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A Study on the Historical Foundations of Jewish Orientalism: Ignaz Goldziher Example

Yahudi Oryantalizminin Tarihi Temelleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma: Ignaz Goldziher Örneği

دراسة حول الأسس التاريخية للاستشراق اليهودي: إجناس جولدتسيهر نموذجاً

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A Study on the Historical Foundations of Jewish Orientalism: Ignaz Goldziher Example

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ABSTRACT

While Christians had a long history of Islamic Studies in the West, Jewish also made remarkable contributions to this field beginning from the early periods, and they have had a pioneering role in this field thanks to the scientists they educated. Although Jewish Orientalism differs from Christian Orientalism as for its fields of interest and subjects, it depends on European scientific methods in terms of the methods it uses. In contrast to Christian Orientalism, Jewish Orientalism placed Judaism at the center and aimed to respond to the criticisms of Christians against Judaism. From this aspect, they both wanted to defend Judaism against Christianity, and to reform Judaism. There are many political, religious and intellectual reasons for Jewish Orientalism to turn towards Islām Studies. Jewish Orientalism can be classified in three parts in the historical process, these are formation period, maturation period and post-Zionism period. While Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) and Gustav Weil (1808-1889) were among the founding fathers of Jewish Orientalism, the maturation period for Jewish Orientalism came true thanks to Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) and the ideas he suggested had a constituent characteristic of forming the paradigm about Islām and its traditions in the West. In this study, the emergence of Jewish Orientalism, its periods and the reasons of studying Islām will be investigated and, the life of Ignaz Goldziher, and his thoughts on Islām in general and *ḥadīth* in particular will be examined, and the role of Goldziher in Jewish Orientalism will be tried to be revealed.

Yahudi Oryantalizminin Tarihi Temelleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma: Ignaz Goldziher Örneği

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Yahudi Oryantalizmi
İslam
Yahudilik
Goldziher

ÖZ

Batı'da Hristiyan İslam araştırmalarının uzun bir geçmişi olmakla birlikte Yahudilerin de ilk dönemlerden itibaren bu alanda önemli katkıları olmuş ve yetiştirdikleri ilim adamlarıyla bu alanda öncü bir role sahip olmuşlardır. Yahudi Oryantalizmi, ilgi duyduğu alanlar ve konular bakımından Hristiyan Oryantalizminden farklı olsa da yöntem bakımından Batı'nın bilimsel yöntemlerine dayanmaktadır. Yahudi Oryantalizmi, Hristiyan Oryantalizminin aksine, Yahudiliği merkeze yerleştirmiş ve Hristiyanların Yahudiliğe yönelik tenkidlerine cevap vermeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu yönüyle hem Yahudiliği Hristiyanlığa karşı savunmak hem de Yahudiliği reforme etmeyi amaçlamışlardır. Yahudi Oryantalizminin İslam Araştırmalarına yönelmesinde birtakım siyasi, dini ve entelektüel nedenler bulunmaktadır. Yahudi Oryantalizmi tarihsel süreçte oluşum dönemi, olgunlaşma dönemi ve Siyonizm sonrası dönem olmak üzere üç bölümde sınıflandırılabilir ve kurucu isimleri arasında Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) ve Gustav Weil (1808-1889) gibi birçok Yahudi Oryantalist yer alırken, Yahudi Oryantalizmin olgunlaşma aşaması Ignaz Goldziher'le (1850-1921) birlikte gerçekleşmiş ve öne sürdüğü görüşler açısından Goldziher Batı'da İslam dini ve gelenekleriyle ilgili paradigmanın kurucu bir ismi olmuştur. Bu araştırmada Yahudi Oryantalizminin ortaya çıkışı, tarihsel süreci ve İslam'ı araştırma saikleri araştırılacak ve Ignaz Goldziher'in hayatı ve genel olarak İslam özeldi ise hadisle ilgili düşünceleri incelenerek Yahudi Oryantalizmindeki rolü ortaya konmaya çalışılacaktır.

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Yahudi Oryantalizminin Tarihi Temelleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma: Ignaz Goldziher Örneği

Batı'da İslam araştırmalarının uzun bir geçmişi olmakla birlikte Yahudilerin de ilk dönemlerden itibaren bu alanda önemli katkıları olmuş ve yetiştirdikleri ilim adamlarıyla öncü bir role sahip olmuşlardır. Yahudi Oryantalizmi, köken itibarıyla Hıristiyan-Yahudi medeniyetine ve paradigma açısından ise Hıristiyan Oryantalizmine bağlı kalmıştır. İlgi duyduğu alanlar ve konular bakımından Hıristiyan Oryantalizminden farklı olsa da yöntem bakımından Avrupa'nın bilimsel yöntemlerine dayanmaktadır. Batı'da on sekizinci yüzyılda ortaya çıkan tarihsel eleştiri yöntemi dini metinlerin mevsukiyetini ve nesnel gerçekliğini sorgulayarak hakikat ve nesnellik kriterlerini belirlemeyi amaç edinmiştir.

Yahudi Oryantalizmi Sefarad Yahudileri (Sefardim) ve Aşkenaz Yahudileri olarak iki gruba ayrılmaktadır. Babil Yahudiliğinin devamı olan Seferad Yahudileri (Sefardim), İspanya, Portekiz ve Kuzey Afrika kökenli Yahudilerden meydana gelmektedir. Dünya Yahudilerinin çoğunluğunu oluşturan Filistin geleneği üzerine kurulan Aşkenazlar (Aşkenazim) ise Roma yoluyla Orta Avrupa'ya (Almanya ve Fransa), oradan da Doğu Avrupa'ya (Polonya ve Rusya) yerleşen Yahudileri oluşturmaktadır. Seferad Yahudileri Müslüman coğrafyasında uzun süre yaşadıklarından dolayı Müslümanlarla yakın temas halinde olmuşlardır. Aşkenazlar ise Hıristiyan Orta Çağ'ında kilise baskısına mâruz kaldıklarından genellikle dışa kapalı ve muhafazakâr bir anlayış geliştirmişlerdir. Seferadlar, Yahudi Aydınlanması için Endülüs'e dönmenin gerekli olduğunu kabul etmişler, Aşkenazlar ise Endülüs'ten ziyade Doğu İslam'ının savunucusu olmuşlardır.

Yahudi Oryantalistler Hıristiyan dünyasında hem Hıristiyanlık karşısında Yahudiliğin savunusunu yapmak hem de Yahudiliği reforme etmek istemişlerdir. Yahudi Oryantalizminin İslam araştırmalarına yönelmesinde siyasi, dini ve entelektüel birçok saik bulunmaktadır. Yahudi Oryantalizmi kuruluş, olgunlaşma ve Siyonizm sonrası olarak üç döneme ayrılmaktadır. Kurucu dönemde Batılı yöntemlere göre (Kitabı Mukaddesi tenkid yöntemi) İslam'la ilgili ilk Yahudi çalışmaları kaleme alınmış, olgunlaşma döneminde Ignaz Goldziher'le (1850-1921) birlikte Yahudi İslam araştırmaları zirveye ulaşmış ve temel Yahudi paradigması belirlenmiş, Siyonizm sonrası dönemde ise Yahudilerin Filistin'e yerleşmesiyle birlikte Yahudi Oryantalizmi politik Oryantalizme doğru kaymıştır. Siyonizm'e kadar Yahudi Oryantalizmi Doğulu kimliğini öne çıkararak Yahudi reformunu gerçekleştirmek istemiştir. Ancak Siyonizm'den sonra genel olarak Müslüman kimliği bir tarafa bırakılmıştır ve Yahudiler kendilerini ayrı bir millet olarak tanımlamışlardır.

Yahudi Oryantalistlerin on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarına kadar (1870) Alman üniversitelerine girmeleri engellenmiştir. Bunun sebebi Yahudilerin Hıristiyanlığı kabul etmeme konusundaki kararlı duruşları olmuştur. Bu bakımdan Yahudi Oryantalistler “Hıristiyanlığa Geçen Yahudiler” ve “Hıristiyanlığa Geçmeyi Reddeden Yahudiler” olarak iki gruba ayrılmaktadır. Hıristiyanlığa geçen Yahudi Oryantalistler arasında Daniel Chwolson (1819-1911) ve Armin Vámbéry (1874-1931) bulunmaktadır. Gustav Weil (1808-1889), Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891), Ignaz Goldziher Hıristiyanlığa geçmeyi reddeden Yahudiler arasındadır. Onlar siyasete mesafeli durmayı tercih etmiş, özellikle Goldziher sömürgecilğe karşı çıkararak İsrail ve Araplar arasında aracı olmayı reddetmiştir. Yahudiler on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarında (1870) Alman üniversitelerinde profesörlük görevi alabilmişlerdir.

Siyonizm, Yahudilerin Doğu'ya ait bir ulus olarak tanımlanmasına karşı çıkararak, yeni bir Yahudi kimliği inşa etmiştir. Siyonizm'in ortaya çıkışıyla, Yahudilerin benlik anlayışlarında bir değişim yaşanmış, Yahudiliğin İslam ve Hıristiyanlıkla olan ilişkisinde yeni bir politik ve teolojik bir yapılanma meydana gelmiştir. Siyonizm, Yahudilerle Hıristiyanlar arasında ortak bir kültürel kimlik oluşturarak, Doğu ve Müslüman kimliğini bir tarafa bırakılmıştır.

Hıristiyan Oryantalizmine karşılık, Yahudi Oryantalizmi İslam ve geleneği konusundaki görüşleriyle Yahudiliği merkeze yerleştirmiş ve Hıristiyanların Yahudiliğe yönelik tenkidlerine cevap vermeyi amaçlamışlardır. Hıristiyan oryantalistlerin çoğu Sanskritçe ve Farsça araştırmalarına yönelirken, Alman Yahudi oryantalistler yirminci yüzyılın başına kadar Arapça ve İslam üzerine yoğunlaşmışlardır. Yahudi Oryantalizminin kurucu isimleri Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) ve birçok Yahudi Oryantalist yer alırken, Yahudi Oryantalizmin olgunlaşma aşaması ise Ignaz Goldziher'le birlikte gerçekleşmiş ve öne sürdüğü görüşler Batı'da İslam dini ve geleneğiyle ilgili paradigmayı kurucu bir nitelikte olmuştur. Goldziher tefsir, hadisin gelişimi, İslam mezhepleri ve mezhepçilik, İslam öncesi dönem, Arap filolojisi, Arap tarihçiliği ve edebiyatı üzerine eleştirel çalışmalar yapmıştır. Goldziher görüşleri, İslam düşüncesine bir eleştiri niteliğinde olmuş ve Müslümanları incelerken İslam kaynaklarına yönelmiştir. Goldziher'in İslam araştırmalarına kattığı yenilik, edebi tenkid metodunu hadislerle uygulayarak bunların Hz. Peygamber'e ait ifadeler olmadığı, Emevi ve Abbasî devletlerinin genişlemesiyle, dinî açıdan çeşitli ve kültürel açıdan heterojen bir yapı haline gelen sonraki nesillerin görüşlerini ihtiva ettiği fikri olmuştur. Hadislere şüpheli ve genellemeci yaklaşımıyla Goldziher'in hadislerin gelişimine dair görüşleri ciddi bir tenkide uğramış, onun düşünceleri hem Batı dünyasındaki Oryantalistler tarafından hem de Müslüman araştırmacılar tarafından büyük bir tenkide uğramıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yahudi Oryantalizmi, İslam, Yahudilik, Goldziher.

ملخص موسع

دراسة حول الأسس التاريخية للاستشراق اليهودي: إجناس جولدتسيهر نموذجاً

بينما كان للمسيحيين تاريخ طويل في الدراسات الإسلامية في الغرب ، قدم اليهود أيضاً مساهمات ملحوظة في هذا المجال بدءاً من الفترات المبكرة ، وكان لهم دور رائد في هذا المجال بفضل العلماء الذين قاموا بتعليمهم. يلتزم الاستشراق اليهودي بالحضارة المسيحية اليهودية من حيث الأصل ، والاستشراق المسيحي من حيث نموذجها. بالرغم من اختلاف الاستشراق اليهودي عن الاستشراق المسيحي في مجالات اهتمامه وموضوعاته ، إلا أنه يعتمد على الأساليب العلمية الأوروبية من حيث الأساليب التي يستخدمها. كان أسلوب النقد التاريخي الذي ظهر في القرن الثامن عشر في الغرب يهدف إلى تحديد معايير الحقيقة والموضوعية من خلال التشكيك في صحة النصوص الدينية والواقع الموضوعي لها.

يصنف الاستشراق اليهودي في مجموعتين هما السفارديم (السفارديم) واليهود الأشكناز (الأشكناز). اليهود السفارديم ، استمرار لليهودية البابلية ، يتألفون من يهود من إسبانيا والبرتغال ومن أصول شمال أفريقية. أما بالنسبة لليهود الأشكناز ، الذين يشكلون معظم يهود العالم والذين تشكلوا وفقاً للتقاليد الفلسطينية ، فهم يتألفون من اليهود الذين انتقلوا إلى أوروبا الوسطى (ألمانيا وفرنسا) عبر الإمبراطورية الرومانية ، وإلى أوروبا الشرقية (بولندا وروسيا) من هناك. كان اليهود السفارديم أكثر حماساً لمواصلة الثقافة والتراث الإسلامي من الأشكناز ، حيث عاشوا في البلدان الإسلامية لفترة طويلة وكانوا على اتصال وثيق بالمسلمين. ومع ذلك ، طوّر اليهود الأشكناز عموماً فهماً محصوراً ومحافظاً لمجرد أنهم تعرضوا لاضطهاد الكنيسة في العصر المسيحي في العصور الوسطى. بينما أقر اليهود

السفارديم بضرورة العودة إلى الأندلس من أجل التنوير اليهودي ، دافع الأشكناز عن الإسلام الشرقي بدلاً من التراث الأندلسي.

أراد المستشرقون اليهود الدفاع عن اليهودية ضد المسيحية ، وإصلاح اليهودية. هناك العديد من الأسباب السياسية والدينية والفكرية التي تجعل الاستشراق اليهودي يتجه نحو دراسات الإسلام. يمكن تصنيف الاستشراق اليهودي إلى ثلاثة أجزاء في العملية التاريخية: وهي فترة التكوين وفترة النضج وفترة ما بعد الصهيونية. يمكن تصنيف الاستشراق اليهودي إلى ثلاثة أجزاء في العملية التاريخية. في فترة التكوين ، كتبت الأعمال اليهودية الأولى عن الإسلام بالطريقة الغربية (طريقة النقد الكتابي) ، وفي فترة النضج ، وصلت الدراسات الإسلامية إلى ذروتها بفضل جولدتسيهر وتم تحديد النموذج اليهودي الأساسي ، وفي مرحلة ما بعد الصهيونية بعد أن استقر اليهود في فلسطين ، تحول الاستشراق اليهودي إلى استشراق سياسي. حتى الصهيونية ، أراد الاستشراق اليهودي تحقيق الإصلاح اليهودي بالرجوع إلى النصوص الإسلامية. ومع ذلك ، بعد الصهيونية ، تم تنحية الهوية الإسلامية جانباً وعرف اليهود أنفسهم على أنهم أمة منفصلة.

مُنِع المستشرقون اليهود من الدراسة في الجامعات الألمانية حتى أواخر القرن التاسع عشر (1870). والسبب في ذلك هو موقف اليهود الحازم ضد القبول والتحول إلى المسيحية. في هذا الصدد ، يصنف المستشرق اليهودي في مجموعتين هما "اليهود المتحولين إلى المسيحية" و "اليهودي الذي رفض التحول إلى المسيحية". من المستشرقين اليهود الذين تحولوا إلى المسيحية إدوارد غانس (1789-1839) ، هاينريش هاين (1797-1856) ، دانيال تشولسون (1819-1911) ، أرمين فامبيري (1874-1931) ، ولكن غوستاف ويل (1808-1889) ، هاينريش غراتس (1817-1891) وإيجناز جولدتسيهر من بين اليهود الذين رفضوا التحول إلى المسيحية. فضلوا

الابتعاد عن السياسة ، وخاصة رفض جولدزير أن يصبح وسيطاً بين إسرائيل والعرب من خلال معارضته الشديدة للاستغلال. استطاع اليهودي أن يصبح أساتذة في الجامعات الألمانية فقط في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر. (1870)

من خلال معارضة تعريف اليهودي كأمة تنتمي إلى الشرق ، تبني الصهيونية هوية يهودية جديدة. مع ظهور الصهيونية ، كان هناك تغيير في المفاهيم الذاتية للشعب اليهودي ، وظهرت ظروف سياسية ولاهوتية جديدة تمامًا في علاقة اليهودية بالإسلام والمسيحية. خلقت الصهيونية هوية ثقافية مشتركة بين اليهود والمسيحيين ، وتركت الهوية الشرقية والإسلامية جانبًا.

على عكس الاستشراق المسيحي ، وضع الاستشراق اليهودي اليهودية في المركز مع وجهات نظرهم حول الإسلام والتقاليد ، وكان يهدف إلى الرد على انتقادات المسيحيين ضد اليهودية. بينما يتجه معظم المستشرقين المسيحيين إلى الدراسات السنسكريتية والفارسية ، ركز المستشرقون اليهود الألمان على الدراسات العربية والإسلامية حتى بداية القرن العشرين. في حين أن هناك عددًا من الأسماء بين الآباء المؤسسين للاستشراق اليهودي وكذلك أبراهام جيجر ، فقد تحققت فترة نضوج الاستشراق اليهودي بفضل إغناز جولدتسيهر والأفكار التي اقترحها كان لها صفة مكونة لتشكيل نموذج حول الإسلام وتقاليد في الغرب. تضمنت أعمال جولدتسيهر دراسات مهمة حول التحليل النقدي لتقاليد التفسير ، وتطور الحديث ، والطوائف الإسلامية والطائفية ، وفترة ما قبل الإسلام ، وفلسفة اللغة العربية ، والتأريخ العربي ، والأدب. كانت آراء جولدتسيهر بمثابة نقد للفكر الإسلامي وتحولت إلى المصادر الإسلامية في دراسة المسلمين. إن الابتكار الذي جلبه جولدتسيهر لدراسات الإسلام هو أنه ، من خلال تطبيق منهج تاريخي نقدي على الأحاديث ، خلص إلى أن هذه ليست في الواقع أقوال النبي ، وأنها تضمنت آراء أئمة المسلمين اللاحقين في العقيدة الإسلامية ، والتي اكتسبت بنية متنوعة. من حيث الدين والبنية غير المتجانسة من

حيث الجوانب الثقافية من خلال توسع الدول الأموية والعباسية. من خلال نهجه المتشكك والعام للأحاديث ، تم انتقاد آراء جولدتسيهر في تطوير الأحاديث بشدة ، وانتقد المستشرقون في العالم الغربي ومن علماء المسلمين أفكاره.

Introduction

Orientalism generally emerged as a research area which deals with the East in general, and with Islam in particular at the end of the 18th century¹ in the West. The main research field of Orientalism, which is based on the East-West dichotomy,² consists of the studies conducted about Islam. While Christians had a long history of Islam researches, Jewish also made a remarkable contribution to this field beginning from the early periods, and they have had a pioneering role in this field thanks to the scientists they educated. Having been sent to diaspora many times in the history, the Jewish had to maintain their existence usually as minorities in Christian countries. This diaspora culture produced and reinforced the belief that if they unite within themselves, the Jewish can form a very strong society and strong ideas.³ Moving from this belief, Jewish Orientalists made a great effort to minister to their own theopolitical aims and to Jewish communities.

Jewish Orientalism emerged in the early 19th century depending on the renaissance, self-consciousness and renewal in Judaism. Jewish Orientalism abides by Christian-Jewish civilization in terms of origin,⁴ and by Christian Orientalism in terms of its paradigm.⁵ The formation of Christian-Jewish civilization began after the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish migrated to Netherlands and England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century and found suitable atmospheres in which they can make investments.⁶ Christian Orientalism formed its paradigm over philosophical idealism, romanticism⁷ and a human-centred and secular philosophy pioneered by Rene Descartes rather than a God-centred and nature-transcendental thought in parallel to Enlightenment.⁸ Materialist world view lead to production-consumption relationship and caused capitalism to become an ideology in

¹ Maxime Rodinson, *La Fascination de l'Islam* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1980), 79-83.

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 56.

³ Bernard Lewis, *The Jews of Islam with a new introduction by Mark R. Cohen* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), ix.

⁴ Alev Alatlı, *Batı'ya Yön Veren Metinler I Kökler/Orta Çağlar (∞ - 1350)* (İstanbul: Kapadokya Meslek Yüksekokulu, 2010), 3.

⁵ Shelomo Dov Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions with an Introduction by Norman Stillman* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), xxii; Ammon Raz-Krakotzkin, "Orientalism", *Jewish Studies and Israeli Society. Philological Encounters 2* (2017), 251.

⁶ Ş. Teoman Durahı, *Çağdaş İngiliz-Yahudi Küresel Medeniyeti* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2019), 59, 62, 79; Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 67-68.

⁷ In this respect, Levison stated that "Jewish reformist or modernist outlook consisted of an appreciation of the historical nature of Judaism and a universalized messianism, and he was increasingly unsure of the value of Jewish difference and relevance in a reformed Judaism where there was increasingly little external difference between Judaism and Christianity". For further information see. David B. Ruderman, "Introduction" in *Studies and Texts in Scepticism*, ed. Giuseppe Veltri, vol 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter: 2018), 28.

⁸ Kasım Küçükcalp – Ahmet Cevzici, *Batı Düşüncesi Felsefi Temeller* (İstanbul: İsam Yayınları, 2013), 102-105-106.

Western societies. As the Jewish held the capital beginning from the Medieval Ages, and even because they lent to kings at times, they took part among the founders of capitalism and therefore participated in the Christian paradigm.⁹ Another factor affecting Jewish Orientalists' adoption of the Christian paradigm is the increasing number of Jews settling in Christian lands, despite the decline of Jews in the Islamic world. Bernard Lewis stated that there was a major shift in the late Middle Ages and the Jews of Islam diminished, both relatively and absolutely, and the center of gravity of the Jewish world moved from East to West, from Asia to Europe, from Islam to Christendom.¹⁰

Although Jewish Orientalism differs from Christian Orientalism as for its fields of interest and subjects, it depends on European scientific methods in terms of the methods it uses.¹¹ Historical-critical method, which emerged in the West in the 18th century, aimed to determine the truth and objectivity criterion by questioning authenticity and objective reality of religious texts. Via this method, which is closely associated with German philosophical tradition and Hegelianism, Bible was downgraded to a level of a product written by people by being separated from texts of divine inspiration, and it was analysed as the source material for the history of Judaism and of Christianity.¹² This method considers reason as the most reliable source, and due to regarding reason as the only source, questioning whether the nature functions according to rules of reason or not revealed the culture of criticism and scepticism.¹³ The German Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) characterized the dominant intellectual culture of the age in which he lived when he declared, “Our age is, in especial degree, the age of criticism, and to criticism everything must submit”. What the Jews wanted to gain through historical-criticism method was both how to understand and interpret the Scriptures and to ensure that Jews were free to think.¹⁴

Jewish Orientalism is classified in two groups namely Sephardic Jews (Sephardim)¹⁵ and Ashkenazi Jews (Ashkenazim). Sephardic Jews, the continuation of Babylonian Judaism, consist of Jews from Spain, Portugal and of North African origin. As for Ashkenazic Jews, who form most of the Jews

⁹ Duralı, *Çağdaş İngiliz-Yahudi Küresel Medeniyeti*, 21-25.

¹⁰ Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 67-68.

¹¹ Otfried 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*, ed. Otfried Fraisse (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 16-26. The method of biblical criticism that emerged in the eighteenth century was first applied to Christian and Jewish religious texts, and to Islamic texts in the nineteenth century. For further information on historical criticism see. Fatma Betül Altıntaş, *Tarihsel Eleştiri Yöntemlerin Tenkidi ve İslami Rivayetlere Uygulanması Sorunu* (Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2020).

¹² Albert Hourani, *Europe and the Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 51-52.

¹³ Duralı, *Çağdaş İngiliz-Yahudi Küresel Medeniyeti*, 59, 62, 79.

¹⁴ Benedictus Spinoza, *Teolojik-Politik İnceleme* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2016), 13, 14, 34; John M. Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 6.

¹⁵ Salime Leyla Gürkan, “Yahudilik”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2013), 43/187-197.

in the world and are formed according to the Palestine tradition, consist of Jews who moved to Central Europe (Germany and France) through Roman Empire, and to East Europe (Poland and Russia) from there. Sephardic Jews have been in close contact with Muslims as they have lived in Muslim countries for a long time¹⁶ and they have been more willing for the continuation of Muslim culture and heritage¹⁷ compared to Ashkenazim. As Arabic was the key for a new thought for them, Sephardic Jews gave up Aramaic and started to use Arabic. This, therefore, Arabic was used both for culture and for daily routines such as daily shopping and procured that it functioned as a common ground between Muslims and Jewish.¹⁸ However, Ashkenazic Jews generally developed a self-enclosed and conservative understanding just because they were exposed to church persecution in Christian Medieval Age. While Sephardic Jews acknowledged that it was necessary to turn back to Andalus for Jewish Enlightenment, Ashkenazim advocated Oriental Islam rather than Andalusian legacy.¹⁹ Even back in the 11th century, some Sephardic Jews such as ‘Abū al-Faḍl Ḥaṣḍāī ibn Yūṣuf ibn Ḥaṣḍāī (1040-1110) expressed that they were worried about that the role of Arabic language and culture in Judaism could be ignored, since Judaism cannot be understood unless Islam is understood. According to them, because of ideological purposes, Judaism was tried to be transferred to the Western Civilization contrary to its nature. However, Judaism needed to turn back to East rather than Europe, because the essence of the Jewish culture was Oriental. It would be against this essence to transfer Judaism to European culture by force.²⁰ Based on this understanding, we find it appropriate to name these activities of Jewish Orientalists studying on Islam as “Jewish Orientalism”. Orientalists such as Abraham Geiger (1810-1874), Gustav Weil (1808-1889) and Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), who are the founding fathers of Jewish Orientalism, are of Ashkenazic Jewish origin. On that sense, it can be stated that Jewish Orientalism formed its structure on the basis of Ashkenazic tradition in general.

¹⁶ W. Montgomery Watt, *İslâmın Avrupa'ya Tesiri*, trs. Hulusi Yavuz (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1986), 70-72; John M. Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic*, 6.

¹⁷ Yossef Schwartz, “Jewish Orientalism Pre-Modern and Modern: Epochal Variations of Cultural Hybridity?”, in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context* içinde, ed. Ottfried Fraise (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 34-35.

¹⁸ Mark R. Cohen, “The “Golden Age” of Jewish-Muslim Relations: Myth and Reality”, in *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations from the Origins to the Present Day*, ed. Abdelwahab Meddeb - Benjamin Stora (Princeton - Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 33-37; Goitein has pointed out that this symbiosis produced something that was not merely a Jewish culture and it was a Judaeo-Arabic, or one might even say a Judaeo-Islamic, culture. For further information see. Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 75-77.

¹⁹ Gürkan, “Yahudilik”, 43/187-197. Goldziher, one of the Ashkenazim Jews, did not see the place he felt belonged to as Andalusia, but rather became an advocate of Eastern Islam. For further information see. Reinhard Schulze, “Adapting Andalusian Convivencia: Merging Identities in the Modern Jewish Bourgeoisie”, in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context*, ed. Ottfried Fraise (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 291-303.

²⁰ Yuval Evri, “Return to al-Andalus beyond German-Jewish Orientalism: Abraham Shalom Yahuda’s Critique of Modern Jewish Discourse”, in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context*, ed. Ottfried Fraise (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 337-352; Ivan Davidson Kalmar - Derek Jonathan Pensiar, *Orientalism and the Jews* (London: Brandeis University Press), 2005, xiv-xviii.

Jewish Orientalism can be classified in three parts in the historical process, these are formation period, maturation period and post-Zionism period.²¹ Within this classification, the historical alteration and transformation of the Jewish in Islamic Studies will be analysed.

A. Periods of Jewish Orientalism

1. Formation Period

Jewish Orientalism constitutes a period from the early nineteenth century to the present. The period from the early nineteenth century to Goldziher's writing of "Muhammedanische Studien" is the foundation of orientalism. The formation period of Jewish Orientalism comprises the period from the early nineteenth century until Goldziher. Among the Jewish Orientalist of the formation period, Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–1865),²² Zacharias Frankel (1801-1875), Solomon Munk (1803-1867), Gustav Weil (1808-1889), Abraham Geiger (1810-1874), Leopold Dukes (1810-1891), Joseph Derenbourg (1811-1895), Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), Daniel Chwolson (1819-1911), Herman Reckendorf (1825-1875), Joseph Halévi (1827-1917), Adolf Neubauer (1832-1907), Hartwig Derenbourg (1844-1908), Isaac Gastfreund (1845-1880), Samuel Landauer (1846-1937) can be mentioned.²³ One of these, Abraham Geiger became one of the founding fathers of Jewish Orientalism by applying historical-criticism method to Islam for the first time with this book written in 1833 named "Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? (What has Muhammad borrowed from Judaism?)".²⁴ Geiger's application of historical-critical method to Islam was due to his Jewish origin.²⁵ The reason why Jewish Orientalists were used in Islamic Studies was that, thanks to their closeness to Islam, Jews could easily notice the similarities that Christian Orientalists could not detect. For this reason, as the Jewish

²¹ Susannah Heschel divided Jewish Islamic Studies into three periods: from the 1830s to the 1860s, during the initial outpouring of Jewish writings on Islam; from the 1870s to WWI, as Jews finally could attain professorships at German universities, and their scholarship on Islam grew more complex; from the 1920s until the end when Jews were expelled from their professorships and the field of Islamic Studies in Germany almost entirely shut down. For further information see. Susannah Heschel, "Judaism's Embrace of Islam: An Historical Inquiry into the Role of Islam in Modern Jewish Thought", May 3 2013. https://cmes.fas.harvard.edu/files/cmefiles/hilda_silverman_lecture_2013.pdf

²² Chiara Adorisio, "Jewish Philosophy, Science of Judaism and Philology in Salomon Munk and Samuel David Luzzatto's Letters Exchange", *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (2017), 115-129.

²³ Martin Meir Plessner, "Orientalists" *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 2007), 15/471.

²⁴ Heschel, "The Rise of Imperialism and the German Jewish Engagement in Islamic Studies", in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context: Rationality, European Borders, and the Search for Belonging*, ed. Ottfried Fraisse (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 68; Heschel, "Abraham Geiger and the 19th-Century Failure of Christian-Jewish Relations", *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 16/1 (2003), 17-36; Gordon D. Newby, "The Jews of Arabia at the Birth of Islam", in *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations from the Origins to the Present Day*, ed. Abdelwahab Meddeb - Benjamin Stora (Princeton - Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 47.

²⁵ Gideon Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research into the Relationship between the Jewish and Muslim Traditions through the Prism of His Predecessors and Colleagues", in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context*, ed. Ottfried Fraisse (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 159; Noam A. Stillman, "Islamici nil a me alienum puto: The Mindset of Jewish Scholars of Islamic Studies", in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context*, ed. Ottfried Fraisse (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 185.

studied comparative Semitic linguistics long before than Christian scientists, most of the studies done in Europe about Islam were written by Jewish Orientalists.²⁶ These studies by Jewish Orientalist functioned as a bridge in order to support Christians' studies on Islam.²⁷

The times when Geiger lived is based on a background in which the Jewish were considered as enemies in the Western world. As a result of this, Jewish religious texts were approached with animosity and Jewish people were humiliated. Geiger stated that Catholic and Protestant clergy are guilty of provoking hatred against Judaism saying that "why, even the non-believers cannot refrain from spouting invective against Jews and Judaism, simply because this hatred has been inculcated into their hearts by Christianity".²⁸ Furthermore, in a letter he wrote to Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), Geiger indicated that he was uncomfortable with the treatment of Jewish texts in the hands of Christian bible scholars, stating that "but we do have the right to ask that those who are not familiar with this literature should either refrain from passing judgment on it or, at least, be circumspect in expressing their opinions. We do have the right to denounce the ignorance of those who, despite such ignorance, and with boundless arrogance and spite air their derogatory opinions on such matters; and we are justified in banning such persons from the company of fair and honest scholars".²⁹

Geiger formulated the ideas expressed discursively about Islam in the Christian world before him with regard to Judaism for the first time. Geiger's fundamental thoughts are as follows:

"Judaism, if not the mother of Islam as it is of Christianity, is yet its nurse that nourished it with her best forces, yet its teacher that fitted out the pupil and raised him. At first, Mohammed courted the favor of the Jews, did very much to please them, introduced, with a view to gain them, the fast-day Ashura,³⁰ he wanted to fix the Kiblah, the position to be taken at prayer, instead of the Arabian custom toward Mecca, toward Jerusalem, the holy city of the Jews. Yet he found but a small number of followers among the Jews.³¹ There was nothing new offered to them in his

²⁶ Paul B. Fenton, "Salomon Munk and the Franco-Jewish Discovery of Orientalism", in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context*, ed. Ottfried Fraisse (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 267-288.

²⁷ Fleischer, who became a professor of Oriental languages at the University of Leipzig in 1835, was trained under Sacy in France, where Napoleon's scholars had documents brought from their Middle East expeditions. Fleischer had over three hundred students, Jews and Christians and of the 131 dissertations he directed, 51 were written by Jews. Among Fleischer's greatest students were Eduard Baneth, Daniel Chwolsohn, Morris Jastrow, Immanuel Loew, and Goldziher. For further information see. Heschel, "German Jewish Scholarship on Islam as a Tool for De-Orientalizing Judaism", *New German Critique* 117 (2012), 97.

²⁸ Geiger, *Abraham Geiger and Liberal Judaism the Challenge of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962), 130-131; John M. Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic*, 199, 200.

²⁹ Geiger, *Abraham Geiger and Liberal Judaism the Challenge of the Nineteenth Century*, 135; John M. Efron, "From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 94/3 (2004), 498-499.

³⁰ Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, 95-97.

³¹ Geiger, *Judaism and Its History in Two Parts*, 258; M. Mustafa al-Azami, *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: The Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies and The Islamic Texts Society, 1996), 7.

pretended revelations.³² ...The man who understands it to be the exponent of the mood of the time and the people, who comprehends how to wrap a general truth into the fitting garment, fitting in the eyes of the men who are to accept it. ...He himself is the author of the holy book which, if he does not write it himself, he yet dictates to be written. ...Mohammed was ignorant; he did not excel by any superiority of mind. Mohammed was a slave to his passions and to sensual greed in every way. No traits of moral nobility, of deeper sentiment, are related of him.”³³

By these ideas, Geiger shows that he agrees with the Western paradigm, however by the view that Islam was derived from Judaism,³⁴ he places Judaism to the centre.³⁵ That first Islamic Studies with the historical-criticism method in the West were written by the Jewish Orientalists provide the Jews with a field of research to express themselves and they had the chance to eliminate the criticism directed to them by the Christians.

Geiger, discusses the history of Judaism synchronously with Islam in his work named “Judaism and Its History in Two Parts”.³⁶ Geiger’s handling of the history of Islam and Judaism together proves that the history of Judaism has a form inseparable from Islam.³⁷ In this respect, in the introduction part of his work called, “Muhammed in Medina”, Wellhausen (1844-1918) explains the reason for his orientation to the field of History of Islam instead of The Old Testament in the way that, it is necessary to recognize early pagan Arabs so as to better understand pre-exilic, ancient history of Israel. However, since there are not any pagan Arabs now, who did not convert, this can only be understood via its opposite, Islam.³⁸

Apart from Geiger, one of the founding fathers of Jewish Orientalism is Gustav Weil. Being Geiger’s classmate from Heidelberg University, Weil went to Paris in order to take courses from Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), and from there he went to Algeria with French troops in 1830 as a reporter for a German newspaper. He stayed in Cairo and in Istanbul for more than five years and learnt Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. Geiger never left Europe and acquired all the things he

³² Geiger, *Judaism and Its History in Two Parts*, 258.

³³ Geiger, *Judaism and Its History in Two Parts*, 253.

³⁴ Geiger, *Judaism and Its History in Two Parts*, 257; Özcan Hıdır, *Batı’da Hz. Muhammed İmajı* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2019), 122; İbrahim Sarıçam – Mehmet Özdemir – Seyfettin Erşahin, *İngiliz ve Yahudi Oryantalistlerin Hz. Muhammed Tasavvuru* (İstanbul: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım, 2011), 199-209; Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, 4. Özcan Hıdır states that the orientalist regarding the Jewish origin theory of Islam are divided into three groups: those who defend the theory of Jewish origin of Islam, those who support the Christian origin theory, and those who defend both. Hıdır, *Hıristiyan Kültürü ve Hadisler (Zühd Hadisleri - Literatürü Özelinde)*, 231.

³⁵ Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: A Concise History of Their Social and Cultural Relations* (Mineola and New York, 2005), 65.

³⁶ Geiger, *Judaism and Its History in Two Parts*, 254.

³⁷ Geiger, *Judaism and Its History in Two Parts*, 170, 257-259.

³⁸ Kurt Rudolph, “Wellhausen, Julius”, *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), 15/368-369; Hilal Görgün, “Julius Wellhausen”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2013), 43/155-157.

knew solely from books; however, Weil received education in the East for five years. Weil wrote the first biography of the Prophet in the West which depends on Islamic sources in the nineteenth century (1843).³⁹ In his work published in 1848 named “Geschichte der Chaliphen”, he expressed his opinion about hadiths and suggested that at least half of the hadiths in al-Bukhari must be rejected.⁴⁰ Weil’s views on Islam and the Prophet are as follows:

“I believe, on the contrary, that Mahomet himself attributed his fits to the visits of an angel. Nothing is more natural than to suppose that Mahomet, always occupied with his ideas of reform (for he at first thought of destroying idolatry and purging Judaism and Christianity of their errors), and probably provoking his fits by excessively strong spiritual struggles, believed indeed in the visionary state in which the epileptics find themselves at the moment of coming to their senses, that he had learned from an angel what his reason dictated to him, which was his subject of preoccupation before his fit. And God knows best. I have studied the active life of Mohammed without prejudice in any form and followed the sources, exploring and scrutinizing them step by step, and most assiduously aspired after the historical truth, free from the aura in which it is wrapped.”⁴¹

In consideration of these ideas, Weil applied German Protestant thought to Islam and he depicted the Prophet as a reformist. This idea of Weil is based on the reform, modernism and rationalism ideals in the nineteenth century.⁴² Jewish Orientalists were restrained from studying in German universities until late nineteenth century (1870). The reason for this was the firm stands of the Jewish against accepting and converting into Christianity. In this regard, Jewish orientalist are classified in two groups as “Converted Jews into Christianity”⁴³ and as “the Jewish who Rejected

³⁹ Ruchama Johnston-Bloom, “Gustav Weil’s Koranforschung and the Transnational Circulation of Ideas: The Shaping of Muhammad as Reformer”, in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context*, ed. Ottfried Fraisse, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 98-99; Gustav Weil, *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud: or, Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans, Comp. from Arabic Sources, and Compared with Jewish Traditions* (Londra: Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846).

⁴⁰ G.H.A. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature: Discussions in Modern Egypt*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969), 1; Herbert Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000), 9; Robert Spencer, *Did Muhammad Exist? An Inquiry into Islam’s Obscure Origins* (Epub: ISI Books, 2012), 41.

⁴¹ John Tolan, “The Prophet Muhammad: A Model of Monotheistic Reform for Nineteenth- Century Ashkenaz”, *Common Knowledge* 24/2 (2018), 264-265.

⁴² Fraisse, “Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context”, in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context*. ed. Ottfried Fraisse (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 18.

⁴³ There has been a tendency among Jewish scholars to convert to Christianity since the Middle Ages. Mosé Sefardi (1062-1110), who carried the Eastern legends to Latin in the twelfth century was the first person to come to the fore in Arabic science in the West, is among those who converted to Christianity. For further information see. Yasin Meral, “Petrus Alfonsi’nin Yahudilere Reddiyesinde İslâm Eleştirisi”, *Dinî Araştırmalar* 43 (2013), 174; W. Montgomery Watt -Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain* (New Brunswick and London: Aldine Transaction, 2007), 131-132; J.D.J. Waardenburg, “Mustashrikūn”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition*, ed. C.E. Bosworth vd (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 7/737; In Spain, the most successful area of Jewish settlements from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, called the “morrano” Jews, had to accept Christianity and they applied Jewish laws secretly and privately. For further information see. Paul Johnson, *A History of the*

Converting into Christianity”. Among the Jewish Orientalists who converted into Christianity are Eduard Gans (1789-1839), Heinrich Heine (1797-1856),⁴⁴ Daniel Chwolson (1819-1911), Armin Vámbéry (1874-1931),⁴⁵ but Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–1865), Salomon Munk (1803–1867),⁴⁶ Gustav Weil (1808-1889),⁴⁷ Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891), Daniel Chwolson (1819-1911), Otto Simonson (1829–1914),⁴⁸ Ignaz Goldziher are among the Jewish who rejected converting into Christianity.⁴⁹

Weil and Goldziher are considered among the representatives of “Academic Orientalism”. They preferred to stay away from politics, and especially Goldziher rejected to become a mediator between Israel and Arabs by strongly opposing exploitation.⁵⁰ Having worked as an agent at the service of the British, Vámbéry was supportive of British exploitation policies, so he took part among the representatives of “Political Orientalism”. Theodor Herzl described that one of the most interesting men in this limping he has ever known, Armin Vámbéry, a 70-year-old Hungarian Jew, resembled more Turk rather than Englishman, knew Turkish well, wrote books in German, spoke twelve languages with equal mastery and professed five religions, in two of which he has served as a priest. According to Herzl, Vámbéry naturally had to be an atheist, as he has an intimate knowledge of so many religions. Vámbéry also confessed that he was a secret agent of Turkey and of England.⁵¹

2. Maturation Period

With the rise of Islamic Studies by Jewish Orientalist, who increase in number every other year, worked at universities not only as Rabbis but at the same time as historians, philosophers and

Jews (Ebook: Adobe Acrobat, 2006), 177, 224. Endelman states that “in the modern era the overwhelming majority of Jews who converted to Christianity did so for social or economic reasons—to marry non-Jewish partners, enhance their social prestige, or advance their careers and economic well-being and to segregate status in a social and political environment generally hostile to Jews”. For further information see. Ruderman, “Introduction” 1.

⁴⁴ Adoriso, “Jewish Philosophy”, 116.

⁴⁵ Armin Vámbéry (1832-1913) first converted to Islam and then to Christianity. Vámbéry was very close to the Ottoman court and the Zionists, and worked as an agent in the service of the British. For further information see. Hamid Dabashi, *Post-Orientalism, Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 42-52; Arminius Vámbéry, *Bir Sahte Dervişin Orta Asya Gezisi*, trs. Abdurrahman Samipaşazâde Abdülhalim (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2019), 11-15.

⁴⁶ Adoriso, “Jewish Philosophy”, 116.

⁴⁷ Johnston-Bloom, “Gustav Weil’s Koranforschung and the Transnational Circulation of Ideas: The Shaping of Muhammad as Reformer”, 112.

⁴⁸ John M. Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic*, 143.

⁴⁹ Michael L. Miller, “European Judaism and Islam: The Contribution of Jewish Orientalists”, in *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations from the Origins to the Present Day*, ed. Abdelwahab Meddeb, Benjamin Stora (Princeton-Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 832; Jewry,

⁵⁰ Martin Meir Plessner, “Ignaz Goldziher”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 2007), 7/735; Raphael Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 69.

⁵¹ Raphael Patai, *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, trs. Harry Zohn, vol 3 (New York and London: The Herzl Press, 1960), 961.

philologists to teach Oriental languages and cultures. Among the Orientalists of maturation period are Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), Wilhelm (Vilmos) Bacher (1850-1913), Jakob Barth (1851-1914), David Kaufmann (1852-1899), Hartwig Hirschfeld (1854-1934), Immanuel Löw (1854-1944), Eduard Glaser (1855-1908), Eduard Baneth (1855-1930), David Sidersky (1858-?), Bernát Munkácsi (1860-1937), Ignác Kunos (1862- 1937), Leo Hirschfeld (1868-1922), Saul Horovitz (1858-1921), Alexander Harkavy (1863-1939), Simon Eppenstein (1864-1920) and Samuel Poznański (1864-1921), Victor Aptowitzer (1871-1942), Friedrich Kern (1874-1921), Joseph Horovitz (1874-1931), Israel Friedlaender (1876-1920), Eugen Mittwoch (1876-1942), Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877-1951), Gotthold Weil (1882-1960), Israel Schaprio (1882-1957), Martin Schreiner (1863-1926), Jacob Mann (1888-1940), Heinrich Speyer (1897-1935), Kurt Levy (1907-1935), Abraham Katsch (1908-1998), Samuel Myklós Stern (1920-1969).⁵² These orientalists are among the students of the formation period orientalists.

The Jewish could become professors in German universities only in the late nineteenth century (1870).⁵³ After this period, Jewish Orientalists played a considerably active role in Islamic Studies. Historian Ludmilla Hanisch concluded that the field of Oriental Studies, especially scholarship on Islam, was dominated by Jews by the 1920s, and she estimates that in 1933 about 25% of the chairs in Oriental studies were occupied by Jews,⁵⁴ Martin Kramer (1954-?) states that in the rise of Islamic Studies in the West, the facts that Jewish scholars started to be interested in secular history as a result of Haskalah movement and that Jewish were accepted as students and as professors to universities were effective.⁵⁵

After Nazis came into power in Germany, Jewish Orientalists lost their academic posts and the field of Islamic studies took a heavy toll. Jewish Orientalists dismissed from German universities founded their academic studies at universities in countries such as Israel, the USA and others. In Nazi period, the Semitic Philology department at Berlin University turned into Aryan Philology department. Until the Second World War, the nature and form of scientific studies in Germany have inevitably undergone a change.⁵⁶

The most important person to represent the maturation period of Jewish Orientalism is Ignaz Goldziher. Having carried Islamic Studies over the top in the West, Goldziher became a pioneer in this field. Most of the works produced on Islam after him either adopted his opinions or criticised him.⁵⁷

⁵² Martin Meir Plessner, "Orientalists", 15/471; Miller, "European Judaism and Islam", 829-832.

⁵³ Heschel, "Judaism's Embrace of Islam", 2.

⁵⁴ Heschel, "Judaism's Embrace of Islam", 16.

⁵⁵ Martin Kramer, *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. Martin Kramer (Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1999), 1-48.

⁵⁶ Heschel, "Judaism's Embrace of Islam", 17.

⁵⁷ Waardenburg, "Goldziher, Ignác", 6/73-74. One of the orientalists who used Goldziher's method is the Jewish M.J. Kister. For further information about Kister see. Hıdır, "İsrail'de Hadis Çalışmaları ve M. J. Kister", *Oryantalizmi Yeniden Okumak*:

3. Post-Zionism Period

With the emergence of Zionism, there has been an alteration in the self-conceptions of Jewish people, and completely new political and theological circumstances in Judaism's relationship to Islam and Christianity came into existence.⁵⁸ By creating a common cultural identity for the Jewish and the Christians, Zionism puts Oriental and Muslim identities aside. According to Amnon Raz-Krakotzki, Zionist discourse depended on adopting oriental attitudes the whole time, and in order for the Jewish to nationalize and to found the country they dream of, Jewish Orientalism was a must. By opposing the definition of the Jewish as a nation which belongs to the East, Zionism builds a new Jewish identity. A clear declaration of this can be found in the writings of Herzl, who does not hold off from expressing his hostile attitude towards the East. Herzl describes Zionism as primitive and defines Zionist existence as "spearhead of civilization against barbarity".⁵⁹

Defining the Jewish settlement in Palestine as the return of Jewish nation to their own land has been a way of re-defining the Jewish as a part of the West. In this sense, Orientalism and theological-national aspects intertwined and formed a basis for the consolidation of Zionist consciousness and for the foundation of a new civilization.⁶⁰ Along with that, via Jewish Orientalism, European exploitation spread to Middle East, and so the Jewish and the Muslims were marginalized to each other.⁶¹

Following Israel's settlement in Palestine, the German Jewish founded the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1925. Josef Horovitz from the administrators of Oriental Studies School of The Hebrew University continued European traditions in philology and Islamic Studies. In this way, over Islam the Jewish science tradition could be transmitted to Palestine and Israel.⁶² An interesting step was taken during the institutionalisation of disciplines in the Hebrew University; two institutions were inaugurated, namely Jewish Studies and Oriental Studies. This distinction meant that Jewish studies were distinguished from the research field named "Oriental". The institution was established over the German academic tradition, and the boundaries between it and the Institute of Jewish Studies were

Bati'da İslâm Çalışmaları Sempozyumu (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2003), 275-285; Hıdır, *Hıristiyan Kültürü ve Hadisler (Zühd Hadisleri - Literatürü Özelinde)* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2017), 304; Meir Jacob Kister, "Sadece Üç Mescid İçin Yolculuğa Çıkınız" Erken Tarihli Bir Hadis Üzerine İnceleme", trs. Hafize Yazıcı, *Hadith 2* (2019), 186-204.

⁵⁸ Heschel, "Judaism's Embrace of Islam", 22.

⁵⁹ Raz-Krakotzki, "Orientalism", 250, 259.

⁶⁰ Raz-Krakotzki, "Orientalism", 252.

⁶¹ Fraisse, "Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context", 2-9.

⁶² Kramer, *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*, 1-48; Hanan Harif, "The Orient between Arab and Jewish National Revivals: Josef Horovitz, Shelomo Dov Goitein and Oriental Studies in Jerusalem", in *Modern Jewish Scholarship on Islam in Context*, ed. Otfried Fraisse (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 327.

not clear. Some Orientalists like Horovitz advocated the view that Judaism is a part of the East by rejecting the disunity between these two institutes.⁶³

B. The Reasons for Studying Islam in Jewish Orientalism

While most Christian orientalists turn onto Sanskrit and Persian studies, German Jewish orientalists concentrated on Arabic and Islamic Studies until the beginning of the twentieth century.⁶⁴ Various intellectual, religious and political factors have been influential in the Jewish orientation to Islamic Studies.

1. Affinities between Islam and Judaism

While Jewish Orientalists acknowledged the existence of a dual-interaction between them and Islam, Christians only claimed that Islam was influenced by Christianity. Jewish Orientalists were quite content with emphasising their past by basing it on Islam and presenting universality of Judaism over other religions. And they asserted that Islam is a religion derived from Judaism moving from the affinities in belief and worshipping practises between Islam and Judaism.⁶⁵ Along with that, by emphasising the fact that the Jewish experienced their golden age not under Christian dominance, but under Muslim rule in medieval Spain, they tried to reposition Judaism in relation to Christianity.⁶⁶ As many of Jewish Orientalists received a traditional Jewish education, including Semitic languages and rabbinic literature, they were able to notice affinities between Judaism and Islam that were not as apparent to Christian Orientalists like Silvestre de Sacy, Umbreit, Fleischer and Nöldeke. The Judaeo-Islam affinities include such things as origin,⁶⁷ monotheism, austerity of worship,

⁶³ Raz-Krakotzkin, "Orientalism", 237-269; Heschel, "German Jewish Scholarship on Islam as a Tool for De-Orientalizing Judaism", 104-105.

⁶⁴ Heschel, "The Rise of Imperialism and the German Jewish Engagement in Islamic Studies," 67.

⁶⁵ There are also approaches by such as Patricia Crone and Michael Cook that depicts Islam as a kind of offshoot or aberration from Judaism. For further information see. Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 69; Patricia Crone – Michael Cook, *Hagarism The Making of the Islamic World* (London, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands the Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 17-18.

⁶⁶ Heschel, "German Jewish Scholarship on Islam as a Tool for De-Orientalizing Judaism", 91, 92-107.

⁶⁷ The fact that Islam and Judaism are similar in origin has been a thought that has been expressed since the Middle Ages. Sebeos, one of the Eastern Christians, stated that Muslims and Jews are descended from the same origin. According to Sozomen, Arabs were informed about the origins of true religion by Jews and obeyed Jewish law. For further information see. Robert G. Hoyland, "Sebeos, the Jews and the Rise of Islam", in *Medieval and Modern Perspectives on Muslim-Jewish Relations*, ed. R. L. Nettle (Luxembourg, 1995), 90-97. Suzanne Akbari has stated that Christians had presented Islam as a revival of the old Law of Moses since the Middle Ages. For further information see. Suzanne Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 259; Heschel, "German Jewish Scholarship on Islam as a Tool for De-Orientalizing Judaism", 105-106.

nonexistence of clergymen,⁶⁸ the rejection of images and incarnations.⁶⁹ In addition to the similarity of Islam and Judaism in terms of culture, philosophy, mysticism, poetry, law, and traditions,⁷⁰ their scriptures were also similar in spirit and were written in languages of the same origin.⁷¹

Shelomo Dov Goitein (1900-1985) expresses the similarity between Islam and Judaism with these words: "I do not know any other literature which so closely approaches the style and spirit of the stories of the Bible (...) than the historical literature of the early Arabs. The Jewish scholar would be greatly rewarded by delving into this literature, for he would see the stories of the Bible in a new light."⁷² German Jewish philosopher Hermann Cohen states that the Jewish philosophy of the Middle Ages grew out of Islam as much as it did out of the original monotheism. According to Cohen, the relationship between Judaism and Islam can be explained by the kinship that exists between the mother and daughter religion.⁷³ Jewish Orientalists stated that nothing Islamic is foreign to them.⁷⁴

The reason why the Jewish underline this similarity to Islam in terms of monotheism is that, they want to marginalize Christianity as a myth by emphasising the rational identities of Judaism and Islam.⁷⁵ Maimonides (601-1204), among Medieval Jewish authors, stated on theoretical justifications that Islam and Judaism were closer to each other than to Christianity. They stated that it would be better for a Jew to suffer torture and death rather than pronouncing a Christian creed, but he may convert to Islam in order to survive. This was because the Jewish recognized Islam as a strict monotheism of the same kind as their own.⁷⁶ Along with that, the similarity between the traditions of

⁶⁸ Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 79. Gerhard Endress said that the Islamic state was never called into question in the same way as, at the beginning of the era which we call modern, the Church itself was called into question by people who experienced their encounter with God afresh as individuals. For further information see. Gerhard Endress, *Islam An Historical Introduction*, trs. Carole Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), s. 2.

⁶⁹ Lewis, *Islam in History, Ideas, People, and Events in the Middle East* (Chicago and La Salle: Open Court, 1993), 150.

⁷⁰ Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research into the Relationship between the Jewish and Muslim Traditions through the Prism of His Predecessors and Colleagues", 165. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, 372. Theodor Noeldeke, German orientalist, said that Islam was far more akin to Judaism, in its basic ideas, as well as in the details regulating the lives of its believers, than Christianity, despite the closer "family relations" between Christianity and its mother-religion. For further information see. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: A Concise History of Their Social and Cultural Relations*, 6; Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 80-81.

⁷¹ Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research into the Relationship between the Jewish and Muslim Traditions through the Prism of His Predecessors and Colleagues", 161.

⁷² Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research into the Relationship between the Jewish and Muslim Traditions through the Prism of His Predecessors and Colleagues", 161.

⁷³ Heschel, "The Rise of Imperialism and the German Jewish Engagement in Islamic Studies," 63; Hermann Cohen, *Religion of Reason out of the Sources of Judaism*, 61, 63, 81.

⁷⁴ Stillman, "Islamici nil a me alienum puto", 182.

⁷⁵ Heschel, "The Rise of Imperialism and the German Jewish Engagement in Islamic Studies," 75.

⁷⁶ Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 84.

these two religions can be explained rather by their divine origin. According to Jewish Orientalists, [Prophet] Muhammad was a reformer, and Islam as a religion tried to purify Judaism from old beliefs.⁷⁷

2. The Idea of Reforming Judaism

The most remarkable reason behind Jewish Orientalist's interest in Islamic Studies is that Jewish Orientalists they had a desire to reform Judaism and that they wanted to dynamise Judaism as a rational religion. The Jewish aspiration to reform via Islam is closely related to the secularization of theology in the eighteenth century and the analyses by German Jewish researchers and of holy writings through scientific, historical and philological criticism method. By acknowledging that Islam is the purest form of Judaism,⁷⁸ Jewish Orientalist tried to prove that the nature of Judaism is in conformity with the criterion of modern reason.⁷⁹ The German academy's evaluating of Judaism through Medieval polemics and prejudices, and Hegelian thought's accepting Judaism as an antiquated religion and antagonistic to true philosophy, drove the Jewish to reform their religion.⁸⁰ For this aim, they wanted to purify Orthodox Judaism from irrational elements and dogmas. The Reformist Jewish took a stand against Christianity by collocating Islam and Judaism in terms of monotheism, rationalism, openness to science and philosophy,⁸¹ critical mind and rejecting anthropomorphism.⁸² The purpose of reforming Judaism moving from Islam firstly by Abraham Geiger, who is one of the founding fathers of Reform Judaism, was later continued by Gustav Weil and by Ignaz Goldziher. Goldziher believed that Judaism needed a spiritual renewal by abandoning many of the long standing Jewish beliefs.⁸³ In this respect, as stated by Josef van Ess, as he "hoped to find was religiosity without priests and prophets, that is, without the Law and without institutions."⁸⁴

3. The Search for Self-Knowledge of Judaism and Jewish Defence against Christian Criticism

Jewish interest in Islamic Studies also contributed Jewish communities to know about themselves. Goiten states that investigating the other is not only for practical reasons but also it

⁷⁷ Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, trs. Andras and Ruth Hamori and additional notes by Bernard Lewis (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 6; Mehmet Sait Toprak, *Talmud ve Hadis Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma* (İstanbul: Kabcacı Yayıncılık, 2012), 386.

⁷⁸ Efron, "From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens", 498-500; Heschel, "The Rise of Imperialism and the German Jewish Engagement in Islamic Studies," 66.

⁷⁹ Fenton, "Salomon Munk and the Franco-Jewish Discovery of Orientalism", 272.

⁸⁰ Fenton, "Salomon Munk and the Franco-Jewish Discovery of Orientalism", 274.

⁸¹ Miller, "European Judaism and Islam", 829.

⁸² Heschel, "German Jewish Scholarship on Islam as a Tool for De-Orientalizing Judaism", 91.

⁸³ Stillman, "Islamici nil a me alienum puto", 194.

⁸⁴ Van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of Kulturgeschichte in Islamic Studies", in *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*, ed. Malcolm H. Kerr (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1980), 42.

shows a way to get to know themselves through the reflection of the Other, because the other's inheritance is very close to their own inheritance.⁸⁵

Because of the ideologies such as Western exploitation and nationalism, Jewish intellectuals re-discovered themselves as Semitics, in other words strangers from the East. An obvious declaration of self-knowledge of Judaism was experienced during the Jewish settlement to Palestine in 1945. Zionists went to Palestine in order to regain a Biblical identity, which has been saved by Arabs and the Bedouin for centuries, and to reconstruct the Jewish identity. In Palestine they rode camels and wore *keffiyehs*⁸⁶ so as the apotheosis of Jewish identity.⁸⁷ Zionism defined itself as the realization of the Jewish history and reactivation of the ancient "Oriental" civilization.⁸⁸

With the emergence of modern research fields such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology in the West, Christians began to concentrate their research on other religions and cultures. As a result of these studies, Christians, Muslims and Jews directed intense criticism. In the nineteenth century, it was suggested that the religions and cultures of Semites are absence of mythology,⁸⁹ nonprogressive, irrational, at enmity with philosophy and is devoid of creative. This discourse of Ernest Renan about the Semites⁹⁰ and Max Muller's claim that Judaism has a very intolerant, narrow-minded and dogmatic character Judaism as a result of the influence of Rabbis has very intolerant, narrow-minded and dogmatic a character,⁹¹ was strongly refused by Jewish Orientalists.⁹² This discourse connected Muslims and the Jewish to each other. With this discourse about Semitics and at the same time realizing that they are close to Muslims in origin, Jews started to investigate the religion, language and culture of Islam. In this respect, Goldziher, with his significant level of knowledge in both Jewish and Islamic studies, rejected Ernest Renan's claim that Semitic mind is

⁸⁵ Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research into the Relationship between the Jewish and Muslim Traditions through the Prism of His Predecessors and Colleagues", 150.

⁸⁶ It is stated that the keffiyeh is accessory, good for keeping the sun and dust off one's face while tending to an olive grove, and it soon came to symbolize Palestinian rights. For further information see. Evan Renfro, "Stitched together, torn apart: The keffiyeh as cultural guide", *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 5/3 (2017), 3.

⁸⁷ Heschel, "The Rise of Imperialism and the German Jewish Engagement in Islamic Studies", 89, 105.

⁸⁸ Raz-Krakotzkin, "Orientalism", 252.

⁸⁹ Goldziher, *Mythology Among the Hebrews and Its Historical Development*, trs. Russell Martineau, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1877), 7.

⁹⁰ Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: A Concise History of Their Social and Cultural Relations*, 20.

⁹¹ F. Max Müller, *Anthropological Religion* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1892), 45.

⁹² Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1997), 180, 219.

devoid of creativity and inclined to dogmatism,⁹³ and underlined the superiority of Judaism to a materialist Europe.⁹⁴

4. Establishing Arab-Jewish Peace

In order to find a cultural and political model for Arabs and the Jewish to live together in Palestine, Jewish Orientalists consulted to Arabic historical sources and Judeo-Islamic texts. They turned to Islamic sources not only for scientific aims, such as understanding Jewish and Hebrew philosophy, but also for political purposes such as Zionism and the return of the Jews to the Land of Palestine.⁹⁵ In a letter he wrote to Abraham Shalom Yahuda, Goldziher says that he really longs for the Jewish and Arabs to come together in peace. The Jewish who shares this aspiration wanted to go back to Muslim heritage and to make peace by Arabs by trying to fill the gap between themselves and Arabs.⁹⁶ In 1896, in his first interview with Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) in London, Yahuda counselled that for Arab and Israeli societies to live together, the Arab community in Palestine must be directly approached, and an agreement must be concluded with them; however, Herzl did not take this suggestion by Yahuda seriously. Herzl advocated that it is enough to rely on imperialistic powers, and a direct agreement with Arabs is not necessary. According to Yahuda, however, this attitude gave rise to the Arab problem in Israel and it formed the source of the long-lasting Zionist-Arab conflict.⁹⁷

C. Jewish Orientalism and Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921)

With the orientation of Jewish Orientalists to Islamic Studies in the early nineteenth century, there was a observable change and transformation in the Orientalist discourse of Islam, which continued approximately about one thousand years. For example, Ignaz Goldziher considers Islam as a religion which is monotheist,⁹⁸ ethical and with an orderly legal system, and [Prophet] Muhammad not as an imposter and a liar, but as a sincere, devout and a great leader.

1. Goldziher and His Scientific Career

Ignaz Goldziher, a Hungarian Jew, who changed the course of Islamic Studies in the West, was born in 1850 in Szigetvar (Stuhlweissenburg) as the son of a Jewish family⁹⁹ and even as a child got

⁹³ Miller, "European Judaism and Islam: The Contribution of Jewish Orientalists", 831; Efron, "From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens", 510.

⁹⁴ Kramer, *The Jewish Discovery of Islam*, 1-48; Zwiep, "Beyond Orientalism? Steinschneider on Islam, Religion and Plurality", 201-215.

⁹⁵ Yuval Evri, "Return to al-Andalus beyond German-Jewish Orientalism", 338, 341.

⁹⁶ Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research into the Relationship between the Jewish and Muslim Traditions through the Prism of His Predecessors and Colleagues", 158.

⁹⁷ Yuval Evri, "Return to al-Andalus beyond German-Jewish Orientalism", 347; Tom Reiss, *The Orientalist Solving the Mystery of a Strange and Dangerous Life* (Epub: Random House, 2005), 24-25.

⁹⁸ Goldziher, *Mythology Among the Hebrews and Its Historical Development*, 7.

⁹⁹ Hüseyin Akgün, *Goldziher ve Hadis* (Ankara: Araştırma Yayınları, 2014), 31.

interested in religious literature. He was educated according to Jewish Orthodox tradition and mastered in Bible and Hebrew when he was five. When he was eight, he started to analyse the Talmud to which he devoted himself at the age of eight.¹⁰⁰ When he turned twelve, he started to read Medieval Jewish philosophy in Hebrew, and in the same year, 1862, he wrote a short book on the history of Jewish rites he named “Sikhat Yitzhak” (Isaac’s Discourse).¹⁰¹ Having possessed a library of six hundred books at the age of fifteen, Goldziher matriculated to the University of Budapest, and there he took courses in the fields of philosophy, philology and Oriental languages.¹⁰² Goldziher took Persian and Turkish language courses from his Jewish teacher Armin Vámbéry (1832-1913),¹⁰³ and at his instigation Goldziher received scholarship from the Hungarian Minister of Culture to do researches in Berlin, Leipzig, Leiden and Vienna.¹⁰⁴ He had the chance to meet Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) in Berlin, and in Vienna, he became a student of Alfred von Kremer (1828-1889),¹⁰⁵ thus he was deeply influenced by Geiger and Kremer in terms of method.¹⁰⁶

In 1869-1870 years, he studied Arabic under Fleischer, who was a student of Silvestre de Sacy,¹⁰⁷ in Leipzig and after receiving a thorough grammar education from him, he learnt the art of philology-based text interpretation.¹⁰⁸ When he was 23, during the years 1873-1874, he travelled to Istanbul, Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo, and he became the first European ever to enroll in al-Azhar University. This travel has become a turning point in Goldziher’s life, and he called this period as “Mohammedan year” to mean the year full of honors, full of luster, full of light.¹⁰⁹

Goldziher could know many Eastern and Western languages. He learnt German when he was just twelve. In addition to comprehensive Hebrew curriculum, in order for him to learn Greek and Latin curriculums in Székesfehérvár, his father woke him up at 4 or 5 a.m., and Goldziher studied in the library until midnight. The door to Oriental studies was opened to Goldziher when he read

¹⁰⁰ Johann Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa Bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955), 227; Miller, “European Judaism and Islam”, 831-833; Efron, “From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens”, 511-512.

¹⁰¹ Johann Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa*, 227; Miller, “European Judaism and Islam”, 831-833; Efron, “From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens”, 511-512.

¹⁰² Joseph de Somogyi, “My Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher”, *The Muslim World* 51/1 (1961), 7.

¹⁰³ Dabashi, *Post-Orientalism, Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror*, 42-52.

¹⁰⁴ Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary*, 18; Miller, “European Judaism and Islam”, 831-833.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence* (Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1986).

¹⁰⁶ Dietrich Jung, “Islamic Studies and Religious Reform. Ignaz Goldziher – A Crossroads of Judaism, Christianity and Islam”, *De Gruyter* 90/1 (2013), 111-112.

¹⁰⁷ Jung, “Islamic Studies and Religious Reform”, 110.

¹⁰⁸ Johann Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa*, 227-228.

¹⁰⁹ Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary*, 28; Tolan, “The Prophet Muhammad”, 256-276.

“Munshaat al-Salatin” by Feridun Ahmet Beg with Vámbéry in 1867. At the same time, by making an extraordinary progress in Turkish and Persian, Goldziher published the Hungarian translations of some Turkish folk tales, with the encouragement of his teacher, when he was only sixteen (1866). During the holiday he went on at the end of his first year at university, he noticed that he could read Turkish easily without the help of a dictionary during his vacation. After a short while, he started to read Ottoman manuscripts in the Hungarian Academy of Science Library. In addition to Arabic, Syriac, Amharic, Persian and Sanskrit¹¹⁰ from Semitic and Oriental languages and Hungarian, German,¹¹¹ French and Dutch, Goldziher gained a perfect progress in Latin and in Greek. He did not write in Latin or Greek, however he could refer to classical sources when he needed by using both languages in a good way. Goldziher’s interest in philology during his studentship years in Germany caused him to turn towards language, imagination and myth, culture and religion problems addressed by the Steinthal School. Goldziher’s expertise in philology made it possible for him to study in a wide range of subjects. Comparing the hadiths in al-Bukhārī to the vocabulary in Hebrew language in terms of etymology is one of the subjects studied by Goldziher.¹¹²

That Goldziher had deep knowledge in Arabic and that he had memorized Qur’an¹¹³ were influential in his centring upon Islamic Studies. His advanced level of Arabic drew attention during his Cairo journey, and he could speak Arabic as fluently as an Arab.¹¹⁴ When the Minister of Education for Egypt wanted to speak to him in French, Goldziher insisted on speaking in Arabic.¹¹⁵ Along with that, in a time when exchange of ideas was very difficult among scientists, Goldziher made it by corresponding with more than 1500 people. Most of his letters included people he met in Islamic countries or came together in congresses, or even those whom he never met in person but got into touch. From time to time, he received support from Arabic scholars in the fields of Islam and hadith. To illustrate, he corresponded with Ali b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Biblawi, who is one of the al-Azhar professors, about matters related to hadith.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Lawrence I. Conrad, “A New Volume of Hungarian Essays by Ignaz Goldziher”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14/4, (2007), 374.

¹¹¹ István Ormos, “Goldziher’s Mother Tongue A Contribution to the Study of the Language Situation in Hungary in The Nineteenth Century”, in *Goldziher Memorial Conference*, ed. Éva Apor (Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy Sciences, 2000), 224.

¹¹² Simon Hopkins, “The Language Studies of Ignaz Goldziher”, in *Goldziher Memorial Conference*, ed. Éva Apor (Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy Sciences, 2000), 129.

¹¹³ Dabashi, *Post-Orientalism, Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror*, 67.

¹¹⁴ Lewis, *Islam in History*, 11.

¹¹⁵ Lewis, *Islam in History*, 11.

¹¹⁶ Kinga Dévényi, “Information Exchange Before the Internet on Law Aqsama ‘Alallah La-Abarrahu In Goldziher’s Correspondence”, in *Goldziher Memorial Conference*, ed. Éva Apor (Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2000), 22-32.

Goldziher was appointed as a lecturer in 1872 when he was twenty-two years old; however, he was not posted as a professor for a long time. The fact that Goldziher was a Jew did not only prevent him from becoming a professor, but also, he became a victim of religious, political and academic plots, as he pointed out in his diary, and he did not get a post until 1905. For this reason, he had to run the secretary of the Jewish community in Pest, which limited his scientific activities for a long time.¹¹⁷ Goldziher describes these troubles he experienced as a period when he prayed to God to die.¹¹⁸ Thirty years later, in 1905, Goldziher could be appointed as a professor to the University of Budapest, and gained the honour to be the first ever Jewish professor, who did not convert into Christianity.¹¹⁹

Goldziher wrote many books which made breakthroughs on many subjects such as the *Zāhirīs*,¹²⁰ tafsir traditions, the development of the hadith, Islamic sects and sectarianism, pre-Islamic period, Arabic philology, Arabic historiography and literature. In addition to this, he became one of the founding editors of “the Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden, 1913–36)”. German orientalist Theodor Nöldeke praised Goldziher after his death as “the master of Arabic theology and philosophy” who was matchless.¹²¹

2. Goldziher’s Views on Islam

Goldziher’s studies of Islam were a means of understanding the relationship between Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which led him to deeper reflections on Jewish history and contemporary Jewish culture and identity. Goldziher had many motives to centre upon Islamic studies. The most important of these motives was the desire to reform Judaism. Goldziher himself was deeply impressed by the idea of reform, and for this purpose he aimed to evoke a serious religious mood in his fellow(s). He continued the reform movement initiated by his master Geiger, and verbalized the fact that the most suitable form to reform Judaism is found in Islam with these words:

“I truly entered in those weeks into the spirit of Islam to such an extent that ultimately I became inwardly convinced that I myself was a Muslim and judiciously discovered that this was the only religion which, even in its doctrinal and official formulation, can satisfy philosophical minds. My ideal was to elevate Judaism to a similar rational level. Islam, my experience taught me, was the

¹¹⁷ Miller, “European Judaism and Islam”, 831-833; Efron, “From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens”, 511-513; Josef Horowitz, *İslami Tarihçiliğin Doğuşu*, trs. Ramazan Özmen and Ramazan Altınay (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2019), 43.

¹¹⁸ Lewis, *Islam in History*, 11.

¹¹⁹ Miller, *European Judaism and Islam*, 832.

¹²⁰ Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten Ihr Lehrsystem und Ihre Geschichte* (Leipzig: Verlag Otto Schulze, 1884).

¹²¹ Miller, “European Judaism and Islam”, 831-833; Ahmet Yücel, *Oryantalistler ve Hadis (Yaklaşımlar - Değerlendirmeler - Literatür)* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı, 2013), 26.

only religion in which superstition and pagan elements were proscribed not by rationalism but by the Orthodox doctrine.”¹²²

In his travels to Islamic countries, Goldziher met with pro-reform Muslim thinkers and wanted to develop the idea of reform in his mind with them. As he came from the complicated world of Hungarian Judaism, Goldziher stated that Muslims have a higher chance of transforming into modernism. The Muslims with whom Goldziher met seemed to be a lot more cosmopolitan and open-minded, at least in potential, compared to the Orthodox Jewish.¹²³

The compulsion of Orthodox Judaism was also influential in Goldziher’s centring upon Islamic Studies. Goldziher held a series of six conferences in the years 1887-1888 in Budapest, under the title of “The Essence and Evolution of Judaism”. There, he said that Judaism is a religion degenerated by the Rabbinic superstition. The conferences he held were considered so negatively by the Jewish Community of Budapest that they started to take Goldziher as a threat to Judaism. After this great disappointment he experienced, Goldziher devoted nearly all of his studies to Islam by abandoning Judaism studies.¹²⁴ Before his death, he questioned why he devoted his life to Islam instead of studying on Judaism.¹²⁵

The essence of Goldziher’s ideas about Islam consists of the following words: “For Islam as it appears in its mature aspect is the product of various influences that had affected its development as an ethical world view and as a system of law and dogma before it reached its definitive, orthodox form. ...The dogmatic development of Islam took place under the sign of Hellenistic thought, in its legal system the influence of Roman law is unmistakable.¹²⁶ Its founder, [Prophet] Muhammad, did not proclaim new ideas. He did not enrich earlier conceptions of man’s relation to the transcendental and infinite. None of this diminishes, however, the relative value of his religious achievement. ...The thoughts that so passionately roused him in his heart of hearts he conceived to be a divine revelation of which he was to be the instrument.¹²⁷ The first historically effective reformer among the Arabs was [Prophet] Muhammad. ...The business he pursued in the first half of his life had brought him into various contacts. From these he acquired ideas that, in a period of contemplative retreat, he inwardly assimilated.¹²⁸ He was in the habit of retiring to the caverns of the mountains near Mecca, and in their

¹²² Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary*, 20.

¹²³ Josef van Ess, “Goldziher As A Contemporary of Islamic Reform”, in *Goldziher Memorial Conference*, ed. Éva Apor (Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2000), 44.

¹²⁴ Tolan, “The Prophet Muhammad”, 274.

¹²⁵ Dabashi, *Post-Orientalism, Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror*, 36.

¹²⁶ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 3-4; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910), 3.

¹²⁷ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 5; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 3.

¹²⁸ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 6; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 4.

desolation, he felt the call of Gold ever more imperiously bidding him in vision, waking dream, and hallucination, to go among his people and warn them of the ruin to which their conduct must lead. He was now irresistibly driven to become the moral teacher of his people, the one to “warn and exhort them”. ...A feeling of such absolute dependency as [Prophet] Muhammad was gripped by could be owed only to one being: the one God, Allah.¹²⁹ He can annihilate and bring back to life a He sees fit – these are contained in the oldest part of the book of revelations known to World literature by its Arabic name as the Qur’ān (Recitation). ...It was here that the Holy Spirit continued to inspire [Prophet] Muhammad. ...The Prophet was no longer a mere apocalyptic visionary. New circumstances had turned him into a fighter, a conqueror, a statesman. He organized the new form in Medina: it was here that the first lineaments of Islamic society, law, and political order began to appear.¹³⁰ In Mecca he saw himself as a prophet summoned to take his place alongside the Biblical prophets and, as they had done, to warn his fellow men and rescue them from perdition. In Medina his goals changed with his circumstances. ...He now demanded recognition as the renewer of Abraham’s religion, as its restorer from distortion and decay.¹³¹ From visions of the catastrophic end of this evil World [Prophet] Muhammad now evolved, with an abrupt transition, the conception of a realm that was of this World. ...This down-to-earth, matter-of-fact war was the legacy his successors fell heir to. There was now no preference for peace.”¹³²

Goldziher’s approach to Islam studies has a critical and historicist view. According to Goldziher, religion cannot be independent of certain historical circumstances, and therefore, it is necessary to rehabilitate the religion by removing the comments and statements which were added to the religion later. Goldziher tries to explain the historical development of Judaism by stating that no religion, even those original beliefs with monotheism, is a product of a religious revolution and that these religions developed by adopting the cultural borrowing strategy of the Jewish.¹³³ According to him, for centuries Islam has developed under the effect of stranger ideas which are mostly Christian and Jewish, and at the same time Buddhist and Pagan. According to him, when Islam got in touch with Persian, Syrian and Hellenistic cultures, it borrowed certain practices, concepts and foundations from them.¹³⁴ For Goldziher, that Judaism and Islam are close to each other is because they have similar

¹²⁹ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 7.

¹³⁰ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 8.

¹³¹ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 9.

¹³² Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 23.

¹³³ Efron, “From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens”, 511; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 2-15.

¹³⁴ Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 2-15; John Burton, *An Introduction to the Hadith* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 831-833; Efron, “From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens”, 511.

development processes and because they depend on the same dynamics.¹³⁵ In contrast to many orientalists including Geiger, Goldziher's opinions about originality of Islam state that although it was influenced by Judaism, Islam is a genuine idea in itself.¹³⁶

These views of Goldziher on Islam are a result of his general approach on the development of religions. Goldziher's acceptance of the [Prophet] Muhammad as a religious founder and reformist raises some doubts about whether he accepts Islam as a religion. In addition, Goldziher stated that Muhammad saw himself as a prophet summoned to take his place alongside the Biblical prophets and, as they had done, to warn his fellow men and rescue them from perdition. Although this statement is not a clear proof that Muhammad accepted as a prophet, Goldziher has a more explicit statement. In this sense, Goldziher said that "I never acted like a Muslim, I named my monotheism as Islam, and I was not telling a lie when I said I believe that Muhammad is a prophet".¹³⁷ However Goldziher's statements "I never acted like a Muslim" and "My teachers seriously expected the moment of my open declaration."¹³⁸ should also be taken into account. In this respect, Goldziher has already paid great attention to strict adherence to Judaism. He never had not converted to Christianity, for his professorship staff. However, the main question here is if Goldziher accepts [Prophet] Muhammad as a prophet, is Islam for him a divine religion? When we seek the answer to this question in his statements, Goldziher stated that "[Prophet] Muhammad was gripped by could be owed only to one being: the one God, Allah."¹³⁹ These statements of him should be evaluated together with his other expressions of [Prophet] Muhammad as a reformist and founder of religion. Thus, although it is understood that Goldziher adopted to the Orientalist paradigm on the issue of the borrowing of Islam from the Jews and with other similar views, it also appears that he adopted a different understanding of Islam from his predecessors like Abraham Geiger.

Goldziher's conception of Islam arose as a reaction to medieval Europe, which portrayed Muhammad as a fraudulent and deceitful.¹⁴⁰ But in his eyes, Muhammad was a prophet and reformist

¹³⁵ Efron, "From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens", 511; Burton, *An Introduction to the Hadith*, xv.

¹³⁶ Libson, "Shlomo Dov Goitein's Research into the Relationship between the Jewish and Muslim Traditions through the Prism of His Predecessors and Colleagues", 156. Wellhausen said that the dominant culture of Arabia is Judaism and that many things in Islam are taken from Judaism. Bernard Lewis, on the other hand, admitted that Islam was derived from Judaism, but said that Islam and Judaism affect each other mutually. For further information see. Hüseyin Yaşar, *Hristiyan Dünyasında Kur'an Karşısı Söylemin Tarihsel Kökleri* (İstanbul: İz Yayınları, 2018), 254; Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 75-85.

¹³⁷ Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary*, 28; Spencer, *Did Muhammad Exist?*, 42-45; Efron, "From Mitteleuropa to the Middle East Orientalism through a Jewish Lens", 511-513.

¹³⁸ Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary*, 27-28.

¹³⁹ Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 7.

¹⁴⁰ John V. Tolan, *Saracens Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 154-155; Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei Per Francos*, trs. Robert

and Islam was also a religion that adopted monotheism. Here, it is seen to what extent Goldziher differed from the approach of John of Damascus, one of the medieval Christians church fathers,¹⁴¹ who saw Islam as a pagan and the heresy of the Ishmaelites.¹⁴² At the same time, Goldziher viewed [the Prophet] Muhammad as a reformist and prophet, although the medieval understanding of Islam portrayed Muhammad as a fraudulent and trickster. Before Goldziher, Islam was a religion that was subjected to a number of insults by Christians, and Christians had prejudices against Islamic studies. This stance of his pointed to someone who respected Islam deeply, studied its sources deeply, and listened to the spirit of the Muslims. Goldziher's following statement reveals his positive approach to Islam:

“Indeed I had rather present my soul to my Muhammadans, from whom I have only ever received joy and satisfaction.¹⁴³ ...I termed my monotheism Islam, and I did not lie when I said that I believed the prophecies of Muhammed. My copy of the Koran can testify how I was inwardly turned toward Islam. In the midst of the thousands of the pious, I rubbed my forehead against the floor of the mosque. Never in my life was I more devout, more truly devout than on that exalted Friday.”¹⁴⁴

It is pointed out that Goldziher's statements about Islam are too positive to be heard from a Jewish Orientalist.¹⁴⁵ Raphael Patai, who translated Goldziher's diary into English, says that his sympathy with Islam is a result of his sentimentality.¹⁴⁶ When we consider the fact that Goldziher noted these opinions into his diary sixteen years later than his return from Islamic countries,¹⁴⁷ we can say that this period of time indicates that Goldziher's feelings about Islam were not momentary, however they show a matured characteristic.

Under the leadership of Jewish Orientalists, including Goldziher, a key period in which Islam began to be explored in all aspects began in the West. Some Jewish Orientalists, such as Goldziher, have become interested in what really happened in history, and their approach has profoundly influenced Christians' image of Islam.

Levine (UK: The Boydell Press, 1997), 32-34; Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (New York: The Darwin Press, 1997), 57.

¹⁴¹ Daniel J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (E.J. Brill: Leiden 1972), 52.

¹⁴² John of Damascus, "Saint John of Damascus", trs. Frederic H. Chase, in *The Fathers of the Church*, ed. Roy Joseph Deferrari, vol 37 (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc, 1958), 153.

¹⁴³ Máté Hídvégi, "Immánuel Löw's Reflections on "The Essence and Evolution of Judaism" in His Letters to Ignaz Goldziher in 1888", in *Goldziher Memorial Conference*, ed. Éva Apor (Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy Sciences, 2000), 79.

¹⁴⁴ Patai, *Ignaz Goldziher and His Oriental Diary*, 27-28.

¹⁴⁵ Heschel, "The Rise of Imperialism and the German Jewish Engagement in Islamic Studies," 74.

¹⁴⁶ Dabashi, *Post-Orientalism, Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror*, 56, 62, 86-89. However, as for Josef van Ess, Goldziher's diary was an emotional and sometimes rather unbalanced. For further information see. Van Ess, "Goldziher As A Contemporary of Islamic Reform", 37.

¹⁴⁷ Van Ess, "Goldziher As A Contemporary of Islamic Reform", 41.

3. Goldziher and Hadith Studies

Goldziher is considered the first man to initiate the modern hadith science in the West.¹⁴⁸ Although Goldziher was interested in many fields such as Qur'an, Arabic language and kalām, his real inclination was in the field of hadith. Goldziher's work named "Muhammedanische Studien", hadith became a distinct science in the West. His two-volume work published in German, called "Muhammedanische Studien" was translated into English a hundred and sixteen years later (1966). That this work by Goldziher was not translated into English for a really long time caused his value to be appreciated a lot later than it should have been.¹⁴⁹ Orientalists in the West were under the influence of Goldziher's discourses for a long time, and the ones after him either criticised him or tried to develop him in terms of methods.¹⁵⁰ With this aspect, Goldziher formed a milestone in Jewish Orientalism.

Goldziher has been interested in Arab Jewish philosophy since 1889 and saw that Islam and Judaism shaped around neo-Platonic philosophy. Goldziher said that the application of Neo-Platonic thought to Islam took place together with the hadiths. He also stated that those hadiths are similar to Luther's "Tischgespräche (table talk)" and Eckermann's Goethe talks.¹⁵¹ Considering that literary texts are written to resemble holy books, it is remarkable that Goldziher compares hadiths to such texts.

According to Goldziher, hadith is best source for the history of the development of Islam in the first three centuries, and those who engage in hadith studies will increasingly realize this. Goldziher, examining Ahmed Hanbal's "Musnad", realized that hadith encompasses all conceivable materials and living conditions. It is noteworthy in that he states that it is necessary to use hadiths as a method for studying Islamic history. Goldziher said that hadiths emerged as a result of the religious, historical and social developments experiences in the first two centuries of Islam.¹⁵² To him, the development of Judaism was realized through society. In Islam, this society means the ummah. The views of the ummah were given an important place in hadiths and the view of the ummah formed the fourth

¹⁴⁸ Eerik Dickinson, *The Development of Early Sunnite Ḥadīth Criticism The Taqdima of Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (240/854-327/938)* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), xvii.

¹⁴⁹ Richard Hartmann "Ignaz Goldziher", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76, (1922), 286-287; Lawrence I. Conrad, "General Editor's Preface", in *Hadith*, ed. Harald Motzki (Routledge, London and New York, 2016), xi; Plessner, "Ignaz Goldziher", 735.

¹⁵⁰ Motzki said that the general tendency in the West was based on accepting Goldziher's theses and he admitted that he was under the influence of Schacht. For further information see. Harald Motzki, *Batı'da Hadis Araştırmalarının Tarihi Seyri*, ed. Bülent Uçar (İstanbul: Hadisevi, 2006), 341-342; Talal Maloush, *Early Ḥadīth literature and the theory of Ignaz Goldziher* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies Faculty of Arts, Ph.D. Thesis, 2000) 4.

¹⁵¹ Ludmila Hanisch, "Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht" *Der Briefwechsel der Islamwissenschaftler Ignaz Goldziher und Martin Hartmann 1894-1914* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), 204, 263-265.

¹⁵² Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1890), 2/5; Motzki, "Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey", *Arabica* 52/2, (2005), 207.

source of Islamic law as Ijmā' following Qur'an, Sunna and Ra'y. As Goldziher knew that the view of ummah played an important role in Islam, he opted for Hadith Studies, which is considered one of the most authentic fields in Islam.¹⁵³ According to Goldziher, compared to other fields in the Islamic literature, hadith is of a greater importance, because hadith reveals the successive periods following each other, and the central ideas in the development of Islam.¹⁵⁴

Goldziher's approach to Islam studies has a critical and historicist view. According to him, for centuries Islam has developed under the effect of stranger ideas which are mostly Christian and Jewish, and at the same time Buddhist and Pagan. According to him, when Islam got in touch with Persian, Syrian and Hellenistic cultures, it borrowed certain practices, concepts and foundations from them. Goldziher was of the opinion that the controversial statements and teachings in hadiths did not belong to the Prophet and his companions; however, they were statements of various schools which originated after the death of the Prophet.¹⁵⁵ In a letter he wrote to Martin Hartmann related to this issue, he stated that he created a title called "attitude towards different sects" and that he found many materials indicating that each school adopted the hadith in accordance with their opinions and gave weight and authority to their own teachings. Goldziher tried to illuminate the development of the hadith, based on many Islamic history books, such as Ibn Sad's works.¹⁵⁶

Goldziher raised scientific doubts on the validity and historicity of hadith compilations.¹⁵⁷ By indicating that most of the hadiths were fabricated, Goldziher states that the terms used in the hadith texts referred to oral transmission, but not to written sources. By opposing this claim by Goldziher, Fuat Sezgin (1924-2018) advocated that the terms "haddathena" and "akhbarana" in hadiths referred to written sources.¹⁵⁸ Likewise, to his way of thinking, the existence of contradictory hadiths and the fact that the younger Companions have more hadiths than the older ones are among the other proof showing that the hadiths were fabricated.¹⁵⁹ For Goldziher, the hadiths were fabricated in order to provide evidence for the views adapted by scholars in different schools, and to legitimize the present traditions.¹⁶⁰ From this aspect, Muslims were similar to those Jewish rabbis who changed their

¹⁵³ Fraise, "Martin Schreiner's Unpublished Systematic Philosophy of Religion", 256-257.

¹⁵⁴ Richard Gottheil - Ignatz Goldziher, "Hadith", *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Date of Access 1 Kasım 2020).

¹⁵⁵ Burton, *An Introduction to the Hadith*, xv; Miller, "European Judaism and Islam", 831-833.

¹⁵⁶ Ludmila Hanisch, "Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht", 267; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2/149.

¹⁵⁷ Spencer, *Did Muhammad Exist?*, 42-45. Goldziher is among the "radical sceptics". A few scholars like Johann Fueck even explicitly rejected Goldziher's scepticism. For further information see. Harald Motzki, "Introduction Hadith: Origins and Developments", in *Hadith*, ed. Harald Motzki (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), xxi; M. Hayri Kırbaçoğlu, *Alternatif Hadis Metodolojisi* (Ankara: Otto Yayınları, 2013), 413.

¹⁵⁸ M. Fuat Sezgin, *Buhârî'nin Kaynakları* (Ankara: Otto Yayınları, 2015), 23-29; Yavuz Köktaş, *Hadis ve Sünnette Oryantalist Yaklaşımlar İddialar ve Gerçekler* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2015), 190-198.

¹⁵⁹ William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1861), liii-lxxxvii.

¹⁶⁰ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2/149.

teachings according to political, social and economic traditions of the society at that time by depending on the rabbis in the past, according to Goldziher. Hadiths were conveyed from the Islamic centre in Medina, to outer cities which were added to Islam lands due to military conquests, and they formed the basic material of the hadiths which grew substantially throughout the following generations.¹⁶¹ He also stated that it is not possible to state an absolute view on which of these hadiths the oldest original material were, or which ones reached out to the next generations.¹⁶² Goldziher applied the same argument to Judaism in his early Midrash study published in 1876 under the title “Hebrew Myths”.¹⁶³

Goldziher expresses that Christian Bible teaching, the stories from the Old Testament and Jewish eschatology and cosmology were included nearly as a whole in hadiths to a large extent.¹⁶⁴ In the following generations as a result of the relationship between the Jewish and Muslims, the provisions and myths of the rabbis easily could easily take part in the Muslim literature and later were attributed to the Prophet in the form of hadiths.¹⁶⁵ Goldziher states that among the teachers of the Prophet, there were priests and Judaists. Muslims blended what they took from the Jewish with the Haggadic elements present among the Arab Jewish.¹⁶⁶ Islam did not remain limited to law, foundations, doctrines and traditions only, it later took a lot of materials from Judaism thanks to those who converted into Islam from Judaism. In this way, many Jewish traditions passed to Islam. Aisha borrowed the idea of punishment of the grave (‘adhāb al-Qabr) from the Jewish women and integrated it into Islam. The Jewish teachings, which are named “Isrā’iliyyāt” in Islamic literature, were accepted in Islam via Ka’b al-Aḥbār¹⁶⁷ and Wahb ibn Munabbih. Moreover, a great number of provisions such as bathing the deceased and reading holy text during the practice of bathing were taken from the Jewish halakhah.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ Burton, *An Introduction to the Hadith*, x.

¹⁶² Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2/4-5, Burton, *An Introduction to the Hadith*, xv.

¹⁶³ Heschel, “German Jewish Scholarship on Islam as a Tool for De-Orientalizing Judaism”, 99.

¹⁶⁴ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2/382-400; Goldziher, “Neutestamentliche Elemente in der Traditionslitteratur des Islam,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Joseph de Somogyi, vol 4 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), 315-322. Hartmann, “Ignaz Goldziher”, 286-287.

¹⁶⁵ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2/4-5, 33; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 62; Hartmann, “Ignaz Goldziher”, 286-287; Gottheil - Goldziher, “Hadith”, *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Date of Access 1 Kasım 2020).

¹⁶⁶ Kohler - Goldziher, “Islam”, *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1904), 6/511; Alfred Guillaume, *Traditions of Islam: An Introduction to the Study of the Hadith Literature* (Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 81, 137; Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, 96-98; Charles Cutler Torrey, *Jewish Foundation of Islam* (Jewish Institute of Religion Press: New York, 1933), 154.

¹⁶⁷ Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, 143; Hıdır, *Hıristiyan Kültürü ve Hadisler (Zühd Hadisleri - Literatürü Özelinde)*, 471.

¹⁶⁸ Kohler - Goldziher, “Islam”, 6/511.

Goldziher's opinions on hadith were criticized by succeeding orientalists in many respects. Harald Motzki (1948-2019) stated that Goldziher looked for fabricated narrations, not for Ṣaḥīḥ (strong) reports.¹⁶⁹ Another criticized aspect of Goldziher is his generalist approach to hadiths. By saying that there is not even a single hadith about political and dogmatic matters not narrated via sound isnads,¹⁷⁰ Goldziher acted in a generalizing way. According to Goldziher, ruwāt (reciters) who have a state duty fabricated hadith for the benefit of the government, or for their personal expediencies.¹⁷¹

That Goldziher regarded the tradition of hadith as manipulative and unreliable caused him to misinterpret the evidence.¹⁷² Goldziher showed evidence from fabricated hadiths in order to easily prove that hadiths were invented. Because the Caliph al-Mahdī loved race pigeons, Kufan Ghayāth b. Ibrāhīm al-Naḥā'ī had interpolated the word "winged" to the hadith saying that "Races are only permissible with animals who have claws, hoofs or wings". When the Caliph noticed that, he had the pigeons killed and showed a strong reaction to Ghayāth telling him "Your mind is mind of a liar". This example given by Goldziher shows, on the contrary, that hadiths cannot be fabricated by a theologian of the palace easily. Moreover, Goldziher made additions to some narrations in forms of parentheses in order to support his claim. For example, the sentence by Muawiya to Mughira, whom he appointed as a governor, "You shall never give up insulting and cursing at Ali, wishing Allah's grace for Osman, discrediting Ali's friends, keeping them away from yourself and not accepting them [as sources for hadiths]", was changed and totally falsified by Goldziher as added the words [as sources for hadiths] in parentheses.¹⁷³

In the sources Goldziher provided in "Muhammedanische Studien", while extracting (takhrīj) the narrations he cited on the topic, he gave place to historical sources and works on poetry and he presented these narrations as hadith. So as to prove that hadiths were fabricated for the benefit of the Umayyads, Goldziher presents a narration from "al-Agānī" and Yaḳūt as a hadith, and introduces this as evidence to prove that the hadith was fabricated.¹⁷⁴ However, because "al-Agānī" is a poetry book from the 4th century and the book by Yaḳūt is a geography book from the 7th century, it would not be accurate to evaluate a narration from these in the category of hadith.

Conclusion

¹⁶⁹ Motzki, "Introduction Hadith: Origins and Developments", xviii.

¹⁷⁰ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 34-35.

¹⁷¹ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 44-45.

¹⁷² Jonathan A.C. Brown, *Hadith, Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (Ebook: Oneworld Academic, 2017), 189.

¹⁷³ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 35.

¹⁷⁴ Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 45-46.

Jewish Orientalism, which emerged in the nineteenth century, abides by Christian-Jewish civilization in terms of origin, and by Christian Orientalism in terms of its paradigm. The Christian-Jewish paradigm offered an appropriate form for the modern Jewish intellectuals in the identity confusion. While the adaptation of this paradigm directed Jewish Orientalists to form their own cultural identities.

In contrast to Christian Orientalism, Jewish Orientalism placed Judaism at the center with their views on Islam and cultural transmission in general, and aimed to respond to the criticisms of Christians against Judaism. Jewish Orientalists wanted to defend Judaism against Christianity, and to reform Judaism. Jewish Orientalism can be classified in three parts in the historical process. In the formation period, the first Jewish works about Islam were written using the Western method (Biblical criticism method), in the maturation period, Islam studies reached the peak thanks to Goldziher and the basic Jewish paradigm was determined, and in the post-Zionism period, after the Jewish settled in Palestine, Jewish Orientalism changed into political Orientalism. Until Zionism, Jewish Orientalism wanted to realize the Jewish reform by turning back to Islamic texts. However, after Zionism, Muslim identity was set aside and the Jewish defined themselves as a separate nation.

Islam reading of Jewish Orientalism benefited from both the Western paradigm and from their own traditions. That Jewish Orientalist knew about Islam and Arabic as well as their traditions made it possible for them to understand Islam easier compared to Christian scholars. By thinking that the magnificence and beauty of Islam would revitalize Judaism, they moved towards Islam and the Jewish culture which developed under its guard and carried on their studies on Islam and they presented Islam to the Christian world as a prototype.

In addition to the fact that the educational lives of Jewish Orientalists have a bilateral characteristic, namely both traditional and European, they have remarkable qualities in terms of language. For instance, Goldziher learned many languages from Western and Oriental languages. Even at early ages, Goldziher mastered religious texts and his accumulation of knowledge ensured him to make comparisons between the two religions easily. Furthermore, Goldziher's travels to Islamic states helped him identify Islam as a religion and its practices, and by meeting pro-reform Muslims in these countries, he developed the idea of Reform Judaism.

While there are a number of names among the founding fathers of Jewish Orientalism as well as Abraham Geiger, the maturation period for Jewish Orientalism came true thanks to Ignaz Goldziher and the ideas he suggested had a constituent characteristic of forming the paradigm about Islam and its traditions in the West. Goldziher's oeuvre included important studies on critical analyses of *tafsir* traditions, the development of the hadith, Islamic sects and sectarianism, pre-Islamic period, Arabic philology, Arabic historiography and literature. To understand the relationship between Judaism and Islamic religion and culture, Goldziher turned to the studies of Islam, with which he wanted to gain deeper reflections upon Jewish history, Jewish religious texts, Jewish culture and identity.

Goldziher constitutes an important step in the way of style and approach towards Islam in the West. His approach to Islam was not only at a desk like his predecessor Geiger, but he was devoted to go to Islamic countries and to listen to his Muslim spirit and to be with them. Goldziher's spending a lot of time on Islamic studies caused him to become a milestone in the West. Goldziher's views are a criticism to the idea of Islam and he preferred to use Islamic sources in analysing Muslims. The innovation Goldziher brought to Islam Studies is that, by applying historical-critical method to hadiths, he concluded that these are not really statements of the Prophet, and that these included the views of later Muslim imams in Islamic doctrine, which gained a diversified structure in terms of religion and heterogeneous structure in terms of cultural aspects by the expansion of Umayyad and Abbasid states.

Based on Goldziher's works, it is possible to criticize his views on the history of hadith transmission. In addition, he took an over-generalist approach to hadiths in his "Muhammedanische Studien". Regardless of whether a report is mentioned in hadith collections or not, he expresses a conclusion he deduces from a single narration to the whole hadith narration. In addition, he sometimes added his own expressions as parentheses to the reports, causing him to distort the meaning of the narrations. Another important point about Goldziher is that he does not take the science of *al-Darḥ wa'l-Ta'dīl* (disparaging and declaring trustworthy) into account when evaluating hadith reports. One of the most important indicators of this is that the hadiths do not take into account their *isnāds* (chain of authorities). Based on the knowledge of methods in the history of religions, Goldziher argued that hadiths emerged as a result of the religious, historical and social developments experiences in the first two centuries of Islam. Goldziher's thoughts on the hadith are, of course, based on his conclusions on Jewish religious history.

Goldziher is, in a sense, an important figure in the West in recognizing and defining hadiths. In addition, the views of Goldziher about the history of hadith shows that he has a very good command of hadiths in terms of linguistics and style. In addition, with Goldziher's scepticism concerning the authenticity of even the classical collections and that is based on Islamic sources constituted a first milestone in the West. With Goldziher, the problem of method regarding how hadiths should be evaluated in the West was solved and the Orientalists who came after him tried to reveal the hadiths based on Goldziher's thoughts.

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