M. A. Дандамаев, *Рабство в Вавилонии VII—IV вв. до н. э. (626—331) гг.* МсскВа 1974, Издательство „Наука" pp. 493, 8, [English summary *Slavery in Babilonia in the 7th—4th Centuries B. C.* on pp. 477—493]. Price: 2 roubles and 37 copecks.

The work under review is a rare example of making use of the whole published source material and the literature dealing with the investigated problem. The author's intention was to evaluate „the role of slave labour, the range of its employment in comparison with free labour" (p. 5). The problem was shown against a very wide socio-economic background; Dandamajew makes frequent references to Aramaic, Hebrew and Egyptian texts and also to similar phenomena in Greece, Rome, India and China.

The work consists of several parts. In „A Brief Survey of Sources" placed at the beginning (pp. 7—19) there is a particularly valuable list of economic-administrative documents dated according to particular rulers [1]. In the introductory part the author also gives a list of the most important works dealing with the problem and he presents, in a very clear and concise way, the history of Babylonia of the 7th — 4th centuries B. C., with a special attention paid to the socio-economic matters (pp. 23—34). Particular chapters are devoted to: I. Slavery in the private households (pp. 44—272), II. Temple slavery (pp. 273—324), III. Royal slavery (pp. 325—340), IV. Dependent social groups (*glebae adscripti*, pp. 341—379). The whole work is summed up in the „Conclusion" (pp. 380—390); the book is completed with a valuable supplement containing a transliteration of 100 texts covering the period from Nebuchadnezzar II to Artaxerxes II. There has also been added an index of transliterated and translated documents (p. 445) and

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[1] In this survey the author listed the texts published up till May 1972 (+ Addenda p. 487). We can complete this list with the following texts:

N a b o p o l a s s a r — *TCL XII No* 16 (cf. Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pp. 92 ff.); Pohl II 6; Baghdader Mitteilungen, Bd V (1970), No 1; 13; 17 A—C; 25—27; 29.

N e b u c h a d n e z z a r II — Baghdader Mitteilungen, Bd V (1970), No 17, D—H, J—K, M, N; 28.

an index of translated ones (without transliteration) (p. 446); there is also an index of the sources used (pp. 447—476). It might be observed that an index of subjects would make the use of the book much easier.

Chapter I starts with a review of the most important theories of the notion of the slave. The author points out to considerable differences in the treatment of this term. A vast majority of western scholars think that the oriental slave, who was also the subject of rights, differs fundamentally from the classical slave because he stops being merely his master's object. According to the author, the most adequate definition is given by K. K. Zjelin in his work *Formy zavisimosti vvostočnom Sredizemnomorie ellenističeskogo perioda* (Moskva 1969), who says that slaves are people „recognized as such by the law in force and who are the property of other people, community or *deities*, but not necessarily an article of trade, not necessarily deprived of the means of production or legal capacity, not necessarily exploited in a merciless way" (p. 48). The author proceeds then to a detailed analysis of the sources of slavery in the private households and characterizes the slaves' living conditions and possibilities of their employment. This part is summed up with considerations about their actual and legal situation. The basic source of slavery was the natural reproduction; other ones, like prisoners of war, enslavement for debts and sale of children, were of secondary importance. In order to evaluate the significance of slave labour it is necessary to establish the kinds of their employment in the process of production. The author shows that the role of slave labour in agriculture and handicraft was insignificant; in these two fields of production the work of freemen and freeborn seasonal hired workers was predominant. The slaves (there were three to five of them in an average well-to-do family and one or two in a less wealthy one) were mainly employed in domestic services, hired out (for a payment similar to the one obtained for freemen's labour) or used as agents managing their masters' business affairs.

The possibility of a more fruitful engagement of slave labour was created by the *peculium* — an estate given to a slave for his own usage for which he paid in silver or in kind. The slave could carry on an unlimited economic activity, i.e., to purchase, pledge, lease, lend or borrow money, sell, etc. Dandamayev is of the opinion that this fact cannot be the basis for the claim that there was a fundamental difference between the Eastern slavery and the one in ancient countries. When considering the economic and legal character of the *peculium* he comes to the conclusion that the whole possession of the slave was after all the property of his master (pp. 231—2). Although in the ancient East the slave was also a subject of rights, the author is inclined to believe that on the whole it did not have any influence on his status (pp. 267—272). The difference between the actual (better) and legal (worse) situation of the slave is quite rightly explained with

the necessity of creating for him such conditions in which he would be interested in the results of his own work. The question may arise of why the slaves who acquired considerable wealth did not use it to set themselves free. Dandamayev finds two explanations of the state of affairs: 1. everything which a slave possessed was his master's property; 2. a *manumission* of a rich slave would deprive his owner of a large part of his income.

When discussing the above problems the author managed to define the place of slaves in the production system, to present the differentiation in the very class of slaves and their relations to certain groups of freemen (e.g. freeborn hired workers).

The problems discussed in Chapter II are presented according to a similar scheme as the one in Chapter I. To be sure, temple slaves were employed in agriculture to a greater extent than private ones, but still their role here was only ancillary because a temple engaged a whole army of freemen who were often organized in squads of 100—200 people. Here a question arises if the whole possession of a temple slave (*širku*) was the property of the temple. The author is very cautious about it; he says: „Some texts seem to give a basis for the opinion that the *širku*'s possession was not treated as the property of the temple" (p. 320).

Chapter III is devoted to royal slavery and especially to the analysis of the social status of the garda. Since there were no great royal *latifundia*, there was no demand for a large number of slaves. Hence, we do not hear much about royal slaves, only in connection with building operations.

In Chapter IV the author treats about dependent social groups, the so-called *glebae adscipti*, of the temples, the king and private persons. He analyses such terms as *ikkaru*, *errēšu*, *širku-ikkaru*, *šušānu*, *šaknūtu*, *šušānu-ikkaru* and *sipīru*. With the exception of *širku-ikkaru*, whom the author considers slaves, all others are people having personal liberty but ascribed to their places. Sometimes their status was hereditary.

Generally speaking, M. Dandamayev's work brings interesting solutions to many problems. The author displays a thorough knowledge of the subject and the ability to make cautious judgements, although some of his conclusions are controversial and raising doubts. However, it is quite natural when one takes into consideration the fact that the problems dealt with in the book are very differentiated and difficult

Some doubts, for instance, are raised by the problem of self-pledging. Although we have no documents stating explicitly the existence of the phenomenon, the author, following H. Petschow, assumes it to be theoretically possible (p. 105). However, one cannot agree with such an interpretation of *RA* XII 5 ff. presented by Petschow in *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht* (pp. 63 ff.). The document in question actually says about a loan against the security of the debtor's son. After the father's death the son, who was the pledge, becomes the debtor, since he inherits not only his father's income but is also responsible for his obligations. But this situation cannot be treated as an evidence for self-pledging, since in the very nature of this phenomenon there is a clause, voluntarily accepted by the debtor while making an agreement, that in case of insolvency he will be responsible with his own person. There are also noteworthy documents indicating the practice of mutual guaranty by people who take a loan jointly. The mutual guaranty, together with the lack of documents testifying the practice of self-pledging, suggest that this was the way of evading the prohibition of lending money on security of the debtor's own person. This makes one believe that the law did not allow such contracts in which the debtor's person was the only security.

The author claims that the slaves' master was responsible for their crimes (p. 244). However, the material presented in support of this thesis is not unambiguous. The documents *BE IX* 69, *BE X* 9 and *UM* 126 are characteristic in that they reveal that the owner took part in every crime of his slaves. This means that the slaves commited crimes at the order of their master. In such a situation it is not surprising that the owner is held responsible for these deeds. The documents *Cyr* 301 and *UET IV* 191 containing a request to release a slave do not settle the question, and *TCL XII* 26 suggests a responsibility in a very limited sense. The document says that a slave belonging to one of three „businessmen" had stolen the common wealth of these „businessmen" together with some other slaves. The slave's master was obliged to capture the criminals and to divide the regained property among the three owners. The expenses connected with catching the thieves were to be covered from the future profit coming from the common business affairs. The document states clearly the master's duty to catch the slave and deliver him to the victims; it does not however, give any grounds for claiming that the master is in addition financially responsible. The *YBT VII* 189, in turn, testifies the master's responsibility for the actions of his slaves only if he fails to bring them to the court. The author mentions further documents (pp. 245 ff.) where the slaves alone are responsible for their crimes.

The above interpretation leads to the conclusion that the master's responsibility for the crimes of his slaves was regulated in a way similar to that of § 95 of the Hittite Laws. The slave alone was responsible for his crimes and only when it was not in his power did the responsibility passed to his master. The owner was not responsible for the activities of his slave if he delivered him to the victim (*noxae deditio*), but he could not escape responsibility if the slave ran away and hid himself (cf. *YBT VII* 189). There was a similar situation in the Hittite state.

In the conclusion the author rightly stresses the fact that „... there was no predominance of slave labour in any branch of production" and adds that in the Neo-Babylonian period slavery evidently declined (p. 390). The author sees the essence of slave labour in ancient societies in the fact that it gave the freemen the possibility to take upon themselves the more complicated processes of production. According to this conception, the slaves do not produce the things which determine the progress, but they condition this production.

Dandamayev's work presenting his own original point of view of changes in Babylonia of the 7th — 4th centuries B.C. makes the reader reflect and opens new possibilities of research.

Stefan Zawadzki

Alfred, L. Ivry, *Al-Kindī's Metaphysics. A Translation of Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī's Treatise* „On First Philosophy" (*fī al-Falsafah al-Ūlā*) *with Introduction and Commentary by...* Albany, 1974, State of New York Press, x + 207 p.

The personality and works of al-Kindī, the outstanding Arab philosopher of the IXth c., one among the first who cleared a way for the ancient Greek thought to the Moslem world have long attracted the attention of the specialists. Particularly the recent years have seen a number of studies devoted to him. Many of his treatises have been critically edited and translated, but so far the text containing the preserved first four chapters of his work on metaphysics, known under the title *Fī'l-falsafati'l-'ūlā* = „On First Philosophy" which resembles that of Aristotle, has not been translated into any language either Western or Eastern, and it is only now that thanks to Ivry, we have received its English translation. Ivry divides his publication into two parts: 1-st — Introduction and 2-nd — Text and Commentary. In the first part, he includes a biographical sketch of al-Kindī as well as a short summary of the contents of *On First Philosophy* followed by its detailed analysis in which, beside the substantial remarks, he identifies the philosophical threads occurring in al-Kindī's speculations and tries to define the relation of al-Kindī's philosophy to other Islamic philosophical circles. At the end of this part, Ivry attempts to throw more light on the relation between al-Kindī and al-Mu'tazilah.

The second part of the publication under discussion contains the translation of al-Kindī's text based on the Abū Riḍa's edition of the XIth c. manuscript from Aya Sofya, No. 4832 (No. 23, p. 43a—53a) [1] discovered and described by Ritter [2] and consulted with its preliminary and rough Italian translation of Guidi and Walzer.

The first chapter of al-Kindī's work begins with the expression of homage to the caliph al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh, to whom the book is dedicated. Afterwards, al-Kindī glorifies the philosophy which tries to know the true nature of things. Since this knowledge depends upon the knowledge of their causes, this leads to the ultimate cause of all, i.e. to the *True One*, the knowledge of whom is *First Philosophy*. Appreciating the joint effort required in philosophy, he aknowledges, though in general terms, gratitude for the efforts of all previous philosophers. Considering the true message of faith as compatible with philosophy, al-Kindī fervently opposes those who subscribe to standards and methods of truth other than philosophy. At the end of the chapter, he calls the Divine assistance in establishing proof of the Divinity and unity of God.

In the II chapter, al-Kindī compares the sensory and intellectual perceptions ascribing the superiority to the latter but emphasizing the need to use the appropriate method in investigating a particular subject. This leads him to the assertion of principles with which he works in his First Philosophy.

The next chapter is devoted to the examination and full rejection of the concepts of auto-causation and of an essence as separate from the substance of which it is an essence. The terms *essence* and *substance* are then related to different predicables and it is shown that these predicables are not essentially „ones", the unity in them being only accidental and imposed upon them from without by an external agent who uniquely possesses the unity essentially. In our experience, the nature of everything requires elements of unity and plurality. Their necessary association in everything requires a cause which cannot be similar to it and must be an absolute unity.

The chapter IV supplies us with the negative description of the *True One* and points to Its uniqueness as absolutely and essentially One, absolutely and essentially different from, and incomparable with anything else. It is the ultimate cause of everything, responsible through an emanative power for the unity which exists in other things, but

[1] Abū, Riḍa, *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyyah*, I, p. 97—162.

[2] Hellmut Ritter, and Martin Plessner, *Schriften Ja'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī in Stambuler Bibliotheken*, Archiv Orientální 1932, p. 363—372.

this unity is not part of Its being. Uniquely capable of initiating movement, the „True One" also causes the creation of the world from nothing and preserves its existence.

The mention of the creative, emanative and powerful nature of the „True One", after it has been shown that the unity of all else is „metaphorical" concludes the treatise of al-Kindī, or more strictly, its only extant part.

As it appears from the above-presented summary, also in this treatise al-Kindī tries, as usual, to adapt the philosophy of Aristotle enriched by the ideas of Philo and Neoplatonism to the demands of the Islamic thought, of what Ivry is very well aware. It is only suprising that, while identifying the philosophical threads which al-Kindī made the use of, Ivry does not mention Philo who certainly must have shared in the „shaping" of al-Kindī's philosophy, but he discusses e.g. the possibility of a relation, though intermediate as it seems, between al-Kindī and Nichomachus of Gerasa.

It has been assumed commonly enough that al-Kindī's adaptional efforts brought him close to al-Mu'tazilah, the philosophical *madhab* which opened the field for the rationalism in Islam. As we have seen above, Ivry devoted a special chapter to this problem in the introductory part of his publication. He proposes in it to see al-Kindī „largely as his own man" after having proved, successfully in our opinion, that though there are many philosophical points and arguments which link him to al-Mu'tazilah, he has also much in common with e.g. Job of Edessa, Saadya Gaon or others, while he refutes the Mu'tazilah doctrine in such an important point like the division of the world into atoms and accidents.

Ivry's translation of al-Kindī's treatise is clear and fluent. This he attained also thanks to the restruction of al-Kindī's sentences where it appeared necessary. But in order to help the Western reader in full comprehension of the text, Ivry has provided his translation with an excellent commentary in which he not only elucidates al-Kindī's presentation of the argument but also refers his remarks in this work to those in his other treatises, viewing very rightly the First Philosophy as a part of a series of lectures which al-Kindī most probably delivered before an audience composed of members of the caliph's family and other aristocrats, of fellow-scholars, students and theologians.

Ivry undertook a difficult task, but having successufully overcome all obstacles, he has rendered one more product of Islamic thought accessible to the Western world.

Andrzej Czapkiewicz

Muhammad 'Abū'l-Farağ al-'Ušš, *Kanz 'Umm Ḥağarati'l-fiḍḍi, Sāsānī, 'Arabī-Sāsānī, 'Umawī, 'Abbāsī maḥfūẓ fi'l-Mathafi'l-Waṭanī bi-Dimašk*, (Ailver Hoard from 'Umm Ḥağara, Sassanian Arabo-Sassanian, 'Umayyad, 'Abbāsid, Preserved in the National Museum in Damascus) *Dimašk*, 1972, p. 119 + 23, XVIII tables.

The numismatic literature has been enriched by the publication of al-'Ušš, the more welcomed because it concerns a numismatic find in the East. This kind of finds is still very rare, and beside this one only two others have been published so far, viz.: the hoards from Susa and Persepolis [1].

The book is a detailed monograph on the hoard of silver coins found on the territory of Syria, near the village 'Umm Ḥağara, 40 km. to the North from al-Ḥasaka in the al-Ğazīra province (North-Eastern Syria) and now preserved in the National Museum in Damascus. It is not known when the hoard was unearthed. All we know is that in May 1970, the Department of Political Security of the al-Ḥasaka district delivered the hoard in question to the General Archeological Board in Damascus.

The hoard from 'Umm Ḥağara consists of 409 coins, of which the oldest is a drachm of Fīrūz which is undated but which must have been struck some time between 457/59 — 489, while the youngest is the 'Abbāsid dirham from 193 = 808/09. This ranks the find among the early ones. The distribution of the coins is as follows:

Sassanids	— 155	(Nos. 1—155 in the al-'Ušš's Catalogue)
Arabo-Sassanian	— 54	(Nos. 156—209 " " " " ")
Umayyads	— 17	(Nos. 210—226 " " " " ")
The Rebels against the Umayyad rule	— 2	(Nos. 227—228 " " " " ")
Umayyads of Spain	— 1	(No. 229 " " " " ")
'Abbāsids	— 179	(Nos. 230—408 " " " " ")
Seldjuqids	— 1	(No. 409 " " " " ") [2]

[1] G. C. Miles, *Trésor de dirhems du IX^e siecle*. Extrait des Memoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran, t. XXXVII, Paris, 1960; (the earliest date is 81 = 700/01, the latest — 265 = 878/79); Id., *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region*, New York, 1959; (unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make use of this publication).

[2] The Author admits that the Seldjuqid coin must have been included in the hoard later by mistake, but having received it together with the numismatic material from 'Umm Ḥağara he had to take it into account in his description. Totaly agreeing with such point of view of the Author, I do not pay any attention to this coin in my considerations.

The monograph includes a short introduction in which the Author informs the reader about the arrangement of the catalogue and draws his attention to the elements which in his opinion are important. Then, he acknowledges his gratitude to the persons who helped him at the edition of his book. Next comes the catalogue divided into seven parts devoted to the description of the coins of each of the abovementioned groups respectively. In the case of the Arabo-Sassanian coins, al'Ušš arranged them in three sub — groups in order to attain greater clarity in their description viz:. 1) anonymous dirhams, 2) dirhams of the Umayyad caliphs and of those pretender who used the *lakab 'amīru'l-mu'minīn*, 3) dirhams of the Umayyad governors.

The analysis of the Umayyad dirhams is preceded by a short note on the evolution of the Arabic dirhams from the Sassanian drachm through the Arabo-Sassanian stage, preserving, according to al-'Ušš, the weight, diameter and shape of the Sassanian drachm. The data concerning each particular specimen contain: serial numbers, both within the whole catalogue and within the group to which the given coin belongs, the name of mint, date, diameter, weight, legends, symbols, and the references, both to the tables illustrating the numismatic material included in the publication under discussion, and to the literature in which identical or similar specimens of coins occur.

Generally speaking, the arrangement of the catalogue corresponds with the schema commonly applied. There are in it, however, certain deviations, like placing the data on the weight, diameter and the corresponding table in the beginning part of description, just beside the the mint and date. This, in my opinion, makes the description, more clear and functional. Also the dealing out of the coins struck by the rebels (s. No. 227 from Kūfa, 128=745/46, and No. 228 from Marv, 132 = 749/50), and making a separate group out of them is to be accepted with approbation. Such a stand-point seems much more justified than that in some of the numismatic publications in the West, like e.g. in the case of Nützel's Katalog or A. Czapkiewicz's... Skarb dirhemów..., where such coins have been ranked among the issues of the transient period between the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid rules [1].

The catalogue is followed by lists and explanations of abbreviations terms, geographical and personal names and of single words occurring on the coins, by an index of symbols as well as by a list of Western

[3] H. Nützel, *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, Bd. I, Berlin, 1898, p. 109—110, Nos. 598—602; M. and A. Czapkiewicz, T. Lewicki, S. Nosek, *Skarb dirhemów arabskich z Czechowa k. Lublina*, Kraków, 1957, p. 28, No. 24.

sources and XIX tables of which the first shows the map and the photograph of the place in which the described hoard was found, while the rest of them present the photographs of the coins. Al-ʿUšš's publication also includes a survey of the found coins with the regard to the name of the ruler, date, mint, weight, diameter, symbols and words occurring above or below the central legends. At the end of his book, the Author inserted a short summary in French.

Passing now over to my remarks on the above-presented publication, I wish to make a reservation that, since I am interested only in the purely Arabic numismatic material, I shall confine my considerations exclusively to it.

The hoard from 'Umm Ḥağara presents a very interesting numismatic material for various reasons. One of them is the presence of unique and rare specimens in the hoard, and al-Ušš rightly points to them. I shall mention here only those which, in my opinion, deserve a special attention. These are e.g. the specimens from al-'Abbāsiyya: No. 280 dated 160 = 776/77 which has ∘°∘ بخ above the central legend of Rv. and يزيد below it; No. 298 dated 162 = 778/79 with رط . above the central legend of Rv.; No. 313, dated 164 = 780/81 on which above the central legend of Rv. appear the symbols ✳✸ بخ and يزيد below it; No. 315 dated 166 = 782/83 with a particularly rare and interesting symbol above the central legens of Rv. ⋇ which somehow resembles that on the pseudo-Khazar coins from Devica [4]. Like in most of the cases, also here يزيد appears below the mentioned legend. On two 'Ifrīḳiyyan specimens, Nos. 374 and 376 struck in 172 = 788, there appears under the central legends of their Rvs. something like ركه written with a technique resembling that with which we meet on the imitations, what al-ʿUšš, p. 88 identifies as Yazīd (ibn Ḥātim), the name of the governor of 'Ifrīḳiyya, already dead at the time. Al-ʿUšš sees the only explanation of this astounding fact, in the assumption that a member of Yazīd's family who refused to recognize the authority of the new governor continued to strike the coins in the name of Yazīd. If the supposition of al-ʿUšš is right, should it mean that there existed the possibility that certain persons could have had private mints at their disposal or perhaps could even have had the access to the official ones? Also the coin No. 380 from Siğistān, dated 170 = 786 which bears بخ ∘°∘ بخ below the central legend of Rv. and No. 406 from Miṣr, dated 180 = 796 on which below the central legend of Obv.

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[4] A. A. Bykov, *O khazarskom čekane VIII—IX vv.* [in:] Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža, vol. XII, Numizmatika IV, Leningrad, 1971 pp. 26—36; M. Czapkiewicz, a review of Bykov's cited publication, in *Folia Orientalia*, vol. XV 1974, p. 306—310.

appears the abbreviation of the name of Hārūn — هر written with dots, belong to the unique specimens. The uniqueness and rarity of these coins is chiefly due to the symbols or ornaments as well as single words or their parts which appear on them, matched by the fact that they are really uniquely or very scarcely represented in the world numismatic collections.

Another detail which deserves attention are the coins from the Maghribian mints included in the 'Umm Ḥağara hoard. Already their unusually rich representation, 112 specimens, (95 from al-ʿAbbāsiyya and 17 from al-'Ifrīḳiyya), which make 63,6% of the purely Arabic numismatic material in this hoard, contrarwise to the hoards unearthed in Central, Northern or Eastern Europe, where they form a small and accidental admixture, awakes a special interest. Also the characteristics of these coins are to a certain degree exceptional. Their weight e.g. ranges from 2,05 gr. to 3,24 gr. (each of these two boundary weights represented by one specimen), while the majority of them weight between 2,60 gr. — 2,80 gr. On some of them, the shapes of letters, an unequal arrangement of the verses of the central legends of Obv. and Rv. (more often in the latter case), a certain skillessness in writing, chiefly in the case of central legend of Rv. (s. table XIII, Nos. 269, 271, 281, 298; table XVI, Nos. 375, 376; table XVII, Nos. 392, 395, 396) remind us of those „deficiencies" on the imitations. Strange symbols and asterisks, omissions of certain parts of legends or mistakes in their orthography occurring on some of those specimens as well as several inscriptions on the Rvs. of some of them evoke the similar associations which seem all the more justified in the light of al-Ušš's statement that the majority of dirhams from 'Umm Ḥağara and those issued in al-ʿAbbāsiyya in particular, were restruck in order to annul their appartenance to the foregoing period from which they really originated. As a proof for his statement, al-ʿUšš adduces the specimen No. 313 on whose Rv., above the word بخ he claims to see a crescent-like hook which he takes for the remainder of the letter خ belonging to the word بخ struck for the second time. When we consider the fact that the coins with all the above-mentioned kinds of „deficiencies", irregularities and imperfections similar to those usually met on the imitations circulated within the caliphate awaking no reservations of anybody, there arises a question, if in the case of most of the coins commonly classified as imitations they are really to be looked at as such? This is one of the most important and still unanswered questions in the Arabic numismatics to which it is my intention to devote more attention in the future.

As it has been shown above, the hoard from 'Umm Ḥağara also contains one coin from al-'Andalus struck in 170 = 786 (No. 229). In the opinion of alʿUšš, this dirham does not differ much from the coins struck in the same period on the territory of the caliphate, the only differences being the sign ‿ under the central legend of the Rv. and less skillful writing. The remark which al-ʿUšš makes in connection with this coins is not quite clear. It seems, however, that he wants to prove that the coin in question has not been actually issued by the mint whose name it bears but must have been struck somewhere on the territory of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate because of the less skilled writing which appears on it in comparison with the specimens really struck in al-ʿAndalus. In this, he follows the stand-point of de Morgan, cited by Jungfleisch, whom the big hoard of silver coins discovered in Wāsiṭ which bore the mint names ʾIfrīḳiyya and al-ʾAndalus and which were looking like new lead to the conclusion that they must have been struck in Wāsiṭ for the account of these two provinces [5]. However, even if I understood al-ʿUšš correctly, it seems hardly probable, and it is also Miles's point of view [6], that the ʿAbbāsid mints would undertake the task of striking coins for a rebellious state. It seems that in the solution of the problem whether certain mints used to strike coins for the account of the others, a radioisotope X-Ray fluorescence analysis of the alloy from which the coins were struck would perhaps be not less helpful than the analysis of letters [7].

According to al-ʿUšš, the Kūfic dirhams preserved many of the characterics of the Sassanian drachm, like e.g. the weight. However, the analysis of the majority of the dirhams unearthed so far seems to prove that their weight kept rather within the lower limits.

The cutting off of the coins presents a special problem. It is a commonly accepted assumption among the numismatists that this procedure was performed either by merchants or by peoples who used the Arabic coins and it was not practised on the territory of the caliphate. However, the hoard from ʾUmm Ḥağara in which many cut off specimens occur, as it can be gathered from the tables, contradicts this opinion, and suggests that the cut off dirhams circulated as well within the caliphate as they did outside it.

To conclude these remarks, I would like to point out once again that, in spite of certain shortcomings like few uncorrected mistakes, s.e.g. p. 9 of the French summary: Bufyān instead of Sufyān, No. 369 instead of No. 368 on the table XV, or displacement of legends, on p. 51, No. 230, the publication of al-ʿUšš retains its great value. It is not only because it contains a detailed description of very interesting numismatic material but also because it abounds in precious explanations, observations and suggestions of the Author.

Maria Czapkiewicz

[5] M. Marcel Jungfleisch, *Conjectures au sujet de certaines lettres isolées se rencontrant sur les solidi Byzantins du VIIe siècle*, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte, XXXI, 1948—1949, p. 111.

[6] G. C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain*, part I, New York, 1950, p. 22, footnote 1;

[7] Recently, the Numismatic Department of the Institute of Oriental Philology of the Jagellonian University in Kraków started the cooperation on this field with the Institute of Physics and Nuclear Techniques of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy in Kraków.

Barbara Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, Teil 1. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner 1968. XIV, 392 S., 10 Tafeln (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band 13, 1).

Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft hat eine wichtige Arbeit und zwar die Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland unternommen. Als ein Teil dieses grossangelegten Unternehmens ist das anzuzeigende Werk entstanden. Mit diesem Band sind 648 osmanische Werke in 378 Einzel- und Sammelhandschriften der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht.

Der Band enthält vornehmlich die Handschriften historiographischen Inhalts. Das Buch zerfällt in 6 Kapitel: 1. Universal- und islamische Geschichte (Weltgeschichte, Chronologie; Prophetengeschichten u.a., Sīra; Allgemeine Werke zur islamischen Geschichte; Frühislamische Geschichte), 2. Geschichte einzelner Perioden und Dynastien (Anatolische Fürstentümer; Timur; Ṣafaviden, Afghanen, Kaukasus; Kreta; Ägypten; Christliche Länder), 3. Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches (Osmanische Geschichtswerke; Gesandtschaftsberichte; Richtlinien und Denkschriften; Verwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches; Dokumente, Inšā-Sammlungen), 4. Biographien (Prophetengenossen, Heilige, Scheiche; Dichter; Herrscher, Wesire, Schönschreiber und sonstige Berühmtheiten), 5. Geographie, 6. Varia (Tefsīr; Ḥadīṯ; Fiqh, mit Fetwas und Qānūn-nāmes; ʿIbādāt, ʿAqāʾid; Taṣavvuf; ʿUlūm; Aḫlāq, Staatskunst; Kriegswissenschaft und Kriegskünste; Astrologie, Astronomie, Kalendarisches; Ḥayvānāt, Ṭibb; Philologie, Rhetorik; Dichtung; Sprichwörter, Erzählungen; Arabische Werke; Drucke). Zahlreiche Register ermöglichen das umfangreiche Material zu benutzen.

Der Verfasserin gebührt tiefer Dank für ihre mühevolle Arbeit, damit so imposanten Bestand der osmanischen Handschriften uns zugänglich gemacht hat.

Włodzimierz Zajączkowski

Researches in Altaic languages edited by Louis Ligeti, Budapest 1975, 338. S. (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XX).

Der vorliegende Band enthält 36 Vorträge, die auf der 14. Sitzung der Ständigen Internationalen Altaisten-Konferenz (PIAC) in Szeged 22—28 August 1971 J. von den Gelehrten Bulgariens, Deutscher Bundesrepublik, Deutscher Demokratischen Republik, Englands, Frankreichs, Japans, Mongolei, Norwegens, Sovietunion, Tschechoslovakei, Türkei, Ungarns und Vereinigter Staaten Amerikas gehalten worden sind.

N. A. Baskakov behandelt die Personenkategorie und Kategorie der personalen Possession in mongolischen, türkischen und mandschutungusischen Sprachen. M.-L. Beffa und R. Hamayon befassen sich mit den Verbalnomina im Mongolischen. T. A. Bertagaev untersucht einige gemeinsame semantische Anzeichen der Stammelemente in altaischen Sprachen. J. A. Boyle analisiert zusätzlich die mongolischen Namen in der Geschichte der Nation von Archers. G. Clauson zeigt fremde Elemente im Alttürkischen auf. E. J. Fazylov bietet einige Proben aus den Werken der orientalischen Philologen betreffende der Phonetik und Morphologie der kiptschakischen, oghusischen und karlukischen Sprachen. N. Z. Gadschieva betrachtet die Rolle der altaischen Sprachen für die Rekonstruktion des türkischen syntaktischen Archetyps. E. P. Hamp prüft die altaischen nichtverschlossenen Konsonante über. E. Hovdhaugen leitet das mongolische Suffix *-lig* vom Türkischen ab. L. Hřebiček behandelt den phonemischen Bau in der ersten Silbe einiger Türksprachen.

S. Kenesbaew und Sch. Sarybaew stellen kasachisch-mongolische lexikalische Vergleiche in der Verwandschaftsterminologie und in den Namen der Körperteile vor. I. Laude-Cirtautas beschreibt die usbekischen Kurpfuscherinen. L. Ligeti polemisiert mit den Anschauungen von G. Clauson über altaische Theorie und lexikalische Statistik. L. Lörincz bringt ein historisches Lied aus der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen. E. Lot-Falck befasst sich mit Ütügän bei den Jakuten. J. Lotz stellt das türkische Vokalsystem und die phonologische Theorie vor. L. Manaljaw berichtet über zwei Übersetzungen der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen in der Staatsbibliothek in Ulanbator. P. Mijatev schildert gegenseitige Beziehungen und fremde Einflüsse auf die Sprache der Türken in Bulgarien. R. A. Miller behandelt die japanisch-altaische lexikalische Evidenz und den prototürkischen „Zetacism-Sigmatism". S. N. Muratov befasst sich mit einigen regelmässigen Veränderungen im phonetischen Bau der Wurzel in altaischen Sprachen. S. Murayama zeigt altaische Komponente der japanischen Sprache auf. K. M. Musaev bringt einige Namen der Bäume in altaischen Sprachen. E. A. Novgorodova schildert ethnokulturelle Beziehungen der Stämme in mongolischem Altai auf dem Beispiele Wagen — *tergen*. A. Róna-Tas stellt die altaische Theorie und die Geschichte der mittelmongolischen Lehnwörter im Tschuwaschischen vor. G. D. Sanscheyev gibt eine mongolische Rekonstruktion der Turkismen. B. Scherner behandelt die arabischen und neupersischen Lehnwörter im Tatarischen. N. P. Schastina prüft die mongolischen und türkischen Ethnonyme in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen über. D. Sinor behandelt uralotungusische lexikalische Zusammenhänge. S. Szádeczky-Kardoss untersucht die Wandlungen der Ostgrenze der awarischen Machtsphäre. T. Tekin betrachtet weitere Evidenz von „Zetacism" und „Sigmatism". A. Tretiakoff vergleicht die Folgengesetze der Vokale im Türkischen und Mongolischen. V. I. Tsintsius befasst sich mit dem präaltaischen Konsonantensystem. A. S. Tveritinova berichtet über das lexikalische Material als Quelle zur Erforschung der agrikulturellen Traditionen des Osmanischen Reiches. H. P. Vietze beschreibt die rückläufigen Wörterbücher und spricht über ihre Bedeutung für altaistische Forschung. N. Yüce zeigt einige auffällige Gerundialformen im Türkischen auf. P. Ziehme behandelt einen uigurischen Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im Uigurischen Reich.

Włodzimierz Zajączkowski

Angelo Michele Piemontese, *I manoscritti Persani dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (*Fondi Caetani e Corsini*((= Indici e Sussidi Bibliografici della Biblioteca, 8), Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma 1974, XXVI + 82 p.

This small catalogue contains a description of fifty-nine Persian manuscripts in possession of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome. The manuscripts come from two different collections: Corsini — three MSs and Caetani — the rest of them, and have been already described twice — by I. Pizzi (in 1912) and G. Gabrieli (1926). These descriptions however are both considered by Piemontese as merely provisional, full of shortcomings and inacuraccies, insufficient for the purpose of any more detailed studies.

The aim of the present catalogue was to correct the old mistakes and to give a new description which would answer the needs of contemporary scholars better.

In the introduction the author relates the system adopted in arranging this catalogue and gives reasons for its suitability: The collection contains mostly the specimens of well-known and widely-spread works in copies of not a very high antiquity. According to Piemontese the description should lay emphasis not on the work itself, but on the manuscript seen from the point of view of its widely understood historical context.

Three important features of the construction of his description can be pointed out corresponding to this assumption:

The date (exact or approximate) and place of origin of the MS, the name of the copyist and possibly the name of the person who ordered the copy are mentioned immediately after the title of the work.

Not only the opening and closing sentences of the text are quoted, but also the whole of its colophone, because, as the author believs, the style of a colophone can be an important indication of the origin of the MS.

The note containing information on the work itself and on its author as well as the bibliographical note are usualy short, except in the case of the less known works or more valuable copies.

Piemontese describes his system as experimental and differing from the usual practice. However the only difference is that of proportions between the respective pieces of information and of their order. Besides, the material is treated with greater care than in many other catalogues. But it is plain that this can only achieved with ease at the description of a small collection.

The important thing is that while formulating his programme, Piemontese puts forward the problem of the utilisation of such small and third-rate collections as this one. The system of his description of the MSs suggests the direction in which the research should go. Less valuable manuscripts can provide interesting comparative material and information about the historical and sociological context of dissemination of literary works, about the copyist centers, schools of calligraphy and miniature et c. However more precise, intensified methods are required to obtain this effect.

As to the collection of Accademia dei Lincei itself, it contains mostly the specimens of Persian poetry, but also some historical, theological and other works. About one-fourth of the MSs come from India — either directly or via the European collectors. It is to this fact that the collection owes its particular character which makes it attractive for a student of Persian literature in India. It contains many examples of the Indian style poetry and some translations from sanscrit.

Some of the interesting manuscripts belonging to the collection are: The autographs of Xulāsat al-aχbār of Xwāndamīr (Nr. 8) and Hilayat al-muttaqīn of Majlisī (Nr. 5); A copy of Persian translation of Matsyapurāna (Nr. 59); A profession of wahhabi faith from 1868 A. D. (Nr. 3); Kulliyāt-i Amīr-i Xusrau — copy from the beginning of 16th c. (Nr. 30).

In its introductory part the catalogue contains among others the bibliography of Italian oriental collections and a table showing approximately the number and distribution of Persian MSs in Italian librairies. At the end of the book four black-and-white reproductions are added.

Anna Krasnowolska

Henry Corbin, *En islam Iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, (Bibliothèque des Idées), Gallimard, Paris. I. *Le shi'isme duodecimain* — 1971, XXIX + 332 p.; II. *Sohravardī et les Platoniciens de Perse* — 1971, V + 384 p.; III. *Les Fidèles d'amour. Shi'isme et soufisme* — 1972, XIV + 358 p.; IV. *L'Ecole Shaykhie. Le douzième Imām; Index général* — 1972, XX + 567. p.

The extensive work of H. Corbin is the next important stage of his researches after such books as *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, *L'Imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabi*, or *Trilogie Ismaélienne*. At the same time it is a synthesis of some ideas presented already in different articles, most of them in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*.

This cycle of seven studies of different lenght, gathered in four volumes, has as its general subject various manifestations of spiritual attitude in Persian Islam, as it appears in the works of philosophers and mystics.

The first part is a study of the duodecimal shi'ism with all the far-reaching consequences of its prophetic and imamistic conception of revelation, resulting in the gnostic character of this branch of Islam. The 12th Imām, the central figure of the system is also the hero of the last part of the cycle. This essay closes and sums up the whole work, for which, actually, the duodecimal shi'ism is the main point of reference. The remaining studies are devoted to the most prominent personalities and schools of the Persian spiritual Islam, arranged in an approximately chronological order (Sohravardī and his school of ishrāq, Rūzbehān Shīrāzī, Haydar Amolī, Sā'inoddīn Torkeh Ispahānī 'Alāoddawleh Semnānī, the school of Ispahān with Mīr Dāmād, Sadrā Shīrāzī, Qāzī Sā'īd Qomī and the Shaykhi school of Ahmad Ahsā'ī).

Though not all the persons dealt with are representatives of the duodecimal shi'ism, always their doctrines are closely related and in many points conformable to it. Both shk'ite and non-shi'ite mystics consider the revealed text as a secret divine message whose signes should be deciphered by the method of esoteric exegesis (*ta'wīl*). This conception is based on the notion of the double character of reality with its external (*zāher*) and inner (*bāten*) levels, the latter being secret, but the only real one. The two kinds of mediation between God and humanity — *nobowwat* (prophecy) and *walāyat* (friendship, pact — attributed by the shiʿites solely to the *Imām*) — correspond to these two aspects of reality. Owing to the institution of *walāyat* the personal contact of a human being with God is possible, as well as the soul's return from the earthly exile to its celestial place of origin. On this conception all the anthropology of the mystical currents of Islam is based.

The most important theses presented in the work, concerning the relationship between the duodecimal shiʿism and sufism and the role of neoplatonic thought in the development of Moslem mysticism, could be recapitulated as follows:

The mystical and esoteric tendencies in Islam are form the very beging strictly connected with the shiʿism and the conception of *walāyat.* Therefore the sufims is in reality nothing else but a kind of deformed shiʿism („shiʿisme sans īmām", „shiʿisme qui n'ose pas dire son nom").

There is a continuity of neoplatonic tradition in Persia going from Avicenna through Sohravardī's philosophy of *ishrāq* and the school of Ispahān up to our times. At the same time it is present (partly by the influence of Christian gnosis) in the esoteric Moslem teachings. These two currents — the philosophical and the mystic one are perpetually overlapping.

The author believs that the duodecimal shiʿism is the only version of Islam which is able to solve positively all the contradictions characteristic of Islam and to create for its adepts the optimal conditions of personal spiritual development.

From among the above mentioned points the last one is no doubt the most controversial. Corbin's preference for the thinkers of this affiliation could be seen already in his previous works (e.g. *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*). In the present book idealisation of the Moslem spirituality in general, and of the duodecimal shiʿism in particular becomes apparent in all its exageration. An attitute like this can be understood as an attempt to draw the attention of the Western world to a whole complex of fascinating cultural phenomena characteristic of the Moslem mind but still ignored in Europe. From the other side, this personally involved attitude towards the object of investigation, though, according to the author, justified by the phenomenological method accepted by him, induces authomatically the reader's suspition. It seems as if we had to do with a new effort not only to domesticate „la pensée sauvage", but moreover to transform it inconspiciously into a tool of scientific investigation. And this in the long run can lead to deformation, both of the science and of the cultural phenomenon presented.

The most valuable and original stratum of the work concerns the

imaginary systems which are the strict equivalent of the abstract philosophical constructions. Not only is the neoplatonic conception of the emanated degrees of celestial hierarchy with the human soul as „the younger brother of the Angels" common to different kinds of the mystics, but also their spiritual adventures occur in a common imaginary world with parallel topography, peopled by the same celestial beings, hidden in the more or less conventional symbolical disguise. A mystic can penetrate this higher reality by repetition of Muhammad's archetypical ascension to heaven (*miʿrāj*). This is the subject of the majority of the visions and the symbolical recitals quoted in translation or recapitulated by Corbin. Many of the described visions, rich in symbolical details and charged with an impressive, dramatic atmosphere, are of a high aesthetic value.

The mystics being usually philosophers at the same time, their visionary experiences were inseparably connected with their ontological and cosmological conceptions. This led to some general aesthetisation of the scientific thought, queer to the Western mind. It is interesting to notice, incidentally, that the immediate counterpart of this phenomenon was the sophistication of Persian poetry. And so, full understanding of symbols and allusions used in poetry is quite impossible without any familiarity with their genesis and primitive context, which can often be found in the theological and philosophical works. But the symbols appropriated by the Moslem mysticism are rooted in more ancient and quite different cultural layers, which can be found first of all in the Qur'ān, but also in gnostic Christian literature, in ancient Oriental religions (Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism), in Iranian epic tradition.

Because of its voluminous size and a heavy, often too verbose and full of unnecessary repetitions style Corbin's book cannot be easily digested by the reader who must make en effort to extract from it a more systematised idea on the intellectual conceptions dealt with. The book is however one of those opening some really new and unexpected horizons to the reader. It would be an unreplacable lecture to anybody interested in Persian culture, and first of all in Persian poetry, as a help in understanding the vast background of its various symbolical meanings.

The transcription used by the author is simplified and generalised in order to be suitable both for Arab and Persian words occuring in the text. The Persian pronunciation is, however dominant in the representation of the consonant and vowel systems, and this even in the Koranic citations. Using in Arabic context *-i* for kesra, but always *-o* for damma (while in Persian context *-e* and *-o* respectively) seems to be a rather inconsequent compromise, especially as in many cases it is impossible to decide to which of the contexts the word should be referred. So, for instance, we find always *-zāhir* and *-bātin* alongside —

a-lasto bi-rabbi-kom — but the first Imām usually referred to as *'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib* sometimes appeares also as *ibn Abī-Tāleb* (e.g. Vol. III. p. 199).

Anna Krasnowolska

John J. Gunther, *St. Paul's Opponents and Their Background. A Study of Apocalyptic and Jewish Sectarian Teachings*, Leiden 1973, E. J. Brill, 8 , pp. IX + 323. Price: 96 guilders.

The question of the identity of St. Paul's opponents and their ideas is a controversial subject about which there is still no agreement among the commentators of Pauline epistles and the historians of the early Christian era. Differences of opinion appear already in the names given to Paul's opponents: some scholars call them Judaizers, other — Gnostics or Syncretists. This is due to the fact that Paul's adversaries belonged to various Judaeo-Christian groups, which were also joined by some Christians of Gentile origin. There is no doubt, however, that the ideas of Paul's adversaries are closely connected with the Palestinian Judaism of the 1st century A. D. The discovery of the Essene writings in Qumran at the Dead Sea has thrown new light on the sectarian Palestinian Judaism of the time before A.D. 70 and on the sources of the doctrines of various Judaeo-Christian sects.

Gunther considers the Qumran writings and the Jewish Apocalyptic to be the direct buckground of the ideas of Paul's opponents. He presents in his study a rich survey of the Jewish sectarian teachings of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., compiled according to the main topic, which constitute the subject of controversy between Paul and his opponents. These are: the role of the Law, relations to Judaism, circumcision, observations of Times and Seasons, food and drink restrictions, sexual abstinence, holiness, washing away pollution, exclusive sacred meals, priest and sanctuary, angelology, Christology, Pneumatology, Gnosis and apostolic authority. The material is presented in ten chapters of varying length, preceded by List of Contents, Foreword, and Abbreviations. The author leaves it to the reader to judge which doctrinal elements of the sectarian literature are dealt with directly in Paul's writings.

The first chapter, devoted to sources, is a separate part of the study, in which the author gives a critical account of the documents on which he bases his research. A review is given of various commentators' opinions on Paul's opponents, who are responsible for the texts of the *Corpus Paulinum* as well as a discussion of the writings representing the Jewish Apocalyptic and the Judaeo-Christian sectarianism, which contain the teachings attacked by Paul in his epistles. The author refers to the following texts as the sources of the doctrine of Paul's adversaries: Galatians, 1—2 Corinthians, Philippians 3, Romans 16, Colossians, Ephesians, the Epistle to the Hebrews, Pastoral Epistles, 1 Peter, the Revelation of John, Ignatius' Letters, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Book of Elkasai, the Ethiopic Testament of our Lord Jesus in Galilee, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Paralipomena of Jeremiah (4 Baruch), 2 Enoch (Slavonic Book of the Secrets of Enoch), the Testament of Abraham, the Testament of Job, the Testament of Adam, the Greek Apocalypse of Moses, Vita Adae, 3 Baruch, the Fourth Sybilline Oracle and 1 Enoch. It appears from the above selection that Gunther considers the question of Paul's opponents on a broader doctrinal and literary plane and is less interested in concrete situations and historical figures.

In the following seven chapters the author compiles the material concerning Paul's opponents under the following headings: Judaic Legalism (pp. 59—94), Ascetism (pp. 95—133), Sacerdotal Separatism (pp. 134—171), Angelogogy (pp. 172—208), Messianism and Pneumatology (pp. 209—270), Apocalyptic, Mystic Gnosticism (pp. 271—297) and Apostilic Authority (pp. 298—307). In these chapters Gunther uses the comparative method: first he quotes and analyses the texts from the *Corpus Paulinum* and then presents analogous topics in the Qumran writings, in the Jewish Apocalyptic and in Judaeo-Christian writings. He makes a thorough use of the information on the Jewish sects related by Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Philaster, Eusebius, etc. As regards the Qumran documents, he draws particular attention to 1QS, 1QM, 1QpHab and 11QMelch. The hypothesis that 11QMelch contains ideas which became the sources of the teachings of later Judaeo-Christian sects is confirmed by J. T. Milik in his study on the document *Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens* (JJS 23, 1972, 95—144). According to Milik, the document is a fragment of a larger work entitled „Book of the Periods", which in turn, is an Essene version of the „Vision of Amram", a work widely popular in the Palestinian Judaism. Gunther is also right in paying considerable attention to 1 Enoch in his analysis of the teachings of Paul's opponents. It appears from Milik's study on Henochian literature (*Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumran*, HTR 64, 1971, 333—378) that already the Essenes of Qumran had at their disposal a kind of Pentateuch relating the sectarian teachings ascribed to the antedeluvian patriarch Henoch. Sectarianism is particularly typical of „The Book of Giants" whose fragments were found in the Qumran caves. According to Milik that book belonged to the collection of the Henochian literature.

A separate chapter is devoted to the analysis of 2 Corinthians 6,14 — 7,1 (pp. 308—313). In Gunther's opinion, the fragment is an interpolation representing the views of Paul's adversaries. He bases his assumption on the numerous affinities between the terminology of that fragment and the terminology of the Qumran writings, the Book of Jubilees and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. The closing chapter presents the topics and the author's conclusions (pp. 314—317); it is followed by Index of Authors (pp. 318—322) and a very general Index of References (p. 383).

In his conclusions the author proclaims himself to be in favour of the basic unity of Paul's Judaizing opponents. „Even if they are separated and multiplied, it is fitting to seek common threads and to explain some correlations. Though the historical relationship between his personal opponents in various cities is unknown, there is sufficient theological coherence of their teachings to affirm the existence of anti-Pauline movement with a definite religious perspective. Some of its converts came from the different branches of Essenism and the Baptist movement, and others from the readers of various apocalypses. ... Paul's literary adversaries were believers whose background was a mystic-apocalyptic, ascetic, non-conformist, syncretistic Judaism more akin to Essenism than to any other well-known „school" or holiness sect" (p. 315).

The Author's conclusions are justified in view of the ample evidence he presents and critically analyses in his study. However, it is likely that not all of his readers will be convinced that his assumption is correct, as the evaluation of the teachings of Paul's opponents is not a simple matter: it requires the consideration both of the evolution of Paul's ideas in a concrete historical situation and of the modifications in the views of his opponents. Gunther's study does not pay much attention to the overwhelming influence of the catastrophe of A.D. 70 not only on the ideas within Palestinian Judaism but also on the modification of ideas in early Christianity. If, as Gunther maintains, Pastoral Letters and Ephesians were written between A.D. 85 and A.D. 95, then we are dealing here with a re-interpretation of some of Paul's ideas from a totally different position and in the face of an entirely new situation than that of Galatians or 2 Corinthians. One may also have reservations about the dating of particular writings of the *Corpus Paulinum*. While in the case of e.g. the Testament of Job Gunther quotes opinions of various scholars on when and where that relatively insignificant text was written (pp. 36—38), where Paul's letters are concerned, he usually finds it sufficient to present his own opinions. And yet, it is still a matter of controversy whether the Epistle to the Hebrews was written in A.D. 62 by Apollos from Corinth, or that the Epistle to the Colossans was written in the prison of Caesarea, or that Philippians 3 was sent from Corinth.

The above criticism addressed to the author is not meant, however, to question the validity of his penetrating analysis of Pauline writings. In its entirety the work is a very valuable contribution to the study of the Pauline controversy, which very aptly examines its literary and doctrinal background and illustrates the ideas of his opponents on the basis of the literature of sectarian Judaism. It will undoubtedly be welcome by the commentators of the Pauline epistles.

Stanisław Mędala