

**GOLDZIH**  
**MEMORIAL CONFERENCE**



GOLDZIH  
MEMORIAL CONFERENCE

KELETI TANULMÁNYOK  
ORIENTAL STUDIES

12

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# GOLDZIH MEMORIAL CONFERENCE

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ÉVA APOR AND ISTVÁN ORMOS



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## PREFACE

Ignaz Goldziher has always been regarded as a central figure in the history of Oriental studies in Hungary. He was a genius of exceptional stature, whose appearance can only partly be explained by the circumstances of his environment. Throughout all his life he was closely connected to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Even as a young boy he gave lectures to its audience under the aegis of Ballagi and Vámbéry. He became a member at an unusually early age and remained one of its leading figures until the end of his life. Goldziher was also attached to the Library of the Academy. He was not only one of its devoted readers but he also contributed to the task of acquisition of Arabic publications: on one occasion he even carried out book purchases for the Library in Egypt, an undertaking which gave birth to a fine Hungarian essay.<sup>1</sup>

After his death his widow bequeathed his vast correspondence and handwritten notes, as well as photographs pertaining to Oriental studies, to the Academy and they are now preserved in the Oriental Collection of our Library. At a later point his “Freytag” also found its way into the Oriental Collection. Although the former “Goldziher Room” fell victim to the vicissitudes of history, his memory has always been alive within the walls of this venerated building. It was in this spirit that we decided to commemorate the 150th anniversary of his birth by organizing a small *Goldziher Memorial Conference* with lectures covering some aspects of the wide scope of his scholarly interests and activities. Invitations were sent out to colleagues in various countries and we received many positive answers. Not all who would have liked to attend were able to, and not everybody who was present submitted his paper for publication. We especially regret that in the end we were unable to welcome

<sup>1</sup> Goldziher Ignác, *Jelentés a M. T. Akadémia Könyvtára számára keletről hozott könyvekről tekintettel a nyomdaviszonyokra keleten*. [Report on the Books Brought from the Orient for the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences with Regard to Printing Conditions in the Orient] (MTA Értekezések a nyelv- és széptudományok köréből IV, 5), Budapest 1874; Id., *Az arabok és az iszlám. The Arabs and Islam*. Ed. István Ormos, Budapest 1995, vol. I, 65-106; Bernard Heller, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher*. (Publications de l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes VI, 1), Paris 1927, 22 (no. 40).

participants from Arab countries – particularly Egypt and Syria. The *Goldziher Memorial Conference* took place on 21 and 22 June 2000. The addresses and lectures were delivered on the first day while on the second day the participants accepted our invitation to an excursion to Székesfehérvár, where we visited the beautifully restored mediaeval house where Goldziher was born and laid a wreath under the memorial plaque there.

The present volume contains most of the papers read at the *Conference*. In the editing of the papers only minor changes have been made; no complete unification has been attempted. We decided to include a selection of personal photographs from the Goldziher family collection, which may lend a personal touch to our volume in bringing close to us the fragile personality of this great scholar. We are greatly indebted to Chief Archivist Zsuzsanna Toronyi and the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives in Budapest for the permission to publish these photographs.

We hope that our volume will be a modest yet worthy token of homage to the memory of a great man whose scholarly oeuvre and personality never cease to command the admiration of later generations.

Budapest, 15 December 2003

Éva Apor  
Head of the Oriental Collection

István Ormos  
Keeper of Arabic Manuscripts

## OPENING ADDRESS

György Hazai  
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my pleasure indeed to welcome you today at the international conference devoted to the memory of Ignác Goldziher, an outstanding Hungarian Orientalist, considered one of the founders of modern Islamic studies. The memorial conference will pay homage to this fine scholar who was born 150 years ago in Székesfehérvár.

There is no doubt that Ignác Goldziher was a giant in the scholarship of this domain: the initiator of research work in many important fields, the results of which were to dominate and influence the development of the related disciplines for many decades after him. A number of them have retained their importance to the present day.

Ignác Goldziher was born a Hungarian, but his scholarly activities connected him to the entire world, especially to the European centres of Oriental studies and, at the same time, looking at it geographically, to the proper field of his interest, the real scene of Arabic-Jewish culture and symbiosis in the Middle East.

The participants of today's memorial conference, outstanding representatives of the same discipline in which Ignác Goldziher was active, will certainly understand that in my short opening address I will not touch directly on the achievements and merits of this personality of the international academic world of Oriental studies of the past. I would like to avoid generalities and repeating well-known facts which could simply be described with the German saying: "Eulen nach Athen tragen". Instead, my intention is to recall some aspects of the intellectual background of Oriental studies in Hungary, mainly in the lifetime of Ignác Goldziher, which had deeply influenced the development of these disciplines for many decades.

The origin of Oriental studies in different countries, as we learned it from various historical sources, may be connected to very different reasons, influences and impulses. From the need to enlarge the scope of scholarly research in biblical studies to the need arising from everyday commercial, political, or even military contacts between Europe and the Orient, the history of our disciplines may display a colourful picture of the contributing factors.



On this fascinating scene of the international academic work, Hungarian Oriental studies occupy, without any doubt, an almost unique place.

Oriental studies in Hungary appeared in the nineteenth century and their birth was deeply connected to the spiritual background of national rebirth, to the formation of the nation, an incipient self-awareness and renewal. Among Hungarians living at that time under foreign domination, and surrounded by peoples speaking different languages, the question was naturally put: Where is our place in Europe? What is our real origin? Where are we from?

The quest for answers to the problems of national identity opened a way to the emerging studies concerning the ties of Hungarians with the East.

Two outstanding scholars, the names of whom are well known in the history of Oriental studies, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös and Ármin Vámbéry, devoted their lives to do research into the linguistic and historical aspects of this fascinating subject of Hungarian prehistory. It is certainly paradoxical that the scholarly results of these two outstanding Orientalists were not achieved in the field of research to which they had been emotionally attached.

Alexander Csoma de Kőrös became the founder of Tibetan studies and he died on the eve of his long-awaited journey, during which he hoped to discover the traces of ancient Hungarians in Inner Asia.

In this respect Ármin Vámbéry, who had the intention to follow the example of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, was luckier. He succeeded in carrying out many linguistic and ethnological studies of this chapter of Hungarian history. But his real merits connect him far more with other academic fields, namely with certain areas of Turkish studies, which were *in statu nascendi* in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The scholarly interest and work of Ignác Goldziher was far from the romantic trend and approach, which was most characteristic of the pioneering, or heroic period of Oriental studies in Hungary. Originally his scholarly work grew out of what he inherited from his Jewish cultural environment and contemporary learning, whatever was offered by European scholarship at that time. It is to the credit of his scholarly activities that he was able to integrate this spiritual capital into a series of outstanding works exercising a major influence on Islamic studies for a long time.

What can Hungarian Orientalists learn today from the heritage of the pioneers of Oriental studies in our country?

Interests and aims may be different, in which specific aspects and topics of the national history should certainly find their proper place, but the knowledge and methods should always correspond to the level of international scholarship of the given period.

In my opinion the strict application of this criterion should be considered as the most important message of Ignác Goldziher's lifelong work for generations of Hungarian Orientalists to come, which, fortunately, has been able to prove its validity in many precious scholarly works to date.

Ignác Goldziher was 26 years old when he became a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Later on, for a long period of time he was President of the Section of Language and Literature of the Academy, which has always greatly appreciated his scholarly activities.

The same respect of the Academy should be expressed today, on the 150th anniversary of his birth.

Please, allow me to remind you of another aspect of today's memorial conference. This scholarly meeting is one in the framework of events devoted to the celebration of the millennium of the foundation of the Hungarian State. This condition should underline the importance of Ignác Goldziher's heritage in Hungarian intellectual life and scholarship today.

Finally, I would like to hint at yet another fact of the calendar, which is certainly worth mentioning. This year we celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which has always been playing an active and exemplary role in preserving tradition and paying homage to the former scholarly generations.

Very distinguished guests! The academic world of Hungary and especially the representatives of Oriental studies are very grateful to you for your precious contributions to this memorial meeting.

I am honoured indeed to have the privilege of welcoming you on behalf of the Section of Language and Literature of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and I wish you pleasant and successful work as well as an enjoyable stay in Hungary.



# THE INTRIGUING FATE OF A GENIZA DOCUMENT: GOLDZIHNER'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF HEBREW POETRY IN BABYLONIA

Tova Beer  
Tel-Aviv

Deeply revered as one of the founding fathers of modern Islamic and Arabic scholarship, Goldziher's contributions to the study of Jewish culture, though perhaps less renowned, are also seminal. As a matter of fact Goldziher devoted a considerable portion of his talent to the study of Jewish theology and literature.<sup>1</sup> Having an absolute command of both cultures, he explored the common borders of medieval Judaism and Islam with deep insight, thus contributing to a better understanding of Jewish life and learning in the Middle Ages. His works in these fields are still fascinating.

I would like to focus on an apparently minor work by Goldziher, one of his rare articles based on a Geniza manuscript, published in *REJ* in 1905.<sup>2</sup> The article in question presents the scholarly reader with a private letter written in Judeo-Arabic discovered among the then almost unknown treasury of Geniza manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

The letter Goldziher published was written on vellum in Hebrew characters. It was sent from Qayrawan in summer 999 by one Nahum ben Yosef to the Gaon Shmuel ben Hofni, head of the newly reopened academy of Sura in Baghdad.<sup>4</sup> The writer, as

<sup>1</sup> In J. Desomogyi (ed.), *Ignaz Goldziher, Gesammelte Schriften*, Hildesheim 1970, vols. 1-6, there are over thirty-five articles dealing with Jewish subjects, many of them relating to Islamic and Arabic issues as well.

<sup>2</sup> *REJ* 50 (1905), 182-188. It is part of a series of short articles dealing with Judeo-Arabic issues titled 'Mélanges judeo-arabes.' The series appeared in *REJ* vols. 43-52, between 1901 and 1910.

<sup>3</sup> The Cairo Geniza was formally discovered by Solomon Schechter in 1896. However, manuscripts originating from the Geniza were obtained, prior to this date, by universities and private collectors who did not realize their true scholarly value.

<sup>4</sup> The Sura academy was closed after the demise of Saadya Gaon in 942. It was reopened sometime before 990 thanks to a generous donation by a rich nobleman of Baghdad, named Abraham. Cf. below, nn. 11-13. On Shmuel ben Hofni Gaon in general, see R. Brody, *The Geonim of Babylonia and the Shaping of Medieval Jewish Culture*, New Haven-London 1998, s.v. 'Samuel b. Hofni Gaon'. For a more detailed study of his academic activities, consult D. Sklare, *Samuel b. Hofni Gaon and His Cultural World: Texts and Studies*. Leiden 1996.



he proudly notes, was a former disciple of the addressee, referring to himself *min ...tilmidhihi* “from ... your pupil” in his signature. He apologizes for writing his letter in Arabic, not in Hebrew, as was apparently expected of a student of the Gaon. He did so because he was pressed for time and troubled by business affairs. Although Nahum’s approach to his master was respectful in tone, nevertheless he uses a rather warm and familiar style; they undoubtedly had a close and friendly relationship. At the time he wrote his letter Nahum had been away from Baghdad for some years; he resided, as mentioned, in Qayrawan, but had previously visited al-Andalus. The bulk of the letter deals with private and commercial affairs. A well-to-do man, Nahum possessed houses and other property in Baghdad. He was especially concerned about a certain Abu Mansur, most probably a close relative of his, perhaps one of his sons. He asks the Gaon to look after this Abu Mansur, to advise him in business, and to teach him Mishna and Talmud. Nahum also mentions some of his relatives still living in Baghdad: his father, Yosef, was already dead,<sup>5</sup> but he had sons and sisters involved in his business affairs there. He asked the Gaon to keep an eye on them and to assist them if necessary.

Goldziher had little to say about this document. He transcribed it accurately and translated it into French, he summarized its content and added some remarks concerning its language, style, and orthography. He already knew of course, who the addressee was, but could not identify the writer, Nahum ben Yosef, who was at the time, as Goldziher writes, “unknown in Jewish Literature”.

Yet in the intervening ninety-five years since this letter’s publication much new information has been revealed about this ‘unknown’ individual. Geniza scholars such as Jacob Mann, Shlomo Dov Goitein, Moshe Gil, Alexander Scheiber, Ezra Fleischer and others, have gathered a wealth of varied information not only about Nahum but also about his predecessors and offspring, covering some five consecutive generations.<sup>6</sup> Nahum’s father, Yosef, was none other than the famous paytan, that is, liturgical poet, Yosef al-Baradani. More than three hundred pieces of

<sup>5</sup> This fact is clearly deduced from Nahum’s letter: he adds the traditional blessing for the deceased (*radiya Allahu ‘anhu*) when mentioning his father. See Goldziher’s publication p. 184 line 16.

<sup>6</sup> For information concerning Nahum and his family see: J. Mann, ‘The Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim as a Source of Jewish History’, *JQR* NS 9 (1919), 150-157; Id., *Texts and Studies*, vol. I, New York 1972<sup>2</sup>, 122, 151-153; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. III, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London 1978, 300, 301, 493; M. Gil, *A History of Palestine 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, paragraphs 298, 828, 899; Id., *In the Kingdom of Ishmael*, Tel-Aviv - Jerusalem 1997, s.v. ‘Nahum al-Baradani, family of’; A. Scheiber, *Geniza Studies*, Hildesheim 1981, 19-44, 288-296, 477-485; E. Fleischer, ‘Studies in the Poetry of Rav Hayya Gaon’, in: Z. Malachi [ed.], *A. M. Habermann Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem 1977, 248-249, nn. 34-37 [Hebrew]; M. Ben-Sasson, *The Emergence of the Local Jewish Community in the Muslim World, Qayrawan 800-1057*, Jerusalem 1996, 166-167 and the bibliographical notes there [Hebrew]. On four generations of cantors (*hazzanim*) in the Baradani family see T. Beeri, ‘Hazzanim in Babylonia: A Family

his liturgical-poetic legacy are known to us today, almost all of them preserved in Geniza manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> From a letter by the eminent gaon Rav Hai, sent in 1006 to Qayrawan, we learn that this Yosef was, until his death, the chief cantor (hazzan) of Baghdad.<sup>8</sup> At the time Hai Gaon wrote his letter, one of Nahum's sons had assumed this post in the town's Great Synagogue. Hai Gaon also mentions our Nahum, asking his addressee to inform him of his whereabouts. He relates to Nahum as a close friend, referring to him as *muqaddam* *al kol ha-hazzanim asher be-Bavel*, that is: the chief cantor and in charge of all the *hazzanim* in Babylonia.<sup>9</sup> He expresses his hope that Nahum, at this time apparently still in North Africa, will return to Baghdad to resume his position there.

Yosef al-Baradani's father, Hayyim al-Baradani, Nahum's grandfather, was probably also a professional cantor, and a gifted author of Hebrew liturgical poetry. Geniza manuscripts have yielded some fifteen of his poems, published recently.<sup>10</sup> Hayyim al-Baradani evidently flourished in Babylonia in the first half of the tenth century; he was thus a contemporary and compatriot of Saadya Gaon. The mere fact that there was a prolific poet in Babylonia during this period took scholars by surprise. It was generally assumed that Babylonian Jewry was reluctant to incorporate *piyyut* into public prayer. The discovery of the poetic oeuvre of Rabbis Hayyim and Yosef al-Baradani has forced scholars to review some of the most deeply rooted theories concerning the history of medieval Hebrew poetry.

Nahum, the son of Yosef al-Baradani, student of Shmuel ben Hofni Gaon, friend of Hai Gaon, and chief cantor of Babylon, is also mentioned in a highly interesting series of panegyrics composed by a certain Abraham ha-Cohen in honour of a Babylonian dignitary, also named Abraham. Fragments from these texts, written in the early 990s, were published from Geniza manuscripts first by Solomon Schechter,<sup>11</sup> thereafter by Jacob Mann,<sup>12</sup> and by the late Alexander Scheiber.<sup>13</sup> In these poems Nahum is described as performing liturgical poetry in the court or maybe in the private

Portrait' in: S. Elizur et al. [eds.], *Knesset Ezra: Literature and Life in the Synagogue, Studies Presented to Ezra Fleischer*. Jerusalem 1994, 251-267 [Hebrew].

<sup>7</sup> See now: T. Beeri (née Avinery), *The "Great Cantor" of Baghdad, The Liturgical Poems of Joseph ben Hayyim al-Baradani*. Jerusalem 2002 [Hebrew].

<sup>8</sup> This letter was first published by J. Mann, *Texts and Studies* (n. 6 above), 122.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 122, n. 8a Mann remarks on the term *muqaddam*: "There seems to have been an office in Baghdad for the leading Hazzan to have supervision over all the Hazzanim in Irak. Such an official probably held office by authority of the Exilarch." A similar view is held by Goitein (see n. 6 above) vol. II, 75. S. Abramson (in *Centre and Periphery in Geonic Period*. Jerusalem 1965, 91. [Hebrew]) interprets this term differently, as meaning "the most important Hazzan".

<sup>10</sup> T. Beeri, 'Early Stages in the Babylonian Piyyut: Hayyim al-Baradani and his Poetic Heritage', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 68 (1997), Hebrew section, 1-33.

<sup>11</sup> In *Saadyana*, Cambridge 1903, 66-74.

<sup>12</sup> In *JQR* N.S. 9 (1919), 157-160.

<sup>13</sup> See his *Geniza Studies* (n. 6 above), 19-44, 288-296.

synagogue of this wealthy patron, aided by his three sons: Baruch, Yannai, and Shlomo. Nahum's activity as a cantor is also attested by other Geniza sources. He was, however, more of a performer than an authentic poet. We have recovered from Geniza manuscripts some thirteen of his poems, but they are far less impressive than his father's. He was apparently eager to perform his father's poems as attested by his custom of inserting short poetic intermezzos into Yosef's texts.<sup>14</sup>

Differing from earlier periods, in Nahum's time it was already an accepted custom in major synagogues in the East for the cantor to publicly perform various *piyyutim*, many of which were not necessarily composed by him. He would select poems of earlier and popular authors, occasionally adding a short stanza of his own composition. Divine service was in those days saturated with vocal music. A considerable portion of public prayer was performed by the cantor accompanied by a well-trained choir.<sup>15</sup> As a result of the increased popularity of musical accompaniment for *piyyutim*, the older *piyyutim* lost something of their centrality.

Nahum acted as cantor not only in his homeland but also in the Palestinian synagogue of Fustat, in Egypt, after leaving Baghdad around 994.<sup>16</sup> Regarding Nahum's three sons we have some information about Shlomo only: a beautiful panegyric of his, addressed to some as yet unidentified dignitary, has been preserved in the Geniza. This poem, already shaped according to the Hebrew Andalusian fashion using quantitative metre, was discovered and published by the late Alexander Scheiber.<sup>17</sup> Two of Nahum's grandsons, Nahum and Yosef, were wealthy merchants who traded along the Mediterranean shores. Goldziher's "unknown" Nahum has thus become well known in Jewish literature, along with other members of his illustrious family.

Beyond the above tale, interesting and important in itself, lies another story. In 1905, when Goldziher published his article, Geniza research was in its infancy. The manuscript he edited had not yet been given a shelf mark. Goldziher mentions only that he received it from Schechter and that by publishing it he hoped to meet

<sup>14</sup> These texts are named *pizmonim* in Geniza mss. About the meaning and origin of this term, see E. Fleischer, 'Inquiries Concerning the Origin and Etymology of Several Terms in Medieval Hebrew Poetry', *Tarbiz* 47 (1978), 189-191 (Hebrew). For the use of *pizmon* in various liturgical poems during the period under discussion, see E. Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages*, Jerusalem 1975, 324 ff. [Hebrew].

<sup>15</sup> This particular way of performing liturgical poems is also connected with the above-mentioned use of *pizmonim*. On the impact of such performances on genre development and structural settings for Hebrew liturgical poems, see E. Fleischer, 'The Influence of Choral Elements on the Formation and Development of the Piyyut Genres', in: *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre* III, Jerusalem 1974, 18-48 [Hebrew].

<sup>16</sup> His stay in Egypt is attested by a document containing an agreement drawn up between a local hazzan, Paltiel ben Ephrayim and Nahum al-Baradani concerning their profit from various activities in the Jerusalemite Synagogue of Fustat. This manuscript is mentioned by M. A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine*, I, Tel-Aviv - New York 1980, 24, n. 53.

<sup>17</sup> See *Geniza Studies* (n. 6 above), 477-485.

Schechter's expectations.<sup>18</sup> From Goldziher's diary, also published by Professor Scheiber,<sup>19</sup> we know that in the same year he was invited by Schechter to lecture at the Jewish Theological Seminary, then newly opened in New York. It was very likely that this manuscript had been sent to Goldziher in the course of this interaction.

Scholars interested in reexamining this document tried to locate the original manuscript among the myriad of Geniza manuscripts deposited by Schechter in Cambridge, on the assumption that Goldziher had returned it to Schechter after transcribing and publishing it. Amazingly enough its whereabouts remained unknown; it was found neither in Cambridge nor in any other Geniza collection.<sup>20</sup> I myself was very anxious to find it. While working on the huge corpus of the poems of Yosef al-Baradani, Nahum's father, I was amazed by the abundance of Geniza manuscripts containing copies of his *piyyutim*. After all he lived and functioned in Babylonia, far from Egypt: Babylonian poets are scarcely represented in the Geniza. I assumed that in the case of Yosef al-Baradani this phenomenon was connected to Nahum's wanderings and his earlier-mentioned stay in Egypt. Taking into consideration the fact that he might make his living as a cantor outside of his homeland, I conjecture that Nahum took with him from Babylonia a copy of his father's collected liturgical poems, and some of his grandfather's too. It also seems likely that while preparing the repertoire of selected *piyyutim* to be performed, Nahum copied some of his father's poems for his own purposes. Now it should be clear why I am so anxious to locate a sample of Nahum's handwriting. Thus I too joined the search for the lost manuscript, undoubtedly an autograph, but to no avail. In utter despair I hit upon the possibility that the manuscript might have been forgotten among Goldziher's letters. I addressed Dr. Ormos, who is in charge of the Arabic Manuscripts at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and asked him to check those letters for me. He kindly carried out my request. The manuscript was not there, but in a Hebrew letter from Schechter to Goldziher dated 21 March 1905, a copy of which Dr. Ormos sent me, I found the answer to the riddle of its location. It also came to light from a private letter of Goldziher to Theodor Nöldeke dated October 31, 1904, that our manuscript had not been sent by Schechter to Goldziher in a letter as previously assumed but given to Goldziher during his visit to the States in 1904.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For the history of the Cairo Geniza and its discoverer, see the comprehensive study by S. C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo*. Cambridge 2000.

<sup>19</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, Leiden 1978, 242, entry for April 4 (1905).

<sup>20</sup> See S. Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 49, n. 1\*

<sup>21</sup> See Róbert Simon, *Ignaz Goldziher – His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence*, Budapest – Leiden 1986, 269. See also Alexander Scheiber, 'Letters of Solomon Schechter to William Bacher and Ignace Goldziher', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 33 (1962), 256-257. [Goldziher visited the States once. In the early autumn of



It is well known that when Schechter left Cambridge for the States to head the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1902, he took with him numerous manuscripts from the Geniza collections; some of which were his private property,<sup>22</sup> and some of which were on loan to him.<sup>23</sup> Nahum's letter was undoubtedly included in this stock of documents. He then gave it to Goldziher during the latter's visit to the States. In the above-mentioned letter to Goldziher, Schechter alludes to our document among other matters. He expresses his joy that Goldziher had taken the trouble to copy and translate it, and that soon it will appear in print. Schechter agrees with Goldziher's comment that the document is rather meager in sensational details – in those early days of Geniza research each new document was sensational indeed – but he finds importance in the additional data it contains regarding everyday life in the scarcely documented geonic period. In concluding this matter, Schechter adds that, as this was Purim eve, he offers this manuscript to Goldziher as *mishloah manot* – a Purim gift – a token of his love and admiration. Now the failure to find this manuscript in any of the Geniza collections is clear. As a gift to Goldziher, it remained in his possession and it should be searched for wherever his archives are kept. Once rediscovered, soon I hope, this manuscript will become a key tool for identifying and accurately reconstructing the poetic legacy of a great Babylonian *paytan*, Yosef al-Baradani.<sup>24</sup> This step will help us to reach a better understanding of an important aspect of Jewish life and culture in Babylon at the end of the first millennium.

1904 he participated in the International Congress of Arts and Sciences at the St. Louis World Fair, where he delivered a lecture on "The progress of Islamic science in the last three decades". He left Bremen for America on 3 September and embarked in New York on 11 October for the return journey. His invitation to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America was not realized. See Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*. Ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden 1978, 238-239; Bernard Heller, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher*, Paris 1927, 57 (nos. 262, 262<sup>a</sup>); Simon, *Ignaz Goldziher...*, 267. Ed.]

<sup>22</sup> In 1898 Schechter donated the Geniza manuscripts which he brought from Egypt to the University of Cambridge, but secured for himself special rights regarding the use and ownership of various manuscripts. Details of this agreement can be found in *Cambridge University Reporter* (1898), nos. 1215, 968-969; 1229, 183; 1231, 235.

<sup>23</sup> This is known as the Loan Series; it was returned to Cambridge during the 1960s. For a detailed account see S. C. Reif, 'The Cambridge Geniza Story: Some Unfamiliar Aspects', *Te'uda* 15 (1999), 416 ff. (Hebrew).

<sup>24</sup> As mentioned above, during this period local cantors used to reshape earlier liturgical compositions: shortening them, and/or adding one or more *pizmonim*, usually of their own. Many of Yosef al-Baradani's poems, as found in Geniza manuscripts, were also treated in this way. I postulate that Nahum copied several of his father's poems. By identifying his handwriting we will be able to see the poems in their original scope and form. This information is essential to promoting better understanding of the setting of liturgical poetry in the late-tenth-century Babylonian synagogue. [On the fate of this Geniza piece cf. Scheiber, *Letters of Solomon Schechter...*, 256-257. – Ed.]

INFORMATION EXCHANGE BEFORE THE INTERNET  
ON *LAW AQSAMA ʿALĀ LLĀH LA-ABARRAHU*  
IN GOLDZIHHER'S CORRESPONDENCE

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In an age when the scholarly exchange between Arab and non-Arab scholars is often hampered by the negative idea of “Orientalism”, it might be interesting to shed some light on how those scholars to whom this label is too often attached worked.

One of these scholars is Ignaz Goldziher.<sup>1</sup> During his life he corresponded<sup>2</sup> with more than 1500 persons. Many of the letters were written by Arab scholars, some of whom Goldziher had met and befriended on his study tour<sup>3</sup> (like e.g. Ṭāhir al-Jazāʾirī<sup>4</sup>), others he met at different oriental congresses, still others contacted him without being personally known to him. His many acquaintances from the Arab world included Mohammed Ben Cheneb (1869-1929), Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (1876-1953),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Said (1985) who mentions Goldziher among the German (!) orientalists (p. 18). It goes without saying that Goldziher did not consider himself as a German scholar. Though Said, himself not knowing German, did not pay great attention in his work to those scholars who wrote in that language, he was bold enough in denouncing them on account of their alleged “intellectual authority over the Orient” (p. 19). An unbiased summary of Goldziher's scholarship – though under the general heading of ‘orientalists’ – was written by al-ʿAqīqī (1981) III, 40-42. Goldziher was highly esteemed by some Arab scholars as is evident from the view expressed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī writing about the *Richtungen* (1993), 203:

وهكذا يقدم لنا جولدتسيهر في الظاهر تاريخا حيا لتفسير القرآن بينما هو في الحقيقة إنما يعرض لنا فيه مرآة صافية انطبعت فيها صورة واضحة للحياة الروحية طوال ثلاثة عشر قرنا عند ملايين من المسلمين.

<sup>2</sup> Goldziher's Correspondence is kept at the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (henceforth LHAS). For a first description of the Correspondence, see Somogyi (1935). See also Goitein (1948). Three voluminous correspondences have been edited so far: a selected correspondence of Goldziher and Theodor Nöldeke by Simon (1986), Snouck Hurgronje's letters to Goldziher by van Koningsveld (1985), and the correspondence of Goldziher and Martin Hartmann by Ludmila Hanisch (2000).

<sup>3</sup> See his *Oriental Diary*. Cf. also Conrad (1990a), (1990b), and (1993).

<sup>4</sup> On his role in Goldziher's life, see van Ess's article in the present volume and the sources cited therein.

Louis Cheikho (1859-1927) and °Alī Pāshā Mubārak (1823-1893), to name just a few of the leading intellectuals who corresponded with him.<sup>5</sup>

One thing, however, is common to all these letters, and that is the tone of great respect and esteem in which their authors address Goldziher, the widely acknowledged scholar. On the other hand, as it also appears from the letter below, Goldziher was well aware of the unsurpassable and intimate knowledge of sources Arab scholars possessed and often inquired about the possible explanations of specific problems.

Sometimes these letters are purely personal and do not touch upon any problem that might have occupied Goldziher's thoughts. At other times, however, the letters may provide an insight into Goldziher's thoughts and his working methods. To this second type belong the letters presented in this paper.

In Box No. 5 of Goldziher's correspondence, there is one letter written by a certain al-Biblāwī. The author, Muḥammad ibn °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Biblāwī (1863-1954) was the deputy director (*wakīl*) of the *Kutubkhāna* in Cairo. He also served as *khaṭīb* in the al-Ḥusayn mosque and inherited the title of *naqīb al-ashrāf* after the death of his father, °Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Biblāwī (1835-1906), the sheikh of al-Azhar (1903-1906).<sup>6</sup> His main publications are indices (*Fihrist al-a'lām*) to the works of Ibn Iyās (*Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*) and Ibn Duqmāq (*Kitāb al-intiṣār*).<sup>7</sup> He sent the following letter to Goldziher (Fig. 1):<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See also Goldziher's meeting and correspondence with °Abd al-Bahā' °Abbās Effendi (1844-1920), the foremost authority of the Bahā'ī religion, as described by Léderer (1988).

<sup>6</sup> For their biography, see al-Ziriklī (1954-1959), VII, 198 and V, 171-172. On the history of the *Kutubkhāna*, see Sayyid (1996).

<sup>7</sup> Mention can also be made of the important bibliographical compilation: *Iktifā' al-qanū' bi-mā huwa maṭbū' min ashhar al-ta'ālīf al-°arabiyya fī l-maṭābi' °al-sharqiyya wa-l-gharbiyya* by E. H. Van Dyke and Muḥammad al-Biblāwī. Cairo 1897.

<sup>8</sup> The orthographic characteristics of the letter are as follows: initial *hamza* and *tā' marbūṭa* are not marked except for a few instances. There is no punctuation. Besides paragraphs, spaces are sometimes used to delimit sentences. The layout and the orthographic characteristics of the original letter are not followed in the transcript. Punctuation marks have not been inserted into the transcript and the original division into lines is kept.

القاهرة في ١٤ شوال سنة ١٣١٧

الرجل الأكمل العالم الأفضل الأستاذ الهمام العلامة اجناس كلدصيهير دام في حفظ الله ورعايته

أما بعد فأشواقى لمشاهدة ذاتكم لا يمكن براعتى أن توفىها حق شرحها ولا لسانى أن يبينها لجنابكم كما ينبغي لبيانها إذ قد ملأت الفواد وعمت الجوانح وقد ورد لى من جنابكم على يدى أخينا الفاضل هرتس بك جواب كريم وسطر شريف جعلتمونى فيه بلطف شمائلكم ودمائة أخلاقكم موضع ثقتكم ومحل اعتمادكم فأشكركم على هذه العناية شكر الروض للسحاب

وأستعين الله فى الجواب عما استشكلته قريحتكم الوقادة وفكرتكم النقادة وأسأله الهداية إلى الصواب وأقول إن قوله صلى الله عليه وسلم (إن من عباد الله من لو أقسم على الله لأبره) معناه أن من عباد الله أشخاص لو طلب أحدهم من الله طلباً وأقسم عليه لأجاب الله طلبه وأعطاه ما سأله وأبره فضائل البر هو الله سبحانه لا الشخص المقسم وإنما يكون ذلك لمن عبد الله حق العباداة وامتنل أو امره واجتنب نواهيه وأخلص له فى العمل كأويس القرني وأنس بن النضر حيث حلف بالله على رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم أن لا يكسر ثنية الربيع بنت النضر لما كسرت ثنية جارية وطلب أهل الجارية أن يقتص لها من الربيع فلما حلف أنس ألهم الله خصماء الربيع العفو عنها فعفوا فلم يكسر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثنيتها فأبر الله أنسا فى قسمه ولم يخيبه فى مقصده بل ألهم الخصوم العفو وذلك بما كان له عند الله من الثقة بفضل الله ولطفه فى حقه أنه لا يخيبه فلما عفا الخصماء قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم (إن من عباد الله من لو أقسم على الله لأبره) أي حيث يعلمه من جملة عبادته المخلصين الذين يحبهم ويحبونه حتى بلغ من حبه لهم أنه سبحانه يجب طلبهم ويسمع دعاهم ولا يخيب سؤالهم فلو حلف أحدهم وقال أقسم عليك يا الله أن تمطر السماء فى هذه الساعة لأمطرها له<sup>9</sup> من ساعته وأبر قسمه عليه كما يحلف أحدنا على حبيب مخلص له أن يحضر إليه فى وقت معين فتراه يجب طلبه ويبر قسمه ويحضر فى الوقت الذى عينه ولا يتخلف عنه دقيقة واحدة لما هو موجود بينهما من روابط الود والمحبة { والله المثل الأعلى }

ولا يخفى على ذوقكم السليم وفهمكم المستقيم أن لا يصلح لأن يوصف بهذا الوصف إلا من بلغ الدرجات العالية والمقامات السامية فى الإخلاص فى عبادة الله عز وجل ولهذا سُمى أكابر الصوفية هذه الدرجة (مقام الدلال) ولم يصل إليها إلا أفراد قلائل من الرجال هذا معنى الحديث وحال الموصوفين به هذا وإن جناب الفاضل الأجل الأستاذ الدكتور موريس ناظر الكتبخانة الخديوية يهديكم عاطر التحية وجميل السلام وأرجوكم أن تتفضلوا بقبول جليل الثناء والاحترام من كاتبه محمد علي الببلاوي وكيل الكتبخانة الخديوية وخطيب مسجد سيدنا الحسين بالقاهرة

<sup>9</sup> لهم is crossed over.

عليك يا الله ان تظرا السعادة هذه السعادة لا يطرها لكم سعة ساعة و ابر قسمه عليه  
 كما قلت احدنا على حبيبه مخلص لم ان يحضر اليه لا وقت معين فتراه يجب عليه و  
 قسمه ويحضر في الوقت الذي عينه ولا يتخلف عنه دقيقة واحدة لا عوسوس و  
 منه روابط الود والمحبة (وله الشئ الوعلى)  
 ولا يخفى على ذوقكم السلام و ذمهم المستقيم انه لا يصلح لان يوصف بهذا الوصف  
 الرمه بلخ الدرجات العالية والمقامات السامية في الاخلاص في عبادة الله  
 عز وجل و لهذا سمي ابا الصوفية هذه الدرجة (مقام الدرون) ولم يصل  
 ايط الا افراد قليل من الرجال هذا معنى الحديث و كان الموصوفيه  
 هذا وان جنابه الفاضل الوجل الاستاذ الدكتور موريس ناظر اللبنيان الخديوي يبرك  
 له التكميم و حسن العزم و ابرمكم ان تفضلوا بقبول جيلس الشا و انو حترام  
 سه 8 تبه  
 مور على البيروعي وكيل  
 اللبنيان الخديوي و طبيب  
 مسجد سيدنا الحسين  
 بالقاهرة



العاشر ١٤٧١

الرجل المدخل العالم الرفيع الأستاذ الهمم العلوم اجناس كده صير دام في حفظه الله وعاليته

امامه فاشواقة مشاهدة ذاتكم لو يكن يراهم ان توفيرا حتى شرملا ولا سا في ان يبينوا لجانهم  
 كما بيني لبيانك ان قد مدت القواد وعمت الجوانح  
 وقد ورد في من جنانكم على يدي افيضا الفاضل هرتس بيت جواب كريم وسطر شريف جعلتوني  
 في بلطف شما لكم ورمائة افترقم موضع ثقتكم ومحل اعتمادكم فاشكرهم على هذه الضياء شكر  
 الروضه للسلام

واسمعية الله في الجواب عما استشكلت في حتم الوقاره وقد تم القاده وسأله التبراه للاصبر  
 واقول ان قول صلى الله عليه وسلم (ان من عباده من لو اقسم على الله بربره) معناه ان من عباده  
 اشتمس لو طلب احدكم من الله طلبا واقسم عليه لاجاب الله عليه واعطاه ما سأل واره فطاع  
 الله هو الله سبحانه لا الشخص المقسم وانما يكون ذلك له عباده من العباده وبمثل او امره  
 واجنب نواهيها وافحص في العمل كما وليس العرفي وافحص بن النظر حيث حلف بالله  
 على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان لا يكسر ثنية الربيع بنت النضر لاسرث ثنية جاربه لطلب  
 اهل الجارية ان يقطن لاصه الربيع فمما حلف انفس الهم الله خصما الربيع الغضه غنا  
 فمما افهم يكسر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثنية فابراه انسا في قسمه ولم يجيبه في ثنية  
 بل الهم المضموم الغضه وذلك بما لا فله عنده من الثقه بفضل الله والطمع في حقه انه  
 لا يجيبه فمما عفا الخصماء قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان من عباده من لو اقسم على الله  
 لا يره اى حيث علمه من عباده الخلفين الذين يجيبهم ويحبونهم حتى يلج من عبده لهم  
 انهم سبوا في حبسهم وسمع وعانهم ولذيق سؤا لهم فلو حلف احدكم وقال قسم

Fig. 1. al-Bilāwī's letter to Goldziher  
 Goldziher's correspondence, LHAS, Box No. 5

English translation:

Cairo, 13 Shawwāl 1317 [15 February 1900]

The perfect man, the excellent scholar, the high-minded professor, the most erudite Ignaz Goldziher, may God protect him and guard him eternally.

My yearning to see you in person has so much filled my heart and embraced my bosom that I am neither capable of giving it a satisfying description nor can my tongue explain it as it would deserve.

I received from your Honour, by the hands of our brother, the distinguished Herz Bey, an obliging letter and a distinguished line in which – by the kindness of your nature and the gentleness of your character – you placed your confidence and trust in me. I am as grateful to you for this attention as is the garden to the clouds.

May God help me in answering what your brilliant talent and critical mind considered as problematical and I ask Him to guide me to the right [answer].

I can tell that the meaning of the *ḥadīth* “*inna min ‘ibād Allāh man law aqsama ‘alā llāh la-abarrahu*”<sup>10</sup> is that from the servants of God there are persons from among whom if one of them had asked something from God swearing on him, then God answered his demand and gave him what he wanted and fulfilled it [i.e. his oath] for the merits of righteousness, [i.e. it is] God [who fulfils] and not the swearing person.

But this applies only to those who worshipped God with true worship, obeyed His orders and kept away from His prohibitions and were faithful to Him in their work like Uways al-Qaranī and Anas ibn al-Naḍr when he swore by God to his Messenger (God bless him and grant him salvation!) that al-Rubayyi<sup>c</sup> bint al-Naḍr’s tooth will not be broken after she had broken the tooth of a young girl. The family of the young girl asked for retaliation upon al-Rubayyi<sup>c</sup>, but since Anas had sworn, God inspired the adversaries of al-Rubayyi<sup>c</sup> to forgive. So they did forgive, and thus the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation!) did not have her tooth broken. So God fulfilled for Anas his oath and did not disappoint him in his intention. On the contrary, He inspired the adversaries to forgive. This is because God knows about his trust in God’s favour and benevolence in [fulfilling] his right not to be disappointed.

After the adversaries have forgiven, the Messenger of God (God bless him and grant him salvation!) said “*inna min ‘ibād Allāh man law aqsama ‘alā llāh la-abarrahu*”, i.e. since He knows him to belong to his sincere servants whom He loves and who love Him, so that His love of them attained [such a high degree] that He (be praised!) grants their requests and listens to their prayers and does not thwart their demands.

<sup>10</sup> This *ḥadīth* occurs in all the major collections several times. al-Bukhārī, for example, mentions it seven times of which two occurrences (*Tafsīr* 317 ad Q 68 and *Āymān* 8) are also quoted by Goldziher (1906), 36.

And if one of them would swear and say ‘I swear by Thee oh, God that it will rain at this hour’,<sup>11</sup> then He would let the rain fall instantly to fulfil his oath by Him. It is the same as if one of us swears by a true friend of him that he [the true friend] would visit him at a scheduled time and you see that he [i.e. the true friend] complies with his request and fulfils his oath and arrives at the time he gave without a minute of difference. This is due to the ties of affection and love between the two of them {but God’s is the most sublime example}.<sup>12</sup>

But it cannot be concealed from your sound taste and your correct understanding that this description can apply only to those who attained in the sincerity of God’s – to Him belongs glory and power – service the high degrees and the sublime stations. Therefore the prominent Şūfis called this step “the station of liberty”<sup>13</sup> at which only a very few men arrived.

This is the meaning of the *ḥadīth* and the state of those described by it.

Besides, the eminent, respectable Right Honourable Dr. Moritz,<sup>14</sup> the director of the Khedivial Library sends you his sweet-smelling greetings and beautiful salutations. I ask you to accept the deep appreciation and respect of the writer [of this letter]

Muḥammad °Alī al-Biblāwī

Deputy director of the Khedivial Library  
and preacher in the al-Ḥusayn mosque, Cairo

### The circumstances of the letter

Although Goldziher does not mention al-Biblāwī in his Diary,<sup>15</sup> he describes his visit to Egypt – together with a group of secondary school teachers from Hungary – in February 1896. On the 11th of that month, the group visited the Kutubkhāna<sup>16</sup> amongst other libraries in Cairo. It seems very likely that they met there.

<sup>11</sup> See Goldziher’s treatment of *ṣalāt al-istisqā’*, Goldziher (1906), 37.

<sup>12</sup> Q. XVI. 60.

<sup>13</sup> “Liberty” in the sense that the Şūfī who attained this station is so intimate with God that he can take liberties with Him.

<sup>14</sup> Bernhard Moritz (1859-1939), the founder of the collection of papyri at the Khedivial Library, held the office of director between 25 October 1896 and 31 August 1911. See Sayyid (1996), 97, 103.

<sup>15</sup> Goldziher (1978).

<sup>16</sup> Goldziher mentions in the *Tagebuch* (1978), 198, that he met Vollers – who was at that time the director of the *Kutubkhāna* – and that they went to Darb al-Gamāmiz, where not only the *Dīwān al-madāris* but also the Khedivial Library was situated at that time. See Sayyid (1996), 22, 25. The visit to the library is also mentioned by Kőrösi (1899), 6, who describes in detail the programme of the group of teachers in Egypt.



Another clue might be the person of Herz Pasha,<sup>17</sup> by the intermediary of whom Goldziher's letter was sent, as we can learn it from a letter written by Herz to Goldziher, dated 3 March 1900:

“Deine Commission habe ich am nächsten Tage nach Erhalt Deines Schreibens ausgeführt: Scheikh Biblaûi hat Deinen Brief erhalten”.

But by the time the preoccupied Herz jotted down these lines, al-Biblâwî had already sent his answer to Goldziher's inquiry about the *ḥadīth* in question.

## The topic of the letter

### I. The case of van Berchem

It seems plausible that Goldziher first examined this phrase on the demand of Max van Berchem (1863-1921) who mentioned it to him in a letter and asked him to trace it for him in the *ḥadīth* collections, since a sheikh had informed him that it was a reference to a tradition. Van Berchem's letter is not dated. The envelope is missing. All we know is that it was written in Crans par Céligny on the 2nd of October. A different hand – probably that of Goldziher's son who arranged the letters after his father's death – added the year 1891.

Van Berchem writes (Fig. 2):<sup>18</sup>

“In der Inschrift eines Klosters (Khānqāh) von 756 H. steht u.a.

أوى به كل أشعث لو أقسم على الله لأبره

Ein Chēkh erklärt mir die Wort als Allusion auf die Tradition

رب<sup>19</sup> أشعث أغبر ذي طمرين لو أقسم على الله لأبره

Wissen Sie wo die Tradition steht?”

Van Berchem found this phrase within an inscription on the wall of the Shaykhūniyya in Cairo which he included in his monumental work on Arabic

<sup>17</sup> Goldziher's correspondence, LHAS, Box No. 16. On Herz and his correspondence with Goldziher, see the article by I. Ormos in the present volume.

<sup>18</sup> Letter from Goldziher's correspondence kept at the LHAS, Box No. 4/1, folio 2r. In connection with van Berchem's letters to Goldziher, it can be generally remarked that he very frequently turned to Goldziher asking his advice in the correct interpretation of the inscriptions he worked on or the indication of sources as is the case here.

<sup>19</sup> Berchem seems to have misspelled the word *rubba*, instead of which we find *dubba* in the MS. See Fig. 2.

inscriptions<sup>20</sup> and in this book he acknowledged Goldziher's help in the correct interpretation of this phrase and in finding the proper references.<sup>21</sup>

Goldziher's answer:

Goldziher replied to van Berchem's query in a letter dated 1 October 1894 followed by a postcard dated 28 January 1895.<sup>22</sup> The dates of these two replies from Goldziher make the dating of van Berchem's letter quite dubious. Van Berchem and Goldziher corresponded quite regularly especially over the period when van Berchem was working on his *Matériaux*. His letters to Goldziher were filled with questions concerning specific inscriptions and Goldziher seems to have answered as soon as he had the necessary information. It is also evident from the letter that Goldziher hastened to send his reply. In the beginning of September 1894 Goldziher participated at the Congress of Orientalists held in Geneva where he enjoyed the hospitality of van Berchem's family.<sup>23</sup> There he promised van Berchem to send him the references he had asked for concerning the inscriptions. And indeed, he sent a letter including the following passage:

“Lieber Freund!

Ich habe Dir versprochen, einige Notizen für deine Anmerkungen zu senden und benütze dazu den ersten ruhigen Augenblick, den ich seit meiner Ankunft in Budapest habe.

Die Tradition أشعث أغبر habe ich wohl nicht aufgefunden, aber ich kann dir mittheilen, daß man mit diesen Epithetis zunächst die Pilger bezeichnet.

Ja'kūbī, ed. Houtsma I, 280, 4

فانهم (الزوار scil. يأتون شعثا غبرا من كل بلد

*Aġāni* XVI 64, 4 infra wird der Pilger als أشعث bezeichnet. ”

Evidently, he was not satisfied with the outcome of his investigations, since he did not find the *ḥadīth*, but only references to the words *ash'ath* and *aghbar*. So he further investigated the relevant literature and after nearly four months he was glad to announce to van Berchem that he managed to trace the *ḥadīth*. He immediately sent a postcard containing the following information:

<sup>20</sup> Berchem (1903), 232-235, No. 158.

<sup>21</sup> Berchem (1903), 235, fn. 4 where after the references the following phrase can be read: “Je dois ces citations à M. Goldziher, qui a bien voulu me donner, pour l'explication de ce texte, l'appui de sa haute compétence philologique”.

<sup>22</sup> Goldziher's letters to van Berchem are kept in the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Genève.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 186.

“Lieber Berchem! Dass unter أشعث أغبر κατ' ἐξοχήν die Pilger zu verstehen sind, dafür kannst du kaum bessere Stelle anführen als die Ḥadīṭ-Erzählung aus Al-Azraqī, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* 16,3 (شعبا zu corrigiren - شعثا 17,3 الثعث الغبر [.....])

Herzliche Grüsse von Deinem Freund.”

In both his replies, his main concern is the meaning of the words *ash'ath* and *agħbar*, i.e. that the pilgrims should be understood by them.

## II. Goldziher's own research

As is evidenced by Goldziher's notes, bequeathed – together with his correspondence – by his widow in 1925 to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Goldziher had been collecting material on the topic of oaths (*Eid und Schwur*) for a substantial period in his life, at least ten years, from about the end of the 1890-s until at least 1908.<sup>24</sup> One batch of notes in the envelope on this topic bears the heading “*law aqsama 'alā llāh*”. These notes show that Goldziher had meticulously collected data from the written sources which are relevant to this *ḥadīth* about compelling oath.<sup>25</sup>

We can also learn from one of his articles<sup>26</sup> that his last conversation with H. Derenbourg in April 1901 was on this subject. It is also evident from this article of his that he considered the different forms of oaths a question of prime importance in gaining a better knowledge of pre-Islamic Arab beliefs.<sup>27</sup>

His interest in this topic went as far as to intend to publish what he thought was a unique Cairo manuscript entitled *Kitāb al-aymān* by a certain Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abdallāh al-Najrāmī<sup>28</sup> from the 4th/10th century. It is one of the three manuscripts which Goldziher did not publish.<sup>29</sup> Goldziher only knew of the existence of one MS of

<sup>24</sup> Goldziher MS. dossier No. 65 at the LHAS. The date 1908 is evidenced by a Hungarian newspaper cutting relevant to this topic. The majority of notes are, however, undated.

<sup>25</sup> It appears that the majority of the references were used in his articles dealing with this subject. Some remarks, however, were not elaborated upon.

<sup>26</sup> Goldziher (1909).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Goldziher (1909), 221.

<sup>28</sup> See Goldziher (1909), 224.

<sup>29</sup> The other two are his history of Arabic literature in Hungarian and an edition of Ibn al-Sikkīt's *Kitāb tahdhīb al-alfāz*. See Somogyi (1935), 150-151.

Najīramī's *Aymān al-ʿarab fī l-jāhiliyya* a collated copy of which he acquired in the winter of 1899.<sup>30</sup>

Evidence to date Goldziher's manuscripts is supplied by the papers he used to write on, since it was his custom to re-use any paper with at least one blank page. Accordingly, it can be established with great certainty that he started to work on the edition of Najīramī's *Aymān* immediately after its acquisition, since the papers he wrote on date from the years 1898 and 1899. He continued to work on it, as it is evidenced by another piece of paper, this time already from 1907 which bears the heading: "Nağīramī *Ajmān*" (in Goldziher's transcription). Parallel to the edition of the MS, Goldziher started to conduct research on the topic of oaths and he wrote an article in German on the back of papers dating from 1898-1900. The twelve folios, which in their present state end quite abruptly, partially overlap with Goldziher's 1909 article for the *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*.

Taking into consideration the way Goldziher worked, and also the highly defective nature of the MS in question, it is not surprising that this edition of his remained unpublished.<sup>31</sup> Though, incidentally, van Berchem asked information about the same *ḥadīth*, Goldziher's real interest was – naturally – aroused by his own research.

## Conclusion

As we have seen, al-Bīblāwī gives in his letter an explanation on the *ḥadīth: law aqsama ʿalā llāh la-abarrahu*. The article where Goldziher seems to have made use of some of the material he had been collecting for his intended publication on oaths is:

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Goldziher (1909), 226, fn. 4. The work was eventually published on the basis of two extant MSS by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb in Cairo (al-Maktaba al-Salafīyya, 1343 [1924/25], 2nd edition 1382 [1962].)

<sup>31</sup> As Goitein (1948), 433, writes: "We learn [from the letters] that even the *Vorlesungen*, that classic of Islamic studies, was compiled and eventually published only at the repeated requests of friends in different countries. ... Although exceptionally fertile, he let his books and even articles mature slowly and put them aside several times, before preparing them for publication. ... he did not cease to be "fascinated" by [a topic] and continued to gather material about it". Cf. also Goldziher (1909), 226, fn. 4. where he states that "l'éditeur devra beaucoup corriger le texte". It seems also plausible that by the 1910s he had already abandoned the idea of publishing an edition of Najīramī's *Aymān*. He even seems to have contemplated sending the partially edited MS to Dr. Walter Gottschalk who at that time showed interest in editing the MS. See W. Gottschalk's letters to Goldziher (Goldziher's correspondence, LHAS, Box No. 13). To this end, Goldziher put the MS as edited by him into an envelope addressed to W. Gottschalk, but finally did not send it, perhaps on account of World War I. [On this subject see also footnote 137 in the article by Simon Hopkins in the present volume. – Ed.]

‘Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet’. There he mentions this *ḥadīth* as well.<sup>32</sup> Goldziher regarded the holy men of Islam as hereditaries of pre-Islamic *kāhins*, and considered this *ḥadīth* as a means to sanction the surviving pre-Islamic popular beliefs.

Goldziher’s interest in the contemporary explanation of this *ḥadīth* may well have been his motive in writing to al-Biblāwī. The latter gave him a Ṣūfī explanation which seems to have been current in Egypt in mystic circles at that time. This is especially evident in the use of the word *dalāl*, since this expression is extremely rare to describe friendship and love of God in classical Ṣūfī literature.<sup>33</sup> That al-Biblāwī gave a Ṣūfī explanation of this *ḥadīth* is not surprising if we take into account that this *ḥadīth* belongs to those which are most frequently quoted in classical Ṣūfī manuals.<sup>34</sup> The use of this *ḥadīth* in Ṣūfī circles is also apparent from van Berchem’s data since he found the relevant inscription on the wall of a khānqāh.

The handling of this *ḥadīth* by the three scholars shows a climate favourable to scholarly discussion, and may serve as an enviable example of the exchange of ideas and providing information at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries.

<sup>32</sup> Goldziher (1906), 307.

<sup>33</sup> The word *dalāl*, synonym of *dālla*, seems to be used only by al-Hallāj (d. 309/922) (*Tawāsīn*, ed. Massignon 16, ed. °Abbās 168 and 300, the latter is absent from Massignon’s edition), while another derivative of this stem, *tadallul*, appears in the work of al-Kalābādhī (d. ca 380/990) (*Ta’arruf* ed. Maḥmūd 107, Arberry (1966), 109-110). The word *dalāl*, however, is listed among the Classical Arabic words used in the modern vernacular of the region see Abū Sa’d (1990), 169.

<sup>34</sup> Cf., for example, al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), *Lumā’* 34, No. 7; al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), *Risāla* 351, No. 1673. “The Prophet said: ‘How many a one there is with matted hair, covered with dust, with two old garments to his name, unnoticed by all – who, if he adjured God, would be answered, and it would make no difference to God what he had asked Him for.’” English translation from Harris (2002), 432. For a German translation and further references of this *ḥadīth*, see Gramlich (1989), 491, No. 52.20.

As has been mentioned above (fn 10) this *ḥadīth* occurs in all the major collections. It is, however, al-Tirmidhī’s recension (*Sunan*, *Manāqib*, 54) which has been taken over by the Ṣūfīs, and it is also this one to which the words ‘*ash’ath* and *aghbar*’ refer on the wall of the Shaykhūniyya.

CHRONOLOGY

Van Berchem's letter to Goldziher	2.10.[1891?]
Goldziher' letter to van Berchem	1.10.1894
Goldziher's card to van Berchem	28.01.1895
Goldziher's study tour to Egypt	February 1896
Acquisition of al-Najīramī's MS	winter of 1899
[Goldziher's letter to al-Biblāwī	1899/1900]
al-Biblāwī's letter to Goldziher	15.02.1900
(Herz's letter to Goldziher	03.03.1900)
Goldziher's conversation with Derenbourg	April 1901
Van Berchem's <i>Matériaux...</i> published	1903
Goldziher's "Zauberelemente..."	1906
Dated Hungarian article in G's bequest	1908
Goldziher's "Notice..."	1909
Goldziher intends to send the partially edited	
al-Najīramī MS to Walther Gottschalk	after 1911

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3/ In der [Handschrift eines Klosters (Khāngāh)]  
 von 756 H. steht u. a.  
 أَوَىٰ بِهِ كُلُّ أُمَّةٍ لَوْ أَقْسَمَ عَلَى اللَّهِ لِأَبْرَةٍ  
 Ein Chékh erklärt mir die Worte als Allusion  
 auf die Tradition  
 رَبِّ أُمَّةٍ أَغْبَرُ ذِي طَمْرِينٍ لَوْ أَقْسَمَ  
 عَلَى اللَّهِ لِأَبْرَةٍ  
 Wissen Sie wo die Tradition steht?

Fig. 2. From van Berchem's letter to Goldziher  
 Goldziher's correspondence, LHAS, Box No. 4/1, folio 2r





# GOLDZIHNER AS A CONTEMPORARY OF ISLAMIC REFORM

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In 1890 Goldziher published at Halle the second volume of his *Muhammedanische Studien*. In the same year, on his 40th birthday, he started writing his diary which he continued until shortly before his death. These works do not have much in common. What Goldziher wrote about Hadith in that second volume may be considered to be the most mature and creative product of his scholarship. The diary, on the contrary, confronts us with an emotional – and sometimes rather unbalanced – inner dialogue which was never intended to be printed. In spite of this dissimilarity, the coincidence, fortuitous as it certainly is, may be apt to put us before a particular question: Why is it that Goldziher's image in the Islamic world is so bad whereas the view which he himself had of Islam was overall so positive? For when Muslims in our days refer to Goldziher as the archetype of the "Orientalist", this epithet not being an especially flattering expression in their discourse, they mainly think of what he said about Hadith in the aforementioned volume, whereas his own impression of Islam – unrestricted praise as it turns out – comes to the fore in the introductory section of the diary where he describes his stay in Damascus and Cairo. He was relatively young then, 23 years old; we are thus dealing with two different periods in his life. Let us look at both periods and persuasions a little bit further.<sup>1</sup>

1. Taken in itself Goldziher's analysis of Hadith does not need any comment. In European scholarship his approach found immediate and mostly enthusiastic approval<sup>2</sup>; it has remained influential until today. Even in the Near East his works

<sup>1</sup> Some of the points raised in this article have been dealt with in detail by L. I. Conrad in a study published in: I. R. Netton (ed.), *Golden Roads. Migration, Pilgrimage, and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam*, Richmond 1993, 110 ff: 'The Pilgrim from Pest. Goldziher's study tour in the Near East'. I regret having had no access to this book until my text had already been prepared for publication.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for instance Snouck Hurgronje's reaction in a letter from Batavia dated 5th December 1890 (P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher*, Leiden 1985, 128) and his later appraisal in: *Mohammedanism*, New York-London 1916, 20. Somewhat more reserved is

met with a respectful reception; in Egypt they were translated into Arabic, though with critical remarks and additions, his *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* first<sup>3</sup>, and then the *Vorlesungen*<sup>4</sup>, in a way also the second volume of the *Muhammedanische Studien*. The person who was most instrumental in this was ‘Alī Ḥasan ‘Abdalqādir who taught at the Azhar in the thirties and forties; he seems to have been mainly responsible for the translations<sup>5</sup>, and in his lecture courses he is said to have quoted Goldziher’s views about Hadith.

The clash is a posterior development which then was projected back into this period. One of ‘Abdalqādir’s students who had attended his courses in 1939, Muṣṭafā al-Sibā’ī, later on claimed to have convinced his teacher of Goldziher’s errors by way of a speech which he gave in a students’ club. The report seems somewhat exaggerated, for when one year later, in 1940, ‘Abdalqādir published his “Historical Survey of Islamic Law” (*Nazra ‘amma fī ta’riḫ al-fiqh al-islāmī*) he still included a lot of the incriminated passages, albeit without mentioning Goldziher’s name.<sup>6</sup> Nor did he see any reason for interrupting his work on the two translations which came out in 1944 and 1946. Sibā’ī’s furore may have been inspired by the rather harsh discussion about somebody else who, a few years before, had tried to disseminate Goldziher’s ideas: Ismā’īl Aḥmad Sālim; the book Sālim had published<sup>7</sup> was quickly withdrawn from the market, and the author accused of being an atheist.<sup>8</sup> Sibā’ī himself, however, was just 24 years old; his attack cannot have produced a resounding echo. He then elaborated his critique in his thesis which he submitted to al-Azhar in 1949, but his work was not published until 1961 when it appeared under the title “The Role of Prophetic Tradition in Islamic Jurisprudence” (*Al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā fī l-tashrī‘ al-islāmī*). It is in the preface of this book that the story crops up for the first time.<sup>9</sup>

Th. Nöldeke in a letter dated 24th October 1890 (R. Simon, *Ignác Goldziher. His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence*, Leiden 1986, 171 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Partial translation Cairo 1944 under the title *Al-Madhāhib al-islāmiyya fī tafsiṛ al-Qur’ān*; complete translation by ‘Abdalḥalīm al-Najjār, *Madhāhib al-tafsiṛ al-islāmī*, Cairo 1955.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-‘Aqīda wa-l-sharī‘a fī l-Islām*, Cairo 1946; <sup>2</sup>Cairo-Baghdad 1378/1959. The translation was made on the basis of the French version by F. Arin. *Le dogme et la loi en Islam*, Paris 1920.

<sup>5</sup> He did the partial translation of the *Richtungen* which was accompanied, in an appendix, by a few critical remarks directed against orientalist in general (cf. L. Gardet, G. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 26, n. 2). The translation of the *Vorlesungen* was done by him together with Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā and ‘Abdal‘azīz ‘Abdalḥaqq; here the critical remarks were added by Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā as can be judged from the preface.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the Tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969, 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Min maṣādir al-ta’riḫ al-islāmī*. Cairo 1936.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Juynboll, ‘Ismā’īl Aḥmad Adham (1911-1940), the Atheist’, *JAL* 3 (1972), 54 ff.

<sup>9</sup> P. 29 ff.; cf. Juynboll, *Authenticity* 35.

Meanwhile the spiritual climate had changed. Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī had acquired a certain reputation; originating from an old Syrian family he had become the founder of the Muslim Brethren in his country and a professor of Islamic law at Damascus university.<sup>10</sup> His book went through many editions and is read even today. The style of his polemics was pretty rough and unpolished.<sup>11</sup> This is, however, a matter of audience and academic level. There were other scholars, younger than Sibā'ī and writing in languages other than Arabic, who criticised Goldziher with well-founded and far-reaching arguments, e.g. Fuat Sezgin<sup>12</sup> or Mohammad Mustafa Azmi (= al-A'zamī).<sup>13</sup> In Egypt, 'Alī Ḥasan 'Abdalqādir could peacefully pursue his career. He was elected dean of the Faculty of Theology at al-Azhar University, and he published, in 1962, Junayd's mystical treatises, an extremely difficult text which demanded high editorial skill and was included in the Gibb Memorial Series.<sup>14</sup> It is possible, though, that his turn to Sufism was also a turn to less delicate subjects<sup>15</sup>, for the famous Hungarian *mustashriq* whose ideas he had tried to propagate remained a target of popular polemics. Even Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, a prominent spokesman of moderate Islamic revivalism like Sibā'ī, but now in Egypt, could be accused, as late as 1989, of owing his aberrations to unbelievers like Goldziher.<sup>16</sup>

Sibā'ī had, of course, never read Goldziher himself. In Syria, educated people knew French but not German. But he did not quote Léon Bercher's French translation of the second volume of the *Studien* either which had appeared in 1952.<sup>17</sup> In the Arab context this was of no importance. Ultimately he was not engaged in a discussion with Goldziher, but with 'Abdalqādir and the current of thinking his

<sup>10</sup> J. Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik der Muslimbrüder Syriens*, Freiburg 1980, 121 ff.; *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* IV. 71 f.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Juynboll, *Authenticity* 105 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Buhārī'nin kaynakları hakkında araştırmalar*. Istanbul 1956.

<sup>13</sup> *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature. With a critical edition of some early texts*, Beirut 1968; reprint: Indianapolis 1978, again a PhD thesis, but now submitted to a Western University (Cambridge) and supervised by an "orientalist" (R. B. Serjeant). Like Sezgin, Azmi deals with Goldziher mainly in his introduction (8 ff.), but it is interesting to see that when he argues against him in detail he does so with regard to the same point which had already been raised by Sibā'ī when he was still a student: Goldziher's comments about al-Zuhrī (289 ff. and before).

<sup>14</sup> *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd*, London 1962. (Cf. my review in *Oriens* 20 (1967), 217 ff.)

<sup>15</sup> He had been working on the topic for years; cf. his article 'The Doctrine of Al-Junayd. Analytical Study of the Doctrine of Al-Junayd Based on his Letters', *Islamic Quarterly* 1 (1954), 167 ff. and 219 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Ashraf b. 'Abdalmāqṣūd Ibn 'Abdarraḥīm, *Jināyat al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghazālī 'alā l-ḥadīth wa-ahlihi*, Ismailia 1989, 53 ff.; cf. D. Brown, *Rethinking tradition in modern Islamic thought*, Cambridge 1996, 130.

<sup>17</sup> *Etudes sur la tradition islamique*. Paris 1952.

teacher had represented. The title of Sibā'ī's book alludes rather openly to 'Abdalqādir's *Historical Survey of Islamic Law*; both wrote about law, but where 'Abdalqādir says *ta'rīkh* Sibā'ī says *sunna*. It was all a question of Muslim identity. The uneasy marriage with Europe was over. 'Abdalqādir had still belonged to the generation which, like Ṭāhā Ḥusayn or 'Abdarrahmān Badawī, had been formed in the liberal intellectual climate of the young Egyptian universities founded under King Fu'ād.<sup>18</sup> Now the entire discourse underwent considerable changes. When, in 1967, Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* came out in an English translation, by S. Stern and C. R. Barber, it had got a new name: "Muslim Studies". Chr. Snouck Hurgronje and H. A. R. Gibb had still called their books "*Mohammedanism*", without any protestations being heard from the Muslim side<sup>19</sup>; Schacht had written about "The Origins of *Muhammadan Jurisprudence*".<sup>20</sup> Now, some years after Sibā'ī's attack, it was a matter of courtesy to avoid the expression in order not to hurt Muslim feelings. As a matter of fact, it was from now onward Schacht's book which attracted a great deal of the furore.<sup>21</sup> He had derived from Goldziher's analysis rigid methodological conclusions and applied them to the churchfather of Sunni jurisprudence, al-Shāfi'ī (whose *Risāla* had not yet been accessible to Goldziher when he wrote his *Muhammedanische Studien*<sup>22</sup>).

<sup>18</sup> Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973), though still trained at al-Azhar, had become the first graduate of Cairo University (with a thesis on Ma'arrī !, cf. *EP* X 95). 'Abdarrahmān Badawī was one generation younger. [He died in 2002 at the age of 85; cf. the obituary by R. Rashed in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 13 (2003), 163 ff.]

<sup>19</sup> London-New York 1916 and Oxford 1949 respectively.

<sup>20</sup> Oxford 1950.

<sup>21</sup> Though in this case there were no translations, and the polemics were quickly supplemented by serious criticism; the best example is the second book written by M. M. A'zamī/Azmi (who now transcribed his name as Azami): *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Riyadh 1985. The debate about Schacht is characterized by the fact that in the meantime English had become the main language medium. A'zamī translated his PhD thesis into Arabic (*Dirāsāt fī l-ḥadīth al-nabawī wa-ta'rīkh tadwīnīhī*, Riyadh 1976), but his impact on the Arab world could not compete with Sibā'ī's.

<sup>22</sup> Snouck Hurgronje had heard about the two old manuscripts of the *Risāla* preserved in Cairo (obviously the copies written by Rabī' b. Sulaimān and by Ibn Jamā'a) and mentions them in one of his letters to Goldziher (9. Febr. 1886; cf. van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship* 56); he was still not sure about the authenticity of the text. The book was not printed until 1312/1895 (in Būlāq, under the supervision of Yūsuf Šāliḥ Muḥammad al-Jazmāwī). Goldziher saw it during his stay in Cairo in 1896, but he did not have a chance to read it until the end of 1897 (cf. his *Briefwechsel* with Martin Hartmann, ed. L. Hanisch, Wiesbaden 2000, 78 and 84 ff.). The first study about it was a thesis written at Leiden: L. J. Graf, *Al-Shāfi'īs Verhandeling over de Wortelen van den Fiqh*, Leiden-Amsterdam 1934.

II. Goldziher's diary is a separate story. When, long after his death, it was made available to the public in 1978<sup>23</sup> there were people who openly regretted its having been printed without any abridgments.<sup>24</sup> The shock was great; nobody had expected such emotional outbursts from a well-balanced scholar such as Goldziher. The passages we have to deal with for our purpose are emotional, too, but they are so in a positive sense; they reveal unrestrained enthusiasm about the cultural environment which he came to know during his trip to the Near East. There is this famous comment about his stay in Damascus: "I truly entered in those weeks into the spirit of Islam to such an extent that ultimately I became inwardly convinced that I myself was a Muslim and judiciously discovered that this was the only religion which, even in its doctrinal and official formulation, can satisfy philosophical minds. My ideal was to elevate Judaism to a similar rational level. Islam, my experience taught me, was the only religion in which superstition and pagan elements were proscribed, not by rationalism but by the Orthodox doctrine".<sup>25</sup> Or, later on in Cairo: "My way of thinking was completely directed towards Islam; also subjectively I was drawn in this direction by my sympathies. I called my monotheism Islam, and I did not lie when I said that I believed in Muḥammad's prophecies".<sup>26</sup>

We should not forget that all this was written in retrospect, sixteen years after the event. We have, however, an older version of it, namely the notes made by Goldziher during the journey itself. Strangely enough, he did not look them up when he formulated the introductory chapter to his later diary; he relied on his memory, and he did not realize that he was confusing certain details.<sup>27</sup> His notes are sometimes very laconic and rather difficult to interpret.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, they end one month after his arrival in Cairo; he had become very busy when he started attending

<sup>23</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*. Hrsg. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden 1978.

<sup>24</sup> E. Ullendorff in his review in *BSOAS* 42 (1979), 553.

<sup>25</sup> *Tagebuch* 59.

<sup>26</sup> *Ib.* 71.

<sup>27</sup> This has been shown by the editor of this text: Raphael Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and his Oriental Diary. A Translation and Psychological Portrait*, Detroit 1987, 65 f.

<sup>28</sup> The edition is not without mistakes; Patai was not always able to interpret Arabic quotations correctly or to identify the persons mentioned in the text (cf. the article by L. I. Conrad in *JRAS* 1990, 105 ff.). Patai was not an Arabist. He was born in Budapest and had heard about Goldziher through the comments of his father; later on he had studied, in 1930-31, for a short time with C. Brockelmann at Breslau before moving to Jerusalem and finally to the United States (13; cf. also *id.*, *The Jews of Hungary*, Detroit 1996, 394 ff.). Rich material about his own biography can be found in his books *Apprentice in Budapest. Memories of a World That Is No More*, Salt Lake City 1988, and *Between Budapest and Jerusalem. The Patai Letters, 1933-1938*, Salt Lake City 1992. His "psychological portrait" of Goldziher has been criticized by L. I. Conrad in a second article in the same volume of *JRAS* 1990, 225 ff.

classes at al-Azhar.<sup>29</sup> But we can easily see from what we have in hand that when writing out of immediate experience he used less sweeping language. This was not yet the moment of generalization and selective reminiscing but of observation and eager assimilating.

Nevertheless there are enough pertinent remarks where the later overall picture announces itself. Goldziher had always been interested in comparisons between the three monotheistic religions. His eye had been sharpened by the situation in Hungary itself. Only a few years before his trip to the Near East the Jewish community to which he himself belonged had been accorded equal rights with the Christian population; the law was passed by the Parliament on November 25, 1867, shortly after the so-called Compromise (“Ausgleich”) which granted Hungary complete internal independence within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>30</sup> But the Hungarian Jews were deeply split between the Orthodox, the “Guardians of the Faith” (*Wächter des Glaubens*) who followed the direction indicated by Rabbi Hātam Sōfēr (= Moses Schreiber, 1762-1839) and his yeshiva at Bratislava, Slovakia<sup>31</sup>, on one side and the Neolog faction on the other. In between there was a third group, the so-called “Status quo congregationists” who tried to avoid the enervating quarrels going on between both factions and with whom Goldziher seems to have felt most at ease.<sup>32</sup> As a child he had witnessed how, in 1858, a Rabbi who belonged to the reform party (the “Neologs”) had been forced to give up his office at

<sup>29</sup> Conrad, *ib.* 111. Conrad had the opportunity to consult the original which is now preserved at the Jewish Theological Seminary at New York. Patai had rather surmised that the last part had got lost in Budapest at the end of the Second World War (*Diary* 26). But this seems quite improbable; it is only true for the annotated and interleaved copies of Goldziher’s printed works. The bulk of his library had been acquired by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1923.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. W. Pietsch, *Zwischen Reform und Orthodoxie. Der Eintritt des ungarischen Judentums in die moderne Welt*, Berlin 1999, 80.

<sup>31</sup> Until 1918, Slovakia belonged to Hungary. For Hātam Sōfēr cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* XV 77 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Tagebuch* 22. The best overview of the situation is to be found in Patai, *Jews of Hungary* (see above, n. 28), 312 ff.; for the part played by German Jewry in this process cf. Pietsch 67 ff. Goldziher’s concept of religion as reflected in his *Oriental Diary* has been highlighted by Conrad in *JRAS* 1990, 235 ff.; as far as Judaism is concerned, Conrad (like A. Hourani, *Islam in European thought*, Cambridge 1991, 37) assumes a lasting impact by Abraham Geiger (1810-74) with whom Goldziher had studied in Berlin (cf. his article in I. R. Netton [ed.], *Golden Roads* [above, n. 1], 123 ff. and 145). It might be worthwhile to check the papers of the Jewish communal archives with regard to Goldziher in this respect; they are, to my knowledge, still preserved. – Goldziher’s patron, Baron József Eötvös, the minister of religions (who was also responsible for the educational system) had done everything to conserve or to reestablish unity among the Hungarian Jews. The official schism occurred in 1871, with the agreement of the Hungarian government (Pietsch 80); Eötvös died in the same year, shortly before Goldziher left for his journey.

Székesfehérvár/ Stuhlweissenburg where Goldziher was born.<sup>33</sup> To him Judaism was primarily a religion of study, and now he discovered that Islam, too, made “a religious duty of study itself”.<sup>34</sup> In this respect, both religions differed from Christianity where “the layman must know nothing of that which belongs to the studies of the priest”. He generalized a bit; what he meant by “Christianity” here was the Catholic milieu in Hungary. But this was not his main point anyway; he was simply struck by the unpretentious devotion to learning which he found among his Muslim friends. This is what explains his enthusiasm; he had had the opportunity of meeting Islam in its human reality when he was in his most impressionable years.

Immediate contact with the Islamic world was a rare thing at his time. German orientalist of the 19th century did normally not travel in the Near East; before 1871 the country was too poor (and too fragmented) for that. Nöldeke never went there, nor did Wellhausen.<sup>35</sup> Goldziher, however, belonged to a different tradition. Under the Habsburg monarchy, orientalist had become accustomed to a more practical understanding of their business. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856) had been trained as a “Sprachknabe”, a language boy, in Istanbul, and Alfred von Kremer (1828-89) had worked for some thirty years in the consular service of the Austrian empire in Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut and elsewhere. Goldziher owed his chance to the pioneering phase of Hungary after 1867; the universities were in need of young talents, and he was sent around in order to learn European methodology, first at Berlin and Leipzig, before his doctorate (which he got at the age of 20) and afterwards at Leiden and Vienna. Finally, when he was already a docent at the University of Budapest, he was offered a scholarship “in order to learn the colloquial language in Syria and Egypt and to get accustomed with Arab bureaucratic methods in the European consulates”<sup>36</sup>, and he gladly agreed. But he never totally complied with the task he had been given the money for. The consuls did not see much of him; he used to visit his Muslim friends instead and to work with manuscripts in the libraries.<sup>37</sup> One month after his arrival in Damascus he entrusted to his diary: “Still I must learn the colloquial Arabic”.<sup>38</sup> He did so in the end<sup>39</sup>, but he impressed his partners by his mastery of the classical language. When the

<sup>33</sup> *Tagebuch* 22; Pietsch 75.

<sup>34</sup> *Diary* 105.

<sup>35</sup> The main exception, after 1871, was Eduard Sachau (1845-1930) who taught at the University of Berlin.

<sup>36</sup> *Tagebuch* 54.

<sup>37</sup> *Ib.* 66.

<sup>38</sup> *Diary* 125.

<sup>39</sup> There is no reason for assuming that he despised the dialects. He knew a lot about them as is attested by his review of W. Spitta's *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, in *ZDMG* 35 (1881), 514 ff. (cf. the article by S. Hopkins in the present volume.)



Egyptian minister of education wanted to converse with him in French, he insisted on using the *fushā* instead.<sup>40</sup>

This makes us suspect that those who had sent him out were somewhat disappointed when he came back. He had not become the useful specialist they wanted him to be.<sup>41</sup> The same fact, however, gives us the clue for understanding why the Muslims he had met were so fascinated by him. He knew not only their holy language, a literary idiom which they admired but did normally not use when they talked to each other; he was also well versed in their religious and literary tradition: the Quran and its exegesis, Islamic law, poetry and medieval Arabic grammar. He was visibly flattered by his success, and he felt completely at home in this new environment. Coming from the complicated world of Hungarian Jewry, he immediately recognized how much greater a chance the Muslims had to develop into a healthy and uncontaminated modernity. Orthodox Jews continued to speak Yiddish<sup>42</sup> and wanted any innovation as such to be forbidden<sup>43</sup>; they insisted on the *Shulhan Arukh*, the famous religious code composed by Joseph Caro in the sixteenth century, remaining the basis of religious and communal life.<sup>44</sup> Compared with them, the Muslims he encountered seemed to be, potentially at least, much more cosmopolitan and open-minded. They observed their ritual duties<sup>45</sup> without refusing Europe or the Western world for that; they were proud of their own culture and curious about the progress made outside.

<sup>40</sup> *Tagebuch* 68.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Tagebuch* 56: "Obzwar officiell entsendet, um mich zu einer Parliermaschine à la Vámbéry herauszubilden, konnte mir diese Aufgabe nicht wichtig genug erscheinen, um mich auf eine solche Spielerei zu concentrieren." For Goldziher's relationship with A. Vámbéry cf. Conrad in *JRAS* 1990, 243 ff. It is quite possible that, as Conrad surmises (in: Netton, *Golden Roads* [above, n. 1], 126 f.), Eötvös's successor in the ministry had sent him out mainly in order to get some respite for solving the problem of his academic career.

<sup>42</sup> Pietsch 71 and 78 f.

<sup>43</sup> *Ib.* 93.

<sup>44</sup> *Ib.* 83; cf. Patai, *Jews of Hungary* 318 and 322. Goldziher's own study *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* which he published in his youth (Leipzig 1876) was designated to be banned, and the Rabbinic Seminary at Budapest, though not dominated by the Orthodox, later on did not dare appoint him as professor because of this (M. Carmilly-Weinberger in *id.*, *The Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest 1877-1977*, New York-Budapest 1986, 21 f.). He remembered being called a "Spinozist" and freethinker already as a schoolboy, because of a treatise on prayer which he had written. This may have been a different case, though, for he had also been pert enough to have it printed, at the age of twelve (*Tagebuch* 22). [Cf. now also L. Conrad, 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan. From Orientalist Philology to the Study of Islam', in: Martin Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*, Tel Aviv 1999, 137 ff.]

<sup>45</sup> When visiting Leiden Goldziher refused an invitation by the famous R. P. A. Dozy (1820-1883) because Dozy did not serve kosher food (*Tagebuch* 48).

Damascus was best in this respect; the people he had met there were mostly not scholars in the narrow sense of the word but merchants and, in one way or the other, members of the local middle class who were deeply embedded in their tradition and eagerly willing to learn more about it. Egypt was already different; Goldziher complained about the Westernization of its ruling class, and at a certain moment he agitated, as he says, “in the bazaars against the preference given to the Europeans” by the Egyptian government.<sup>46</sup> Worst of all was Constantinople; he despised the town because of its promiscuity. He had learned Turkish, and he understood it; but he never showed any pleasure in using it. To him this language was mainly an idiom of commerce and administration. Turks belonging to the high society did not pray, he noticed.<sup>47</sup> Istanbul looked to him like the “great Jew-town of the Muslims”.<sup>48</sup> When he wrote this down he anticipated the repugnance he was going to feel against his superiors at Budapest whom he would have to serve as a communal secretary for thirty years. They were merchants, and they were Neologs, but devoid of any religious interest as it seemed to him.<sup>49</sup> Even Jerusalem left him cold. It is true that he calls it the “Holy City” in his diary, but he does so in English, which gives the expression, in its German context, a rather sarcastic ring.<sup>50</sup> He wanted to emphasize that the town was dominated by English and American missionaries obsessed by the idea of converting the local Jews.<sup>51</sup> These, on the other hand, were in his view “nothing but disgusting people”. He did not believe the Jews to form a “people” of their own, as had done Ḥātam Sōfēr and some of his disciples<sup>52</sup>; throughout his life he remained at a distance from political Zionism.<sup>53</sup>

III. But if he was convinced that the Arab world where it was most homogeneous would be able to organically reform itself, where did he then notice signs of this

<sup>46</sup> The occasion was somewhat unusual: the Viceroy’s celebrating the wedding of his daughter (*Tagebuch* 71). European guests were certainly welcome to admire the splendour and progressiveness of the country and its rulers.

<sup>47</sup> *Diary* 104.

<sup>48</sup> *Ib.* 96; cf. Conrad in: Netton (ed.), *Golden Roads* 113.

<sup>49</sup> When he finally got his professorship in 1905 he is reported to have taken leave from them with a pun on Exodus 31:17 which shows his estrangement quite clearly (Patai, *Jews of Hungary* 395).

<sup>50</sup> *Diary* 133.

<sup>51</sup> With deep indignation he described the methods which they used with regard to the Jewish community in Damascus in order to achieve this (*Tagebuch* 61).

<sup>52</sup> Pietsch 93.

<sup>53</sup> *Diary* 70; cf. J. Pedersen in his preface to J. Somogyi’s edition of Goldziher’s *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. I, p. viii, and Conrad in *JRAS* 1990, 262 f. He shared, however, with Theodor Herzl his disgust with Jerusalem and its Jewish inhabitants (cf. Herzl’s *Diary* s.a. 1898: *Briefe und Tagebücher*, ed. A. Bein et al., vol. II, Berlin-Frankfurt-Wien 1983, 680 ff.). For a deeper analysis of the development inside Hungarian Judaism cf. Patai, *Jews of Hungary* 328 ff.

development? Not in the renewal of language and literature which took place in the *nahḍa*, the „renaissance“ initiated by Christian authors and scholars in Beirut. “I must confess that I am unable to like the Christian Arabs”, he says in his diary. Again it was the influence of the Protestant missionaries which was not to his taste: “This pietistic rabble makes a depressing impression on the European. It is a false education, a degeneration of the original racy Arabism”.<sup>54</sup> What he was looking for was rather a combination of Arabic literature and Islamic religion, and this he only found in Damascus. But he drew the dividing line between backwardness and reform in a way different from latter-day revivalism. He did not think in terms of puritanism; Wahhābism was still far away. What he saw at work among cultivated Syrian Muslims seems rather to have been freemasonry. He alludes to it several times, without any sign of indignation or criticism; freemasonry was at his period a common phenomenon among intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire as it was in Europe.<sup>55</sup> It was interconfessional, and Muslim reformers adhered to it, Jamāladdīn al-Afghānī for instance or Muḥammad ‘Abduh.<sup>56</sup>

In Damascus the trend apparently emerged out of enlightened Sufism. This was due to the influence of the famous Amīr ‘Abdalqādir (d. 1300/1883), the former leader of the Algerian resistance who, via France, had come to live in the town since 1855. He was a fervent adherent of Ibn ‘Arabī; he edited his *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, and he was buried next to him in the mosque built over Ibn ‘Arabī’s tomb by Sultan Selim in a suburb of Damascus (Ṣāliḥiyya). But he also became a member of the local lodge in 1864.<sup>57</sup> He sent his sons to Europe, to Italy and even to the country against which he had fought, to France; one of them became the grand master of the Syrian lodge, and Goldziher was quite familiar with him.<sup>58</sup> Another case is even

<sup>54</sup> *Diary* 110; cf. Conrad in: Netton (ed.), *Golden Roads* 114.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. J. M. Landau in: *El<sup>2</sup>, Suppl.* 296 f. s. v. *Farmāsūniyya*; now also Paul Dumont, ‘Freemasonry in Turkey. A by-product of Western penetration’, in: *European Review* 13 (2005) 481-493; also, extensively though restricted to Iran, H. Azinfar e.a. in: *Elr* X 205 ff. s.v. *Freemasonry*.

<sup>56</sup> Cf., in more detail, F. Steppat, ‘Eine Bewegung unter den Notablen Syriens 1877-78’, in: W. Voigt (ed.), *Vorträge 17. Deutscher Orientalistentag, ZDMG Suppl. I.* Wiesbaden 1969, 631 ff. (reprinted in: *Islam als Partner. Islamkundliche Aufsätze 1944-1996*, Beirut 2001, 150 ff., particularly 162 ff.) and W. Ende, ‘Waren Afghānī und ‘Abduh Agnostiker?’, ib., 650 ff., particularly 652 f.

<sup>57</sup> Landau, ib.

<sup>58</sup> *Diary* 123 and 127; *Tagebuch* 59, immediately before his enthusiastic remarks about Islam (see above, n. 25). It was this son, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdalqādir b. Muḥyiddīn (1256/1840-1331/1913) who wrote the biography of his father (*Tuḥfat al-zā’ir fī ma’āthir al-amīr ‘Abdalqādir*); he died in Istanbul and was known as Muḥammad Pasha (cf. *GAL* S 2/887; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu’jam al-mu’allifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957-1381/1961, vol. X, 184; Ziriklī, *Alām*, <sup>3</sup>Beirut 1969, VII. 82). For the genealogy and a short history of the family cf. L. Schatkowski Schilcher, *Families in Politics. Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Stuttgart 1985, 215 ff.

more astonishing. A certain Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī, “a venerable Arab”, as Goldziher says, with whom he had “concluded a covenant of friendship”, probably a distant relative of the revivalist mentioned above<sup>59</sup>, but again a Freemason and a lover of Sufism, owner of an impressive collection of manuscripts<sup>60</sup>, wanted to share with him his admiration for 'Umar Khayyām, the Persian mystical poet and sceptic whom he had come to know through a French translation.<sup>61</sup> This representative of Syrian Islam and Damascene bourgeoisie was not afraid to have a meal with him during Ramaḍān when the other people were fasting. It is true that he did so secretly, in Goldziher's apartment, not in his own house, and Goldziher, in retrospect, called him “the arch-hypocrite” for that.<sup>62</sup> But when Goldziher wrote his diary he was still in another mood. Though noting, with certain amusement, that Sibā'ī tried to convert him to his masonic ideas<sup>63</sup> he agreed with him in regarding the *tarāwīḥ* prayers, a wide-spread feature of popular Sufi piety in Ramaḍān<sup>64</sup>, as a mere “comedy”.<sup>65</sup> Only at a more advanced age, in his *Tagebuch*<sup>66</sup>, did he assume a different attitude.

Muslim intellectuals, at that time, were in Damascus still under the impact of the riots in July 1860, when, in the wake of quarrels between Druzes and Maronites in southern Lebanon, a Muslim mob had invaded the Christian quarters of the town and massacred part of the population; the Amīr 'Abdalqādir, by his intervention, had saved some hundreds of human lives at that moment.<sup>67</sup> During Goldziher's visit the Algerian circle had been joined by the young Ṭāhir al-Jazā'irī (1268/1852-1338/1920), a “somber Maghrebi”<sup>68</sup> whose father had come to Damascus some time before the Amīr, in 1846.<sup>69</sup> He introduced Goldziher to his teacher 'Abdalghanī b. Ṭālib al-Maydānī (1222/1808-1298/1881), a Ḥanafī jurist of pure Damascene

<sup>59</sup> The Sibā'īs are found all over Syria. The revivalist was born into a branch of the family who lived at Ḥimṣ (Reissner, *Muslimbrüder* [n. 10, above], 121). The person whom Goldziher met in Damascus originated from there and was inspector of the *awqāf* for the Holy Places at Mecca and Medina (*Tagebuch* 58); he was still alive, at a rather advanced age, in 1914 when Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī visited Goldziher at Budapest (ib. 282 where, however, Kurd 'Alī appears as 'Alī Kurdī; cf. *EP* V 437 f.).

<sup>60</sup> Kaḥḥāla mentions him as the author of a treatise on manuscripts or paleography (*Mu'jam al-mu'allifin* XII 253 f.); as far as the date of Sibā'ī's death is concerned he does not have any additional information.

<sup>61</sup> *Diary* 114 f.; cf. also 120.

<sup>62</sup> *Tagebuch* 60.

<sup>63</sup> *Diary* 126.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *EP* X 222 s. v.

<sup>65</sup> *Diary* 123.

<sup>66</sup> 58.

<sup>67</sup> Schatkowsky Schilcher, *Families in Politics* 87 ff.

<sup>68</sup> *Diary* 119.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. J. H. Escovitz, 'He was the Muḥammad 'Abduh of Syria. A study of Ṭāhir al-Jazā'irī and his Influence', *IJMES* 18 (1986), 293 ff.; also W. Ende, *Arabische Nation und islamische Geschichte*, Beirut 1977, 60 ff.; Ziriklī III 320.

origin.<sup>70</sup> Sufism in the style of Ibn ‘Arabī was not particularly to his liking, but he nourished certain sympathies for the Mu‘tazilites<sup>71</sup> and, in this respect, partook in the neo-Mu‘tazilī movement which developed among Arab thinkers of this period and was duly taken into account by Goldziher in his later work<sup>72</sup>. All through his life he regarded Goldziher as much of a friend as he did Muḥammad ‘Abduh<sup>73</sup>.

IV. And what about Ḥadīth? In the Oriental Diary Ḥadīth is almost totally absent. Syrian scholars did not yet regard it as a vehicle of reform; Jamāladdīn al-Qāsimī who afterwards wrote an influential book in this direction which earned Rashīd Ridā’s praise<sup>74</sup>, was only seven years old when Goldziher visited Damascus.<sup>75</sup> Ṭāhir al-Jazā’irī praised the Mu‘tazilites for having “bypassed the nitpicking of the *muḥaddithūn*”.<sup>76</sup> In order to get a clearer perspective of the actual situation we therefore have to look at another area: India. Among the Muslims of the subcontinent the adherents of the prophetic tradition had joined up in a movement of reformist character, the Ahl-i Ḥadīth<sup>77</sup> which however, in the seventies of the nineteenth century, came under attack from another reformer who, because of his bold views, quickly won considerable fame among European orientalis: Aḥmad Khan (1817-1898)<sup>78</sup>. He thought that the Ahl-i Ḥadīth proceeded from the wrong angle. Reason alone should rather be followed, together with the Qur’ān; Ḥadīth, on the contrary, even as far as it had been preserved in the canonical collections, would always be subject to doubt<sup>79</sup>. Aḥmad Khan had become acquainted with the orientalist approach to Ḥadīth through people like Aloys Sprenger (1813-93), an Austrian scholar who had lived in India for more than twelve years<sup>80</sup>, or Protestant

<sup>70</sup> *Tagebuch* 58 (where Ṭāhir al-Jazā’irī seems to be meant by the somewhat mysterious “junge maghrebische Theologe” mentioned there); *Diary* 124 and 126 (where ‘Abdalghani appears in wrong transcription as ‘Abd al-Jānī); Escovitz 294; cf. Kaḥḥāla V 274 f. and Zirikli IV 159.

<sup>71</sup> Escovitz 299 f.

<sup>72</sup> *Vorlesungen über den Islam*<sup>2</sup> 291. English translation by A. and R. Hamori, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, Princeton 1981, 262; cf. R. Caspar, ‘Le renouveau du mu‘tazilisme’. *MIDEO* 4 (1957), 141 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Escovitz 297; cf. Conrad in *JRAS* 1990, 240 f.

<sup>74</sup> *Qawā'id al-taḥdīth min fann muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*; Damascus 1935 (and earlier?), with an introduction by Rashīd Ridā.

<sup>75</sup> He lived from 1283/1866 to 1332/1914 (cf. Zirikli, *A'lām* 3II 131 > Kaḥḥāla III 157 f., XI 220 and XIII 420; Brockelmann, *GAL* S 2/777).

<sup>76</sup> Escovitz 299.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *EP* I 259 f. s. v.

<sup>78</sup> Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964*, Oxford 1967, 31 ff.; *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* I 57 f.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. D. Brown, *Rethinking tradition in modern Islamic thought* (above, n. 16), 32 ff.

<sup>80</sup> On him now M. Ikram Chagatai in: *Austrian Scholarship in Pakistan. A Symposium dedicated to the memory of Aloys Sprenger*, Islamabad 1997, 9 ff. For Ḥadīth especially

missionaries like William Muir (1819-1905) who had made clear to him that only the Scripture (*sola scriptura*) could be a basis for serious religious discussion.<sup>81</sup> Goldziher had probably heard about Aḥmad Khan rather early; later on, in his *Vorlesungen*, lectures which he had been supposed to deliver in America and which were published in 1910, he mentions him as “one of the leaders of the spiritual movement for the reorganisation of Islam”, an Islam which “– in the rationalist form, to be sure, which these men represent – has a right to life amidst the currents of modern civilization”.<sup>82</sup>

This gives us the answer to our question. The marriage between East and West had just started, and the Muslims had not yet discovered how uneasy it was. Sir Aḥmad Khan’s experiment ultimately failed; in our days only Mu‘ammar al-Qadhafī thinks that Islam would do better without Hadīth or the Sunna.<sup>83</sup> Jamāladdīn al-Afghānī (whom Goldziher had met in Cairo<sup>84</sup>) was among the first to attack the Indian approach from outside.<sup>85</sup> In the long run, the existential roots of the Sunna turned out to be too deep. The entire juridical system was built upon Hadīth, which means not only law as we understand it but also matters of communal identity and ritual practice, the so-called *sunna ‘amaliyya*; Rashīd Riḍā never dared touch this sector.<sup>86</sup> Riḍā’s teacher Muḥammad ‘Abduh had been even more conservative; he accepted Hadīth as a whole, with certain reservations only concerning the *āḥād*, i.e. prophetic traditions which were known by means of one *isnād* alone.<sup>87</sup> Such limited criticism was nothing new.<sup>88</sup> Where ‘Abduh had new ideas, however, he

cf. A. Sprenger, ‘On the Origin of Writing Down Historical Records among the Musulmans’, *JRAS Bengal* 25 (1856), 303 ff. and 375 ff.; also the chapter about “Die Sunna” in the introduction to his book *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, Berlin 1861-65, xxvii ff.

<sup>81</sup> Brown 34 f.; like Sprenger, Muir wrote a biography of Muḥammad, the first one in English as Sprenger’s was the first one (according to modern standards) in German.

<sup>82</sup> *Vorlesungen*<sup>2</sup> 290 f.; English translation 262. Cf. also his remark in *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, 319 f. Aziz Ahmad states the close affinity between Ahmad Khan’s and Goldziher’s position (*Islamic Modernism* 49); when reacting against Muir and Sprenger, however, the Indian reformer could sound rather apologetical (cf. the analysis by Ch. W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan. A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*, New Delhi 1978, 132 ff.).

<sup>83</sup> R. Badry, *Die Entwicklung der Dritten Universaltheorie (DUT) Mu‘ammar al-Qaddāfīs in Theorie und Praxis*, Frankfurt 1986, 201 ff.

<sup>84</sup> Conrad in *JRAS* 1990, 241.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Aziz Ahmad, ‘Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Jamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī and Muslim India’, *SI* 13 (1960), 55 ff.

<sup>86</sup> Brown 41.

<sup>87</sup> *Ib.* 37.

<sup>88</sup> The *āḥād* problem was an old topic of *uṣūl al-fiqh*; cf. my *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra* (1-6, Berlin-New York 1991-97), vol. IV, 651 f. where

sometimes induced repercussions which were in favour of Ḥadīth. In his *Risāla fī l-tawḥīd* he enhanced the historical role of the Prophet, as a cultural hero as it were. This shift which put the emphasis on earthly and temporal reality instead of preexistent perfection (as expressed in the concept of the *insān al-kāmil*) was inspired by Western historicism, but as a result of it the *sunna nabawiyya* became all the more indispensable, as a symbol of authority and a proof for the clear-sightedness of the founder of the community.

This process could, in all its complexity, not have been foreseen by Goldziher in 1873. And although he never lost a keen sociological interest in the success and failure of modern Islam<sup>89</sup>, he could not entirely forget the emotions of his youth. When visiting Cairo again, with a group of Hungarian school-teachers, in 1896, he was disappointed by the development of higher education in the country. He went to see al-Azhar, incognito and accompanied by a single student, and silently listened to a few lecture courses, reminiscing about the past. But he was shocked when, now as an official guest, he was shown around in the Dār al-‘ulūm which had been founded one year before his first trip and, in the meantime, had become a serious competitor to the older institution.<sup>90</sup> The religious education offered there, subsumed under the title of *diyāna* instead of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* or *fiqh*, reminded him of the *Fortschrittsjuden*, the “progress Jews” of his own country, and he was not pleased.<sup>91</sup> Fundamentally he never ceased being convinced that he was in tune with the Islamic world. “The adherents of Islam can only raise themselves to a higher level of religious life if they study their religion in a historical way”, he said.<sup>92</sup> Just as in his youth, he always imagined the danger to be coming from outside. In a letter to S. A. Poznanski which he wrote in 1921, shortly before his death, he complained about the “self-denying modernism” which had befallen Islam; this was the reason why he doubted “their understanding for the things which they should be taught”.<sup>93</sup> He did not yet realize that he was standing between the fronts, and the conflict was still a matter of the future.

the beginnings of the discussion about it are briefly described and where further references are given.

<sup>89</sup> For more on this topic cf. G. Stauth, ‘Frühe Ansätze zu einer Soziologie des Islams: Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) und Max Weber (1864-1920)’, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 15 (1990), 38 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *Elʿ* II 131 f. s. v.

<sup>91</sup> *Tagebuch* 198 f.

<sup>92</sup> ‘Die Religion des Islams’, in: P. Hinneberg, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* I, Abt. 3 (1906), 142; quoted in J. Waardenburg, *L’Islam dans le miroir de l’Occident*, Paris 1962, 97.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. the quotation given by S. D. Goitein, *Goldziher left mikhtāvāw* (“Goldziher as seen through his letters”, in Hebrew), in: S. Löwinger and J. Somogyi (eds.), *Goldziher Memorial Volume* I. Budapest 1948, 22.

# GOLDZIHHER AND MAGIC IN ISLAM

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Speaking about Goldziher's incomparable oeuvre in the field of Islamic studies it has become a commonplace to state that he practically enriched almost all of its aspects with works which will never become obsolete or degraded to play simply the role of the building stones in the history of a science which was born mainly due to his scholarly efforts.

In the present paper we wish to focus on his works which can be related in a way to magic. It is not, however, our aim to present a complete inventory of all his studies which deal with this subject directly or indirectly. Instead, we prefer to concentrate on some of the most important ones, which shed light on his attitude to the subject and represent well his contribution to the advancement of studies on magic in Islam. The selection of this particular subject can be explained by two reasons. The first is the fact that academic interest in magic in general and in the magic of the Greco-Roman world and in Judaism in particular has increasingly risen in recent decades.<sup>1</sup> The second can be led back to Goldziher's own age when the discovery of ancient civilisations and the so-called primitive peoples directed both scholarly and public attention to magic. In trying to evaluate the importance of Goldziher's works in this field we must set them first within the framework of contemporaneous research.

1. If we wish to characterize this period from the point of view of linguistics, religious and anthropological or sociological studies in a very cursory and consequently insufficient way we must evoke such names as Max Müller, Edward Tylor, Andrew Lang, James Frazer, Henri Hubert, Marcel Mauss and Max Weber to cite but the most important ones. On a general theoretical level this was the age when Darwin and the general idea of evolutionism made their influence felt even in the human sciences.<sup>2</sup> There was a marked difference between linguists or mythologists on the one side and anthropologists on the other in their approach to the study of myth, religion or magic.

<sup>1</sup> Neusner (1989), 11-24.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief survey of their activities, see the entries in *IESS* and Stocking (1995).



Müller was the foremost exponent of comparative mythology and the main representative of the solar theory, which claimed that it is by the linguistic study of the appellations of the Sun and its opposite that we can interpret the different expressions in the myths. This theory included also the germ of a degenerationist view which maintained that there was an original monotheism and this was later corrupted to become polytheism.

Tylor was an ardent follower of evolutionism who found the origin of religion in animism and firmly believed in the importance of the study of survivals with the help of a comparative method.

Hubert and Mauss in their epoch-making work on the theory of magic published in 1902 considered Frazer as the most important representative of the anthropological school to which Tylor, Lyall, Lang and others belonged. Summing up the main points of Frazer's views concerning magic, Mauss stressed the following points.<sup>3</sup> He looked at magic as a "kind of pre-science", and for him magical actions were brought about by "the application of two laws of sympathetic magic – the law of similarity and the law of contiguity". According to Frazer magic was "the earliest form of human thought". Magical thinking, however, was based on a false, magical causality. So, when man realized the failures of magic, he turned to religion representing a higher degree in the evolutionary scheme. The difference between the two lies in the fact that "magic forces and constrains, while religion conciliates". Finally, "noting the errors of religion" man turned to science based on "experimental causality".

In contrast to Frazer who concentrated on the "structure" of the magical rite, Hubert and Mauss gave priority to the circumstances which accompanied the rite. In Mauss' opinion these offered the criteria which distinguished magic from religion: the agent, the practitioner, was not a priest and performed the act in "isolation" and "secrecy". Accordingly, in Mauss' own words "A magical rite is *any rite which does not play a part in organized cults* – it is private, secret, mysterious and approaches the limit of a prohibited rite".<sup>4</sup> As a final conclusion Mauss stressed the importance of magic as a social phenomenon and emphasized that it "works in the same way as do our techniques, crafts, medicine, chemistry, industry, etc".<sup>5</sup>

In connection with this social aspect of magic we cannot omit a reference to Weber who in his path-breaking study on Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism showed the relationship between religious ideas on the one hand and social and economic activities on the other.

Among the Arabists we have to mention Edmond Doutté, who took part in the scholarly debate about the relationship between magic, religion and science. In his main work, which was the first and practically the last comprehensive study on

<sup>3</sup> Mauss (2001), 15.

<sup>4</sup> Mauss (2001), 30.

<sup>5</sup> Mauss (2001), 175.

magic in the Arab world, he criticized Frazer's basic ideas mostly in accordance with Hubert and Mauss.<sup>6</sup>

II. It is against this background that we have to examine Goldziher's attitude to magic in the light of his works related to the subject. His first masterpiece, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* published in 1876, shows his enthusiastic commitment to the theory of solar mythology. As he confesses: "In mythological affairs I acknowledge myself a pupil of the school established on the Aryan domain by Ad. Kuhn and Max Müller. Only in certain points, which, however, occasionally touch upon first principles, I have been compelled to differ from the masters of Comparative Mythology. It may be boldly asserted that, especially through Max Müller's literary labours, Comparative Mythology and the Science of Religion have been added to those chapters of human knowledge with which certain borderlands of science cannot dispense, and which can claim to have become an essential portion of general culture."<sup>7</sup> After this, however, in his later works we never again come across such an approach, which is so deeply rooted in a holistic theory. But his interest in the great questions of contemporary research remained permanent as his reviews of books and articles written in Hungarian attest it. Seemingly, his main concern was to make Hungarian public acquainted with the latest achievements in the field of comparative mythology, comparative linguistics and the science of religion.

In a book review<sup>8</sup> published in 1877 about the Hungarian translations of works by Max Müller and George Cox dealing with linguistics and mythology he seizes the opportunity to express his ideas about the historical evolution of myth. He stresses that there is a difference between "the myth and the religion of ancient man". In his view there was a phase in the development of myth when the individualized and personified figures of myth (representing originally natural phenomena) became "theological, i.e. religious figures, gods and semi-gods". Referring to his *Mythos* he reiterates that religion represents a higher degree in the evolution of myth: "The end of the life of the myth coincides with the moment at which is formed out of the elements of the myth a *religious* conception of the world peopled with gods. The living and conscious existence of the myth is finished when the mythical figures become gods. Theology hurls the myth from its throne. But this is the end only of the living existence of the primitive myth; the myth transfigured and newly interpreted in a religious sense lives on, and only now begins to pass through a rich and various series of stages of development, each marked by a corresponding stage of the religion and civilisation of the men who possess it. There then spring from mythic elements sagas, fables, tales, and legends. And as religion in its primal origin appears in history not in opposition to myths, but as a higher development of them,

<sup>6</sup> Douffé (1909), 307-350. See also *ET*, s. v. "sihr".

<sup>7</sup> Goldziher (1877a), xiv. I used the English translation for references.

<sup>8</sup> Goldziher (1877b).

the life of religion does not absolutely exclude that of myths. There remain, beside the myth which has been transformed into religion, other portions of the mythic matter which religion has not yet touched, and these live on as myths, so long as the process of religious transformation has not drawn them into its domain.<sup>9</sup> Pure and free Monotheism in its highest development is the first force that comes forward as a denial of the mythic elements in religion”.<sup>10</sup>

Two years later, in 1879, he again defends comparative mythology saying that it showed the way to recognize “the process of the birth, the change, the growth and the disintegration of myth” on the basis of positive facts.<sup>11</sup> He claims that this theory is gaining ground among linguists and psychologists but cannot convince ethnographers who in their researches do not take as a starting point the great civilized peoples and their literatures which present the process of ordinary evolution but turn rather to the savage peoples whose spiritual life and languages are not yet known in a satisfactory way. In this respect Goldziher sharply criticizes Spencer who, relying on the theory of animism expounded by Tylor in a detailed way, proposes that all the religions and mythologies and even rituals and superstitions should be traced back to the cult of ancestors and spirits. According to Goldziher, who clearly differentiates between myth and religion, this theory may help to understand the origin of religious cult but does not give a clue to the interpretation of myths. Goldziher then goes as far as stating that the origins of the traditions about the immortality of the spirit and other eschatological ideas together with the cult of ancestors should be sought in the solar theory. In his arguing, the best proof for this can be found in the fact that the so-called culture myth traces back all the cultural factors and institutions to the Sun and its heroes and the figures of Adam in the mythologies have a solar character. Curiously enough, in the first section of this article Goldziher rebukes those who, as the extremist followers of the solar theory, practically serve the cause of the enemies of comparative mythology. As for the cult of the ancestors, Goldziher accepts its importance but only as one aspect in the rich and multi-coloured life of feelings. These are called into life and preserved by religion and their origin can be discovered in a moral emotion. Namely, the latter creates piety and has nothing to do with the ideas of religion, which developed from myth and is mostly related to natural phenomena. With a similar reasoning Goldziher also rejects the theory of the positivist philosophy which supposes that fetishism was the first stage in the religious development followed by polytheism and finally by monotheism. His main argument against this theory is that positivists ignore the birth of myths, which is closely related to the birth of language and both of them can be interpreted within the framework of folk psychology.

<sup>9</sup> Goldziher (1876), 63; cf. *ibid.* 264ff.

<sup>10</sup> Goldziher (1877a), 51.

<sup>11</sup> Goldziher (1879).

In 1881 Goldziher publishes an article about the state of the comparative science of religion, which was founded by Max Müller.<sup>12</sup> According to Goldziher, this discipline takes its starting point from that phenomenon of psychic life from which the different religions emanate. It deals with those laws which can be deduced from the evolution of these religions. He also remarks that the philosophers who created comprehensive theories – like Schelling, the master of Müller in philosophy who penetrated most into the substance of religion, and Hegel – could not ignore the phenomena of religious development but they looked upon religions and the various stages of their development as existing in a given form, then compared them to their own ideas and created classifications for the religious evolution. Then Goldziher criticizes again sharply the representatives of the “fetishists” and “animists”, particularly Comte and Spencer, who base their ideas concerning the evolution of religion mainly on travellers’ reports about savage peoples and reject the method of the science of religion. In contrast to their approach, the latter is founded on the law established by comparative mythology with the help of comparative linguistics. In this way, comparative mythology can discover the appellations of natural phenomena behind the proper names and expressions of the mythologies of the Aryan, Semitic and Turanic peoples. This stage represents the first level of religious development, which reaches its final phase with pure monotheism leaving behind polytheism. This can happen either as the result of an inner development (as in the case of the ancient Hebrews) or through an outer influence (as in the case of non-Muslim peoples who were converted to Islam). With the advent of monotheism, the ancient traditions will be transformed in the spirit of the new ideas and the main figures of the former polytheism become saints and miracle-workers who retain their earlier superhuman positions. In connection with the general scheme of religious development, Goldziher clearly refutes the theory of degeneration which believed in the existence of a primitive monotheism which was later corrupted to polytheism. He also points out that Hume was the first to present the direction of religious evolution as a progress from polytheism towards monotheism. Finally, Goldziher notes with satisfaction that Müller, his ideal in comparative mythology, joined Hume’s followers leaving behind the camp of degenerationists.

In 1892 Goldziher gave a lecture on the connections of the science of religions with ethnography.<sup>13</sup> At first he reviewed the theory of Abraham Kuenen about the difference between the so-called universal religion and the national religion which represent two distinct forms of the religious phenomenon. Universal religion is not limited to its place of birth but aspires to spread its general ideas about moral truth and society among a wide circle of different peoples. In contrast to this, national religion lives together with a particular nation, changes with it and does not wish to go beyond its original boundaries. At a certain period of history, universal religion

<sup>12</sup> Goldziher (1881).

<sup>13</sup> Goldziher (1892).

takes the place of national religion which becomes a kind of lower stratum under the upper covering layer of universal religion. This does not mean, however, that the national religion will be totally relinquished because it will assume a new role. The traditions of the national religion will continue to exist as actively as their inner energy and force lent by national conscience make it possible. The science of religions studies the influences which the national traditions exert on the universal religion. The reaction of the national religions within the universal religion is evidently an ethnographic phenomenon as far as it reveals specific traits of the national existence within the framework of the universal progress of humanity.

In Goldziher's opinion there are several ethnographic phenomena which can be discovered among the reactions of the national religions. The first, which is the most important and the most interesting, concerns the so-called *residua*, the survivals. Namely, some elements of the destroyed national religion survive within the conquering universal religion which cannot but accept them in a reinterpreted form and this can be considered as a positive process.

The second is less positive in the sense that certain rudiments of the national religion survive as *superstitions* not sanctioned by the new religion or even banned by it. These form the hidden elements of the popular religion. In this connection Goldziher refers to the figure of the hand which as an amulet protects against the evil eye and can be found everywhere in the Islamic world from Spain to Syria. According to him it is interpreted as the hand of Muḥammad or ʿAlī but its origin can be traced back to the monuments of ancient Carthage. As a further example of this category of the survivals, Goldziher mentions the ostrich eggs which frequently decorate mosques in Egypt and elsewhere. This egg is nothing else than an important symbol of ancient religions and originally referred to the idea that the world was created from an egg. Egyptian Muslims must have taken over this custom from the Copts, who also hang ostrich eggs in their churches.

Another mode of the reaction on the part of the national religion appears in the *differentiation* of the universal religion. Examples for this are offered by the Coptic church, which has some characteristics of ancient Egyptian origin, or Shiʿism, in which elements of ancient Indo-German myths can be discovered in the cult of ʿAlī and his two sons (ʿAlī is thundering like the main gods of the Indo-Germans).

The reaction of the national religion can also be discovered in the mixing of the religions. Goldziher cites the tradition of the Beregwata tribe, which calls God "Bakesh" instead of Allah. This proper name conceals the word "Bacax", which was the name of the main deity of North Africa in Roman times.

Finally, the *cult of saints* must be mentioned since it reflects the influence of the national religions on the universal religions in the most evident way. This means that the ancient national deities and heroes survive as saints in the universal religion, the ancient sanctuaries are transformed into tombs of saints and become places of

pilgrimage. Evidence for this phenomenon can be discovered everywhere in the Islamic world.<sup>14</sup>

In 1899 Goldziher commented on the programme of the *Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions*, which was to be convened in Paris in 1900.<sup>15</sup> At first, he stressed that it showed the importance attributed to the historical aspect of the researches on the religions, then greeted the fact that a special section would be dedicated to the popular cults and popular religion of Egypt. While popular beliefs, traditions and superstitions were earlier neglected, the newly discovered papyri, *ex-voto* inscriptions and other monuments made their study possible by now. In conclusion, Goldziher emphasized that the congress would not deal with the speculative elements of the science of religions and rightly leave their discussion to the philosophers and theologians.

III. The theoretical background outlined above can help us to understand or interpret Goldziher's attitude and method when he treats questions related to magic in a number of articles. As we can see, on the level of a kind of theoretical approach he was deeply influenced by the idea of *survivals*. As for the case of magic, he thought that questions related to it should be mainly treated within the field of ethnography.<sup>16</sup> As a matter of fact, Goldziher's attitude in this respect coincides with the view of present-day Muslim theologians.

In the following we wish to offer a brief survey of some of his relevant works trying to show how much they reflect the general structure of the magical procedure. In the classical Islamic period the main elements of this procedure are the magician, his acts and the materials he may use.<sup>17</sup> The acts themselves can be divided into two kinds: the first is related to the preparatory and accompanying actions (*praxis*) which can be found in a fully developed magical procedure, the second concerns its oral part (*logos*), the incantation or adjuration recited by the magician. So, the magician prepares himself by fasting according to a special diet, going to seclusion and burning incenses. The incantation serves to call in the spirits by the force of their frequently unintelligible names and then to order them to fulfil the practitioner's wish. In the end, the spirits should be dismissed. During the whole procedure the magician may be exposed to danger, so he is frequently advised to protect himself by wearing an amulet or drawing a circle around himself.

On the basis of their contents, Goldziher's contributions to magic can be divided into two groups. The first deals with the practice in the Jähiliyya and the earliest Islamic times, while the second is connected to the fully developed magical tradition in the later Islamic period.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g. Mayeur-Jaouen (1994), 102-106.

<sup>15</sup> Goldziher (1899).

<sup>16</sup> For Goldziher and ethnography, see Heller (1922).

<sup>17</sup> For the structure of the magical procedure, see e.g. *RE* I, 29-93; Suppl. I, 3-4; s.v. "Aberglaube". Cf. also *NP* VII, 657-673; s.v. "Magie".

In one of his most genial works, the *Abhandlungen*, Goldziher examines the origin of Arabic poetry and finds it in the magical functions of the poet, the *shā'ir*.<sup>18</sup> He gives a full description of the social circumstances, which gave the background to the poet's activities. According to his perfect analysis, the poet held an important position within the tribe not because of his poetic talent but because of his supernatural, mystical knowledge, which was necessary for his position. He was the seer of the tribe, a diviner, a magician. He decided the time of wandering and the time of stopping, he gave advice in war. He was similar to the *kāhin*, the priest, but in contrast to the latter, his activities were not limited to the precincts of the sanctuary. His most important task, however, was the reciting of the *hijā'*, a magic spell, a rhymed curse which he received by inspiration from his jinn. In its original form *hijā'* played an active role in the tribal wars and was even more important than arms. The poet was like a warrior who was thought to be able to destroy physically the adversary by curses, which functioned as his arrows shot at the back of the enemy's neck. Goldziher, as a devoted philologist, proves all of these statements by a fascinating exposition of linguistic data and presents the vocabulary of the technical terms relating to the activities of the poet.

Seemingly, Goldziher had a manifest interest in the earliest forms of magical practice which did not involve the element of writing. This inclination is reflected in his articles in which he deals with customs related to the evil eye, the use of water and iron against demons, or the practice of fertility rites centred upon certain stones.<sup>19</sup>

Concerning the evil eye it is worth mentioning that he calls attention to a preparatory element preceding the act of directing the eye to something when he relates that the members of the Asad tribe who were specialists in this field fasted for three days before the operation.<sup>20</sup> Goldziher also cites some short, rhythmical, rhymed spells, which represent the oldest layer of these kind of magical adjurations.

As for water, Goldziher examines the well-known custom of wishing the fall of abundant rain on the tomb of the deceased and concludes that it can be traced back to the survival of pagan beliefs, which considered water as a prophylactic against demons.

A critical remark, however, against this generalization can be advanced in connection of one of his numerous ethnographic examples. He cites an article on superstitious practices in Syria which mentions also a Jewish practice. According to the description, if a child falls on the ground, his parents pour water on the place of his fall. Goldziher quotes the author who explains this by saying that the parents wanted to appease the demons who could have been hurt incidentally if the child happened to fall on them. Goldziher categorically rejects this interpretation and

<sup>18</sup> Goldziher (1895).

<sup>19</sup> Goldziher (1902), (1907), (1910b), and (1911).

<sup>20</sup> Goldziher (1902), 142.

insists that the purpose of pouring the water was the protection against the demons who caused the accident. In this case, however, his opinion was wrong since – as my own experience also attests to it – reconciliation of the invisible spirits who could be offended unintentionally is a constant worry for people.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the survivals of pre-Islamic elements in the oral part of magical practice, Goldziher pays also attention to certain gestures connected in a way to *ṣalāt*, prayer which preserved the memory of ancient magical acts.<sup>22</sup> In this respect his interest in the basic rite of religious life is not surprising since in his view the attitude of the believer during prayer reveals the main difference between religion and magic. Islamic *ṣalāt* demands the expression of the complete submission to the will of God in a sheer contrast to the behaviour of the pagan Arabs who showed a kind of freedom towards their gods. Examining the components of the prayer Goldziher focused particularly on the use of the index finger and the raising of the hands. As he shows, these actions performed by the finger or the hands must have originally made part of magic rituals which accompanied curses, so it is not surprising that their acceptance in *ṣalāt* and *duʿāʾ*, personal invocation, took some time due to the opposition of orthodox circles. Another gesture, wiping the face with the hand, could have been originally aimed at warding off the evil eye.

IV. Apart from the recognition of the importance of these survivals from paganism, Goldziher examined with a similar approach the phenomena which owed their existence to later influences which reached Islam when Muslims became acquainted with the spiritual heritage of the conquered territories. The knowledge of the *ʿulūm al-awāʾil*, “the sciences of the ancestors” started to spread during the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs. Among the foreign influences Goldziher attributes an eminent place to the introduction of Neoplatonic traditions which contained also occult elements and magical practices.<sup>23</sup> These developments contributed to create a second layer in magic. Šūfīs were particularly well disposed to receive these new ideas which offered a theoretical background to their asceticism. They also created their own allegoric interpretation of the Qurʾān and to legalize this esoterism they took over the Šīʿite idea that Muḥammad revealed the secret meaning of the text to ʿAlī. In their view, only the chosen ones should be initiated into these teachings.<sup>24</sup>

According to the testimony of the *Fihrist*, a fully developed system of magic came into being by the 10th century. As Goldziher shows, Islamic orthodoxy looked with hostility upon those who cultivated these new sciences. Fanatic purists declared everything which was disliked by them as *bidʿa*, “novelty”. Citing an interesting

<sup>21</sup> Goldziher (1910b), 40, n. 6. See also Blackman (2000), 186f, 199f on appeasing the demons.

<sup>22</sup> Goldziher (1906).

<sup>23</sup> Goldziher (1916a). [On this subject see Strohmaier’s contribution to the present volume. Ed.]

<sup>24</sup> Goldziher (1909), (1910a), *passim*.



incident, Goldziher refers to the case of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī’s grandson whose books – which contained the *Rasā’il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā’* and works on magic, astrology, cult of the stars and prayers to the planets – were put to fire publicly. Goldziher, however, reproaches Ibn Sīnā who believed in superstitious ideas and included such disciplines into the Aristotelian classification of sciences like physiognomy, dream interpretation, theurgy, alchemy, natural magic etc.<sup>25</sup>

This last remark shows that Goldziher, in spite of his statements about the relationship between Neoplatonism and Ṣūfism, did not find it important to stress the close association of the Ṣūfī masters with magical practices. This attitude is well manifested in the way he is treating the figure of al-Ghazālī when he comments on a famous magic work, the *Jafr ʿAlī*.<sup>26</sup> According to this, the secret contents of the book were revealed to ʿAlī at first, then to Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq and after him to al-Ghazālī. To find an appropriate explanation for al-Ghazālī’s role as a sorcerer, Goldziher writes the following: “Dans tout grand savant, l’admiration naïve des ignorants veut trouver un homme extraordinaire, voire même un sorcier. Il faut que son profond savoir l’ait fait pénétrer dans le monde du mystère.... Nous-mêmes, dans notre enfance, n’avons-nous pas su, avec nos camarades, tisser la toile des légendes où nous enveloppons certains de nos maîtres, dont la science profonde faisait l’objet de notre enfantine admiration? .... Le sage, l’homme qui a pénétré la nature des choses, doit être prophète ou sorcier... Le ‘restaurateur de la religion’ devait être en même temps un thaumaturge; il devait avoir eu part à la science que Dieu ne donne qu’à ses élus.”<sup>27</sup> This somewhat naïf explanation about an important aspect of Ṣūfī preoccupations exemplified in this case in al-Ghazālī’s activities is in striking contrast to the interpretation of the role of the pagan *shāʿir*.

Goldziher’s personal aversion to the visible manifestations of magical practices could be the reason for ignoring an important element in the magical procedures. When he catalogued the oriental manuscripts of the Hungarian National Library he found a highly interesting magic book and gave a rather detailed description of its contents.<sup>28</sup> The manuscript contained different works. One of these had the title

<sup>25</sup> Goldziher (1916a), 14.

<sup>26</sup> Goldziher (1909).

<sup>27</sup> Goldziher (1903), 14-15.

<sup>28</sup> Goldziher (1880), 33-37, No. XXXIX. As for the date of this magical manuscript, Goldziher rightly gave it as 1781 AD based on the Hijra year 1192 written in the MS (p. 36). When later he published a short article on Ṭumṭum al-Hindī, one of the pseudonym authors mentioned in the MS, strangely enough, he gave the date as 1681 amending the original Hijra year 1192 to 1092 (See Goldziher (1910c), 61). Of course, this is impossible. Goldziher did not give an explanation for this, but the reason could be found in the fact that the copyist’s name contained the *nīsba* Petchewī which can be considered as a reference to the city of Pécs in Southern Hungary, which was under Ottoman rule until the last third of the 17th century. So, it must have seemed possible that the Turk copyist lived in Ottoman Pécs. A hundred years later, when the city had already returned

*Riyādat al-Fātiḥa* which Goldziher translated into Hungarian as “The Exercise of the Fātiḥa” and added “because it contains prayers consisting of the circumscription of the Fātiḥa”. This explanation in itself is as meaningless in Hungarian as in English. *Riyāda* in this context refers to the preparatory actions, which precede visionary states in Ṣūfī practice. They aim at preparing the practitioner by disciplining his soul and body through such mortificatory acts as fasting, going to seclusion and reciting prayers (in the given case using the Fātiḥa) to receive visions or revelations. Ṣūfīs resorted to this very same procedure when they embarked upon a magical operation. As a matter of fact, we can find frequent references in the whole manuscript to important Ṣūfī masters, to *mashāyikh*, and to *ahl al-khalawāt*, “the people of seclusions”. All of them appear as the main actors in magical transactions indicating that Ṣūfī involvement in magical practices was a general phenomenon deeply rooted in society. Later, however, in his article on the magical elements of prayer, Goldziher refers to the same preparatory rites in connection to prayer but regards them as a prelude to miracle-working and omits any reference to their use in magical practice.<sup>29</sup>

After the *riyāda*, the practitioner had to invoke the supernatural powers by their names to make them appear and to make them obey the orders. The knowledge of these secret names, frequently in the form of unintelligible words, was of paramount importance for the magician. Among the frequently used magical names we can find the Hebrew formula of *Ehye Asher Ehye Adonai Šebaot El Šhaddai* in a distorted Arabic transcription and it was Goldziher who discovered the Biblical origin of this important component.<sup>30</sup> It is, however, strange that instead of using the above-mentioned magical manuscript, which offers a number of occurrences for these names, he relied on other literary sources. He also showed that the use of divine names in invocations appeared very early in Islam and this custom was later developed to replace the originally intelligible names by *nomina barbara*. As an example for the proliferation of the dealings with unintelligible divine names, Goldziher mentions the collection called *Da‘wat al-Jalālūtiyya*, which contains allegedly Syriac divine names. He, however, remarks that “Syriac” here and in other similar cases simply means “mysterious”.<sup>31</sup> For the sake of parallel cases he referred to the importance which divine names enjoyed in Egyptian and Assyrian incantations.<sup>32</sup>

As for the linguistic usage of the Arabic invocations, he dealt particularly with the terms by which the supernatural powers were addressed (like *‘azama*, *anshada*,

to Hungarian rule, this could not have been the case. Most probably, Goldziher preferred the earlier date because of this consideration. The solution of the problem could be that the copyist preserved his original name but lived somewhere in the Balkans.

<sup>29</sup> Goldziher (1906), 320-328.

<sup>30</sup> Goldziher (1894), 359.

<sup>31</sup> Goldziher (1906), 319.

<sup>32</sup> Goldziher (1906), 316.

*aqsama*) and showed their original connotations. Referring to such characteristics of the invocations as addressing God sometimes in a menacing, demanding way, and sometimes in a flattering mode, Goldziher touched upon some general traits of the magical operation.<sup>33</sup> To this category belongs the idea of “reversal” which can be discovered in the description of the ceremony of praying for rain (*istisqā'*) when the magician turns his outer garment inside out.<sup>34</sup>

Other possible elements of the magical procedure did not attract Goldziher's attention but in connection with the devices used to protect the magician, his article on the magical circles is another important contribution.<sup>35</sup>

V. Finally, we cannot omit to refer to a subjective element which might have influenced Goldziher's negative attitude towards the visible forms of magical customs as practiced by the *Ṣūfīs* of his age. His religious ideal was a pure monotheism, which he evidently could not reconcile with the reality of life what he personally experienced in the Middle East.<sup>36</sup> This is why he speaks with contempt about the wandering dervishes who lead an extravagant, loose life and avoid work.<sup>37</sup> In the light of this, it is not surprising that he frequently insults Vámbéry in his *Tagebuch* referring to him as the “lying Dervish”.<sup>38</sup>

In conclusion, we may rightly state that Goldziher in his works on magic offered us the example of a reliable scientific method of dealing with problems connected to magic which can be useful even now. On the other hand, the review of his relevant contributions shows that he outlined a history of magic in the Islamic world and set the basic directions of further research.

<sup>33</sup> Goldziher (1906), 313.

<sup>34</sup> Goldziher (1906), 311f.

<sup>35</sup> Goldziher (1916b), (1916c).

<sup>36</sup> Goldziher (1987), 98: “I also saw the dancing dervishes and again became disgusted with this pious swindle.”

<sup>37</sup> Goldziher (1910a), 168-169.

<sup>38</sup> Goldziher (1978), 215, cf. also 105, 129.

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# SOME OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE RECEPTION OF GOLDZIHHER'S WORKS IN GERMANY

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I. In the introduction to Goldziher's collected articles published in Germany between 1967 and 1973 Joseph de Somogyi expressed the hope that the revival of Islamic studies would result from the work of the past master.<sup>1</sup> Today it can be established that this expectation was not fulfilled, at least in the former West-Germany. Little more than these essays were published there. As a rule reprints of his works came, as well as Goldziher's diary from Leiden. The latter set off scant reverberation in the German-language specialist press.<sup>2</sup> In the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, for which Goldziher had written many articles, half a page appeared.<sup>3</sup> Bertold Spuler took upon himself the task in the journal *Der Islam* to make the text known in Germany.<sup>4</sup> Along with mixed feelings, the reading raised the issue for him as to whether Goldziher, through his conduct and his verdicts on his colleagues, could, in the end, have caused his difficult situation himself.<sup>5</sup>

This meagre response, to put it euphemistically, to the memoirs of a scholar, upon whose death it represented an honour for the best-known German colleagues to write an obituary, has moved me to look into the "fluctuations" of Goldziher's reception in Germany. Here I would like to make an attempt to illuminate the differing responses that his work has evoked among his German professional colleagues in the course of the last 120 years against the background of the main lines of research in Oriental studies. With this perspective I expect in the long run to gain further insights into the historically changing questions and focuses of research.

<sup>1</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Gesammelte Schriften*. Herausgegeben von Joseph de Somogyi. 6 vols. Hildesheim 1967-1973.

<sup>2</sup> One interesting review was published by Joseph van Ess in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 27 (1980).

<sup>3</sup> Ewald Wagner, Rezension von I. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, in *ZDMG* 129 (1978).

<sup>4</sup> Bertold Spuler, Rezension von I. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, in *Der Islam* 61 (1984).

<sup>5</sup> There is no reason to assume that sociability was a criterion for the appointment to a professorial chair in Hungary or Germany, whereas there is reason to presume that Goldziher's experiences contributed to his conduct.



The initial impressionistic finding that Islamic studies after the Second World War showed some distance from Goldziher's groundwork, is corroborated by a look into both of the *Goldziher Memorial Volumes* from 1948 and 1958: One finds no contribution by any colleague from Germany.<sup>6</sup>

The words of Johann Fück in his *Geschichte der arabischen Studien in Europa* from 1955 on Goldziher represent the most emphatic appreciation after World War II: "He has had a bigger effect on the course of Islamic Studies than any of his contemporaries. He has decisively influenced the development of research."<sup>7</sup>

Rudi Paret, who also completed his studies before World War II, named him in his account *The Study of Arabic and Islam at German Universities* from 1968 along with Snouck Hurgronje as co-founder of the autonomous branch "Islamic studies." About his major works he says: "Every one of these works still belongs today to the basic stock of any Islamic library."<sup>8</sup> Yet classical works are sometimes referred to without re-examination. In the essay by Baber Johansen *Islamic Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany*, published in 1990,<sup>9</sup> on the other hand, his name is missing completely.

I cannot contribute observations like those reported by Bernhard Heller that Carl Brockelmann on one occasion or another mentioned "the great Goldziher has said..." in his lectures.

In this meeting I may certainly omit to portray in detail the animated way in which the Goldziherian work was received, especially, after 1890 in Germany, and of course elsewhere. These findings are undisputed. It is reflected in the correspondence of Goldziher with his colleagues as well as in the letters of those among themselves.<sup>10</sup> Goldziher's obituary and the *Handbook of Islamic Literature* by G. Pfanmüller from 1923<sup>11</sup> provide further evidence.

<sup>6</sup> *Goldziher Memorial Volume I*, Budapest 1948, and *Goldziher Memorial Volume II*, Jerusalem 1958. Paul Kahle and Martin Plessner, who contributed, had emigrated.

<sup>7</sup> Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig 1955. (My translation).

<sup>8</sup> Rudi Paret, *The Study of Arabic and Islam at German Universities*. Wiesbaden 1968.

<sup>9</sup> Baber Johansen, 'Politics and Scholarship – The Development of Islamic Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany', in: Tareq Y. Ismael (ed.), *Middle Eastern Studies, International Perspectives on the State of the Art*. New York 1990.

<sup>10</sup> Goldziher has been a dedicated writer of letters. His correspondence is kept in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Some of his correspondences are already published: Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld (ed.), *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft – The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher*. Leiden 1985; Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher – His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence*. Budapest – Leiden 1986; Ludmila Hanisch (ed.), "Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht." – *Der Briefwechsel der Islamwissenschaftler Ignaz Goldziher und Martin Hartmann 1894-1914*. Wiesbaden 2000.

<sup>11</sup> Gustav Pfanmüller, *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur*. Berlin 1923.

Goldziher's solid formation in Arabic is also well known. His teacher Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer already considered him as one of his master pupils and also took great interest in his progress after his graduation. According to Fleischer's intention Goldziher was supposed to promote the research into the Arabic grammar through the editing of Ibn as-Sikkî. <sup>12</sup> For this reason Goldziher received a stipend for the examination of the manuscript of *Kitâb al-alfâz* in Leiden. The correspondence of both on this work goes up until 1883. Goldziher gave occupational pressures as justification to Fleischer for the delay of the edition. Seeing that Goldziher finished *The Zahiris, Their Doctrine and Their History - A Contribution to the History of Islamic Theology* <sup>13</sup> in the same year, there are good reasons to suppose, that Goldziher's intellectual interests had even then already developed past the linguistic positivism of his teacher. In *The Zahiris* Goldziher announced programmatically that the study of the *usûl al-fiqh* is indispensable for the understanding of the spirit of Islam. In the development of *fiqh* one could see whether the development of Islam emerged in freedom or simply through unthinking imitation.

II. It was these far-reaching questions which brought Goldziher fame in Germany. The ripening of his work took place during a period which one can with no problem term as crisis years of Semitics. If one had still considered the world in a cosmopolitan manner during the early Enlightenment, the endeavour of a secular founding of Oriental Studies brought a distinction into such languages and literatures with it, to which a theological aftertaste still clung and into those which were beneficial to a profane knowledge of the world.

Already at the beginning of the 19th century Friedrich Rückert had made a basic distinction between Hebrew and Classical poetry: "It seems to me that the characteristic of universality for time and place is something that the classicality of the Greeks and Romans does not share with Hebrew poetry. It is also universal, but only in its secondary meaning; it is the unattainable model of an outwardly meaningful image of the world. The Hebrew, however, is the eternal organ for the portrayal of the divine principle in the world. The classical is the profane, the Hebrew the holy poetry of the world."<sup>14</sup>

For Herder Hebrew poetry arose from the dawn, or the childhood days, of human development, in comparison to which the research into the Indo-European languages

<sup>12</sup> The letters of Goldziher to H. L. Fleischer are to be found in: Nachlaß V. Thomsen, Teilnachlaß Fleischer, Briefe an Goldziher, Det Kongelige Bibliotek København, NKS 4291.4<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *The Zahiris, – their Doctrine and their History. – A Contribution to the History of Islamic Theology*. Leiden 1971. The original German version appeared in Leipzig 1884: I. G., *Die Zahiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte. – Beitrag zur Geschichte der muhammedanischen Theologie*.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in: H. Bobzin, 'Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866): Ein vergessener Alttestamentler und Hebraist', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 101 (1989), 179. (My translation)

occupied a higher rank. The development of general linguistics and the study of the Indo-European languages was based on Friedrich Schlegel's work *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (Heidelberg 1808). It received support from Wilhelm von Humboldt, who treated the *Human Linguistic Structure and Its Influence on the Intellectual Development of the Human Race*.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the Indo-European languages, to which Sanskrit also belonged, succeeded better during the 19th century in approaching the example of classical philology. At the end of the century the Semitist Franz Praetorius, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, remarked: "The once somewhat dismissive philology of Latin and Greek has not been able to escape the influence of the comparisons coming from Sanskrit for a long time now."<sup>16</sup>

The field of Indo-European studies was regarded as the most significant orientalist discipline in the educational canon up to the turn of the century, since it could contribute at least in the linguistic area to the discovery of the European identity. Semitists could not share this aim in the eyes of their contemporaries. In the end they were just as little entitled to look upon it as their task to include it as they were disinclined to include anthropological issues in their scientific work. That is why the ethnological articles by Goldziher are less well-known. It was, therefore, not only the result of Rankian historicism which excluded the history of the Near East from European historical studies, but also Oriental philology through its understanding of science contributed to its neglect during the second half of the 19th century.

For this reason the work of scholars such as Wellhausen and Goldziher which dealt with historical developments taken from the Arabian sources were something like a blast of fresh air within Semitic studies. In 1900 when the Leipzig faculty discussed the succession to Fleischer's chair the commission strove to appoint Wellhausen or Goldziher. Concerning Goldziher it was presumed that he did not want to leave Budapest and a Jew would certainly not fit in Leipzig.<sup>17</sup> Even if these appointments were not realized, the discussions show that the University was looking for a specialist who went beyond Fleischer's linguistic positivism.

III. The growth in the significance of Semitics at the turn of the century can only be explained if one expands the intrinsically scientific perspective with a look at colonial history.

After hesitant beginnings, the empire under Kaiser Wilhelm joined the circle of the colonial powers. In connection with the necessary linguistic competence for contacts in the Near Eastern countries, the importance of the Semitic languages rose. The tendency of scholars was remote of becoming "chattering machines" as

<sup>15</sup> Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*, 3rd edition. Berlin 1883.

<sup>16</sup> Franz Praetorius, speech delivered on 2 October 1895, *ZDMG* 49 (1895), 533.

<sup>17</sup> Handwritten remark in: Personalakte August Fischer, No. 22, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig.

Goldziher said when he was sent on a study tour to Syria and Egypt. As they saw themselves, philological study consisted of becoming acquainted with a language, not necessarily of being able to speak it. However, it was doubtlessly thanks to the intensification of the contacts with the Near East that, along with the extension of the German universities, chairs for Semitics were promoted in the same number as those for Indo-European studies.

At about the same time the awareness came about within the European countries in whose colonies Moslems lived that one could not deal with all the problems of the "imperial responsibility" with philological knowledge alone. Not least had that been shown by sporadic resistance movements by the colonized peoples. The old civilizations, as the countries of the Near East were called in contrast to the "uncivilized" or "undercivilized" peoples of Africa, were regarded as resistant to progress imported from Europe. For this reason the question of the role of Islam in history and in the present – a formulation of Goldziher's – gained in significance in spite of all the secularization processes within Europe. In addition, one reflected once again, in light of the centrifugal social forces, which the rapid industrialization of the German society had allowed to emerge, on the significance of religion in one's own country.

Carl Heinrich Becker, regarded as the disseminator of Islamic studies in Germany, took Goldziher up in his work. Above all, he valued the proofs of the developing forces within the Islamic religion and the methods with which Goldziher worked out the genesis of various religious tendencies.

To Becker Oriental subjects were not only a question of knowledge of the outside world, including the African colonies, but he also saw in the scientific treatment of Islam possibilities for the understanding of one's own religion. He was in agreement with Goldziher that addressing oneself to Islamic culture would help fill in gaps in the history of the European Middle Ages. Thanks to these perspectives the loss of the overseas territories as a consequence of World War I did not mean the end of research in Islamic Studies.

Even when Becker no longer intervened in the debates on the subject because he had accepted a position in the Culture Ministry, he was able to take care that this branch of research would not be deserted. His speech *Islam in the Framework of the General History of Culture*, which he gave at the first German Congress of Oriental Studies in 1921<sup>18</sup>, marked out the framework for a type of re-academization of the discipline. It did not replace Semitics but was rather regarded as a branch of it or as a special area. The study of Arabic natural sciences and the connections between Greek and Arabic philosophy found a number of interested scholars. Despite of all thematic expansion, the discipline remained under an obligation to the past master.

In the interwar-period the work of Richard Hartmann shows the greatest thematic proximity, according to my knowledge. He wrote in his obituary for Goldziher: "He will always occupy a special position as a pioneer of the comprehension of the

<sup>18</sup> Carl Heinrich Becker, 'Der Islam im Rahmen einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte', *ZDMG* 76 (1922), 18-35.

religious history of Islam. No one has made the substance of the idea of Islam his exclusive life's work the way he did."

I will come back to Hartmann later.

IV. For two reasons after 1933 a real setback took place in the reading of Goldziher. First, the non-Aryans were no longer regarded as acceptable authorities of tradition for German scholars. Literature by Jewish authors was supposed to be labelled with an asterix.

Second, the study of cultural history turned away from the examination of religion and focused on the roots of the various peoples. The centre of interest was no longer the "essence" of Islam, but the "essence" of the nations. According to the attitude of the time, religion in general separated humanity from its roots, the research of which now moved to the foreground.

Although the German conference of Orientalists in 1942 had brought out the anthology *Arabic Studies, Semitics and Islamic Studies*, it had no section for Islamic studies<sup>19</sup>. The section *Arabic Studies and General Semitics* was headed by Richard Hartmann. As regards content, *General Semitics* had completely abandoned the study of Middle Eastern religions and concentrated on linguistic studies. Hartmann's works and especially his book *Die Religion des Islam* published in 1944, qualifies the change in research interest roughly sketched out above. Hartmann carried on research into Islam. He tried to prove that this religion would be able to incorporate nationalistic trends, or, thanks to this, could evolve. In his book, which was considered an important work, and was therefore printed notwithstanding the shortage in paper due to war economy, he named Goldziher's lectures on Islam at least in the bibliography. In its complete structure and in individual passages it is reminiscent of the master. Hartmann wrote in the introduction: "The bibliography often does not name the works to which the research owes its thanks for its greatest progress."<sup>20</sup> He knew of what he was speaking.

V. After the Second World War, explicit references to Goldziher would no longer have caused any problems. If, however, a more intensive discussion of his work did not take place, but he rather came into the position of a classic, this happened first and foremost because of the altered historical situation.

The resistance against colonial empires was carried on in the name of national endeavours above all. In the European and American discussion the view predominated that it was more or less a matter of time before the Islamic states would go through a secularization process analogous to that of Europe. Against this background the intensive study into Islamic religion and culture no longer belonged to the most pressing research projects of the sixties and seventies. All in all the

<sup>19</sup> R. Hartmann and H. Scheel (eds.), *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semistik und Islamwissenschaft*. Leipzig 1944.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Hartmann, *Die Religion des Islam – Eine Einführung* (Kolonialgeschichtliche Forschungen 5). Berlin 1944.

specialists in Islamic theology were on the sidelines. In addition, some of the outstanding authorities of the Goldziherian work had emigrated. I am thinking, for example, of Josef Schacht, whose studies on Islamic law took up the *fiqh* studies of Goldziher. Richard Hartmann continued teaching in Berlin after 1945. To what extent he referred to Goldziher's studies on Islamic theology in his teaching, I cannot say. For another thing, the further differentiation of Semitics into Arabic Studies, Semitics, Islamic Studies, and Judaic Studies may have also made its contribution to Goldziher's questions falling between the boundaries of the disciplines.

Since the eighties, when religious movements in the Near East gained new impetus, Islam has caught the attention of specialists again. Knowledge of the various branches of Islamic theology and Islamic law has once again obtained a high status. Certainly, one hundred years of historical development and one hundred years of research work have surpassed many details of Goldziher's researches. In addition, there is reason to think that some questions are nowadays obsolete. On the other hand, his views on religion and the different races were formulated in a period which had not yet experienced the gruesome climax of antisemitism, and in which the Near Eastern national borders along religious lines did not exist. For this reason, an intensive, critical examination into his work possibly provides opportunities for answers or partial answers to questions with which we occupy ourselves today.



# IMMÁNUEL LÖW'S REFLECTIONS ON "THE ESSENCE AND EVOLUTION OF JUDAISM" IN HIS LETTERS TO IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER IN 1888

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At the centenary of Zechariah Frankel's birth in New York in 1901 Louis Ginzberg said: "If we ask ourselves what was the most striking gift of the nineteenth century to Jews and Judaism, there is only one answer that can be given: the science of Judaism."

Here I attempt to collect some historical fragments to recall a unique attempt made by the Judaism reform movement.

In the winter of 1887/88 in the Youth Prayer Hall of the Pest Jewish Community Centre Ignaz Goldziher delivered a series of lectures on the essence and evolution of Judaism. His first, introductory lecture was given on the 19th of November 1887. The second one, on prophetism, was delivered on the 26th of November; the third one, also about prophetism, on the 3rd of December. The fourth lecture dealt with rabbinism (on the 14th of January 1888) and the fifth with the influence of philosophy on the Jewish religion (on the 21st of January 1888). The sixth lecture about modern trends in Judaism was delivered on the 28th of January 1888, after which Goldziher unexpectedly stopped the lectures altogether.<sup>1</sup> As far as we know, Goldziher was also planning to lecture on the following topics: the unity of God, the mission of Israel, sanctity and messianism. Goldziher published his first five lectures in the 5th volume (1888) of the monthly journal *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* [Hungarian Jewish Review], edited by Wilhelm Bacher and József Bánóczi. 'A zsidó vallás fejlődéséről' [On the Evolution of the Jewish Faith]: this was the title under which

<sup>1</sup> 'A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése. Dr. Goldziher Ignác felolvasásai' [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism. Readings of Dr. Ignaz Goldziher], *Egyenlőség* 6:47 (1887), 11-12; 'A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése. Kivonat Dr. Goldziher Ignác nov. 26-án és dec. 3-án tartott felolvasásaiból' [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism. Extract from the Readings of Dr. Ignaz Goldziher Held on the 26th of Nov. and 3rd of Dec.], *Egyenlőség* 6:49 (1887), 1-3; 'Dr. Goldziher Ignác IV. felolvasása. A rabbinizmus' [The 4th Reading of Dr. Ignaz Goldziher. Rabbinism], *Egyenlőség* 7:4 (1888), 6-8; 'Dr. Goldziher Ignác V. felolvasása' [The 5th Reading of Dr. Ignaz Goldziher], *Egyenlőség* 7:6 (1888), 4-5; 'Dr. Goldziher Ignác VI. felolvasása' [The 6th Reading of Dr. Ignaz Goldziher], *Egyenlőség* 7:7 (1888), 3-4, 7:8 (1888), 6-7. See also 'Hírek' [News], *Egyenlőség* 7:2 (1888), 9; 'Hírek' [News], *Egyenlőség* 7:5 (1888), 8.



the first lecture appeared in the journal's 'Tudomány' [Scholarship] column.<sup>2</sup> The second, third, fourth and fifth lectures were published under the main title 'A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése' [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism].<sup>3</sup> The text of the sixth lecture remained in manuscript form. This latter was only published, together with the previous five lectures, under the title 'A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése' [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism] in 1923/24, two years after Goldziher's death, in the 2nd and 7th volumes of the *Népszerű Zsidó Könyvtár* [Popular Jewish Library] edited by József Bánóczi and Ignác Gábor in Budapest.<sup>4</sup> This edition presented the text of the lectures in a slightly modified form: the modifications were carried out by the two editors of the series, Bánóczy and Gábor, Goldziher's son Károly and one of his students, perhaps Bernhard Heller, though the only differences were in the "choice of words".<sup>5</sup> In the year 2000 the *Múlt és Jövő* publishing house brought out a new edition of these lectures along with Goldziher's other writings, originally written in Hungarian.<sup>6</sup>

The lectures also feature in Goldziher's private diary: "In the winter of 1887/8 I delivered my lectures entitled 'The Essence and Evolution of Judaism'. Five of these were printed in the Jewish monthly, which is edited for cash by two friends of my youth. I kept the last one from publication due to my breach with such a corporation. The text can be found among my manuscripts. My first lecture drew a large audience. However, when the students realized that I took the teaching aspect seriously and that my aim was not vulgar amusement, the audience dwindled. Out of regard for my honour I terminated the thing after the sixth lecture. This was the last time I cast pearls before swine, because the swine did not want to profit from my lectures. It all culminated in my being labelled a bad public speaker: this was the criticism of the Jewish intellectuals. And the affair was not staged in a sensible way: it was the criticism of those simple in heart. Nevertheless I have been cured of my reverie forever."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* 5 (1888), 1-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 65-80, 138-155, 261-279, 389-406.

<sup>4</sup> Ignác Goldziher, *A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése* [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism] I-II. (Népszerű zsidó könyvtár 2, 7), Budapest n.d. [1923-1924], 71, 83.

<sup>5</sup> See the editors' note *ibid.*, II. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Ignác Goldziher, 'A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése' [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism], in: id., *A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése* [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism], ed. János Kőbányai, József Zsengellér, Budapest 2000, 29-128.

<sup>7</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden 1978, 111-112. Goldziher's style is clumsy and over-complicated sometimes. "And the affair was not staged in a sensible way (*und die Sache war nicht praktisch inscenirt*)": seems to mean that the affair (= the criticism) was not part of a well-organized campaign. In this self-reproaching note also observe the reference to the biblical phrase. In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus said, "Do not give what is holy to the dogs; *nor cast your pearls before swine*, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn and tear you in pieces" (Matt. 7:6).

What did Goldziher want to achieve with these lectures? To such a question we have no answer, of course. We may, however, hypothesize. Goldziher's Jewish faith was very intense and deep, as was his knowledge of Jewish religious matters. In his youth, for instance, he gave private Talmudic lessons to rabbinical students. Bernát Alexander and József Weisz (later called Bánóczi) were his private students. Goldziher may have had a vision of the spiritual reform of Judaism. A reform, as he said, carried out by the people and not by the caste of priests. A Jewish reform of self-organisation. For such a reform people needed to be educated. For new ideas to be germinated and take root, young people and open-minded students were needed.<sup>8</sup> We may assume that this was the reason why Goldziher started his lectures in the Youth Prayer Hall of the Pest Jewish Community Centre.

But what happened? Fewer and fewer students were interested in his ideas and more and more criticism was levelled at him by the board of rabbis. He was left alone and disillusioned. An additional factor was the death of his great and much-loved master, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, on the 10th of February 1888, just a few days after his last lecture. A great scholar's passing often rouses a feeling of remorse in his students. Thus Fleischer's death may have served as the impetus for Goldziher to concentrate his efforts on his first and foremost task: the study of Islam.

Among the letters to Ignaz Goldziher preserved in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences there are some letters from Immánuel Löw, chief rabbi of Szeged, a town in south Hungary, which had a prosperous Jewish community. There are some letters from Löw from the year 1888, which contain direct references to Goldziher's lectures.

Immánuel Löw (1854-1944), rabbi and polyhistor, is unanimously regarded as the greatest Jewish personality of the pre-holocaust era in Hungary. The hypersensitive Goldziher had only a few friends. Those whose company he gladly sought were Mór Kármán, David Kaufmann, Immánuel Löw and Samuel Kohn. In fact he shared a house with the latter at no. 4 Holló utca [Raven Street] in the old Jewish district of Pest. "You were perhaps closest to Goldziher among all of his friends," wrote

<sup>8</sup> We have other information at our disposal to indicate that Goldziher was greatly interested in these matters. For instance, between 1876-1888 he worked untiringly in the cause of modernizing Jewish education in Budapest. See Anna Sándor, 'Goldziher levelei az oktatásról' [Goldziher's Letters on Education], in *MIOK Évkönyve* [Yearbook of the National Agency of Hungarian Israelites (MIOK)] 1981/82, ed. Sándor Scheiber [Alexander Scheiber], Budapest 1982, 357-365. In 1880 he vainly proposed many reforms to the rabbinical training curriculum. See Hermann Imre Schmelzer, 'Goldziher Ignác beadványa az Országos Rabbiképző Intézet tantervének ügyében' [Ignaz Goldziher's Proposal About the Curriculum of the National Rabbinical Seminary], in: *Hetven év. Emlékkönyv dr. Schweitzer József születésnapjára* [Seventy Years. Jubilee Volume for the Birthday of Dr. József Schweitzer], ed. György Landeszman, Róbert Deutsch, Budapest 1992, 127-136.

Theodor Nöldeke to Immanuel Löw on the 21st of November 1921, when deeply afflicted by the news of Goldziher's death, brought to him by Carl Bezold.<sup>9</sup>

Immanuel Löw's letter to Ignaz Goldziher, dated the 5th of January 1888, reads as follows: "My dear friend, I had just started to compile and prepare the *chevra* booklet for printing when I received your letter of November. ... Now I have to sort out my correspondence. In the first place is this letter of yours. First of all: why are you so downhearted? I do not know the affairs of Pest intimately, but I consider it mere fantasy that there should be a *corporation* which regards you as incompetent in Jewish matters. As to the general Jewish concern, you despair more than you need. You behave as if similar situations had never occurred before in other places, only here and now in Hungary. Religious renewal requires a different *Zeitgeist* from ours. I am not only talking about spiritual trends; I mean the material depression and the political situation of our time as well. What is needed now is not inner transformation, but organization with a strong counteraction to priestly influence. This must be promoted, and in the meantime work in the synagogue and in the school must go on, to educate a better Jewish generation. I do my best in this latter respect and perhaps could be able to do something for the former, too. I do not know how you will react to this; it mainly depends on your mood. Please do not think that I am not concerned with the problems which gnaw at your heart. I am concerned much more than most of my colleagues..."

Löw wrote to Goldziher on the 24th of January 1888: "God bless you for your lectures. You will be above Geiger when it shall be a completed whole. (I mean the *Vorlesungen*.) I hope you will dedicate a separate chapter to the newer development of the synagogal service, too."

From Löw's letter of the 30th of January 1888: "My dear friend, I would dearly like to know why you consider yourself such an antichrist, with whom only a few rabbis will publicly shake hands. I should have thought it would be greatly to their credit to do so."

How deeply Goldziher was hurt by the response to his lectures can also be seen from his much later letter to Löw on the 8th of February 1905: "I am constantly urged from America to travel and deliver a series of Jewish lectures there... It seems that they are more eager to know my Torah overseas... I vividly remember the infamous behaviour which the ruling Jewish circles displayed here in the mid-eighties, when due to someone's pressure, I can not recall whose it was, I spent my little spare time on such a lecture series. For these lectures volume I of the *Muh. Studien* appeared one year later than scheduled."<sup>10</sup> Perhaps Goldziher felt like a Hungarian Spinoza: his unfinished construct of modern Judaism continued to haunt

<sup>9</sup> Immanuel Löw, 'Goldziher Ignác', in: Id., *Száz beszéd* [One Hundred Sermons] 1900-1922. Szeged 1923, 304.

<sup>10</sup> Sándor Scheiber, 'Goldziher Ignác levelei Löw Immanuelhez' [Ignaz Goldziher's Letters to Immanuel Löw], *Új Élet* 2:50 (1946), 8.

him. On the 15th of March 1914 he wrote to Löw: "I still have not given an answer to the question: What are the truly living traditions of the Jews? The response to this question could be the one worthy subject of a long-dormant scientific discipline, namely *Jewish theology*".<sup>11</sup> It is tempting to wonder whether Goldziher ever thought to outline a reform theology for Islam. Knowing his ever-modern spirit, it is not at all unlikely. An indirect reference to such an attempt can be found in letters written in his last years to his friend Shmuel Abraham Poznanski of Warsaw.<sup>12</sup> As Goitein commented: "Concerning modernism in Islam, Goldziher displays more scepticism and disappointment in these letters than was to be anticipated after what he had written about it in his books."<sup>13</sup> Succeeding generations may just feel pity for this great man's monotheistic religious ideas unrealized.<sup>14</sup>

In his memorial sermon '*Goldziher Ignác*', delivered on the 10th of December 1921, probably in the New Synagogue at Szeged, and during the weeks of mourning in the circle of Goldziher's loved ones in the "lonely Raven Street home", Löw once again returned to his friend's failed attempt to revitalize Jewish religious life in Hungary. Löw quoted a passage from Goldziher's letter dated the 17th of November 1887, that is two days before he began his lectures on the essence and evolution of Judaism. The melancholy which infuses these words reflects Goldziher's original pessimism about the outcome of his endeavour. "The vain struggle in which I stand totally alone", Goldziher wrote, "dashes the hopes which I nurtured in my youth about the efflorescence of our Hungarian Synagogue. Indeed I had rather present my soul to my Muhammadans, from whom I have only ever received joy and satisfaction."<sup>15</sup>

EDITOR'S NOTE – In writing that after the sixth lecture "Goldziher unexpectedly stopped the lectures altogether", the Author relies on Goldziher's diary.<sup>16</sup> The question arose as to whether this explicit statement in Goldziher's diary should be taken so literally, in view of the information available elsewhere on this important

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> See S. D. Goitein, 'Goldziher as Seen through His Letters (in Hebrew)' in: *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume I*, (Hebrew section), ed. Samuel Löwinger, Joseph Somogyi, Budapest 1948, 3-23.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 433.

<sup>14</sup> [On this subject see the contribution by Josef van Ess in the present volume. – Ed.]

<sup>15</sup> Löw, '*Goldziher Ignác*', 299-300. For a more detailed account of this letter see Scheiber, '*Goldziher levelei Löw Immánuelhez...*', 8. It is interesting to note in this context that on the 10th of April 1895 Goldziher wrote to Baron von Rosen in St. Petersburg that he had retained his interest in Judaeo-Arabic literature although he had already gone over to the Muslim camp in body and soul in Leipzig. They studied together under H. L. Fleischer in Leipzig in 1868-1870. See the obituary by V. V. Barthold in *Izvestiya Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk*, Leningrad, ser. 6, 16 (1922), 149 – Id., *Sočineniya* vol. 9, Moscow 1977, 719.

<sup>16</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 111.

event in Goldziher's life, or whether it should be somewhat *interpreted*, as is so often the case with entries containing the personal reflections of a highly sensitive person whom an inborn shyness and a natural purity of soul constantly hindered from giving expression to the annoyances and resentments of everyday life. *Interpretation*, in Arabic *ta'wīl, tafsīr*, is of course widely applied in connection with the Quran in Islam, and it retained an important place in Goldziher's scholarly interests through all his life; it was also the subject of Goldziher's last great contribution to Islamic studies.<sup>17</sup> Thus it is perhaps not inappropriate to apply the same method to certain passages of his own diary. If we consult contemporary sources on his lectures we learn that in his first lecture, on 19 November 1887, Goldziher listed the topics his lecture series was going to cover, and that list corresponds exactly to the lectures he subsequently delivered.<sup>18</sup> There is an important reference in the text of the last lecture which proves that Goldziher was planning to finish his lectures with it and thus he did not end the series unexpectedly.<sup>19</sup> It should also be pointed out that the inherent logical structure of the lectures and their line of argument constitute a system complete in itself. This seems, therefore, to be another case when an entry in Goldziher's diary is in need of exegesis. The Editor's aim is to hint at the possibility that in his treatment of the lectures in question, which came three years after the events themselves, Goldziher may have expressed his uneasiness at his relationship with certain sections of the Jewish community in Pest, in all probability with those that considered him incompetent in such matters, rather than given a description of the exact course of the events.<sup>20</sup> It may well be that Goldziher was also hurt by his gradually diminishing audience. It is known that the first lecture was extremely popular: the hall was overcrowded and the audience – six hundred persons, mainly students – gave the "excellent speaker" a loud ovation.<sup>21</sup> The second lecture also took place in a hall filled to capacity.<sup>22</sup> However, it is possible that the audience diminished thereafter owing to the abstract, theoretical way in which Goldziher discussed the

<sup>17</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*. Leiden 1920.

<sup>18</sup> 'A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése. Dr. Goldziher Ignác felolvasásai' [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism. Readings by Dr. Ignaz Goldziher], *Egyenlőség* 6:47 (1887), 11-12. Goldziher Ignác, 'A zsidó vallás fejlődéséről' [On the Evolution of the Jewish Religion], *Magyar Zsidó Szemle* 5 (1888), 14. Ignác Goldziher, *A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése* [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism] I, (Népszerű zsidó könyvtár 2), Budapest n. d. [1923-1924], 25.

<sup>19</sup> Ignác Goldziher, *A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése* [The Essence and Evolution of Judaism] II, (Népszerű zsidó könyvtár 7), Budapest n. d. [1923-1924], 63-64.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. his letter of 17 November 1887 to Immanuel Löw. Scheiber, 'Goldziher Ignác levelei Löw Immanuelhez...', 8. Forty-one letters by Goldziher to Löw, among them this one, were extant in 1946. Where are they now?

<sup>21</sup> 'Hírek' [News], *Egyenlőség* 6:46 (1887), 11.

<sup>22</sup> 'Hírek' [News], *Egyenlőség* 6:48 (1887), 8.

topics in question, making great demands on the intellectual powers of his listeners. His highly concentrated and idiosyncratic style probably caused problems for the audience, who may have expected to hear some lighter material in a series of popular lectures. In a similar way, Goldziher's remark "Indeed I had rather present my soul to my Muhammadans, from whom I have only ever received joy and satisfaction" should not be taken literally, but is to be seen as the expression of general uneasiness by a highly sensitive soul, expressing his desire to escape the harsh realities of everyday life, the annoyances caused by his co-religionists. This is a well-known psychological phenomenon, which is often encountered in persons in all places and in all ages: it is the eternal desire to flee to far-away countries.<sup>23</sup> Goldziher had little contact with Muslims in Hungary, and there can be no doubt that in close everyday contact he would have had just as many problems with them as with anybody else he had to deal with.

<sup>23</sup> See note 15 and the corresponding paragraph above.



# THE LANGUAGE STUDIES OF IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER

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## Synopsis<sup>1</sup>

1. Introduction
2. Goldziher's youth and philological interests to 1878
3. The character of Goldziher's language interests
4. The three periods of Goldziher's career
5. The later part of Goldziher's career 1878-1921
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6. Goldziher's studies in Arabic philology to 1878
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## 1. Introduction

Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) is primarily known for his epoch-making studies in the theory and practice of Islam, for his researches into the development of classical Arabic literature and for his editions of Arabic texts. It has become a commonplace to say that the scholarly investigation of Arabic and Islamic culture, both ancient and modern, and of Muslim institutions in general owes more to Goldziher than to any other. He was, indeed, the founder of the modern study of Islam; a scholar whose works have suffered but little with the passage of time and continue to excite the awe

<sup>1</sup> Special thanks are due to my friend István Ormos for his very substantial assistance. Ormos not only made available to me many rare items of Goldziher's bibliography (some of which were hard to come by even in Hungary), but also supplied me with copies of unpublished Goldziheriana located (and in some cases discovered) by him in the Goldziher Nachlass in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. I would like to thank Ormos too for his comments on the text of this article and his help with all matters Hungarian; some of his contributions have been given in square brackets and indicated by the initials I. O.



and astonishment of all who read them. The contributions of Goldziher as a scholar of the Arabic language rather than as a scholar of the intellectual history of Islam are much less well known, but the linguistic side of philological study was a feature of much of his writing, particularly during the first stage of his career in the 1860s-1870s, and common to all his works is the superbly crafted philological foundation upon which they rest.

Goldziher published a great deal and in several languages. A numbered list of his published writings has been assembled by B. Heller, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher* (Paris 1927) [nos. 1-592],<sup>2</sup> to which additions were supplied by A. Scheiber in the *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume I*, ed. S. Löwinger & J. Somogyi (Budapest 1948), 419-429 [nos. 593-681] and by I. Kratschkovsky, *ibid.* 430-431. Scheiber provided further additions in the *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume II*, ed. S. Löwinger, A. Scheiber & J. Somogyi (Jerusalem 1958), 209-214 [nos. 682-741]. Scheiber has also published Goldziher's personal diary: Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch* (Leiden 1978),<sup>3</sup> where on pp. 331-334 some more additions to the bibliography are given (nos. 742-807). Another diary, that of Goldziher's Middle Eastern tour of 1873-1874 (entitled in Hungarian *Keleti naplóm* [My Oriental Diary] but written mostly in German) has been published in English translation only: R. Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and his Oriental Diary. A Translation and Psychological Portrait* (Detroit 1987).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Heller's bibliography supplements and replaces that published in *Keleti Tanulmányok. Goldziher Ignác születésének hatvanadik évfordulójára írták tanítványai* [Oriental Studies. Written by the pupils of Ignác Goldziher for the Sixtieth Anniversary of his Birthday], Budapest 1910, 7-62. A review of the bibliography was published by H. H. Schaefer, *OLZ* 31 (1928), 117-120.

<sup>3</sup> This book, to which repeated reference will be made in the following, was reviewed by F. Gabrieli, *OLZ* 77 (1982), 441-442; W. Montgomery Watt, *Times Literary Supplement* 8.9.1978, 998.; B. Spuler, *Der Islam* 61 (1984), 184-185; E. Ullendorff, *BSOAS* 42 (1979), 553-555 [= Id., *From the Bible to Enrico Cerulli*, Stuttgart 1990, 155-157]; J. van Ess, *BO* 37 (1980), 108-110; E. Wagner, *ZDMG* 129 (1979), 414. [The editor, Alexander [= Sándor] Scheiber, published a bowdlerized Hungarian version of the *Tagebuch* under the title "Goldziher Ignác, *Napló*," translated by his wife, Dr. Scheiber Sándorné = Dr. Bernáth Lívia. Budapest 1984. This version came out shortly after Scheiber's death. I. O.].

<sup>4</sup> See on the oriental diary and the tour described in it two detailed articles by L. I. Conrad, 'The Near East study tour diary of Ignaz Goldziher', *JRAS* 1990, 105-126 (a review, with many necessary strictures, of Patai's publication) and 'The pilgrim from Pest: Goldziher's study tour to the Near East (1873-1874)' in: *Golden Roads. Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam*, ed. I. R. Netton. London 1993, 110-159. For the lost "Arabisches Notizbuch" (*Oriental Diary* 137) see Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 111-112; 'Pilgrim from Pest' 111. This *Notizbuch* was probably lost during the German occupation of Hungary and the Russian siege of Budapest in 1944-5.

No collection of Goldziher's writings was made during his lifetime.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently several collections have been published. Most of his articles in languages other than Hungarian have been assembled by J. DeSomogyi in six splendid volumes of *Gesammelte Schriften* (Hildesheim 1967-1973) [henceforth *GS*], to which the editor, Goldziher's last pupil, added an account of his master's life and works (*GS* I xi-xxxi).<sup>6</sup> I. Ormos has recently published in two volumes a selection of Goldziher's Hungarian writings under the title: Goldziher Ignác, *Az arabok és az iszlám. Válogatott tanulmányok. The Arabs and Islam. Selected Studies*, 2 vols. (Budapest 1995).<sup>7</sup> Thanks to these publications of reprinted studies the great majority of Goldziher's widely dispersed scholarly works are now accessible in convenient form.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> [The idea, however, was mooted. The fact that Goldziher's articles were scattered in many disparate places induced Baron von Rosen to raise the suggestion of publishing them as a collection along the lines of Fleischer's *Kleinere Schriften*. In a letter of Goldziher to Rosen dated 22.10.1896 the publication of a collection of *Abhandlungen über Islam und arabische Cultur* was discussed. At first Goldziher agreed to the proposal of republishing a revised selection of his works but later became reluctant and the idea was dropped; see V. V. Barthold's obituary of Goldziher in *Izvestiya Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk*, Leningrad, ser. VI, vol. XIV (1922), 149 [= Id., *Sočineniya* IX, Moscow 1977, 719-720]. Some time after Goldziher's death the type-setting of a selection of his minor works was begun in Germany but the publishing house was ruined in the great economic crisis. George Alexander Kohut repeatedly offered to publish a selection of Goldziher's minor works on Jewish subjects but Károly Goldziher, who was to make the selection, could not make a decision; B. Heller, 'Goldziher Ignác emlékezete' [The Memory of I. Goldziher], in: *Az Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társaság Évkönyve* [Yearbook of the Israelite Hungarian Literary Association] 1932, 11. I. O.].

<sup>6</sup> Joseph (de) Somogyi (1899-1976) appears frequently in the Goldziher literature; a short obituary, with a portrait, appeared in *Studies in Islam* 15 (1978), 145-147, reprinted in *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture*. 4, Arabic Literature and Thought, ed. M. Taher, New Delhi 1997, 222-224. He had previously written several times on Goldziher's life and works e.g. in *Muslim World* 41 (1951), 199-208 and 51 (1961), 5-17; these essays presumably cover the material found in his manuscript "Goldziher-Biographie" mentioned by J. Németh, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 1 (1950), 12 n. 12.

<sup>7</sup> [A selection of Goldziher's Hungarian writings on Jewish subjects has recently come out in re-set form: Goldziher Ignác, *A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése* [The Essence and Development of Judaism], seen through the press by J. Kőbányai & J. Zsengellér. (Múlt és Jövő Könyvek – Zsidó Tudományok) Budapest 2000. I. O.]

<sup>8</sup> One might also mention the annotated Hungarian selection of some of Goldziher's German works published by R. Simon in: Goldziher Ignác, *Az iszlám kultúrája. Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* [The Culture of Islam. Studies in Cultural History], 2 vols. Budapest 1981.

The precious unpublished papers of the Goldziher Nachlass were presented in 1926 to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest<sup>9</sup> and his library of printed books has resided since 1924 in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> To complete the inventory of the Goldziher oeuvre one should mention his voluminous correspondence, some of which has been published; in particular, the letters exchanged by Goldziher and Th. Nöldeke<sup>11</sup> are wonderfully informative and make splendid reading – some further specimens are presented by I. Ormos below nn. 53, 125, 156, 170, 193, 226 and in his Appendix to the present article.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 13 (1933), 371-2; J. de Somogyi, *JRAS* 1935, 149-154; S. Löwinger in *Actes du XXI<sup>e</sup> congrès international des orientalistes. Paris – 23-31 Juillet 1948*, Paris 1949, 118 = *Genizah Publications in Memory of Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann* 1. [גנזי קויפמן א], ed. S. Löwinger & A. Scheiber, Budapest 1949, vi. The value of this material is mentioned by Goldziher himself in a letter to M. Hartmann in 1908: “Man wird dereinst einen ‘Nachlass’ bei mir vorfinden: den kann man dann verpacken oder benutzen”; see Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* [below n. 12] 310. [Cf. note 2 in Ormos’s article on the correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Max Herz in the present volume.]

<sup>10</sup> See A. S. Yahuda, *Der Jude* 8 (1924), 575-592 and the somewhat different Hebrew version, idem, *‘Ever wa-‘arav*, New York 1946, 205-228; I. Cohen, *Travels in Jewry*, New York 1953, 180-186; J. de Somogyi, *Muslim World* 51 (1961), 11-12, 150 (with information supplied by D. Z. Baneth). The Jerusalem copy of the typescript catalogue of the Goldziher library bears the shelfmark 34 V 42; another copy exists in Budapest. An anonymous pamphlet about the library of the Hebrew University *Das David Wolffsohn Haus der jüdischen National- und Universitätsbibliothek, Jerusalem* (Jerusalem 1930) 38-44 has a section entitled “Die orientalische Abteilung. (Goldziher-Bibliothek)”. The proposal to apply the name “Goldziher-Bibliothek” to the Hebrew University oriental collection as a whole (p. 40) was never, as far as I know, implemented.

<sup>11</sup> R. Simon, *Ignác Goldziher. His Life and Scholarship as reflected in his Works and Correspondence*, Budapest–Leiden 1986. Part Two, “Selected correspondence of I. Goldziher and Th. Nöldeke” 157-447. As a prelude to the letters this book [henceforth: Simon, *Letters*] contains a useful but exceedingly tiresome biographical and bibliographical study; the strictures on the publication expressed by J. van Ess, *BO* 45 (1988), 435-439 are all too justified. [Cf. now also the re-edition of Simon’s articles on Goldziher: Róbert Simon, *Goldziher Ignác. Vázlatok az emberről és a tudósról* [Ignaz Goldziher. Sketches of the Man and the Scholar], Budapest 2000. Apart from the Foreword (9-19.) this volume seems to contain only one new essay: ‘Goldziher és Vámbéry’ [Goldziher and Vámbéry] (177-203). I. O.]

<sup>12</sup> For details of Goldziher’s correspondence with M. J. de Goeje, I. Löw, Th. Nöldeke, M. Nordau, S. Poznański, S. Schechter and C. Snouck Hurgronje in the libraries of Budapest, Tübingen, Leiden and Jerusalem see Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 106 nn. 3-9; *ibid.* 229 n.14. While the letters of Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher have been published by P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Scholarship and Friendship in early Islamwissenschaft. The Letters of*

## 2. Goldziher's youth and philological interests to 1878<sup>13</sup>

Before proceeding further, it is worth raising the question of Goldziher's mother tongue.<sup>14</sup> Although he himself distinctly states that his *Mythos* (1876) was originally composed "in meiner ungarischen Muttersprache"<sup>15</sup> and the expression "ma belle langue maternelle"<sup>16</sup> hints strongly, it would seem, in the same direction, I am not sure that this was strictly speaking the case. That Goldziher's mother tongue was not Hungarian was known to his good friend Th. Nöldeke, who writes to him in 1893, presumably on the basis of information supplied privately by Goldziher: "Sie sind von d. Ungarn, deren Sprache nicht Ihre Muttersprache ist, so schlecht behandelt worden, dass ...".<sup>17</sup> If Hungarian was not his mother tongue, the only realistic alternative would be German. This is perhaps what is implied by de Somogyi's somewhat cryptic remark: "He considered Hungarian as his mother tongue, despite the fact that he wrote most of his works in German".<sup>18</sup> But this stands in contradiction to what Goldziher explicitly states about his own linguistic history in a letter to Nöldeke in 1905. Nöldeke had pointed out an undesirable Austrianism in

*C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher*, Leiden 1985, [henceforth: van Koningsveld, *Letters*], Goldziher's part in the correspondence, although returned to Budapest (Somogyi, *Muslim World* 41 [1951] 206 n. 10), has been lost (Ormos, *Az arabok* I xvi, n. 4 = xxiii, n. 4); only a very few letters which remained in Leiden have been preserved. The Goldziher – M. Hartmann correspondence has recently been published (with too large a number of misprints) by L. Hanisch, "Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht". *Der Briefwechsel der Islamwissenschaftler Ignaz Goldziher und Martin Hartmann 1894-1914*, Wiesbaden 2000 [henceforth: Hanisch, *Briefwechsel*]. Here, xiv n. 1, 31 n. 3, details are given of the Goldziher – Fleischer correspondence in the V. Thomsen Nachlass held in Copenhagen.

<sup>13</sup> The most important source for Goldziher's early life is his own *Tagebuch*. This had already been used before its publication by several persons, among them A. S. Yahuda in his aforementioned essay (1924) on the Goldziher library (see *ibid.* 11), and J. Waldapfel, who quotes a lengthy passage from it in his article on Moriz Kármán [= Kleinmann] in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, ed. A. Scheiber, Budapest 1947, 175ff.; it was available to J. de Somogyi and has recently been laid under contribution by L. I. Conrad in 'The dervish's disciple: on the personality and intellectual milieu of the young Ignaz Goldziher' *JRAS* 1990, 225-266, where much additional information will be found. Waldapfel, *ibid.* 175\* mentions material prepared by Goldziher's son [Károly] relating to the biography of his father – this material is now apparently lost, doubtless destroyed during the German occupation of Hungary and the Russian siege of Budapest in 1944-5, together with other Goldziheriana (cf. nn. 4, 137 and the fate of Goldziher's copy of Freytag's *Lexicon* discussed in §3).

<sup>14</sup> See the detailed independent discussion of this matter by I. Ormos in the present volume.

<sup>15</sup> *Mythos* ix.

<sup>16</sup> *Tagebuch* 185; for the anecdotal context see below §5d.

<sup>17</sup> Simon, *Letters* 186 (14.12.1893).

<sup>18</sup> *Muslim World* 51 (1961), 16.

Goldziher's German, in reference to which Goldziher admits that his German was indeed possessed of an Austrian tinge, explaining that his introduction to the language took place only at school in his twelfth year: "Die erste deutsche Gewöhnung geht bei mir natürlich auf die österreichische Unmittelbarkeit zurück, durch die ich in das Deutsche (zuerst im. 12. Lebensjahr) eingeführt worden bin".<sup>19</sup> In view of the fact (see below n. 28) that *Sichat-Jiczhak* (שיחת יצחק). *Abhandlung über Ursprung, Eintheilung und Zeit der Gebete* (Pest 1862) was published at the time of which Goldziher here speaks, his quasi-autobiographical statement can, as it stands, hardly be correct and requires some exegesis.

There would seem to be two ways of resolving the apparent contradiction. One way would be to take his words seriously, but not quite literally. Accordingly, one could suggest that when Goldziher speaks of his first acquaintance with German at the age of twelve, what he means is not colloquial speech, but his first systematic schooling in Hochdeutsch, the official language of the Austrian Empire, the learned written language of Hungary in general at the time and of Hungarian Jewry in particular. This would leave open the possibility that his mother tongue was a different type of German, perhaps even a variety of Jewish-German or Judendeutsch in use among certain circles of Hungarian Jewry, a dialect possessed of a distinctive character of its own, yet certainly not to be identified as "Yiddish". Perhaps this was the "jüdisch-deutsch" of his youthful article mentioned in n. 31 below and the language referred to in the *Tagebuch* as "Jargon". After a six-week absence from Hungary in 1894, a meeting with Max Nordau, his former class-mate, afforded Goldziher an opportunity to hear this "Jargon" once again,<sup>20</sup> and in such a "Jargon" were conducted the deliberations of the Vorstand of the Jewish community in Budapest.<sup>21</sup> It is interesting that a similar medium seems also to have been used by Vámbéry,<sup>22</sup> whose German pronunciation Goldziher holds up to scorn.<sup>23</sup>

An alternative possibility<sup>24</sup> would be to take Goldziher's words less seriously and see here the Hungarian patriot, proud of his Magyar roots, yielding to a little wishful thinking and rewriting his own early biography. This view would regard Goldziher's statement more as an idealized expression of his Hungarianism<sup>25</sup> than the record of a strict autobiographical truth. It should be recalled that the Magyar national movement, with which Goldziher identified strongly, was accompanied within the Jewish communities of Hungary by a marked shift from German to Hungarian,

<sup>19</sup> Simon, *Letters* 277 (13.5.1905).

<sup>20</sup> *Tagebuch* 184.

<sup>21</sup> *Tagebuch* 213, 244.

<sup>22</sup> Vámbéry, it will be remembered, was of Jewish origin.

<sup>23</sup> *Tagebuch* 226, 227.

<sup>24</sup> Favoured by Prof. J. Blau, whom I thank for some interesting and illuminating conversations on this matter.

<sup>25</sup> For Goldziher's Hungarian patriotism see below nn. 50, 190.

although as late as 1900 about a quarter of Hungarian Jewry was still German-speaking.<sup>26</sup>

Whether precedence be given to Hungarian or to (some kind of) German as Goldziher's mother tongue in an absolute sense, it is clear that both languages were native to him and that he had been familiar with both from early childhood. The truth may well be that Goldziher as a child in Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg) was bilingual in two native tongues: (a form of) German used mainly, perhaps, at home and within the Jewish community, and Hungarian, used in society at large.

\* \* \*

Goldziher, as is well known, was a child prodigy.<sup>27</sup> He grew up surrounded by Hebrew books in a home in which the practices of Jewish life and Jewish learning were observed as a natural part of the daily routine. He himself was exposed to, and eagerly accepted, a strict discipline of Hebrew instruction within the home and without. The opening pages of the *Tagebuch*, where he tells of his early studies in Székesfehérvár until 1865 and their continuation from 1865-1868 in Pest are among the most interesting portions of that book. By the age of five he had completed the reading of Genesis in Hebrew; and as an eight-year-old he was having private classes in Talmud. His Hebrew accomplishments were already of a high order when his father placed him at the age of eleven for more serious instruction in the charge of a private tutor, Moses Freudenberg, a teacher to whom Goldziher remained forever grateful. Hours of study had to be long in order to cover the Greek and Latin syllabus of the Cistercian Gymnasium of Székesfehérvár in addition to his extensive Hebrew curriculum; his father would wake him between 4 a.m. – 5 a.m. and the boy would remain at his books until midnight.

Goldziher began his literary career at the age of twelve with a technical essay in German on the development of the Hebrew synagogue liturgy entitled *Sichat-Jiczchak* (שיחת יצחק). *Abhandlung über Ursprung, Eintheilung und Zeit der Gebete* (Pest 1862).<sup>28</sup> In this tract of 19 pp. one already recognizes in clear outline those features and preferences which were to characterize the major works of Goldziher's

<sup>26</sup> G. Barany, *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 8 (1974), 14.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. R. Katz, *Philologische Frühbegabung*. Groningen-Djakarta 1957, 21-22.

<sup>28</sup> *Tagebuch* 22 with facsimile of the title-page *ibid.* pl. 1; Goldziher recalled his youthful literary debut forty years later in 1902 (*ibid.* 231). Contrary to certain popular belief, this essay (synopsis in Heller no. 1) is in German, not Hebrew. According to Conrad, 'Pilgrim from Pest' 151, n. 50 only one copy of the original copy has survived, last heard of in 1927. This seems a little pessimistic, for Németh, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 1 (1950), 9 n. 9 states that several copies are extant. [There is an excellent copy in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, which seems to have been there ever since it was published. A microfilm of it is available now in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. I.O.]. The Jerusalem copy (R72 B 752) is in xeroxed form.

later years. He immersed himself in Hebrew learning to such an extent that by his early teens, in addition to much of the central repertoire of traditional Jewish education, he had read in detail works such as Bahya's *Duties of the Heart*, Judah ha-Levi's *Kuzari* and the *Guide of the Perplexed* of Maimonides.<sup>29</sup> A few years later he made his appearance in distinguished scholarly company with two short contributions, likewise in German, to *Ben Chananja* 10 (1867), the short-lived organ of Jewish studies in Hungary, edited by Leopold Löw in Szeged. In the first of these, "Ein neuer Kommentator des Schulchan Arukh"<sup>30</sup>, he upbraids R. Hillel Lichtenstein, a prominent leader of Hungarian ḥasidism, reproving him in learned fashion for having insufficiently studied the Hebrew sources before delivering his judgment. The second is a note on Yiddish etymology<sup>31</sup> in which the author suggests that the word *davenen* "to pray" derives from the Arabic root *d'w* and has its origin in the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities of Moorish Spain.<sup>32</sup> This short article appeared as the first instalment of an intended series. *Ben Chananja*, however, ceased publication with this volume 10 (1867) and the promised continuation of "Erklärung jüdisch-deutscher Worte" never appeared. At this time Goldziher also enjoyed the instruction of Samuel Löw Brill, whose Talmud classes he attended for several years with enthusiastic regularity and whose methodical scholarship he greatly admired.<sup>33</sup> Of all the studies of his youth in Hungary it was rabbinical learning that he most loved.<sup>34</sup> His reputation and expertise in this field were such that he himself was on at least one occasion engaged to impart Talmudic instruction to an aspirant rabbi.<sup>35</sup> As a student in Berlin he was not prepared to neglect his Talmudic studies, which he pursued at the Bet-ha-Midrash in Rosenstrasse and privately at home;<sup>36</sup> later on, especially in his capacity as secretary to the Jewish community of Pest, he campaigned vigorously for the cause of Hebrew schooling<sup>37</sup> and remained a

<sup>29</sup> *Tagebuch* 18.

<sup>30</sup> "Ein neuer Kommentator des Schulchan Arukh", *Ben Chananja* 10 (1867), Ausserordentliche Beilage zu "Ben Chananja" Nro 12, cols. 6-8. A mishap seems to have occurred in the printing house; the Beilage, which has separate numeration, is to be inserted after col. 412 and appears in the table of contents with the number 413.

<sup>31</sup> "Erklärung jüdisch-deutscher Worte", *Ben Chananja*, Ausserordentliche Beilage *ibid.* 8.

<sup>32</sup> Goldziher repeats this etymology in his *Oriental Diary* 96. It is adopted by F. Perles, *JQR* N.S. 14 (1923), 85, who refers approvingly to Goldziher's article of 1867.

<sup>33</sup> Goldziher warmly acknowledges his debt to Brill's Talmudic instruction in *Tagebuch* 28. His obituary of Brill in *A jövő* 1 (1897) no. 15 (16th April 1897) 2-4 appeared under the pseudonym "Keleti I." [*keleti* = "oriental"]; cf. *Tagebuch* 215.

<sup>34</sup> *Tagebuch* 28.

<sup>35</sup> *Tagebuch* 31.

<sup>36</sup> *Tagebuch* 38.

<sup>37</sup> *Tagebuch* 86, 156 and cf. Heller nos. 35, 110, 114.

devotee of Jewish learning to the end of his life.<sup>38</sup> He was, however, unable to summon up much enthusiasm for Modern Hebrew literature.<sup>39</sup>

While still in Székesfehérvár the young Goldziher had acquired a copy of Gesenius's *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*,<sup>40</sup> and, enchanted by the etymological comparisons of the Hebrew words with their Semitic cognates, he was drawn powerfully to the study of the orient and its languages. He began with Syriac. This was in 1865. In that year the family, hit by bad times, moved to Pest, the city in which Goldziher was to remain for the rest of his life. His arrival there coincided with the appointment to the university of the celebrated Á. Vámbéry (1832-1913) as Lektor in oriental subjects.<sup>41</sup> Such an opportunity was not to be missed and in October 1865 the fifteen-year-old Goldziher registered as a special student ("ausserordentlicher Hörer") at the university of Pest, attending classes, inter alia, in classics, linguistic science, Turkish and Persian. At a later stage he added Hungarian philology to his curriculum.<sup>42</sup> He was Vámbéry's first student, and through him it was that Goldziher was first fired with enthusiasm for the languages and literatures of Islam;<sup>43</sup> more particularly, it was the reading with Vámbéry of Feridun's *Munša'āt* in 1867 that opened to Goldziher the door of Oriental studies.<sup>44</sup> He made such extraordinary progress in Turkish and Persian (helped by the native services of Molla Ishak, Vámbéry's Tatar house-servant<sup>45</sup>) that in 1866, while still a schoolboy, he was able, with his teacher's active encouragement, to publish translations of two Turkish tales into Hungarian.<sup>46</sup> At the

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Yahuda, *Der Jude* 8 (1924), 576, 584, 585 (referring to Goldziher's letter of 30.5.1913) and cf. idem, *'Ever wa-'arav* 216-219, 222-225; S. D. Goitein, *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume I*, ed. S. Löwinger & J. Somogyi, Budapest 1948, Hebrew section 6 n. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Yahuda, *'Ever wa-'arav* 210. Goldziher was in favour of the revived Hebrew language; it was the new literature he did not much care for as it appears from a Hebrew letter from Goldziher to D. Yellin published in *Ha-Aretz* weekend literary suppl. of 26 May 2006.

<sup>40</sup> He was subsequently to publish a review of the 8th edition of this work (together with the Hebrew grammars of Gesenius and Stade) in *Egvetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 4 (1880), 281-286.

<sup>41</sup> For Vámbéry, his career and relations with Goldziher see Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 243ff. and the literature referred to there in the notes; K. Kreiser in *Festgabe an Josef Matuz: Osmanistik – Turkologie – Diplomatie*, ed. C. Fragner & K. Schwarz, Berlin 1992, 181-191; J. M. Landau in *The Jewish Discovery of Islam. Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. M. Kramer, Tel Aviv 1999, 95-102 and the essay of Simon mentioned above in n. 11.

<sup>42</sup> *Tagebuch* 32.

<sup>43</sup> *Tagebuch* 26.

<sup>44</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 358.

<sup>45</sup> *Tagebuch* 26. This figure is well known to readers of Vámbéry; see the references in Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 246 n. 79.

<sup>46</sup> "Egy tizenhat éves magyar orientalista" [A sixteen year old Hungarian orientalist], *Hazánk s a külföld* 2 (1866) no. 21 (27.5.1866) 333-334, with words of introduction by



end of his first year of university his proficiency in Turkish was such that he took with him on holiday several Turkish books which, he tells us,<sup>47</sup> he was able to read with ease without the help of a dictionary. Shortly thereafter he was reading Ottoman manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Vámbéry, who would spare neither time nor trouble in furthering his young pupil's progress, had a very high regard for Goldziher's command particularly of Turkish.<sup>48</sup> This must indeed have been very considerable, for during Goldziher's visit to the Middle East in 1873-4 he was able to converse on technical Islamic subjects in Turkish (and classical Arabic) with evident ease (see further below §5d).

Vámbéry's lessons, inspiring as they were, were conducted in a somewhat impressionistic manner, questions e.g. of morphology and syntax being decided more by the teacher's instinct than by precise grammatical knowledge. This was in contrast to the systematic approach adopted in the Talmud classes of Brill, who kept the facts of the text firmly in the foreground and strove for an exact understanding of all its parts. Brill's Talmud *shi'ur* was attended at the same time by another youthful participant who was likewise to become a famous figure in the world of Semitic and oriental scholarship. This was Goldziher's exact contemporary W. Bacher (1850-1913). Goldziher and Bacher were at this stage on very friendly terms and would meet in order to study other than Talmudic subjects. Goldziher taught his fellow-student Persian and together the two teenagers read texts in Syriac and Arabic.<sup>49</sup> In addition to the oriental languages mentioned here (and of course Hungarian),<sup>50</sup>

Vámbéry; *Tagebuch* 26-27 and cf. Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 259. Németh, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 1 (1950), 10 observes that Vámbéry's own career had begun in a similar way, viz. translation from Turkish into Hungarian.

<sup>47</sup> *Tagebuch* 29.

<sup>48</sup> Relations between teacher and pupil subsequently became strained (but cf. below n. 201). Goldziher published a Hungarian obituary of Vámbéry in *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia elhunyt tagjai fölött tartott emlékebeszédék* 17, no. 6, Budapest 1915 = vol. 17, 147-164.

<sup>49</sup> *Tagebuch* 32-33.

<sup>50</sup> Goldziher was very proud of his native land and its language. When in 1906 he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Aberdeen he declined, as a Hungarian patriot, to deliver official greetings in the name of the "Austro-Hungarian Universities" and proposed to delete "Austro-" from the formula (*Tagebuch* 252; cf. *ibid.* 255 and note the expression "als Delegierter der ungarischen Hochschulen" in his account to Nöldeke in Simon, *Letters* 288); a similar episode is recorded in the *Tagebuch* 306-307, for which see also the correspondence of Hurgronje to Goldziher in van Koningsveld, *Letters* 513ff. Goldziher was also active in promoting Hungarian (rather than German) as the language of Jewish communal affairs in Budapest (*ibid.* 156) and considered it his duty to make the results of his researches available not only in German to the world at large but also in Hungarian to a local readership (*ibid.* 231). We have already seen that he studied Hungarian philology at the University of Pest. It would appear that Goldziher had a high regard for his own proficiency in written and spoken Hungarian and did not take

German,<sup>51</sup> French<sup>52</sup> etc.<sup>53</sup>), it goes without saying that Goldziher also possessed an excellent grounding in Latin and Greek;<sup>54</sup> he did not write on Latin or Greek,<sup>55</sup> but uses both with ease whenever the need arises and alludes freely to classical sources.

kindly to having his language corrected (ibid. 129, 214, 217). His Hungarian patriotism also found musical expression; see Ormos's article on the correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher and Max Herz in this volume. One supposes that it was this attachment to his native land that was largely responsible for Goldziher's persistent reluctance to accept one of the many professorships offered to him outside Hungary.

- <sup>51</sup> (Some form of) German, as we have seen, seems to have been Goldziher's mother tongue. His reading in German (as in other languages) was of course not confined to technical books and learned journals but covered a wide range of literature; e.g. his *Tagebuch* 292 records in 1916 that he read "wieder einmal den ganzen Faust"; ibid. 303 he reflects on the letters of Caroline and Dorothea Schlegel ("eine ungesunde Lektüre") and in Simon, *Letters* 399-400 he tells Nöldeke that during a period of convalescence in 1919 he read a great deal of Goethe (together with six volumes of Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt*). Goldziher was well read in European literature in general; the *Tagebuch* mentions e.g. Kingsley's *Hypatia* (186) and *Don Quixote* (310) and note the account of his reading on board ship from New York back to Europe in 1904 (239).
- <sup>52</sup> Goldziher read extensively in French (e.g. *Tagebuch* 146-148; Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 310-311) and also seems to have spoken it well. On at least one occasion (below n. 158) he also taught in French. He mentions a French conversation in a railway carriage in 1892 (*Tagebuch* 143) and another in 1895 (ibid. 185 and below §5d); furthermore, some of the high-society discussions in Landberg's château were held in that language (ibid. 179, 180 and below §5d). Negotiations with Fuad Pasha [= Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād, *postea* King Fuad I] in 1911 about a course of lectures to be delivered in Cairo were conducted in French (*Tagebuch* 270; Simon, *Letters* 352-353). Official speeches which Goldziher delivered in French are mentioned in the *Tagebuch* 273, 274. He also published in French, though at least certain items, e.g. those on the cult of saints *RHR* 2 (1880), 257-351 = *GS* VI 62 and ancestor worship *RHR* 10 (1884), 332-359 = *GS* VI 157 and the introduction to *Le livre de Mohammed ibn Toumert* (1903) (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 205) were translated by others from Goldziher's German original.
- <sup>53</sup> For English see below n. 158. It has been stated by DeSomogyi, *GS* I xviii that Goldziher also knew Russian. Snouck Hurgronje was evidently of this opinion too, for in 1896-7 he requested Goldziher to recommend a Russian grammar, dictionary and some simple reading matter (van Koningsveld, *Letters* 171, 177). Nevertheless, despite the fact that Goldziher's library contained a number of Russian works (Yahuda, *Der Jude* 8 [1924], 578-579), his knowledge of Russian is to be doubted. [Contrary to DeSomogyi's assertion, Goldziher did not know Russian. In an unpublished letter dated 25.4.1911 he complains to Nöldeke: "Tagtäglich bedauere ich es immer mehr, in meiner Jugend das Russische nicht erlernt zu haben. Da liegt ein neues Werk von V. Minorsky über die 'Alī Ilāhī-Sekte auf meinem Tisch, das gewiss die wichtigsten Aufschlüsse enthält. Ausser den mitgetheilten türkischen Texten ist es mir leider völlig verschlossen. Und es geht mich so nahe an!" After the outbreak of WWI Alexander von Schmidt, a Russian *islamisant* of German extraction, asked Snouck Hurgronje to forward a letter to Goldziher (van Koningsveld,

Before he had left school (the syllabus for which he had largely taught himself) Goldziher had already developed a voracious appetite for study and was very widely read in a variety of languages and cultures. [Goldziher's lecture notes beginning with November 1866 are extant in a notebook in his Nachlass entitled *Tanulmányi jegyzőkönyv* [Study notes]. This contains notes jotted down in a variety of courses: Hungarian Literature, Sources on Hungarian History in the 16th Century and Hungarian Grammar (all taught by Ferenc Toldy), On the History of Logical Theories (Cyrill Horváth), *Halotti Beszéd* [Funeral Sermon – the earliest continuous text in Hungarian, from the 12th century], Greek Literature (Iván Télyfy), and *Nibelungenlied* (Szendé [Mansuet] Riedl). In addition to some pages attesting to an interest in mathematics and geometry (!) this notebook also contains Goldziher's study timetable *Egyetemi és thalmudi előadások* [University and Talmud Lectures], from which it appears that he had lessons on every day of the week, including the sabbath. The university week began on Monday at 11.00 a.m.; on Saturdays he took Hungarian Literature (9.00 a.m.), Comparative Linguistics (11.00 a.m.) and Oriental Linguistics (4.00 p.m.). Talmud classes took place on the mornings of Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. [In addition to all this Goldziher also attended lectures on the Ethnography of Asia. I. O.]. His precocious genius had also found early literary expression, so that by the time he arrived at the university of Berlin in 1868 he was already a scholar of no mean accomplishment.

At Berlin and Leipzig in the 1860s-1870s<sup>56</sup> Goldziher was exposed at close quarters to a large variety of languages as well as to a number of very different modes of linguistic enquiry. This was the period during which the language sciences were undergoing momentous changes as the Junggrammatiker, led from Leipzig, introduced a new rigour into the formal analysis of concrete data, thereby establishing the foundation for language study which has remained intact ever since.

*Letters* 410, 411). In this letter von Schmidt acknowledged Goldziher's *iršād* and expressed his regret that Goldziher would be unable to read his recently published Russian book on 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ša'rānī (St. Petersburg 1914). Now von Schmidt had spent several months in 1897 studying with Goldziher in Budapest and would certainly have known whether his teacher, with whom he was on very friendly terms, knew Russian or not. The letters of von Schmidt to Goldziher in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences are in German. I. O.]

<sup>54</sup> At school in Székesfehérvár he excelled in Latin, Greek and ancient history (*Tagebuch* 21), a fact referred to somewhat obliquely in *Mythos* ix. In 1893 Goldziher passed some time in Pusztai Tövisgyház reading Ovid and Virgil; Virgil in particular was one of his favourite authors, whom he liked to quote and to whom he often returned (*Tagebuch* 164). De Somogyi, *Muslim World* 51 (1961), 14 reports that a Greek New Testament always lay on Goldziher's desk.

<sup>55</sup> An interesting exception is the short note in *Magyar Nyelvőr* 27 (1898), 321 about the word *gri* in a text of the fine stylist Cardinal Péter Pázmány (1570-1637). Goldziher here showed that *gri* is not < French *cri*, but < Greek οὐδὲ γρῦν "not a bit".

<sup>56</sup> Goldziher's Wanderjahre are sketched by Simon, *Letters* 34ff.

At the same time, the 1860-70s were a period in which more attention than ever before was being paid to the connection between language and psychology and to the functioning of the pre-literate mind. While the neogrammarian controversy on matters of sound-change and analogy was gathering momentum in Leipzig, in Berlin H. Steinthal (1823-1899), who there professed general linguistics, was more interested in the mystic, symbolic side of language, giving free rein to the investigation of *Völkerpsychologie*, primitive metaphor and the origin of myth.

It is striking that a student of such catholic tastes and intellectual energy as Goldziher should have shown but little interest in the crucial new issues raised by the neogrammarian controversy. He was not particularly concerned with phonological correspondences and the regularity (or irregularity) of sound shifts; he was not in any way “un philologue, amoureux de paradigmes”<sup>57</sup> and was apparently not attracted by the exact principles of the new comparative philology and the revolutionary possibilities that were then opening up in the language sciences. Goldziher’s main interests and strengths lay elsewhere, for throughout his life he tended away from the concrete and formal “todte Buchstabe”,<sup>58</sup> towards the spiritual and intuitive. He was always concerned more with the architecture of the building than with the composition and arrangement of its bricks. According to this general bent, his philological sympathies during his student years in Germany were drawn rather towards those larger questions of mind and language, imagination and myth, culture and religion addressed by the school of which Steinthal was the principal exponent.<sup>59</sup> In addition, therefore, to his linguistic studies of Semitic and oriental tongues – Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic,<sup>60</sup> Persian, Sanskrit, Turkish, Egyptology<sup>61</sup> – Goldziher pursued a wide selection of subjects, both formally and informally. For

<sup>57</sup> L. Massignon in his biographical introduction to Heller, *Bibliographie* xiv.

<sup>58</sup> *Tagebuch* 33, with reference to Bacher.

<sup>59</sup> For a recent account of Steinthal see A. Mopurgo Davies, *Nineteenth-century Linguistics*, London – New York 1998 = *History of Linguistics*, ed. G. Lepschy, London – New York 1994, vol. IV, 201-207 and the accompanying notes. [Cf. *Chajim H. Steinthal. Sprachwissenschaftler und Philosoph im 19. Jahrhundert – Linguist and Philosopher in the 19th Century*, ed. H. Wiedebach & A. Winkelmann (*Studies in European Judaism*, ed. G. Veltri, vol. 4). Leiden – Boston – Köln 2002. I. O.].

<sup>60</sup> Goldziher mentions his early Ethiopic studies with fellow student B. Stade in a letter to Nöldeke in 1910 (Simon, *Letters* 344). The Ethiopic section of the *Encyclopädie der semitischen Philologie* (c. 1868-9 – see below) is testimony to the fact that Goldziher was by no means a beginner in this subject. His interest in South Arabian probably dates from a later period. South Arabian does not appear in the surviving rubrics of the *Encyclopädie* (during his Leipzig days very little indeed was known of this subject), but Goldziher writes to Hartmann in 1895 that “Südarabisch habe ich ja auch getrieben, wenigstens alles bisher Erschienene aufmerksam verfolgt, soweit es mir zugänglich war” (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 27); by 1907, however, his South Arabian had been long neglected and largely forgotten (*ibid.* 276, 281).

<sup>61</sup> *Tagebuch* 47.

example, he practised Dutch with his fellow-student J. Spiro.<sup>62</sup> He was in personal contact with Steinthal, Geiger and Steinschneider in Berlin, held discussions with Delitzsch in Leipzig, where he also enrolled for psychology classes. For administrative reasons he was obliged to qualify in ancient history and philosophy too.

During his German Wanderjahre Goldziher not only studied a formidable array of subjects, but also displayed a quite phenomenal industry. The author of the *Tagebuch* did not exaggerate when he spoke of the long days and sleepless nights spent at his desk in uninterrupted study.<sup>63</sup> Hitherto unknown evidence of Goldziher's philological activity at this period has recently been unearthed by I. Ormos in the Goldziher Nachlass in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Two items in particular call for attention here.

The first is a very substantial sketch of a work conceived on a grand scale and entitled *Encyclopädie der semit. Philologie*.<sup>64</sup> This work in its present form consists of four notebooks (I, III, IV, VI) containing respectively 32, 8, 35, 10 handwritten pages of German, and is neither continuous nor complete. In particular, notebooks III and VI are missing many pages. A reconstruction of the contents of the I. Abtheilung, in which Goldziher divides the Semitic languages (excluding Akkadian) into three historical phases and discusses each in turn, suggests that two notebooks (II and V) are missing. The fate of these is not known; nor is it known how many Abtheilungen there were to be and what they were to contain. From the nature of the data presented and the literature cited, it emerges that Goldziher composed these sketches about 1868-1869. This unpublished work of Goldziher's youth<sup>65</sup> in some ways puts the reader in mind of the *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1855) of Renan (1823-1892), a well-known influence upon Goldziher's early years.<sup>66</sup> The following synopsis will give a good idea of the extraordinary range and intensity of Goldziher's preoccupation with Semitic philology during his late teens.

<sup>62</sup> *Tagebuch* 48. For Goldziher's Dutch see also below n. 157.

<sup>63</sup> *Tagebuch* 39, 41-42.

<sup>64</sup> MS Goldziher-gyűjtemény 105. This youthful *Encyclopädie* is not to be confused with the *Grundriss der semitischen Philologie* planned in the early 1890s by Nöldeke and Goldziher (*Tagebuch* 230, 232; Simon, *Letters* 182; Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher in van Koningsveld, *Letters* 132). This later *Grundriss* was abandoned at the death of A. Müller, who was to edit the work, but its pendant the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ed. W. Geiger & E. Kuhn appeared in Strassburg 1895-1904.

<sup>65</sup> The closest relatives of this *Encyclopädie* in the Goldziher oeuvre would seem to be the Hungarian items in Heller's bibliography nos. 8 and 58 (see synopsis there).

<sup>66</sup> See L. I. Conrad, 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan: from orientalist philology to the study of Islam' in: *The Jewish Discovery of Islam. Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. M. Kramer, Tel Aviv 1999, 137-180, especially 158ff. Goldziher's study *Renan mint orientalista* [Renan as an Orientalist], Budapest 1894, of which Heller no. 166 gives a synopsis, has been translated into German by P. Zalán, Zürich 2000.

**Encyclopädie der semit. Philologie**

**Notebook I**

(pp. 32)

***Einleitung***

Bibliographical preamble

§1 The purpose of an encyclopaedia of Semitic philology

§2 The definition of Semitic philology

§3 The home of the Semites

§4 Semitic sounds

§5 Characteristics of Semitic languages

§6 The Semitic root

§7 Semitic and Indo-European

§8 Semitic and Egyptian

§9 Semitic and Iranian

§10 Three divisions:<sup>67</sup> North Semitic – Aramaic  
Central Semitic – Hebrew, Phoenician  
South Semitic – Arabic, Ethiopic, Amharic

***I. Abtheilung***

§1 Three Semitic periods: 1. Hebrew  
2. Aramaic  
3. Arabic

§2 Semitische Schrift

[**Notebook II** containing ... and *I. Abschnitt* §§1-14a on Hebrew is missing]

**Notebook III**<sup>68</sup>

(pp. 8)

§14b Lost Hebrew literature (end)

§15 Der Prophetismus

***II. Abschn. Phönikische Sprache u. Culturentwicklung***

§1 Land u. Volk

§2 Historical

§3a Colonies (beginning)

<sup>67</sup> This tripartite geographical division recurs in Goldziher's short introduction iii-iv §2 to his revised edition (1872) of Ballagi's *Elementary Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (see below).

<sup>68</sup> Headed: *Encyclopädie N° III.* and beginning in the middle of the section on Biblical literature with the end of §14. Pp. 9ff. containing the continuation of Phoenician §§3b ff. are missing.

**Notebook IV**<sup>69</sup> *III. Abschnitt Das Aramäische*  
(pp. 35)

- §1 Characteristics of Aramaic
- [§2] Nomenclature
- §3 Biblical Aramaic
- §4 Targumim
- §5 Samaritans
- §6 Samarit. Spr.
- §7 Samarit. Schrift
- §8 Literatur der Sam.
- §9 Nabatäer
- §10 Mandäer
- §11 Forts. – Literatur d. M. (includes beliefs and customs)
- §12 Syrische Sprache – the name “Syriac”
- §13 Syriac is not Chaldaean
- §14 Dialekte
- §15 Syriac script
- §16 Gesch. d. syr. Spr.
- §16(!) History of Syriac studies
- §17(!) Syriac literature – historical preamble
- §18(!) Poetry and Bible translations
- §20 Ephraem and Biblical exegesis
- §21 Historiographie
- §22 Grammatik u. Lexicographie

[**Notebook V** containing ..., *IV. Abschnitt* on Arabic and *V. Abschnitt* §§1-6a on Ethiopic is missing]

**Notebook VI** §6b Ethiopic script (end)  
(pp. 10)

- §7 Lautverhältnisse
- §8 Ethiopic literature
- §9 Modern Ethiopian Semitic languages

The second unpublished work which invites attention here bears the title-page *Lexicon der hebr. grammatischen Terminologie, angelegt von Ignaz Goldziher, Stud. phil., Berlin 1869*.<sup>70</sup> We have here some fifty pages of a notebook in tall format (34 cm.) containing alphabetical entries of Hebrew linguistic terms from the letter *aleph* to *ayin*; the notebook in which the glossary was continued from *pe* to *taw* is lost. The work, according to the list of abbreviations, is based upon the following sources: Ibn Janāh, *Sefer ha-Riqma* (including Judah b. Tibbon's introduction in Arabic and

<sup>69</sup> The page begins with a few bibliographical details on Syriac literature.

<sup>70</sup> MS Goldziher-gyűjtemény 84.

Hebrew), Ḥayyuj in the translation of Ibn Ezra (ed. Dukes 1844), Kimḥi, Ibn Ezra, Menahem b. Saruq, David b. Abraham al-Fāsi, ‘Ali b. Sulaymān, Pinsker’s *Liqqute qadmoniyot* and the *Keter Torah* of Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia. References to further sources occur in the body of the work. A particularly valuable feature of this glossary (unfortunately not always followed in later works of a similar kind) is the inclusion of Arabic and Syriac parallels in illumination of the Hebrew entries, many of which are calques of Arabic originals.

The *Encyclopädie der semitischen Philologie* and the *Lexicon der hebräischen grammatischen Terminologie* have not, as far as I know, been recorded in the Goldziher literature. Another philological work, which he produced a few years later on his return to Hungary early in 1872, is hardly better known and as the only formal grammatical work in the whole of his output requires a special mention here. This is his revision of the Hebrew grammar of Ballagi Mór [= Moritz Bloch], *A héber nyelv elemi tankönyve* [Elementary Grammar of the Hebrew Language], second ed. (Pest 1872).<sup>71</sup> The “vollständige Umarbeitung” of this book afforded him little pleasure.<sup>72</sup>

His wider language interests did not cease when in the immediately following years he began to turn more and more to Arabic. His reviews of W. D. Whitney’s *Language and the Study of Language* (London 1867) in the translation of J. Jolly, *Die Sprachwissenschaft* (München 1874) and of Fr. Müller’s *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft I* (Wien 1876) are very much more than short notices.<sup>73</sup>

During his teens and early twenties Goldziher also read extensively on theological subjects,<sup>74</sup> with a special interest in mythology. One of his favourite books was F. Max Müller’s (1823-1900) *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2 vols. (London 1861, 1864 and subsequent revised editions), undoubtedly the most popular philological book of 19th century, the second volume of which contains much mythological speculation.<sup>75</sup> Goldziher’s manuscript notes to the German translation can be seen in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *A héber nyelv elemi tankönyve*, írta Dr. Ballagi Mór ... második átdolgozott kiadását eszközölte Dr. Goldziher Ignác [... second revised edition prepared by I. G.], Pest 1872. The first edition appeared (with the same title) in Prague in 1856. On this work see Andrea Strbik, *Héber nyelvtanok Magyarországon* [Hebrew Grammars in Hungary] (Hungaria Judaica 10), Budapest 1999, 58-59, 61-62, 160-161, 174-175.

<sup>72</sup> *Tagebuch* 51.

<sup>73</sup> *Magyar Tanügy* 3 (1874), 603-612 and 5 (1876), 130-133 respectively.

<sup>74</sup> *Tagebuch* 39, 45, 49 and Conrad, ‘Pilgrim from Pest’ 15.

<sup>75</sup> Goldziher reviewed the Hungarian translation of the second volume of Müller’s *Lectures* (together with two other books on mythology) in *Magyar Tanügy* 6 (1877), 44-53. In 1877 Max Müller was one of three dedicatees of the English translation of *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* (see below n. 201) and many years later Goldziher contributed a Hungarian obituary of this influential figure of his early years to *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 30 (1900), 458-468.

<sup>76</sup> Dévényi & Iványi in their translation of Goldziher’s *History of Arabic Grammar* (see below §7) 63 n. 3.



Simultaneously, the rise of Assyriology was opening up new prospects for research into pre-Biblical Semitic antiquities, and significant advances were being made in the developing social sciences. Goldziher, inspired by Steinthal and enthusiastic about the new scholarly possibilities then becoming available, considered the time ripe for a full-scale study of primitive Hebrew religion. His preoccupation with oriental mythology culminated in a lengthy monograph: *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern und seine geschichtliche Entwicklung. Untersuchungen zur Mythologie und Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig 1876). This large and learned work (xxxi, 402 pp.), which appeared when its author was aged 25, was little read in its time, is today virtually forgotten and is something of an anomaly in the Goldziher oeuvre.<sup>77</sup> Although *Der Mythos* was translated into English within a year of the appearance of the original,<sup>78</sup> it made little impact; the general theses of the book were not favourably received,<sup>79</sup> especially in Hungary,<sup>80</sup> and Goldziher never returned to the subject except in a marginal way.<sup>81</sup>

### 3. The character of Goldziher's language interests

Goldziher ever remained a philologist in the wider sense of the word. Language 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. His studies were always centred

<sup>77</sup> See the accounts by Simon, *Letters* 77-87 and Conrad, 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan', in particular 142-150.

<sup>78</sup> *Mythology Among the Hebrews and its Historical Development*, translated ... with additions by the author, by Russell Martineau, London 1877. Max Müller was instrumental in the appearance of this publication, which was revised by Goldziher, supplied with an index and an appendix of two essays by Steinthal. *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg 1910) was the only other of Goldziher's monographs to be translated in toto during his lifetime (into Hungarian, Russian, English and French = Heller nos. 323, 325, 363, 372 respectively); today, of course, his most significant work is available in languages other than German and Hungarian, including Arabic and Hebrew renderings of the *Vorlesungen*, as well as a new translation thereof into English (Princeton 1981).

<sup>79</sup> See e.g. F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugetiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern*, Leipzig 1879, 4 n. 6, and in more detail idem, *Die semitischen Völker und Sprachen* I, Leipzig 1883, 64-65. The favourable notice accorded the book by Steinthal in *ZfVP* 9 (1877), 272-303 was exceptional. Pace Conrad, 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan' 148, I have not noticed that the book had a particularly favourable reception in England (despite *Tagebuch* 87).

<sup>80</sup> *Tagebuch* 88-89.

<sup>81</sup> Conrad, 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan' 174 n. 85 seems to overstate the continuing importance of *Der Mythos*. Goldziher's later survey articles on Hebrew myth etc., e.g. Heller nos. 72, 75, 86, 87, 195, are significantly not in the vehicle of his international scholarship, viz. German, but in Hungarian.

firmly in the texts themselves, the literary traditions in which they arose and to which they led. This characteristic is already very well developed in *Sichat-Jiczchak*, the essay on Hebrew prayer published when he was twelve years of age. In this work he uses a large number of mediaeval sources in order to illustrate the history and practice of the Hebrew liturgy. The language of that liturgy is of much less interest to him, but when matters of Hebrew language arise in the course of the argument, Goldziher, with remarkably sure touch, gives them the philological attention they require. Thus, on p. 8 he shows how the foreign root “poet” has been integrated into the Hebrew language according to the noun patterns פִּיט (qattāl), פִּיטָן (qatlān) and פִּיטוּל (qittūl). This morphological explanation of the words themselves is followed on pp. 9-11 by a criticism of the Hebrew language of the *payṭanim*, already in 1862 based in characteristic Goldziher fashion on a generous selection of quotations from the sources.

Goldziher delighted in exploiting the possibilities afforded by a rich and varied tradition of literature. For this reason, one assumes, he never showed much interest, for example, in Semitic epigraphy, a field in which much of the material is by its very nature fragmentary and which could never have given him much intellectual satisfaction. It was for the same reason that he collected Arabic vocabulary from the huge number of Arabic texts which he read, but seems not to have recorded grammatical phenomena on the same scale; the lexicon of a language is important to the historian of culture and ideas in a way that morphology and syntax are not.

Goldziher followed the practice of other 19th century Arabists, e.g. Th. Nöldeke, and was accustomed to note new words and interesting vocabulary in the margins of Freytag's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. After Goldziher's death in 1921 his copy of Freytag's *Lexicon* had a chequered history. For many years it was considered lost; it was unavailable to the editors of the *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*. Goldziher's annotated copy of the four volumes of the *Lexicon*, however, has recently come to light in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.<sup>82</sup> [The book did not reach Jerusalem in 1924 together with the bulk of the library, but was retained by Goldziher's widow (d. 1925) and son Károly Goldziher (d. 1955), together with interleaved copies of his own works containing profuse additions, notes and corrections for eventual revised editions. In March 1944, or shortly thereafter, with the German occupation of Hungary, the confinement of the Jews to the ghetto<sup>83</sup> and the impending approach of the battle front, Károly Goldziher delivered it to J. Somogyi, in whose custody it survived the military operations, unlike the rest of the books and documents, which were destroyed during the siege of Budapest. In all probability Károly did not present Goldziher's Freytag as a gift, but

<sup>82</sup> Könyvleltár 5761/1986 sz. Shelfmark 743.391.

<sup>83</sup> [Together with a number of outstanding Jewish scholars Károly enjoyed the protection of the Regent, i.e. he did not have to move into the ghetto; see K. Frojimovics, G. Komoróczy, V. Pusztai & A. Strbik, *Jewish Budapest. Monuments, Rites, History*, Budapest 1999, 403. I. O.].

only for safe keeping; he appears to have reclaimed it after the end of the war. Somogyi's wording is not fully clear when he states in 1951 that "Fortunately, however, there has remained safe and intact, in the library of the present writer, his hand-copy of Freytag's *Lexicon arabico-latinum*".<sup>84</sup> This seems to mean not that the book had become Somogyi's legal property, but that it survived the war among the books of his own library – in fact, he walled it up in the wine-cellar of the family home.<sup>85</sup> It can be assumed that Károly, having regained his father's copy of Freytag, subsequently donated it to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to be kept with the rest of the Goldziher Nachlass. In any case it was already there in the 1950s. According to the late Professor Károly Czeglédy (1913-1996)<sup>85a</sup> the editors of *WKAS* approached the Academy about Goldziher's copy of Freytag in the 1950s but the negotiations fell through. [I. O.].

To Somogyi belongs the credit of having thus ensured the survival of Goldziher's copy of Freytag. He is also, as far as I know, the only scholar to have made use of Goldziher's lexical marginalia: he published from this source some of Goldziher's additions to the letter *alif* in *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 4 (1954), 320-321 by way of an appendix to his review of Nöldeke's *Belegwörterbuch*.<sup>86</sup>

The marginal annotations (which are mostly in German, with only a few in Hungarian) to his copy of Freytag by no means represent the whole of Goldziher's lexical collections; many additional observations were included in his published works, sometimes in detail in the text of his books and articles, sometimes added casually in the footnotes. As examples one may mention here his remarks on the usage of the word فتوى in *ZDMG* 53 (1899), 650-652 = *GS* IV 229-231, on the root خرف "to reap heavenly reward" in *REJ* 38 (1899), 271-272 = *GS* IV 171-172, on the magical term طرق in *ZATW* 20 (1900), 37 or عزوت in the Nöldeke Festschrift I 320 n.3 = *GS* V 49.

The frequency and ease with which Goldziher was able to produce examples of key words imply that he kept ordered lexical files on topics that interested him. A few references to such files occur in his correspondence with Hartmann, e.g. in a letter of 1897, in which Goldziher mentions that he had compiled from his own

<sup>84</sup> *Muslim World* 41 (1951), 203 n. 3.

<sup>85</sup> *Muslim World* 51 (1961), 12.

<sup>85a</sup> On him see I. Ormos, 'Biographical Notice' in: *Studies in Honour of Károly Czeglédy on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday, The Arabist* 8 (1994), xiii-xv; Id., 'In memoriam Czeglédy Károly' *Keletkutatás* (1996 – 2002), 301-305.

<sup>86</sup> This is perhaps the place to mention a similar publication in the field of Hebrew. Goldziher's annotations to the first part of the letter *aleph* of Levy's *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1876-1889) were published by I. Elbogen, 'Bemerkungen Ignaz Goldziher's zu Levys Neuhebräischem Wörterbuch', *MGWJ* 78 (1934), 34-41. These Bemerkungen have been reissued at the end of the reprint of Levy's dictionary, newly titled *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Darmstadt 1963, IV, 749-756.

reading “ein arabisches Schimpflexicon”, a collection which might, he says, have been included in a further instalment of *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*; he also mentions the completion of a substantial “Folklore” study, the object of which was to elucidate certain obscure usages in old Arabic literature, and “mein strafrechtliches Bündel”.<sup>87</sup> In reply to an enquiry by Hartmann about the term رفاق, Goldziher states “... habe ich sowohl meine Stellen zu رفق sowie den Art. in LA angesehen”, as a result of which inspection he rejects the meaning “Lebensgenuss” which Hartmann had proposed.<sup>88</sup> Goldziher’s lexical collections are of such scope and quality that a glossary compiled from his publications, the four volumes of his Freytag and his unpublished writings would constitute a highly valuable contribution to Arabic lexicography, more particularly since theology and jurisprudence are areas not well covered in the existing Arabic dictionaries.<sup>89</sup>

Goldziher’s philology was in general of the “higher” rather than the “lower” variety. Accordingly, his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1896-1898) is not a contribution to Arabic grammar similar in content to a more recent work of comparable title, H. Fleisch’s *Traité de philologie arabe*, 2 vols. (Beyrouth 1961-1979), but is first and foremost an investigation into the origin and growth of *hijā’* poetry in Arabic, followed in the second volume by an edition of Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī’s *Kitāb al-mu’ammārīn*, preceded by a remarkable introduction (pp. ix-xcii) on the theme of longevity in Arabic and other literatures.<sup>90</sup> Goldziher was much less interested in the functioning of grammatical mechanisms and in comparative Semitic grammar than some of his great contemporaries, e.g. Fleischer, Nöldeke, Praetorius or Barth.

This is not, however, to say that he took no interest at all in philology in the narrower sense. On the contrary, he most certainly did. It is true that – excepting the aforementioned revision of the Hebrew grammar of Ballagi – he did not produce a formal description of any Semitic language or publish any strictly grammatical work, but from his early youth he was very well read indeed in this area and he continued throughout his life to enjoy the study of technical linguistic literature. For example, he was an enthusiastic reader of Abū Zayd’s *Kitāb al-nawādir*, whose value for the study of old Arabic dialects he emphasized and from which he made copious extracts;<sup>91</sup> the critical collection of dialectal features from the old philological literature he considered an important task.<sup>92</sup> He doubtless had tongue in cheek when he disclaimed any linguistic expertise for himself “da ich in linguistischen Fragen

<sup>87</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 78, 306, 325 respectively.

<sup>88</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 342.

<sup>89</sup> See M. Ullmann’s foreword to the first volume of the *WKAS*. Wiesbaden 1970, xiv n. 12.

<sup>90</sup> It is indicative of the gap between the two types of “philologie” involved that Goldziher’s name does not appear at all in Fleisch’s “Index des auteurs cités”.

<sup>91</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 23, 30-31.

<sup>92</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 114.

immer nur *Schüler* sein kann”, or “Ich bin sehr wenig kompetent in sprachvergleichenden Fragen mitzureden”.<sup>93</sup>

We should recall here his close association with two of the greatest works ever published in the field of Semitic linguistics. Nöldeke’s *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg 1904) bears the inscription to “Ignaz Goldziher als Zeichen der Hochachtung und Freundschaft gewidmet”<sup>94</sup>, a dedication which was to its recipient a source of enormous pride and gratification.<sup>95</sup> Of the same author’s *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg 1910) Goldziher writes to Nöldeke, even before having finished the chapter on biradical substantives, that he had scarcely ever revelled (“geschwelgt”) in enjoyment of a scholarly book to such an extent before.<sup>96</sup> The mutual admiration of the two great scholars ran deep and was of long standing.<sup>97</sup> Goldziher was Nöldeke’s preferred successor to the Strassburg chair in 1906<sup>98</sup> and it was Goldziher’s unique combination of sovereign command of linguistic detail (“lower” philology) and prodigious familiarity with the cultural milieu of Islamic texts (“higher” philology) that led Nöldeke to recognise in him an “echter Philolog”,<sup>99</sup> fired by the spark of genius.<sup>100</sup>

#### 4. The three periods of Goldziher’s career

Goldziher’s scholarly career has been divided into three periods: (i) to 1876/8, (ii) 1876/8-1910, (iii) 1910-1921.<sup>101</sup> The first comprised the works of his youth in

<sup>93</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 107, 306.

<sup>94</sup> F. Schwally’s revision of the first volume of Nöldeke’s *Geschichte des Qorans* (Leipzig 1909) was inscribed to Goldziher and Snouck Hurgronje.

<sup>95</sup> *Tagebuch* 235 and cf. Snouck Hurgronje’s letters to Goldziher dated 11.9.1904, 18.4.1908 and 25.12.1910 in van Koningsveld, *Letters* 235, 271, 350.

<sup>96</sup> Simon, *Letters* 344 (2.11.1910).

<sup>97</sup> For Goldziher’s admiration for Nöldeke “als Gelehrter und Humanist” see the letter (1902) in Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 189.

<sup>98</sup> Simon, *Letters* 283 (7.8.1905). Goldziher, *Tagebuch* 249 refers to another letter from Nöldeke on this subject dated 15.12.1905, and cf. Simon, *ibid.* 187 (4.12.1893), where Nöldeke already envisages this possibility.

<sup>99</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *ZA* 26 (1912), v.

<sup>100</sup> Th. Nöldeke to Snouck Hurgronje 27.5.1909 and 7.12.1921, quoted by Hurgronje, *ZDMG* 85 (1931), 281. Hurgronje responded to Nöldeke on this subject on 13.6.1909 and 30.12.1921 (P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke*. Leiden 1985, 146, 296) and he communicated to Goldziher the text of Nöldeke’s first letter on 17.6.1909 (van Koningsveld, *Letters* 308, 312).

<sup>101</sup> This somewhat artificial yet convenient periodization is that of Németh, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 1 (1950), 10-11, adopted by J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*. Leipzig 1955, 228, 229, 231. Goldziher himself might have divided his life differently. He regarded (*Tagebuch* 80ff.) the year 1883 as a milestone in his career, marked by the

Hungary and his German *Wanderjahre*, his first ventures into Arabic literary history, his oriental tour of 1873-4 to the Levant and Egypt, his aforementioned German book on Hebrew mythology (1876) and culminated in his Hungarian *History of Grammar among the Arabs* (1878), to which we shall return below §7. The oriental tour played a crucial role in familiarizing Goldziher at first hand with the spoken Arabic of the Middle East, the life of its inhabitants and the contents of its libraries (see below §6 end). His acquisitions in the bookshops of Damascus and Cairo<sup>102</sup> also put him in very good stead. He ever after cherished the memory of his visit to the Levant and Egypt, which he regarded as the happiest time of his life,<sup>103</sup> rivalled only by his participation in the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm in 1889.<sup>104</sup> Goldziher's general philological activity during this period has been sketched above §2; his specifically Arabic studies will be mentioned in §6.

In the second period, from 1876/8-1910,<sup>105</sup> Goldziher turned more and more to the study of Islam, the field in which his name will always be remembered and revered. Towards the beginning of this second period there appeared in French *Le culte des saints chez les musulmans*, *RHR* 2 (1880), 257-351 (and separately Paris 1880) = *GS* VI 62 and a large Hungarian work entitled *Az iszlám* (Budapest 1881), which is in some ways a forerunner<sup>106</sup> of his celebrated *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols. (Halle 1889-1890). In the interim he published *Die Zâhiriten* (Leipzig 1884). The *Muhammedanische Studien* were followed by further landmarks: his edition of *Der Dîwân des Ġarwal b. Aus al-Ĥuṭej'a* (Leipzig 1893)<sup>107</sup> = *GS* III 50,<sup>108</sup> a Hungarian treatise on Arabic historiography, *A történetírás az arab irodalomban* [Historiography in Arabic Literature] (Budapest 1895 [in fact 1896]),<sup>109</sup> the two parts

completion of *Die Zâhiriten* (93) and participation in the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists in Leiden (95-96); the death of Fleischer in 1888 was another landmark for him (116).

<sup>102</sup> *Oriental Diary* 120, 125, 147, 151, 152; *Tagebuch* 58, 60, 66, 72-73 and cf. Heller no. 40 = *Az arabok* I 65, no. 40a, no. 43 = *GS* I 347, no. 45, no. 51 = *GS* I 351, no. 52. The acquisition of Arabic books for the Library of the Hungarian Academy was among the official purposes of Goldziher's trip.

<sup>103</sup> *Tagebuch* 55, 58, 64, 73.

<sup>104</sup> *Tagebuch* 117ff., 120, 177, 189 and cf. *ibid.* 258 on the death of King Oscar II.

<sup>105</sup> Called by Németh, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 1 (1950), 15-16 the "Fleischer-Periode".

<sup>106</sup> A detailed synopsis of the six chapters of the work is given by Heller no. 85, pp. 30-35.

<sup>107</sup> Reprinted from the *ZDMG*. The details in Heller no. 157 are incomplete; add *ZDMG* 47 (1893), 43-85, 163-201.

<sup>108</sup> The reprint in *GS* has been made from the instalments published in *ZDMG* and thus omits the dedication to Landberg and the addenda of the separate edition.

<sup>109</sup> Synopsis in Heller no. 179. Of this Hungarian work Goldziher did not subsequently publish a revised version in German; the Hungarian text has been reprinted in Ormos's *Az arabok* II 635-681 and an English translation provided by DeSomogyi, *GS* III 359-394.

of *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leiden 1896-1899)<sup>110</sup> and *Le livre de Mohammed ibn Toumert, Mahdi des Almohades* (Alger 1903). This period ended with the classic *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (1910).

The third period of Goldziher's career, the last decade of his life 1910-1921, saw the appearance of the *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften* (Berlin 1916) = *GS V 357, Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte* (Leiden 1916) and was crowned by his final masterpiece *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden 1920).

Goldziher's language interests characterise the first of these three periods rather than the second and third. From the second period onwards his adventures in the study of language and languages diminished somewhat, even though his works are rich in information of linguistic interest, especially where terminology and lexicon are concerned. A shift of emphasis takes place both in his published work and in his private reading; from now on it is the phenomenon of Islam and its "innere Geschichte"<sup>111</sup> – ritual, cult, polity, society – that is the focus of his attention.<sup>112</sup> This development – the beginnings of which are already evident from what Goldziher says e.g. about his time in Leiden in 1871,<sup>113</sup> from his 1873 Hungarian publication on nationality among the Arabs,<sup>114</sup> from the clear picture he had in Cairo in 1874 of his "zu erfüllendes Studienprogramm",<sup>115</sup> and from the significant Islamic component of *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*<sup>116</sup> – gained so much in strength that in

<sup>110</sup> A third part was considered (*Tagebuch* 232, 234; Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 78, 162), containing, inter alia, an edition of Najīrami's *ʿAymān al-ʿarab fī al-jāhiliyya* (see below n. 138) and Goldziher's Schimpflexicon (see above n. 87), but did not appear.

<sup>111</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 203.

<sup>112</sup> The transition is indicated (I think too sharply) by Conrad, 'Pilgrim from Pest' 138-139, who finds the Goldziher of the oriental diary "forever worrying over fine points of grammar" and other minutiae of traditional philology, in contrast to the later scholar, whose work was concentrated upon the "exploration of Islam as a spiritual community and culture". Note too the subtitle "from orientalist philology to the study of Islam" of Conrad's aforementioned essay 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan' in *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*. Goldziher himself summarizes his Islamic interests in 1902 in his letter to Hartmann published by Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 186.

<sup>113</sup> *Tagebuch* 50. [Goldziher states in a letter dated 10.4.1895 to Baron von Rosen, with whom he had studied in Leipzig, that his interest in Judaeo-Arabic had remained firm, even though he had worked little in the field since he "had gone over into the Muslim camp in body and soul already in Leipzig"; see the obituary by V. V. Barthold in *Izvestiya Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk*, Leningrad, ser. VI, vol. XVI (1922), 149 = id. *Sočineniya IX*, Moscow 1977, 719. I. O.].

<sup>114</sup> Heller no. 30 (with synopsis) = *Az arabok I 1*. The link between this and the first volume of the later *Muhammedanische Studien* is stressed e.g. by Németh, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 1 (1950), 15.

<sup>115</sup> *Tagebuch* 71.

1897 he even declined to revise some of his deceased friend W. Robertson Smith's articles for Cheyne's *Encyclopaedia Biblica* "da mich der Islam vollends beansprucht".<sup>117</sup> In 1900 he wrote to Hartmann that "mich nichts mehr in meiner Wissenschaft interessiert als die provinzielle & individuelle Ausprägung des Islam", and in 1906, having completed his edition of the Judaeo-Arabic *Kitâb ma'ânî al-nafs* (below §5c), he declares his wish to devote the remainder of his life to Islam alone.<sup>118</sup>

It was not, however, Goldziher's scholarly temperament alone that was responsible for the shift of emphasis. The beginning of the second period of his career coincided with the start of his miserably unhappy full-time employment, from 1st January 1876, as secretary to the Neolog Israelite congregation of Pest, from which wretched position he found release only in 1905 when he received the salaried university appointment which by rights and by expectation he should have had some thirty years before.<sup>119</sup> The Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected Goldziher to its membership in 1870;<sup>120</sup> the university, however, because of religious prejudice and petty factional squabbles, would not agree to grant him Habilitation.<sup>121</sup> In his secretarial post leisure for study was no longer available to him as it had been in the past, and his reading had consequently to be restricted and channelled into the direction of his main priorities,<sup>122</sup> those where he knew his major scholarly strength to lie. Thus we find him writing to Nöldeke in 1896 that he no longer has the leisure to read the large quantities of Persian which he once did,<sup>123</sup> and in 1910, apropos of the *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (the second chapter of which deals with loanwords into and out of Ethiopic), he states that force of circumstances had allowed him little opportunity to read Ethiopic since 1877.<sup>124</sup> [It was the same with Mandaic. I.O.].<sup>125</sup> One may take the fate of Goldziher's Persian, Ethiopic and

<sup>116</sup> Rightly pointed out by Conrad, 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan' 150.

<sup>117</sup> *Tagebuch* 214-215; he did, however, undertake a few months later (ibid. 217 and cf. Simon, *Letters* 266) to annotate Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* for its second edition (London 1903).

<sup>118</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 150-151.

<sup>119</sup> *Tagebuch* 244-245; Simon, *Letters* 279.

<sup>120</sup> *Tagebuch* 88, 93; for his further progress in this institution see ibid. 137-138, 243-244.

<sup>121</sup> *Tagebuch* 45 and cf. 182. For the issues involved here see Simon, *Letters* 39ff., 49-52; Conrad, 'Pilgrim from Pest' 125-127; 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan' 150 and 174 n. 86.

<sup>122</sup> *Tagebuch* 92-93, 110.

<sup>123</sup> Simon, *Letters* 213. In 1898, however, he found time to read Jalâl al-Dîn al-Rûmî (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 117).

<sup>124</sup> Simon, *Letters* 344 referred to above n. 60. Goldziher had already mentioned the rustiness of his Ethiopic in a letter to Hartmann in 1894 (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 22).

<sup>125</sup> [In an unpublished letter to Nöldeke dated 29.3.1916 Goldziher writes: "Aus dem Mandäischen bin ich seit langem hinausgekommen. 1876 habe ich Ihre Mand. Grammatik bald nach ihrem Erscheinen ernstlich studiert. Durch die bekannten, 30 Jahre währenden



Mandaic studies as indicative of his general circumstances and suppose that his private reading in other languages too was curtailed for the same reason.<sup>126</sup> He did not, however, entirely lose contact with languages outside his principal field of interest; thus, in 1911 he taught Syriac at the University of Budapest and was eager to read the latest publication of Sachau on the Elephantine papyri.<sup>127</sup>

## 5. The later part of Goldziher's career 1878-1921

We have seen that already as a teenager Goldziher was much occupied, inter alia, with Hebrew and Turkish and had published, in German and Hungarian respectively, on both. From the second period of his career, however, these languages, and others, played a subsidiary role in his work; he wrote less and less on exclusively Hebrew and Jewish subjects and his Islamic research depended far more on Arabic than on Turkish sources. He of course continued to use Hebrew and Turkish (and Persian<sup>128</sup> etc.) a great deal, but less for their own sake than as part of his wider investigations into the intellectual and cultural history of Islam. In his later years the reading of Turkish reminded him with pleasant nostalgia of the studies of his youth, for he never lost his early interest in the Turkish language.<sup>129</sup>

Henceforth he did not produce independent work in the field of Hebrew, but restricted himself to reviews of studies published by others; his Hungarian review of works by Gesenius and Stade has been mentioned above n. 40. His written use of Hebrew also belongs to an earlier period.<sup>130</sup> Among the small number of book

gräulichen Abhaltungen habe ich ja dann so vieles vernachlässigen müssen, worin heimisch zu bleiben ich vorgezogen hätte. Bloss in bezug auf die religionsgeschichtlichen Dinge habe ich mich aus der Litteratur einigermaßen auf dem laufenden erhalten können, aber doch nur sehr mangelhaft, da man ja ohne selbständige Handhabung der Texte zu nichts rechtem kommen kann". I. O.]

<sup>126</sup> The account given here is based upon that of Goldziher himself. One wonders, however, whether his conditions of employment were quite as unfavourable to study as he indicates.

<sup>127</sup> Simon, *Letters* 354.

<sup>128</sup> He regretted not knowing Pahlavi (*Tagebuch* 189; Simon, *Letters* 218) and had not studied Kurdish (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 117).

<sup>129</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 186, 197, 230, 233, 358. We may note in passing a small Turkish detail brought to Goldziher's attention by M. Hartmann, viz. The pronunciation of قاضى in Ottoman as *kadi*, not *kazi* as Goldziher had thought (ibid. 55, 56, 59). Goldziher later referred to himself, ibid. 213, as "ich armer Untürke".

<sup>130</sup> [On 8.4.1862, at the age of twelve Goldziher made a solemn Hebrew pledge to lead a virtuous life and to honour his parents all his days. This pledge, written in square Hebrew characters, was published in facsimile by Sándor [= Alexander] Büchler, 'A Goldzieherék családfájáról' [On the family tree of the Goldziehers] in: *Múlt és Jövő* 1938, 114. See also Alexander [= Sándor] Scheiber, 'A supplementary bibliography of the literary work of Ignace Goldziher', in: *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* I, ed. Samuel Löwinger &

reviews, mostly rather brief, one stands conspicuously out: his review of A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebräischen Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch* (Berlin 1879) in *ZDMG* 34 (1880), 375-384. Goldziher had lodged in Berliner's house as a student in Berlin some dozen years previously<sup>131</sup> and he felt a particular affinity both to the author and his subject.<sup>132</sup> As we have seen, from his youth Goldziher had been thoroughly schooled in the traditional rabbinic sources and had an avowed fondness for Talmudic philology. Berliner's booklet provided him with an opportunity to tarry a while in a field which he loved. Goldziher clearly relished the occasion, and displayed his profound Talmudic learning to full advantage.<sup>133</sup> His great expertise in this branch of study is also evident from his marginalia to Levy's *Wörterbuch* (above n. 86), which probably date from about the same time.

Before returning in §6 to Goldziher's early works on Arabic from the 1870s, it is worthwhile to look at the topics in the field of Arabic language which interested him in the second and third periods of his career. Beside the abiding monuments of Islamic scholarship mentioned earlier, Goldziher produced a constant stream of articles and reviews, great and small, on all manner of Arabic subjects. In accordance with their author's characteristic scholarly preferences these lesser contributions are of course of cultural rather than grammatical content; his aim was usually to elucidate the conceptual, not the syntactical shape of Arabic phraseology and idiom. Nevertheless, many of these smaller pieces are of very great linguistic interest and deserve to be read more widely than perhaps they are. In the following roughly classified summary, which is suggestive rather than exhaustive, the numeration is that of Heller's *Bibliographie* (nos. 1-592), continued by Scheiber (nos. 593-807), with references, where applicable, to the *Gesammelte Schriften* reprinted by DeSomogyi and to Ormos's collection of Hungarian writings under the title *Az arabok és az iszlám*.

#### a) Formulae, phraseology and idiom

In some of the more conventional areas of indigenous Arabic philological literature, such as metrics, versified grammar and lexicography, Goldziher contented himself with a few reviews of other people's work (e.g. nos. 447, 457, 480, 523,

Joseph Somogyi, Budapest 1948, 426 (no. 656). I. O.]. Goldziher in his youth contributed a couple of short items to the Hebrew press (Heller nos. 604, 605 from 1869). He did not use Hebrew as a vehicle for his scholarly work, but restricted it to private correspondence with Jewish scholars, e.g. S. Poznański. For Goldziher's spoken Hebrew see below n. 170.

<sup>131</sup> *Tagebuch* 38-39.

<sup>132</sup> Goldziher later contributed a substantial article dealing with Islamic-Jewish superstition on the subject of memory to the *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag A. Berliner's*, ed. A. Freimann & M. Hildesheimer, Frankfurt a. M. 1903, 131-155.

<sup>133</sup> Unfortunately, neither this review nor Goldziher's contribution to the Berliner *Festschrift* is reprinted in *GS*.

547). In contrast to the marvellous, detailed book reviews he produced on other subjects, his reviews in these fields were generally rather brief and apparently afforded him little pleasure.<sup>134</sup> As a rule, he was not particularly attracted by such subjects and did not contribute very much by way of independent observation. His independent contributions 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 civilisation.

Hence we find him writing on such varied and original subjects as gestures and sign-language among the Arabs (nos. 119, 288 = *GS* II 155, V 84), the periphrasis of numerals (no. 185 = *GS* III 433), titular epithets of the form *ḏū* + dual noun (no. 217 = *GS* IV 195 with supplement in no. 378 = *GS* V 469), polemical nicknames for the early caliphs among the shiites (no. 231 = *GS* IV 295) and the onomastic practice of taking both heavenly and earthly names (no. 376 = *GS* V 463).

His interest in idioms and other types of formulaic expression produced a number of highly original studies, for example on the development of certain metaphors from concrete Arab custom (no. 94 = *GS* II 108) and on hyperbole in Arabic (nos. 156, 241 = *GS* III 33, IV 396).<sup>135</sup>

Within the wider field of phraseology, the study of oaths, cultic language, *nomina barbara* and magic formulae held a particular fascination for Goldziher. Among his studies in this area are articles on the ritual formula *اللهم هذا منك واليك* (no. 176 = *GS* III 342), on Arabic amen-locutions (no. 286 = *GS* V 73) and on various other Arabic formulae of asseveration and magic (nos. 238, 296, 313 = *GS* IV 345, V 105, 202). It was with a study in the overlapping fields of magic and prayer that he chose to honour his friend Nöldeke on his seventieth birthday; Goldziher's contribution to the *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet* (Giessen 1906)<sup>136</sup> I 303-329 is entitled 'Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet' = *GS* V 32. The practice and vocabulary of magic were a constant interest of Goldziher's; valuable information on this topic sometimes turns up at unexpected places in his writings, for example in an illuminating footnote on *ḏarb al-mandal* "fortune-telling" casually offered during the course of a review of Seybold's *Geschichte von Sul und Schumul*, *ZDMG* 57 (1903), 406 n.1. Goldziher also prepared, but never published, an edition of al-Najīrami's *'Aymān al-ʿArab fī al-Jāhiliyya*,<sup>137</sup> a composition to which he devoted most of his

<sup>134</sup> *Tagebuch* 204.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. the references to other works of Goldziher in H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, 328 (on idioms of totality).

<sup>136</sup> It may be noted in passing that Goldziher was the prime mover behind the organization of the Nöldeke Festschrift (*Tagebuch* 235, 250 and de Goeje's preface vii). He reviewed the book in *DLZ* 27 (1906), 1050-1052.

<sup>137</sup> *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 13 (1933), 372 (*Über Eid und Schwur*); De Somogyi, *JRAS* 1935, 151; S. Löwinger in *Actes du XXI<sup>e</sup> congrès des orientalistes. Paris – 23-31 Juillet 1948*, Paris 1949, 120 = *Genizah Publications in Memory of Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann* 1. [גנזי קריפמן א], ed. S. Löwinger & A. Scheiber, Budapest 1949, ix. [Goldziher's manuscript,

article in the *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* (Paris 1909) 221-230.<sup>138</sup> Formulae reflecting the meeting of Islam and Judaism are treated in an article on Hebrew elements in Arabic magic (no. 177 = *GS* III 348) and no. 219 = *GS* IV 224 deals with the Islamic origin of a convention common to the responsa literature of both cultures. Beyond these studies on shared Hebrew-Arabic phraseology, the mediaeval syncretism of Jewish<sup>139</sup> and Islamic culture was an area to which Goldziher made many signal contributions; those of a linguistic nature will be mentioned below, c).

## b) Etymology<sup>140</sup>

From his early youth, etymology, especially the less formal aspects of cross-cultural etymology and folk etymology, was an area of language study to which Goldziher was greatly attracted. We have already seen that he was writing on Yiddish etymology at the age of sixteen. There he proposed an Arabic etymology for the Yiddish *davenen* "to pray" and such things continued to fascinate him in later years too. He was much interested in etymological contact between the languages of Europe, especially Hungarian, and the Islamic world. Thus he contributed to the running discussions conducted in the pages of *Magyar Nyelvőr* a number of etymological notes on Hungarian words with (certain or alleged) oriental connections: *mecset* "mosque" [مسجد], *salavári* "leggings" [شروال], *vendég* "guest" [فندق], *dij(a)* "reward" [دية], *hintó* "coach" [هندول].<sup>141</sup>

These Hungarian articles are all of the short note variety, written incidentally as casual asides for a local readership. Goldziher did not deal systematically with the

which consisted of 126 leaves in 4°, is not extant in the Nachlass. It was still there at the end of the 1940s (Löwinger, loc. cit.) but by the beginning of the 1950s was already missing. Its loss is all the more deplorable because it is abundantly clear from Goldziher's correspondence, both published and unpublished, that he was fascinated by the subject and had over the years collected a large amount of material which he had included in the introductory essay and in the commentary to the text. On this subject see also Dévényi's contribution to the present volume. I. O.]

<sup>138</sup> Goldziher's interest in this work goes back to the study tour of 1873-4; see *Oriental Diary* 146. His edition was planned at one stage to appear as vol. III of the *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (*Tagebuch* 234), together with other material on Arabic oaths. This is the 'Abhandlung über den Eid bei den Arabern' enquired after in 1906 and again in 1908 by Hartmann; see Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 244, 294, 305; Goldziher's reply can be read *ibid.* 306.

<sup>139</sup> For a Samaritan calque of an Arabic formula, see Goldziher's note in *JQR* 15 (1903), 75 n. 2.

<sup>140</sup> Chapter 5 of the *History of Grammar among the Arabs* (below §7) is entitled 'Etymology in Arabic linguistics'; for Goldziher's etymological interests see the note by Dévényi & Iványi to their translation, 80 n. 129.

<sup>141</sup> *Magyar Nyelvőr* 13 (1884), 22-24; 14 (1885) 130-131; *ibid.* 241-246; 23 (1894) 193-194; 28 (1899) 86-87 respectively.

oriental element in the vocabulary of European languages. His real fondness was for folk etymology, in which the popular imagination could be seen at work. This branch of etymology naturally appealed to him far more than formal derivations involving sound shifts, stress changes and other technicalities, and it is our good fortune that he treated the topic of folk etymology in Arabic at some length. Having already incorporated a good deal of relevant material in some early studies<sup>142</sup> he published a Hungarian article on the subject in 1881 (no. 88 [with synopsis] = *Az arabok* I 340), of which a revised German version appeared several years later as 'Arabische Beiträge zur Volksetymologie', *ZfVP* 18 (1888) 69-82 = *GS* II 326, an article which remains among the most fascinating contributions to Arabic philology that have ever been written.

### c) Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic

Goldziher was keenly interested and exceedingly well read in non-classical Arabic of all kinds and from all periods. His reviews of post-classical or Middle Arabic<sup>143</sup> works such as Derenbourg's edition of the adventures of Usāma b. Munqidh (no. 395), Seybold's *Geschichte von Sul und Schumul* (no. 482), Graf's *Sprachgebrauch* on Christian Arabic usage (no. 497, cols. 3181-3183) are rich in valuable observation of linguistic points.

A theme which runs constant throughout his career is mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic, a field which he was uniquely equipped to serve and to which he contributed an opulent profusion of important studies. Goldziher felt a natural attraction to the meeting-ground of Judaism and Islam during a golden period of cultural and literary activity. His works in this area may not be on the physical scale of those which he devoted to purely Islamic themes, but they are of a richness and insight that have seldom been equalled. While some are of a general character, e.g. on comparative Islamic-Jewish superstition (no. 248) and philosophy (no. 338 = 377b), others, to be mentioned below, are of a distinctly linguistic and textual turn. His temperamental affinity for this area of study was stimulated and furthered by his early contact in Berlin in 1868 with the great Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907),<sup>144</sup> unquestionably the leading practitioner in the field. It was Steinschneider who provided Goldziher with part of the material for his first major publication, his Leipzig Inauguraldissertation presented to H. L. Fleischer under the title *Studien über Tanchûm Jerûschalmi* (Leipzig 1870). These Studien were the first of many truly significant contributions to a field for which his enthusiasm never left him.

<sup>142</sup> E. g. *History of Grammar* 55-56.

<sup>143</sup> The term "mittelarabisch" was introduced by H. L. Fleischer in the 1850s. The expression has gained acceptance, but I do not recall Goldziher having used it in this form; the locution "im mittleren Schriftarabisch" occurs in his review of Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekkanische Sprichwörter* in *ÖMfO* 12 (1886), 209a.

<sup>144</sup> *Tagebuch* 38.

Apart from his teenage Inauguraldissertation *Studien über Tanchûm Jerûschalmi* Goldziher devoted one other monograph to mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic, viz. his edition of the anonymous *Kitâb ma'ânî al-nafs. Buch vom Wesen der Seele. Von einem Ungenannten* in the *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, NF IX. Nro. 1* (Berlin 1907).<sup>144a</sup> This book includes elaborate 'Anmerkungen und Exkurse' (pp.12\*-62\*), containing, inter alia, many valuable observations on Judaeo-Arabic usage. A much shorter Judaeo-Arabic theological text from the Kaufmann geniza was edited in the *Festschrift zu Ehren des Dr. A. Harkavy ...*, ed. D. v. Günzburg & I. Markon (St. Petersburg 1908) 95-114.

His remaining contributions appeared in the periodical press or in *Festschriften*, and if we leave out of account some brief miscellaneous items bearing in one way or another on Judaeo-Arabic subjects (no. 36, no. 113 = *Az arabok* I 407, no. 205 = *GS* IV 155, no. 240 = *GS* IV 394, nos. 274, 473, 484, 512, 544, 572), we find that Goldziher's writings on mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic fall naturally into two remarkable series. The first series comprises the thirty-four parts of his 'Mélanges judéo-arabes' published in the *RÉJ* between 1901 and 1910: nos. 228, 237, 252, 259, 264, 273,<sup>145</sup> 295, 315 = *GS* IV 263, 323, 410, 426, V 1, 99, 203. These instalments of 'Mélanges judéo-arabes' deal with subjects of the greatest variety, some of them of a distinctly linguistic character; suffice it here to mention item no. xxii entitled 'Particularités dialectales judéo-arabes', *RÉJ* 50 (1905) 41-44 = *GS* V 10.

The second series consists of a rather large number of discussions of Judaeo-Arabic texts, either as formal reviews of complete books, or, less often, treatments of particular passages: no. 134 = *GS* II 344 (Maimonides, *Sefer ha-miṣwot*), no. 214 = *GS* IV 170 (Saadia, *Traité des successions*), no. 250 (Schechter's *Saadyana*), no. 251 = *GS* IV 407 (Hirschfeld's publications from the Cambridge geniza), no. 390 (Saadia, *Kitâb al-'amânât wa-l-i'tiqādât*), no. 399 (Judah ha-Levi, *Kuzari*), no. 470 (Ibn Gabirol, *Iṣlāḥ al-axlāq*), no. 475 (Maimonides, parts of *Commentary on the Mishna*), nos. 486 (Yahuda's *Prolegomena* to his edition of Bahya [two separate reviews]), no. 559 (Bahya, *Al-hidāya ilā farā'id al-qulūb*),<sup>146</sup> no. 521 (Nathanael b. al-Fayyumi, *Bustān al-ūqūl*), no. 701 (Yemenite Haggada).

In these publications Goldziher had frequently to come to grips with the linguistic facts of Judaeo-Arabic, both as editor and as commentator. Editorial policy with regard to the deviations from classical Arabic with which these texts abound has varied greatly, some editors preferring to leave the language of the manuscript(s)

<sup>144a</sup> [Vámbéry's copy of this book is preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It bears the following dedication: "Tisztelt tanáromnak Vámbéry Ármin urnak hűségese inasa Goldziher Ignác" [To my revered teacher, Mr. Arminius Vámbéry his devout apprentice, Ignaz Goldziher]. I. O.]

<sup>145</sup> The instalments of the 'Mélanges' in *RÉJ* 52 (1906), 43-50 and 187-192 have been omitted by mistake from *GS*.

<sup>146</sup> Yahuda's work was undertaken at Goldziher's suggestion and the edition of the text (Leiden 1912) is dedicated to him.

unaltered in all cases, others electing to “correct” the real or imaginary “mistakes” in accordance with the classical standard, often converting the Hebrew letters of the original into Arabic script. Goldziher’s attitude to this problem became progressively more and more liberal; the more he came to know about post-classical Arabic in general and Judaeo-Arabic in particular, the more tolerant he became of these non-classical features, realising that many of them were a natural development of Arabic usage and not merely the blunders of ignorant scribes. In his work on *Tanḥum Yerushalmi* of 1870, as stated there in the preface, he took a purist point of view and tacitly corrected (“verbesserte”) the non-classical features of the text (“Verstöße gegen die Grammatik”). Twenty years later, in his review in *WZKM* 3 (1889), 79 = *GS* II 346 of the Judaeo-Arabic original of Maimonides’s *Sefer ha-miṣwot* (ed. M. Bloch) he pointed out that the “Vulgarismen und laxere Konstruktionen” to be found there were part and parcel of the later language and should not be thoughtlessly corrected away. In the introduction to his own edition of *Kitāb ma‘ānī al-naḥs* (1907) he speaks (p.9\*) of the editorial “Gewissenskampf” caused by having to decide whether to leave the readings of the MSS as they are or “correct” them into what the author may (or may not) have wished them to be.<sup>147</sup> In some cases he himself, after subsequent reflection, withdrew several of the textual changes he had previously recommended (p.10\* n.1). In his previously mentioned edition (1908) of a theological tract from the Kaufmann collection he left the text virtually untouched, referring (p.101) with approval to some remarks of M. Hartmann against unwarranted editorial interference.<sup>148</sup>

In some of his Judaeo-Arabic book reviews Goldziher writes at considerable length and in great detail. One feels very clearly that he was here attracted by the reviewer’s task in a way that he seldom was when called upon to review works in more conventional fields. Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic civilization was a field he had long loved; we have seen that the writings of, for example, Baḥya, Judah ha-Levi and Maimonides had been familiar to him from his early youth. Some of his book reviews, e.g. those on Maimonides’s *Sefer ha-miṣwot*, Saadia’s *Kitāb al-‘amānāt wa-l-‘itqādāt* or Judah ha-Levi’s *Kuzari*, are veritable tours de force, offering detailed textual treatments of the works under discussion, enriched by pages of additions and corrections, unfailingly illuminating and often brilliant. He would enter too into discussions of language and grammar, illustrating his remarks with parallels drawn from his enormous store of textual experience. We may mention here, e.g., his review of *Bustān al-‘uqūl*, *WZKM* 22 (1908), 206-207, where Goldziher exemplifies from mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic texts the use of fossilized ‘ād “still, yet” and points out that the same usage still exists in the modern bedouin material published by

<sup>147</sup> Cf. recently and briefly J. Blau, *JSAL* 23 (1999), 222.

<sup>148</sup> See further on this important subject the Appendix to the present article by I. Ormos, who presents some unpublished material from the Goldziher-Nöldeke correspondence. An article on Goldziher’s editorial technique has been announced by T. Iványi, *The Arabist* 23 (2001), 123 n. 10.

Landberg and Socin. This feature has a very wide attestation from the early period of Islam down to modern dialects; it was Goldziher who first showed, here and elsewhere, the extent of its occurrence in Judaeo-Arabic. And typical of Goldziher's concern for technical terminology are his valuable remarks on Maimonides's use of *fiqh* and its derivatives,<sup>149</sup> given as an aside in his review of *Sefer ha-mišwot*, *WZKM* 3 (1889), 81-82 = *GS* II 348-349.

Goldziher is not best known today in the world of Arabic studies at large for his linguistic writings, least of all for those in the somewhat recondite field of the Arabic literature of the Jews.<sup>150</sup> He was, however, among the founders, and perhaps even the principle founder, of the linguistic and textual study of mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic.

#### d) Modern Arabic

Since the name of Goldziher is not much associated with the study of modern Arabic, it may be of interest to mention here some details of his activity in this area, especially in the domain of the spoken language. Goldziher did not much care for the renascent literary Arabic of the emerging Arabic press and periodical literature. Any youthful thoughts he may have had of investigating this subject had evaporated entirely by 1898, when he writes disparagingly to Hartmann of the bad, artificial Arabic and "Sprachverderbniß" characteristic of average journalistic style, comparing the performance of the modern translators of the press very unfavourably with that of their mediaeval counterparts,<sup>151</sup> an opinion which he had expressed shortly before in a brief review of Washington-Serruys, *L'arabe moderne étudié dans les journaux et les pièces officielles* (Beirut 1897) published in *DLZ* 19 (1898), 504-506.

He was much more interested in the genuine colloquial language. Here Goldziher recognized the importance of research into the modern dialects, for their own sake as well as for the light they throw on earlier Arabic usage.<sup>152</sup> One can imagine that had it not been for the limitations imposed by lack of written sources, vernacular Arabic might have played a more central role in Goldziher's studies. As it was, this was not a field to which he devoted particular energy. When, however, written sources were available, his interest was kindled. The Goldziher Nachlass in Budapest contains three large pages entitled: *II. Beiträge zur Kenntniss der arabischen Volksdialekte aus der arab. Reiseliteratur*.<sup>153</sup> Goldziher here adduces two interesting passages

<sup>149</sup> This is neither the first nor the last time Goldziher discussed this word; see e.g. *History of Grammar* 50 and his entry 'fiqh' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

<sup>150</sup> It is to be regretted that most of Goldziher's magisterial reviews in this and other fields have been omitted from *GS*.

<sup>151</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 97-98.

<sup>152</sup> See, for instance, his remarks in *DLZ* 23 (1902), 1245 reviewing Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan*.



from the Leipzig manuscript of the travel book of ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nābulusi (1641-1731), *Kitāb al-ḥaḡīqa wa-l-majāz fī riḡlat bilād al-šām wa-miṣr wa-l-ḡijāz*. The first mentions, apropos of the name Abū Ḥanīfā, that in Iraq *ḡanīfā* has the meaning “inkwell”; the second treats at length the expression جبا *jaba* used in the Ḥijāz when serving coffee.<sup>154</sup>

In comparison with many other European Arabists Goldziher was rather well placed to pursue dialect research, for his familiarity with the language was acquired not only through the written word, but also by living contact with the speakers. Goldziher knew Arabic through the ear as well as through the eye. In addition to his ability to write in Arabic,<sup>155</sup> he also possessed a quality which many great philologists lack, viz. a ready facility in speech. It is a well known paradox that philological scholarship has no necessary connection with the practical ability to converse in foreign tongues. Many great scholars have never spoken, or indeed even heard, the languages of their speciality; conversely, many of those with the gift of ready speech in several languages have never contributed anything of scholarly value to the study of any of them. Goldziher did not conform to this pattern; he was not only a very great scholar who added significantly to the sum of human knowledge, but also a highly accomplished practical linguist.

Goldziher’s polyglot facility is revealed by an amusing anecdote recorded in the *Tagebuch* p.185. During a train journey in from Basel to Fribourg in 1894, a lady from Geneva had become curious about her fellow-traveller, unable to decide of what origin he might be. Her supposition was that Goldziher, to judge from his features and gestures, could not be a European. This seemed to tally well with the unidentified oriental tongue (Arabic) in which she had heard him conversing with a priest on the same train.<sup>156</sup> Arabic or Turkish, she concluded, must be his mother

<sup>153</sup> MS Goldziher-gyűjtemény 99, kindly brought to my attention by I. Ormos. These pages were in all probability written in the late 1870s – early 1880s – there are mentioned de Goeje’s Muqaddasi edition of 1877 and the Romance of ‘Antar, which Goldziher, having acquired in Egypt (Heller nos. 30a, 40a) (re-)read at this period (*Tagebuch* 92; Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 377). The Roman numeral II. indicates that the piece was planned as part of some larger work; this may possibly have been a revised German edition of his Hungarian essay ‘Muhammedán utazókról’ [On Mohammedan travellers], *Földrajzi Közlemények* 3 (1875), 91-102, 148-170 = *Az arabok* I 107 (synopsis in Heller no. 53).

<sup>154</sup> This had already been mentioned by G. Flügel in his conspectus of the work in *ZDMG* 16 (1862), 688-689. On the word (< Turkish *caba* “gratis”) see Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī al-Akwa‘, *Al-amṡāl al-yamāniyya* I, Beirut – Ṣan‘ā’ 1984, 364; it is known in a number of Arabic dialects, not only those of the Arabian peninsula.

<sup>155</sup> Some of Goldziher’s Arabic correspondence is mentioned in *Tagebuch* 278, 279; cf. also Yahuda, *Der Jude* 8 (1924), 582.

<sup>156</sup> [While the priest “in maghrebinischem Arabisch conversirte”, Goldziher probably answered him in “Syro-Egyptian”. He writes of a similar situation in an unpublished letter to Nöldeke dated 3.12.1914: “Letzten Freitag hatte ich den Besuch zweier Araber aus Marokko, die in Begleitung Schabringers (Dolmetsch der deutschen Gesandtschaft in

tongue. This conclusion, however, went unceasingly with the Dutch he used with a man from Holland,<sup>157</sup> the German he addressed to the conductor and the French in which he conversed with her. “Est-ce que vous parlez aussi l'anglais?”<sup>158</sup> she inquired. “Oui, madame, et outre cela, je parle ma belle langue maternelle”. The revelation that the enigmatic passenger was a Hungarian Jew was doubly surprising to his small audience: to the perplexed Genevan lady it was a source of astonishment; to the discomfited priest, whose faulty quotations from the Quran Goldziher had corrected, a cause for considerable unease.

In addition to this ready oral facility in different languages, Goldziher also enjoyed talking. He was a much admired public speaker for official occasions, scholarly and otherwise, and he often took the leading role (“Vorbeter”) in synagogue services and other circumstances of Jewish ritual. Already at the age of six the “Wunderkind” used to deliver a weekly speech in Hungarian for the edification of his fellow Bible students,<sup>159</sup> and throughout his life Goldziher was always ready to exercise his conversational gifts before an appreciative audience. Thus, in Aberdeen in 1906 he

Tanger) nach Berlin reisten. Es war mir keine Schwierigkeit ihren maghrebinischen Dialekt zu verstehen; ich konnte mich natürlich nur des syrisch-ägyptischen bedienen, da ich nur in diesem konversieren kann”. Nöldeke's (likewise unpublished) reply of 12.12.1914 runs: “Daß Sie sich mit d. Marokkanern gut unterhalten konnten, freut mich. Hätte kaum gedacht, daß deren Dialekt doch dem an die ägypt. u. syr. Dialekte Gewöhnten verständlich wäre. Marçais' Mittheilungen bringen einem ja vor diesen maghr. Dialekten ein gewisses Grausen bei. Ich habe nie arab. gesprochen, nie Gelegenheit dazu gehabt, aber immer d. Eindruck, dass ich viel rascher türkisch u. persisch hätte sprechen lernen (sic), als arabisch, obwohl ich mich so sehr viel mehr mit dieser Sprache beschäftigt habe als mit jenen. In sehr jungen Jahren habe ich freilich in Wien bei d. Mechitaristen türk. Conversationsstunde gehabt, musste die aber aufgeben, weil der, an sich nicht theure, Preis von 1 Fl. für d. Stunde *mir* doch zu theuer war”. I. O.J.

<sup>157</sup> For Goldziher's Dutch see above n. 62. Despite Goldziher's knowledge of Dutch, Snouck Hurgronje always wrote to him in German (whereas to Nöldeke Snouck would normally write in Dutch).

<sup>158</sup> Goldziher early acquired a fondness for English literature (*Tagebuch* 92) and read the language a good deal (*ibid.* 203). Whether he was comfortable speaking English, however, is another matter; the private classes which he gave his American pupil Dr. F. D. Chester in 1896 were conducted in French (*Tagebuch* 207). This Dr. Chester, subsequently US consul in Budapest (Goldziher, *Akadémiai Ertesítő* 9 (1898), 9; Somogyi, *Muslim World* 41 (1951), 207), translated into English Goldziher's article 'Some notes on the diwāns of the Arabic tribes', *JRAS* 1897, 325-334 = *GS* IV 119 (*Tagebuch* 209). For the English of 'The progress of Islamic science in the last three decades' (Heller no. 262), translated from the German of no. 262a = *GS* IV 443 and the withdrawn *Mohammed and Islam* (Heller no. 363) see *Tagebuch* 258-9, 291; Simon, *Letters* 267, 277 and cf. *ibid.* 289; Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 281, 295; Snouck to Goldziher in van Koningsveld, *Letters* 483.

<sup>159</sup> *Tagebuch* 21.

found the learned company in the home of the Professor of Anatomy so congenially stimulating that he soon became “der redende Mittelpunkt der Gesellschaft”.<sup>160</sup>

It is worth collecting a few of Goldziher’s own remarks on his practical linguistic gifts in oriental tongues. If we except his teenage acquaintance with Molla Ishak, Vámbéry’s house-servant, Goldziher’s first significant social contact with orientals seems to have been during a visit to Vienna with Vámbéry in 1873, concerning which, he says, that “selbst mit dem Parlieren gieng es ganz geläufig”.<sup>161</sup> During his Middle Eastern study tour of 1873-4 he had no real difficulty in conversing with the natives, be it in Arabic or in Turkish. It is Turkish that is first mentioned in his *Keleti Naplóm*. At the beginning of the *Oriental Diary* we read that Goldziher, during the compulsory period of quarantine, befriended a group of Rumelian pilgrims with whom he conversed in Turkish “and thus refreshed memories from the earliest times of my Oriental studies” (p. 89). Communication continued in this language with his friends the hajjis from Rumelia (pp. 92, 104) and with others too (pp. 106, 116), and he even entertained his interlocutors with translation into Turkish verse,<sup>162</sup> but Goldziher confesses that the opportunity to speak German a little later released him from a “tongue-tiedness of several weeks” (p. 102).

With Arabic, on the other hand, i.e. classical Arabic, there is no hint at all of being tongue-tied even for a moment. In his *History of Grammar among the Arabs* (1878) he states that “when I arrived in Syria in September 1873, I could express my thoughts fluently only in literary Arabic” (p. 27), and years later, describing this experience in his *Tagebuch* (begun in 1890), he writes with similar formulation that “als ich in Beirut landete, machte ich die überraschende Entdeckung, dass ich ganz fertig arabisch sprechen konnte” (p. 56). These statements made from memory long after his visit to the east receive full corroboration from the record of the *Oriental Diary* made at the time itself. Goldziher’s classical Arabic conversations began even before landing on Arabic-speaking territory. With one of his aforementioned Turkish-speaking Rumelian fellow-travellers he found it more convenient to communicate in Arabic (pp. 89-90) and on board ship bound for Beirut he conversed at length in that language with his friend Muḥammad al-Dhahabi (pp. 104-105), for whom he also acted as interpreter in dealings with the other passengers (p. 106). After arrival, he speaks in classical Arabic with the missionary and Bible translator C. van Dyck (p. 109), with Archbishop Makarius in Damascus,<sup>163</sup> who is greatly impressed with Goldziher’s knowledge of the sources (p. 118), and is soon fêted by his Arabic-speaking acquaintances as a *faṣīḥ* (p. 109). His expertise extends to poetry as well: he not only declaimed by heart venerated classics such as the *mu‘allaqa* of

<sup>160</sup> *Tagebuch* 255. One supposes that conversation on this occasion took place, at least on the Scottish side, in English.

<sup>161</sup> *Tagebuch* 55.

<sup>162</sup> Goldziher’s Turkish rhymes on p. 106 of Patai’s publication are unfortunately garbled.

<sup>163</sup> *History of Grammar* 26; *Tagebuch* 60.

Zuhayr and an ode of 'Antara (p. 123),<sup>164</sup> but also ventured some poetical improvisations of his own (p. 122). To the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem he addressed a text of his own composition in classical Arabic prose (p. 134).<sup>165</sup> Throughout his tour, in Syria and later in Egypt, it is quite obvious that Goldziher was able to express himself in classical Arabic with ease and to understand everything that was conducted in that medium.<sup>166</sup> It was not for nothing that he later spoke of the "Triumph meiner arabischen Sprachfertigkeit".<sup>167</sup>

While Goldziher's command of classical Arabic won him the indulgent admiration of the learned, his lofty mode of speech prompted a certain amusement among the unlettered journeymen of the Beirut bazaar, who referred to him as "a mad grammarian" (*naḥwi majnūn*).<sup>168</sup> Even without the added incentive provoked by this incident, acquisition of the colloquial was one of the official aims imposed by the sponsors of Goldziher's Middle Eastern tour.<sup>169</sup> Disenchanted with the European society of Beirut, he moved to Damascus, where he considered his chances of learning colloquial Arabic to be rather better (p. 111). Damascus was a delight to him. Here he at once set about acquiring the local dialect, and with the help of lessons from a Protestant watchmaker named Constantin al-Baitar (p. 118) he was soon proficient enough to participate actively in Damascene life, to enjoy the declamations of the coffee-house storytellers, to attend the shadow plays (p. 119) and to converse with wide sections of the population in their own tongue (pp. 113ff.).<sup>170</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 118. For Goldziher's prodigious memory in such matters see Yahuda, *Der Jude* 8 (1924), 580.

<sup>165</sup> For which see Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 119-120.

<sup>166</sup> Further references by Goldziher himself to his speaking Arabic: *Tagebuch* 57ff., 63, 68, 113, 182, 185. This ability to speak Arabic was known, of course to Nöldeke (Simon, *Letters* 355 and above n. 156).

<sup>167</sup> *Tagebuch* 56.

<sup>168</sup> *History of Grammar* 27.

<sup>169</sup> *Tagebuch* 54, 56.

<sup>170</sup> An interesting detail on spoken Hebrew is provided on p. 113 of the *Oriental Diary*, where we are told that Mr. Farhi, a local Jew who served as dragoman to the Austrian consul in Damascus, addressed Goldziher in the Holy Tongue. Unfortunately, Goldziher is silent about how the conversation continued. He was certainly also able to converse in Hebrew if the occasion arose; this is stated by his student J. Pedersen in his Geleitwort to the *Gesammelte Schriften* published by DeSomogyi (i, viii) and one occasion on which Goldziher spoke Hebrew is mentioned by Nöldeke in his letter of 16.5.1907 (Simon, *Letters* 300). [The circumstances of this Hebrew conversation emerge from the preceding (unpublished) letter dated 21.4.1907, in which Goldziher writes to Nöldeke: "Heute Abends steht mir ein Vergnügen ganz besonderer Art bevor. Sie wissen, dass ein Herr Ben Jehuda aus Jerusalem (kein Verwandter meines Freundes Yahuda) die Materialien zu einem Thesaurus der hebr. Sprache, der vom Biblischen an durch alle Phasen der Sprachgeschichte bis herab zur modernen Spracherneuerung, den gesammten historisch gewordenen hebr. Sprachschatz umfassend bucht, gesammelt hat. Die Kosten des Druckes

Yet he is conscious of the need to improve his fluency (p. 125). In Egypt too Goldziher took private conversation lessons (p. 147).<sup>171</sup> He also declares an interest in children's language.<sup>172</sup> On board the boat bound for Ismā'īliyya he strikes up a conversation with a child of two (p. 140); later on he parleys with a ten-year-old (p. 143) and examines schoolchildren in Arabic syntax (p. 145). His colloquial Cairene indeed seems to have been extremely efficient.

It is worth observing that the vernacular proficiency of Goldziher's younger years in the Middle East in 1873-4 remained undiminished in later life. At the 1894 congress of orientologists in Geneva he reproved a group of wine-drinking Egyptian students in their native tongue,<sup>173</sup> and when he returned to Egypt in 1896 he writes to Nöldeke: "Recht erfreulich war mir die Erfahrung, dass ich den Argot des Volkes noch ganz erträglich spreche, und dass mir der Verkehr mit den Gebildeteren

sind ihm in Aussicht gestellt, wenn er Atteste von "Fachleuten" aufweisen kann. Als solchen "Fachmann" hat mich nun der Autor neben anderen auserkoren und da soll ich nun die Sachen heute noch bei nichtschlafender Zeit durchsehen. Und um die Sache bis zum Nervöswerden zu steigern, ist die Gattin des Autors persönlich hier in Europa, um die Atteste zu betreiben. Und ich habe Gunst in ihren Augen gefunden und sie hat mich als neuhebräischen "Fachmann" dekretiert und da hilft kein Ausweichen. Dabei spricht die Dame ein elendes Arabisch, so dass wir in hebräischer Sprache konversieren müssen, was mir zwar nicht schwer ist, aber doch etwas unnatürlich vorkommt. Sie ist Schuld daran, dass ich diesen Brief nun jäh abreche, da die Dame in 10-15 Minuten auf meiner Bude erscheinen dürfte". In Nöldeke's reply of 16.5.1907 (Simon, *Letters* 300, where for *Bēt* *γ' hūdāh* read *Bat* *γ' hūdāh*) he enquires about this Hebrew conversation with Mrs. Ben Yehuda. No answer from Goldziher can be found in the transcript of the Goldziher-Nöldeke correspondence. I.O.]. Hemda Ben Yehuda seems not to refer to her visit to Goldziher in either *היי אליעזר בן-יהודה – הלוחם המאשר* (n.p. or d.; preface signed Jerusalem, 14 years after the Balfour Declaration = 1931) or *חיי ומפעלי – בן-יהודה* (Jerusalem 1940) but she had apparently approved the very brief account given by R. St. John, *Tongue of the Prophets* (New York 1952) ch. 39 (pp. 292-3 or p. 271 depending on the printing). Goldziher is mentioned in this connection in the Prolegomena to the *Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis* (Jerusalem 1940) 19 and his Hebrew 'Attest' for the work can be read in a booklet entitled *על מהדורה עממית של מלון הלשון העברית הישנה והחדשה לאליעזר בן-יהודה* (Jerusalem – Tel Aviv 1946-7) 55; technically these few lines should be added to the Goldziher bibliography. [Cf. Alexander Scheiber, 'Addenda to the bibliography of Goldziher', in: *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* II, ed. Samuel Löwinger et al., Jerusalem 1958, 211 (no. 703). I. O.]. For Goldziher's written Hebrew see above n. 130.

<sup>171</sup> Goldziher's conversation teacher was Ḥasanein Efendi, the source of the "Jugend- und Strassenpoesie in Kairo", *ZDMG* 33 (1879), 608-630 = *GS* II 48 (*Tagebuch* 66). A letter of his on the publications of the Bulaq press is given by Goldziher in *ZDMG* 28 (1874), 679-680.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. his "Altarabische Wiegen- und Schlummerlieder", *WZKM* 2 (1888), 164-167 = *GS* II 322. [Cf. W. Walther, 'Altarabische Kindertanzreime' in: *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle [Saale] 1968, 232 n. 1. I. O.].

<sup>173</sup> R. Gottheil, *JAOS* 42 (1922), 190.

müheles von statten geht".<sup>174</sup> Goldziher also spoke Arabic at his 70th birthday celebrations in Budapest in 1920.<sup>175</sup>

Another aspect of Goldziher's contact with colloquial Arabic is worth recording here. He was a friend of one of the leading Arabic dialectologists of the period, his colourful and controversial contemporary the Swedish nobleman Le Comte Carlo de Landberg-Hallberger (1848-1924). The two men first met in Damascus in November 1873,<sup>176</sup> and Landberg was ever afterwards grateful for the private lessons he took at that time at Goldziher's feet.<sup>177</sup> The friendship thus begun proved lasting, and Landberg in later years would call upon the Goldziher family in Pest when en route for the orient to conduct his dialectological researches.<sup>178</sup> It was Landberg who spoke in honour of Goldziher at the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm in 1889 when King Oscar II of Sweden and Norway presented Goldziher and Nöldeke with their gold medals. Furthermore, Landberg was a faithful source of important bibliographical information; he had extensive knowledge of oriental prints, would attend to Goldziher's desiderata,<sup>179</sup> and himself possessed a magnificent library of manuscripts and books. All this was put at Goldziher's disposal, and in grateful recognition Goldziher dedicated his edition of Ḥuṭay'a (1893)<sup>180</sup> to his aristocratic Swedish friend "zum Andenken an syrische und skandinavische Tage".<sup>181</sup> In the summer of 1894 and 1895 Goldziher was the guest of Landberg at the Château de Tutzing, the count's seat in Upper Bavaria. The *Tagebuch* (pp. 175-178, 192-194), contains a lively description of the Château, its patrician guests and liveried servants, its learned owner and his splendid library. This library provided Goldziher with not a few important literary discoveries.<sup>182</sup> Goldziher so delighted in Tutzing that he was moved to compose, in German, a poem in celebration of his happy visits there. The six quatrains of this ditty, cast in catalectic *rajaz*, may be read in the *Tagebuch* (p. 194).

In 1895 Landberg was installed in his stately Bavarian pile together with two Ḥaḍrami informants, Sa'īd and Maṣṣūr, whom he had brought back with him to Europe from Aden via Cairo in order to continue his dialectological studies in comfort and at leisure.<sup>183</sup> During that summer Goldziher joined the group and one

<sup>174</sup> Simon. *Letters* 203.

<sup>175</sup> De Somogyi. *Muslim World* 51 (1961), 15.

<sup>176</sup> *Oriental Diary* 127.

<sup>177</sup> *Tagebuch* 63.

<sup>178</sup> *Tagebuch* 104.

<sup>179</sup> *Tagebuch* 122, 125.

<sup>180</sup> Landberg had provided a transcript of one of the MSS used for the edition; see *Tagebuch* 125; *Der Dīwān des Ġarwal b. Aus al-Ḥuṭej'a*, Leipzig 1893, 52 = *GS* III 101.

<sup>181</sup> The dedication is missing in the reprint from *ZDMG* given in *GS* (see above n. 108).

<sup>182</sup> *Tagebuch* 177, 192-193, 196, 197; *Abhandlungen* I, vi.

result of this visit was a study jointly written by Goldziher and Landberg entitled *Die Legende vom Mönch Barṣiṣā*, published in one hundred copies at Kirchhain in 1896 = *GS* IV 1. Goldziher was not merely a consultant to Landberg in his linguistic investigations, but himself took an active part in the study of the Ḥaḍrami vernacular, plainly enjoying his Arabian fieldwork in Landberg's Bavarian château. He speaks enthusiastically about the "unausgesetzte[n] tägliche[n] Umgang mit ihnen, das lebendige Eindringen in ihre Sprache, ihre Gesänge, ihre Ideenwelt"<sup>184</sup> and the fascination aroused in him by their "Conversationsdialekt";<sup>185</sup> these studies were undertaken solely for their intrinsic linguistic interest.<sup>186</sup> From a letter to Nöldeke we learn that Landberg's Ḥaḍrami informants had dictated to Goldziher some poetical pieces, including some "hadramautische Ḳaṣīden" composed in honour of two young ladies who had tickled their fancy;<sup>187</sup> it may very well be that these erotic odes were taken down in writing, but nothing of the kind seems to be extant in the Goldziher Nachlass in Budapest. Goldziher noted the highly significant fact that in the plain declamatory style of these Ḥaḍrami performers the *īrāb* vowels ("Bindevocale") were generally absent and the metre imperceptible, whereas the same pieces when intoned to instrumental accompaniment were delivered with the *īrāb* vowels required by their conspicuously metrical form.<sup>188</sup> A piece of information provided by Landberg's two South Arabian bards on the supernatural source of poetical inspiration was added as an addendum to the *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* I (1896) 213. Goldziher also took a musical interest in the renderings of the men from Ḥaḍramawt. The 'Chansonette d'adieu Ḥaḍramite' which Landberg published some years later<sup>189</sup> was often sung at the musical soirées held at Tutzing in the summer of 1895 and it was Goldziher who provided the notation of the melody.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Le Comte de Landberg, *Arabica* III (Leyde 1895) 12ff., 20, with a portrait of Sa'īd opposite p.15.

<sup>184</sup> *Tagebuch* 193.

<sup>185</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 36.

<sup>186</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 39: "... sehr nützliche Dialektstudien (nicht mit literarischer Nebenansicht)".

<sup>187</sup> Simon, *Letters* 198.

<sup>188</sup> Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 45-46.

<sup>189</sup> *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale* I, Ḥaḍramoût, Leide 1901, 1-3. I suppose this item might be added to the Goldziher bibliography.

<sup>190</sup> Although Goldziher disclaimed any detailed knowledge of musical theory (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 43), he may well have had more than a passing interest in the subject. He enjoyed hearing, whistling and singing patriotic Hungarian melodies, e.g. the song version of M. Vörösmarty's *Szózat* (*Oriental Diary* 95, 103, 137; see Ormos's paper in the present volume), sang Arabic songs with a bedouin sheikh (*Oriental Diary* 136) and taught the tune of an Arabic hymn to a German missionary in Ramle (ibid. 131; *Tagebuch* 65, for which see Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 119). From the fact that Goldziher was requested to sing in Arabic (*Oriental Diary* 139), one perhaps gathers that he may have been a reasonable

Quite apart from his practical command of classical and colloquial Arabic, Goldziher had many contacts in the East and had his scholarly predilections been different he might have done for Arabic dialectology what he did so splendidly for the study of Islam, viz. bring a new branch of scholarship into being and set it on a firm foundation. Dialectology was a field he considered important and he continued to keep abreast of what was being done by others, as he himself testifies for the 1870s and 1880s<sup>191</sup> and as shown by a Hungarian survey article published in 1895, i.e. well into the middle of his career: 'Az arab nyelvjárások legújabb irodalma' [The latest literature on Arabic dialects], *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 25 (1895), 90-96 = *Az arabok* II 682. In 1915 he officially welcomed to membership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the important Arabic dialectologist H. Stumme,<sup>192</sup> in whose election Goldziher himself had been instrumental.<sup>193</sup>

As it was, however, his ventures into the dialectological domain were not many. The material for his only independent article devoted to colloquial Arabic, 'Jugend- und Strassenpoesie in Kairo', *ZDMG* 33 (1879), 608-630 = *GS* II 48, goes back to his stay in Egypt in 1873-4 and the publication forms a point of transition from the first to the second period of his career. Apart from this, his contributions to the subject were presented in generally brief reviews of publications by other scholars: no. 397 (Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*), no. 407 (Seidel's *Praktisches Handbuch*), no. 466 (Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan*), no. 560 (Cohen's

vocalist. He enjoyed musical entertainment in Belgium in 1892 (*Tagebuch* 144, 148) and two years later went to hear the famous organ of Fribourg (*ibid.* 185). In *MGWJ* 22 (1873), 174-180 he published the Judaeo-Arabic original of a responsum of Maimonides on music [= ed. J. Blau, no. 224], but this was for literary rather than musical reasons. [That music may have played a role in the Goldziher family is indicated by the fact that the elder son Miksa (called Misi in the family circle) was an outstanding violinist and pianist who regularly played duets with Goldziher's friend Jenő Péterfy (see P. I. Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora*, Budapest 1972, 347, 349, 387, 404). There are also reports on the Goldzihers' theatre visits. I. O.]

<sup>191</sup> *Tagebuch* 92. This was despite the paucity of bibliographical material on Arabic dialects available in Budapest; Goldziher did not have access even to Boethor's dictionary (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 271).

<sup>192</sup> *Akadémiai Értesítő* 26 (1915), 684-685.

<sup>193</sup> *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. Tagajánlások* 1915, 1-2. Stumme, incidentally, delivered his inaugural address 'A berber népekről' [On the Berber peoples] to the Academy in Hungarian; see *Tagebuch* 287; Hurgronje to Goldziher in van Koningsveld, *Letters* 462. [Goldziher pays tribute to Stumme's mastery of Hungarian in an unpublished letter to Nöldeke dated 21.9.1916: "Nicht nur *ich* bedauere die Stellung, in die Sie zur *ZDMG* geraten sind. Ich habe Stumme dafür interpelliert; er verwahrt sich gegen eine verletzende Absicht (schon gegenüber seinem Lehrer) und deutet das Geschehene als bloss redaktionelles Verfahren. Dies schreibt er mir in gutem Ungarisch, einer schweren Sprache, die er in einer für den Ausländer überraschenden Vollkommenheit handhabt". I. O.]



*Parler arabe des juifs d'Alger*) and a few corrections in *ZDPV* 24 (1901), 178 to an article on Galilean dialects by W. Christie in the same journal.<sup>194</sup>

Among Goldziher's reviews of books on colloquial Arabic, there is one which is quite unlike the others: his review in *ZDMG* 35 (1881), 514-529 of W. Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten* (Leipzig 1880). This review is without a doubt the highlight of Goldziher's dialectological studies; it is quite simply a brilliant review of a brilliant book.<sup>195</sup> Spitta's book and Goldziher's review together form a noble tribute to the Leipzig school of Fleischer from which both proceeded; Spitta studied with Fleischer a few years after Goldziher. Arabic dialectology had not seen anything like Spitta's *Grammatik* before; Spitta, who was still in his twenties,<sup>196</sup> had produced a masterpiece which is a landmark in the description of living Semitic languages and may to this day be read with enormous benefit. Goldziher not only knew the language described, viz. Cairene Arabic, at first hand from his Egyptian visit of 1874, but recognized at once the status of Spitta's work as inaugurating a new period in the investigation of spoken Arabic. Such a book required a review to match and Goldziher rose to the occasion with sixteen of the most luminous pages he ever wrote. In addition to the spoken Cairene material itself, Spitta's book gave Goldziher the opportunity to comment on the literary use of Arabic with a colloquial Egyptian hue. Most of his review is devoted to amplifying Spitta's work by showing how Egyptian Arabic is reflected in printed popular literature, a genre which had not been used for this purpose before and which even today is not very well known. Goldziher's review may in fact be regarded as a study in Egyptian Middle Arabic, i.e. the pre-modern representatives of that stylistic range which lies between the classical standard and the spoken dialect, comprising elements of both. He was the first to document a number of characteristic Neo-Arabic usages, some of which have very deep historical roots. One of these is the conjunctive use of *illi* in sentences such as *وجد الذى انجرح منهم ثلاثة* "er fand, dass drei von ihnen verwundet wurden" (Romance of 'Antar), a construction identified, correctly described and amply exemplified by Goldziher here (pp. 523-524) for the first time.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>194</sup> This item seems to have been overlooked in the bibliographies of Goldziher's writings.

<sup>195</sup> Again, it is to be regretted that this superb piece has not been included in *GS*. It is worth mentioning here that Spitta's book was honoured with a likewise magisterial review by Nöldeke. *GGA* 1881, 303-317.

<sup>196</sup> Wilhelm Spitta died at the age of thirty in 1883.

<sup>197</sup> On these constructions see A. Spitaler, *Oriens* 15 (1962), 97-114, where p.106 [= Id., *Philologica. Beiträge zur Arabistik und Semitistik*, Wiesbaden 1998, 239] Goldziher's contribution is acknowledged. Goldziher added further examples in his review of Derenbourg's edition of *Usāma b. Munqidh*, *ÖmfO* 12 (1886), 78b.

6. Goldziher's studies in Arabic philology to 1878<sup>198</sup>

But let us return to the first period of Goldziher's career, viz. the period which began in 1868 with his studies in Berlin and Leipzig, was followed by his manuscript researches in European libraries, the Middle Eastern tour of 1873-4, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* (1876) and ended with the publication of *A nyelvtudomány történetéről az araboknál* [On the History of Grammar among the Arabs] in 1878, Goldziher's one and only monograph devoted to the Arabic language sciences.

Having derived but little inspiration from the Arabic instruction offered in Berlin, Goldziher moved to Leipzig in order to study at the feet of H. L. Fleischer (1801-1888),<sup>199</sup> perhaps the greatest Arabic philologist of the 19th century. Fleischer at once recognized in Goldziher a pupil of phenomenal talent, and so did his fellow students, who would refer to Fleischer as "the great sheikh" and to Goldziher as the "little sheikh". Fleischer's regard for the accomplishments of his brilliant young pupil continued to grow over the years, not only by way of detached scholarly admiration for his genius but also by way of friendly concern for his family affairs and of practical help during Goldziher's professional difficulties after his return to Hungary.<sup>200</sup> The publication which first brought Goldziher's name before the wider circles of oriental scholarship in Europe was the previously mentioned (§5c) work on Tanḥum Yerushalmi. For his Inauguraldissertation Goldziher chose to investigate, under Fleischer's supervision, the 13th-century Jewish Bible exegete and lexicographer Tanḥum Yerushalmi and his Judaeo-Arabic writings. Goldziher's *Studien über Tanchûm Jerûschalmi* was published in Leipzig in 1870 and bore two dedications: one to Baron J. v. Eötvös, the Hungarian government minister who had been instrumental in arranging Goldziher's German Wanderjahre, and another to his erstwhile teacher Vámbéry "in dankbarer Ergebenheit".<sup>201</sup>

<sup>198</sup> For this period cf. T. Iványi, *The Arabist* 23 (2001), 117-124.

<sup>199</sup> *Tagebuch* 39, 41ff.

<sup>200</sup> *Tagebuch* 77, 115-116; Simon, *Letters* 38; see too Fleischer's letter to Steinthal dated 17.12.1878 on behalf of "den geist- und kenntnißreichsten aller meiner bisherigen Schüler" published by H. Loewe, *Ignaz Goldziher. Ein Wort des Gedenkens* (n.p., n.d., no pagination [Soncino-Gesellschaft c. 1929]; DeSomogyi in *GS* I xvi and Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* xiv n. 1. Goldziher wrote two obituaries of his great teacher, one an independent Hungarian pamphlet of over forty pages, *Emlébeszéd Fleischer Leberecht Henrik, a M. Tud. Akadémia kültagja felett* [Memorial Speech on Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, External Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences], Budapest 1889 = *Az arabok* I 415 (synopsis in Heller no. 130), the other in German in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 48 (Leipzig 1904), 584-594 = *GS* VI 190.

<sup>201</sup> In the light of Goldziher's subsequent estrangement from Vámbéry, this dedication (1870) is noteworthy. Noteworthy too are the dedications of *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* and its English translation: the German original (1876) was inscribed to M. Kármán [= Kleinmann; cf. *Tagebuch* 286 and see J. Waldapfel in: *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, ed. A. Scheiber, Budapest 1947, 175ff.], whereas the translation (1877)

This first major publication of Goldziher's is a work of Arabic philology, more precisely Judaeo-Arabic philology, at its very best. We see here all the penetration, based upon the vast knowledge, sure control, analytical skill, imagination and plain common sense which are so characteristic of his larger and more celebrated writings. Already in this book, published while still in his teens, Goldziher displayed a level of learning and a philological expertise which immediately placed him in the most exalted company. A mere glance at the footnotes, for example that on pleonastic *he* in the Talmud (48 n.1) or that on سائر "all" (13 n.4), is necessary in order to realise that this is the work of no ordinary author, but the product of a very distinguished scholarly mind. One reads the four masterly chapters of this youthful Inauguraldissertation today with a genuine sense of awe, which is only increased when one reflects upon the scant resources then available to its nineteen-year-old author.<sup>202</sup> What is more, this work was composed at the same time as the *Encyclopädie der semitischen Philologie* and the *Lexicon der hebräischen grammatischen Terminologie* which were mentioned above §2.

Fleischer was a superb grammarian and textual philologist of the main Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. *Studien über Tanchûm Jerûschalmi* was written, nominally at least, under his guidance and is a work of a markedly linguistic and textual character. Goldziher did not follow further along the formal philological path of his Leipzig teacher; he did, however, follow him very much into the world of Arabic and Islam. Goldziher's interests now took their own course, away from the linguistic and textual philology practised by Fleischer towards the wider pastures of culture, religion and the history of ideas in Islam. In this Goldziher himself admitted the influence of scholars such as the aforementioned Steinthal, A. von Kremer<sup>203</sup> and A. Geiger.<sup>204</sup> At this stage in his career, viz. in his late teens and early twenties, it was the history of linguistic thought and attitude to language that particularly attracted him. The Semitic and Hebrew aspects of this interest were given expression in the *Encyclopädie der semitischen Philologie* and *Lexicon der hebräischen grammatischen Terminologie*, both of which belong to this period. Goldziher, under the influence of Fleischer,<sup>205</sup> now turned to the linguistic culture of Arabic. In order to pursue his studies of this aspect of Arabic civilisation he embarked upon a series

bears a triple dedication "by the author and the translator" to H. L. Fleischer, F. Max Müller and H. Vámbéry, "the pioneers of Semitic, Aryan and Turco-Tataric philology". Cf. too above n. 144 a.

<sup>202</sup> Actually, eighteen-year-old, for according to the *Tagebuch* 39-40, 42 the work was ready for submission before Goldziher even arrived in Leipzig. If so, Fleischer's supervision may have been of a merely nominal kind.

<sup>203</sup> See Simon, *Letters* 31-33.

<sup>204</sup> See Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 237-239; 'Pilgrim from Pest' 123ff., 139, 145; 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan' 143-144 and the references in the accompanying notes. For the influence of Geiger, particularly important is the passage in *Tagebuch* 123.

<sup>205</sup> *Tagebuch* 41, 44-45.

<sup>206</sup> *Tagebuch* 41-42.

of intensive bibliographical researches, especially in the libraries of Leipzig (1868-71), Leiden (1871) and Vienna (1871-2), immersing himself night and day in the treasures of the Arabic manuscript collections.

Of his manuscript researches in Leipzig he states: "... ich ja die Universitätsbibliothek völlig ausplünderte und in den Handschriften der Rafa'ijja ganze Nächte lang wühlte".<sup>206</sup> In Leiden he was even more assiduous, copying and collating a large variety of Arabic manuscripts<sup>207</sup> and working his way through quantities of printed texts. It was here, he says,<sup>208</sup> that he laid the foundation of what was later called the "staunenswerte Belesenheit Goldziher's",<sup>209</sup> explaining that "freilich las ich oft bis 3 Uhr früh bei meinem Tische und nahm an keiner Zerstreung theil, sondern steckte Tag und Nacht in Büchern, Handschriften und Sarkophagen". Such single-minded, unrelenting application to study may not have done his health any good – Mrs de Goeje later remarked that Goldziher at this period was so pale that he "looked like a corpse".

Goldziher read and copied vast amounts of Arabic philological texts during these few years in Germany, Holland and Austria. His diary (pp. 48, 49) speaks emotionally of the inspiration he derived at this period from reading Suyūṭī's *Muzhir* and any other "Sujutica" which he could lay his hands on. Special attention was paid to Tha'ālibī's *Fiqh al-luġa*, the edition of which Goldziher had undertaken at Fleischer's request. Having realized, however, that much of Tha'ālibī's source material was to be found in Ibn al-Sikkīt's *Kitāb al-alfāz*, Goldziher resolved to edit the latter instead. A large portion of his unpublished edition, and other materials connected with the project [– such as a great part of his copy of the work from the manuscript in the Legatum Warnerianum – I. O.], are still extant in the Goldziher Nachlass in Budapest.<sup>210</sup> That collection also contains, inter alia, extensive excerpts from Ibn al-Anbārī's *Kitāb al-inṣāf*, copied in Leiden, May 1871,<sup>211</sup> while Goldziher was suffering from excruciating toothache.<sup>212</sup> His European Wanderjahre over, Goldziher returned to Hungary early in 1872.

<sup>207</sup> E.g. Ibn Ḥazm (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 326).

<sup>208</sup> *Tagebuch* 49.

<sup>209</sup> The expression quoted here anonymously by Goldziher was coined by Nöldeke in his review of the first volume of *Muhammedanische Studien* in *WZKM* 3 (1889), 95. Nöldeke was wont to stress Goldziher's "(unvergleichliche) Belesenheit", e.g. in his reviews of the two instalments of *Abhandlungen* in *WZKM* 10 (1896), 345 and 13 (1899), 285.

<sup>210</sup> See on this Dévényi & Iványi in their translation of Goldziher's *History of Grammar* 63-64 n. 4 and the references there; Iványi, *The Arabist* 23 (2001), 122; Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 31-32 [and an unpublished letter to Nöldeke dated 4.11.1897. I. O.]. My thanks to I. Ormos for making available to me the copy of *Kitāb al-alfāz*, which bears the shelfmark MS Goldziher-gyűjtemény 2.

<sup>211</sup> As noted by Dévényi & Iványi, *History of Grammar* xiv n. 2.

<sup>212</sup> My thanks once again to I. Ormos, who kindly communicated, inter alia, the wording of the title-page of Goldziher's notebook (MS Goldziher-gyűjtemény 60), where the medical details are recorded.

Goldziher's manuscript researches in European (and, shortly afterwards, in Middle Eastern) libraries proved very fruitful indeed, laying the basis for his first major publications. Principal among the fruits was a trilogy contributed to the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy (1871, 1872, 1873) under the title 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachgelehrsamkeit bei den Arabern' (Heller nos. 18, 25, 31 = *GS* I 7, 91, 187).<sup>213</sup> These three instalments deal respectively with (i) philological materials, e.g. on al-Firūzābādi, in the Refā'iyya collection in Leipzig, (ii) literature on the lexicographer al-Jawhari, (iii) Ibn Fāris.<sup>214</sup> Concurrently with this series he published in the same *Sitzungsberichte* (1871) a general appraisal of the literary activity of Suyūṭī (Heller no. 19 = *GS* I 52, English translation in *Muslim World* 68 [1978] 79-99), by whose *Muzhir* his enthusiasm for this branch of Arabic literature had been so fired. The same period of activity also saw the appearance of 'Linguistisches aus der Litteratur der muhammedanischen Mystik', *ZDMG* 36 (1872), 764-785 = *GS* I 165. The title should not mislead; there is little in this article which is "linguistic" in the grammatical sense. Goldziher is here concerned, as usual, with cultural history; he deals, for example, with the esotericism of mystical literature, letter symbolism, and the polyglot talents conventionally attributed in mystical texts to the sacred heroes of antiquity.

The rest of this first period of Goldziher's career was dominated by the Middle East study tour of 1873-4 and his book *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* (1876). Two results of the study tour have already been mentioned in §5d: his study in Egyptian colloquial Arabic, 'Jugend- und Strassenpoesie in Kairo', *ZDMG* 33 (1879), 608-630 = *GS* II 48, and his review (1881) of Spitta's *Grammatik*. The tour also provided a number of manuscript discoveries in the libraries of Syria and Egypt, especially the library of Mustafa Sibā'i Beg in Damascus;<sup>215</sup> two of his finds have been recorded above nn.138, 214.

This period of Goldziher's career closes with *On the History of Grammar among the Arabs* (1878), to which we shall now turn.

<sup>213</sup> *Tagebuch*, 46. The term "Sprachgelehrsamkeit" recurs as the title of chapter V. B. in *Muhammedanische Studien* I. Halle 1889, 208-216.

<sup>214</sup> Goldziher had discovered a copy of Ibn Fāris's *Fiqh al-luġa* [= *al-Šāhibī*] in the library of the sheikh Maydāni in Damascus; see *Oriental Diary* 124, 126; *Tagebuch* 58 and his letter to Fleischer in *ZDMG* 27 (1874), 161-168.

<sup>215</sup> *Oriental Diary* 114ff.; *Tagebuch* 58; Hanisch. *Briefwechsel* 18, 21-2. For Goldziher's book purchases in the Middle East, see above n. 102.

### 7. *On the History of Grammar among the Arabs (1878)*

The work in which Goldziher speaks more than in any other about the Arabic language, its history and its dialects is *A nyelvtudomány történetéről az araboknál. Irodalomtörténeti kísérlet* (Budapest 1878) [= *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 14 (1878), 309-375], reprinted (with an errata list by K. Dévényi) in *Az arabok* I, 221-290. For over a hundred years this work was inaccessible to readers ignorant of Hungarian. A French synopsis appeared in 1927 in Heller's *Bibliographie* no. 71 and the difficulty has now been entirely removed by the appearance of an English translation of Goldziher's youthful publication, very helpfully annotated and provided with an appendix of Arabic texts: I. Goldziher, *On the History of Grammar among the Arabs. An Essay in Literary History*, trans. and ed. K. Dévényi & T. Iványi (Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1994). Thanks to this translation the world at large may now enjoy access to one of Goldziher's least read works.

One can only speculate why the author himself did not in this case follow his own practice<sup>216</sup> and prepare a revised German version of this study for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with Hungarian. Two reasons may be suggested. Firstly, the habit of writing a preliminary version in Hungarian, followed thereafter by a revised German text aimed at an international readership, is characteristic of the later rather than the younger Goldziher. There are other substantial Hungarian works from the 1870s for which also he never provided a German version, in particular his studies on nationality among the Arabs (1873),<sup>217</sup> Muslim travellers (1875),<sup>218</sup> the original home of the Semites (1875)<sup>219</sup> and the Arabs of Spain (1877).<sup>220</sup> It may well be that Goldziher did not consider his work *On the History of Grammar among the Arabs* of sufficient merit to warrant publication in German for a wider audience. He did, however, draw material from it for his German writings when the opportunity arose. For example, the passage (pp. 22-23) identifying the modern (Egyptian) demonstrative pronoun *deh* and *dih* (which Goldziher compares to Hebrew *zeh*) with that occurring in the old sentences *فرما اخرجت ده ولم تخرج ده* (Bukhāri) and *إلا ده فلا ده* (Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj) is repeated on p. 516 of the review of Spitta's *Grammatik* (with the transcription improved to *di*); the note (p. 23) on *mōye* (*muweyhe*), the diminutive of *mā'* "water", and its early occurrence as *مويه* in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* likewise reappears on the same page of the said review, with the interesting addition that in some versions of the tradition the offending colloquial *مويه* has been replaced by the chaster *مشربة*. Further, the list of appellations for modern colloquial Arabic, *luḡat*

<sup>216</sup> Cf. on this Conrad, 'Pilgrim from Pest' 110-111, 146; 'Ignaz Goldziher on Ernest Renan' 164-165.

<sup>217</sup> But for the link with *Muhammedanische Studien* see above n. 114.

<sup>218</sup> Above n. 153.

<sup>219</sup> Short synopsis in Heller no. 58.

<sup>220</sup> = *Az arabok* I 141 with resumé in Heller no. 65a; English translation by DeSomogyi in *GS* I 370-423, reprinted from *Moslem World* 53 (1963), 54 (1964).

*al-ʿawāmm* etc. (pp. 25-26), was incorporated into a later German article on Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* in *ZDMG* 36 (1882), 282-284 = *GS* II 125-126, and the Arab grammarians' theory on the relationship between form and meaning (p. 44) reappears in Goldziher's magisterial review of Berliner's *Beiträge zur hebräischen Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch* (Berlin 1879) in *ZDMG* 34 (1880), 379: زيادة البناء تدل على زيادة المعنى.

Secondly, after the publication of *On the History of Grammar among the Arabs* Goldziher's scholarly tastes, as we have seen, moved away from matters philological and tended more and more towards the study of Islam. It very much looks as if Goldziher, who in any case was temperamentally never in a hurry to rush into print,<sup>221</sup> after 1878 had neither the wish nor the time to develop his *A nyelvtudomány történetéről az araboknál* into a full-fledged German monograph. The decision to leave the work in Hungarian was doubtless made easier by the appearance shortly afterwards of H. Derenbourg's edition of Sibawayhi's *Kitāb* (Paris 1881-1889). A work so fundamental to Arabic philology could hardly be left out of consideration, and to take it properly into account would have involved Goldziher in much laborious research in a field from which he was now moving away.

Goldziher, as we have repeatedly observed, was primarily a historian of culture and ideas. He was interested in literary rather than linguistic history, and hence *On the History of Grammar among the Arabs* is concerned, as the subtitle *An Essay in Literary History* explicitly states, more with the development of linguistic literature in Arabic than with the development of Arabic linguistic forms – an additional chapter on 'Az arab szótáriróadalom fejlődése' [The development of Arabic lexicography] was planned, but never printed and no such work has been found in the Goldziher Nachlass. He does, however, address the linguistic material itself, especially in chapter 2, which deals with "Az arab nyelvészek állása a dialektusokhoz és a népnyelvhez" [The attitude of the Arab philologists to the dialects and to the vernacular]. Since Goldziher was incapable of writing anything trivial, this chapter well repays a closer look.

Goldziher's view of things was essentially of a dynamic character, the focus of his interest being placed firmly on the flow of ideas across time and space. He was not content with observation of a static, synchronic state of affairs alone, but was always eager to discover whence things had developed into what they had, whither they subsequently led and to what they are related. This diachronic and comparative approach applies to his linguistic preferences too. It was only natural that he should take an interest in the historical evolution of Arabic and its dialects and in their typological relation to other Semitic languages. A rare glimpse into Goldziher's views on such matters is found in the chapter under discussion, in which he

<sup>221</sup> This well known characteristic is expressed by Goldziher himself: "aber ich habe die Art, das Fertige immer lange liegen zu lassen, oft sehr lange" (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 306). Cf. also *ibid.* 310, 318.

subscribes (p. 20)<sup>222</sup> to a very important principle of comparative Semitic linguistics, viz. that typologically Biblical Hebrew and the modern Arabic dialects, having passed through a number of similar processes, are at a comparable (analytic) stage of development, both of them opposed to classical Arabic, which displays a more archaic (synthetic) character. He draws an evolutionary parallel between Semitic and Romance.

By way of concrete illustration of this principle (which Goldziher was not, incidentally, the first to propound) he classed together (p. 13) the Biblical Hebrew and colloquial Arabic prefixes of the imperfect (*ni-qtol* etc.), contrasting them with those of classical Arabic (*na-qtul* etc.). He very rightly observed that “this phenomenon is important and interesting from the point of view of both the historical and the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages”. The phenomenon in question is that which is called in traditional Arabic grammar *taltala*, came later to be known in Semitic philology as “Barth’s law”, and was subsequently validated on the basis of Ugaritic by H. L. Ginsberg. In further illustration Goldziher mentioned (p. 17 n. 2) the similarity between the Quran reading *ya’murukum* (by *ixtilās* < classical Arabic *ya’murukum*) and the corresponding vowelless forms of Biblical Hebrew and colloquial Arabic. He also drew attention to similarities in the development of the feminine ending *tā’ marbūta* (pp. 17 n. 3, 23) and the suffixes -*ūna* ~ -*ū* of the imperfect (pp. 21-22).

Following an important terminological distinction rendered in the English translation as “dialect” (*dialektus*) vs. “vernacular” (*népnylv*), the chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with “dialects”, by which Goldziher means what in Arabic are called *lahajāt al-fuṣḥā*, i.e. the tribal dialects of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods which were regarded by the Arabic philologists as a legitimate part of the ‘*arabiyya* and hence worthy of study. These “dialects” are opposed to the “vernaculars” which form the subject of the second section. By “vernacular” Goldziher means the modern Neo-Arabic colloquials of today, which are not considered by traditional Islam as part of the ‘*arabiyya*, play no part whatever in Muslim education and enjoy no prestige in Islamic society. The frequent use in scholarly literature of such ambiguous terms as “Arabic dialects” coupled with a certain confusion in the internal division of Arabic into periods and types<sup>223</sup> make Goldziher’s terminological distinction very useful indeed.<sup>224</sup>

<sup>222</sup> Ballagi & Goldziher (see above n. 71) 122, 143, referred to here, deal with vestigial case endings in Hebrew, but no historical or comparative discussion is given there.

<sup>223</sup> For example, in the entry ‘Arabiyya’ in *EP* I 561 (C. Rabin) the “dialects” are part of the “vernaculars” and both are modern, whereas Goldziher’s “dialects” correspond to what is there labelled “early Arabic” within the “pre-classical” division.

<sup>224</sup> Note, however, that Goldziher uses other terms also in order to speak about “dialects”, e.g. *köznyelv* and *nyelvjárás*, which are not reflected by different equivalents in the translation.



The first section on the (ancient) “dialects” begins with the central role of the language of Quraysh, goes on to mention the speech of other groups, has a small discussion of urban dialects and ends with an account of linguistic differences between the various tribes of Arabia. Much of the information on the ancient dialects was provided by Suyūṭī’s *Muzhir*, one of Goldziher’s favourite books, “whose importance for [the] Arab literary history cannot be stressed enough” (p.15). There then follows the section on (modern) “vernacular” Arabic, containing discussions of the dichotomy between literary : colloquial, the attitude of the Arab philologists to the spoken language and finally the *lahn al-‘amma* literature.<sup>225</sup>

It is only to be expected that Goldziher’s interests in the “dialects” and the “vernacular” should be drawn towards the historical and cultural. On the historical plane, we may ask what is the chronological relationship between the two? And what is the relationship of the “dialects” and the “vernacular” to the classical language? And on the cultural plane, what is the functional difference between vernacular and classical today in the Arabic-speaking world? It is of great interest to see how Goldziher stood on some of these great issues of Arabic philology, aspects of which, well over a century later, are still very much open. He perceived very clearly that the distinction between what he calls “dialect” (*dialektus*) and “vernacular” (*népnylev*) does not consist merely in chronological considerations, i.e. that the former is ancient colloquial Arabic and the latter modern colloquial Arabic. He devotes a considerable effort to showing that characteristically “vernacular” features, and with them the diglossic “two levels” (*két fok*) of Arabic (p. 24), are in fact very old indeed. We have already mentioned demonstrative *di(h)* and the diminutive *mōve*. Goldziher further noted (p. 13) that the typically colloquial pronunciation *kilme* for classical *kalima* “word” is already found in the ancient dialect of Tamīm, that there is evidence for the vernacular : classical cleavage as early as the Umayyad period (p. 24) and that the caliph al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik (regn. 86-96 A.H.) was notorious for his bad Arabic and lapses into the spoken register (pp. 29-30). Such facts plainly show that the roots of today’s colloquials run very deep, that in Umayyad times Neo-Arabic was used even in the highest strata of the Arab nobility, and that “vernacular” Arabic, far from being a merely modern phenomenon, was already spoken at the time of Muḥammad (pp. 22, 24). From this, one supposes that in the debate over the pre-Islamic or post-Islamic origin of the Arabic diglossia Goldziher would have subscribed to the view that Neo-Arabic, i.e. the uninflected, analytical type to which the modern colloquial dialects belong, already existed before Islam.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>225</sup> Goldziher returned to *lahn al-‘amma* in *ZDMG* 35 (1881), 147-152 = *GS* II 102, but again he is interested in this material more as a literary genre than as a source of linguistic facts.

<sup>226</sup> [In an unpublished letter dated 11.11.1897 Goldziher writes to Nöldeke as follows: “Durch Unwohlsein (nervöses Kopfweh صداع [sic; صداع ?]) war ich verhindert den Empfang der wichtigen Abhandl., Bemerkungen über die Sprache der alten Ar. allsogleich anzuzeigen und für die gründliche Belehrung über die dort behandelte Hauptfrage aller arab. Philologie herzlich zu danken. Glauben Sie, dass der Beginn des

In the light of the evident antiquity of the “vernacular”, Goldziher pointed out (p.18) that the essence of the linguistic dichotomy so characteristic of Arabic lies more in the distinction between literary (*irodalmi*) Schriftarabisch : colloquial (*vulgaris*) than in ancient (*ó*) Altarabisch : modern (*új*). But Goldziher is fully aware that such a binary division alone is not sufficient to account for a rather complicated situation. Within the vernacular itself (which may be written as well as spoken) there are higher registers approaching the classical language and lower registers tending towards raw colloquial speech (*legvulgarisabb vulgar nyelv*)., “for the colloquial has its grades (*fokozat*), too” (p. 28). Although the hundred years and more which have elapsed since the publication of Goldziher’s book have seen a large increment of information on these subjects, the problem of suitable terminology has not yet been solved and the age of the Neo-Arabic “vernacular” type is under discussion to this day.

There is a curious item in Goldziher’s chapter 2 which merits discussion. At the very beginning of the book (p. 3) the author expresses surprise that the manifestly manufactured tradition ascribing the beginning of Arabic grammar to the caliph ‘Ali should find any acceptance among critical scholars “in our sceptical era”.<sup>227</sup> It is, therefore, at first glance curious to find Goldziher himself (pp. 20-21) lending unreserved credence to the vague, uncritical and unsubstantiated information supplied by W. G. Palgrave “to the astonishment of the scholarly world” on the continued existence in Arabia of fully inflected spoken classical Arabic. In Palgrave’s *Narrative of a Year’s Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* (1862-63), 2 vols. (London – Cambridge 1865) we read of a spoken idiom in the Ḥā’il area of central Nejd which is “with very slight exceptions, entirely unvitiated, and follows in general the minute rules and exigencies of what is sometimes, though very incorrectly, called the *grammatical dialect*” (I 25). In this region, avers Palgrave, “the smallest and raggedest child that toddles about the street lisps in the correctest book-Arabic (to use an inexact denomination) that ever De Sacy studied or Sibawee’yah professed”, for here “Arabic at the present day is spoken precisely as it was in the age of Mahomet” (p. 311). In Riyāḍ Palgrave found the local dialect “in the main the pure and unchanged dialect of the Coran, no less living and familiar to all now than in the seventh century” (p. 463).

Goldziher adduced some of Palgrave’s affirmations, “the authenticity of which nobody has the right to doubt” (p. 21), as part of an argument against the view of

i'räblosen Sprechens, so wie der übrigen Erscheinungen des Volksarabischen chronologisch fixirt werden könnte? Jedenfalls wird es eine Periode gegeben haben, in welcher gebildete Leute noch den vollen altgrammat. Sprachausdruck gebrauchten, das gemeine Volk aber vulgär redete, so dass beide Sprachstufen neben einander *lebten*.” The Abhandlung referred to was published in *ZA* 12 (1897), 171ff. and subsequently became the first chapter of Nöldeke’s *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*. I. O.]

<sup>227</sup> Goldziher had already referred to this matter in a short note in *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 320-321 = *GS I* 364.

Wetzstein and others that classical Arabic had never been really alive as a natural spoken tongue and owed its existence largely to the activity of learned grammarians. Goldziher's rejection of this theory may well be justified, but we may doubt if Palgrave's information lends him the support which he believed it did. Palgrave belonged to that tribe of educated adventurers, male and female, which were a characteristic feature of Victorian England; his travels, which indeed make very entertaining reading,<sup>228</sup> were popular fare at a time of great public interest in things of the orient,<sup>229</sup> appeared in quick succession in several editions and were translated into French and German. Palgrave was not, however, an observer of proven reliability<sup>230</sup> and his statements on inflected spoken classical Arabic never rise above the vague, impressionistic generalities quoted above.<sup>231</sup>

In his acceptance of Palgrave's reports at face value, I do not think we need convict Goldziher of excessive gullibility. There is no reason, in principle, to deny the possibility of fully inflected classical Arabic having survived somewhere in the depths of inner Arabia. If – Goldziher may have reasoned – an ancient Semitic language such as Neo-Aramaic can defy historical probability and survive in isolated pockets down to modern times, perhaps the ancient *'arabiyya* too is still to be heard in some remote recesses of the peninsula? He may have been encouraged in such a thought by his familiarity with the work of J. G. Wetzstein, whose lectures on the language and customs of the bedouin he had attended in Berlin.<sup>232</sup> Wetzstein, although himself not believing in the antiquity of the case-system of classical Arabic, had published, while Goldziher was a student in Germany, a pioneering study entitled 'Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Wüste', *ZDMG* 22 (1868), 69-194. This article, which Goldziher quotes (p.19), substantiated an important discovery already made by G. Wallin in 1851, viz. that in the bedouin dialects of the Syrian desert and Northern Arabia vestiges of the ancient *tanwīn* were still very much alive. Since – Goldziher may have reasoned further – the Arabic spoken in urban centres such as Beirut and Damascus (with which he was personally familiar) had lost the old case-system almost entirely, whereas bedouin dialects (as Wetzstein

<sup>228</sup> Goldziher, it may be noted, had an insatiable appetite for travel literature (*Tagebuch* 92, 110).

<sup>229</sup> This was the time, inter alia, of Vámbéry's triumphant visit to London; see Conrad, *JRAS* 1990, 243-244, 255-256.

<sup>230</sup> See Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa* 198, n. 506.

<sup>231</sup> On him in general see M. Allan, *Palgrave of Arabia. The Life of William Gifford Palgrave 1826-1888*. London 1972; B. Braude in: *The Jewish Discovery of Islam. Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. M. Kramer, Tel Aviv 1999, 77-93 – neither source mentions Palgrave's alleged linguistic discovery.

<sup>232</sup> *Tagebuch* 37. Goldziher's notes taken at Wetzstein's lectures are preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. [*Sitten und Leben der Araber / nach Vorträgen des Dr. Wetzstein. 1868/9 Sommersemester. 37 leaves in 8<sup>o</sup>. Goldziher-гүйжтэмэни MS no. 101. I. O.*]

had shown) had preserved considerable traces at least of *tanwīn*, one might surmise that the conservatism of the language should increase as one left the cities of the Levant and travelled south into the nomadic culture of the peninsula. Such a train of thought in 1878 would not have been at all unreasonable. No dialectological work had yet then been done to prove or disprove such a hypothesis, which in itself is rather plausible. Even today there are large tracts of Arabia which remain unknown to Arabic dialectology. The dialects of the regions indicated by Palgrave, however, have been studied in some detail and the plain fact is that no dialect remotely matching the description of Palgrave has yet been discovered. His statements on the survival of spoken classical Arabic in the mouths of the “smallest and raggedest” children of Najd are but a romantic invention.<sup>233</sup>

## 8. Conclusion

Having given a sketch of Goldziher’s philological interests in and his writings on language subjects, Arabic and other, we may sum up and conclude. Goldziher’s name lives primarily, and with every justification, as the founder of the modern study of Islam. As a philologist in the narrow, i.e. the linguistic and textual, sense he is less well known. It is as an Islamist, not as an Arabist that Goldziher’s name is especially remembered and revered. We have seen, however, that his interests in linguistic subjects were rather wide, not only in Arabic but in other languages also, and that he

<sup>233</sup> Goldziher was not alone in accepting Palgrave’s statements, see F. W. M. Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Status Constructus im Hebräischen*, Weimar 1871, 124 n. 2. Highly interesting in this connection are the remarks of A. Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, herausgegeben von H. Stumme, III, Leipzig 1901, 75-78 §43, who went so far as to doubt that Palgrave had been in Arabia at all. Strangely enough, Goldziher’s friend Landberg, an experienced dialectologist, was also of the opinion that fully inflected Arabic was still spoken in parts of Arabia; see his *Critica Arabica* I, Leiden 1886, 56 and *La langue arabe et ses dialectes*, Leide 1905, 69. Snouck Hurgronje, *Df. C. Landberg’s “Studien” geprüft*, Leiden 1887, 14 [= Id., *Verspreide Geschriften* V, Bonn – Leipzig, 129] flatly denied this claim and Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 59 (1905), 416 was highly sceptical about the reliability of much of Landberg’s information, but Landberg’s statement was given credence by a number of Goldziher’s contemporaries, among them G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin 1897, 175 and even C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* I, Berlin 1908, 570 n. 1. A correct account of the matter is given by C. Rabin, *Ancient West Arabian*, London 1951, 24 n. 3. In such things the will to believe can be very strong indeed, cf. Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. R. W. Chapman, Oxford 1924, 241: “Dr. Gerrard, at Aberdeen, told us, that when he was in Wales, he was shewn a valley inhabited by Danes, who still retain their own language, and are quite a distinct people. Dr Johnson thought it could not be true, or all the kingdom must have heard of it”.

wrote a considerable amount on narrower philological topics, particularly during the early period of his career.

The work of Goldziher on philological matters has not become part and parcel of the Goldziher legacy to the study of Arabic and Islam. I think one may suggest three main reasons for this. Firstly, in his later career, after the 1870s, he paid relatively little attention to questions of linguistic import and posterity has been concerned rather with his massive contributions to other aspects of the literature, theology and culture of Islam. In his celebrated major works – *Die Zähriten* (1884), *Muhammedanische Studien* (1889-1890), *Le livre de Mohammed ibn Toumert* (1903), *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (1910), *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja Sekte* (1916) and *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920) – he addressed himself but little to questions of language.

Secondly, some of Goldziher's utterances on linguistic subjects are scattered in various places where one might not think of looking for them. For example, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern und seine geschichtliche Entwicklung* (1876) contains much fascinating linguistic matter, mainly of an etymological kind. It was Goldziher's opinion (p. 60) that mythology must be studied in the light of /1/ psychology, /2/ history, and /3/ linguistic science ("Sprachwissenschaft"). Accordingly, we find in his book a rather large number of etymological observations aimed at elucidating and reconstructing the thought-categories of the Semitic peoples in general and of the ancient Hebrews in particular. Among these one could point, for example, to a richly documented excursus (pp. 232-234) on paronomastic and rhyming doublets adduced in explanation of the Islamicic *hābīl wa-qābīl* "Cain and Abel", or the discussion with which the book ends (pp. 393ff.) on the aetiological power of folk-etymology to generate myth.

Thirdly, the most comprehensive statement of Goldziher's views on the Arabic language, its development and its dialects was made in Hungarian in his *A nyelvtudomány történetéről az araboknál. Irodalomtörténeti kísérlet* (1878), a work which remained unread by most scholars of Arabic until it was published in English as *On the History of Grammar among the Arabs. An Essay in Literary History*, by K. Dévényi & T. Iványi in 1994.

The writings of Ignaz Goldziher on language subjects should not be overlooked in the general assessment of his huge contribution to the study of Arabic, Islam and Semitic civilization. They add an important philological dimension to the picture of a very great scholar, a philological dimension which was not merely incidental to the rest of his oeuvre, but an integral part of it. He constantly applied the philological method of textual study which already as a teenager he had so come to appreciate in the Talmud classes of Samuel Löw Brill: "Brill hatte die richtige Methode, das Blatt, auf welchem unser Studium wochenlang haftete, als Mittelpunkt zu betrachten, um vom selben aus immer wieder in dasselbe zurückkehrend, weite Gebiete zu

durchstreifen".<sup>234</sup> This is precisely what Goldziher did with the Arabic sources, of which he read, and re-read,<sup>235</sup> such a vast number.<sup>236</sup> Goldziher's writings on Islam were anchored solidly in the sources and grow naturally out of them; "jeder seiner Gedanken ist literarisch belegt".<sup>237</sup> It is precisely for this reason that they created such an impact and have retained their value to this day. Everything he wrote about Islam was based on a close reading of the texts of Islamic literature, and his approach to these was decidedly philological. It is true that he was primarily interested in the contents of these texts, but he was fully aware that nothing certain can be said about the contents of any text until the philological problems accompanying it have been solved. This was the tradition in which he was schooled, this is the tradition upon which Arabic studies were built and upon which they still firmly rest. Goldziher was a leading exponent of this great tradition of Semitic philology during the golden age of its development. In the field of Arabic and Islam his effortless mastery of a colossal amount of material, his wondrous familiarity with the sources and the formidable philological expertise which he applied to them had not been seen before and have not been equalled since. Within his vast contribution to building the foundations of our profession his language studies are a vital part.

<sup>234</sup> *Tagebuch* 28.

<sup>235</sup> Remarks such as "den Nawawî zum Muslim hatte ich nur zu wiederholen; nochmals arbeite ich Ibn Hazm ... durch" (*Tagebuch* 92), "Nochmals arbeitete ich die Agânî durch" (ibid. 110), "Auch Ibn Sa'd III. T. habe ich nochmals durchgelesen" (ibid. 310), "ich lese jetzt wieder die Lauteren Brüder. ... habe ich Gelegenheit genommen, die ganze Sache nochmals durchzuochen" (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 198), "dann habe ich eine ganze Menge wieder gelesen" (ibid. 306) and "Ich denke ... das تفسير des Ibn 'Arabî wieder einmal durchzunehmen" (ibid. 402) reveal the thoroughness of his method.

<sup>236</sup> Reading was Goldziher's greatest pleasure (Hanisch, *Briefwechsel* 318). The phenomenal speed at which he read, the retentiveness of his memory and the expedience of his writing are well described by Yahuda, *Der Jude* 8 (1924), 579-580.

<sup>237</sup> C. H. Becker, *Der Islam* 12 (1922), 216.

Remarks on Editorial Attitudes in the Goldziher-Nöldeke Correspondence  
collected by István Ormos

### Introductory remarks

The aim of the critical edition of texts is to determine its earliest possible form, to come as close as possible to the text which the author composed and wrote down, if the autograph does not survive. We have very few autographs of mediaeval Arabic texts at our disposal, therefore we have to rely upon one or more manuscripts which were copied by scribes of widely differing levels of accuracy and natural gifts. The elimination of scribal errors is relatively easy in classical Arabic texts where violations of the rules of classical grammar are easily identified and corrected. Namely, it is generally assumed that the author wrote in pure classical Arabic and the mistakes come from ignorant copyists. With Middle Arabic texts, however, the situation is much more complicated. In MA various standards coexist, beginning with classical forms and ending with the wildest late dialectal phenomena. Any of these may originate both from the author and from any of the subsequent copyists. The question is of course how we can determine the forms the author may have used. The situation is even more complicated when we have several manuscripts with different forms at our disposal. Owing to the prestige of classical Arabic, orthodox editors tend to replace later forms with classical ones, a method justly subjected to criticism. And of course this is relatively easy in the field of morphology, while a reshaping of the syntax would involve a much deeper intervention in the fabric of a given text. It is very interesting to see how these two giants of early *Islamwissenschaft* and Arabic studies discussed these problems. The following excerpts were collected from the transcripts of the Goldziher-Nöldeke correspondence preserved in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. As they have not been published before, I think it is worth making them known to the academic community because the problems treated in them have not ceased to occupy the editors of Middle Arabic sources to the present day.<sup>238</sup>

<sup>238</sup> Similar problems are well known in the edition of “vulgar” texts in other languages too. See e.g. Otto Stählin, *Editionstechnik*. 2nd ed., Leipzig-Berlin 1914, 13; Dmitriy Sergeevič Lihačev, *Tekstologiya*, 2nd rev. ed., Leningrad 1983, 506-521; Radovan Lalić, ‘Ob orfografii kritičeskih izdanij’, in: *Tekstologiya slavyanskih literatur. Dokladi konferencii Leningrad, 25-30 maja 1971 goda*. Leningrad 1973, 50-59; Pandelescu Olteanu, ‘Problemă transcripției și izdării slaviano-rumânilor textelor’, *ibid.*, 162-174. Cf. also, e.g., David ben Abraham al-Fāsī, *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible known as Kitāb Jāmi‘ al-alfāz (Agrôn)*. Ed. Solomon L. Skoss, (Yale Oriental Series, Researches,

### 21/7/1904. Nöldeke to Goldziher

Im Prinzip stimme ich natürlich ganz mit Ihnen überein; man soll die Texte so weit man kann, so herausgeben, wie sie der Verf. geschrieben hat. Nur traue ich in Fällen wie den fraglichen dem Verfasser mehr Abweichungen von der Norm der höheren Sprache zu als Sie, und bin daher in dubio mehr für Beibehaltung des ueberlieferten als für Normierung, Allah es überlassend, zwischen mir und dem Verf. zu entscheiden.

### 30/10/1904. Nöldeke to Goldziher

Danke bestens für die neue Zusendung. Daß Sie Yahuda's Dissertation so günstig beurtheilen, freut mich sehr.<sup>239</sup> Sie sind weit, ja weit competenter als ich und selbst als οὐνσερ γεμείνοχαφτλιχερ φρεῦνδ λάνδαυερ,<sup>240</sup> der doch viel mehr von diesen Sachen versteht als ich. In einem Punkte habe ich allerdings Zweifel, nämlich ob man die Sprache solcher Schriften ohne Weiteres normieren dürfe. Bei Buchari mag das sein, bei Maimūnī vielleicht auch (obgleich die Begründung auf ein einzelnes Originalbriefchen lange nicht genügt), aber ob durchgehends? Ich denke, man muß immer fragen: ist es wahrscheinlich, dass der betreffende Autor نحو (nicht etwa bloss نحو القلوب!) getrieben u. zwar ernstlich getrieben hat? Nur in dem Falle wäre die Normierung völlig berechtigt. Dass d. Autoren meist correcter geschrieben haben als beliebige Abschreiber ihrer Werke, gebe ich gern zu, aber wo ist da eine sichere Norm für den Editor? Am *bequemsten* ist's ja, alles nach d. Grammatik zu normieren, aber ich fürchte, das Resultat ist dann oft der Urschrift ferner als die Hdschr. Gilt natürlich nicht bloss ebenso von christl. Autoren (da erst recht), sondern auch von manchen muslimischen. Man sollte doch einmal die erhaltenen Autographen von arab. Gelehrten auf ihre sprachl. Correctheit untersuchen!

Volume XX), New Haven 1936, I, cxi-cl; Joshua Blau, 'The Status and Linguistic Structure of Middle Arabic', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23 (1999), 221-227, esp. 222, 226.

<sup>239</sup> Appeared as Bachja ibn Jösēf ibn Paqūda, *Al-Hidāja 'ilā farā'id al-qulūb*. Ed. A. S. Yahuda, Leiden 1912.

<sup>240</sup> The reference is to Samuel Landauer (1846-1943), chief court librarian in Strassburg (1875-1918), expelled by the French in 1918. Snouck Hurgronje was also in contact with him. See *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, published by P. S. van Koningsveld. (Abdoel-Ghaffaar. Sources for the History of Islamic Studies in the Western World, Volume 2), Leiden 1985, 13, 255, 474-475, 564. It is not clear to me why the reference is in the Greek script.



**27/5/1907. Nöldeke to Goldziher on Bezold's edition of "Schatzhöhle"**

Schade, dass fast alle älteren jüd. und christl. Arab. Texte, die hg. sind, von den Herausgebern mehr oder weniger grammatisch corrigiert worden sind, noch dazu meist recht inconsequent. Das gilt auch von Bezold's arab. Schatzh.-Text.<sup>241</sup>

**15/7/1907. Nöldeke to Goldziher**

Meinem Brief von gestern muss ich sofort eine Karte nachsenden, um Ihnen für كتاب معانى النفس zu danken, das mir eben zugekommen ist.<sup>242</sup> Daß ich dies Werk ernstlich *studieren* werde, kann ich allerdings nicht versprechen, denn – استغفر الله – solche Sachen sind nicht mein Fach und nicht meine Freude. Aber natürlich *ansehen* werde ich mir die Schrift etwas. – Ihr Vorwort habe ich gelesen, und darin allerdings etwas gefunden, dem ich nicht beistimmen kann. Ich meine die Grundsätze der Sprachbehandlung, die Sie da ausgesprochen haben. Ich bin immer dafür, arab. Schriften, die nicht von grammatisch geschulten der faṣṭḥīn Sprache einigermaassen mächtigen Leuten verfasst sind, in sprachlicher Hinsicht wesentlich so zu lassen, wie sie uns überliefert sind. Das Urbild wird weniger entstellt, wenn wir die Vulgarismen u. Fehler der Abschreiber, die in derselben Richtung gehen, wie des Verf.'s, beibehalten, als wenn wir die Sprache normieren. Wer نفس als masc., اسم als fem. behandeln und construieren kann wie die S. 6 Note 3 verzeichnete Lesart, dem ist auch noch vieles zuzutrauen. Ich weiss nicht, ob d. Hdschr. beim ٦ des Fem. durchweg das " [٦] setzt, oder ob nur im St. cstr. oder überhaupt nicht: ich würde auch in diesem Fall die Sitte der Hdschr. durchführen, nicht das " einführen, wo es d. Überlieferung principiell weglässt. Die jüd. und christl. Verfasser wissenschaftlicher Schriften haben ja wohl alle mal *etwas* vom نحو *gehört*, aber ihre Schulerinnerungen sind lange nicht kräftig u. umfassend genug, um sie durchweg zu leiten.

Na, gross ist das Unglück ja nicht, selbst wenn ich Recht haben sollte, und ich bezweifle nicht, dass die Meisten Ihnen eher den entgegengesetzten Vorwurf machen werden.

Also noch einmal besten Dank!

<sup>241</sup> *Die Schatzhöhle*. Ed. & transl. Carl Bezold. Leipzig 1883-1888.

<sup>242</sup> *Kitāb ma'ānī al-naḥs*. *Buch vom Wesen der Seele*. Von einem Ungenannten. Auf Grund der einzigen Handschrift der Bibliothèque nationale herausgegeben, mit Anmerkungen und Exkursen versehen von I. Goldziher. (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl., N.F., Bd. IX, No. 1) Berlin 1907.

## 19/7/1907. Goldziher to Nöldeke

Auch ich stimme für die Aufrechterhaltung des Sprachgebrauchs der Verfasser und die unveränderte Edierung ihrer Texte, *wie sie dieselben* geschrieben haben. Aber ich kann den *unwissenden Abschreibern* dieselbe Rücksicht natürlich nicht zollen. *Nur in solchen Fällen* habe ich eingegriffen. Namentlich beim Studium der Editionen des maimūnischen *سراج*<sup>243</sup> konnte ich mich überzeugen, dass die Abschreiber aus purer Unwissenheit Dinge schreiben, die der Verf. (wie aus dem Apparat ersichtlich) selbst nicht hat schreiben können u. z. nicht Formen, die dialektisch oder in der *Vulgärspr. leben*, sondern *Undinge*, inspiriert durch Unbildung, Ignoranz und sprachlicher Schlamperei [sic]. Wenn ich nur im entfernten ahnen konnte, dass der *Verfasser* so geschrieben, habe ich den Text unberührt gelassen, oder in der Note *seinen* Text angemerkt. Ich glaube, diesen Standpunkt in der Vorrede markiert zu haben.

## 14/10/1907. Nöldeke to Goldziher

Nachdem ich Ihre letzte Edition etwas (aber *والله* nur ganz oberflächlich!) angesehen habe, muß ich allerdings einiges zurücknehmen, was ich in Bezug auf Ihre

<sup>243</sup> *Kitāb al-Sirāḡ* ("The Book of Light") is an important Arabic commentary on the entire Mishnah by Moses Maimonides. Parts of it were edited by Edward Pococke (1654), Joseph Dérenbourg (1886-1892) and in a large number of doctoral theses in Germany and Hungary (1880-). The Hungarian theses accessible to me (Salamon Lövinger 1902, Emanuel Hirschfeld [= Manó Havas] 1902, Bernardus Sik [= Bernát Sik] 1902, Martinus Katz [= Márton Kósa] 1903, Ludovicus Kohn [= Lajos Vágvölgyi] 1903, Josephus Borsodi [= József Borsodi], 1904, Henricus Urbach [= Henrik Urbach] 1904, Eugenius Vidor [= Jenő Vidor] 1904) were prepared by students of the "Franz Joseph I" National Rabbinical Seminary in Budapest under the guidance of Goldziher (and partly of W. Bacher) and submitted to the Faculty of Arts at Budapest University. (All – except Lövinger – express their gratitude to Goldziher – some also to Bacher – in the forewords because of the help accorded to them.) Namely, the regulations of the Seminary specified that, simultaneously with the conclusion of their studies at the Seminary, students had to obtain a PhD degree at Budapest University too. It will be remembered that Goldziher was both professor at the University (1894-1921) and lecturer at the Seminary (1900-1921) at this time. It may be true that these doctoral dissertations have no importance for the textual history of *Kitāb al-Sirāḡ* anymore because of the emergence of better manuscripts in the meantime yet any serious study of Goldziher's editorial principles concerning Middle Arabic texts cannot possibly ignore them (nor similar Seminary dissertations of the period). Moritz Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfurt a. M. 1902, 200-202 (§158A1); Hermann L. Strack, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midraš*. 5th ed., Munich 1921, 157-158 (XIV, §3Ab); *The Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest 1877-1977. A Centennial Volume*. Ed. Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger, New York 1986, 106, 330-332; Maimonides, *Commentary on Tractate Shabbat. Arabic Original and Hebrew Translation*. Ed. Simon Hopkins, Jerusalem 2001, xiv-xv.

Behandlung der Sprache geäußert habe. Es ist doch ein Unterschied, ob man es mit dem Werke eines wirklich *wissenschaftlich* gebildeten Mannes zu thun hat, der über abstracte Gegenstände schreibt, oder mit einer Bibelübersetzung, einer Legende, oder meinetwegen auch einem etwas populären medicinischen Werke. (Alles das von jüd. und christl. Autoren gemeint). Ganz ohne Willkür des Hg's geht es in solchen Dingen ja nie ab, auch nicht bei muslimischen Schriftstellern, die nicht auf Sibawaih und Consorten eingeschworen sind, aber im Ganzen dürften Sie doch die richtigen Grundsätze befolgt haben. Uebrigens darf man wohl annehmen, dass Schriftsteller, welche hebr. oder syr. Schrift anwandten, sich sprachlich leicht mehr gehen liessen als die, w. sich der arab. Buchstaben bedienten.

**6/2/1917. Nöldeke to Goldziher**

Der Umstand, dass ich seit Kurzem gelegentlich wieder Correcturen von Popper's ابن تغرى بردى bekomme, hat mich veranlaßt, alles, was von dem Herrn erschienen ist, theils zum 1. Mal, theils im Zusammenhang zum 2ten zu lesen, da man aus einzelnen Correcturbogen doch keinen rechten Eindruck bekommt.<sup>244</sup> Irre ich nicht, so habe ich Ihnen das schon einmal geschrieben. Ich habe nun sowohl auf d. Inhalt wie auf d. Sprache besonders geachtet und letztere zu vielen Notizen in m/m Dozy benutzt. Namentlich, wo Ibn T.B. Zeitgenössisches schreibt, ist er sprachlich interessant. Es ist merkwürdig, wie ein Mann, der doch durch gelehrte Schulen gelaufen ist, das Arab. eben só schreibt. Und hätte ihn Popper nicht vielfach "verbessert", so wäre das noch viel mehr der Fall. Als ich d. Correcturbogen durchsah, wusste ich nicht, dass d. Text zum grossen Theil auf einem *Autograph* beruht. Das hätte P. mit allen Verstössen gegen d. Regeln genau abdrucken sollen. Wir wollen ja aus so einem Buche nicht d. Grammatik der عربيه lernen, sondern haben ein großes Interesse daran, zu sehen, wie sich d. Sprache eines leidlich gebildeten Aegypters des 15. Jahrh.'s türkischer Herkunft macht, der sich keine grosse Mühe giebt, "correct" zu schreiben, und vielleicht auch allerlei Verstösse macht, die einer aus altägypt.-arab. Familie vermeiden würde.

<sup>244</sup> Abu 'l-Mahâsin ibn Taghrî Birdî. *Annals* [= *Al-Nuğûm al-zâhira fî mulûk Mişr wa-l-Qâhira*]. Ed. William Popper. Berkeley 1909-1929.

# HAMITOSEMITIC FEATURES OF CHADIC

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## Introduction

In 1967, i.e. 33 years ago, at the 27th International Congress of Orientalists, held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, I presented a paper on Chadic-Semitic relationships entitled "Ancient Hamito-Semitic Remnants in the Central Sudan" (Jungraithmayr 1968). Among the examples and arguments which I considered to be significant for such a genetic relationship, especially between Chadic and Akkadian, were the following:

1. The verbal aspectual system of the Northern Nigerian Ron languages can be paralleled in its basic structure with the corresponding system in Akkadian. It consists of a contrastive pair of verbal stem forms, a basic or short one and an extended or long one, e.g.

In Bokkos:

<i>cu</i> 'eat, ate'	:	<i>cwááy</i> '(usually) eat'
(...)	:	
<i>lēf</i> 'cut'	:	<i>lyáâf</i> '(usually) cut'
(...)	:	(...)

In Daffo-Butura:

<i>lifit</i> 'stand up'	:	<i>lifyaát</i> '(usually) stand up'
<i>mot</i> 'die, died'	:	<i>mwaát</i> '(usually) die, faint'
(...)	:	

This finding is to be compared with Erica Reiner's definition (1966: 77ff.) of the Akkadian Imperfective or 'present tense' according to which the morpheme underlying the Akkadian extended form is composed of a morph [length] plus a morph [vocalic replacement], the vowel of the Imperfective in the case of replacement being always /a/.

Compare in Akkadian:

	Perfective Stem	Imperfective Stem
‘separate’	- <i>prus</i>	- <i>parras</i>
‘die’	- <i>muut</i>	- <i>maat</i> (assyr. <i>muuat</i> ?)

2. Abstract nouns (of feminine gender) in /t/ in Ron and Akkadian

Ron (Daffo)	Akkadian
<i>sàrà̀m</i> ‘governor’	<i>šarr-um</i> ‘king’
<i>sàrà̀m-át</i> ‘government, kingship’	<i>šarr-ūt-um</i> ‘kingship’
<i>mbur-ú</i> ‘native doctor’	<i>bēl-um</i> ‘lord’
<i>mbur-át</i> ‘native doctorship’	<i>bēl-ūt-um</i> ‘lordship’

3. Intransitiveness marked by /t/

3.1 Infinitives in -*at*

*nafoš* ‘breathe, rest’

but: *nafoš-át* (f.) ‘breathing, resting’  
*nafoš* (m.) ‘breathing, rest’

Compare also:

*sisal* ‘laugh’

*sisal* (m.) ‘act of laughing’

This parallel situation of *t*-suffixed feminine infinitives and differently marked masculine infinitives in Ron may well be compared with e.g. the secondary feminine infinitive of the derived III. stem in Arabic, i.e.

*mu-fā’al-at-un*, besides the more ‘regular’ masculine form *fi’āl-un*.

Note also that in Egyptian “the immutable verbs having masc. infinitives without special ending while mutable verbs have fem. infinitives ending in -*t*.” (Gardiner 1964: 223)

3.2 Verbs *tertia* /t/ in Ron and Berber

Ron (Daffo)  
*wunat* ‘to work’  
*karat* ‘to harvest’  
*lifit* ‘to rise’  
 Ron (Bökkos)  
*sunàt* ‘to dream’ (cf. Daffo: *sun-an* ‘id.’)

Tuareg  
*dəfə̀rət* ‘to swell up’  
*gə̀rə̀ffət* ‘to kneel down’

4. Internal a-plurals

Ron (Daffo)  
*dīr*, pl. *diyār* ‘eye’  
*sakur*, pl. *sakwār* ‘leg’

Arabic  
*dīn*, pl. *adyān* ‘religion’  
*rağul*, pl. *riğāl* ‘man’.

5. Prefix /m-/

Ron (Daffo)	Akkadian
<i>ma-wet</i> 'hiding-place'	<i>ma-škan-um</i> 'dwelling-place'
Ron (Sha)	Akkadian
<i>mà-fò</i> 'night'	<i>mu-nattu</i> 'early morning'
etc.	

When I finished presenting my paper I vividly remember the reaction of one of the great Semitists, Prof. Wolf Leslau, to these surprising and for him obviously irritating parallels. His remark uttered with a mixture of doubt and surprise was short: "This is too good to be true!" This, of course, disturbed me as well as pleased me at the same time. Leslau was well known – at least in those days – for his strong and determined opposition to the idea of including Chadic into the Hamitosemitic/Afroasiatic phylum. As Paul Newman put it: "Many of these denying scholars, Leslau (1962) for example, have simply chosen to ignore Chadic as if it did not exist, and have described Afroasiatic as consisting of four groups only, namely Semitic, Egyptian, Berber and Cushitic (...)." (Newman 1980: 6).

I think we ought to have some understanding for the immense problems a student especially of Semitic languages must have had – and very often continues to have up to now – in recognizing the Hamitosemitic character, nature and features of a Chadic language and subsequently of the entire Chadic language group. There can be no doubt that this family of about 150 languages, many of which are extremely different from each other, has been exposed to profound turbulences which led to the fact that many of them can hardly be identified as Hamitosemitic any more. They rather look – on their surface – like Niger-Congo or Nilo-Saharan languages spoken today in their immediate vicinity. Following is a random sample of lexemes taken from two neighbouring languages in northeastern Nigeria, Tangale (Chadic) and Waja (Adamawa, Niger-Congo):

	Tangale	Waja
'hair'	<i>wook</i>	<i>kuu</i>
'head'	<i>kii</i>	<i>dwii</i>
'ear'	<i>kumo</i>	<i>twiyau</i>
'belly'	<i>ago</i>	<i>pwii</i>
'breast'	<i>widi</i>	<i>nyii</i>
'ash'	<i>duka</i>	<i>baro</i>
'know'	<i>poni</i>	<i>soma</i>
'night'	<i>sum</i>	<i>kume</i>

The phonological structure and make-up, which are practically identical in the two languages, do not betray their total genetic distinctiveness.

The present Chadic languages obviously being of a highly mixed nature are indeed the products of intensive struggles between two polar linguistic communities

where the partner intruding from the north certainly received much more from the autochthonous ethnic-linguistic communities than the other way round. In other words the Hamitosemitic/Afroasiatic languages penetrating into central Sudan have been exposed to innumerable influences by various ‘Nigritic’ – Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan – languages which resulted in a great degree of linguistic interlacing. In general we may say that the Chadic languages with the highest amount of Sudanic features and admixture are to be found along the southern border line between Nigritic and Hamitosemitic languages as well as in the highly condensed central region (Northern Cameroon). On the other hand, most of the least transformed and mutilated languages are to be found on the eastern and western peripheries. The processes of adaptation to the new linguistic environment have occurred on different levels. One of which is certainly the level of lexical borrowing and replacement (cf. e.g. Wolff and Gerhardt 1977), another one a strong tendency towards levelling of morphophonological differences between Chadic and non-Chadic languages resulting in Kwa-like shapes – CV-stumps – of lexemes. Thus, on the Chadic side we observe processes of wordclipping like the following ones:

	Mubi (eastern periphery)	Tumak (southeastern fringe)
‘to drink’ (ipfv.)	<i>síwáá</i>	<i>hè</i>
‘to die’ (ipfv.)	<i>mùwáát</i>	<i>mā</i>
	Ron-Daffo (western periphery)	Tangale (southern fringe)
‘foot, leg’	<i>sakur</i>	<i>yoo</i>

One of the most striking features characteristic of those fringe as well as central area languages is the decisive role and functionally high load of tone in both lexicon and grammar. Many of the Chadic languages, especially those spoken in the southern fringe areas, have replaced the more archaic vowel oppositions by tonal oppositions probably triggered by similar feature systems in neighbouring non-Afroasiatic languages of Niger-Congo origin. For example, among the West Chadic Ron languages, two of them, namely Daffo-Butura and Bokkos, mark the aspectual perfective-imperfective opposition by vowel change (ablaut, apophony) whereas another Ron language, Fyer displays a change of tone (abton, apotony) on the verb stem for the same purpose.

For instance:

				‘to die’
			pfv.	ipfv.
Ron	- Daffo	(ablaut)	<i>Mōt</i>	<i>mwaát</i>
	- Bokkos	(ablaut)	<i>Mōt</i>	<i>mwaát</i>
	- Fyer	(abton)	<i>Mōt</i>	<i>mót</i>
			(mid tone)	(high tone)

### **The identification and recognition of the Hamitosemitic features in Chadic**

It has been a long and stony way from F.W. Newman's 'Hebraco-African' family (1844) and Rev. J.F. Schön's decision "to style the Hausa a Semitic language" (1862: XII) as well as C. Meinhof's (1912) 'Hamitic' family via Vycichl's paper on "Hausa und Ägyptisch" (1934) and J. Lukas' establishment of a Chadic or Chadohamitic family (e.g. 1938) to the recognition of Chadic as a full member of the Hamitosemitic language stock by J. H. Greenberg (1955, etc.), Otto Rössler (1979), Chaim Rabin (1982), Igor Diakonoff (1965) and others. We may say that up to the early fifties of the 20th century there was no strong support for the inclusion of Chadic into the Hamitosemitic language phylum. *Langues du monde ancien et moderne* (1981) still placed Chadic within its section on Subsaharan languages next to 'Les langues de l'Afrique Noire' and 'Les langues khoisan', thus allowing the editor(s) to elegantly get around a clear decision as to its definitive classification. This in spite of the full-fledged list of convincing arguments and proofs presented by Greenberg as early as 1955!

Intensive research carried out during the past forty years by scholars like Carl Hoffmann, Paul Newman, Russell Schuh, Daniel Barreteau, Henry Tourneux, Dimytr Ibriszimow, Rudolf Leger and myself have brought to light so many significant data that my intention to speak today about Hamitosemitic features in Chadic met with great surprise by a Chadistic colleague who asked me questions like "Why do you give a special talk about something that is an established fact? Isn't that like 'Eulen nach Athen tragen'?" Chadic *is*, after all, Hamitosemitic! You don't have to be apologetic!"

Well, such a rigid view is certainly understandable if expressed by an insider. It remains, however, difficult to find a Semitist who, after looking at a typical Chadic language like Tumak, Angas, Tangale or Mofu, would readily accept its surface appearance as a reflection of what he more or less justly considers to be a common or even a Proto-Hamitosemitic heritage. The example of Wolf Leslau as quoted above and numerous others speak for themselves. Semitists like Chaim Rabin and Aharon Dolgopolsky, who already at a rather early stage came to support the Chadic cause with great emphasis (see e.g. Rabin 1982), belong to a tiny minority.

For practical purposes I will now give a summary of some of the principal arguments and features which clearly testify to the Hamitosemitic character of the Chadic languages.

### **Hamitosemitic pronouns in Chadic**

Probably the most convincing piece of a Hamitosemitic heritage in Chadic languages is a set of common pronominal morphemes, particularly in the singular number. Thus, the following morphemes are to be found widespread among Chadic languages, e.g. in Hausa:



		subject	object	possessive
Sg. 1	<i>N</i> or Vowel	<i>na/ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>-a</i>
2m	<i>K (a)</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>-ka</i>
2f	<i>K (i)</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>-ki</i>
3m	<i>Y (i)</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>-sa</i>
3f	<i>T (a)</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>-ta</i>

It is of special interest and crucial relevance for the Afroasiatic heritage argument that many Chadic languages dispose of two different morphemes for the first person singular, i.e. a nasal morpheme on the one hand and a vowel suffix on the other hand, depending on its morphosyntactic functions. In Hausa, for instance, the distribution of functions is the same as in Arabic, i.e. the vowel suffix is characteristic of the possessive, the nasal morpheme of the object pronoun. For instance,

	Arabic	Hausa
'my love'	<i>ḥubb-ī</i>	<i>soo-n-a</i>
'she loves/d me'	<i>tuḥibbu-nī</i>	<i>ta soo nī</i>

(For details on this issue see Jungraihtmayr 1999).

Moreover, it is a feature particularly specific of Hamitosemitic languages to distinguish sex/gender not only in the 3rd but also in the 2nd person singular. It is doubly significant, however, that the consonant-vowel morphemes as found in Chadic (*\*ka* : *\*ki*) are well-attested in the entire Hamitosemitic stock.

Another characteristic common Hamitosemitic feature in Chadic is the binary verbal aspect system marked by internal vowel change (Ablaut) plus, occasionally, gemination of *C*<sub>2</sub> or *C*<sub>3</sub>; cf. the following examples taken from different, though mainly East Chadic languages:

		Perfective stem	Imperfective stem
Migama	'to untie'	<i>'ipiré</i>	<i>'éparrá</i>
	'to wrap'	<i>kútumé</i>	<i>kótómmá</i>
	'to pay'	<i>píllé</i>	<i>pèlèkká</i>
Mokilko	'to bite'	<i>'i'idá</i>	<i>'á'údú</i>
Mubi	'to bite'	<i>'éwít</i>	<i>'úwáát</i>
	'to die'	<i>máát</i>	<i>mùwáát</i>
Ron-Bokkos	'to die'	<i>mot</i>	<i>mwáát</i>
Sokoro	'to die'	<i>míté</i>	<i>mítà</i>

For other Hamitosemitic features found in Chadic, especially a common basic vocabulary, see the above paragraphs 2-5 as well as Greenberg 1955 and Newman 1980.

## Conclusion

To conclude, I quote from Greenberg's 1962 article (1962: 85) where he compares Hebrew with Angas, a Northern Nigerian Chadic language: "It is even possible to construct a short sentence in Angas which will correspond to a sentence in Hebrew. Like Hebrew, Angas has a distinction of gender in the second person. The sentence 'What is your name' addressed to a man is *me shimgha*, very close indeed to Hebrew *ma-šimkha*. ... It is a matter of remote common origin."

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# IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER ON THE *SHU‘ŪBIYYA* MOVEMENT<sup>1</sup>

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In 1889-1890, the distinguished Hungarian professor Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) published two pioneering studies on the *shu‘ūbiyya* movement and the tensions between Arabs and non-Arabs (*‘ajam*) in the early Muslim period. The first study was part of Goldziher's monumental work, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle 1889-1890, 2 vols.), while the second was an article published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1899) on the *shu‘ūbiyya* movement in al-Andalus, and especially the figure of Ibn García.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that Goldziher was one of the first western scholars to pay attention to the *shu‘ūbiyya* movement and the tensions in the early Muslim community — an issue of great importance even today. Although his analysis of these phenomena has been criticised, for example by H.A.R. Gibb<sup>3</sup> and Roy P. Mottahedeh<sup>4</sup>, in my view it is impossible to overlook the importance of Goldziher on this subject. The aim of this paper is to present the ideas of this Hungarian scholar on the *shu‘ūbiyya* movement and the criticism it has received during the twentieth century. Finally I shall discuss and present some of my own ideas on this movement.

It is no exaggeration to say that Ignaz Goldziher was one of the most important and prominent western scholars of Islam, Judaism and Semitic languages. By studying Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts thoroughly from both the philological and historical points of view, he was able to establish a scientific foundation for the study of the *Qur‘ān*, *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* literature, as well as the affinity between Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Jacques Waardenburg writes:

“Goldziher may be said to have laid the foundation of Islamic studies as a scholarly discipline based on the literary and historical study of texts, most of which were at the time available only as manuscripts. It required great erudition and immense knowledge acquired through the reading of the original sources, and a

<sup>1</sup> The author also published this article in *ZDMG* 155 (2005), 365-372.

<sup>2</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, ‘Die Shuubijja unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien’, *ZDMG* 53 (1889), 601-620.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton A. R. Gibb, ‘The Social Significance of the Shuubiya’, in: Id., *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*. Boston 1962, 62-73.

<sup>4</sup> Roy Mottahedeh, ‘The shu‘ūbiya controversy and the social history of early Islamic Iran’, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 7 (1976), 161-182.

creative use of the categories of the history of religions, to reconstruct the architecture of the history of Islamic religion as he did".<sup>5</sup>

It is also important to note that, in analysing the early history of Islam and the prevailing exegesis among the various Muslim groups, Goldziher paid attention to local variations of time, space and spatiality, using a scientific approach not necessarily or commonly shared by his contemporary colleagues. By this method it became possible to study, analyse and compare the 'classical heritage' of Islam with so-called heretical and sectarian interpretations. A second important scientific improvement of Goldziher's was that he demonstrated how Islam embraced local variations and tensions, for example between Arab and non-Arab Muslims (*ʿajam*, *mawla* etc.). By addressing this issue he brought up the essential but very difficult question of Islam and egalitarianism.<sup>6</sup> As a theological system, does Islam support egalitarian structures or hierarchical ones dividing believers?<sup>7</sup> Even though Goldziher never answered this question, it is closely related to the *shuʿūbiyya* movement and their reactions to Arab domination.

### The *shuʿūbiyya*

To Goldziher the *shuʿūbiyya*, which reached its peak during the second and third centuries AH in Persia and Central Asia, was seen as a clearly defined political party consisting mainly of well-educated non-Arab writers, poets and administrators.<sup>8</sup> Even though the movement developed in the East, similar ideas were also expressed in al-Andalus during the 5th/11th century.<sup>9</sup> In any case, according to the tenets of the *shuʿūbiyya*, the Arabs were inferior to the non-Arabs in race and ethnicity and not vice versa, as often claimed by Arabs.<sup>10</sup> However, this opinion could be used to legitimize either an egalitarian interpretation of Islam or a hierarchical interpretation in favour of the non-Arabs. According to Goldziher, to be able to understand this development and the tensions articulated by the *shuʿūbiyya*, it is necessary to pay attention to the political changes that followed the fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the rise of the Abbasids. He writes:

<sup>5</sup> Jacques Waardenburg, 'Goldziher, Ignác', in: *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade. Vol. 6. New York 1987, 74.

<sup>6</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1889-1890, 2 vols, 101-146. English trans. by S. M. Stern, *Muslim Studies*. London 1967.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Louise Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought*. Cambridge 1997.

<sup>8</sup> Goldziher 1889-1890, 147.

<sup>9</sup> On the *shuʿūbiyya* in al-Andalus, see No.1. above; Göran Larsson, *Ibn García's shuʿūbiyya Letter: Ethnic and Theological Tensions in Medieval al-Andalus*. Leiden 2003; James Monroe, *The shuʿūbiyya in al-Andalus. The Risāla of Ibn García and Five Refutations*. Berkeley 1970.

<sup>10</sup> Goldziher 1889-1890, 147.

“Whereas in the Umayyad period it was dangerous for the poet Ismā‘īl b. Yasār, who was moved by Shu‘ūbite ideas and ridiculed the pre-Islamic Arabs and their barbaric customs, to boast of his Persian descent, it was possible under the ‘Abbāsids for scholars, poets and belletrists freely to oppose the national vanity of the Arabs with their proud reference to Iranian ancestry”.<sup>11</sup>

From this time onwards Persian and non-Arab traditions, especially in relation to ideologies of rule, became more influential and important to Muslim rulers. Generally speaking, the expansion of the Muslim territory appears to have created a new demand for an efficient administration and a suitable ideology of rule. This allowed the Sassanian and Persian traditions to be used as models for the Muslim community.<sup>12</sup> But Goldziher takes this argument still further: to him the *shu‘ūbiyya* could be seen as a promoter of Persian nationalism. However, this opinion was strongly opposed and criticised by H. A. R. Gibb (see below).<sup>13</sup> In any case, and irrespective of how we interpret the source material, it is clear that the *shu‘ūbiyya* argument soon developed into a specific literary fashion and genre in Arabic literature. From that time it became possible to criticize and scorn the Arabs and their culture and way of life with the aid of the so-called Persian and Byzantine traditions.<sup>14</sup> For example, the famous Iraqi poet and follower of the *shu‘ūbiyya*, Bashshār Ibn Burd (95/714-167/783), writes in his *Dīwān*:

Is there a messenger, who will carry my message to all the Arabs,  
to him among them who is alive and to him that lies hid in the dust?  
To say that I am a man of lineage, lofty above any other one of lineage:  
the grandfather in whom I glory was Chosroes, and Sāsān was my father,  
Caesar was my uncle, if you ever reckon my ancestry.  
How many, how many a forebear I have, whose brow was encircled by his  
diadem,  
Haughty in his court, to whom knees were bowed,  
Coming in the morning to his court, clothed in blazing gems,  
One splendidly attired in ermine, standing within the curtains,  
The servitors hastening to him with golden vessels:  
He was not given to drink the thin milk of a goatskin, or to sup it in leather  
vessels;  
Never did my father sing a camel-song, trailing along behind a scabby camel,  
Nor approach the colocynth, to pierce it for very hunger;  
Nor approach the mimosa, to beat down its fruits with a stave;

<sup>11</sup> Goldziher 1967, English trans. 148.

<sup>12</sup> Goldziher 1889-1890, 147-149.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Goldziher 1889-1890, 155. Cf. Gibb 1962.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. H. T. Norris, ‘*Shu‘ūbiyya* in Arabic Literature’, in: Julia Ashtiany et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: ‘Abbasid Belles-Lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 31-47.

Nor did we roast a skink [*waral*<sup>15</sup> = a large lizard], with its quivering tail,  
 Nor did I dig for and eat the lizard [*dubbān*<sup>16</sup>] of the stony ground;  
 Nor did my father warm himself standing astraddle to the flame;  
 No, nor did my father use to ride the twin supports of a camel-saddle.  
 We are kings, who have always been so through long ages past...<sup>17</sup>

The *shu'ūbiyya* argument is clearly illustrated in this poem. The symbolism of royalty, for example the diadem and curtain, is also apparently influenced by Persian traditions.<sup>18</sup> The Arabs are seen as uncivilized, and the non-Arabs despise their way of life. Eating lizards, singing camel-songs, standing astride a flame etc. are all examples of the barbarism that prevailed among the Arabs. Their habits ought to be compared to the glory that predominated with the non-Arabs before the Arabs rose to power. Chosroes and Caesar are presented as the non-Arabs' forefathers, and the ways of the Sassanian kings are illustrations of their glory.<sup>19</sup> In sum the non-Arabs and their traditions are seen as positive examples that can and should be contrasted with the negative traditions associated with the Arabs. From a critical point of view it seems that Arabs and non-Arabs alike have little or nothing to do with historicity, but are rather treated as stereotypes or symbols embracing negative and positive feelings respectively in the *shu'ūbiyya* literature. However, in his analysis Goldziher suggests that the *shu'ūbiyya* should be regarded as a party articulating non-Arab nationalistic sentiments.

### Critic and objections

To the Arabist H. A. R. Gibb, one of the main critics of Goldziher's analysis, the *shu'ūbiyya* attack on the Arabs cannot be interpreted as the expression of Persian nationalistic feelings or movements. He writes:

“The issue at stake was no superficial matter of literary modes and fashions, but the whole cultural orientation of the new Islamic society — whether it was to become a re-embodiment of the old Perso-Aramaean culture into which the Arabic and Islamic elements would be absorbed, or a culture in which the Perso-Aramaean contributions would be subordinated to the Arab tradition and the Islamic values”.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, New York 1976, 1062.

<sup>16</sup> Wehr 1976, 534.

<sup>17</sup> Bashshār b. Burd, *Dīwān*, in: A. F. L. Beeston, *Selections From the Poetry of Bashshār*, Cambridge 1977, Arabic text 11-12/English transl. 50-51.

<sup>18</sup> Shaul Shaked, 'From Iran to Islam: on some Symbols of Royalty', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 76 (1986), 75-91.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. my interpretation of Ibn García's *shu'ūbiyya* letter in Larsson 2003, especially 125-177.

<sup>20</sup> Gibb 1962, 66.

Gibb also claims that Goldziher overemphasised the support which the *shu'ubiyya* received from the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the Persian viziers. The example of Abū 'Ubayda Ma'ṣmar b. Al-Muthannā, used by Goldziher as a true representative of the *shu'ubiyya* cause,<sup>21</sup> is not convincing according to Gibb. Even though this man was a distinguished philologist who sought to find foreign elements in Arab culture, for Gibb it is difficult to see Abū 'Ubayda as a typical example of the whole class of *shu'ubiyya* philologists and genealogists, since he was actually a follower of *khārijite* ideas and a supporter of Arab culture, not a promoter of the *shu'ubiyya* cause.<sup>22</sup> But in defence of Goldziher it should be pointed out that it is difficult to analyse and interpret the sayings of Abū 'Ubayda in a clear and satisfying manner. Despite Gibb's critique, it is still possible to find indications that this writer could have been a supporter of the non-Arabs. Secondly, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between the opinions of the followers of the *khārijitism* and *shu'ubiyya*. Both movements were used to oppose the Umayyad dynasty, and both denied privileges to any race. And thirdly, many works related to the *shu'ubiyya* are written in a satirical style (often arranged according to a dualistic scheme comprising negative and positive statements), which makes it difficult to decide whether they are supporting the non-Arabs or are in favour of the Arabs. The *Kitāb fakhr as-sūdān* of al-Jāhīz, a work often viewed as a satire not in favour of the non-Arabs, even though in form it appears to support them, exemplifies the problem. Irrespective of its paradoxical nature, al-Jāhīz's text should rather be seen as an attack on, and criticism of, the followers of the *shu'ubiyya*. The Arabist Bernard Lewis writes:

"His [i.e. al-Jāhīz] defense of the blacks, though in parts no doubt intended seriously, must be understood as a parody of *shu'ubiyya* tracts, intended to throw ridicule on Persian pretensions by advancing similar arguments on behalf of the lowly and despised Zanj".<sup>23</sup>

Like Gibb, Roy P. Mottahedeh argues that Goldziher's analysis of the *shu'ubiyya* was primarily influenced by the tensions of his time between the growth in Hungarian nationalism and the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the nineteenth century. Being a Jew, Goldziher belonged to the group that had gained most from this development, burgeoning economy and social climate. However, the very same development also created tensions in Hungary, especially between the urban population, to which many Jews belonged, and the rural population, in which anti-Semitism began to increase from the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Because of this specific historical context, Goldziher may have been motivated to overemphasize the nationalist and ethnic pride that prevailed among the followers of the *shu'ubiyya*.<sup>25</sup> For Gibb and Mottahedeh, however, it would be anachronistic to

<sup>21</sup> Goldziher 1889-1890, 195-206.

<sup>22</sup> Gibb 1962, 67-68.

<sup>23</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Race and Color in Islam*, New York 1971, 18.

<sup>24</sup> Jörg Hoensch, *A History of Modern Hungary 1867-1994*, London 1996, 28-36.

<sup>25</sup> Mottahedeh 1976, 163.



apply the concept of nationalism to the *shu'ūbiyya*, since ideas linked to nationalism and nationalist feelings and pride first arose at the end of the nineteenth century, from which time nationalist feelings swept over the countries of Europe.<sup>26</sup> But even though this is a plausible reading, nothing in Goldziher's diary covering this period seems to indicate a direct link between his interpretation of the *shu'ūbiyya* and the contemporary political situation in Hungary. For example, in his diary for 1889-1890 Goldziher makes no mention of either the conflicts in Hungary or the *shu'ūbiyya* movement.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, to Mottahedeh it is surprising that neither Goldziher nor Gibb made use of the *Qur'ān* commentaries (the *tafsīr* literature) when they analysed the *shu'ūbiyya* movement. This is especially striking, since its name is derived from *sūra* 49:13, which reads:

O mankind, We have created you male and female, and appointed you races and tribes, that you may know one another. Surely the noblest among you in the sight of God is the most godfearing of you. God is All-knowing, All-aware.<sup>28</sup>

No matter how we interpret the chosen illustrations – a very important but difficult task due to the situation with sources – it seems to me that the main problem with Goldziher's analysis is his idea that the *shu'ūbiyya* was a party.<sup>29</sup> This idea was also accepted and reinforced by D. Macdonald in the first edition of the *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*, where he proposes the following definition of the *shu'ūbiyya*:

[„Die *shu'ūbiyya* sind]...eine bestimmte dynastische und politische Richtung... auch eine religiöse Richtung, welche Häresie und Zindīqismus in sich schloss“.<sup>30</sup>

Although neither Gibb nor Mottahedeh ever says that Goldziher's analysis is a simplification of early Muslim history, in my view this is the fundamental problem with his analysis. Again, we should remember that Goldziher's work on the *shu'ūbiyya* was pioneering and that he had little material to compare it with. Yet it is still not possible to describe or define the *shu'ūbiyya* as a homogeneous group or a political/religious party with a fixed programme. The *shu'ūbiyya* should rather be seen as a complex movement embracing a large number of different, often contradictory ideas, values and opinions. From this point of view, the *shu'ūbiyya* could be described as a collective name for a large number of opinions brought together by the fact that they are all addressing the relationship between Arab and non-Arab Muslims.

<sup>26</sup> On the rise of nationalism in Europe, see Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge 1994.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*. Ed. Alexander Scheiber. Leiden 1978.

<sup>28</sup> English transl. Arthur Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, New York 1964, 538. Cf. Mottahedeh 1976 and Marlow 1997 for a large number of different and often contradictory Islamic interpretations of *sūra* 49:13.

<sup>29</sup> Goldziher 1889-1890, 147.

<sup>30</sup> D. Macdonald, 'Shu'ūbiya', in: *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*, Vol. IV, Leiden 1934, 425.

Until today the *shu'ūbiyya* has mainly been studied as belonging to the past history of Islam: it has not been recognised as a part of the great living Islamic traditions articulated by the world-wide Muslim community. One important exception is the important study by S. A. Hanna and G. H. Gardner, which focuses on 'modern ways' of articulating and using the ideas (symbols, arguments etc.) that were linked to the *shu'ūbiyya* traditions in the colonial period and at the fall of the Ottoman empire.<sup>31</sup> They show convincingly that the *shu'ūbiyya* could be used at different times and localities for different purposes, without losing touch with the basic tenets expressed by the medieval *shu'ūbiyya* movement. In conclusion, therefore, I believe that Hanna and Gardner's approach is fruitful in many ways, since it shows that the ideas and tensions articulated by the *shu'ūbiyya* are still vibrant and that they still await solution in the modern world of the 21st century. However, the problems addressed by non-Arabs today should not automatically be viewed as an articulation of 'classical' *shu'ūbiyya* tenets and ideas, even though they touch upon the same ideas and problems that were raised during the medieval period. With this precaution in mind, future researchers on the *shu'ūbiyya* should consider whether the ideas discussed above have any importance and validity in the Muslim community of today. If they do, it will also be necessary to analyse the message from a contextual and hermeneutic point of view, and not just with the aid of comparative philology. Nonetheless, in his study on the *shu'ūbiyya*, Ignaz Goldziher showed more than a hundred years ago that he was very much ahead of his own time with respect to his selection of both subjects and methods.

<sup>31</sup> S. A. Hanna and G. H. Gardner, 'Al-Shu'ūbiyya Up-Dated: A Study of the 20th Century Revival of an Eighth Century Concept', *The Middle East Journal* 20 (1966), 335-351.



# THE CORRESPONDENCE OF IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER AND MAX HERZ

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The correspondence of Ignaz Goldziher consists of approximately 13 600 letters. It was bequeathed to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by his widow in 1925 and is now kept in the Oriental Collection of the Academy Library.<sup>1</sup> The importance of these letters is not unknown to the scholarly community, primarily because of the edition of certain important parts of it.<sup>2</sup> Yet the full exploitation of the wealth of data offered by this rich mine of information remains a task of the future. In the present paper I want to offer a survey of the correspondence between Goldziher and an almost wholly forgotten luminary in the field of studies of Islamic culture. It sheds light on a deep personal relationship while at the same time offering interesting pieces of scholarly information and serving as an important source for the future biography of an outstanding figure in the history of Islamic architecture.

Max Herz Pasha was born in 1856 and died in 1919. As was the case with the majority of Hungarian Jews, he had a German family name in accordance with the

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Laura Goldziher (21 February 1856 - 29 December 1925) bequeathed her husband's correspondence, handwritten notes and collection of *excerpta* to the Hungarian Academy in her will. Her son Károly contacted the secretary general of the Academy, Jenő Balogh, in the first days of January 1925 and informed him of her mother's will. The Nachlass was transported from Holló utca 4, 1st floor, to the Academy on 18 January, between 1 and 2 p.m. In December 1931 Károly and J. Balogh agreed that Károly would catalogue the letters. The Goldziher Collection was inaugurated on 18 October 1933. See RAL 66/1926, 163/1926, 2063/1931, Collection of Manuscripts and Old Printed Books, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. *Akadémiai Értesítő* 43 (1933), 192-193, 347-348. The orthography of the letters has been adapted to modern standards. I think the fact that Mrs. Goldziher disposed of her husband's most precious belongings, including his library, suggests that Goldziher did not leave a will at his death. On his "spiritual" will of 1901 see note 95 below and also note 159 in my discussion of Goldziher's mother tongue in the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> See Somogyi, Joseph de, 'A Collection of the Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1935, 149-150.

regulations passed by Emperor Joseph II (1780). He worked in Egypt as an architect from 1880 until the end of 1914. He was active in restoring and preserving Arab Islamic and Coptic monuments of architecture, first as assistant architect in the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration, and subsequently he was for 25 years chief architect to the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*. In this capacity he was in sole charge of this whole field, directing the restoration and preservation of monuments of Arab Islamic and Coptic architecture throughout the whole of Egypt for a quarter of a century, until he was expelled from Egypt by the British authorities as an enemy alien after the outbreak of World War I – Herz retained his Hungarian citizenship until the end of his life. He was also director of the Arab Museum – the present Museum of Islamic Art in Bāb al-Ḥalq. He published extensively on the history of Arab Islamic architecture and in addition he was also a prolific private architect. Contemporary sources say he designed more than 150 buildings in Cairo. Notwithstanding his exceptional merits and achievements, Herz Pasha is almost completely forgotten today.<sup>3</sup>

The envelope with the inscription “Herz Miksa pasa, Cairo” in Box No. 16 contains sixty-one items. In addition to letters, post-cards and a visiting card with a brief message one can find there a printed invitation to Herz Pasha’s wedding, a proof-sheet of the death-notice of his son, Géza, from *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), the death-notice of Herz Pasha himself, and a visiting card from his widow with a few words thanking Goldziher and his family for their condolences. More items concerning Herz Pasha can be found in Box No. 45 among the documents of the study tour of Hungarian secondary school teachers to Egypt at the turn of 1895-1896. We possess only one half of the correspondence, i.e. Herz Pasha’s letters to Goldziher. Goldziher’s answers have not survived; they seem to have been lost together with Herz Pasha’s belongings, which he was compelled to leave behind in Egypt at his expulsion.

In the beginning the letters are in Hungarian. In later years German is also employed in the letters. Some letters are in German, others in Hungarian and several letters are in a mixture of these two languages. Even in the German letters Herz is likely to revert to Hungarian when discussing family or intimate matters. During the war, when Herz was staying in Zurich, he seems to have used German deliberately so that his letters would pass the military censorship more easily. One post-card and a brief note are in French. Occasionally the letters exhibit careless constructions:

<sup>3</sup> See now István Ormos, ‘Max Herz (1856-1919). His Life and Activities in Egypt’, in: *Le Caire – Alexandrie: architectures européennes 1850-1950*. Ed. Mercedes Volait (Études Urbaines 5), Cairo 2001, 161-177; Id., ‘Preservation and Restoration. The Methods of Max Herz Pasha, Chief Architect of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe, 1890-1914’, in: *Historians in Cairo. Essays in Honor of George Scanlon*. Ed. Jill Edwards, Cairo-New York 2002, 123-153.

Herz seems to have written them in a haste. This latter circumstance is likely to have influenced the choice of language too. We know that he corresponded with many people and was always busy, so the language he used in a previous letter or document may have influenced his choice of language in a subsequent one – there is no other way to explain why he used French on a post-card addressed to Goldziher. (Most probably Herz acquired his knowledge of French as an adult, after his arrival in Egypt.) At the same time it can be assumed that his fluency in written Hungarian diminished with the progress of time. In the beginning the tone of the letters is quite formal. Herz addresses Goldziher as “Professor” and with the personal pronoun and verbal form of respect, while later the address will be “my dear friend” and the pronoun and verbal form of respect will be replaced by the second person singular. There can be no doubt that this happened as a result of the suggestion of Goldziher, who was six years Herz’s senior. It may be remarked that in one case Herz is quoting Goldziher’s two questions verbally and these questions are in Hungarian: “In which part of the city is خرنفش street located? (*A város melyik részén van a خرنفش utca?*)” And: “Is there a street called زويله in the vicinity of the Mosque of Ibn Banna? (*Van-e egy زويله nevű utca az Ibn Banna mecset közelében?*)” Interestingly enough Herz’s answers are in German!<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that Goldziher’s mother tongue or first language was German but he learned Hungarian very early and grew up bilingual.<sup>5</sup> We have no information on Herz Pasha’s mother tongue but there is some likelihood that his case may not have been unlike Goldziher’s.

We know from the letters how they became acquainted. Karl Vollers, the director of the Khedivial Library, lent Herz his copy of Goldziher’s Hungarian book on the religion of Islam.<sup>6</sup> Herz read it and was impressed by its contents, so he wrote a letter to Goldziher introducing himself and thanking him for the great pleasure and profit he derived from reading the book, especially in view of the fact that Chapter IV deals with Islamic architecture, the title of which is “The monuments of Islamic architecture in connection with Muhammadan *Weltanschauung*”<sup>7</sup>. Herz also made some comments on this chapter and ended the letter by informing Goldziher that he

<sup>4</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 26 July – 9 August 1896. The first half of the letter is in Hungarian, the second half – written on 9 August – begins in German and then reverts to Hungarian.

<sup>5</sup> See my discussion of this subject in the present volume.

<sup>6</sup> Goldziher Ignác, *Az iszlám. Tanulmányok a muhammedán vallás története köréből* [Islam. Studies in the History of the Muhammadan Religion]. Budapest 1881. Cf. Bernard Heller, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher*, Paris 1927, 30-35 (n° 85). Karl Vollers (1857-1909) was director of the Khedivial Library from 1 May 1889 until 30 September 1896. Then he left for Jena in Germany, where he was appointed professor of Oriental languages. He died prematurely. Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, *Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya. Tārīḥuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā*, Cairo 1417/1996, 97, 103.

<sup>7</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 30 March 1895.

had sent him a copy of his catalogue of the Arab Museum, which had just been published.<sup>8</sup> At the same time he asked Goldziher's advice which library in the "fatherland" would be interested in receiving a copy of it as he would gladly send them one. Judging from Herz's next letter, Goldziher seems to have been greatly surprised to discover that a compatriot of his was occupying such an important post and doing such an outstanding work in Egypt. Goldziher published an enthusiastic review in Hungarian of Herz's catalogue in a review of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which appeared in the same year, and appears to have sent Herz a copy of it because Herz thanked him for it.<sup>9</sup> At the same time he must have suggested that Herz send a copy to the Hungarian Academy because he presented a copy of this work on Herz's behalf to the Fifth General Session of the Academy on 27 May 1895.<sup>10</sup> This copy is extant in the Library of the Academy with a dedication in Goldziher's hand: "From the author to the H. Academy of Sci. by me Goldziher. (*Szerzőtől a M. T. Akadémiának általam Goldziher.*)" That this new acquaintance made a deep impression upon Goldziher is clearly shown by the fact that the following year, in 1896, Herz was elected an external member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was nominated by Goldziher and Zsolt Beöthy.<sup>11</sup> Herz was aware of Goldziher's role in his nomination and thanked him for his kindness and respect. In the course of the years the letters contained many references to Herz's relationship with the Academy. He turned regularly to Goldziher for advice in affairs concerning the Academy. When however it came to Goldziher's election as an honorary member of the Institut Égyptien and Goldziher appears to have thanked Herz for his role in it, Herz stated clearly that he played no such role since nearly all of the votes were positive. At the same time he congratulated Goldziher on his election.<sup>12</sup> The text of the relevant part of his letter runs as follows: "My contribution to your being elected an honorary member of our Institute was less than

<sup>8</sup> *Catalogue sommaire des monuments exposés dans le Musée National de l'Art Arabe par Max Herz, Architecte en chef du Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, Délégué par le Comité à la Conservation du Musée*, Le Caire 1895, LXV+187 pp. It also appeared in English translation the following year: [*Arab Museum.*] *Catalogue of the National Museum of Arab Art by Max Herz Bey, Chief architect of the Commission of Arab Monuments, Curator of the Museum, edited by Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A., Hon. Member of the Commission of Arab Monuments. With illustrations*, London, Gilbert & Rivington Limited, Clerkenwell and Bernard Quaritch, 15 Piccadilly, (1896).

<sup>9</sup> Goldziher Ignác, 'Arab műemlékek' [Monuments of Arab Art], *Budapesti Szemle* 84 (1895), 132-137.

<sup>10</sup> *Akadémiai Értesítő* 6 (1895), 442.

<sup>11</sup> Zsolt Beöthy (1848-1922), literary historian and aesthete, professor at the University of Budapest, member and vice-president of the Academy, a foremost figure of the literary establishment of the period.

<sup>12</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 12 May 1905.

you think. You are too great for me even to think of such a distinction for you, all the more since you had been receiving our publications. Nevertheless I was present at the nomination; you had almost all the votes for you. Congratulations. (*Zu Deiner Wahl zum Ehrenmitgliede unseres Institutes habe ich weniger beigetragen als Du meinst. Du bist mir viel zu groß als daß ich an eine solche Auszeichnung für Dich gedacht hätte, umsomehr als Dir unsere Publikationen ja zuzugingen. Bei der Ernennung bin ich allerdings dabeigewesen; Du hast fast alle Stimmen für Dich gehabt. Gratulire.*)<sup>13</sup> I think Herz intended to say here that Goldziher was so great that he considered it beyond his own status even to think of nominating Goldziher to the membership of the Institute Égyptien, especially in view of the fact that the Institute had apparently been aware of Goldziher's significance since it had been sending him its publications. After having examined approximately 150 letters by Herz addressed to various persons and bodies, it is perfectly clear to me that very often he wrote in a hurry and did not have enough time for the careful wording of the text.

Among the letters concerning affairs of the Hungarian Academy there is an interesting minor item. In a letter dated Cairo, 7 January 1913, Herz asks Goldziher not to regard it as a sign of false modesty if he asks him to take steps with the Academy to modify the entry on him in the Almanach of the Academy where he is referred to as director of the Arab Museum in Cairo, which he says is of course true, but he says he regards his work as chief architect to the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe* as much more important and would like to be referred to in this capacity in the forthcoming issues.

It is interesting to observe that Herz considers that through his election as a member of the Academy he became, so to speak, *indebted* to it. This is a recurrent motif in his letters. He mentions it already in his letter to the President thanking for his election: "... with my modest efforts I shall be intent on paying off the debt placed upon me by the goodwill of the Academy. (...*azon leszek, szerény munkálkodásommal azon adóságot törleszteni, amelyet az Akadémia jóindulata rám rótt.*)"<sup>14</sup> He appreciates Goldziher's advices as to how this should be done. For instance, he seeks to return his indebtedness by presenting a copy of the splendid monograph on the mosque of Sultan Hasan to the Academy: "The works are going well – there is much to do, perhaps even too much. In recent times the *Comité* requires that my *Bureau* attach more weight to literary works than it has been the case up to now. I do not need to specify for you in detail what works will arise for me from it. But I do it gladly, if only I would not have to fear that through overwork I would be affected again by my neurasthenia. A month ago the monograph on the mosque of Sultan Hasan appeared at last. It is the first publication of the *Comité* to

<sup>13</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 12 May 1905.

<sup>14</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 26 July 1896.



leave the press apart from its yearly bulletins. To my regret as its author I was provided with only a few copies so that I cannot present even you with one. But I would like to send one to the Hungarian Academy as the payment of an instalment of my debt and therefore I have been thinking of your good offices: you might take it upon you to convey the work to its destination. It has been handed over to the local bookseller *Diemer* with the instruction to deliver it to you in Budapest. Please do this favour for me. I thank you in advance. (*Die Arbeiten gehen gut weiter; zu thun gibt's viel, zu viel. In neuerer Zeit wünscht das Comité, daß mein Bureau mehr Gewicht als es bisher geschehen ist, auf litterarische Arbeiten lege. Welche Arbeiten mir daraus erwachsen, brauche ich Dir wohl nicht näher anzugeben. Ich thue es aber gerne, wenn ich nur nicht fürchten müßte durch zuviel Arbeit meine Neurastenie wieder zu kriegen. Vor einem Monate ist endlich die Monographie über die Sultan-Hassan-Moschee erschienen. Sie ist die erste Publikation des Comité, die außer seinen jährlichen Berichten die Presse verlassen hat. Als Autor wurde ich – zu meinem Bedauern – mit wenigen Exemplaren bedacht, so daß ich nicht einmal Dir eines verehren kann. Ich möchte aber der ung. Akademie, als Ratenzahlung meiner Schuld, eines einsenden u. habe daher an Deine Güte gedacht, Du könntest es übernehmen, das Werk seiner Bestimmung zuzuführen. Dasselbe ist dem hiesigen Buchhändler Diemer mit der Anweisung übergeben worden, es Dir in Budapest einhändigen zu lassen. Bitte thue mir den Liebesdienst. Meinen Dank im Vorhinein.*)<sup>15</sup> Goldziher fulfilled the request of his friend: he presented the fine folio volume to the Academy in a scholarly session having the text of the presentation published subsequently in the Bulletin of the prestigious institution.<sup>16</sup> In his letter of 6 April 1901 Herz thanks Goldziher for his review, which he has read in the *Értesítő*, the Academy Bulletin, which he receives regularly. The same motif of *indebtedness* recurs in his letter of 13 October 1900, where he informs Goldziher of the events of his visit to Hungary during the summer holidays when they apparently did not meet because of Goldziher's absence from Budapest: "Dr. Szily, to whom I apologized for not having done anything for the Academy yet, said that it is not taken so seriously from me. (*Dr. Szily, demgegenüber ich mich darüber entschuldigte, daß ich noch nichts für die Akademie geleistet habe, meinte, daß es von mir nicht strenge genommen wird.*)"<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 3 March 1900. F. Diemer was an elegant bookseller and stationer at Sheppard's Hotel. See *Der Oesterreichische Lloyd und sein Verkehrsgebiet. Officielles Reisehandbuch*. Ed. Hugo Bürger, II. Theil: *Aegypten*, Vienna-Brünn-Leipzig 1901, 254.

<sup>16</sup> Goldziher Ignác, 'A kairói Haszan-mecset [The Hasan Mosque in Cairo]', *Akadémiai Értesítő* 12 (1901), 12-17.

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Kálmán Szily was Secretary General of the Academy from 14 October 1889 until 27 March 1905. *Magyar Tud. Akadémiai almanach polgári és csillagászati naptárral*

From the letters it appears that they first met personally during the study tour of Hungarian secondary school teachers to Egypt at the turn of 1895 and 1896. This tour was sponsored by the Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Education and it was headed and organized by Goldziher. Some organization work in Egypt was undertaken by Herz, who also acted as guide to the group in Cairo.<sup>18</sup> We possess a letter by Herz to Max van Berchem, in which he informs van Berchem of his first personal encounter with Goldziher: "I have had the pleasure of having made the acquaintance of Professor Goldziher. He is here with a party of twenty Hungarian teachers. We have spoken of you several times. He is going to leave the day after tomorrow. (*J'ai eu le plaisir de faire la connaissance du profess. Goldziher. Il est ici avec une caravane de 20 professeurs hongrois. Nous avons causé de vous à plus reprises. Il part après demain.*)"<sup>19</sup>

It is known that in addition to his professional merits Max Herz was a very kind and amiable person, who loved to mix with people and whose company too was eagerly sought by "reigning monarchs and simple workers alike" – as his wife wrote later on. One gains the impression from the letters that Goldziher had a similar relationship with Herz. He too liked Herz very much and was lenient with him when he was repeatedly unable to fulfil his promises concerning the composition of scholarly articles because of his heavy duties in the *Comité*.<sup>20</sup> This is evident from the letters and the following passage seems to point in this direction too: "My Honoured Professor and My Dear Friend. I am answering your esteemed letter of April only now; I wanted to write 'I am able to answer' but I cannot do that with a

*MCMXVIII-ra* [Almanac of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences with Civil and Astronomical Calendars for the year 1918]. Budapest 1918, 75.

<sup>18</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*. Ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden 1978, 198, 200. On the study tour see *Egyptom. Tanulmánykönyv* [Egypt. Collection of Studies]. Ed. László Kőrösi, Budapest 1899.

<sup>19</sup> Letter to Max van Berchem dated Cairo 11 February 1896. Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ville de Genève.

<sup>20</sup> It is certainly not an exaggeration when Herz talks repeatedly of his heavy duties and eventually of overwork. During his time as chief architect to the *Comité* several factors contributed to this state of affairs. Given the amount of work to be done – and it was certainly a lot – Herz did not have the staff necessary for its execution. He had to occupy himself with minor works also. Owing to organizational discrepancies the spheres of authority and competence were not clearly defined, rather they overlapped to a great extent thus as a rule necessitating an incredible amount of paper work because of the permanent conflicts between the various authorities (the *Comité*, the Waqf Administration, the Ministry of Public Works etc.). Allocating the rather meagre funds was always a serious problem with finding the right proportion among the various monuments of architecture in need of preservation or restoration. Cf. Achille Patricolo, *La conservation des monuments arabes en Égypte. I. Histoire du Comité*, Cairo 1914, 8-17.

clear conscience because although work was not missing still I could have written. But you wrote in your last letter that you can also be lenient مع المحبورين<sup>21</sup> still I am sorry for this new opportunity. (*Nagyságos Tanár Úr és Igen Tisztelt Barátom. Igen becses levelére, mely még április havában kelt, csak most felelek; azt akartam írni, hogy 'felelhetek', de tiszta lelkiismerettel nem tehetem, mert ámbár munka nem hiányzott, mégis írhattam volna. Dehát Ön azt írta az utolsó levelében, hogy tud elnéző lenni مع المحبورين , de mégis sajnálom az újabb alkalmat.*)<sup>22</sup> The fact that Goldziher himself wrote to Herz that “he can also be lenient مع المحبورين” seems to imply some relationship of intimacy. Now ever since Goldziher’s *Tagebuch* was published in 1978 one has been inclined to see in Goldziher a highly unpleasant misanthrope. Therefore the references to his sociability, kindness and amiability in the reminiscences of colleagues and pupils, and in his obituaries as well as places in the *Tagebuch* itself, which lend themselves to such an interpretation, one has been tempted to regard as empty signs of obligatory courtesy towards the great scholar. There can be no doubt that Goldziher was an extremely complex personality, who may have given signs of somewhat negative behaviour at times.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, we have a contrary view expressed in the testimonies of younger scholars of Islam such as Johannes Pedersen,<sup>24</sup> K. V. Zetterstéen,<sup>25</sup> William Henry Temple Gairdner,<sup>26</sup> or Charles C. Torrey,<sup>27</sup> who all lay special emphasis on Goldziher’s pleasant and

<sup>21</sup> Probably to be emended to mağbūrīn “compelled, forced”. (If we retain the original form, the adjective, which also appears in the Qoran (30:15) in the form of a finite verb, has the meaning of *glad, happy, honoured, enjoying a state of ease and plenty*; an adjective that could no doubt be applied to Herz. But perhaps a certain pun is implied here too: this Arabic word may remind the reader of Hebrew *ḥābēr*, which found its way – via Jewish-coloured German and slang – into colloquial German and Hungarian. It is widely used in modern colloquial Hungarian in the meaning of *friend*. See Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863-1893, 499a; *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*. Ed. Loránd Benkő, Budapest 1992-1997, 538-539 [*haver*]; Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*. 4th ed., Wiesbaden 1979, 180.)

<sup>22</sup> Letter dated Stresa (Lago Maggiore), Hôtel Beau-Séjour, 1 August 1897.

<sup>23</sup> The only reference to negative character traits in Goldziher I have come across comes from the belletrist and poet József Patai (1882-1953), the father of Raphael Patai, who maintained that Goldziher had the reputation of an evil man. Raphael Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary. A Translation and Psychological Portrait*, Detroit 1987, 14, 78.

<sup>24</sup> Johannes Pedersen, ‘Geleitwort’, in: Ignaz Goldziher, *Gesammelte Schriften*. Ed. Joseph DeSomogyi. (Collectanea II), Hildesheim 1967-1973, vol. I, ix.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph DeSomogyi, ‘Bibliographie [*recte*: Biographie] Ignaz Goldziher’s (1850-1921)’, in: Goldziher, *Gesammelte Schriften*..., vol. I, xxix.

<sup>26</sup> Constance E. Padwick, *Temple Gairdner of Cairo*, London 1929, 212-213.

<sup>27</sup> DeSomogyi, Bibliographie ..., xxx.

kind personality. Gairdner described Goldziher and his wife as “a pair of Hebrew angels”.<sup>28</sup> Kratchkovsky, too, describes him as an optimistic, well-intentioned man. “The real greatness of his character appeared in the circumstance that life did not embitter him at all and did not reduce his optimistic view of life. Up to his last years one could feel in him an unshakable goodwill towards everybody and an especially good-natured gentleness of mind in his relationship with young scholars at the beginning of their career.” He finished his obituary with the following words: “The works of Ignaz Goldziher will keep his name forever in the history of scholarship. The present generation of scholars is proud to preserve in his memory a face of rare spiritual beauty and greatness, of good-natured enchantment and goodwill that have been associated with Goldziher forever among all those who have had the great luck of knowing him intimately.”<sup>29</sup> It is simply unbelievable that such enthusiastic words as these lack any basis in reality. It is also hard to imagine that, no matter how much he himself revered Goldziher as a scholar, his friend Count Landberg would have invited him repeatedly to his Château in Tutzing in Bavaria to stay there with a select company of guests had Goldziher not been a very sociable man of a pleasant personality.<sup>30</sup> In addition, we also have interesting and absolutely reliable detailed proofs coming from neutral parties outside the Jewish community and the world of Arab-Islamic scholarship confirming the fact that Goldziher was a kind, devoted friend imbued with deep feelings. The bright aesthete and noted stylist Jenő Péterfy, who also had a most complex and idiosyncratic personality and who committed suicide in 1899, regarded Goldziher as his closest friend in his later years.<sup>31</sup> Goldziher’s letters to him attest to an unusually deep relationship. (Péterfy was also a good friend of Vámbéry’s, who regularly visited him and had lunch with him at his place.)<sup>32</sup> After Péterfy’s suicide Goldziher took an active part in the organisatory steps and ceremonies connected with the funeral.<sup>33</sup> Close friendly ties tinted with a touch of humour are suggested by the postcard which he received from Zsolt Beöthy and where the address reads: “My Dear Friend Abdallah (*Kedves Abdallah*

<sup>28</sup> Padwick, *Temple Gairdner...*, 212-213.

<sup>29</sup> I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, ‘Pamyati Ign. Goldzihera (1850-1921 gg.)’, *Vostok* 2 (1923), 162-163. [=Id., *Izbrannyye sočineniya*, V., Moscow-Leningrad 1958, 211, 214]. Original in Russian.

<sup>30</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 175-182, 192-195.

<sup>31</sup> See the numerous most interesting references to Goldziher and the members of his family in Zimándi P. István, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora (1850-1899)* [The Life and Age of Jenő Péterfy (1850-1899)] (Irodalomtörténeti Könyvtár 28), Budapest 1972, 552 (index s.v. Goldziher Ignác, Goldziher Ignácné Mittler Laura, Goldziher Károly, Goldziher Miksa). Cf. also Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 202, 223, 224 (under the German form “Eugen Péterfy”).

<sup>32</sup> Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora...*, 209, 381-382.

<sup>33</sup> Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora...*, 472-473.

*barátom*)”<sup>34</sup>, where Abdallah seems to have been Goldziher’s nickname. There are also reports on the Goldziher’s theatre visits.<sup>35</sup> The Goldziher’s had a small property in the country, in the Arad county, where Mrs. Goldziher came from, and food parcels used to arrive from there at short intervals. On such occasions they regularly invited friends for dinner; Mrs. Goldziher was an excellent housewife and kept a good table.<sup>36</sup>

It may also be mentioned that Goldziher and some of his friends were in the habit of meeting in the café of Hotel Bristol, where they had a table reserved for them (Hung. *törzsasztal* / Germ. *Stammtisch*).<sup>37</sup> They were known as the “*Bristol Társaság* [Bristol Circle]”. The Circle was founded by belletrists and scholars, among them Goldziher, in the autumn of 1896 and was still very active in 1908, “and also many years later”. Its members met daily. Pál Gyulai, one of the foremost figures of the literary establishment of the period, the editor of *Budapesti Szemle*, also attended the meetings; most of the members of the Circle, including Goldziher, regularly contributed to this prestigious semi-scholarly journal, which appeared under the aegis of the Academy.<sup>38</sup> One of the members remembered Goldziher as a hospitable, free and easy person.<sup>39</sup> A younger colleague described his manners as enthralling.<sup>40</sup> A friend summarized Goldziher’s merits in the following humorous address: “Ornament of our fatherland, pillar of scholarship, anointed of humour, joy

<sup>34</sup> Postcard dated Budapest, 24 February. The year is missing. Goldziher Correspondence in the Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>35</sup> Zimándi István, *Péterfy Jenő és baráti köre* [Jenő Péterfy and His Circle of Friends] (Irodalomtörténeti füzetek 30). Budapest 1960, 60.

<sup>36</sup> Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő és baráti köre*..., 62, 85.

<sup>37</sup> “*Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht.*” *Der Briefwechsel der Islamwissenschaftler Ignaz Goldziher und Martin Hartmann 1894–1914*. Ed. Ludmila Hanisch (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur – Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission. Band 45), Wiesbaden 2000, 228; Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora*..., 376–379, 381, 387; Id., *Péterfy Jenő és baráti köre*..., 55–57; *Révai nagy lexikona* [Révai’s Comprehensive Encyclopaedia], Budapest 1911–1935, vol. III. 745 (s.v. ‘Bristol-Társaság’).

<sup>38</sup> Pál Gyulai (1826–1909), critic, literary historian, poet, novelist. At his eightieth birthday it was Goldziher who delivered the official address of congratulation in the Academy. Goldziher’s “sincere address (*aufrichtige Ansprache*)” was highly praised by those present. At Gyulai’s death Goldziher called “the good old man” his “old benefactor”, with whom he had been on intimate terms since 1874 and who had given so many proofs of his appreciation and respect. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*..., 249, 263.

<sup>39</sup> Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora*..., 380.

<sup>40</sup> Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora*..., 380.

of his friends and pearl of the Universe!”<sup>41</sup> Another friend wrote: “No doubt Goldziher is adorned by a whole wreath of love-inspiring and venerable qualities.”<sup>42</sup> His students loved, even idolized him because of his devotion to them.<sup>43</sup> In a remarkable place we read of the importance Goldziher attached to humour in life generally, without which, he believed, it was not worth a “dirham”.<sup>44</sup>

Goldziher’s sense of humour is shown in the greeting on a postcard which he sent from Cuxhaven (Hotel *Auge Gottes*) in Germany to his friend Dávid Angyal, a fellow-member of the Bristol Circle, who was staying at Marienbad in Bohemia, at the end of July 1905. The signature is : “*Banzáj alékum! Gzr.*” The Japanese greeting and battle cry became popular in the course of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. There was a strong involvement of Hungarian sentiments on the Japanese side because the memory of the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1849, which had led to the crushing of the revolution and war of independence, was still very much alive. In the text itself he mentions Dr. Yahuda, “you know, this Asian, wholly Germanized scholar, whom I have taken with me to the Bristol once or twice (*tudja, ez az ázsiai, teljesen elnémetesedett tudós, kit 1-2szer a Bristolba hoztam*)”.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora...*, 380. Löw reports of a *tabula gratulatoria* which formed part of the *Festschrift* presented to Goldziher “twelve years ago” (i.e. around 1910 because Goldziher died on 13 November 1921 and Löw delivered the sermon on Goldziher’s death on 10 December). The *tabula gratulatoria* ended with the following words: “*litteris decus et ornamentum, nobis moderator, patriae familiaeque exoptatissimae gloria*”. Immanuel Löw, ‘Goldziher Ignác’, in: Id., *Száz beszéd 1900-1922* [One Hundred Sermons 1900-1922], Szeged 1923, 306. No such *tabula gratulatoria* can be found in the *Goldziher-Festschrift* edited by Carl Bezold in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 26 (1912). There was also a Hungarian *Festschrift* presented to Goldziher by his pupils (*Keleti tanulmányok. Goldziher Ignác születésének hatvanadik évfordulójára írták tanítványai* [Oriental Studies. Written for the Sixtieth Birthday of Ignaz Goldziher by His Pupils], Budapest 1910.) but there is no *tabula gratulatoria* in it either and Löw is quite explicit about the other *Festschrift* in his sermon. Maybe the *tabula gratulatoria* was on an extra sheet.

<sup>42</sup> Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora...*, 380.

<sup>43</sup> Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary...*, 77-78.

<sup>44</sup> *Machen Sie doch...*, 63.

<sup>45</sup> Postcard with postmark of arrival of 30 July 1905. Ms 4177/31. Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Collection of Manuscripts and Old Prints. This Japanese word is still used in modern Hungarian slang for “noisy and joyful party or company”. However, it is probable that Goldziher used it here in its original meaning. Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877-1951), a Sephardic Jew born in a Baghdadi family in Jerusalem, was professor in Berlin, Madrid and New York.

His younger fellow-Semitist Mihály Kmoskó is full of praise of “my unforgettable paternal friend’s” kindness and amiability in his obituary, which points to a good personal contact.<sup>46</sup>

Goldziher’s relationship with Max Herz points in the direction of deep human feelings also. This raises once again the question of the real meaning of Goldziher’s *Tagebuch*. The data referred to are likely to support the view that many of the biased views expressed on the pages of the *Tagebuch* are not to be taken literally but the process of jotting down these views served, as it were, as a therapeutic method for relieving their highly disciplined author of the psychological tensions of everyday

<sup>46</sup> Mihály Kmoskó: ‘Goldziher Ignác 1850-1921’, *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlemény* 45 (1921), 124-126. Mihály Kmoskó (1876-1931), a noted expert in Syriac studies, became Goldziher’s successor in the university in 1923. He was a well-known antisemite. Thus we might even conclude that Goldziher personal kindness even embraced ardent antisemites. However, Kmoskó’s antisemitism is attested – to my knowledge – only for the period after the War and for that of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in particular, in which Jews played a prominent role; he may not have had such sentiments in earlier times, to which their relationship may also have belonged. There are three post-cards by Kmoskó in the Goldziher Correspondence, dated 1913, 1914 and 1916. Kmoskó sent the last one from Istanbul informing Goldziher that after many vicissitudes he was at last leaving for Syria on 1 March 1916. Leading church and political circles in Hungary sent Kmoskó, who was a Roman Catholic priest, to Asia Minor and Palestine in 1916 to study the possibilities of replacing missionaries of the Allied Powers, who had been expelled by the Ottoman authorities, with Hungarian churchmen in the Ottoman Empire. The project was not realized. Kmoskó seems to have consulted Goldziher before departure. In this post-card Kmoskó addresses Goldziher as *Édes barátom* [My Sweet Friend], an address involving close personal relationship: I have not come across a similarly close address among Goldziher’s letters. It is, however, also possible that these words, which suggest a considerable degree of intimacy, are rather another proof of Kmoskó’s limited familiarity with the various levels of Hungarian: he was of Slovak origin and of course knew Hungarian but seems to have been unable to distinguish among the various levels of the language. He also had difficulties in expressing himself correctly in Hungarian, as it is amply proven by his works. Arnold Pataky, *Emlékezés Kmoskó Mihály rendes tag felett* [Commemorative Address to the Memory of Ordinary Member Mihály Kmoskó] (A Szent István Akadémia emlékbeszédei, II 6), Budapest 1937, 7. Kmoskó, apparently a very passionate man lacking emotional balance, is reputed to have become an ardent philosemite in his later years: at his burial the students of the Rabbinical Seminary appeared in great numbers and even formed a “guard of honour” around the pit bidding farewell to their beloved professor and great benefactor. (Personal communication by the late Professor Károly Czeglédy. Until after the end of World War II the graduates from the Rabbinical Seminary were obliged by law to take a doctorate from the Philological Faculty of Budapest University too. It was probably in this way that they came in contact with Kmoskó.)

life of which he was unable to rid himself in any other way. This means that the text of the *Tagebuch* has to be “decoded” and it is in this way only that the true views will be revealed of a person who exercised complete control over himself throughout all his life.

The letters contain the answers to numerous questions by Goldziher. In some cases the answers were given by Herz himself, in others he made enquiries for Goldziher. So, for instance, Goldziher enquired after the exact location and course of Ḥurunfuš Street. Herz sent him a fine, detailed sketch of the area, together with explanatory notes, indicating the exact course of this winding street. Then Goldziher enquired after the mosque of Ibn al-Bannā, also known as the mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ.<sup>47</sup> The data supplied by Herz were then used by Goldziher in his article ‘*Aus dem mohammedanischen Heiligenkultus in Ägypten*’.<sup>48</sup> Herz informed Goldziher of the exact location of the mosque in the vicinity of Bāb Zuwayla adding some remarks concerning Maqrīzī’s description of it and gave some interesting details of its present shape and state. He informed Goldziher that he had been shown Sām’s burial place next to the miḥrāb, yet nobody he had met had known anything about

<sup>47</sup> On it see Taqīyy al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā‘iẓ wa-l-ītibār bi-ḍikr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār al-ma‘rūf bi-l-ḥiṭaṭ al-maqrīziyya*. Būlāq 1270 [1853], vol. 1, p. 361, line (-4)-(-3), p. 363, line (-10)-(-9), p. 373, line (-8)-(-7), p. 380, line (-13)-(-12), vol. 2, p. 92, line (-11), p. 100, line 16, especially p. 409, line (-16), p. 410, line 6 = *Id.*, *Al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-l-ītibār fī ḍikr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa-l-āṭār*. Ed. Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, London 1422/2002-1424/2003, vol. 2, p. 213, line 5, p. 220, line 9-10; p. 245, line 4; p. 267, line 16; vol. 3, p. 306, line 15; p. 332, line 5; especially vol. 4, part 2, p. 708, line 7–p. 709, line 21. Cf. also Mubārak, *Al-Ḥiṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya al-ḡadīda li-Miṣr al-Qāhira*. 2nd ed., Cairo 1969-, vol. 6, 84 [Zāwiyat Sām ibn Nūḥ, Tarḡamat Ibn al-Bannā], 129 [Masḡid Ibn al-Bannā]. The mosque is not a listed monument. On June 9, 1999, a large section of the roof collapsed. The authorities decided that the mosque was unsafe and should be closed down. The community did not accept this decision and appealed to Agnieszka Dobrowolska, who was restoring the adjacent sabīl of Muḥammad ‘Alī. Funding was found and she rebuilt the mosque. This case is often cited nowadays as an excellent example of the active participation of a given community in a restoration project. Agnieszka Dobrowolska, *Sam Ibn Nuh Mosque. Community Support Project, Cairo, September 2000 – November 2001*. Cairo 2002; Caroline Williams, ‘Transforming the Old: Cairo’s New Medieval City’, *Middle East Journal* 56 (2002), 470-471. On the sabīl see Agnieszka Dobrowolska, Khaled Fahmy, *Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha and His Sabīl*. Cairo 2004.

<sup>48</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, ‘Aus dem mohammedanischen Heiligenkultus in Ägypten’, *Globus* 71 (1897), 235b-236a [= Goldziher, *Gesammelte Schriften*..., vol. IV, 113b-114a].



the legend of the oath in which Goldziher was interested.<sup>49</sup> He accompanied his explanations with a sketch (*croquis*).<sup>50</sup> In another letter he discussed the question whether or not it may have been a synagogue before it had been converted into a mosque and if it was possible that a Jewish cemetery or even a Jewish quarter had been located in this area.<sup>51</sup> Herz gave some information concerning the area of Bâb Zuwayla mentioning his own work which he was just undertaking on this important gate. Here again he accompanied his explanations with a fine sketch (*croquis*): “ In your friendly letter of 20 August the fact that the Bannâ Mosque, the place of execution at باب زويلة and a former Jewish cemetery are all situated together at a narrow spot allows you to draw the conclusion that it is there that the former Jewish quarter of Cairo must have been situated. You also mention that the Muayyed Mosque has been erected on the site of a trade house [= *wikāla*? I. O.]. To my regret I cannot contribute anything to support this idea but it has some probability. I want to remark only that until approximately forty years ago Bâb Z. was used as a place of execution, or rather ordinary criminals were hanged on the grille of the sebil of the zaue of Farag ibn Barkuk. This is the sebil that is situated outside B. Z. falling almost in its axis (see the sketch).<sup>52</sup> In any case we know that the ill-fated Tumānbaï was hanged by Selim the Grim under the gate B. Z. itself, and further that during the time of the Crusades the heads of the enemy would be displayed here, but whether this designation was inherited or not I do not know. (Actually in these days I am supervising the preservation works that the government is having carried out on this gate. I have just remembered a passage in Marcel’s History /:Egypte, par H. J. J. Marcel, Paris 1848, Firmin Didot frères – p. 191, footnote 2:/ where he is talking of the notorious hook on which Tumanbai said to have ended. The scaffolding erected there convinced me that about four hooks are still there. I want to leave them on the spot, these unknowing assistants of human suffering.) You say that on the site of the mosque el-Muayyed there once stood a trade house [= *wikāla*? I. O.]. El-Makrizi calls the former building a prison (سجن). Please don’t regard my remarks as unkind. After having made them I cannot but ask myself: “How does a Jewish temple get on this site?” Do you know the study of P. Ravaisse, which he made on the basis of el-Makrizi? He reconstructed the map of Cairo after the data of this author. (Published in the Mémoires of the Mission Archéologique française au Caire : Tome I, 3<sup>me</sup> fasc. and Tome III, 4<sup>e</sup> fasc.). It is impossible that Ravaisse could contribute anything to your theory because he draws all his data from el-Makrizi alone while you surely

<sup>49</sup> The oath referred to by Goldziher is probably the “Eid” mentioned *ibid.*, p. 236 [=114], line 9. Cf. also al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-ʿitbār*..., Būlāq ed., vol. 2, p. 409, line (-5) = London (Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid) ed., vol. 4, part 2, p. 709, line 7.

<sup>50</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 10 June 1896.

<sup>51</sup> See the following note.

<sup>52</sup> Sketch enclosed to the letter, not reproduced here.

have other authors or sources at your disposal. Before leaving this subject I want to mention that, according to a tradition, the Jews of Cairo received their present cemetery, which lies to the south of the city on the road to Heluān, from the Prophet Muhammad and the deed of donation is said to have run as follows: 'As much as they [=the Jews] want to enclose with a fence shall belong to them.' Now this induced the donees not to erect any hedge at all and this indeed distinguishes the cemetery to this day. As for myself I am inclined to attribute this fact to another cause than to cunning or craftiness. But what remains to be emphasized in this tradition is the fact that this cemetery was allotted to the Jews at the time of the invasion of the Arabs. (*In Ihrem vertrauten Schreiben vom 20. Aug. folgern Sie aus dem Umstande, daß die Bannâ-Moschee, der Richtplatz von باب زويلة u. ein einstiger jüdischer Friedhof an einer engen Stelle beisammen sind, daß da das einstige Judenviertel von Kairo gewesen sei. Sie erwähnen auch, daß die Muajjed-Mosch. an Stelle eines Verkehrshauses errichtet sei. – Ich kann leider nichts beitragen um diese Meinung zu unterstützen, Wahrscheinlichkeit hat sie aber. Ich will nur bemerken, daß die Bâb Z. bis vor 40 Jahren als Richtplatz benutzt wurde, vielmehr wurden gewöhnliche Missethäter an das Sebilgitter der Zauje Farag ibn Barkuk gehängt. Dieses Sebil ist dasjenige, welches außerhalb des B. Z. fast in dessen Axe fällt. (S. Skizze). – Allenfalls wissen wir, daß der unglückliche Tumānbaï v. dem grausamen Selim unter dem Thore B. Z. selbst gehängt worden ist, ferner daß man zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge mit Vorliebe die Köpfe der Feinde hier ausstellte, ob aber diese Bestimmung eine ererbte ist, weiß ich nicht. (Ich beaufsichtige gerade in diesen Tagen die Erhaltungsarbeiten, die die Regierung an diesem Thore ausführen läßt. Da erinnerte ich mich einer Stelle in der Geschichte des Marcel /:Egypte, par H. J. J. Marcel, Paris 1848, Firmin Didot frères – pag. 191, Fußnote 2:/, wo er von dem berühmten Hacken spricht, an dem Tumanbaï geendet haben soll. Die errichteten Gerüste überzeugten mich aber, daß noch an 4 Hacken da seien. Ich will sie an Ort u. Stelle lassen, diese unwissenden Gehülfen menschlicher Leiden.) Sie meinen, an der Stelle der Moschee des el-Muajjed wäre ehemals ein Verkehrshaus gestanden. el-Makrizi nennt das frühere Gebäude ein Gefängnis (سجن). Nehmen Sie nicht für unzutreffend meine Bemerkungen. Nachdem ich sie gemacht habe, muß ich mich doch fragen: wie kommt denn an diese Stelle ein jüdischer Tempel? Kennen Sie die Studie des P. Ravaisse, die er auf Grund des el-Makrizi gemacht hat? Er rekonstruirte den Plan von Kairo nach den Angaben dieses Autors. (Erschienen in d. Mémoires der Mission Archéologique française au Caire : Tome I, 3<sup>me</sup> fasc. und Tome III, 4<sup>e</sup> fasc.) Ravaisse kann unmöglich etwas zu Ihrer Theorie beitragen, da er nur aus el-Makrizi schöpft, währenddem Sie wohl andere Autoren oder Quellen zur Verfügung haben dürften. Ehe ich diesen Stoff verlasse, will ich noch erwähnen, daß einer Tradition nach die Juden Kairo's ihren jetzigen Friedhof, der südlich von der Stadt auf dem Wege nach Heluān liegt, vom Propheten Mohamed erhalten hätten, u. z. soll der Schenkungsbrief gelautet haben "soviel sie (die Juden) umzäunen wollen, gehöre*

*ihnen". Dies führte nun die Beschenkten dahin, gar keine Umfriedung zu erheben, was in der That den Friedhof noch heute "auszeichnet". Diese Thatsache führe ich meinstenfalls auf eine andere Ursache zurück als auf Spitzfindigkeit oder Schlauheit. Was aber in dieser Tradition hervorzuheben ist, ist der Umstand, daß dieser Friedhof zur Zeit der Invasion der Araber den Juden angewiesen wurde.)"*<sup>53</sup>

In another place Herz answers Goldziher's question regarding the exact location of Zuwayla street [*Hārat Zuwayla*].<sup>54</sup>

It appears from the letters that in some cases it was not easy to find the requested information and so Herz had to make considerable effort in order to be able to supply his friend with the necessary data. Sometimes it took some time before he was able to find the adequate informant. The fact that he was always busy with his own work prevented him from devoting as much time to looking after these matters as he would have liked, yet he never ceased to assure his friend of his willingness and gladness to be at his disposal as much as possible. He seems to keep all of Goldziher's questions in mind without forgetting them. Repeatedly he asks him for patience until he can find the adequate informant. Nevertheless, the answers to certain questions are missing. It can be assumed that the letters with these important informations have been relocated and included in certain manuscripts of Goldziher's works. It is perhaps worth noting that Herz emphasizes repeatedly his willingness and great joy to be at his friend's service: "I am most happy and willing to fulfil your request. I hope that I am sending you the right material in the enclosure."<sup>55</sup> Should it be not the case – استغفر الله – or should you need anything else, please I am at your disposal. You cannot at all imagine how glad I am to be at your service. (*Komme mit der freudigsten Bereitwilligkeit Deinem Wunsche nach. Hoffe, daß ich Dir in der Beilage*<sup>56</sup> *das Richtige einsende. Sollte es nicht der Fall sein – استغفر الله – oder solltest Du noch irgendeiner Sache bedürfen, so bitte verführe über mich, denn Du kannst Dir gar nicht vorstellen, wie gerne ich Dir nützlich bin.*)<sup>57</sup>

On 21 April 1900 Herz visited Šayḥ Muḥammad 'Abduh, who had been appointed mufti of Egypt in 1899, to obtain some detailed information on the ritual of the *Dīkr Mahyā*. He also received information concerning this ritual from Aḥmad Ḥāmid, his office clerk in the Waqf Administration, who belonged to the congregation of the

<sup>53</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 28 October 1896. Goldziher may have read in al-Maqrīzī that the mosque of Ibn al-Bannā' had originally been a synagogue and had been converted into a mosque by the caliph al-Ḥākim. See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa-l-ītibār*..., Būlāq ed., vol. 2, p. 409, line (-7)–(-3) = London (Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid) ed., vol. 4, part 2, p. 709, line 5-9.

<sup>54</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 26 July 1896.

<sup>55</sup> The enclosure is missing.

<sup>56</sup> The enclosure is missing.

<sup>57</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 23 September 1899.

Maḥyā. Herz made the acquaintance of Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Dimirdāš, the head of the congregation, who promised him more detailed information and to allow him participate in one of their solemn ḍikr sessions.<sup>58</sup> Somewhat later he informed Goldziher of his intention to attend the great ḍikr session: “I am glad that the note on Maḥja is useful for you. I intend to avail myself of the invitation of Shaykh al-Demerdāš and attend the great zikr in the month of Shaabān. I shall give you a description of it. (*Es freut mich, daß Dir die Maḥja-Notiz dient. Ich habe die Absicht, von der Einladung des Scheich El-Demerdāsch Gebrauch zu machen und dem großen Zikr im nächsten Monate Schaabān beizuwohnen. Ich will Dir dann davon eine Beschreibung machen.*)”<sup>59</sup> It must be noted however that there is no letter extant with the detailed information promised by Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Dimirdāš nor is there one with the description of the ḍikr; so it can be assumed that, if they had arrived, Goldziher must have removed them from among the letters and perhaps included them in the manuscript of his relevant article.<sup>60</sup> Goldziher mentions this in a letter to Nöldeke dated 14. November 1900: “I have also done some small things that I shall slowly give to the journals: e.g. once again an article, that specially concerns Muhammadanism, about a dervish-ceremony called المحيا النبوي, about which I had found nothing in the books, and since I have a lot of material on it, it encouraged me to write... . (*Auch einige kleine Sachen habe ich gemacht, die ich langsam und langsam in die Zeitschriften geben will: z. B. einen (wieder einmal speciell muhammadanischen) Aufsatz über eine Derwisch-Ceremonie, genannt المحيا النبوي über die ich bisher nichts in den Büchern gefunden hatte und da ich einmal viel Material dafür habe, mich zum Schreiben gereizt*

<sup>58</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 17 May 1900.

<sup>59</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 13 October 1900. On a similar request by Goldziher see Dévényi’s contribution to the present volume.

<sup>60</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, ‘Ueber den Brauch der Maḥjā-Versammlungen im Islam’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 15 (1901), 33-50 [=Id., *Gesammelte Schriften...*, vol. IV, 277-294], esp. 41-50 [=285-294]. Goldziher acknowledges Herz Pasha’s help in supplying him with information on the Dimirdāšiyya order in footnote 2 on p. 50 [=294]. Cf. also F. de Jong, ‘Maḥya’, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New edition, London–Leiden 1960-, vol. VI, 87b; Ernst Bannerth, ‘La Khalwatiyya en Égypte. Quelques aspects de la vie d’une confrérie’, *Mélanges d’Institut Dominicain d’Études Orientales* 8 (1964-1966), 47; Id., ‘Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāšiyya-Sufis in Kairo’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 70 (1969), 130. It is stressed that the Dimirdāšiyya employs the term maḥyā for a ḥaḍra and not for a real maḥyā in the strict sense of the word, as Goldziher erroneously supposed. Cf. also Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt. Studies in the Writings of ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb al-Sha’rānī*, New Brunswick-London 1982, 47, 72.

hat...)"<sup>61</sup> That Goldziher may have enclosed relevant letters in the manuscripts of his articles might be assumed in the case of other apparently missing items. In connection with the information requested by Goldziher about the local saint Abū Rīš – his tomb is located in the vicinity of Sayyida Zaynab in Cairo – the wording of Herz's answer is not wholly clear, yet it seems to suggest that he has not been able to obtain the necessary information: "You have the right to ask me, esteemed Friend, why you do not hear from me. I confess my guilt. The intention was never lacking to give you a sign that I am alive and doing well but at the same time I wanted to inform you of the result of your enquiry about ابو ريش and so nothing happened. (*Du hast recht zu fragen, mein geschätzter Freund, warum man nichts von mir hört, ich gestehe meine Schuld. Der Wille fehlte mir nie Dir ein Lebenszeichen zu geben, ich wollte aber zugleich über den ابو ريش das Erwünschte mitteilen u. so blieb alles weg.*)"<sup>62</sup>

In another case Goldziher seems to have enquired after the Damwa (Dumūh/Dammūh) synagogue in Giza. Goldziher may have come across it in al-Maqrīzī, who wrote that in his own time it was the most important and splendid synagogue all over Egypt and that it was connected to Moses in several ways.<sup>63</sup> It took Herz considerable time and effort to find out something on the subject because he referred to it repeatedly in his letters to Goldziher asking for his patience. He even visited several Jewish dignitaries such as Cattau Bey<sup>64</sup> and the chief rabbi, yet without the desired result because nobody seemed to know anything about this synagogue any more. The only place with any connection with Moses appears to have been a mosque in Giza where Moses' basket had been preserved in previous times: "Honoured Sir, and My Dear Friend, I am sorry for the long interval that has occurred in our correspondence. I am sorry for it all the more because you have entrusted me with the famous نموه, in connection with which, although I have taken steps, it was, to my regret, of no avail. I have been to Cattau (a well-known

<sup>61</sup> Not edited in Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher. His life and Scholarship as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence*, Budapest-Leiden 1986.

<sup>62</sup> Letter dated Milano, 24 November 1898. On Abū Rīš see Alexander Fodor, 'Goldziher's Abū Rīš', in: *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS)*, Part Two. Ed. A. Fodor. (*The Arabist* 21-22) Budapest 1999, 167-190.

<sup>63</sup> See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa-l-ī'tibār...*, Būlāq ed., vol. 2, p. 464, line (-2) – p. 465, line 13 = London (Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid) ed., vol. 4, part 2, p. 922, line 9 – p. 923, line 8.

<sup>64</sup> Probably Maurice Cattau (1850-1924). On him see Rudolf Agstner, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Kolonie in Kairo vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Das Matrikelbuch des k. u. k. Konsulates Kairo 1908-1914* (Schriften des Österreichischen Kulturinstitutes Kairo 9), Cairo 1994, 136-137.

Israelite) and through him I succeeded in getting as far as the chief rabbi, whose letter I am sending to you. But I do not think it will satisfy you.<sup>65</sup> It was said to me that there is a relevant passage in Abul-Fēda. But you must know it. As far as tradition is concerned I have been able to trace only the following: In Gizeh a basket was preserved in a mosque until a few years ago, which it was claimed had protected the small Moses when he had been found by Pharaoh's daughter as a weeping little baby. Then a Rothschild (a French Rothschild, if I am not mistaken) is said to have visited Egypt and to have been taken into the mosque. There she is said to have contemplated the basket for a long time, almost in devotion. Some years later another Rothschild came whom Artin Pasha is said at his request to have accompanied into the mosque. The basket was not there anymore. This is the way the story was recounted to me by Artin himself, I believe. If you are interested in the matter I shall try to follow it up. (*Nagyságos Uram és Kedves Barátom. A hosszú szünetet, amely levelezésünkbe beállt, sajnálom. Sajnálom már azért is, mert Te azzal a híres دموه -val bíztál meg, amelyben igaz, eljártam, de sajnálatomra eredménytelenül. Voltam én Cattai-nál (híres izraelita) és általa eljutottam az egész scálán át a főrabbiig, amelynek levelét íme be is küldöm, de alig hiszem, hogy ki fog elégteleni. Man sprach mir, daß Abul-Fēda eine einschlägige Stelle enthalten soll. Die wirst Du aber bestimmt kennen. Ich konnte, was Tradition betrifft, nur soviel erfahren: In Gizeh, in einer Moschee wurde bis vor einigen Jahren ein Korb aufbewahrt, von dem es hieß, daß er den kleinen Moses barg als er als weinendes Knäblein von der Tochter des Pharaos aufgefunden wurde. Da soll eine Rothschild (irre ich nicht, eine französ. Rothschild) Egypten besucht haben u. soll sich in die Moschee führen lassen haben. Dort soll sie lange Zeit, fast mit Andacht den Korb betrachtet haben. Wenige Jahre [danach] kam ein anderer Rothschild, den Artin Pascha, auf dessen Wunsch, in die Moschee begleitet haben soll – der Korb war nicht mehr da. So ungefähr wurde mir die Sache erzählt; ich glaube von Artin selbst. Interessirt Dich die Sache, so will ich ihr nachgehen.*)<sup>66</sup> The Damwa

<sup>65</sup> Here the text changes from Hungarian to German in the original. The chief rabbi's letter is not extant.

<sup>66</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 6 April 1901. Ya'qūb Bāšā Artīn (1842-1919) was an outstanding state official of Armenian extraction. He was State Secretary for Education in the Egyptian Government responsible for educational reform. Abbas Hilmi II, Khédive d'Égypte (1892-1914), *Mémoires d'un souverain*, Cairo 1996, 357 (n° 136); Donald Malcolm Reid, 'Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism: The Struggle to Define and Control the Heritage of Arab Art in Egypt', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24(1992), 64; Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt*, Cairo 2000, 25-26. On Moses' basket in Giza see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa-l-iftibār*.... Būlāq ed., vol. 1, p. 206, line 2-3 = London (Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid) ed., vol. 1, p. 560, line 1-2. Cf. also Mubārak, *Al-Hiṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya*.... vol. X, p. 132, line 5-7.

synagogue is reported to have been in ruins by 1672. In the 1940s oral tradition had it that this edifice had stood on the site of the Nilometre on the island of Roda. This tradition, which does not seem to make sense, proves that nothing was known about this synagogue any more except for its name.<sup>67</sup>

It also took some time until Herz could find the answer to Goldziher's five questions regarding the total number of students in al-Azhar in the previous year (=1906), the total number of teachers, the number of Hanbalites among the teachers, the number of Hanbalites among the students, and the places of origin of Hanbalites.<sup>68</sup>

On the other hand Herz was unable to find out details concerning *al-lawḥ al-aḥḍar* in addition to what can be found in al-Maqrīzī, vol. II, p. 249-250, 252-253 and 255. These data are rather obscure. He tried to find out details on the spot but was unable to do so.<sup>69</sup>

In a letter dated Milan 12 May 1905 Herz answered a question by Goldziher: "In your last but one post-card you ask me about my opinion of Strzygowski's theory concerning Meshatta. Unfortunately I know this monument only on the basis of an imperfect picture. There can be little doubt that it belongs to late antiquity. It is possible that the historical transformations adduced by Strzygowski serve as a basis for its origins. Strzygowski is smart and knowledgeable but الله عالم. (*In deiner*

<sup>67</sup> Martin Schreiner, 'Bemerkungen zur Chronik des Josef b. Isak Sambari', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 45 (1891), 297; *Annuaire des Juifs d'Égypte et du Proche-Orient 1942/5702-5703*, Cairo 1942, 136. Sambari's (1640-1703) chronicle was written in 1672. See also Jacut's *Moschtarik, das ist: Lexicon geographischer Homonyme*. Ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1846, 182 (*Bāb Dumūh*); Norman Golb, 'The Topography of the Jews of Medieval Egypt', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965), 255-259; *ibid.* 33 (1974), 124-125; Shlomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1967-1993, vol. 5, 20-24. As far as I can see there is no reference to the Damwa synagogue or to Moses' basket in Abū l-Fidā's *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān*.

<sup>68</sup> Undated postcard from Cairo written some time after 22 February 1907.

<sup>69</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 26 May 1911. The references are to the Būlāq edition. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa-l-ītibār...*, London (Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid) ed., vol. 4, part 1, p. 18, line 16-17; p. 19, line 17; p. 24, line 19-22; p. 27, line 7; p. 35, line 8. See also Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-intiṣār li-wāsiṭat 'iqd al-amṣār*. Ed. Karl Vollers, Cairo 1309/1893 (reprint Frankfurt 1992), part 4, 60, 66. The *al-lawḥ al-aḥḍar* in question could be found in the Mosque of 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ but the data concerning it are not really clear. In any case, in Maqrīzī's time it was still there. Goldziher also asked Snouck Hurgronje about this matter but he did not know anything of it. *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher*. Ed. P. Sj. van Koningsveld, Leiden 1985, 343.

*vorletzten Karte frägt Du nach meiner Meinung bezüglich Strzygowskis Theorie über Meschatta. Leider kenne ich das Denkmal nur nach einem unvollkommenen Bilde. Daß es der spätantiken Zeit angehört, ist wenig Zweifel; möglich, daß seinem Entstehen die von Strz. angeführten histor. Wandlungen unterliegen. Strz. ist tüchtig und weiß viel, aber الله أعلم*”<sup>70</sup>

Herz did favours and arranged certain affairs for Goldziher in Cairo. In 1909 he asked the Egyptian Ministry of Education to present books to the famous scholar of Islam. The Ministry complied with his request and presented a collection of twenty-three books to Goldziher and Herz took upon himself the task of dispatching of the books. In the letter announcing the arrival of the books Herz suggested that Goldziher write a letter thanking the Minister, Sa'd Bāšā Zağlūl, for the gift, who would no doubt be most delighted by such a mark of recognition.<sup>71</sup> On another occasion he saw the librarian of the Institut Égyptien to check whether Goldziher had received all the relevant publications of the Institute.<sup>72</sup> In the same letter we read that Herz delivered a letter by Goldziher to [Ġurġī] Zaydān but the addressee had not yet sent him an answer.

In his letter of 13 October 1900 Herz tells Goldziher of his joy about the commission to write a concise history of Arab-Islamic art: “But the most beautiful publishing activity was made possible for me by Prof. Zsolt Beöthy. – Only in the summer of last year Zs. B. invited me to write *The Art of Islam* for the *history of art* to be published under the aegis of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. I could not explain the silence of Prof. B. after my letter accepting his invitation. My intention to meet him in Budapest could not be realized because he was away. I was directed to Mr. R. Lampel, who was in charge of the publishing house. He (Mr. Wodianer) informed me that Prof. B. had been ill. After having determined everything we exchanged the contracts and so for once I am about to produce something serious at last. I want to overthrow the constant humbug that is being drawn by new works from old ones and offer some new spirit, something positive as much as possible. (*Doch die schönste publizistische Thätigkeit ist mir von Prof. Beöthy Zsolt ermöglicht geworden. – B. Zs. forderte mich noch im Sommer des I. Jahres auf, für die unter der Aegide des Cultusminist. zu publizierende Kunstgeschichte, die Kunst des Islam zu schreiben. Ich konnte mir das Schweigen des Prof. B. nach meinem bejahenden Briefe nicht erklären. Meine Absicht ihn in Bpest zu sprechen war unausführbar, denn er war verreist. Man adressirte mich an Lampel R., der mit dem Verlag betraut ist. Dieser (Wodianer) erzählte mir, Prof. B. wäre krank gewesen. Nachdem wir alles festgestellt hatten, tauschten wir die Verträge aus u. so bin ich daran, endlich einmal etwas Ernstes zu schaffen. Ich will*

<sup>70</sup> This is the Arabic form Herz is using here. I wonder if he really meant it or rather الله أعلم .

<sup>71</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 12 February 1909.

<sup>72</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 24 November 1904.



*den ewigen Humbug, der immer u. immer von neuen Werken aus alten geschöpft wird, umwerfen u. etwas frischen Geist soviel wie möglich Positives bieten.)*” The question of this work recurs repeatedly. The work itself was finally published in 1907.<sup>73</sup>

Of course there are quite a number of minor remarks in the letters. Perhaps one can be illustrated here to show that interesting items may occur in the most unexpected places of the Goldziher correspondence. In his letter dated 6 April 1901 Herz says that he has just received the last instalment of Max van Berchem’s Corpus in which on p. 304 under No. 197 he is discussing a door as if it was original: “Van Berchem has sent me his last Corpus. I was sorry to notice that on p. 304 under No. 197 he talks about a door as if it was original. The door was made by a botcher under my own eyes. I want to inform him gently of this. I am totally unable to comprehend such a mistake by Van Berchem. (*Van Berchem hat mir seinen letzten Corp. eingeschickt. Es that mir leid zu bemerken, daß er p. 304 – N° 197 von einer Thüre spricht als ob sie alt gewesen wäre. Die Thüre wurde unter meinen Augen von einem Pfuscher angefertigt. Ich will ihm davon gelinde Mitteilung machen. Ich kann einen solchen Irrtum von V. B. gar nicht fassen.*)”<sup>74</sup> Now this seems to be the very door that has recently surfaced in the Tāriq Rağab Museum in Kuwait as a replica of a Mamluk door from Sultan Barqūq’s funerary mosque in the Northern Cemetery in Cairo. Professor Géza Fehérvári is preparing a detailed analysis of this door and is writing a monograph intending to put forward the view that the door is in fact original. It may be added in this connexion that among the donations Herz offered to the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest was a bronze plate of 50 x 19 cm from the door of the mosque of Sultan Barqūq. Unhappily, the plate cannot be found at present, so it is impossible to say if it belonged to the same door or to another one. The whole story seems rather confused at present. The present writer regards it impossible that Herz Pasha would have simply mistaken an original Mamluk door for a false one. It is true that he was an architect and not a specialist in metals, yet he was a man of outstanding capabilities, who worked hard through all his life and was

<sup>73</sup> Herz Miksa Bey, ‘Az iszlám művészete [The Art of Islam]’, in: *A művészetek története a legrégebbi időkől a XIX. század végéig* [The History of Arts from the earliest periods until the end of the 19th century]. Ed. Zsolt Beöthy, vol. 2. Budapest 1907, 108–262. The contract and Herz’s letters to the publisher are extant among the documentation of the Lampel (Wodianer) Publishing House preserved in the Department of Manuscripts, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (shelf mark: Fond 4/57). The publishing house of Robert Lampel (Lampel Róbert) was acquired by Philipp Wodianer (Wodianer Fülöp) in 1874. Herz was in contact with his son and partner, Artur Wodianer.

<sup>74</sup> See Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*. I. *Égypte*. (*Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission française au Caire* 19), Paris 1903, 304–305 (n° 197). This work was published in instalments and subsequently it came out in a single volume too.

deeply interested in what he was doing. We must not forget that he was living and working in Cairo spending a considerable part of his time in mosques inspecting many doors. By the time of the Columbian World Exhibition in Chicago (1893), for which the *replica* was supposed to have been prepared, he had been employed by the Waqf Administration in Cairo for no less than thirteen years. It is beyond doubt that during this period even a man of much more limited capabilities than those of Herz would have definitely acquired first class experience and expertise in this field. We have to bear in mind that in addition to architecture he was deeply interested in applied Arab-Islamic arts and that by the time in question he had been involved in the work of the Arab Museum [present-day Museum of Islamic Arts] for thirteen years. His deep interest in this field is attested to by his catalogues of the Museum dealing also with doors.<sup>75</sup> Herz was reserved, cautious and free of vanity. Consequently it is unlikely that he would have expressed himself the way he did, on two occasions, unless he was absolutely sure of what he was saying.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, he was certainly not infallible either. In this context Stanley Lane-Poole's assessment of the achievements of Cairene craftsmen is worth mentioning. It comes from his report on the work of the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe* [=Commission] submitted to Lord Cromer in 1895, which the latter included in his annual report on progress in Egypt submitted to the British Parliament: "And I may here observe that the staff of the Commission includes workers in metal and wood, who are able to copy the designs so accurately, that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from the originals. (They are not yet successful in stained glass, however.) This merit has the obvious drawback that, unless great care is taken, the details of the monuments (e.g., the bronze bosses and plaques on doors, or the wood and ivory carvings and inlay work of doors and *minbars*) may be falsified."<sup>77</sup> The expertise of the artisans employed in the Technical Bureau (*Bureau Spécial*) of the

<sup>75</sup> Max Herz, *Catalogue sommaire des monuments exposés dans le Musée National de l'Art Arabe*. Cairo 1895; Id., *Catalogue of the National Museum of Arab Art*. Ed. Stanley Lane-Poole. London 1896; Id., *Catalogue raisonné des monuments exposés dans le Musée National de l'Art Arabe précédé d'un aperçu de l'histoire de l'architecture et des arts industriels en Égypte*. 2nd ed. Cairo 1906; Id., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Objects Exhibited in the National Museum of Arab Art Preceded by a Historical Sketch of the Architecture and Industrial Arts of the Arabs in Egypt*. 2nd ed. Transl. G. Foster Smith. Cairo 1907.

<sup>76</sup> A similar remark made by Herz concerning the door in question also appeared in print, see Richard J. H. Gottheil, 'A Door From the Madrasah of Barkūk', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 30 (1909), 59. Most probably he also made a similar remark to Max van Berchem. To our regret Herz's letters to van Berchem from this particular period have not survived among his letters sent to Max van Berchem in Max van Berchem's correspondence in Geneva (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ville de Genève).

<sup>77</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*. (Mediaeval Towns). 2nd ed., London 1906, 310.

*Comité* was also emphasized by Achille Patricolo, Herz's assistant: "A whole team of specialists, masons, joiners, turners, painters, chasers and marble specialists has been formed in the *Bureau* of the *Comité*. In the course of a long apprenticeship, which is expertly and enthusiastically superintended, these artisans have acquired the expertise necessary for the execution of the most delicate works inherent in the preservation of Arab monuments. (*Dans le bureau du Comité s'est formé toute une équipe d'ouvriers libres spécialistes, maçons, menuisiers, tourneurs, peintres, ciseleurs, marbriers. Par un long apprentissage, sagement et passionnément dirigé, ces artisans ils ont acquis la maîtrise nécessaire à exécuter les travaux les plus délicats, inhérents à la conservation des monuments arabes.*)"<sup>78</sup> Maybe there were two doors, an original and a replica, and the door in Kuwait today is not the one Herz saw? But then where is the other one? There are many questions: let us hope that the intriguing fate of this door – or these doors – will be solved one day.<sup>79</sup>

In another interesting remark Herz voiced his doubts concerning the accuracy of 'Alī Pasha Mubārak's *magnum opus*: "As far as the خطط الجديدة are concerned I must admit that they have never inspired confidence in me because I was eyewitness to the working method of the old minister. I never omit to control his historical notes and – by the Prophet! – it is necessary too. (*Was die خطط الجديدة anbelangt, muß ich gestehn, daß sie mir nie Vertrauen eingeflößt haben, denn ich war Augenzeuge von der Arbeitsweise des alten Ministers. Ich versäume es nie, seine historischen Notizen zu kontrollieren, und – beim Propheten, es thut not.*)"<sup>80</sup>

Another interesting remark: "In your letter of 26 March you are asking me whether the weather-worn Mamluk coat of arms on the Sultan Hasan Mosque, opposite the Rifa'i Mosque, still exists. I don't know any coat of arms on the Sultan Hasan Mosque. Would you please explain this? You can perhaps find the item in question in the illustrations. (*In Deinem Briefe vom 26. März fragst Du ob das verwitterte Mamlukenwappen an der Hassan Moschee, dem Rifa'i-Moschee gegenüber, noch existirt. Ich kenne auf der Hassan M. kein Wappen. Willst Du, bitte, Dich näher erklären? Vielleicht findest Du das Vermeinte in den Illustrationen.*)"<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Achille Patricolo, *La conservation des monuments arabes en Égypte. I. Histoire du Comité*, Cairo 1914, 28.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Géza Fehérvári, 'History and Mystery! The "Bronze" Door of Mamluk Sultan Barquq in Kuwait', *Alumni Newsletter*. SOAS, University of London, Edition 16, Summer 1998, 7; Géza Fehérvári–Peter Northover, *The Door of Sultan Barquq in Kuwait. Tareq Rajab Museum*, Kuwait (at the press).

<sup>80</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 29 May 1896. In his next letter of 10 June 1896 Herz wrote that he remembered having made a mistake in writing الخطاط الجديدة instead of الخطط الجديدة.

<sup>81</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 13 October 1900. The illustrations referred to are those in Max Herz Bey, *La mosquée du Sultan Hassan*, Cairo 1899.

Herz thanks Goldziher for his article on the veneration of Muslim saints in Egypt<sup>82</sup> in the following words: "I liked your *Heiligenkultus* very much. I thank you for the pleasure given by it. I was already thinking that you had missed the tombs *الآ [ر] بعين* but I have found them at last. It was not only that I liked your study but it interested me somewhat directly too because my works bring me into direct contact with this cult of the dead. You are right; it is to be regretted that in our Institute we do not have people active in the field of Arab cultural history. Everybody throws himself upon the Pharaonic period, perhaps because there it is easier to give free rein to *blague* [= brag, bounce, swagger]. It is the local scholars themselves who could do something in the field of Arabic studies but they seem to regard this ground as profanation. Alas! I am planning to collect data when I have the opportunity and I shall gladly put them at your disposal. (*Ihr Heiligenkultus hat mir sehr sehr gefallen. Danke für den mir hiedurch bereiteten Genuß. Schon glaubte ich, daß Ihnen die Gräber *الآ [ر] بعين* entgangen waren, da fand ich sie denn doch zuletzt. Die Studie gefiel mir nicht nur, sie interessierte mich auch ein wenig direct, denn meine Arbeiten bringen mich in direkte Beziehung zu diesem Totenkultus. Sie haben recht: es ist schade, daß wir in unserem Institut keine Leute haben, die etwas arabische Kulturgeschichte treiben. Alles wirft sich auf die pharaonische Zeit, vielleicht weil man da der 'Blague' leichter die Zügel schießen lassen kann. Wer im Arabischen etwas thun könnte, sind die Eingeborenen selbst, die scheinen aber dieses Terrain als Profanation zu betrachten. Schade! Ich nehme mir vor, wenn ich Gelegenheit haben werde, Daten zu sammeln, die ich Ihnen gerne zur Verfügung stellen werde.*)"<sup>83</sup>

Around 1911 several letters deal with Goldziher's eventual guest professorship at the newly founded Egyptian University. Herz states explicitly that it was he who first suggested to the organizers that they invite Goldziher<sup>84</sup> and then it was Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād,<sup>85</sup> who played an outstanding role in the development of the university, who made many efforts to persuade Goldziher to accept the invitation to deliver the course "History of Philosophical Doctrines (*il corso di storia delle dottrine filosofiche*)" at the Egyptian University during the winter semester beginning on 15 November 1911. In the beginning the confidential soundings were carried out via Herz and then in the later phases of the undertaking Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary, and Count Széchenyi, the diplomatic

<sup>82</sup> Goldziher, 'Aus dem mohammedanischen Heiligenkultus in Ägypten....,' 233-240. [= Id., *Gesammelte Schriften*..., vol. IV, 111-118.] See the reference to Herz on p. 236 [= 114].

<sup>83</sup> Letter dated Hôtel Beau-Séjour, Stresa, Lago Maggiore, 1 August 1897.

<sup>84</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 6 January 1911.

<sup>85</sup> He later became Sultan Fu'ād and subsequently King Fu'ād I. On him see Rašid Kāmil, *Al-Malika Nāzī. Ġarām wa-intiqām*, Cairo 1998, 10-31; Goldschmidt Jr., *Biographical Dictionary*..., Cairo 2000, 59-60.

representative of Austria-Hungary in Cairo, joined the unofficial negotiations, and Herz acted as a sort of intermediary between the Prince and Goldziher. This is attested by Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād's letter to Goldziher when he introduces himself giving Herz as a reference. Goldziher seems to have turned down the invitation right away, yet Herz did his best to convince him of the advantages and desirability of such a stay in Cairo. Goldziher seemed to have objections – it is not clear what they were – which Herz strove to refute giving details concerning the visits of such acquaintances of Goldziher as Guidi, Santillana, Nallino and Littmann. He reminded Goldziher that he would be in good company among such persons as Littmann, Nallino and Snouck Hurgronje.<sup>86</sup> On one occasion Herz copied for Goldziher an Italian letter by Fago, Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād's secretary, on this subject.<sup>87</sup> This letter shows how important Goldziher was in the prince's eyes because he is asking Herz to do everything possible – and impossible – to have Goldziher accept the invitation: “My Dear Herz Bey, to come to the point at once I am asking you most fervently in the name of His Highness Prince Fuad to be so kind as to do everything possible (and even impossible) in order that Prof. Goldziher might agree to come to the Egyptian University at 15 November of this year to deliver a course on the history of philosophical doctrines in Arabic. (*Illustrate e carissimo Herz Bey, senza preambuli, La prego caldissimamente da parte di S. A. il Principe Fuad di voler fare tutto il possibile (e anche l'impossibile!) perchè il prof. Goldziher accetti di venire il 15 novembre di quest'anno all'Università Egiziana, per tenervi in lingua araba, il corso di storia delle dottrine filosofiche.*)” In the course of this discussion Herz Pasha informs Goldziher that the subject he is supposed to lecture on was taught by Santillana in the previous academic year. Santillana arrived in Cairo with the fair copy of the text of his lectures but to his great distress he discovered that the level of his lectures was far too high for his students so he was compelled to write his lectures anew from day to day. Herz also mentions that Guidi was compelled to make use of some sort of a translator to make himself understood sometimes: “I

<sup>86</sup> Snouck Hurgronje had also been invited to the Egyptian University in Cairo but he did not go there, either. I owe this piece of information to P. Sj. van Koningsveld. In his letter of 28 July 1911 (see the following footnote) Mr. Fago informs “*illustre e carissimo Herz Bey*” that – among others – Snouck Hurgronje has agreed to go to Cairo: “*Il principe Fuad a ottenuto l'accettazione del prof. Littmann, del prof. Snouck Hurgronje di Leiden e dei professori italiani (Nallino & Meloni).*”

<sup>87</sup> Letter dated Paris, 28 July 1911 (the original); copy dated Vetriolo (Trento), 4 August 1911. Dr. Vincenzo Fago studied law and philology. Between 1903 and 1908 he worked in the Italian National Library in Rome. In 1908 he was sent to Cairo by the Italian Government accompanying a donation of 500 books. His task was the organization and the administration of the University Library. He was dismissed in 1913. See Donald Malcolm Reid, *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Cairo 1990, 39.

have no doubts concerning your faculty of speech. Prof. Guidi was compelled to make use of some sort of a translator in order to make himself understood sometimes. But of course Guidi had never been in the Orient. Well, you have spent years here. Then you can choose as you wish: literary or colloquial Arabic. But I want you to ask Nallino for his opinion and suggestion concerning this matter. (*Ich zweifle nicht an Dein arab. Sprachvermögen. Prof. Guidi mußte sich einer Art Dolmetscher bedienen, um sich manchmal verständlich zu machen. Aber Guidi war ja nie im Orient. Du hast ja Jahre hier verbracht. Dann kannst Du, wie Du willst, wählen: litterarisch oder vulgärarabisch. Aber diesbezüglich möchte ich doch, daß Du Nallinos Rat u. Meinung einholst.*)<sup>88</sup> This correspondence goes on for a while but it is known that in the end Goldziher did not accept the invitation and did not go to Cairo.<sup>89</sup>

It appears from a letter that Goldziher was worried when Karl Vollers resigned his post as director of the Khedivial Library because Vollers had helped him regularly with preparing copies of or from manuscripts preserved in the Khedivial Library.<sup>90</sup> Herz however hastened to transmit the cordial greetings of the new director, Bernhard Moritz, who offered to be at Goldziher's disposal whenever he needed it. Herz said he was sure Moritz would gladly help him as much as possible.<sup>91</sup> He assured Goldziher that he had no reason to fear adding that he had known both Vollers and Moritz for quite a long time and thought that Moritz had perhaps the advantage of being much more easy-going in social intercourse and personal relationships than Vollers, who was somewhat stiff and reticent: "Dr. Vollers has left the country. Dr. Bernhard Moritz has been appointed in his place. Dr. M. exchanged his post of a librarian in the Oriental Seminary in Berlin for that of a librarian here. I know him from a journey which he made to Egypt in 1891. We have been corresponding since then. The grief you have experienced through the departure of Dr. V. affected me so closely that I felt free to inform Dr. M. of it. Now I am glad to be able to inform you, My Esteemed Professor, that the new director will be ready and most happy to be at your service in all matters. His principle is to be at the disposal of all scholars but he regards it as a special joy to be at your

<sup>88</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 26 May 1911.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 269-271, 274; Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary...*, 51-52. On the further details of this affair see István Ormos, 'Ignaz Goldziher's Invitation to the Egyptian University', in: *Essays in Honour of Alexander Fodor on His Sixtieth Birthday*. Ed. K. Dévényi, T. Iványi (*The Arabist* 23), 2001, 183-192.

<sup>90</sup> Goldziher informed Martin Hartmann of his worries too. *Machen Sie doch...*, 54-55.

<sup>91</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 12 December 1896. Bernhard Moritz (1859-1939) was director from 25 October 1896 until 31 August 1911. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya...*, 97, 103.; Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1955, 316.

service. I want to lose no time in informing you of this. I want to add *entre parenthèse* that Dr. Moritz is of my age, much more sociable than Dr. V. and is also quite interested in archacology. He has travelled all over Hauran, Tunis and Morocco. (*Dr. Vollers hat das Land verlassen. An seiner Stelle ist Dr. Bernhard Moritz ernannt worden. Dr. M. hat seinen Posten eines Bibliothekars an dem Oriental. Seminar in Berlin mit dem eines Biblioth. hier vertauscht. Ich kenne ihn von einer Reise her, die er im Jahre 891 nach Egypten gemacht hat. Wir waren auch seit damals in brieflichem Verkehr. Ihr Kummer, den Sie durch den Abgang des Dr. V. [verspürten.] ging mir sehr nahe, und war so frei hievon dem Dr. M. Mitteilung zu machen. Ich bin sehr froh, Ihnen, verehrtester Herr Professor, die Mitteilung machen zu können, daß Ihnen der neue Direktor mit der freudigsten Bereitwilligkeit in allen Dingen dienen wird. Es ist sein Prinzip, allen Gelehrten angemessen zu sein, es wird ihm aber zur besonderen Freude gereichen, Ihnen nützlich zu sein. Ich beeile mich Ihnen hievon Kenntnis zu geben. Will noch *entre parenthèse* bemerken, daß Dr. Moritz in meinem Alter ist, viel geselliger als Dr. V. u. daß er sich auch ein wenig für Archeologie interessirt. Er hat den Hauran u. Tunis u. Marokko bereist.*)<sup>92</sup>

Goldziher seems to have inquired after his old acquaintances too. In a letter dated Cairo 24 November 1904 Herz wrote to him: “You ask about your acquaintances? The most faithful will most likely be El-Sayed Mohamed Magdi Bey, Counsellor at the Native Court, who never omits to ask me about you. He was glad to hear of the distinctions conferred upon you. If I am not mistaken you were on friendly terms with his father. (*Du fragst nach Deinen Bekannten? Der treueste dürfte wohl Es-Sayed Mohammed Magdi Bey sein. Conseiller au tribunal indigène, der es nie verabsäumt mich nach Dir zu fragen. Es freute ihn von den Dir widerfahrenen Auszeichnungen zu vernehmen. Irre ich nicht, warst Du mit dessen Vater befreundet.*)” This is true: in his *Tagebuch* Goldziher mentions “Sejjid Sâlih Bey al-Magdî” among his most important acquaintances in Cairo during his stay there in 1873/74: “Nevertheless I was very eager to meet with the natives in the afternoons. Moreover Hasanein acquainted me with some ulemâ and other notabilities of the Muhammadan world. In the library I became acquainted with very intelligent Muhammadan scholars and men of letters, from whose company I derived great benefit. More than anything else I frequented the company of two prominent figures of Muhammadan life. Seyyid Sâlih Bey al-Magdî, former Secretary of State in the Ministry of Education, belonged to that trend in the Egyptian Muhammadan intelligentsia which did not regard intellectual and state life as in need of reform, yet strove for the transformation of conditions on a national Arab and Muhammadan basis and rejected complete Europeanization. For some time the representatives of this trend had had to give way to European reform-swindlers, who undertook to

<sup>92</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 28 October 1896.

import foreign culture for a high salary without the slightest understanding of the traditions of the local population. One day Sâlih had to yield his writing-desk to the Swiss Dor Bey, who now supervised the Minister Riâz Pasha in the Ministry of Education. In Sâlih's house the malcontents used to gather and on my frequent visits I could then get acquainted with the most prominent scholars of the national party. I belonged to them myself and regarded it as my duty to contribute my own modest capabilities to their convictions. I was an ardent supporter of national culture in the bazaars too and once I had to endure considerable terror in this connection. I was introduced to Sâlih's minister, Ali Pasha Mubârek, in his house. He was busy with construction works at that time and showed little interest in me. (*Nichts destoweniger verkehrte ich alle Nachmittage sehr eifrig mit den Eingeborenen. Hasanein verschaffte mir obendrein die Bekanntschaft einiger Ulemâ und sonstiger Notabilitäten der mohammedanischen Welt, in der Bibliothek lernte ich sehr verständige mohammedanische Gelehrte und Schöngeister kennen, deren Verkehr mich sehr erheblich gefördert hat. Am fleissigsten besuchte ich zwei hervorragende Gestalten des mohammedanischen Lebens. Sejjid Sâlih Bey al-Magdî, früherer Staatssekretär im Unterrichtsministerium, gehörte jener Strömung der ägyptischen mohammed. Intelligenz an, welche das intellektuelle und staatliche Leben nicht als reformbedürftig erkannte, aber die Umbildung der Verhältnisse auf national-arabischer und mohammedanischer Basis anstrebte und das durch Dick und Dünn Europäisieren verpönte. Die Anhänger dieser Strömung mussten seit einiger Zeit den europäischen Reform-schwindlern weichen, die ohne Verständnis für die Überlieferungen des Volkes, die fremde Cultur gegen hohen Sold zu importieren sich anheischig machten. Sâlih musste eines Tages seinen Schreibtisch dem Schweizer Dor bey überlassen, der nun im Unterrichtsressort den Minister Riâz Pascha bevormundete. In Sâlih's Hause pflegten sich die Unzufriedenen zu versammeln, und bei meinen häufigen Besuchen konnte ich nun die hervorragendsten Gelehrten der nationalen Partei kennen lernen. Ich gehörte selbst zu ihnen und machte es mir als Pflicht, zu ihren Überzeugungen mein Schärfflein beizutragen. Auch in den Bazaren eiferte ich im Sinne der nationalen Kultur und hatte einmal einen nicht geringen Schrecken darüber auszustehen. Auch Ali Bascha Mubârek, den Minister Sâlih's lernte ich in seinem Hause kennen, der eben war zu jener Zeit mit Bauarbeiten beschäftigt und nahm wenig Interesse an mir.*)<sup>93</sup> The

<sup>93</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch*...., 67. See also *ibid.*, 71; Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary*...., 152 [Seyyid Bey Şâlih]. Muşafâ Riyâd (1834-1911), usually called Riaz Pasha, was a high state official in various posts after 1850. Three times premier, he was director of education in 1873-1874. Goldschmidt, Jr., *Biographical Dictionary*...., 168-169. Edouard Dor Bey was Inspector-General of Education during the 1870s and afterwards *ex officio* adviser to the Ministry of Education. Jack A. Crabbs, Jr., *The Writing of History in*



same Muḥammad Bey Mağdī appears in an earlier letter also where Herz informs Goldziher that he has handed over Goldziher's letter to him: "The letter enclosed with your visiting card of 15 September I delivered to Mohamed Bey Magdi the day after I received it. He was quite happy with it and regretted to have been informed too late of your stay here. I have told him about your 'Az iszlám'. He asked me to translate it for him. I admit that I am little inclined to do that. Perhaps in extracts; but even in that case it would not be an ordinary undertaking because I would have to translate the Hungarian text into French for him so that he could translate that into Arabic. May I ask for your opinion of this affair? (*Den Ihrer Visitenkarte vom 15. Sept. beiliegenden Brief habe ich am folgenden Tage der Inempfangnahme Mohamed Bey Magdi eingehändigt. Er war ganz glücklich darüber u. bedauert sehr zu spät von Ihrem Aufenthalte hier erfahren zu haben. Ich sprach ihm von Ihrem 'Az iszlám'. Er bat mich es ihm zu übersetzen. Ich gestehe, daß ich wenig Mut dazu fühle. Vielleicht im Auszuge; aber auch so wär's kein gewöhnliches Unternehmen, denn ich müßte ihm den ung. Text in's Französische übersetzen, damit er dies in's Arabische übertrage. Darf ich Ihre Meinung darüber erbitten?*)"<sup>94</sup>

The letters deal very often with personal and family matters. Herz tells Goldziher repeatedly of his many tasks and heavy burdens thus justifying his delay in the preparation of certain scholarly works. He informs Goldziher every now and then of the situation in his family and from these letters he is seen as a most attractive personality living in perfect harmony with his wife and taking loving care of his children. Every now and then Herz tells Goldziher proudly of the progress and development of his children, especially that of his beloved son, Géza. In later years, after the tragic death of his son, Géza, he mentions their hardly bearable sorrow several times in the letters to Goldziher. Of course the Goldzihers fully shared his feelings because they themselves had been hit by a similar tragedy. Their elder son, Miksa/Misi (Max), committed suicide at the age of twenty (31 May 1900).<sup>95</sup> Most of

*Nineteenth-Century Egypt. A Study in National Transformation*, Cairo-Detroit 1984, 96-97, 107 (note 81), 210 (note 36).

<sup>94</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 28 October 1896. It is to be assumed that Goldziher sent Herz only a visiting card with the letter in question on 15 September 1896 with the silent request of delivering it to Muḥammad Bey Mağdī. Goldziher did not visit Egypt at this time. Goldziher's stay in Egypt referred to in the letter is the study tour with the Hungarian secondary schoolteachers at the turn of 1895 and 1896.

<sup>95</sup> Goldziher called this date the darkest day in his life – "which severed my connection to earlier periods of my life like a sharp sword" – but he did not elaborate. (In the printed text of the *Tagebuch* there is a misprint or lapse of the pen: it happened in 1900 and not 1899.) Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 228-229. See also Nöldeke's letter of 20 June and Goldziher's answer of 24 June 1900. In his will of 1901 Goldziher wrote: "My unforgettable dear son Misi fell victim to the conditions in the Budapest Faculty of Law on 31 May last year". Original in Hungarian. Sándor [= Alexander] Scheiber, *Folklór és*

the letters written in Zurich are framed in black referring to the great unabating sorrow which the Herzs are unable to overcome. Herz rarely complains of the great loss but it is evident that their life is a constant suffering; for instance, he writes to Goldziher in the letter of condolence on occasion of the death of Goldziher's brother-in-law: "Still suffering in heart and soul we feel with you most sincerely in your pain. I wish heaven would send you the consolation we miss. (*Noch wund an Herz und Seele fühlen wir Eueren Schmerz innig nach. Möge Euch der Himmel den Trost senden, der uns fehlt.*)"<sup>96</sup>

*tárgytörténet* (Folklore und Motivgeschichte), vol. 3. Budapest 1984, p. 557 (ill. n° 75). Cf. Endre Ady, 'A kitüntetéses [The Student Who Passed All His Examinations with Distinction]', *Szabadság* (*Nagyvárad*), 2 June 1900, 3; 'Goldziher Miksa temetése [The Burial of Miksa Goldziher]', *ibid.*, 2 June 1900, 4; Styx: 'Az egyetemi keresztek [The University Crosses]', *ibid.*, 31 May 1900, 5; 'A király látogatásai [The King's Visits]', *ibid.* 'A kereszt tördelések [Mutilating the Crosses]', *ibid.* Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora...*, 483, 488. The relevant part of Goldziher's diary has been torn out by Mrs. Goldziher. This is not indicated in Scheiber's edition. See Scheiber's foreword to the Hungarian translation of the diary: Ignác Goldziher, *Napló* [Diary]. Transl. Mrs. Livia Scheiber-Bernáth, Budapest 1984, 6. In the spring of 1900 the new central building of the university was inaugurated, which also included the faculty of law. As king of Hungary, Emperor Franz Joseph I also participated in the solemn festivities on 29 May. In the night from 25 to 26 the stucco arms of Hungary were vandalized in more than one place in the staircase of the new building: the crosses were broken off. (In all probability the cross of St. Stephen's crown is meant here.) The perpetrators were never found. Right-wing student unions and politicians attributed the crime to Jewish students, while liberal politicians and the minister of education saw in it an obvious act of provocation. Miksa Goldziher's suicide may have been connected to this event. On the affair see Miklós Szabó, *Az újkonzervativizmus és a jobboldali radikalizmus története (1867-1918)* [The History of Neo-Conservatism and Right-Wing Radicalism (1867-1918)], Budapest 2003, 184-197. According to another tradition, which goes back to Károly Goldziher, Miksa committed suicide because of an examination in which he had not performed according to his own high expectations. This tradition fits the fact that the suicide happened on the day of an important examination (*alapvizsga*). According to a third tradition, which goes back to the late Alexander Scheiber, Miksa's suicide was connected with his homosexuality. Contemporaries saw a close connection between Miksa's death and the somewhat earlier suicide of Goldziher's close friend, Jenő Péterfy, to whom Miksa was closely attached. Péterfy may also have been homosexual. Miksa is known to have been a sensitive youth and it is possible that more than one factor contributed to his tragic deed. Miksa kept a diary, which was in Károly's possession in later years: he quoted from it to Zimándi on some occasions. There is no trace of it now. Cf. Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő és baráti köre...*, 90-93. *Id.*, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora...*, 483, 488.

<sup>96</sup> Letter dated Zurich, 4 November 1915.

Goldziher's wife and Herz both came from the same area, the county of Arad in the Hungarian Great Plain: the father of Goldziher's wife was a doctor in Aradszentmárton, a village in close vicinity to both Otlaka and Simánd. We read in the *Tagebuch* that both Goldziher's mother-in-law and brother-in-law were buried in Simánd and the family of Goldziher's wife gathered for a family occasion in the Simánd synagogue.<sup>97</sup> Most probably there was no Jewish cemetery nor a synagogue in Aradszentmárton. Herz's parents lived for a while in Simánd before moving to Otlaka.<sup>98</sup> Thus it happened that Goldziher once asked him whether he knew the deceased father of his wife. Herz answered he did not know him but enquired about him from his eldest sister in Temesvár. She informed him in due course that their father had been on friendly terms with Dr. Mittler, Goldziher's father-in-law. He however had died but had a son, who was also a doctor.<sup>99</sup> In the letters we read of the visits of Herz's sister in Temesvár to the Goldzihers, with whom she remains in touch: "My sister, who wrote to me a lot about your kind meeting, gave me the best pieces of information about you, your esteemed wife and your son. I thank your wife most sincerely for the kindness shown to my sister. Please accept my most sincere thanks. (*Meine Schwester, die mir viel von Euerer liebenswürdigen Begegnung schrieb, gab mir die besten Nachrichten über Dich, [Deine] sehr geschätzte Frau u. Euern Sohn. Küsse der Frau Doktor sehr ergeben beide Hände für die meiner Schwester angedeihene Freundlichkeit. Ich danke recht innig dafür.*)"<sup>100</sup> In this

<sup>97</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch*..., 131, 251, 279.

<sup>98</sup> Herz always indicated Otlaka as his birthplace, while the birth register states that the newborn's parents were living at Simánd at the time. (Soon they moved to Otlaka.) The birth register, which was kept by the Jewish community of three neighbouring villages (Otlaka, Kisjenő and Simánd), does not indicate the newborn's place of birth as a separate entry. (Probably because the birthplace was normally the same as the location of the religious community in question, and it was only owing to the small number of Jews that three villages constituted one single community in this case, a circumstance the authorities had not envisaged when devising the scheme of birth registers before sending it to the printing press.) If we consider that women bore their children in their homes at the time then Herz must have been born at Simánd. There are the following possibilities to solve this contradiction: 1. The Herzs lived at Simánd but Mrs. Herz gave birth to her son at her sister's home at Otlaka. The extracts from the birth register at my disposal imply that a sister of Mrs. Herz's lived at Otlaka. 2. Herz was born at Simánd but his family moved to Otlaka soon after his birth, so he regarded Otlaka as his birthplace because he grew up there. 3. There is an error in the birth register. I am indebted to Jenő Glück (Arad) for the photocopies of the birth register, which is kept in the Archives in Arad. The present names of the places in question: Aradszentmárton / Sînmartin, Kisjenő / Chişineu-Criş, Otlaka / Grăniceri, Simánd / Şimand, all in Romania since 1920.

<sup>99</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 16 April 1897.

<sup>100</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 24 November 1904.

context it may be noted that according to the information supplied by Herz Pasha's grandson, Mr. Paolo Sereni in Naples, Herz was deeply attached to his eldest sister, who took care of him in his early childhood after the death of their mother, thus, in a way, replacing her in the emotional life of the young boy. Others of his relatives also visited the Goldzihers. "Before everything else please would you and your kind wife accept my most heartfelt thanks for the friendly reception that I myself and my numerous relatives have enjoyed [at your place]. My wife, who reciprocates the good wishes I transmitted to her, is looking forward very much to becoming acquainted with the Goldziher family, whom her husband mentions so often with respect, during her journey to Hungary planned for the year 1909. (*Nehme vor Allem, mit Deiner liebenswürdigen Frau Gemalin (sic), nochmals meinen herzlichsten Dank für die freundliche Aufnahme, der ich und meine zahlreiche Verwandtschaft teilhaftig geworden sind. Meine Frau, der ich die mir aufgetragenen Grüße überbracht habe, erwidert sie und rechnet sehr auf das Vergnügen, anlässlich ihrer für 1909 geplanten Reise nach Ungarn, die von ihrem Manne oft mit Verehrung erwähnte Familie Goldziher kennen zu lernen.*)"<sup>101</sup>

From the letters it appears that Herz was a loyal subject of the Habsburg Monarchy, who greatly revered the ruling family. After the death of Emperor and King Franz Joseph Herz attended a memorial service held in the Castle of Habsburg in Switzerland: "The death of our good old king was commemorated in a dignified manner, among others also in the Castle of Habsburg, where I participated too myself. (*Hier wurde das Ableben unseres guten alten Königs würdig gefeiert, unter anderem auch auf der Habsburg, an der auch ich teilnahm.*)"<sup>102</sup> It may come as an interesting addition to the catholic character traits of Herz that we know from other sources that being a devoted Habsburg subject did not prevent him from frequenting in Cairo the gatherings of Hungarians who rejected Habsburg rule in Hungary, and from actively participating in their social activities too. At the same time he was also active in the club of pro-Habsburg Hungarians in Cairo.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Letter dated Casa Rosenberg, Valle Vico presso Como, 16 September 1908.

<sup>102</sup> Letter dated Zurich, 1 December 1916. Franz Joseph was emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, therefore he is always referred to as king in a Hungarian context. Habsburg, the Castle of Habsburg, is situated above the spa Schinznach in the Swiss *Kanton Aargau* 513 m above sea level. It was founded in 1020 by Bishop Werner of Strassburg, a member of the family which later on became known under the name of this castle. *Meyers Lexikon*. 7th ed., Leipzig 1924-1933, vol. V, col. 886.

<sup>103</sup> László Szabó, *A kairói magyar kolónia régi tagjai* [The Past Members of the Hungarian Colony in Cairo]. Manuscript. By courtesy of Mr. Péter Gaboda (Budapest). This account about the past members of the Hungarian colony in Cairo was written in the 1920s by a Hungarian coach-maker who had spent his active life working in Cairo.

We know from several sources that Herz was a great benefactor of Hungarians in Cairo and so it comes as no surprise to learn from these letters that he also supported Goldziher's protégés. Of the three names mentioned in this context the name of Goldziher's ill-fated pupil, Salamon Pál Osztern (1879-1944), is known to us. In addition to having published some articles on Islam Osztern is said to have translated the whole Qoran into Hungarian. He met a cruel death towards the end of World War II.<sup>104</sup> Herz tried to arrange an appointment for him at the newly founded Egyptian University, at least for an academic year, yet he does not seem to have succeeded.<sup>105</sup> The two other names, Prágay and A. Kőhalmi, could not be identified.

In the letters Herz asked Goldziher repeatedly about his opinion of his papers and begged him to be "merciless" in this respect. Unluckily we do not possess Goldziher's letters but we know from his reviews and presentations of Herz's works and the obituary of Herz written by Goldziher that generally he had a high regard of his friend's scholarly activities especially praising his concise history of Islamic art published in Hungarian in 1907. From the letters it is evident that Goldziher kept urging Herz to publish more and more because Herz excused himself several times for not being able to fulfil his expectations because of the large amount of practical everyday work with which he was constantly burdened. Thus for instance in a letter Herz informed Goldziher that he had been just about to finish a communication to the Hungarian Academy when the Egyptian Government had unexpectedly granted LE 20 000 to the Comité which meant at the same time a considerable amount of work for Herz, thus preventing him from fulfilling the planned task.<sup>106</sup> It is also evident from the letters that Herz was in constant need of encouragement. He seems to have lacked self-confidence in the field of publishing the results of his scholarly activities. We may assume that this was due to his limited experience in this area because of his heavy everyday duties. It appears from the letters too that Goldziher made efforts to involve Herz in the publication of the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. In his letter dated 1 August 1897 (Stresa, Lago Maggiore, Hôtel Beau-Séjour) Herz informed Goldziher of his acceptance of the invitation to

<sup>104</sup> *Zsidó Lexikon*. Ed. Péter Ujvári, Budapest 1929, 675-676. His memorial plaque in the building of the former eighth district grammar school (present-day Kálmán Kandó Technical College), which the author saw in 1993, has disappeared in the meantime.

<sup>105</sup> See Herz's letter dated Cairo, 12 February 1909 and his postcard of 24 May 1909.

<sup>106</sup> *Der Stoff zu der Kommunikation für die Akademie liegt noch immer unbearbeitet da. Ich schäme mich förmlich dessen. Aber die 20.000 L.E., die die Regierung unerwartet (nach dem Unternehmen in Ober-Egypten) für die arab. Monumente gegeben hat, haben mich auf einmal mit einer solchen Menge von laufenden Arbeiten überhäuft, daß ich nur rasch die geplante Arbeit erledigen hätte können und das wollte ich nicht.* Letter dated Cairo, 16 April 1897. The "undertaking in Upper Egypt" was probably part of the campaign to regain the Sudan from the Mahdi's successors.

cooperate in the publication of the Encyclopaedia of Islam: "I accept gladly your invitation to participate in the Encyclopaedia of Islam and thank you for having thought of me. So you can proceed in accordance with your intention and notify the congress of it officially. (*Ihren Auftrag mich an der Real-Encyclopädie des Islam zu beteiligen nehme ich gerne an u. danke, daß Sie an mich gedacht haben. Sie können daher Ihrer Absicht gemäß handeln und hievon dem Congresse offiziell Kenntnis geben.*)"<sup>107</sup> Then in his letter of 24 November 1898 Herz informed Goldziher that the entry "Muhammadan Architectural Style (*Mohammedanischer Baustil*)" was ready but he wanted to clarify certain details, for instance, whether illustrations were to accompany the article or not. He said he wanted to write the entry "Stalactites (*Stalaktiten*)" also but in any case he wanted to send the text of the entries first to Goldziher for inspection and then to Prof. Houtsma. He was anxious: "I want only perfect things from me to be published. I would appreciate severe criticism in this case. (*Ich möchte gerne, daß nur Perfektes von mir erscheint. Da würde mir strenge Kritik angenehm sein.*)" However, no article by Herz seems to have appeared in the final printed version of the Encyclopaedia.<sup>108</sup>

Herz asked Goldziher about his opinion on some aspects of the religion of Islam in connection with various publications. In his letter dated Milan, 3 July 1902 he asked Goldziher to lend him a copy of his Hungarian book on Islam for the short period of a week promising to return it as soon as possible. He needed it for the historical introduction of his concise history of Islamic art in Hungarian. He returned it together with a post-card sent from Castiglione-Olona (Como, Italy) on 18 September 1902. From the letters it appears clearly that Goldziher played no role in Herz's having been commissioned to write this important work.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless Goldziher seems to have taken an active interest in the publication of this work. It appears from the letters clearly that it was Goldziher who urged him to participate in the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1897 informing him of practical details at the same time, although the idea had come originally from Herz.<sup>110</sup> Herz planned to submit a paper on the state of research done in the field of the history of Islamic art. The conclusion of the paper would consist of a proposal to

<sup>107</sup> See Ignaz Goldziher, *Rapport de M. Goldziher sur le projet d'une Encyclopédie musulmane présenté à la Section Islamique le 7 septembre 1897. XI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Paris 1897, 11 pages.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Goldziher, 'Real-Encyklopädie des Islam', *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 23 (1897), 114-117 [=Id., *Gesammelte Schriften...*, vol. IV, 129-132]. Id., 'Rapport sur le projet d'une Encyclopédie musulmane', *Actes du douzième congrès international des orientalistes – Rome 1899*, Florence 1901-1902, vol. I, clxxviii-clxxxii.

<sup>109</sup> This was due to the literary historian and aesthete Zsolt Beöthy.

<sup>110</sup> See for instance his letter dated Hôtel Beau-Séjour, Stresa, Lago Maggiore, 1 August 1897.

establish a special section in the congress for the history of Islamic art, so that co-ordinated activities might replace independent research, the results of which specialists in different countries might only become acquainted with by mere chance. In Herz's view no better body could be thought of for this purpose than the International Congress of Orientalists. He asked Goldziher's opinion about this idea adding that in case of a negative response to this proposal he was ready to submit a paper on a certain period of Islamic art in Egypt instead. "I don't know whether my project will prove a failure because I should like to talk about the importance that the preservation of artistic monuments has for the study of archeology in order to conclude it with the proposal. The congress might assign qualified specialists to study the proposal whether it would be suitable to create a special section for Oriental archaeology within the congress. What is your opinion, Honoured Friend? I perceive the main ideas to be as follows: The preservation of monuments of architecture cannot be limited to simple technical work. This work itself brings to light this and that covered by the dust of centuries. Under the coarse layer of modern 'preservers' lie hidden so many valuable inscriptions which come to light again along with other precious data. The excavations again yield a rich harvest. (I enumerate some of the most important finds that have occurred in my practice.) It is well known that France is doing a great deal for the monuments of Muhammadan architecture on her territory, as is Egypt for her own. Russia is now beginning to turn her long withheld attention to the monuments of Mongolian architecture. But everybody is working for himself. The scholarly world comes to know of these works and finds and derives profit from them at least partially only by means of sporadic publications. How different it would be if an exchange of relevant ideas could be arranged. Would it be possible to find a better venue for this aim than the congresses of orientalists? (I am concluding with my proposal.) From the execution of this proposal I expect considerable beneficial effects but I really do not know whether I am making a proposal of something that already exists or something that has already been proposed and rejected earlier. I have neither participated in such a congress nor have I seen the proceedings of any of them. I want to deliver my lecture in French and possibly connect it to your report, in which of course you are going to talk about the 'Encyclopaedia', which will include everything pertaining to Orientalia. In case you should approve of the matter of the lecture, would you permit me to send its text to you for inspection? Should I risk a fiasco with my project then I had better drop it and talk about one of the epochs of Arab architecture in Egypt if I find the data at my disposal sufficient because as may be easily understood I have left all my rich store of notes in Cairo. (*Ich weiß nicht, ob ich mit meinem Entwurf keinen fiasco mache, denn ich möchte gerne über die Wichtigkeit der Arbeiten, die die Erhaltung der Baudenkmale für das Studium der Archaeologie hat, sprechen, um mit dem Antrag zu schließen: Der Congreß möchte geeigneten Faktoren zum Studium zuweisen, ob es nicht geeignet wäre, in der Zukunft eine spezielle Abteilung*

*für orientalische Archaeologie im Schooße des Congresses zu schaffen. Was ist Ihre Meinung, Verehrtester? Ich denke mir den Ideengang folgendermaaßen: Die Erhaltung der Bauwerke kann sich nicht auf einfache technische Arbeiten beschränken – diese Arbeiten selbst schaffen Manches an's Tageslicht, was der Staub von Jahrhunderten gedeckt hat – unter dem groben Aufstrich moderner 'Erhalter' ist manche Inschrift verdeckt, die mit andern schätzenswerten Daten wieder erscheinen – die Nachgrabungen geben wieder reiche Ernte. – (Ich zähle einige der wichtigsten Funde [auf], die in meiner Praxis vorgekommen sind): – Es ist bekannt, daß Frankreich viel für die mohamed. Monumente seines Territoriums, Egypten thut auch das Seinige, und jetzt fängt auch Rußland an das lange vorenthaltene Interesse den mongolischen Bauwerken zuzuwenden – Doch arbeitet alles für sich, die wissenschaftliche Welt hat von diesen Arbeiten und Funden nur durch sporadische Publikationen Kenntnis und daher auch teilweise Profit – wie anders wäre es, wenn einschlägiger Gedankenaustausch vermittelt werden könnte – Kann es für diesen Zweck einen besseren Hort geben als die O. Congressse? – (Ich schließe mit dem Antrag). Ich weiß nun wahrhaftig nicht, ob ich mit meinem Vorschlag, von dessen Durchführung ich für die orientalische Archaeologie ersprießlichen Nutzen erwarte, nicht etwas beantrage, was schon existirt oder was schon besprochen und abgelehnt worden ist. Ich habe weder einem solchen Congressse beigewohnt noch ihre Berichte zu Gesicht bekommen. Meinen Vortrag möchte ich französisch halten und mich etwa an Ihr Referat anlehnen, in dem Sie ja von der "Encyclopädie" sprechen, die alles umfassen soll, was die Orientalia betrifft. Im Falle Sie den Stoff des Vortrags gutheißen, würden Sie mir erlauben Ihnen den Text zur Einsicht einzuschicken? Sollte ich mit dem Entwurf einen fiasco riskiren, so lasse ich's lieber fallen und werde über irgendeine Epoche der arabischen Architektur in Egypten sprechen [i]m F[alle] wenn ich die mir zu Gebote stehenden Daten für genügend finden werde, denn ich habe leichtbegreiflicherweise meinen ganzen Notizenschatz in Kairo gelassen.)"<sup>111</sup>*

We do not know Goldziher's answer but finally Herz submitted a contribution to the congress on the architecture of the Turkoman and Circassian Mamluks in Egypt – that is he had apparently abandoned his original project – and it seems to have been with Goldziher's approval too that Herz's contribution appeared finally in Hungarian in the journal of the Hungarian Academy *Budapesti Szemle* instead of in the proceedings of the Congress.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Letter dated Hôtel Pension Beau Séjour (Villa Omarini – Antonio Omarini Prop<sup>re</sup>), Stresa (Lac Majeur, Italie), 9 August 1897.

<sup>112</sup> Herz Miksa Bey, 'Az arab művészet Egyiptomban a turkomán és cserkesz mamlúk-szultánok alatt [Arab Art in Egypt Under the Turkoman and Circassian Mamluk Sultans]', *Budapesti Szemle* 120 (1904), 266-272. In his letter of 13 October 1900 and again in that of 6 April 1901 Herz asked Goldziher for his opinion on publishing the Hungarian



It may be mentioned that both Herz and Goldziher were Jewish but – apart from certain scholarly questions connected to Jewish religion – there is no reference to this in the letters; for instance, after his visit to Jerusalem Herz tells his friend briefly only of the material he has collected there for his scholarly work: “Last year I undertook a short study tour to Palestine and Syria or rather Jerusalem and Damascus. I have collected some most interesting material. Material, material. I have so much and I do not find time to publish it. (*Voriges Jahr habe ich eine kurze Studienreise nach Palästina u. Syrien, besser nach Jerusalem u. Damaskus unternommen. Habe ein sehr interessantes Material gesammelt. Material, Material. Ich habe so viel u. komme nicht dazu es zu publizieren.*)”<sup>113</sup> In this context it may also be added that from a question in one of the letters it appears clearly that Herz did not know Hebrew at all, apart from being acquainted with the quadrate letters of the Hebrew alphabet.<sup>114</sup>

Herz was a great Hungarian nationalist. The letters written during World War I abound in statements to this effect. Sometimes he became quite sentimental, confessing to Goldziher that he was feeling as much Hungarian as he had been when he had gone abroad as a young man: “Please accept my apologies, Dear Friend, for my confession, which will not interest you at all, to which I want to add the assertion that, for all that, I feel as much Hungarian as thirty-six years ago when I went abroad. It is perhaps exactly that. (*Entschuldige, lieber Freund, meine Beichte, die Dich nicht interessieren wird, zu der ich nur die Versicherung schliessen möchte, dass ich trotz allem so ungarisch fühle wie vor 36 Jahren, als ich ins Ausland gegangen bin. Vielleicht ist’s eben das.*)”<sup>115</sup> In another letter he wrote: “*Here you must live and die.* I have never grasped Vörösmarty’s words so deeply as now. They have never come into my mind as often as in these days of severe ordeal. (“*Itt élned, halnod kell. Nie erfaßte ich Vörösmarty’s Worte so sehr wie jetzt; niemals kehrten*

translation of the text of his lecture in *Budapesti Szemle*. Goldziher himself was a frequent contributor to this semi-official journal of the Academy edited by Pál Gyulai. On Gyulai and the *Budapesti Szemle* see note 38 and the corresponding paragraph above.

<sup>113</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 22 February 1907.

<sup>114</sup> Casa Rosenberg, Valle Vico presso Como (Italy), 16. 9. 1908. In the Hebrew inscription of a dagger seen in Vienna in the word *b’kōr* [=firstborn] though somewhat hesitatingly Herz thinks to discover the word *bōher* [<*bāhūr*=young man, student], which he means to render with German *Mann* [=man] eventually.

<sup>115</sup> Letter Zurich, 24 December 1916. The letter exhibits a somewhat hasty style, which has been referred to above: there is nothing that could be interpreted as a confession in the preceding part of the letter, this expression can only refer to the latter part of the same sentence. It is to be observed that this letter was written on Christmas eve. In all probability the Herzs did not observe this Christian festival but they must have been aware of the solemn and intimate atmosphere of the surrounding world on this day and this may have given an opportunity for Herz to meditate on the course of his life.

*sie so oft in mein Gedächtnis zurück wie in diesen Tagen harter Prüfung.)*<sup>116</sup> He told Goldziher repeatedly of his longing for his fatherland in the letters written in this period. He was considering returning to his homeland (when he referred to Hungary in his letters, “going home or coming home” always meant going to Hungary), but there were several difficulties. During the war he had to remain in a neutral country in order to receive his pension. Nobody in his family spoke Hungarian. But in particular his eldest daughter, who was just about to begin her university studies, was to find it difficult to cope with the situation in Hungary because courses were exclusively in Hungarian and she did not speak the language. Herz was anxious to know Goldziher’s view and advice in this respect. We do not possess his views and advice but probably they were not encouraging because not much later Herz gave up this idea.<sup>117</sup> In the beginning his wife was reluctant to begin a new life in Hungary, but later on she seemed to have familiarized herself with the idea – no doubt because of the deep love she felt towards her husband. Even if he could not move to Hungary for the time being he wanted like to pay a short visit at

<sup>116</sup> Letter dated Zurich, 16 October 1915. The line in Hungarian in the otherwise German letter is a quotation from the first stanza of the widely popular patriotic poem *Szózat* (1836; “Oration, Appeal”) by the poet Mihály Vörösmarty (1800-1855). This poem is regarded as the best declaration of patriotic love in Hungarian literature, a second National Anthem – every schoolboy is expected to learn it by heart. The full text of the first stanza runs as follows:

*Hazádnak rendületlenül légy híve, oh magyar;  
Bölcsőd az s majdan sírod is, mely ápol s eltakar.  
A nagy világon e kívül nincsen számodra hely;  
Áldjon vagy verjen sors keze: itt élned, halnod kell.*

In rough translation:

Be unshakably faithful to your homeland, O Hungarian!  
It is your cradle as well as your grave taking care of and covering you.  
Outside it there is no other place for you in the whole world:  
May fate’s hand bless or strike you, here you must live and die.

It may be mentioned that it is the same poem that Goldziher found worth mentioning that he whistled it in the Bay of Smyrna on October 4 1873. Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary...*, 103. That Goldziher *whistled* it implies that the musical version composed by Béni Egressy in 1843 is meant in Goldziher’s Diary. Goldziher in fact lived in conformity with this ‘Appeal’ throughout his life, whether by conscious decision or as the result of several factors, among which strong inertia may have been not unimportant.

<sup>117</sup> 24 August 1916.

least because he was homesick. However, in the circumstances then prevailing he was afraid of leaving his family alone.<sup>118</sup>

The letters written during the war show a desperation which Goldziher no doubt shared as is attested in other sources, e.g. his *Tagebuch*. The letters deal quite often with changes in the military situation and the behaviour of enemies and allies. Herz was deeply sad about the politically motivated enmity that had emerged suddenly and so unexpectedly among some friends of his in the scholarly world – thoughts no doubt shared by Goldziher also. Under these circumstances the view of Sir Charles Lyall, which he had expressed in a letter to Jean-Jacques Hess, created the impression of relief: “Pray give my kindest remembrances to Nöldeke when you next write. – War or no war, he will always be the same dear friend to me, and I trust he has not cast me off because of any nationality. I am glad to hear that Littmann is safe and not turned into *Kanonenfutter*. Him also I have always counted a friend and I hope he thinks of me as one even now.”<sup>119</sup>

Living in Zurich Herz was acting as a mediator between Goldziher and some Italian colleagues (e.g., Griffini) forwarding messages and letters (including books and articles) in both directions.<sup>120</sup> Goldziher mentioned a case in a letter to his colleague and friend, Nöldeke: “A few days ago Griffini sent me the photograph of the Bustī *unicum* mentioned in the foreword on p. 17 availing himself of the good services of a common friend of ours in Zurich. (*Griffini hat mir vor einigen Tagen eine Photographie eines S. 17 der Einleit. erwähnten Busti-Unicums geschickt, wobei er die Vermittlung eines gemeinsamen Züricher Freundes benutzt hat.*)”<sup>121</sup> He also mentioned this case in the *Tagebuch*: “(Nov. 21) During the last two weeks, since my return from Vienna, I have occupied myself with the study and excerpting of the Bātinīte work by Bustī. A photograph of the unicum manuscript, which comes from Southern Arabia, (an accursed thing without diacritical marks) was very kindly sent to me by its owner, Professor Griffini (Milan) via Zurich (Herz Pasha). It came accompanied by a courteous letter (written in Italian) from the very wretched enemy

<sup>118</sup> “*Ich sehne mich ja sehr nach Hause. Ich hätte auch dem Drängen meiner [Familie] zu einer kleinen Reise nachgegeben, doch will ich meine Familie nicht hier lassen, und dann sind die Reiseverhältnisse unglaublich ungünstig, ja man läßt die Leute ohne sehr triftigen Grund nicht über die Grenze.*” Letter dated Zurich, 24 August 1916.

<sup>119</sup> Letter dated Zurich, 20 August 1917. This passage was communicated to Herz by Jean-Jacques Hess (1866-1949), Swiss Arabist, professor in Freiburg (Switzerland, 1889) and subsequently in Zurich (1918-1936). Hess met Herz regularly and helped him a lot during his stay in Zurich. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien...*, 288; *Schweizer Lexikon*, Zürich 1945-1948, vol. IV. 20.

<sup>120</sup> See e.g., Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 295.

<sup>121</sup> Simon, *Ignác Goldziher. His life and Scholarship...*, 385. The work referred to is Ignaz Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bātinīja Sekte*, Leiden 1916.

country as if everything was going smoothly between our native lands. Today I have finished the awful thing. ((21. Nov.) *In den letzten beiden Wochen, seit meiner Rückkehr aus Wien beschäftigte ich mich mit Studium und Excerptierung der Bâtinitenschrift des Busti. Eine Photographie der aus Südarabien stammenden Unicum-Handschrift (ein verfluchtes Ding ohne diakritische Punkte) wurde mir in liebenswürdiger Weise über Zürich (Herz Pascha) von ihrem Besitzer Prof. Griffini (Mailand) aus dem elendsten Feindesland in Begleitung eines verbindlichen Briefes (in italienischer Sprache) in zuvorkommender Weise präsentiert, als ob zwischen unseren Vaterländern alles glatt gieng. Heute bin ich mit dem argen Dinge fertig geworden.*)”<sup>122</sup>

The letters written in Zurich deal repeatedly with Max Herz’s efforts to visit Max van Berchem in Geneva. In addition to visiting his old friend, Herz wanted to use van Berchem’s excellent library because his own books were in Cairo and neither the public libraries in Zurich nor the private one of Jean-Jacques Hess contained the works he needed. Van Berchem went out of his way to lend Max Herz his most valuable books on the history of Arab and Islamic art sending them to him by post, but no personal visit took place during the five years Herz spent in Switzerland. Van Berchem turned down Herz’s repeated requests, pleading his occupation with his work, his own frail health and various ailments both his own and those of various members of his family as causes for his reluctance to receive him. When, however, he was at last ready to receive his old friend and colleague, Herz Pasha was unable to travel because of his own illness. Herz was slightly startled by van Berchem’s continuous reluctance, considering it as odd behaviour because he did not want to stay at his place at all but planned to take a room in a small hotel, in the vicinity of van Berchem’s home. It is interesting to compare the letters Herz wrote to Goldziher with those he addressed to van Berchem.<sup>123</sup>

There are several postcards among the items preserved in the envelope “Herz Pasha” in the Goldziher correspondence. Many have been damaged – the careful hand of a stamp collector seems to have cut out the stamps with the attached parts of the postcards, taking great care so that the stamp would not get mutilated. (Was it one of Goldziher’s sons?) There is one postcard, which has not been damaged to our great luck, which may be of great interest to art historians showing the interior of the great hall, the *qā’a* of the Zogheb palace in Cairo. This building represented the major work of Herz Pasha as a private architect in the Mamluk Renaissance style, concerning which he was regarded as the major authority during his lifetime. The building itself does not survive; it was demolished in 1962 in order to clear an important and expensive building site in downtown Cairo for the erection of a very

<sup>122</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 295.

<sup>123</sup> Herz Pasha’s letters to Max van Berchem are preserved in the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Geneva.

high building. However, it was discovered in due course that the ground was not suitable for this purpose, and so down to the present moment (2004) a dismal parking place occupies the site of the erstwhile architectural gem. Ours is not the only photograph extant of this building yet it can be regarded a rarity. It is important too for another reason. To our knowledge it is the only place where Herz makes a rather slight allusion to his activity as a private architect. At the bottom of the photo he added to the name of the building the words *Arch[itecte] Herz*.<sup>124</sup>

There is one remark in the letters showing that to a certain extent at least Herz may have shared the rather negative view which Goldziher had developed in his later years about his former teacher and protector, Arminius Vámbéry (1832-1913). It also suggests that the question referred to may have repeatedly been the topic of their discussions: “You see the world abroad compensates for what the fatherland fails to do.<sup>125</sup> And of course you know the proverb about the Prophet in Mecca very well. He had to leave. Surely this is not going to happen to you. Yes, if one causes some commotion *à la de Gubernatis*, Vá..... etc. Then of course one is held in greater respect. But not everybody wants to do that. (*Du siehst, das Ausland thut das*

<sup>124</sup> The somewhat strange text of this undated postcard is connected to Herz Pasha’s letter to Goldziher dated [Cairo] 22 February 1907, as an appendix of which Herz answered Goldziher’s questions concerning al-Azhar:

I. The total number of students (last year) in al-Azhar: 9 069.

II. The total number of professors (all categories, summarily only): 312

III. How many professors are Hanbalites? 3

IV. How many students are Hanbalites? 28

I am still expecting the answer for your last question – which areas do Hanbalites come from? – and I shall send it to you at once.

(*I. Gesamtzahl der Schüler (im letzten Jahr) in der Azhar: 9069.*

*II. Gesamtzahl der Lehrer (aller Kategorien, bloß summarisch): 312*

*III. Wieviel Lehrer Hanbaliten? 3*

*IV. Wieviel Schüler Hanbaliten? 28*

*Auf Deine letzte Frage, aus welchen Gegenden sich die H. rekrutieren, erwarte ich noch die Antwort, die ich sofort nachsenden werde.)*

The text of the post-card is then the answer for the last question: “My dear friend. Here you have the supplement to my letter: the Hanbalites are recruited from all the various governorates of Egypt. Yours sincerely, Hz. (*Mon cher ami. Voici le supplément à ma lettre: Les hanbalites se recrutent tous des différents mouderies de l’Egypte. Tant toi Hz.*)” This question seems to have occupied Goldziher earlier too: he discussed it with Martin Hartmann in letters dated June 1898. *Machen Sie doch...*, 103-106. Cf. also Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsīd society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries)*, London–New York, 1998, 166-175.

<sup>125</sup> The reference is to decorations and honours conferred upon Goldziher abroad.

gut, was das Vaterland versäumt. Und dann kennst Du ja sehr gut das Sprichwort vom Profeten in Mekka: er mußte fort. Nun dazu wird es wohl nicht mit Dir kommen. Ja, wenn man etwas Staub aufwirbelt à la de Gubernatis, Vá..... etc. Dann gilt man schon mehr. Aber nicht ein jeder will davon.)”<sup>126</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Letter dated Cairo, 24 November 1904. Count Angelo De Gubernatis (1840-1913) was an outstanding Italian Orientalist, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Rome, historian of mythology, dramatist, poet, novelist and professor of Italian literature in Rome. Goldziher met him in 1892 and at the Twelfth Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1897, the Organizing Committee of which was headed by De Gubernatis. See Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 149; *Actes de Douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Rome 1899*, Florence 1901-1902, vol. I, i, xxi. I think it is remarkable that Herz was reluctant to write out Vámbéry’s name in full: I am convinced that he was ashamed. The proverb in question – without referring to the Prophet Muḥammad – is widely used both in Hungarian and German: “*Senki sem próféta a saját hazájában*. Nobody is a prophet in his own country.” “*Der Prophet gilt nichts (wenig) in seinem Vaterland*. A prophet has no honour in his own country.” It is based on Matthew 13:57 and John 4:44 and refers originally to Jesus Christ. Kurt Böttcher, Karl Heinz Berger, Kurt Krolop, Christa Zimmermann, *Geflügelte Worte*, Leipzig 1981, 139 (n<sup>o</sup> 845). To my knowledge, it does have distant equivalents in Arabic but none referring to a prophet and certainly not to the Prophet Muḥammad.



GOLDZIHHER'S MOTHER TONGUE  
A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE  
SITUATION IN HUNGARY  
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

István Ormos  
Budapest

**The problem**

When one investigates Goldziher's interest in languages it seems not out of place to ask what his mother tongue was. But why should one ask it? Why should it be an issue? Is it not evident? No, it is not. Goldziher himself refers to Hungarian as his mother tongue, whereas his close friend Theodor Nöldeke mentions *en passant* (but as an obvious fact) that of course Hungarian was *not* Goldziher's mother tongue. Goldziher wrote his diaries in German but within the German text switched into Hungarian in one of the most personal parts. He informed Nöldeke that he began learning German at the age of twelve, and yet we find that he published his first book *in German* at that tender age. As a Jew, Goldziher's first language may also have been Jewish German ("Yiddish"), and the role of this must be investigated. A descendant of the Goldziher family recently regarded it as an affront to be asked about Goldziher's mother tongue: he said that obviously it had been Hungarian. Yet this same man, a historian of civilization into the bargain, gave a vivid portrait of the delicate language situation in his own family in those days, when people used several languages simultaneously.<sup>1</sup> Modern members of the educated classes are vaguely aware of the widespread use of German in certain areas of Hungary in Goldziher's life, but the exact situation has been entirely forgotten, despite the fact that the period in question is not so far distant. To-the-point utterances are rare; more often than not they turn out to mean in fact something else than what they literally seem to say.

In attempting to answer this most intriguing question – if it can be answered at all – as to whether Goldziher's mother tongue was Hungarian, German or Yiddish, the language situations of his birthplace, family and religious community will be analysed, and his and others' statements on the subject will be carefully examined.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 124 and the corresponding paragraph below.

<sup>2</sup> It should be stressed that unless the contrary is explicitly stated, every statement is valid only for the area and period indicated. In this respect I have tried to be as precise as



## Jewish-German in Hungary

In the middle of the nineteenth century the majority of Jews living in western and central Hungary spoke a variant of German that was identical, or closely related to, the variant (or variants) of German that Jews had been using in Germany for centuries. Ever since the term “Yiddish” was imported from the United States into scholarly literature at the beginning of the twentieth century, to denote the Germanic language spoken by Eastern European Jews (mainly in Poland, Galicia and Russia), there has been a tendency to apply *retroactively* a newly-coined term, “Western-Yiddish”, to the variety of German spoken by Jews residing in German-speaking areas (mainly Germany and Austria). Of course the use of this term implies that this vernacular is (or rather was) close to “Eastern-Yiddish” – a closely related dialect, so to say – and that it differed considerably from contemporary German. This difference then is thought to have diminished gradually after the Enlightenment<sup>3</sup> and the emancipation of Jews<sup>4</sup>, with the alleged “Western-Yiddish” having been totally assimilated into the language of the environment, i.e. modern German.<sup>5</sup> There is some controversy concerning the degree of difference between the variety of German that Jews used and the German of their environment, and little research has been done on this subject at all. There are few documents and research is impeded by the fact that Jews used Hebrew script for the recording of this vernacular and it is well known that it does not give full information about the actual pronunciation. However, on the basis of a meticulous analysis carried out recently, Bettina Simon argues convincingly for the impropriety of using the term “Western-Yiddish”: it is highly plausible, she says, that the variety of German that Jews living in German-speaking countries spoke did not differ considerably from the German used in their environment, and this supposition has also been confirmed by an analysis of relevant texts. It seems at most to have been a variant of German with some special Jewish features. It did, however, differ greatly from the descendant of German that Jews living in mainly Slavic areas of Eastern Europe used in everyday life: this latter language in its own right was then termed “Yiddish” (or “Eastern-Yiddish”) as beginning from the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup>

possible. The situation described here is not valid for the whole country, which showed considerable differences in this respect from one area to another, consequently one should be extremely careful with generalizations.

<sup>3</sup> Seventeenth-eighteenth centuries.

<sup>4</sup> c. 1782-1900.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. Claus Jürgen Hutterer, ‘Jiddisch in Ungarn’, in: *Westjiddisch. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit. Actes du colloque de Mulhouse*. Ed. Astrid Starck (Sprachlandschaft 11), Aarau–Salzburg–Frankfurt 1994, 43-59.

<sup>6</sup> Bettina Simon, *Jiddische Sprachgeschichte. Versuch einer neuen Grundlegung*, Frankfurt am Main 1993, 7-65, 212-218. The formulation of the entry “Judendeutsch” in *Lexikon*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Jews in western and central Hungary spoke mostly Jewish-coloured German; it was only in the north-eastern parts of Hungary that what later came to be termed “(Eastern) Yiddish” was used in everyday life.<sup>7</sup> (It should be remembered that the territory of Hungary in those days included vast areas that were ceded to neighbouring countries in 1920, after World War I.)<sup>8</sup> With the accelerating migration of Jews of Eastern European origin, however, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, this language situation became gradually blurred, with “Yiddish” spreading at the expense of Jewish-coloured German, and leaving many areas markedly affected in this respect, where parallel forms would coexist.<sup>9</sup>

*des Judentums*. Ed. John F. Oppenheimer, Gütersloh 1967, 346 is clear and unequivocal: *Ghettosprache deutscher Juden, die weniger hebr. (u. keine slawischen) Beimischungen als das Jiddische hat. ... Die Grammatik des J[udendeutsch] ist im wesentlichen deutsch; hebr. Wörter aus dem Bereich der Religion, Wohltätigkeit u. Familie sind zahlreich*. It stands in contradistinction to “Jiddisch,” *ibid.*, 327: ... *nicht zu verwechseln mit Judendeutsch*. (While this latter source differentiates clearly between “Jiddisch” and “Judendeutsch,” it regards “Jüdisch-Deutsch” as a synonym of “Jiddisch” only. This view cannot be accepted because “Jüdisch-Deutsch” is also used as a synonym of “Judendeutsch” and there is no cogent reason to oppose this usage.) Thanks are due to Ádám Nádasdy for his helpful suggestions offered in enlightening discussions of this subject.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Zwi Spirn, ‘Die jiddische Sprach in Ungarn’, in: *Jubilee Volume for Dr. Alfred Landau to His 75th Birthday, November 25th, 1925, Presented by His Friends and Pupils* (Publications of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, Vol. I, Philological Series, 1), Vilna 1926, 195-200, xxiii.

<sup>8</sup> In the peace treaty after the end of World War I Hungary lost *two-thirds* of her territory to her neighbours. The area in question here roughly corresponds to present-day Carpatho-Ukraine.

<sup>9</sup> The widely accepted view is that there was a large-scale immigration of Eastern European, mainly Galician, Jews into Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century. This has now been challenged by research carried out by Walter Pietsch, who has convincingly shown that the immigration in question took place in the first half of the century and that there was no immigration after 1869, rather the total number of Jews diminished owing to considerable emigration in the period 1869-1920. On the other hand, the presence of Eastern European Jews became conspicuous to the Hungarian population of the central areas of the country in the second half of the century, because up to then the Jews had lived in the border areas in the north-east, where they had settled right after their arrival in Hungary. Thus it took half a century before the Hungarian population as a whole came into contact with the Jews, who now started to move to central areas populated by Hungarians, from territories where the great majority of the population was not Hungarian. Walter Pietsch, *Reform és ortodoxia. A magyar zsidóság belépése a modern világha* [Reform and Orthodoxy. The Entry of Hungarian Jewry into the Modern World], transl. Zsuzsa Glavina, Miklós Kőszeghy, Ignác Romsits, Gábor Berényi, Budapest 1999, 18-35.

The majority of Jews would refer to the variety of German they spoke in Hungary in the middle of the nineteenth century (i.e. Jewish-coloured German) simply as German (*Taitsch, Teitsch*) or would call it *Jüdisch-Deutsch, Judendeutsch*, or, perhaps derogatorily<sup>10</sup>, *Jargon*<sup>11</sup>. This Jewish-coloured German was in general the main language they spoke at the beginning of the nineteenth century but it was gradually replaced by Hungarian from the 1840s, owing to the growing impetus of the assimilation of Jews in Hungary: the adoption of the Hungarian language was

<sup>10</sup> As a testimony of contemporary usage we may adduce that of Goldziher, for whom the word *Jargon* had a pejorative meaning implying “corruption of language”: “... daß vielleicht *Jargon* hier nicht das rechte Wort ...ist, es handelt sich ja nicht um Sprachverderbniss.” “*Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht.*” *Der Briefwechsel der Islamwissenschaftler Ignaz Goldziher und Martin Hartmann 1894–1914*. Ed. Ludmila Hanisch (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur – Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Band 45), Wiesbaden 2000, 65. On the other hand, Immanuel Löw seems to use *Jargon* as a neutral technical term referring to (Eastern European) Yiddish: “Héber és jargon író volt. Ukrajnából eredt. [He was a belletrist in Hebrew and Jargon. He came from the Ukraine.]” (Obituary on Micha Yosef ben Gorion); “a megújult héber és jargonirodalom [the renewed Hebrew and Jargon literature]” (Obituary on Mendele Moicher Sforim); “héberül, majd az élő jargon nyelvén [in Hebrew then in the living language of Jargon]” (Obituary on Mendele Moicher Sforim), Immanuel Löw, *Száz beszéd 1900–1922* [One Hundred Sermons 1900–1922], Szeged 1923, 323, 350–351. In his *Flora* the chapter in question is entitled “Jargon” but he also uses the term “Yiddish” within the chapter. We may note that the latter term appears there in its English form although the work is in German. However, the chapter on “Jargon” includes a subchapter on “Spagniolisch” too. Immanuel Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna 1923–1934, vol. IV, 241–252.

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., Dr. Zsigmond Groszmann, *A magyar zsidók a XIX. század közepén (1849–1870). Történelmi tanulmány* [Hungarian Jews in the Middle of the 19th Century. A Study in History], Budapest 1917, 79 (“csakis zsargon nyelven szabad beszélni [one is allowed to talk in the Jargon language only]”), 81 (“tilos más mint zsargon nyelven prédikálni; a szónok kötelessége, hogy ‘zsidó nyelven’ [értsd: zsargon nyelven] prédikáljon, amely nyelven ezen ország jámbor zsidói beszélnek [preaching in any language other than Jargon is forbidden; the preacher is obliged to preach in the ‘Jewish language’ (that is, the Jargon language), which is spoken by the pious Jews of this country]”), 96 (“zsargon nyelvű körlevelet bocsátott ki [issued a circular in the Jargon language].” In Hungary at least, in many cases the term *Jargon* was used to refer to (East-) Yiddish only. Cf. also Jechiel Bin-Nun [Fischer], *Jiddisch und die deutschen Mundarten. Studienausgabe des Allgemeinen Teils*, Tübingen 1973, 54–55, 90–93; Franz J. Beranek, ‘Jiddisch’ in: *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss* I. 2nd ed. Ed. Wolfgang Stammer, Berlin 1966 [Nachdruck], 1973–1982; Paul L. Garvin, ‘The Dialect Geography of Hungarian Yiddish’, in: *The Field of Yiddish. Studies in Language, Folklore, and Literature. Second Collection*. Ed. Uriel Weinreich, London–The Hague–Paris 1965, 94; Claus Jürgen Hutterer, *Die germanischen Sprachen. Ihre Geschichte in Grundzügen*. 3rd ed., Budapest 1990, 351–353.

regarded by both parties – Jews and non-Jews alike – as the decisive step in this complicated and multifaceted process.<sup>12</sup> In the Jewish elementary school in Pest, Hungarian was introduced as a subject in 1826.<sup>13</sup> Of course, the language situation differed from area to area. For instance, the congregations in Arad and Nagyvárad, on the fringes of the Hungarian Great Plain, requested already in the 1840s that they be allowed to hold religious services in Hungarian instead of Hebrew and German, because Hungarian was the only language they understood.<sup>14</sup> A member of the Goldziher family originating from Nagyvárad says his antecedents living there in the nineteenth century did not know any other language except Hungarian.<sup>15</sup> However, in most places the situation was different.<sup>16</sup>

In the issue of 10 May 1849 of the German weekly *Der Orient* (published in Leipzig) its correspondent reported from Pest that the most remarkable phenomenon in connection with Hungarian Jews was that they had already mastered the Hungarian language. “Hungarian is thundering down even from the pulpit. In general, everybody understands Hungarian, prayers and Holy Writ are read in the Hungarian language and it seems as if a century had passed since the Magyarization of the Jews.”<sup>17</sup> One of the reasons for this was that in 1840 Hungarian replaced Latin as the language of instruction in secondary schools, thus the number of Jews fluent

<sup>12</sup> George Barany, “Magyar Jew: or Jewish Magyar?” (*To the Question of Jewish Assimilation in Hungary*). (Canadian-American Slavic Studies 8.1), Spring 1974, 41. This article is a good summary of the various aspects of the significant process of assimilation of Jews in Hungary. One important source says that an estimated two million persons are supposed to have become Magyars by way of assimilation between 1850 and 1910. According to another, this number was 700 000 between 1787 and 1840, 600 000 between 1840 and 1870, 250 000 for the decade of the 1870s and finally one million between 1880 and 1910. On the eve of World War I, approximately one third of the ten million Hungarians living within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Hungary were the descendants of foreign families that had become Hungarian by way of assimilation. Viktor Karády, István Kozma, *Név és nemzet. Családnév-változtatás, névpolitika és nemzetiségi erőviszonyok Magyarországon a feudalizmustól a kommunizmusig*. [Name and Nation. The Change of Family Names, Name Policy and the Balance of Forces Among Nationalities in Hungary from Feudalism until Communism], Budapest 2002, 50-51. (The above numbers include all nationalities.)

<sup>13</sup> László Felkai, *Zsidó iskolázás Magyarországon (1780–1990)* [Jewish Schooling in Hungary (1780–1900)], Budapest n.d. [1998], 22.

<sup>14</sup> Géza Hegedüs, *Előjátékok egy önéletrajzhoz* [Prelude to an Autobiography], Budapest 1982, 48, 131-134, 256, 292. Surely only preaching the sermon is intended. Nagyvárad is now Oradea, in Romania (1920–1940 and since 1947). Its traditional German name was Grosswardein. Arad has been in Romania since 1920 under the same name.

<sup>15</sup> Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...* 131-134, 256, 292; Id.: *Egy jól nevelt fiatalember felkészül* [A Well-Bred Young Man Prepares Himself], Budapest 1984, 176.

<sup>16</sup> Hegedüs: *Előjátékok...*, 131-134.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Pietsch: *Reform és ortodoxia...*, 47.

in Hungarian began to rise significantly.<sup>18</sup> This was a gradual process which gained particular impetus after the Austro-Hungarian *Compromise* of 1867,<sup>19</sup> with assimilation gaining ground and becoming increasingly prevalent among Jews in Hungary. The fact that Sámuel Kohn, born in Baja in 1841 and later chief rabbi of Budapest, acquired an excellent mastery of Hungarian in the Jewish elementary school of his home town is noted as something exceptional for those days.<sup>20</sup> Béla Bernstein, an enthusiastic historian of the Revolution and War of Independence of 1848-1849, described the contemporary situation of the Jews in general terms as one in which “the Jews had already been completely assimilated to the idea of the Hungarian state while remaining unassimilated in language to a considerable degree.”<sup>21</sup> The fact that the process of linguistic assimilation was only gradual is attested, for instance, by the complaint voiced by Jakab Steinherz<sup>22</sup> in 1886 that “in most of our synagogues it is not Hungarian, but German, or rather *Jüdisch-Deutsch* (*zsidó-német*) that enjoys a privileged position as the language of sermons.” And: “Why should it be regarded as normal that in such Hungarian towns as Pozsony,<sup>23</sup> Nagyvárad<sup>24</sup> and Sátoraljaújhely, the language of instruction in the yeshivahs is invariably *Jargon*?” He concludes with an exhortation to “open our synagogues and Talmud-schools to our Hungarian mother tongue.”<sup>25</sup> The first sermon in Hungarian in any synagogue in Hungary was held in Nagykanizsa in 1844 by Leopold Löw, who himself had come to Hungary from Moravia; his colleagues in Arad and Pápa

<sup>18</sup> Leopold Löw, *Der jüdische Kongress in Ungarn, historisch beleuchtet. Beitrag zur Rechts-, Religions- und Kulturgeschichte*. Pest 1871, [Id., *Zur neueren Geschichte der Juden in Ungarn. Beitrag zur allgemeinen Rechts-, Religions- und Kulturgeschichte*. 2nd ed., Budapest 1874], 194.

<sup>19</sup> As a result of the *Compromise* (Hung. *kiegyezés*, Germ. *Ausgleich*) between Austria and Hungary, in 1867 the Habsburg Empire was transformed into the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy consisting of two semi-independent entities. Within the dual monarchy the statehood of Hungary was restored, with the *Compromise* according a considerable degree of independence to Hungary.

<sup>20</sup> Dr. Zsigmond Groszmann, ‘Kohn Sámuel (1841-1920). Élet és korrajz [Sámuel Kohn (1841-1920). A Biography and the Description of an Age]’, *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 46 (1929), 19-20. Children attended elementary school between six and ten years of age.

<sup>21</sup> Béla Bernstein, *A negyvennyolcas magyar szabadságharc és a zsidók* [The Hungarian War of Independence of 1848 and the Jews], 3rd ed., Budapest 1998, 7.

<sup>22</sup> In 1888 he became rabbi of the Reform-community in Székesfehérvár, Goldziher’s birthplace. See below. When he wrote these two brief articles he was still in Budapest.

<sup>23</sup> Former capital of Hungary, now Bratislava in Slovakia (since 1920). Its traditional German name was Pressburg.

<sup>24</sup> See note 14 above.

<sup>25</sup> Jakab Steinherz, ‘A magyar nyelv a zsinagógában’ [The Hungarian Language in the Synagogue], *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 3 (1886), 340-342, 394-396.

soon followed suit.<sup>26</sup> In 1844 a “Society for Magyarization” (*Magyarító Egylet*) was founded in Pest.<sup>27</sup> It has been emphasized recently that – in contradistinction to other religious denominations – the official bodies of the Jewish communities and the rabbis themselves played a very active role in Magyarization, being well ahead of their community members in this respect.<sup>28</sup>

Even around 1872 it was still German that was mostly spoken in the streets of Pest. Towards the end of his life Dávid Angyal, a friend of Goldziher's, wrote the following in his memoirs: “Budapest was a German town at that time (I was taken to Budapest in the autumn of 1872). I still saw German street names in the Pest part, people spoke German in the streets (not only the Jews), and menus were written in German in restaurants. In the Buda part we did not hear even so much Hungarian spoken as in Pest. The capital only began to become Hungarian in the eighties.”<sup>29</sup> For Angyal it seems to have been self-evident that all Jews still spoke German at that time. In 1880, 55 percent of the population of the recently united new capital was Hungarian, while in 1890 the proportion had risen to 68 percent. Another source gives the following figures for those who indicated Hungarian as their mother-tongue in the twin capital city on the Danube: 1851 – 36.6 percent, 1869 – 46 percent, 1890 – 66.4 percent, 1910 – 85.9 percent.<sup>30</sup> In 1886 the director of the Royal Hungarian Opera House in Budapest issued an order that the members of the choir must speak Hungarian on opera premises.<sup>31</sup> “Except for the Calvinist church in Kálvin Square and that of the Unitarians, Hungarian does not dominate in any of the churches of the Hungarian capital,” a newspaper complained in January 1890.<sup>32</sup> A scholar of the period in question informs us that around the middle of the nineteenth century the German element – including the Jews, who spoke mainly German – made up two thirds of the population of Buda and Pest, one fourth was Hungarian and one tenth spoke various Slavic languages, mainly Slovak and Serbian. In 1851 the German-speaking element made up 75-89 percent of the population in most

<sup>26</sup> Löw, *Der jüdische Kongress...*, 194.

<sup>27</sup> Bernstein, *A negyvennyolcas...*, 18; Barany, *Magyar Jew...*, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Viktor Karády, ‘Egyenlőtlen elmagyarosodás, avagy hogyan vált Magyarország magyar nyelvű országgá? Történelmi-szociológiai vázlat’ [Unequal Magyarization or How Did Hungary Become a Magyar-Speaking Country? A Historico-Sociological Sketch], *Századvég* 1990:2, 29-30.

<sup>29</sup> From the memoirs of the historian and literary historian Dávid Angyal (1857-1943). Dávid Angyal, *Emlékek* [Memories], I. Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Collection of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books. Ms. 810/49. fol. 46. Cf. also P. István Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora (1850-1899)* [The Life and Age of Jenő Péterfy (1850-1899)], Budapest 1972, 84.

<sup>30</sup> Karády-Kozma, *Név és nemzet...*, 52.

<sup>31</sup> *A Budapesti Operaház 100 éve* [One Hundred Years of the Budapest Opera House]. Ed. Géza Staud, Budapest 1984, 167.

<sup>32</sup> Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete és kora...*, 251.

quarters in Buda and Óbuda (Germ. *Ofen* and *Altoben*), only in the castle area and the Tabán was its proportion below 50 percent (41.16 percent and 48.86 percent, respectively). In the whole of Buda its proportion was 68.88 percent, in Pest 40.4 percent. In Buda 66 percent of the Germans spoke only German while the corresponding number for Pest was 57 percent.<sup>33</sup> The situation changed completely in the course of sixty years: in 1910, 86 percent of the 900 000 inhabitants of the capital city declared that Hungarian was their mother tongue, 9 percent said it was German and 2.5 percent Slovak.<sup>34</sup> By 1940 the German minority sank to 1.9 percent.<sup>35</sup>

It may be noted for comparison that in 1851 “the Jewish language”, i.e. Jewish-coloured German, was indicated as the mother-tongue of all of the Jews living in the district of Tiszafüred on the Hungarian Great Plain, where the Christian population consisted of Hungarians.<sup>36</sup> The teaching of Hungarian was introduced in the local Jewish school in 1877. On the teaching of Hungarian in the second year an observer commented that it was “primitive” but the results were nevertheless “remarkable”. In the 1890s numerous articles appeared in the local newspaper urging the Jews to adopt Hungarian instead of German ways of life. In the choice of first names Hungarian names preponderate from the last third of the nineteenth century; until then typical Jewish names were commonly chosen. From the 1880s Jews began to change German surnames to Hungarian ones. In 1891 a new rabbi was invited by the community. He came from Szendrő and held his first sermon in German.<sup>37</sup>

At the same time, in view of the close connection between the *Jüdisch-Deutsch* originally spoken by them and *Hochdeutsch*, the vehicle of a highly developed culture, most Jews found it very simple to acquire a good knowledge of literary German and to enjoy the wide cultural horizon that opened up before them via this medium. Thus standard German remained the second, cultural language (*Bildungssprache*, *Kultursprache*) of the Jews until well into the twentieth century. It was all the more easy and attractive since German was widely used in many cities

<sup>33</sup> Zoltán Fónagy, ‘Deutsche in dem 1. Stadtbezirk von Ofen’, in: *Deutsche im ersten Stadtbezirk von Ofen*. Ed. Wendelin Hambuch, Budapest 2004, 158-159.

<sup>34</sup> Friedrich Gottas, Péter Hanák, Jan Havránek, ‘Bécs–Budapest–Prága városfejlődése’ [The Urban Development of Vienna–Budapest–Prague], in: *Hanák Péter – a Város polgára* [Péter Hanák – Citizen of the Capital]. Ed. Andrea Pető, *budapesti negyed* n° 22, vol. 6, 1998/4, 54.

<sup>35</sup> Fónagy, *Deutsche...*, 160.

<sup>36</sup> Imre Palugyay, *Jász-kun kerületek s Külső-Szolnok vármegye leírása* [The Description of the Jász-Kun Districts and the County of Outer Szolnok], Pest 1854, 412; quoted in Ágnes Orbán-Szegő [Orbánné Szegő Ágnes], *A tiszafüredi zsidóság története és demográfiája* [The History and Demography of the Jewry in Tiszafüred], Tiszafüred 1995, 28.

<sup>37</sup> Orbán-Szegő, *A tiszafüredi zsidóság...*, 28-29, 34-36, 63. Szendrő lies about halfway between Miskolc and the present border with Slovakia in present-day north-eastern Hungary.

of Hungary in those days, in addition to being the primary language of the Habsburg Empire and a sort of *lingua franca* in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>38</sup> Within the broad framework of creating a centralized modern state with a single language of administration – German – from 1783 on there were official efforts to replace Jewish-coloured German with standard German – in that year Emperor Joseph II issued his *Systematica gentis Judaicae regulatio*<sup>39</sup> regulating Jewish educational affairs.<sup>40</sup> It forbade the use of Hebrew and *Jüdisch-Deutsch* (*lingua Judaeorum vernacula, seu Judaico-Germanica vulgo Judisch-deutsch*) in schools and decreed that documents in those two languages were null and void.<sup>41</sup> The years after the 1848-1849 Revolution and War of Independence, the days of Neo-Absolutism, were also accompanied by administrative steps aimed at creating a centralized empire with a single language that would facilitate effective administration and modernization, and – for a transitional period – German seems to have gained increasing ground among Jews, even at the expense of Hungarian.

The attitude of a segment of the Jewish population at this period is described by Max Nordau (1849-1923) in his memoirs. The language of instruction at the Jewish elementary school in Pest, which he attended, was German because “nearly all circles spoke German in Pest” in those days (c. 1855-1860), and German culture

<sup>38</sup> On the multiple functions of the acquaintance with German for Jews, see, *Egyenlőtlen elmagyarosodás...*, 24.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Nathaniel Katzburg, *Fejezetek az újkori zsidó történelemből Magyarországon* [Chapters from the History of the Jews in Hungary in Modern Times]. Transl. Gábor Ács. Revised and enlarged by the author, Budapest 1999, 30.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Karády, *Egyenlőtlen elmagyarosodás...*, 7-8.

<sup>41</sup> At first sight this seems to imply quite a difference between standard and Jewish-coloured German. However, there can be no doubt that in the case of documents the differentiation of these two varieties of German was based mainly on the script employed in them. Sándor [Alexander] Büchler, ‘József császárnak a zsidókra vonatkozó rendszabálya’ [The Regulations of Emperor Joseph Concerning the Jews], *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 13 (1896), 367. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 323-324, 367-374. With the aim of creating a modern and effective state administration, in 1787 the Emperor also made compulsory the use of *German* first names and surnames obligatory for those Jews who did not yet possess them, thereby replacing other forms such as traditional Hebrew names (X son of Y) or those derived from the names of localities where a person may have resided for some period. This decree became effective from 1 January 1788 in the *whole* Habsburg Empire. This decree aimed at the Jews because they were the most conspicuous group which did not bear the regular type of double names. Under Joseph II’s successors decrees were issued to regulate the names of other ethnic groups too. Thus the current patronymics of Greek-Orthodox Serbians were to be adopted as family names while arbitrary changes or modifications of names among Magyars were strictly forbidden. ‘József császár magyar rendelete a zsidók családi neveinek tárgyában.’ [The Hungarian Regulations of Emperor Joseph Concerning the Surnames of Jews]. Ed. Bernát Mandl, *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 16 (1899), 371-373; Karády, *Kozma, Név és nemzet...*, 13-27.



appeared to be the only one worthy of that name: “the Hungarian language was regarded as the expression of inferior, even barbaric conditions”. Both of Nordau’s parents came from abroad. His father taught him to respect the language of Goethe and Schiller, simultaneously prejudicing him against Hungarian, which in those days was spoken by the lower classes of society. Nordau himself was born and raised at No. 4 *Drei Trommelgasse* (present-day Dob utca) in Pest.<sup>42</sup>

Even at the turn of the twentieth century, German was the mother tongue of at least one quarter of Hungarian Jewry – a total of 216 698 souls (Transylvania included).<sup>43</sup> As far as the capital, Pest is concerned, the first sermon in Hungarian was held in 1866 by Sámuel Kohn, in the central synagogue in Dohány utca but it is significant that in 1870 Mayer Kayserling was invited to the same synagogue from Switzerland to fill the post of rabbi who would deliver sermons in German only, and in 1872 Lajos Pollák was invited from the Posen region in Germany to the newly opened synagogue in Rumbach utca.<sup>44</sup> Kohn himself, a staunch supporter of Magyarization, at first delivered his sermons partly in Hungarian and partly in German, switching to Hungarian only gradually because in the earlier part of his career, with the mother tongue of most members of the community being German, it was simply out of the question to change to Hungarian at once, no matter how much Kohn himself would have liked to do so.<sup>45</sup> (Kohn was appointed preacher in 1866, and his excellent command of Hungarian was essential to his appointment – the

<sup>42</sup> Max Nordau, *Erinnerungen*. Erzählt von ihm selbst und der Gefährtin seines Lebens. Autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem Französischen von S. O. Fangor, Leipzig–Berlin, 1928, 15–20. It is interesting to note that Ármin Vámbéry, when he arrived in Pest as a young man in 1853, lived at No. 7 *Drei Trommelgasse* (today No. 10 Dob utca). See Kinga Frojimovics, Géza Komoróczy, Viktória Pusztai, Andrea Strbik, *Jewish Budapest. Monuments, Rites, History*, Budapest 1999, 87.

<sup>43</sup> This is the number of Jews who described themselves as being of German nationality in the census of 1900: this is a quarter of all Jews in Hungary. É. V. Windisch, ‘Die Entstehung der Voraussetzungen für die deutsche Nationalitätenbewegung in Ungarn in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts’, *Acta Historica (Hung.)* 11 (1965), 9, note 12. It is to be assumed that they all spoke German, though it is quite likely that many Jews who declared themselves Hungarians spoke German too. The number of Jews with German as their mother tongue in 1910 was 203 230 (including Transylvania), which was approximately one-fifth of the whole Jewish population of Hungary. *Ibid.*, 27, 49. Cf. Barany, *Magyar Jew...*, 14, 31.

<sup>44</sup> Lajos (Lázár) Pollák (1822–1905) was born in Nyitra in northern Hungary (Germ. *Neutra*, present-day *Nitra* in Slovakia). The population of his birthplace consisted of Hungarians, Germans and Slovaks in those times, so he may have known Hungarian. However, he was a very conservative minded rabbi so it is unlikely that he would have used Hungarian in sermons in the synagogue.

<sup>45</sup> Groszmann, *Kohn Sámuel...*, 34–36. On the assimilation of Jews in Budapest, see János Kósa, *Pest és Buda elmagyarosodása 1848-ig* [The Magyarization of Pest and Buda until 1848], Budapest 1937, 93–131.

leaders of the most important Jewish community in Hungary in those days Chief Rabbi Farkas Alajos Meisel and the two rabbi-councillors Yehuda Wahrman and Samuel Löb Brill, were all ignorant of Hungarian, although from 1860 onwards the community's need for a Hungarian preacher grew rapidly.)<sup>46</sup>

It may be noted in this context that the language problem was one of the central issues in the battle between conservative and reform Judaism, a battle that reached unparalleled acuteness in Hungary, especially in the 1860s, culminating in the congress of 1868-1869: the representatives of Orthodoxy strongly objected to the spreading of *alien languages* (that is, Hungarian and Standard German) in synagogues and schools as language(s) of preaching and instruction, at the expense of *Jüdisch-Deutsch*, which seemed to them to safeguard the preservation of religion and the religious communities in their inherited forms.<sup>47</sup> Thus in 1865 for instance, a synod was held by ultra-Orthodox rabbis at Nagymihály in the Yiddish-speaking part of north-eastern Hungary, at the conclusion of which a resolution was passed declaring amongst other things that "it is forbidden to preach in any other language but *Jargon*. It is equally forbidden to listen to such a sermon. Any Jew hearing a rabbi or anyone else preaching in an *alien language* is obliged to leave the synagogue at once and go out into the street. The preacher must preach in the Jewish language [i.e. *Jüdisch-Deutsch*], which is used by the pious Jews of this country".<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Groszmann, *Kohn Sámuel...*, 22-23; Dr. Ödön Kálmán, 'Kohn Sámuel', *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 44 (1927), 285.

<sup>47</sup> On this see in general, with numerous references to the languages involved: Yaqov Katz, *Ha-gera' še-lo nit'achah. Perišat ha-ortodoksím mi-kelal ha-qehillot be-hungaryah u-ve-germanyah*. [Jacob Katz, *The Unhealed Breach. The Secession of Orthodox Jews from the Jewish Communities in Hungary and Germany.*][In Hebrew.]. Jerusalem 1995 [in Hungarian translation: Jakov Katz, *Végleges szakadás. Az ortodoxia kiválása a zsidó hitközségekből Magyarországon és Németországban*. Transl. Gábor Ács. Rev. Judit Stöckl, Budapest 1999]. It may be noted that Katz, who by his age and origin must have been familiar with "Jargon", never (as far as can be judged from the Hungarian translation) uses the term when speaking of it: he seems to employ the terms "Yiddish" and "Jüdisch-Deutsch" instead. See also Pietsch, *Reform és ortodoxia...*, 60-71. On the reasons why this controversy, which also appeared in other countries, reached unparalleled acuteness in Hungary, see *ibid.*, 151-153. See further Nathaniel Katzburg, 'The Jewish Congress of Hungary, 1868-1869', in: *Hungarian Jewish Studies*. Ed. Randolph L. Braham, New York 1966-1973, vol. II, 1-33.

<sup>48</sup> Groszmann, *A magyar zsidók...*, 80-81; Pietsch, *Reform és ortodoxia...*, 61. On the linguistic aspects of the religious controversy in Hungary cf. Solomon Poll, 'The Role of Yiddish in American Ultra-Orthodox and Hasidic Communities, *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* (New York) 13 (1965) [not seen].

(It should not go unmentioned that one of the centres of this struggle happened to be Székesfehérvár, Goldziher's birthplace – see below.)<sup>49</sup>

In general, the prestige of Hungarian rose inexorably in the country, and the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, which made the Hungarian part of the Empire semi-independent with Hungarian as the official language, was an important landmark in this process. Emerging nationalism added considerably to the importance of the Hungarian language in the political and cultural life of the rapidly growing and flourishing country.<sup>50</sup> To many Jews it seemed that by relinquishing the inelegant, “stigmatized” language of their forefathers they could become members of a fiery and chivalrous nation, at the same time partaking in the blessings of modern technology and culture. In many cases it was not even a question of free choice on the part of the individual: with the spread of schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction there was no other choice left, and no doubt most people did not regret this development, because it enabled them to step out into the wider world. It can be assumed, then, that they were all too ready to take this step, and that most of them did not regard it as a sacrifice at all.<sup>51</sup> It is worth noting in this context that it was Goldziher who changed the official language of the Jewish community in Pest to Hungarian during his years in office as secretary of the Jewish community: “auch das Magyarisiren der Gemeindesprache habe ich bewirkt”.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> When speaking of Orthodoxy, a “Western” and an “Eastern” branch must be differentiated. In the second half of the nineteenth century at least the adherents of “Western” Orthodoxy spoke a language that was “practically German although they tried to give it a Jewish colouring by using Hebrew and Yiddish expressions.” Katzburg, *Fejezetek...*, 100-101.

<sup>50</sup> On some of the historical, ideological, sociological and denominational aspects of linguistic assimilation in Hungary, see Karády, *Egyenlőtlen elmagyarosodás...*, passim.

<sup>51</sup> Claus Jürgen Hutterer, ‘Geschichte des Vokalismus der westjiddischen Mundart von Ofen und Pest’, *Acta Linguistica (Budapest)* 17 (1967), 352-353; Id., ‘Theoretical and Practical Problems of Western Yiddish Dialectology’, in: *The Field of Yiddish. Studies in Language, Folklore, and Literature. Third Collection*. Ed. Marvin I. Herzog et al., London–The Hague–Paris 1969, 2-5; Wolfdieter Bihl, ‘Das Judentum Ungarns 1280-1914’, in: *Studia Judaica Austriaca*, III. *Studien zum ungarischen Judentum*, Eisenstadt 1976, 23-26 (Die sprachliche Umschichtung). Cf. also Gábor Gyáni – György Kövér, *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig* [Social History of Hungary from the Age of Reforms until World War II], Budapest 1998, 130-131, 136-139.

<sup>52</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*. Ed. Alexander Scheiber, Leiden 1977, 156. Another source maintains that this was achieved by the aforementioned Chief Rabbi Sámuel Kohn (see below), Goldziher's neighbour in No. 4 Holló utca. *Zsidó lexikon* [Jewish Encyclopaedia]. Ed. Péter Ujvári, Budapest 1929, 494-495. Most probably the two achieved it jointly at various levels of the community administration. Cf. Groszmann, *Kohn Sámuel...*, 35-36.

Reform-minded Jewish circles in Germany had mixed feelings about the course of events in Hungary: while in theory they wholly approved of the process of emancipation, which went hand in hand with Magyarization, as a result of which Hungarian Jews would ultimately become citizens of equal legal status (i.e. equal to everybody else), they were at the same time unhappy at the eclipse of German culture and especially of the German language: after all, there were as many German-speaking Jews living in Hungary as there were in Germany around the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

In the school-year of 1883/1884, Hungarian was the language of instruction in 67.8 percent of Jewish schools in Hungary. By the last years of the century this proportion had already reached 95 percent.<sup>54</sup>

### The language situation in Székesfehérvár

The same general tendency applied to Goldziher's birthplace, Székesfehérvár (Germ. *Stuhlweissenburg*), a county town and episcopal see seventy kilometres south-west of Budapest. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the German element of the town was decisive: the majority of the population of Székesfehérvár consisted of ethnic Germans, who mostly spoke German in everyday life. They were the descendants of the soldiers and settlers who populated the city after the Austrian army had liberated it from the Ottoman Turkish occupation in 1688. The sparsely populated town, which had been devastated by decades of Turkish marauding, battles and epidemics, was settled mainly by immigrants from the Austrian provinces (including Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) and various German states.<sup>55</sup> Székesfehérvár was not an unusual case: all over the country the indigenous population of Hungary had suffered greatly under Turkish rule, and their numbers were insufficient to re-populate the devastated localities. For reasons of military security the new imperial administration also preferred German settlers. There was also a very small and gradually diminishing Serbian minority, which dated from the days of Turkish rule.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Pietsch, *Reform és ortodoxia...*, 53-57. On Magyarization among Jews cf. Katzburg, *Fejezetek...*, 61-63.

<sup>54</sup> Felkai, *Zsidó iskolázás...*, 53.

<sup>55</sup> Éva Somkuti, 'Székesfehérvár betelepítése a XVII. század fordulóján (1688-1703)' [The Resettlement of Székesfehérvár at the Turn of the 17th Century (1688-1703)], in: *Székesfehérvár évszázadai 4. (1688-1848)* [Székesfehérvár's Centuries 4. (1688-1703)]. Ed. Alán Kralovánszky, Székesfehérvár 1979, 7.

<sup>56</sup> Gábor Farkas, 'A tőkés társadalom kialakulásának kérdései Székesfehérváron' [The Questions of the Emergence of Capitalist Society in Székesfehérvár], in: *Székesfehérvár évszázadai 4. (1688-1848)* [Székesfehérvár's Centuries 4. (1688-1703)]. Ed. Alán

The tendency towards Magyarization began to make itself felt from the mid-eighteenth century, with Roman Catholic elementary and secondary schools playing an important role in this process. In the first decade of the nineteenth century the local Cistercian *Gymnasium*, which Goldziher was later to attend, became one of the tendency's strongholds. This complex process had economical, political and cultural causes and was greatly facilitated by the lack of an immediate German *Hinterland*. Traditionally no close relationship existed between the townspeople and the rural peasantry.<sup>57</sup> Thus there was no new supply of German-speaking settlers arriving in the city – in contradistinction to Buda, for example, where the process of Magyarization was consequently much slower.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, there was a

Kralovánszky, Székesfehérvár 1979, 146. Because of their Orthodox Christianity, Serbians and Greeks are often mixed up in our sources. In addition, these two names may also refer to other Orthodox Christians originating from the Balkans such as Bulgarians, Albanians and Romanians, including Macedo-Vlachs (also called *Cincárs*, *Aromuns*, *Kucovlachs*, *Mavrovlachs* and *Karavlachs* in Hungarian sources). The number of Eastern Orthodox Christians was 558 (out of a total of approximately twenty thousand inhabitants) and they also had a school around 1836. In 1857 their number amounted to 166. The first Serbians had escaped to Hungary from the advancing Turkish army. Many others arrived during the Turkish occupation. The Greeks came in the seventeenth century, mainly as merchants. Elek Fényes, *Magyar országnak, 's a' hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statistikai és geographiai tekintetben* [The Present State of Hungary and the Associated Provinces in Statistical and Geographical Respects], Pest 1836-1840, vol. I, 77; Id., *Magyarország ismertetése statistikai, földirati s történelmi szempontból* [The Description of Hungary in Statistical, Geographical and Historical Respects]. Vol. I, Section I, Pest 1865, 106-107; Ödön Füves, *Görögök Pesten (1686-1931)* [Greeks in Pest (1686-1931)], thesis submitted to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 1972, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Collection of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, D/5721, 11-19.

<sup>57</sup> On the assimilation of Germans in Hungary in general see Windisch, *Die Entstehung...*; Béla Pukánszky, *Német polgárság magyar földön* [German Bourgeoisie on Hungarian Soil], Budapest (n.d.), passim; Karády, *Egyenlőtlen elmagyarosodás...*, 21-25.

<sup>58</sup> Claus Jürgen Hutterer, *Hochsprache und Mundart bei den Deutschen in Ungarn*. (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Band 105. Heft 5), Berlin 1961, 58. On the complex circumstances and causes of this process in the period in question see *ibid.*, 55-59; Kósa, *Pest és Buda elmagyarosodása...*, 56-65; *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*. Ed. Carl Petersen, Otto Scheel. Erster Band, Breslau 1933, 587-605. For Buda, the example of the architect Alajos (Aloys) Hauszmann (1847-1926) can be adduced. He was born into a German family in Buda, in present-day Szilágyi Dezső tér (near present-day Batthyány tér), and his mother tongue was of course German. He completed the fourth year of elementary school and the subsequent first year of the *Gymnasium* in Tata, a town fifty miles to the west of Buda, where he had been sent by his parents in order to learn Hungarian. Cf. Hauszmann Alajos *Naplója. Építész a századfordulón* [Diary. An Architect at the Turn of the Century]. Ed. dr. Ambrus Seidl,

constant influx of Hungarians: the total number of inhabitants rose from 3 126 in 1720 to 12 244 in 1804 and 20 069 in 1830.<sup>59</sup> The language of the protocols of the Magistracy became Hungarian in 1814, and Hungarian was also declared the official language of the city in 1819.<sup>60</sup> As far as language was concerned, the inhabitants of Székesfehérvár already spoke mainly Hungarian by 1836; there were also ethnic Germans, but they all understood Hungarian and their children spoke Hungarian better than German.<sup>61</sup> Around 1849 approximately only 10 percent of the population were ethnic Germans, but by then they had become Hungarian in sentiment: the events of 1848-1849 and the years that followed demonstrate this clearly.

In the years of Neo-Absolutism, between 1849 and 1860, the German spirit was promoted officially though this was unable to change the existing situation.<sup>62</sup> By 1851 the assimilation of Germans had made considerable progress: an important source states that Hungarian-speakers made up the majority (90.8 percent) of the population; there was also a German-speaking minority (6.3 percent) but they all knew Hungarian and their children spoke it even better than German.<sup>63</sup> An important proof of the preponderance of Hungarian around 1850 is the decree of 7 September 1850 issued by Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein, minister of education in the Habsburg Empire, which listed the Székesfehérvár *Gymnasium* among those with Hungarian as its language of instruction. At this time the general rule was that the language of instruction in secondary schools was to be the language of the majority of the local population – yet in these Neo-Absolutist times, when centralization and the spreading of German were regarded as prerequisites for the effective modernization of the Empire, German was markedly favoured, and Thun-Hohenstein made its use

Budapest 1997, 11. (Alajos Hauszmann is not to be confused with his namesake, the French architect George Eugène Haussmann of Paris.)

<sup>59</sup> Lajos Thirring, 'Székesfehérvár s Fejérmegye népességének fejlődése és összetétele' [The Development and Composition of the Population of Székesfehérvár and Fejér County], *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* 16 (1938), 209.

<sup>60</sup> Farkas, *A tőkés társadalom...*, 145-146; Ilona Pálffy, 'Székesfehérvár sz. kir. város 1828-ban [The Royal Free Borough of Székesfehérvár in 1828], *Magyar Statisztikai Szemle* 16 (1938), 247.

<sup>61</sup> Fényes, *Magyar országnak, 's a' hozzá kapcsolott tartományoknak...*, vol. 1, 77.

<sup>62</sup> Gábor Farkas, 'Nemzetiségi viszonyok Fejér megyében 1848-1868 között' [The Comparative Relations of Nationalities in Fejér County between 1848 and 1868], in: *Fejér Megyei Történeti Évkönyv (A Fejér Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve)* 12 [Historical Yearbook of Fejér County (Yearbook of the Archives of Fejér County) 12]. Ed. Gábor Farkas, Székesfehérvár 1978, 256-257.

<sup>63</sup> Elek Fényes, *Magyarország geográfiai szótára* [Geographical Dictionary of Hungary], Pest 1851, vol. II, 9; quoted in Farkas, *A tőkés társadalom...*, 146. Fényes lacks the percentages, consequently they must come from a different source.

compulsory whenever the case was equivocal in the smallest degree.<sup>64</sup> The census of 1857 recorded 17 234 inhabitants of Székesfehérvár, out of which 16 178 (93.87 percent) were Hungarians, 890 (5.16 percent) Germans and 166 (0.95 percent) Greeks.<sup>65</sup> Around 1860 the use of German ceased altogether in public administration and education, but the Roman Catholic Church continued to use it until 1885.

It will be noted in this context that in the wake of an upsurge of Hungarian national sentiment, Hungarian replaced German as the language of instruction in schools in 1861. This has since come to be regarded as an important step in the formation of the modern Hungarian nation, but not everybody was happy with it at the time. Teachers ignorant of Hungarian lost their jobs and in many cases had to return to the German-speaking provinces of the Empire, whence they had come to Hungary in search of work. Such for instance was the case for the architect Hans Petschnig from Styria, Austria, who taught drawing at the newly established *Realschule* in Pest but returned to Austria in 1861, “when teachers ignorant of Hungarian had to leave”.<sup>66</sup> And by no means all those who preferred German to Hungarian came from distant provinces themselves. Young Max Nordau, who attended the Roman Catholic *Gymnasium* in Pest, considered the enforced change nothing short of a catastrophe, and his father, who did not know Hungarian and earned his living by giving private German and Hebrew lessons, lost his means of support. The change seemed wholly incomprehensible to young Nordau because he did not have a Hungarian background – his parents came from Poland and Latvia/Lithuania respectively – and “nearly all circles spoke German in Pest” in those days. It was only later that Nordau developed an appreciation for Hungarian language, literature and culture in general.<sup>67</sup>

Two cases may illustrate the process of Magyarization in Székesfehérvár. In the spring of 1881 an application in German was submitted to the Town Embellishment Committee of the Magistracy. The Committee was infuriated by what it regarded as an affront. From the endorsement of this document it appears that applications were still being submitted in German, but were returned with the remark that only

<sup>64</sup> László Felkai – Endre Zibolen, *A magyar nevelés története* [History of Hungarian Education] II. Ed. Márton Horváth, Budapest 1993, 37.

<sup>65</sup> Elek Fényes, *A magyar birodalom nemzetiségei és ezek száma vármegyék és járások szerint* [The Nationalities of the Hungarian Empire and Their Numbers According to Counties and Districts]. (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. Értekezések a történelmi tudomány köréből, vol. I, No. IV), Pest 1867, 37. Serbians and members of various other nationalities from the Balkans were sometimes called Greeks in those days; these various ethnic names were often used interchangeably because of the Orthodox Christianity of their adherents. Cf. note 56 above. Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...*, 56, 132.

<sup>66</sup> Dénes Komárik, ‘Feszl Frigyes és a bécsi Votivkirche’ [Frigyes Feszl and the Votivkirche in Vienna], *Műemlékvédelem* 20 (1976), 199.

<sup>67</sup> Nordau, *Erinnerungen...*, 15-20.

Hungarian-language applications could be considered.<sup>68</sup> On 13 June 1885 an article appeared in the local newspaper reporting that the procession on Corpus Christi Thursday had been disturbed by a group of approximately fifty persons. "The decent Hungarian procession in the Upper Town had vanguards croaking in German disturbing the Hungarian singing by mumbling incessantly *heilig, heilig, immer heilig* under the protection of their banners inscribed *bitt' für uns.*"<sup>69</sup> In the same year the Municipal Board submitted a petition to the Episcopate that the use of German be abolished in the Church altogether because "Hungarian had now fully occupied its deserved place in all strata of society and the continuing use of German in the Church could only be explained by the force of habit". In December the relevant Church authority abolished the use of German in the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>70</sup>

The census of 1880 recorded a German population of 3.2 percent while the ratio of Hungarians was 95.7 percent. This shows that the assimilation of the Germans was complete.<sup>71</sup>

It is common knowledge that the reliability of censuses is sometimes open to question. At this time, ethnic affiliation was determined variously on the basis of the impression given by the surname, the origins of the family, its religion, or the language used in everyday life.<sup>72</sup> The claim to a mother tongue was more a declaration of national loyalty, a declaration of personal identity, than a mere statement of fact, and consequently these data do not give reliable information concerning the actual use of language in everyday life.<sup>73</sup> In an age of rapid Magyarization there was at least one generation whose members had already become Magyars in terms of national sentiment but who still spoke German; it was not uncommon in those days to find an ardent Hungarian patriot, even a nationalist, who would still use German in everyday life, and this was quite common among Jews too.<sup>74</sup> A friend told me of his ethnic German grandfather, who in the middle of

<sup>68</sup> Farkas, *Nemzetiségi...*, 258.

<sup>69</sup> Farkas, *Nemzetiségi...*, 257 ("a felsővárosi tisztességes magyar körmenetnek németül varcogó avantgárdái is voltak").

<sup>70</sup> Farkas, *Nemzetiségi...*, 257-258.

<sup>71</sup> Thirring, *Székesfehérvár...*, 216. Cf. also Farkas, *Nemzetiségi...*, 254-258.

<sup>72</sup> Gyáni – Kövér, *Magyarország társadalomtörténete...*, 139. It may be noted here that in his earlier works (1836-1843) Elek Fényes, the founder of statistics in Hungary, listed Jews both under religion *and* language, while later (1867) he expressly stated that Jews did not possess a language of their own. Elek Fényes, *Magyar országnak, 's a' hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak...*, vol. I, 178; Id., *Magyarország statistikája* [The Statistics of Hungary], Pest 1842-1843, vol. I, 81-85, 91; Id., *A magyar birodalom nemzetiségei...*, 17, 30-31. The military census of 1850 found 339 "Hebrews" with regard to language among 14 971 inhabitants. Id., *Magyarország ismertetése...*, Vol. I, Section I, 106-107.

<sup>73</sup> Karády, *Egyenlőtlen elmagyarosodás...*, 11, 15-16, 28-29.

<sup>74</sup> Bihl, *Das Judentum Ungarns...*, 24.



the twentieth century spoke only broken Hungarian, but would inform the officer at the national census *in German* that his mother tongue was of course Hungarian. In areas with a mixed population, people traditionally grew up multilingual. A member of the Goldziher family writes in his memoirs that his grandfather, who lived in Nagybecskerek in southern Hungary, spoke three languages as a mother tongue: at home and with friends he would speak Hungarian, he would conduct business in German and swear in Serbian.<sup>75</sup> Jews traditionally had a reputation for being multilingual: in the latter part of the nineteenth century, members of the Jewish middle and upper bourgeoisie in Pest and later on Budapest, were bilingual from early childhood, speaking both Hungarian and German with the facility of a mother tongue: in the last quarter of the nineteenth century “the mother tongue of Budapest Jewry was practically Hungarian-German bilingualism”. However, this bilingualism was represented quite often by the “macaroni language” consisting of Hungarian and German phrases alternatively, so vividly characterized below.<sup>76</sup> The complexity of the language situation in Hungary in this period is aptly illustrated by the fact that, with the aim of promoting Magyarization, certain Jewish circles launched a *German-language* journal with the title *Der ungarische Israelit*.<sup>77</sup>

Two parallel cases may illustrate the complexity of the language-situation in those days, cases that may stand for countless others where the complex interweaving of ethnic background, mother tongue and national loyalties did not necessarily follow patterns we are familiar with in our modern world, in an age when most of us are born Hungarian, feel Hungarian and speak Hungarian all our lives, and cannot imagine that even a hundred years ago things were not quite like that.<sup>78</sup> Colonel Anton Lehár (Lehár Antal; 1867-1962), elder brother of the noted operetta composer, Franz Lehár (Lehár Ferenc; 1870-1948), came from a family of Moravian origin. The father, a military musician, himself a representative of the culture of the Dual Monarchy, served in twenty-two garrisons all over the Habsburg Empire and died in Budapest as the military band-leader of the Third Regiment of Bosnia-

<sup>75</sup> Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...*, 131-132. Nagybecskerek has belonged to Serbia/Yugoslavia since 1920. Its Serbian name was Veliki Bečkerek until 1930. Between 1930 and 1947 it was called Petrov Grad, and was renamed Zrenjanin in 1947.

<sup>76</sup> Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...*, 238; Id., *Egy jól nevelt fiatalember...*, 176. A teacher of young Géza Hegedüs would not believe he was a Jew because he did not speak German. *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>77</sup> Kálmán, *Kohn Sámuel...*, 285.

<sup>78</sup> The complex ethno-religious and linguistic conditions in 19th century Hungary conceal many pitfalls for the innocent scholar. See, for instance, the totally unfounded statements concerning the life and career of the obstetrician Ignaz Semmelweis in a recently published monograph: Richard Horton, ‘The Fool of Pest’, *The New York Review of Books*, vol. 51, n° 3, February 26, 2004, 9-11; Sherwin B. Nuland, ‘The Fool of Pest’: An Exchange’, Richard Horton’s Reply, *The New York Review of Books*, vol. 51, n° 5, March 25, 2004, 48-50.

Herzegovina.<sup>79</sup> The mother came from a German family which had already become Magyar both in language and sentiment so the children's mother tongue was Hungarian.<sup>80</sup> Anton was born in Sopron (Germ. *Ödenburg*), Hungary, while Franz was born in Komárom, also in Hungary.<sup>81</sup> Anton chose a military career, serving in various parts of the Monarchy, but mainly in Hungary. When World War I was over and the Monarchy was dissolved, he faced the task of opting for citizenship of one of the successor states. As his father's heir, he belonged officially to Czechoslovakia. However, he was born in Hungary, raised by a Hungarian mother, and went to school in Pozsony (Hungary),<sup>82</sup> Prague and Vienna. He married a Viennese wife, and the Imperial capital thus became a second native town for him.<sup>83</sup> He considered himself a German who had been born in Hungary.<sup>84</sup> Although his mother tongue was Hungarian, he seems to have used German as a means of conversation in his mature years, by which time his Hungarian had become somewhat rusty: he admits that he did not have a full command of the Hungarian language at that time.<sup>85</sup> It was mainly under the influence of his brother Franz, whom he liked very much and who "wanted to be Hungarian at all costs", that Anton also opted for Hungary, finally becoming a Hungarian soldier although he had not hitherto been a Hungarian citizen. Such a choice was likely to involve serious conflicts of conscience in the case of an eventual conflict between Austria and Hungary.<sup>86</sup> And such a case emerged all too soon: in Lehár's birthplace, Sopron, a plebiscite was held on 14-15 December 1921 to decide whether the town should be ceded to Austria in accordance with the decisions of the peace treaty, or remain in Hungary. However, once Lehár had chosen from among the possible loyalties, he stuck doggedly to his choice and as a Hungarian soldier he did everything in his power to prevent German-speaking western Hungary from being ceded to Austria. These efforts were crowned with partial success. As the result of the plebiscite, the impartiality of which was questioned by some contemporaries,<sup>87</sup> Sopron and its immediate neighbourhood, which were characterized by a German majority in those

<sup>79</sup> Anton Lehár, *Erinnerungen. Gegenrevolution und Restaurationsversuche in Ungarn 1918-1921*. Ed. Peter Broucek. Vienna 1973, 137. Incidentally, the father is buried in the same cemetery as Goldziher.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>81</sup> 1920-1938 and since 1947 Komárno in Slovakia.

<sup>82</sup> See note 23 above.

<sup>83</sup> Lehár, *Erinnerungen*...., 59.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>85</sup> "ohne vollkommene Kenntnis der Sprache..." *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>87</sup> See, e.g., *Páter Zadravec titkos naplója* [Pater Zadravec's Secret Diary], Budapest 1967, 180; August Ernst, *Geschichte des Burgenlandes*, Vienna 1987, 190-199; Katalin Soós, *Burgenland az európai politikában (1918-1921)* [Burgenland in European Politics], Budapest 1971, 172-173.

days, remained under Hungarian control.<sup>88</sup> Sopron was awarded the honorific title *Civitas Fidelissima* by the Hungarian Parliament. Later on in his memoirs Anton Lejár regularly refers to Hungary as his fatherland, in one passage describing a car journey from Austria to Hungary as taking him to the “holy fatherland”.<sup>89</sup> The word “fatherland” (*Vaterland, Heimat, Mutterland*) tends to refer to Hungary,<sup>90</sup> though in a broader sense he uses it to refer to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy too.<sup>91</sup> Lejár was a staunch and unswerving “legitimist”, that is he unreservedly supported the standpoint that, notwithstanding the claims and demands of the Allied Powers, the legitimate ruler of Hungary was still King Charles IV of the House of Habsburg, the crowned king of Hungary.<sup>92</sup> Owing to the political problems involved he was soon compelled to leave Hungary for Vienna, where he lived until his death. In the complex efforts to prevent West Hungary’s being ceded to Austria, efforts which included a military insurrection, an important role was played by university professor and extreme right-wing politician Vilmos Pröhle (Wilhelm Pröhle; 1871-1946).<sup>93</sup> Incidentally, Goldziher was one of the referees of Pröhle’s dissertation on Turko-Tatar linguistics submitted for habilitation to Budapest University in 1905.<sup>94</sup> Pröhle himself was of partly German extraction: his father, who did not learn Hungarian properly until the end of his life, came from Germany to Hungary for professional reasons. His mother was Hungarian, and there can be no doubt that Hungarian was Pröhle’s mother tongue, though it is likely that he spoke German with his father and grew up in a bilingual environment: neither of the two parents learned the language of the other properly until the end of their lives.<sup>95</sup> Pröhle was an ardent Hungarian nationalist, who did everything in his power to prevent the dismemberment of Hungary and especially to keep western Hungary in Hungarian

<sup>88</sup> This has been greatly resented ever since by the German-speaking inhabitants of former West Hungary, the modern Burgenland, as a friend from Mosonújfalú (Germ. *Neudorf bei Parndorf*) told me recently. On the whole problem see Soós, *Burgenland az európai politikában...*

<sup>89</sup> Lejár. *Erinnerungen...*, 93.

<sup>90</sup> See for instance *ibid.*, 48, 58 (“aus meiner engeren Heimat, Ungarn”), 70, 73, 85, 86, 93, (96; “auf die Gefahr hin, die uns und unserem Deutschwestungarn von steirischer Seite her drohte”), 99, 100, 103, 104, 106, 114, 119, 127, 136, 139, 154 (“Meine tiefe Sehnsucht, einmal selbst ein Stück ungarischen Heimatbodens mein Eigen zu nennen...”), 157.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>92</sup> As Charles I he was the last emperor of Austria.

<sup>93</sup> On Pröhle see *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon* [Hungarian Biographical Encyclopaedia]. Ed. Ágnes Kenyeres, Budapest 1967-1969, vol. II, 446.

<sup>94</sup> See the letter of Lajos Lóczy, dean of the Faculty of Arts, to Goldziher, dated 20.04.1905. Goldziher Correspondence [filed under Pröhle Vilmos]. Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.

<sup>95</sup> I am indebted to Éva Pröhle for information on the Pröhle family.

hands. In 1919 he founded the most important irredentist secret society of the period, the Etelköz League (*Etelközi Szövetség* or briefly *Ex*), in Szeged. In later years, when there still seemed to be a hope that the decisions of the peace treaty could be made null and void, he struggled hard to achieve this aim.<sup>96</sup> His nationalism even included an attempt to found a Hungarian religion amounting to “the extension of the Gospel to Hungarian practical life in its original truth”. The new religion’s quadruple sanctuary was to be erected on top of Gellért Hill in Budapest. The basement, the cave, was to represent ancient Hungarian paganism and white horses were to be sacrificed there, while the second level was to serve as a Roman Catholic church. The third level was to serve Protestantism in all its varieties while the fourth, representing the all-inclusive Hungarian church, was to crown the whole complex. The idea was not realized.<sup>97</sup>

### The language of the Jews in Székesfehérvár

Jews began to move to Székesfehérvár after 1790. Their number remained very small until 1840. Law No. 29 of 1840 permitted the settlement of Jews in the so-called royal free towns, of which Székesfehérvár was one.<sup>98</sup> Although the settlement of Jews in Székesfehérvár met with the opposition of the local townspeople,<sup>99</sup> the military census (Lat. *conscriptio*) of 1850 records 399 souls of them.<sup>100</sup> Another source states that their number had risen to around 550 by 1848.<sup>101</sup> In the 1840s the

<sup>96</sup> *Páter Zadravecz*...., 129-130, 136, 149, 173-175.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>98</sup> On the background and the circumstances of the beginnings of the settlement of Jews in Székesfehérvár, see Gábor Farkas, ‘Zsidó kereskedők, kézműiparosok betelepédése Székesfehérvár szabad királyi városba’ [The Settlement of Jewish Merchants and Craftsmen in the Royal Free Borough of Székesfehérvár], *Árgus* 6:6 (1995), 29-34; *Id.*, ‘A tőkés fejlődés és a székesfehérvári zsidóság’ [Capitalist Development and the Jewry of Székesfehérvár], *Árgus* 12:1 (2001), 74-79.

<sup>99</sup> After several efforts to prohibit or at least to restrict the settlement of Jews in Székesfehérvár, a mass meeting held on 5 April 1848 declared the expulsion of Jews from the town. They left on the 7 April. The government dispatched Ferenc Pulszky, who managed to defuse the situation, allowing the Jews to return. Bernstein, *A negyvennyolcas*...., 35-37.

<sup>100</sup> Farkas, *A tőkés*...., 147; *Id.*, *Nemzetiségi*...., 259-260.

<sup>101</sup> Gábor Farkas, ‘Zsidók letelepedése Székesfehérváron és az asszimilációs folyamat 1840-1868’ [The Settlement of Jews in Székesfehérvár and the Assimilation Movement 1840-1868], in: *A zsidók Fejér megyében 1688-1867 címmel 1986. szeptember 23-án Székesfehérváron tartott konferencia előadásai* [Lectures Delivered at the Conference Held at Székesfehérvár on 23 September 1986 Under the Title «Jews in Fejér County

Jews were regarded as alien partly because of their “strange” religion and partly because of their language: they spoke broken Hungarian, while among themselves they spoke a “strange dialect of German”, when – as Farkas puts it – “few people spoke German in Székesfehérvár at all”.<sup>102</sup> The Jewish religious community was established in 1842. In the same year it opened an elementary school for boys, which Goldziher was later to attend and in which the language of instruction was German. In 1845, in accordance with contemporary tendencies elsewhere in Hungary, but especially in Pest, a society for the promotion of Hungarian among Jews (Society of Magyarization) was founded.<sup>103</sup>

As a rule, the language of instruction in elementary and secondary schools in those days was the language of the inhabitants. In schools where the language of instruction was not Hungarian, Hungarian was taught as one of the subjects.<sup>104</sup> In 1846 the Jewish school employed four male teachers and a woman teacher, one of whom was specially described as a “teacher of Hungarian (*magyar tanító*)”.<sup>105</sup> We may therefore conclude that the others spoke German, the language of instruction.<sup>106</sup> In the 1850s the language of instruction of most subjects was changed to Hungarian, while the language of administration remained German. In 1859 the Jewish council asked the new rabbi, Joseph Guggenheimer, to dismiss the (German-speaking) teachers, claiming that as the mother tongue of the pupils was Hungarian, they did not understand German, and the council wanted Hungarian-speaking teachers to be employed instead.<sup>107</sup> In 1860 it was decided that both the language of instruction and administration in the school should be Hungarian: this change was introduced in

1688-1867»]. Ed. Gábor Farkas. (A Fejér megyei Levéltár Közleményei 1989, n<sup>o</sup> 4), Székesfehérvár 1989, 42.

<sup>102</sup> Farkas, *Zsidók letelepedése...*, 44.

<sup>103</sup> Farkas, *Nemzetiségi...*, 262.

<sup>104</sup> Felkai – Zibolen, *A magyar nevelés...*, vol. II, 18; István Mészáros – András Németh – Béla Pukánszky, *Bevezetés a pedagógia és az iskoláztatás történetébe* [Introduction into the History of Pedagogy and Schooling], Budapest 1999, 340. Cf. also Wolfgang Häusler, ‘Assimilation und Emanzipation des ungarischen Judentums um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts’, *Studia Judaica Austriaca III: Studien zum ungarischen Judentum*, Eisenstadt 1976, 76-77.

<sup>105</sup> The expression “Hungarian teacher” can both mean *a teacher of Hungarian origin*, and *a teacher of the Hungarian language*. The context suggests the latter interpretation.

<sup>106</sup> Jakab Steinherz, *A székesfehérvári zsidók története visszaköltözésüktől a jelenig (1840-1892)* [The History of Székesfehérvár Jewry from their Resettlement Until the Present (1840-1892)], Budapest 1895, 17.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 32. However, it is not unlikely, as Steinherz suggests, that this demand was – at least in part – the result of the antagonism between the Jewish council and the teachers, of the hostile positions both sides took in the struggle between conservatives and reformers, and the council used this demand simply as a pretext for getting rid of their opponents.

1861.<sup>108</sup> (A newly passed law made this change obligatory and it was effected simultaneously in many schools in Hungary.)<sup>109</sup> From 1860 Jewish birth registers were kept in Hungarian, and office work was also done in Hungarian. Sermons in Hungarian became frequent after 1867. At the same time it must be noted that Székesfehérvár became one of the centres of the battle between the conservatives (the Orthodoxy) and the reformers (the Neology) in the Jewish community, a battle which made itself felt all over Hungary at this period, with the confrontation reaching its climax between 1858 and 1861 – from 1861 on there were two separate communities in Székesfehérvár and the Orthodox community had its own synagogue.<sup>110</sup> One of the main issues in this confrontation affected the use of language: in Székesfehérvár at the big autumn market of 1861, for example, the Orthodox party distributed 1 000 leaflets complaining that “the Hungarian party of Jews (*a zsidók magyar pártja*)” called them “German Jews” and “traitors”.<sup>111</sup> Following the Austro-Hungarian *Compromise* in 1867, the community organized a thanksgiving service on 4 March to celebrate the restoration of Hungarian statehood, and in the absence of a local rabbi invited Chief Rabbi Sámuel Kohn from Pest to officiate in the new synagogue of the reform party. (Kohn had preached the first Hungarian sermon in Pest in the preceding year.)<sup>112</sup> This first sermon preached in Hungarian was such an overwhelming success that the community decided to

<sup>108</sup> Steinherz, *A székesfehérvári zsidók...* 35; István Surányi, ‘A székesfehérvári Goldziher Ignác Izraelita Elemi Népiskola története 1842-1943’ [The History of the ‘Ignaz Goldziher’ Israelite Elementary School in Székesfehérvár 1842-1943], in: *A zsidók Fejér megyében 1688-1867 címmel 1986. szeptember 23-án Székesfehérváron tartott konferencia előadásai* [Lectures Delivered at the Conference Held at Székesfehérvár on 23 September 1986 Under the Title «Jews in Fejér County 1688-1867»]. Ed. Gábor Farkas (A Fejér megyei Levéltár Közleményei, 1989, n<sup>o</sup> 4 ). Székesfehérvár 1989, 58-59; Felkai, *Zsidó iskolázás...* 40. Incidentally, the Imperial constitution “October Diploma [*Oktoberdiplom*]”, which Emperor Franz Joseph I felt compelled to promulgate on 20 October 1860, marked an end of the efforts at centralization and accorded a series of rights to the various countries constituting the Habsburg Empire. Since the use of Hungarian was now permitted, it replaced German in a number of areas in Hungary. On its effect on Jewish schools in Hungary see Aron Moskovits, *Jewish Education in Hungary (1848-1948)*. Philadelphia-New York 1964, 45-60.

<sup>109</sup> Nordau, *Erinnerungen...* 19.

<sup>110</sup> Farkas, *Nemzetiségi...* 262-263; Katz, *Ha-gera'...* 72-80 (of the Hungarian translation; the end of Part II, Chapter 5); Goldziher, *Tagebuch...* 21-22; Pietsch, *Reform és ortodoxia...* 58-59.

<sup>111</sup> Farkas, *Zsidók letelepedése...* 48.; Steinherz, *A székesfehérvári zsidók...* 41. Our sources do not mention the language of the leaflet but judging from the situation and its contents one would assume that it was written both in Hungarian and German.

<sup>112</sup> See note 45 and the corresponding paragraph above.

employ a Hungarian rhetorician as rabbi in the future.<sup>113</sup> Yet the fact that in 1885 – almost twenty years later – it was decided that donations to the synagogue should henceforth be announced in Hungarian instead of German, attests that the use of German had still not died out completely in the community (unless this was just a piece of ritual conservatism).<sup>114</sup> It is interesting to note in this context that Goldziher's father sided with the reformers, he was one of their staunchest supporters, although he did not participate in the quarrels himself. Moses Wolf Freudenberg, the private tutor of young Goldziher, supported the orthodox party, at the same time teaching the young child to despise both directions, and his close friendship with Goldziher's father did not change either although the two friends attended two different temples engaged in war at the time.<sup>115</sup>

Goldziher mentions in the *Tagebuch* that in the year 1856-1857 he would deliver a sermon in Hungarian each week to his friends, who gathered together for liturgical exercises. The impression given by stating explicitly that the sermon was in Hungarian suggests that the choice was something not quite usual for those days.<sup>116</sup>

The language situation in multilingual communities in general is rendered even more complicated by the phenomenon that the use of languages has different varieties: many people use more than one language, at times even switching from one to the other within the same sentence. In such cases the level of fluency will vary considerably depending on the abilities of the individual: one will often find persons speaking three languages excellently while it is not uncommon to come across trilinguals who speak all three languages equally badly. The spectrum of varieties is broad in multilingualism.

### The language of Goldziher's parents

Goldziher's father, Adolf (Aron Yomtov Lipman) Goldziher was born in 1811 in Köpcsény (Germ. *Kittsee* or *Kitsee*), one of the so-called Seven Communities in the

<sup>113</sup> Steinherz, *A székesfehérvári zsidók...*, 57; Groszmann, *Kohn Sámuel...*, 26. It may be noted that later Sámuel Kohn (1841-1920) was to live for decades in the same building as Goldziher in Budapest, No. 4 Holló utca. See Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest...*, 169. There was a deep friendship between the two men: however, Goldziher's emotional instability is clearly mirrored in the eventual changes of his feelings towards his friend. See Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 79-80, 223 and passim.

<sup>114</sup> Steinherz, *A székesfehérvári zsidók...*, 90.

<sup>115</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 19-22; József Harmat, 'Goldziher Ignác gyermekora. A székesfehérvári zsidó fiú' [The Childhood of Ignaz Goldziher. The Jewish Boy from Székesfehérvár], in: *Bástya. A Vörösmarty Társaság és a Kodolányi János Főiskola antológiája* [Bastion. An Anthology of the Vörösmarty Society and the János Kodolányi College] 2004:1, 118-119.

<sup>116</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 21.

westernmost region of what was then Hungary – the area became an Austrian province in 1921, under the newly-coined name Burgenland. Adolf Goldziher's wife, Katharina (Gütl) Berger, came from neighbouring Rajka (Germ. *Ragendorf* or *Rakendorf*).<sup>117</sup> Moses Goldziher, Ignaz Goldziher's grandfather's grandfather, had come to Köpcsény from Hamburg in 1735. Adolf Goldziher moved to Székesfehérvár in 1842.<sup>118</sup> There can be no doubt that as members of a family originating from Hamburg and living in a German-speaking environment, Adolf Goldziher and his immediate ancestors spoke *Jüdisch-Deutsch*, and of course standard German as well. The same is probably true of Goldziher's mother. It is known that the Jews' adoption of Hungarian was considerably slower in German speaking environments such as this area than in neighbourhoods where all the population spoke Hungarian only, as was the case in the eastern parts of the Hungarian Great Plain.<sup>119</sup> An inscription by Adolf Goldziher appears in the family Bible, in which he recorded the birth of his sons "Wittus" (modern Hung. "Vitus" / German "Veit") and "Ignatz" in Hebrew and German.<sup>120</sup> We can assume that Adolf

<sup>117</sup> Köpcsény was a market-town with German and Croatian population in the middle of the nineteenth century. Landlords possessing lands both in western Hungary and eastern Croatia (areas to the west of modern Belgrade) resettled the ancestors of the Croatian minority in modern Burgenland in their present-day settlements in the course of the sixteenth century in order to save them from the Turks and from the ongoing battles and skirmishes in the border region, where they had been living. Rajka was German in the nineteenth century. The ancestors of the German population in western Hungary – modern Burgenland – gradually settled there beginning from the eleventh century, although some sort of continuity with the earlier Carolingian population may have existed. After the Hungarian Conquest in the ninth century the Magyar element predominated and there were also some Slavs in these areas, who had arrived in the preceding centuries. The new German-speaking settlers came mainly from the adjoining regions of Austria and Bavaria, and after the fifteenth century they made up the majority of the population. Fényes Elek, *Magyar országnak, 's a' hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak...*, vol. I, 186, 188; Id., *Magyarország ismertetése...*, vol. I, section I, 262, 282-283; Ernst, *Geschichte des Burgenlandes...*, 248-253; István Polány, *Nyugatmagyarország néprajzi története* [The Ethnographic History of Western Hungary] I-II, Szombathely 1936-1938 (offprint from *Vasi Szemle* 1935-1936, 1937-1938); Elemér Moór, *Zur Siedlungsgeschichte der deutsch-ungarischen Sprachgrenze* I-II, Berlin-Leipzig 1929 (offprint from *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vol. 9, fasc. 1-2); Ernst, *Geschichte des Burgenlandes...*, 27-30; *Die burgenländischen Kroaten im Wandel der Zeiten*. Ed. Stefan Geosits, Vienna 1986, 3-28; Josef Breu, *Die Kroatensiedlung im Burgenland und den anschließenden Gebieten*. Vienna 1970.

<sup>118</sup> Sándor Büchler, 'A Goldzieherék családfájáról [On the Goldziehers' Family Tree], *Múlt és Jövő* 1938, 18-20, 51-52, 82-83.

<sup>119</sup> Karády, *Egyenlőtlen elmagyarosodás...*, 18.

<sup>120</sup> Reproduced in facsimile by Sándor [Alexander] Scheiber, *Folklór és tárgytörténet* (Folklore und Motivgeschichte), Budapest 1977-1984, vol. III, 538 (fig. 72). Cf.



Goldziher and his wife did not change their language habits after their settlement in Székesfehérvár, certainly not during the initial years.

We have a quotation at our disposal which proves that the Goldziher family spoke German in everyday life. Mór Ballagi's son, Aladár wrote in his reminiscences that Goldziher often quoted his grandmother, who, being aware that he had an inborn aversion towards practical affairs and being afraid that this might cause problems in later life, had the habit of warning him: "Nazi, Nazi! Lasz dich nicht in einen Sack hineinfoppen!" [= Nazi, Nazi! Don't let yourself be cheated!]<sup>121</sup>

We have some interesting testimonies from the Goldziher family concerning the multilingualism referred to in the preceding paragraph – this of course may not necessarily be valid either for Goldziher's parents or for himself. An uncle of Goldziher, Mihály Goldzieher (born 1827),<sup>122</sup> moved from Köpcsény to Pest around the middle of the 1840s, and the letters he wrote to his bride around 1860 were "in a Hungarian-German 'macaroni language', such as was spoken by the townspeople of Pest in those days, with the Hungarian words in Roman and the German words in Gothic script". The address was always: "Meine liebste Kedveském! [*My dearest*<sup>GERMAN</sup> | *darling*,<sup>HUNGARIAN</sup>]" . The following sentence may serve as an example: "Felőled álmodám die ganze Nacht. [*I dreamt of you*<sup>HUNGARIAN</sup> | *all night*.<sup>GERMAN</sup>]"<sup>123</sup> In another branch of the family, the following sentence occurs in the first decades of the twentieth century in Budapest: "Tout égal, de ha nem túl peinlich pour toi, chère maman, ich glaube, mégis mieux, ha magyarul beszélünk. [*It doesn't really matter*<sup>FRENCH</sup> | *but if it is not too*<sup>HUNGARIAN</sup> | *embarrassing*<sup>GERMAN</sup> | *for you, dear mother*<sup>FRENCH</sup>, | *I think*<sup>GERMAN</sup> | *it would nevertheless be*<sup>HUNGARIAN</sup> | *better*<sup>FRENCH</sup> | *if we spoke Hungarian*.<sup>HUNGARIAN</sup>]" It should be noted, however, that

Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest...*, 171 (n<sup>o</sup> 225). Cf. *ibid.*, 522-523. Where is the Goldzihers' family Bible now?

<sup>121</sup> Aladár Ballagi, 'Emlékezés Goldziher Ignácra' [Remembering Ignaz Goldziher], *Vasárnapi Ujság* 68 (1921), no. 23, 269. (= Id., *Élő tanítások* [Living Teachings], Cegléd 1934, 277). The article is in Hungarian, the quotation is in German. Ballagi uses the word "öreg anyját", which most probably means "his grandmother" but there is a slight possibility that it may refer to Goldziher's mother in her old age. On the German expression involved here cf. Gerhard Wahrig, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Gütersloh 1968, col. 1314 (s.v. *foppen*).

<sup>122</sup> The various members of the family wrote the family name differently. Ignaz Goldziher used a traditional transliteration of the Hebrew form, while others followed the rules of modern German orthography. See Goldziher's own view on this question in a letter to Theodor Nöldeke quoted in Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher. His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence*, Budapest-Leiden 1986, 345. (It should be noted, however, that the Hebrew form in the source referred to here contains four misprints.) See also Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...*, 140.

<sup>123</sup> Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...*, 151.

this last sentence was intended as a joke, an exaggerated mockery of existing habits.<sup>124</sup>

### References to Goldziher's mother tongue by himself and others

In the sources consulted, Goldziher makes three explicit references to his own mother tongue. In the *Tagebuch* he refers to Hungarian as "*ma belle langue maternelle*",<sup>125</sup> though the context leaves it open what he meant exactly. In the foreword to the *Mythos* he distinctly states that it was originally composed "*in meiner ungarischen Muttersprache*".<sup>126</sup> In the draft of an answer to Lajos Lóczy dated 29 August 1919 he rejects Lóczy's claim that he might have totally misunderstood Lóczy's statement in the Academy: he says he cannot have misunderstood a statement which was uttered in his presence in his mother tongue.<sup>127</sup> While the first two statements are open to various interpretations to a certain degree, the last utterance can only mean that Hungarian was the language he knew best.

These are weighty statements, but if they contradict all or most of the facts, they can at least be seen as proofs of Goldziher's Hungarian-ness, demonstrating that he

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 159. The context of this utterance is a sensitive one. In a conversation with his mother, purely by chance, young Géza Hegedüs happened to touch upon a subject which was regarded as a sort of family secret, of which nobody spoke and of which he himself was completely ignorant. It concerned a long and deep illicit affair between the grandmother and a Christian nobleman, which she had entered into after the death of her husband. The nobleman, who never married, lived as a tenant in the lady's flat until his death, and was regarded as a sort of uncle by the children of the family. After some reluctance and hesitation, the mother was at last ready to talk of this relationship, *but only in French*, because she regarded it as the language most appropriate to the subject – and perhaps because French provided a suitable distance between herself and the subject.

<sup>125</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch*..., 185.

<sup>126</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern und seine geschichtliche Entwicklung. Untersuchungen zur Mythologie und Religionswissenschaft*, Leipzig 1876, ix.

<sup>127</sup> Goldziher-correspondence. Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In the general session of the Academy on 18 August 1919, Lajos Lóczy (1849-1920), geologist and geographer, spoke about the role of Jews in the Soviet republic of Hungary. Goldziher improvised a reply to "Lóczy's antisemitic revelations" on the spot. This rather unedifying discussion was subsequently carried on in written form. Cf. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*..., 313; Bernát [Bernard] Heller, 'Goldziher Ignác emlékezete' [Reminiscences of Ignaz Goldziher], in: *Az Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társaság Évkönyve* [Yearbook of the Hungarian Israelite Literary Society], 1932, 22; Löw, 'Goldziher Ignác', in *Id.*, *Száz beszéd*..., 305-306; A. S. Yahuda, 'Die Bedeutung der Goldziher'schen Bibliothek für die zukünftige hebräische Universität', *Der Jude* 8 (1924), 591-592 (17-18 of the offprint); *Akadémiai Értesítő* 30 (1919), 267-268 (n<sup>o</sup> 72), 274-275 (n<sup>o</sup> 37).

considered Hungarian his *national* language because he was Hungarian, no matter whether it was the language he had first learned from his mother or that which he would use in family circle; it has been mentioned above that in those days the indication of a mother tongue was in many cases more a declaration of national loyalty, a declaration of personal identity, rather than a mere statement of fact.<sup>128</sup>

Such a use of the expression “mother tongue” is not without parallels.<sup>129</sup> The members of the Zsolnay family, of Hungarian origin, the founders and owners of the prestigious ceramics factory in Pécs (Germ. *Fünfkirchen*) in southern Hungary, were proud of their Hungarian-ness, yet spoke German in the family well into the first decades of the twentieth century. The family’s founding father came to Pécs in 1776 from Szombathely (Germ. *Steinamanger*) in western Hungary. Thus it can be assumed that, originating from a multilingual but predominantly German-speaking area and settling in Pécs, a town with German-speaking inhabitants, predominantly craftsmen, and intermarrying with them, the first Pécs Zsolnay, who had also spoken German in Szombathely, did not feel compelled to change his habits in the new environment, where everybody spoke German. Teréz Zsolnay (1854-1944) wrote in her memoirs about her early education in the 1860s: “Madlon [the French governess] taught us everything in French, in the family we spoke only German, thus for a while a Hungarian teacher visited us regularly so that we could master our mother tongue”.<sup>130</sup> It is evident that here the term “mother tongue” does not mean the language acquired first from the mother but has the meaning of “national language”, i.e. the language of the nation one belongs to. Another example, where “mother tongue” is used simultaneously with two different meanings, is from the present day: in a recent Hungarian broadcast on the literary activities of Gypsies in contemporary Hungary, an expert said that “a number of Hungarian-speaking Gypsies started to learn their mother tongue so that they could master the language they had failed to learn as mother tongue”.<sup>131</sup>

In connection with the doctoral thesis of his younger son, Goldziher refers to Hungarian as “our language”: “Da sie in unserer ungarischen Sprache abgefasst ist, entzieht sie sich vorläufig dem Urtheil weiterer Kreise. [Since it is written in our Hungarian language it is not accessible to the judgment of wider circles for the time being.]”<sup>132</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Karády, *Egyenlőtlen elmagyarosodás...*, 11, 15-16, 28-29.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. note 25 above.

<sup>130</sup> Teréz Zsolnay–Margit M. Zsolnay, *Zsolnay. A gvár története* [Zsolnay. History of the Factory]. 2nd ed., Budapest 1975, 34. My translation from the Hungarian. My friend József Sisa informs me that the original of the memoirs is in German; this is not indicated in the edition.

<sup>131</sup> Kossuth Rádió, Budapest, 10 February 2001. My translation from the Hungarian.

<sup>132</sup> Simon, *Ignác Goldziher...*, 250.

In a letter of 14 December 1893, Nöldeke wrote to Goldziher: “*Sie sind von d. Ungarn, deren Sprache nicht Ihre Muttersprache ist, so schlecht behandelt worden, dass Sie eigentlich eher daran denken sollten, die Ihrigen diesem Lande zu entziehen!*” [You have been treated so badly by the Hungarians, whose mother tongue is not yours, that you should rather consider taking away the members of your family from that country!]<sup>133</sup> There is no other mention of this subject in the whole correspondence – in its extant part at least – so we must suppose that Nöldeke had heard this piece of information from Goldziher at one of their personal meetings. It is also possible, however, that he simply assumed it to be the case. Nöldeke seems to have been interested in the mother tongues of Jews: in a letter to Goldziher dated 28 April 1904, he mentions that a Jew from Russia is attending his courses and that his mother tongue is Russian, with the word “Russian” underlined, indicating that he found the fact strange and unusual: “Nun habe ich, wenn nicht etwa noch einer dazu kommt, 3 Zuhörer: 1 Juden aus Russland (mit *russischer* Muttersprache), 1 Schotten und 1 belgischen Kleriker. (3 Religionen!)” [I have now three students if no one else joins them: 1 Jew from Russia (with *Russian* as mother tongue), 1 Scotchman and 1 Belgian clergyman (3 religions!).]<sup>134</sup> It is interesting to note in this context that Nöldeke regularly criticized Goldziher’s German style in his letters, and on one occasion at least he did so also publicly as well. In his review of Part Two of *Muhammedanische Studien* he made the following remark: “Der deutsche Stil Goldziher’s ist nicht immer tadellos. [Goldziher’s German style is not always impeccable.]”<sup>135</sup>

Against this, Wilhelm Barthold states explicitly that Goldziher’s mother tongue was Hungarian. However, he does not seem to have known Goldziher well, so this statement is either based on supposition or he heard it from Baron Victor Rosen, who had been a good friend of Goldziher’s ever since they had studied together with Fleischer in Leipzig in 1870. Rosen himself seems to have held that Goldziher’s mother tongue was Hungarian. Barthold reports that in his university lectures in St. Petersburg, Rosen used to warn his students that Goldziher’s works were difficult to read, especially in view of the fact that German was neither the mother tongue of the author nor that of the readers.<sup>136</sup> I do not consider this as decisive evidence – maybe

<sup>133</sup> Simon, *Ignác Goldziher...*, 186.

<sup>134</sup> Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Oriental Collection. Not included by Simon in his edition of Goldziher’s selected correspondence with Nöldeke. Cf. also Gotthard Strohmaier’s remark on Goldziher’s German style in his contribution to the present volume: “It bears the title ‘Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften’ and is written in an *almost* flawless German.” (Italics added.)

<sup>135</sup> *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1891), 49.

<sup>136</sup> Vasilij Vladimirovič Bartol’d [Wilhelm Barthold], ‘Ignaz Goldziher. 1850-1921. Nekrolog’, *Izvestiya Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk*, Leningrad, ser. 6, 16 (1922), 151-152 = Id., *Sočineniya*, vol. 9, Moscow 1977, 722.

it is based on assumption, too – yet it does at least prove that in Fleischer’s classes in Leipzig, which were held in German, it was not evident that Goldziher’s mother tongue could be German and that it was not Hungarian. At the same time the fact that someone who spent a lot of time with Goldziher and communicated with him in German both in conversation and correspondence all his life thought that Goldziher’s mother tongue was not German but Hungarian ultimately suggests that Nöldeke’s statement may also be based on supposition.

One of Goldziher’s pupils, Bernát [Bernard] Heller, reports that Goldziher regarded all except Hungarian as foreign languages.<sup>137</sup>

### Goldziher’s references to *Jüdisch-Deutsch* and *Jargon*

In his *Tagebuch* Goldziher makes a number of mentions of the *Jargon* referred to above. None of these occurrences proves beyond doubt that he himself used it, yet they strongly suggest that this was in fact the case. After a six-week absence from Hungary in 1894, a meeting in Basel, Switzerland, with Max Nordau, his former class-mate, afforded him an opportunity to hear *Jargon* once again. At first sight the passage in question seems to imply that the two men conversed in *Jargon*. Yet the wording is ambiguous and the meaning not clear. Goldziher says that he met Max Nordau soon after the latter’s arrival in the same hotel, they spent a few very stimulating evening hours chatting and the *next day* he heard himself addressed in clear and distinct *Jargon* once again, after a privation of six weeks:

“Gestern Abends bin ich in Basel angekommen und ein glücklicher Zufall fügte es, dass einige Stunden nach meiner Ankunft Max Nordau mit seiner Mutter aus dem schweizerischen Badeort Baden kommend, im selben Hotel abstieg. Wir verbrachten einige sehr anregende Abendstunden mit einander. Tags darauf hörte ich mich nach sechswöchentlicher Entbehrung wieder einmal in klarem deutlichem *Jargon* anreden.” [I arrived in Basel last night and by a happy coincidence Max Nordau and his mother, coming from the Swiss spa of Baden, put up at the same hotel a few hours after my arrival. We spent a few very stimulating evening hours together. Next day, after a privation of six weeks, I heard myself addressed in clear and distinct *Jargon* once again.]<sup>138</sup>

Who addressed him in clear and distinct *Jargon*? Nordau? But then in what language did they converse the night before? In Hungarian? Or German? Or *Jargon* – but Goldziher states explicitly that it was *next day* that he was first addressed in *Jargon* once again after a privation of six weeks. Or was it a joke of Nordau’s, addressing him in *Jargon* in the morning after having conversed with him in a

<sup>137</sup> Dr. Bernát Heller, ‘Goldziher Ignác’, *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 44 (1927), 273.

<sup>138</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 184.

“cultivated” language the night before? Or was it someone else? Or is Goldziher’s account simply somewhat careless?<sup>139</sup> He does not say what language he used to answer the address, but it is likely to have been *Jargon* too.<sup>140</sup>

Nordau was not an unlikely candidate to address Goldziher in clear and distinct *Jargon* because it was his mother tongue and it was certainly the language he always used in conversation with his mother. Born in Riga, educated in Vilna, Nordau’s mother came to Pest as a school-teacher, and stuck to her native Jewish-German all her life without ever making an attempt to acquire another language except for a few scraps of Russian and the Hebrew of her prayers. Nordau’s father went from Russian Poland to Prague, then moved to Hungary, first to Pozsony<sup>141</sup> and subsequently to Pest. He had an excellent knowledge of German and Hebrew, and even taught his son the Jewish-Spanish of their ancestors at a remarkably early age, but he apparently never learned Hungarian.<sup>142</sup>

The deliberations of the *Vorstand* of the Budapest Jewish community were also conducted in *Jargon*, but here again we are told that Goldziher was obliged to *hear* this *Jargon*, he does not explicitly say that he himself used it actively, although this is probably what can be assumed.<sup>143</sup> It may be noted that these remarks seem to be distinctly derogatory. So is another quotation from the “supreme president of local Jews”: “Der Docter Galdzieher mit seinen nerwehsen Karakter... ” [Doctor Goldziher with his nervous character...].<sup>144</sup> A similar medium seems also to have been used by Vámbéry, whose bad German pronunciation and grammatical mistakes Goldziher holds up to ridicule: “‘Ich hab bekommen Jahresgehalt von der englischen Königin und vom Sultan für politische Dienste. ... Ich weiss ja, du bist ein berühmter Mensch, ich hab das in Ausland gehehrt. Du misstest auswandern.’ Dann noch einige ungrammatische Tiraden über die Niederträchtigkeit aller Religionen, über den Socialismus, über Patriotismus (die grösste aller Schwindeleien) etc. etc.” [‘I received an annual salary from the English Queen and the Sultan for political

<sup>139</sup> This is not the only case when one has the impression that Goldziher’s mind was working much faster than his pen and his statements cannot be interpreted literally but are strongly in need of exegesis.

<sup>140</sup> It may be noted that there are eight letters by Nordau to Goldziher in the Goldziher-correspondence: all of them are in standard literary German, written in Gothic script. There is also the draft of an answer by Goldziher, also in standard literary German, written in normal Roman characters. Cf. Alexander Scheiber, ‘Max Nordau’s Letters to Ignace Goldziher’, *Jewish Social Studies* 18 (1956), 199-207.

<sup>141</sup> See note 23 above.

<sup>142</sup> Nordau, *Erinnerungen*.... 12, 15, 127.

<sup>143</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch*.... 213 (lines 3, 18), 244 (line -2). Ádám Nádasdy points out to me that the form “Brod” as used by Goldziher (p. 213, line 18) displays the voicing of the final unvoiced consonant, a characteristic feature of both Jewish-coloured German and Yiddish, although as a word it does not exist in its own right in Yiddish.

<sup>144</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch*...., 217.

services. ... I certainly know that you are a famous man: I have heard it abroad. You should emigrate.’ And some more ungrammatical tirades on the baseness of all religions, on socialism, patriotism (the biggest of all frauds) etc. etc.].<sup>145</sup> The passage in question, which was in fact addressed to Goldziher, seems to imply that the whole conversation between them was carried on in *Jargon*, with Goldziher answering in the same idiom, unless we are to suppose that Goldziher replied in another language, a by no means unknown phenomenon in multilingual communities. Max Nordau, on the other hand, emphasized that Vámbéry spoke beautiful, pure German.<sup>146</sup> We must not forget that Nordau spoke *Jargon* with Goldziher, on certain occasions at least. One would therefore assume that he did the same with Vámbéry. Who knows. Maybe they changed their medium of communication from time to time. In view of the complicated nature of Goldziher’s relationship with Vámbéry, however, it is quite possible that Goldziher’s mockery of Vámbéry’s *Jargon* is unfounded. On the other hand it is to be assumed that Vámbéry spoke various levels of German with equal ease.

Goldziher ridicules similar utterances by other Jews too.<sup>147</sup> It may be noted that Goldziher also used the term *Jüdisch-Deutsch* in the title of an early article of his *Erklärung jüdisch-deutscher Worte*, which appeared in Leopold Löw’s *Ben Chananja* in Szeged.<sup>148</sup> Goldziher also uses the word “Jargon” with strongly derogatory overtones referring to colloquial Arabic, when trying to describe what his learned friend Archbishop Macarius may have thought of this – in his eyes – highly corrupt form of Arabic.<sup>149</sup>

On his study tour to the Orient in 1873-1874 Goldziher stayed at Hotel Hornstein in Jerusalem, which was owned by a Polish Jew. On his arrival at the hotel, Goldziher noted, the owner, “der mitsammt seinen evangelischen Kelnern und Hausjungen in reinstem *Mauscheljüdisch* mich empfang” [who, together with his Lutheran waiters and house-boys, received me in the purest *Mauschel-Jüdisch*].<sup>150</sup>

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 226-227. Vámbéry, it will be remembered, was of Jewish origin, and came from the small town of Pozsonyszentgyörgy (Germ. *St. Georgen*; now *Svätý Jur*, Slovakia) near the respective birthplaces of Goldziher’s parents in Western Hungary.

<sup>146</sup> Raphael Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and his Oriental Diary. A Translation and Psychological Portrait*. Detroit 1987, 44, footnote 37.

<sup>147</sup> See, e.g., Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 217.

<sup>148</sup> *Ben Chananja* 10, 1867. Ausserordentliche Beilage zu Ben Chananja No. 12, col. 8.

<sup>149</sup> Ignác Goldziher, ‘A nyelvtudomány történetéről az araboknál [On the History of Grammar Among the Arabs]. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 14 (1878), 338; (=Id., *Az arabok és az iszlám. Válogatott tanulmányok*. [The Arabs and Islam. Selected Studies]. Ed. István Ormos. Budapest 1995, vol. I, 250. = Ignaz Goldziher, *On the History of Grammar Among the Arabs*. Transl. Kinga Dévényi – Tamás Iványi, Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1994, 26.)

<sup>150</sup> Ignác Goldziher, *Keleti napló*. Ms. Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, 73-74. Cf. Patai: *Ignaz Goldziher and his Oriental Diary...*, 132.

This somewhat pejorative expression, taken from the Jewish-coloured German (*Jüdisch-Deutsch*) diminutive of the name Moses [*Mausche*; dim. *Mauschel*], has been in common usage in German since the seventeenth century.<sup>151</sup> Goldziher no doubt uses it here to describe (Eastern) Yiddish.

### Goldziher's knowledge of Standard German

As a boy, Goldziher went to the local Jewish elementary school (which was to be named after him in 1925), where the language of instruction in those days was German. Even if we assume that instruction was carried on partly in Jewish-coloured German, there can be no doubt that partly at least it must also have been in Standard German, and that pupils were taught the elements of German grammar. Furthermore, it is certain that Goldziher's parents also knew German: the entries on "Wittus" and "Ignatz" in the family Bible are in Hebrew and German.<sup>152</sup> In 1862, at the age of twelve, Goldziher published his first book, written in German.<sup>153</sup> It seems that Goldziher also gave his *bar-mitzvah*-sermon in German.<sup>154</sup> His fluency in German may also have been facilitated by the fact that a part of the population of his native town used German in everyday life. Consequently Goldziher must have acquired a sound knowledge of Standard German very early in life. This is apparently contradicted by a passage in a letter to Nöldeke, which goes as follows: "Die erste deutsche Gewöhnung geht bei mir natürlich auf die österreichische Unmittelbarkeit zurück, durch die ich in das Deutsche (zuerst im 12. Lebensjahr) eingeführt worden bin..." [Of course, in my case the first familiarity with German is based on the immediate contact with Austria, through which I have been introduced to the German language (at the age of twelve for the first time)].<sup>155</sup> In view of the facts

<sup>151</sup> See Jacob Grimm – Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1854-1954, vol. VI, 1819-1820 (s.v. *Mauschel*, *Mauschelbruder*, *Mauschelei*, *mauscheln*); *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*. Ed. Wolfgang Pfeifer, Berlin 1989, vol. II, 1079 (s.v. *mauscheln*). Cf. also, e.g., *Muret-Sanders enzyklopädisches englisch-deutsches und deutsch-englisches Wörterbuch. Hand- und Schulausgabe*, Teil II, *Deutsch-Englisch*. Ed. H. Baumann, Berlin-Schöneberg 1908, 687a (s.v. *Mauschel*); Gerhard Wahrig, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Gütersloh 1968, col. 2387 (s.v. *mauscheln*).

<sup>152</sup> See above.

<sup>153</sup> *Sichat-Jiczchak. Abhandlung über Ursprung, Eintheilung und Zeit der Gebete*. Von Ignaz Goldziher, Gymnasialschüler in Stuhlweißenburg, Pest 1862.

<sup>154</sup> The manuscript (autograph?), which is in German, was discovered by Shlomo Shunami in the library of the Jewish Community in Vienna and published by Mosheh Carmilly-Weinberger. Mosheh Carmilly-Weinberger, 'Yitzhaq Yehudah Goldziher – Derashat ha-bar-mitzwah', in: *Joshua Finkel Festschrift*. Ed. Sidney B. Hoenig, Leon D. Stitskin, New York 1974, 185-199 (Hebrew section).

<sup>155</sup> Simon, *Ignác Goldziher...*, 277.



referred to above, this passage cannot be taken literally to mean that Goldziher began learning German at the age of twelve. Instead it must mean that Goldziher started learning German literature and grammar *seriously and systematically, exercising special effort*, as a high-school subject, at this age and that this reinforced what in Nöldeke's opinion were his "undesirable" Austrianisms, because everybody in Hungary in those days spoke German with an Austrian flavour.

Goldziher wrote both of his diaries in German. The title of the Oriental Diary is in Hungarian while the diary itself is in German – one has the impression that he wrote the title in his "national tongue", Hungarian, because he was a Hungarian patriot, but then switched to German because it came more naturally to him, and in any case the diary was for his own private use. The case of the diary of his adult life, the *Tagebuch*, is somewhat more complicated. He wrote it in German, but the problem is that his purpose in writing it is not clear. At the beginning he writes: "Derselbe ist für meine Frau, meine Kinder und die allernächsten Glieder meines engern Freundeskreises bestimmt. Allen anderen, muss diese Skizze, so lange ich lebe, unzugänglich bleiben." [It is meant for my wife, my children and the closest members of the circle of my friends. This draft must remain inaccessible to everybody else as long as I live.]<sup>156</sup> Similarly, but mentioning his children only: "meinen Kindern, für welche diese Blätter bestimmt sind..." [for my children, for whom these leaves are meant...]<sup>157</sup> and "Meine Kinder ... Diese Blätter sind aber zunächst für sie geschrieben.." [My children... However, these leaves have been written for them in the first place...]<sup>158</sup> In his will, made in Hungarian at the end of

<sup>156</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch*..., 15.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

<sup>159</sup> My translation from the Hungarian. The original was published in facsimile in Scheiber, *Folklór*..., vol. III, 557-559 (figs. 75-76). Where is the autograph of the will today? Perhaps in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, where the manuscript of the Oriental Diary (*Keleti Naplóm*) is kept? Where is the manuscript of Goldziher's Diary [*Tagebuch*]? It would be worth while consulting it because Scheiber is known to have suppressed Goldziher's remarks on the Hungarian Soviet Republic both in the German edition and the Hungarian translation. Maybe he suppressed other passages too? Sándor [Alexander] Fodor, 'A hebraisztika csúcsteljesítménye' [The Climax of Hebraic Scholarship], in: Péter Kertész, *A könyvek hídjá. Emlékfüzér Scheiber Sándorról* [The Bridge of Books. A String of Reminiscences of Alexander Scheiber], Budapest 2005, 219-220. It would be interesting to know whether Goldziher disposed of his library or not, and if so, where and how. It would also be interesting to know whether he wrote a later will. Or was this the only one? As far as the singular form "child" is concerned, it will be remembered that Goldziher's elder son Miksa/Misi/Max died in 1900. When Goldziher's wife died on 29 December 1925 she bequeathed his correspondence, handwritten notes and collection of *excerpta* to the Hungarian Academy in her will. (See my article on Goldziher's correspondence

the Day of Atonement in 1901, he writes: "I shall dispose of my library separately. Among my documents will be found my autobiographical notes up to 1900. They should be examined by my wife and child and those intimate friends whom they deem worthy. I leave it to their discretion whether they wish to make public these leaves which were written with my own heart's blood".<sup>159</sup> It is almost impossible to

with Max Herz Pasha in the present volume.) This circumstance – namely that she disposed of Goldziher's Nachlass – and the way Goldziher's library was sold seem to imply that there was no valid will at Goldziher's death. At the same time it is difficult to believe that Goldziher died without having disposed of his library, correspondence etc, while this question had already occupied him twenty years earlier. He did not die unexpectedly, he was preparing himself for death. We know, for instance, that feeling that death was near he instructed the members of his family himself that Psalm xxiii should be recited at his bier both in Hebrew and in Péchi Simon's (d. 1642) Hungarian translation. *Akadémiai Értesítő* 33 (1922), 66-67 ('Nekrológok' [Obituaries], I); Immánuel Löw, 'Goldziher Ignác', in: Id., *Száz beszéd...*, 299. On the other hand, we have no reason to suppose that his wife and son would have acted against his will. The oral tradition of the profession in Hungary has it that Goldziher always wanted that his library should go to the Hungarian Academy after his death. In conformity with her husband's will – it is said – Mrs. Goldziher offered it to the Academy after Goldziher's death but asked for an annuity in exchange. The Academy declined the offer, partly for shortage of money and partly out of short-sightedness, so she offered it for sale and sold it to the highest bidder. It is true that the Academy was in straitened circumstances at the time. There is no document in the Academy Archives to confirm this tradition. A participant of the events recalled later that soon after Goldziher's death a representative of the Hungarian Government had suggested that the family present his library to the Hungarian State, as an act of testimony of patriotism. An alternative proposal was that it should be acquired for the Hungarian State by a group of wealthy Jews in Budapest. Cf. Israel Cohen, 'The Goldziher Library', in: Id., *Travels in Jewry*, New York 1953, 183. It is difficult to say whether it was in conformity with Goldziher's intentions or not that his library went to Jerusalem. In any case, this possibility does not seem to have emerged during his lifetime. Goldziher was a devout Jew but no Zionist. He considered himself a Hungarian by nationality and a Jew by religion. In 1889 he wrote in a letter to József Bánóczi (1849-1926): "Judaism is a religion, not an ethnographic concept. As far as my national affiliation is concerned I am a Hungarian from Transdanubia, a Jew by religion. When I left Jerusalem for Hungary I said I was coming home. Man is a result of historical circumstances, his character is determined by the circumstances and not by his cranial index." Heller, 'Goldziher Ignác emlékezete'..., 25. Translation from the Hungarian. It is also characteristic of Goldziher's Hungarian nationalism, which was in accordance with contemporary trends in a considerable section of Hungarian Jewry, that during a long stay in Miskolc in 1867 he encouraged the local Jewish youth to found a *national cultural society* [eines *nationalen Kulturvereins*] and held high-sounding speeches himself to initiate this project. Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 31. National can only refer here to the Hungarian nation. For another proof of Goldziher's Hungarian sentiments see also my article on Goldziher's correspondence with Max Herz Pasha in the present volume (n. 116). The question is, however, whether the sad experiences of the last years of his life, namely the emergence of antisemitic trends in Hungarian public life, have modified his sentiments or not.

say anything definitive about Goldziher's purpose in writing this diary. Perhaps he was unsure of it himself and vacillated between various possibilities, his main need being to give himself an outlet for all the tensions of everyday life. Yet if we consider that very often Goldziher explains the causes of and reasons for his actions with a view to justifying himself and accounting for those actions to future generations, one cannot discount the possibility that his aim was to have the diary published soon after his death. If this were true, then of course German was the obvious choice, because it would give his scholarly colleagues access to this most important key to his life.

One has the impression that with the progress of time Hungarian gradually gained in importance in Goldziher's life. He wrote his highly personal will (*Végredeletem* [My Last Will and Testament]) in Hungarian in 1901.<sup>160</sup> This deals exclusively with personal and spiritual matters, avoiding any discussion of the financial subjects that one would normally expect to find in a will. And when his beloved daughter-in-law died at the end of 1918, he recorded his grief in the *Tagebuch* in Hungarian: it was as if the impact of the tragedy had caused him to forget that he was writing the diary in German, and he expressed his despair in the language that first occurred to him, the language that was closest to his heart.<sup>161</sup> This is the way Alexander Scheiber interpreted the event.<sup>162</sup> Patai accepted this interpretation.<sup>163</sup> An alternative interpretation is that Goldziher's use of Hungarian here may have been prompted by the fact that it was the language he and his daughter-in-law used in everyday conversation; it is not unlikely that Mariska, who was from a younger generation, spoke mainly Hungarian and that her mother tongue was genuinely Hungarian. It can also be assumed that – no matter what his mother tongue had originally been – Goldziher mostly used Hungarian in later years. It may be worth noting here that a post-card has surfaced recently, written by Goldziher to one of his favourite pupils, Bernát [Bernard] Heller, in May 1917. The text deals with everyday matters and is in Hungarian.<sup>164</sup> (Heller was born in 1871, at Nagybicse on the river Vág in Trencsén county, Upper Hungary,<sup>165</sup> close to the Moravian border, where the

<sup>160</sup> See n. 159.

<sup>161</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 311. Cf. *ibid.*, 10.

<sup>162</sup> Ignác Goldziher, *Napló* [Diary]. Ed. Sándor [Alexander] Scheiber. Transl. Dr. Livia Scheiber-Bernáth, Budapest 1984, 407 (n<sup>o</sup> 532).

<sup>163</sup> Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary...*, 55.

<sup>164</sup> It was put up for auction as item n<sup>o</sup> 245 by the Judaica Center–Biblical World Gallery at the “Judaica Auction in Hungary (Books and Manuscripts)” in Budapest on 11 November 2001, but was unsold. It was subsequently acquired by the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>165</sup> Present-day Bytča on the river Váh between Považská Bystrica and Žilina in Northern Slovakia.

population was Slovak. So it is perfectly likely that his mother tongue may also have been German.)

There were at least certain people with whom Goldziher seems to have conversed in German (or perhaps *Jüdisch-Deutsch*) all his life. One of these was Sámuel Kohn, Chief Rabbi of Budapest, who lived in the same building as Goldziher. Goldziher always addressed him as "Herr Doktor", while Kohn would address his friend as "Sie, Goldziher".<sup>166</sup> From these forms of address it appears that they conversed – at least partly – in German, perhaps also switching to *Jüdisch-Deutsch*. Kohn, it will be remembered, was a staunch supporter of Magyarization, and also the first rabbi to deliver a sermon in Hungarian in the reform synagogue in Székesfehérvár in 1867.<sup>167</sup>

Goldziher's wife, Laura Mittler, came from the south-eastern part of the Hungarian Great Plain: she was the daughter of a country doctor from the small village of Aradszentmárton.<sup>168</sup> Her Hungarian is reported to have been poor. Jenő Péterfy, a close friend of Goldziher's, once told her: "A konyhája nagyon jó, ha még magyarul is megtanulna..." [Your cooking is very good; if you also learned Hungarian...].<sup>169</sup> This suggests that the language the Goldziheres used among themselves was German – probably not Jewish-coloured German or Yiddish – and that the two sons' mother tongue was probably German too. However, it can be assumed that the sons also learned Hungarian at a very early age, and that they grew up bilingual. In a letter dated 20 September 1898, Goldziher mentioned to Nöldeke that his two sons had spoken excellent German from early childhood on: "Der deutschen Sprache sind sie beide vollkommen mächtig und sie haben auch eine grosse Masse guter deutscher Litteratur von Kindesbeinen an in sich aufgenommen." [Both of them have a perfect command of the German language. From their earliest childhood on they have also absorbed a large quantity of good German literature.]<sup>170</sup> This wording could imply that German was not their mother tongue, but not necessarily. However, it is impossible to imagine that a mother would raise her sons in a language she knew imperfectly. Goldziher's elder son Miksa, however, seems to have written his own diary in Hungarian.<sup>171</sup> A marginal note by Károly in the *Tagebuch*, at the point where Goldziher's wife tore off the part relating to their

<sup>166</sup> Goldziher, *Napló...*, 12 (Scheiber's foreword).

<sup>167</sup> *Zsidó lexikon...*, 494-495; Steinherz, *A székesfehérvári zsidók...*, 57.

<sup>168</sup> Since 1920 Sînmartin, Romania.

<sup>169</sup> István Zimándi: *Péterfy Jenő és barátai köre* [Jenő Péterfy and His Circle of Friends]. (Irodalomtörténeti füzetek 30), Budapest 1960, 85.

<sup>170</sup> Simon, *Ignác Goldziher...*, 239.

<sup>171</sup> A quotation from it in Zimándi is in Hungarian. There is no indication that it is a translation. Zimándi, *Péterfy Jenő élete...*, 483; Id., 'Péterfy Jenő utolsó éve' [The Last Year of Jenő Péterfy's Life], *Irodalomtörténet* 1957, 492. It seems to be lost.

marriage, is also in Hungarian: “Szegény mama tépte le!” [Poor mother tore it off!] <sup>172</sup>

### The testimony of a relative

The prolific essayist, literary and cultural historian Géza Hegedüs (1912-1999), a relative of Goldziher's, <sup>173</sup> who may have seen him a few times as a child, <sup>174</sup> said,

<sup>172</sup> Goldziher, *Tagebuch...* 90.

<sup>173</sup> His great grandfather was the brother of Goldziher's father: his maternal grandmother, Szidónia Goldzieher, was the daughter of Mihály (Michael) Goldzieher. Mihály Goldzieher (d. 1871) had four children: Géza (b. 1861), Szidónia (b. 1862), Gyula (b. 1866) and Emil (b. 1870). Szidónia was also the cousin of Ignaz Goldziher; she married David Sonnenfeld in 1882. The bridegroom was thirty and the bride twenty. Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...* 40, 137; *Id., Egy jól nevelt fiatalember...*, 233. On the Goldziher/Goldzieher family cf. *id., Előjátékok...* 137-215. It is not possible to trace this line in the type-written draft of the family chronicle: *The Diaspora of a Hungarian Family: The Goldziehers. Draft*, Washington 1998. Hegedüs relates many interesting details of the history of the Goldziher/Goldzieher family – how reliable his facts are, is another question. Thus, for instance, he traces the origins of the family back to Fernando Torquedor/Turquedor, a Spanish Dominican friar, who came to Altona in 1570 to fight the Protestant heresy in Germany, but was in due course converted to Lutheranism. A devout and ardent theologian, he moved to Switzerland, where he in turn became converted to Calvinism. As a Calvinist he went to Transylvania in Hungary, where, under the Latin name of Ferdinandus Aurifex, he became an ardent follower of Unitarianism. One of his sons, Gersonius Aurifex, himself an ardent theologian, converted to Sabbatarianism in Transylvania – the dividing lines between this branch of extreme Protestantism and Judaism are sometimes blurred. When Sabbatarianism became subject to persecution following the death of Prince Gábor Bethlen (1629), the Aurifex family fled to Holland, resuming their old Spanish name, Torquedor. One of their descendants then moved to Germany and translated the family name to Goldziher. Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...* 138-140. A somewhat different version of this story is current in another branch of the family. It runs: “Their [= our ancestors'] name was Tiradoro, and they were Sephardic Jews who lived in Toledo, Spain, in the late fifteenth century. Esperanza was the *dueña* (governess) of the *infantes*, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella's children. Her relatives made the gold filaments for the region's famous filigree jewelry, sword hilts, and other *objets d'art*. When the persecution of the Jews started, one of Esperanza's brothers converted to Roman Catholicism and was ordained priest. With his help some family members escaped from Spain. They migrated to Germany, where they translated their name to Goldzieher, and started our extraordinary family. Esperanza's name runs through generations of the Hamburg branch. Those who stayed behind became *maraños*, practicing Catholicism in public while observing Jewish religious traditions in private. Because they failed to contribute large sums to the royal coffers, they were denounced to the Inquisition. The priest was put to death, and the rest of the family fled from Spain.” *The Diaspora of a*

when asked about Goldziher's mother tongue, that of course it had been Hungarian. There was even an edge of indignation in his tone, as if he had been asked a self-evident question: even Goldziher's father, he said, spoke Hungarian in the family circle, because they had been assimilants since the eighteenth century.<sup>175</sup> This is a remarkable statement, made by a distant member of the family who was, by his inclinations and profession, interested in history in general and in Hungarian history in particular, and had detailed information and memories about the family.<sup>176</sup> His testimony therefore deserves attention. At the same time, a certain caution is in order here, because it is an attested fact that assimilated families of whatever origin tend as far as they can to shed any associations that remind them of their alien roots. Consequently there is a possibility that even if the Goldziheres had spoken Jewish-coloured German within the family, one or two generations later young Géza Hegedüs would have had no knowledge of it, because in his day nobody mentioned it anymore.

### An irregular conclusion

We have seen that very few absolutely accurate statements can be made about this period. Possibility, potentiality, eventuality and probability are everywhere: *perhaps, it may be, might have been, probably, most probably*, etc, and when dealing with the statement of a contemporary, we cannot necessarily take it at face value, but must somehow interpret it, because meanings are oblique and not what they may seem in a literal sense. All this is due to the complicated, transitional situation that obtained at the time. Representatives of various ethnicities and denominations were living together in a period of rapid transition: even before the period in question they were using different languages in a complicated variety of forms. They may have used

*Hungarian Family...*, vii. This is where Ignaz Goldziher's own version of the history of the family begins. Goldziher, *Tagebuch...*, 15. Hegedüs also divulges an interesting family secret. As a young girl Ilona, Goldziher's father's sister, fell in love with a young pipe-maker. Since there was no hope that they could ever marry because he was a Christian, she escaped through the window one night and ran away with him. She converted to Catholicism, they got married and lived happily ever after. This happened well before 1848. None of Ilona's numerous descendants today knows anything about the Jewish line in their family; it has always been regarded as a well-kept family secret, just as the affair remained a secret in the Goldziher family, too. Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...*, 143-146. Ilona does not appear in *The Diaspora of a Hungarian Family...*, .

<sup>174</sup> So he told the author of these lines in a telephone conversation a few years before his death. Elsewhere he wrote: "I never saw him in my life but he was my grandmother's cousin." Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...*, 168, 207.

<sup>175</sup> Personal communication in 1997.

<sup>176</sup> See Hegedüs, *Előjátékok...*, 137-215.

one language at home and another at school, but they also may have switched from one to another in a single conversation, even within one sentence. They may also have made abrupt switches of register: we can assume that the teacher at the Jewish elementary school taught his pupils how to read and write in literary German, *Hochdeutsch*, but switched to local *Jüdisch-Deutsch* when he had to explain the meaning of certain words or to keep discipline in class. With the progress of buoyant Magyarization, which affected many people at a deep emotional level as well, things became even more complicated. Ethnic Germans, Slovaks etc. would declare themselves Magyars in their own respective original national languages, without having acquired even a working knowledge of Hungarian, as is well illustrated by the case of Franz Liszt: his mother tongue was German and he became a fervent Hungarian nationalist as an adult, subsequently also acquiring a good knowledge of Hungarian. “Mother tongue” did not necessarily mean the language one learned from one’s mother: it could also denote one’s national language, the normal language of one’s ethnic group (which one may happen not to speak at all), or even that of one’s chosen nation (which again one may happen not to speak at all). And because of the emotions involved in changing one’s national and/or religious allegiance and language, the memory of this process is rapidly blanked out: those who managed to assimilate would stop mentioning the language of their ancestors or any change in their linguistic habits because it was no longer important, and may even have been embarrassing. For many such people the language of their ancestors and its corollaries belonged to a different world, a world devoid of any current interest and potentially discomfoting.

Given names are a good example of the subject just referred to.<sup>177</sup> In connection with my research on Herz Pasha, some time ago I cursorily checked the Jewish birth-registers from the south-eastern area of present-day Hungary. I found that in the 1850s and ’60s mainly German and Hebrew given names appeared, while in later decades Hungarian names predominated. In a very few cases I managed to trace present-day descendants, and discovered that the person who had been entered under a Hebrew or a German given name was later known in the family under a different, Hungarian given name, and the original given name had been completely forgotten. When told this, the descendants were uniformly taken aback, some were even offended, and seriously questioned the accurateness of the identification – which was beyond doubt. The explanation is simple and plausible: with the rapid progress of Magyarization, people adopted Hungarian names in the place of German and Hebrew ones, without taking official steps, and did not speak of it any more: they were so happy to have become Magyars!<sup>178</sup> How widespread this phenomenon

<sup>177</sup> Of course, surnames also played an important role in this process, but we will not consider them here.

<sup>178</sup> This statement is not intended as propaganda; it merely aims at explaining the phenomenon that people simply never talked of these things any more.

was is attested by the fact that in the period under discussion several decrees issued by the Minister of the Interior dealt with the question of when and how it was permissible for Israelites to revert to their “real names”, i.e. to replace the given name that had been “entered erroneously” into the birth-register. While there can be no doubt that mistakes were relatively common – there were in fact many ways in which mistakes could occur, e.g. the name had been communicated to the rabbi by a friend or the midwife several days later; the rabbi, ignorant of Hungarian, had misunderstood the name or simply replaced it with a similarly sounding Hebrew one, etc., etc. – it can still be assumed that in the great majority of cases the individuals merely wanted to replace their original Hebrew or German names with a Magyar one, or simply to legalize names they had tacitly assumed long ago.<sup>179</sup> (When reading the text of these decrees one has the impression that the changing of given names was very widespread in those days.)

Goldziher lived in a period of rapid transition in a multi-ethnic and bi-, or rather multi-lingual town, as a member of a bilingual religious community. There can be no doubt that he himself grew up multilingual from very early childhood on, especially if we consider his phenomenal gift for languages. In view of this state of affairs, and given the lack of unequivocal statements and information, the question of what his mother tongue was cannot be decided with absolute certainty. However – if this question has any relevance – it can be stated, with due reservation, that a careful evaluation of available data leads us to believe that his mother tongue was probably a variety of German, probably with Jewish features in it. It is also virtually certain that he learned Hungarian very early, and that as a Hungarian patriot, he considered Hungarian to be his national language, the language closest to his heart. He also acquired, relatively early in life, an excellent knowledge of Standard Literary German (*Hochdeutsch*), and used it extensively throughout his life, both privately and in scholarly publications.

<sup>179</sup> On the decrees issued in 1892 and 1912 see ‘Kútfők. A m. kir. vallás- és közoktatásügyi miniszternek 1912. évi 84,561. számú körrendelete az izraeliták utóneveinek kiigazítása tárgyában’ [Sources. General Decree n<sup>o</sup> 84,561/1912 of the Royal Hungarian Minister of Religion and Public Education on the Subject of the Correction of the First Names of Israelites], *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 29 (1912), 338-340.





## GOLDZIHHER AND IRANIAN ELEMENTS IN ISLAM

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The question of pre-Islamic Iranian elements in the early belief system of Islam is not a frequently discussed one. In fact, in my experience, scholars of the early Iranian religion often take little interest in Islam, whereas scholars of Islam are often unhappy with the notion that Islam should have adopted ideas from the Iranian religion. However, the fact that certain elements are clearly of Iranian origin would seem to warrant an extensive investigation of this question.

I am not myself well acquainted with Islam and its beliefs, being primarily an Old Iranian scholar. I am also not a historian of religions, but rather a philologist and linguist. It is therefore not as a specialist on early Islam or even late Iranian religion that I am here today, and in principle I would have nothing to do in a conference dealing with Islamic scholars and scholarship. Nevertheless, when I received the invitation for the Memorial Conference, I checked the bibliography of Goldziher to see if there might be something I could give a short paper on and discovered that Goldziher had taken an interest in what he called Parsism, that is, the religion of the Parsis, or Zoroastrians. At the International Congress of the History of Religions in Paris in September 1900, almost exactly one hundred years ago, Goldziher presented an article entitled 'Islamisme et parsisme.' The article was published in the Acts of the Congress and was later translated into English and included under the title 'The Influence of Parsism on Islam' in C. P. Tiele's book *The Religion of the Iranian Peoples*. Here I simply wish to present a brief summary of this article and add some comments.

Ostensibly, the article is a critique of the common opinion that Islam was a unique and instantaneous creation, the notion that "L'islamisme a jailli d'un seul jet et «au plein jour»,” that is, “burst forth all at once into the light of day.”

Goldziher begins by pointing out that the teachings of the Hadith do not go back simply to the earliest form of Islam as seen in the Koran, but represent a multiplicity of often contradictory tendencies. Thus, he points out, while contemporary scholarship (that is, of the end of the 19th century) had developed a much more critical attitude toward the *internal*, Muslim, tradition and did not automatically take its claims to authority for granted, yet, he goes on, Muslim scholarship must also take into consideration another source for understanding the beginnings of Islam.

This other source he labels *external*, as opposed to the *internal* forces, namely *foreign influences*. By these he understands not only *popular elements*, which may contain pre-Islamic ideas, but also what he calls its *universal*, or canonical, formation. He recalls the fact that Islam, from its very beginnings, was exposed to Judaic and Christian influences, which can be observed in the Koran itself, and then points out that such influences continued to make their marks on Islam also during the first generations after the death of the Prophet, whether they were rejected or not by Muslim theologians (French text, 2, Eng. tr., 163-64).

After these general observations, Goldziher then draws attention to the Persian influences on Islam, which, as he puts it (Fr., 2, Eng. tr., 164): “in the two forms of *borrowing* and *reaction*, exercised a decisive influence on the formation and character of Islam.” [my translation]

It is absolutely necessary, he continues, for any Islamologist to have a good grasp of both Persian and Muslim religions in order to understand the latter. To prove his point, he cites Blochet’s studies, notably of the Prophet’s horse Borak on which he made his heavenly journey.

Goldziher then proceeds to survey the Persian influence, beginning by a general remark on its more universal nature, pointing out the existence of numerous Persian borrowings in Hungarian, among which he cites the words *isten*, god, from *izadan*; *ördög*, the devil, from *druga*, *dévaj*, a ‘gaillard’, from *daêva*, as well as Persian elements in ancient Hungarian art and archaeology. He goes on to cite his own hypothesis that Arabic historiography was inspired by the Sasanians, and I cite from the English translation (165-66; Fr., 4-5):

“It was the immediate and permanent contact with Sasanian culture which gave to the Arabs, who were solely confined to poetry, the first impulse which permitted the expansion of a deeper intellectual life. I adhere for instance to my thesis which has been accepted by Professor Brockelmann in his History of Arab Literature that the writing of history on part of the Arabs has its roots in the literature of the royal annals of the Persians, that there would be no Arab historians if the first impulse had not been received by Arab litterateurs from Persia, and that it was this impulse which led them to make researches and preserve the historic memory of their own nation. The ante-Islamic Arabs were devoid of all sense of history. Their memory of the most ancient events does not go beyond the sixth Christian century, save for the traditions regarding the migrations of the southern tribes of Arabia towards the north. The events of the nearest past were veiled to them and floated in the clouds of myths.

It was contact with Persian culture, contact which goes back to the remotest period of Islam, which decided the direction and the end of the development of the intellectual life of the Arabs.”

I doubt if anybody today would subscribe to this sweeping statement. In particular, from my side, I must stress that the Iranians themselves were quite devoid of any historical awareness in the modern sense of the word. Their histories were mostly nothing but stories incorporated into the national epic tradition as set down around the year 1000 by Ferdousi in his *Book of Kings* (*Shâhnâme*). It can easily be

shown that both this book and the Zoroastrian scriptures were not written for the purpose of keeping a historical record of facts, but rather to show that history conformed to traditional epic and religious patterns. The much-cited Sasanian royal annals, often referred to by the Muslim historiographers as the *Book of Lords* (*Xwadâynâmag*), were hardly any different from the tradition seen in Ferdousi's *Book of Kings* and the Zoroastrian scriptures and so cannot be used uncritically as a source for the history of the period.

In his subsequent discussion of the conquest of Iraq, the centre of the Sasanian royal and religious administration, the fall of the Umayyads, and the reign of the Abbasids, Goldziher emphasizes the effect of what we would today call the substrate influence of Persian religion on Islam. He rarely quotes specific examples, however, so it is difficult to verify his statements, which, like the one I just quoted, are very general. Take for instance the following statement accompanying some statements regarding statecraft taken from the Sasanian *Dēnkard* (Fr., 7; Eng. tr., 168):

"You see what profound influence the Sasanian concept of the State exercised upon the Abbasid royalty and how much it emphasized its theocratic idea. You see how the latter was born in Persian atmosphere. Also, in its application and practical effects, we feel passing a breath of Persian tradition." [my translation]

Among the specific examples that Goldziher *does* quote are the following:

According to Goldziher, the idea of the merit that accrues to the reader of the Koran is a reflection of similar ideas in Zoroastrianism. Since he does not prove that such ideas did not exist among the Arabs before Mohammad, I do not see how this can be proved. As holy texts are all sacred because they were revealed by god, clearly, reading or reciting them does the will of god and is of benefit to the performer (Fr., 10-11; Eng. tr., 170-71).

On the contrary, the notion of the scales (*mīzân*) on which a person's good and bad actions are weighed is much more likely to have a Persian model. But the borrowing or adaptation of this concept should probably be seen in a larger context than Goldziher does (Fr., 11-13; Eng. tr., 171-72). As far as I can see, Goldziher does not, for instance, mention the notion of the al-Sirât bridge that leads across hell (see Monnot, 1997). This bridge is not mentioned in the Koran, but in the Hadiths, as being narrow as a hair and sharper than a sword, and the evil who try to pass across it will fall into hell, while the believers will pass with the speed of lightning. The scales and the Cinvat bridge are well known from the Sasanian Zoroastrian literature, where they feature in the accounts of the soul's journey after death, but also in those of the journeys of living men who have obtained the privilege to be shown what awaits man in the beyond in order for men to be more confident about the word of the religion. Goldziher does mention the Cinvat bridge in his discussion of the role of the dog in funeral rites (Fr., 17-20; Eng. tr., 175-77), but, as far as I can see, he does not make the connection with al-Sirât.

The theme of the heavenly journey is also reflected in the Muslim tradition of the Mī'rāj (see Bencheikh, 1993). Another detail of the Mī'rāj journey not found everywhere, is included in a *Mī'rāj-nâme* manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale

in Paris. At one stage in his journey accompanied by Gabriel, Mohammad sees a white cock, whose comb grazes the foot of God's Throne and whose feet rest on the earth (Séguy, p. 269, plate 9). Its function is to alert people to the time for prayer. As shown by my colleague James Russell, the description of the cock is quite similar to that of the cock in the Avesta, who crows at dawn and tells people to wake up and praise the work of god. In Zoroastrianism the cock is the bird of Sraosha, a Zoroastrian deity who plays an important role in the descriptions of the journey of the soul. In Muslim Iran, as Sorush, he became a messenger from god. It is therefore quite likely that this entire complex of notions connected with the journey in the beyond, the scales, the bridge, the cock, the young man who meets the soul (in Iran a young woman, the *daēnā*, *dēn*), and, not least, the *mī'rāj* 'ladder' itself and the notion of several heavens in which the prophets are seated, are adapted from or influenced by Zoroastrianism (see Skjærvø 1983, 302-3; Hinz 1971).

Goldziher's final example of potential Persian influence on the thought of Muhammad is that of the importance of Friday. He argues the point in some detail, maintaining that the difference from Judaic practice and the similarity with Islam lie in the fact that Zoroastrianism also does not celebrate all of god's creation on a seventh day, but devotes one day to each of his creations (Fr., 14-17; Eng. tr., 173-75).

This is the only point of influence he cites in his book on Mohammad and Islam, as well, and I quote from the English translation (14)<sup>1</sup>:

"Besides Jews and Christians, the Parsees, whose disciples came under Mohammed's observation as *Majūs* (Magi) and whom he also regards as opposed to heathenism, left their impress on the receptive mind of the Arabian prophet. It was from the Parsees that he received the far-reaching suggestion which robs the Sabbath of its character as a day of rest. He chose Friday as the weekly day of assembly, but even in adopting the hexaameron theory of creation, he emphatically rejects the idea that God rested on the 7th day. Therefore, not the 7th day, but the day preceding is taken, not as a day of rest, but as a day of assembly on which all worldly business is permitted after the close of worship."

It is not clear to me why Goldziher chose this particular feature of Islam as opposed to Judaism as an example of Zoroastrian influence on Islam. In fact, according to the Zoroastrian texts of late Sasanian and early Islamic times, it is *every* day that a Zoroastrian should go to the assembly as well as to worship, as explained in the so-called *Book of Advice of Zarathustra*, (ed. Kanga, 1960, 27):

Every day you should go to the assembly of good people to converse with them. For to him who goes most frequently to the assembly of good people the (gods) attribute most good deeds and righteousness.

<sup>1</sup> [This work is an English translation of *Vorlesungen über den Islam*. According to Heller the whole edition was pulped. However, a few copies seem to have escaped destruction. Bernard Heller, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher*, Paris 1927, 69 (no. 363). The reference above is to p. 14 of the German original. – Ed.]

And every day you should go to the house of the Fires and recite the hymn to the Fire. For he who goes most frequently to the house of the Fires and most frequently recites the hymn to the Fire, to him the (gods) attribute most wealth and righteousness.

Goldziher's most daring hypothesis, however, is probably that the Prophet himself, who clearly was familiar with Judaic and Christian notions, might also have had some familiarity with Persian ideas. In fact, the *majūs* are mentioned in the Koran together with Jews, Sabians, and Christians. Goldziher shows how the history of the period, especially commerce, closely linked Mecca, and especially al-Hira, with Persian culture. He also points to the large number of Persian loan words in Arabic dating from the Sasanian period, as well as literary references to Persia in the works of early poets (Fr., 21-24; Eng. tr., 178-80).

I shall not go into further details here. Those who are interested should read Goldziher's article. Clearly, however, this is a very interesting and important field of investigation, and I think there are several reasons why it has not attracted more scholars.

One reason is that few scholars in the field of the history of religions are well acquainted with both Zoroastrianism *and* Islam. Most often they know one religion well, but are amateurs in the other. A modern example of a scholar, who knows both fields well, is our colleague Shaul Shaked, who has written several articles on the subject. Among past scholars, Marijan Molé had the potential of becoming such a scholar, but died young. Another scholar from France is Henri Corbin, whose work has not gathered the audience it probably deserves.

Another reason for the lack of interest among Muslim scholars for Iranian religions, is no doubt the difficulties connected with their study, which are mainly two: on the one hand, there are few texts available in modern editions and translations, which means that they are difficult to have access to, and, on the other hand, there is a heated discussion going on regarding *what* the texts actually say and so also what Zoroastrianism was really like. When one reads general descriptions of Zoroastrianism in the handbooks of religion one finds that scholars tend to disagree with one another on many important points.

A third problem is the difficulty in determining whether it was Zoroastrianism itself or Zoroastrian ideas transmitted via Manicheism that left their imprint on Islam.

Nevertheless, much work has been done recently in the field of Zoroastrian studies, and every year sees the publication of editions of texts, and the same is true of Manichean studies, as well as Gnostic studies in general and their relationship to early Christianity. I would therefore conclude by pointing out that the time has now come for a serious reevaluation of this entire issue and urge my colleagues in the field of early Islam to encourage their students to turn to this field.

But I regard it as the great merit of Goldziher's to have been among the first to draw the attention of scholars of Islam to this important field of research.

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'ULŪM AL-AWĀ'IL AND ORTHODOXY:  
A FAMOUS MONOGRAPH OF GOLDZIHNER REVISITED

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One of the most important and pioneering studies of Ignaz Goldziher appeared in 1916 in the proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin. It bears the title *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften*<sup>1</sup> and is written in an almost flawless German. He gives there a broad and vivid picture of one aspect of the many-sided phenomenon of the reception of Greek philosophy and sciences in Islam, namely the hostile reaction on the part of a so-called orthodoxy. This was at a time when work on Graeco-Arabica had just begun, and classical scholars had to recognize that a certain part of the Greek heritage that was lost in its original version had to be retrieved via Arabic translations made in the early Middle Ages. European self-confidence which saw itself as the only legitimate heir to the Greek mind was prepared to see Graeco-Arabica as a kind of plant transferred to a foreign and infertile soil where it could not take deep root and was doomed to wither away in the course of the centuries.

Goldziher himself wisely refrained from such statements, so far as I know, but the material accumulated by him was liable to reinforce the opinion that the Greek heritage which stood in our occidental mind for enlightenment and scientific progress was in the long run incompatible with the spirit of Islam. The study has nevertheless the great merit of being a first attempt to delineate the phenomenon of Graeco-Arabica within a social context, although on a limited scale, as Goldziher was only concerned with the hostile reaction. The question why the reception ever took place at all remained outside the scope of the inquiry.

Dimitri Gutas has recently endeavoured to show that behind the reception lay a deliberate imperial programme on the part of the Abbasid caliphs, i.e. to continue a specific Persian tradition of rivalry with the Byzantines.<sup>2</sup> I would rather see it as a quite natural process whereby members of the ruling class of the Abbasid empire, even some caliphs, of course, among them, came into contact with Syrian and Greek

<sup>1</sup> In: *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1915, phil.-hist. Kl., Nr. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsī Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*. London-New York 1998.



clerics and physicians and, discovering the latter's intellectual superiority, felt the need to possess and to read the same literature as these people. We have an interesting report by the great Khwarezmian scholar al-Bīrūnī (973-1048) about how these contacts could take place. He tells in his *Kitāb taḥdīd nihāyat al-amākin li-taṣṣīḥ masāfāt al-masākin* [Book on the Determination of the Ends of the Places in Order to Verify the Distances of the Cities] how at a learned session, a so-called *maḡlis*, the Christian Syrian translator Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yūnus ridiculed al-Ġubbā'ī, the leader of the *mu'tazila*, who would not believe that the water of the oceans takes the shape of a ball round the earth.<sup>3</sup> This happened in Baghdad at the beginning of the tenth century A.D., and we may assume that such meetings were regular also in former times. In this way the tradition of the Alexandrian school was handed over to Muslims who were willing to accept some knowledge that existed before the Koranic revelation. They spoke simply of the *'ulūm al-awā'il* [the sciences of the ancients] regarding it thus as something autochthonous like oriental Christendom. The famous translator Hunayn ibn Iṣḥāq collected his Greek manuscripts in Syria, Palestine and Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

It was only in the opinion of later generations that the reception of Greek knowledge was to be regarded as an import from outside which should better have been avoided. The Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (1364-1442) in his *Kitāb an-nizā' wa-l-taḥāṣum fī mā bayna Banī Umayya wa-Banī Hāšim* [Book of Contention and Strife Concerning the Relations Between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāšim] mentions the caliph al-Ma'mūn in the following way: "This fellow ... left one of the worst possible reputations in the whole history of Islam. This arose from the fact that he had books on philosophy translated into Arabic, to such a pitch that heretics and deviationists used them to pervert Islam and to trick the Muslims."<sup>5</sup> That al-Ma'mūn played such a crucial role is clearly an exaggeration, although such a view is shared by many Muslims and modern orientalists.

Goldziher exposes a broad range of various attempts to cope with the injurious influence of the Greek heritage. Simple-minded people, obviously of the so-called traditionalists or *ahl al-ḥadīth*, shunned even the foreign names ending in *s* as sounding barbarous in their ears.<sup>6</sup> Another more sophisticated attitude is found with

<sup>3</sup> Ed. P. G. Bulgakov, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes* 8 (1962), 185-186. German translation and annotations by G. Strohmaier in: Al-Bīrūnī, *In den Gärten der Wissenschaft. Ausgewählte Texte aus den Werken des muslimischen Universalgelehrten*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1991 (Reclam-Bibliothek 1228), 144-145 (no. 52).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. Strohmaier, 'Der syrische und der arabische Galen', in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. W. Haase, H. Temporini, Part II, vol. 37,2, Berlin-New York 1994, 1992-1997 (reprint in: Id., *Hellas im Islam*, Wiesbaden 2003, 88-91).

<sup>5</sup> Transl. C. E. Bosworth, Manchester, n.d. (*Journal of Semitic Studies. Monograph* no. 3), 101; cf. Tāġ ad-Dīn as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1906, vol. I, 218, line 2, quoted by Goldziher, *ibid.*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Goldziher, *ibid.*, 17, note 1; cf. al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, 35 (no. 3), 44-45 (no. 6).

people who rejected only certain tenets of an outspoken pagan character such as black magic or the belief in the power of the stars or the eternity of the world. This sometimes had severe consequences; we hear of auto-da-fés of books containing such matter and the imprisonment of men who possessed them. But these incidents were mostly instigated by some kind of personal intrigue.<sup>7</sup> In 890 A.D. an oath was taken by the professional copyists in Baghdad not to deal with works of philosophy and *kalām*.<sup>8</sup> But at that time all the production of books was a kind of *samizdat*, and thorough-going censorship became possible only with the introduction of printing. In the course of time a compromise was reached in the sense that at least Aristotelian logic was regarded as something neutral, like a sword that could be used for the *ḡihād* as well as for robbery.<sup>9</sup> Others, among them al-Ġazālī, shared this opinion but warned that the occupation with logic may lure the naïve student into the belief that other items as the eternity of the world were of the same stringency.<sup>10</sup>

All these statements regarding the Greek heritage were uttered by very different groups who did not recognize each other as orthodox. A definition of orthodoxy is not given by Goldziher, and one is left with the impression that it was this very hostility which could serve as the common criterion, as it seemed to be self-evident at the beginning of the twentieth century, when a religious fundamentalism in defence of a dogma or authority of a revealed scripture was trying to impede the progress of free thinking. But by the end of the century it became obvious that also an atheist and irreligious ideology was nonetheless able to suppress alternative opinions which in the end proved to be closer to the truth.

To make things still more intricate we have to consider another variety of Muslim orthodoxy completely left out by Goldziher, namely an almost enthusiastic openness to the Greeks combined with a defence of the basic tenets of the Koranic revelation. One outstanding representative of this position was al-Bīrūnī (973-1048), whom Goldziher mentions only briefly when dealing with a notorious incident when Maḥmūd of Ghazna accused a foreign ambassador of heresy who had told him about the midnight sun in the far north while al-Bīrūnī who was present at the meeting demonstrated the correctness of the statement on mathematical grounds.<sup>11</sup>

This great scholar claims in his book on India that, in contrast to Hinduism, the Koran is fully compatible with the sciences and therefore not in need of allegorical interpretation like other holy scriptures that had been revealed before.<sup>12</sup> He condemns very sharply the great physician Rhazes (865-925 or 932) because this

<sup>7</sup> Goldziher, *ibid.*, 14-16, 27.

<sup>8</sup> Goldziher, *ibid.*, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Goldziher, *ibid.*, 37; cf. F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1965, 116-117.

<sup>10</sup> Goldziher, *ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>11</sup> Goldziher, *ibid.*, 22-23; al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, 21.

<sup>12</sup> *Fī taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind*, ed. E. Sachau, London 1887, 132; German translation in: al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, 183-184 (no. 66).

man had treated all the prophets as impostors and chose Socrates as his *imām* instead. Al-Bīrūnī for his part leaves the ultimate judgement to the Almighty himself who knows best how to react.<sup>13</sup>

As regards the basic neoplatonic doctrines of the eternity of the world and of the ontological difference between the heavenly spheres and our earth al-Bīrūnī meets them with a sound scepticism and takes the side of John Philoponus, the Christian professor at Alexandria, whom Avicenna had attacked on these issues.<sup>14</sup> It may be that this scepticism earned him the *nisba* or rather the nickname al-Bīrūnī. “Al-Bīrūniyyūn” were in Arabic transcription the Pyrrhonians, the representatives of an exaggerated philosophical scepticism. Galen of Pergamon, whose influence on the Muslim intelligentsia should not be underestimated, uses the word almost as a term of abuse.

We know of no other scientist in Islam who could be regarded as a worthy successor of al-Bīrūnī. His newly founded discipline of Indian studies was not continued. Who was responsible for the fact that the Greek heritage was not developed further in the same way as was later done in Western Europe? Goldziher did not explicitly draw the conclusion that Islamic orthodoxy was to blame for that, but surely many of his readers did. In occidental Christendom there was an analogous and very vociferous orthodoxy as in Islam, but it did not hamper the broad reception of the Greek heritage and, on this basis, of many daring new thoughts. The general social conditions were different in the East and in the West, and what Goldziher called the “Überhandnehmen der Vorherrschaft einer finsternen Orthodoxie”<sup>15</sup> is only one symptom of a general decline together with other symptoms, as for example the success of Avicenna’s philosophical mysticism and the dominance of his all too systematic medicine and science throughout many centuries.

<sup>13</sup> *Epître de Bērūnī contenant le répertoire des ouvrages de Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936, 3-4; German translation in: al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, 146-147 (no. 53).

<sup>14</sup> *Epître de Bērūnī...*, 28; al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Sina, *Al-As’ila wa-l-aḡwiba (Questions and Answers)*, ed. S. H. Nasr, M. Mohaghegh, Teheran 1972, 12-14, 19-27, 51-54; German translations in: al-Bīrūnī, *ibid.*, 37 (no. 4), 49-56 (nos 7-8).

<sup>15</sup> Goldziher, *ibid.*, 4.

## SOME NOTES ON THE IMPACT OF THE *SHU'ŪBIYYA* ON ARABIC GENEALOGY

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One of the branches of mediaeval Muslim scholarship which Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* dwells upon at considerable length is the long-established discipline of genealogy (*ilm al-nasab*), a domain which was regarded as an indispensable part of the study of pre-Islamic Arabian culture, hence an area in which the controversies going on between the proponents and the opponents of the 'anti-Arab' cultural movement of the Middle Ages known as the *shu'ūbiyya* were exceptionally heated. Along with philology, genealogy was selected by Goldziher as a field of scholarship in which to demonstrate the assumptions and attitudes of the *shu'ūbiyya* movement. In treating the subject, Goldziher singled out a well-known representative of the *shu'ūbī* scholars, equally knowledgeable in both philological and genealogical studies, Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, as an epitome of the new breed of scholars with markedly anti-Arab biases.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas it would be both superfluous and pretentious to try and analyse further those aspects of the issue that have been so vividly described by Goldziher, I find it worthwhile to make some additional remarks on the possible implications of the term *shu'ūbī* when applied to intellectuals of the Abbasid era. My additions will focus on the problematic issue of defining what meanings and connotations that term might have in this context. In doing so, I hope to be able to show the very real difficulty of finding hard-and-fast criteria for classifying one scholar as a *shu'ūbī*, and another as a "supporter of the Arab side".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It must, however, be made clear that Abū 'Ubayda and his ilk were neither "genealogists" nor "philologists" in any strict and specialized sense of either term, but rather a species of all-in "Bedouin experts", collecting and restoring as they did whatever kind of data was available to them on various departments of pre-Islamic Arabian nomadic life and culture – which, of course, includes both genealogical and philological matters.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, the name "supporters of equality" (*ahl al-taswīya*), often used in reference to the *shu'ūbiyya*, would indicate that the primary aim of this "movement" was the emancipation of non-Arabs rather than opposition to the Arabs, but mediaeval sources almost invariably refer, in no uncertain terms, to the alleged "hatred" of *shu'ūbī* scholars towards the Arabs and their glories. See Ibn Qutayba, *Faḍl* 35.

To start with, it is all too often assumed that the supporters of the *shu'ūbiyya* formed some easily definable intellectual camp with a feeling of unity and a self-chosen designation, a *movement* as it were<sup>3</sup>, the boundaries of which can, or could, be drawn with reasonable precision. The fundamental criterion of a scholar's belonging to the *shu'ūbiyya* is thought to be a marked hostility towards the Arabic cultural heritage and an equally marked penchant for the foreign, especially the Persian, traditions that converged to produce the singular cultural mix of the Abbasid period. There are, however, some very serious problems with applying this seemingly simple criterion, of which I will now list five.

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1. The first problem to reckon with is the regrettable scarcity, indeed almost total lack, of sources from *within shu'ūbī* circles. The paucity of first-hand evidence from *shu'ūbī* sources results in a situation where our sole basis for classifying anyone as a *shu'ūbī* and reconstructing *shu'ūbiyya* views is “refutations” and hostile remarks by contemporary or later adversaries.<sup>4</sup> Given this dearth of solid evidence, one ought to be extremely wary of considering excerpts taken by one author from the work of a rival as reflections of *shu'ūbī* tendencies. Accusations of *shu'ūbī* leanings and foul anti-Arab predilections by contemporary fellow-scholars, while occurring in abundance, are but very doubtful help, given the pervasive atmosphere of bitter competition among Abbasid-era scholars.<sup>5</sup> Closely related to this last point is the next problem, which I consider an exceedingly important aspect of the issue that has received but scant recognition.

2. Significantly, while a number of well-known intellectuals in Abbasid-era Iraq are regularly described in Arabic sources as *shu'ūbīs*, there is practically no scholar who declared himself to be so, and one cannot help wondering whether this term is not

<sup>3</sup> Goldziher calls it a “party”, see Goldziher (1967) I, 137: “the party of the *Shu'ūbiyya*”.

<sup>4</sup> To my knowledge, it is quite similar to the case of some mediaeval heresies like the Qarmaṭī tenets, of which no internal sources are extant.

<sup>5</sup> Abū 'Ubayda would accuse al-Aṣma'ī of being a miser and a parochial mind; while the latter would refer to him as “that son of a weaver”, a less than laudatory sobriquet. Another famous scholar, Ḥammād al-Rāwīya, was declared by a colleague, Yūnis b. Ḥabīb, to be guilty of grammatical mistakes (*lahn*), erroneous recital of poems, lying, and misspelling words. See Abū l-Tayyib, *Marātib* 85, 118. Goldziher ascribes the ill feeling between Abū 'Ubayda and Ibn al-A'rābī, and between Abū 'Ubayda and al-Aṣma'ī, to the *shu'ūbiyya* controversy; see Goldziher (1967) I, 183. [And for the no more cordial rapport between al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-A'rābī, cf. al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* 95; al-'Askarī, *Taṣḥīf* 185; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 42.] To me, the quite material motives often fuelling such jealousy of *métier* (which also get mentioned by Goldziher) sound a far more likely cause of this rivalries too. Cf. al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* II, 202. Significantly, some experts of *ḥadīth* criticism refused to give credit to judgements on the reliability of a scholar by a contemporary colleague. See al-Sakhāwī, *F'lān* 121.

often a rather indiscriminately distributed pejorative label, such as words like *zindīq*, *qarmaṭī*, *khārijī* tended to be, which were all ideally suited to discredit a person disliked for just any reason – especially someone reputed to be a “freethinker”, regardless of his actual beliefs or activities. Like the case is with *zindīq* and various sorts of heresies, there may well have existed a loosely defined politico-intellectual movement known as the *shu'ūbiyya*, some proponents of which actively advocated the idea of the equality of non-Arabs, primarily the Persians, with Arabs, no doubt sometimes even the superiority of the former to the latter<sup>6</sup>; but it is equally likely that the label of *shu'ūbī* very soon came to be applied quite liberally to just any politically “suspect”, or simply disliked, person.<sup>7</sup> The vague usage of such pejorative

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the examples in Goldziher (1967) I, 149-52. Hostility to, or at any rate lack of esteem for, the Arabs is also quite apparent in such titles as the ‘Treatise on the Superiority of Non-Arabs to Arabs’ (*Risāla fī tafḍīl al-‘ajam ‘alā l-‘arab*) of Abū ‘Āmir al-Subkī, which instantly provoked a barrage of refutations by various authors. See Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf* III, 382. A rare, hence particularly valuable source of genuine *shu'ūbiyya* views and arguments is Ibn García, *Risāla*. Another very characteristic manifestation of ‘real’ *shu'ūbiyya* thinking is the genealogical claim, widespread among Persian nationalists of the Abbasid era, that the Persians and the Jews were descended from the son of Sarah, legitimate wife of Abraham (Isaac), whilst Arabs must make do with Ishmael, son of an Egyptian bondmaid, Hagar, for an ancestor. The political implications of this claim were certainly not lost on any contemporary. See al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbīh* 108-10; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* I, 206-9; Ibn García, *Risāla* 247-48; Ibn Qutayba, *Faḍl* 46-50 [a refutation of the Isaac hypothesis of the *shu'ūbiyya*].

<sup>7</sup> It is a telltale sign in this respect that Abū ‘Ubayda was also labelled a *khārijī* by some of his contemporaries, an allegation to which I am inclined to attach even less importance than Goldziher did. Furthermore, the pro-Arab scholar Khālid b. Kulthūm is quoted in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* calling an unnamed scholar a “*shu'ūbī* heretic” (*raḡul min zanādiqat al-shu'ūbiyya*), which is certainly nothing more than a wrathful and venomous reference to an opponent. Equally significant is the fact that the theologian Muḥammad b. al-Layth was called a *zindīq* exclusively on account of his support of *shu'ūbiyya* views, despite his having written a treatise against the genuine *zindīq* heretics! Yet another example of this broad and utterly imprecise usage is the case of a leading Mu‘tazilite aristocrat whom one of his rivals impeached for being a “heretic *shu'ūbī*” (*shu'ūbī zindīq*), a charge that landed him in prison for a considerable length of time under the caliph al-Mu‘taṣim. See Goldziher (1967) I, 181, 179, 149.; also Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 77. [“*wa-kāna Abū ‘Ubayda yamīlu ilā madhhab al-ibāḍiyya min al-khawārij*”]; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 295. [“*wa-kāna Abū ‘Ubayda shu'ūbiyyan wa-kāna yarā ra’y al-khawārij al-ibāḍiyya*”]; al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī* XVIII, 159. We also encounter the predictable accusation that the *par excellence* *shu'ūbī* expert of Arabic genealogical science, Ghaylān (or ‘Allān) al-Shu‘ūbī, was a *zindīq* too, a fact that later Arabic authors claim only became known after his death. See al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī* XX, 88. It is likewise worth noting that the odious *Qarmaṭī* religious movement was also occasionally claimed to have drawn its inspiration from persons accused of anti-Arab *shu'ūbiyya* tendencies like Ibn al-Muqaffa‘. See al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* IV, 478-79. Just how liberally the term *zindīq* might be applied in popular parlance

stickers is quite obvious in a story that al-Mas'ūdī tells of a man in Baghdad who reported to the governor on his neighbour's being a heretic, or *zindīq*, and, being asked to specify the latter's heresies, identified him as a Murji'ite Qadarite pro-Omayyad Shi'ite (*murji' qadarī nāṣibī rāfiḍī*), mutually exclusive terms that add up to little more than a torrent of abuse.<sup>8</sup>

3. In accounting for his alleged hostility to the Arabs and their heritage, many authors will mention Abū 'Ubayda's non-Arab – probably Jewish – ancestry. This kind of denigratory references to a disliked opponent's ethnic origins, however common they might be, need not detain us at any length. While these observations are generally true in themselves, it must be made absolutely clear that most of the known enemies of the *shu'ūbiyya* camp, including the celebrated al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Qutayba, were themselves of foreign origin. It is reasonable to say that, in most cases, an author's actual descent did not have a formative role in his ideas, and really ought not to be factored in.<sup>9</sup>

4. The fact that authors regarded as *shu'ūbī* made mention of a lot of unfavourable details and rumours about some figures of the Arabian past, and compiled whole works on the disgraces of particular Arab tribes is not much help to us either, for many, if not most, "pro-Arab" authors did not by any means refrain from writing on the disgraces of Arabic tribes, this genre (known as *mathālib*) being part and parcel of the Arabic cultural tradition.<sup>10</sup> Whereas *shu'ūbī* authors did emphasize uncertain

in the high Abbasid period is exemplified by a story in which the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd called the celebrated poet Abū Nuwās (incidentally, yet another person accused of being a *shu'ūbī*) a *zindīq* solely because of the occurrence of the phrase "the fragility of my religion" (*riqqatu dīnī*) in one of the latter's poems. The grand vizier, however, defended the poet by pointing out that one frivolous locution, uttered in jest, did not justify a charge of heresy. See al-Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin* 268. On charges of *zandaqa* against many outstanding poets in early Abbasid times, see Vajda (1938), 198-221.

<sup>8</sup> al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* II, 30. The words *nāṣibī* and *rāfiḍī* are, in fact, outright opposites theologically and politically; cf. the *ḥadīth* attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in al-Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin* 62.

<sup>9</sup> E. g., the celebrated prose writer al-Jāḥiẓ, a noted opponent of the *shu'ūbiyya*, did compose works on the equality of Arabs and non-Arabs (*al-taswīya bayn al-'arab wa-l-'ajam*), the glories of the Turks and the Africans, etc. For all his obviously black African origins, he is well known to have been firmly on the 'pro-Arab' side. See Pellat (1953), 53-54.

<sup>10</sup> In a source, it is said that Abū 'Ubayda, 'harbouring a deep rancour towards the Arabs, wrote several books about their disgraces.' Ibn Qutayba depicts him as the most maleficent scholar of the *shu'ūbiyya* side (*wa-kāna yubghīdu l-'arab wa-qad allafa fī mathālibihā kutuban*); see Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 78; Ibn Qutayba, *Faḍl* 37-38. In the list of Abū 'Ubayda's works, however, there is only one titled *Kitāb al-mathālib*. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* V, 238. On the other hand, a lot of authors not usually accused of *shu'ūbī* tendencies like Hishām al-Kalbī, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, Abū l-Yaqẓān, etc., did have an active interest in, and compile works on, the *mathālib* of Arab tribes. In fact,

points and obscure, hence shameful, details in the genealogies of pre-Islamic Arab tribes, so did authors known as supporters of the "Arab side", and I am all but convinced that it would be a largely futile undertaking to try finding any recognizable statistical difference in the frequency of such remarks on the two rival sides. Possible though it is to assume that Abū 'Ubayda would literally hunt for such shameful genealogical details with the express aim of gathering evidence against the Arabs<sup>11</sup>, yet the fact remains that uncomplimentary details do occur in equal abundance in the works of "pro-Arab" authors like Hishām al-Kalbī or Ibn Qutayba. On the other hand, even an author who was notorious for his support of Persian nationalism and became known, accordingly, under the name 'Allān al-Shu'ūbī, did compose works on the virtues (*faḍā'il*) of some Arabic tribes like the *Kināna* and the *Rabī'a*.<sup>12</sup> In fact, every scholar's reputation rested on the wealth of data he possessed in any field of Bedouin traditions, including the enumeration of the shameful details of every tribe's past (*mathālib*), as well as the ancient Arabic genre of poetical lampoons (*hijā'*). I really do not suppose that it would be easy to tell whether, say, al-Jāhīz or Ibn Qutayba was any less diligent in collecting or editing *hijā'* poems than was Abū 'Ubayda, and I certainly would not venture to say what may have motivated one or the other in doing so.<sup>13</sup> Goldziher, having reviewed some of Abū 'Ubayda's genealogical and philological claims, recapitulates in these words: "Thus Abū 'Ubayda tried to take every foreign flower from the proud Arabs' bouquet of fame."<sup>14</sup> In all honesty, I cannot see the sporadic examples that Goldziher mentions substantiate such a conclusion, especially in the light of the gigantic bulk of Abū 'Ubayda's *oeuvre*.<sup>15</sup> I am utterly unable to tell if Abū 'Ubayda was ever a "hardcore" *shu'ūbī*, but I frankly do not think the sources suggest that he was. When one considers the fact that Abū 'Ubayda was, for all practical purposes, one of the leading figures of the study of Arabic antiquity, and what we know of his works appears to be neither hostile to the Arabs nor, indeed, particularly biased, it is hard to see why a treatise or two that he produced on the disgraces of some Arabic tribes

Caskel says that Hishām al-Kalbī, together with Abū 'Ubayda, was a pioneer of the academic genre *mathālib*. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* VI, 83; III, 308; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* I, 94-96; Caskel (1966) I, 80. At any rate, drawing a strict boundary between the study of *mathālib* and *nasab* respectively seems to me to be wholly unjustified. On this putative boundary, cf. Kister, Plessner (1976), 66.

<sup>11</sup> As Goldziher sought to demonstrate, see Goldziher (1967) I, 185-9.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* I, 106.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the many really injurious *hijā'* poems on various Arabic tribes in al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'* 234-6; al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* I, 160-61.

<sup>14</sup> Goldziher (1967) I, 183.

<sup>15</sup> Relatively little of which, however, is extant. A sizeable compilation of his accounts on tribal raids, skirmishes and wars in pre-Islamic Arabia has been reconstructed, see Abū 'Ubayda, *Ayyām*.



should qualify him as an ardent *shu'ūbī*, even if some of his rivals would fain show him in that light.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, one has to reckon with the well-known fact that one mediaeval scholar would borrow all sorts of data quite uninhibitedly and indiscriminately from the works of another, which, in the majority of cases, makes it next to impossible to decide who introduced a particular genealogical detail into the shared scholarly tradition, let alone deciding what his motives could be for introducing it. I believe it is always fraught with risk to guess at a scholar's motives for his making some claim or another, and especially so from a temporal distance of over a thousand years. Surely, indignant Arab noblemen in Abbasid times did tend to suspect foul political motives behind all the unfavourable data that genealogists might mention; whether we should trust their opinion is not quite so obvious. It could have been just the other way around: instead of deliberately seeking out shameful details about certain Arab aristocrats to buttress his pre-existent *shu'ūbī* partiality, a scholar might just as well be branded a *shu'ūbī* precisely because of his having hurt the pride of some Arab noblemen by citing, or sometimes inventing, unwelcome genealogical details.<sup>17</sup> This being so, it is quite precarious to base the division between the *shu'ūbiyya* and its opponents on the occurrence of unflattering remarks and shameful data in any given scholar's *oeuvre*.

<sup>16</sup> Just how uncertain such judgements are is indicated by Gibb's article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second ed.) on Abū 'Ubayda, in which he, in complete contradiction of Goldziher's findings, totally dissociates the mediaeval scholar from any pro-Persian tendencies.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the couplet of a Basran poet about the slight modification introduced by the offspring of Jubayr b. Ḥayya into their own genealogy: "Ḥayya lived as a female for a long time, then came to be a male ancestor: / How numerous are the wonders of these days; one would think we are ceaselessly dreaming! (*Wa-kānat Ḥayyatun unthā zamanan fa-ṣārat ba'da dhālika jadda qawmi; / la-qad kathurat d'ājību l-layālī fa-khīlnā annahu ahlāmu nawmi!*)". See Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq* 307. Some scholars of genealogy, including Abū 'Ubayda, found similarly unflattering details in the descent of the *Āl Nāfi'* and *Āl Abī Bakra* lineages. See op. cit. 305-6. Cf. also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq* 315-6. Furthermore, we are told that the noted genealogist al-Haytham b. 'Adī grew extremely unpopular and became a focus of hatred because of his recording genealogical details that were thought to be better left unsaid: "*wa-kāna l-Haytham yata'arraḍu li-ma'rifat uṣūl al-nās wa-naql akhbārihim fa-awrada ma'āyibahum wa-aḥzarahā wa-kānat mastūra fa-kuriha li-dhālika*". See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* VI, 106. In fact, al-Haytham seems to have been extraordinarily interested in the *mathālib* genre, being as he was the author of a *Kitāb al-mathālib al-kabīr*, a *Kitāb al-mathālib al-ṣaghīr*, a *Kitāb mathālib Rabī'a*, and a book on the known prostitutes of the *Quraysh* tribe in pre-Islamic times and their descendants under the title *Kitāb asmā' baghāyā Quraysh fī l-jāhiliyya wa-asmā' man waladna*. It is easy to envisage the outrage this last tome must have caused in aristocratic circles. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* I, 99-100. In any case, it was generally accepted that any scholar who recorded uncomplimentary genealogical details did so out of hatred and envy towards the Arab aristocrats. See Ibn Qutayba, *Faḍl* 35-36.

5. Nor is it easy, in fact, to differentiate clearly between the respective opinions of *shu'ūbī* scholars and their opponents concerning the status of the pre-Islamic Arabs in the universal hierarchy of peoples.<sup>18</sup> Both groups of scholars were busy gathering all kinds of data on ancient Arabian Bedouins that, they were equally convinced, represented a profoundly valuable tradition worthy of serious study. Out of these studies there arose the widely accepted mediaeval myth that the pre-Islamic Arabs had had branches of learning comparable to those of the neighbouring, more civilized and urbanized peoples (Persians, Greeks, etc.). The myth of "ancient Bedouin sciences" (*'ulūm al-ʿarab*), among which genealogy was given a prominent place, was in a large measure the product of the political conflict between the old Arab aristocracy and the rising *nouveau riche* of the Abbasid period composed mainly of Persian converts. Since there could be no denying, by any stretch of imagination, the glorious and captivating material and intellectual culture of ancient Persia and a host of other nations known to the mediaeval Muslims, it was essential for the Arabs to come up with the myth of pre-Islamic Arabian Bedouins having been a learned and civilized people, with "sciences" comparable if not superior to those of the said nations. This is the origin of the deep-rootedness of a bizarre perception of humankind in which the pre-Islamic Arabs figure as one of the eight "learned nations" of ancient times, as opposed to a plethora of barbaric and rough peoples.<sup>19</sup> The sciences that the Arabs were thought to have all but monopolized include linguistic pursuits (*'ilm lisānihā wa-iḥkām lughatihā*), poetry and rhetoric (*naẓm al-ashʿār wa-ta'liḥ al-khuṭab*), history (*'ilm al-akhbār wa-ma'dīn ma'rifat al-siyar wa-l-a'sār*), as well as genealogy, meteorological and astronomical observations (*ma'rifat al-anwā' wa-l-ihtidā' bi-l-nujūm*), physiognomy (*qiyāfa*), expertise in horse-breeding and the genealogies of horses (*'ilm al-khayl*), etc.<sup>20</sup> In the established system of the world's seven climes (*aqālīm*), the central place given to the Arabs was practically unquestioned by all scholars, *shu'ūbī* or otherwise, and it might be added here that, on the other hand, even decidedly pro-Arab authors

<sup>18</sup> On the universal genealogy, cf. al-ʿAzma (1991), 75.

<sup>19</sup> al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* 39-40. According to al-Andalusī, the peoples that cultivated sciences of their own ("*ṭabaqa ʿuniyat bi-l-ʿilm fa-zaharat minhā ḍurūb al-ʿulūm wa-ṣadarat anḥā funūn al-maʿārif*") include, besides the Arabs, the Indians, the Persians, the Chaldeans, the Greeks, the Romans (or Byzantines), the Egyptians, and the Hebrews. On the other hand, the industriousness of the Chinese and the martial prowess of the Turks are attributed to purely animal instincts, and thus do not qualify as human 'learning' (*'ulūm*), see op. cit. 44-5.

<sup>20</sup> al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* 118-9; al-Dimashqī, *Nukhba* 260-1; al-Jāhīz, *Rasā'il* 1, 1: 70; Ibn Qutayba, *Faḍl* 120, 127-28, 136, 139, 141-42, 146, 149-50, 204-5; al-Qarawī, *Ḥadiqa* 317. Al-Shahrastānī claimed that pre-Islamic Arabs had developed three sciences of their own, these being 'the science of genealogy, history and religions' (*'ilm al-ansāb wa-l-tawārīkh wa-l-adyān*), 'the science of interpreting dreams' (*'ilm al-ru'yā*), and 'the science of meteorological observations' (literally, 'of storms', *'ilm al-anwā'*). See Ibn Sa'īd, *Nashwa* 1, 80-81.

would not raise any doubts that Persians, together with Arabs, also belonged to the most prestigious third of mankind, the offspring of Shem (*Sām*), who were thought to compose the most harmonious (*muʿtadil*) and developed part of the human race.<sup>21</sup> There was not, then, so great a cleavage between authors perceived as *shuʿūbī* and their opponents regarding the basic hierarchy of peoples, nor was the image of pre-Islamic Arabian culture as one of the few noteworthy civilizations on Earth ever seriously jeopardized.

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Any twentieth-century reader will probably appreciate that this image of pre-Islamic Arabian folklore as amounting to “science” is a *prima facie* absurdity. There are reasonably clear indications that quite a few mediaeval intellectuals also had certain reservations about it. And, I dare say, it is the context in which one might detect what views would earn a mediaeval Muslim author the reputation of being a *shuʿūbī*.

I take the immensely popular poet known under the sobriquet Abū Nuwās as an example to illustrate my point.<sup>22</sup> His verse collection, or *dīwān*, may be seen as an important exception to the general rule of there remaining scarcely any reliable sources that reflect the views and attitudes of *shuʿūbī* intellectuals. Usually considered to have been a decided follower of the *shuʿūbiyya*, Abū Nuwās introduced into his poems, with obvious gusto, a varied and inventive mockery of pre-Islamic Bedouin poetry, especially its hackneyed *topoi* like the poet’s solitary

<sup>21</sup> al-Maqdisī, *Badʿ* II (3), 31. A highly allegorical (and tendentious) story in the *Kitāb al-tijān* even tells of how the ancient Persians and Arabs, after some fighting between them, quickly recognized each other as natural allies against all the inferior peoples descended from Ham and Japhet. See Ibn Hishām, *Tijān* 233-38.

<sup>22</sup> Abū Nuwās was on friendly terms with Abū ʿUbayda, one of his teachers, and formed an extremely high opinion of the latter’s scholarly virtues, describing him as “skin wrapped around knowledge” (*adīm ʿuwiyya ʿalā ʿilm*), and opined that “if Abū ʿUbayda is allowed to use his books, he will not stop short of reading out the stories of all generations, past and present...” (*ammā Abū ʿUbayda fa-innahum in amkanūhu min siʿrihi qaraʿa ʿalayhim akhbār al-awwalīn wa-l-ākhirīn*). See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 295; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* II, 201; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* II, 242. Their characteristic irreverence for all the time-honoured values of the Arabs is demonstrated well by Abū Nuwās’s oft-quoted rude practical joke with a line of poetry which he is said to have written on the interior walls of a mosque high enough for the scholar hardly to be able to reach it: “May God bless the people of Lot; by God, oh Abū ʿUbayda, do say Amen!” (*Ṣallā l-Ilāhu ʿalā Lūṭin wa-shʿatihi: Abā ʿUbaydata, qul bi-llāhi āmīnā!*). See Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 657; al-Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsīn* 668-69; al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī* XX, 247. (Needless to say, both mocker and mocked were infamous for their penchant for boys.) Abū ʿUbayda’s close association with such a disreputable *shuʿūbī* as Abū Nuwās may well have been instrumental in blackening his own image.

weeping over deserted camping-grounds, and the usual idealized image of pre-Islamic Arabian life and culture.<sup>23</sup> A closer inspection of his poems dedicated to this subject will, however, instantly reveal that neither is there anything truly political about his irony, nor is it Arabs as a nation that he was hostile to, but the commonplace idealization of the rough lifestyle and culture of ancient desert nomads, as well as the superannuated Bedouin poetical style and imagery that the more traditionalist poets of his age still thought to be the highest standard of artistry.<sup>24</sup> He contrasts the sophisticated material culture and tastes of Abbasid-era Iraqi towns and cities to the romanticized poetical representation of Bedouin life. It must be added that wherever in his poems reference is made to the glory of the ancient Persian kings like Anūshirwān or Sābūr, it is invariably the *material civilization* associated with them (including great monuments, gardens, and especially viniculture) that he contrasts to the misery of Bedouin life.<sup>25</sup> Extolling the virtues of such urban pleasures as wine-drinking, strolls in charming gardens, and homosexual liaisons, he deplores the customary idealization of the Bedouins' austerity, bravery, and their pure passions for simple damsels.<sup>26</sup> It is reasonably safe

<sup>23</sup> As is widely known, he frequently incorporated names and themes from the works of well-known pre-Islamic poets into his own poems as sarcastic references to what he had chosen to leave behind altogether. See for instance Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 182 ["*Saqyan li-ghayri l-'Alyā'i wa-l-Sanadi / wa-ghayri aṭlāli Mayya bi-l-Jaradi*"], the allusion is to al-Nābigha], 366 ["*Qul li-man yabkī 'alā rasmin daras / wāqifan, mā ḍarra law kāna jalas*"], to Imru'u l-Qays], etc. For a full list of the occurrences of the motif in Abū Nuwās's poetry, see Arazi (1979), 8, note 1.

<sup>24</sup> In one of his poems, Abū Nuwās dismisses the old poetical *topos* of describing the traces of abandoned camps in the desert as "the eloquence of times past" (*ṣifātu l-ḥulūli balāghatu l-qidmī*), advising that his contemporaries, instead of parroting ancient themes, ought to focus on what they have personally experienced. See Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 539-40. There is a story in which Abū Nuwās makes a fool of Abū Khālid al-Numayrī, a scholar keen on showing off by using the Bedouin words that he has picked up during his fieldwork in the desert. See al-Askarī, *Taṣhīf* 30.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 37, 252, 338.

<sup>26</sup> The Bedouins' life is described in images of wretched, scorched acacias for shade, modest tents for a dwelling-place, snakes and lizards or sour milk for a diet, etc. The hardness of the Bedouin lifestyle apparently had little appeal to an educated man of letters accustomed to the refined urban culture of the Abbasid era. Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 35-6, 181, 338; and cf. al-Qisṭaynī (1992): 69-70. Genuine *shu'ūbī* intellectuals also appear to have exploited this point in their crusade against the Arabs and Arabic culture, cf. Ibn García, *Risāla* 247, 250, 251-52. [Pre-Islamic Arabs are described here as 'possessors of scabby camels', 'keepers of small sheep', who subsist on the fruit of colocynth, lizards' eggs and snakes. They are also said to have had no sciences to boast of.] In fact, even some opponents of the *shu'ūbiyya* admitted the repulsive harshness of life in the desert, cf. the *Risāla fī l-ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān* in al-Jāhīz, *Rasā'il* I (2), 383-412; also Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* II (3), 232-35. A late echo of this description is to be found in what the *Muqaddima* has to say about the lifestyle and the material culture of the Bedouins, but, of course, the *shu'ūbiyya*

to state that the poet's hostility, or rather sarcasm, was not directed against the Arabs as a people, especially as he also composed poems in praise of the Yemenite tribes, to one of which he was bound by clientage<sup>27</sup>, while it is also obvious that he utterly declined to display the customary deferential regard towards every aspect of the desert nomads' lifestyle.<sup>28</sup> That such views were common in *shu'ūbī* circles seems probable from a polemic passage in the *Mufākharat al-jawārī wa-l-ghilmān* of al-Jāhīz, in which we read the following comments on pre-Islamic poetry: "But you have drawn your arguments from boorish and uncouth Bedouins who were nourished and brought up by wretchedness and hardship; who were altogether ignorant of luxurious life and worldly pleasures, living as they did in the desert and shunning [other] people like wild beasts do; who would eat porcupines and lizards and crack [the kernels] of the colocynth. Their utmost accomplishment was lamenting over traces of camping-grounds, or describing a woman by comparing her to wild cows or antelopes, although women are more beautiful than those. Why, they would even compare a woman to a snake, or call her "misshapen" or "scabby", in order to avert the evil eye, according to their way of reasoning!"<sup>29</sup>

Every student of mediaeval Arabic literature will be familiar with the deep-rooted, all but unshakeable belief among Muslim scholars in the moral superiority of Arab Bedouins over sedentary peoples, their inborn "purity", "integrity" and "nobility", to which was added an imagery of simplicity, roughness and uncorrupted fierceness, an image surprisingly akin to the "noble savage" of much later European

controversy had long ceased to be a living issue by that time. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* II, 513-5, 548, 602.

<sup>27</sup> Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 86-89, 387-88; also cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh* 87. In the Book of Misers of al-Jāhīz, Abū Nuwās is quoted as the narrator of a wry story on the deplorable parsimony of the Persian inhabitants of *Khurāsān* province. See al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'* 24.

<sup>28</sup> Albert Arazi, in his fundamental article on the question of Abū Nuwās's alleged *shu'ūbī* leanings, describes this attitude as 'un šu'ūbisme de civilisation', and shows that urban civilization was considered to be the domain of ancient South Arabia no less than of Persia. He finally concludes that, contrary to the traditionally accepted view, Abū Nuwās simply cannot be regarded as a *shu'ūbī* in any meaningful sense, his attitude being dominated by a marked "sud-arabisme" instead of a pro-Persian tendency. See Arazi (1979): 5, 35, 61. While I find Arazi's arguments more or less convincing, the point that I want to make is different. Instead of examining whether Abū Nuwās, or another particular intellectual, did actually entertain antiarab sentiments, I would like to show that the very term *shu'ūbī* might in fact be a liberally distributed, very vague pejorative label, often given to people who did not dislike or oppose the Arabs at all. And it is only in that sense (and bearing in mind the hollowness of the term) that Abū Nuwās was indeed a *shu'ūbī*: after all, he was labelled such. On the similarly vague and varied applications of the pejorative sticker *zindīq*, see Vajda (1938).

<sup>29</sup> al-Jāhīz, *Rasā'il* I (2), 105.

romanticism.<sup>30</sup> In Abbasid times, when the conflict between the old Arab aristocracy and the upstart *mawālī* class for political and economic control was a very momentous issue, a light-hearted ridiculing of this “noble savage” image of ancient Bedouins would inevitably have political overtones and instantly land any man of letters among those reputed to be *shu'ūbīs*, as the case of Abū Nuwās, this determinedly frivolous and uncommitted man, shows. An ironic, solemn declaration of the poet's cowardice and ignorance of combat, or his hypothesis that Muraqqish (a celebrated pre-Islamic master of love poetry), had he been still alive in Abbasid times, would certainly have gone for boys rather than girls<sup>31</sup>, appear to have nothing to do with politics, yet such frivolous ridiculing of the old Arabic tradition, which would have been unthinkable under the Omayyads, must have sounded both scandalous and hostile to the disaffected Arab élite who gradually had to give way to a rising new aristocracy under the Abbasids.

One is justified to conclude that while people truly antagonistic to the Arabs and intent on blemishing the Arabic cultural heritage *tout entier* may actually have existed within *shu'ūbiyya* circles, the majority of the people accused of *shu'ūbī* leanings would certainly not go to such lengths.<sup>32</sup> Instead, it appears that a scholar who dared voice the remotest reservations or sarcastic remarks about just any aspect of the sacrosanct Bedouin heritage, or about an Arab dignitary's origins, would soon end up having acquired a notoriety as a *shu'ūbī* author, no matter if he should be engaged in a largely *bona fide* collection and study of that heritage. A feature shared by many intellectuals reputed to be *shu'ūbīs* might be their humorous and flippant attitudes, a measure of frivolity, as it were, towards Arab aristocrats as well as the sanctified concepts of Arabian antiquity, rather than any conscious political stand or attack against Arabic culture as a whole. We might cite here a cheeky *riposte* of Abū 'Ubayda to an inquiry about his own descent (*nasab*), whose evident irreverence and

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* II, 472-73, 474-81. [Fierce and wild, the nomads are nevertheless more likely to be pure of soul and good than are sedentary folks.] Also cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Faḍl* 63. An account in the *Murūj al-dhahab* even attributes the Bedouins' migratory lifestyle to a conscious and circumspect decision by their ancestors to keep distance from the corrupting influences of sedentary life. See al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* I, 433.

<sup>31</sup> Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 46, 339.

<sup>32</sup> In the domain of genealogy, there seem to have been real Persian nationalists, who utterly refused to accommodate old Persian traditions about Gayōmarth, Farīdūn, Manūchihr, Hōshang, etc., to Arabic *'ilm al-nasab*, and dismiss even such well-known myths as that of the Flood. Most genealogists, however, concentrated their efforts on establishing whether Persians belong to the most prestigious third of mankind (the descendants of Shem), or another one. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Qaṣd* 9-10, 30-31; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh* 37, 85, 88; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* I, 189, 205-6.

sense of humour must have sounded extremely insolent for an Arab accustomed to the usual rhapsodies about ancient Arabic genealogy.<sup>33</sup>

At the height of the political tug-of-war between the upstart *mawālī* class and the older, full-blooded Arab aristocracy, anyone who might have the audacity to mock any manifestations of the ancient Arabian traditions, question any detail of the genealogies of noble Arab families, or portray pre-Islamic Arabs for what they had actually been – that is, rough and illiterate nomads (with a rich and admirable folklore yet no refined material culture to speak of) – was more than likely to be seen as, purely and simply, an enemy of the Arabs, and branded a *shuʿūbī* accordingly. The fact that such an arch-*shuʿūbī* as Abū ʿUbayda is described to have been should nevertheless be the most ardent and dedicated collector and cultivator of the pre-Islamic Arabic folklore<sup>34</sup> is, then, neither surprising nor any contradiction, and it ought to serve as a powerful warning against the mechanical, and all too usual, assumption that a *shuʿūbī* scholar's primary aim in his activity was to insult and offend the Arabs' cultural heritage and traditions. Accusations of *shuʿūbī* leanings might more often than not mirror an intolerable air of flippancy rather than a determined political stance or a real opposition to the Arab heritage. At any rate, it is by no means simple to tell why a particular author has come to pass for a *shuʿūbī*, and great caution is advisable before one gives credit to allegations growing out of mediaeval scholarly rivalries.

<sup>33</sup> An Arab aristocrat (*baʿd al-ajillāʾ*) asked the scholar: “You slander other people, so who is *your* father?” The scholar's reply came: “My father narrated to me on the authority of his father that he had been a Jew living in Bājarwān...” The nobleman was unable to react to this audacity. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* V, 240; also al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* 64. The story is quoted in Goldziher (1967): I, 186-7. Artists and other individuals known for their lack of respect for traditions and their frivolous manner stood a fair chance of being accused of heresy (*zandaqa*) too, as happened to a fellow-poet of Abū Nuwās, Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, as well as their whole circle of friends (“*wa-kānū jamīʿan yurmawna bi-l-zandaqa*”); see al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* XIII, 303, 306, 343. It seems that *zandaqa*, or heresy, was to many people virtually synonymous with *esprit* and a keen sense of humour; cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* XVIII, 187. Even *ḥadīth* scholarship and its venerable professors were not safe from the jesting of disrespectful intellectuals, see Goldziher (1981), 334. No wonder then that a lot of scholars regarded a cheerful and witty demeanour as not only harmful to one's prestige and reputation, but even a disqualification from testifying in court. See for instance al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* 139.

<sup>34</sup> He is described as one of the three greatest experts of ancient Arabian culture: “In that age, there lived three men who were the leading experts, before everyone else, in the field of [Arabic] language, poetry, and the sciences of the Arabs. Neither before nor after them did anyone exist who would come close to their level; and most if not all data that the [learned] people possess originates with them: Abū Zayd, Abū ʿUbayda, and al-Aṣmaʿī.” Of the three, Abū ʿUbayda was commonly judged to be the most knowledgeable in matters historical accounts (*akhbār*), genealogies (*ansāb*), and pre-Islamic tribal battles (*ayyām*). See Abū l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib* 70; al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* 70; al-Qifī, *Inbāh* II, 201.

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# “SUN” AND “MOON” IN SEMITIC AND EGYPTIAN IN AN AFRO-ASIATIC CONTEXT<sup>1</sup>

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## I. INTRODUCTION

One of the earliest papers *A nap és a hold nevei a sémi nyelvekben* [The names of “sun” and “moon” in Semitic languages] by young Ignác Goldziher in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (1876) represents a noteworthy attempt at drawing outlines of the cultural background of the common Semitic roots for “sun” and “moon”, which testifies to the young Orientalist’s interest in Semitic comparative linguistics.

More than a century later, the results of comparative Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) phonology and lexicology, initiated by the pioneer works by J. H. Greenberg and I. M. Diakonoff, allow shedding some light on the common Afro-Asiatic background of the names for astral bodies in Semitic and Egyptian. This study will hopefully give a true sample of the present possibilities and limits of Afro-Asiatic lexical comparison.

## II. ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

**Sem.** \*šamš- (or \*šamš-?) “sun”: OAkk. šamšum, later šamšu “1. Sonne(ngott), 2. Scheibe” [AHW 1158] || Hbr. (Masor.) šemeš “sun” [GB] || OSA: Sab. s<sub>2</sub>ms, “sun” [SD 133], Ar. šams-, dialectal sams- [GB] | MSA: Sqt. šam [Lsl.: \*šamh < \*šams] “soleil, jour” [Lsl. 1938, 418] etc. (Sem.: GB 849; Frz. 1965, 144, #3.04). Its Afro-Asiatic cognates (if any) are debatable. Given the disputed initial sibilant, there exist various etymological approaches:

**I.** If the Sem. root was a partial reduplication of \*šam-, we should account for AA \*s-m, cp. NBrb.: Figig u-səm “lightning” [Mlt.] || SBrb.: Hgr. e-ssem “faire des éclairs” & é-ssam “éclair” [Fed. 1951-2, 1834], EWlm. & Ayr ə-ssəṃ “1. faire des éclairs, 2. être éblouissant, luisant, de blancheur éclatante, 3. miroiter, scintiller”,

<sup>1</sup> I express my deep gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for supporting my research in Germany, where the present study was also prepared.

EWlm. & Ayr e-ssam “1. éclair, 2. surface (robe) brillante, lustre” [PAM 1998, 298].

Lit. for Sem.-Brb.: Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 59; HSED #2328 & #2329.

2. If, in turn, the Psem. word was \*šamš- as already suggested (Djk. 1975, 124: \*šams/š-, 1981, 57, fn. 95: \*šamš-/šapš-, Dlg. 1973, 122; 1986, 86, n. 12: \*šamš-, contra \*šamš- by Frz. 1965, 144), it could have been a dissimilative reduplication of AA \*š-m, cp. WCh.: Angas lem [l- < \*š- possible] “sun” [Flk. 1915] (Dlg.: Angas l- < WCh. \*š-).

Lit. for Sem.-Angas: Dlg. 1989, 97, #55; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 59; HSED #2329.

NB: Due to phonological problems, PBrb. \*s-m “lightning” cannot be related to Angas lem (Brb. \*s- ≠ AA \*š-).

3. A. B. Dolgopol'skij (1973, 122 – followed by I. M. D'jakonov 1975, 124; 1981, 57, fn. 95) proposed equating Sem. “sun” with PCu.-Om. \*[ê]A[']Am- “sun” [Dlg.], which was based practically on SCu.: WRift: Irq. çê'âma [ts-] “sun” [Wtl. 1953, 97] = çê'âma [Wtl. 1958, 25, #102], Grw. çê'ima [ts-] “sun” [Wtl. 1958, 25, #102] || NOM.: Haruro zomp-ē “luce artificiale” [CR 1937, 668] = čomp-ē “искусственный свет, свет светильника” [Dlg.].

NB: Phonologically more than problematic. WRift \*ç- ≠ either Sem. \*š- or \*š-. For the time being, it is difficult to pass any judgement upon the isolated Haruro word.

4. It has been mistakenly suggested (Dlg. 1989, 97, #55; Mlt.-Stl. 1990, 59) that Sem. \*[š]amš- and the Brb. & Angas forms be equated with OEG. šmm “heiß werden” (OK, Wb IV 468). Note, however, that OEG. šmm < \*hmm (cf. Med. caus. hapax šhmm) = Sem. \*hmm.

**Ug. špš** “Sonne (als Himmelskörper)” [WUS #2667]: often confused with Sem. \*šamš-. The word might be due to a contamination of the common Sem. word for “sun” and a distinct AA root, namely AA \*s-p “to shine (of sun)”, cp. Eg. ššp “1. hell sein, leuchten, 2. erleuchten” (PT, Wb IV 282-283) → ššp “Erhellung, Licht” (MK, Wb IV 283-284) || NBrb.: Demnat suf “briller, scintiller, se cahuffer au soleil” [Wlf.]. The original sense of the Brb. root developed further in Brb. \*a-sf “day”: NBrb.: Shilh a-sf, pl. u-sf-an “jour” [Lst.] = a-ss, pl. ū-ss-an [Jst. 1914, 123] = a-ss, pl. u-s-ann [Aplg. 1958, 48], Sus á-ss, pl. ú-ss-ān [Dst. 1938, 163] || EBrb.: Gdm. ā-sef ~ a-səf, pl. a-sf-iw-ən “1. jour (24 heures), 2. jour (opposé à nuit)” [Lanfry 1973, 331, #1429], Siwa a-sfa “jour” [Lst.], Nfs. u-ss, pl. u-s-an [assim. < \*u-sf] “jour” [Lst.] = a-ss, pl. u-ss-ān “giorno” [Bgn. 1942, 274] (EBrb.: Lst. 1931, 249). Note that Hgr. \*e-ššef “day” (quoted in SISAJa & Stl. l.c.) seems to be a non-existing ghost-word (cf. Fcd. 1951-2, 121).

Lit.: SISAJa III, 34, #63 (Ug.-Eg.-Brb. from AA \*sVp); Stl. 1994, 1 (Eg.-Hgr.); HSED #2336 (Eg.-Brb.).

NB<sub>1</sub>: The Russian linguists (SISAJa l.c.) confused AA \*s-f (above) with AA \*s-f “to burn”, cf. Sem. \*[š]pp: attested only in Syr. spp “гореть, загораться”, Mandaean spp “жечь” (Sem.: SISAJa l.c.) || Eg. jšf “etwas verbrennen” (NE: XX., Wb I 135, 2) || WCh.: Hausa zāfí [z-

reg. < \*š-] “heat”, *záfāfā* “to heat”, cf. also (?) *zúffā* “1. perspiration, 2. hot weather” [Abr. 1962, 959, 960, 978]. D. J. Wölfel (1955, 88) affiliated Hausa z-f with Demnat suf, which should be given up (Hausa z- ≠ Brb. \*s-).

NB2: The position of WCh. \*IEp “to shine”: Sura *mə-ləp* “2. scheinen, glänzen, leuchten, hell sein” [Jng. 1963, 74], Goemai *mèyε-ləp* “light” [Krf.] | Pero *lip* “light” [Krf.] (WCh.: Krf. 1981, #278) is problematic. At any rate, it cannot be derived from \*šVpi [Stl.] (Pero l- cannot be < \*š-) and be connected to Eg. *sšp* and Ug. *špš* or Hausa z-f as suggested in SISAJa III, 34, #63; Stl. 1987, 195; 1991, 8; 1994, 1; HSED #2340.

**Sem. \*warīḥ-** “moon” & **\*warḥ-** “month” [Frz.]: OAkk. *warḫu* → later *arḫu* ~ *urḫu* “Mond, Monat” [AHW 1466] || Hbr. *yārē<sup>h</sup>* “moon”, *yérah* “month”, Syr. *yarḥō* “month” || OSA: Qtb. *wrḫ* “month” [Ricks 1982, 269] | MSA *\*warḫ* “month”: Jbl. *ᵛrḫ*, Mhr. *warḫ* (MSA: Jns. 1981, 292; 1987, 430) || Geez *warḫ* “moon, month” (Sem.: GB 318-9; Frz. 1965, 144, #3.05; Lsl. 1987, 617).

NB: Not in Ar. Note that Ar. *ʿwarraḫa* “to fix date, write a history” is acc. to W. Leslau (l.c.) to be treated as late denom. back formation from *taʿrīḫ-* “date, history, chronicle” or as secondary borrowing from MSA.

1. GB suggest a connection to Sem. \*ʿr[h/h]: Akk. *urḫu*, Ass. often *arḫu* “Weg, Pfad, Bahn” [AHW 1429], Hbr. *ʿrḫ qal* “gehen, wandern”, *ʿorah* “Weg, Pfad”, OSA *ʿrḫ* [sic -h] “Weg” [GB] = *ʿrḫ* [sic -h] “Feldzug” [AHW], Sqt. *ʿérah* “venir, arriver” [Lsl.] (Sem.: GB 65; Lsl. 1938, 74).

NB: The reconstruction of the third radical is problematic. The PSem. \**-ḫ* would be supported, beside Akk. *-ḫ-*, also by SBrb.: Ayr *wrg*: *wiræg* “1. vagabonder tout seul, 2. aller seul” [PAM 1998, 349] (note that Brb. \*g = Sem. \*ḫ < AA \*g is reg.).

2. Widespread is linking Sem. “moon” to OEg. *j<sup>h</sup>* “moon”, which is phonologically highly dubious (cf. the discussion below), and I cannot accept it.

**Sem. \*šahr-/\*šahar-** “moon”: Hbr. *šahāronīm* pl. “kleine Monde, Zieraten (die Männer und Weiber als Halsschmuck oder Amulette trugen, u. die man auch den Kamelen anhing)” [GB] | BA *sahārā* “moon” & Syr. *sahrā* “moon” [GB] || OSA: Sab. *s<sub>2</sub>hr* “beginning of month” [SD 132] = “moon, month” [Lsl.] | Ar. *šahr-* “1. moon, 2. new moon, 3. month” [Lsl.] | MSA: Sqt. *šéher* “moon, month” [Lsl.] = *šéhər* [Jns.], Hrs. *šéher* ~ *šéhər* “first crescent of the moon” [Jns.], Jbl. *šéhər* ~ *šéhər* “first crescent of moon” [Jns.] = *šéher* “pleine lune” [Lsl.], Mhr. *šéhər* ~ *šéhər* “first crescent of moon” [Jns.] (MSA: Jns. 1977, 119; 1981, 250; 1987, 376) || Geez *sāhr* “1. moon, 2. first day of the month” [Lsl.] (Sem.: GB 780; Lsl. 1938, 426) || Brb. *\*ta-ziri* [z < AA \*š reg.] “moon” [GT]: NBrb.: Maroccan & Seghrushen *d-ziri* “lumière de la lune, de claire de lune” [Lst.] | Rif *ti-ziri* “lune” [Jst. 1926, 138] | Mzab *ta-ziri* “1. pleine lune, 2. claire de lune” [Dlh. 1984, 254] | Wargla *ta-ziri* “lune” [Lst.] | Sened *ti-ziri* “claire de lune” [Lst.] | Qbl. *ti-ziri* “1. clair de lune, 2. clarté de la lune” [Dlt. 1982, 955], Zwawa *ti-ziri* “claire de lune” [Lst.] || EBrb.: Siwa *ta-ziri* “lune”, [Lst.] Gdm. *ta-ziri* “lune” [Lst.] = *ta-ziri* “1. pleine lune, 2. lumière de la lune” [Lanfry 1973, 430, #1832], Nfs. *ziri* [i.e.: *ziri*] “luna” [Bgn.

1942, 240, 323] (Brb.: Lst. 1931, 254) || WCh.: \*ĉaHar [Stl. 1987] = \*ĉVrV [Stl. 1991] “star”: Klr. sísíri [Jng. 1970, 390] | SBAuchi \*ĉār ~ \*ĉā-ĉur [GT]: Mbaaru saarù, Zaranda tyaa-ĉer, Tule ĉaacĉur, Zakshi ĉààžur, Boot ĉaar, Zaar ĉaar, Zem šasur, Seya ĉààžur ~ šaar (SBAuchi: Smz. 1978, 31, #46) || CCCh.: Pidlimdi šir-èndi “star” | Banana ĉuwra, Museye ĉiwĉiwra “star” (Ch.: Kraft 1981, #119).

Lit.: Dlg. 1972, 165, #1 (Sem.-Brb.); Stl. 1987, 201, #519 & 1991, 8 (WCh.-Sem.). Note that O. V. Stolbova mistakenly gives the WCh. forms the meaning “moon”!

NB1: The semantic shift to “star” in Chadic can be defended, cf. the well known case of PBrb. \*tri “star” || Bed. terik ~ terig “moon” || LECu.: Arbore tera “star” || PCh. \*t-r “moon”.

NB2: A var. root (AA \*3-h-r) is present in Sem. \*zhr: Hbr. zhr “glänzen, Glanz verbreiten”, Syr. zhr “glänzen”, Ar. zhr “glänzen, blühen”, zuhar-at- “planet Venus” (Sem.: GB 194) || WCh.: Angas-Sura \*zar “star” [Stl. 1977, 158]; Sura zàr [Jng. 1963, 89] = sàr [Krf.], Mupun zàr [Frj. 1991, 69], Mnt. zayí [Jng. 1965, 172], Goemai sim-šar [Krf.], Chip zàr [Krf.] (Angas-Sura: Kraft 1981, #119) | Daffo-Butura nžórèt “star” [Jng. 1970, 390]. See also Blz. 1992, 27, note 23 (Sem.-WCh.), who falsely attaches also Brb. \*ziri “moon” to this AA root.

NB3: In my opinion, the position of SCu. \*šaha ~ \*šehe “moon” [GT] = \*šēhe [Ehret 1980, 212, 387] is still unsolved. It is not regular that AA \*-r is lost in PSCu. It has been frequently suggested (Flm. 1969, 9; Dlg. 1972, 165, #1; 1987, 200, #39; Ehret 1980; 1987, #569) that it is cognate with ECu. \*le<sup>c</sup> “moon”, but the phonological differences are too significant (actually, none of the underlying radicals correspond). Moreover A. B. Dolgopolsky (1972, 165, #1; 1987, 200, #39) tried to demonstrate the common origin of all Sem. \*šahr- & ECu. \*le<sup>c</sup>- & SCu. \*šēhe, which is out of question for me.

**MSA \*er-** “moon”: Sqt. ’ére [Lsl.] = ’á-’ər-əh ~ é-’er-eh [Jns.], Hrs. ħār-ēt [prefix \*ħa-], Jbl. ’er-ət ~ ér-ét [Jns.] = er-ét ~ er-it [Lsl.], Mhr. ħār-īt [prefix \*ħa-] [Jns.] = ħār-īt [Jahn] = wer-īt [Lsl.] (MSA: Lsl. 1938, 72-73; Jns. 1977, 4; 1981, 4; 1987, 7) || NBrb. \*a-yyur [GT] : Sus á-yyūr, pl. yīr-en “lune” [Dst. 1938, 174] | Mzab yur, pl. i-yar-ən “1. lune nouvelle, 2. lunaison, 3. mois” [Dlh. 1984, 243] | PRif \*yur “moon, month” [GT] : Snh. a-yur, Rif proper & Izn. yur | Zwawa a-ggur [< \*a-yyur] “moon” (NBrb.: Rns. 1932, 352) || EBrb.: Nfs. u-yér “luna nuova” [Bgn. 1942, 240] = u-yər “lune” [Lst.], Augila a-yūr “luna nuova”, a-yūr “mese” [Prd. 1960, 168], Fogaha a-yūr “luna nuova” [Prd. 1961, 301] || WBrb.: Zng. è-’žir [-ž- < \*g- < \*y-] “lune, mois (lunaire)” [Ncl. 1953, 474] || SBrb.: Hgr. é-ôr, pl. é-ôr-en “1. lune, 2. pleine lune, 3. lune du 1<sup>er</sup> jour du mois lunaire” [Fed. 1951-2, 705], Ghat a-yur “lune (pleine ou non)” [Nehlil 1909, 174], EWlm. ä-yyor, pl. ä-yyor-än “lune” [PAM 1998, 363] (Brb.: cf. also Lst. 1931, 254).

Lit.: Mlt. 1984, 20 (MSA-Brb.).

NB1: Perhaps remotely related is Sem. \*’awr- “light (luce)” [Frz.]: Akk. urru “(heller) Tag” [AHW 1433], Ug. ār “Licht” & ār “beleuchten” [WUS #368], Hbr. ’or “Licht, bes. das Licht der Himmelskörper”, denom. ’wr hifil “1. leuchten lassen, 2. erleuchten, 3. Licht verbreiten”, [GB] Ar. denom. ’wr II “anzünden”, ’uwār- “Glut” [GB] (Sem.: GB 18; Frz. 1965, 144.

#3.08). The connection of Hbr. ’ōr “Licht” was suggested by W. Leslau (1938, 72-73) and W. Müller (1985, 269).

NB2: The MSA forms were mistakenly etymologized both from Sem. \*warḥ- and \*šah(a)r-.

**Eg. r<sup>c</sup>** “sun” (OK, Wb II 401, 5). There are two acceptable alternative etymologies (nos. 1 & 2) depending on whether OEg. r- < AA \*r- or \*l-.

1. Sem.: Ar. ry<sup>c</sup> & r<sup>c</sup>r<sup>c</sup> “to shine, glänzen”, ray<sup>c</sup>- “Helligkeit des Tages, light, brightness of day” [Vcl.] ||| WCh.: (?) NBCh.: Zaranda ri “sun” [Smz. 1978, 32], Geji ri “sun” [OS] (unless < “sky”).

Lit.: For Eg.-Ar. see Clc. 1936, #65; Chn. 1947, #414; Vcl. 1959, 30; 1959, 73; Vrg. 1965, 85; IS 1976, #346. For Eg.-SBAuchi: OS 1990, 90, #46; Orel 1995, 147; HSED #2088.

2. Sem.: Ar. l<sup>c</sup> V “to flash, gleam, flimmern”, la<sup>c</sup>la<sup>c</sup>- “vapor meridianus”, cf. la<sup>c</sup>l- “garnet, ruby” [Eilers 1978, 130] ||| Guanche: cf. Gran Canaria a-lio “sun” [Mlt.] ||| LECu.: Saho lelle<sup>c</sup>, lala<sup>c</sup> “day” [Dlg.], Afar la<sup>c</sup>ō, lo<sup>c</sup>ō, lā<sup>c</sup>ō “sunrise, east, day, daytime”, lälä<sup>c</sup> “day”, cf. la<sup>c</sup>alla<sup>c</sup>e “to be warmed by turning from side” [PH 1985, 153] | Somali mí-le<sup>c</sup> “1. Sonnenglut, -hitze, -glanz, 2. Sonne” [Rn. 1902, 295] = mí-le<sup>c</sup> “1. ray of the sun, 2. sunshine” [Abr. 1964, 180] || SCu.: (?) WRift \*lo’-/\*le’- [irregular \*-’-] “sun” [GT] : Irq. lō’a “sun, god” [Wtl. 1953] = lō’ā “1. sun, 2. mirror, 3. God, 4. day” [Mgw. 1989, 117], Brg. le-tu “sun” [Wtl. 1958], Alg. lele’a “sun” [Wtl. 1958] (WRift: Wtl. 1958, 25, #102; Cu.: Flm. 1969, 23; Dlg. 1973, 163) ||| WCh.: (?) Daffo-Butura le’ “anbrechen (Tag)” [Jng. 1970, 217].

Lit.: Rn. 1878, 136; 1902, 295; Alb. 1927, 223; Clc. 1936, #65; Chn. 1947, #414; Flm. 1969, 23; Dlg. 1973, 163; IS 1976, #346; Djk. etc. 1986, 70, fn. 26; OS 1992, 173.

3. The interpretation of Eg. r<sup>c</sup> “sun-god” as “shepherd” = Sem. \*r<sup>c</sup>y (Hommel 1883, 440, fn. 2; Alb. 1923, 67; Ember 1930, #12.a.19) is out of question.

4. W. Vycichl (1933, 180) suggested a connection to Brb. \*r-γ “to burn”. Unacceptable because of the problematic phonological correspondence of the second root radical (usually, Brb. \*γ reflects OEg. q and ḥ, but not Eg. <sup>c</sup>).

**Eg. jtn** “Sonne” (MK, Wb I 145, 1-8) = “1. sun, 2. disk (of sun)” (FD 33).

1. The equation with the isolated ECh.: Jegu ’étin “Tag” [Jng. 1961, 112] is dubious. Lit. for Eg.-Jegu: OS 1992, 189; HSED #2583.

2. If Eg. jtn < \*ytl from AA \*talV (Belova’s law), cp. Sem.: Ar. taliy- “sparkles” || Tigre tāläwu “to sparkle, shine” (Sem.: SISAJa) ||| WCh. \*talV “sun” [Stl.]: Hausa tāllí “sheen”, cf. tāl (adv.) “brightly” [Abr. 1962, 846, 844] | (?) Galambu tōryí [-ry- < \*-ly-?] “sun” | SBAuchi \*tal “sun” [reflexes: Smz. 1978, 32, #48] (WCh.: Mkr. 1987, 359; Stl. 1987, 167). Areal parallel: PMande \*tile “sun” [VP 1987, 328]. Lit. for Sem.-WCh.: SISAJa II, 25, #48; HCVA 3, 21, #193.

**Eg. j<sup>c</sup>**- “moon” (OK, Wb I 42, 8).

1. It has been *unisono* identified with Sem. \*wariḥ- & \*warḥ-. I am disturbed by the supposed and quite strange change of OEg. j<sup>c</sup>ḥ < \*j3ḥ < PEg. \*yrḥ.



Lit.: Erman 1892, 107; Müller 1907, 304, fn. 1; Ember 1911, 89; 1926, 302, #5; 1930, #4.b.2, #14.b.1; Farina 1924, 324; Alb. 1927, 203; Behnk 1927, 82, #29; 1928, 138; Littmann 1931, 64, fn. 2; Vrg. 1945, 132, #2.d.6; 1965, 93; Grb. 1950, 180; Mlt. 1984, 17 etc.

2. I suppose that OEG.  $j^{\text{h}} < \text{PEg. } *i^{\text{h}}$  (palatalization of AA  $*li-$  → OEG.  $j-$ ) via a dissimilation of PEg.  $*i^{\text{h}}$  from  $*i^{\text{c}}$  = PAA  $*li^{\text{c}}$ - “moon” [GT]: SBrb.  $*ta\text{-}lli\text{-}t$  “lunar month” [GT]: Hgr.  $ta\text{-}lli\text{-}t$ , pl.  $ti\text{-}lil$  “1. mois lunaire, 2. p.ext. lune du 1<sup>er</sup> jour du mois lunaire, 3. croissant, 4. période de 30 jours” [Fcd. 1951-2, 982], EWlm.  $ta\text{-}lli\text{-}t$  & Ayr  $te\text{-}lli\text{-}t$  “1. lune, 2. mois” [Alj. 1980, 108], Ghat  $ta\text{-}lli\text{-}t$  “mois” [Nhl. 1909, 179], Azger (Adjer)  $ta\text{-}lli\text{-}t$  “lune, mois” [Bst.] (SBrb.: cf. also Bst. 1883, 325; 1887, 457) ||| ECu.  $*le^{\text{c}}$ - “moon” [Sasse 1979, 21] ||| WCh.: SBAuchi  $*lī$  [ $*\bar{i}$ - <  $*i^{\text{c}}$ -] “moon” [GT] : Tala lii, lī, Sho (Ju) lii, Zangwal (Soor) lii, Boghom lio, lyon, Dikshi & Bandas lim (SBch.: Smz. 1978, 27, #28; JI 1994 II, 238).

Lit.: for Eg.-ECu.-WCh. see Takács 1997, 253, #3.8.1.

NB1: ECu.  $*le^{\text{c}}$ - “moon” has hardly anything to do with Sem.  $*šahr$ - “moon” (as presumed by Dlg. 1972, 165, #1; 1987, 200, #39). The origin of SCu.  $*šēhe$  “moon” [Ehret 1980, 212] is disputable, its usual comparison with ECu.  $*le^{\text{c}}$ - (cf. Flm. 1969, 9; Dlg. 1972, 165, #1; Ehret 1980, 17, 389; 1987, #569) is phonologically not convincing.

NB2: SBrb.  $*ta\text{-}lli\text{-}t$  can hardly be a loan from Ar.  $hill$ - “Monatsanfang” (as proposed by A. Trombetti 1923, 128, #164 and H. G. Mukarovskij 1969, 39). There are semantic difficulties, and Ar.  $h$ - would not have disappeared in a loan.

**Eg. 3bd** (or to be read  $jbd$ ?) “month” (OK, Wb I 65, 5-9). Its origin is obscure, so far there is no satisfactory etymology. The search for its origin is hindered also by the Egyptian “aleph-problem” (Eg. 3 reflects usually AA  $*r$  &  $*l$ , but in some cases also  $*ʔ$ , which is so far unexplained). The following solutions were offered in the literature or are to be accounted for:

1. A. Ember (1913, 118, #73): Eg. 3bd = Ar.  $badr$ - “full moon (pleine lune), moon (lune)” [DRS 46], which is apparently isolated in Semitic. This is a quite promising possibility, but the suggested metathesis is disturbing.

2. G. Farina (1924, 323), followed by A. Ju. Militarev (MM 1983, 232): OEG. 3bd = Ar.  $'abad$ - “eternity” and Sem.  $*'bd$  “to vanish”. Semantically unconvincing.

3. A. Ember (1930, #3.a.6) seems later to have changed his mind, when equating OEG. 3bd with Sem.  $*'bd$  “wander, to be lost”: cf. esp. Hbr.  $'bd$  “1. umher-, sich verirren, 2. sich verlieren, 3. ruiniert werden, zu Grunde gehen” [GB 2]. Not excluded.

4. M. Cohen (1947, #5): OEG. 3bd = PCu.  $*[ʔ]arP$ - “1. moon, 2. month” [GT]. Phonologically untenable. There is no match for OEG.  $-d$ , unless the initial PCu. radical was  $*^{\text{c}}$ - and etymologized acc. to O. Rössler’s law which is far-fetched.

5. N. Skinner (1977, 31): OEG. 3bd identified with WCh.: Hausa  $wàtà$  “moon” [Abr. 1962, 929] | Diri  $afàda$  “moon” [Skn.]. Phonologically unconvincing: the labial correspondences are at the present level of our knowledge to be judged as irregular.

6. SISAJa I (1981), 45-46, #58 confused OEg. jbd with various mutually unrelated AA roots: 1. Sem.-Brb.-WCh. \*b-d “to open, begin”, 2. Eg. bd “erhellen” ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura \*ḫit “morning”.

7. In my opinion, the similarity with Agaw: Hamir *bat* “beginnen (nur vom Monat gesagt)”, *bāt-ā* “Anfang des Monats” [Rn. 1888, 350] || LECu.: Oromo *bāt-ī* “new moon” [Sasse 1982, 31] = *bāt-ī* “month, moon” [Ali-Zbr. 1990, 132] | HECu.: Burji *bāt-i* “new moon” [Sasse 1982, 31], Darasa *bāt-è* “new moon” [Lsl.] is probably misleading.

NB: Theoretically, OEg. jbd < \*bad would be possible (Belova’s law), but OEg. -d = PCu. \*-t is irregular. Moreover, W. Leslau (1969, 35; 1988, 184) suggests a fully different origin for the Cu. terms: Oromo *bāt-ī* < Amh. *batā* “to begin (month)”, which is supposedly a denominative from *ba’at* “1. entry, 2. new moon” = Geez *ba’at* ~ *bā’at* “entry, beginning of month” from *bo’a* “to enter” < Sem. \*bw’.

8. G. Takács: perhaps, OEg. 3bd < AA \*l-b-t, cf. ECu. \*libd- “to vanish, disappear” [Black]

9. G. Takács: perhaps cf. NOM.: Haruro *bet* “moon” [Mkr. quoting an old source, not found as such in CR 1937] (isolated?), which H. G. Mukarovsky (1987, 234) linked to Barea *fēta* “moon”.

NB: C. Conti Rossini (1937, 642) gives only Haruro *-zōlint-ē bētt-idēs* “la luna è nuova”. In this case, \*bēt could be identical with the ES & Cu. term described in paragraph 7.

\* \* \*

#### ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

AA: Afro-Asiatic, Akk.: Akkadian, Alg.: Alagwa, Ar.: Arabic, Aram.: Aramaic, AS: Angas-Sura, Ass.: Assyrian, BA: Biblical Aramaic, Bch.: Bauchi, Brb.: Berber, Brg.: Burunge, C: Central, Ch.: Chadic, Cu.: Cushitic, E: East(ern), Eg.: Egyptian, ES: Ethio-Semitic, Gdm.: Ghadames, Grw.: Gorowa, Hbr.: Hebrew, Hgr.: Ahagggar, Hrs.: Harsusi, Irq.: Iraqw, Jbl.: Jibbali, Klr.: Kulere, L: Late, M: Middle, Mhr.: Mehri, MK: Middle Kingdom, MSA: Modern South Arabian, N: North(ern), NE: New Egyptian, Nfs.: Nefusa, NK: New Kingdom, O: Old, OK: Old Kingdom, Om.: Omotic, OSA: Old South Arabian, P: Proto-, PT: Pyramid Texts, Qbl.: Qabyle, Qtb.: Qatabanian, S: South(ern), Sab.: Sabacan, Sem.: Semitic, Sgt.: Soqotri, Syr.: Syriac, Ug.: Ugaritic, W: West(ern), Wlm.: Tawllemmet, Zng.: Zenaga.

#### ABBREVIATIONS OF NAMES

Abr.: Abraham, Alb.: Albright, Alj.: Alojaly, Aplg.: Applegate, Bgn.: Beguinot, Blz.: Blažek, Bst.: Basset, Chn.: Cohen, Clc.: Calice, CR: Conti Rossini, Djk.:

D'jakonov, Dlg.: Dolgopol'skij, Dlh.: Delheure, Dlt.: Dallet, Dst.: Destaign, Fed.: Foucauld, Flk.: Foulkes, Flm.: Fleming, Frj.: Frajzyngier, Frn.: Farina, Frz.: Fronzaroli, Grb.: Greenberg, GT: Takács, IS: Illič-Svityč, Jng.: Jungraithmayr, Jns.: Johnstone, Jst.: Justinard, Krf.: Kraft, Lnf.: Lanfry, Lsl.: Leslau, Lst.: Laoust, Mgw.: Maghway, Mkr.: Mukarovsky, Mlt.: Militarev, MM: Majzel' & Militarev, Ncl.: Nicolas, Nhl.: Nehlil, OS: Orel & Stolbova, PAM: Prasse & Alojaly & Mohamed, PH: Parker & Hayward, Prd.: Paradisi, Rn.: Reinisch, Rns.: Renisio, Skn.: Skinner, Smz.: Shimizu, Stl.: Stolbova, Trb.: Trombetti, Vcl.: Vycichl, VP: Vydrin & Pozdnjakov, Vrg.: Vergote, Wlf.: Wölfel, Wtl.: Whiteley, Zbr.: Zaborski.

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## PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE FAMILY ALBUM OF THE GOLDZIHERS

István Ormos  
Budapest

The Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives in Budapest possess fifty photographs of the Goldziher family. Some of these are preserved in a mutilated family album, others are single items. However, it can be assumed that some of the latter at least originally belonged to the family album but were removed in subsequent years. Although research into the exact provenance of the photographs is not possible at present because of the ongoing rearrangement of the relevant section of the Archives, it can be assumed that most of the photographs were incorporated into the Archives after the death of Ignaz Goldziher's son, Károly (1881-1955), who left no descendants. On the other hand, some come probably from relatives and friends to whom the Goldzihers may have given them as tokens of remembrance. Some of these photographs have appeared in various publications but most of them are completely unknown. I was actually trying to trace the correspondence of Gyula (Julius) Fischer, an acquaintance of Max Herz Pasha's, which is known to have survived World War II and in which items related to Herz Pasha are likely to occur.<sup>1</sup> There was some probability that the correspondence in question might be found in the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives so I went there only to discover that it was unknown there. However, during our discussion Chief Archivist Zsuzsanna Toronyi mentioned the Goldziher photographs. When I learned of their existence I immediately thought that their publication in the present volume would add a personal touch to the series of scholarly articles delivered in honour of the founder of Islamic studies. I think that they bring Goldziher and his family closer to us and enable us to catch some of the aura of this outstanding scholar. It would have been preferable to publish all the photographs but space considerations made this

<sup>1</sup> Fischer visited Herz Pasha in Cairo and we owe to him a moving obituary. Julius Fischer, 'Max Herz Pascha', *Pester Lloyd (Morgenblatt)* 72, 9 July 1925, col. 8c-9a. See István Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha: His Life and Activities in Egypt* (forthcoming). Samuel Löwinger, Alexander Scheiber, István Hahn, 'Report on the Hebrew MSS in Hungary with special regard to the Hungarian fragments of the Cairo Genizah', *Actes du XXV Congrès international des Orientalistes, Paris – 23-31 Juillet 1948*, Paris 1949, 119 (no. 7).

impossible. Therefore unpublished or little-known items were selected with a natural emphasis on Ignaz Goldziher.

I am greatly indebted to Chief Archivist Zsuzsanna Toronyi and the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives in Budapest for the permission to publish these photographs among the papers read at our *Goldziher Memorial Conference*. It was a great surprise when it turned out that the splendid sizable desk at which our discussions took place was in fact “Goldziher’s writing-desk”, the same that had served Goldziher for decades in the office of the Israelite Community and which conjured up the memory of all the spiritual tribulations of this exceptional man, which fill the pages of the *Tagebuch*.



Ignaz Goldziher



Ignaz Goldziher. Photograph by Albert Doctor in Pest, dedicated by Goldziher to Miss Laura Mittler in Aradszentmárton "as a friendly souvenir"



Laura Mittler. Photograph by Tivadar Krausz in Besztercebánya or Szliács, the latter a popular spa in Northern Hungary (now Banská Bystrica and Sliač in Slovakia)



Goldziher with his sons Miksa (r.) and Károly (l.)





Goldziher with his sons Miksa (r.) and Károly (l.) c. 1893  
with unidentified dedication



Laura Goldziher with her sons Miksa (l.) and Károly (r.)



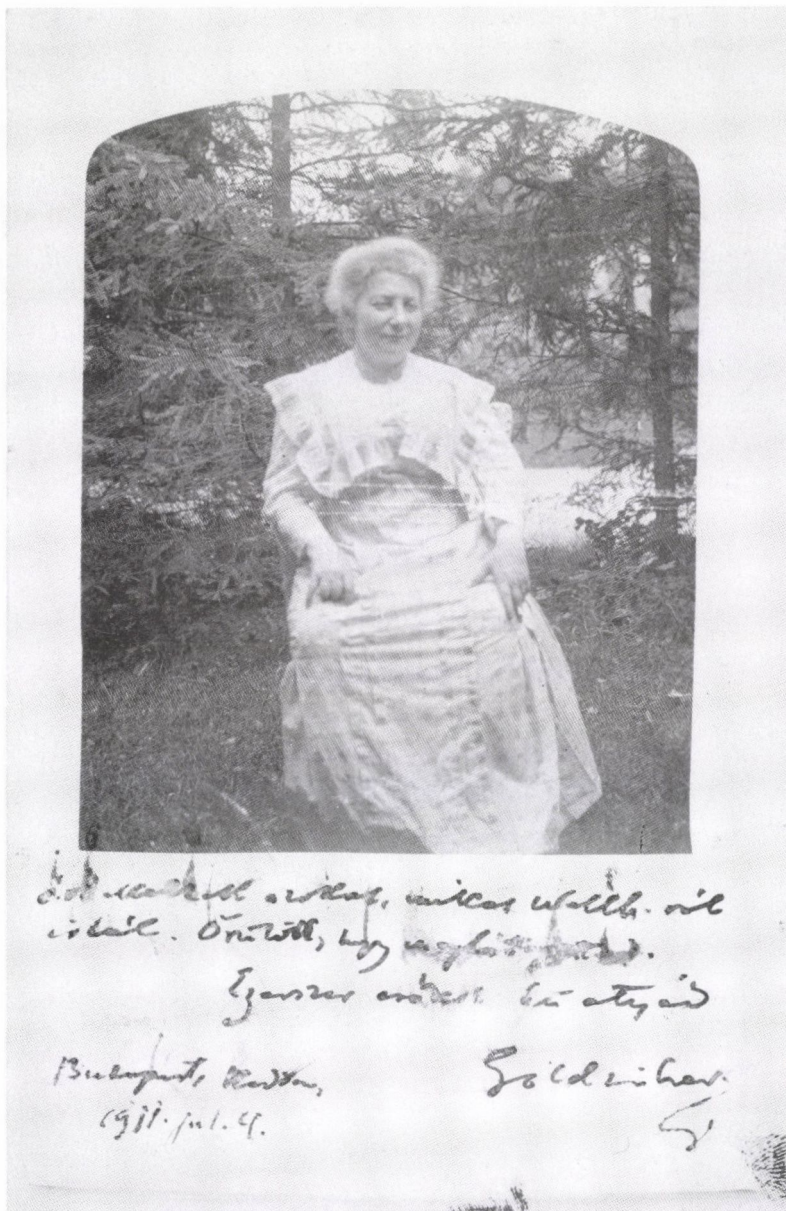


Ignaz Goldziher 1893

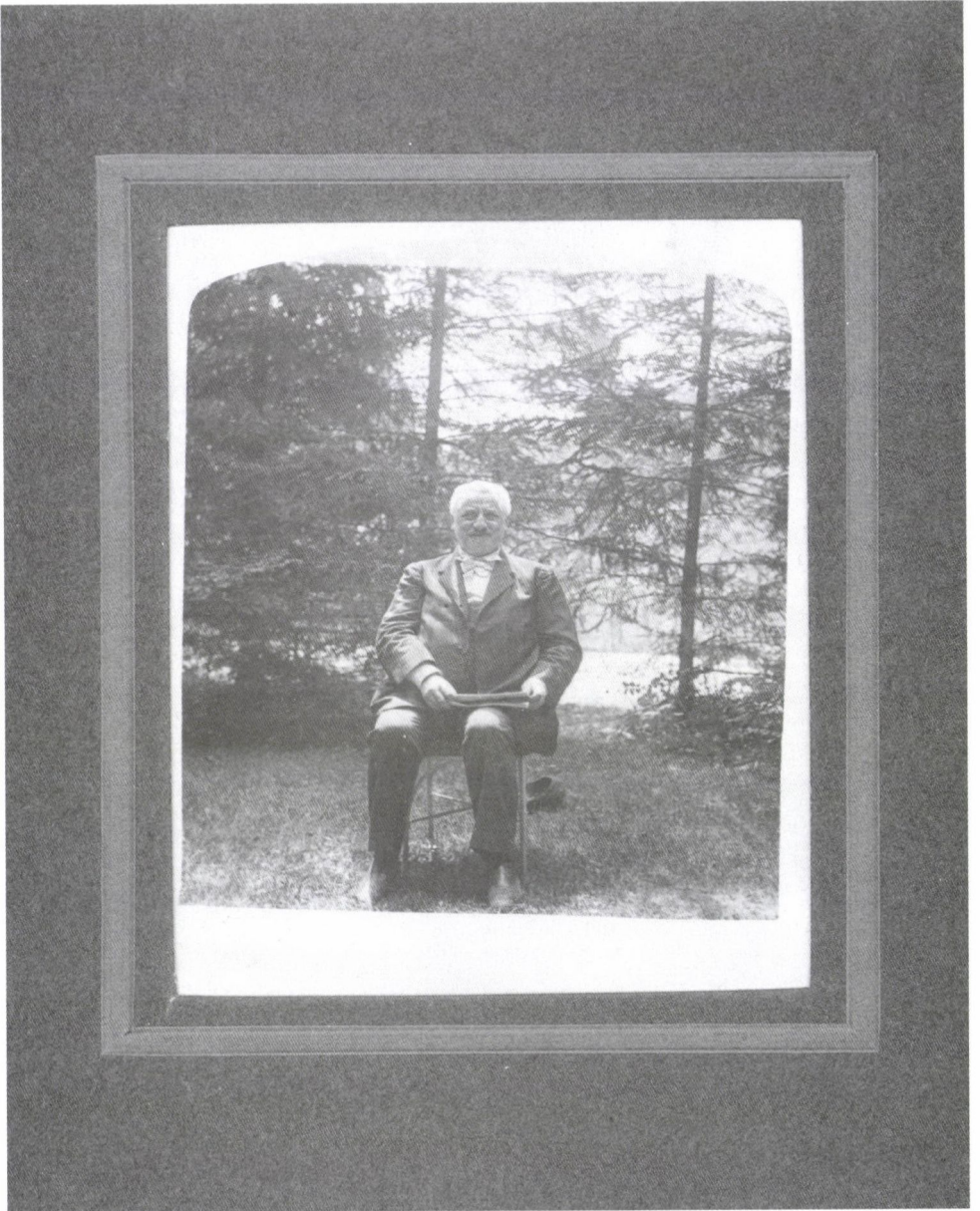


Miksa Goldziher





Laura Goldziher in "the garden" (Villa Wellisch, Zugliget/Auwinkel). Private photograph sent as a post-card by Goldziher on 4 July 1911 to Károly in Göttingen. (Goldziher is glad that Károly has visited Wellhausen.)

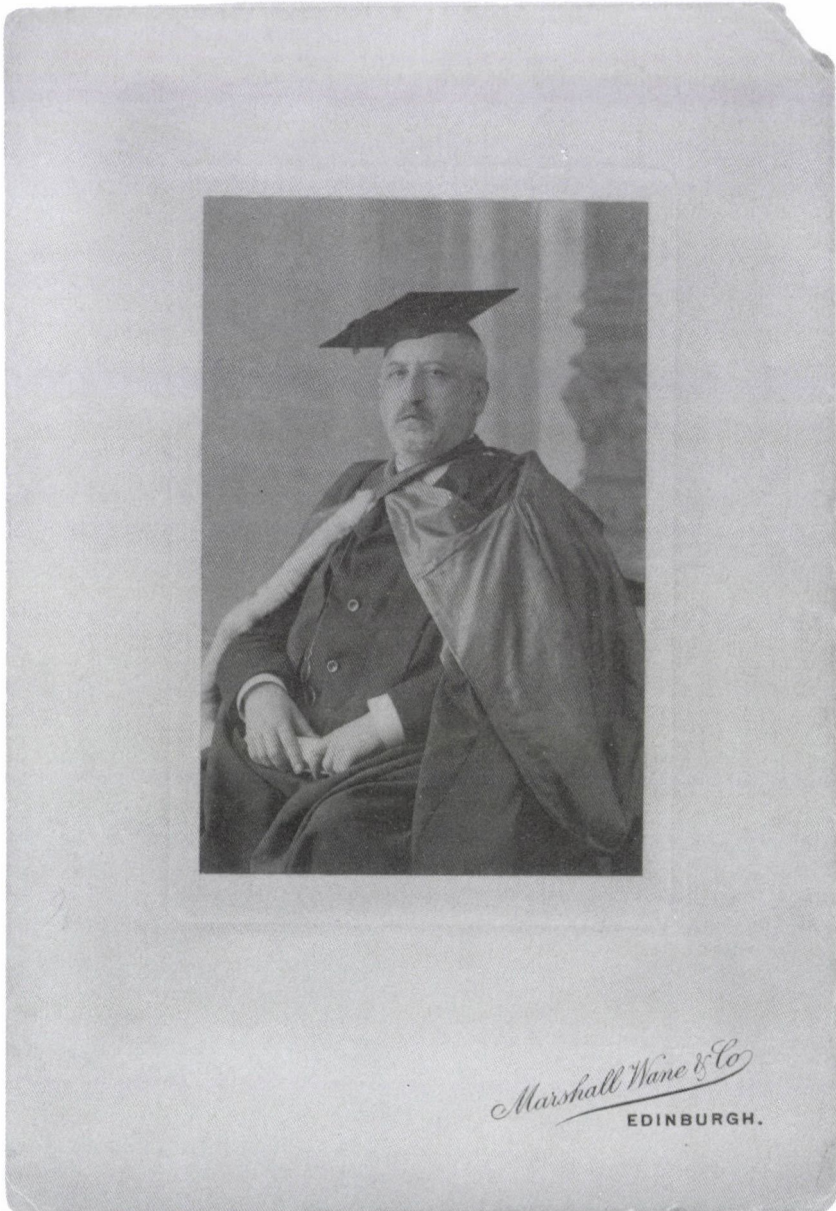


Ignaz Goldziher in Zugliget/Auwinkel





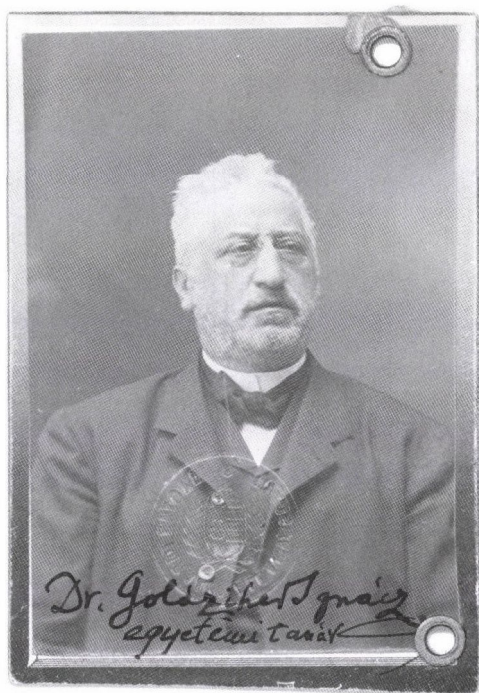
Laura Goldziher 1920



Ignaz Goldziher, honorary doctor of Aberdeen University  
September 1906



Goldziher c. 1910



Ignaz Goldziher. Photograph by Henrik Herz, Budapest





Ignaz and Laura Goldziher





Károly Goldziher. Left and right reversed in the original

Károly's second wife,  
Erzsébet Herz (1893-1944/5)  
(only surviving photograph)



Károly's son, Sándor Ignác  
(1922-1944/5)  
(only surviving photograph)

Responsible for the edition:  
The Deputy Director-General of the  
Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

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Ignaz Goldziher  
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Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
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