

# The Emergence of an Islamic Culture in Early Abbasid Iraq: The Role of non-Arab Contributions

## 1. Introduction

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, works of the renowned Jewish philosopher Maimonides were allegedly burnt, be it in Paris or in Provence, by representatives of the Christian inquisition. Jewish informers belonging to the anti-philosophical party were said to have denounced the philosophical works of Maimonides to the Christian authorities, who may actually have destroyed some copies.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this essay is not to answer the question why Jews are said to have turned to the inquisition; I rather want to point to the fact that there was fierce opposition to the discussion of philosophical issues in some quarters of French Judaism in the High Middle Ages.

The conflict known as the Maimonidean controversy was due – among other things – to the translation into Hebrew of Jewish philosophical works, originally written in Arabic. In Hebrew translation they were also read by Jews not familiar with the tradition of Arabic-speaking Judaism, which had over the centuries absorbed the cultural traditions shaping intellectual life within the *dār al-Islām*. Jews living in the cultural ambit of *al-Andalus* were imbued with the intellectual tradition of Islamic culture, which was much more than just Islamic faith or Arabic language: It comprised the intellectual tradition of Hellenistic philosophy as well as Arabic poetry and Iranian political philosophy.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wolfram DREWS, *Medieval Controversies about Maimonidean Teachings*, in: *Moses Maimonides (1138-1204). His Religious, Scientific, and Philosophical Wirkungsgeschichte in Different Cultural Contexts*, ed. Görgo K. HASSELHOFF / Otfried FRAISSE, (Ex Oriente Lux 4) Würzburg, 2004, pp. 113-135; IDEM, 'Damit die Kette der Tradition nicht zerreißt.' Die Intervention des Nachmanides in der zweiten Phase der Maimonideskontroverse, in: *Das Mittelalter* 6 (2001), pp. 45-72.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Daniel Jeremy SILVER, *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy 1180-1240*, Leiden, 1965; Gotthard STROHMAIER, *Hellas im Islam. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Ikonographie, Wissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte*, (Diskurse der Arabistik 6) Wiesbaden, 2003; *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism. Studies on the Transmission of Greek Philosophy and Sciences. FS H. J. Drossaart Lulofs*, ed. Gerhard ENDRESS / Remke KRUK, (CNWS Publications 50) Leiden, 1997; Dimitri GUTAS, *Greek Philosophers in the Arabic Tradition*, (CS 698) Aldershot, 2000; Franz ROSENTHAL, *Greek Philosophy in the Arab World*, (CS 322) Aldershot, 1990.

Maimonides had written his principal philosophical work, the “Guide of the Perplexed” (*Dalālat al-ḥā’irīn*), in order to address issues that had arisen in the course of studying Aristotelian philosophy. This original intention of the author reflected problems that were also discussed by Muslim thinkers, such as al-Ġazzālī, in the intellectual centres of the *dār al-Islām*<sup>3</sup>; this intention was, however, totally incomprehensible to Jews living in France. Some Jews regarded these new teachings as dangerous to the integrity of Jewish faith. This misunderstanding is an indication of the different conditions shaping the reception of philosophical works in medieval Europe, marking them off from the cultural conditions of the Muslim world. Jews transgressing the boundaries of Sephardic Judaism, imbued with the intellectual spirit characteristic of some circles within the *dār al-Islām*, found themselves in the different worlds of Provençal and Ashkenazi Judaism.<sup>4</sup>

This article discusses some aspects of the emergence of the cultural tradition in the Early Middle Ages, which reached as far west as Andalusian Jewry. Even though it was expressed in Arabic, it transcended the *umma* of Muslim believers, extending also to Jews and Christians who lived as *dimmīs*, as protected people, within the *dār al-Islām*. Literary works were mostly written in Arabic, which had become the *lingua franca* of Muslims, Jews and Christians alike. When I call this Islamic culture I do not wish to imply that it was tied more or less narrowly to the religion of Islam; rather, I wish to point out that Islamic rule provided the umbrella under which various cultural traditions could merge to form a new, we might call it imperial culture, which comprised all peoples of various faiths and different ethnic backgrounds living within the *dār al-Islām*.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Cultural brokers in early Islam outside court culture

When we look for cultural brokers between religions in an Islamic context, we might take the prophet Muḥammad himself as a first example of one such broker: Before his prophetic mission he travelled as a trader in various regions of

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Amira ERAN, Al-Ghazali and Maimonides on the World to Come and Spiritual Pleasures, in: *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 8 (2001), pp. 137-166.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bernard SEPTIMUS, ‘Open Rebuke and Concealed Love’: Nahmanides and the Andalusian Tradition, in: *Rabbi Moses Nahmanides (Ramban): Explorations in His Religious and Literary Virtuosity*, ed. Isadore TWERSKY, (Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies. Texts and Studies 1) Cambridge, Mass./London, 1983, pp. 11-34; Bernard SEPTIMUS, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition. The Career and Controversies of Ramah*, (Harvard Judaica Monographs 4) Cambridge, Mass./London, 1982.

<sup>5</sup> On the emergence of an imperial culture cf. Garth FOWDEN, *Empire to Commonwealth. Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1993, p. 162: “An increasing diversity of people, further and further from the Arab heartlands, came to feel they had a stake in the fortunes of what was now a decidedly Islamic rather than Arab empire, a politico-culturally universalist empire...”

the Middle East, during which he came into contact with representatives of various faiths and cultural traditions. We can be fairly sure that quite a number of these traditions are reflected in the revelations received many years after his travels. However, in Muslim eyes such traditions are exclusively Islamic in character. The concept of the *hijra* implies that the Islamic community left its pre-Islamic past behind<sup>6</sup>, in much the same way as Muḥammad himself left his native city of Mecca to settle in his exile in Yaṭrīb, which was later to be known as the city of the Prophet, Madīnat al-Nabī.

In Muslim eyes, the pre-Islamic past is a period of ignorance (*jāhiliyya*). The *umma* left this ignorance behind by accepting the prophecy of Muḥammad and by submitting to the faith in one god. The break with the pre-Islamic past is reflected in the introduction of the Muslim calendar, which starts precisely in the year of Muḥammad's *hijra*, which symbolizes his break with his own family background.<sup>7</sup> By becoming the prophet of Islam, Muḥammad no longer functioned as a cultural broker, transmitting cultural traditions from different regions of the Middle East; as a prophet he did not communicate cultural traditions, but religious truth, which was believed to come directly from God himself, mediated by the archangel Gabriel.

At first, Islam may have been perceived as the particular Arabic version of monotheism.<sup>8</sup> Only pagan Arabs were obliged to convert to Islam, Jews and Christians were allowed to stick to their ancestral faiths. When Muslim armies conquered vast territories in North Africa, Asia and south-western Europe, the administration of the huge empire was headed by Muslim *amīrs*, who relied on the help of non-Muslim, autochthonous elites. Particularly important were the Greek-speaking elites in the former Byzantine province of Syria.<sup>9</sup> Damascus was the capital of the first Muslim dynasty, the Umayyads, who relied on the services of Greek personnel. It was only in the reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) that the administration ceased to use Greek as the language

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Saïd Amir ARJOMAND, *Revolution in Early Islam. The Rise of Islam as a Constitutive Revolution*, in: *Islam in Process – Historical and Civilizational Perspectives*, ed. Johann P. ARNASON / Armando SALVATORE / Georg STAUTH, (Yearbook of the Sociology of Islam 7) Bielefeld, 2006, pp. 125-157.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Tilman NAGEL, *Geschichte der islamischen Theologie*, Munich, 1994, p. 14: "Der Islam [...] und das davorliegende Zeitalter der Verirrung, der Unwissenheit", haben nichts miteinander gemein." On the introduction of the *hijra*-years under 'Umar I see *ibid.* p. 39: "... alles religiös-politische Denken, das weiter zurückreichte [...] wurde hinter jene Scheidemarke verbannt, in das an jenem Wendepunkt überwundene Zeitalter finsternen Götzenglaubens." Cf. also Patricia CRONE, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiġra*", in: *Arabica* 41 (1994), pp. 352-387.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Jonathan P. BERKEY, *The Formation of Islam. Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800*, (Themes in Islamic History 2) Cambridge, 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Garth FOWDEN / Elizabeth Key FOWDEN, *Studies on Hellenism, Christianity and the Umayyads*, (Meletēmata. Kentron Hellēnikēs kai Rōmaikēs Archaioētōs 37) Athens, 2004; Garth FOWDEN, *Qusaʿy: 'Amra. Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria*, (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 36) Berkeley, 2004.

of government, which was reflected in the introduction of purely Arabic coins.<sup>10</sup>

Already in the Umayyad period increasing numbers of the non-Arab population converted to Islam. These new Muslims, *mawālī*, were at first not accepted on equal terms; they still had to become clients of Arab Muslims.<sup>11</sup> This regulation relegated them to an inferior position, which was aggravated by their duty to pay higher-rate taxes than Arab Muslims. The dissatisfaction caused by this discrimination is often perceived as one of the reasons that led to the Abbasid revolution, which ousted the Umayyads in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. Cultural brokers in the early Abbasid period

#### 3.1. Political and social preconditions: the increasing importance of *mawālī*

The cultural identity of the Abbasid Empire rested on two foundations: Islamic faith and Arabic language.<sup>13</sup> During the first centuries of the Muslim era Muslims only constituted a minority that ruled over a non-Muslim majority consisting mostly of Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians. One of the characteristic features of early Abbasid culture is the prominence of intellectual figures of a non-Arab background. Not all of them converted to Islam or were descended from converts. Not only did they write their own treatises in Arabic, they also commissioned or made translations from other languages into Arabic, which significantly broadened the cultural horizons of the caliphal court.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Aziz Al-AZMEH, *Muslim Kingship. Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Papal Polities*, London/New York, 1997, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Jamal JUDA, *Die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte der Mawālī in frühislamischer Zeit*, Tübingen, 1983; Isaac HASSON, *Les mawālī dans l'armée musulmane sous les premiers Umayyādes*, in: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991), pp. 176–213.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Saleh Said AGHA, *The Revolution which Toppled the Umayyads. Neither Arab nor 'Abbāsīd*, (Islamic History and Civilization 50) Leiden/Boston, 2003; Muhammad A. SHABAN, *The 'Abbāsīd Revolution*, Cambridge, 1970; Moshe SHARON, *Black Banners from the East 1: The Establishment of the 'Abbāsīd State. Incubation of a Revolt*, (Max Schloessinger Memorial Series. Monographs 2) Jerusalem, 1983; Moshe SHARON, *Black Banners from the East 2: Revolt. The Social and Military Aspects of the 'Abbāsīd Revolution*, (Max Schloessinger Memorial Series. Monographs 5) Jerusalem, 1990.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Dimitri GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsīd Society (2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, London/New York, 1998, p. 191: “Along with the Umayyads out went also Arab culture as political and ideological focus; because it excluded by its very nature those not born Arabs, it could not serve the perceived requirements of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty to form coalitions with and please political partners of different ethnic backgrounds; what was substituted was Arabic culture, based on the language, in which everybody could participate.”

Already towards the end of the Umayyad period the role of non-Arab *mawālī* may have increased, though this continued on a much larger scale after the foundation of the Islamic caliphate in Iraq in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Abbasid culture integrated different traditions, but it continued to use Arabic as the dominant mode of linguistic expression.

This cultural synthesis was one of the main achievements of the Abbasid court, which resided in the new capital city of Baghdad after 768. A decisive precondition for the emergence of a new imperial culture was the foundation of this new capital city: People from diverse ethnic, religious and social backgrounds flocked into the new metropolis, which became a melting pot that provided the frame for the emergence of a new cultural configuration that was more than a mere amalgamation of its constituent elements.<sup>14</sup>

New converts to Islam were employed in the imperial administration. Whereas the Umayyads had relied mainly on Arab tribesmen, the Abbasids based their rule on the services of people from different cultural backgrounds, coming from Syria, Iran or Central Asia. This new pan-imperial elite was one of the decisive preconditions for the maintenance of imperial unity: As long as the administrative personnel was moved from one province of the caliphate to another, the emergence of regional loyalties was forestalled, something that would have undermined the unity of the empire in the long run.<sup>15</sup>

## 3.2. Individual examples of cultural contributions

### 3.2.1. Pahlavi translators: Ibn al-Muqaffa' and 'Alī b. 'Ubaida ar-Raiḥānī

Ibn al-Muqaffa', a convert to Islam, has been called "eine der berühmtesten, aber auch berüchtigsten (!) Figuren der frühen arabischen Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte".<sup>16</sup> Relatively little is known about his life. Having first served the Ummayyads, he entered the service of Abbasid princes, but involvement in politics led to his premature tragic death by execution around

<sup>14</sup> Cf. GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, (as n. 13), p. 189. Also in the sphere of politics there were adaptations of Sasanian practices: The Abbasids followed the Sasanians in using written, "dispositive" documents to regulate issues of royal succession; see Andrew MARSHAM, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy. Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire*, Edinburgh, 2009, pp. 230-246.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Hugh KENNEDY, The Decline and Fall of the First Muslim Empire, in: *Der Islam* 81 (2004), pp. 3-30. On regional differentiation in early Islam see Josef VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* 4, Berlin/New York, 1997, p. 682.

<sup>16</sup> Johannes NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption. Die Byzantinisch-neugriechischen und spanischen Adaptionen von Kalīla wa-Dimna*, (Serta Graeca 18) Wiesbaden, 2003, p. 22.

756.<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Muqaffa' converted to Islam as an adult, adopting a name typical for converts, 'Abdallāh. Despite his conversion, he may have composed some fragments deriding the Koran.<sup>18</sup> His conversion from Zoroastrianism led to his later denouncement as a heretic (*zindīq*), who allegedly subscribed also to Manichaeic doctrines. However, this was probably a fabrication meant to explain his violent death by order of the caliph al-Manṣūr.<sup>19</sup> His most successful work is an Arabic translation and adaptation from Pahlavi of the originally Indian *Pañcatantra*, called in Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the story of two animals that was later also translated into various other languages, among them Syriac, Greek, Spanish, Hebrew and Latin.<sup>20</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a secretary (*kātib*) in the service of the Umayyads, later of the Abbasids. Secretaries were the administrative elite first of the Sasanian and later of the Abbasid empire, they had the knowledge to run an empire that was at first lacking among Arab Muslims.<sup>21</sup> The knowledge necessary at court had been compiled over centuries in Sasanian works, among them *Mirrors of Princes*. Ibn al-Muqaffa' transmitted this Persian wisdom in the form of *adab*, i. e. political and ethical knowledge to survive and succeed at court.<sup>22</sup> This material, often taken from the Pahlavi Avesta, was compiled mainly in his "Great book of adab" (*kitāb al-adab al-kabīr*)<sup>23</sup>; the "Small book of adab" (*kitāb al-adab al-ṣaḡīr*) is most probably not genuine, being only a collection of passages from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Dominique SOURDEL, La biographie d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' d'après les sources anciennes, in: *Arabica* 1 (1954), pp. 307-323.

<sup>18</sup> For a German translation of the fragments attributed to him see Josef VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* 5, Berlin/New York, 1993, pp. 104-108.

<sup>19</sup> For the significance of the term *zindīq* and for Manichaeism under early Islam see Josef VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* 1, Berlin/New York, 1991, pp. 416-426.

<sup>20</sup> For a comprehensive study see NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, Übersetzung und Rezeption, (as n. 16).

<sup>21</sup> For the "needs of professional education" of secretaries and others see GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, (as n. 13), pp. 110-115.

<sup>22</sup> For his literary work see J. D. LATHAM, Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Early 'Abbāsīd Prose, in: *Abbasid Belles-Lettres*, ed. Julia ASHTIANY et al., (The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature) Cambridge, 1990, pp. 48-77. He is an early example of what was to become the translation movement: "The educational needs of the secretaries are therefore seen from the very beginning as being instrumental in the gradual expansion of the translation movement." (GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, [as n. 13], p. 115). For *adab* in general see Francesco GABRIELI, *Adab*, in: *EI* 2 1 (1960), pp. 175f., according to whom Ibn al-Muqaffa' "can be described as the true creator of this enlarged conception of *adab*." (Ibid. 176).

<sup>23</sup> Jean TARDY, Traduction d'al-Adab al Kabīr d'Ibn al-Muqaffa', in: *Annales Islamologiques* 27 (1993), pp. 181-223.

<sup>24</sup> Shaul Shaked identified several passages in Pahlavi texts; see Mohsen ZAKERI, 'Alī b. 'Ubayda ar-Raiḥānī. A Forgotten Belletrist (*adīb*) and Pahlavi Translator, in: *Oriens* 34 (1994), pp. 76-102, p. 93, note 93; for further discussions of the literary history of the Small *adab* book *ibid.* 101. See also Ihsan ABBAS, al-Adab al-Ṣaḡīr, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1 (1985), pp. 446f.

According to al-‘Āmirī, who died in 991, “the Zoroastrians have a book known as Avesta, which commands noble traits of character and sanctions them. All these traits were put together by ‘Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa’ in his book known as *al-Adab al-kabīr*, and by ‘Alī b. ‘Ubaida, in his book called *al-Maṣūn*.”<sup>25</sup> The concept of *adab* itself may be traced back to Sasanian traditions; in this cultural context it refers in general to “ideal refinement of thought, word, and deed”, which is achieved by “regard for proportion (*andāza*) or moderation (*mīānaravī*) in conduct.”<sup>26</sup>

Originally *Kalīla wa-Dimna* formed part of courtly knowledge; it was specifically devised to present relevant Indian and above all Sasanian traditions to the new elite of the recently formed Abbasid empire.<sup>27</sup> Charles Pellat has pointed out that “it is noteworthy that the translator did not islamize the Pahlavi text, although he modified some problematic expressions or images and added a few passages of his own.”<sup>28</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa’ functioned as a cultural broker *par excellence*, providing the intellectual resources necessary to form an Abbasid class of secretaries that was to become the mainstay of the pan-imperial elite controlling and shaping the *dār al-Islām*. Latham has very aptly called this a concern “to promote a cultural reorientation that would extend the political and social norms of an old order.” According to him, Ibn al-Muqaffa’'s aim was “to graft congruent Sasanian shoots upon the old Arab stock of secular culture.”<sup>29</sup>

It was unforeseeable at this time that *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was to enjoy tremendous success also in other cultural traditions, where it became part of popular literature detached from courtly contexts. Already in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the work was known in *al-Andalus*.<sup>30</sup> However, “it was originally produced for an exclusive readership within court circles.”<sup>31</sup>

The tremendous success of a work that transmitted clearly non-Arabic material to an Islamic audience, even though in the Arabic language, provoked a reaction on the part of the Arab grammarian Muḥammad ibn Ḥusain al-Yamanī, who was trying to prove that the Arabs themselves had been in the possession of equally important wisdom traditions even before the Persians; however, his collection of Arab proverbs is a fraud, merely imitating material

<sup>25</sup> ZAKERI, ‘Alī b. ‘Ubaida ar-Raiḥānī, (as n. 24), p. 91.

<sup>26</sup> Dj. KHALEGI-MOTLAGH, *Adab*, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1 (1985), p. 432.

<sup>27</sup> For Indian traditions added by Ibn al-Muqaffa’ to the original Pahlavi work see NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption*, (as n. 16), pp. 25f.

<sup>28</sup> Charles PELLAT, *Adab*, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1 (1985), p. 440.

<sup>29</sup> LATHAM, Ibn al-Muqaffa’, (as n. 22), p. 53. In Arabic, the term *adab* was used to refer to practical ethics in a secular context; cf. PELLAT, *Adab*, (as n. 28), p. 439.

<sup>30</sup> NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption*, (as n. 16), p. 27.

<sup>31</sup> LATHAM, Ibn al-Muqaffa’, (as n.22), p. 52.

found in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.<sup>32</sup> This failed counterstrike clearly shows the success of Ibn al-Muqaffa' as a cultural broker.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' is the earliest renowned Pahlavi translator in the Abbasid period. A later example is 'Alī b. 'Ubaida ar-Raiḥānī, who died in 834, shortly after the death of the caliph al-Ma'mūn, whose personal secretary he had been. The *Fihrist*, a 10<sup>th</sup>-century catalogue of all known works written in Arabic by Arab and non-Arab authors, refers to him as follows:

“(He) was a master of eloquence and style, and was attached to al-Ma'mūn. In his literary works and compositions he followed the method of *ḥikma*, and was accused of Manichaeism (*zandaqa*). He was a proficient secretary (*kātib*) ...”<sup>33</sup>

The accusation of Manichaean tendencies may have some foundation precisely in his activity as a cultural broker<sup>34</sup>: ar-Raiḥānī translated and compiled several ethical and proverbial sayings of the Avesta in his Arabic work *al-Maṣūn*.<sup>35</sup> His literary fame rests primarily on his compilation of wisdom literature from the Iranian tradition.

### 3.2.2. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq: a Nestorian Christian translator

The famous and influential East Syrian Christian belonged to the so-called Nestorian church of the former Sasanian empire; he was a scholar, physician, and scientist who lived between 809-873. He is known principally as a translator of scientific and medical works from Greek into Arabic and Syriac, being the most productive translator of Greek medical and scientific treatises.<sup>36</sup> Born in southern Iraq, he spent his working life in Baghdad, the centre of the 9<sup>th</sup>-century translation movement. His teacher was Yūhannā ibn Māsawayh, also a Nestorian Christian.

<sup>32</sup> NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption*, (as n.16), p. 27. See also KHALEGHI-MOTLAGH, *Adab*, (as n. 26), p. 438: “The fusion of Iranian adab with Islamic culture did not at first proceed smoothly, but encountered strong resistance.”

<sup>33</sup> ZAKERI, 'Alī b. 'Ubaida ar-Raiḥānī, (as n. 24), p. 78.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 1, (as n. 19), p. 425: “Die *zandaqa* ist, so scheint es, in erster Linie ein Akkulturationsphänomen.“

<sup>35</sup> ZAKERI, 'Alī b. 'Ubaida ar-Raiḥānī, (as n. 24), p. 81. For the accusation of *zandaqa* against ar-Raiḥānī see also Josef VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* 3, Berlin/New York, 1992, p. 204.

<sup>36</sup> Gotthelf BERGSTRÄSSER, *Hunain ibn Ishāk und seine Schule. Sprach- und literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den arabischen Hippokrates- und Galen-Übersetzungen*, Leiden, 1913; IDEM, *Hunain Ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 1/2) Leipzig, 1925; IDEM, *Neue Materialien zu Hunain Ibn Ishāq's Galenbibliographie*, (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 19/2) Leipzig, 1932.



Ḥunayn worked with four languages (Arabic, Syriac, Greek and Persian), therefore he was referred to as the “Sheikh of the translators”. His translations covered mainly medical works, principally by Galen, but they also included Plato’s *Timaios*, Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, and the Old Testament.

As a child he had learnt Syriac and Arabic, but after his constant questions had provoked his teacher to throw him out, he travelled to Alexandria and possibly also to Byzantium to learn Greek, which – we may infer – was not sufficiently possible in Mesopotamia. On his return, he is said to have recited the works of Homer and Galen, which resulted in reconciliation with his former teacher.<sup>37</sup>

Remarkably, Ḥunayn also acted as an apologist of Christianity in a controversy with a descendant of converts to Islam.<sup>38</sup> In addition, he translated the Bible into Arabic, and this version was considered by al-Mas‘ūdī to be the best translation available.<sup>39</sup>

### 3.3. Institutions and long-term developments

#### 3.3.1. *The bayt al-ḥikma: an institution of cultural brokers?*

The most famous institution associated with the transmission and cultivation of learning is the House of Wisdom (*bayt al-ḥikma*), established probably during the reign of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.<sup>40</sup> It was first and foremost a library, perhaps continuing the tradition of Sasanian court libraries.<sup>41</sup> Abū Aḥmad al-‘Askarī (died 992) reported that “in the books of the Persians, encompassing their history and wars, there was much poetry that was composed and deposited in the treasuries, that is, the houses of wisdom (*buyūt al-ḥikma*).”<sup>42</sup> We may infer from this that in Sasanian Iran there existed institutions called Houses of Wisdom.

Whereas under Hārūn al-Rashīd access to the *bayt al-ḥikma* seems to have been restricted to the caliph and his entourage, under his son and second suc-

<sup>37</sup> Cf. GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, (as n. 13), p. 138.

<sup>38</sup> Rachid HADDAD, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq apologiste chrétien, in: *Arabica* 21 (1974), pp. 292-302.

<sup>39</sup> HADDAD, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, (as n. 38), p. 293.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Marie-Geneviève BALTU-GUESDON, Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Bagdad, in: *Arabica* 39 (1992), pp. 131-150.

<sup>41</sup> GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, (as n. 13), pp. 54-57. The concept that Sasanian rulership was – almost without interruption – continued by the caliphs is the foundation of the argument in *The Book of the Crown*, a mirror of princes compiled some time between 847 and 861 at the Abbasid court; cf. Ps.-Gāhiz, *Le Livre de la couronne (Kitāb at-Tāg)*, trad. Charles Pellat, Paris, 1954. On the continuation of Sasanian traditions see GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, (as n. 13), pp. 34-45.

<sup>42</sup> Mohsen ZAKERI, Some Early Persian Apophthegmata (tawqī‘āt) in Arabic Transmission, in: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 27 (2002), pp. 283-304, p. 294.

cessor al-Ma'mūn scholars were able to use it for their studies<sup>43</sup>; it evolved into an institution open to intellectual circles at large.<sup>44</sup> Contrary to what is commonly believed, its primary focus was not on Greek but on Persian traditions: "Its function [...] was to transcribe and preserve books on *Iranian* national history, warfare, and romance."<sup>45</sup> The *bayt* was concerned with Pahlavi manuscripts, not with Greek ones; therefore the search for Greek manuscripts had to be conducted elsewhere. Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq is said to have travelled with the permission of the caliph al-Ma'mūn to search for manuscripts on Byzantine territory, principally in order to promote the translation of Aristotelian works into Arabic.<sup>46</sup>

Under al-Ma'mūn the *bayt* was not only a library, it also served as a centre of intellectual exchange and discussion.<sup>47</sup> Also the doctrine of the createdness of the Koran promoted by this caliph is said to have been discussed in this institution, which may explain its rejection by traditionalists.<sup>48</sup> However, such discussions would most probably have been conducted not in the library, but rather at court.<sup>49</sup> In spite of this, scholars meeting in the *bayt* were mostly active in defending Islam against dualist tendencies; in this respect, it was not a supposedly alien, Persian institution, as maintained by its opponents, but rather, it provided a frame for cultural synthesis<sup>50</sup>, which aimed – among other things – at a theological and philosophical strengthening of Islam. "Le rôle spécifique du *Bayt al-ḥikma* dans la politique mu'tazilite aurait donc été d'assurer une base de diffusion aux idées philosophiques parmi les musulmans."<sup>51</sup>

Contrary to claims advanced in earlier scholarship, the *bayt* was not a teaching institution; in the early Islamic period there was no institution for the teaching of secular, philosophical sciences, which was only conducted in

<sup>43</sup> BALTY-GUESDON, *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*, (as n. 40), p. 133.

<sup>44</sup> BALTY-GUESDON, *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*, (as n. 40), p. 141.

<sup>45</sup> GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 57.

<sup>46</sup> On the famous dream of this caliph, which seemed to endorse his veneration of Aristotle and his philosophy, see VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 3, (as n. 35), p. 200.

<sup>47</sup> For the importance of discussions for the development of theology see VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 1, (as n. 19), pp. 48-55 ("Die Entstehung der Kontroverstheologie").

<sup>48</sup> Cf. BALTY-GUESDON, *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*, (as n.40), p. 138.

<sup>49</sup> GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 59.

<sup>50</sup> BALTY-GUESDON, *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*, (as n. 40), pp. 144f. This synthesis was propagated at court, but it also caused resentment in more traditional circles; for this reason I have argued elsewhere that a "paradigm of synthesis" should rather be looked for in Christianity, as opposed to the "paradigm of rupture" in Islam; the latter paradigm is, of course, not the cultural ideal of court society. However, a "proper" synthesis never seems to have been endorsed by a consensus: "Das neugewonnene hellenistische Bildungsgut schien zwar den Schlüssel zu allen Problemen zu liefern, aber es war nicht zur Synthese mit dem Islam geführt." (VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 3, [as n. 35], p. 207).

<sup>51</sup> BALTY-GUESDON, *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*, (as n. 40), p. 149.

Christian schools: These even preserved a Greek name (*uskūl*) in the Arabic sources referring to these activities.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.2.2. *The translation movement*

The Abbasid court stimulated translations from Greek and Persian into Arabic. In the past, the famous Abbasid translation movement was thought to have been conducted in the House of Wisdom, if not to have been orchestrated and directed from there. Today, most scholars believe that the translation movement received its impetus from the Abbasid power centre, but it would have been an affair of individuals, working privately in the service of patrons who belonged to Abbasid society. These translators would have been associated only loosely – if at all – with the House of Wisdom.<sup>53</sup> It is important to point out that the most important translators are never mentioned in connection with this institution.<sup>54</sup>

When Zoroastrian material was translated and assimilated,<sup>55</sup> it lost much of its religious characteristics<sup>56</sup>, until it was eventually ascribed in many cases to ancient Greek philosophers.<sup>57</sup> In the course of the emergence of Islamic culture in early Abbasid times, Charles Pellat has noted – with regard to the formation of *adab*-literature – the “lack of emphasis on Islamic elements; the Arab patrimony was confined to the Arabic language.”<sup>58</sup>

The search for manuscripts of works the Abbasid elite wanted to read in Arabic was conducted above all in centres of Christian learning inside the *dār al-Islām*; to obtain a copy of Aristotle’s *Topica*, the caliph al-Mahdī, father of Hārūn al-Rashīd, contacted the Nestorian catholicos Timothy, who gave the order to search in the monastery of Mar Mattai in the vicinity of Mossul.<sup>59</sup> The

<sup>52</sup> BALTY-GUESDON, *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*, (as n. 40), p. 139. On this Greek loan word see Gotthard STROHMAIER, *Das Fortleben griechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe im Arabischen*, in: *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland*, ed. Elisabeth C. WELSKOPF, Berlin, 1982, pp. 39–60; repr.: Gotthard STROHMAIER, *Von Demokrit bis Dante. Die Bewahrung antiken Erbes in der arabischen Kultur*, Hildesheim, 1996, pp. 145–166, pp. 152f. See also the discussion in Gotthard STROHMAIER, “Die christlichen Schulen in Bagdad und der alexandrinische Kanon der Galenschriften. Eine Korrektur in Ḥunains Sendschreiben an ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā”, in: IDEM, *Hellas im Islam*, (as n. 2), pp. 180–185.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 139: “The translators were professionals and they worked as private individuals unaffiliated with any institution.”

<sup>54</sup> BALTY-GUESDON, *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*, (as n. 40), p. 137.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Shaul SHAKED, Andarz, in: *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2 (1987), pp. 11–16.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. SHAKED, Andarz, (as n. 55), p. 16: “Even Islamic religious literature, including collections of Hadith and of sayings by early ascetics (zohhād) seem to contain material possibly derived from Persian andarz sources.”

<sup>57</sup> ZAKERI, ‘Alī b. ‘Ubaida ar-Raiḥānī, (as n. 24), p. 92.

<sup>58</sup> PELLAT, *Adab*, (as n. 28), p. 440.

<sup>59</sup> BALTY-GUESDON, *Le Bayt al-ḥikma de Baghdad*, (as n. 40), p. 135; GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 137.

patriarch himself was subsequently involved in the translation of this work from Greek via Syriac into Arabic.<sup>60</sup>

It is remarkable that before the Abbasid revolution relatively few Greek works had been translated into Syriac: “The bulk of the Greek scientific and philosophical works were translated into Syriac as part of the ‘Abbāsīd translation movement during the ninth century.”<sup>61</sup> Dimitri Gutas has shown that – contrary to what is generally believed – it was already the second Abbasid caliph, al-Manṣūr, who initiated the translation movement, which was in fact a continuation of activities forming part of Sasanian imperial ideology. Interestingly the earliest translations from Greek were not made directly but through Pahlavi intermediaries.<sup>62</sup>

Especially the caliph al-Maʿmūn adopted Sasanian concepts<sup>63</sup>; what is more, he conducted a prolonged anti-Byzantine campaign, claiming that the heritage of the ancient Greeks rightfully belonged to the Muslims, whereas the Byzantines were said to have abandoned ancient Greek thought by converting to Christianity. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Arab philosopher al-Kindī<sup>64</sup> claimed that the sciences of the Greeks were of Arab origin, thus the translation movement could be presented as a “repatriation of these sciences among their original owners”. According to Gutas, this was “exactly parallel to the Zoroastrian Sasanian ideology.”<sup>65</sup> However, in early Abbasid Iraq the translation movement was far more wide-spread, and sponsorship was not restricted to court circles, but rather extended to people from various ethnic and religious groups: “Arabic, Syriac, and Persian speakers, and Muslims, Christians of all sorts, Zoroastrians, and pagans.”<sup>66</sup>

These non-Muslims participated in and contributed to the emergence of an Islamic culture, not only by translating texts into Arabic, but also by stimulating interfaith dialogues<sup>67</sup>, which contributed to the emergence of an Islamic apologetic theology, called *kalām*.<sup>68</sup> As Joseph van Ess has shown, discussions with Christians prompted Muslims to develop methods of dialectical disputation to defend their doctrine and faith; in fact, the Arabic term for “theologi-

<sup>60</sup> VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 3, (as n.35), p. 23.

<sup>61</sup> GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 22.

<sup>62</sup> GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), pp. 29-60, p. 45 and pp. 50f.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 83.

<sup>64</sup> On the “philosopher of the Arabs”, imbued with the “spirit of encyclopedism fostered by the translation movement”, see GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), pp. 199f. See also Fehmi JADAANE, *Les conditions socio-culturelles de la philosophie islamique*, in: *Studia Islamica* 38 (1973), pp. 5-60, pp. 12-15.

<sup>65</sup> GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 88.

<sup>66</sup> GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 134.

<sup>67</sup> For the dialogue between the caliph al-Mahdī and the Nestorian patriarch Timothy, which took place in 781, see VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 3, (as n. 35), pp. 22f.

<sup>68</sup> For *kalām* in early Abbasid times see VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 4, (as n. 15), p. 722 and pp. 725-737. See also IDEM, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 1, (as n. 19), p. 56: “Am Kalifenhof in Bagdad verfeinerte sich der *kalām* zum schöngeistigen – oder maliziösen – Turnier.”

ans” (*mutakallimūn*) may be a translation of the Greek *dialektikoi*, made through the intermediary step of Syriac.<sup>69</sup> Muḥammad al-Ḥurāsānī al-Aḥbārī reports:

“Al-Mahdī was the first caliph to command the theologians who used dialectic disputation (*al-jadaliyyīn*) in their research to compose books against the heretics and other infidels...”<sup>70</sup>

Understandably, as a reaction to these efforts the number of Arabic Christian works directed against Islam rose considerably at this time. Consequently, the Islamic side needed a book that would show them the technique of argumentation and disputation; the advisors of al-Mahdī chose Aristotle’s *Topica*, which according to Gutas started the translation movement from Greek.<sup>71</sup> Also interest in natural sciences was prompted by apologetic purposes: “It was the introduction of dualist, and hence, atomist cosmological doctrines into the debate that occasioned the introduction of Aristotelian physics into Arabic thought.”<sup>72</sup> It was precisely the perception of religious and cultural difference and the concomitant need for dialectical methods that could be employed for apologetic purposes that started the search for ancient traditions that might be useful for intellectual argument with representatives of other religions. Greek and Persian traditions were perceived as the true Houses of Wisdom that could be despoiled to serve the needs of the Muslims; *mutatis mutandis* Greece and Persia became the equivalent of the treasure houses of Egypt which according to patristic Christian exegesis could be despoiled by the Israelites to serve their own ends.

#### 4. The transformation of the imperial culture of Abbasid Iraq into the Arabic-Islamic culture of the *dār al-Islām*

The imperial culture of early Abbasid Iraq was nurtured and shaped by a synthesis of different traditions achieved by cultural brokers at the imperial centre of the Islamic caliphate. Therefore it would be misleading to call this synthesis merely “Arabic culture”.<sup>73</sup> Arabic was merely the mode of expression; its principal ingredients, which were themselves modified in the process of fusion and transformation, were neither Arabic nor Islamic.

<sup>69</sup> VAN ESS, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* 1, (as n. 19), p. 53. Cf. the summary *ibid.* p. 55: “Wir haben es mit einem komplexen Kulturkreis zu tun, in dem man in jahrhundertelanger Osmose immer wieder voneinander gelernt hatte.” For a derivation of *kalām* from Greek *διάλεξις* see Dimitri GUTAS, *Pre-Plotinian Philosophers in Arabic (Other than Platonism and Aristotelianism)*. A Review of the Sources, in: IDEM, *Greek Philosophers* 1, (as n. 2), 4946, note 11.

<sup>70</sup> Quoted according to GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 65.

<sup>71</sup> GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 67.

<sup>72</sup> GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, (as n. 13), p. 73.

<sup>73</sup> As done by NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption*, (as n. 16), p. 25: “... die konstituierend für die arabische Kultur werden sollten”.

Dimitri Gutas has referred to this process by using the term “cultural polygenesis”.<sup>74</sup> As he points out, speakers of Aramaic, Persian and Arabic contributed to the “formation of the new melting-pot culture.”<sup>75</sup> Cultural brokers were not only instrumental, they were decisive in the emergence of this new cultural outlook, which was based on the achievements of the translation movement: “The translation movement was a result of a common effort of the majority, if not the totality, of *economically and politically* significant – actually, dominant – groups in Baghdad during the first two ‘Abbāsīd centuries, regardless of ethnic and religious background.”<sup>76</sup> Cultural brokers in early Abbasid Iraq and the translation movement generated by them provided the basis for a coalescence of traditions, which resulted in the emergence of a cultural frame that became constitutive for the maintenance of a coherent identity of the Islamic world even after the break-up of its political unity.

The geographical extension of the cultural world of the *dār al-Islām* can be illustrated with the help of two examples from the High Middle Ages, both of which point to the other end of the Mediterranean, referred to already above; both involve cultural brokers, this time with a Jewish background. First, a collection of epigrams and anecdotes compiled by Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq in the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Abbasid Iraq was translated into Hebrew by the Spanish Jewish poet Jehudah al-Ḥarīzī (ca. 1170-1230).<sup>77</sup> The second example is even more striking: Interestingly, the medieval Latin version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, originally translated by Ibn al-Muqaffā‘, was made on the basis of a Hebrew translation, which in turn relied on the Arabic version produced by this convert from Zoroastrianism. The translation from Hebrew into Latin was made between 1263 and 1278 by a Jewish convert to Christianity, John of Capua<sup>78</sup>, who suppressed a number of typically “oriental” features, which has been adduced as an explanation for the enormous success of precisely this transla-

<sup>74</sup> GUTAS, Pre-Plotinian Philosophers, (as n. 69), p. 4948. See also his following statement: “The support for the translation movement cut across all lines of religious, sectarian, ethnic, tribal, and linguistic demarcation.” (GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, [as n. 13], p. 5).

<sup>75</sup> GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, (as n. 13), p. 19: “What is called classical Islamic civilization is the result of the fermentation of all the divergent ingredients which their various backgrounds, beliefs, practices, and values provided.”

<sup>76</sup> GUTAS, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture, (as n. 13), p. 135.

<sup>77</sup> Abraham LOEWENTHAL, *Sefer musre ha-philosophim*, ‘*Sinnsprüche der Philosophen*’. Aus dem Arabischen des Honein ibn Ishak ins Hebräische übersetzt von Jehuda ben Salomo Al-charisi, Frankfurt/M., 1896; Honein Ibn Ishak, *Sinnsprüche der Philosophen*. Nach der hebräischen Übersetzung Charisi’s ins Deutsche übertragen und erläutert von Albert Loewenthal, Berlin, 1896.

<sup>78</sup> Interestingly, John of Capua was also active as a translator of Maimonidean works; see Görg K. HASSELHOFF, The Reception of Maimonides in the Latin World. The Evidence of the Latin Translations in the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century, in: *Materia Giudaica* 6/2 (2001), pp. 258-280; IDEM, Johannes von Capua und Armengaud Blaise als Übersetzer medizinischer Werke des Maimonides, in: *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, ed. Andreas SPEER / Lydia WEGENER, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 33) Berlin/New York, 2006, pp. 340-356.

tion<sup>79</sup>: It was precisely this Latin version made from Hebrew which provided the basis for further translations into German, Italian and modern Spanish at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the latter one replacing the old-Spanish translation made under the auspices of king Alfons the Wise on the basis of Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic version.

The Maimonidean controversy mentioned above erupted in regions far removed from the central Islamic lands, but it is apt to show the repercussions of this vibrant Islamic culture. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century the leading rabbinic scholar Saadia Gaon, working in Abbasid Iraq, adapted traditions and approaches of the Islamic *kalām* in his effort to establish a tradition of Jewish religious philosophy.<sup>80</sup> This medieval Jewish philosophy, which later absorbed neo-Platonic and Aristotelian concepts<sup>81</sup>, formed part of the cultural traditions of the Islamic empire, extending as far west as *al-Andalus*, which was never actually ruled by the Abbasids.

The Maimonidean controversy shows the influence of Arabic-Islamic culture on the development of Judaism; these repercussions cannot be attributed to the religion of Islam, but to the cultural synthesis sparked off by Islamic rule in the early Abbasid period. During the early Abbasid caliphate the political domination of the Muslims provided the precondition for the emergence of an imperial culture, drawing on various different traditions of subject peoples, which were transformed in the metropolitan area of Iraq. For reasons of convenience we might call this Islamic culture, even though it was not determined by the doctrines of Islam. However, Islam provided the umbrella under which these different traditions could interact, creating a new cultural tradition which has been termed by some scholars a civilization of its own. However, this may give rise to ontological misunderstandings; I prefer to talk of the emergence of an imperial culture expressed in Arabic under the protection of Islamic rule which transcended the boundaries of the *umma*, the Muslim community, to include adherents of other religions living within the boundaries of the *dār al-Islām*.

<sup>79</sup> NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, Übersetzung und Rezeption, (as n. 16), pp. 53f.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Richard C. STEINER, Philology as the Handmaiden of Philosophy in R. Saadia Gaon's Interpretation of Gen 1:1, in: *Israel Oriental Studies* 19 (1999), pp. 379-389; Marvin FOX, On the Rational Commandments in Saadia's Philosophy: a Reexamination, in: *Modern Jewish Ethics* (1975), pp. 174-187.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Fernand BRUNNER, *Métaphysique d'Ibn Gabirol et de la tradition platonicienne*, (CS 589) Aldershot, 1997; Charles TOUATI, Croyances vraies et croyances nécessaires: Platon, Averroès, philosophie juive (Maïmonide, Nissim de Marseille, Moïse Narboni) et Spinoza, in: *Hommage à Georges Vajda. Études d'histoire et de pensée juives*, ed. Gérard NAHON, (Collection de la Revue des Études Juives 1) Leuven, 1980, pp. 169-182.