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Intellectual History of the Islamicate World beyond Denominational Borders: Challenges and Perspectives for a Comprehensive Approach

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Abstract The study of the interrelatedness of Islamic and Jewish intellectual history relies largely on the manuscript materials preserved in the various Geniza collections. The Firkovitch manuscripts in particular provide ample material for an analysis of the different patterns of reception/transmission/cross-pollination between Jewish and Muslim scholars, though the bulk of the relevant material still needs to be cataloged and studied. This essay discusses four cases, each exemplifying a different pattern, namely, Muʿtazilī *kalām* and its reception among the Karaites, the case of David ben Joshua Maimonides (d. 1415), the thirteenth-century Jewish philosopher Ibn Kammūna and his reception among Jews and Muslims, and an anonymous refutation by a Rabbanite Jew against the anti-Jewish polemical work *Ifḥām al-yahūd* by the twelfth-century Jewish convert to Islam Samawʾal al-Maghribī.

Keywords Firkovitch Collections · Jewish Muʿtazila · David ben Joshua Maimonides · Ibn Kammūna · Samawʾal al-Maghribī

The sacred scripture of Islam, the Qurʾan, defines itself as the ultimate, perfect link in a chain of progressive divine revelations and thus demonstrates an awareness of its close connection to the two earlier monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity, which are seen as links in this same chain. Not only did Muslims in the early period adopt and adapt Jewish and Christian notions as they had developed during late antiquity; Christians and Jews also played an active part throughout the following centuries in the evolution and development of Islamic thought.

From very early on—probably already from the eighth century CE—socially mobile Christians and Jews began to use Arabic not only for oral communication but also as their written language for religious, literary, and scientific purposes. They increasingly composed and consumed works in Arabic, all the while continuing their use of culturally distinctive literary and liturgical writings in Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Coptic. Moreover, Muslims, Jews, and Christians often read the same books, with the result that a continuous, multidimensional exchange of ideas, texts, and forms of discourse was the norm rather than the exception. The ensuing process of knowledge formation was variegated and multidimensional—Christian and

Jewish writers continued to influence Islamic thought at the same time as Muslim authors left their imprint on Jews and Christians. The intellectual histories of the various religious communities of the Islamicate world, be they Muslim, Jewish, or Christian, are thus closely intertwined and can be studied comprehensively and adequately only when denominational borders are systematically disregarded.

While this point is widely acknowledged at least theoretically, in most cases scholars still opt in practice for a one-dimensional approach with an (often exclusive) focus on either Muslim, Jewish, or Christian authors and their writings, with a few notable exceptions.[1] In Islamic studies, Jewish studies, and the study of Eastern Christianity, the scholarly investigation of the so-called rational sciences (rational theology, legal methodology, philosophy, and related disciplines) beyond denominational borders is still in its beginning phase.

The study of the interrelatedness of Islamic and Jewish intellectual endeavor—the focus of this essay—relies largely on the rich manuscript materials preserved in the various Geniza collections. It was during the second half of the nineteenth century that numerous *genizot* scattered over the Middle East were discovered, the largest and most important of which were located in Cairo. Their holdings were subsequently retrieved by antique dealers, booksellers, scholars, and travelers, among them Solomon Wertheimer (1866–1935), Salomon Munk (1805–67), Abraham Firkovitch (1786–1874), Moses Wilhelm Shapira (1830–84), Solomon Schechter (1847–1915), and

[1] See, e.g., the relevant programmatic statements in Sarah Stroumsa, *Maimonides in His World: Portrait of a Mediterranean Thinker* (Princeton, NJ, 2011), esp. 17–19, and "Thinkers of 'This Peninsula': An Integrative Approach to the Study of Philosophy in Al-Andalus," in *Beyond Religious Borders: Interaction and Intellectual Exchange in the Medieval Islamic World*, ed. David M. Freidenreich and Miriam Goldstein (Philadelphia, 2012), 44–53; Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke, and David Sklare, eds., *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, Istanbuler Texte und Studien, vol. 15 (Würzburg, 2007); Sabine Schmidtke and Gregor Schwarb, eds., *Jewish and Christian Reception(s) of Muslim Theology*, Intellectual History of the Islamicate World, vol. 2 (Leiden, 2014); Damien Janos, ed., *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond: Philosophical and Theological Exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries*, Islamic History and Civilization, vol. 124 (Leiden, 2015); David Thomas et al., eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History* (The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, vols. 11, 14–15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 29, 31–33, 36–37), 13 vols. (Leiden, 2009–19); and Norman Stillman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, 5 vols. (Leiden, 2010). See also pertinent sections in María Angeles Gallego, Heather Bleaney, and Pablo García Suárez, eds., *Bibliography of Jews in the Islamic World*, Supplements to the Index Islamicus, vol. 1 (Leiden, 2010); Barry Dov Walfish with Mikhail Kizilov, *Bibliographia Karaitica: An Annotated Bibliography of Karaites and Karaism*, Karaite Texts and Studies, vol. 2 (Leiden, 2011); and Meira Polliack, ed., *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources* (Leiden, 2003).

Elkan Nathan Adler (1861–1946), and those holdings are nowadays dispersed among numerous European and North American libraries.[2] The systematic scholarly exploration of the Geniza and the study of medieval Jewish societies in the wider Islamicate context evolved during the twentieth century and is still thriving today, with a dual focus on the documentary and the literary Geniza.[3]

Yet two major lacunae remain: Geniza scholars—representatives of Jewish studies for the most part—tend to give priority to Jewish authors and works, while less (if any) attention is paid to non-Jewish material (Islamic and Christian). Likewise, only a few Islamicists and scholars of Christian Arabic and Eastern Christianity make use of the Geniza as a source for Christian and Islamic intellectual history.[4]

Another major desideratum in contemporary Geniza scholarship relates to the still largely untapped holdings of the Abraham Firkovitch Collection of the National Library of Russia (RNL) in St. Petersburg (with a total number of around fifteen thousand items),[5] which was inaccessible to scholars

[2]See the relevant entries in Binyamin Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections*, 2nd rev. ed. (Jerusalem, 2014); and David Sklare, "A Guide to Collections of Karaite Manuscripts," in Polliack, ed., *Karaite Judaism*, 893–924.

[3]For the history of discovery and scholarship of the Ben Ezra Geniza, see Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Richmond, Surrey, 2000), and "A Centennial Assessment of Genizah Studies," in *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance*, ed. Stefan C. Reif with the assistance of Shulamit Reif (Cambridge, 2002), 1–35. See also Adina Hoffman and Peter Cole, *Sacred Trash: The Lost and Found World of the Cairo Geniza* (New York, 2010).

[4]Among the exceptions, mention should be made, for Christian material, of Kristina Szilágyi, "Christian Books in Jewish Libraries: Fragments of Christian Arabic Writings from the Cairo *Genizah*," *Ginzei qedem* 2 (2006): 107*–162*. Compare also Miriam Goldstein, "Judeo-Arabic Versions of Toledot Yeshu," *Ginzei qedem* 6 (2010): 9*–42*. For material in Arabic script (partly Muslim) from the Ben Ezra Geniza material, see Geoffrey Khan, "The Arabic Fragments in the Cambridge Genizah Collections," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 1 (1986): 54–60, and "Arabic Documents in the Cairo Genizah," *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 21 (1997): 23–25; and Paul Fenton, "Interfaith Relations as Reflected in the Genizah Documents", *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 21 (1997): 26–30.

[5]The Firkovitch Collection includes the following subcollections. The First Firkovitch Collection (Hebrew manuscripts in Hebrew script) (= RNL Yevr. I, 830 items) comprises (i) documents, letters, marriage documents, commercial documents of the Karaite communities of the Crimea; (ii) Bible commentaries; (iii) dictionaries of the Talmud; (iv) grammars; (v) prayer books, Talmud, commentaries on the Talmud; (vi) midrashim and sermons; (vii) dream interpretations; (viii) gnomic and folkloric material; (ix) kabbalah; (x) medicine; (xi) mathematics and astronomy; (xii) philosophy; (xiii) Karaite literature. The Second Firkovitch Collection comprises (i) Arabic section (Arabic manuscripts in Arabic script) (= RNL Firk. Arab., roughly 200 documents and 650 miscellaneous fragments); (ii) Hebrew-Arabic section (Arabic manuscripts in Hebrew script), consisting of two series ([*a*] First Series [= RNL Yevr.-Arab. I, 4,933 items]; [*b*] New [or Second] Series [= RNL Yevr.-Arab. II, 3,310 items]); (iii)

from outside the Soviet Union for most of the twentieth century (with few exceptions).[6]

In some respects, the Firkovitch Collection parallels the material retrieved from the Rabbanite Ben Ezra Geniza, but it also differs from it in several important respects. The large majority of Firkovitch manuscripts were taken from the Geniza of the Karaite synagogue Dār Ibn Sumayḥ in Cairo, which originated with the synagogue's former library.[7] In contrast to the Ben Ezra corpus, the Firkovitch Collection contains very little documentary material, such as letters, contracts, wills, charitable trust documents, etc., that would inform us about aspects of social, institutional, or economic history. Its contents consist instead of fragments of *literary* works that cover virtually all disciplines of medieval learning, such as biblical exegesis, theology, philosophy and logic, law and legal theory, medicine, astronomy and other sciences, belles lettres, and so forth. Whereas the hundreds of thousands of literary fragments from the Cairo (Ben Ezra) Geniza are mostly small, containing between one and four folio pages of a work on average, many of the Firkovitch manuscripts are quite large, containing hundreds of folios, and a significant percentage of the material can be dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some of the manuscripts were originally part of the library of the Karaite community in Jerusalem and were brought to Cairo as a result of the Crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, with the result that works from the so-called Golden Age of Karaism in Palestine (the tenth

Hebrew-Hebrew section (Hebrew manuscripts in Hebrew script) (= RNL Yevr. II), consisting of three subsections ([*a*] Hebrew A [= RNL Yevr. II A, 1,042 items], fragments dealing with grammar, philology, exegesis, law, literature, documents, etc.; [*b*] Hebrew B [= RNL Yevr. II B, 2,307 items], containing biblical scrolls, codices and texts on parchment and paper, and liturgical manuscripts; and [*c*] marriage contracts [= RNL Yevr. II K, 76 items]); (iv) Arabic-Hebrew section (Hebrew manuscripts in Arabic script) (= RNL Arab.-Yevr., roughly 200 fragments). Quite a few fragments are not properly placed, and the custodians of the collection are constantly working to rearrange those misplaced materials. For an overview of the collection and its significance, see Tapani Harviainen, "Abraham Firkovich," in Polliack, ed., *Karaite Judaism*, 873–892; and Sklare, "A Guide to Collections of Karaite Manuscripts," 905–8. Compare also Walfish, *Bibliographia Karaitica*, 8–15 (nos. 55–128). The holdings of the Firkovitch Collection were also the focus of an international conference, "The Arabic Literary Genizah beyond Denominational Borders," held at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ, in spring 2017.

[6]Malachi Beit-Arié, "The Accessibility of the Russian Manuscript Collections: New Perspectives for Jewish Studies," in *Jewish Studies in a New Europe: Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen, 1994*, ed. Ulf Haxen, Hanne Trautner-Kromann, and Karen Lisa Goldschmidt Salamon (Copenhagen, 1998), 82–98.

[7]Compare also Haggai Ben-Shammai, "Is 'The Cairo Genizah' a Proper Name or a Generic Noun? On the Relationship between the Genizot of the Ben Erza and the Dār Simḥa Synagogues," in *"From a Sacred Source": Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*, ed. Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro (Leiden, 2011), 43–52.

and eleventh centuries)[8]—biblical exegesis for the most part—are well represented. The Arabic manuscripts, the large majority of which are written in Hebrew characters, are extremely important. Most of the works they contain are completely or virtually unknown to scholarship. A considerable number are unique manuscripts, among them numerous works by Muslim authors. Even though many of the fragments are large in size, almost all are in poor condition, as is typical for Geniza material. They are fragmentary and jumbled, usually without a title page or colophon that would identify the text they contain. A few scholars were engaged in studying the materials before World War II; after the war, access was officially restricted to Soviet citizens.[9]

Since the 1990s, microfilms of most sections of the collection have been available at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) at the National Library of Israel (NLI) in Jerusalem. These include the Arabic material written in Hebrew characters that is part of the Second Firkovitch Collection (see n. 5 above). Excluded from microfilming was the section of the collection that consists of Arabic writings written in Arabic characters ("Arabski-Arabski"), which is equally rich in material pertinent to the "rational sciences." In 2015, the RNL and the NLI signed an agreement that allows the NLI to digitize those microfilms and provide online open access to the images, and, by now, most of the relevant material is accessible through the NLI's website and through the Friedberg Genizah Project (https://fjms.genizah.org).

Today, more than twenty years since the material was made accessible, we are still far from possessing a catalogue raisonné of the collection or even

[8]Compare Zvi Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium: The Formative Years, 970–1100* (New York, 1959), passim.

[9]Mention should be made, by way of example, of J. Ch. Gurland, *Kurze Beschreibung der mathematischen, astronomischen und astrologischen hebräischen Handschriften der Firkowitsch'schen Sammlung in der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg, 1866); A. Harkavy [А. Я. Гаркави] and H. L. Strack [Г. М. Страк], *Catalog der hebräischen und samaritanischen Handschriften der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, vol. 1, *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften*, and vol. 2, *Die samaritanischen Pentateuchhandschriften* = Описание рукописей самаритянского Пятикнижия, хранящихся в Императорской Публичной библиотеке (St. Petersburg, 1875), and "О коллекции восточных рукописей А. Фирковича, находящихся в Чуфуткале", in Журнал Министерства народного просвещения 178/3 (St. Petersburg, 1875), 5–49; and A. Harkavy, *Neuaufgefundene hebräische Bibelhandschriften: Bericht an die kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg, 1884). For the important studies of Andrej Jakovlevič Borisov (1903–42) of Firkovitch Collection manuscripts, see Alexander Treiger, "Andrei Iakovlevic Borisov (1903–1942) and His Studies of Medieval Arabic Philosophy," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 17 (2007): 159–95. Even after World War II, occasional exceptions to rules of access were made. For additional studies (both pre- and postwar) of selected items from the collection, see also Walfish, *Bibliographia Karaitica*, 8–15 (nos. 55–128).

any of its subcollections. An online catalog of the microfilmed material that is available at the NLI's IMHM is accessible through the Merhav Library catalog (which requires knowledge of Hebrew and thus excludes the majority of Islamicists and Arabists as potential users). An unpublished handlist of the Arabic section of the Second Firkovitch Collection can be consulted at the RNL.[10] Moreover, since the early 1990s, a number of sample catalogs have been published,[11] and, in the framework of the European Research Council–funded project "Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam" (2008–13, Freie Universität Berlin), Gregor Schwarb has prepared a catalogue raisonné of this section that still awaits publication.[12] The still-ongoing identification and study of new texts deriving from the collection constantly bring to light Jewish, Muslim, and occasionally Christian works that were considered lost or were altogether unknown. Once the holdings of the Firkovitch Collection are fully explored, the history of Jewish thought and its historical ties to the relevant Islamic (and Christian) scholarly environments will have to be largely rewritten.

In the following, I wish to demonstrate what can be gained from a closer look into the Firkovitch manuscripts when studying, by way of example, the different patterns of reception/transmission/cross-pollination between Jewish and Muslim scholarly circles. They show the enormous opportunities for scholars of both Judaic and Islamic studies to open up entirely new vistas into the shared Jewish-Islamic intellectual history during the Islamic Middle Ages and beyond.

The *first* case concerns rational theology (*kalām*), the main protagonists of which were the followers of the so-called Muʿtazila, a school of thought that originated in the eighth century and developed into the leading current of Islamic theology during the period from the tenth through the twelfth centuries, after which its influence gradually declined. Characteristic traits of Muʿtazilite thought were the belief in objective ethical values that are binding for God and man alike and, closely related to this, in human responsibility and freedom of choice as well as an insistence on the unicity of the divine.[13]

[10] See Victor Lebedev, typescript, RNL, 1992.

[11] Paul Fenton, *A Handlist of Judeo-Arabic Manuscripts in Leningrad* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1991); David Sklare and Haggai Ben-Shammai, *Judeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collections: The Works of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1997); Efrat Batat, Haggai Ben-Shammai, Sagit Butbul, David Sklare, and Sarah Stroumsa, *Judeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Firkovitch Collections: Yefet ben ʿEli al-Baẓri, Commentary on Genesis* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 2000); and Sabine Schmidtke, "Muʿtazilī Manuscripts in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection, St. Petersburg: A Descriptive Catalogue," in Adang, Schmidtke, and Sklare, eds., *A Common Rationality*, 377–462.

[12] Non vidi.

[13] Generally on the Muʿtazila, see Racha el-Omari, "The Muʿtazilite Movement (I): The Origins of the Muʿtazila," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine

As is the case with many aspects of Islamic religiointellectual history, discursive theology in general and Muʿtazilite dialectical reasoning in particular were closely related in their evolution and development to parallel phenomena among the followers of other religions that were present in the Islamic world. The earliest preserved manifestations of discursive theology—*kalām* in Arabic—in Islamic circles can be traced back to the mid- or late eighth century. Characteristic features of Islamic dialectic argumentation were already present in seventh-century Syriac christological disputations.[14]

As early as the ninth century, the methodological tools of discursive theology had also begun to leave their mark on Jewish thinkers writing in Arabic, and it seems that it was again the Christian *kalām* tradition that proved influential for the formation of Jewish medieval theology. The earliest extant Jewish *kalām* work is the *ʿIshrūn maqāla* of Dāwūd b. Marwān al-Muqammaṣ, a student of the Syrian-Orthodox theologian Nonnus of Nisibis, who apparently flourished during the first half of the ninth century—so far the earliest theological summa in Arabic that we possess.[15] The *Kitāb al-amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt* of the tenth-century Rabbanite Jewish scholar Saʿadya Gaon (882–942) seems likewise to have been inspired by Christian theological literature as well as Islamic models.[16] The *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* of Saʿadya's Karaite contemporary Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī (d. 930) is unfortunately lost.[17] In addition to theological summae, *kalām* also had a major impact on other fields of inquiry, especially biblical exegesis.[18]

Schmidtke (Oxford, 2016), 130–41; David Benneth, "The Muʿtazilite Movement (II): The Early Muʿtazilites", in ibid., 142–58; and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Muʿtazilite Movement (III): The Scholastic Phase," in ibid., 159–80.

[14] Michael Cook, "The Origins of the *Kalām*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980): 32–43; Fedor Benevich, "'Wenn sie sagen..., dann sagen wir...': Die Ursprünge des dialektischen Verfahrens des Kalām," *Le muséon* 128 (2015): 181–201; Alexander Treiger, "Origins of *Kalām*," in Schmidtke, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, 27–43.

[15] Sarah Stroumsa, ed. and trans., *Dāwūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ's Twenty Chapters* (*ʿIshrūn maqāla*), Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, vol. 13 (Leiden, 1989), and "Soul-Searching at the Dawn of Jewish Philosophy: A Hitherto Lost Fragment of al-Muqammaṣ's *Twenty Chapters*," *Ginzei qedem* 3 (2007): 137*–161*. For a revised edition of the *ʿIshrūn maqāla*, transcribed into Arabic characters with a parallel English translation, see Dāwūd al-Muqammaṣ, *Twenty Chapters*, trans. Sarah Stroumsa, Library of Judeo-Arabic Literature, vol. 1 (Chicago, 2016).

[16] Sarah Stroumsa, "Saadya and Jewish *Kalam*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, ed. Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman (Cambridge, 2003), 71–90.

[17] Fred Astren, "Qirqisānī, Jacob al-", in Stillman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, 4:136–40.

[18] See, e.g., Daniel Frank, *Search Scripture Well: Karaite Exegetes and the Origins of the Jewish Bible Commentary in the Islamic East*, Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, vol. 29 (Leiden,

The new tradition of Jewish rational thought that arose during the ninth century was thus, in its initial stage, primarily informed by Christian theological literature with regard to content as well as methodology. Increasingly, specifically Muʿtazilite Islamic ideas resonated among Jewish thinkers, many of whom eventually adopted the entire doctrinal system of the Muʿtazila. The now emerging "Jewish Muʿtazila" dominated Jewish theological thinking for centuries to come.

The earliest attested Jewish compendium of Muʿtazilite thought is the *Kitāb al-niʿma* of the Karaite Levi ben Yefet, the son of the prominent Karaite biblical exegete and legal scholar Yefet ben ʿEli (d. after 1006).[19] Levi wrote the book at the request of his father as a vindication of Judaism on the basis of Muʿtazilite rational theology, but, unlike his father, who disapproved of *Islamic* Muʿtazilite theology, Levi adopted the doctrines of the Muʿtazila and implicitly recognized Muhammad as a friend of God endowed with prophethood, though ranking below Moses.

Levi's theological tract was soon eclipsed by the writings of the Rabbanite Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon (d. 1013)[20] and his Karaite opponent and younger contemporary Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. between 1037 and 1039), whose *kalām* works gained an almost canonical status among the Karaites.[21] Literary evidence suggests that Muʿtazilite ideas constituted the central doctrinal foundation of the Rabbanite community until the middle of the twelfth century. For the Karaites, Muʿtazilism continued to provide a significant doctrinal

2004); Sarah Stroumsa, "The Impact of Syriac Tradition on Early Judaeo-Arabic Bible Exegesis," *Aram* 3 (1991): 83–96, and "From the Earliest Known Judaeo-Arabic Commentary on Genesis," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 27 (2002): 375–95; Gregor Schwarb, "Kalām," in Stillman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, 3:91–98; Jonathan Moss, "Scholasticism, Exegesis, and the Historicization of Mosaic Authorship in Moses Bar Kepha's *On Paradise*," *Harvard Theological Review* 104 (2011): 325–48; Yoram Erder, "The Impaling of Saul's Descendants by the Gibeonites: Values of Divine Justice versus Peshat in Early Karaite Commentaries" (in Hebrew), *Ginzei qedem* 8 (2012): 31–65; and Nabih Bashir, "Angelology and Theological Humanism in the Thought and Exegesis of Saadia Gaon: The Human Being as the Purpose of the Creation" (in Hebrew) (PhD diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2015). For legal theory, see Gregor Schwarb, "Uṣūl al-fiqh im jüdischen Kalām des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts: Ein Überblick," in *Orient als Grenzbereich? Rabbinisches und außerrabbinisches Judentum*, ed. Annelies Kuyt and Gerold Necker (Wiesbaden, 2008), 77–104.

[19] A partial edition is provided in David Sklare, "Levi ben Yefet and His *Kitāb al-niʿma*: Selected Texts," in Adang, Schmidtke, and Sklare, eds., *A Common Rationality*, 157–216. See also Wilferd Madelung, "Muʿtazilī Theology in Levi ben Yefet's *Kitāb al-niʿma*," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 9–17.

[20] David E. Sklare, *Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon and His Cultural World: Texts and Studies*, Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, vol. 18 (Leiden, 1986).

[21] Gregor Schwarb, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr," in Stillman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, 4:651–55. Compare also Walfish, *Bibliographia Karaitica*, 477–82 (nos. 5550–92).

framework at least through the seventeenth century, an observation that also applies to the Byzantine Karaite milieu, where many of the works originally composed in Arabic were transmitted in Hebrew translation.[22]

From an Islamicist's perspective, this development is extremely fortunate, for Jewish thinkers not only composed their own works in the spirit of the Muʿtazila but also extensively copied the works of Muslim representatives of the school, more often than not transcribing the Arabic into Hebrew characters. Countless examples of such copies have been preserved in the numerous Geniza collections around the world. Most of the Islamic materials that are preserved in these collections have been completely lost in the manuscript libraries of Islamic provenance as the literary heritage of the Muʿtazila had (with a few exceptions) ceased to be transmitted within Muslim circles from the fourteenth century on.

Pertinent examples are fragments of two theological works by the Būyid vizier and patron of the Muʿtazila al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (938–95) that are preserved in the Firkovitch Collection, with an additional fragment among the Geniza fragments at Cambridge University Library—an indication of the popularity of his theological writings among the Karaites.[23] Al-Ṣāḥib is well-known as an adherent and active promoter of the movement: In 367/977, he appointed the prominent Muʿtazilite theologian ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadānī al-Asadābādī (935–1025) *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, chief judge in Būyid territories, thus extending Būyid patronage to the Muʿtazilī movement. Islamic historical sources inform us that al-Ṣāḥib composed comprehensive theological works, but none of these have been preserved in the Islamic world—Islamic manuscript collections preserve copies of only some concise theological tracts of his that appear to have been written as introductions to the doctrine of the school. That he was widely read within Jewish Muʿtazilite circles is evident from two extensive fragments of a theological summa of his, possibly his *Kitāb nahj al-sabīl*, both written in Hebrew characters. The preserved text provides a progressive explanation of Muʿtazilī theology, beginning with the four preliminary claims in the proof of the existence of God. The fragments do not go beyond the Muʿtazilī principle of divine unicity (*tawḥīd*). References to later chapters on divine justice (*bāb al-ʿadl*) and man's ability (*bāb al-istiṭāʿa*) indicate, however, that the book dealt comprehensively with all the principles of Muʿtazilī theology. The second, shorter

[22] Daniel J. Lasker, "Byzantine Karaite Thought," in Polliack, ed., *Karaite Judaism*, 505–28, and *From Judah Hadassi to Elijah Bashyatchi: Studies in Late Medieval Karaite Philosophy*, Supplements to the Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy, vol. 4 (Leiden, 2008).

[23] Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke, eds., *Al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, Promoter of Rational Theology: Two Muʿtazilī kalām Texts from the Cairo Geniza*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, vol. 132 (Leiden, 2016).

text consists of two fragments of a commentary by ʿAbd al-Jabbār on an unidentified work by al-Ṣāḥib on theology. It is uncertain how much of the original text has been preserved, but the extant portions—extensive sections that presumably belonged to a chapter on substances (possibly entitled *bāb al-jawāhir*) followed by a chapter on accidents (*bāb al-aʿrāḍ*) and the beginning of the chapter on colors (*bāb al-alwān*)—suggest that the work was primarily, if not exclusively, concerned with natural philosophy. The long treatise of al-Ṣāḥib is apparently the earliest Muʿtazilī work preserved in the Jewish community—no earlier Muʿtazilī text has so far been identified in the various Geniza collections. Later texts, consisting of numerous works by ʿAbd al-Jabbār and his pupils,[24] have been identified in the Geniza.

This example—one of many—illustrates what students of Muslim intellectual history can gain by looking for relevant source material beyond strict denominational borders. The scholarly investigation of the Jewish Muʿtazila and their historical connections to Muslim counterparts and a systematic exploitation of the Islamic primary materials preserved in Jewish collections are still in their infancy. While towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth representatives of the Wissenschaft des Judentums (Science of Judaism), such as David Kaufmann (1852–99),[25] Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907),[26] Pinkus Fritz Frankl (1848–87),[27] Martin Schreiner

[24] See, e.g., Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla: The Extant Parts*, ed. Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 57, no. 4 (Wiesbaden, 2006); Omar Hamdan and Sabine Schmidtke, "Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) on the Promise and Threat: An Edition of a Fragment of his *Kitāb al-mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* preserved in the Firkovitch-Collection, St. Petersburg (II Firk. Arab. 105, ff. 14–92)," *Mélanges de l'Institut dominican d'études orientales* 27 (2008): 37–117; Gregor Schwarb, "Découverte d'un nouveau fragment du *Kitāb al-mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* du Qāḍī ʿAbd Al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) dans une collection karaïte de la British Library," *Mélanges de l'Institut dominican d'études orientales* 27 (2008): 119–30; *Nukat al-Kitāb al-Mughnī: A Recension of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī's (d. 415/1025) Al-Mughnī fī Abwāb al-Tawḥīd wa-l-ʿAdl: Al-Kalām fī al-Tawlīd. Al-Kalām fī al-Istiṭāʿa. Al-Kalām fī al-Taklīf. Al-Kalām fī al—Naẓar wa-l-Maʿārif*, Bibliotheca Islamica 53 (Beirut, 1433/2012) (the extant parts were edited with an introduction by Omar Hamdan and Sabine Schmidtke).

[25] On Kaufmann, his manuscript collection, and his scholarly circles, see "Dávid Kaufmann and His Collection of Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences," n.d., http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/index-en.html; and Mirjam Thulin, *Kaufmanns Nachrichtendienst: Ein jüdisches Gelehrtennetzwerk im 19. Jahrhundert*, Schriften des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts, vol. 16 (Göttingen, 2012).

[26] Compare Daniel J. Lasker, "Moritz Steinschneider and Karaite Studies," in *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Studies in Jewish History and Culture, vol. 33), ed. Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal (Leiden, 2012), 351–61.

[27] See, e.g., Pinkus Fritz [Pincus Friedrich] Frankl, "Beiträge zur Kunde des 'Calam' und der muslimischen Secten: Nach den im Codex 41 Warner der Leydener Universitäts-Bibliothek

(1863–1926),[28] and Arthur Biram (1878–1967),[29] were aware of this important episode, the rise of the Nazi regime in Germany and World War II put an end to this early attempt to study Muslim and Jewish Muʿtazilites as part and parcel of one single intellectual phenomenon and analyze the historical relations between them. It was only later that scholars of both Jewish and Islamic studies rediscovered this important field and joined forces to work on the relevant materials.[30]

erhaltenen Schriften des Abu-Jakub Al-Bazir" (PhD diss., Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1871), "Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Karäer," *Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin*, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1887), "Ein muʿtazilitischer Kalām aus dem 10. Jahrhundert als Beitrag zur Geschichte der muslimischen Religionsphilosophie nach handschriftlichen Quellen der Bibliotheken in Leyden und St. Petersburg," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-Historische Classe* 71 (April 1872): 169–224, and "Die Stellung Joseph al-Basirs in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 20 (1871): 114–19, 150–57.

[28] See, e.g., Martin Schreiner, "Der *Kalâm* in der jüdischen Literatur," in *13. Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Berlin, 1895) (reprinted in Martin Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Moshe Perlmann [Hildesheim, 1983], 280–346), and "Jeschuʿa ben Jehuda," in *18. Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Berlin, 1900) (reprinted in Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 503–619). On Schreiner, see also Tamás Turán, "Martin Schreiner and Jewish Theology: An Introduction," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (2017): 45–85; Ottfried Fraisse, "Martin Schreiner's Unpublished *Systematic Philosophy of Religion*: Adapting Ignác Goldziher's Method for Researching Islam," in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context: Rationality, European Borders, and the Search for Belonging*, ed. Ottfried Fraisse, 245–66 (Berlin, 2018); and my in-progress study "Islamkunde und Wissenschaft des Judentums um die Jahrhundertwende: Martin Schreiner (1863–1926), sein Leben und sein Werk."

[29] Building on the preparatory work of Martin Schreiner, Biram produced a partial edition of a work on natural philosophy by the eleventh-century Muʿtazilite author Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī. See Arthur Biram, "Kitābū ʾl-masāʾil fiʾl-ḫilaf bejn al-Baṣrijjīn wa ʾl-Bagdāḏ ijjīn al-kalām fi ʾl ǵawāhir: Die atomistische Substanzenlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen zwischen Basrensern und Bagdadensern" (PhD diss., Leipzig, 1902) (published in Berlin in 1902). On Biram, see also Frank Fiedler and Uwe Fiedler, *Lebensbilder aus der Oberlausitz*, 6th ed. (Norderstedt, 2014), 17–23.

[30] See, e.g., Harry Austryn Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Cambridge, MA, 1974), passim, and *Repercussions of the Kalam in Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA, 1979); Haggai Ben-Shammai, "A Note on Some Karaite Copies of Muʿtazilite Writings", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37 (1974): 295–304, and "The Doctrines of Religious Thought of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī and Yefet ben ʿElī" (in Hebrew) (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 1978); Georges Vajda, "De quelques fragments muʿtazilites en judéo-arabe: Notice provisoire," *Journal asiatique* 264 (1976): 1–7; and Georges Vajda, ed. and trans., *Al-kitāb al-muḥtawī de Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, vol. 12 (Leiden, 1985). For other relevant publications by G. Vajda, see Paul B. Fenton, אלפי יהודה *Bibliographie de l'oeuvre de Georges Vajda: Précédée d'un essai biographique* (Louvain, 1991). See also the introduction to Adang, Schmidtke, and Sklare, eds., *A Common Rationality*, 11–20; and Gregor Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's Kitāb al-Īmāʾ," *Ginzei qedem* 2 (2006): 61*–105*,

The prevalent pattern of dominance and subordination did not invariably dictate the direction of intellectual transmission. My *second* case will demonstrate that the dynamics could be completely different. It concerns the outstanding Jewish scholar David ben Joshua Maimonides (b. ca. 1335, d. 1415), the last head of the Jewish community of Egypt from among the descendants of Moses Maimonides.[31] His professional life took place within the confines of the Jewish community, and his works (all written in Arabic but in Hebrew characters) circulated exclusively among Jewish readers. Born in Egypt, David succeeded his father, Joshua Maimonides, as nagid, or head of the community, following his death in 1355. For reasons that remain unclear, he left his homeland to take up residence in Syria for a decade during the 1370s and 1380s. He resumed office as head of the community after his return to Egypt and retained it until his death. Apart from being a prolific author himself, David is known to have collected books and was an accomplished scribe. Numerous copies in his own hand of works by earlier Jewish and Muslim authors in a variety of disciplines have survived. It was particularly during his time in Aleppo that he assembled an impressive library containing many books that he had either commissioned or copied himself. They testify to his scholarly abilities and his erudition in both the Jewish and the Islamic literary traditions. He wrote a commentary on Moses Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah*, an influential code of Jewish law,[32] as well as numerous works in the fields of ethics, philosophy, and logic, along with a comprehensive handbook of Sufi mysticism.[33] These works show his deep immersion in a

and "Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes," in *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the Sixth/Twelfth Century*, ed. Peter Adamson (London, 2011), 251–282, esp. 276–92 ("Jewish and Samaritan Muʿtazila").

[31] On David ben Joshua Maimonides, see Elinoar Bareket, "David ben Joshua Maimonides," in Stillman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Jews in the Islamic World*, 2:39–40; Paul Fenton, "An Epistle on Esoteric Matters by David II Maimonides from the Geniza," in *Pesher Nahum: Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature from Antiquity through the Middle Ages Presented to Norman* (*Nahum*) *Golb* (Studies in Ancient Civilization 66), ed. Joel L. Kraemer and Michael G. Wechsler (Chicago, 2012), 57–74; and Sabine Schmidtke, "Two Commentaries on Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's *Al-shamsiyya*, Copied in the Hand of David b. Joshua Maimonides (fl. ca. 1335–1410 CE)," in *Law and Tradition in Classical Islamic Thought*, ed. Michael Cook, Najam Haider, Intisar Rabb, and Asma Sayeed (New York, 2012), 173–91. For references to earlier scholarship on David, see all three of these essays. See also Arnold Franklin's in-progress study "Contemplating Prayer: David ben Joshua Maimuni's Commentary on the Liturgy."

[32] Paul Fenton, "The Judaeo-Arabic Commentary on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, by R. David Maimonides," in *Heritage and Innovation in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic Culture*, ed. Joshua Blau and David Doron (Ramat Gan, 2000), 145–60.

[33] *Al-murshid ilā al-tafarrud wa-l-murfid ilā al-tajarrud = Moreh ha-perishut u-madrikh ha-peshitut = Doctor ad solitudinem et ductor ad simplicitatem*, ed. Yosef Yinon (= Paul Fenton) (Jerusalem, 747/1986–87).

variety of Islamic rational sciences. In philosophy, he was not only familiar with the peripatetic thought of Avicenna but also acquainted with many writings of the twelfth-century founder of a new type of Islamic philosophy, "Shaykh al-Ishrāq" Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 1191). He was likewise familiar with the writings of the renowned Ashʿarite Muslim theologians Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209). In addition, he quotes extensively from the earlier Islamic literature on mysticism and was evidently well versed in the Islamic astronomical tradition.[34]

Although none of his works ever reached a wider Muslim readership, David ben Joshua did connect with Muslim thinkers on a more personal level. During his time in Syria, he befriended the Muslim scholar ʿAlī b. Ṭaybughā al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī al-Muwaqqit (d. 1391?), the author of a commentary on Moses Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah*. It took modern scholars quite some time to accept that a Muslim scholar had commented on a text by Maimonides that was originally composed in Hebrew. It is now clear that ʿAlī b. Ṭaybughā became interested in the *Mishneh Torah* because of the influence of David, whose Arabic translation of the *Mishneh* and his commentary on the work he used.[35]

The extant manuscripts of David's translation and commentary and of ʿAlī b. Ṭaybughā's commentary on Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah* thus provide evidence of a fruitful and stimulating exchange between two distinguished scholars of the early fifteenth century—a Jew and a Muslim—on a text of primarily Jewish interest, and here, again, the scholarly investigation of their oeuvre is still in its infancy.

My *third* example concerns the prominent philosopher, ʿIzz al-Dawla Saʿd b. Manṣūr Ibn Kammūna (d. in or after 1284). His case again completely breaks away from the two patterns described so far as his oeuvre was widely received among Muslim readers even though his impact on Jewish philosophy seems to have been limited.[36] Ibn Kammūna was born in Baghdad in the thirteenth century into a Jewish family and received a thorough education in both Jewish and Islamic letters. Little is known about his life, but it is evident that he held a high-ranking position in the administration of the Ilkhānid Empire, although there is no indication that he ever converted to Islam. Like many Muslim scholars of his time, he enjoyed the patronage

[34]See Paul Fenton, "The Literary Legacy of David ben Joshua, Last of the Maimonidean Nĕgīdim," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 75 (1984): 1–56.

[35]Compare Gregor Schwarb, "ʿAlī b. Ṭaybughā's (d. 793/1391) Commentary on Maimonides' Mishneh Torah, Sefer ha-Maddaʿ, Hilkhot Yesodei ha-Torah I–IV: A Philosophical Encyclopedia of the 14th Century" (in progress). See https://goo.gl/rkyjoA.

[36]Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad: ʿIzz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna* (*d. 683/1284*) *and His Writings*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, vol. 65 (Leiden, 2006).

of the minister of state, Shams al-Dīn al-Juwaynī (d. 1284), and his family, to whom he dedicated most of his works.[37] He also corresponded with the most important intellectuals of his time.[38] His philosophical writings, and particularly his commentary on the *Kitāb al-talwīḥāt* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, as well as his independent works in this discipline significantly shaped the development of Islamic philosophy in the eastern lands of Islam over the following centuries. His commentary on Suhrawardī's *Talwīḥāt*—the first commentary ever written on this work—immediately became very popular and was extensively quoted in the philosophical works of his Muslim contemporaries and of the following generations.[39] Hundreds of copies of Ibn Kammūna's philosophical writings were produced both during his lifetime and over the decades and centuries following his death.[40] The majority of Muslim scholars and scribes were aware that he was Jewish and refer to him as "al-Yahūdī" or "al-Isrāʾīlī." Others do not mention his Jewishness at all, which suggests that it was a matter of no concern to them. Compared with the widespread reception of his philosophical oeuvre among Muslims, the Jewish reception of his writings is limited.[41]

Again, the scholarly research on Ibn Kammūna has a history of its own. For a long time, he was exclusively known for his *Maqālat tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth*, a work belonging to the genre of interreligious polemics,[42] while his far more important philosophical oeuvre was, with few exceptions, completely ignored. One looks for him in vain in any handbook on Islamic philosophy, be it written by Western or non-Western scholars, who evidently considered him to be irrelevant on account of his being a Jew. Similarly, he is ignored or treated only marginally in works on Jewish philosophy, this ironically being the double punishment of a versatile philosopher who belonged to both worlds and therefore is rejected by both.

Only in recent years do we see a growing interest in Ibn Kammūna's philosophical works, both in the West and, perhaps even more importantly, in Iran,[43] as a result of an increased interest among contemporary scholars

[37] Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, 8–23.

[38] Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, 118–27.

[39] Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, 63–77.

[40] Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, 59–106.

[41] Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, 54–58.

[42] Moshe Perlmann, ed. and trans., *Ibn Kammūna's Examination of the Three Faiths: A Thirteenth-Century Essay in the Comparative Study of Religion* (Berkeley, CA, 1967–71). For other editions, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, 106ff. I am currently preparing a revised edition of the text.

[43] See the critical editions of several of Ibn Kammūna's works in Iran in recent years, such as his *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth*, ed. ʿAlī Naqī Munzawī (Tehran, 1383/2004), *Kāshif* or *Al-jadīd fī al-ḥikma*, ed. Ḥāmid Nājī Iṣfahānī (Tehran, 1387/2008), *Sharḥ al-talwīḥāt*, ed.

in post-Avicennan Islamic philosophy. In Iran, the scholarly interest in Ibn Kammūna comes with the conviction—based on questionable data—that at some stage he had converted to Islam.[44]

My *fourth* and last case concerns the field of interreligious polemics. The examples discussed so far should not obscure the fact that intellectual symbiosis did not imply tolerance in the modern sense of the word. Muslims and Jews (or Christians for that matter) took great care to preserve their own religious identity and mark and defend the boundaries vis-à-vis the adherents of other religions. This is evident, for example, in non-Muslims' habit of using their own script (Hebrew, Syriac, or Coptic) when writing in Arabic[45] and, most prominently, in the genre of polemical literature. Muslims sought to prove the authenticity of the prophecy of Muhammad through a variety of arguments, among them listing authentic and nonauthentic biblical passages allegedly foretelling the advent of the Islamic prophet. Moreover, their notion of the Qurʾan being the final revelation of God to mankind implies that the Qurʾan abrogated the earlier revelations, abrogation thus being another prominent topic in Islamic polemical writings. Jews and Christians evidently denied such claims. Unlike medieval Europe, where the Adversus-Judaeos literature as well as Jewish responses to it were widespread,[46] interreligious polemics in the Islamic world between Muslims and Jews were a marginal

Najafqulī Ḥabībī, 3 vols. (Tehran, 2009), *Maʿālim* (*Asʾilat Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī ʿan al-maʿālim li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, maʿa taʿālīq ʿIzz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna = Critical Remarks by Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī on the Kitāb al-maʿālim by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, together with the Commentaries by ʿIzz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna*), ed. Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke (Tehran, 1386/2007), and *Azalīyat al-nafs u baqāʾihā*, ed. Insiyah Barkhāh (Tehran, 1385/2007). On Najafqulī Ḥabībī's edition of *Sharḥ al-talwīḥāt*, see Joep Lameer, "Ibn Kammūna's Commentary on Suhrawardī's *Talwīḥāt*: Three Editions," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 3 (2012): 154–84.

[44]This is evident from the special issue of the journal *Kitāb-i māh-i falsafa* (vol. 2, no. 14 [Ābān 1387/December 2008]) devoted to Ibn Kammūna. The recently published Persian translation of Pourjavady and Schmidtke's *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, entitled *Faylusūf-i yahūdī-yi Baghdād: Ibn Kammūna u athar-i u* (trans. Jawad Qasemi, rev. Hamid Ataei Nazari [Isfahan, 2016]), may again stir up this discussion.

[45]Johannes den Heijer, Andrea Schmidt, and Tamara Pataridze, eds., *Scripts beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain, vol. 62 (Leuven, 2014). The issue was also addressed at the conference "Allographical Traditions among Arabic-Speaking Christians, Jews and Samaritans: Workshop on the Writing Systems of Garshuni, Judeo-Arabic and Samaritan-Arabic," Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ, June 9–10, 2016.

[46]Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld* (*1.–11. Jh.*), 2nd ed. (Frankfurt a.M., 1991), *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte* (*11.–13. Jh.*)*: Mit einer Ikonographie des Judenthemas bis zum 4. Laterankonzil*, 3rd ed. (Frankfurt a.M., 1997), and *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld* (*13.–20. Jh.*) (Frankfurt a.M., 1994).

phenomenon.[47] Nevertheless, Mark Cohen's statement that "the Jews of Islam produced no polemical text aimed exclusively and entirely at Islam"[48] needs to be revised in view of the rich and in many respects still unexplored holdings of the Geniza collections around the world and here again especially the Firkovitch Collection. In fact, an ever increasing corpus of Jewish polemics against Islam has been brought to light over the past decades. Jewish *mutakallimūn* of the tenth and eleventh centuries, for example, composed numerous tracts challenging the Muslim claim as to the veracity of Muhammad's call and the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾan.[49] Another example is two fragments of an anonymous Jewish refutation directed against an influential anti-Jewish tract of the twelfth century entitled *Ifḥām al-yahūd*, by the renowned Jewish convert to Islam Samawʾal al-Maghribī (d. 1175).[50] Paleographic analysis of the fragments suggests that the Jewish refutation originated in fifteenth-century Egypt, and its contents indicate that the anonymous author was a Rabbanite. These texts, all of which are chance finds, have until now been neither edited nor properly studied. The same applies, by the way, to the rich polemical literature of Muslim, and especially Iranian, authors against Christianity and Judaism from the fifteenth century on and up until the end of the Qajar era in 1925 as well as the numerous replicas composed by Christian missionaries in Persian and Latin and the occasional reactions by Jewish authors.[51] An example of the latter is the concluding chapter of *Ḥovot Yehuda*, by Judah ben Eleazar, written probably in 1686, possibly in

[47] See, e.g., Szilágyi, "Christian Books in Jewish Libraries", 108*ff.

[48] Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), 160.

[49] David E. Sklare, "Responses to Islamic Polemics by Jewish Mutakallimūn in the 10th Century," in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, ed. Mark Cohen, Sidney H. Griffith, Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, and Sasson Somekh (Wiesbaden, 1990), 137–61; Szilágyi, "Christian Books in Jewish Libraries," 111*ff. See also Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton, NJ, 1992) (a revised and slightly enlarged Hebrew translation was published in Jerusalem in 1998).

[50] Bruno Chiesa and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Jewish Reception of Samawʾal al-Maghribī's (d. 570/1175) *Ifḥām al-yahūd*: Some Evidence from the Abraham Firkovitch Collection I," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 31 (2006): 327–49; Camilla Adang, Bruno Chiesa, and Sabine Schmidtke, "An Anonymous Jewish Refutation of Samawʾal al-Maghribī's (d. 570/1175) *Ifḥām al-yahūd* (The Jewish Reception of Samawʾal al-Maghribī's *Ifḥām al-yahūd*: Some Evidence from the Abraham Firkovitch Collection II)" (in progress).

[51] Compare, e.g., Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, "Muslim Polemics against Judaism and Christianity in 18th Century Iran: The Literary Sources of Āqā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbahānī's (1144/1732–1216/1801) *Rādd-i shubahāt al-kuffār*," *Studia iranica* 35 (2006): 69–94.

Kashan, a work that was edited by Amnon Netzer in 1995 but never studied in any depth.[52]

It should be remarked here that, although the case studies discussed relate exclusively to intellectual encounters between Muslims and Jews, Christians were equally involved in this intellectual symbiosis of multiple religions. Among the many relevant examples, mention should be made of the Zaydī Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 860), who hailed from Medina and was during his time in Egypt in close contact with local Christian theologians whose views helped shape his own doctrinal thought substantially.[53] Moreover, he evidently acquired a thorough knowledge of the Bible, from which he freely quotes in his writings. His familiarity with contemporary christological debates also allowed him to compose one of the most remarkable and most sophisticated Islamic refutations of Christianity (*Radd ʿalā al-naṣārā*).[54] Let us also recall the influential Christian Aristotelians of tenth-century Baghdad—the Jacobite Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 974) and his circle—whose writings were part of the standard repertoire of Muslim philosophers.[55] A last prominent example is the barely studied corpus of Arabic literature by Coptic writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which testifies to the profound influence of Muslim theologians such as al-Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī as well as of prominent Jewish thinkers such as Maimonides and particularly his *Guide for the Perplexed*.[56]

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[52] Amnon Netzer, ed., *Ḥovot Yehuda le-Rabbi Yehuda ben Elʿazar* (Jerusalem, 1995). Compare also Dalia Yasharpour, "Ḥovot Yehuda," in Stillman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Jews in the Islamic World*, 2:436–37.

[53] Wilferd Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology," *Aram* 3 (1991): 35–44.

[54] Wilferd Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 1, 600–900 (The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 11), ed. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema (Leiden, 2009), 540–43.

[55] Hans Daiber, "Die Baghdader Aristoteliker," in *Philosophie in der islamischen Welt*, vol. 1, *8.–10. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Rudolph with Renate Würsch (Basel, 2012), 290–362. See also Janos, ed., *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond*, esp. 435–69 ("Appendix: Recent Publications on Syriac and Arabic Christian Philosophy and the Baghdad School").

[56] See, e.g., Gregor Schwarb, "The 13th Century Copto-Arabic Reception of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Risālat al-Bayān al-aẓhar fī l-radd ʿalā man yaqūlu bi-l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 143–69; Hidemi Takahashi, "Reception of Islamic Theology among Syriac Christians in the Thirteenth Century: The Use of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in Barhebraeus' *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 170–92; Barbara Roggema, "Ibn Kammūna's and Ibn al-ʿIbrī's Responses to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Proofs of Muḥammad's Prophethood," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 193–213; Mark Swanson, "Christian Engagement with Islamic *Kalām* in Late 14th-Century Egypt: The Case of *al-Ḥāwī* by al-Makīn Jirjis Ibn al-ʿAmīd 'the Younger,' " *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2 (2014): 214–26; and Gregor Schwarb, "The Reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic Literature," in *Bein ʿEver le-ʿArav: Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature*

Let me now revisit the four examples of Jewish-Muslim intellectual symbiosis I have presented by asking whether the documentary Geniza has anything to offer that would add to the picture I have outlined that is based entirely on the evidence of the literary Geniza. Or to put the question differently, To what extent are we in a position to place the examples I have discussed in a wider context of social and institutional history, either on the basis of additional documentary material or by approaching the literary material with a different set of questions?

To start with my first example, the Jewish Muʿtazila, let me address the question of social interactions between representatives of the Jewish Muʿtazila and their Muslim counterparts. Next to nothing is known about whether Jewish Muʿtazilites ever attended the teaching circles of Muslim Muʿtazilites or studied with Muslim teachers in any other context or in which manner they were exposed to the pertinent Islamic literature in this field, which had been copied extensively by Jewish scholars and was readily available in Jewish public and private libraries. Jewish representatives are reported to have participated in discussion circles such as those that were sponsored at the court in Rayy by the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād. However, such fora were beyond any doubt accessible only to the most accomplished scholars and certainly did not serve as a teaching environment for the younger generation. That Muslim scholars were aware of the intellectual achievements of Jewish theologians in *kalām* is also suggested by occasional references in Islamic sources to specific Jewish theologians, such as Ibn Ḥazm's references to al-Muqammaṣ and Saʿadya Gaon,[57] and Ibn Taymiyya's reference to the Karaite theologian of the eleventh century Yūsuf al-Baṣīr as one of the most prominent Jewish Muʿtazilites of the time.[58] Moreover, there is a single case of a Muʿtazilite text by the same Yūsuf al-Baṣīr that reached an Islamic readership. This is confirmed by a partial Islamic copy of the text that has recently been identified among the manuscripts of the Great Mosque of Sanaʿa in Yemen containing a refutation of the proof of the existence of God by the Muslim Muʿtazilite Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 1044) from the pen of the Karaite Yūsuf al-Baṣīr.[59] The Sanaʿa fragment is not only rare evidence

in the Middle Ages and Modern Times, vol. 7, *Maimonides and His World: Proceedings of the Twelfth Conference of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies*, ed. Yosef Tobi (Haifa, 2014), 109–74, and "Excursus III: The Coptic and Syriac Receptions of Neo-Ashʿarite Theology," in Schmidtke, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, 547–66.

[57] Compare Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Ḥazm* (Leiden, 1996), 106–7.

[58] See Schwarb, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr," 653.

[59] Hassan Ansari, Wilferd Madelung, and Sabine Schmidtke, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Rebuttal (*Naqḍ*) of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Theology in a Yemeni Zaydi Manuscript of the 7th/13th Century," in *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition* (Islamic Manuscripts and Books, vol. 7), ed. David Hollenberg, Christoph Rauch, and Sabine Schmidtke (Leiden, 2015), 28–65.

of a Jewish theological text read by a Muslim audience; it also contains the complete introduction to the treatise, which is missing in another incomplete fragment of the text preserved in the Firkovitch Collection; the introduction is a remarkable document providing unique information on the human interactions between Yūsuf al-Baṣīr and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Yūsuf al-Baṣīr explains that he was asked by an anonymous questioner to "pursue a saying attributed to one of my [i.e., the author's] acquaintances to whom I am linked in friendship... so as to unveil the doubts this person [i.e., Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī] had raised regarding the theologians' proofs that had prompted him to compose a book, which he entitled *Taṣaffuḥ al-Adilla*."[60] Despite the personal relationship between Yūsuf al-Baṣīr and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, the author of *Taṣaffuḥ*, they evidently lived far from each other. Yūsuf al-Baṣīr relates that he made great efforts to get hold of at least a partial copy of *Taṣaffuḥ* but that he managed to find only one quire from the beginning of the work. Since Abū al-Ḥusayn is known to have spent substantial parts of his life in Baghdad, it would be plausible that Yūsuf was based elsewhere. Although information is scarce about the early decades of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's life—he may have hailed from Persia or Iraq—it is well-known that he joined the Karaite academy in Jerusalem around the turn of the tenth century, and it was there that he composed most of his literary work.[61] It may well be that the *Refutation* was also written when he was in Jerusalem.

With the exception of this truly unique document, all we know about the social and institutional ties between representatives of the Jewish Muʿtazila and their Muslim counterparts must be gleaned from the literary Geniza. That al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād is evidently the earliest Muʿtazilite author whose writings are found in the Geniza collections suggests that he was instrumental in popularizing Muʿtazilite doctrines among Jewish scholars. This is corroborated by his role as a sponsor of interreligious discussion circles at the Būyid court in Rayy, in which we know Jewish scholars participated as well.

Moreover, numerous fragments of doctrinal works by the Twelver Shia theologian al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 1044) in the Firkovitch Collection indicate an intensive Karaite reception of his works during the eleventh century.[62]

[60] See Ansari, Madelung, and Schmidtke, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Rebuttal of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī," 34.

[61] Compare Schwarb, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr."

[62] See Wilferd Madelung, "Muʿtazilī Theology in Levi ben Yefet's *Kitāb al-Niʿma*," in *Jewish and Christian Reception(s) of Muslim Theology* (Intellectual History of the Islamicate World 2), ed. Sabine Schmidtke and Gregor Schwarb (Leiden, 2014), 9–17; Sabine Schmidtke, "Jewish Reception of Twelver Shīʿī *Kalām*: A Copy of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb al-Dhakhīra* in the Abraham Firkovitch Collection, St. Petersburg," in ibid., 50–74; and Gregor Schwarb, "Short Communication: A Newly Discovered Fragment of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn* in Hebrew Script," in ibid., 75–79.

It was evidently al-Murtaḍā's students from the Bilād al-Shām who spread his writings in this region, where they presumably came to the Karaites' attention. Among these scholars, Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Khaymī al-Karājikī (d. 1057) seems to have played a prominent role in the transmission of Twelver Shia doctrinal literature to the Karaites.[63] He is known to have resided for some time in al-Ramla (Ramle), one of the centers of Karaism at the time, where he served as the custodian (*khāzin*) of the *Dār al-ʿilm*, consisting most likely of a Twelver Shia library and school. That he was in personal contact with Jewish (most likely Karaite) theologians is suggested by his *Al-ibāna ʿan al-mumāthala fī al—istidlāl li-ithbāt al-nubuwwa wa-l-imāma*, in which he records a discussion between a Muʿtazilī, an Imāmī, and a Jew on the issues of prophecy and the imamate. In this text, al-Karājikī shows himself to be closely familiar with the doctrinal tendencies of the Jews (mostly Karaites) during his time.[64] None of this is indicated by material from the documentary Geniza, and it is only through a cumulative analysis of literary works pertinent to intellectual history that the close ties between Twelver Shiism and Karaism in eleventh-century Bilād al-Shām can be identified.

The situation is entirely different with respect to my second example, David ben Joshua. In addition to the countless autographs to be found in the literary Geniza (in his case, both in the Cairo Geniza and in the Firkovitch Collection) that allow for a reconstruction of his scholarly oeuvre, the documentary Geniza contains ample evidence that testifies to his activities as nagid of the Jewish community of Egypt, most specifically many of the letters he had sent out in his official function, written as a rule in the hand of his secretary, with the result that in his case a fairly accurate picture can be drawn of him as an intellectual as well as of his role as leader of his community.[65]

[63] The Firkovitch Collection has at least three fragments of an unidentified Muslim commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Jumal al-ʿilm* that may possibly belong to al-Karājikī's commentary. Compare Gregor Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-īmāʾ*," *Ginzei qedem* 2 (2006): 61*–105*, 79*. Schwarb is at present working on a study/edition of this commentary. See "An Anonymous Judaeo-Arabic Commentary on al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's K. Jumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal," https://goo.gl/8CjZjC.

[64] Al-Karājikī, "Al-ibāna ʿan al-mumāthala fī al—istidlāl li-ithbāt al-nubuwwa wa-l-imāma," ed. ʿAlī Jalāl Bāqir al-Dāqūqī, *Turāthunā* 22 (1427/2006): 275–394. Another incomplete manuscript of the text, which has not been consulted by ʿAlī Jalāl Bāqir al-Dāqūqī, is preserved as MS Tübingen (University Library) 364, fols. 112b–122b. On his life and work, see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Karājikī li-Aḥad Muʿāṣirīhi," *Turāthunā* 43–44 (Rajab-Dhū al-Ḥijja 1416/1995–96): 365–404; Hossein Modarressi, *An Introduction to Shīʿī Law: A Bibliographical Study*, St. Antony's Middle East Monographs, vol. 16 (London, 1984), 44; and Hassan Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation selon l'imamisme: Étude bibliographique et histoire des textes*, Islamic History and Civilization, vol. 134 (Leiden, 2016).

[65] For further references, see Schmidtke, "Two Commentaries on Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's *Al-shamsiyya*," 209 n. 11.

This is not the case with Ibn Kammūna, my third example. Although different Geniza collections (specifically the Firkovitch Collection as well as the State Library of Berlin) contain fragments in Hebrew characters of some of his philosophical writings, of his *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth*, and of his systematic comparison of Rabbanite and Karaite Judaism,[66] there is no documentary material of Jewish provenance that would inform us about his social status and activities within the Jewish community of Baghdad, where apparently he had spent his entire life. The little that is known about his biography can be gleaned exclusively from occasional remarks in his own writings and from pertinent Muslim sources.

With respect to Jewish refutations of Islamic polemics, it is equally uncertain whether such works were written for internal consumption among the Jewish community or as training manuals for Jewish scholars who had to defend Judaism in public debates with Muslims or whether any of these texts were meant for Muslim readers and/or whether any of these ever came to the attention of Muslims. In the introduction to his refutation of Samawʾal's *Ifḥām al-yahūd*, the anonymous Jewish author explains that the work would not have received any attention were it not for the interest Muslim readers had taken in the tract and the fact that they held to be true the erroneous beliefs and invented traditions the author of *Ifḥām* falsely ascribed to the Jews. The purpose of the refutation, he continues, is therefore not apologetic but rather to dissociate the Jews from those falsities and to expose the misattributions and misunderstandings of its author.[67] Although Muslim interest in *Ifḥām al-yahūd* is thus said to have been the principal motive for the composition of the refutation, it is hard to imagine that the intended readership was the Muslim community, especially in view of the fact that the extant fragments are

[66] For details, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*.

[67] "According to what he [the author of *Ifḥām al-yahūd*] himself presumed, the refutation against the Jews extended itself to certain beliefs that he ascribed to them—while they do not constitute their actual belief—traditions that he invented, and erroneous beliefs that he imagined in [his attempt] to understand the texts of the Hebrew Bible. He was expansive in uttering grave slanders, and attributed shortcomings to the ancestors of the Children of Israel 'who have been preferred above all beings.' It was therefore highly appropriate to shun him and to shy away from replying to him, because the opinions which he construed and [subsequently] refuted are not the beliefs [of the Children of Israel]. But since a group of Muslims became interested in reading this book of his, imagining the soundness of his statements and having a positive opinion of his claims, it became incumbent and imposed upon us to take issue with this book, not in order to establish the proof for [our] doctrine and [our] religion, but in order to dissociate ourselves from the beliefs that he attributed to us, and in order to explain for ourselves that we do not follow the teachings that he claims we do, and in order to expose his slander with respect to the Torah, and to clarify those things whose intention he had not understood and [certain] passages that contradict his statements in this tract [of his]." See Adang, Chiesa, and Schmidtke, "An Anonymous Jewish Refutation."

written in Hebrew characters without any of the typical mistakes that would suggest that the copy was transcribed from a *Vorlage* in Arabic characters.

These four examples show that various approaches in scholarship—social, political, economic, and intellectual history—as well as the different types of material contained in Jewish collections (to be supplemented with those in Muslim sources) evidently complement one another. Moreover, once we start considering the literary Geniza as a primary source for social and institutional history in addition to intellectual history, entirely new discoveries in a wide range of fields are to be expected. In addition to the examples already given, one last example is worth mentioning here with respect to the material of the literary and the documentary Geniza complementing one another: The research of Nehemia Alony (1906–83) on book lists of any kind among the Geniza fragments (published posthumously as *The Jewish Library in the Middle Ages: Book Lists from the Cairo Genizah*)[68] in many ways confirms the findings from the fragments of the Firkovitch Collection on the intellectual predilections of medieval Jewish societies. The goal of research in its present stage should be to take into consideration the findings and data of the different fields of inquiry and to combine them in a fruitful manner, and future scholars should be trained so as to be able to take into account social, political, economic, institutional, and intellectual history at the same time and master the pertinent primary sources. Moreover, with respect to its non-Jewish contents, the study of the Geniza is developing nowadays in the broad directions that S. D. Goitein must certainly have hoped for. Goitein made a point of stressing the significance of the Geniza fragments for the surrounding Islamic societies and their political, institutional, and economic histories, which are intrinsically linked to those of the Jewish communities as documented in the Cairo Geniza.[69] This also applies to intellectual history.

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[68] Nehemiah Alony, *The Jewish Library in the Middle Ages: Booklists from the Cairo Geniza* (in Hebrew), ed. Miriam Frenkel and Haggai Ben-Shammai, with the participation of Moshe Sokolow (Jerusalem, 2006).

[69] See, e.g., S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts through the Ages*, rev. ed. (New York, 1974), reprinted as *Jews and Arabs: A Concise History of Their Social and Cultural Relations*, with an introduction by Mark R. Cohen (Mineola, NY, 2005).