxus]) is the Arabic rendering of a historical region in Central Asia, associated with Sogdia, but excluding the Fergana Valley and the Pamir Mountains. Thus, most of the territory of Uzbekistan, the western parts of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, the very East of Turkmenistan, and the South of Kazakhstan are all included in *Mā warāʾ al-nahr*.
- 20 Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 10/22 June 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/080.
- 21 In 1874, Baron Rosen, together with the historian Arist Kunik (1814–1899), published an article on the accounts of the historians al-Makīn (d. 672/1273) and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) concerning the prince Vladimir I of Kievan Rus (r. 980–1015). In 1878, Rosen and Kunik published an article based on the reports about the Slavs and the Rus by the Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) and other Arab authors. In 1884, Rosen published an article on the image of the Byzantine emperor Basil II Porphyrogenitus (r. 976–1025) in the writings of the Melkite Christian historian Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī (d. 458/1066). In 1886, he published an article based on Arabic sources about the Byzantine emperor Romanos Diogenes' (r. 1068–1071) defeat by Alp Arslan I (r. 1063–1072). See Kratchkovsky, Ignaty, "The List of Publications by the Baron Viktor Romanovich Rosen" [Список трудов барона Виктора Романовича Розена], in *In Memoriam of Baron V.R. Rosen: Reports Presented at the Session of the [Oriental] Section [of the Imperial Russian Archeological Society] on 20 November 1908 and the List of Publications by the Baron V.R. Rosen / A Supplement to Volume 18 of the Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archeological Society* [Памяти барона Виктора Романовича Розена: Сообщения, читанные в заседании Отделения 20 ноября 1908 г., и список трудов барона В.Р. Розена / Приложение к XVIII тому Записок Восточного Отделения Императорского Русского

although maintaining the Western European academic tradition in St. Petersburg, Baron Rosen was among the leaders of the so-called Russian party in the Academy of Sciences. He advocated publishing academic works in Russian instead of German and actively promoted Oriental studies relevant to the history of Russia.

Goldziher's loyalty to the traditions of the Leipzig school manifested itself most clearly in his readiness, when he was already a living icon of European scholarship, to afford guidance to young scholars sent to him by his colleague friends. The case of Alexander Schmidt is particularly remarkable, as illustrated by the corpus of Goldziher's correspondence.

2 Teacher: The Case of Alexander Schmidt

With a background akin to that of Baron Rosen, Alexander Eduardovich von Schmidt (1871–1939)²² also came from a noble Baltic German family. He was born in March 1871, the year Rosen returned from Leipzig to St. Petersburg and started correspondence with Goldziher. Born in Astrakhan, Schmidt received schooling in Tiflis (now Tbilisi), where his family had moved when he was six years old. During the 1870s and 1880s, both cities were multiethnic and multireligious centers of the Russian Empire and both had large Muslim communities. Childhood in Tbilisi likely awakened Schmidt's interest in Eastern cultures and Islamic history. In 1889, he graduated with the gold medal from the First Classical School of Tiflis, also known as the First Classical Gymnasium and First Public School, and in 1890 he entered the Arabic-Persian-Turkic section of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg University. Rosen, the Professor of Arabic, and, starting from 1893, the Dean of the Faculty, appreciated Schmidt as one of his best pupils. When Schmidt was a third-year student, Rosen, following the Leipzig tradition, invited Schmidt to weekly individual sessions at his home, during which the professor and the student read and discussed primary sources relevant to the latter's interests and future career. In April 1894, Schmidt received an official offer to remain with the Faculty to continue his studies for an MA degree and pursue a professorship.²³

Археологического Общества], St. Petersburg: The Imperial Academy of Sciences Press, 1909, 39–40.

22 A detailed biographical essay on Alexander Schmidt by Rinat Bekkin was published in 2018, together with Schmidt's scientific correspondence, selected works, and bibliography. See Bekkin, *A.E. Schmidt*.

23 Bekkin, *A.E. Schmidt* 15–25, 30.

Rosen supported Faculty graduates willing to enter a diplomatic career and even used his connections to help them get jobs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the same time, he was even more willing to support those who decided to dedicate themselves to scholarship and academic work. His wide-ranging connections to European Orientalists allowed him to send his disciples to learn from the leading scholars in each student's individual area of specialization in Islamic studies. Each route planned by Rosen seems to today's engaged reader a Walk of Fame, a "Stars Alley" of the European Chairs of Islamic studies of the last decade of the 19th century. Thus, for his famous student Vasily Bartold (Wilhelm Barthold, 1869–1930), a specialist in Islamic history, Baron Rosen organized a trip that took place from 1891 to 1892 and included, among other cities, Halle—to study in the class of August Müller (1848–1892)—and Strasbourg—to learn from Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930). The educational tour of Alexander Schmidt continued during 1897, and its route was determined by his driving interest in Islamic mysticism and Islamic jurisprudence. Rosen decided that Schmidt should start by studying in Budapest with Goldziher, then continue in Leiden with Michael Jan de Goeje (1836–1909), and then visit Vienna to learn from Joseph von Karabacek (1845–1918).

In a letter of 28 October 1896, Rosen introduced Schmidt to Goldziher, mentioning that he was working on a thesis on the Egyptian Shāfiʿī scholar and Sufi mystic ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565).²⁴ On 10 November 1896, Rosen reminded Goldziher of Schmidt's upcoming tour.²⁵ Finally, on 6 January 1897, Rosen sent to his friend a closed card-letter informing him that Schmidt had finally departed for Budapest. Because Schmidt was going to study *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) with Goldziher, Rosen added that he had ordered for his student the first part of al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) and Muslim's (d. 261/875) collections of authentic *ḥadīth* (*Ṣaḥīḥ*) and al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Mīzān* ("The Book of the Balance"—a textbook on the differences of opinion among the schools of Islamic law).²⁶ The books arrived in Budapest from Leipzig.

As we know from Schmidt's letters to Rosen, he received a warm welcome in Goldziher's home, and it was owing to Goldziher that he found a suit-

24 Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 16/28 October 1896, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/082.

25 Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 28 October/10 November 1896, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/081.

26 Rozen, Viktor, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 27 December 1896/6 January 1897, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/36/05/077.

able and accessible room in Budapest. His classes with Goldziher started on 16 January 1897. Schmidt was “positively delighted” with his teacher and even asked for Rosen’s permission to stay in Budapest longer than planned—to learn more from Goldziher and to have more lessons on *fiqh*, at the expense of paleography, which he was going to study in Vienna with Karabacek. As Schmidt was actively exploring manuscripts relevant to his future master’s thesis on al-Sha’rānī’s *Kitāb al-Durar al-manthūra*, Goldziher, in addition to the private lessons, assisted him by ordering necessary materials from the manuscript collections of Berlin and Gotha. In a letter of 26 February 1897, Schmidt informed Rosen that he had finished the comparison of the text of *Kitāb al-Durar al-manthūra* he had brought with him to Budapest with the texts of the manuscripts ordered for him from Gotha, an exercise that had brought absolute clarity to several previously obscure episodes. He added that the Berlin manuscripts of al-Sha’rānī’s book would also be readily ordered for him. In the letter of 17 March 1897, Schmidt shared with Rosen that Goldziher kindly provided him with all the excerpts and quotations that could be of relevance to the exploration of al-Sha’rānī’s legacy in general and to the thesis on *Kitāb al-Durar al-manthūra* in particular.²⁷

The master’s thesis on al-Sha’rānī’s *Kitāb al-Durar al-manthūra*, published only in 1914,²⁸ eventually became both Schmidt’s magnum opus and his only qualification work. The reason it took Schmidt more than 17 years to prepare his thesis is reflected in his correspondence with Goldziher. At the end of 1897, after returning to St. Petersburg from Vienna, Schmidt sent to Goldziher a German version of his wedding notice.²⁹ Early marriage and the need to sustain his family required him to combine teaching at St. Petersburg University with administrative jobs not related to academia. Thus, he worked as Inspector in the Imperial Alexander Lyceum and as secretary to the editor of the newspaper *St. Petersburg Vedomosti*. Ignaty Kratchkovsky’s memory of Rosen’s usual reaction to questions about Schmidt’s progress on his work on *Kitāb al-Durar al-manthūra* is noteworthy, as it contains Goldziher’s appraisal of Schmidt’s talent:

27 The referenced letters are published in Bekkin, *A.E. Schmidt* 271–278.

28 Schmidt, Alexander, *ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Sha’rānī and his “Book of Dispersed Pearls”* [Абд-ал-Ваххаб-аш-Шарани и его «Книга рассыпанных жемчужин»], St. Petersburg: The Imperial Academy of Sciences Press, 1914.

29 Von Schmidt, Alexander, *Wedding Notice of A. von Schmidt and Wera Muethel*, St. Petersburg, December 1897, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/37/38/15.

"Alexander Eduardovich [i.e., Schmidt] is in a bad way. I told him that one should not marry so young. And such a gifted man too." And he would expound with animation on the high opinion which his friend Goldziher had of Schmidt, whom he considered one of the best pupils who had ever come to him from Europe or America.³⁰

Correspondence between Schmidt and Goldziher continued until 1918 (the year after the fall of the Russian Empire). As Goldziher's disciple, Schmidt exhibited a positively biased attitude toward all Goldziher's works, promoting the results of his *ḥadīth* research, popularizing his fundamental studies on Islam, and attempting to adopt his teacher's mastery of wide-ranging scientific considerations. Noticeably, Schmidt's general work on Islam is largely based on Goldziher's lectures.³¹ During the same years, Goldziher continued supporting Schmidt with advice and materials. Schmidt's thesis on *Kitāb al-Durar al-manthūra* owes a lot to the manuscripts Goldziher ordered for Schmidt from all over Europe.

Goldziher continued supporting Schmidt after hosting him in Budapest. The first long letter that Schmidt sent to Goldziher after returning to St. Petersburg demonstrates that the pupil felt free to approach his teacher to tell him of his progress and to ask for advice. The letter contains no date but must have been sent in February or March 1898. Addressing Goldziher as "Dear Doctor" ("Sehr geehrter Herr Doctor") and assuming that the teacher must be angry with him for not answering his last letter promptly ("Sie sind mir vielleicht schon sehr böse dafür, dass ich Ihren freundlichen Brief so lange unbeantwortet gelassen [habe]"), Schmidt, who married in late January 1898, asked that the delay be attributed to the "letter-writing-laziness of a fresh husband" ("Schreibefaulheit eines jungen Ehemannes"). It is noteworthy that as early

30 Kratchkovsky, Ignaty, *Among Arabic Manuscripts: Memories of Libraries and Men*, trans. T. Minorsky, intr. M. Kemper, Leiden: Brill, 2016, 109. Original Russian quotation: "Где там! Пропадает Александр Эдуардович! Говорил я ему, что не надо так рано жениться. А ведь какой талантливый человек! И, оживившись, Розен начинал рассказывать про отзывы своего приятеля Гольдциэра, который считал Шмидта одним из лучших учеников, приезжавших к нему когда-либо из Европы или Америки." See Kratchkovsky, Ignaty, *Over Arabic Manuscripts: Memory Records of Books and Men* [Над арабскими рукописями: листки воспоминаний о книгах и людях], Moscow: Nauka, 1965, 134.

31 Only two years after Goldziher's lectures on Islam were published (1910), Schmidt published (1912) essays on Islam structurally based on Goldziher's work. Schmidt omitted details he considered insignificant for the aims of his treatise but included many details from Arab authors, which, as he noted, Goldziher would convey to his listeners during his lectures. See Schmidt, Alexander, "Essays on the History of Islam as a Religion" [Очерки истории ислама как религии], in *Mir Islama* 1/1 (1912), 33.



as the first letter he sent to Budapest after marriage, Schmidt had occupied his teacher with numerous topics related to his work on al-Shaʿrānī and to the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). He informed Goldziher that he was waiting impatiently for several al-Shaʿrānī-related manuscripts to arrive from Paris, which he needed to consider in order to continue his work (“warte aber noch mit Ungeduld auf die für mich aus Paris verschriebenen Schaʿrani-Manuscripte, die ich doch notwendigerweise auch berücksichtigen muss”): *Huqūq ikhwat al-Islām, Dīwān*, and *al-Muqaddima al-naḥwiyya* by al-Shaʿrānī (Figure 13.3). He consulted Goldziher on the formula from the *Tarāwīḥ* (optional night prayers said during Ramadan) reading: “He is exalted by His omnipotence and eternity. He conquered His servants by death and destruction” (*subḥān man taʿazzaza bi-l-qudra wa-l-baqāʾ wa-qahhara al-ʿibād bi-l-mawt wa-l-fanāʾ*). Finally, in the same letter, Schmidt discussed the compendium on the Ḥanafī *fiqh* by the leading Baghdadi Ḥanafī Imām of the fifth/eleventh century, Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī (d. 468/1075)—*Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī fī l-fiqh al-ḥanafī*—in particular the first two chapters: *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra* and *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*.³²

3 The Budapest “Shaykh” and Rosen’s “Benjamin”

Ignaty Julianovich Kratchkovsky (1883–1951) was born and brought up in Vilna (now Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania) in the family of the director of the local Christian Pedagogical Institute. In 1901, he entered the Faculty of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg University, where he became a student of Rosen, Schmidt, Bartold, and many other outstanding scholars who were teaching in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the 20th century. Marked for distinction by Baron Rosen, Kratchkovsky, like Schmidt some ten years earlier, was invited to remain at the Faculty to continue his studies for a master’s degree and to pursue appointment to a professorship. From 1906 until Rosen’s death in early 1908, Kratchkovsky, working on his master’s thesis on the Damascene poet Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī, known as al-Waʿwāʾ (d. between 370/980–981 and 390/1000), was guided by the Baron and, as a disciple of his “shaykh,” studied with him in the framework of private sessions. The student who was to become the most renowned Russian Arabist of the 20th century was the last “spiritual son” of Rosen, who expected that Kratch-

32 Von Schmidt, Alexander, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, n.d. [February or March 1898], Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/37/38/34.

38.34 18568

Sehr geehrter Herr Bedar!

Sie sind mir vielleicht schon sehr läseig
 Das in Ihren freundlichen Brief so lange unbeant-
 wortet gelassen. Lassen Sie Gnade für Recht
 ergehen und halten Sie es der erklärlichen
 Schreibfaulheit eines jungen Mannes für
 gute. Ihre werthvolle Beurteilung meiner Ein-
 leitungsbearbeit hat mir sehr wohl, und sehr ich nun
 mit ungleich mehr Selbstvertrauen meiner zu veröf-
 fentlichenden *al-Sha'rānī*-Studie entgegen. Gerne
 würde ich schon die Manuscripte machen, wie
 Sie mir das rathen, werde aber noch mit Ungeduld
 auf die für mich aus Paris verschriebenen *al-Sha'rānī*
al-Muqaddima al-nahwiyya auch berücksichtigen muss. [Arabic text]
[Arabic text]. Ausserdem gedenke ich mir den Kopf
 über folgende Texte: ich habe einmal irgendwo ein Ma-
 nuscript gelesen, es sei in der *al-Sha'rānī* eine Art

FIGURE 13.3 The first page of the letter sent by Alexander Schmidt to Goldziher in February or March 1898, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/37/38/34. Schmidt excuses himself for the late reply and mentions the titles of al-Sha'rānī's works that he was waiting impatiently to receive from Paris: *Huqūq ikhwat al-Islām*, *Dīwān* and *al-Muqaddima al-nahwiyya*.

kovsky would be the last master's student he would guide personally. Indeed, according to Kratchkovsky's student Anna Dolinina (1923–2017), who authored an extensive biographical work on him, Kratchkovsky was the last of Rosen's favored students. Accordingly, the "shaykh," who wanted to pass along to his disciple as much of his knowledge as possible, treated him with reverence. This is what Rosen implied when he jokingly referred to Kratchkovsky as "Benjamin."³³

When he returned to St. Petersburg after an educational trip to the Middle East from 1908 to 1910, Kratchkovsky became Privatdozent (he obtained a full professorship eight years later, in 1918) and was a colleague of Privatdozent Schmidt.

In the summer of 1914, shortly before the World War began, Kratchkovsky traveled in Europe with his wife and mother-in-law. Among the manuscript collections he consulted was the rich library of Leiden. Working there was very beneficial to Kratchkovsky, as in the summer of 1914 Goldziher and the famous Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) were visiting the seaside resort Katwijk aan Zee, near Leiden, and Kratchkovsky was able to meet with them. Schmidt had provided Kratchkovsky with a letter of introduction to Goldziher, describing him as "Rosen's Benjamin." The two became acquainted and many inspiring discussions took place between the scholars during walks along the seafont and in the house of Snouck Hurgronje, who showed to Kratchkovsky artifacts and audio recordings he had brought from Arabia.³⁴

Once he himself became an established scholar, Kratchkovsky referred to Goldziher with some criticism. For instance, he wrote that in Bartold's works "historical sources did not take a back seat to theoretical-theological ones, as sometimes happens with Goldziher,"³⁵ suggesting that, in Kratchkovsky's view, Goldziher focused on primary theological sources related to the subject under study, without paying enough attention to Arabic historical sources, whereas Bartold's works represented an example of skillfully combining both groups

33 Dolinina, *A Slave of Duty* 53.

34 Although the Katwijk records by Kratchkovsky are rather brief, impressions of the time spent with Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje are vividly described in the memoirs of Vera Kratchkovskaya and, consequently, in Anna Dolinina's biographical work dedicated to her teacher (Dolinina, *A Slave of Duty* 131–133).

35 "[...] исторические источники у него не отступали на задний план перед теоретически-богословскими, как иногда случается с Гольдциэром." See Kratchkovsky, Ignaty, "V.V. Bartold in the History of Islamic Studies" [В.В. Бартольд в истории исламоведения], in *Selected Works* [Избранные сочинения], 6 vols., v, Leningrad and Moscow: The USSR Academy of Sciences Press, 1958, 354.

of sources. Nevertheless, Kratchkovsky’s appreciation of Goldziher is indisputable. As a student, Kratchkovsky contributed greatly to the popularization of Goldziher’s legacy: In 1907, he translated Goldziher’s *Die Religion des Islams* into Russian, and this translation was published in 1911 with a foreword by Schmidt.³⁶ In 1911, after Vera Kratchkovskaya (1884–1974) became her husband’s scholarly assistant, she accelerated her training in Islamic studies by reading the works of Goldziher.³⁷ In the book *Among Arabic Manuscripts*—scholarly memories of Kratchkovsky written in Russian in 1943 and published in English by Brill in 1953, two years after the death of the scholar—we also find traces of Kratchkovsky’s appreciation. Thus, recalling his first lectures in the class of Schmidt, Kratchkovsky notes: “Later we learnt with no little pride that besides having been Rosen’s pupil he (Schmidt) had studied under I. Goldziher, the famous Budapest specialist on Islam.”³⁸ In the same book, he refers to Goldziher as “the greatest authority on Islam of the past generation” and suggests that he regards it as a “happy accident” that Goldziher published his works in German and not in Hungarian.³⁹ As for the diary entries Kratchkovsky made in Katwijk, they do not touch on his attitude toward Goldziher as a scholar. Recalling his first impression of Goldziher, Kratchkovsky wrote in his diary on 25 June 1914: “I have been at Goldziher’s place. A very nice old man and terribly talkative. In communication he resembles the Baron [i.e., Rosen].”⁴⁰ On 10 July 1914, Goldziher’s legendary talkativeness made Kratchkovsky refer to him in the diary as “the old Kakadu [Eng. Cockatoo],”⁴¹ which definitely did not change the fact that he greatly appreciated his time with the towering figure of Islamic studies. The reasons for which the corpus of Goldziher’s scientific correspondence contains only three items by Kratchkovsky (a visiting card given to him in June 1914,⁴² a short letter sent from Leiden to Katwijk at the very end of July 1914,

36 Goldziher, Ignáz, *Islam (Die Religion des Islams)*, trans I.J. Kratchkovsky, foreword and edition by Privatdozent A.E. Schmidt [Ислам (Die Religion des Islams) / перевод И.Ю. Крачковского; под редакцией и с предисловием приват-доцента А.Э. Шмидта], St. Petersburg: Vostochnaja tipografija I. Boraganskogo, 1911.

37 Dolinina, *A Slave of Duty* 125.

38 Kratchkovsky, *Among Arabic Manuscripts* 108. Original Russian quotation: “[...] впоследствии мы почувствовали немалую гордость, услышав как-то, что он был учеником не только Розена, но и знаменитого будапештского исламоведа Гольдциэра.” See Kratchkovsky, *Over Arabic Manuscripts* [Над арабскими рукописями] 133.

39 Kratchkovsky, *Among Arabic Manuscripts* 124.

40 *У Гольдциэра был, очень милый старик и страшно разговорчив. По обращению напоминает барона.* See Dolinina, *A Slave of Duty* 131.

41 Ibid.

42 Kračkovskij, Ignatij, *Kratchkovsky’s Visiting Card*, St. Petersburg, n.d. [handed to Goldziher in June 1914], Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/22/27/02.

and a Christmas card sent from St. Petersburg to Budapest at the end of 1915) are obscure.

The letter of 1914 (contains no date but must have been sent on 29 July, the day after the onset of World War I) is of interest to us as it illustrates the dramatic episode during which Goldziher helped Kratchkovsky and his family. The short letter written in a hurry and with great agitation (this is noticeable in terms of style, spelling, punctuation, and the fact that Kratchkovsky accidentally skipped the pronoun *Ihnen* when turning the page over) reads:

Dear Professor!

The news we received in The Hague is so unfavorable for us that we have just returned to Leiden. Specifically: 1) we were unable to obtain any guilders from the banks; 2) the possibility of returning to Russia now is almost foreclosed because nobody is certain whether the steamboats to foreign countries will run regularly. Moreover, without money, we cannot embark on the long journey. So, we are sitting in the Hotel Place Royale, at the corner of Noordeinde and Rorte Rapenburg, for about fifteen minutes. We would be very pleased if you could inform us about how [you] and your esteemed wife have been since yesterday. I have completely lost the desire to visit anything.

With best regards, sincerely,
Ign. and Vera Kratchkovsky.⁴³

After World War I began, causing disruptions in the banking sector, Kratchkovsky's family, who needed to return to St. Petersburg, could neither receive money via letters of credit nor sell their valuables. It was equally impossible to

43 "Sehr geehrter Herr Professor! Die Nachrichten, die wir in Haag bekommen haben, sind so wenig günstig für uns, dass wir eben nach Leiden zurückgekommen sind. Nämlich 1) wir konnten kein Gulden aus den Banken bekommen; 2) die Möglichkeit nach Russland jetzt zurückzukommen ist beinahe ausgeschlossen, weil niemand ist sicher, dass auch die Dampfboote nach Ausland regelmässig laufen werden. Dazu ohne Geld wir können garnicht auf die weite Reise gehen. So sitzen wir seit einer viertelstunde im Hotel Place Royale, Ecke Noordeinde und Rorte Rapenburg. Es würde uns alle sehr freuen wenn Sie uns mitteilen wollten, wie es [Ihnen] und Ihrer geehrten Frau Gemahlin seit gestern geht. Die Lust irgendetwas zu besichtigen habe ich vollständig verloren. Mit besten Grüßen verbleiben hochachtungsvoll Ign. und Wera Kratschkowsky" (The spelling and punctuation have been preserved). See Kračkovskij, Ignatij, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, Leiden, n.d. [29 July 1914], Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/22/27/04.

order a transfer of money via telegraph because telegrams from Leiden did not reach St. Petersburg. Kratchkovsky had unspent German marks, but as a Russian national, he could not travel via Germany after the war started. At the same time, he did not have any Dutch guilders left, which were necessary to stay in Leiden longer and organize a journey to St. Petersburg through Britain, Norway, and Sweden. From the July 1914 letter written by Kratchkovsky—now accessible in the Budapest corpus—Goldziher learned about the situation. As he had received permission to return to Austria-Hungary via Germany and had Dutch currency left, he changed it for Kratchkovsky's German marks.⁴⁴ It cannot be excluded that the letter sent from Leiden in 1914 is the only one ever sent to the Budapest shaykh by Rosen's "Benjamin." On 10 December 1915, Kratchkovsky sent Goldziher a Christmas card with the following words: "Best congratulations on the new year. We hope that it will bring reassurance to all. Keeping nice memories of Katwijk, V. and I. Kratchkovsky."⁴⁵ The text and the circumstances of World War I allow us to assume that Kratchkovsky and Goldziher did not exchange messages during the period between their meeting in August 1914 and December 1915.

To conclude, let us trace further the *silsila* of the academic tradition leading from Silvestre de Sacy and Fleischer to Goldziher and Rosen, and in St. Petersburg, from Goldziher and Rosen to Schmidt and Kratchkovsky. Rosen, Schmidt and Kratchkovsky—colleagues, friends and students of Goldziher—made a considerable contribution to the study and cataloguing of the rich St. Petersburg collections of Arabic manuscripts. This predetermined the focus of the next generation of the St. Petersburg school of Islamic studies. Viktor Belyaev (1902–1976), a student of Schmidt and Kratchkovsky, and Anas Khalidov (1929–2001), a student of Kratchkovsky and Belyaev, dedicated most of their time to cataloguing the Arabic manuscripts stored in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), Tashkent, and even Yemen.⁴⁶ Their works on Islamic history and Arabic literature are also based on the study of manuscripts. Anas Khalidov, Anna Dolinina, and Olga Frolova (1926–2015)—Kratchkovsky's students who were

44 The episode is described by Anna Dolinina, based on Vera Kratchkovskaya's memoirs (Dolinina, *A Slave of Duty* 132–134). Kratchkovsky's letter from the Budapest corpus perfectly illustrates and complements this description.

45 "Beste Glückwünsche zum neuen Jahre. Wir hoffen, dass er allen Beruhigung bringen wird. Schöne Erinnerungen an Katwijk behaltende W. and I. Kratschkowsky." See Kratchkovskij, Ignatij, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, St. Petersburg, 10 December 1915, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/22/27/01.

46 Recently, some of their work on manuscripts was translated into English. See Khalidov, Anas, "Arabic Manuscript Collections in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen," intro., ed., ind. & trans. Maxim Yosefi, foreword Anne Regourd, in *Chroniques du manuscrit*

still active at the turn of the 21st century—prepared the generations of scholars presently working in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and beyond. It is good to note that, like many other European centers of Oriental studies, St. Petersburg shares the tradition founded by the great European Orientalists of the 19th century and, regardless of the vicissitudes of history, this tradition has continued into the present.

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Goldziher as a Master: The Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Martin Schreiner

Dora Zsom

1 The Personality of Goldziher as Reflected in His Diary and His Personal Relationships with Friends, Students, and Colleagues

One might well expect that reading Goldziher's diary¹ would provide insight into his scholarly milieu and help in obtaining an overall picture of the personal relationships relevant to his academic career. This impression is false, however, in that several facets of Goldziher's complex personality are not apparent in his diary, which discloses more of his suppressed complexes and anxieties than his everyday manners and social behavior. The discrepancy between the diary and Goldziher's personality as has been described either by his contemporaries or as evidenced in his correspondence with colleagues and students, is manifest and has already been noted by several researchers.² Despite that, the contrary opinion formulated previously by such scholars as Raphael Patai, is still widespread. Patai characterized Goldziher as follows:

And yet he was a man of jealous, unkind disposition, paranoid and deeply troubled, [...] schemed against his relatives and colleagues, and confined to his diaries malicious, even venomous, judgments about his teacher and mentor [Ármin (Arminius)] Vámbéry and many of his contemporaries, such as Wilhelm Bacher, David Kaufmann, Samuel Kohn, Immanuel Löw, and Bernát Munkácsi [...]. A gentile colleague of Goldziher at the university was supposed to have said about him: 'I am known to be a bad

1 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden: Brill, 1978.

2 See, for example, Ormos, István, "The Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Max Herz," in Éva Apor and István Ormos (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Conference*, Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005, 159–201, esp. 166–170. Cf. also Turán, Tamás, "Academic Religion: Goldziher as a Scholar and a Jew," in Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary: The "Science of Judaism" between East and West*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, 223–270, esp. 227.

person, but Náci [diminutive of Ignác], is a *roshe'*, using the Yiddish term for an utterly evil person to characterize that man of undoubted genius.³

Even allegedly “evil” persons usually have friends, and it is only natural that Goldziher’s friends did not share the above-mentioned opinion. István Ormos has collected an impressive number of affectionate personal recollections concerning Goldziher, and characterized his private life (based on his correspondence with friends) as socially active, even intensive, open, and jovial.⁴ Goldziher met with a circle of his friends daily in the café at the Hotel Bristol, where belletrists, scholars, jurists, and editors sat around their *Stammtisch*, forming the so-called Bristol Circle (*Bristol Társaság*).⁵ The evidence contained in the letters written to him suggest that Goldziher had a strong sense of humor and was very communicative; he was nicknamed “the fountain of words” (*szavak szökőkútja*) by one of his companions.⁶

Another aspect of Goldziher’s life hardly reflected in the diary, despite its importance for Goldziher himself, is his relationship with his students. Apart from some general remarks regarding his teaching activity (which tend to be gloomy and pessimistic, in any case), his diary barely touches on a characteristic facet of Goldziher’s personality, that of a master caring for his disciples. His correspondence, on the other hand, contains hundreds of letters exchanged with students that bear witness to the intensity of their relationships with him and to their affection for him.

2 The Correspondence between Goldziher and His Student Martin Schreiner

One of Goldziher’s foremost students was Martin Schreiner (1863–1926), Orientalist, Hungarian rabbi, professor at the Jewish Teachers’ College in Budapest, and later at the Rabbinical Seminary (*Hochschule [Lehranstalt] für die Wis-*

3 Patai, Raphael, *The Jews of Hungary*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996, 396.

4 Cf. Ormos, “The Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher” 166–167.

5 Cf. Zimándi, István, *Jenő Péterfy and the Circle of His Friends [Péterfy Jenő és barátai köre]*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960, 55–57; “Bristol Circle,” in Révay, Mór János (ed.), *The Comprehensive Lexicon of Révai [Révai nagy lexikona]*, 20 vols., iii, Budapest: Révai Testvérek, 1911, 745.

6 For Goldziher’s sense of humour, see Ormos, “The Correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher” 167, 169; for “the fountain of words,” see Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő*, 63, referring to a letter to Goldziher written by Jenő Péterfy on 2 February 1896 (Budapest, LHAS, Oriental Collection, GIL/33/35/25). See also Maxim Yosefi’s contribution to this volume, especially p. 385 (Kratchkovsky’s diary entry).

senschaft des Judentums) in Berlin.⁷ Goldziher maintained a correspondence with Schreiner from 1884 until the end of 1901, that is, until Schreiner's nervous breakdown and hospitalization. Some 150 letters written by Schreiner are preserved in Goldziher's *Nachlass*, written in three languages (Hungarian, Arabic, and Hebrew). The letters exhibit the intellectual and emotional attachment that connected the two men, their shared scholarly interests and mutual influences, the parallel development of their research, and also a certain mutual interdependence.⁸ They attest to Schreiner's reliance on Goldziher in scientific and cultural matters, and even in social and personal issues (demanding him to take sides in conflicts within the Jewish community, seeking his help in improving his personal circumstances by obtaining teaching or rabbinical positions, etc.). Goldziher's care for Schreiner is expressed on a personal level as well; the letters reveal some intimate aspects of Schreiner's private life and Goldziher's concern. Although Schreiner accepted the authority of Goldziher and expressed his reverence with traditional rabbinical forms of address and recurring references to the Talmudic norm of master-disciple relationship, their relationship was not always free from tensions that resulted in occasional conflicts. The correspondence with Schreiner manifests Goldziher's exceptionally tolerant and supportive attitude toward a very passionate, unstable, fragile but talented student.

Schreiner could not continue in his scholarly career, for after about two decades of intense and severe scholarly activity "his nervous system broke down due to overstrain, and at the meridian of his life, at the age of 39, he sunk into mental darkness"⁹—as his colleague and friend Bernát Elsass (Elzász) (1866–1939) wrote in Schreiner's obituary, some 25 years after Schreiner's nervous breakdown. Schreiner was hospitalized and spent the rest of his life in a sanatorium without being able to proceed with his vocation, and most of the time, without being able even to communicate with the outside world. "During the last years, each time I visited my poor friend hospitalized in Lankwitz, in the neurological clinic of dr. Fraenkel, when he stepped in front of me with his eyes

7 On Schreiner, see Sabine Schmidtke's monograph *Martin Schreiner between Islamic Studies and Wissenschaft des Judentums: Reconstructing His Scholarly Biography*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2024.

8 On Schreiner's dependence on Goldziher, see Fraise, Otfried, "Martin Schreiner's Unpublished Systematic Philosophy of Religion: Adapting Ignác Goldziher's Method for Researching Islam," in Otfried Fraise (ed.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context: Rationality, European Borders, and the Search for Belonging*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018, 245–266; Turán, Tamás, "Martin Schreiner and Jewish Theology: An Introduction," in *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (2017), 45–84; Turán, Tamás, *Ignaz Goldziher as a Jewish Orientalist*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023, 213–214; Schmidtke, *Martin Schreiner*, chapter 3.

9 Elsass, Bernát, "Schreiner Márton," in *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* 44 (1927), 316–322, here 316.

gazing into vacancy, reality and life being faded away for him, I asked myself: Is this the Torah and its reward?"¹⁰

Some details of Schreiner's family background, personality, lifestyle, and scholarly activity are depicted in the obituary. Elsass recounts that Schreiner was born into a poor family in Nagyvárad (now Oradea, Romania) and at a tender age had lost his father. His financial circumstances were much strained, especially during his early years, when his family lived in poverty and had no means of supporting the young student. Schreiner's father had held a modest office with meager remuneration within the Orthodox community in Nagyvárad, but even this was lost when he died. Schreiner was admitted to the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest in 1881. As a student, he provided his family with some money he earned by giving private lessons, while for years he was literally starving, occasionally eating dry bread.¹¹ His life was focused on study and research, and the position of rabbi he held for some years (1887–1892) in a small provincial community in Hungary was a necessary means of subsistence rather than a vocation for him. Apparently his constant intellectual focus eclipsed all other aspects of his life. He did not care much about his outer appearance or how he lived, and he did not marry and establish a family. Elsass relates that when he first visited Schreiner at his new home in Csurgó,¹² the small town in which he had been elected a rabbi after being ordained in 1887, he found his friend among unassembled pieces of furniture, as if he had just arrived, although he had been living there for months: "to begin with, I had to assemble some of the furniture in order to make his house a bit more homey."¹³ Elsass portrayed Schreiner as an utterly introverted person unable to attend to the problems of simple provincial Jews or understand their mentality. Moreover, being a rabbi did not bring him much joy, as he was a scholarly man by vocation, finding satisfaction and inner elevation in his studies and works. He would not pay close attention to his interlocutors but would instead listen to them while distracted by his own thoughts. Elsass was not silent about Schreiner's negative character traits, such as oversensitivity and a certain arrogance, which led him to express an often disdainful opinion of his colleagues and

10 Elsass, "Schreiner Márton" 317. The question about the Torah and its reward is a reference to the story about Rabbi Akiva's death in *Babylonian Talmud*, Menachot 29b and Berakhot 61b.

11 Elsass, "Schreiner Márton" 317.

12 On the history of the Jewish community of Csurgó, see Vargáné Hegedűs, Magdolna, "From Coexistence to the Holocaust: Facts and Data from the History of the Jews in Csurgó" [*Együttéléstől a Holokausztig: Tények és adatok a csurgói zsidóság történelméből*], in *Csurgó és környéke* 25, no. 5 (2016), 9–10.

13 Elsass, "Schreiner Márton" 319.

teachers.¹⁴ The summary of Elsass' words might give the false impression that he depicted Schreiner in an unflattering light, but that is not true. Although he did not avoid mention of Schreiner's faults, he expressed his compassion and love for his friend in unmistakable terms.

In the obituary, Elsass mentions repeatedly Schreiner's strong attachment to his teacher Goldziher. The intensity of their relationship is evidenced by the 150 letters Schreiner wrote to Goldziher in three languages, Hungarian, Hebrew, and Arabic. To a great extent, Schreiner's preference for language reflects his personal circumstances and cultural milieu. He wrote his first letters in Arabic, but after his rabbinical ordination in 1887, he switched mainly to Hungarian. Most of the letters he sent from the provincial community of Csurgó were written in Hungarian, although in the first year he still wrote some letters in Arabic, and during the entire period of his service in Csurgó he also wrote occasionally in Hebrew. After he was employed at the Jewish Teachers' College in Budapest (1891), the proportion of the Hungarian letters decreased: He wrote nearly the same number of letters in Hebrew as in Hungarian. The intensity of the correspondence also decreased, most probably because he could easily meet with Goldziher in person in Budapest. Another major change in Schreiner's choice of language occurred when he was named professor at the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin (December 1893): The use of Hebrew became dominant in his correspondence with Goldziher, although he continued to write in Hungarian from time to time. His choice of language was conditioned apparently both by practical and rhetorical motives: Evidently, Schreiner wrote most easily in Hungarian, therefore he opted for his mother tongue when he was in a hurry. He mentioned this expressly in one of his Hungarian letters written in Berlin, one and a half years after his moving there: "I was delighted to read your kind letter. I do not feel completely well either, and for that reason, and since I want to answer immediately, I reply in Hungarian."¹⁵ He also had the tendency of answering to Goldziher in the language the latter used in his previous letter, and apparently Goldziher frequently addressed him in Hebrew. However, a remark found in a Hungarian letter that mentions explicitly "your last Hebrew letter"¹⁶ indicates that Schreiner sometimes changed the language of communication. Moreover, I have the impression that his most emotion-

14 Elsass, "Schreiner Márton" 318.

15 "Szives levelével végtelenül megörvendeztetett. Nem érzem én sem egészen jól magamat, ezért, és mivel rögtön akarok válaszolni, felelek magyarul"; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 19 March 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/149.

16 Written in Csurgó; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 21 June 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/105.

ally charged letters were written either in Arabic or in Hebrew, which might be explained by the fact that the rhetorical formulas of these two languages facilitated the expression of both admiration and, on the contrary, resentment and frustration. On the one hand, Arabic and Hebrew bear the connotations of biblical, rabbinical, or Muslim religious usage, and on the other hand, for such an introverted personality as Schreiner, the use of a foreign language might have made it psychologically easier to express extreme emotions.

Schreiner wrote his first letter in 1874 (or 1875?) still as a student, and his last letter is dated 12 December 1901, shortly before his nervous breakdown. He kept up correspondence with Goldziher during his entire scholarly career. Most of the letters treat scientific matters, but personal issues are also included, not to mention events related to the social life of the Jewish community. Schreiner discussed with Goldziher Jewish theological problems, especially his ideas of religious philosophy. He reported on initiatives that aimed at creating a new, unified rabbinical organization (acceptable both to the progressive and the orthodox) and informed him of proposals shaping the ideas of progressive Judaism in Hungary.¹⁷ In his scholarly work Schreiner depended heavily on Goldziher, and he consciously followed Goldziher's line and method of research. Schreiner consulted Goldziher regarding the articles he worked on and corrected these according to Goldziher's suggestions. On the other hand, he closely followed Goldziher's research and regularly sent him material relevant to it; for example, he copied and sent passages from manuscripts or other sources both at Goldziher's request and on his own, without being asked. In general, Schreiner's intellectual orientation was influenced by Goldziher, and apparently his scholarly production was supervised by him.

Since only the letters written by Schreiner survived, our perception of the dialogue between Goldziher and Schreiner is incomplete; Goldziher's views, suggestions, requests, and responses can be only tentatively inferred. The lack of Goldziher's part in the correspondence inevitably restricts the possibility of capturing his personality and makes a certain amount of speculation unavoidable.

17 Schreiner dwells on the meeting of the Rabbis in Győr (*győri rabbiértekezlet*) in several of his letters, apparently answering Goldziher's direct inquiry. See Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 9 July 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/097; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 30 September 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/85; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 9 October 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/101; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 29 November 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/106.

3 Private Affairs, Confrontations, Emotional Attachment

Based on the evidence in the letters, Goldziher's attitude as a teacher and master was characterized by overwhelming patience and forgiveness. Schreiner sometimes wrote in a peremptory manner, even going so far as to call Goldziher to account for incidents that did not concern Goldziher directly, or for which he was not responsible. Apparently, Goldziher did not take offense in these cases. This quality frankly contradicts the passionate, resentful, and often contemptuous outbursts recorded in his diary, which gives the impression of a quick-tempered person swift to take offense and slow to forgive, who rarely spoke highly of someone unless that person acknowledged first Goldziher's talent and abilities. It is not always evident whether Schreiner contested his master's authority consciously or not. It happened, for example, that he wrote in extremely derogatory and mocking terms about a collection of synagogue poems commissioned by the Neolog community (one of the two large communal organizations among Hungarian Jewry) on the initiative of none other than Goldziher.¹⁸ Perhaps he was unaware of the fact that Goldziher originated the idea for the collection. In any case, there is no indication of any resentment on Goldziher's part in the subsequent letters. However, there are about ten letters that bear witness to conflicts between Goldziher and Schreiner, all obviously instigated by the latter. The nature of Goldziher's reaction to Schreiner's attacks, blame, and criticism can only be deduced from Schreiner's ensuing apologies in subsequent letters, in the cases in which he excused himself, which he did not always do. However, critical and accusing remarks occur only in the first few years of the correspondence. As time passed, offensive passages on Schreiner's part completely disappeared, yielding place to self-reproach, resignation, and dejection. The main reason for the previous conflicts was Schreiner's frustrated expectation that Goldziher would take a stand on controversial issues, or would use his influence on someone's behalf, be it Schreiner himself or another person.¹⁹ Besides that, Schreiner would get

18 Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 21 December 1887, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/119. The collection of poems was commissioned in 1882 but was submitted after years of delay. Goldziher himself was unsatisfied with the poems and criticized them because of their anthropomorphic way of expression. On this issue, see Turán, "Academic religion" 262.

19 See, e.g., Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 6 February 1887, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/076; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, undated, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/79; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 2 February 1891, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/137.

entangled in criticizing Goldziher's working method, and consequently would feel both uncomfortable and obligated to offer his apologies repeatedly.²⁰

The most accusatory and reproachful letters are connected to Schreiner's endless job search and his desperate attempts to get away from Csurgó. The first letters he wrote from Csurgó give an account of the community's life, religious customs (which he saw as characterized by laxity), and his reaction to these, apparently in response to Goldziher's inquiry.²¹ Overall, Schreiner suffered from the provincialism of both the village and the community, and after hardly more than half a year, he felt that his situation was insupportable and tried everything to find another position. Almost 30 letters written between 1888 and 1891, during the years he spent in Csurgó, are related to his job search.²² On the

20 See, e.g., Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, September 1887, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/78; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 29 September 1887, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/82; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 17 October 1887, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/122.

21 Cf., e.g., Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 11 May 1887, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/81; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, May 1887, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/84.

22 See Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 1 March 1888, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/112; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 8 April 1888, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/111; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 27 May 1888, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/110; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 14 April 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/098; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 30 April 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/103; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 17 May 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/102; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 28 May 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/083; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 9 July 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/097; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 17 September 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/089; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 29 November 1889, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/106; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 26 January 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/130; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 3 March 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/093; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 13 March 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/092; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 14 April 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/136; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 27 April 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/132; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 3 June 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/135; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 19 June 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/088; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 30 June 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/096; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 6 July 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/131; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 13 August 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/095; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 2 September 1890, Bu-

evidence of these letters, Goldziher endorsed Schreiner's efforts, he followed with attention Schreiner's endeavors, and even suggested some obtainable positions to him. Schreiner hesitated between two possible careers: leaving Csurgó and continuing as a rabbi elsewhere, or finding employment either in public education or in higher education. He considered applying for the position of rabbi in nine communities (Eger, Szigetvár, Szentes, Nagykikinda, Veszprém, Nagyvárad, Szekszárd, Berlin, and Marcali) and eventually, he even submitted applications for some of these. The application process entailed visiting the community and delivering public sermons there so that the representatives of the community could choose among the applicants. Unfortunately, Schreiner was invariably refused, even in places to which he was specially invited by the community without having to undergo the normal application process (Szekszárd and Szigetvár). Goldziher himself suggested some communities to apply for (Nagykikinda and Marcali certainly, possibly also others), and it is interesting to note that in this respect Schreiner never accepted Goldziher's proposition and did not apply to those communities. What is more, with regard to Marcali he even took offense and accused Goldziher of depreciating him and regarding him unworthy of higher positions than being a rabbi in small provincial communities: "You did not meet R. Maybaum²³ on my behalf, and I have learned from your words that I am not suitable to emigrate to a place of scholars and books (*ein li li-glot el meqom sofrim u-sfarim*),²⁴ but to small villages such as Marcali and the like."²⁵ The reference to R. Maybaum is related to Schreiner's

dapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/133; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 8 September 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/086; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 5 February 1891, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/138; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 19 April 1891, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/139; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 7 May 1891, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/141; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 10 May 1891, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/073; and Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 17 May 1891, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/06. Besides these, several other letters are related to Schreiner's efforts to obtain a position at the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin.

- 23 Rabbi Siegmund (Zsigmond) Maybaum (1844–1919). From 1881 he lived in Berlin and became one of the leading personalities of the German Jewish community. He was appointed professor of homiletics at the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in 1888 January, cf. Enyedi, Mátyás, "Berliner levél" ["Letter from Berlin" in Hungarian], in *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* 5 (1888), 185–187, here 187.
- 24 Reference to *Mishnah* Avot 4:14: "You shall emigrate to a place of Torah (*have goleh li-meqom Torah*), and you should not say [i.e., think] that it will come after you."
- 25 Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 8 September 1890:
 "גם לא פגעת לי בהרב דר' מאיבוים ויכולתי ללמוד מדבריד שאין לי לגלות אל מקום סופרים וספרים כי אם לכפרים קטנים כמארצאלי ודומיו."

attempt at applying for the position of rabbi in Berlin, despite his lack of full proficiency in German at that time.²⁶ He mentioned in his letters that both Maybaum and Steinschneider warned him that the (Neolog) community in Berlin sought a good preacher with excellent command of the language and with outstanding rhetorical talent.²⁷

Schreiner's other choice was to desist from pursuing his rabbinical vocation and to dedicate himself to teaching. It is only natural that he asked for Goldziher's intercession when he learned about positions offered in this field. In April 1888 he asked Goldziher to intercede on his behalf to help him in his pursuit to be elected inspector of schools for the Jewish community of Pest.²⁸ Two years later, he repeatedly asked Goldziher to plead his case with the committee of the Jewish Teachers' College,²⁹ where he was offered a position after much struggle, in May 1891. The idea of moving to Budapest and teaching at the Jewish Teachers' College was first raised by Goldziher, at the beginning of 1890. At that time Schreiner still hesitated, complaining about the low salary offered, and declaring that he preferred to serve as a rabbi than to be a teacher, since "if I think about those 18–20 hours per week such a job takes up from my time, I should consider my situation in Csurgó a splendid life."³⁰ He added that he enjoyed more intellectual liberty being a rabbi, since "a rabbi may say and write whatever he wishes, but if a teacher of the *praeparandia* wrote or said something that the narrow-minded did not like, the Jews of the Fűrdő-street would start whining immediately that he ruins their institution."³¹ He

26 See Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 19 June 1890. In 1895 Schreiner wrote to Goldziher that his German was "weak"; see Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 19 March 1895.

27 See Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 30 June 1890; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 27 July 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/094.

28 See Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 8 April 1888.

29 See Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 2 September 1890; Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 8 September 1890; Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 5 February 1891; Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 7 May 1891; Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 10 May 1891; Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 17 May 1891. The Jewish Teachers' College (Országos Izraelita Tanítóképző Intézet) was established in 1857. The director of the institution between 1887 and 1926 was József Bánóczy. On the first four decades of its history, see Bánóczy, József, *History of the Jewish Teachers' College 1857–1897* [*Az Országos Izr. Tanítóképző-Intézet története 1857–1897*], Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvnyomdája, 1897.

30 "[H]a eszembe jut a 18–20 heti óra, a függés, a melybe az ilyen állás hoz, csurgói helyzetemet gyöngyvetnek kell neveznem"; Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 6 March 1890. The first lines of this letter indicate that it was Goldziher who suggested that Schreiner should apply for the job.

31 "Rabbinus mondhat s irhat, a mit akar, de ha praeparandiai tanár mondana vagy írma valamit, a mi korlátolteszűeknek nem tetszik, a fűrdő [*sic*] utczai izraeliták mindjárt feljaj-

remarked that he would opt for such a choice only if he could be recompensed either financially or academically, by being able to realize his scholarly goals more easily. A few months later, however, he changed his opinion completely, and decided to accept the position, since “[m]y purview in the *praeparandia* would be more extended than that of a rural rabbi; moreover, I will be close to you, Professor, and I will not be so deprived of the secondary literature as now.”³² Subsequently, his decision to become a teacher at the College became a sort of obsession, and he requested Goldziher to plead his case and exert influence on his behalf (altogether about ten letters are related to the job at the Teachers’ College). Unsatisfied with Goldziher’s efforts, he accused him of negligence and even of ill will:

I wanted to remain silent and to restrain myself. [...] You have written to me some months ago that if I wanted, surely I could become a teacher at the Teachers’ College in Budapest, and your good friend, R. Shemuel ha-Kohen [i.e., Sámuel Kohn (1841–1920)] told me the same. But when two months later I was in Budapest, you told me that the evil Satan—may he receive complete punishment from Him who supervises the hearts—did not want me and that he stood in my way. When I asked the aforementioned rabbi about this, he said that this person [i.e., “the evil Satan”] worried about my welfare only, but he did not mention that he hated me. Now, what happened, happened, God forbid that I may call into question the truth of even a letter of what you have written. Despite that, it is clear to me as the sun at midday that this ignominy (*nevalah*) would not be committed unless you and your friend, the rabbi deserted me for no reason. [...] You promised much and you did nothing. [...] You [professor], had the possibility to save me from Sheol [i.e., the underworld], by other means as well, but you did not, since you said that the sect of the hypocrites, liars, sinners, and utter infidels in Budapest would not leave me in peace. You frightened me with such words, but I realize that you acted like a person who does not want to rescue the other who is drowning in the sea, half-dead submerged in the water, so that he may not stain

dulnának, hogy tönkre teszi az ő intézetüket”; Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 6 March 1890. The reference to Fürdő-street is not clear. The editorial office of the Jewish periodical *Egyenlőség* (“Equality”) was on Fürdő-street from its foundation in 1882 until the end of 1883; the Országos Magyar Izraelita Ösztöndíj Egylet (“Hungarian Israelite National Fund”) also had its seat on that street (even in 1890).

32 “A praeparandiában hatásköröm fontosabb lehet egy falusi rabbiságnál, ott leszek a Tanár Úr közelében s irodalmi segédeszközök dolgában nem leszek annyira megszorulva, mint ma”; Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 30 June 1890.

his clothes with the sand of the seashore. [...] Now you know what is in my heart, I will never ask from you anything again.³³

Schreiner never apologized for this letter, but six days later, on 14 September, on the eve of the Jewish New Year (*erev rosh ha-shana*) he wrote a short letter to Goldziher expressing his good wishes on the occasion of the new year, and he signed it as “your student who prostrates himself before your dignity and authority.”³⁴ Some months later Goldziher brought up the matter again, referring to Schreiner’s accusation of betraying and undervaluing him as an “abnormal idea” (*beteg idea*). Schreiner replied in a disillusioned tone, making it obvious that he still held to some of his statements:

I have already abandoned that “abnormal idea,” which, however, does not change the fact that I was let down and I was delivered into the hands of my enemies in a matter of life and death, by those whom I had every right to trust. [...] In my personal relationships I am not fond of agnosticism, I prefer to be fully aware of the sentiments of those to whom I always clung with reverence. Therefore, it cannot surprise you, Professor, that it hurt me so much that you repeatedly perplexed me with your behavior. The reasons for disregarding me must be a sort of *le-elu dahita ba-qaneh* [i.e., excuse],³⁵ and last time, when you insisted on my trust [in you], surely you required me to trust [in you] as one who believes in religious dog-

- 33 Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 8 September 1890: “אמרתי אחריש אתאפק [...] אדוני כתב לי לפני איזה חדשים שאם ארצה בודאי אוכל להיות מורה בבית מדרש המלמדים אשר בבודאפעשט וגם ידידו אשר בנפשו מוהררר שמואל הכהן אמר לי כזאת. אולם אחר שני חדשים בהיותי בעיר בודאפעשט אמרת לי שהשטן המשחית ההוא—תהי פורענותו שלמה מאת החוקר לבבות—איננו חפץ בי ועומד על הדרך נגדי; כאשר שאלתי בדבר הזה את פי הרב הנ”ל, הגיד לי שאותו האיש רק על טובתי הוא דואג, משנאתו לי ומארבו לא הזכיר מאומה. ועתה נעשה מה שנעשה, ח”ו שאסתפק באמתת אפילו אות אחת ממה שכתבת, בכל זאת ברור הוא בעיני כשמש בצהרים כי לא נעשתה הנבלה הזאת אם לא עזבתם אותי וידידך הרב על לא דבר. [...] אמרתם הרבה מאד, רב מערכים ואף את המעט מערכי לא עשיתם [...] היה בידך להצילני מן שאל תחתיה גם בדרך אחרת ולא עשית זאת כי אמרת שכת החנפים והשקרנים הפושעים הכופרים בעיקר בודאפעשט לא יתנו לי מנוחה. בדברים כאלה היית מטיל אימה עלי אבל הנה עלה בלבי שעשית כאיש שאיננו רוצה להציל את חברו הטובע בים, והמים באו עד נפש, כי אמר שלא ילך לך הטובע את בגדיו בצרורות העפר אשר על שפת הים. [...] ועתה ידעת את אשר את לבבי, לא אשאל ממך מאומה עד עולם.”
- 34 Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 14 September 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/087: “נאם תלמידו המשתחוה מול הדרת כבודו:”
- 35 *Le-elu dahita ba-qaneh la-nu mah atah meshiv*, “You chased away these with a stick, but what do you answer to us?” reference is to *Palestinian Talmud*, Tractate Berachot 9:9.

mas. It is clear that I would not have neglected in such a manner a much smaller issue related even to a good secondary school student of mine.³⁶

The identity of the person referred to as “evil Satan” is not clear: It may be a member of the executive board of the Teachers’ College³⁷ or a prominent person of the Neolog community who opposed Schreiner’s appointment as a teacher.

However, when in 1891 Schreiner was finally invited to the Teachers’ College, his joy was overshadowed by concerns. He complained in advance about the excessiveness of the prospective job, which his fragile body would not be able to tolerate: “if I teach two or three hours continually, I am tired and exhausted as if I had been cutting wood.”³⁸ He added that although it is rightly said that one has to die for the sake of the Torah, this refers only to scientific research, not to teaching or writing textbooks for students, to which the biblical statement “one shall live by them” (Lev. 18:5) refers, implying (as Schreiner remarked) that one should not sacrifice his life for such activities.³⁹

Schreiner was employed at the Teachers’ College from September 1891 until December 1893.⁴⁰ During this period, Goldziher and Schreiner barely corresponded; obviously, they communicated in person instead. They resumed cor-

36 “Én tehát már régen kigyógyultam ama ‘beteg ideából’, a mi azonban nem változtat semmit azon a tényen, hogy életbevágó kérdésben olyanok, a kikre joggal számíthattam, cserbenhagytak és ellenségeimnek kiszolgáltattak. [...] Az emberekhez való viszonyaimban nem vagyok hive az agnoszticizmusnak, tisztában szeretek lenni annak érzületével, a kin mindig tisztelettel csüggttem. Azért nem is csodálhatja Tanár Úr, ha nagyon bántott, hogy magatartásával engem ismételten rejtélyek elé állított, mert az én ismételt mellőztetésem csak olyan בְּקִנְיָהּ דְּחַיִּיתָ לְאֵלֹהִים okokkal tudom megokolni, legutóbb pedig bizalmamat csak dogmában való hitként kívánhatta tőlem. Annyi bizonyos, hogy én egy jóra való középiskolai deákomnak sokkal kisebb ügyét sem hanyagoltam volna el annyira [...]” Schreiner, *Letter to Goldziher*, 5 February 1891.

37 The members of the executive board in 1890 were Károly Verédy, Mór Kármán, Márton Schweiger, József Simon, Sándor Wahrmann, Sámuel Kohn. The director of the College was József Bánóczy. See Bánóczy, *History of the Jewish Teachers’ College [Az Országos Izr. Tanítóképző-Intézet története]* 28, 30.

38 Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 17 May 1891.

39 Lev. 18:5: “You shall keep my statutes and ordinances, which if a man does, he shall live by them.” As it is well known, the rabbis added as an explanation to this biblical passage the words “and he shall not die for them” (Cf. *Babylonian Talmud*, Tractate Yoma 85b). This is the textual basis of the legal principle according to which one should not sacrifice his life for the sake of observing the commandments (with the exception of three precepts that require the sacrifice of life rather than committing a transgression).

40 Bánóczy, *History of the Jewish Teachers’ College [Az Országos Izr. Tanítóképző-Intézet története]* 52.

respondence in 1893, when Schreiner was offered a position in the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin. According to Elsass, those who recommended Schreiner to the board of the *Lehranstalt* were Goldziher, Wilhelm Bacher (1850–1913), and David Kaufmann (1852–1899), but at the beginning, Schreiner was unwilling to accept the position offered, since he deemed it financially less reliable than his job at the Teachers' College, which was funded by the state, whereas the professors of the *Lehranstalt* received their salary from a private fund. However, after a personal interview with Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903) in Leipzig and being offered a very generous salary, his doubts dissipated.⁴¹

Goldziher's care for Schreiner on the most personal level is demonstrated by the fact that he was concerned even with intimate aspects of Schreiner's private life, discussing with him plans for a prospective marriage and family. Although the letters do not provide more than vague allusions on this subject, it seems certain that Goldziher took an interest in his disciple's private life, to the extent that he repeatedly urged him to marry and even suggested potential fiancées. The first allusion to marriage was made by Schreiner in one of his first letters written in Csurgó, in which he described his personal circumstances in some detail, and remarked: "Finally, I have asked from my God only one thing: That I may be able to build my house and to properly arrange my family condition."⁴² "Building a house" is a biblical expression referring to establishing a family and children (cf. Ruth 4:11; Deut. 25:9; 1 Samuel 2:35; 2 Samuel 7:27; 1 Kings 11:38; 1 Chronicles 17:10, 25, etc.). After this, there is not a single mention of marriage in the letters for almost ten years. Following his five lonely years in Csurgó, Schreiner spent about two years in Budapest, employed at the Teachers' College: Unfortunately, no letters from this period give an account of his ambitions and personal circumstances. From the end of 1893 until his nervous breakdown, he lived in Berlin and taught at the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*. In the course of these years, the tone of his letters changes: They become more calm and relaxed, although not free of venomous remarks and allusions to his financial problems, including distressing debts. Apparently, during this period the long-forgotten idea of marriage resurged. In a letter written in 1895 in Berlin, we find a vague and laconic remark that most probably alludes to marriage: "I have met the Cohns in winter by chance

41 Elsass, "Schreiner Márton" 320. Schreiner informed Goldziher about his visit to Lazarus in Leipzig in his letter: Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 7 August 1893, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/145.

42 Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 11 May 1887:
 סוף דבר אחת שאלתי מאת אלהי שאוכל לבנות את ביתי שאביא גם את מצב משפחתי על סדר
 "נכון."

at Maybaum. I confess, the matter is out of question *li-annahā qabiha* (“since she is ugly”).⁴³ The letter is written in Hungarian, except for the short remark inserted in Arabic. The meaning of the remark is open to other interpretations as well, since in Arabic the third-person singular fem. pronoun (translated here as “she”) does not necessarily refer to a female person but may refer to a noun denoting the plural of nonpersons, too.

Five years later, some remarks in the letters imply that Goldziher himself acted as a matchmaker:

I have read your letter with great joy and I am grateful for this new manifestation of your benevolence. Its content quite surprised me, since during the whole winter I thought about everything else but this. Although the proposal pleases me, I have to inform you with regret that I cannot go directly to Breslau to visit the bride's home (“*háztűznézőbe*”). This institution always conflicted with my nature, and now I am certainly old for it. It is possible, however, that I will go to Halle and Leipzig around Pesah, and when I will be in Breslau, I will have the opportunity to visit the R-s with or without any expressed pretext. Then I will see whether the thing is feasible or not. However, I cannot promise even this. I hope that you, Professor, will not take offense for my way of thinking.⁴⁴

The identity of the “R-s” mentioned in the letter cannot be deciphered. Schreiner was 37 years old when he wrote this letter, and he considered himself “too old” for “the institution” of marriage. Anyway, the reference in the letter might be interpreted metaphorically as well. Tamás Turán supposed that the allusions to “visiting the bride's home” (*háztűznéző*) referred to a teaching pos-

43 “Cohnékkal még a télen egy izben véletlenül találkoztam Maybaumnál. Megvallom, nem lehet szó a dologról, لا:ها قبيحة.” Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 6 July 1895, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL 38/01/150.

44 Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 28 February 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/127: “Kedves levelét nagy gyönyörűséggel olvastam s hálás köszönettel vettem jóindulatának ezen újabb jelét. Ugyancsak meglepett a tartalma, mert egész télen minden egyébre gondoltam, csak erre a kérdésre nem. Az ajánlat tetszik nekem, de sajnálatomra kell értesítenem, hogy egyenest háztűznézőbe Boroszlóba nem mehetek. Ez az intézmény mindig ellenkezett a természetemmel, ma pedig bizony vén vagyok már hozzá. Lehetséges azonban, hogy pészach táján Halléba és Lipcsébe megyek, s akkor Boroszlóba is elvetődöm s alkalmam lesz R.ékat is minden bevallott és be nem vallott cél nélkül meglátogatni. Akkor majd meglátom, hogy lehet-e a dologból valami. De kötelező ígéretet ez iránt sem tehetek. Remélem, hogy Tanár Úr ezt az észjárásomat nem fogja rossz néven venni.”

ition at the Breslau Seminary: “In 1900 Schreiner was surprised to learn (from Goldziher) about the intention of the Breslau Seminary to offer him a professorship. For those who raised this idea, the Breslau Seminary may have seemed to be a more fitting environment for Schreiner than the *Lehranstalt*, on account of his religious conservatism; his theological bent, on the other hand, was quite alien from that institution. Schreiner remained cold to the idea but did not dismiss it altogether.”⁴⁵ This interpretation, however, does not seem plausible to me, for Schreiner’s invitation to the Breslau Seminary is not attested anywhere in the sources, while certainly there are allusions to matchmaking in the letters. Moreover, why would Schreiner have been “too old” to accept a professorship at the Seminary at the age of 37?

Apparently, Goldziher repeated his suggestion, since two weeks later Schreiner returned to the issue, excusing himself by citing approaching deadlines and other duties that would prevent him from visiting “Paddan Aram” (that is, Breslau).⁴⁶ Alluding to Breslau by the name Paddan Aram is a hint at preparation for marriage. It is a biblical reference to the marriage of Isaac (Gen. 25:20), who was forty years old when he married Rebekah; in order to find a proper fiancée he had to leave his place of residence and chose someone from the clan of his father, Abraham, and settle in Paddan Aram. The last mention of the issue we find in a letter written two and a half months later, again apparently as an answer to Goldziher’s urging. Schreiner’s short comment is full of indecision and resignation: “Regarding the matter of Breslau I could not reach a decision yet. My soul is depressed and I cannot concern myself with such things now.”⁴⁷

Finally, some enigmatic words in one of Schreiner’s last letters may refer to his frustrated plans for married life. The letter starts as follows:

45 Turán, “Martin Schreiner and Jewish Theology” 76.

46 “Képzelteti Tanár Ur az izgatottságomat, mert csodával lesz határos, ha az értesítő mégis elkészül s éjjel nappal kell dolgoznom, hogy ezt a dolgot becsülettel elvégezzem. Mindenféle családi és egyéb bajaim is vannak. Már most hogy mehetek én ilyen viszonyok közt פדן ארם ba, azaz annak egy kolóniájába?” (“You can imagine how nervous I am, since it would be a kind of miracle if the bulletin is finished [in due time], and I have to work day and night in order to do this properly. I have family issues and other problems as well. How could I go under these circumstances to Paddan Aram, or to a colony of it right now?”); Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 28 March 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/155.

47 Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 1 June 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL38/01/028:

“בענין ברעסלא לא יכולתי לגזר אומר עד היום הזה. רוחי חובלה ולא אוכל היום לעסוק בדברים האלה.”

I have dreamt a dream and I do not know what it is, for during these months I have been returning to the loss I suffered from the time of Adam [i.e., long ago], for me too, I wanted to build my house (*li-vnot et-beiti*). However, I struggled but I did not succeed, because of the treachery the treacherous committed against me, for the dogs have sharpened their tongues against me. [cf. Ex 11:7]⁴⁸

The loss Schreiner suffered is not specified in the rest of the letter, but the biblical expression “to build my house” evidently refers to establishing a family.

If the interpretation of the letters is correct, Schreiner’s apparent indifference toward emotional and family life concealed bitter disappointments. This supposition is corroborated by a short article written by Alexander Scheiber (1913–1985) on the occasion of the centenary of Schreiner’s birth, in which he raises the possibility that Schreiner’s nervous breakdown was due to unrequited love. He substantiates this claim with the verbal recollection of Manó (Emanuel) Herzog (1862–1941), the chief rabbi of Kaposvár, who frequently invited Schreiner from nearby Csurgó to celebrate Shabbat with his congregation. Herzog related that Schreiner was hopelessly in love with a girl from Kaposvár, which perhaps contributed to his mental unbalance and eventually to his fatal breakdown.⁴⁹

Schreiner’s last letters are full of gloomy remarks. He frequently complains about both his mood and physical state and describes himself as ill, melancholic, depressed, and frustrated.⁵⁰ As opposed to his letters written a decade earlier, he does not accuse and criticize Goldziher, and neither does he demand his intervention and help. He merely shares his feelings of sorrow and anxiety with Goldziher, as with a paternal friend. No doubt Goldziher was receptive

48 Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 20 January 1901, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/016:

“חלום חלמתי ולא ידעתי מה הוא כי זה חדשים הייתי מחזר על האבדה שאבדה ממני מימות אדה”ר כי אמרתי גם אני לבנות את ביתי אמנם יגעתי ולא מצאתי מפני בגד בוגדים אשר בגדו בי, והכלבים יחרצו את לשונם לי ...”

49 See Scheiber, Alexander, “Zeugnisse eines unvollendeten Lebens. Verspätete Zentenarerinnerung an Prof. Martin Schreiner,” in *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* 64, no. 36 (4 September 1964), 55–61; Herzog’s report is on p. 61. I would like to thank Tamás Turán for calling my attention to this article.

50 See, e.g., Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 1 June 1900; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 6 July 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/027; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 10 August 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL38/01/026; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 18 September 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL38/01/025; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 15 November 1900, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/023; and Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 20 January 1901.

to such complaints (otherwise Schreiner would not have ventured to express his feelings repeatedly) and, it seems, showed compassion toward his troubled disciple.

4 Conclusions

Both the recollections of Goldziher's friends, colleagues, and students, and the letters he was sent attest to his gentle and amiable disposition. However, even kindness and sympathy have limits, and it might seem surprising that Goldziher maintained such a good relationship with Schreiner, despite the latter's repeated attacks and confrontational character. The reason may be that a facet of Goldziher's personality (which he probably tried to hide) was quite similar to Schreiner's. Goldziher's diary, to which he entrusted his resentful thoughts and sarcastic remarks, shows marked similarity to some passages of Schreiner's letters. However, although Goldziher kept his bitter remarks to himself, Schreiner shared his anxieties as well as sarcastic and enraged comments with Goldziher. As is well known, Goldziher's diary is replete with disdainful remarks concerning his colleagues. In fact, Schreiner frequently scorned his colleagues in his letters to Goldziher in a very similar vein: For example, he called David Kaufmann "grand inquisitor," compared the leaders of the Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest to gentile bloodhounds,⁵¹ criticized sharply the publications of fellow researchers, as here: "Blau published three articles in the *Hungarian Jewish Review* (*Magyar Zsidó Szemle*) on God's choosing the Jewish people, the first of which is watery, and the second has not a single true sentence in it."⁵²

On the other hand, Goldziher's diary reveals his own lack of confidence, which might be the other reason he forgave Schreiner his offenses so easily.

51 Schreiner, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, written on 2 February 1891: "a főinquisitor Kaufmann, a ki szörnyen haragszik, mert Kohlbach egyszer—nem köszönt neki. Ezekért képesek halálíg üldözni azt a fiatal embert. Ha én azokat az embereket, a kik ugy cselekszenek, mint a véredek, meglátom, azt a ברכה-*t* fogom elmondani, a melyet a pogányság látásakor kell a zsidó embernek elmondani: ברוך ארך אפים!" ("The grand inquisitor Kaufmann, who is horribly angry, since Kohlbach once—did not greet him. They are capable of persecuting this young man until death. If I catch sight of these people who act like bloodhounds, I will recite the *berakhah* [blessing], which a Jew should recite when seeing idolatry: *barukh erekh appayim* [blessed ... who shows patience; cf. Babylonian Talmud, Berakhot 57b]"). Such outbursts are typical in Schreiner's letters.

52 "Blau a M. Zs. Sz. ben három cikket közölt Izraél kiválasztásáról, a mik közül az első vizenyős, a másodikban pedig egy igaz mondat sincs"; Schreiner, Martin, *Letter to Ignaz Goldziher*, 6 March 1890, Budapest, LHAS Oriental Collection, GIL/38/01/093.

Schreiner's attachment to Goldziher was beyond question, and he expressed his affection and loyalty frequently, even using exaggerated terms. Possibly for these reasons, Goldziher tolerated Schreiner's occasional confrontations, no matter how offensive they were.

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The scholarship of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), one of the founders of Islamic studies in Europe, has not ceased to be in the focus of interest since his death. This volume addresses aspects of Goldziher's intellectual trajectory together with the history of Islamic and Jewish studies as reflected in the letters exchanged between Goldziher and his peers from various countries that are preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and elsewhere. The thirteen contributions deal with hitherto unexplored aspects of the correspondence addressing issues that are crucial to our understanding of the formative period of these disciplines.

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