



GERMANY IV. IRANIAN STUDIES IN GERMAN: ISLAMIC PERIOD

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It is not an easy task to define the subject of this contribution. It cannot be ascribed simply to one particular country, since German is the language used not only in Germany proper, but also in Austria and Switzerland. A number of Swiss scholars, however, have preferred to use French for their scholarly purposes, and Austria, until the end of World War I, consisted of a much larger territory than the present-day state that bears this name. Moreover, during the first half of this century, a number of Scandinavian and Central and Eastern European scholars used German as their primary language of scholarship, but German was gradually replaced in favor of English after World War II. This contribution, especially for periods prior to World War II, shall also include references to scholars from outside the close political Germanic framework described above, whenever discursive reasons justify it.

Another difficulty is the fact that there are, even now, no clearly defined disciplines in Germany that deal with Iranian studies. Within the general framework of Oriental studies (*Orientalistik*), there were (and, to a certain



extent, still are) imprecisely-defined disciplines that are relevant here. At the beginning of the 20th century, many academic studies in literature, history, religion, and other aspects of Persian culture fell in the domain of “Oriental philology,” which included, among others, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages. Following in the footsteps of comparative linguistics in the sense of “Indo-European studies,” Iranian philology emerged as a specific subject (*Iranistik*) that, for a long time, dealt much less with matters touching Persian proper than with any other Iranian language, whether recent or ancient. Scholars to be mentioned in this connection often described themselves as belonging to disciplines like Oriental studies, Islamic studies, Iranian studies or, more recently, geography or cultural anthropology (*Völkerkunde*, ethnology). In our retrospective view from outside, we may be inclined to categorize them rather as historians or as experts in literature or religion.

The start of the 20th century was in one particular respect a turning point in research concerning Iranian matters, particularly among German-speaking scholars. Two German specialists, Wilhelm Geiger and Ernst Kuhn, edited a then carefully updated survey of Iranian studies in the fields of literature, history, and languages in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (1891-1904). In these already legendary volumes, the state of Iranian studies, as it had been developed throughout the 19th century, was compiled and summarized. Some of the contributions, such as Hermann Ethé’s “Neupersische Literature” and Theodor Nöldeke’s “Das iranische Nationalepos” are still regarded as “classics in the field,” while others, like Paul Horn’s survey of Iranian history in Islamic times, have become outdated.

Until World War I, there were only a few scholars concentrating on subjects specifically Iranian, but many Orientalists did not refrain from dealing with Iranian, particularly Persian, affairs. Most of them, however, followed the traditions of the 19th-century, when important translations and more or less reliable editions of classical Persian texts had been published. Persian poetry was particularly popular with the German-speaking public in the 19th century, and we still find various contributions to Persian literature and philology in the first decades of the 20th century. It is surprising that, in those early years of the 20th century, a large number of scholars were clearly inclined to deal with contemporary affairs of their own time, much more so than scholars after the Great War. For example, the Austro-Hungarian Alexander von Kégl (Hung. Sándor Kégl) dealt with some Persian poets and men of letters of his own time in his miscellaneous contributions to the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die*



Kunde des Morgenlandes (concerning Šeybānī Kāšānī, Weṣāl Šīrāzī, and Reżāqolī Khan Hedāyat, among others), and the German Martin Hartmann, who was a specialist in classical and then contemporary Islamic studies, wrote an unusually politically accentuated article on the Constitutional Revolution (q.v.), stressing its structural similarities to the Russian Revolution of 1905 and describing the Persians as the most progressive nation in the Middle East at that time (Hartmann). But still, despite the landmarks set by Geiger and Kuhn with the publication of the *Grundriss*, it rather seems that the first two decades of the 20th century were in a way a prolongation of the 19th century.

From the 1920s to the 1940s. Conditions changed greatly from the 1920s onward. Gradually major efforts were made to integrate research on Iranian themes that had previously been rooted in diverse disciplines. Scholars of philology belonging to such fields as Islamic studies, Iranian studies, or simply Oriental studies strove more and more to concentrate their activities on Iranian themes and bring them closer to other fields (e.g., history, literature, geography, anthropology) that were apparently stronger in terms of their methodological instruments. In regard to Iranian studies (*Iranistik*) three scholars may be cited here: Hans Heinrich Schaeder, Wolfgang Lentz, and Walther Hinz. Prior to World War II, Schaeder held a chair for Iranian studies in Berlin, and after the war, for some years, in Göttingen; Hinz was then professor holding the same chair in Göttingen until the 1970s; and Lentz held an analogous position at the University of Hamburg. Rather early in their careers, these three scholars transformed their narrow philological scope in favor of wider perspectives: Schaeder, a former pupil of the famous Islamicist Carl Heinrich Becker, opened up his mind to universalist and comparative concepts in cultural history and searched for Iranian components within the great lines of human cultural development throughout world history. Lentz tried successfully to enrich Iranian philology by methods originating in the social and cultural sciences. To him, the actual and contemporary socio-cultural conditions of Iranian peoples were the proper subject of his field, “*Iranistik*,” and Iranian philology represented a means rather than an end.

Walther Hinz opened up an aspect of research in Iranian history that hitherto had been rather alien to the view of traditional German Orientalists. He dealt mainly with late medieval and early modern history of Persia, the so-called Middle Period, as can be seen in his pioneering study *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (1936). This was clearly a thematic approach to another tradition, represented mainly by Vasiliī Barthold,



Johannes Dorn (qq.v.), and Nikolai Khanikoff. There were certainly reasons for this specific concentration on Persian and Central Asian history of the pre- and post-Mongol periods among Russian orientalists, reasons to be found in the colonial political interests of the Russian Empire, and afterwards of the Soviet Union. Thus a specific Russian school of historical research on Persia and Central Asia had been created, whose traditions were transplanted by Vladimir Minorsky to France and later into the anglophone sphere. In Germany, it was Walther Hinz who took over this tradition. Two younger scholars of Islamic studies, namely Hans Robert Roemer and Berthold Spuler, who were both students of Hinz, cooperated with him and later became prominent representatives of this tradition. Spuler concentrated mainly on the early Islamic history of Persia and on the Mongol period, Roemer, like Hinz, specialized in post-Mongol times (Timurids, Qara Qoyunlus, Aq Qoyunlus, and Safavids).

As a result of the activities of these scholars, the premodern and early modern history of Persia became a well-established discursive theme in German universities after World War II. Hinz insisted that this theme should be a part of Iranian studies, but Spuler and Roemer conceived of their historical research activities as belonging to the realm of Islamic studies, for which discipline each of them held a chair, in Hamburg and in Freiburg respectively. Moreover, none of them dealt exclusively with their common field of interest. After 1960, Hinz preferred rather to study ancient Iranian cultural history and for a while concentrated on Elamite studies. In addition to his work on Persian topics, Roemer also concentrated on the late medieval history of Mamluk Egypt, and Spuler had strong interests in the history of religions and in Turkology. Since their studies were embedded in larger thematic frames, it happened that their common historical “school” did not survive among their successors. Hinz was replaced by a specialist in Middle Iranian languages and comparative linguistics, and Roemer and Spuler were succeeded by scholars in the field of Islamic studies and Islamic history, none of whom continued the line of their predecessors.

At the present time (1999), only a few German universities focus strongly on Iranian studies proper (history, culture, society, and languages) concerning the period from early Islam until the present time: the Department of Iranian Studies in Bamberg (Bert G. Fragner), the Oriental Department at the University of Tübingen (Heinz Gaube), the Oriental Department of Cologne (Monika Gronke), the University of Halle (Jürgen Paul), and the University of



Göttingen (Philip G. Kreyenbroek, who deals particularly with modern Iranian languages and dialects). At the departments of Iranian Studies at the universities of Berlin (Free University, Maria Macuch) and Hamburg (Ronald Emmerick), the concentration is mainly on Middle and Old Iranian themes.

The “historical school“after Walther Hinz, Hans Roemer, and Bertold Spuler. Since 1950, a good number of scholars have been trained in the traditions of these three pioneers. The following section can present only a short selection. Reference will be made only to scholars who, at some time, felt themselves to be close to the above-mentioned “school” or who still feel so. Up to the 1980s, the history of events was a main goal of researchers along this line. Hinz’ study on the early Safavids has been noted earlier; Spuler’s monographic works, “Persia in the early Islamic period” (1952) and “The Mongols in Iran” (1968), should be mentioned here, and, last but not least, Roemer’s contributions to the 6th volume of the *Cambridge History of Iran*, covering Persia’s history from the 14th to the 18th centuries for the first time. One of the specific features of this school was its deep interest in administrative and institutional history. In analogy to Minorsky’s edition of the *Taḏkerat al-molūk*, Hinz edited the 14th-century manual of fiscal administration, *Resāla-ye falakīya* by ‘Abd-Allāh Kīā Māzandarānī. Some of Hinz’ pupils published similar manuals (Göyünç, Nabipour). Roemer had written his doctoral thesis on the Safavid Esmā’īl II, and then went on to analyze the Timurid *enšā’* text of ‘Abd-Allāh Morvārīd and inspired his pupils and friends to similar studies (see Horst, 1964 and Herrmann, 1968). A special interest in the Mongol period served as a hallmark for this school and has remained a characteristic feature of historical research on Persia in Germany. Mention should also be made of Monika Gronke and her studies on the early dervishes attached to the Safavid shrine of Ardabīl (1982, 1993) and of Birgitt Hoffmann, who has just finished an important analysis of Rašīd-al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh’s *waqf-nāma* (forthcoming).

Roemer was particularly interested in diplomatics and paleography (1954, 1957). Thanks to his endeavors, a relatively large number of studies on historical documents have been produced (for a detailed report on these studies see Fragner, 1980). Recently, this specific area of research was expanded in the direction of Central Asia (E. Schiewek, Ch. Werner, et al.), India, and, within Persia, to the Zand and Qajar periods. Christoph Werner of Bamberg University has recently published an analysis of the data given by Nāder Mīrzā Qājār on the administration of pre-Qajar Tabrīz, which is, at the same time, a contribution to biographical studies as well (1996-97). He is also



preparing a major study on early Qajar provincial administration in Azarbaijan. The pilot study in this field of research among German scholars was Heribert Busse's still unsurpassed *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen* (1959), which is a thorough study of Persian *farmāns* from the Turkman and the Safavid periods; it was soon followed by his programmatic position paper on Persian diplomatics. Mention should also be made of Gottfried Herrmann's important contributions to our knowledge of *farmāns* (q.v.) from the Mongol period. It is fair to say that, in addition to the efforts of Persian and Soviet scholars, German contributions to Persian diplomatics constitute an important element in historical research on Persia. An early synthesis of these various efforts is Klaus-Michael Röhrborn's fundamental study on the institutional body of Safavid administration (1966), which is still regarded as a standard of scholarship on the Safavid period.

Economic and social history emerges in some respects from studies on administration. Hinz was a pioneer in this field, too (1949, 1950, 1952). Under his supervision, Paul Luft, now at the University of Manchester, wrote an important dissertation on the Persian society under Shah 'Abbās II (1968). There is also an authoritative study on Isfahan in the 15th and 16th centuries by Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche (1980) and the research of Heinz Georg Migeod concerning the structure of Persian society under Nāṣer-al-Dīn Shah (1990). Fragner's contribution to the 6th volume of the *Cambridge History of Iran* is also noteworthy here. A significant contribution to this area of research is Monika Gronke's detailed study of the economic and social affairs in connection with the early Safavid dervishes in the 14th century (1993).

Roemer also laid great emphasis on studies concerning chronicles. His last major undertaking was a translation of Neẓām-al-Dīn Šāmī's *Ẓafar-nāma* (forthcoming). Partly due to Roemer's influence, similar translations and analyses of chronicles have appeared, among them Birgitt Hoffmann's translation of Moḥammad-Hāšem Āṣaf's *Rostam al-tawārīk*, and Ursula Ott's study of Faẓl-Allāh Ḳonjī's *Mehmān-nāma-ye Boḳārā*. Heribert Busse produced an English translation of the important 19th-century chronicle *Fārs-nāma-ye nāṣerī* (q.v.) by Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasā'ī. Hinz, by means of his aforementioned study on the early Safavids (1936), had opened the gate to Safavid studies, but it was mainly Roemer who fostered the Safavid period as one of the most representative themes in Persian studies in post-World War II Germany. In addition to studies already mentioned, this interest in Safavid affairs led also to the production of a series of contributions to religious history (e.g., Glassen,



1970, 1981; Eberhard; and Fragner, 1983), among which Michel Mazzaoui's study of religious trends among the early Safavids deserves specific mention (originally pub. in 1972 in what then was Roemer's Freiburger Islamstudien series).

Qajar history has also been treated, albeit somewhat hesitatingly in the beginning, and interest in this field is growing. Studies by Busse (1972), Hoffman (1986), and Migeod (1990) have already been mentioned. A pupil of Busse's, Kamram Ekbal, tried first to combine his interest in diplomatics and archive research with the history of early intrusion of the British into Persia (1977). Fragner analyzed memoirs and autobiographies in order to define their value as sources for the history of 19th-century Persia (1979a).

Outside Germany, we find historians who do not belong to this school. Karl Jahn, an Austrian scholar who was originally from Prague but lived for a long time in the Netherlands, deserves to be mentioned here. He concentrated on the Il-Khanid period (13th-14th cents.), in particular on Rašīd-al-Dīn Faḏl-Allāh, the famous vizier, and his *Jāme' al-tawārīk*, large parts of which he edited (*Tārīk-e ḡāzānī*) and rendered into German (1971). Another Austrian Orientalist and Turkologist, Herbert W. Duda, contributed heavily to our knowledge of Persian historiography from medieval Anatolia. To him we owe a German translation of Ebn Bībī's chronicle on the history of the Seljuqs of Rum.

Literature. Another outstanding figures in German Oriental studies is Helmut Ritter. He started as a philologist and a scholar of the religion of Islam, but along with his contributions to Arabic and Turkish studies he concentrated particularly on the interface between Persian literature and Sufism. Ritter should be considered, as Walther Hinz is in case of historical studies, as the pioneer and founder of the German "school" for studying Persian mystical literature. In Ritter's tradition we find such distinguished scholars as Fritz Meier (University of Basel, d. 1998) and Annemarie Schimmel. Richard Gramlich and Bernd Radtke were pupils of Meier, and so was Rudolf Gelpke (q.v.), who died young in 1972. Johann Christoph Bürgel and Michael Glünz (both at the University of Bern, Switzerland, until the beginning of the 1990s) must also be counted within the circle of Fritz Meier in the wider sense. Benedikt Reinert (University of Zurich until recently) and Hermann Landolt (McGill University, Montreal, Canada) were also Meier's pupils.

The specific concern of this academic community, dating back to Ritter, is the



thematic ambiguity of Sufism and literature, mostly poetry. The study of Persian rhetoric as a measure to support Sufi reasoning and the transformation of Sufi ideas into literature was one of the basic projects for Ritter and particularly for Meier. We owe to them great studies on Sufism, for instance, Ritter's monumental study on Farīd-al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (1955) and his outstanding study on the poetry of Neẓāmī Ganjavī (1927). The works of Fritz Meier can be considered as the culmination of this tradition of research within the German-speaking world, whether it be his study on the quatrains ascribed to the poetess Mahsatī (1963) or his literary and historical biography of Abū Sa'īd b. Abī'l-Ḳayr (1976). On every page of both books we find incomparable insights into his subjects. Mention should also be made of a three-volume reprint edition of more than thirty articles written by Meier (1992).

Within this "school," it is difficult to differentiate clearly between literary and Sufi studies. Landolt and Radkte seem to be interested in Sufism, while Reinert, Bürgel, and Glünz concentrate rather on literature. Poetry was also the main point of interest for the Austrian Wilhelm Heinz, who spent many years at the University of Würzburg. To him we owe a pioneering study on the so-called Indian style (*sabk-e hendī*).

The Swiss Rudolf Gelpke was one of the first German-speaking scholars, at least in the West, to deal with contemporary Persian literature. In 1978, Faramarz Behzad, Gottfried Bürgel, and Gottfried Herrman published an impressive anthology in German translation of modern Persian short stories, thus following a tradition established by Gelpke. Modern Persian literature had been an intensely well studied subject in the former German Democratic Republic, where, under the spiritual guidance of Bozorg 'Alawī, a permanent Persian-German dialogue on recent developments in Persian literature had been established. There was a large number of literary translations (e.g., by M. Lorenz and by W. Sundermann), and 'Alawī produced a unique history of modern Persian Literature (1964), which, despite the wealth of fresh ideas contained therein, has not been translated into Persian or English.

Modern Persian literature has remained a subject much studied by German Iranologists. Eberhad Krüger published an analytic study on Ṣādeq Hedāyat (1977), and, for a number of years, post-revolutionary literature has gradually become a field of particular interest to younger scholars, among whom Roxane Haag-Higuchi (Bamberg) and Isabel Stümpel-Hatami (Frankfurt) may be mentioned.



Folk literature has always had a strong attraction for some scholars, notably Roxanne Haag-Higuchi (1984) and Ulrich Marzolph (1984). Marzolph is now in charge of editing the *Enzyklopadie des Märchens*, where a great number of contributions on Persian folklore can be found, many of them written by Marzolph.

The significant *History of Iranian Literature* edited by Jan Rypka was first published in the Czech language in 1956 (Prague), and was subsequently translated into German by Rypka himself (*Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1959). It, however, took another ten years before the English translation, based on the German version, was published under the auspices of the already mentioned Karl Jahn. Rypka was a Czech national, but he received his doctorate from the University of Vienna and some of his contributions are in German. This section should not be closed without reference to Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh (Hamburg), to whom we owe the most recent critical edition of Ferdowsī's *Šāh-nāma*.

The Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (TAVO): Within the framework of the "Tübingen Atlas of the Near and Middle East," a large-scale project involving geographers, orientalists, ethnologists, art historians, archeologists, and scientists, Persia has served as an important focus. Gaube, with his creative combination of philology, geography, and art history, has contributed substantially to our knowledge of the development of settlements and urbanism in Persia; his monograph on the *bāzār* of Isfahan (together with the geographer Eugen Wirth) and his detailed study of the historical geography of Arrajān (q.v.) deserve specific mention. Historical geography of Persia has been the main subject of scholarly interest for Dorothea Krawulsky, who has written two important monographs on the Il-Khanid period and Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū's perception of Timurid Khorasan (1978, 1984), and Heinz Halm, the author of a map reconstructing the distribution of the Shafi'ite *madhhab* in medieval Persia (1974).

Religion (including Islamic law). Heinz Halm is at the present time one of the leading specialists on Shi'ite Islam. The late Abdoljavad Falaturi ('Abd-al-Jawād Falāṭūrī, q.v.) made important contributions to our knowledge of Twelver Shi'ism, and Harald Löschner, an Orientalist and a specialist in law, has produced a valuable study on the Shi'ite principles of jurisprudence (*oṣūl al-feqh*). Fritz Meier has already been mentioned with respect to his works on the study of Sufism, and so have the contributions of his student Hermann Landolt. Another former pupil of Meier's, Richard Gramlich, now a leading



specialist in the history of religion, is the author of a monumental, analytic description of today's Sufi congregations in Persia and their historical significance and background (1965-81).

The Persian Revolution of 1978-79 had, in a limited sense, an inspiring impact on Persian studies in Germany. A number of articles dealing with the revolution were published during the early 1980s (e.g., Ende, 1979; Fragner 1983; Roemer 1980). Silvia Tellenbach has made a noteworthy contribution with her study of the constitution of the Islamic Republic (1985). There are also some works written by anthropologists and sociologists on religious groups and sectarian movements, among them M. R. Hamzehee's remarkable study on the Yāresān, a group of the Ahl-e Ḥaqq (q.v.).

Political sciences and contemporary history. Since the late 1960s, political science in Germany, as well as in other Western countries, has concentrated more and more on Middle Eastern affairs, but, for a variety of reasons, Turkey and parts of the Arab world have received much more attention than Persia. This reflects the fact that, in traditional Orientalist studies in Germany, Arabic and Turkish studies have customarily predominated over research on Persian themes. In contrast, from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, the German critical intelligentsia, partly under the influence of the so-called New Left movement, was deeply interested in Persia, particularly in its political opposition to the Pahlavi regime. Therefore, during this time, there was a good deal of publication concerning Persia, which sometimes took place outside the academic circles and failed to meet the standards of critical scholarship but, nevertheless, occasionally served scholarly purposes. There appeared also standard manuals on the political situation in Persia, like Ulrich Gehrke and Klaus Mehnert's *Iran* (1975) and Friedrich Kochwasser's *Iran und wir* (1961). Intellectuals critical of the political situation in Persia were, at that time, deeply impressed by Bahman Nirumand's analysis *Iran: Modell eines Entwicklungslandes* (1967). In this connection, attention may also be drawn to the interesting study of the Revolution of 1978-79 by the political scientist Dawud Gholamasad.

In the former German Democratic Republic, an annotated German translation of Ayatollah Komeynī's *Welāyat-e faqīh* by Ilse Itscherenska and Nader Hassan (a pseudonym) was published in 1983, and Hans-Georg Ebert, Henner Fürtig, and Hans-Georg Müller cooperated in the publication there of a basic textbook on the Islamic Republic of Iran. Fürtig is the only one of these three scholars who still concentrates on Persian affairs. He recently published a book on the



foreign policy of Persia since the death of Ayatollah Komeynī. Worthy of mention also is Welried Buchta's recent studies on religious aspects of political ideas and strategies in the Islamic Republic. Katajon Amirpur is just finishing an analysis of religious intellectuals (*rowšan-fekrān-e dīnī*), dealing mainly with the philosophical and religious approaches of 'Abd-al-Karīm Sorūš and Mojtahed Šabestari. Reza Hajatpour recently finished a rather philosophical study of the discourse concerning politics, democracy, and human rights among Shi'ite '*olamā*', a specific chapter of which is devoted to Shaikh Hādī Najmābādī (to be published in 2001).

Two early publications compiled by Jan-Heeren Grevemeyer and Kurt Greussing were, for at least a few years, the two most widely read books in Germany on the Islamic Revolution (1980, 1981). The economist and political scientist Asghar Schirazi (Berlin) published some important analyses concerning land reform and agrarian aspects of the Islamic Republic (1987, 1988). Once the general fascination caused by the Revolution wore off, there appeared a new trend towards examination of earlier phases of 20th-century Persian history: Ralph Kauz (Bamberg) dealt with the *Hezb-e demokrāt-e Īrān* and its leader Aḥmad Qawām (Qavām-al-Salṭana; 1995); Christl Catanzaro (Munich and Bamberg) is preparing to publish a pioneering study on the early history of the University of Tehran, and Hamid Khusravi-Shahroudi (Tübingen) published in 1998 a study on the Constitutional Revolution (q.v.). Tim Epkenhans is at the present time (1999) preparing a thorough analysis of the early intellectual journal *Kāva*, and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Heidelberg) is concentrating on reformist ideas of Persian subjects living in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th and in the early 20th century, paying particular attention to the Persian newspaper *Aktar* (q.v.; see also Pistor-Hatam, 1993), which is also the subject of another detailed study by her to be published.

Persia in the period during and immediately after World War I was seldom dealt with in the German speaking countries until recently, when Perso-German relations became the subject of a few in-depth studies. Ahmad Mahrād's compilations of archival sources concerning Perso-German relations are to be noted in this context (1976, 1977, 1985). Schapur Ravasani did a detailed study on the Jangalī Movement in Gīlān, and Werner Zürrer concentrated on the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia following World War I. Persia in World War I has recently become the main subject of research by the young scholar Oliver Bast (1997), who is preparing a major study on this theme.



Outside of academic structures, there are two institutions that deal more or less regularly with political affairs concerning Persia. One is the Deutsches Orient-Institut in Hamburg, currently run by Udo Steinbach. Its journal regularly contains contributions on the current political situation in Persia. The other institution is Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, a public foundation now located in Ebenhausen im Isartal near Munich, to be moved to Berlin in near future. Johannes Reissner at this institute is concerned mainly with research on political issues involving Persia and Central Asia. Other institutions of political research have reduced their activities focusing on Persia during the last twenty years.

Social sciences and anthropology. Persia is not well represented in social science studies in Germany. In contrast, Afghanistan has been a major interest for a group of social scientists during the 1970s and 1980s (see below). For a while, social anthropologists were influenced by leftist debates over feudalism and the “Asiatic Mode of Production” (AMP), relying strongly on Karl August Wittfogel’s concept of Oriental despotism. But, even within these debates, Persia was rarely touched upon. During the 1970s, a number of students, mainly Persian nationals, tried to contribute to this kind of discourse, and some of them were able to publish their theses, among them Susan Sarkhosh (1975), who did an analysis of the concept of AMP in Qajar society. Unlike Sarkhosh, Georg Staudt relied on the concept of feudalism rather than on AMP. There was also a study of rulership, economics, and segmented society in Persia by Kurt Greussing (1987; see also Fragner, 1984, 1989).

Among cultural anthropologists working on Persia, Schahnaz Nadjmabadi (Heidelberg) is a leader at the present time. The Austrian Erika Friedl and Reinhold Loeffler are among the best-known anthropologists working on Persia, but they really belong to the American academic world rather than that of Central Europe.

Geography. In clear contrast to the social sciences, geography in the German-speaking countries has a very strong tradition of research concerning Persia. At the present time, the best-known geographer working on Persia is Eckart Ehlers at the University of Bonn. It would take too much space to list all his contributions to geographical research on Persia (see his annotated bibliography, 1980a, where most of his own titles are included). Another book of his on Persia (1980b), however, deserves special notice here as probably the best geographical survey of Persia in any language so far. It is certainly a pity that it has not yet been translated into English in an up-dated version (a



Persian translation by Ehler's pupil Moṣṭafā Mo'm enī/Momeni has already been partly published in Tehran).

Ehler's themes include city-hinterland relations and local and regional networks. In the series *Marburger Geographische Studien*, edited by Ehlers, many publications by his pupils are to be found, among them works by the above-mentioned Momeni, Georg Stöber, and Michael Bonine. Other geographers dealing with Persia are Günther Schweizer and Horst Kopp.

There is a center for geographical research on the Middle East at the University of Erlangen, and Persia used to be a major focus of research there. Horst Kopp has already been mentioned, but there was also Eugen Wirth, who has now retired but who has added significant contributions to our knowledge of the Islamic city (1975) and the institution of the *bāzār* (1974, 1975).

For a period of about three decades, down to the 1980s, a theoretical concept, namely rent-capitalism, that had been developed in close connection with research on conditions in Persia was much discussed among geographers in Germany and Austria. This theory or, better, this model was created by the Austrian scholar Hans Bobek of the University of Vienna. There had already been strong interest in Persian themes among Austrian geographers even before World War II. Since the early 1950s, Bobek, like his compatriot and colleague Gustav Stratil-Sauer, had developed a network of fieldwork facilities in Persia that eventually benefited not only his own work but also that of a great number of his pupils and colleagues. As a result of extensive fieldwork in Persia, Bobek gradually developed his theory on rent-capitalism (1959, 1974), an evaluation of which can be found in Fragner (1984). This concept was ultimately picked up by geographers in France (Xavier de Planhol) and in the United States (Michael Bonine), but its attraction has diminished since the end of the 1980s. Pupils of Bobek working on Persian themes are still to be found in Austria, among them Martin Seger, who has studied the *bāzār* of Tehran, and Hans Pozdena, who focuses on tribal and societal aspects of Beluchistan.

Materials for teaching Persian at German universities. The intention of this section is not to concentrate on linguistics but to emphasize the remarkable efforts made in producing materials for teaching Persian to German-speaking students. Manuals of Persian grammar for this purpose were published in German as early as the end of the 19th century, the best-known of which is the grammar by Carl Salemann and Valentin Shukovski, both of whom taught at the University of St. Petersburg. Sebastian Beck's *Neupersische*



Konservationsgrammatic (1914) is a particularly interesting specimen of language pedagogy, since it was aimed at teaching Persian for certain practical purposes and, as such, is based on the expressions and vocabulary used at the time in the administration circles and among the educated upper class. Mention should also be made of Hans Jensen's *Neupersische Grammatik* (1931), a grammar book of reference differentiating for the first time between early and later New Persian, and of Hinz's *Persisch I* (1959), which is a practical manual of colloquial Persian. In 1962 another teaching book was published by Farhad Sobhani and was followed by two other similar books (Amin Madani and Lutz, 1972, and Behrouz, Flower, and Nagel, 1989) that, for the first time since Beck, concentrated on the syntactic and idiomatic problems of the everyday language, both spoken and written, and which dealt in detail with specific grammatical questions that were otherwise neglected; both of these books served rather for reference than for teaching. Another book worth mentioning is Mohammad-Reza Majidi's *Strukturelle Grammatik*, in which the author discusses in detail the morphology and phonology of Persian in separate volumes. But, the most practical and successful book for the instruction of Persian over a period of about twenty-five years was the well-known *Lehrbuch der persischen Sprache* by Bozorg Alavi and Manfred Lorenz, which, in the 1970s and the 1980s, was in use in almost all universities within the realm of the German language. The most recent textbook for teaching Persian as a contemporary living language was produced by the Bamberg experts Faramarz Behzad and Sorayya Divshali (1994). This book is meant to serve all pedagogical purposes at an academic and public level as well.

Art, archaeology, and music. Until recently, the discipline of Islamic art history and archaeology was very poorly represented at German universities, despite the fact that major interest in the development of this field of research originated in Germany (e.g., Ettinghausen, Erdmann) and Austria (e.g., Diez, Karabacek). There is a famous Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin, whose collections were divided into a Western and an Eastern part during the period of the Cold War and reunited after 1991. After the early death of Michael Meinecke, Volkmar Enderlein became the director of the whole collection. At German, Austrian, and Swiss universities, there have been many individual scholars working in the field of Islamic art history and archaeology but, until recently, these scholars have not been closely affiliated to any particular academic institution covering their own field. In 1997, at the University of Bamberg, a unique and unprecedented position was established that was designed to guarantee the existence of a fully developed curriculum for



“Islamic Art History and Archaeology.” Within this field, however, Iranian aspects play an important but limited role.

Barbara Finster has contributed to our knowledge of early Persian mosques. Until 1989, in the former German Democratic Republic, at the University of Halle, there was some East German concentration of research on Oriental art and archaeology, as represented, for example, by Karin Rührdanz, who dealt intensively with Persian and Central Asian matters. In close cooperation with the Islamic Museum in Berlin, Reingard Neumann (Humboldt-Universität, Berlin) has worked on Persian textiles for many years. Museums and collections including Islamic art always contain substantial shares of Persian artifacts. This is true of the aforementioned museum in Berlin and of the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna, particularly of the latter’s unique collection of carpets. It is true also of the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart and the Ethnographical Museum in Munich, and many rather smaller collections. There is one specially noteworthy collection based on a non-public foundation, namely the Bumiller Collection of Early Islamic Art at the Museum of Early Islamic Art in Bamberg. This museum contains a huge number of unique pieces of metalwork mostly from pre-Mongol Khorasan. Its catalogue has now reached five volumes (see *Schriften ... zur Islamischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte: Bumiller-Collection I-V*, 1988-1997).

In Germany, Persian archaeology is mostly understood as pre-Islamic archaeology, as the activities of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institute (q.v.) demonstrate; the Tehran branch of this institute has recently been merged with the Eurasia department, thus combining Persian archaeology with comparable activities in Central Asia, Russia, and South Siberia. As for the Islamic period, Wolfram Kleiss, who was the director of the Tehran branch of the Institute for many years, has published a great deal, mainly on road constructions and caravansaries from the late Middle Ages down to Safavid and Qajar times. Many of his contributions were published in the journal of the Tehran department (*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*). There are also some joint publications of Kleiss and Moḥammad-Yūsof Kayānī of the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran. In the past, one of the main activities of the Institute was excavations at the Taḳt-e Solaymān in western Persia, including an Il-Khanid palace from the 13th century, the ceramic tiles of which had recently been published by ‘Abd-Allāh Qūčānī. Persian and Central Asian archaeology, including aspects of the Islamic period, were important issues at the East German university of Halle, where Burchard Brentjes had established



a center of Oriental archaeology, which, unfortunately, was discontinued after 1991.

Heinz Gaube, Professor for Iranian Studies at the University of Tübingen, succeeded uniquely in combining aspects of archaeology and art history with philological and historical methods. To him we owe, among other endeavors, the establishment at his university of a great collection of Islamic coins, containing an impressive share of Persian numismatic items, with the well-known numismatist Lutz Hirsch as its custodian. During the last few years, a second Islamic numismatic collection has been vigorously expanding at the University of Jena.

In Austria, Islamic art from Persia was a distinguished subject in the world of learning before World War II. It might be sufficient just to mention the name of the famous art historian Ernst Diez in this respect. This tradition, however, is no longer as strong as it once used to be, but is still evident; the efforts of Dorothea Duda should be stressed in this connection. To her, we owe a beautiful two-volume catalogue of illustrated Islamic manuscripts in the Austrian National Library, the greater part of which is of Persian origin. On this path, she follows the model of Kurt Holter, who had studied in detail the illuminations of Islamic manuscripts in Vienna since the 1930s.

Last, but not least, musicology should also be mentioned. At the Free University of Berlin, there was a special department for ethno-musicology, which, under the guidance of the late Josef Kuckertz, concentrated very much on research concerning classical, traditional music from Persia and Central Asia. Similar to this department, there was a section at the Humboldt University in East Berlin that dealt with non-Western musical traditions. The director of the section was Jürgen Elsner. One of his pupils, Angelika Jung, is still very active as an expert on Central Asian music, particularly the so-called *šāš-maqām* music from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. It is a matter of regret that recently both departments seem to have been closed down.

AFGHANISTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

Considering the convenient conditions for traveling to Afghanistan in the 1960s and 1970s, it is not surprising that at that time, in the West, a specific community of field researchers emerged who concentrated particularly on that country. In the Western German-speaking countries, there were in particular ethnologists dealing with Afghanistan, who were followed by



scholars of other disciplines. Coincidentally, around 1980, when the Soviet engagement in Afghanistan turned to military intervention, a similar trend could be observed in the German Democratic Republic, too. One of the first scholars concentrating on Afghanistan was the late Austrian anthropologist Alfred Janata (as early as around 1960). He published in Graz the *Afghanistan Journal*, which continued until the late 1980s. Younger Austrian scholars following Janata's lead were the Turkologist Ingeborg Baldauf (now Berlin, Humboldt-Universität) and the ethnologist Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek, both of whom have worked intensively on the Uzbeks in Northern Afghanistan.

In West Germany, up to the year 1990, a group of researchers on Afghan themes was established by Jan-Heeren Grevemeyer, Wolfgang Holzwarth, and Rolf Bindemann. Grevemeyer dealt with the premodern history of Badaḡšān (q.v.) and the transformation of Afghanistan into modernity (1982 and 1987). Holzwarth and Bindemann worked mainly on socio-cultural conditions in various regions, such as Badaḡšān (Holzwarth) and Hazārajāt, Chitral (q.v.), and the southern part of Xinjiang, mainly on the basis of persophone sources. Michael Pohly (Berlin) concentrated on anti-Soviet resistance in the late eighties, and recently Christine Noelle, who had received her academic education at the University of California at Berkeley, contributed substantially to the 19th-century history of Afghanistan. At the interface of scholarly and mass-media activities the Mediothek Afghanistan was established in Bonn some years ago under the leadership of Almut Wieland-Karimi. Angela Parvanta is now preparing an analytic study on Ḳalīl-Allāh Ḳalīlī, the contemporary Afghan poet and intellectual.

With reference to Switzerland, the voluminous Afghanistan-Archiv ought to be mentioned; this is maintained by a private foundation run by Bucherer-Dietschi and contains one of the best collections of materials on Afghanistan. Marguerite Reut is a Swiss ethnologist concentrating on Afghanistan, but she is more closely connected to France than to the German-speaking domain; another Swiss scholar working on Afghanistan, Iren von Moos, died tragically during fieldwork in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan.

Another current of research on Afghanistan was conducted in the former German Democratic Republic until 1991: East Berlin Iranologists cooperated with Soviet researchers and others from then socialist countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia. In the 1980s, while Western researchers worked mainly with Afghan refugees in Pakistan (see DIASPORA ix), East German scholars then had relatively better opportunities of fieldwork within Afghanistan.



Manfred Lorenz published a very proficient manual on Pashto (1979), the only such work in the German language, and later a collection of Afghan fairy tales (1985). Since 1991, political conditions have changed substantially, but East Berlin (Humboldt-Universität) still remains a center of research on Afghanistan, now conducted within the framework of the Institute of Central Asian studies under the guidance of Ingeborg Baldauf with the cooperation of Lutz Rzehak and, until recently, Erhard Bauer, both former pupils of Lorenz.

Central Asia. Central Asia has always been considered by German Iranologists as a proper area of research, but their studies have often been conducted in close cooperation with Turkologists and, recently, also with Soviet and post-Soviet Russian scholars. Early products of this interest in Central Asian studies include the works of Walther Hinz (1936) and Hans Roemer (1952) insofar as their studies on Timurids are concerned, and also the works of Berthold Spuler (e.g., his monumental study on the Golden Horde and his contributions to the *Cambridge History of Islam*). Gerhard Doerfer, a Turkologist, has contributed immensely to Iranian studies with his encyclopedic work on the Turkish and Mongolian elements in New Persian (1963-75), which is based on an extensive survey of Persian historiography of Mongol, Timurid, and early Safavid periods (see also his contributions to the study of Turkish-Iranian linguistic relations and Turkish dialects in Iranian lands, 1967, 1971). Among the works of Bert Fragner mention must be made of his research on pre-revolutionary Bukhara (1979b) and of his contribution to the study of nation-building under colonial and Soviet conditions in Transoxiana (1994). Jürgen Paul has concentrated on the Transoxanian Naqšbandī dervishes in the 15th century (1991), and has recently published an important study on the social history of Khorasan and Transoxiana in the early-Islamic period (1996). Manfred Lorenz (then of East Germany) wrote his unpublished doctoral thesis on differences between contemporary Persian and standard Tajik in the 20th century. In 1989, Reinhard Eisener began to analyze various aspects of nationalism in Tajikistan and published a book on the subject in 1991, and then undertook a huge research project concerning the history of the “revolution” in the former amirate of Bukhara, the results of which will be published in near future.

The situation has changed profoundly since 1990: The Institute of Central Asian Studies has been created in Berlin (Humboldt-Universität); Jürgen Paul is now well established at the University of Halle; and a large number of young, promising scholars are just discovering Central Asia as a new field of



research. This new trend not only affects social and anthropological fieldwork, which is now very popular, but also the study of history. Mention should be made of Florian Schwarz (Tübingen), who has done research on the 16th-century dervishes of Bukhara, and of the young, promising student, Eckart Schiewek (Bamberg), who is now working on the historiography of the Khanate of Ƙoqand in the 19th century. Jurgen Paul's research on the Shaybanid tombstone inscriptions from Samarqand, which he did with the cooperation of two young Uzbek historians, Bakhtier Bobozhonov and Ashirbek Muminov, marks a milestone in the expanding Central Asian studies in Germany. The study was published in 1997 in German, Uzbek, and Russian. Another significant step in the development of Central Asian studies in Germany is the establishment of a new series, ANOR, dealing with Central Asian subjects, founded by Ingeborg Baldauf and Jürgen Paul. It has already published a Tajik grammar for students by Lutz Rzehak.

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