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To cite this article: Fitzroy Morrissey (2021) Jewish-Muslim symbiosis, Islamic Hellenism, and the purpose of Islamic Studies: the humanistic legacy of Samuel Stern's teachers, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 20:4, 421-453, DOI: [10.1080/14725886.2021.1984835](https://doi.org/10.1080/14725886.2021.1984835)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725886.2021.1984835>



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Published online: 23 Nov 2021.



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Jewish-Muslim symbiosis, Islamic Hellenism, and the purpose of Islamic Studies: the humanistic legacy of Samuel Stern's teachers

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ABSTRACT



Like all scholars, Samuel Stern was profoundly influenced by his teachers and mentors. This article focuses on four scholars with whom Stern forged especially close relationships: S.D. Goitein (1900–1985), D.H. Baneth (1893–1973), Paul Kraus (1904–1944), and Richard Walzer (1900–1975). Through an analysis of their ideas about Islam, Judaism, and Islamic Studies, this paper aims to situate Stern's work in its proper context and to offer an analysis of the twentieth-century German-Jewish orientalist tradition of which he was, in the words of Albert Hourani, an embodiment. It proposes that Stern's mentors constructed a broadly positive and sympathetic view of Islam as a sister religion of Judaism and heir to Hellenic civilization, that their orientalist scholarship was influenced by trends in modern Jewish philosophy, and that their work in Islamic Studies constitutes a humanistic contribution to modern Jewish thought.

KEYWORDS

Judaism; orientalist; scholarship; Jewish

In a series of reminiscences on a career in Middle Eastern Studies published just before his death, the Anglo-Lebanese historian Albert Hourani (1915–1993) recalled the lessons he had learnt from his Oxford colleague, the German-Jewish historian of Islamic philosophy Richard Walzer (1900–1975):

Richard taught me the importance of scholarly traditions: the way in which scholarship was passed from one generation to another by a kind of apostolic succession, a chain of witnesses (a *silsila*, to give it its Arabic name). He also told me much about the central tradition of Islamic scholarship in Europe, that expressed in German. Another, younger colleague, Samuel Stern, seemed to be the very embodiment of that tradition: of Hungarian-Jewish origin and deeply read in Hebrew as well as Arabic, combining extraordinary learning with flashes of imaginative insight, spreading himself over a wide area, he died young before his books were written, but leaving seminal articles on half a dozen subjects.¹

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Despite his death at the age of just forty-nine, Samuel Miklos Stern can justifiably be regarded as one of the great orientalists of the twentieth century. The author of pathbreaking studies on the Arabic and Hebrew stanzaic poetry of Islamic Spain, the early history of the Ismā'īlī branch of Shī'ī Islam, Judeo-Arabic philosophy, Islamic documentary and numismatic history, the Judeo-Christians, and the constitution of the Islamic city, his work helped to set the course for several areas of Islamic and Jewish Studies in the second half of the twentieth century.

A product of the German Gymnasium school system of his native Hungary as well as a traditional Jewish education, and a graduate of the School of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Stern was also the heir to a particularly German-Jewish tradition of orientalism that helped to define the field; indeed, as Hourani suggests, he can be thought of as the very embodiment of that tradition at the moment of its fruition in the mid-twentieth century.

By way of introducing the reader to this volume dedicated to the life and work of Samuel Stern, this paper explores the nature of that scholarly tradition, as it is reflected in the work of Stern's teachers, those scholars, that is, who were key links in what Hourani called his *silsila* or chain of initiation. In particular, it focuses on the work of four scholars with whom Stern forged especially close relationships: S.D. Goitein (1900–1985), D.H. Baneth (1893–1973), Paul Kraus (1904–1944), and Richard Walzer. All of these scholars, like Stern, were Jewish; all shared a similar intellectual formation and scholarly approach; all came under the influence of modern Jewish philosophy; and all, we shall see, held certain ideas in common about Islam, Judaism, the legacy of classical antiquity, and Islamic Studies. Through an analysis of their writings, this paper aims both to situate Stern's work in its proper context, and to offer an analysis of the twentieth-century German-Jewish orientalist tradition of which he was an embodiment, and, moreover, to demonstrate the humanistic contribution of that tradition to modern Jewish thought.

The School of Oriental Studies

Samuel Stern's scholarly formation took place at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where, between 1939 and 1948, he was a student in the School of Oriental Studies. One of the three original faculties of the University, when it opened its doors in 1926 the resident faculty of the School of Oriental Studies was made up of five scholars: the Islamic archaeologist and art historian Leo Ary Mayer (1895–1959), the scholar of Judeo-Arabic philosophy D.H. Baneth, the scholar of Shī'ism Levi Billig (1897–1936), the economic historian of the Middle East Walter J. Fischel (1902–1973), and the Judeo-Arabic scholar A.N. Braun (1892–1960). They would soon be joined by the historian of Islam S.D. Goitein and the Semiticist H.J. Polotsky (1905–1991).² Above them stood Josef Horovitz (1874–1931), professor of Oriental Studies at Frankfurt

University, and an eminent scholar of early Islamic historiography, ancient Arabic poetry, and the Qur'an, who directed the institute *in absentia*.³

In their approach to Oriental Studies, the members of this founding generation were heavily indebted to the methods of German orientalism, as practised at the Universities of Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Berlin, and embodied in such figures as Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–1888), the founder of the so-called “Leipzig school,” the Leipzig- and Berlin-trained Hungarian-Jewish orientalist Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), and the Berlin-based historian of Islam, German politician, and founder of the orientalist journal *Der Islam*, Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933). This German orientalist tradition, which developed out of the study of the Greek and Latin Classics and the Hebrew Bible, was centred on the philological analysis of Arabic texts, and concentrated its efforts on the study of “classical,” which is to say, medieval, Islamic history, paying little attention to the contemporary Arab-Islamic world.⁴ The founding generation of scholars at the School of Oriental Studies, all but one of whom (Billig) had received their doctorates from German universities, continued this approach, devoting much of their time to two large research projects mapped out by Horovitz: an edition of the massive biographical dictionary of Arab nobles compiled by the ninth-century Baghdadi historian al-Balādhurī (820–892) and a huge concordance of early Arabic poetry.⁵

While some, including the 1933 Committee of Inquiry on the organization of the Hebrew University chaired by the British educationalist Sir Philip Hartog (1864–1947), viewed philology and the focus on the medieval past as an impractical luxury,⁶ that view ignored the fact that the pioneers of the School of Oriental Studies saw their scholarship as serving the cause of Arab-Jewish harmony as well as that of historical truth. The School owed its existence to the vision of J.L. Magnes (1877–1948), the first chancellor of the Hebrew University,⁷ who had studied Arabic in Berlin, and envisioned the study of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University as an avenue for constructing a harmonious relationship with the Arab-Muslim population of Palestine.⁸ This was a vision shared by the School's first director Josef Horovitz. Having become close to some of the leading Islamic thinkers of the day while teaching at the Anglo-Muhammadan Oriental College at Aligarh in India, Horovitz played a key role in the creation of the Brit Shalom movement, which campaigned for a bi-national Jewish-Arab state in Palestine.⁹ In setting out his aims for the School of Oriental Studies, he expressed his hope that the work of its faculty would “be appreciated ... especially by savants of the Arabic speaking countries” and that, “by showing that there was a ground of intellectual interest common to Jewish and Arabic scholars, the institute might also help to promote the good feelings between these two communities [Jews and Arabs].”¹⁰

After Horovitz's death in 1931, this vision of Arab-Jewish harmony was taken forward by his former student, Shlomo Dov Goitein. Born in Bavaria in 1900 into a family of Hungarian rabbis, Goitein received a traditional

Jewish education at home, and a classical philological education at a Frankfurt Gymnasium. In Frankfurt he frequented the same circles as Martin Buber (1878–1965), whom he saw “almost every week,” and Buber’s collaborator Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929).¹¹ Goitein also took a prominent role in the Blau-Weiss Bewegung, an influential German-Jewish youth movement that promoted physical activity, love of the outdoors, and, from the 1920s, pioneering trips to Palestine.

Once his school education was complete, Goitein enrolled at the University of Frankfurt, where he came under the guidance of Josef Horovitz and Carl Heinrich Becker. While declaring himself a member of the “Horovitz school,”¹² it was from Becker that Goitein learnt three principles that would later become central to his own work, and (as we shall see) to German-Jewish orientalism more broadly. First, as Goitein wrote in *A Mediterranean Society* (1967–88), Becker approached Islam “as a civilization (and not merely as a religion), at that time a revolutionary attitude.”¹³ Second, Becker viewed Islamic civilization, like Christian Europe, as an extension of Hellenic civilization, that is, as an heir to classical antiquity.¹⁴ Third, Becker extolled the virtues of humanism, an attitude that in his view was characterized by individualism, a love of knowledge, a love of humanity and humane values, and the desire to escape the hold of religious dogmatism.¹⁵

In 1923 Goitein left Europe for Palestine, sailing to the Holy Land on the same boat as Gershom Scholem (1897–1982). Recalling the experience in his memoirs, Scholem described Goitein as a “born schoolmaster,”¹⁶ and Goitein indeed began his career in Palestine as a schoolteacher at the Hebrew Reali School in Haifa. The Reali School was another educational institution dedicated to Arab-Jewish co-existence. Founded in 1914, the school’s founding principal, Arthur Biram (1878–1967), had studied Arabic at Berlin and Leipzig, and regarded the language as the “Latin of the Middle East,” insisting that it should be studied at Hebrew schools just as Latin was studied in the schools of Europe. Like Magnes and Horovitz, he believed that the study of Arab-Islamic culture, and of the Jews’ historical participation in that culture, would have benefits for Arab-Jewish relations in present-day Palestine.¹⁷

As a consequence of Biram’s vision, the Reali School became “the leading school for Arabic studies in the Jewish education system,”¹⁸ both under the British Mandate and after the creation of the State of Israel. After Goitein, the school’s Arabic teachers included the German orientalist Martin Plessner (1900–1973), a protégé of Josef Horovitz, historian of Islamic science, and supporter of the Brit Shalom group,¹⁹ and, following him, the Polish Arabist Meir J. Kister (1914–2010), later a professor of Arabic at the Hebrew University and mentee of Samuel Stern. The Reali School also produced a number of graduates who would leave their mark on Arabic and Islamic Studies, including the historian of Mamluk Egypt David Ayalon (1914–1998), the specialist on Islamic Biblical criticism Hava Lazarus-Yafeh (1930–1998), the scholar of Indian

Islam Yohanan Friedmann (b. 1936), and the translator of Maimonides' *Guide* Michael Schwarz (1929–2011).²⁰

After four years of teaching at the Reali School, in 1928 Goitein became a lecturer in Islamic History at the Hebrew University. "The whole student body turned up," he remembered, "for everyone was curious to learn something about the Arabs."²¹ As Scholem's comment indicates, Goitein was a born educator, and several of his students have paid tribute to his abilities as a teacher.²² For ten years, from 1938 to 1948, in fact, he would combine his duties at the Hebrew University with an additional career as a schools inspector in the Mandatory Government's Department of Education, rising to the position of Senior Education Officer, and writing several textbooks on the teaching of Hebrew and the Bible in schools.²³ Otherwise, he devoted himself, during this the first half of his career, to the study of Islam, Islamic history, and Islamic social and religious institutions.

The methods, aims, and results of that research are captured in Goitein's 1966 collection, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*. Two themes, in particular, stand out from that collection. The first is Goitein's insistence on what he called "the amazing typological identity of Islam and Judaism."²⁴ Islam, Goitein proposed, was Judaism's sister religion. "Islam, like Judaism," he wrote, "is a religion of commandments, in which the minute observance of ritual and ethical injunctions is intended to sanctify every moment of the believer's life and to make him continuously aware of his being but a servant of God."²⁵ Elsewhere he noted the antipathy of both religions to figurative art,²⁶ the similarities in their rites of prayer and fasting,²⁷ their common belief in the special sanctity of Jerusalem,²⁸ and their negative attitude towards government and public leadership.²⁹

These resemblances, Goitein speculated, could be explained in part by the fact that "Medina, where koranic theology and religious language, lore and law received their final formulation, was the seat of a large Jewish community."³⁰ Goitein further developed this claim, which echoed the seminal 1833 thesis of Abraham Geiger on Muhammad's "borrowings" from Judaism (*Was hat Mohammed aus Judenthume aufgenommen?*),³¹ in a separate Hebrew article titled "Who were Muhammad's Chief Teachers,"³² as well as in the fourth chapter of his popular English work *Jews and Arabs: Their Contact Through the Ages* (1955),³³ and in his Hebrew book *Muhammad's Islam: The Emergence of a New Religion in the Shadow of Judaism* (1979). At the same time, he also suggested that the reasons for the "predisposition and readiness" of Muhammad and his followers to accept Jewish ideas were beyond the remit of historical explanation: "It is, as a great Muslim historian would formulate it," he wrote, "'a secret of the secrets of God'."³⁴ Reading this "explanation," one is tempted to wonder whether Goitein believed that there was a divine purpose underlying the rise of Islam, that is, whether he saw Islam in a similar way to how his former associate Franz Rosenzweig saw Christianity: as a religion

created “to proselytize the world and strip it of paganism,”³⁵ that is, to bring the Jewish message of monotheism to the Gentiles.³⁶

This supposition is supported by what his former student Noam Stillman has described as Goitein’s “veritable spiritual empathy” with the Qur’an.³⁷ Thus, in his Hebrew work *Muhammad’s Islam*, Goitein could write:

Were one to return the Quran to its original basis and edit it as it should be, one would obtain an attractive scriptural work and a document that is human, religious, historical, and even wonderfully poetic. ... Were I not concerned that I might be misunderstood, I would say that in some real sense the Quran exceeds even the Bible and the collection known as the New Testament as a book for religious study.³⁸

Elsewhere, similarly, Goitein quoted with approval a verse attributed to a Jewish poet of Medina in the time of Muhammad: “We live according to the Torah of Moses and his religion – but, by my faith, the religion of Muhammad is also good.”³⁹

In addition to this empathetic stance towards Islam, the second theme that comes out of *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* is Goitein’s interest in Islam not simply as a religion, but as a civilization, that is, as a system of social, economic, political, and cultural institutions, an approach that he had learned from Becker.⁴⁰ Like Becker, Goitein viewed medieval Islamic civilization as an extension of Hellenic culture, which he characterized as the possession of an “inquisitive mind,” the “gift of observation,” the “striving for a well balanced total view of the world” and “refined, urbane behaviour.”⁴¹ These qualities, he asserted, were essential features of Islamic civilization,⁴² and this had allowed what he called “the Intermediate Civilization of Islam” to play a “mediating” role in transmitting Hellenic culture to the wider world.⁴³

Nevertheless, in Goitein’s view, medieval Islamic civilization was not simply a conduit for the transmission of ideas and institutions from one part of the world to another; rather, it constituted a high point of Hellenic civilization, having “surpassed its masters, the ancient Greeks and Romans” in certain respects.⁴⁴ One important manifestation of this, Goitein observed, echoing a widespread idea in German Jewish writing in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was the flourishing of Jewish thought and literature under Islamic rule.⁴⁵ It was no accident, Goitein thought, that the Hispano-Hebrew poet Judah Halevi (c.1075–1141), whose intellectual formation had taken place in Muslim Spain and whose *Kuzari* was one of the great works of Judeo-Arabic literature, was “the greatest writer of Hebrew religious poetry after the Bible.”⁴⁶

This interest in the Jewish culture of the medieval Islamic world was extended and deepened in the project for which Goitein would be best remembered, namely, his work on the Cairo Geniza. Goitein’s first direct encounter with the Geniza papers came in 1948, during a minor diplomatic mission to Hungary on behalf of the State of Israel.⁴⁷ His transformation into a Geniza specialist, however, occurred in the 1950s, and coincided with a major shift

in Goitein's professional career. In 1957, Goitein left Israel for the United States, taking up a chair at the University of Pennsylvania. The reason was his belief that "for the foreseeable future, a Jewish Arabist can work for the understanding of Jews and Arabs, if at all, as a Professor at a renowned American University better than in Jerusalem," an indication of his continued commitment to the vision of Judah Magnes even after his departure from Israel.⁴⁸ There was also the advantage of being close to the Geniza collections in Philadelphia, New York, and Washington D.C., and of having more time to do research in the other great collections across the world. The result of this research was *A Mediterranean Society*, a comprehensive six-volume panorama of the cultural and economic life of the Jews of medieval Egypt and the wider Mediterranean world, that community's interactions with their Muslim and Christian neighbours, and the ideas and values that guided them.

Goitein described his method in *A Mediterranean Society* as that of "an interpretative historical sociographer, that is, an interpreter of a culture's social history based upon its people's own texts."⁴⁹ His models were Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897), whose *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* taught him "the interconnection of the divergent aspects of life in a particular country and epoch," and his former teacher Becker.⁵⁰ Goldziher, too, was an obvious source of inspiration: discussing Goldziher's "classic" paper on the veneration of saints in Islam, Goitein remarked upon both the "incredible extent of reading and observation displayed" and "the author's humane and deep insight into the psychological and historical roots of this phenomenon."⁵¹

That empathetic stance towards the psychology of the people being studied was a notable characteristic of Goitein's own approach: one of the most remarkable features of *A Mediterranean Society* is Goitein's capacity to reimagine and recount the ideas and values of a people whose view of the world, as Goitein's own research showed, was deeply rooted in notions of the omnipotence of God and the all-pervasiveness of religion.⁵² In this respect, his approach might be characterized as phenomenological, in the sense that he felt and adopted a kind of identification with the Geniza people whom he was studying. Such an approach reflects, perhaps, the influence of his former associates in Frankfurt, the Jewish philosophers Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig, and their phenomenological approach to the study of religion and interpersonal experience.

Above all, however, as dictated by his German training, Goitein's "sociographical" method was rooted in philological analysis; "I regard my work as that of a historian and philologist," he stated at the very beginning of volume one.⁵³ Language, he indicated, formed the basis of the mentality of a people;⁵⁴ hence the sociographer who was interested in uncovering the worldview of a society had to correctly identify and interpret the key terms and concepts used in the language of the members of that society. Thus, Goitein's approach to the Mediterranean society's conception of friendship, for instance, was to

identify the key terms relating to friendship found in the Geniza papers, such as *ṣadāqah* (the Arabic word for “friendship”), *maḥabbah* (“love” in Arabic), *ahavāh* (“love” in Hebrew), and *ṣuḥbah* (“companionship” in Arabic), and then to analyze the ways in which these different terms were used and the contexts in which they appeared.⁵⁵

Goitein’s sociographical-philological-*cum*-phenomenological approach led him to identify a number of key themes arising from the Geniza material. Though he eschewed the role of theorizer, these themes were presented within the framework of what might be regarded as Goitein’s overarching theory, namely, the notion that the cultural and economic life of the Jewish community of the medieval Mediterranean world was defined by “symbiosis” with their Arab-Muslim neighbours. This key concept was borrowed from biology, though it also suggests, again, the influence of Buber and his concept of “being together with one another” (*miteinander*) in mutual relationship⁵⁶ – and his particular insistence, expressed at the Zionist Congress of 1921, that the Jewish people should seek “to live in peace and brotherhood with the Arab people”⁵⁷ – and of Franz Rosenzweig’s principle of “universal human mutual understanding” (*der menschlichen Verständigung*).⁵⁸ Goitein had already applied the concept of symbiosis to the Muslim-Jewish relationship prior to his turn to Geniza studies. The basic idea was that the close encounter between Jews and Muslims over the course of their history, and particularly in the High Middle Ages, had been mutually beneficial to both communities.⁵⁹ In a 1949 article in Hebrew “On Arab-Jewish Symbiosis,” Goitein identified five key elements of symbiosis: common origins, a similar language, a shared culture, a common fate, and a shared life.⁶⁰ The concept was thus closely related to his notion of the “amazing typological affinity” between Islam and Judaism, with the difference that Goitein used the concept of symbiosis especially to highlight the flourishing of Judaism and the Jewish people under Islam.

That idea had already been in evidence in Goitein’s popular 1955 work *Jews and Arabs*. “Never,” he wrote in that book, “has Judaism encountered such a close and fructuous symbiosis as that with the medieval civilization of Arab Islam.”⁶¹ The thesis was confirmed by Goitein’s Geniza research. The symbiosis, he showed, was social and economic. There were no Jewish ghettos as in medieval Europe: Jews, Muslims, and Christians lived in close proximity to one another, often holding houses and shops in partnership, and economic cooperation in other areas was common.⁶² It was also religious and intellectual. “The Geniza society,” wrote Goitein, “firmly implanted in the Jewish tradition, was enriched by the religiosity found within the Muslim environment, but was also affected by its social notions as well as by a rationalistic atmosphere in which the sciences of the ancients were honoured.”⁶³ Through contact with their Muslim neighbours, in other words, the Jews of the Mediterranean world were able to share in the Hellenic culture that was characteristic of

Islamic civilization. This was true of ordinary people as well as elite intellectuals like the Maimonides. “Even the simplest Geniza person,” Goitein wrote, “was a member of that hellenized Middle Eastern-Mediterranean society which believed in the power of science.”⁶⁴

While Goitein did acknowledge the second-class status of Jews living under Muslim rule (the so-called “*dhimmitude*”) and the deterioration of relations between the two communities from the thirteenth century onwards,⁶⁵ his overall view of the situation of the Jews in the medieval Mediterranean world, and of the Islamic civilization of which they were part, was undoubtedly a positive one.⁶⁶ “Most of the ‘daily news’ provided by the Geniza concerning life during the High Middle Ages,” he wrote, “is a story of cooperation, friendship, and mutual aid.”⁶⁷ This was a story, of course, that Goitein, like Magnes, Biram, and Horovitz, wished to see continued in the twentieth century. As philologically rigorous as they were, Goitein regarded both his Islamic and his Geniza studies as conducive to the achievement of that aim.

That Goitein viewed his work in this way is made clear by a posthumously published article on the “Humanistic aspects of Oriental Studies.” Humanists, in Goitein’s terms, were those who searched “for useful knowledge, goodness, and beauty not only among themselves, but wherever they could find them, even among strangers and enemies.” As examples of this tendency, Goitein cited the sixteenth-century Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1507–1520), a connoisseur and author of Persian poetry though he fought the Safavid Persians, and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) and Thomas More (1478–1535) who, though they were priests of the Catholic Church, “dedicated their lives to the study of the writings of Greeks and Romans, who were pagans, idolators.”⁶⁸ Oriental Studies, too, was a humanistic endeavour, and, like the scholarship of Erasmus and Thomas More, it too had a utilitarian aim, which in Goitein’s case was the furthering, or rather the recreation, of the Muslim-Jewish symbiosis of the High Middle Ages in modern times.

Indeed, it is notable that in the concluding pages of *A Mediterranean Society* Goitein revealed what Gideon Libson has termed his “virtual identification” with the Jewish pietist Abraham Maimonides (1186–1283), the son of the great philosopher, who sought to integrate Islamic (Sufi) mysticism into the theory and practice of contemporary Judaism, and in so doing to reform the Jewish faith.⁶⁹ Again, such identification is characteristic of the phenomenological approach. There is also another interesting comparison to be drawn here with Goitein’s former associate Franz Rosenzweig, who described himself as “a middling reincarnation on the way to transmigration” of the medieval Jewish poet and philosopher Judah Halevi.⁷⁰ Just as Rosenzweig translated Halevi’s poetry into German in “an attempt to fashion a distinctive Jewish language out of the past,”⁷¹ so too, it can be suggested, did Goitein study Abraham Maimonides and his contemporaries and successors in an attempt to recreate the Muslim-Jewish symbiosis that they had embodied.

Goitein's work on the Geniza left a clear mark on Stern, whom he taught at the Hebrew University in the 1940s, and whom he later welcomed to the University of Pennsylvania as a visiting scholar.⁷² Under Goitein's influence, Stern would become a scholar of the Cairo Geniza, making use of the Geniza collections at Cambridge, Oxford, and the British Museum for his work on petitions addressed to the Fāṭimid rulers of Egypt,⁷³ his study of Cairo as the centre of the Ismā'īlī movement,⁷⁴ and his analysis of a text on Christ attributed to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz (r. 953–975), as well as for several of his works on Hebrew poetry.⁷⁵ As Gary Leiser has remarked, the painstaking analysis of (often barely legible) medieval Arabic documents "was perhaps Stern's forte," and in this he closely resembled Goitein, who, on once being asked by a student how he could read the seemingly indecipherable handwriting of the Geniza documents, simply replied, "I sweat."⁷⁶

In his studies on Islamic social history, moreover, Stern made regular use of Goitein's work, referring, for instance, to the latter's work on the involvement of Jewish merchants from the Mediterranean world in the Indian Ocean trade,⁷⁷ to his important article on "The Cairo Geniza as a Source for the History of Muslim Civilization,"⁷⁸ and to his study of a decree given by the Fāṭimid caliph in favour of the Rabbinite Jews of Palestine.⁷⁹ At times, Stern relied directly on Goitein's learning, personally seeking out his help for information on one of the petitioners, a Jewish merchant named Mūsā ibn Ṣadāqa, cited in his own article, "Three Petitions of the Fāṭimid Period."⁸⁰ Stern also wrote a very favourable review of Goitein's popular book *Jews and Arabs* for the orientalist journal *Oriens*, commending Goitein's ability to harmonize the fruits of its own research with a popularizing account written for those with an interest in contemporary Arab-Jewish relations.⁸¹ Though Stern's own work largely eschewed the contemporary political concerns that animated Goitein, his overall attitude to Islam, and his approach to the study of medieval Islamic and Jewish history, were undoubtedly marked by Goitein's perspective.

D.H. Baneth

Goitein's Geniza studies, as we have seen, were guided by the philological method. As he often noted, in his analysis of the difficult Arabic terminology of the Geniza papers, he relied heavily on the learning and insights of the man he called his "master in Geniza philology": his friend, distant relation, and senior colleague at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, D.H. Baneth.⁸²

Born in 1893 in Krotoszyn, a Polish town with a five-centuries-old yet declining Jewish population, Baneth came from a long line of rabbis and Jewish scholars. His father, Eduard Ezekiel Baneth (1855–1930), the rabbi at Krotoszyn, was a noted talmudic scholar who had studied with Heinrich Fleischer, the mentor of Goldziher,⁸³ and later became lecturer (then professor) of Talmud

at the Lehranstalt (formerly Hochschule) für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin.⁸⁴

Baneth junior studied in Berlin, attending both the Hochschule/Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums and the University, and Frankfurt, where Josef Horovitz was Professor of Oriental Studies. After graduating, he worked for four years as a research assistant at the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, a secular research institute in Berlin founded in 1919 at the instigation of Franz Rosenzweig. In 1924, he emigrated to Palestine. Settling in Jerusalem, he was appointed Assistant Librarian at the National and University Library, where he remained until 1937, “carefully and methodically” cultivating the collection of oriental books.⁸⁵ That collection had been founded upon the private library of Ignaz Goldziher, whose books had been acquired by the World Zionist Organization with the aim, as Goldziher’s student Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951) put it, of creating a “meeting place” where Arabs and Jews could “sit as brothers in wisdom and friends in scholarship” and share in “the inspiration (*shekhina*) of enlightenment.”⁸⁶ That sentiment was consistent with the aims of Magnes and Horovitz for the School of Oriental Studies, where, from 1926, Baneth also began to teach, becoming a member of the “founding generation” of teachers and scholars at the School.⁸⁷

Baneth was a master of languages. Edward Ullendorff identified him as a paragon of “philological precociousness,” whose linguistic genius was comparable to that of H.J. Polotsky and Goldziher.⁸⁸ A largely self-taught student of Hebrew, Latin, Aramaic, and Arabic, as well as the languages of the Ancient Near East, Baneth’s knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic, in the view of Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, “was the closest one could come to perfection.”⁸⁹

Despite these remarkable linguistic gifts, however, Baneth was a figure plagued by self-doubt. “He was painfully shy, totally self-effacing, abnormally reluctant to speak about himself,” wrote Edward Ullendorff.⁹⁰ “Demanding from himself perfection,” Goitein explained, “he was averse to any writing on his side. He wrote, so to say, only when forced by circumstances.”⁹¹ His *magnum opus*, an edition of the *Kuzari* of Judah Halevi, was not published until 1977, four years after his death, even though Baneth had been working on it since the 1920s.⁹² What Baneth did publish tended to appear in memorial or jubilee volumes, most often dedicated to colleagues at the Hebrew University.⁹³ Often, these publications consisted of painstakingly compiled editions of difficult Judaeo-Arabic texts, for instance, a response written by Maimonides on the back of the letter of an anonymous correspondent,⁹⁴ or the inventory of the library of a Jewish physician from Old Cairo.⁹⁵ These and other studies marked out Baneth, in the words of his student, the scholar of Judeo-Arabic Joshua Blau (1919–2020), as “the founder of the strictly philological treatment of the Judaeo-Arabic text.”⁹⁶

Nevertheless, Baneth was not simply an editor of texts, for he also applied his philological and linguistic skills to the interpretation of important problems in

the history of ideas. This is particularly discernible in what is probably his most important published work other than his edition of the *Kuzari*, a 1924 German article (later translated into Hebrew and English) comparing the positions of Judah Halevi and the Muslim theologian and mystic al-Ghazālī (c.1056–1111) on the relationship between religion and philosophy.⁹⁷ Building on the work of the historians of Jewish philosophy David Kaufmann (1852–1899) and Julius Guttman (1880–1950), Baneth identified the close affinities, and yet also the significant differences, between al-Ghazālī’s and Halevi’s critiques of philosophy. Through his close, philologically grounded reading of both texts, Baneth was able to make several astute observations: for instance, that al-Ghazālī’s famous treatise *The Incoherence of the Philosophers* (*Tahāfut al-falāsifa*) “was not intended primarily as a refutation of Aristotelianism,” but rather sought “to show that Aristotle’s theses do not rest on immediately self-evident presuppositions, that they do not represent knowledge, but merely opinions,” a view that anticipates the contemporary scholarly consensus on the *Incoherence*.⁹⁸

At the same time, Baneth also advanced several more speculative theses that reveal certain underlying ideas about the essential natures of Judaism and Islam and the relationship between the two religions. He observed, for instance, that Judaism, with its “uncompromising, consistent monotheism, emphatic insistence on the knowledge of God, vigorous accentuation of the purely ethical, and limited stress on otherworldly matters beyond the realm of rational thought” was the paradigmatic “religion of reason.”⁹⁹ Judaism, “the religion of pious deed,” he went on, “is founded upon free will and cannot be reconciled with a deterministic view without having violence done to it.” In this regard, he further suggested, it was different from Islam, which could more easily be reconciled with a “rigorous determinism.”¹⁰⁰ Unlike Islam, as well, Judaism was a religion grounded in history. While Islam was only lightly linked to “specific historical facts,” Muhammad being viewed as the latest in a long line of prophets, the truth of Judaism, as Judah Halevi had suggested, was tied to particular historical moments (such as the revelation at Sinai) when the divine had broken through into the human realm.¹⁰¹ Finally, Baneth also indicated that, like Goitein and Rosenzweig, he regarded the medieval hero Judah Halevi as a potential source of Jewish reform in the modern world. “No other medieval thinker,” he wrote in the article’s conclusion, “has succeeded equally well in grasping the essence of Jewish piety and overcoming the rationalism dominant in his time. For this reason, Judah Halevi is close to those trends in present-day Jewish life which seek to return to a living Judaism, while Ghazali is closer to the mystical tendencies of our age.”¹⁰²

While the significance of Baneth’s publications, with their suggestive hints at relationship between Judaism and Islam and the way forward for Judaism in the modern world, should not be underrated, his greatest legacy was undoubtedly the impact he left on his students. These included Yitzhak Navon (1921–2015),

the fifth president of the State of Israel; the aforementioned Arabist Meir Kister, the founder of the influential journals *Israel Oriental Studies* and *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, and the author of a large number of careful and detailed studies of Hadith and other early Arabic traditions;¹⁰³ and the late Joshua Blau, the pre-eminent scholar of Judeo-Arabic in the second half of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁴ They also included Samuel Stern: one of the first courses that Stern took at the Hebrew University was Baneth's series of lectures on the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl's (1110–1185) famous philosophical allegory *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, thus helping to kindle Stern's interest in Islamic philosophy and the intellectual culture of Muslim Spain.¹⁰⁵ Baneth regarded Stern as one of his greatest students: "Stern had no need to be taught anything more," he recalled after Stern's death.¹⁰⁶ The feeling was mutual: according to Goitein, Stern "always regarded Baneth as his main mentor,"¹⁰⁷ and in several of his published articles Stern refers to suggestions made by "my master, Prof. D.H. Baneth."¹⁰⁸ Stern's experience as a student of Baneth was probably similar to that of President Navon, who wrote after Baneth's death:

I had the privilege of being one of D.H. Baneth's pupils – I am afraid that only those who were his pupils will understand the full significance of the term "privilege" in this context. It is not only a question of the extensive and profound knowledge that he tried to convey to his pupils, but of that unusual combination of teacher and friend. He was an example to his pupils; strict with himself and with the truth, but his heart open to others; pious and humble; Jewish and universal; obsessed by a supreme responsibility for every word he uttered, in case he might be guilty of an error and thus mislead others; heavy-tongued but producing pearls of wisdom.¹⁰⁹

Paul Kraus

Though Stern's interests were shaped to a large degree by his studies at the Hebrew University, it was not in Jerusalem, but Cairo, that he developed an interest in what would become perhaps his main field of study: the history of the *Ismā'īlī Shī'a*. It was there, while on a break from his war service in Sudan, that Stern met the man about whom Baneth said that "after Goldziher there has not been a scholar ... in this field who combined so many signs of scholarly genius": the Czech-Jewish scholar of Islamic science and philosophy, Paul Kraus.¹¹⁰

Paul Kraus was born in Prague on 11th December 1904.¹¹¹ As a young man he studied Oriental Languages at the Deutsche Universität in Prague and joined the Czech branch of the *Blau-Weiss Bewegung*. Consistent with Blau-Weiss's pioneering orientation, in 1925 he went to Palestine, briefly living on a kibbutz, before enrolling the following year at the newly founded Hebrew University. In 1927 he returned to Europe, beginning graduate studies in Semitics at the University of Berlin, where his teachers included Goitein's mentor Carl

Heinrich Becker and the Jewish scholar of Semitic philology and Islamic Studies Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942).

In 1929, on completing his doctorate, Kraus obtained a post at the Forschungsinstitut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften in Berlin, which had been founded by Becker two years previously. Kraus came there as a research assistant for the institute's director Julius Ruska (1867–1949), replacing Martin Plessner, the Brit Shalom activist who had gone to Palestine to replace Goitein as teacher of Arabic at the Reali School. Ruska was the leading historian of Arabic science in the first half of the twentieth century who, like Goitein, subscribed to Becker's view of Islamic civilization as a continuation of Hellenic culture, choosing as the epigraph for his most important work Becker's prediction that "There will come a time when scholars will utilize, retrospectively, the tradition of Islam for a better understanding of late Hellenism."¹¹²

In 1932, Kraus became a *Privatdozent* in Semitic languages and Islamic studies at the University of Berlin. One of his students was Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003), later to become one of the leading orientalists of the second half of the twentieth century.¹¹³ Another was Bettina Strauss, his future wife, and the younger sister of Leo Strauss (1899–1973), with whom Kraus would become a close intellectual interlocutor, the two scholars often citing one another's work on prophecy, reason and revelation, and esoteric writing in medieval Jewish and Islamic philosophy.¹¹⁴

In 1933, after the rise of the Nazis to power, Kraus left Germany for Paris, where he spent three "intense and glorious years" researching and teaching at the École pratique des hautes-études and the Institut d'histoire des sciences at the Sorbonne.¹¹⁵ There he established close relationships with several other key figures in the twentieth-century study of Islam and Judaism. He got to know Georges Vajda (1908–1981), later to become one of the world's leading scholars of Jewish mysticism.¹¹⁶ He co-taught a course on the history of Islamic science with Shlomo Pines (1908–1990), a French-born scholar of Islamic philosophy who had also studied in Berlin, and would later become a leading member of the second generation of teachers at the School of Oriental Studies and a collaborator (before their falling out) of Samuel Stern.¹¹⁷ He collaborated with Henry Corbin (1903–1978), a student of Heidegger, phenomenologist, and important if idiosyncratic scholar of Islam who, like Kraus, worked on Shi'ism, Islamic esotericism, and philosophical mysticism. And he established a close relationship with the eminent Catholic scholar of Islam Louis Massignon (1883–1962), a disciple of Goldziher, inventor of the notion of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam as the three "Abrahamic" religions, and the author of a three-volume study of the life and teachings of the controversial Sufi al-Ḥallāj (c. 852–922) that presented that mystic of Baghdad as a Christ-like figure who had "substituted" himself for the salvation of Muslims.¹¹⁸

Unable to acquire permanent residency in France, in 1936 Kraus moved to Egypt, where, at the recommendation of Massignon, he was invited to lecture on textual criticism and Semitic languages at the Egyptian (later Cairo) University. There he was taken under the wing of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973), dean of the university's faculty of arts and one of the leading liberal Arab intellectuals of the day. In Cairo Kraus threw himself into the editing and analysis of Arabic texts, producing, among other works, an edition of extracts from the influential Islamic theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (1150–1210) book on his debates with his contemporaries;¹¹⁹ a two-volume edition of the philosophical writings of the physician and heretical philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyya al-Rāzī (854–925);¹²⁰ an edition of the Arabic summary of Galen's *De moribus*;¹²¹ and an edition of the collected epistles of the Arabic litterateur al-Jāḥiẓ (776–868),¹²² all of which were major contributions to the historiography of Islamic thought.¹²³ He also continued his ground-breaking and comprehensive study of the Jābir corpus;¹²⁴ wrote a series of fifteen articles (in Arabic) for the Egyptian periodical *Al-Thaqāfa*;¹²⁵ published the results of his research into the reception history of *The Theology of Aristotle*, the Arabic paraphrase of books IV–VI of the *Enneads* of Plotinus;¹²⁶ and developed a novel and controversial theory of Semitic metrics in which he argued that “the epic recitals of the Hebrew Bible,” such as the story of David and Goliath or the ascension of Elijah, “were actually composed in a metre resembling that of classical Arabic poetry.”¹²⁷

Despite these professional achievements, however, troubles and tragedy were never far away. Kraus seems to have found his forced departure from France a bitter pill to swallow, and always looked back on his time in Paris with nostalgia and regret. Adding to this sense of nostalgia were what Kraus allusively referred to in a letter to Franz Rosenthal as “the setbacks” in Cairo, among which he named unspecified “intrigues” and the spectre of anti-Semitism.¹²⁸ Then came personal tragedy: in January 1942, Bettina Kraus died in childbirth, after which, his friend Hans Lewy remembered, Kraus “lost the taste for life.”¹²⁹ Soon after came professional disappointment: lecturing on his new theory of Semitic metrics at the Hebrew University in September 1943, Kraus met with a critical response, including from Gershom Scholem, whose approval Kraus had been especially keen to obtain. To cap everything, on 12th October of the falling year, with his new wife Dorothee Metlitzki undergoing an emergency medical procedure in Jerusalem, Kraus lost his post at the university after his mentor Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was forced out by the new Egyptian government. The same day, Kraus, whose violent mood swings had by this stage become palpable to his friends, took his own life.¹³⁰

Kraus's published work, much like Ruska's, was principally focused on the esoteric, philosophical, and scientific traditions of the Islamic world in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., “those centuries,” as he put it, “in which the type of Islamic man is still developing and the most opposing forces

are competing to develop it.”¹³¹ In concentrating on such topics as the Jābir corpus, the philosophical ideas of the heretics Ibn al-Rāwandī (827–911) and Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyya al-Rāzī, or the reception of Galen and Plotinus in Islamic literature, Kraus began to reconstruct an important yet neglected aspect of the Islamic contribution to what, echoing Becker, he called “oriental Hellenism.”¹³² At the same time, Kraus also drew attention to what was original and distinctive in the Islamic formulation of Hellenic and other ideas, and identified prevailing misconceptions in the orientalist literature. In his study of the Islamic reception of the Arabic paraphrase of Plotinus’s *Enneads*, for instance, Kraus was able to demonstrate the incorrectness of the view advanced by the nineteenth-century French orientalist Ernest Renan (1823–1892), and subsequently accepted by others, that Muslim authors, supposedly lacking in philosophical sensibility, had been unable to detect the apocryphal nature of the *Theology of Aristotle*.¹³³ In his study of the Jābir corpus, similarly, Kraus showed how the Jābirian approach to alchemy, though marked by a “distinctly Hellenic inspiration,” nevertheless featured a number of original elements, such as the notion that the elixir could be produced from animal or vegetable substances (and not just mineral substances as in Greek theories).¹³⁴ He also demonstrated, by means of terminological and conceptual analysis, that the Jābir corpus, whose author was purportedly a disciple of the sixth Shī‘ī Imam Ja‘far al-Šādiq (c. 702–765) living in the eighth century, was in fact an Ismā‘īlī work of the late ninth and early tenth centuries.¹³⁵

In this way, and through other studies that looked at the use of Hebrew and Syriac Biblical quotations in Ismā‘īlī writings and at Ismā‘īlī authors’ engagement with the heretical ideas of Ibn al-Rāwandī and Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyya al-Rāzī, Kraus helped initiate Ismā‘īlī studies as an academic discipline that was based not on the heresiographical writings of the Ismā‘īlīs’ enemies (as in earlier orientalist works), but rather on the writings of the Ismā‘īlīs themselves.¹³⁶ The result was a picture of the Ismā‘īlī Shī‘a not as a dangerous and irrational sect, but as an important representative of a kind of Islamic Hellenism.

This pioneering work in Ismā‘īlī studies left a notable impact on Samuel Stern. It was Kraus who introduced Stern to the topic of the date and authorship of the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, a famous corpus of philosophical-scientific treatises that Stern identified, in his first published article in English, as the work of a group of Ismā‘īlī authors living in Basra in the mid-tenth century.¹³⁷ Stern’s subsequent work on Ismā‘īlī Neoplatonism and the Ismā‘īlī use of the Bible likewise bore the hallmark of Kraus’s input, as Stern readily acknowledged,¹³⁸ while an unpublished work on the Iraqi Ismā‘īlīs and their views on the Imamate was dedicated to Kraus’s memory.¹³⁹ After Kraus’s untimely death, it was Stern, more than anyone else, who carried forward the legacy of his mentor.¹⁴⁰

Richard Walzer

In 1948 Stern began his DPhil at the University of Oxford, where he would remain until his death in 1969. In Oxford he lived with the scholar of Islamic philosophy Richard Walzer and his wife Sofie (née Cassirer) (1902–1979), a scholar of Islamic history and collaborator of Stern in her own right.¹⁴¹ His relationship with the Walzers was extremely close, to the extent that many who knew them have spoken of the Walzers as effectively his adoptive parents. As John Sparrow, Warden of All Souls, observed:

In Oxford he found, with Richard and Sofie Walzer, a second home and parents who for nearly twenty years lavished upon him a love and care and understanding that could not have been fuller had he been indeed their son.

There is a rule in our Statutes, intended to keep the College family so far as possible together, which decrees that any bachelor Fellow who lives in Oxford must reside within the college walls. Attached to the rule is a provision enabling it to be relaxed in a case of need. Never was there a case in which the need was more compelling. To have torn him from the bosom of what I cannot but call his family would have been an act of cruelty to them, and would have crippled him both as a scholar and as a human being.¹⁴²

Walzer was born to a Jewish family in Berlin in 1900, the same year as Goitein.¹⁴³ Unlike most other German-Jewish orientalists, he did not receive a classical education at a Gymnasium, but attended a Reaschule, the Werner-Siemens Realgymnasium, where the future Zionist leader Haim Arlosoroff (1899–1933) was also a pupil. As a young man Walzer became involved in the Zionist movement – though this was “something which he later rejected” – and seems to have learned Hebrew.¹⁴⁴ Though he had not studied Greek and Latin as a schoolboy, in 1918 he went to Berlin, “the philological Mecca of early twentieth-century Europe,” to read Classics.¹⁴⁵ He was admitted to the private seminar of the distinguished classical philologist, and famous opponent of Nietzsche, Ulrich von-Wilamowitz-Wallendorf (1848–1931), and became a disciple of Wilamowitz’s leading student, the influential classicist Werner Jaeger (1888–1961). Concerned that his work should be “fruitful for the intellectual life of the present,”¹⁴⁶ Jaeger, like Goitein’s mentor Carl Heinrich Becker, with whom Walzer also studied, regarded his scholarship as a contribution to humanism. His so-called “Third Humanism,” a more politically oriented development of the humanisms of the Renaissance and nineteenth-century Romanticism,¹⁴⁷ and his interest in tracing the influence of Hellenic thought and culture on monotheistic religion (which, in his case, meant tracing “the Hellenization of the Christian religion”¹⁴⁸), left a strong imprint on Walzer, just as Becker’s humanism and interest in the Islamic reception of Hellenism left an imprint on Goitein.

Aside from Jaeger and Becker, in Berlin Walzer also encountered Paul Kraus, Shlomo Pines, and Goitein, encounters which encouraged his turn to the

Islamic reception of Greek philosophy. In 1927, he was awarded his doctorate for a thesis that demonstrated that the *Magna Moralia* was not a genuine work of Aristotle. In the same year, he married Sofie Cassirer, a marriage which admitted him to the world of German-Jewish high culture. Sofie's father was the art collector and publisher Bruno Cassirer (1872–1941), while her cousin was the philosopher and intellectual historian Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945). The latter, a disciple of the Jewish Neo-Kantian philosopher Hermann Cohen (1842–1918) and the doctoral supervisor of Leo Strauss, was director of the philosophy section of Bruno Cassirer Verlag, the publishing house founded by Bruno, which published his philosophical works along with those of his former teacher Cohen. Regular guests at Bruno Cassirer's sumptuous red-brick villa at Branitzter Platz 1 included the German-Jewish art collector and curator Max Jakob Friedländer (1867–1958), and the orientalist art historian William Cohn (1880–1961), later the first keeper of Oxford's Museum of Eastern Art.¹⁴⁹

As with his studies under Jaeger, this culturally rich atmosphere left a strong impression on Walzer. Nevertheless, like many other orientalist of his generation, his life was turned upside down by the rise to power of the Nazis in 1933. While Ernst Cassirer migrated to England, taking up a short-term fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford (Samuel Stern's future college), and Bruno Cassirer's publishing activities were restricted, Richard and Sofie Walzer fled to Rome. There Walzer struck up a close friendship with the Italian orientalist Giorgio Levi Della Vida (1886–1967) and Michaelangelo Guidi (1886–1946), under whose guidance he turned definitively to what was to become his principal field of study: medieval Islamic philosophy.¹⁵⁰

In 1938, however, when the Mussolini regime issued the anti-Semitic Manifesto of Race, the Walzers were again forced to pack their bags and leave. They headed to England, to where, at the end of the same year, Bruno Cassirer had fled in the wake of Kristallnacht. In 1940, the entire family, including Sofie's sister Agnes and her husband George Hill (formerly George Günther) moved to Oxford, where they initially lived together in a small house rented by the Walzers at 39 Portland Road. With the support of Faber & Faber, Bruno Cassirer Verlag was reborn in England as Bruno Cassirer Ltd. Run from the Hills' house at 31 Portland Road, the publishing house would later issue most of Samuel Stern's works, as well as Richard Walzer's seminal collection *Greek into Arabic: Essays on Islamic Philosophy* (1962) and the Festschrift for Walzer edited by Stern and Albert Hourani.

At the end of the war Walzer was appointed to a university lectureship at Oxford, and in 1960 the university created for him a special readership in Greek and Arabic philosophy. After the foundation of St. Catherine's College in 1962, he was offered a professorial fellowship of the college at the suggestion of Sir Maurice Bowra (1898–1971), a noted classicist, long-serving Warden of Wadham College, and a vociferous opponent of appeasement. The circles in

which Walzer moved in England, in fact, were strongly anti-Nazi, and deeply concerned with understanding the attitudes that had allowed Nazism's rise to power. The founding Master of St. Catherine's College, the historian Alan Bullock (1914–2004), who wrote the introduction to Walzer's *Festschrift*, was best known as the author of *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (1952). One of those Walzer thanked in the preface to his *Galen on Jews and Christians* (1949) was N.H. Baynes (1877–1961), a historian of Byzantium at University College London, who edited Hitler's speeches and, in 1942, had given the prestigious Romanes Lecture at Oxford on the topic of "Intellectual Liberty and Totalitarian Claims," in which he argued that Fascism and National Socialism were quasi-religious worldviews that allowed for no intellectual liberty in any area of scholarly or cultural life. Another cited in the acknowledgements to the Galen book was the famous Aristotle scholar W.D. Ross (1877–1971), who, as Provost of Oriel College from 1929 to 1947 and President of the British Academy between 1936 and 1940, had played an important role in helping scholars fleeing Nazism and Fascism, including the Walzers, to settle in Britain.

Walzer spent part of the war preparing an edition with Franz Rosenthal, who had studied under him in Berlin, of the Islamic philosopher al-Fārābī's (c. 870–950) *On the Philosophy of Plato*.¹⁵¹ The edition, which Rosenthal had originally planned to work on with Paul Kraus, was published by the Warburg Institute in London as part of the "Platonic Corpus of the Middle Ages" project directed by Raymond Klibansky (1905–2005), another refugee German-Jewish historian of philosophy and a friend of Ernst Cassirer. The Platonic Corpus was one part of an ambitious plan to publish, as the Warburg Institute's annual report of 1933/4 put it, an "*Organon*" of "unpublished or rare texts, particularly those illustrating the relation of Mediaeval Christian, Jewish, and Arab writers to the Greek tradition."¹⁵²

This statement applies well to Walzer's own research, which, like Kraus's, was consistently focused on tracing the reception and development of Greek philosophical and scientific ideas in medieval Islamic thought. Yet where Kraus had concentrated on esoteric, heretical, and minority Muslim authors, Walzer focused on the mainstream Islamic tradition of Aristotelian-Neoplatonic philosophy (*falsafa*), which had begun with al-Kindī in the ninth century, been carried forward by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) (c. 970–1037) in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and culminated with the Andalusian Ibn Rushd (Averroës) (1126–1198) in the twelfth.

Walzer's studies on these thinkers, from his important 1945 paper on the "Arabic Transmission of Greek Thought to Medieval Europe," through the papers collected in *Greek into Arabic*, to his 1968 lectures at the Collège de France on "The Awakening of Islamic Philosophy," exhibited a consistent set of ideas about Islamic philosophy. Most obviously, his work shared in and lent support to the thesis of Becker, Goitein, and Kraus that Islamic civilization constituted a continuation of Hellenic culture. While Greek philosophy had

“declined in the West” in the early Middle Ages, Walzer observed, “it had a new lease of life in Muslim civilization” in the wake of the Greco-Arabic translation movement (c. 800–1000). As a result, it was the Islamic world that had preserved Greek philosophy in the Middle Ages and thereafter transmitted it to Europe. The story of medieval Islamic philosophy, therefore, was an important chapter in the history of Western thought. “The study of Islamic philosophy and science,” Walzer wrote, “deserves to be considered as an important item in the history of European civilisation.”¹⁵³ An appreciation of Arabic philosophical language, he likewise asserted, was indispensable for any analysis of modern Western philosophical terminology, “which presupposes that of the Greeks, the Arabs, *and* the Latin scholastics of the Middle Ages,”¹⁵⁴ an assertion consistent with Raymond Klibansky’s insistence on the continuity of the Platonic philosophical tradition from late antiquity, through the medieval Arabic and Latin traditions, up to the Renaissance and beyond.¹⁵⁵ And though generally neglected outside of Oriental Studies, Arabic material, Walzer observed, was also useful for classicists, enabling them to establish more accurate versions of Greek texts, and to reconstruct texts that were otherwise lost.¹⁵⁶ The implication of all this was that the Western study of Islamic philosophy was not an exercise in studying the “other” so much as one of deepening one’s own self-understanding as a fellow heir of Hellenic civilization.

That said, unlike some orientalists, Walzer did not regard Islamic philosophy as worthy of interest only for its role as a conduit of ancient Greek thought to the medieval West, nor did he simply see *falsafa* as merely ancient Greek philosophy in Arabic garb. Like Goitein and Kraus, he possessed, as Albert Hourani observed, “a lively sense of the creative originality of the great Muslim thinkers, and of their different personalities.”¹⁵⁷ In particular, Walzer always stressed the *Islamic* quality of Islamic philosophy. Muslim philosophers like al-Kindī and al-Fārābī, he insisted, “do not represent a secular culture: they are partisans of a theist philosophy.”¹⁵⁸ Islamic philosophy was an “amalgamation” of “Hebraic” monotheism and Greek rationalism,¹⁵⁹ a “productive assimilation” of Greek ideas to monotheistic religion,¹⁶⁰ and “an interesting case of the interaction between originality and tradition, thanks to which historical continuity between diverse civilizations is able to take place.”¹⁶¹

In this regard, Walzer noted, Islamic philosophy was the heir to Christianity, which, as his teacher Werner Jaeger had demonstrated, had effected a similar amalgamation prior to the rise of Islam.¹⁶² It was also similar to medieval Jewish philosophy, which, in the work of Maimonides and others, had found a reconciliation between Hebraic monotheism and Greek philosophy under Islamic influence.¹⁶³ Like philosophical adherents of the other two monotheisms, he further noted, Muslim philosophers were forced to face up to what he described as the “perennial problem of faith and reason,” that is, of how to reconcile the doctrines of a pagan rationalism with the teachings of a revealed monotheism.¹⁶⁴ This problem of faith and reason, it should be noted, was a

central issue for many leading twentieth-century Jewish intellectual historians, including Ernst Cassirer's teacher Hermann Cohen, who asserted, in Leo Strauss's words, that "the truth is the synthesis of the teachings of Plato and the prophets";¹⁶⁵ Strauss himself, who regarded the coming together of "Jerusalem" and "Athens" as the essence of Western civilization;¹⁶⁶ and Samuel Stern's teacher Julius Guttmann, who thought of the philosophy of religion as an apologetic expression of the encounter between two systems of thought – Greek philosophy and the Jewish religion – that were rooted in two completely alien spiritual environments.¹⁶⁷ In recognizing *falsafa* as essentially "Islamic," Walzer indicated his conviction that Muslim philosophers had succeeded, as medieval Jewish philosophers had done and the modern West would do, in reconciling Hebraism and Hellenism; indeed, it seems that if Walzer was personally drawn to any kind of religion, that is, if he regarded any medieval kind of religion as essentially "modern" and was able to identify with it as Goitein had identified with Abraham Maimonides or Rosenzweig had identified with Judah Halevi, it was the rationalist religion of the philosophers of the medieval Muslim world.

That attraction to the philosophical religion of the Muslim philosophers and belief in its essential "modernity" is reflected in another major theme of Walzer's work, namely, his repeated insistence on the high intellectual standards and admirable qualities of the adherents of the *falsafa* tradition. In an influential essay on "The General Background of Islamic Philosophy" first published in *The History of Philosophy Eastern and Western* (1952–3) edited by the Fellow of All Souls and future President of India Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975), Walzer commended what he described as the "open-mindedness," "far-sightedness," and "cosmopolitan attitude" of the philosophers. These modern-sounding qualities, he felt, were captured in al-Kindi's famous defence of the necessity of accepting the truth from whatever source it came, or in al-Fārābī's view that "there is one universal religion, but many forms of symbolic representation of ultimate truth, which may differ from land to land and from nation to nation."¹⁶⁸

Overall, Walzer's approach to Islamic Studies, like that of Stern's other mentors, and like his mentor Werner Jaeger's approach to Hellenic thought, was a humanistic one. Islamic philosophy, he insisted, demanded respect, "because what is valid in human society, that 'homo homini res sacra' [man is a sacred thing to man], applies also to our understanding of other ways of human life, and accordingly to a civilization near to our own like Islam and yet so different in many ways."¹⁶⁹ Emphasizing the commonalities more than the differences between the Islamic and Western civilizations, he presented the medieval *falsafa* tradition, with its amalgamation of Hebraic and Hellenic elements and its influence on modern Western thought, as a demonstration of the "continuity of human civilization."¹⁷⁰ The study of that tradition, he implied, again betraying the influence of his teacher Jaeger, and anticipating

Goitein's reflections on the humanistic nature of Oriental Studies, had a practical aim, namely, to try "to understand, in historical terms, the double root of our way of life" – that is, the Hebraic and Hellenic elements in Western civilization – "and to find our feet in the troubled times in which we live."¹⁷¹ (In this regard, he also echoes Strauss, who insisted that "in order to understand ourselves and to illuminate our trackless way into the future, we must understand Jerusalem and Athens."¹⁷²) In his Paris lectures, similarly, Walzer noted that "the renewal of our interest in medieval Islamic thought proceeds from our own situation, that is, that of present-day Europe," observing that "impartial research in this domain can, indirectly, permit us to understand more exactly, and better, our own historical situation."¹⁷³ By this, Walzer seems to have meant the situation in postcolonial Europe, in which Muslims, Christians, and Jews found themselves living side by side and in need of a common basis for mutual understanding, which is to say, in need of the "open-mindedness" and "cosmopolitan attitude" that Walzer had identified in al-Kindī and with which he seems to have personally identified. In this sense, Walzer's motivations for studying medieval Islam were similar to those of Magnes, Horovitz, and Goitein in Palestine, namely, to promote a harmonious relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in the contemporary world, by deepening both groups' self-understanding and their understanding of the other.

Conclusion

The work of Samuel Stern's principal mentors, all of whom, like Stern, were Jews educated in the German philological tradition, reveals a strikingly consistent set of ideas about Islam, its relationship with Judaism and classical antiquity, and the purposes of Islamic Studies. Amidst the mass of detail created by their close philological analyses of medieval Arabic texts, the reader is left with an overall impression of Islam. Their Islam is the sister religion of Judaism and (to a lesser extent) Christianity, possessing what Goitein called an "amazing typological identity" with its monotheistic predecessors. It is a religion that has historically enjoyed a mutually beneficial, symbiotic relationship with those predecessors, Jewish thought and culture having flourished in an Islamic context just as Islam had been enriched from its very beginnings by Jewish and Christian influences. Like its sister religions, it has carried forward the legacy of classical antiquity, its philosophers, scientists, and theologians having assimilated, creatively developed, and transmitted the best of ancient Greek philosophy and science, and in so doing having produced a harmonious and intellectually rigorous amalgamation of Hebraic monotheism and Hellenic thought and thus provided a basis for modern Western thought.¹⁷⁴ It is a religion of tolerance and open-mindedness, Jews and Christians living under Muslim rule having historically been afforded a comparatively high degree of religious and intellectual freedom,

and cosmopolitan Muslim philosophers having been open to truth even when it came from pagan sources.

In this way, Stern's mentors constructed a broadly positive and sympathetic view of Islam, at least in its medieval form (this being their almost exclusive focus), to the extent that they at times seem to personally identify with the subjects of their studies in a kind of phenomenological fashion. In this way, they appear to have escaped the negative, imperialist orientalist "discourse" about Islam famously described by Edward Said.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, as Goitein's student Gideon Libson has written:

In every respect, Goitein the orientalist is almost a mirror image of the orientalists whom Said castigates so fiercely. He is not a racist; he is free of preconceived ideas; he does not just visit the East but makes it the center of his life; he does not magnify the gulf between Orient and Occident; he does not try to subjugate the East to the West and discuss it in Western terms; he does not speak disparagingly of the Prophet Muhammad but glorifies him; he praises the Quran and Islam and does not censure Islam as a religion of war, terrorism, and destruction; in particular, he compares Islam and Judaism in a way that belies the charge that Goitein had a supercilious attitude towards Islam.¹⁷⁶

Much the same could be said of the other teachers of Stern, of Stern's model Ignaz Goldziher, and indeed of Stern himself. If their scholarship on Islam had an agenda, it was, as they themselves acknowledged, a humanistic, rather than imperialist, one, which is to say that they sought to understand Islamic history insofar as it could enrich their knowledge of Jewish and Western history, the history of human thought more generally, and their own self-understanding. More than that, as we have seen, they studied Islam because they thought that, by acquiring and diffusing knowledge of medieval Islamic history, they could promote a harmonious, "symbiotic" relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in contemporary Europe and the Middle East.

Though they were secular, liberal, and generally not religiously observant, the Jewish background of Stern's four mentors was by no means irrelevant to their approach to the study of Islam.¹⁷⁷ This is evident in their special interest in the similarities between Judaism and Islam, in Jewish communities living under Muslim rule and Jewish thinkers writing in Arabic, and in the broader question of the relationship between Hebraic monotheism and Greek rationalism. It is also in evidence in their concern for the relationship between Jews and Muslims in the contemporary world, particularly in Israel/Palestine, and, given their own personal experiences of Nazism and Fascism, in their insistence on tolerance and open-mindedness as the supreme intellectual virtues. Moreover, the circles in which they moved were populated by important Jewish scholars and thinkers, including such key figures in the intellectual history of the twentieth century as Martin Buber, Franz Rosenzweig, Leo Strauss, and Ernst Cassirer. Their approach to the study of Islam was often influenced by their relationships with these figures and their reading of those thinkers'

philosophical works. Indeed, it seems legitimate to regard the Islamic Studies scholarship of scholars such as Goitein, Baneth, Kraus, and Walzer as an extension of the humanistic ideas of these thinkers on interpersonal dialogue, inter-religious pluralism, and the relationship between religion and reason into the scholarly domain. In this regard, the orientalist tradition of Samuel Stern's teachers can be regarded as an important contribution to modern Jewish humanistic thought.¹⁷⁸

Notes

1. Hourani, "Patterns of the Past," 19.
2. Milson, "Beginnings," 169.
3. Goitein, "Josef Horovitz," 123.
4. Marchand, *German Orientalism*.
5. Lazarus-Yafeh, "Transplantation," 258, 252.
6. Milson, "Beginnings," 175–6.
7. Ullendorff, *Two Zions*, 55.
8. Goitein, "School of Oriental Studies," 168, 170.
9. Johnston-Bloom, "'Dieses wirklich westöstlichen Mannes'," 170.
10. Harif, "The Orient," 325.
11. Goitein, "Life-Story," xviii.
12. Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research", 153.
13. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, V:497.
14. Waardenberg, *L'Islam*, 94.
15. *Ibid.*, 95–6, 252.
16. Scholem, *From Berlin*, 158.
17. Milson, "Beginnings," 178; Mendel, "From German Philology," 4–5.
18. Mendel, "From German Philology," 1.
19. *Ibid.*, 10–11; Levy, "Man of Contention." For Plessner, see Sellheim, "Martin Plessner."
20. Milson, "Beginnings," 180.
21. Goitein, "Life Story," xxi.
22. Ahroni, "Professor Shelomo Dov," 3; Ormsby, "The 'Born Schulmeister'"; Stillman, "Introduction," xvii.
23. Stillman, "Introduction," xix–xx.
24. Goitein, *Studies*, 21.
25. *Ibid.*, 20–1.
26. *Ibid.*, 51–3.
27. *Ibid.*, chs. 3–4.
28. *Ibid.*, ch. 7.
29. *Ibid.*, ch. 10, esp. 209.
30. *Ibid.*, 22.
31. See Geiger, *Judaism and Islām*.
32. Goitein, "Who Were Muhammad's?"
33. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, ch. 4.
34. Goitein, *Studies*, 22.
35. Meyer, "The Star of Redemption."
36. Interestingly, Rosenzweig's own view of Islam was predominantly negative. See Shahar, "The Silent Syllable," 161.

37. Noam Stillman, "‘Islamic’," 194.
38. Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein’s Research," 149.
39. Rosenthal, "Shlomo Dov Goitein," 4.
40. Goitein, *Studies*, 44.
41. *Ibid.*, 66.
42. *Ibid.*, 48.
43. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
44. Goitein, *Studies*, 67.
45. For this idea in nineteenth-century German Jewish thought, see Efron, *German Jewry*.
46. Goitein, *Studies*, 48.
47. Friedman, "Preface," xxi.
48. Harif, "The Orient," 331.
49. Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, V:501, I:viii.
50. *Ibid.*, V:497.
51. *Ibid.*, V:19.
52. See e.g. *ibid.*, V:51, 323, 334.
53. *Ibid.*, I:viii.
54. See e.g. *ibid.*, V:190.
55. *Ibid.*, V:279ff.
56. Mendes-Flohr, *Martin Buber*, 21.
57. Bermand and Meir, "Buber."
58. Shahar, "Silent Syllable," 158.
59. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, 8–9.
60. Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein’s Research," 165.
61. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 130; Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, 4.
62. Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, II:289ff.
63. *Ibid.*, V:331–2.
64. *Ibid.*, V:115.
65. *Ibid.*, II:299, 381, V:92; I:29–30, 36, 303, II:300.
66. In taking this view, it should be noted, Goitein was echoing a widespread theme in modern German Jewish thought. Thus Abraham Geiger was of the view that Judaism "developed its own fullest potential in closest union with Arab civilization." Efron, *German Jewry*, 198.
67. Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, I:305.
68. Goitein, "Humanistic Aspects," 4–5.
69. Libson, "Hidden Worlds," 182.
70. Benjamin, "Building a Zion," 129. For Goitein’s view of Judah Halevi, see Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, V:448; Wasserstrom, "Apology for S.D. Goitein," 178.
71. Benjamin, "Building a Zion," 149.
72. See Noam Stillman’s contribution to the present volume.
73. Stern, "Three Petitions."
74. Stern, "Cairo as the Centre."
75. Stern, "The *Muwashshahs*," 376–7; Stern, "Some Unpublished Poems," 346–64.
76. Gary Leiser, "S.M. Stern, *Coins and Documents*," 145.
77. Stern, "Rāmisht," 14.
78. Stern, "An Original Document," 530, n. 2.
79. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, 32–4.
80. S.M. Stern, "Three Petitions," 180.
81. S.M. Stern, "S.D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*."
82. Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, I:x.

83. Ullendorff, "D.H. Baneth," 9.
84. Herr et al., "Baneth."
85. Milson, "Beginnings," 177.
86. Ukeles, "Abraham Shalom Yahuda."
87. Milson, "Beginnings," 177–8.
88. Ullendorff, "D.H. Baneth," 11–12.
89. Lazarus-Yafeh, "Transplantation," 258.
90. Ullendorff, *Two Zions*, 88.
91. Ibid., 5.
92. Ibid., 2; Navon, "D.H. Baneth the Teacher," ii.
93. See Attal, "Bibliography."
94. Baneth, "An Exchange of Letters."
95. Baneth, "Library of a Physician."
96. Blau, "State of Research," 199.
97. D.H. Baneth, "Judah Halevi and al-Ghazali."
98. Ibid., 183.
99. Ibid., 181.
100. Ibid., 190.
101. Ibid., 191.
102. Ibid., 199.
103. For Kister's publications, see <http://www.kister.huji.ac.il/online-articles-library> (accessed 21 Jan 2021).
104. Tirosh-Becker and Benor, "Professor Joshua Blau."
105. Walzer, "Samuel M. Stern," 12.
106. Ibid., 3.
107. Goitein, "David Hartwig Baneth," 5.
108. Stern, "Les vers finaux," 319, n. 2; Stern, "Two Medieval Hebrew Poems," 332, n. 9; *idem.*, "Some Unpublished Poems," 352, n. 18.
109. Navon, "D.H. Baneth," i.
110. Kraemer, "Death of an Orientalist," 181.
111. For Kraus's life, see Kuentz, "Paul Kraus"; Kraemer, "Death of an Orientalist."
112. Kraus, "Julius Ruska," 20.
113. Biesterfeldt, "Franz Rosenthal's," 53.
114. Harvey, "The Story," 224; cf. Kraemer, "Death of an Orientalist," 198. See e.g. Strauss, "Maimunis Lehre," 129, n. 1; Strauss, "Law of Reason," 51, n. 10, 64, n. 56, 71, n. 65, 79–80, n. 95; Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān*, I:XXXII, II:104.
115. Kraemer, "Death of an Orientalist," 194; Kuentz, "Paul Kraus," 432.
116. For Vajda, see Fenton, "Georges Vajda's Contribution."
117. For Pines, see Stroumsa, "Le Savant, le sage."
118. Stroumsa. "The Father of Many Nations," 29; Waardenberg, *L'Islam*, esp. 174–5. For Corbin and Massignon, see Elmarsafy, *Esoteric Islam*.
119. Kraus, "Les 'Controverses'."
120. al-Rāzī, *Rasā'il falsafiyya*.
121. Kraus, "Dirāsa fī tārikh al-tarjama."
122. Kraus and al-Ḥājirī, *Majmū' rasā'il al-Jāhiz*.
123. See e.g. Singer, "Galen."
124. Kraus, *Jābir*; Kraus, "Les dignitaires."
125. See Kuentz, "Paul Kraus," 439; Kraemer, "Death of an Orientalist," 200–1.
126. Paul Kraus, "Plotin chez les Arabes."
127. Kraemer, "Death of an Orientalist," 200.

128. Kraemer, "Death of an Orientalist," 196.
129. Ibid., 198.
130. Ibid., 201–3.
131. Kraus, "Beiträge," 93.
132. Kraus, *Jābir*, II:VIII; Kraus, "Plotin," 266.
133. Kraus, "Plotin," 266, 273.
134. Kraus, *Jābir*, II:pt I.
135. Kraus and Ruska, "Dschābir ibn Ḥajjān"; Kraus, "Studien zu Jābir."
136. Kraus, "Hebräische und syrische Zitate"; Kraus, "Beiträge."
137. Bryer, "Analysis," IX–XI.
138. Stern, "Fāṭimid Propaganda," 93.
139. Bryer, "Analysis," XX.
140. See Farhad Daftary's contribution to the present volume.
141. See Stern and Walzer, *Three Unknown Buddhist Stories*.
142. Sparrow, "Samuel Stern," 73.
143. For Walzer's life, see Zimmermann, "Richard Walzer"; Bullock, "Richard Walzer"; Russell, "Richard Rudolf Walzer"; Walzer, "The Formation of a Scholar."
144. Russell, "Walzer," 705.
145. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 319.
146. Jaeger, "Classical Philology," 70.
147. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 304.
148. Jaeger, *Early Christianity*, 5.
149. Feichenfeldt, "A New Start," 371–5.
150. See Walzer, *L'éveil*, 7. For Levi Della Vida, see Valeria Piacentini's contribution to the present volume.
151. Rosenthal and Walzer, *Alfarabius*.
152. Whitaker, "Philosophy in Exile," 351.
153. Walzer, *Arabic Transmission of Greek Thought*, 3.
154. Walzer, *l'éveil*, 24–5.
155. See Klibansky, *Continuity*.
156. Walzer, *Galen*, 34.
157. Walzer, "Formation of a Scholar," 160.
158. Walzer, *l'éveil*, 10.
159. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 1.
160. Ibid., 11.
161. Walzer, *l'éveil*, 15.
162. Walzer, *Galen*, 5, n. 1.
163. Ibid., 37.
164. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 4.
165. See Strauss, "Jerusalem and Athens."
166. Ibid.
167. Amir, "Guttmann."
168. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, 12, 20.
169. Ibid., 36.
170. Ibid., 11.
171. Ibid., 36.
172. Strauss, "Jerusalem and Athens."
173. Walzer, *l'éveil*, 8.
174. In emphasizing the rationalist dimension of Islam in this way, Stern's teachers were echoing Ignaz Goldziher, who famously described Islam in his diary as "the only

- religion which, even in its doctrinal and official formation, can satisfy philosophical minds". Dabashi, "Ignaz Goldziher," xxiii.
175. See Said, *Orientalism*.
 176. Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research," 168.
 177. This is not to suggest, of course, that the humanistic approach to the study of Islam was limited to Jewish scholars. Compare, for instance, the remarks of the Quaker historian of Islam Marshall Hodgson (1922–1968), a specialist in Ismā'īlī Shī'ism like Kraus and Stern, on "Islamicate civilization as human heritage", in Hodgson, *Venture*, I:95ff. Interestingly, Hodgson acknowledged that his conception of religion was indebted to, among others, Ernst Cassirer (see *ibid.*, I:158, n. 11), cited his Chicago colleague Leo Strauss (*ibid.*, I:431, n. 9), and referred with approval to the work of Goitein (*ibid.*, I:303, n. 5, 506), Kraus (*ibid.*, I:431, n. 7, I:509), Walzer (*ibid.*, I:434, 436, n. 10, 509), and Stern (I:383, n. 9), making him part of the same intellectual circle discussed in this article.
 178. I am grateful to Ron Nettler for his helpful comments on this essay.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

The author(s) reported there is no funding associated with the work featured in this article.

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