# REVIEW ARTICLES

## ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON CHAHÂR AIMÂQ, HAZÂRA AND MOGHÔL

BY

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A review of, and some comments on:
H. F. Schurmann: The Mongols of Afghanistan. — An Ethnography of the Moghôls and Related Peoples of Afghanistan.
Central Asiatic Studies IV. Mouton & Co.'S-Gravenhague 1962. 435 pp. 16 Ills., 2 Maps + a Text, Glossary and Indices. fl. 69.

Dr. H. F. Schurmann's work is based on two missions to Afghânistân, in 1954 together with Professor S. Iwamura (Kyoto), and in 1955 together with Mr. E. Landauer, an anthropologist of the University of California. Sch. has primarily been in two areas, in the Hazârajât among the Dây Kundî Hazâras, and in Southern Ghôr among the Moghôl, Taimanî, and Tâjîk, besides visiting practically all Moghôl settlements in Western and Northern Afghânistân; but unfortunately he does not give us details of his travels and stays.

The MS. was largely completed in 1956.—Up to that year the bibliography is extensive, especially on Russian literature, but some important works on Afghânistân are missing (e. g. Burnes, Fraser, Masson, Vigne etc.). After the conclusive introduction come three larger parts, "The Peoples of Afghanistan" (p. 37–158), "The Moghôls of Afghanistan" (p. 159–371), which also includes much material on the Hazâras, Tâjîks and Aimâqs, and "Moghôls of the Herât Region and in Turkestan" (p. 372–404). Finally Appendices with prices and yields, and a Moghôlî text.

Sch. presents in a broad—sometimes too broad—descriptive way extensive and important first-hand material on a number of

little-known peoples. His main interest is their origins (ethnogenesis), but this interest does not always make the book very clear or easy to read. Factual description is intermingled with generalisations and argumentation in favour of his hypotheses, producing, together with repetitions, superficially a firmer foundation for the ideas advanced. This and a sometimes rather one-sided (or even mis-read) use of literary evidence, and a not very profound ethnological analysis calls for some critical remarks. These will mainly be on ethnographical matters within the reviewer's personal experience with Afghân nomads, Hazâras, and Aimâqs, and to some degree with the Moghôls.

In the Introduction (p. 13–36) Sch. concludes his findings and his ideas on the ethnogenesis of the Moghôl and the Hazâra. The centre for the small Moghôl people is still in Southern Ghôr, but in the recent past their area has diminished, and areas previously Moghôl have been taken over by Taimanîs (in the north) and by Afghâns (in the south). Probably on account of this pressure an emigration of Moghôls has started out of Ghôr, according to Sch. (p. 16) a hundred years ago (I should myself think 150 years, or a little more ago), with the result that Moghôls today are found scattered in the Herât region and in Turkestân.

There is unfortunately not much Mongolian left about the Moghôls. Culturally and physically they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbours, only linguistically are they still to some extent Mongols. In this connection it is extraordinary that the Mongolian language has practically disappeared in their original habitat in Ghôr and been replaced by Persian, whereas Moghôlî is better preserved in the Herât region, according to Sch. because they were the first emigrants from Ghôr. Otherwise the Moghôls of Herât and of Turkestân are today mostly Pashtô speakers. This change of language, Sch. thinks, took place already in Ghôr.

For a number of centuries preceding the 19th, the historical sources about Ghôr tell us next to nothing, but possibly the Moghôls formed "one of the principal ethnic elements" (p. 17). Traditions I have recorded among the Moghôls near the Herât tell that they preceded the Taimanî in the Ghôr, and this concords with Sch.'s ideas. His theory is that the Taimanî are incomers

from the north and the Moghôl from the south, that the nomadic or semi-nomadic "Nikûdârî" of Southern Afghânistân, met with in the Tîmûrid literature, are the ancestors of the Moghôl, and that these nomads finally settled in their summerlands in Ghôr "and perhaps also parts of the Hazârajât" *by* the 16th century (p. 19). This theory seems plausible, and Janata (1961) has expressed similar views.

When we next come to the Hazâra of Hazârajât, Sch. asserts that they have the same origin in Southern Afghânistân as the Moghôls.—Ultimately they may (in part!) be related; but both have culturally adjusted to different natural and cultural environments and in many ways their development has been divergent. The Hazâra have thus kept much of their Mongoloid physical characteristics, whereas their language now definitely is a Tâjîkî-dialect, although with a number of peculiarities, a considerable Mongol (and Turkish) vocabulary, Pâmîrî elements (Sch. p. 225) and possibly some influence from Pashtô (p. 26 note 33). Sch.'s idea is that original Mongol nomads from Southern Afghânistân settled in Hazârajât as conquerors over an old Îrânian population from whom they took over culture and language.

There is probably much truth in Sch.'s view. Their southern origin I have found confirmed in local tradition: A Hazâra *khân* of Dây Zangî related (1960) how the Hazâras were originally nomads from Qandahâr, using Hazârâjât as summer-grazing land before they finally settled there, when the Uzbaks had moved away(!?).—But to explain the origin of the Hazâra as the result of one single invasion, as Sch. does, is not justified. A long and complicated process has been involved in forming the Hazâra of the present day, and Bacon's explanation of various Mongol and Turco-Mongol invasions from different sides over a longer period is much more probable (Bacon 1951 p. 241, Bacon 1958 p. 4); but, we must also think of smaller or larger groups of incomers of diverse origin through the ages and find such even today (cf. Ferdinand 1959 a p. 18). The Tîmûrî near the Ûnai Pass, the group Bacon studied, according to their local tradition originate from around Shîndand, and are just another example of such incomers who have been hazâraniscd.

"The Peoples of Afghanistan" is a rather uneven presentation,

but includes much useful material, primarily based on Sch.'s experiences in Northern Afghânistân and supplemented with material on related peoples from Soviet sources.

In the chapter on "The Afghans" (p. 39–48), Sch. correctly says that Afghân ethnology is "too little worked on to be treated with assurance"—but our knowledge is far better than Sch. demonstrates, and his presentation of the Afghâns (Pasthtûns), even where they are the neighbours of the Moghôls and the Hazâras, is not very satisfying. He refers to Persian speaking "Kâbulî Afghans"(!?), but does not mention the big Pashtô speaking area of Eastern Afghânistân (Ghilzai etc.), from where practically all the Hazârajât-going nomads come. What little he relates of these nomads is mostly misleading. The nomads are *not* "in general on the move", but have rather fixed seasonal migrations, and have further in Hazârajât strictly fixed grazing areas. The nomads are "all bread eaters", but there is *no* "considerable exchange of grain for milk products" in the Hazârajât (p. 46), and I doubt whether this trade is very common in Ghôr, as Sch. relates (p. 47). The nomads get grain, but also milk products (clarified butter) from the Hazâras, usually in exchange for cloth and a variety of bazar goods (cf. Ferdinand 1962).— The name Pashtûn for Afghân is certainly *not* "rarely used" (p. 40); on the contrary the Afghâns usually use this name when they speak Pashtô. Further Sch. declares that many Hazârajât-wandering Afghâns "speak no Persian" (p. 47). This is the opposite of my experience, for the men's part at least. They speak it, but with a heavy accent—and with an immense dislike.

Much of the chapter is devoted to an argument in favour of some extraordinary ideas about Afghân ethnogenesis, where inter alia Sch. mentions: "Historical facts would indicate that the nomadism of the Afghans is not of Iranian but of Turkic origin" (p. 45). From the scanty historical sources about the early Afghâns, Sch. infers that they were originally a settled 'Mountain Tâjîk-like' people in the Sulaimân Mountains (cf. Ḥudûd al-'Âlam, al-'Uṭbî), who later became nomads, since Ta'rîkh-i-Guzîda mentions them as such in South and Central Persia in the 14th century. Sch. ascribes this change to influences from

Central Asia and concludes: "The Afghans represent a mixed group with considerable Turco-Mongolian elements". – Mixtures of many kinds and absorbtion of one group into another are common features throughout the Middle East, and it is also more or less the rule that unstable political conditions further the nomadic way of life. Therefore it is likely that Turks and Mongols have played a rôle in strengthening the nomadic tendencies of the Afghâns. But to give them credit for the Afghân nomadism as such is too far-fetched. – In this, Sch. argues from ethnology: Feilberg (1944, p. 195) is of the opinion that after Ibn Faḍlân's description the Oghuz also possessed black tents, and Sch. then suggests that it was the Oghuz who introduced the black tent into Southern and Southeastern Afghânistân in the 10th and 11th centuries. To fortify this viewpoint Sch. adds: "In Anatolia and Iran . . . the black tent seems to predominate among nomads of Turkic descent". This is certainly true, but is only part of the truth, as we are out of the purely Turkish cultural sphere and within an area where most nomads use black tents. – After all that we know of the history of the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944) it is highly unlikely that this should not have existed in Afghânistân long before the 10th century.

When Sch. comes to the Aimâqs (p. 49–73), he is much better informed because he has personal experience from the Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau (his "Hazâra Aimâqs") and from the Taimanîs. Sch. classifies the so-called Chahâr Aimâqs (the "four tribes") as the Jamshêdî, Fîrôzkôhî, Hazâra, and Taimanî, and is thereby in opposition to other investigators (Janata 1961, p. 117, Ferdinand 1959 a p. 8, Yate 1887 p. 173, note 1) who substitute the Tîmûrî (Taimûrî) for the Hazâra. But this is a rather academic matter because other tribes in Western Afghânistân are also called Aimâqs (cf. Ferdinand 1959 a p. 8), as Sch. (p. 55) rightly remarks: "Aimâq . . . seems . . . to denote those Persian-speaking semi-nomadic groups in Western Afghanistan as distinct from the oasis Tadjiks and the nomadic Afghans". Sch. here makes a noteworthy suggestion by using comparative material from Central Asia and Northern Afghânistân, "that *Čahâr* never designated "four" as such, but may have been a generic term referring to

an agglomeration of tribes which may have exceeded four by far" (p. 54).

Concerning the origins of the Aimâqs, opinions have varied greatly; previously it was common to describe them as Turks, or even as Mongols, whereas today they are generally considered to be an old Îrânian population (Janata 1961 p. 114 et seq., cf. Ligeti 1954 for their language), but it must be remembered that the Aimâqs have been exposed to much Central Asian (Turkish) influence (and intermixture), especially in the case of the Jamshêdî, Fîrôzkôhî and part of the Taimanî (cf. Ferdinand 1959 a p. 8). Sch.'s opinion is thus oldfashioned (influenced by his acquaintance with the Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau?), as he writes that "they are probably people originally of Turkic or Turco-Mongolian origin" (p. 51). He largely judges by "their strong traces of Mongoloid blood" (p. 52), by their definitely Central Asian tent-culture (yurt and *chaparî*) (p. 52), and because of certain characteristics in the Hazâra yurt, he concludes that "a Mongol origin, at least in part, is not quite out of the question".

The whole question is not so simple as this, and the Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau are difficult to argue and generalise from, because they are the most Central Asian of all the Aimâqs. – The Mongol appearance of the yurt I shall return to later; here I will merely add that in general the Aimâq yurts (i.e. among the Hazâras, the Fîrôzkôhî and the Northern Taimanî) must be characterised as Turkish.

Of the origin of the Hazâra Aimâqs Sch. does not comment in any detail. He rightly states (p. 61): "The Hazâra Aimâqs are today a group completely separated and distinct from the main body of Hazârajât Hazâras", and apart from incidentally mentioning the occurrence of two subtribes, Bûbäk and Fihristân, (pp. 56–57 and p. 125) in the Hazârajât and among the Hazâra Aimâqs, he skips the possible connections between the two peoples. He does not even refer to Yate (whom he otherwise uses!), who is very definite about this, as he says (Yate 1887 p. 173, note 1; cf. also Janata 1961 p. 108 et seq.) that the Hazâra of Qal'a-i-Nau, Bâdghîs, Bakharz and Mashhad are of the same origin as the Barbarî Hazâras of the Hazârajât. Yate further relates that the "Western Hazaras are divided in two main branches of

Deh-zangi and Deh-kundi" – both of which are well-known "tribes" and districts in Hazârajât. – During my stay in Qal'a-i-Nau in 1954 I also noted the tribes ("subtribes") Dây Zangî and Dây Kundî, besides numerous others of diverse origin: some from Uzbaks, others from Fîrôzkôhî etc. – Sch.'s vigorous denial of Ivanov's statement (1926 p. 154 et seq.) that the Hazâras of the Mashhad region have come from the Bâdghîs is not fully in accordance with the facts. The occurrence of Hazâra Aimâqs in Persian territory (Mashhad etc.) is frequently met with in literature, even before the big displacements in the middle of the last century (cf. Conolly 1834, I p. 294 et seq. ["Soonnee Hazaurehs"]; Khanikov 1861 p. 112; MacGregor 1871 p. 332; Yate 1887, l. c.; cf. Kislyakov 1957 p. 107). Yate (1900 p. 131 and 138) makes a clear distinction between these Sunnî Hazâras (Aimâq Hazâras) and the Barbarî, as the Shi'ah Hazâras are called in Îrân, and relates that emigration of Barbarî "from Afghanistan into Khurasan has latterly greatly increased" (i.e., after the conquest of Hazârajât in 1892). – It seems evident that the Hazâras of the east play a part in the formation of the Hazâra Aimâqs, and that the arrival of the eastern Hazâras in Northwest Afghânistân is a fairly old phenomenon (cf. A. C. Yate 1887 p. 173, note 1; C. E. Yate 1888 p. 136; Janata 1961 p. 109). – A Taimanî *khân* has related me the story of a migration from Hazârajât towards the west some 400 years ago (!?). Tha Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau have explained to me that they do not have their name from their connection with the eastern Hazâras, but from a settling of 1000 (Persian "hazâr") "houses of different tribes around Qal'a-i-Nau" (cf. comparable statements: Khanikov 1861 p. 112; Yate 1888 p. 136).

Culturally (here meant to include their language also) the Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau are Aimâqs and closest to the Fîrôzkôhî. – Much can still be done to elucidate their origins by close analysis of their culture and of their "subtribal" composition, etc.

After perfunctorily mentioning the Jamshêdî and the Fîrôzkôhî, Sch. gives a sketch of the Taimanîs (p. 63–73). He divides them into two groups, a northern and a southern, mainly after their different tent types and a few more cultural characteristics. Sch. gives an interesting discussion on the varying local traditions of

their origins and shows diverse possible links, for the Southern Taimanîs with the Afghâns and the Moghôls, and for the Northern with the other Aimâqs and, according to local tradition, with the Turks. He gives a very probable explanation (p. 68): "Perhaps the Taimannîs were originally a mixed tribal group linked together into some sort of confederation with a military purpose, and gradually the confederation name began to take on an ethnic meaning." Nevertheless he concludes (p. 173) that the Southern Taimanî are more closely related to the Northern Taimanî that to any other group, and that the Taimanî as such belong to the general Aimâq cultural sphere. Though Sch. is not very outspoken about it, he favours some sort of Central Asian connection on the part of all the Taimanîs, but why? Their black tent (which may previously have been the dwelling also of their northern neighbours, the Fîrôzkôhî, vide infra) clearly belongs to the Îrânian cultural sphere, and so does the language of the Taimanîs and Fîrôzkôhîs which, according to Ligeti (1954 p. 116) is clearly Tâjîkî without any special peculiarities.

But there are still many unsolved problems for the Taimanî, as well as for the Aimâqs as such. Further ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork, and probably archive-studies in Afghânistân, will be necessary prerequisites in this respect. Nevertheless I think it justified to say that the Aimâqs have a solid background of Îrânians and Îrânian culture, with a heavy overlay and intermixture of Central Asian (Turkish) culture and peoples, especially among the northern tribes. – But each of the different Aimâq tribes shows its own history and mixture (e.g., in the Jamshêdî many Afghâns have lately been incorporated). I am convinced that Sch. has touched on an essential problem in his above cited remarks about the Taimanî being a mixed tribe joined for administrative purposes. Earlier I have suggested (1959 a p. 10) that the Aimâqs were of different origins and were organized into four tribes by one of the Tîmûrid rulers. I am inclined to push this view even further. Aimâq *khâns* have previously had very strong and largely independent positions, but positions which ultimately may go back to an instalment and/or confirmation by some overlords of Herât etc. The status they had and the influence they exercised has a, so to say, "gathering effect" on local tribal

groupings. It is undoubtedly for this reason that the Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau and the Jamshêdî are of such complexity, consisting of "sub-tribes" of very diverse origins. This is just a natural result of a consistant tribal feudal system, a sideline to the tribal genealogical system.

For the Taimanî (and for the Fîrôzkôhî?) it may even be that we have to do with what can conveniently be called a "fictive tribe". Taimanî is, to-day at least, largely collectively used for people living within a certain area (when they are not Tâjîks and Moghôls), where the Taimanî *khâns*, the socalled *sardârs*, have exercised their authority. These *sardârs* are spread out over the Taimanî area (and even to the outskirts of the Fîrôzkôhî area) as landowners, and previously as local rulers, and it is my impression that the largely localized "sub-tribes" (which with some few exceptions have no idea of their origins or place in the "tribal" system), cover groups of adherers to the rulers and as such reflect an old military and administrative system rather than an old lineage system, in other words a "fictive tribe" composed of "fictive lineages" but with a mutual culture. – This is still hypothetical!

The Mountain Tâjîks are a keystone to many of Sch.'s ethnogenetic considerations. In the chapter of the Tâjîks (pp. 73–85) it appears that it is the Mountain Tâjîks of the Pâmîr he actually thinks of, and that he considers the Tâjîks of the high mountains of Southern Ghôr (Sar-i-Mushkân) as the southwesternmost extension of this "culture", which ruled Central Afghânistân before the coming of the Hazâras, the Moghôls, and the Aimâqs. But this Mountain Tâjîk "culture" cannot stand up to a close ethnological analysis, whereas in anthropo-geographical terms it has much sense: sedentary peasants in compact villages with irrigated agriculture combined with "Almwirtschaft" (principal animal: goat). Tâjîks usually have no tribal (lineage) organization, but this does not hold true for the real Mountain Tâjîks. Sch.'s Mountain Tâjîks plainly are an old or old-fashioned Îrânian mountain-dwelling, settled population. His remarks p. 77 note 1 is illustrative: "There are some Tadjiks west of Farrâh. However, as that region is largely flat it is doubtful that they can be classed as Mountain Tadjiks . . .". This is not ethnography!

The Hazâras are dealt with pp. 110–159. On the basis of "certain cultural characteristics" the Hazâras are divided into seven categories, which (p. 112) "may or may not prove to be distinctive in the long run". The division into the Hazârajât Hazâras and the Kôh-i-Bâbâ Hazâras, I find, is the least evident; Hazâras other than the Kôh-i-Bâbâ Hazâras have "a kind of Almwirtschaft"; it is found, e.g., in Warâs (southern Dây Zangî) and also in parts of Dây Kundî. The spread of "Almwirtschaft" is largely geographically determined, but also the division of the high pastures between the Afghân nomads and the Hazâras comes into the picture! Sch. further finds the Kôh-i-Bâbâ Hazâras to be "much more Mongoloid than the Hazârajât Hazâras". This is likewise disputable; the Hazâras of Behsûd (south of the Kôh-i-Bâbâ) and of Dây Mîrdâd (east of Behsûd) I have found much more Mongoloid looking, whereas Jâghôrî and southern Dây Zangî (Shahristân) are far less Mongoloid than central Dây Zangî (cf. Ferdinand 1959 a p. 18; Burnes 1842 p. 232). But racial characteristics are difficult to use when they are not based on thorough studies, and none exists! Sch.'s suggestion (p. 113) that the Turkmân Hazâra mentioned by Babur is Kôh-i-Bâbâ Hazâra, is wrong; the Turkmân still live in Darra-i-Turkmân north of the Kôh-i-Bâbâ and are culturally close to the Sheikh 'Alî, and both groups are of a primarily Turkish origin (Ferdinand 1959 a p. 38). Sch.'s Kôh-i-Bâbâ Hazâra is just another word for Yak Aulang Hazâra.

Of the Dây Kundî Hazâras (Hazârajât Hazâras) Sch. gives a detailed social analysis, but – I would add – with more conclusions than his material allows. First of all he too monolithically thinks of a once-and-for-ever-situation shaped by one original conquest, and this he sincerely wants to see reflected in the present social set-up, without even trying to analyze the complexity of past events up through the history of Hazârajât. He looks at the land-owning and ruling "lineage", the Daulat Bêgs, who claim descent from Chinggis Khan, as the conquerors, and the lowest strata in the society as the original subdued Tâjîks. His material on the lowest strata amounts to nothing, and he is thus unable to demonstrate any Tâjîk social structure for them. For the Daulat Bêgs his material is much better; they were his hosts during his stay in Dây Kundî.

If one has to get a historical perspective from a social structure, one must first try to analyze how this structure fits into the whole complex of social realities of to-day, before using its features as vestiges for reconstructing the past. For an agricultural people these realities are to a very large extent landownership. The Daulat Bêgs are to-day a landowning upper class with no small political authority, and before the conquest of the Hazârajât in 1892 by the Afghân Central Government they had the entire political power and were, according to Sch., the only landowners. Therefore, there is nothing strange in the Daulat Bêgs not living in extended family clusters, but spread out in single families in different *qal'as* where they usually also function as local headmen (*arbâb*). This is a very natural way to secure their position as leaders (if no longer rulers) in a stratum above the common man. Patrilocalism, patrineolocalism, and maybe even the "ultimogeniture among the Yäk-aulang Hazâras" may thus be explained quite simply out of the landownership situation in the present and the recent past. The past is much more difficult to deal with because our sources (written or oral) have not yet been explored properly. We know that Hazârajât was more or less independent of the Central Government, and that the country was ruled by the local *khâns* and *mîrs*, to whom the Daulat Bêgs also belonged, and that these local rulers were much occupied in petty politics and mutual struggles. A kind of tribal feudalism ruled as in so many other regions of the Islamic Middle East, and there seems to be good reason to believe that this feudal system functioned with a background in a lineage system. But to what extent powerful outside rulers have exercised influence, we hardly know. Bacon (1958 p. 24) tells that Nâdir Shâh Afshâr "appointed a leader named Daulat Beg as chief for all the Hazaras". Is he the progenitor of the Daulat Bêgs? Probably! – The history of the Hazâras seems too dim to justify Sch.'s demonstration of the conquest situation, and all the more so because the Hazâras have a more complex origin (vide supra). More ethnological and historical research will be needed to solve this and many other problems in Afghânistân, as Sch. often and readily admits.

Part III (p. 159–404) brings a presentation of many aspects of

the culture of the Moghôls, together with much material on the Taimanî and the Tâjîk of Sar-i-Mushkân. There is here much factual description, e.g. on local government, law and ligitation, inheritance, religion, agriculture, land tenure, taxation, irrigation and milling. Very useful and important material – but unfortunately for the material culture neither described in great detail nor illustrated; it is thus difficult to use in a comparative ethnological analysis. On the whole Sch. is best when describing what he has been told, and not what he has observed.

Here again Sch. more fully deals with the tribal organization and social structure. In this as in other respects the Moghôl, Taimanî, etc., have been through the Islamic-crushing-mill so that practically nothing is left in the way of original culture. In the habitation pattern Sch. notes a very clear distinction between the fully settled Tâjîk village clusters ("nuclei"), and the more scattered Moghôl and Taimanî villages ("Streusiedlung-type"), and he is eager to explain this from different social structures, which I do not find satisfactory in all details. Different geographical environments and agricultural systems are certainly important also, as is the land-ownership.

As space forbids a too detailed discussion here, I shall only add a few comments on minor points.

Among the Pashtô speaking Kârîz Mullâ Moghôls, daughters inherit nothing (p. 246); this must be due to influence from the Afghân (Pashtûn) where this is the rule. – That "no leavened bread is eaten in Afghanistan" (p. 260), is *not* quite true, as the use of old dough as leaven is the rule throughout the country. – The existence of tandûr's in Afghân nomad encampments (p. 261) must be a rare exception, or a misunderstanding. I have never seen a tandûr among Afghân nomads. They generally make their bread on an iron pan. – P. 255, misprint: summer instead of winter for the nomads' visit to Pâkistân. – P. 289, mis-citation of Moh. Ali: 3,922 English pounds correspond to *four* (not to one) *pâô*. – On p. 326 Sch. writes about the *kârîz*: "It is made by boring wells (*čâh*) at intervals of two or three meters . . .". The wells are not bored, but dug out, and usually with a distance ten times as great in between.

Finally a few literary remarks. Sch. usually gives the correct transliteration of the literary form of place names, tribal names,

and even of the local dialect words, sometimes almost too correct, e.g., p. 137: *mâddär-i kalan*, etc., instead of just *mâddär kalân* (cf. Ferdinand 1959 a p. 46). A few errors are to be found: Shindân instead of Shîndand; Messhed for Mashhad; *mânâ* for *manâ* (cf. Ferdinand 1959 a p. 28); *qûrut* for *qurût*, *omač* for *omâch*, etc. (vide Glossary). – On p. 272 *däst-dâs* ("hand-sickle") used for hand mortar, must be a misunderstanding for *dastâs* – handmill (cf. p. 335 where Sch. gives *däst-dâs* for handmill). "*Boja*" (p. 139) for brother-in-law is not only Mongolian, but is in common use in Kâbul and in Tâjîkistân (*bâjah*) (Ferdinand 1959 a p. 48). Another of Sch.'s mongolisms (p. 152), *ughúr*, is also in common use in Kâbulî etc. – *Barak* (p. 418), to my knowledge, is not "a heavy woollen overcoat", but just the material; likewise *kärbâs* (p. 419): not "men's cotton trousers", but just the rough cotton material. Finally, *ghižđî* for the black tent is not Pashtô but the Persian for the Pashtô *kigdei* (*kizhdei*).

These comments and the following appendix are mostly critical – a warning against too unthinking an acceptance of some of the information given and some of the conclusions drawn. This should not be allowed to veil the fact that Dr. Schurmann (who so far as I know is a historian by profession) has made an important contribution to our knowledge of Afghânistân past and present. Everyone who has to do with the ethnography of Afghânistân will use this work, but I believe that it will be difficult of access for persons who are not previously familiar with matters Afghân. Considering it as ethnography one strongly feels the lack of illustrations (the price is such that one is inclined to feel cheated by their absence!). The tribal map included, a copy of Bruk's map from Sovietskaya etnografiya 1955 with the spread of the Moghôls inserted, does not compensate for the shortcomings of the place-name map.

*Tents and Huts.*

With good reason Sch. has paid much attention to the tent and hut types he has encountered. They are usually specific for different peoples and tribes and can therefore be used as important indices for cultural connections as well as give hints about the peoples' origins.

Sch.'s treatment of these dwellings, especially the tents, is extensive and brings in much relevant material for comparison, but unfortunately his descriptions are not sufficiently exact, and he does not master Feilberg's analytical principles (1944).

Completely misleading in his differentiation between skeletal and non-skeletal types of the black tent whereby he sets the Taimanî tent apart from the Moghôl and the Afghân types. The simple underlaying fact is this, that more tent sticks are employed in the first type (Taimanî) than in the two others. The argument then becomes dubious when Sch. (p. 348) calls the *chaparî* tents skeletal structures (although admittedly with much better reason) and then suggests the Taimanî tent as a "compromise type" with structural ideas from the *chaparî*, the black tent, and the local gabled house.

Another dubious procedure is to use Kharuzin's correct differentation between Turkish and Mongol yurt-types in a very simplified way: round-roofed yurt (Turkish) and conical-roofed yurt (Mongol), to hint at a closer connection between the Aimâqs and the Mongols (p. 353).

Similarities are basic to ethnological comparison, but the information used has to be very exact, and fundamentally so on the technical-structural level. Basically the so-called black tent and the yurt-types are different constructions. The black tent, together with other light tents (e.g., our own modern tent!), can conveniently be classified in a bigger group of guy-rope (or stay) tents (Hatt 1945). By this technical principle, the use of stays, these tents are clearly distinguished from the Central Asiatic round tents (yurt types) and, for that matter, from all other tent types, e.g., the tents of the so-called primitive peoples of Eurasia and North America, etc.

Guy-rope tents have no self-supporting skeletal framework; they are pitched only when the structural parts (roof cover [cloth] with attached guy-ropes, tent pegs and poles or sticks) are arranged in the right position or balance to one another.

The Central Asiatic (and the primitive) tents have a self-supporting framework which can be erected separately before the tent cover is arranged, but the cover has no structural rôle in these tents.

*The Taimanî Tent.*

The Taimanî tent is in principle a black tent or a guy-rope tent, Fig. 1. Sch.'s description of it (which at the same time suggests how it is pitched, pp. 344–345) is therefore entirely misleading: "The poles are generally driven into the ground . . . They are held in place by ropes tied to stakes", and further: "Once the structure has been completed, the *palâs* [i.e., roof cloth] is spread over the tent". Janata (1961 p. 121) gives a far better description of the Taimanî tent, but he also speaks of the side tent-poles as "senkrecht in der Erde gerammt . . .". This is not in agreement with my observations: In the tents I have examined, the tent poles were stood loosely on the ground. If the tent has been pitched in one place for a longer period, the poles may work their way down into the surface, but this is not a structural detail.

Personally I have not seen a Taimanî tent being pitched, but I have a description of it, and in principle it is in accordance with any pitching of a black guy-rope tent of which I have seen several being pitched elsewhere in Afghânistân, in Îrân and in Arabia:

The roof cloth (*palâs-i-bâm*))[1] is first spread out and then the tent pegs (*mêkh*) are driven into the ground. These pegs are directly connected with the roof cloth via the stays (guy-ropes), attached to wooden hooks as a stay fastener (of the type given in Ferdinand 1959 b p. 35, fig. 8 a; cf. Sch. 1962 fig. 6), to which is bound a stay-fastening rope (*sar-i-âze*) sewn firmly unto the lower edge of the roof cloth. Now the four forked sticks (*chû(b)-i-khâna*) are placed under the stay-fastening ropes in the corners, and then all the rest of the side sticks (*chu(b)-i-khâna*) are placed in the same manner, approximately vertical. Thereafter the beam is placed under the middle of the roof cloth in the longitudinal direction of the tent and the roof cloth. This rather heavy beam (*chû(b)-i-bâm*) is usually supported by two heavier, forked poles (*sutun*) at either end, in bigger tents also with a third at the middle; I often noticed that the poles were pressed down about

[1] The terms given are from the Mômînî Taimanî of the *ailâgh* Kattachishma, S. of Band-i-Bayân in Pasâband, two hours' quick walk due west of Âbûl (cf. Ferdinand 1962, p. 147).

a fingerlength into the ground. The tent now has its proper shape, its saddle- or span-roofed appearance, and further adjustment can be made by means of the stays. The side cloth (*palâs-i-dörî*) is now by means of wooden pins (*sêkh-i-khâna*) attached to the underside of the roof cloth. Usually the side cloth consists of two "cloths" pinned together end by end, and either end is bound by pieces of cord to the 'door sticks'. On top of the wall cloth are placed plaited reed or willow mats (*chîgh*), and they are bound by cord to the tent sticks; finally a plaited willow door or a piece of cloth is arranged as a door, and the construction is finished.

This tent type is extremely uniform in its appearance as well as in its construction throughout its area of distribution, and it is entirely distinct from the tent types of the surrounding peoples.[2]

To place this tent type in its right cultural context, Sch. sets forth the material of Feilberg (1944) on the Kurds and Lurs and finds that there is "no immediate structural affinity" (p. 347), and concludes that the Tainanî tent as mentioned above is rather a local product. Janata (1961 p. 123) is fully aware that the "nächste Verwandte des Taimanizeltes" are among the Kurds and the Lurs, but the neverheless thinks (p. 122) that the Taimanî tent has developed from the local span-roofed houses, inspired ("angeregt") from the surrounding nomads' tent. He concludes that the Taimanî tent is the original tent of all the Chahâr Aimâq tribes, first of all because it is found in areas which are "weitgehend vor fremd-kulturlichen Einflüssen abgeschirmt". – This is a suggestive hypothesis, and Janata (l. c.) supports it by this information: "Auch bei den Firuzkohi des südlichen Tschaqtscharon findet sich dieses Zelt . . ."

Let me attempt a closer examination of these statements.

The Taimanî tent, I think, after Edelberg's and my own travels, does not exist north of the Harî Rûd in Chaqcharân. South of that river I have seen a few Taimanî tents in Fîrôzkôhî encampments, for instance among the Sultanyâr people near to the Go-

[2] In a few cases I have seen tents among the Taimanî which can best be explained as a cross between the Durrânî and the Taimanî tent types, for instance in the summer encampment of Abû Bakr Khân of the Khânzâda subtribe in the mountains just SE of Daulatyâr.

vernment centre Kassî, but in the cases where I have enquired about it, the explanation given was that the inhabitants of these were either single Taimanî families living among the Fîrôzkôhî, or families with a Taimanî woman married to a Fîrôzkôhî. – The Northern Taimanî in the Shaharak area (Ainî, Gheibî [?], Pahlawân [Pahlân], etc.) generally use *chaparîs*, as do some Taimanî further east (Khânzâda etc.) near Daulatyâr in addition to the Taimanî tent. In the Shaharak area they also to some extent use real yurts (*khergâ*) as the result of a clear influence from the Fîrôzkôhîs. The wooden framework for the yurts was imported from Jawân and Gharchestân in Chaqcharân, whence the Fîrôzkôhî also get theirs. It thus appears that there is a clear southward drive in cultural impact on the Taimanî, just as the case is among the Fîrôzkôhî where the appearance of the yurt must be seen as an impact from further north.

The following information fits into this general picture. I received it from the *arbâb* Karîm Dâd Bêg from Chahârsadda in northwestern Chaqcharân. He stated that originally the Fîrôzkôhî together with the other Chahâr Aimâq tribes lived in Bâdghîs (Bâyghîs). At that time they were nomadic pastoralists (*kûchî*) and they lived in black tents of the Taimanî type. The Uzbaks were in Chaqcharân and southward as far as Hârî Rûd before the Fîrôzkôhî. How long ago this was, he did not know, but it was at least 200 years. – It was only later that the Fîrôzkôhî changed their dwelling; the *chaparî* they themselves invented, whereas they learned to use the yurt (*khergâ*) from the Tâjîks, and even today it is the Tâjîks of Jawân, Gharchistân, etc., who make their yurts, that is to say only the woodwork, i.e., 8 *qanât* (the trellis of the wall), 40–50 *heq* (the roof sticks), and the *sarkhâna* (the 'crown'), all of which they buy for ca. 1,000 Afgh. The Tâjîks in the Chaqcharân were there before the Fîrôzkôhî, and even today the whole of Upper Murghâb is still inhabited by Tâjîks.

The trustworthiness of this tradition I cannot verify, but it is well within reason and thus seems to support Janata's hypothesis.

The first time I met with the Taimanî tent, I was struck by the thought that this could be the missing link in the evolution of the black tent as Feilberg saw it (1944): a span-roofed house/hut being

the starting point (vide fig. 1, Sch. fig. 6, Ferdinand 1959 a, fig. 6). The material analysed by Feilberg was in his day extremely weak for all areas east of the Lurs and the Kurds. During a study tour in Îrân 1959 I tried to fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge of the black tent. I shall now summarise those of my observations which have a bearing on our subject.[3]

In a large area of Western and Central Îrân the black tents are rather closely related. This holds good for the eastern Kurds (Feilberg 1944), the Lurs (Feilberg 1944 and 1952; Godard 1928, Pl. V), the Bakhtîârî (Cooper 1925, p. 133; Kislyakov 1957, p. 271), the Bâsserî of the Khamseh confedracy (Barth 1961, p. 11), the Qashqâ'î (Ullens de Schooten 1956, p. 40; Ivanov 1962, p. 41; and personal information), local semi-nomads from ʿAzîzâbâd and Khorâsânî ʿArabs, both south of Qum. Common to them all is their having wooden bars resting on poles in the centre-line of the tent (T-construction) to give the tent a span-roofed (saddle-roof) appearance. These bars are always placed in the length-wise direction of the tent cloth (and of the widths of cloth) and of the tent as such. Side cloth is found among the Qashqâ'î, the Bâsserî (fig. 2), semi-nomads near Isfahân (Bakhtîârî?), Môminî ʿArabs (fig. 3)[4], and the ʿAzîzâbâd semi-nomads south of Qum (fig. 4), whereas it does not seem to be the rule among the truly nomadic Bakhtîârî, the Lurs (thought apparently so in Godard 1928, Pl. V), and the Kurds. – The *Gêlakî* (fig. 5) tents have no side cloth either, but mud walls, where we visited them near the pass north of Fîrôzkôh. Besides the Taimanî tent, the Gêlakî tent is the only one I know of in the whole Îrâno-Afghân area which has a bar running the whole length of the tent (but across the width of cloth). This bar consists of two or three sticks bound together, and is supported by three forked poles. In this arrange-

[3] On this journey (April–June 1959) I collected material on the summer tents of the Bakhtîârî, the Bâsserî of the Khamseh confederacy, Khorâsânî ʿArabs of the Môminî tribe, and semi-nomads from the village ʿAzîzâbâd (both S. of Qum), semi-nomads from Garmsar, and from Sang-i-Sarî (SE and E of Teherân), Gêlakî semi-nomads from Mâzanderân (N of Fîrôzkôh), Tîmûrî around Mashhad, Balûch and Brâhûî of Balûchistân and Sîstân (cf. Ferdinand 1960), and finally scattered notes on the tents in the Jîroft–Kermân area. This material will be published later.

[4] It is impossible to say if the Môminî ʿArabs, originally from Khorâsân, have anything to do with the Môminî among the Taimanî.

ment the Gêlakî tent is related to the Taimanî tent, as well as to the Îrânian tents mentioned with repeated T-arrangements in the centre line.

Small bars arranged in a T-form are found in some of the East Îrânian black tents (the Tîmûrî of the Mashhad area and in Balûchistân, cf. Ferdinand 1960) and can also be met with in Durrânî tents in a different context (cf. Ferdinand 1959 b, fig. 7, 3–4), but the correspondence in this feature is much clearer in the West Îrânian and East Arabian tents (cf. Rackow 1938, p. 174).

Closest is the agreement between the tents of the Taimanî, the Khurâsânî ʿArabs, and ʿAzîzâbâd semi-nomads (Bâsserî and possibly also the Qashqâ'î) in the Îrânian sphere and the East Arabian tents, and outwardly most apparent between the tents of the Taimanî and those of northern Qatar (i.e., of the Nâʿim tribe and of the local sheikhs [fig. 6]). The last-mentioned tent types are both very uniform, both adjusted to a semi-nomadic or, better, semi-sedentary life with short and very rare migrations, so that the tents usually stand for a longer period in the same place, clustered with other tents. This use most probably accounts for their strict and consistent structure, and possibly also for their intimate and closed character (recalling the self-sufficiency of village houses). The apparent outer similarities correspond to constructional similarities in the basic arrangement of roof cloth, sticks and poles, stays, and continuous, nearly vertical side cloth pinned to the roof. Only in the stay fastening system are clear differences met with; in the woven strengthening bands under the roof cloth and the special wooden stay fastenings attached to the ends the Nâʿim tent is clearly an Arabian tent (fig. 7, cf. Rackow 1938).

This is certainly a superficial analysis, but I think it sufficient to show that the Taimanî tent definitely belongs to a bigger group of Îrânian tents, now in particular centred in Western Îrân, and with obvious connections with east Arabian tent types. – With its bar arrangement, etc., the Taimanî tent could possibly help in connecting the Tibetan tents closer with the Îrânian, but that is a bigger and quite different story. – Most deplorable when discussing the black tent is the lack of the time factor – not for the black tent as such: we know it must be more than 3,000 years old – but we have, up till now, no means of determining the age of the

different tent types. Therefore one has to be extremely careful. I would willingly take the Taimanî tent as resting on old Îrânian (possibly old Indo-European?) traditions, which for cultural and geographical reasons stagnated as such in a very rigid type. But that again depends on the question: is it an old type?

There exist two different black tent types among the Taimanî, besides the *khergâ-chaparî* types with their affiliation towards the north. It was not until August, 1960, when I traversed part of the western Taimanî area, the Tûlak-Farsî area, that I became aware of the existance of the *maldârî* (i.e. pastoralists, nomads) tent (fig. 8) in the westernmost regions, besides the ordinary Taimanî tent (cf. fig. 1) which here as in other regions of the Ghôrât is actually termed *'arabî*. The *maldârî* tent type is a somewhat more permanent and compact edition of the Durrânî tent (vide Ferdinand 1959 b p. 36 et seq.), as its name hints, and it is seemingly very close to Sch.'s Moghôl tent, to which I shall return later. In this connection the question is: what bearing has the name *'arabî* on the present discussion?

The Taimanî did not give me any clear statement on the origin of this name, so I venture to suggest the following hypotheses:

1) The name has been given because it was felt appropriate, following what *hâjjîs* or other travellers have seen among the 'Arabs.

2) The name exists because in the use of this tent there is a definite connection with 'Arabs, either because 'Arabs in the neighbourhood have had a similar tent type, or because 'Arabs directly introduced the tent.

Here the tents I have seen among the Mômanî 'Arabs come into the picture (cf. fig. 3). These 'Arabs were Arabic speaking (at least partly), and they told me that they had come rather recently from Khurâsân (northeastern Îrân). Unfortunately I have not met 'Arabs in Khurâsân, only Tîmûrî. In their tents (which are of two related types, one of them styled Balûchî) there was one and only one feature, the use of strengthening bands under the roof cloth, which points directly towards the 'Arabs. I therefore suggest as a possibility that a tent type of rather uniform construction once ruled in Îrânian Khorâsân and parts of West

Afghânistân, and it is as a remnant of this that to-day we find the Taimanî tent in its very strict and consistent construction, adapted to the local semi-nomadic conditions. But that tent type had and has (as shown above) wider affiliations towards Western Îrân and Eastern Arabia. It is, however, primarily an Îrânian type (e.g. in the stay fastening system), and I am therefore inclined to think that the name *'arabî* does not mean that 'Arabs introduced it, but rather that neighbouring 'Arabs had similar tents, and hence the name was adopted for "prestige" reasons. The information given by *arbâb* Karîm Bêg fits into this hypothetical framework, as well as the suggestions of Janata, that the special Taimanî tent once ruled among all the Aimâqs. Even the sporadic appearance of gabled houses (span-roofed) which both Sch. (p. 363), Janata (1961, p. 122), and I, have seen in the Ghôrât, fits into the general picture of the widespread appearance of span-roofed constructions (cf. Feilberg 1944 p. 170 et seq.), possibly underlying different types of black tents. For these reasons I cannot agree with Sch. when he writes (p. 349): "It is my feeling that the rectangular tent developed in the Ghôrât under the special condition of ethnogenesis of the Southern Taimannî people".

As in so many problems of historical reconstruction one must say: We are still confused, but, it is to be hoped, on a higher level of confusion.

*The Moghôl tent.*

Sch. gives a rather detailed description of the Moghôl tent (p. 340 et seq.); his details about the sticks being arranged first and the cloth afterwards laid over are, however, just as untrustworthy as for the Taimanî tent. It is true that the lower part of the centrebow is embedded in the ground (cf. Ferdinand 1959 b p. 35, fig. 7), but it is doubtful whether the same is true for the centrepole, and it is certainly wrong for the row of sticks in the sides.

There is no question about the Moghôl tent belonging to the socalled Durrânî tent type, or better group of tents, which are ultimately related to tents and huts found in southeastern Îrân

and Balûchistân (Ferdinand 1959 b and 1960, cf. a Moghôl tent in Ferdinand 1959 c p. 287). This seems to fit very well with Sch.'s general idea of a southern "origin" of the Moghôl. But it is not only the Durrânî tribesmen and the Moghôls who use this tent type or variations of it. It is widespread in the lower parts of Western Afghânistân, e.g., among the Tîmûrî, etc., and many tent-dwelling villagers, and it exists, as already mentioned, among the Taimanî, from Tagâô Magas, west of Tûlak, and is dominant in possibly the entire remainder of the western area of the Taimanî. Here it is made of the same light cloth (*palâs*) as is found in a Taimanî tent proper, as opposed to the much heavier cloth found among the Afghân (Pasthûn) pastoral nomads. A glance at the distribution of tent types in the western half of Afghânistân will show that in the central parts of the Ghôrât the true Taimanî span-roofed tent exists, but in the outskirts of the area it is outweighed by other types from the surrounding peoples (in a north by the Central Asian yurt types, in the west by the *maldârî* type, and towards the south by the Moghôl type as a clear extension of the southern tent area). In the valley bordering on Gurz, north of Nauzâd, south of Ghôr, Edelberg and I obtained information in 1954 about the Afghân expansion towards the mountains beginning during the reign of Ahmad Shâh Durrânî through the tradition of the local population that they had got their lands from that king. Before then, according to their information, the Moghôls were the land-owners there. That is to say that in a not too distant past the Moghôls were in more direct contact with the southern lowlands, so that for their part the tents have never been directly cut off from the Durrânî tent area.

According to the information available at present, it is impossible to say whether the Moghôls were black-tent dwellers in Southern Afghânistân before they entered their present habitat, or whether they acquired this tent at a later time. – In this connection it is interesting to note that the true yurt (the *khergâ* type) has affected quite southern areas. Round Rameshk and Gwanchân in northern Bashâkerd there exist huts which can only be explained as derivatives of yurts (Gershevitsch 1959 p. 218 and fig. 5). In other words, yurt dwellers have been in these southern areas, perhaps

the Nikûdarî, or other Central Asiatics. – The first suggestion may be the right one but this probably presupposes a change in tent type.

*The yurt-type tents.*

Yurts and related tent types are found among the Turkish population of Northern Afghânistân, the Northern Hazâra (Sheikh 'Alî, etc.), the Northern Aimâq, and also among Tâjîks living within this large area. Sch. deals with these tents at length and gives a description of real yurts (P. *khergâ*) and of *chaparî*'s and *kappa*'s (i.e. simpler round huts/tents) under the different peoples he deals with (p. 59, 62, 69, 76, 92, 100, 103, etc.), and in the final chapter on dwellings (p. 350 et seq.). His descriptions are, however, generally not very good, and as they are not exact enough either, they are difficult to use for comparison. Here, as throughout the book, the lack of illustrations is very unfortunate, as it is not always clear which type Sch. is speaking of. I shall refrain from details here and just comment on a few matters. Sch.'s statement that the simpler *chaparî*s tend to be more widely used among the semi-nomadic peoples than among the fully nomadic, seems to be correct, and I could suggest a variety of reasons for this viewpoint, first and foremost that they are cheap to make, but not "because of the relative stability and immobility of its structure", as Sch. says (p. 351). The stable thing about a *chaparî* is that the wall sticks are firmly embedded in the ground, and that the upper conical part is sometimes supported by a centre pole. But otherwise it is just as mobile as an ordinary yurt, if not more so, because its structure is simpler (figs. 9 and 11).

At frequent intervals Sch., as already mentioned, refers to Kharuzin's division of yurts: into a Turkish round-roofed type with spherical appearance, and a Mongol conical roofed (or pointed) type. Sch. partly uses this to connect the Aimâqs closer with the Mongols. What Kharuzin refers to in these two appearances (Sch. p. 351), is the fact that the roof sticks in the Turkish yurts are bent towards the lower end, and are straight in the yurts of Mongolia and among the Kalmuks. – From this point of view

the Aimâq yurts are clearly Turkish: Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau (vide Gafferberg 1953, fig. 5,5 [p. 79]; Edelberg 1952, fig. 12 [p. 117]; specimen in the Danish National Museum, No. E. 1326); Northern Taimanî of the Pahlawân tribe (Edelberg 1958, p. 260 [fig. of wooden framework; the same yurt partly covered with felt in Ferdinand 1957, p. 157]; Firôzkôhî [vide figs.10–11]). When the Aimâq yurts appear "Mongolian" with conical roof, it is due to the shape of the roof sticks (cf. fig. 11) – in other words, a superficial resemblance. Sch. further hints at a Mongolian connection in the use of double-doors in the Aimâq yurts. Against this view it is sufficient to mention that the Uzbaks throughout Northern Afghânistân also use double-doors (cf. Humlum 1959, fig. 121 a; Edelberg 1952 fig. 14 [p. 119]), and that the same is the case among many Turcomans, not only in Northwest Afghânistân (Tokarev 1958 p. 361). Identical doors can be seen in towns and villages of North Afghânistân (cf. Sch. p. 352), and in Uzbekistân (Sokolov 1959). The use of double-doors must have a connection with the low mobility of the predominantly semi-nomadic, yurt-dwelling peoples, and must be due to influence from the settled population, from whom (i. e., from whose carpenters) the doors are, in fact, bought.

Based on quite other considerations: the height of the side wall owing to the existence of double latticework and because of the shape of the "crown" (*sar-i-khâna*) in the Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau yurts, Gafferberg (1953) has tried to demonstrate the Hazâra yurt as a survival of the medieval Mongolian yurts. A cardinal point for Gafferberg is Rubruck's description of a Mongol yurt with its peculiar "crown" consisting of a ring from which an upright neck rises like a chimney[5], and Potanin's old (and poor) photo of the yurts of the Chinggis Khan shrine in Ejin Horo in Ordos (Gafferberg 1953, fig. 16 [p. 91]). A very unfortunate aspect of this discussion is that Gafferberg has only the outer appearance of the shrine yurts to argue from. Potanin does not give a description of the construction, and neither do others who

[5] Rubruck's text says (d'Avezac, Vol. IV, p. 220): "Domum in qua dormiunt fundant super rotam de virgis cancellatis, cujus tigna (Tingna, MSS. A, B et C, Tiga, MS. D) sunt de virgis et conveniunt in unam parvulam rotam superius, de qua ascendit collum sursum tanquam fumigatorium, ...".

have visited the shrine (Lattimore 1941, p. 29 et seq. with figs. pp. 44 and 52; Rintschen 1959 with figs. 4 and 5 [p. 15]; cf. also Vyatkina 1960, fig. 7 [p. 175] on an Outer Mongolian portable shrine).

In this connection Professor Owen Lattimore has kindly given me the following information (in a letter of 29 May 1957):

"From Dr Schurmann's [i.e., oral] description of the Chahar Aimaq tents, I am convinced that I have seen nothing of the kind in Mongolia. The Dilowa Hutukhtu says that he has never seen anything of the kind. I then asked him if he had ever heard about the construction of the Chingis shrine tents. (He has never seen them. Incidentally, I cannot tell you anything about their construction as seen from the inside, because they were covered with interior hangings.) The Dilowa replied as follows (from hearsay, of course):

"The Chingis shrine tents are called chomtse (tsomtsok). This is from a stem which you will find in Kowalski . . . 'to squat on both heels; to kneel, either on one knee or both knees'. The Dilowa says that the real significance is not simply whether one is kneeling, whether on one knee or both; what matters is that the spine is bent, so that the bowed head projects in front of the knees, with the head lowered (an attitude of reverence/submission). This, he has heard, is because the Chingis tents, instead of being constructed of *khana* (wall-trellis) plus *on* ('umbrella ribs'), are constructed of unit-pieces which have a knee-bend, and thus provide the frame of both wall and roof.

"He added that in his youth (in NW Outer Mongolia) the old people used to say that all Mongol tents once had this construction; that it was 'a bad thing' for the Mongols when the new construction of *khana* plus *on* came into use. . . . I asked him why; . . . he said . . . that the old people are always conservative; they always think that the old is good and the new, bad."

According to Professor Lattimore's information, it appears that the shrine tents are simpler, and seemingly more old-fashioned in construction than any other known yurt. In this, there certainly is an agreement with the *chaparîs* in Afghânistân, and closest with the Northern Hazâra (Sheikh 'Ali etc.) *chaparî* type (Ferdinand 1959 a, fig. 13 and p. 28 et seq.), where the wall and

roof frame consists of long curved poles, whereas the Aimâq *chaparîs* have two sets of straight sticks bound together (fig. 9; Gafferberg 1948, fig. 3 and 4). The implications of this accordance must be dealt with later, in a wider context than here.

Dr. Gafferberg's inference of the existence of double latticework (wall trellis) in the Chinggis Khan shrine yurts, based on their outer proportions, must thus be rejected and, accordingly, her argument for the idea that the use of double wall-trellis is a Mongolian trait. Gafferberg mentions (1953, p. 92) that double wall-trellis was formerly used among the Turkish Laqai, and I have information about its existence among the Turcoman of Northwestern Afghânistân, besides its general use among the Aimaqs (Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau, Fîrôzkôhî, and Northern Taimanî). To me, therefore, this trait appears rather to be Turkish, or better, local Turkish.

Finally, there is the specially shaped crown (*sar-i-khâna*) of the Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau yurts (Gafferberg 1953, figs. 5 and 11; Edelberg 1952, fig. 12). Its narrowed form distinguishes it from all other yurt crowns. It resembles most closely, on account of its height, the rest of the Aimâq crowns; and in certain Fîrôzkôhî crowns there is in fact a very slight narrowing (fig. 11; compare Northern Taimanî: Edelberg 1958, p. 260 and Ferdinand 1957, vis-à-vis, p. 129). The form is nevertheless very unusual, and the possibility *cannot* be disregarded that it is something of this sort Rubruck describes. It may then well be an old feature, even though our possibilities of verifying the hypothesis are limited. A connection with the Chinggis Khan shrine yurts must, on the contrary, be dismissed on the evidence available.

The arguments advanced up to now for the hypothesis that the Hazâra-i-Qal'a-i-Nau yurt should have any special connection with the medieval Mongol yurt type seem to me to be too weak to build on further. Only when we know the construction of the yurts of Ejin Horo, can the discussion again be taken up.

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P. S. After completion of these notes an important article has come to my knowledge: A. Róna-Tas, Notes on the Kazak Yurt of West Mongolia, Acta Orientalia Hungarica, Tom. XII, pp. 79–120, Budapest 1961. In this article Róna-Tas contrasts the Turkish and Mongol yurt-types, taking Kharuzin's division as a starting point for his examination of his own material from Kazaks and Mongols. – Róna-Tas mentions (p. 89) the use of wooden doors both among the Mongols and Kazaks, but unfortunately it does not appear if this use among the Mongols is a recent phenomenon, as it does for the Kazaks. – Concerning the black tents Róna-Tas (p. 65, note 9) inter alia writes, that "certain Turkish peoples" in Afghanistan use black tents. What Róna-Tas refers to, must either be the Taimanî, or the Timurî and related durranized tribes (cf. Ferdinand 1959 a, p. 9), among whom the black tent definitely is no Turkish trait. – Róna-Tas's remark (l. c.) that he "had occasion to establish the fact that the black tent is well known to the Mongols, the Khalkhas in particular" is highly interesting, and further publication is eagerly awaited.

Fig. 1. Typical span-roofed Taimanî tents in summer encampment (*aylâgh*) of Mòminî Taimanî. Kattachishma, Pasàband 27/7–1960.

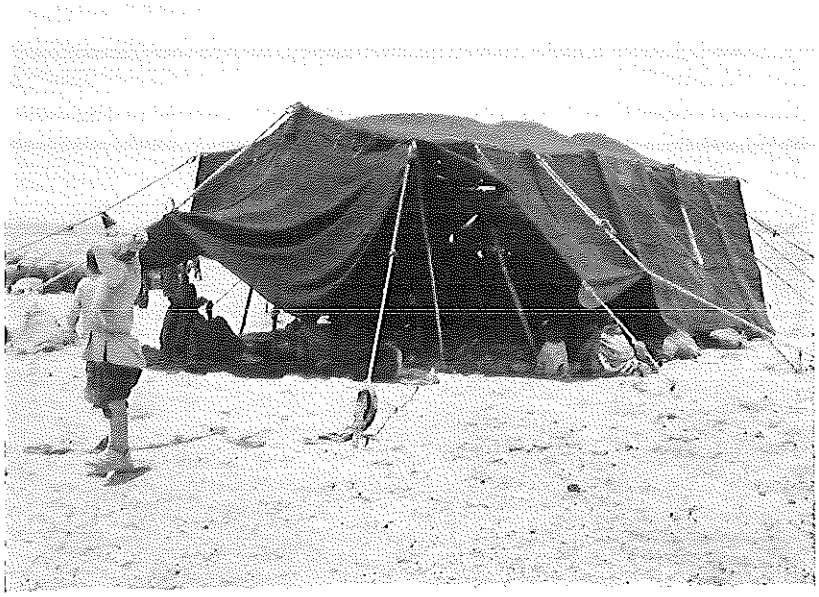

Fig. 2. Bàsserì tent at temporary camping ground near Persepolis (Takht-i-Jamshìd), Ìràn 30/5–1959.

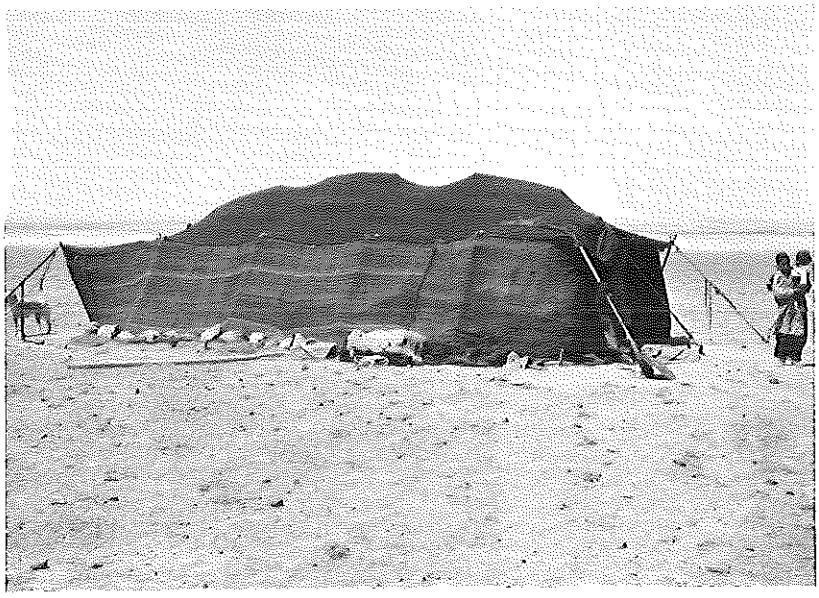

Fig. 3. Khoràsànì (Mòminì) ʿArab tent on temporary camping ground to the south of Qum, Ìràn. NB. On other tents the side cloth was under the stays (cf. Fig. 4). 24/4–1959.

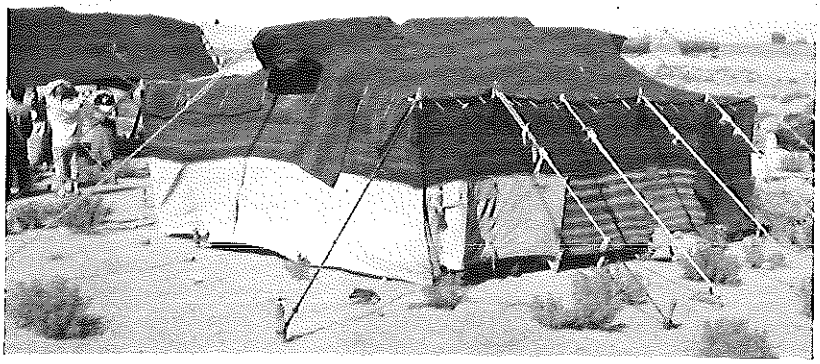

Fig. 4. Tents of semi-nomads from the village ʿAzīzābād, south of Qum. The 'T-post' arrangement is identical with that in Fig. 3. 24/4–1959.

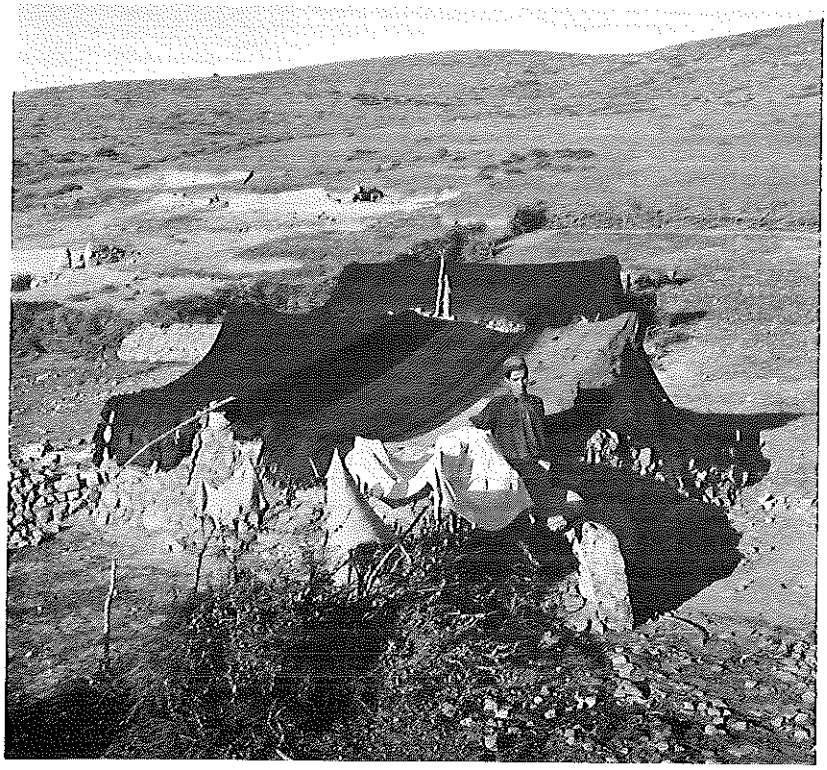

Fig. 5. Gēlakī tents on permanent summer camping ground, near the road- and railway pass (Gaduk?), N. of Fīrōzkōh, Īrān. 15/6–1959.

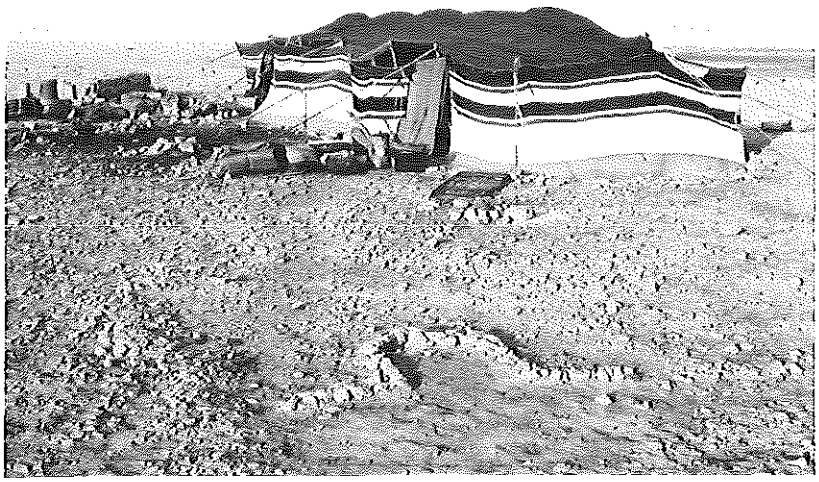

Fig. 6. Tent of the Nâ'im tribe on permanent spring-camping ground, northern Qatar. Typically Arab is the striped side-cloth. In the foreground the prayer-place with a mihràb made of small stones. Murwàb, NE Qatar, February, 1959.

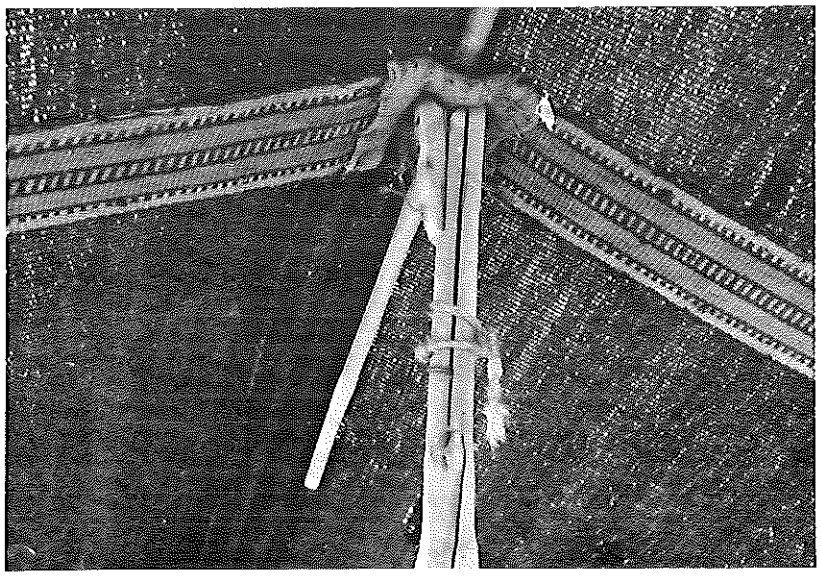

Fig. 7. The T-arrangement in the centre line of the Nâ'im tent (Fig. 6), where the bar (stick) is inserted between the roof cloth and the strengthening band.

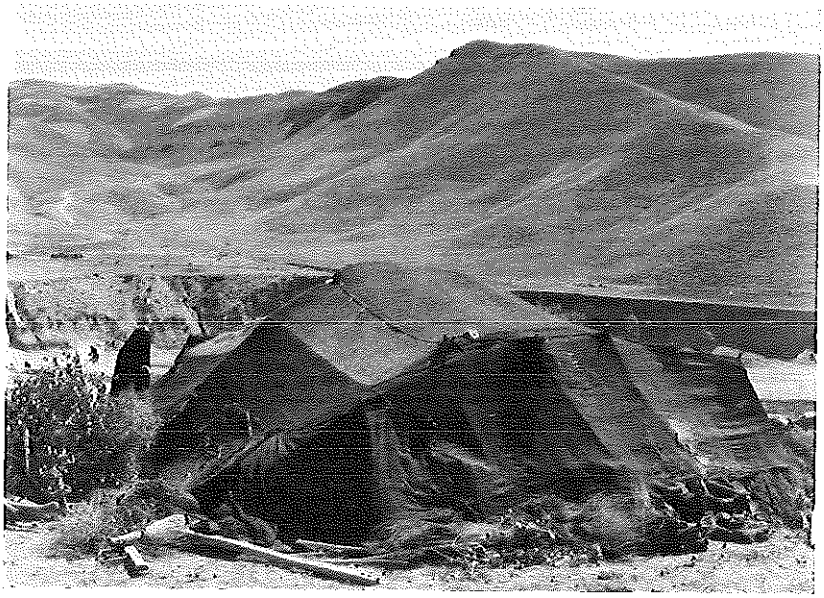

Fig. 8. The *maldârî-* (or *ghizhdî-*) type of black tent among the western Taimanî. There is one arch in the centre, across the widths of the tent cloth. From Tagàò Magas (sub-tribe Qifchàq), W. of Tûlak. 9/8–1960.

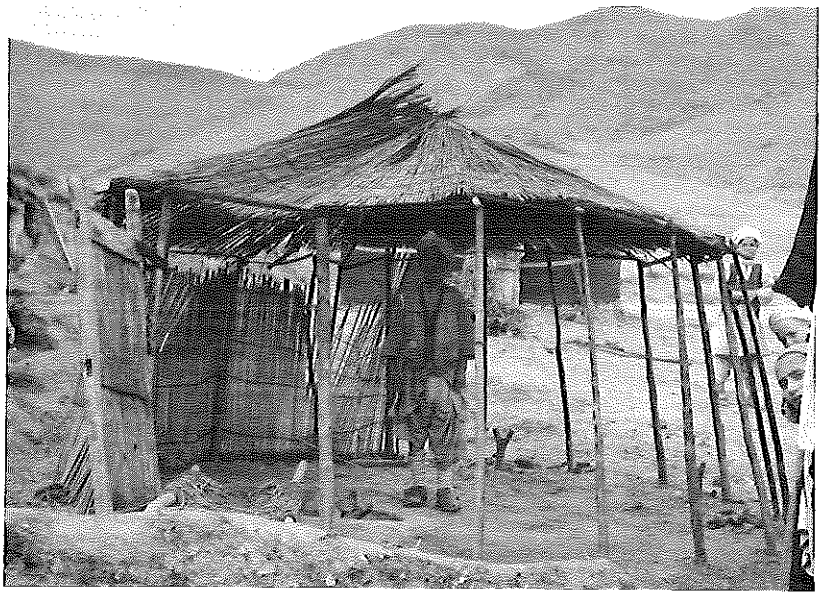

Fig. 9. The framework in a Firòzkôhî *chaparî*. To the upper end of every side stick, embedded in the ground, is bound a straight roof stick. These are then bound together in the centre to form a conical roof. The roof is covered with willow mats (*chîgh*), and the side cover is either of felt or black woollen cloth (*palâs*) plus *chîgh*. From the village Delma, ca. 10 km E. of Chisht on the Harî Rûd. 30/11–1954.

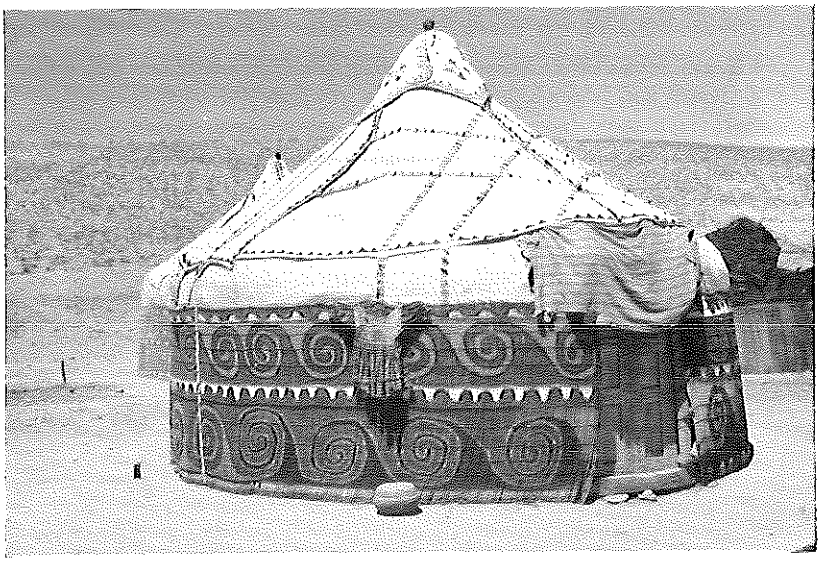

Fig. 10. Fîrôzkôhî yurt (*kheryâ*) with double-door and appliqué ornaments on the white felt. The painted willow-mats (*chigh*) is specific for the Fîrôzkôhî (and the Northern Taimanî). From the village Kandiwâl (sub-tribe Sultânyâr), 2–3 kms. SSW. of Kassî, Chaqcharân. 25/7–1960.

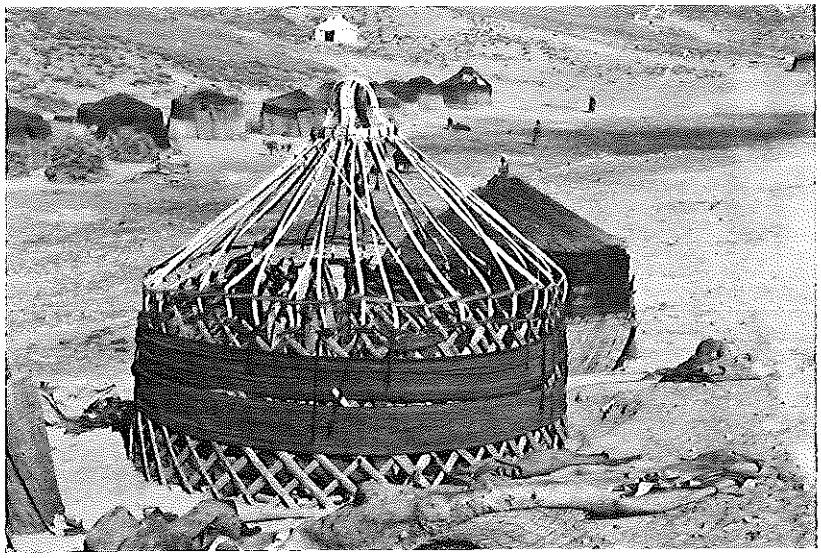

Fig. 11. Fîrôzkôhî yurt without the felt cover. Apart from the bend at the lower end, the roof-sticks are straight, and thus give the yurt its conical roof. Note the slight narrowing of the bow-sticks of the crown. In the background *chaparis*, and a single yurt; the white tent serves as a mosque. From the *ayldgh* Jâ(r)-i-Chughôr (sub-tribe Yârfûlâd), ca. 25–30 kms, NW. of Kassî, Chaqcharân. 25/6–1960.

# NOTES ON A RECENT STUDY OF OLD BABYLONIAN TRADE

BY

MOGENS WEITEMEYER

W. F. Leemans: Foreign trade in the Old Babylonian period as revealed by texts from Southern Mesopotamia. Leiden, Brill, 1960. 196 pp., 2 maps. (Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia, 6). fl. 30.

Among the considerable amount of published tablets from the Old Babylonian period only a few deal with foreign trade in the sense applied to the expression by Dr. Leemans. The definition of the subject is the foreign trade of the southern kingdoms of Mesopotamia, whereas the trade carried on between these city kingdoms is not included in this study. Nor is the trade of the northern, western and eastern regions of the Babylonian cultural sphere—i.e., Assur, Mari and Ešnunna— included in this volume. The absence of these subjects gives rise to expectations of new volumes to follow the series started by the author in 1950 with *The Old-Babylonian Merchant*, his business and his social position.

Even when the material is scarce, it would be wrong to jump to the conclusion that foreign trade in this period was of minor importance of economy. While the southern cities of Larsa and Ur seem to continue the trading tradition under the Larsa dynasty, the political instability seems to have affected their trade abroad to such an extent that it almost ceased under the rule of the Babylonian kings—probably due not only to internal political events in Babylonia.

Evidence of foreign trade may often be hidden in contracts recording credits given for commercial purposes when trading

was carried on by trading expeditions. Contracts with merchants, speaking languages other than Babylonian, coming to Southern Mesopotamia would be unnecessary, and small-scale trade done by several people at the time when Babylonia had been able to extend its borders to Iran, Assyria and the Syrian kingdoms, would leave no written evidence.

Mesopotamia became a trading centre in early times: the country needed products obtainable from foreign countries and the rivers, converted to water routes of transit trade, made the country an intermediate link of great value to its economy.

The introduction presents lists of articles from foreign countries. The lists are based on relevant parts of lexical texts (ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu*, tablet iii, iv [vocabulary of stones], xi [copper], xxii [published in JNES 15 (1956), 146 f.]) and the *lipšur* litanies (JNES 15 [1956], 129 ff.). The lists are valuable to the effect that names are explained by the country from which the articles originated. Mentioning of the names of such articles in texts from different periods seem to bear witness to connection between Babylonia and the exporting countries.

The period of Ibbi-Sin seems in Ur to have been the most profitable in displaying abundances of foreign articles. Some texts concerned with the trade of a certain Lu-Enlilla refer to his copper trade with Magan. (The texts are transcribed and translated [UET iii, 751, 1511, 1666, 1689]). Garments seem to have been exported, and Lu-Enlilla seems to carry on the trade on behalf of the Nanna-temple.

"The seafaring merchants of Ur" going from Tilmun[1] (*ālik Tilmun*) to Ur as described by A. L. Oppenheim JAOS 74 (1954) pp. 6–17, are here treated in relation to this subject. The group of texts dated from the reign of Larsa kings, Gungunum, Abisarē and Sumu-ilum (UET v, 286, 292, 526, 546, 548, 549, 558, 678)

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[1] A summary of the Danish excavations on Baḥrain and Failaka is recorded by W. F. Leemans in *Phoenix* 7 (1961), pp. 103–116; the preliminary reports of the expedition are issued in the Danish yearbook *Kuml* 1954 ff. (in Danish, with English translations). A reservation with regard to the identification of Dilmun or Tilmun with Baḥrain is rendered necessary by the excavation of 8 fragmentary inscriptions on the island of Failaka off the coast of Kuwait.

A preliminary report from Assyriologisk Institut, University of Copenhagen,

mention a tithe (zag-10) to be given to the goddess Ningal after an expedition to Tilmun. Tilmunite traders were also coming to Ur (Iddin-$^{d}$Nin-Inzak). The differences between the Ur III trade and early Larsa dynasty trade is the rôle of the temple which in the later period did not take the initiative, but the trade seems not to have been on a large scale.

With the exception of two texts (UET v, 367, 428), all the texts from the middle of the Rim-Sin period seem to deal with Ea-nāṣir's trade with Tilmun (UET v, 5, 6, 7, 20, 22, 29, 71 (as well as 23 and 66, probably to Ea-nāṣir), 81, 471, 796); most of the texts are letters concerning the copper trade carried on with Tilmun. Ea-nāṣir seems to have been a businessman travelling once to Tilmun to buy copper, but normally sending a middleman. On his travels he took over minor business transactions concerning copper, but it seems that the copper deliveries to the palace was his main business. A list of garments (UET v, 848) in the hand of Ea-nāṣir may show us what kind of articles were exported, even now that silver was used to buy copper at Tilmun. Lu-Enlilla from the Ur III period acting on behalf of the temple, and Ea-nāṣir from the time of Rim-Sin acting on behalf of private businessmen and perhaps the palace, show the changes of the social and economic structure. The question concerning the active rôle of the temple and the palace in both cases is more intricate than the texts reveal, and W. F. Leemans underlines this fact when writing: "In this connection it may be observed, but no more than that, that in the middle period the temple still received tithes from the Tilmun trade and it apparently still had an important place in the economic life of Ur, whereas there are no more allusions to the temple in the last period; now it was no longer the temple but the palace which levied taxes on the trade" (p. 56).

was prepared by Dr. J. J. A. van Dijk, whom I thank for permission to communicate the following facts concerning these fragments: In the cases where it can be ascertained, the language used is Sumerian, and the time involved is the Old Babylonian or Cassite period. Three gods are mentioned: Inzak, Nin-sikil and Mu'atl, principal gods of the Tilmun pantheon; two votive inscriptions, further, seem to be from a temple of Inzak. In one of these the name Dilmun, or Tilmun, probably occurs. The conclusion drawn from the study of this material should be that Failaka was part of the country of Dilmun or Tilmun.

Attention may in this connection be drawn to a letter (UET v, 36)[2] from Rim-Sin to a man obviously living in Ur. As the king's name is written without mark of deification, we may date it to the first third of his reign:

(1) *a-na* Ur-$^{d}$Nanna(ŠEŠ.UD) (2) [*qí*]-*bí-ma*
(3) [*um*]-*ma Ri-im*-$^{d}$*Sin*(EN.ZU)-*ma*
(4) [*ap*]-*pu-tum* (5) [*mâr*(DUMU)] *ši-ip-ri-im*
(6) [. . . . .][*aq*](?) *me-e* (7) [. . . . .][*iš*](?) *ta-aq-na-at*
(8) [x x *la t*]*e*[!]-*eg-gi*[3] (9) [. . . . .][x]-*mu-ur-šu*
(10) [. . . . .]$^{\lceil}$UDU]ḪÁ (11) [. . . . .]-*im*
(12) [*ša*(?) *ta*(?)-*aš*(?)][-*pu*](?)-*ra-am*
(13) [. . . . .][x] *eleppi*(MÁ) Tilmun(NI.TUK)-*na*$^{KI}$
(14) [. . . . .] (15) [. . . . .] $^{\lceil}$*ad*](?)
(16) [. . . . .-*š*]*u*(?)

"Say to Ur-$^{d}$Nanna: thus (says) Rim-Sin: please, the messenger . . . of water . . . is in order . . . . . do not neglect the . . . . . sheep (pl.) . . . which you sent me (?) . . . a Tilmunite ship . . . . .".

The letter, at least, proves that the palace was directly interested in the trade on Tilmun.

The addressee is not without connection with the palace itself as far as may be judged from a letter received by him from Kudurmabug, the father of Rim-Sin (UET v, 75). He is neither an unimportant citizen of Ur—even though men bearing the same name have been of inferior rank. UET v, 476 and 612, may be connected with the Ur-Nanna of the Rim-Sin letter.

Copper was not the only imported article but far the most important in the economy of Ur in the Isin-Larsa period. W. F. Leemans assumes that Ur was a port of the copper imports, and from this town "the copper found its way to the other towns of Šumer" (p. 55). Some references are given, but it is a subject of paramount significance since the importance of Ur seems to decline under the last part of the reign of Rim-Sin, and

[2] For reference to this text I am indebted to Dr. J. J. A. van Dijk, Copenhagen University.

[3] I thank Professor Jørgen Læssøe for the suggested reading of line 8.

after having been conquered by Hammurabi, the city was lost by Samsuiluna. Were the political conditions under the last years of Rim-Sin and later on the incorporation of Ur in the Babylonian kingdom so unfortunate for the traditional trade of Ur that the city lost its importance, or was it a certain interruption of the contact with Tilmun from where the copper was brought to Ur? An investigation based on analysis of copper objects shows that nickel is present in copper until roughly the time of Samsuiluna, whereas nickle is absent in later copper objects. Nickel is absent from Caucasian and Western Iranian coppermines and found only in small percentages in copper from Anatolia. On the other hand it is found in copper from Mohenjo-daro and the 'Omân-district (p. 122).

The part concerned with copper in ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* originates from the Larsa period or the end of Ur III, and in this text only copper from Tilmun, Magan and Meluḫḫa is mentioned. In an appendix W. F. Leemans tries to establish the identity of Meluḫḫa (pp. 159–166). Among the imports designated as coming from Meluḫḫa are ivory, gold, probably ebony and carnelian, all of which may originate from East Africa (gold from Ethiopia and Nubia) as well as from India. But the carnelian (gug gi-rin-e) is often mentioned together with lapis-lazuli, which, it seems, originates only from Afghanistan. Timber and copper are also among the imports from Meluḫḫa, but may derive from places on the routes from Magan and Meluḫḫa via Tilmun. The arguments for Meluḫḫa collected by W. F. Leemans, in the period under and before the Larsa dynasty, are in favour of the coastal civilization of the southern part of the Indus valley. After the excavations in India traces were found from which was deduced a relation with the Babylonian civilization (e.g., ivory-works known from the Indus civilization found at Ur). Boats from Meluḫḫa are mentioned in Old Akkadian texts and must, then, be from a rather civilized country (even when experience of mediaeval events should perhaps be kept in mind). India had a civilization in those days and East Africa, as far as we know to-day, did not. Furthermore, the distance to India is shorter than that to East Africa. Ivory work was known to be manufactured in the Indus valley and to have been imported to Ur

together with wood coming from Meluḫḫa. Kidney-shaped beads of carnelian may be another link between the two cultures.

The ending of the Larsa dynasty or the supremacy of Southern Mesopotamia coincides with the ending of the imports from Magan and Meluḫḫa. At the same time the Indus civilization declined or came to an end. The main articles known as coming from Meluḫḫa were later on again imported to Babylonia. The designations from the lexical texts were transferred to the country from where they were brought; therefore, from the time of the Cassites on, Meluḫḫa may be the name of Nubia or Ethiopia. (This argumentation was suggested by B. Landsberger in 1924, ZA xxxv, p. 217 note 2.—In his review of Leemans's book, D. O. Edzard refers to Th. Jacobsen's point of view expressed in *Iraq* 22 [1960] p. 184, note 18: Magan is identified with Egypt and Meluḫḫa with Ethiopia).

The trade of Larsa, the capital of the kingdom of southern Mesopotamia, is carried on with the eastern part of the outskirts of the Babylonian cultural sphere, Ešnunna via Susa: an unusual itinerary used only when Larsa was cut off from the normal waterways north along the rivers. The dates of the contracts are from the 39th to the 42nd year of Rim-Sin, and at least two of them are strongly related to Larsa-contracts dated with Ešnunna year-formulas, from the last year of Daduša of Ešnunna (the fall of Qabrâ) and the 5th year of his successor Ibal-pī-el II. The cronological problems are dealt with in a special chapter (viii): "The synchronism Ḫammurapi—Šamši-Addu" (pp. 176–181). W. F. Leemans concludes that Šamši-Adad died about the 12th–14th year of Hammurabi, and not earlier than the 11th year. This saves the date of BE vi/i, 26. Hildegard Lewy has made another attempt to solve this intricate problem in "The synchronism Assyria-Ešnunna-Babylon" (*Die Welt des Orients* II [1959], pp. 438–453). The many year-formulas of Zimri-Lim have long been of less importance to many scholars than BE vi/i, 26. On the other hand, inasmuch as the full dates of the years of Zimri-Lim are not known from contracts, a hesitation is understandable (cf. M. Birot, ARM ix [1960] p. 247). The new material of W. F. Leemans seems to strengthen the relative chronology between Ešnunna, Larsa and the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad.

The trading tablets derive from the turbulent years in Šamši-Adad's late period and from the years following his death. Two letters seem to allude to these events (MAOG xvi, 1/2, Y 112 and Y 134, both given in transliteration and translation pp. 78–80). Contracts given in transliteration, translation, and some of them rendered in new hand copies (the cases having been opened) are the following: TCL x, 98, 125 (copies of tablet p. 59, case p. 60), 20 (copy of tablet p. 62), 93 (copy of tablet p. 64), 96, 95 (copy of tablet p. 66), TCL xi 222 (copy of tablet p. 66), and from the collection Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collecta I/2, no. 55.

The contracts were probably drawn up at Ešnunna where a smaller colony of Larsa traders may have had their quarter. W. F. Leemans draws attention to two of the contracts the subject matter of which is quite similar to the situation described in the Code of Hammurabi § 112 (*šibultum*, "consignment"). The contracts are concerned in transport of silver from Larsa to Ešnunna —but nothing is known about the articles they obtained for their fellow city men.

The *wakil tamkāri* of Zabilum, Itti-Sin-milki, mentioned in W. F. Leemans: *The Old Babylonian Merchant* (1950), pp. 71–77, seems to have played a leading part in the economic life of Larsa in the first half of the reign of Rim-Sin, and one of his men, Ikun-pī-Adad, was one of the leading men in the foreign trade of Larsa. The trade may have been connected with the economic activity of the palace, even when the person executing the business by appointment of the palace took advantage to do this together with business of private persons (cf. above Ea-nāṣir in Ur from the same period).—An addendum deals with the texts from the trade department of the *wakil tamkāri*, Itti-Sin-milki. (The following texts given in transliteration and translation: YBT v, 207, TCL x, 53, 56 (new copy of tablet p. 147), 57, 60, 61, 64, 72, 81, 82 (new copy p. 153), TCL x, 68 = AO 8478 (new copy of tablet p. 155)). These texts enumerate several articles known to have been among the exports and imports and to some degree throw light on the plausible results of the supposed trade with Ešnunna. The texts date from Rim-Sin 22nd–30th (except the great tabulating list from the 12th year of Warad-Sin to the 4th year of Rim-Sin).

The trade of Sippar seems mostly to have been a small-scale trade, but pointing in all directions—except to the south. Even if the author does not in this book deal with the trade between the city states of Southern Mesopotamia, he writes that the traces of trade between the kingdom of Babylon (to which Sippar belonged) and Larsa are very small. To the north-east, Ešnunna, to the north, Assyria and Arrapḫa, and to Syria in the West. A colony of tradesmen from Ešnunna seems to have resided at Sippar, as we may gather from the Ešnunna month-dates found on Sippar documents (in his review of Leemans's book, D. O. Edzard states that the month Dam-ḫi-ri is known from Mari and ed-Dēr as well, and did not only apply to the Ešnunnaean calendar.—BiOr 19 [1962] p. 260–261). In this connection transliterations and translations are given of VS viii 81/82 (= VAB v, 441), CT viii, 37 b (= VAB v, 69), BIN vii, 52. —An intermezzo of Ešnunnaean rule in Sippar is another possibility which W. F. Leemans will not exclude.

Trade with Simurrum which was located between Ešnunna and Arrapḫa (see also Jørgen Læssøe: The Shemshāra Tablets [1959] p. 15 f.) and with Arrapḫa is evidenced. (For trade with Arrapḫa: CT ii, 49 = VAB vi, 162; CT xxix, 13 = VAB vi, 226; CT xxix, 14 = VAB vi, 227; MAP 4 = VAB v, 105, CT vi 19 b = VAB vi, 126, are given in transliterations and translations).

Two letters show a trading relation between Assyria and Sippar (UM vii, 49 = ABB 49; CT xxix, 24 = VAB vi, 112), and an unpublished tablet from ed-Dēr, IM 49309—rendered in translation and transliteration—like the two former letters, records certain amounts of copper lying in the *bābtum* (gate or merchandise)—a valuable piece of information concerning the imports from Assyria.

Certain texts from Sippar reflect the trade along the river passing Babylon. Some sort of control was established known from a letter coming from the post of Baṣu (built by Hammurabi in his 21st year?). The texts transliterated and translated in this connection are: VS xvi, 52 – TCL xvii, 133; VS xvi, 36; CT ii, 20; VS xvi, 30; TC iv, 27 a and the unpublished ed-Dēr text: IM 49307.

In the chapter on related geographical problems W. F. Lee-

mans deals with some routes from Larsa to Ešnunna and Susa (TCL, x, 54, new copy p. 167). The normal route seems to be from Larsa via Maškanšabir to Ešnunna, but political trouble changed the route to Larsa-Ešnunna via Susa.

In conclusion, W. F. Leemans finds that the methods the Mesopotamian peoples could use in order to obtain articles from foreign countries was by exports of agricultural produce (e.g., to the coast of the Persian Gulf), industrial articles of relatively high value, e.g. seal cylinders, importing at low prices articles which were expensive in other regions to where they were re-exported. The fourth method to get articles from foreign countries was by means of silver which in bars was used as money.

W. F. Leemans's book not only contributes to the economic history of the Old Babylonian period: it is also a significant addition to Assyriological literature on the political history of the period, and will remain an indispensable study of essential aspects and fundamental institutions of early Babylonia.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

**J. B. Segal:** The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70. Oxford University Press, 1963. XIV, 294 pp. [Select bibliography: pp. 270–289.] (London Oriental Series, Vol. 12).

The book under review is of importance not only because it takes up anew the problem of the Passover, its origins and development, and deals with it with originality of approach and profound scholarship, but also because, by questioning the value of the source-hypothesis, it calls for a reconsideration of it.

In the first part of his book the author, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of London, gives a close analysis of all the historical documents, both Biblical and extra-Biblical, including the Book of Jubilees, Josephus, Qumrān, and many others, and then, in Chapter 3, he takes up the modern theories on the origins and development of the Passover for a critical survey.

In the second part the author sets forth his thesis that the primitive Passover was a New Year of the springtime, by discussing the Hebrew calender, also showing a relation to the Hebrew military census in the spring. His investigations of the *ḥaggīm* are of particular interest. This also applies to his finding that *pesaḥ* and *ḥag ham-maṣṣōṯ* were one and the same, both belonging to the pattern of original Passover.

In the last chapter: The Last Phase, the period of the Second Temple, destroyed A.D. 70, of the early Tannaitic literature, and of the New Testament, is discussed.

Through the wealth of problems dealt with in this book and the mass of material brought together and critically discussed, it forms a study of high value for students of the Old Testament.

*R. Edelmann.*

**Bertil Albrektson:** Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations with a Critical Edition of the Peshitta Text. – Studia Theologica Lundensia, Skrifter utgivna av Teologiska Fakulteten i Lund 21. CWK Gleerup, Lund 1963. 258 pp. 36:– sv. kr.

Bertil Albrektson's book is a most welcome contribution to the study of the Syriac Old Testament. The edition of the Peshitta text is exemplary, also as regards the apparatus criticus and the textcritical (based upon the MT and the Septuagint) and exegetical notes. Carefully prepared sections give information about the previous editions and the different manuscripts. Last but not least, Albrektson has added an original and inspiring survey of the background of the theology underlying the Lamentations, thus following up Norman K. Gottwald's praiseworthy first attempt in Studies in the Book of Lamentations (London 1954, Studies in Biblical Theology No. 14). Earnest attention should be drawn to the author's summarizing study of the character of the Peshitta version (pp. 210 ff.) as a warning against too trustingly using the Syriac text to clear the cruces of the Masoretic Text. One example out of many: Peshitta 3,8 *P šm'* is not the rendering of a sound Hebrew text, but a free translation – in order to get rid of a disturbing crux – of the hapax legomenon *štm*!

**Sir Hamilton Gibb:** Arabic Literature. An Introduction. Second Edition, Revised. Oxford University Press, 1963. 182 pp. 18 s.

One welcomes with great pleasure this enlarged edition of Professor Gibb's small book from 1926. Attaching the greatest importance to the period 750–1055 A.D. ("The Golden Age") it gives a concise, but still surprisingly detailed description of

Arabic literature from about 500 A.D. till our days (Ṭāhā Ḥusain), supported by several samples of texts and a list of European translations of Arabic works.

Of its kind this small literary history is unsurpassed.

*J. P. Asmussen.*

## IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

**Mittelpersisches Lesebuch.** Zusammengestellt von Olaf Hansen. Walter de Gruyter & Co, Berlin 1963, 97 pp. DM 32,–.

Mit diesem Buch liegt ein äusserst wertvolles Supplement zu H. S. Nybergs Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, dem Buch für die Erlernung des Pehlevi, vor. Es ist Professor Olaf Hansen gelungen, eine solche Auswahl in Faksimilewiedergaben der zoroastrischen Literatur zu geben, dass die ortographischen Eigentümlichkeiten und Unterschiede klar und deutlich hervortreten. Die schönen Textwiedergaben, die Professor Hansen mit einer sorgfältigen Transliteration versehen hat, rühren von dem Mēnōk-i Xrat, dem Grossen Bundahišn, dem Šāyast-nē-šāyast, dem Artā Virāz-Nāmak, dem mittelpersischen Steinbuch (nach der Handschrift K 35 der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen), dem Dēnkart, dem Pehlevi-Psalter und einem mittelpersischen Papyrus aus dem Fayyum her. Transliterationstabellen für die Texte im "gewöhnlichen" Buchpehlevi sowie für die Psalter-Übersetzung und den Papyrus finden sich auf Seite 1. Man heisst dieses schöne Buch herzlich willkommen.

**L. P. Elwell-Sutton:** Elementary Persian Grammar. Cambridge University Press, 1963. 223 pp., 45 s.

Of late years a considerable number of Persian grammars have appeared, in English, German, French as well as in Fārsī, each with its merits – and drawbacks – according to the plans and special purposes of the book. In Dr. Elwell-Sutton's book the merits are obvious. It is based on the contemporary written Per-

sian of newspapers, magazines and novels and gives the usual grammatical rules and characteristics in a pedagogically clear and recommendable way. But in addition, and herein lies one of the essential merits of this grammar, the student is introduced to Persian *script* from the very first lesson. The instructions of how to write the Persian letters, the joined forms as well as the separate ones, are excellent. Particularly useful are the thorough surveys, illustrating specimens of handwriting, of the nasta'līq script (Appendix A, p. 171–176) and the šikastä script (App. B, p. 176–185).

**Humāy-Nāma.** Edited with an Introduction by A. J. Arberry. Calligraphy by Sharaf al-Dīn Khurāsānī "Sharaf". British Institute of Persian Studies, Texts and Monographs: I. Luzac & Company, Ltd., London 1963. XXII – 193 pp. Persian text. 63 s.

The "Nāmä-literature" is an important and interesting branch of the literature of Iran. Although a literature of epigones, with Firdausī's Šāhnāmä as a model, it is of great significance and has, where it is best, an original beauty that makes it worth reading. A convenient survey of this epic literature is to be found in e. g. I. S. Braginskij, Iz istorii tadžikskoj narodnoj poezii, Moskva 1956, p. 307 ff. Monographically it has been dealt with in Ḍabīḥullā Ṣafā's important book Ḥamāsä-sarāyī dar Īrān, Teheran 1333. Of that literature a fine copy of Muxtārī Ghaznavī's Šahriyār-nāmä was rediscovered lately and is now in the Oriental Manuscript Department of the Academy of Sciences of the Tadjik SSR (cf. K. S. Aini, Concerning the Study of Classical Persian-Tadjik Epic [a Unique Manuscript of the "Shahriyar-Namah"], XXVI International Congress of Orientalists. Papers Presented by the USSR Delegation, Moscow 1963).

And now inaugurating in the most worthy way the new text series of the British Institute of Persian Studies, the Humāy-nāmä comprising 4332 couplets in the mutaqārib metre appears as a completely new title in the Nāmä genre of Persian literature. It tells the story of Humāy, the son of the king of Egypt, and Gul-i Kāmkār, the daughter of the king of Syria, and all their adventures,

e. g. the battles with the Byzantine Caesar, till their happy wedding. The text, beautifully written by "Sharaf", is admirably edited and introduced by Professor A. J. Arberry. It obviously belongs to the end of the 12th century, the terminus ante quem – based on a somewhat later waqf notice inscribed in the margin of folio 2 v – being January 1313. The author, who may have been a crypto-Zoroastrian (the allusions to Fire-worship in verses 50–51), is unknown, but presumably the name *Šāyistä*, written by a later hand on folio 2 r, was his takhalluṣ. In his introduction Prof. Arberry informs about the orthographical peculiarities of the text and provides a most exhaustive summary of the contents. The MS is No. 301 of the collection in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.

Paper and printing is excellent.

**Irène Mélikoff**: Abū Muslim. Le "Porte-Hache" du Khorassan dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve. Paris 1962. 160 pp. 21 NF.

Abū Muslim, the convert who played an important—perhaps the most important—part in the history of Islamic Iran in the first half of the 8th century, exerted—after his death under al-Manṣūr in 755 A.D. (cf. Ibn Ḫallikān 4, 72, 10)—a radical influence on religion and literature. As the Abū Muslim Nāmä has it (p. 94): Par sa *valeur*, il prendra le royaume du Khorassan et, par son *épée*, il châtiera les *Hérétiques* et rendra à la *Religion* sa pureté.

In an altogether excellent, thorough, and inspiring way the author gives an account of the historico-political, religious and literary position of the Abū Muslim-figure and all the problems that an analysis of these matters calls forth. Even if Irène Mélikoff's studies in the first place apply to the Abū Muslim-novel, which has been ascribed to Abū Ṭāhir-i Ṭūsī, and of which a translation, based upon both Turkish and Persian versions, is given, they go far beyond the mere clearing of the phases of the joint Turco-Iranian cultural development. By her wise treatment of this interesting material Dr. Mélikoff shows what can be done,

and by her numerous inciting remarks and rich notes she reveals study objects that can with advantage be taken up for treatment. This is above all the case with the spiritual affinity between the Zoroastrian and Mazdakite reminiscences and the Shī'a extremes, but also—in the field of motif-studies—with the more detailed researches in Iranian and Turkish folk-tales. The motif mentioned on p. 39, often met with in Tājikī tales, is one out of many.

Irène Mélikoff's book is a most admirable work.

**Durchblättert ist des Lebens Buch.** Vierzeiler von Omar Chajjâm. Nachdichtung von Martin Remané. Mit Nachworten von Jan Rypka und Bozorg Alavi. Rütten & Loening, Berlin 1962. 126 pp.

Kein persischer Dichter geniesst so grosse Beliebtheit in Europa wie 'Umar-i Xayyām. Übersetzung auf Übersetzung ist erschienen seit den Tagen Edward FitzGerald's (1859) und dem Anfang der Xayyām-Forschung mit V. Žukovski (1897, cf. JRAS 1898). Die Schwierigkeit ist fast immer gewesen, ein vernünftiges Gleichgewicht zwischen den Forderungen, die eine poetische Wiedergabe stellt, und der Rücksicht auf den Originaltext herzustellen. Es kommt mir vor, dass Martin Remané diese Schwierigkeit in vorbildlicher Weise gelöst hat. Zwei zufällig ausgewählte Beispiele werden dies schön zeigen:

P. 15:
1) ān qaṣr kih Bahrām dar ū (dar ān) ǰām girift
2) rūbā (var. lect. āhu, wie Remané) baččā kard u āhu (var. lect. šīr, wie Remané) ārām girift
3) Bahrām kih gūr mīgiriftī hamā 'amr
4) imrūz bih bīn kih gūr Bahrām girift

»In diesem Schloss griff oft Bahrâm zum Wein vor Gram,
gebar das Reh, indes der Leu zu rasten kam.
Du, dem sich manch ein Esel, den du griffst, ergab,
wie jählings hier ergriff das Grab dich selbst, Bahrâm!«

P. 45:
1) hangām-i ṣabūḥ ay ṣanam, farrux-pay,
2) bar sāz tarānä u pīš āvar may
3) k-afgand baxāk ṣad hazārān ǰam u kay
4) īn āmadan-i tīr-mah u raftan-i day.

»'s ist Morgenzeit. Mein Abgott du, der Glück mir bringt,
schenk ein den Wein, stimm an ein Lied, das mich beschwingt!
Viel Tausend Dschams und Kais hat schon ins Grab gebracht
die Zeit, da uns der Tir-Mond lacht, der Dai versinkt.«

Professor Jan Rypkas vorzüglicher Artikel »Wege zu Omar Chajjâm«, der als Anhang (p. 87–113) hinzugefügt ist und kurz und konzis über Xayyām, sein Leben, seine Zeit und die Probleme der Xayyām-Forschung (worunter man vielleicht auch hätte Arthur Christensens Critical Studies in the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Medd. XIV, 1, 1927, erwähnen können) Auskunft gibt, und Buzurg Alawī's »Omar Chajjâm im modernen Iran« (p. 115–122), der die Bedeutung Xayyāms für die moderne iranische Litteratur, e. g. Ṣādiq Hidāyat's Būf-i kūr, hervorhebt, bilden einen würdigen Rahmen um Remanés feingefühlte Übersetzung der 150 Vierzeiler.

Die Bestrebungen des Verlages Rütten & Loening, durch diese und mehrere andere Publikationen (besonders Übersetzungen aus dem Schrifttum Buzurg Alawīs und Ṣādiq Hidāyats) einem europäischen Publikum die iranische Literatur zu erschliessen, verdienen die grösste Anerkennung.

**A. J. Arberry:** More Tales from the Masnavi. Unesco Collection of Representative Works. Persian Series. 252 pp. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. London, 1963. 22 s.

With this collection of translations from books IV–VI of Rūmī's MaṢnawī-yi ma'nawī Professor Arberry gives another model example of his distinguished art of translating. What has previously (cf. *Acta Orientalia* XXVII, 1963, p. 59–60) been said of "Tales from the Masnavi" from 1961 also fully holds good of

this volume. It is to be hoped that the 3rd volume mentioned by Arberry in his introduction (p. 3) will become a reality.

Also as far as the present translation is concerned, it is worth noting ʿAṭṭār's great influence as an inspiring source, and the comparatively frequent use of the Kalila wa Dimna.

*J. P. Asmussen.*

## EGYPTOLOGY

**Altägyptische Märchen**, herausgegeben von Emma Brunner-Traut, 310 pp, 23 figs. Eugen Diederichs Verlag 1963. Halbleinen DM 14,80.

Dr. Brunner-Traut's contribution to the series *Märchen der Weltliteratur* actually contains more than merely the fairy tales of ancient Egypt. These well-known stories occupy the first part of the book. It is an unusual feature that the author has reproduced no less than 16 drawings from papyri and ostraca accompanied by excellent notes, as is to be expected from a specialist within this very special field of Egyptology. The sad fact that most of the stories to which these "satiric" drawings were originally made, are now lost, makes the explanatory notes very interesting to a wider circle of readers. In one instance an illustration to a cat-and-mouse-war fable is preserved (Turin), and the text may be reconstructed through a Persian epic on the same theme from the 14th century (no. 8). The Turin ostracon called *Verkehrte Welt* is stated by both the author and J. Vandier d'Abbadie (*Catalogue des Ostraca Figurés de Deir el-Medineh*, 1946, p. 64) to represent a hippopotamus (or pig, Vandier d'Abbadie, p. 64, note 2) and a swallow mounting a ladder. This bird resembles rather more a kite than a swallow with the pronounced beak and the frayed wings.

The fairy tales are followed by a number of mythological texts, among them the rather politically inspired account of Hatshepsut's divine birth. The texts from the Metternich stela (*Isis sucht Herberge*, no. 14, and *Die Sonne stehet still*, no. 15) are very well translated and rendered in a most readable language. The word  on p. 109 should, however, rather be translated *suchen* than *sehnen* (WB III,151), and it is not comprehensible

why several lines (246/7) on p. 114 dealing with the nurses from Pe and Dep should have been omitted.

The re-creation of *Die Sonnenkatze* (no. 17) is of special merit. The entire frame-story is recounted by itself in an excellent way, while the interposed animal fables are found elsewhere in the book (nos. 20, 21, 22).

The author proves her superior knowledge within the field of Egyptian, Oriental and European folklore by drawing interesting parallels between the ancient and modern tales, e. g., the modern story from Kordofan (no. 23), a tale noted by Herodotus (no. 27) and its present-day Egyptian parallel (p. 287).

The part dealing with the humorous stories—among others—comprises the famous tale of the conquest of Joppe and the short anecdote from Strabo about Rhodospis's shoe.

Lastly, it must be noted that the author has taken the trouble to incorporate texts from the Coptic period. Among these texts some are of special interest, as they are not too widely known outside the narrow circle of Coptologists, e. g., *Die Höllenfahrt Paulus* (no. 37) and two poems (nos. 39 and 40).

The notes are excellent and give a wealth of material, tending to illuminate the historic and general background and many parallels to other folkloristic sources. From a philological point of view the notes in G. Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes Égyptiens*, are still unsurpassed.

*E. Kerrn Lillesø.*

[For reviews of other recent publications dealing with folktales, see the section *Folklore*, pp. 375–379].

## NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

**Kenneth M. Setton** (Editor-in-Chief): A History of the Crusades (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia); vol. I: The First Hundred Years, ed. by M. W. Baldwin (1958); vol. II: The Later Crusades 1189–1311, ed. by R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard. (1962). $ 12.– and $ 15.–, respectively.

*Habent sua fata libelli*; this also applies to the present work, the preparation of which – according to Kenneth Setton's editorial in-

troduction – has met with serious, practical obstacles, each of them sufficient to overthrow the whole scheme. The first idea was conceived by the late D. C. Munro, the plan worked out by F. Duncalf and the late A. C. Krey and J. L. la Monte, but the final execution is due to Professor Setton. This American history of the Crusades is planned to be completed in five volumes, of which the first two published until now carry the narrative of the political and military history of the Crusades up to the end of the 13th century. The third volume is intended to cover the 14th and 15th centuries, volume four to treat the institutional and cultural aspects of the Crusades, and volume five, finally, to describe and estimate their influences and significance. A final evaluation of this work must naturally be postponed until it is complete; as already mentioned, the two volumes so far published are primarily – and perhaps even too rigorously – concerned with political history; a fair estimate must also include the treatment of the institutions and economic history of the Crusades.

That the Crusading period has received much attention in our time, will appear from the enormous literature accumulating on this subject. Quite apart from several more or less competent popular books, the works of Grousset, Waas and particularly the splendidly written volumes by Sir Steven Runciman stand out as the most prominent individual achievement in this field. All the serious work are fruits of three or four generations of intense research initiated by v. Sybel's critical analysis of the narrative sources concerning the first Crusade; this immense amount of research has been concentrated on the European origins of the Crusades in the feudal society and the ecclesiastical reform-movements, just as the whole period has generally been described from European points of view. That a wider scope is necessary, is now fully recognized; regarding Byzantium we have some – though not yet sufficient – studies, whereas the investigation in the history of Islam has not yet passed the initial stages.

In contradistinction to the individual books already mentioned, the present work results from the collaboration of several American and European scholars and is naturally far more detailed than any existing history of the Crusades. As could be expected, European politics and military activities also play a predominant

rôle in this work. All phases are carefully described in an extensive series of chapters, perhaps not quite equal, but generally of high quality and written by specialists. On the whole, the two present volumes provide up-to-date and well documented accounts of the Crusades, and the points of view represented by the authors reveal surprisingly few points of disagreement. The most serious objection is the lack of any attempt at defining the notion of "Crusade". Volume II provides chapters on the Albigensian Crusade and the Children's Crusade, but chapters on the German expansion and penetration of the Slavonic territories East of the Elbe and the Scandinavian enterprises in the Baltic would presumably have contributed to a more balanced general picture of the Crusading period as a whole: the changing aspects and scope of the Crusades appear clearly, but it is regrettable that the work completely fails to give any analysis of the ideological and other origins of the Crusading idea, which has elsewhere been so thoroughly studied.

On the other hand, it would be both difficult and unprecise to speak of Islamic origins. The Christian attacks in Spain and Sicily as well as in Syria were conceived by the Moslems as a unity, an expression of a common trend in European politics. The first Crusade was not – as maintained by contemporary, clerical agitation in Europe, and still surviving in certain textbooks – provoked by Turkish violation of Christian pilgrims or of the Christian population in Asia Minor. It is naturally evident that it is necessary, nevertheless, to analyse the political and religious situation of the Near East on the eve of the European expansion, and to estimate the – positive or negative – consequenses of the Crusades on Islam during the 12th and 13th centuries. The basis for a definite account is not yet available to the same extent as for the European situation. Even if we possess some detailed studies – particularly Claude Cahen's investigations in Syrian history and society – the problems raised by the Arabic sources and the complicated Islamic conditions are indeed very far from being finally solved.

It has, therefore, certainly been no easy task to present a satisfying picture of Islam during the Crusading period. The Islamic chapters of the present work are primarily orientations

– though far from mere summaries – of high standard and of great value for the non-specialist, written by leading authorities. Sir Hamilton Gibb describes (i, 81–98) the disintegration of the ʿAbbāssid caliphate through successive stages of development stressing the political aspects of this process. Bernard Lewis's account of the Ismāʿīlism and the Assassins (i, 99–133) is splendid and touches also upon the social aspects of the lack of political and religious stability in Islam, and Claude Cahen, in likewise very able chapters, treats the Turkish invasions, the Selchükids and the Mongol invasions (i, 135–78; ii, 715–34). Both scholars do not only exploit their acquaintance with the sources, printed as well as unprinted, but both are able to use yet unprinted results of research. Finally, we must mention Hamilton Gibb's fine studies of Zengi, Nūr ad-Dīn, Saladin and the Aiyūbids (i, 449–62, 513–27 and 563–89), stressing their moral qualities necessary in their internal showdown with the Islamic heretics as well as in the mobilization of all Islam's forces against the Crusaders.

In many regards the Oriental chapters – though they are extremely important – must remain surveys of the present stage of research. All historians engaged in studies and teaching of the history of medieval Europe and Islam will be grateful for the material presented in this work, much of which is not otherwise easily accessible. But they will also look forward to more intensified investigation in Near Eastern history and particularly in the economic and social trends in Islam underlying the political and religious unrest of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. Presumably the forthcoming volume four will furnish more elaborate accounts in this field, as far as our knowledge reaches at present.

**Bernard Lewis:** The Emergence of Modern Turkey. (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press, 1961). – 511 pp., illustrated. 48 s.

This book is no less than a great achievement earning the author the gratitude of historians far beyond the circle of specialists. No modern work in this field is available, and the author has had to build upon sources and literature widely scattered

and not always easily accessible. Already by virtue of its own qualities the book rises far above the standard level. Bernard Lewis has written his book *qua* historian, with fine criticism and able method. It is not planned as a historical narrative, but is – particularly in the latter half – analytical; it does not only aim at recording the modern history of Turkey, but rather at analysing how Islam's confrontation with European culture and the internal demand for reform has influenced Turkey. On the background of an analytical account for the history of Turkey from the decline of the Ottoman empire up to 1950, Bernard Lewis traces in the main section of the book how modern reform-ideas and modern standards penetrated Turkish institutions, central as well as local, official as well as individual. The author's main conclusion goes to demonstrate that even if the reforms which have been accomplished are possibly not all immediately compatible with the traditional pattern of institutions, and all the new is yet somewhat strange to the Islamic population, the parliamentary elections of 1950 opens the hope that Turkey may develop into a modern democracy. Perhaps the recent revolutionary movements in Turkey do not quite justify this optimism, but Bernard Lewis, beyond all doubt, has provided a book which will for a very long time remain the standard work in this field.

*E. Ladewig Petersen.*

**W. B. Fisher:** The Middle East. A Physical, Social and Regional Geography. 550 pp., 103 maps and diagrams +2 folders, bibliography, index. 4th rev. edition. London (Methuen & Co., Ltd.), 1961. 50 s.

Since it first appeared in 1950 Professor Fisher's book has been a standard work on the Middle East. It deals with the countries from Libya in the West to Persia in the East and has three parts (see title), of which the Physical (pp. 11–86) and the Social (pp. 87–274) give the background for the more detailed Regional part (pp. 275–527). The instructive Physical part includes a discussion on the climatic changes in historic time and concludes that the increase in aridity had come to an end by the opening of the historic era, that it is the human occupation

which is the main factor in the alteration of the environment, and that it is man who is chiefly responsible for the gradual deterioration of conditions in the Middle East.—A fact which actually gives hope for the future! (p. 64).

Part II covers subjects more familiar to the Orientalist: race, language, religion, society, besides a historical sketch from the earliest times, followed by more original chapters on economic life, oil resources and the demographic trends. Certainly one can find things worthy of criticism. The treatment of Race rest on rather dated literature (Haddon and Buxton), and considering the uncertainty in the subject the treatment is too lengthy compared to the one given to Language, where, as F. admits, the position is much clearer (p. 101). But F. does not make it very clear; he gives a blurred picture of the linguistic build-up, and the map (Fig. 19) is sketchy and to some extent incorrect: the Lurs and the Bakhtiari area is covered with signatures for "Central Asiatic & Caucasian". Ethnic information throughout the book is vague (maps missing), and terminology not very exact; e. g., "Mongols" is used for Timurlane's armies and the Osmanli Turks as well (p. 149).—The statement (p. 123, Note 1): "True nomadism is, in effect, horizontal movement, transhumance is more a change in altitude" is neither a very significant nor a good distinction between different types of nomadism though it is common in Anglo-American literature. The French cultural geographers, by whom F. has otherwise been much inspired, have a much more refined terminology and use transhumance in another sense. True nomadism is better defined as pure pastoral nomadism (with insignificant or no subsidiary agriculture) and this irrespective of the migrations being "horizontal" or involving "a change in altitude".—In the treatment of Religion there are also remarks that sound odd to an ethnologist, for example (p. 109): Zoroastrism "represented a great advance on the older pagan and polytheistic creeds, which had frequently appealed to baser human instincts of self-interest and sensuality."

The Regional part gives clear and easily accessible information on the physical background, climate, agriculture, commercial

crops, irrigation, pastoralism, minerals, industry, and communications, etc.

The book is to be recommended, also outside geographical circles, on account of the substantial material presented from a geographer's viewpoint.

**Joyce Dunsheath, Eleanor Baillie:** Afghan Quest. The Story of their Abinger Afghanistan Expedition 1960, 237 pp., 16 photos, 1 map. London (George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd.), 1961. 18 s.

A light and conversational narrative by two energetic members of the Ladies' Alpine Club, about everything they have seen, heard and thought *en route* to Afghanistan and on their lonely journey up through the Panjshir Valley where they made an attempt on Mir Samir. The book gives a certain impression of travelling conditions in Afghanistan in 1960, in a generally sympathetic tone, but little else. Errors are few, though. After reading this book one cannot but admire the Afghan Government and authorities, even in the remotest parts of the country, for their patience and never failing benevolence towards foreigners, whatever objective they have for visiting Afghanistan.

**George B. Cressey:** Crossroads. Land and Life in Southwest Asia. 593 pp. Numerous ills., maps, tables, etc. Chicago, New York, Philadelphia (J. B. Lippencott Company), 1960. $ 12.

*Crossroads* is not an ordinary geography text-book. It presents Swasia (Southwest Asia from Egypt to Afghanistan) in its main features centered around three principal ideas: The crossroad character of the area (in geographical, historical and ethnic sense), the rôle of water in its economy, and the way in which man is changing the landscape. The book rests on an extensive literature (and very fine references are given after each chapter) and on Professor Cressey's personal acquaintance with the subject.

The text is inspiringly well written and instructive, brightened with lots of beautiful photos, good maps and lucid tables and charts. This holds both for the general part (pp. 3–245) with chapters on Place, People, Land, Climate, Rivers, Land Use, Oil, International Contacts, etc., and equally for the regional part (pp. 247–582).

The character of the book and the comprehensiveness of its content certainly accounts for some inconsistencies (for instance in the ethnic chapter where the word "race" can be misleading, p. 27 Pushtu for Pushtun, Persian for the Persian Speakers of Afghanistan [Farsiwan or Tajik], p. 46 the "Kurd are probably Aryan in origin"), and some incorrectnesses: p. 28 "Iran lays claim to Kuwait" instead of *Bahrain*, p. 46 "Turkish speaking people, also known as Tajik", p. 565 Chahar Aimak recorded as Shia Moslems [they are Sunni!], etc.

Nevertheless, Professor Cressey's book is a very good introduction to Swasia, and especially to the problems of our day.

*Klaus Ferdinand.*

## FAR EAST

**Confucian Personalities.** Edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett. Stanford University Press. Stanford, California, 1962. x, 411 pp.

The series of publications from the Committee on Chinese Thought of the Association for Asian Studies has been continued by a new volume of the same high standards as the previous ones. The purpose of *Confucian Personalities* edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett has been to test some of the hypotheses growing out of earlier studies through the study of individual lives with the result that several theories have found their proof in the lives of men.

Biographies add flesh to the bones of history. Material on Chinese history exists in abundance, thanks to the long continued tradition of Chinese historiography, but biographies in the Western sense of the word are very rare. Hundreds and hundreds

of biographies of Chinese personalities should be written to make the enormous history of China come alive.

Besides proving some of the hypotheses of earlier studies this work is a most welcome exercise in historiography. The personalities studied are not a preselected sample with a rationalized distribution according to periods, roles and personality types. They have been freely chosen by the contributors and display the various kinds of material available and the various approaches required to do biographies of different persons in different periods.

The basic information will always be found in the *lieh-chuan* of the Dynastic Histories. Though written a long time after the subjects were dead, they were based on material collected by private persons, usually close friends of the deceased, and for that reason may be regarded as reliable. Next in importance are the person's own writings, compare Ku Yen-wu's timely advice: "Read all the subject's writings, understand his ideas, be thoroughly acquainted with the times in which he lived and learn everything you can about the state apparatus of which he formed a part". To this must be added the writings from the immediate group to which he belonged and, in case it exists, his nien-p'u. The higher a man's position in government and the later he lived, the more extensive the biographical material.

The articles on Confusian personalities are listed chronologically, this being the only "system" in the book. The first subject, Yen Chih-t'ui (531–591), is treated by Albert E. Dien. Facts about Yen's life have to be found in the different Dynastic Histories covering the time of disorder before Sui. Some information about his personality is provided by his own works, his long autobiographical prose-poem and above all his stern "Family Instructions" on rearing children. Reflecting the confusion of his times his writings portray him as a "Buddho-Confucian", a syncretism not uncommon among Chinese statesmen of later times.

In the "T'ang Literati: a composite biography" by Hans H. Frankel the social status of the poets is clearly indicated. Unsuccesful in government they were famous *only* as literati, a serious shortcoming. In the Old History of the T'ang Dynasty the only categories ranked below them are technicians, recluses, exemplary women, barbarians and rebels. Their official bio-

graphies are comparatively short and further information has to be found in their own writings, in prefaces to their collected works and to poems.

Denis Twitchett has written about Lu Chih (754–805): Imperial adviser and court official. As Lu was one of the most prominent statesmen of his time, information about his life is abundant in the two T'ang Histories, but Professor Twitchett has found the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien the best source for facts. Lu's own writings consist mostly of official memorials in excellent literary style and are not of a sort to reveal original thought or emotion.

The next entry written by Wang Gung-wu deals in a most interesting way with contradictorary sources. Feng Tao (882–954) is classified in the Hsü T'ung-chih among the worst examples of disloyal ministers. This statement is based on his biographies in the Hsin wu-tai shih and the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien, though the earlier Chiu wu-tai shih shows him as a prominent official honoured and respected by his contemporaries, the chief minister of five imperial houses and ten emperors. The different views exposed in the works mentioned picture a facetted personality.

A new literary form, the historical novel, gives information about Yüeh Fei (1103–41). Hellmut Wilhelm has based his study on the different novels about the famous warrior-hero who made himself a myth during his own short lifetime, and on a nien-p'u written by Yüeh's grandson. The Sung shih contributes very little material to the biography, military persons being the least esteemed social class.

On the life of the well-known philosopher, Chu Hsi (1130–1200), a great amount of material exists. Several nien-p'u together with his collected works and the official biography could form the basis for a detailed description of his life and personality, a work that still has to be done. Conrad M. Shirokauer has drawn a sketch of Chu Hsi's political career.

Igor de Rachewiltz' study Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189–1243): Buddhist idealist and Confucian statesman, shows how the Dynastic History praises the prominent statesman and Sinicized "barbarian" for his orthodox Confucianism, while his own writings, mainly the Record of a Journey to the West, the Hsi-yu lu, pictures the private person as a devoted Buddhist.

Herbert Franke's enthusiastic defence for Chia Ssu-tao (1213–

1275): A "bad last minister"?, is important for the amount of information the author has found outside the official biography. The Dynastic Histories throw light on the extremes, the outstandingly honest and the outstandingly treacherous officials, examples for imitation and intimidation, but do not provide the same amount of details about these extremes. About the "bad" examples they have very few facts, mainly the historiographer's moral judgement. Professor Franke has succeeded in collecting much useful information from the Basic Annals and from the literary works of the group of men to which Chia belonged, a charming rascal who was "everything but Confucianist".

It is also through the testimony of the group of writers to which his subject belongs that Frederick W. Mote is able to portray the "Fourteenth Century Poet: Kao Ch'i (1336–1374)". Having been forced to withdraw from a government career Kao still is given a biography in the Ming shih, but it is through his own poems with their autobiographical prefaces and through the writings of his group of friends, "The Ten Talented Ones", that we get to know his personality.

On Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636): Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art, Nelson J. Wu has had too much material for a short biography. Rather too much emphasis has been placed on the group with the result that the picture of the man is blurred. In any case it is no easy task to portray a man who has lived so long, played so many different roles and lived a life so rich in experience that his life-story suggests a whole Hung-lung meng.

The two last biographies: K'ang Yu-wei (1858–1927) by Richard C. Howard and Liao P'ing (1852–1932) by Joseph R. Levenson deal with persons from the period of transition between the Old China and the New. About both personalities we have long nien-p'u that together with their own writings might supply sufficient material for detailed biographies. Both men are most interesting for what they are not, both being rather petty scholar-officials, latter-day members of a class that formerly created great personalities.

These twelve biographies together with Denis Twitchett's informative introduction form a useful guide on how to write the countless biographies of Chinese personalities that still have to be made.

*Else Glahn.*

## COMPARATIVE RELIGION

**E. O. James:** The Worship of the Sky-God. A Comparative Study in Semitic and Indo-European Religion. Jordan Lectures 1962. University of London, Athlone Press 1963. 175 pp. 25 s.

Taking as a starting point the Supreme Beings in primitive societies that Lang first called attention to, Professor James gives a balanced and sound account of the conception of the Sky-God in Egypt, the Ancient Near East, Israel, Arabia, India, Iran, and Greece with a summarizing, clear and most instructive finishing comparative chapter, The Worship and Nature of the Sky-God in Semitic and Indo-European Religion. Through the whole book runs the author's great familiarity with the comprehensive material, on which his investigation is based.

Prof. James stresses the injustice of doubting the existence of Sky-gods (even if somewhat odiose) in primitive societies, and points them out as genuine indigenous figures independent of foreign (e. g. missionary) influences, in most cases inaccessible ritualistically and of no (primary) cultic importance. By his thorough and sober examination of the conception of the Sky-god in Semitic and Indo-European religion Prof. James has succeeded in characterizing essential aspects of this conception and in giving it an interpretation that neither becomes addicted to the views of a too optimistic evolutionist, nor is determined by the theories of degeneration (cf. p. 139). James' study, therefore, is *also* a refusal of the tendency of Wilhelm Schmidt and his school to consider the belief in one Supreme Being in primitive religions (a kind of) monotheism.

There are some misprints, e. g. p. 58 koken for kohen, p. 68 Mattinaza for Mattiwaza, p. 83 Kshatruyas for Kshatriyas, p. 92 Elburg for Elburz, p. 96 dregrants for dregvants, p. 109 Zurvan akatana for Z. akarana, etc.

*J. P. Asmussen.*

## FOLKLORE

**Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde I.** Für die Kommission für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musik des Orients und das Institut für Musikforschung Berlin herausgegeben von Fritz Bose. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 1963, 149 pp. (mit einer Schallplatte: Tanzlieder der Hakkari-Kurden).

Im Jahre 1958 ergriff der Verlag Walter de Gruyter in Berlin die bewundernswerte Initiative, den ersten Band der »Fabula, Zeitschrift für Erzählforschung« herauszugeben. Dieser auf dem Gebiete der Völkerkunde willkommene Fortschritt ist jetzt mit der Herausgabe vom Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde beachtenswert vergrössert worden. Wie der Herausgeber Dr. Fritz Bose in seiner programmatischen Vorrede mit Recht hervorhebt, füllt dieses Jahrbuch die Lücke aus, die nach dem Aufhören der von Carl Stumpf und E. M. von Hornbostel herausgegebenen Sammelbände für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft entstand. Die wissenschaftliche Qualität der 4 Abhandlungen des ersten Bandes ist einer solchen Art, dass man mit Zuversicht den folgenden Bänden entgegensieht. Dieter Christensen (Berlin) behandelt in einer wichtigen, bahnbrechenden Arbeit die »Tanzlieder der Hakkâri-Kurden. Eine materialkritische Studie« und gibt ausser einer bedeutenden ethnographischen Übersicht eine grundlegende Analyse der Melodien (p. 16 ff.) (mit 4 Photos und mehreren Notenbeispielen), P. René Ménard (Kandale, Congo) liefert eine tiefgehende »Contribution à l'étude de quelques instruments de musique Baoulé – Région de Béoumi (Congo intérieur)«, (p. 48–99) (mit Photos und vielen Zeichnungen), Alan P. Merriam (Evanston, USA) analysiert die Musik der »African-derived Gêge and Jesha cults« (»Songs of the Gêge and Jesha Cults of Bahia, Brazil«, p. 100–135) und unterbaut seine Studie mit 23 Notenseiten, und schliesslich vollendet Hans-Heinrich Wängler (Hamburg) in sehr schöner Weise diese glänzende Publikation mit seiner interessanten Untersuchung »Über die Beziehungen zwischen gesprochenen und gesungenen Tonhöhen in afrikanischen Tonsprachen« (p. 136–145).

Buchbesprechungen p. 146–149.

**Leopold Schmidt:** Die Volkserzählung. Märchen, Sage, Legende, Schwank. Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin 1963. 448 pp.

**Mongolische Volksmärchen.** Aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt und mit einem Nachwort von Walther Heissig. – Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Düsseldorf-Köln 1963. 268 pp. DM 14,80.

**Folktales of Israel.** Edited by Dov Noy with the Assistance of Dan ben-Amos. Translated by Gene Baharav. – Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1963. 221 pp. 28 s.

Während die »praktische« Seite der Forschung der Volksliteratur, das Einsammeln und Herausgeben der Texte, immer – glücklicherweise – in der besten Weise versehen worden ist, sind die theoretischen und interpretierenden Studien relativ selten. Desto grössere Bewunderung und Freude erweckt die neue Publikation von Leopold Schmidt. Zusammen mit reichen terminologischen, überlieferungs- und forschungsgeschichtlichen Noten in der Haupteinleitung (Volkserzählung, p. 13 ff.) und in den Einzeleinleitungen (Märchen, Sage, Legende, Schwank), das heisst das ganze Gebiet des Volkserzählgutes, bietet der Verfasser Interpretationsbeispiele der verschiedenen Gattungen dar, die etwas Grundsätzliches leisten. Man spürt keine Schulzugehörigkeit, man spürt nur ehrliches Suchen nach dem Sinn. »Wenn man von der Volkskunde als allgemeiner Interpretation der Volkskultur ausgeht, dann wird man derartige Einzeluntersuchungen stets besonders in der Absicht unternehmen, eine gewisse innere Sinngebung der Erscheinungen zu finden. Im internen Bereich der Märchenforschung ist diese Absicht häufig mit dem verwechselt worden, was man als Schulmeinung bezeichnen kann. Mythologische, symbolistische, psychologische und andere Schulen haben im Lauf der Jahrzehnte einander abgelöst, und man kann die interpretierenden Arbeiten über einzelne Volkserzählungen oder Volkserzählungsgruppen bis heute leicht nach ihrer Schulzugehörigkeit unterscheiden, häufig sogar schon nach wenigen Einleitungsworten daran erkennen, dass sich ein Autor von der Meinung dieser oder jener anderen Schule, der er eben nicht angehört, distanziert. Die Suche nach der Sinngebung ist dadurch einigermassen in Verruf gekommen. Ganze Gruppen

der Volkserzählforschung haben sich einem nüchternen Positivismus zugewandt und interpretieren praktisch überhaupt nicht mehr. Sie sammeln, inventarisieren und katalogisieren. Ihr Werk sind die Typenregister und Motivindices. Unter Umständen erstarrt dann die Frage nach dem Wesen einer Volkserzählung beim Hinweis auf die geglückte Identifizierung mit einer Nummer in den betreffenden Verzeichnissen«. In den Studien Schmidts aber sieht man das Bemühen, »Märchen als Märchen zu sehen und Sagen als Sagen, und zwar mit dem ganzen geistig-seelischen Gewicht von Inhalt, Bedeutung und Aussage, die sie im Lauf ihrer unter Umständen mehrtausendjährigen Überlieferung besitzen und besitzen müssen« (p. 6–7). Und noch dazu methodische Klarheit und überzeugende Erfindsamkeit.

Von den schönen Studien hebe ich besonders »Der Gordische Knoten und seine Lösung« (cfr. Antaios I, 1960, p. 305 ff.) p. 29–40, »Der 'Herr der Tiere' in einigen Sagenlandschaften Europas und Eurasiens« (cfr. Anthropos 47, 1952, p. 509 ff.) p. 113–144 und »Der liebe Augustin. Die Wiener Lokalisierung einer Wandersage« (cfr. Wiener Geschichtsblätter 1947, p. 73 ff.) p. 211–224, hervor. Zum letzteren Aufsatz möchte man darauf hinweisen, dass das vielgesungene Lied vom lieben Augustin von H. C. Andersen in seinem Märchen »Svinedrengen« (Der Schweinehirt) vom Jahre 1839 zitiert worden ist.

Mit seinen »*Mongolischen Märchen*« hat Professor Heissig die schöne von Friedrich von der Leyen herausgegebene Sammlung des Eugen Diederichs Verlages sehr bereichert. Es ist eine Erstausgabe, deren Bedeutung unmittelbar klar ist. Hat doch das mongolische Märchen, das nacherzählte wie das einheimische, seine nicht geringe Bedeutung in der vergleichenden Märchenforschung. Von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist es, dass die hier übersetzten 50 Stücke vorwiegend mündlich überlieferte, echt mongolische Volksmärchen sind, die in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten gesammelt worden sind. Von den literarischen Märchen der vorliegenden Sammlung verdient Nr. 49 (Der König mit den Eselsohren) Aufmerksamkeit. Nach Benfey war dies (aus dem Siditü kegür) die einzige Erzählung aus einer indischen Sammlung (Vetalapañcaviṃśati), welche aus dem Occident (die Geschichte vom phrygischen König Midas!) stammt (cfr. Alfred Forke, Die

indischen Märchen und ihre Bedeutung für die vergleichende Märchenforschung, Berlin 1911, p. 18).

Professor Heissig hat seinen Übersetzungen ein aufschlussreiches Nachwort (z. B. die Stellung des Fürsten, p. 239 f., die Bedeutung der Dreizahl, p. 241 etc.), ein Motivindex, Worterklärungen, ein Literaturverzeichnis und einen Quellennachweis mit, wo möglich, Typenangaben nach dem internationalen Verzeichnis Stith Thompsons mitgegeben.

*Folktales of Israel* ist einer der ersten Bände einer neuen, von Professor Richard M. Dorson, Indiana University, Bloomington, herausgegebenen Reihe: Folktales of the World. Damit ist uns fast ein Musterbeispiel gegeben worden. Jedes der 71 Märchen ist mit sorgfältig ausgearbeiteten Motiv- und Typenangaben (nach Stith Thompson, Motif-Index, 1955–1958, und Aarne – Thompson, The Types of the Folktale, 1961) versehen worden, wodurch die ganze Sammlung ein wertvolles Werkzeug der vergleichenden Märchenforschung geworden ist, um so mehr, weil die Märchen von Juden vieler Länder erzählt worden sind. Die meisten stammen aus Iraq, Afghanistan und der Türkei.

Der Herausgeber der Reihe hat dem Buche ein aufschlussreiches Vorwort über die jüdische Folkloristik (besonders Moses Gaster, Louis Ginzberg und Yehude-Leyb Cahan) beigesteuert, und in der Einführung p. XVII–XX erzählt Dr. Dov Noy von der Aktivität im heutigen Israel. Das Buch, wie es vorliegt, ist zugleich ein schöner Ausdruck der bewundernswerten Arbeit der »Israel Section for Folktale Research«.

**Beispiele der alten Weisen des Johann von Capua.** Übersetzung der hebräischen Bearbeitung des indischen Pañcatantra ins Lateinische. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von Friedmar Geissler. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung Veröffentlichung Nr. 52. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1960. 412 pp., brosch. DM 37,–.

In der Geschichte der Märchenforschung hat Theodor Benfey's »Indientheorie« (cfr. z. B. Antti Aarne, Leitfaden der vergleichenden Märchenforschung, FF Communications No. 13, Hamina

1913, p. 4 ff.) eine ungeheuer grosse Rolle gespielt. Obgleich sie nicht in ihrer ursprünglichen Form festgehalten werden kann, enthällt sie jedenfals das Richtige, dass Indien das Mutterland vieler derjenigen Märchen, die als Rahmenwerke durch mehrere Zwischenglieder nach Europa gewandert sind, gewesen ist. Eines dieser Werke, das Pañcatantra, wurde vom 13. bis 17. Jahrhundert in mehrere europäische Sprachen, darunter auch ins Dänische (Christen Nielssen, De Gamle Vijses Exempler och Hoffsprock [1618], herausgegeben von L. Bødker, København 1951–53), übertragen. Die Grundlage der europäischen Übersetzungen bildet Johannis de Capua's lateinische Version Directorium vitae humanae alias parabola antiquorum sapientum, deren Titel möglicherweise auf Johannis' hebräische Vorlage, Rabbi Joël's Übersetzung, zurückgeht (p. XII).

Mit der gegenwärtigen verbesserten Ausgabe der Texte der beiden früheren Herausgeber Joseph Derenbourg und Leopold Hervieux hat Friedmar Geissler eine sichere Basis der künftigen wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigung mit den europäischen Ausläufern des Pañcatantra geschaffen. Von grosser Bedeutung sind zugleich seine klugen und übersichtlichen Bemerkungen über die wichtigsten Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache Johannis' und seine Hinweisungen auf die Typennummern nach Antti Aarne – Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktale [erweiterte Ausgabe Helsinki 1961!] und die Motivnummern nach Stith Thompson, Motif-Index. Geisslers Ausgabe und Übersetzung ist eine in jeder Beziehung treffliche Leistung, deren Fortsetzung (cfr. p. X) man mit Spannung erwartet.

*J. P. Asmussen.*

[For a review of a recent publication of Ancient Egyptian folktales, see *Egyptology*, pp. 362 f.]

## EDITORIAL POSTSCRIPT

*Acta Orientalia*, 28, Fascicles 3/4, have further elucidated various aspects of the civilisations of the Orient, to a large extent in their interplay with the civilisation of Western Europe and its more recent extension into the New World. As circumstances would have it, there is, in these Fascicles, a noticeable leaning towards the Iranian field and, within this discipline, towards Judaeo-Persian studies, a somewhat neglected line of research the interest in which, we hope, will be revived by the contributions of J. P. ASMUSSEN and H. H. PAPER. Professor PAPER's article, *The Vatican Judeo-Persian Pentateuch* (pp. 263–340), is the first instalment of a series which will encompass one of the many texts of the Pentateuch converted into Persian, thus constituting a source of primary importance for further study by Iranian as well as Old Testament scholars.

I am called upon to modify a statement made in the Preface to this volume with regard to Central Asian studies. Mr. Kaare Thomsen, M.A. (Hafn.), upon whose professional advice I hoped to be able to count with regard to manuscripts dealing with Central Asian topics, has informed me that, owing to other work and a variety of circumstances, he will not be able to make his competence available with regard to the acceptance or non-acceptance for publication of manuscripts submitted to this Journal in the field of Central Asian (Turkish and Mongol) studies.

*Jørgen Læssøe*