

# Proceedings of the XXXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies Hamburg

Edited by  
Albrecht Wezler  
and  
Ernst Hammerschmidt

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE XXXII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS  
FOR ASIAN AND NORTH AFRICAN STUDIES  
HAMBURG, 25th-30th AUGUST 1986



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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE XXXII INTERNATIONAL  
CONGRESS FOR ASIAN  
AND NORTH AFRICAN STUDIES

HAMBURG  
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EDITED BY

ALBRECHT WEZLER  
AND  
ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT



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## LIST OF CONGRESSES

### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

1. Paris, 1873
2. London, 1874
3. St. Petersburg, 1876
4. Florence, 1878
5. Berlin, 1881
6. Leiden, 1883
7. Vienna, 1886
8. Stockholm and Christiana, 1889
9. London, 1892
10. Geneva, 1894
11. Paris, 1897
12. Rome, 1899
13. Hamburg, 1902
14. Algiers, 1905
15. Copenhagen, 1908
16. Athens, 1912
17. Oxford, 1928
18. Leiden, 1931
19. Rome, 1935
20. Brussels, 1938
21. Paris, 1948
22. Istanbul, 1951
23. Cambridge, 1954
24. Munich, 1957
25. Moscow, 1960
26. New Delhi, 1964
27. Ann Arbor, 1967
28. Canberra, 1971
29. Paris, 1973

### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HUMAN SCIENCES IN ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA

30. Mexico City, 1976
31. Tokyo and Kyoto, 1983

### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR ASIAN AND NORTH AFRICAN STUDIES

32. Hamburg, 1986



STATUTES OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR ASIAN AND  
NORTH AFRICAN STUDIES  
CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES ÉTUDES SUR  
L'ASIE ET L'AFRIQUE DU NORD

(Revised by the Consultative Committee  
and Adopted at the Final Plenary Session  
of the 31st Congress, 7th September, 1983)

#### Article I

The Congress shall normally meet at an interval of not more than five years.

#### Article II

Each Congress shall be organized by a Committee composed of nationals of the country in which its session is to be held. The committee shall be free to increase or reduce the number of sections into which the Congress shall be divided; it shall regulate at free will the date of the meeting, the duration of the sessions, the course of the proceedings, and all the material details of the reception.

#### Article III

1. When each Congress meets, a Consultative Committee shall be organized consisting of from 25 to 30 scholars representing, in an appropriate manner, the several regions and fields of study usually covered by the Congress, it being understood that no more than two scholars may be appointed from any one country in addition to the President and the Secretary-General.
2. The President and Secretary-General of the Congress then in session shall be the Chairman and Secretary of the Consultative Committee.
3. The Consultative Committee shall decide upon questions affecting the Congress that may arise during the sessions of the Congress when meeting.
4. The Bureau of the International Union for Oriental and Asian Studies shall be responsible for insuring continuity between two Congresses.

5. The duties of the Bureau of the International Union for Oriental and Asian Studies in respect of the International Congress shall include, but shall not be necessarily limited to: (a) action upon the venue of the forthcoming Congress if no decision has been reached at the Congress just concluded in accordance with the provisions of Article VI of the Statutes of the International Congress for Asian and North African Studies; (b) consideration of questions brought before it concerning the scope and general character of the forthcoming Congress, with the making of recommendations to the Organizing Committee of the forthcoming Congress; (c) arranging for a new Congress to convene, if for any reason a situation should arise affecting the continued existence of the Congress.

#### Article IV

The Organizing Committee shall designate from amongst the languages of the country in which the Congress is held one or more languages as the official language or languages of the Congress. This or these languages shall be used in recording the proceedings of the sittings.

The use of other languages in discussion shall be optional, subject to the decision by the president of each section.

#### Article V

The President of each section shall control its sittings; he shall regulate the order of work, fix the duration of papers to be read, guide or stop the discussions, except that, in case of dispute, he may refer it to the Consultative Committee.

#### Article VI

Each Congress shall in its plenary session designate the country in which the next Congress shall take place; it shall choose from amongst the countries that have made proposals through their delegates, or from amongst those which the Consultative Committee may designate provisionally. The Congress can in no case hold two consecutive sessions in the same country.

#### Article VII

After the closure of each Congress, the Organizing Committee of that Congress shall retain only such local powers as are necessary for settling the obligations of that Congress.

## FOREWORD

In publishing the "Proceedings of the XXXIInd ICANAS" the Organizing Committee and the Secretary General as also the Vice-Secretary General complete their task and fulfil their commitment. In order to give as exact a picture as possible of the Congress, the Proceedings include the Programme, too, but of course as it actually took place according to conveners' records. Thanks to the kind cooperation of the participants it has been possible to achieve almost ideal completeness as regards the documentation of the papers read at the Congress. In by far the most cases only summaries of the papers are included, but in some the limit of 600 words has not been observed by the authors, and in other cases we were even obliged to publish the full text of the paper. This unevenness is regretted: It is not deliberate, but nor could it be avoided as it has ultimately been brought about by a change of opinion on the part of the Organizing Committee during the Congress itself and by the inability to inform all the conveners in time.

It should also be noted that as a rule the text of the abstracts is printed here without any major alterations. Only glaring printing errors have been corrected. The transcription has in general not been standardized, and it has also seemed advisable to keep the English as it is used by the participants themselves.

The undersigned feel that they should last but not least apologize for the long delay in bringing out the "Proceedings". Many difficulties had to be overcome in order to reach this goal. Suffice it to say that getting the necessary subsidy towards the printing costs was not as easy as expected and that members of the Organizing Committee took their time before returning the proofs of the abstracts of their sections. However, the undersigned consider it more important, nay a most pleasant obligation, to express their deep gratitude to all those without whose help the camera ready copy of the Proceedings could not have been prepared, viz. to Mrs. Agnes Janietz, Miss Silja Behnken, Miss Barbara Bomhoff, Mrs. Josette Haferkorn-Schwab, Miss Rita Langer and Mr. Burkhard Quessel.

It is no less a pleasant obligation to thank the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft" for their substantial financial support and the Franz Steiner Verlag for their unique publishing expertise.

Albrecht Wezler  
Ernst Hammerschmidt



ORGANIZERS  
OF THE  
XXXII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR ASIAN AND NORTH AFRICAN STUDIES  
UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF  
DR. RICHARD VON WEIZSÄCKER,  
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# OPENING PLENARY SESSION

The Opening Plenary Session of the XXXIInd International Congress for Asian and North African Studies was held on Monday, 25th August, 1986, at 10 A.M. in Hall 2 of the Congress Centre Hamburg.

The session began with the Allegro of Johann Sebastian Bach's Concert for piano and strings in D minor (BWV 1052), rendered by members of the Hamburger Symphoniker, and the academic part was opened by Prof. Dr. TATSURO YAMAMOTO, President of the XXXIst Congress, who gave the following address:

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is my great honour and privilege to deliver this address at the beginning of the Opening Session of the XXXIInd International Congress for Asian and North African Studies.

Our Congress, formerly called the Congress of Orientalists, has a long tradition of 113 years, starting from 1873, and it has been held so far 25 times in Europe and six times out of Europe. Speaking of Germany in particular, the 5th Congress was held in Berlin in 1881, the 13th in Hamburg in 1902, the 24th in Munich in 1957; and now it is being held again in Hamburg in 1986.

When we trace the history of the development of Asian and North African studies during the last 84 years since the first meeting in Hamburg, we are impressed with the tremendous differences both in terms of the geographical extension of learned activities and the epistemological nature of the research. Everyone knows that our Asian and North African studies as modern scholarship were initiated by European scholars and have continued to develop in Europe, but their development in other areas of the world has grown markedly through the vicissitudes of the 20th century.

As to the epistemological nature of the studies themselves, we are struck firstly by the amazing accumulation of study data; manuscripts, books, archaeological objects, newly acquired information by means of scientific fact-finding techniques, and so on. Great archaeological discoveries of recent years in China may be mentioned as a striking example. Secondly, we have noticed the advancement of the formulation of conceptual schemes and theories. This is closely related to, and stimulated by, different fields of social sciences, or law seeking disciplines, not to speak of modern linguistics. Thirdly we have to mention the transformation of the basic learned attitude carrying the value judgment of scholars. Motivation to do research stemming from Europocentric exoticism and political domination has decreased and now we are all striving to understand different standpoints across the boundary of nations, peoples, cultures and social classes.

Throughout these above-mentioned aspects, our studies have been greatly broadened and deepened, but at the same time they have become specialized and compartmentalized. In this present situation, to my mind, the role of the International Congress has grown more and more important for exchanging views, developing international cooperation, and inter-generational contacts among scholars. Our International Congress has special characteristics different from other big congresses: We are not restricted to any limited disciplines in terms of common academic standards, and we can take up any studies related to Asia and North Africa. There was at one time an opinion that the area covered by our Congress was too wide



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and undifferentiated. But I would also think such a special feature could also be considered an advantage and a privilege in the light of our present situation in the learned world where inter-disciplinary studies are always required and indispensable.

I recall repeatedly the great success of the 24th Congress of 1957 held in Munich where our Honorary President Professor Dr. Dr. Herbert Franke played the most important role in organizing meetings and in publishing the Proceedings. We were all strongly impressed by the marvellous achievements of the German scholars and the rapid development of learned activities in the Federal Republic of Germany after the calamity of World War II. Since that time we all have been paying special attention to German scholarship in the areas covered by this Congress. For example, mention should be made of the voluminous series of publications entitled "Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland" which has been appearing since the 1960's in cooperation with the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. I am firmly convinced that all participants of this Congress are very much pleased to be able to assemble here in this great historic city, where the University of Hamburg is always the internationally admired great centre of Asian and North African studies. And now, let us do our best to assure that this Congress in Hamburg will contribute in some significant way to the development of intercultural understanding through the ages and eventually to the peace of the world and the happiness of human kind.

Allow me to finish my short address, according to tradition, by resigning my office as President of the XXXIst International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa and transferring it to my admired and respected German colleague, Professor Dr. Lothar Ledderose, who will preside over the XXXIInd Congress under its new name of "International Congress for Asian and North African Studies". Thank you.

Prof. Dr. LOTHAR LEDDEROSE

Mr. Senator, Mr. President, Honoured Guests,  
dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is a great honour for me to accept the presidency of the Congress which, as is customary, has now been handed over to me by the president of the last Congress, my distinguished predecessor, Professor Tatsuro Yamamoto. Many of us will still remember the 1983 Congress in Tokyo and Kyoto, which was so efficiently organized and yielded highly significant results. It is our sincere hope that the 32nd Congress can reach the high standards set by the 31st Congress in Japan.

On behalf of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, the German Oriental Society, and on behalf of my colleagues of the Organizing Committee, I should like to extend a heartfelt welcome to all of you this morning. Above all I should like to welcome our foreign participants here in Hamburg. Scholars from 50 countries have assembled here.

We are so happy that so many guests have come to participate in this opening ceremony. The City State of Hamburg is represented by its Senator for Schools and Vocational Training, Prof. Grolle, the University of Hamburg by its President, Dr. Dr. h.c. Fischer-Appelt. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany is represented by His Excellency the Deputy-Director in the Ministry of Foreign-Affairs, Dr. Keil, and the German Research Association by Dr. Briegleb.

Ladies and Gentlemen! The President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Freiherr Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker, has graciously accepted the patronage of this Congress. Unfortunately, he cannot himself be with us today to preside over this Opening Session, but he has kindly written a welcoming address which I have now the honour to read to you in the original.

DER BUNDESPRÄSIDENT

Bonn, im Juli 1986

#### GRUSSWORT

Zum vierten Mal kommen Orientalwissenschaftler aus aller Welt in Deutschland zusammen, zum zweiten Mal ist Hamburg als Tagungsort ausersehen. Hierin liegen Anerkennung und hohe Verpflichtung zugleich für die Orientalistik in unserem Land.

Der Gedanke eines Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses entstand vor über hundert Jahren in Europa. Inzwischen hat der Kongreß immer häufiger außerhalb Europas getagt. Das Gewicht der Wissenschaftler aus Asien und Afrika nimmt zu. Das ist eine notwendige und erfreuliche Entwicklung. Unsere Forschungsarbeiten und -ergebnisse blieben bruchstückhaft ohne den Beitrag der Wissenschaftler aus den Regionen selbst. Ein Dialog zwischen eigenständigen Kulturen muß den Partner nach seinem eigenen Selbstverständnis anzusprechen suchen.

In Asien und Nordafrika sind die frühesten und ältesten Hochkulturen der Menschheit entstanden. Die großen Religionen nahmen von dort ihren Ausgang. Die politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Bedeutung der Länder dieser Region nimmt in unserer heutigen Welt spürbar zu. Reiche kulturelle Traditionen prägen Lebensformen und Verhaltensweisen der Menschen dort. Wir werden sie in ihren Motiven und Lebenszielen nicht verstehen, wenn wir diese bestimmenden kulturellen Einflüsse nicht kennen. Wollen wir mit ihnen gemeinsame Wege in eine Zukunft gegenseitiger Achtung und vertrauensvoller Zusammenarbeit finden, so bedarf es dafür des Eindringens in die Denkungsart, die ihren Wertvorstellungen und Gesellschaftsformen zugrunde liegt.

Die moderne Welt spannt uns ein in ein Netz weltumspannender Abhängigkeiten, die letztlich von Wissenschaft und Technik bestimmt werden. Um so notwendiger wird es, den Dialog auf die grundlegenden Aspekte menschlicher Zivilisation auszuweiten, auf Religion und Philosophie, auf Literatur und Recht, auf Kunst und Musik, kurz auf das, was die Einmaligkeit und die unverwechselbare Eigenart der Völker ausmacht.

Diese Eigenart soll sich in der modernen Welt nicht bedroht fühlen, sondern sich selbstbewußt weiter entwickeln. Nicht Vereinheitlichung, sondern Vielfalt wollen wir fördern.

Hier ist die Orientalistik ein unentbehrlicher Vermittler. Sie kann uns helfen, uns unseren Partnern besser verständlich zu machen, sie kann uns umgekehrt den ungeheuren Reichtum an Lebensweisheit und Weltdeutung in den Kulturen Asiens und Nordafrikas erschließen.

In diesem Sinne grüße ich alle Teilnehmer des XXXII. Internationalen Kongresses für Asien- und Nordafrikakunde und wünsche ihnen einen anregenden, gewinnbringenden Kongreßverlauf.

(Richard von Weizsäcker)



## WELCOMING ADDRESS

On this occasion Orientalists from the whole world are meeting for the fourth time in Germany and for the second time they have chosen to meet in Hamburg. The Orientalists in our country regard this not only as a sign of recognition but as an appeal to their sense of responsibility.

The idea of an International Congress of Orientalists arose in Europe over a hundred years ago. In the course of time the congress has met more and more often outside Europe. The importance of scholars in Asia and North Africa is increasing. That is both a necessary and a fortunate development. The results of our research remain incomplete without the contribution of the scholars in the regions being studied. A dialogue between independent cultures can take place only if the participants address each other in accordance with their own self-awareness.

The earliest and oldest advanced civilisations arose in Asia and North Africa. The great religions of the world began there. The political, economic, and cultural significance of the countries in this area is increasing noticeably in the world today. Rich cultural traditions characterise the ways of life and behaviour of the peoples there. We cannot understand their motives and their ambitions if we do not know the factors that determine and influence their cultures. If we are to face the future along with them on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation, we must penetrate the way of thinking that lies behind their moral values and their social organisations.

The modern world imposes on us a network of worldwide connections that in the last resort are determined by science and technology. It is accordingly all the more necessary to extend the dialogue to the basic aspects of human civilisation, to religion and philosophy, to literature and law, to art and music, in short, to that which constitutes the uniqueness and cultural individuality of nations.

This individuality should not look upon the modern world as a threat to itself but should evolve with self-confidence. It is not uniformity by variety that we want to encourage.

To this end Oriental studies are an indispensable intermediary. They can help us to make ourselves understood by our partners on the one hand, and on the other they can make available to us the immense fund of wisdom and knowledge of the world to be found in the culture of Asia and North Africa.

With these thoughts I welcome all the participants in the thirty-second International Congress for Asian and North African Studies and express the wish that the congress will prove to be stimulating and fruitful.

(Richard von Weizsäcker)

I am confident that I have your permission to send to President Weizsäcker a telegram in the name of all of us, thanking him for this address, his sympathetic understanding of our work, and his good wishes.

We could not have dared to organize a congress of such magnitude unless a large number of organisations had pledged to support it. All the sponsors are listed in our Programme and their help is gratefully acknowledged. Yet I should not forget to mention the munificent contribution received from the Senator for Economy, Transport and Agriculture of the City State of Hamburg and from the German Research Association. The German Research Association also subsidized the publication of a special issue of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. One copy of this issue has been given to each of the foreign participants as a present from their German colleagues. A special word of thanks is due to the many colleagues who took over the work of organizing the Congress here in Hamburg, above all to its indefatigable secretary, Professor Albrecht Wezler. Last, but not least, I want to thank the Hamburger Symphoniker for their exhilarating music.

Ladies and gentlemen! It is the fourth time now that our Congress is meeting in Germany. No other country has hosted the Congress more than four times so far. Moreover, it is the second time that the Congress is assembling in this great city of Hamburg, by tradition the most important gateway in Germany to the other parts of the world.

Almost certainly none among us can have personal memories of the last Congress in Hamburg. It was held here in 1902 and saw among its participants such eminent scholars as Eduard Chavannes, Sir Aurel Stein and Mark Lidzbarski. Reading in the old records about this event, one realizes the remarkable continuity in the traditions of our Congress. Already then the papers were grouped in sections spanning the entire area from early historical times down to the modern period.

In spite of this similarity in scope, the present Congress differs, of course, considerably from the one held here at the beginning of our century. Perhaps the most conspicuous difference is that in 1902 European scholars were virtually among themselves. Of the approximately 140 scholars who read a paper barely more than a handful came from Asian and African countries. In this regard there has been a dramatic change. For almost half of the approximately 700 speakers we will be listening to during the coming week come from the countries of the Orient and Africa. It seems to me that this is a very sound development.

Western orientalist of the early days were perhaps the most influential group in their respective societies to instill respect for the great cultures and countries of the East. This was no mean achievement, because, as we all know, mutual respect between nations is often not at all what it should be, although it is an essential prerequisite for true cooperation and friendship. Over the years, Western orientalist have come to realize increasingly that they have powerful allies among their colleagues in the East and that they can always learn and gain from them. Scholarly exchange became easier the more Western concepts of scholarship took root in the East, often converging with mighty indigenous traditions of learning. Thus we orientalist in the West and in the East are now working closely together, and our Congress has thus become an international one in the true sense of the word.

Yet there is still a second major difference between the early Congresses and ours which I should like to mention briefly. When scholars met here in 1902 their main concern was philological and historical. Today Asian and North African Studies embrace a wide variety of disciplines, among them Sociology, History of Medicine, Art History, Computer Science, to name but a few. This methodological diversification in its turn seems to me a necessary and fruitful development. However philological and historical research may still be called the



core of our studies. Our knowledge of the languages and of the history of the cultures of the East is our great asset, our special contribution in coping with the problems of the modern world.

Ladies and gentlemen! The emblem for our Congress shows the mediaeval city gate of Hamburg encircled by the words "ex oriente lux". This old saying expresses our common conviction that the Orient holds an inexhaustible promise of enlightenment. In the hope that together we will have an enlightening and enjoyable week I hereby declare the XXXIInd International Congress for Asian and North African Studies open.

Dr. Franz Keil  
Deputy Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

(Translation)

Message from Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the opening of the Orientalists Congress, Hamburg, 25 August 1986

Foreign Minister Genscher regrets not being able to be with us here today but he has asked me to convey his greetings and best wishes to the participants in the 32nd International Congress for Asian and North African Studies. His deep interest in the Orient is evidenced by his many visits to nations in that region.

This is the fourth time you have held your congress in Germany and the second time in Hamburg. This alert and lively city has for centuries been keenly aware of the broad significance of the saying "ex oriente lux", due to its traditional cultural and commercial ties with Asian countries.

Eminent oriental scholars from some 50 countries are taking part in this exchange of intellectual experience. The congress focuses on the Asian continent, the ancient and fruitful civilizations of that region, and its impact on North Africa in particular.

Many generations of German scientists have devoted their attention to Asian culture. Our schools of oriental languages, Indology, Jewish and Arabic studies, covering the pre-Christian civilizations from China to Egypt and later embracing the ramified Islamic civilization, are intertwined with the traditions of many German universities and are world famous.

The principal theme of this year's congress, religion as the dominant force in the development of a nation's culture, is a subject that has always been close to German scholars. When politicians, being of necessity concerned primarily with current developments, ask you as scholars and researchers to make nations and their cultures more comprehensible to the world at large, this is really an appeal to you to throw light on the historical interrelationships of the peoples of the earth. If the individual can see himself as belonging to a particular culture he has a growing feeling of responsibility for the future of his family and his nation, indeed for the whole global community. That we have a responsibility for the future of our children and grandchildren, and even later generations, which transcends national borders and continents is something we have learned from modern science and technology, and at the latest from Černobyl.

We are also conscious of the great suffering that is brought upon nations by misguided zeal, unscrupulousness and the abuse of power. I need only mention three countries: Lebanon, Afghanistan and Cambodia. We feel the suffering endured by these people through the flow of asylum-seekers to our country.

From our bitter experience with National Socialism, which ended in catastrophe in 1945, we Germans have again learned to take a broader view of the world and therefore consider it our duty to help develop democracies based on viable economics. Development assistance through co-operation will only prove successful if our policies embrace the findings of scientific research and make allowance for the cultural background of the nations we are trying to help. This opens up to the world of scholarship and politics a broad area for constructive and



responsible co-operation in the task of fostering and maintaining peace.

With this in mind I wish you a successful congress.

**Welcoming Address by Senator Grolle on the occasion of the Opening of the 32nd International Congress for Asian and North African Studies on August 25, 1986**

It is an honour for me, and a pleasure as well, to welcome you here on behalf of the Senate of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. In Hamburg there is a saying that the Senate is eternal and therefore I am perfectly entitled to claim that this welcome here today is coming from the same Senate that welcomed you 84 years ago. In those days back in 1902, the 13th International Orientalists' Congress took place in Hamburg. I presume that in 1902, as is the case today, it was certainly not by mere chance that your Congress found its way to Hamburg. There is an old saying that science and art follow commerce. Your Congress and Hamburg offer splendid proof of the truth of this saying. When the Orientalists' Congress first came to Hamburg in 1902, this Free and Hanseatic City was at the height of its economic prosperity. It had just finished building a large new City Hall, an impressive symbol of the affluence it enjoyed. The people of Hamburg were very much aware of the sources of their wealth. Carved in the walls of the City Hall courtyard are the coats of arms of those ports with which Hamburg enjoyed lucrative trading contacts. Ten of these ports are in Europe and fifteen overseas, eight of them alone being ports in Asian countries — Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Batavia, Singapore, Calcutta and Constantinople.

Art and science follow in the steps of commerce. In 1902, the Orientalists' Congress came to Hamburg, in 1908 a chair for oriental studies was set up in the city. The first person to hold this chair was Carl Heinrich Becker. His advocacy of the need for modern oriental studies to move away from purely historical philology and turn instead into a comprehensive cultural science has made itself felt in international research right up to the present day. Even now, Becker's name is still to be found on the cover of "Der Islam", a periodical which he launched from Hamburg in 1910. Carl Heinrich Becker once described his understanding of oriental studies as a science embracing economics, politics, language and history to an equal degree as the "Hamburg idea". This reference to Hamburg, perhaps somewhat surprising at first glance, is certainly not a case of local pride getting the better of the famous man. As far as Carl Heinrich Becker was concerned, the powerful inspiration provided by Hamburg, a capital city of sea-borne trade, stood for a cosmopolitan outlook on life, a sense of reality, academic inquisitiveness and commercial entrepreneurship. When he left Hamburg in 1913, he explicitly confessed that he would "fight elsewhere for the Hamburg idea which I continue to stand for". In other words, the "Hamburg idea" is a cosmopolitan one which cannot be confined within a city's walls. In an obituary written in 1946 by that great oriental scholar from Göttingen, Hans Heinrich Schaeder, the topical relevance of Becker's approach to research was once again underlined: "The stimuli contained in his work are by no means exhausted. The work of compiling a review of the political and cultural development of the peoples of Asia in toto along with their relations to Europe (and this is the major topic for the present and the future) will always find itself being referred back to his work and plans. The academic persuasion which guided him and other scholars working in the same manner requires conscious renewal nowadays — as an independent standpoint of German research, full of potential for the future."

The "Hamburg idea" which Becker originally put forward as a postulate for the field of oriental studies can be applied, as a demand, to the whole wide field of science and politics. Becker himself spent eleven years of his life, after the collapse of the Imperial German Reich in 1918, as a secretary of state and arts minister, devoting himself to the task of building up the Weimar Republic — a republic whose work was placed in the service of democracy and international understanding. Fascist Germany cruelly destroyed this work perverting it horribly into exactly the opposite. After the Second World War, Hamburg began anew. This took place under very difficult circumstances — the city was virtually in ruins. Hamburg had lost its eastern hinterland through the division of Europe along the river Elbe and its contacts to the world overseas had suffered damage which was hard to repair. Last but not least, new developments in transport by sea and by air adversely affect Hamburg's position as a sea-port. Despite all this, Hamburg did not throw in the towel. The entrepreneurial spirit in trade and science has returned to the city and with it Carl Heinrich Becker's aptly named "Hamburg idea". And in modified form it found its way into the preamble to Hamburg's Constitution, passed in 1951, which says:

"As an international sea-port, the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg has a special task to fulfil towards the German people, a task assigned to her by history and her geographical location. Hamburg wants to act in the spirit of peace as a mediator between all continents and peoples of the world."

It is in this spirit that I welcome you here today. And it is in this spirit that I wish you a fruitful congress.

**Prof. Dr. Ramchandra Narayan Dandekar  
President of the International Union  
for Oriental and Asian Studies**

This is the first session of the International Congress for Asian and North African Studies to be held under a new dispensation and a new name. By virtue of the modified statutes which were adopted at the Tokyo session three years ago, there has now been established a close relationship between the International Congress for Asian and North African Studies and the International Union for Oriental and Asian Studies. It, therefore, gives me special pleasure to convey to the International Congress the fraternal greeting of the International Union on this memorable occasion. I sincerely hope that this new collaboration between the two international organizations will prove richly fruitful.

Friends, as I have said on several earlier occasions, significant changes have occurred in the concept of Orientology (for the sake of convenience, I am still using the old term) in the course of the last some years. Orientology has now lengthened from the point of view of chronology, widened from the point of view of scope and content, and deepened from the point of view of approach and methodology. Originally, the term Orientology was mostly limited to the study of and research on the Ancient, and, in a few cases, the Medieval Orient. Orientalists are now seen evincing equal, if not greater, interest in the modern period and the contemporary life of Asia and North Africa. As in respect of time, so too in respect of scope, Orientology, as originally conceived, was very much restricted. It concerned itself mainly with the religio-philosophical and the linguistic-literary aspects of the culture of the Orient.



Orientalism has now become more comprehensive and covers, in addition, such branches of knowledge as social sciences, fine arts, and even natural sciences and technology. As for methodology, it is now generally agreed that the linguistic-literary study of the Orient would be more fruitful, if it was supplemented by an intelligent use of archaeology, anthropology, and sociology, and a new historical perspective. In the initial stages, these changes in the concept and methodology of Orientalism resulted in such a strong swing from the study of the Classical Orient to that of the Modern Orient that it was feared that the classical languages and cultures of the Orient would come to be perilously neglected. Happily such fears have been mostly belied.

For instance, much work of great significance has been produced, in recent years, about the religio-philosophical culture of the Classical Orient. There used to be a time when scholars were generally inclined to emphasize the dichotomy between the East and the West. It must, of course, be said to their credit that, while doing so, they were ever aware of the wholesome dictum that one might divide in order to distinguish if one did not distinguish in order to divide. Similarly, they took care to point out that such dichotomy as they spoke of was relevant only in respect of the Eastern 'tradition' and the Western 'tradition'. They had fully realised that, in modern times, the world had tended to come closer together not only from the points of view of time and space but also from those of thought and culture. The present-day Orientalists do not subscribe to the theory of geographic determinism in distinguishing cultures. They consider the categorization of thought and culture as 'Eastern' and 'Western' to be unscientific. I for one, however, still believe that the ways of life and thought of peoples are not unoften conditioned by their anthropo-geographical situations and the course of their history. Also, there should be no serious objection to our speaking of the Eastern tradition and the Western tradition as a convenient starting point for a discussion of the various cultural patterns in the world. One may, for instance, begin with the assumption that the Western thought is essentially anthropocentric — that it is oriented by the dictum of Protagoras, namely, 'Man is the measure of all things' — while in Asia one thinks of man as just a part of the cosmic whole. Similarly, it would be helpful if one remembered that the way of thinking in India was not to reduce to the unit, that to the Western mind (as has been shrewdly pointed out) the purposes of thought were history and science while Indian thought tended towards myth and religion. Rabindranath Tagore's characterisation that oriental — particularly the Hindu-civilization was based on social ideals (*dharma*) as against Western civilization which was based on national principles and aspirations, is still more or less valid.

On the other hand, statements such as that, in the West, religion is regarded as being of a lower order than philosophy because in religion there is often an adulteration of revelation with diverse elements such as social custom and ritual, while in the East religion overrides all other considerations, are more misleading than enlightening. It is wrong to suppose that Eastern thought is not philosophical but that it is merely pre- or extra-philosophical. There is only a difference in approach. As we are told, while in the East the ultimate unity is realized through *elimination* of every distinction, in the West, distinctions are carefully emphasized and unity is achieved through *harmonization*. The East attains the One, the West, Totality. It is rightly pointed out that comparative studies of Eastern and Western philosophies, if pursued in a factually careful and analytically close manner, are intellectually most enriching.

Within Asia, the prophetic or Judaic type of higher religion, which is concerned with a

personal God experienced as an objective fact, is distinguished from the Indian type which is concerned with the eternal as a state to be experienced within the human soul. Or, it is suggested that while Indian religion is mainly concerned with the individual's release from this world, the Confucians in China seek to weld time and eternity together to a harmonious human society.

Friends, many and great are the problems which emerge from our studies of Asia and North Africa. I have briefly touched only on the fringe of the religio-philosophical aspect of these studies. A recent writer has exhorted that the East and the West should meet like two spiritual persons. According to him, persons are not problems to be solved, but inexhaustible 'mysteries' to be explored. We are all pilgrims in search after truth. *Satyam param dhimahi* — this is our motto. But in our search for truth, may we all be guided by the following prayer which is displayed on the portal of an American College:

"From the cowardice which shrinks from new truths,  
From the laxness which is content with half-truths,  
From the arrogance which claims to know all truths,  
O God of Truth, deliver us".

Dr. Dr. h.c. Peter Fischer-Appelt  
President of the University of Hamburg

President Yamamoto,  
Senator Grolle,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

I appreciate the opportunity to welcome you all on behalf of the University of Hamburg on the occasion of the XXXII<sup>nd</sup> International Congress for Asian and North African Studies. It is for the second time that this city is honoured by the visit of the Congress of Orientalists. It was in 1902 when experts from your field convened for the first time in Hamburg and since those days Hamburg has developed into one of the leading centers for oriental studies in Europe, besides London, Paris and Moscow and other centers.

# I

Although there existed no university in Hamburg in those days, the city of Hamburg is enjoying a rich tradition in Asian and African studies, which I like to recall for a moment. One of the roots of this tradition dates back to the Academic Gymnasium founded in the beginning of the 17th century. It was conceived as an intermediate level between school and university, an institution for teaching the "artes liberales" by well recommended professors, as for instance have been the famous scholars Joachim Jungius and Hermann Samuel Reimar.

Another source of intellectual interest in oriental studies arose from Christian theology. By the time of the Reformation Hamburg became one of the pillars of the Lutheran faith in Europe, and in accordance with the central role of the Bible for Protestantism its study was of utmost importance. Hebrew was taught in the Academic Gymnasium, and by studying the philology and history of the Old Testament, theologians started to discover the languages,



cultures and religions of the ancient Near Eastern world.

A third and more or less unknown impact on oriental studies came from the influence of the so called "Portuguese Nation" in Hamburg. When in the beginning of the 17th century the Jews in Spain were allowed to emigrate, many of them settled in Hamburg, protected by the liberal policy of the city's government. Without the restrictions imposed upon them Jewish communities began to flourish and Judaism went through a renaissance. It was the remarkable time when Esdras Edzard and two of his sons, as well as Johann Christoph Wolf, studied Jewish literature, when Abraham Hinckelmann edited the Koran, and Johann Friedrich Winckler arranged the second edition of Ludolph's Ethiopian grammar. There is much reason to call this period of intellectual life a "golden age of oriental studies" in Hamburg, more than 300 years ago, according to Rector Michael Kirsten, who said in 1675: "Orientem habemus nunc in Occidente".

## 2

Eastern traditions of life and thoughts, Ladies and Gentlemen, were always well known in Hamburg since the city became a member of the Hanseatic League. But not only that its vessels went to Reval and Nowgorod. Beyond Russia merchants directed their interests early towards Turkey and Persia. Between 1636 and 1639 a delegation travelled from Hamburg to Isfahan. It was through this expedition that the poetical work *Gulistan of Sa'di* became known in Europe. It was translated into German and published in Hamburg in 1654.

Especially during the last century when Hamburg became the metropolis of world trade and the principal port of Germany, numerous merchants, diplomats and scholars of the city found their field of study and research in the Near and Far East and in Africa. I would like to mention the three Oppert brothers who worked on cuneiform writing, Sanskrit, and the Far East respectively. It was then Justus Brinckmann who introduced on a large scale Japanese art when he became the director of the Hamburgisches Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Japan became a place of special interest for scholars from Hamburg.

And finally I should like to mention Heinrich Barth, the famous African traveller, a native of Hamburg, who directed his interests first to the Mediterranean coasts before moving deeper and deeper into North and Central Africa, a pioneer and scholar of universal knowledge in African languages and dialects, as well as in African Geography and Ethnography.

## 3

No doubt, Ladies and Gentlemen, oriental studies were stimulated and advanced always by the trade interests and trade relations of the city of Hamburg. But scholarly tradition was the basis and background for a more systematic approach to the roots of foreign languages and cultures. It was this tradition which finally led to the founding of a University in Hamburg.

Since the end of the last century there existed in Hamburg an organisation for "General Lectures" which offered besides public lectures for laymen also advanced courses for certain professional groups, that means for administrators and teachers. In one winter time after 1900, more than 100.000 citizens of Hamburg participated in these courses. It came as no surprise when among the first six professorships that were established in 1908 and 1909 in Hamburg in the interests of these "General Lectures" three chairs for oriental studies were created:

- a chair for the language and culture of the Near East; and it was Carl Heinrich Becker, as we have heard, who became the first to occupy this position;
- a chair for the language and culture of China; and
- a chair for African languages and cultures.

When the university was then founded in 1919, the Faculty of Philosophy was established by these three chairs running ahead of all the others for Psychology and Philosophy or for European languages and History. And this unique position of flag ships in the fleet of traditional chairs changed not into a mere symbol of good will for overseas studies; on the contrary, it became the breakthrough for the establishment of a School of Oriental and African Studies and moreover it developed into a university with a priority of studies in languages and cultures so consistent that it has attracted in recent times, even in small fields, more students than ever before. That is to say that at present the university teaches in three schools more than 130 languages on a philological basis, of which some 90 are living languages, even if not all of them are taught every semester. Werner von Melle, a Senator of the city of Hamburg, who acted as the founder of the university during a period of 25 years, put it this way: "Everything that is connected with the study and research of foreign countries is part of the hanseatic spirit" (*Erinnerungen I*, 451).

Concerning oriental studies, this motto is carried out by the existence and work of six institutes covering the areas of Japan, China and South East Asia, Indonesia and the South Pacific, India, the Near East with Islamic, Iranian and Turkish studies, and Africa. Several institutions independant from the University, such as the German Overseas Institute, including three institutes for Asian, Oriental and African studies, are also engaged in the research and study of the East.

## 4

Ladies and Gentlemen, the motto of your congress sounds very promising:

EX ORIENTE LUX

The motto is, as you know, taken from the Bible, from the prophet Ezekiel, chapter 43. It describes the constitution of the restored temple and comes to touch by a vision on the introitus of the God to his people. "Afterwards he brought me to the gate, the gate facing east. And behold, the glory of God of Israel came from the east; and the sound of his coming was like the sound of many waters; and the earth shone with his glory".

Perhaps we should keep in mind a situation like this when talking about the meaningful scriptures of the Ancient World and the different religious beliefs in oriental cultures. There is a message from early years running ahead of the time which the intellectual and technological progress of mankind has made its own creation. It reminds me of a discussion between Eckermann and Goethe when talking about the outcome of intellectual progress. The development of civilized men, said Eckermann, "seems to be a matter of a thousand years", "Who knows", replied Goethe, "perhaps of millions, but let humanity last as long as it will, there will always be hindrances in its way, and all kinds of distress, to make it develop its potentialities. Men have become cleverer and more intelligent, but not better, nor happier, nor more effective in action. I see the time coming when God will take no pleasure in the race, and must again proceed to a rejuvenated creation".



Your congress, Ladies and Gentlemen, may contribute to better understanding of the question from ancient and modern wisdom whether we can, or who is able at all to make a distinction between physical and moral progress, between increase in physical power and improvement in moral purpose. No doubt, the question is of highest concern for everyone in our rich and poor world. I am convinced that oriental studies, whether covering a large or a narrow area, contain the key to some insights into the major questions of today. But I also feel that we should use the key and not forget it because we think all doors are open.

On behalf of my colleagues who are delighted, really delighted to welcome everyone of you as a guest of our university, I wish you a fruitful and pleasant stay in Hamburg.

Thank you very much for your attention.

PROF. DR. ALBRECHT WEZLER

Distinguished guests!

Ladies and gentlemen!

To take the floor after so many distinguished speakers is rather a difficult task. However, as Secretary General I find my task comparatively simple; for it behoves me to make but a few announcements: I am not expected to deliver a speech, and I am going to play according to the rules. Yet this implies unfortunately unsettling the atmosphere, at least to some extent, as what I have to talk about are things rather down to earth. A Congress like ours can be looked at from several points of view, but I think it is understandable that among these various aspects there are two which a Secretary General can not help regarding as highly significant, viz. that of finances and that of organization. I don't feel any temptation at all to go into details here; all I want to say is this: The Organizing Committee has striven earnestly to cope with the various problems of planning this Congress — some of which cropped up most unexpectedly —, but it is fully aware of the fact that it has not done its job to a perfection. It is not that I wish with this admission to forestall criticisms with which you might come up; on the contrary, I should be glad to have them, and may I turn to you all for frank cooperation. In particular, we should be very grateful indeed if you could check your name and address in the 'List of Participants' and point out to us all the mistakes you might discover or all the alterations you might wish to have made. For further correspondence with you and especially for the publication of the Proceedings we should like to have a list as correct as possible. It is, of course, up to you which address you want us to include, your official or your private one. Please contact the office of the Organizing Committee.

As for the printed Programme and the volume of abstracts, some of you will have searched and found to your disappointment that you have not been included in either. Turning to these participants in particular, I may be permitted to state generally that the quality of the organisation of a Congress is to a rather large extent determined by the readiness on the part of the participants to observe all the deadlines, etc. There were, of course, certain deadlines and they had, of course, to be extended several times for obvious reasons; but it is equally clear that the programme and the abstracts had to go into print at a given date at the latest in order to ensure that they were out when the Congress itself began. Yet the conveners of the sections and panels have tried their level best to have your papers included nevertheless. To continue with technicalities: All additions and changes will be announced centrally on two

notice-boards, one located near the Registration Counter in this building, the other in the Foyer of the University Main Building; besides you will find the relevant announcements at the entrances of the various rooms in which the sections and panels meet. In particular I should like to draw your attention to major additions to the Programme of Sections 6 and 10.

As for the panels, the one that was convened by Prof. Dahm on Eminent Leaders in South East Asia, had to be cancelled, unfortunately, as none of the original four participants except for Prof. Dahm himself has been able to attend the Congress. Please note that Panel 4 on Historical and Philosophical Writing of the Later Han Dynasty in the Second Century A.D. has been rescheduled; it will now take place on Wednesday morning as planned, but from 10.30-12.30, and not from 9.00-11.00. Prof. A. K. Narain who had convened Panel 15, The World of the Sakas, has been prevented by health problems to come to Hamburg; Prof. Emmerick has kindly consented to take his place. "On account of absolutely unavoidable personal circumstances", Prof. de A. Samarasinghe too is not able to attend the Congress. Fortunately, Prof. de Silva has agreed to convene Panel 14 in his stead. Besides, I have the pleasure to announce that we have been able to arrange yet one more panel (No. 16) on "Manuscripts of the Middle East", scheduled for August 29, Friday, University Main Building, Room G, Ground Floor. The conveners are Dr. Dr. Witkam and Dr. Daiber. In passing may I request all panel conveners to get in touch with me at the office of the Organizing Committee, preferably today or tomorrow.

In conclusion, I should like to touch briefly on a different point, one of more general significance. I am not at all disclosing a secret when I frankly admit that until almost the middle of May of this year we were not at all sure whether we wouldn't after all be forced into the most unpleasant situation of having to call off the Congress. The simple reason was that till May the number of participants was not only still far below what we had reckoned with but also still too small to make this Congress financially viable. The reasons for the reluctance or lack of interest of many colleagues in this country and abroad are manifold, as we know from certain information given to us. Besides, there is room for conjecture too, everybody is free to make them. There are, and I was told that in previous years too there were, colleagues who voiced the opinion that the International Congress for Asian and North African Studies or the International Congress for Orientalists belongs as an institution to a past entirely superseded. I am far from being convinced that they are right. It is true, competition among various congresses in our disciplines has become unyielding, and whatever the date you might choose for your own congress, clashes or quasi-clashes with others are virtually unavoidable, all the more if the others are more specialized. In our case, for instance, it was certainly to our disadvantage that two weeks ago the Internationaler Kongreß für türkische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte was held in Munich, and that the 13ème Congrès International de l'Union des Arabisants et Islamisants will be held in Venice at the end of September; and that the IXth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies begins tomorrow in Moscow can't possibly have contributed to the success of our own Congress.

It is not, and in future too it will not be, easy for us to hold our own, and the colleagues concerned will have to discuss the question how our institution can be kept attractive or rather made even more attractive. However, as far as the present Congress is concerned, solemnly declared open by our President, fears would not at all be justified. For when I see you all, come to Hamburg and gathered today in this hall, we of the Organizing Committee cannot but feel that our efforts have not at all been in vain; and we are convinced that at the end of



this week we will thank you all for the success of the XXXIInd ICANAS. And I am sure you will all agree with me that this is the right transition to the Allegro molto movement of Bach's we are now going to hear.

## Closing Plenary Session

LOTHAR LEDDEROSE:

Colleagues and friends, the last day of our Congress has arrived; we have gathered here for the Closing Plenary Session before we say farewell to each other. Let us first listen to the report of the Secretary General.

ALBRECHT WEZLER:

Dear colleagues and friends,

it is with no little pleasure that I now take the word; for though once again I have to make nothing but announcements just as in the Opening Plenary Session, this time I can look back upon a week of most fruitful deliberations and discussions, and with the knowledge that the conviction of the Organizing Committee that our Congress will be a success has fully come true.

As to the announcements themselves, very dry as they have to be: we were in all no less than 890 scholars and students assembled, and of these about 650 came from abroad; you will agree with me that these are numbers we can be most grateful for. The number of papers read to us totalled 705, and this means that we have been no less industrious in the course of the preceding week than we were in Tokyo and Kyoto.

A duty I fulfil with particular pleasure is to acknowledge with thanks the considerable number of publications participants have taken the trouble to present to the Organizing Committee, and our thanks are due to them all the more, because the occasion for quite some of these publications was our very Congress.

May I now pass on to a few admonitions: I should like to remind you all that the summaries of your papers should reach me by the end of November; you should address them to me personally at the Indological Institute of Hamburg University; above all, please make sure that they don't exceed five hundred words.

Further, don't forget to have a look at the message board at the entrance of the hall we are now in; there may quite conceivably be messages still awaiting you.

In conclusion may I thank you all in the name of the Organizing Committee; for without your sustained interest in our Congress, above all by contributing papers and taking active part in the discussions they provoked, we couldn't have achieved anything substantial. We of the Organizing Committee feel that by your efforts our own have been fully rewarded. I thank you.

LOTHAR LEDDEROSE:

The next point is a short report on the activity of the Consultative Committee which I should now like to read to you. As you know, we formed this Committee in accordance with our rules, its members representing the various regions and fields of study covered by the Congress. The Committee met on Tuesday evening and discussed two proposals. One was submitted by Mrs. Gabrielli who suggested that the next Congress include Sibiria as another special area of study. This proposal was forwarded to the Secretary General of the International Union for Oriental and Asian Studies, Monsieur Bazin, and he will in his turn



place it before the Organizers of the next Congress. The Committee then discussed the question of the venue of the next Congress. We have received an official invitation from the University of Toronto which I may be now allowed to read to you: "To the XXXIInd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies. Dear Colleagues, the University of Toronto wishes to extend an invitation to have the XXXIIIrd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies take place in our campus in Toronto. As Canada's largest university and with our commitment to the study of all the major regions of Asia and North Africa covered by the Congress we will be happy to host such an event. Because of our cosmopolitan city and our governments commitment to multiculturalism we believe Toronto is a good venue. Having the next Congress here will be beneficial both to the participants and to our university and city. We earnestly hope to hear a word of favourable response. Yours sincerely, Brian Merrilees, Vice-Provost."

The Consultative Committee discussed this proposal and voted unanimously that we accept the invitation. [Applause] Thank you very much for your endorsement. I would now like to ask Professor Ching and Professor Oxtoby from Toronto to address you.

JULIA CHING:

There is little left to say except to welcome you to Toronto, and we hope it will be in the third week of August three or four years from now. The precise year will be decided after consultation with the colleagues in Toronto.

WILLARD G. OXTOBY:

We expect that the meeting will be held on the campus of the University of Toronto. The advantages of this: the campus is central in the city, but there are dormitory residents' rooms which will in all probability be available at one fourth the price of hotels. So you will have a choice: those of you who wish to live for the moment may enjoy the hotels and those of you who wish to have something left may enjoy the University. And as far as the emphasis of the Congress is concerned, this is the first time that the suggestion has been made to include Sibiria, but we will do our best to accommodate. In all probability, one of the theme emphases of the Congress will be Contacts between Cultures. This is important not only because of the historical contacts which helped to hold our interests of diverse fields of Asian and North African studies together. It is also of interest because of the fact of migration to Canada and to other places in the West. Canada is a country with many Asian communities. We have sizeable East Asian and South Asian and West Asian communities in Toronto, and these communities I am sure will be ready to welcome you also and to display to you what it is like to maintain an Asian cultural tradition in the West. Therefore, we will have both the historical and the contemporary dimensions of cultural contact to explore.

JULIA CHING:

We have a variety of cuisines; I haven't investigated as to the Tibetan variety, but it may very well be present. We also have the Niagara Falls about two hours drive from us, and a range of Canadian and American cities within access. So it is only for us to welcome you, and since Canada is a bilingual country let us say: Soyez les bienvenus à Toronto.

WILLARD G. OXTOBY:

Finally let me say that we think it is a good time for this congress to return to the western hemisphere, to the North American continent and to Canada in particular, since the congress has never before met in Canada. Canada welcomes you. Willkommen in Kanada!

JULIA CHING:

Wir danken unseren deutschen Kollegen für ihre Gastfreundschaft.

LOTHAR LEDDEROSE:

Thank you very much Professor Ching, Professor Oxtoby. The reaction of the audience has shown you that we will all assemble in Toronto. The next point is an announcement which Professor Arvind Sharma is going to make on behalf of the President of the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy.

ARVIND SHARMA:

Dear friends and colleagues. My name is Arvind Sharma, and I teach at the University of Sidney in Australia. I would like to talk to you, or say a few words to you about the next International Conference of the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy. Now this society first met in Honolulu in 1984. Its next meeting will be held in Sydney from the 8th to the 13th of August in 1988. I know it is quite a few years in advance, but I would just like to draw your attention to the fact that such a conference will be held. On behalf of the Conference Committee, I would like to extend an invitation to all of you to attend this Conference. For any further information about the Conference please feel free to write to the Department of Religious Studies, The University of Sydney, Australia. Before I close I would like to thank the organizers of this Conference for providing the opportunity to me for making this announcement. Thank you all and see you in Sydney in August 1988.

LOTHAR LEDDEROSE:

Thank you very much. Now we will ask Professor Spitaler who will announce the winner of the Lidzbarski Medal.

ANTON SPITALER:

Meine Damen und Herren, Ladies and Gentlemen. Als das deutsche Mitglied des Internationalen Lidzbarski-Komitees darf ich im Auftrag dieses Komitees Ihnen folgende Mitteilung machen:

Ladies and Gentlemen, as the German member of the International Lidzbarski-Committee I have the honour and the pleasure to make the following announcement:

Wie die Semitisten und semitistisch Interessierten unter Ihnen wissen werden oder sich erinnern, hat der bedeutende deutsche Semitist Mark Lidzbarski in den zwanziger Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts in seinem Testament eine Stiftung gemacht, aus deren Erträgen unter anderem eine Goldmedaille finanziert werden sollte, die einem verdienten Gelehrten auf dem Gebiet der semitischen Sprachen verliehen werden sollte, und zwar in der Regel im Zusammenhang mit den periodisch stattfindenden Internationalen Orientalistenkongressen. Ein vierköpfiges internationales Komitee, das von Deutschland, Frankreich, England und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika gewählt wurde, wurde damit beauftragt und hat heute noch



den Auftrag, sich um die Belange der Stiftung zu kümmern. Im gegenwärtigen Augenblick sind die Vertreter dieser Stiftung die Herren Professoren André Caquot für Frankreich, Edward Ullendorff für England, Franz Rosenthal für die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und meine Wenigkeit für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

The semitists and Ancient Near East scholars among you will remember that the great German semitist Mark Lidzbarski established in the twenties of our century in his will an endowment the income of which was to be used inter alia to award a gold medal to a distinguished scholar in the field of Semitic languages. An International Committee of four members appointed by the Oriental Societies of Germany, France, England and the United States was and is intrusted with the selection of the recipient. At present the members are Prof. André Caquot, France, Edward Ullendorff, England, Franz Rosenthal, United States of America, and myself for the Federal Republic of Germany.

Durch den zweiten Weltkrieg und seine Folgen ist das Stiftungsvermögen verloren gegangen; durch die Mithilfe der deutschen Bundesregierung ist es aber möglich geworden, die Goldmedaille weiterhin zu finanzieren, und dadurch ist es auch möglich geworden, daß bei diesem Kongreß eine Goldmedaille verliehen wird. Ich habe die angenehme Pflicht, Ihnen, meine Damen und Herren, mitzuteilen, daß das Lidzbarski-Komitee einstimmig beschlossen hat, die Goldmedaille in diesem Jahr an Prof. Manfred Ullmann von der Universität Tübingen zu verleihen, und zwar für seine zahlreichen, wichtigen und weiterführenden Arbeiten auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte der islamischen Wissenschaften, Naturwissenschaften, Wissenschaftsgeschichte, aber auch für seine Verdienste um die arabische Philologie, hier ganz besonders wegen seines enormen Einsatzes und seiner Tätigkeit an der Weiterführung des von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft vor langer Zeit initiierten Belegwörterbuchs der klassischen arabischen Sprache, eines Unternehmens, dessen bisher 1500 erschienene Seiten fast ausschließlich sein persönliches Verdienst sind.

I have the pleasant duty to announce to you that the Lidzbarski Committee has unanimously decided to award the Gold Medal this year to Prof. Manfred Ullmann of the University of Tübingen for his important publications in the field of Islamic Science and Civilization, in particular for his unique contribution to Arabic Philology — in fact the Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache breaks new ground for Arabic Lexicography and the 1500 pages that have appeared so far are nearly exclusively his own work.

Da Professor Ullmann bei unserer heutigen Veranstaltung nicht anwesend sein kann, wird ihm die Medaille zugestellt. Ich mache mir mit Ihrer und des Lidzbarski-Komitees Zustimmung das Vergnügen, ihm die Medaille in nächster Zeit in Tübingen zu überreichen.

Regrettably, Professor Ullmann is not able to be here with us today so that the medal cannot be presented to him personally in this room. With your permission and that of the Lidzbarski Committee I shall present it to him in Tübingen in the near future. Thank you very much.

LOTHAR LEDDEROSE:

Thank you very much, Professor Spitaler. The Congress has received several presents, but I am not going to list them in detail. I just wish to show you one scroll of calligraphy which was written for the Congress and given to the Congress by Professor Tsou Heng from the Archaeological Department of Beijing University ... This is the calligraphy (holding it up for all to see)! It is a quotation from the Tao te king, and the Lao tse text means something like

"Through study you can gain daily". This is certainly an appropriate comment on our Congress, although there are philological difficulties into which I don't want to enter now. The Consultative Committee probably has to think about the problem where to preserve this scroll. Well, then the next point is, Professor Harnam Singh Shan would like to address the Plenary Session and say a few words. May I ask Professor Harnam Singh Shan to do so.

HARNAM SINGH SHAN:

Mr. Chairman and friends! It is a matter of great pleasure and proud privilege for me to move this motion of thanks on behalf of all of you along with poor Shan for the hospitality, the help, the generosity shown by the Organizing Committee to all of us during our stay here. Particular thanks are due to the worthy President, Professor Ledderose. This learned and worthy scholar has enabled us to be here at this International Forum of Orientalists. I have no words to express my deep sense of gratitude for the Secretary General, Professor Wezler, who has been all the time working for its success.

To add a personal note, I may forget other events, happenings associated with my participation in this session. I have already attended a number of sessions of this Congress. But the way he received me here and took my bag all the way to the hotel himself I can never forget in my life. This happened once in Canberra too when we reached there in connection with the Australian session of this Congress. The president of the Congress, the most learned Professor A. L. Basham, was there to receive us with a team of volunteers to help us. He is dead and gone, but till I close my eyes I can never forget: he told all his friends, members of the faculty, not to touch the baggage of Harnam Singh Shan. 'I will take it myself to the hotel'. So Professor, Secretary General of this Congress, as they say, history repeats herself, you have done much more than that.

I have also to thank the office secretary of this conference. I am sorry for not being in a position to read names in the correct German pronunciation: Mrs. Janietz is probably her name. I have seen her working so devotedly and dedicatedly, I dare say that any Congress can be a success if it had a Secretary General like Professor Wezler and also a secretary like Mrs. Janietz.

I have also to thank the German Oriental Society as well as all those young scholars and members of the faculty, the students who have all along been helping us, guiding us, assisting us and seeing that we are comfortable during our stay here.

I also beg to thank the German Foundation for International Development in Bonn which has helped a number of us to be here in this connection. And at the end I thank the entire Organizing Committee whose allout help and hospitality, whose devotion and dedication to the cause, whose push and drive have made it a success. I wish everyone of them the best in life, and all of you too. May God and Guru bless you more, much more, still more.

LOTHAR LEDDEROSE:

Thank you very much. Now Professor Masao Mori will take the floor and come to the microphone.



MASAO MORI:

Honorary Presidents, Professor Dr. Herbert Franke and Professor Dr. Bertold Spuler, President, Professor Dr. Lothar Ledderose, Secretary General, Prof. Dr. Albrecht Wezler, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen! I feel it a great honour to have been given the opportunity to say a few words on behalf of the foreign participants in my capacity as the board chairman of the Toho Gakkai, the academic organisation for Oriental Studies, similar to the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, and also as a delegate of the Science Council of Japan. First, please allow me to mention my personal experience. About thirty years ago I was studying the languages and the history of the ancient Turkish peoples at the University of Hamburg. When I arrived in Hamburg a week ago after the life of thirty years my first impression was that many modern buildings newly constructed have considerably changed the external appearance of the city. However, within a few days I realized that the basic character of this city has not changed at all. The city of Hamburg amply retains its time honoured brilliant traditions as one of the most important cultural and academic centres in Germany. It is of great significance that the XXXIInd International Congress for Asian and North African Studies was held in this beautiful city having a long cultural tradition. At this Congress as many as 890 scholars from forty-seven countries have gathered, reported the results of their studies, actively participated in discussions, regardless of the differences in nationalities, religions and social systems, and exchanged the valuable opinions and information in a friendly atmosphere. I firmly believe that this will greatly contribute towards the further development of Asian and North African Studies as well as the further strengthening of friendly relations among participating scholars and eventually towards the attainment of the peace of the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, taking this opportunity I should like to express my heartfelt gratitude and deep respect for the strenuous effort and the scholarly enthusiasm of the officers of the Congress' Organizing Committee, and the conveners of the sectional meetings and panels, without which the smooth and efficient organization of this Congress would not have been possible. I also appreciate from the bottom of my heart the cordial hospitality German scholars have shown us and congratulate them for the remarkable success of the Congress. The memory of the XXXIInd ICANAS in Hamburg will remain long with us. Thank you very much.

LOTHAR LEDDEROSE:

I am very grateful to Professor Harnam Singh Shan and to Professor Masao Mori for their kind words. It certainly was a great pleasure to work for this Congress and an even greater pleasure to have you all here. Now it is just my last duty to say a few words of thanks to all those who worked so hard for two years to make this Congress possible and who have worked so hard during the last week. We have also to thank the University of Hamburg for placing its Lecture Halls at our disposal, and the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe as well as the Museum für Völkerkunde as well as the Universitätsbibliothek for organizing special exhibitions and special guided tours for the members of the Congress; I have to thank Mr. Italiaander also who opened his Museum Rade as a friendly gesture towards our Congress. All this has made the Congress more interesting and more enjoyable.

I also have to thank our colleagues of the Organizing Committee who worked really hard, especially Professor Albrecht Wezler and the Vice-Secretary General Professor Ernst

Hammerschmidt. But I should also like to say that Professor Wezler was aided by his wife, and all of you who strolled into his office during the Congress and saw her buried under piles of paper must have realized that it was more than just moral support which she gave him. Professor Harnam Singh Shan has already mentioned Mrs. Janietz, but I too should like to thank her for her remarkable work as secretary to the secretary, behind the scenes, and as you know, every congress really depends on such a person who is always there to answer questions, to receive compliments, but also to listen to complaints and who is able to handle them with equanimity. But I don't want to forget the sub-chairmen and our young colleagues and the students who ran the projectors and poured out coffee and tea, thus keeping up our spirits. But last but not least I want to thank all those who read papers, the chairpersons and the conveners of the panels. Each of you made a special personal effort and a special contribution in making this Congress a success. Thank you very much! It only remains for me to say that I am looking forward to seeing all of you in Toronto, and I now declare the XXXIInd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies closed.



ACADEMIC PROGRAMME<sup>1</sup>

## SECTION I: ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Roger Goepper)

August 25, Monday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 8 - 1st Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: Goepper, Roger

- 14.30 - 15.00 Keith N. Schoville: Literacy at Lachish [p.1]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Karlheinz Spreer: Ein Spielbrett aus dem Königsfriedhof von Ur (U.9000: Woolley, Ur-Excavation, 1934) [p.6]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Karol Mysliwiec: Some Ancient Egyptian aspects of Hellenistic cults in Athribis [p.16]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Jean Leclant: Researches on the pyramids with texts at Saqqara [p.20]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Ronald T. Marchese: Northern Caria: Shifting settlement systems in antiquity [p.22]  
 16.30 - 18.00 Thérèse Metzger: La décoration de la Bible hébraïque au moyen âge: de l'Orient à l'Occident [p.24]  
 18.00 - 18.30 Mendel Metzger: An illuminated Jewish prayerbook of the 16th Century. The ms. Smith-Lesouëf 250 in the Bibliothèque nationale (Paris) [p.39]

August 26, Tuesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 8 - 1st Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Schoville, Keith

- 9.30 - 10.00 Firouz Bagherzadeh: Persian Iconography: A question just 800 years old. A simple answer [p.55]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Jennifer K. Zimmer: A stylistic analysis of a series of early Islamic gold bracelets and anklets [p.58]  
 Jennifer K. Zimmer: A first millenium B.C. Iranian-Caucasian bronze belt in an Australian collection [p.59]  
 11.00 - 11.30 William Trousdale: The Saffārid city of Sīstān (Afghanistan) [p.61]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Elisabeth C.L. During Caspers: Harappan temples — Fact or fallacy? [p.64]  
 12.00 - 12.30 S. R. Rao: Discovery of submerged Dwarka [p.69]  
 12.30 - 13.00 S. R. Rao: Bet Dwarka inscription — A Link between Indus and Brāhmī Scripts [p.70]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Zimmer, Jennifer K.

- 15.00 - 15.30 Vibha Tripathi: Development of iron technology vis-à-vis economic growth in India during the first millenium B.C. [p.71]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Y. K. Mishra: Pre- and proto-historic Aṅga [p.74]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Purushottam Singh: The rise of cultures in Saryupar plain with special reference to excavations at Narhan [p.76]

<sup>1</sup> The titles of the papers are those given by the authors in their 'summaries'. An asterisk in square brackets indicates that no 'summary' was received.



August 27, Wednesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 8 - 1st Floor

Morning Session only

Chair: Myśliwiec, Karol

- 9.30 - 10.00 S. Ramaratnam: Sculptures of the later Chola period - their sociological connection [p.78]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Sudha Malaiya: Natarāja Sculptures from Central India [p.80]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Joachim Bautze: The murals in the Jagatśiromaṇijī temple in Uniara, Rājasthān [p.84]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Rolf Italiaander: Social, political and ethical aspects of the folk art [p.89]  
 12.30 - 13.00 Ramchandra Gaur: OCP Culture and the Indo-Aryans [p.96]

August 28, Thursday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 8 - 1st Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Singh, Purushottam

- 10.00 - 10.30 Y. B. Singh: Leitmotive Conventionality in Pahari painting analysed [p.97]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Pinna Indorf: Architecture as cultural communication [p.98]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Nisar Ahmad: Numismatic and Epigraphical materials of Devanimori stūpa: A review [p.104]  
 12.30 - 13.00 Morton Smith: Halos from India to China [p.106]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Tripathi, Laksmi Kant

- 14.30 - 15.00 Julian Sherrier: Vajrapāṇi in Gandhāra [p.109]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Claudine Bautze-Picron: The stone images of the Buddha in bhūmisparśamudrā at Kurkihār and the 'Kurkihār Style' [p.112]  
 15.30 - 16.00 L. K. Tripathi: Animals in early Buddhist art of India [\*]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Kalyan Kumar Sarkar: The Viṣṇu image in a Dieng temple: Some iconographic observations [p.115]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Helmut Loofs-Wissowa: The rise and fall of early bronze in Thailand [p.117]

August 29, Friday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 8 - 1st Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Akiyama, Terukazu

- 9.00 - 9.30 Ling-Sheng Chang: A commentary on Ta Shih vases [p.129]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky: A Tang scene of the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha [p.130]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Peter Hardie: The earliest glass in China [p.132]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Tsugio Mikami: Ceramic trade during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties in China [p.134]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Zou Heng: Early cities in ancient China [p.137]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Mikami, Tsugio

- 14.30 - 15.00 Toshio Watanabe: Victorian design reformers and Japanese art [p.138]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Terukazu Akiyama: The evolution of iconography in illustrations of the Tale of Genji from its origin to the early 17th century [p.139]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Ulrich Mammitzsch: Form and function in Japanese maṇḍala [p.140]

- 16.30 - 17.00 Shu Takahama: Early nomad culture in East Asia [\*]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Monika Dahncke: A hemispherical bowl from Eastern Iran [p.141]  
 18.00 - 18.30 Mehdi Roshanzamir: Persian playing cards [\*]

## SECTION 2: BUDDHIST STUDIES

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Lambert Schmithausen)

August 25, Monday

Subsection A

University Main Building - Room B - 2nd Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: Jan, Yün-hua (-16.00)

Durt, Hubert (16.30-)

- 14.30 - 15.00 Tsugunari Kubo: The central concept of the Bodhisattva practice in the Lotus Sūtra [p.143]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Akira Yuyama: Miscellaneous remarks on the Lotus Sūtra [p.144]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Takao Maruyama: Concepts of the Buddha: Chinese Lotus Sutra commentaries [p.145]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Yün-hua Jan: The Chinese critique and assimilation of vijñānavādin ideas: a case study of Tsung-mi [p.146]  
 17.00 - 17.30 W. Pachow: The omnipresence of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva in East Asia [p.147]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Makoto Ozaki: Nichiren's concept of Bodhisattva [p.148]  
 18.00 - 18.30 Roy C. Amore: Merit in the Zen tradition [p.149]

Subsection B

University Main building - Room C - Ground Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: von Hinüber, Oskar (-16.00)

Hahn, Michael (16.30-)

- 15.00 - 15.30 K. T. S. Sarao: Early Buddhist attitude towards women [p.150]  
 15.30 - 16.00 P. Schalk: Buddhism militant in Sri Lanka [\*]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Brij B. Khare: Church-State dichotomy in Buddhist thought: The case of Japan [p.152]  
 18.00 - 18.30 Upendra Thakur: Some Eminent Buddhist Missionaries in China [p.153]

August 26, Tuesday

Subsection A

University Main Building - Room B - 2nd Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Maruyama, Takao (bis 10.30)

Yeh, Ah-Yueh (ab 11.00)

- 9.00 - 9.30 Hubert Durt: Remarks on the concept of worship in the Ta-chih-tu-lun [p.154]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Pol Vanden Broucke: The Yugikyō (Taishō ed. XVIII no 867) [p.155]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Hideaki Kimura: The Maṇḍala of the Māyājātantra in Chinese version [p.157]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Biswanath Banerjee: Buddhism and the Kālacakra System [p.158]



*Afternoon Session**Chair: Kumoi, Shōzen*

- 16.30 - 17.00 Arvind Sharma: Are there two Buddhist doctrines of Karma? [p.159]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Mahesh Tiwary: Process of death in early Buddhism [p.160]

*Subsection B**University Main Building - Room C - Ground Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Tripathi, L. K. (-10.30)**Chandra, Lokesh (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Mantosh Chandra Choudhury: The Decline of Buddhism in Eastern India [p.161]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Siglinde Dietz: Remarks on a fragmentary list of kings of Magadha in a Lokaprajñapti fragment [p.162]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Oskar von Hinüber: Thalpan: A Buddhist site in North Pakistan [p.163]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Marilyn Edwards Leese: Expressions of kingship in Western Buddhist cave excavations of the A.D. fifth and sixth centuries [p.165]

*August 27, Wednesday**Subsection A**University Main Building - Room B - 2nd Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: May, Jacques (-10.30)**Ejima, Yasunori (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Claus Oetke: Remarks on the Sarvāstivāda theories of time [p.165]  
 9.30 - 10.00 T. R. Sharma: A critical appraisal of Karmaphalaparīkṣā of Nāgārjuna [p.167]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Christian Lindtner: On Nāgārjuna's epistemology [p.168]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Tilmann Vetter: On the import of śūnyatā in the Hṛdayasūtra [p.170]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Kewal Krishan Mittal: Tathatā, Sūnyatā, Nirvāṇa and Saṃsāra [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 S. R. Bhatt: The Doctrine of Trairūpya [\*]

*Subsection B**University Main Building - Room C - Ground Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Yuyama, Akira (-9.30)**Vogel, Claus (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Michael Hahn: The Avadānaśataka and its affiliation [p.170]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Masaki Yamamoto: Buddha's death by food poisoning [p.171]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Ratna Basu: Some observations on the Jātakamālāṭīkā [\*]

*August 28, Thursday**Subsection A**University Main Building - Room B - 2nd Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Lindtner, Christian (-10.30)**Iida, Shotaro (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Discussion on Lindtner's paper (Section 2A, 27.8.)  
 9.30 - 10.00 Yasunori Ejima: Bhāvaivēka's work [\*]

- 10.00 - 10.30 Peter Ebbatson: Candrakīrti's critique of Vijñānavāda - its philosophical relevance [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Hari Shankar Prasad: Language and reality: A Buddhist approach [p.173]  
 11.40 - 12.10 Peter della Santina: Sākāravāda-Nirākāravāda controversy [p.174]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Nagasaki, Hojun*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Karen Christina Lang: Ārvadeva's citation of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika texts in the Śataka [p.175]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Shotaro Iida: Buddhist critique of Sāṅkhya-Yoga: Aśvaghōṣa and Bhāvaivēka [p.176]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Narendra Awasthi: Treatment of Buddhism in Nyāyalīlāvatī of Śrīvallabha [p.178]

*Subsection B**University Main Building - Room C - Ground Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Roth, Gustav*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Manabendu Banerjee: The Asiatic society, Mr. B. H. Hodgson and Buddhist studies [p.179]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Hideaki Nakatani: The Dharmapada of Patna viewed in the light of other versions [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Michael Balk: On the problem of hypermetric lines in metres counted by syllables [p.180]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Hisashi Matsumura: Über die Edition von indischen Codices multi [p.181]

*August 29, Friday**Subsection A**University Main Building - Room B - 2nd Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Vetter, Tilmann (-10.30)**Sharma, T. R. (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 M. Mejer: Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and the commentaries preserved in the Tanjur [p.182]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Jikido Takasaki: Textual problems of the Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra [p.183]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Hidenori Sakuma: The classification of the commentaries on the Dharmakāya chapter in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra [p.184]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Ratan Prakash: Buddhism in Indian life and thought [\*]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Bhatt, S. R. (-16.00)**Takasaki, Jikido (16.30-)*

- 14.30 - 15.00 S. R. Bhatt: Buddhist theory of two-faceted knowledge [\*]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Rev. Sumana Siri: A Buddhist moralist reflects on Kant's ethics [p.185]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Hojun Nagasaki: Perception in the Yogācārabhūmi [\*]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Ah-Yueh Yeh: The theories of Bodhisattva's "āvaraṇa" and "kāraṇa" [p.186]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Y. S. Shastri: Conception of Māyā in Asaṅga's Vijñānavāda Buddhism [\*]  
 18.00 - 18.30 Lambert Schmithausen: On the origin and early development of ālayavijñāna [p.188]



*Subsection B**University Main Building - Room C - Ground Floor**Afternoon Session only**Chair: K. K. Mittal*

- 16.30 - 17.00 B. N. Puri: Buddhism in Central Asia — an analytical study [p.188]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Paras Nath Singh: A psycho-cultural approach to Cīvara [p.190]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Lokesh Chandra: Assimilation in the theogony of the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara [p.191]

**SECTION 3: CENTRAL AND INNER ASIA***(Convener: Prof. Dr. Friedrich Bischoff)***SUBSECTION A: ALTAIC AND MONGOLIAN STUDIES***(Convener: Prof. Dr. Walter Heissig)**August 26, Tuesday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 7 - 1st Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Prof. Hidehiro Okada*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Herbert Franke: Mongolian glosses in a 14th century Arabic manuscript [p.193]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Hidehiro Okada: Dayan Khan in the battle of Dalan Terigün [p.193]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Junko Miyawaki: Did a Dzungar Khanate really exist? [p.194]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Ikegami, Jiro*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Jiro Ikegami: The element n in some indicative forms of Tungus verbs [p.195]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Lajos Kazár: Japanese-Uralic-Altaic word comparisons: contact, or genetic relationships? [p.196]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Lode Talpe: A Buddhist cosmological work in Mongolian: a preliminary study [p.197]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Roger Finch: Verb classes in the Altaic languages [\*]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Maria Magdolna Tatar: Die Symbole einer tuwinischen Schamanen-Tracht [\*]

*August 27, Wednesday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 7 - 1st Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Szykiewicz, Slawoj*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Tatsuo Nakami: Prince Güngsünnorbu and Inner Mongolia in transformation [p.197]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Slawoj Szykiewicz: Ethnic boundaries in Western Mongolia. A case study of a county in the Mongol Altai Region [p.198]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Ruth I. Meserve: Mongol horse care, training and management [p.199]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Maria Salga: New phenomena in contemporary Mongolian literature [p.200]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Walther Heissig: The battle with three hundred Taidzighut [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Silke Herrmann: Possible parallels between Mongolian and Ladakhi epic traditions [\*]

**SUBSECTION B + D: IRANIAN AND TOCHARIAN STUDIES***(Convener: Prof. Dr. Ronald Emmerick)**August 29, Friday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5a - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Yoshida, Yutaka*

- 11.00 - 11.30 Jörundur Hilmarsson: An east Tocharian reduction rule [p.203]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Georges-Jean Pinault: Report on the publication and study of the study of the Kuchean secular texts [p.204]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Klaus Schmidt: Ein Beitrag des Tocharischen zur Entzifferung des Tum-schuqsakischen [\*]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Schmidt, Klaus*

- 15.00 - 15.30 Duan Qīng: Über den Auftraggeber des Aparimitāyuh-Sūtras (ApS) im Khotanischen und über das S 2471 [p.207]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Nicholas Sims-Williams: The development of the Sogdian verbal system [p.205]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Yutaka Yoshida: Remarks on the third phonetic hymn of the Chinese Hymnscroll [p.206]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Almuth Degener: Khotanische Suffixe [p.207]

**SUBSECTION C: TIBETOLOGY***(Convener: Prof. Dr. David Seyfort Ruegg)**August 26, Tuesday**University Main Building - Room G - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Wayman, Alex (-10.30)**Wang Yao (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Wang Yao: Archaeological fieldwork in Tibet [\*]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Tsuguhito Takeuchi: Preliminary Report on Tibetan texts in the Ōtani Collection [p.211]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Per Kvaerne: Chronological tables ("bstan-ris") of the Bon religion [p.212]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Paul Kent Andersen: Passive and antipassive in Classical Tibetan [p.213]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Per K. Sørensen: Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loñ. Identification of its author and its dating [\*]  
 Hisashi Matsumura: Neues zu tibetischen Genera [p.214]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Kvaerne, Per (-16.00)**Mimaki, Katsumi (16.30-)*

- 15.00 - 15.30 Katsumi Mimaki: The classification of the Yogācāra School in Tibetan doxographical literature [p.215]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Francis V. Tiso: Tantric Dohās: Tradition and change in Indo-Tibetan Tantrism [p.216]  
 16.30 - 17.00 David Seyfort Ruegg: The "Council of Tibet" in two early Tibetan historical works [p.218]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Flemming Faber: Vimālamitra — one or two? [p.219]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Alex Wayman: The seven causes of an utterance per Bu-ston [p.219]



- 18.00 - 18.30 Michio Sato: The meaning of the teaching of Dol-po-pa Śes rab rGyal mtshan (1292-1361) [p.221]  
 18.30 - 19.00 Doboom Tulku: On the activities of the "Tibet House" in Delhi [\*]

#### SECTION 4: CHRISTIAN ORIENT

(Convener: Prof. DDr. Ernst Hammerschmidt)

August 25, Monday

Philosophen-Turm - Room E - Ground Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: Hammerschmidt, Ernst (-16.00)

Irmischer, Johannes (16.30-)

- 15.00 - 16.00 Special lecture  
 Johannes Irmischer: Oriental Christian Writing as a component of the literature of late antiquity [p.223]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Carsten Colpe: Die Mahgräye. Beziehungen zwischen Samaritanern, Judenchristen und Arabern (5.-7. Jh.) [\*]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Michael Breydy: Les extraits syriaques de Proclus dans l'exposé de la foi de Jean Maron [p.226]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Veronika Six: Bemerkungen zur äußeren Form der Textgestaltung äthiopischer Handschriften [p.243]  
 18.00 - 18.30 Lothar Störk: St. Menas in Stolzenfels — Ein ägyptischer Heiliger am Rhein [p.249]

August 26, Tuesday

Philosophen-Turm - Room E - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Pieler, Peter E. (-10.30)

Hammerschmidt, Ernst (11.00-)

- 9.00 - 9.30 Manfred Kropp: Older amharic translations of the Śer 'āta mangeśt and their contributions to the interpretation of the Ge 'ez-version [p.254]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Franz Amadeus Dombrowski: Internment of members of the Royal Family in Ethiopia, Turkey and India [p.256]  
 10.00 - 10.30 M. Kristin Arat: Die armenische Diakonissin und die Rolle der Frau in der Kirche [p.257]  
 11.00 - 12.00 Special lecture  
 Peter E. Pieler: Lex Christiana [\*]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Horn, Jürgen (-16.00)

Voigt, Rainer Maria (16.30-)

- 14.30 - 15.00 Otto F. A. Meinardus: The renaissance of Coptic monasticism [p.267]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Barbara Kryst: Women in Ethiopian society [p.271]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Discussion  
 16.30 - 17.00 M. Chahin: Some legendary kings of Armenia. Can they be linked to authentic history? [p.276]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Costas P. Kyrris: Cypriot ascetics and the Christian Orient [p.280]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Michael Breydy: Einfach tot oder hingeschieden? Ein philologisches Problem mit theologischem Hintergrund nach dem alten Begräbnisritual der Syro-Maroniten [p.289]

August 27, Wednesday

Philosophen-Turm - Room E - Ground Floor

Morning Session only

Chair: Breydy, Michael (-10.30)

Kropp, Manfred (11.00-)

- 9.00 - 9.30 Bertold Spuler: The kiss on the breast, or: The Copts and the State [\*]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Nikolos Dschanelidse: Hagiographisches in der georgischen kirchlichen Literatur [p.290]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Susanne Albrecht: Syrian-Orthodox Christians in the Federal Republic of Germany — In search of identity [p.294]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Rainer Maria Voigt: The gemination of the present-imperfect forms in Old Ethiopic [p.298]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Siegbert Uhlig: Die Krönung im Trauungsritus der orientalischen Kirchen [p.299]

#### SECTION 5: EAST ASIA

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Hans Stumpfeldt)

##### SUBSECTION A: CHINESE STUDIES

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Hans Stumpfeldt)

August 25, Monday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 6 - Ground Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: F. A. Bischoff

- 14.30 - 15.00 Fa-Kao Chou: On the date of the Chou conquest of Shang [p.301]  
 15.00 - 15.30 William G. Boltz: The Ch'un ch'iu shih yü manuscript from Ma wang tui [p.302]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Barry B. Blakely: Strategies for the Study of the Chu Xian [p.303]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Chang-yao Shiu Yen: Confucius' historical concept [p.304]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Yu-sheng Lin: Cosmology, ancestral worship, and the classical Confucian concept of political order [p.305]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Keisuke Kurihara: The origins and development of the culture of Li-yüe in traditional China — Systematic and intellectual aspects [p.306]  
 18.00 - 18.30 Heiner Roetz: Classical Chinese ethics in the new light of a developmental logic of morals [p.310]

August 26, Tuesday

(I)

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 6 - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: B. Eberstein

- 9.00 - 9.30 Rainald Simon: Lady Wang's shadow. Remarks on the history of Chinese shadow theatre [p.311]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Ng Mau-Sang: The Chinese superfluous man — a case of Russian influence [\*]  
 10.00 - 13.00 Attention is drawn to Panel 8



*Afternoon Session*

- 14.30 - 16.00 Attention is drawn to Panel 8  
 16.30 - 17.00 Bora Belivanova: Ai Qing's poetry the Cultural Revolution in China [p.312]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Wen Tung Wen: The origin of the "Red Boat" treated by Prof. B. E. Ward [p.313]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Yong Choon Kim: The Ch'ondogyo concept of man and its uniqueness in Korean tradition [p.314]  
 18.00 - 18.30 Yang Hi Choe-Wall: The poetic thought of Ho Nansorhon — a renowned Sino-Korean poetess of the late 16th century [p.315]

*(II)**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5c - Ground Floor**Chair: R. de Crespigny/F. Reiter**Morning Session*

- 9.00 - 9.30 P. A. Herbert: Provincial selection and perceptions of provincial officialdom in early Tang China [p.316]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Edward L. Farmer: Fifteenth century China: Turning point or black hole? [p.317]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Shee Sung: Connection between Mu-i Fa and Pao-Chia Fa of Wang An-shih's reform [p.318]  
 10.30 - 11.00 James M. Hargett: Hui Zong' magic marchmount: the Genyue park-land of Kaifeng [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Masahiro Yamauchi: Reciprocity of Tong-jian-gang-mu in the East Asian countries [p.319]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Marianne & Günther Lewin: The He-mai system of the Song-Dynasty — A kind of state-controlled putting-out (Verlag)? [p.320]  
 12.30 - 13.00 Roderich Ptak: Notes on the word 'shan-hu' and Chinese coral imports from maritime Asia, ca. 1200-1550 [p.321]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Hu Shouwei*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Fumiko Yamauchi: The trade books of Chinese merchant in Nagasaki [p.322]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Akiko Ohsumi: Chao-gong diplomacy of the early Ming China [p.323]  
 15.30 - 16.00 David Faure: Economic development and lineage growth in Ming-Qing Guangdong [\*]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Anthony John Farrington: A new source for Chinese trade to Japan in the seventeenth century [\*]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Henk C. M. Zoomers: A voyage to Cochin China. A trade mission of the Netherlands Trading Society to Cochin China in 1828 [p.324]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Liew Foon Ming: The fervent discussion on the birth of capitalism in China during the past three decades [p.325]

*August 27, Wednesday**(I)**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 6 - Ground Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Ptak, Roderich*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Günther Debon: Versification in the Chinese philosophical writings [p.326]

- 9.30 - 10.00 Tao-sun Chen: The relationship between 'I-ching written on silk' and Hsien Thien sequence of Kua [p.327]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Yoshiaki Ikenaga: The kingdom of women and Wo people mentioned in Wei Lio and Wei Chih [p.328]  
 10.30 - 11.00 W. A. Nienhauser: Li Kuan (766-794), an overlooked forerunner of the ancient-prose movement [\*]  
 10.30 - 12.30 Attention is drawn to Panel 4

*(II)*

- 9.00 - 12.30 Attention is drawn to Panel 3

*August 28, Thursday**(I)**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 6 - Ground Floor**Chair: Cai Shaoqing**Morning Session*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Tran Van Doan: The concept of reason in Confucianism [p.329]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Kenneth P. H. Ho: The emergence and characteristics of the Shanghen wenxue [p.330]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Jisheng Xia: Relations between New China and the Maghreb countries [p.330]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Chuang Ying-Chang: Rotating Credit Associations in Taiwan: An anthropological perspective [p.331]  
 11.30 - 12.00 G. Totten/S. Khan: Problems in technology transfer via joint ventures in the People's Republic of China: Results of a fact finding survey [p.332]  
 12.00 - 12.30 He Zhao-Fa: The social change after the implementing of the policy of productive responsibility system in Chinese rural community [p.333]  
 12.30 - 13.00 Yung-Hwan Jo: On China's edge of the future [p.334]

*Chair: He Zhaofa**Afternoon Session*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Raoul Kulberg: The dragon screened: Hollywood images of China and their alternatives [\*]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Lin Chen: "Hai Jui's dismissal from office" and China's great Debate [p.335]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Takushu Ihara: The Chinese Revolution of 1911 and the Japanese [\*]  
 16.00 - 16.30 I. O. Lehman: The Kai Fung Fu bible scrolls [p.335]

*(II)**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5c - Ground Floor**Chair: E. Grinstead**Morning Session*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Tsung-tung Chang: Indoeuropean vocabulary in old Chinese and a new thesis on the the genesis of Chinese language and civilization in the late neolithic age [p.336]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Pan Jia-Yi: The variation between (p ph m) and (t th l) before (i) [p.337]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Thomas Chiang: The components of Chinese tones [p.339]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Viviane Alleton: Questions sur l'interrogation rhétorique en chinois contemporain [p.339]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Akira Haneda: Reflexions on the so-called "Manchu Anatomy" [p.340]  
 12.30 - 13.00 H. Boeckmann: The Grammatology of the Naxi (Na-khi) Script [\*]



*Afternoon Session**Chair: Yong Choon Kim*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Walery Zaitsev: Discussion on Chinese specificity [p.341]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Tang Yi-jie: The mergence of two different cultures from the perspective of the introduction of Indian Buddhism into China [p.343]  
 15.30 - 16.00 M. L. Titarenko: Influence of Mo Di and his school on social and political thought in China [p.343]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Dušan Pajin: On faith in mind — Hsin Hsin Ming and early Ch'an [p.344]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Henrik H. Sørensen: Methods of meditation in early chinese Ch'an [p.345]

*August 29, Friday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 6 - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: W. Kubin*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Thomas Pilscheur: Classical allusions in the XIX Old Poems [\*]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Ang Tian Se: The polemic of the concept of 'tian' in Tang China [p.346]  
 10.00 - 10.30 F. A. Bischoff: The plant as a symbol in classical Chinese literature [p.346]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Morise Toshizō: On the meaning of the term "Tsa-Shih" [p.347]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Tsutun Hsu: Antithesis in Chinese verse [p.351]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Volker Klöpsch: Luo Binwang's survival: Traces of a myth [\*]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Tran Van Doan*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Livia Knaul: Taoist sages — genuine and fake [p.349]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Tan Chung: Indian sources of Tang Golden Culture [p.350]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Ichiro Shiga: The relationship between Zhan Gan Quan and Wang Yang Ming [p.351]  
 16.00 - 16.30 Romeyn Taylor: Hierarchies of value in Chinese religion: the structures of temple inventories in Suzhou gazetteers [p.352]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Israel A. Ben Yosef: Jewish views (F. Rosenzweig and M. Buber) on Confucianism and Taoism [p.352]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Shouwei Hu: The meaning of "Huang Tian" (Yellow Heaven) in the slogan of the Yellow Turban Uprising [p.354]

*(II)**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5c - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: W. Zaitsev*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Shaoqing Cai: Secret Societies and the early Labor movement of the Chinese Communist Party [p.355]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Hung-ting Ku: Management of the revolutionary base in Canton, 1917-1926 [\*]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Jeh-Hang Lai: The Domestic and Foreign Policies of the Canton Revolutionary Government, 1916-1925 [\*]  
 10.30 - 11.00 Ignazio Dandolo: Genesis, evolution and prospective of the civil law in China [p.356]

*SUBSECTION B: JAPANESE STUDIES**(Convener: Prof. Dr. Roland Schneider)**August 26, Tuesday**University Main Building - Room A - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Schauwecker, Detlev (-10.30)**Oyama, Atsuko (11.00-)*

- 9.30 - 10.00 Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit: Some reflections on so-called "Female Literature" (Joryū bungaku) [p.359]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Sumiko Watanabe: Yaeko Nogami in modern Japanese literature [p.360]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Detlev Schauwecker: Japan in German stage plays during 1900-1945 [p.360]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Sachiko Nakada: Jack London and the Japanese [p.361]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Ikeda, Keiko (-15.30)**Ishizuka, Hanemichi (16.30-)*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Tzvetana Kristeva: Narrative time in the Japanese lyrical diaries [p.362]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Atsuko Oyama: When and for what motive had the author of the tale of Genji written her tale? [p.364]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Willem A. Grootaers: A Grammar Atlas of the Japanese dialects: a preliminary report [p.366]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Lajos Kazar: Ethnolinguistic links from Japan to Western Hungary [p.366]  
 17.30 - 18.00 V. M. Alpatov: The notion of parts of speech in the European and Japanese linguistic traditions [p.367]

*August 27, Wednesday**University Main Building - Room A - Ground Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Kreiner, Josef (-10.30)**Goregliad, Vladislav N. (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Peter Knecht: Kuchiyose: Calling the spirit of the dead [p.368]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Kazue Saito: Children's songs and games in Japan [p.369]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Klaus Antoni: Yasukuni-jinja and folk religion [p.370]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Urs App: Japan's greatest Chan/Zen's greatest encyclopedist Mujaku Dochu (1653-1745) [p.371]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey: The Yōgenroku of Hotta Masatoshi [p.372]

*August 28, Thursday**University Main Building - Room A - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Antoni, Klaus (-10.30)**Kluge, Inge-Lore (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Ismael Quiles: Personality and impersonality in the philosophy of Keiji Nishitani [\*]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Kihara Noriyasu: Symbolic meaning of the Ise-Shrine [p.373]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Michiko Yusa: The Consortium of Kami, Buddha and human beings — the origin of Noh according to Zeami [p.373]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Carl Steenstrup: The principles of civil litigation in 13th century Japan [p.374]



11.30 - 12.00 Ury Eppstein: Music education in Japan of the immediate post World War II period [p.375]

*Afternoon Session*

*Chair: Shillony, Ben-Ami (-16.00)  
Marshall, Byron (16.30-)*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Derek Massarella: Aspects of information and development in Japan [p.376]  
15.00 - 15.30 Byron K. Marshall: The suppression of academic freedom at Kyoto University in 1933 [\*]  
15.30 - 16.00 Danny S.L. Paaui: The quest for modernity in East Asia and nineteenth century European historiography: The influence of Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862) [p.377]  
16.30 - 17.00 Tuvia Blumenthal: Delayed gratification, time preference and Japanese economic development [p.377]  
17.00 - 17.30 Han-sheng Chuan: The role of Europeans in the Sino-Japanese silk and silver trade during the 16th and 17th centuries [p.378]

*August 29, Friday*

*University Main Building - Room A - Ground Floor*

*Morning Session*

*Chair: Schwade, Arcadio (10.30)  
Kanai, Madoka (11.00-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Harold Bolitho: The Tempo crisis [\*]  
9.30 - 10.00 V. N. Goregliad: Some peculiarities of the development of cultural self-consciousness in medieval Japan [p.379]  
10.00 - 10.30 Madoka Kanai: East meets West: The life of Tommy, a Samurai interpreter [p.380]  
11.00 - 11.30 Tomone Matsumoto: Bread or rice? A programme of modernization in the Japanese Army and Navy in early Meiji [\*]  
11.30 - 12.00 Rudolf Reinelt/Ichiro Marui: Closed season for students [p.381]

*Afternoon Session*

*Chair: Bolitho, Harold (-16.00)  
Steenstrup, Carl (16.30-)*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Tokihiko Tanaka: Moderate statesmen facing a critical situation — A study of Japanese government and politics in the 1930's [p.382]  
15.00 - 15.30 Mary Elizabeth Berry: The geography of war in sixteenth century Kyoto [\*]  
15.30 - 16.00 Donald H. Shively: Kyoto maps and guidebooks in the Edo period [\*]  
16.30 - 17.00 Cornelius J. Kiley: Imperial kindred in Ritsuryo Japan [p.383]  
17.00 - 17.30 Arcadio Schwade: Three historical stages in Japanese-European relations compared: the years 1586, 1886 and 1986 [p.384]  
17.30 - 18.00 Jonathan Goldstein: Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925) as expert and Western observer in Meiji Japan [p.385]

**SECTION 6: IRANIAN STUDIES**

*(Convener: Prof. Dr. Ronald E. Emmerick)*

*August 25, Monday*

*Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5a - Ground Floor*

*Afternoon Session only*

*Chair: Tafazzoli, Ahmed*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Convener: Societas iranologica europaea [\*]  
15.00 - 15.30 Mrzieh Agha Khan Moheb: A study of some socio-cultural factors relating to the process of marriage in Iran [p.387]  
15.30 - 16.00 Bahman Sarkarati: The mythical structure of Iranian epic [\*]  
16.30 - 17.00 Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani: Shāh-Nāme texts and scenes in 12th and 13th century monumental art [\*]  
17.00 - 17.30 Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh: Grad und Abstufung der Korruptelen [\*]  
17.30 - 18.00 Mehri Bagheri: Aždahāk fettered [p.387]

*August 26, Tuesday*

*Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5a - Ground Floor*

*Morning Session*

- 9.00 - 12.30 Attention is drawn to panel 15

*Afternoon Session*

*Chair: Frye, Richard Nelson*

- 14.30 - 16.00 Attention is drawn to panel 15  
16.30 - 17.00 Kazem Tehrani: Hedāyat's 'Water of life'(Ab-i Zindegi) [p.388]  
17.30 - 18.00 C.-H. de Fouchécour: Le récit de l'ascension (mi' rāj) du Prophète de l'Islam dans l'œuvre de Nézāmi (poète persan du VI<sup>e</sup>/XII<sup>e</sup> siècle) [p.390]

*August 27, Wednesday*

*Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5a - Ground Floor*

*Morning Session only*

*Chair: Sims-Williams, Nicholas (-10.00)  
Windfuhr, Gernot L. (11.30-)*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Bernfried Schlerath: Verbvalenz und Verbbedeutung [p.391]  
9.30 - 10.00 Gernot L. Windfuhr: A spatial model applied to West Iranian verb systems [p.394]  
11.30 - 12.00 Mehdi Mohaghegh: Persian words in classical Arabic [\*]  
12.00 - 12.30 Michael Zand: Balk — Talk: History of a rhyme [\*]

*August 28, Thursday*

*Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5a - Ground Floor*

*Morning Session*

*Chair: Frye, Richard Nelson*

- 9.00 - 9.30 A. Tafazzoli: The importance of the early Islamic sources for the culture of pre-Islamic Iran [p.395]  
9.30 - 10.00 A. D. H. Bivar: An Iranian Sarapis [\*]  
10.00 - 10.30 Ehsan Yarshater: Observations on the sources of the Bātinī Doctrines [p.395]  
11.00 - 11.30 Mansour Rastegar Fasaei: The revolt of Arslān Basāsīrī [p.396]



- 11.30 - 12.00 Masashi Haneda: The Hūzānīs — History of a distinguished family of Iṣfahān [p.397]  
 12.00 - 12.30 R. M. Burrell: The Persian army in the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh (1896-1907) [p.398]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Bivar, Adrian D. H.*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Azar Rahnema: Women in the beliefs of Iranian people (with slides) [\*]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Kamran Ekbal: Britain and the Russian-Iranian peace negotiations at Askaran (1810) [p.399]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Abdul Wadud Azhar: Indian elements in Indo-Persian poetry [p.400]

*August 29, Friday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5a - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Zand, Michael*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Nasrollah Pourjavady: The imaginal world in Persian Sufi poetry [\*]  
 9.30 - 10.00 J. Elfenbein: Balochi literature [p.401]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Meeting of members of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum

*Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5b - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: O. Akimushkin  
Subchairman: G. Gropp*

- 11.00 - 11.30 Azar Rahnema: Women in the beliefs of Iranian people (with slides) (Part 2) (Room 5d) [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 G. G. Beradze: Georgian seals of the 17th-18th centuries with bilingual and multilingual inscriptions (Room 5d) [p.403]  
 12.00 - 12.30 R. N. Frye: A periodization of Iranian cultures [p.404]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: O. Akimushkin  
Sub-chairman: Beate Reinhold*

- 14.30 - 15.00 S. Merganov: Problems of the development of Pashto vocabulary at the present stage [p.406]  
 15.00 - 15.30 R. Akhramovich: Notes on the social processes in Afghanistan after the Second World War [p.407]  
 15.30 - 16.00 M. Shaheedi: Eastern-Western literary synthesis in Jalaliddin Rumi-Balkhi's works [p.408]  
 17.00 - 17.30 A. A. Gvakharia: Persian versions of the "Romance of Balawhar and Budasaf" ("Balavariani") [p.409]

*SECTION 7: ISLAMIC STUDIES**(Convener: Prof. Dr. Albrecht Noth)**August 25, Monday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 14 - 1st Floor**Chair: Noth, Albrecht**Afternoon Session only*

- 14.30 - 15.00 F. Deroche: Nouveaux documents relatifs aux écritures coranique anciennes [p.411]  
 15.00 - 15.30 L. Kinberg: The Idealization of poverty in Islam [p.413]  
 15.30 - 16.00 N. Keddie: Twelver Shi'ism and social protest [\*]  
 16.30 - 17.00 G. Monnot: Shahrastānī's exegetical method [p.414]

*August 26, Tuesday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 14 - 1st Floor**Chair: Noth, Albrecht**Morning Session*

- 9.00 - 9.30 K. Nakamura: The meaning of logical studies in Ghazālī's thought [p.415]  
 9.30 - 10.00 M. Takeshita: The theory of sainthood in Ibn 'Arabī [p.416]  
 10.00 - 10.30 S. D. Ricks: Kinship bars to marriage in Islamic Law [p.417]  
 11.00 - 11.30 M. Bernand: Logique juridique en Islam médiéval [p.418]  
 11.30 - 12.00 L. Conrad: The Pseudo-Wāqidī Futūḥ al-Shām as a potential historical source [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 W. Schwartz: Ibn Sallām al-Lawātī, the first Berber historian of Islam [p.419]

*Chair: Noth, Albrecht**Afternoon Session*

- 14.30 - 15.00 B. Radtke: Hikma und Falsafa [p.420]  
 15.00 - 15.30 R. Schulze: Islamic Internationalism in the 20th century — a research report [\*]  
 15.30 - 16.00 M. D. Ahmed: Theological controversies in Indian Islam in the 19th century [p.421]  
 17.00 - 17.30 H. E. Kassis: Muslim revival in the West in the eleventh century and its ramifications [p.424]  
 17.30 - 18.00 S. Wild: From Ottomanism to Arabism. The case of Farid Kassab (1884-1970) [\*]

*August 27, Wednesday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 14 - 1st Floor**Chair: Ayalon, David**Morning Session only*

- 9.00 - 9.30 J. Givony: The portrayal of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa in the heresiographic literature of the 10th - 12th centuries and concomitant issues [p.424]  
 10.00 - 10.30 W. Ende: Taqrīb im Irak: Versuche einer theologischen Annäherung zwischen Sunniten und Schiiten im 20. Jahrhundert [p.425]  
 11.00 - 11.30 N. P. A. van Doorn: An unusual Christian view of Islam in modern Egypt [p.426]  
 12.00 - 12.30 B. Freyer Stowasser: Women's issues in contemporary Arab Islamic thought [p.427]  
 12.30 - 13.00 T. Olsson: The divine 'Alī. The aretalogies in the Nuṣairī literature [p.428]



August 28, Thursday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 14 - 1st Floor

Morning Session

Chair: al-Qadi, Wadad

- 9.00 - 9.30 J. Waardenburg: Revitalisation in Islam [p.429]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Y. Péev: Islamic tendencies and movements in the contemporary Arab world [p.430]  
 10.00 - 10.30 J. Jansen: Tafsīr, Igmā' and modern Moslem extremism [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 F. Denny: The Indonesian Qur'an chanting tournament: Scriptural piety as national discipline [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Amalendu De: Islamic fundamentalism and Indian muslims: An historical perspective [p.432]  
 12.00 - 12.30 M. Kamlin: The organization of Islamic Conference: A step toward Ummatic unity? [p.433]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Wild, Stefan

- 14.30 - 15.00 J. Waardenburg: Apologetical literature about the position of women in Islam — A propos of a recent study by Ghassan Ascha [p.434]  
 17.00 - 17.30 A. Gorgi: In the Name of God — Government and law in Islam [p.435]

# SECTION 8: NEAR EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Gernot Rotter)

August 25, Monday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5b - Ground Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: Rotter, Gernot

- 14.30 - 15.00 Andrzej Czapkiewicz: The views of the Arab medieval philologists on language and its origin [p.439]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Pessah Shinar: Islamic orthodoxy and profane Arabic literature: A paradoxical relationship [p.440]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Franz Rosenthal: Aesopic fables in Arabic translation [p.441]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Susanne Enderwitz: Tadler, Boten, Denunzianten im ġazal [p.441]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Ulf Haxen: Ibn Sana' al-Mulk (c. 1155-1211). Waššāh and literary theorist [p.442]

August 26, Tuesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5b - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Czapkiewicz, Andrzej

- 9.00 - 9.30 Arie Schippers: Descriptions of apples in the tradition of the "Elegants" or zuraḡā' — Some remarks on Hebrew Andalusian poetry [p.443]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Hilary Kilpatrick: The frame of the Kitāb al-Aghānī [p.445]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Shlomo Alon: Lisan al-cArab - a diachronical Arabic lexicon [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Peter Heine: Cooking in exile [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Shmuel Moreh: The 'Khayāl' as a medieval Arabic theatre [p.445]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Rosenthal, Franz

- 14.30 - 15.00 Jacob M. Landau: Popular Arabic plays, 1909 [p.446]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Geoffrey Roper: Arabic books and newspapers printed in Malta in the nineteenth century [\*]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Fadlou Shehadi: Al-Kindi's philosophy of music [p.447]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Mehdi Barkeshli: The innovations of Farabi and Avicenna in musical science and acoustics [\*]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Alan S. Kaye: Some historical remarks on Juba Arabic and Ki-Nubi [p.448]

August 27, Wednesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5b - Ground Floor

Morning Session only

Chair: Ahrony, Reuben

- 9.00 - 9.30 K. I. H. Semaan: The Arabian tribe: Social organization in Pre-Islamic Arabia [p.448]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Simone Bencheikh: Nature and function of the interest of studying human's resources formation [\*]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Uriel Dann: Jordan and the Baghdad Pact in the light of new evidence [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Martin Robbe: Die Palästina-Frage nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg — Akteure, Interessen, Regelungsansätze und -versäumnisse [p.449]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Leila Fawaz: Role reversals: Beirut and Damascus in the past hundred years [\*]

August 28, Thursday

Philosophen-Turm - Room E - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Landau, Jacob

- 9.00 - 9.30 N. O. Hovhannesian: Irregularities in the development of Arab countries and their consequences (1950-1970) [p.450]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Konstantine M. Trouevtsev: Changes in social structure in the countries of Northern Africa [\*]  
 10.00 - 10.30 A. N. Imangulieva: Concerning Arab Emigrant Literature [p.451]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Kamran Ekbal: Britain and the Russian-Iranian peace negotiations in 'Askaran [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 G. Barthel: Transformation and transition in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia [p.452]

Chair: Hovhannesian, Nikolay O.

Afternoon Session

- 14.30 - 15.00 L. Rathmann: Conditions of Labour and Trade Unions under Wafdist Administration in Egypt (1942-43) [p.453]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Athanasius Th. Photopoulos: The Arabic and Islamic Studies in Modern Greece [p.455]



### SECTION 9: SEMITIC STUDIES AND ANCIENT NEAR EAST

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Drs. h.c. Bertold Spuler)

August 27, Wednesday

University Main Building - Room G - Ground Floor

Morning Session only

Chair: Macuch, Rudolf

- 9.00 - 9.30 Klaus Boekels: Edition von neumandäischen Texten mit einem Personal-computer [p.457]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Jeffrey Heath: Dialectology of Moroccan Arabic [p.458]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Jacob Mansour: The Judaeo-Arabic dialect of Baghdad: Notes on vocabulary [p.458]  
 11.00 - 11.30 T. Muraoka: Some issues in classical Syriac syntax [p.459]  
 11.30 - 12.00 St. Panoussi: Introducing Senaya [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 G. Kh. Sarkisyan: Babylonian variant of Hellenism [p.460]

August 28, Thursday

University Main Building - Room G - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Hammerschmidt, Ernst

- 9.30 - 10.00 J. M. Córdoba: Fortlaufender Übergang und Staffelung. Ein Vorschlag zur Charakterisierung der Churriter-Welt in Vorderasien [p.461]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Yukiya Onodera: An aspect of cults in Ugarit - concerning RP'(M) [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 B. W. W. Dombrowski: "Eblaitic": The earliest known dialect of Akkadian [p.464]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Daniel Boyarin: The role of scriptural citations in Piers Plowman and Midrash [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Enongene Metuge: The scientific foundations of agricultural technology in the Egyptian Nile valley of the 14th century B.C. [p.465]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Müller, Christa

- 15.00 - 15.30 L. M. Muntingh: A Syro-Palestinian free man during the Amarna age [p.466]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Diether Kellermann: Notes on the Trisagion in Isa 6,3 [p.467]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Christa Müller: Typical phenomena of the Western Aramaic group [\*]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Rudolf Macuch: Der gegenwärtige Stand der Samaritanerforschung und ihre Aufgaben. [p.468]

August 29, Friday

University Main Building - Room G - Ground Floor

Morning Session only

Chair: Wagner, Ewald

- 9.00 - 9.30 John Healey: Some aspects of the Nabataean Aramaic [p.469]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Werner Diem: Vom Altarabischen zum Neuarabischen. Ein neuer Ansatz [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Naphtali Kinberg: Al-Farrā's grammatical terminology — An examination of the Kūfīc term mutarjim and the Baṣrian badal [p.470]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Alice Faber: Diachronic relationship between interrogative and negative markers in the Semitic languages [p.471]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Ottmar Hegyi: Arabic lexical patterns in Spanish Aljamiado texts [p.471]

### SECTION 10: SOUTH ASIA

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Srinivasa A. Srinivasan)

August 25, Monday

Subsection A

University Main Building - Room J - Ground Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: Falk, Harry

- 14.30 - 15.00 Samiran Chandra Chakrabarti: The Vedic tradition in Assam: The present situation [p.473]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Paul Thieme: Rig-Veda 1.164.15-16 [\*]

Subsection B

University Main Building - Room M - Ground Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: Thakur, Upendra

- 15.00 - 15.30 Indira Y. Junghare: Dr. Ambedkar: the hero of the Mahars, Ex-Untouchables of India [p.474]  
 15.30 - 16.00 George Kurian: Role of Christians in initiating social change in Kerala, India [p.475]

August 26, Tuesday

Subsection A

University Main Building - Room J - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Alayev, Leonid B.

- 9.30 - 10.00 Klaus Karttunen: The country of fabulous beasts and naked philosophers — India in classical and medieval literature [p.476]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Shiva G. Bajpai: Perspective on dominance: the role of the occult in diplomacy and war in medieval India [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Dwijendra N. Jha: State and economy in the medieval Himalayan kingdom of Chamba [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Horst Brinkhaus: The descent of the Nepalese Malla dynasty as reflected by local chroniclers [p.477]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Karashima, Noboru

- 14.30 - 15.00 Phanindra Nath Chakrabarti: Trans-Himalayan trade (1774-1857) [p.478]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Brij B. Khare: The constitutional path and Indian nationalism [p.480]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Vinita Damodaran: Working the constitution: a study of the acceptance of office under the Government of India Act of 1935 [p.481]

August 26, Tuesday

Subsection B

University Main Building - Room M - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Hara, Minoru

- 9.00 - 9.30 Gerald James Larson: An old problem revisited: the relation between Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Buddhism [p.483]



- 9.30 - 10.00 Y. S. Shastri: Umāsvāti's contribution to Indian philosophy [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Karel Werner: Pratyakṣa and darśana: Indian theories of perception and knowledge [p.483]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Larson, Gerald James*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Edeltraud Harzer: Sāṅkhya inference [p.484]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Naomichi Nakada: Word and inference as in the Yuktidīpikā [p.485]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Minoru Hara: The holding of the hair (keśa-grahaṇa) [p.486]

*Subsection C**University Main Building - Room H - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Thieme, Paul*

- 11.00 - 11.30 William H. Snyder: Sanskrit consonants and sandhi: a description based on psycho-acoustic features [p.486]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Vit M. Bubenik: Passivized causatives in Sanskrit and Prakrits [p.487]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Snyder, William H.*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Colette Caillat: The constructions 'mama kṛtam' and 'mayā kṛtam' in Asoka's edicts [p.488]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Claus Vogel: The preliminary work done by H. Roth (1620-68) on a Sanskrit-Latin dictionary [p.490]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Michael C. Shapiro: 'Sporadic' sound change and Hindi historical phonology [p.491]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Etienne Tiffou: Towards an edition of Hunza Buruṣaski proverbs [p.491]

*Subsection D**Philosophen-Turm - Room A - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Srinivasan, Srinivasa A.*

- 9.30 - 10.00 K. L. Chattopadhyay: Radical trend in the Brahmo Reform Movement in Bengal [p.493]  
 10.20 - 11.00 Vijay Laxmi Pandit: Intellectuals and modernisation: a case study of North Indian intellectuals [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.35 S. A. A. Rizvi: The role of the sūfīs and khānqāhs in the urbanization of medieval India [p.494]  
 11.35 - 12.10 Makhan Jha: History and social organisation of Hindu tirthas in South Asia: an anthropological appraisal [p.495]  
 12.10 - 12.40 Parimal Kumar Das: South-East Asia: A politicostrategic overview (repeated on Friday, 29th Aug., in Subsection C) [\*]

*August 26, Tuesday**Subsection E**University Main Building - Room K - Ground Floor**Afternoon Session only**Chair: Thieme, Paul*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Harry Falk: Viṣṇu Trivikrama [p.496]

- 15.00 - 15.30 O. P. Bharadwaj: The Rgvedic Dṛṣadvatī [p.496]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Johannes Bronkhorst: Vedic chronology [\*]

*August 27, Wednesday**Subsection A**University Main Building - Room J - Ground Floor**Chair: Jha, Makhan**Morning Session only*

- 9.30 - 10.00 Rai Gyan Narain Prasad: Scientific resurrection of ancient Hindu calendar [p.497]  
 11.00 - 11.30 S. M. Razaullah Ansari: Transmission of Islamic science into medieval India and its further development [p.498]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma: Transmission of Arab astronomical instruments to India — The Yantraprakāra of Savai Jai Singh II [p.500]  
 12.00 - 12.30 B. V. Subbarayappa: Scientific texts in Sanskrit: their nature and structure [p.501]

*August 27, Wednesday**Subsection B**University Main Building - Room M - Ground Floor**Chair: Wünsche, Renate**Morning Session only*

- 9.15 - 9.50 Brian Carl Joseph Shaw: Bhutan: Development of a traditional polity [p.501]  
 9.50 - 10.30 Ram Prakash Gupta: A socio-linguistic study of Sanskrit place-names of South-East Asia [p.502]  
 10.30 - 11.00 Karma Oraon: History of tribal situation in South Asia: a case study of Chotanagpur Plateau in India [p.503]

*Subsection C**University Main Building - Room H - Ground Floor**Chair: Kiehnle, Catharina**Morning Session only*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Renate Söhnen: Indra and women [\*]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Indira Viswanathan Peterson: Arjuna's combat with the Kirāta: rasa and bhakti in Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya [p.504]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Dipti Sharma Tripathi: Apabhraṃśa in Sanskrit: an appraisal of Bhartrhari [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Heidrun Brückner: Jumādi: an oral Tulu myth and ritual of bhūta-worship in coastal Karnāṭaka (South India) [p.506]

*Subsection D**Philosophen-Turm - Room A - Ground Floor**Chair: Alayev, Leonid B.**Morning Session only*

- 9.30 - 10.00 Ildikó Puskás: Indian religions in classical sources [p.507]  
 11.00 - 11.30 N. M. Karpovich: Hinduism in Nepal: traditions and syncretism [p.508]



August 28, Thursday

## Subsection A

University Main Building - Room J - Ground Floor

## Morning Session

Chair: Söhnen, Renate

- 9.30 - 10.00 J. L. Brockington: Textual studies in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa [p.509]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Pratap Bandyopadhyay: On the readings pragītānām and apragītānām under Dhvanyāloka, I.7 [p.510]  
 11.30 - 12.00 L. A. van Daalen: The form of Vākpāti's Gaudavaha [p.511]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Abdul Wadud Azhar: Tagore's visit to Persia and Persian translations of his works [\*]

## Afternoon Session

Chair: van Daalen, Leendert

- 15.00 - 15.30 Bahadur Singh: The two versions of Mohan Rākeś's "Mandī": some semantic observations [\*]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Umesh Chandra Sharma: The legend of Purukutsa [p.512]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Nirmalprabha Bardoloi: A closer look at the Hastividyaṇava, a famous Assamese manuscript [\*]

## Subsection B

University Main Building - Room M - Ground Floor

## Morning Session

Chair: Hara, Minoru

- 9.00 - 9.30 Biswanarayan Shastri: The concept of Mother Goddess and Kāmākhyā [p.513]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Catharina Kiehnle: Pātāñjala Yoga and Nātha Yoga: The Pranava [p.514]  
 11.00 - 11.30 A. P. Sharma: The German missionaries in Chotanagpur (1845-1945) [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 David N. Lorenzen: The Kālāmukhas of Karnataka (A.D. 800-1250) [p.515]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Y. S. Shastri: Tripurā Tantra (Śrīvidyā): its philosophy and path of sādhanā [\*]

## Afternoon Session

Chair: Shastri, Biswanarayan

- 14.30 - 15.00 Parminder Singh Sodhi: The concept of suffering in medieval Indian Islamic literature (with special reference to Punjabi sufi poetry) [p.515]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Francoise Mallison: A study of Krishnaite vallabhan writings in Gujarāt (16th-19th centuries) [p.516]

August 29, Friday

## Subsection A

University Main Building - Room J - Ground Floor

## Morning Session

Chair: Dandekar, R. N.

- 9.00 - 9.30 Gérard Colas: The temple-priest: a devalaka? [p.517]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Hans T. Bakker: The tradition of the Agastyasamhitā [p.518]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Andreas Bock: On the evaluation of the vyūha doctrine in the cosmogonic account of the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā [p.519]

## Afternoon Session

Chair: Brinkhaus, Horst

- 14.30 - 15.00 Klaus Bruhn: The kaṣāya concept in Jaina soteriology [p.520]

- 15.00 - 15.30 Gensei Asano: The Yoga system in the thought of Haribhadra-Sūri [p.521]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Nalini Balbir: Anadhyāya according to the Jains [p.522]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Harnam Singh Shan: Prof. Dr. Ernst Trumpp's contribution to Semitic, Indian and Sikh studies [p.523]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Mohammad Israil Khan: The System of education in India during the time of the Vāmana-Purāṇa [p.524]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Vijai Govind: Historical astronomical instruments of ancient and medieval India [p.526]

## Subsection B

University Main Building - Room M - Ground Floor

## Morning Session only

Chair: Karashima, Noboru

- 9.30 - 10.00 R. K. Kar: Tea plantation labour in Assam: some anthropological observations [p.527]  
 10.00 - 10.45 Santasilan Kadirgamar: Nationalism and conflict in Sri Lanka [p.528]

## Subsection C

University Main Building - Room H - Ground Floor

## Morning Session

Chair: Chelyshev, Yevgeniy P.

- 9.00 - 9.30 Izzud-din Pal: Pakistan, Islam, and economic development [p.529]  
 9.30 - 10.00 B. R. Gopal: Two dominant societies of South India — Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. A study in contrast [p.530]  
 10.00 - 10.30 S. Azimjanova: Humayun-nama, a valuable historical and ethnographic source material [p.532]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Renate Wünsche: The non-aligned movement in the struggle of our time [p.533]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Parimal Kumar Das: Southeast Asia: politicostrategic view [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 V. M. Nemchinov: Systemic organization of national economic development in newly liberated countries [p.534]

## Afternoon Session

Chair: Karpovich, Nataliya

- 14.30 - 15.00 L. B. Alayev: The rural community and Indian traditional social structure [p.535]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Ye. P. Chelyshev: Concerning the formation of the literary unity of the developing countries of the East [p.535]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Yu. V. Gankovsky: National movements in contemporary Pakistan: 1977-1985 (The case of Sind) [p.536]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Asok Sircar: Parliamentary government in Asia: a comparative study of the evolution between India and Japan [p.537]



**SECTION 11: SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC***(Convener: Prof. Dr. Dr. Dr. h.c. Klaus Wenk)**August 25, Monday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5d - Ground Floor**Afternoon Session only**Chair: Terwiel, Barend Jan*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Uranie Antypa: The Cambodian women in the XIXth century (in French) [p.539]
- 16.30 - 17.00 Tatsuro Yamamoto: Punishment principles of the Penal Code of the Lê Dynasty [p.540]
- 17.00 - 17.30 Michel Tranet: Redéfinition du mot "esclave" (khñum) dans la société khmère pré-moderne [p.541]
- 17.30 - 18.00 Saveros Pou: Old Khmer and Siamese [p.542]
- 18.00 - 18.30 Chauléan Ang: La place de l'animisme dans le bouddhisme populaire khmer, Exemple du monastère [p.543]

*August 26, Tuesday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5d - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Rosenberg, Klaus*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Iam Chaya-Ngam: The promotion of Thai studies through modern communications technology: the case of Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University [p.543]
- 9.30 - 10.00 Em-On Chittasobhon: History and development of Thai literary conventions: a sociolinguistic analysis [p.544]
- 10.00 - 10.30 Nicholas C. T. Tapp: The impact of Missionary Christianity upon marginalized ethnic minorities: The case of the Hmong [p.546]
- 11.30 - 12.00 Barend Jan Terwiel: Acceptance and rejection: The first inoculation and vaccination campaigns in Thailand [p.547]
- 12.00 - 12.30 Emmanuel Guillon: Les empreintes de pied du Bouddha en Thaïlande et en Birmanie [p.548]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Wagner, Wilfried*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Grant K. Goodman: "To introduce the Sakdalistas": an interview with Benigno Ramos [\*]
- 15.00 - 15.30 L. Garner Noble: Opposition to the Marcos Regime in the Philippines: The Politics of protest [p.549]
- 15.30 - 16.00 M. Sarkisyanz: Filipino "Propagandistas" 1882-1896 and Pi y Margall (1824-1901) [p.549]
- 17.00 - 17.30 K. R. Hall: The gift in cross-cultural perspective: Rethinking the development of early states in Southeast Asia [p.550]
- 18.00 - 18.30 H. Hundius: "Sumana-Thera in Lamphun 1369-71" A reassessment of an important stage in the early history of Northern Thailand [\*]

*August 27, Wednesday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5d - Ground Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Adiwimarta, Sri Sukei*

- 9.30 - 10.00 Clara Brakel: Bedhaya Merak Kesimpir: A new choreography of the Yogyakarta Kraton tradition [p.551]
- 11.00 - 11.30 G. E. Marrison: Modern Balinese - A regional literature of Indonesia [p.552]

*August 28, Thursday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5d - Ground Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Pink, Peter*

- 9.30 - 10.00 V. Sukanda-Tessier: The non-inventoried manuscripts of West Java [p.553]
- 10.00 - 10.30 Ding Choo Ming: Access to Malay manuscripts [p.554]
- 11.00 - 11.30 S. Supomo: Bharatayuddha and the Parwas [p.555]
- 11.30 - 12.00 Viktor Krupa: Metaphor and vocabulary extension in Malay/Indonesian and in Maori [p.556]
- 12.00 - 12.30 Peter Pink: Neptu and Urip numerology in Javanese and Balinese almanacs [p.557]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Yamamoto, Tatsuro*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Gehan Wijeyewardene: A critical approach to the palm-leaf texts of Northern Thailand [p.558]
- 15.00 - 15.30 M. van Langenberg: Analysing Indonesia's new order state: A keywords approach [p.559]
- 15.30 - 16.00 Quang Po Dharma: The Islamic movement of Katip Sumat (1833-1834) in Central Vietnam [\*]
- 16.30 - 17.00 Bernhard Dahm: Rizal and the uses of violence [p.561]

*August 29, Friday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5d - Ground Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Pink, Peter*

- 9.00 - 9.30 B. Chakravarti: Likely links between ancient Indian and Amerindian Cultures [p.562]
- 9.30 - 10.00 S. Singaravelu: Some aspects of the classical Malay historiography and Indian mythology [\*]

**SECTION 12: TRADITIONAL ASIAN MEDICINE***(Convener: Prof. Dr. Dr. Jutta Rall-Niu)**August 27, Wednesday**University Main Building - Room K - Ground Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Rall-Niu, Jutta*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Elisabeth Finckh: Some characteristics of Tibetan pharmacology [p.565]
- 10.00 - 10.30 Cai Jing-feng: Towards the early developmental history of Tibetan medicine [p.565]



August 28, Thursday

University Main Building - Room 12 - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Cai Jing-feng

- 9.00 - 9.30 Liselotte Petersohn: Chinese medicine is more than acupuncture [p.566]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Thomas Ots: An investigation on the validity of the theory of traditional Chinese medicine [\*]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Judith Magee Boltz: The rites of Wang Ling-kuan: Legitimation of a local healing cult [p.567]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Jutta Rall-Niu: Franz Hübotter, a German pioneer on Chinese medicine [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Erika Platte: The state of nutrition in China [p.568]

August 29, Friday

University Main Building - Room K - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Rall-Niu, Jutta

- 9.00 - 9.30 Sarojini Ajwani: Philosophical gleanings in the medical works of Caraka and Suśruta [p.569]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Rahul Peter Das: Female menstrual and coital discharge in ancient Indian medical and sexological literature [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Naomichi Nakada: Several Ayurvedic views as referred to in some of the early Mahayana Buddhist texts and so on [p.570]  
 12.30 - 13.00 Nirmalprabha Bardoloi: Traditional medicine of Assam to cure jaundice [\*]

**SECTION 13: TURCOLOGY**

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Petra Kappert-Haase)

August 25, Monday

Philosophen-Turm - Room C - Ground Floor

Afternoon Session only

Chair: Bazin, Louis

- 14.30 - 15.00 Masao Mori: On the "säkiz adaqlıy barım" in the Yenisey Inscriptions [p.573]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Emel Esin: On a Tamgha attributable to the western branch of the Kök-Türk Dynasty (ca550-745) [p.573]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Sunao Hori: A Chinese document about Central Asia in the Ming period [p.574]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Tôru Saguchi: On ethnic history of the Yügu (Sarigh Uyghurs) [p.575]

August 26, Tuesday

Philosophen-Turm - Room C - Ground Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Hazai, György and Mori, Masao

- 9.00 - 9.30 Ilse Laude-Cirtautas: Oral poets and other singers among the Kazakhs [\*]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Denis Sinor: Notes on the history of the first Türk Empire [p.575]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Kozo Itani: The political aspect of the revolt of Bābā Ishāq [p.576]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Masami Arai: Nationalist periodicals in the Young Turk Era: Genç Kalemler, Türk Derneği and Türk Yurdu [p.577]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Esin, Emel

- 14.00 - 14.30 Vera Mutaftschieva: The Vakf in the Karaman in the 16th century [\*]  
 14.30 - 15.00 Tooru Hayashi: On Turkish demonstratives [p.578]  
 15.00 - 15.30 I. Yalamov: Kemalism — a new stage in the history of the socio-political thought of Turkey [\*]  
 15.30 - 16.00 B. O. Oruzbayeva: Current state and prospects of development of Turcology in Kirghizia — Linguistic aspects [p.579]  
 16.30 - 17.00 K. M. Musaev: On the contacts of the Turkic languages with the other languages of the world [p.580]  
 17.30 - 18.00 R. F. Hahn: The planning of a modern Uighur writing system in multilingual China [p.581]

**SECTION 14: LIBRARY SCIENCE**

(Convener: Dr. Hartmut Walravens)

August 28, Thursday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 7 - 1st Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Tsuneishi, Warren

- 9.00 - 9.30 Albertine Gaur: The history of writing [p.583]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Felicity M. Shaw: Library development in modern Bhutan [p.584]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Günther Grönbold: Ungewöhnliche "Bücher" in Bibliotheken [\*]  
 10.30 - 10.45 William Sheh Wong: What's ahead of the East Asian collections in the U.S.: Issues and problems in the 1990s [p.585]  
 10.45 - 11.15 George F. Baumann: The Oriental collection at the University Library, Tübingen [p.585]

Afternoon Session

Chair: Baumann, George F.

- 14.30 - 15.00 Warren Tsuneishi: East Asian collections in North American libraries: Some recent developments in cooperation [p.591]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Hartmut Walravens: East Asian collections in Germany — trends and issues [\*]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Rainer Krempien: The role of the Far Eastern Collections of the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin as a national resource of literature for Far Eastern studies in Germany [\*]  
 17.00 - 17.30 O. F. Akimushkin: Collections of Eastern manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and their research [p.592]

**SECTION 15: PERSONAL COMPUTERS AND ORIENTAL STUDIES**

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Ronald E. Emmerick)

August 26, Tuesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 13 - 1st Floor

Morning Session

Chair: Johnson, Wallace

- 9.00 - 9.30 Opening remarks by convener  
 9.30 - 10.30 J. Abercrombie: The Facility for Computer Analysis of Texts (FCAT) at the University of Pennsylvania [\*]



- 11.00 - 12.00 R. E. Emmerick: WordPerfect with diacritics and alternative character sets [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Beverly Hong-Fincher and Ning Chunyan: On selecting and featurizing Chinese compounds for computer database [p.593]

*Afternoon Session**Chair: Abercrombie, John*

- 14.30 - 15.00 R. Wonneberger: T<sub>E</sub>X for philological typesetting [p.595]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Daniel Boyarin: The edition as database [\*]  
 17.30 - 18.00 K. U. Günther and W. W. Latsch: Transcription program for writing and printing Ethiopic script [p.596]

*August 27, Wednesday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 13 - 1st Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Boyarin, Daniel*

- 9.30 - 10.30 Donald A. Becker: The use of microcomputers and dot matrix printers in printing South Asian [p.597]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Eric Grinstead: Pali retrograde wordlist [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.30 Klaus Boekels: Using a personal computer for wordprocessing and database management of Oriental languages [p.597]

*August 28, Thursday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 13 - 1st Floor**Morning Session**Chair: Becker, Donald*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Urs App: Scholarly use of a Japanese microcomputer system [p.598]  
 9.30 - 10.30 U. Gleßner: Greek, Hebrew, and other fonts in theological texts [p.600]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Klaus-Peter Elpel: Software interfaces between word processing programs and database systems [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.30 Ulrich Gehrke: Domestic — using a minicomputer-based programme package for cooperative database generation in a network of specialized libraries (Middle Eastern and African Studies) [\*]

*Afternoon Studies**Chair: Emmerick, Ronald E.*

- 15.00 - 16.00 J. Gippert: Probleme der Textverarbeitung in der Orientalistik [\*]  
 16.30 - 17.00 Hans-Peter Vietze: Ein Beispiel des Nutzens rechnergestützter Lexikographie [p.600]

*August 29, Friday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 13 - 1st Floor**Morning Session only**Chair: Vietze, Hans-Peter*

- 9.00 - 10.00 H.-J. Reiss: Word processing and graphics on personal computers [\*]  
 10.00 - 10.30 F. Hintze: Bericht über eine Konferenz "Mikrocomputer in der Archäologie" [\*]  
 11.00 - 11.30 B. Oguibene: First results of Vedic grammar processing by computer [p.602]  
 11.30 - 12.30 Farel Datensysteme: A new keyboard for PC/AT-microcomputers: The C.O.S. varioboard with changeable LCD keys for individual key design [\*]

**PANEL 1: CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA***(Convener: Dr. Helen Ballhatchet)**August 29, Friday**Philosophen-Turm - Room C - Ground Floor**Morning Session*

- 9.05 - 9.25 G. A. Oddie: Christian conversion movements in India: Some recent interpretations [p.605]  
 9.30 - 9.50 R. G. Tiedemann: The Socio-political context of anti-Christian agitation in China, 1860-1900 [p.606]  
 9.55 - 10.15 N. Tapp: The impact of missionary ethnic Christianity upon marginalized ethnic minorities: The case of the Hmong [\*]  
 10.15 - 10.50 Discussion  
 10.50 - 11.10 Jordan Paper: The normative East Asian understanding of Christian scriptures: Hung Hsiu-Ch'üan and Moon Sun-Myung [p.607]  
 11.15 - 11.35 K. M. Dugan: The Christian Monk in Asia: The interface of worlds [p.608]  
 11.40 - 12.10 C. K. Pullapilly: India: Recent Indianization of Roman Catholic religious liturgies [\*]  
 12.10 - 12.45(?) Discussion

*Afternoon Session*

- 14.00 - 14.20 Teotonio R. de Souza, S. J.: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord": A re-assessment of the Portuguese Crown patronage in Asia [p.609]  
 14.25 - 14.45 M. D. David: Cultural patterns and Christianity in Asia [p.610]  
 14.45 - 15.10 Discussion  
 15.10 - 15.30 Zhu Jiang: The historical remains of Islamic Culture in Yangzhou [p.611]  
 15.35 - 15.55 M. K. Chang, S. J.: Matteo Ricci's Chinese writings and their influence [p.613]  
 15.55 - 16.20 Discussion  
 16.20 - 16.40 L. Thistlethwayte: Missionary attitudes and the teaching of science in Christian colleges in nineteenth-century India [p.614]  
 16.45 - 17.05 H. Ballhatchet: Christianity and the idea of evolution in late nineteenth-century Japan [p.615]  
 Further participant: M. Cadafaz de Matos

**PANEL 2: POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF PASTORAL NOMADS:  
 THE PROBLEM OF THE TRIBE**

*(Convener: Prof. Dr. Paul D. Buell)**August 26, Tuesday**University Main Building - Room C - Ground Floor**Afternoon Session only*

- 14.30 - 14.40 Paul D. Buell: Introduction [\*]  
 14.40 - 15.10 Lois Beck: Pastoral Groups of Iran and the problem of the tribe [\*]  
 15.10 - 15.40 Ilse Cirtautas: The Agyn (epic poet) as a focus for unity in non-tribalized Turkic society [\*]



- 15.40 - 16.10 Paul D. Buell: From tribe to state or state to tribe: the case of the 12th century Mongols [p.617]  
 16.10 - 16.40 Imre Boba: Patterns of pastoral nomad territorialization and landtaking in Eastern Europe and Central Asia [\*]  
 16.40 - 17.10 V. Stoyanow: Die Entwicklung des Bulgaren-Ethnonyms. Grundlagen einer Hypothese [p.618]  
 Further participant: Slawoj Szynekiewicz

**PANEL 3: THE MODERNIZATION OF CHINESE LAW IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**  
 (Convener: Prof. Dr. Hungdah Chiu)

August 27, Wednesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5c - Ground Floor

*Morning Session*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Robert Heuser: The introduction of modern commercial law to China [p.621]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Jyh-pin Fa: The introduction of modern constitutional law to China and the judicial review system in the Republic of China [p.621]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Werner Pfennig: Criminal justice reform in the People's Republic of China [p.622]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Jean-Pierre Cabestan: Communist Party discipline and the law in the People's Republic of China [p.623]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Shao-chuan Leng: Legal Development in Deng's China [p.624]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Hungdah Chiu: The modernization of Chinese law in the twentieth century — An overview [p.625]

**PANEL 4: HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL WRITING OF THE LATER HAN DYNASTY IN THE SECOND CENTURY A.D.**  
 (Convener: Dr. R. R. C. de Crespigny)

August 27, Wednesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 6 - Ground Floor

*Morning Session*

- 10.30 - 11.00 Chi-yun Chen: The Taoist "Scripture of ultimate Equilibrium" (T'ai-p'ing ching): A content analysis [p.627]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Michael Nylan: The Feng-su t'ung-yi of Ying Shao [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Margaret J. Pearson: Biography and historiography: Fan Yeh's assessment of Wang Fu (fl. A.D. 150) as a source [p.628]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Rafé de Crespigny: History, anecdote and fiction in the records of the end of Han [p.629]

**PANEL 5: EMINENT LEADERS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA**  
 (Convener: Prof. Dr. Bernhard Dahm)

August 29, Friday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5d - Ground Floor

Cancelled

**PANEL 6: THE CONCEPT OF SELF IN BUDDHIST TRADITION IN ASIA**  
 (Convener: Dr. Rama D. Datta)

August 29, Friday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 7 - 1st Floor

*Morning Session*

- Anindita Niyogi Balslev: A philosophical appraisal of I-consciousness in the context of the no-self doctrine of Buddhism [p.631]  
 Robert L. Robbins: The concept of Anattā in early Buddhism [p.631]  
 Further participants: M. Abe, C. Bielefeldt, J.R. Carter, G.J. Larson, A. Malhotra

**PANEL 7: SUICIDE IN ASIA**  
 (Convener: Prof. Toyomasa Fusé)

August 26, Tuesday

Philosophen-Turm - Room D - Ground Floor

*Afternoon Session*

- 14.30 - 15.10 Darlaine Peacock: Suicide of the Japanese military in the Pacific during World War II [\*]  
 15.10 - 16.00 Yoshitomo Takahashi: Symbolism and locality in Japanese suicide: Mt. Fuji's Black Forest [p.633]  
 16.30 - 17.10 S.-Q. Zhao: Primary research into some problems of prevention from suicide in China [p.634]  
 17.10 - 17.40 M. R. Gelra: Sallekhanā is not suicide [p.635]  
 17.40 - 18.10 Bhagchandra Jain Bhaskar: The nature of spiritual suicide (sallekhanā) in Jainism [p.636]  
 18.10 - 19.10 Toyomasa Fusé: Trends and patterns of suicide in Japan today [p.638]

**PANEL 8: INTERPLAY OF EASTERN AND WESTERN LITERATURES**  
 (Convener: Dr. Marián Gálik)

August 26, Tuesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 6 - Ground Floor

*Morning Session*

- 10.00 - 10.30 Marián Gálik: Interliterariness in East-West interplay [p.639]



- 11.00 - 11.30 Andrew T. Tsubaki: Japanese traditional theatre and Shakespearean plays [p.639]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Peter T. Suzuki: Classical Japanese poetry forms in the wartime internment camps for Japanese-Americans [p.640]  
 12.00 - 12.30 Barbara Ascher: Some aspects of Wertherism in China of the 1920s and 1930s [\*]  
 12.30 - 13.00 Irene Eber: Literature of the 1950s in the People's Republic of China and comparative perspective [\*]

*Afternoon Session*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Rama D. Datta: Hume and Buddhism: An East-West dialogue [p.641]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Wolfgang Kubin: China in contemporary German literature [\*]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Yue Daiyun: The reception of Nietzsche by Chinese writers around 1919 [\*]

**PANEL 9: RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHIES IN ASIA***(Conveners: Prof. Dr. Phyllis Granoff and Prof. Koichi Shinohara)**August 26, Tuesday**Philosophen-Turm - Room F - Ground Floor**Morning Session: Buddhism and Jainism*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Phyllis Granoff: Jain biographies of Nāgārjuna or notes on the writing of a biography in medieval India [p.643]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Koichi Shinohara: Inscriptional sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies [p.643]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Julia Ching: Ch'i sung (1011-72): The Ch'an monk as apologist [\*]

*Afternoon Session: Hinduism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Gilbert Pollet: Motives of the Vaishnava Biographer Nabhadās [\*]  
 15.00 - 15.30 David N. Lorenzen: The evolution of religious biographies about Kabir [\*]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Willard G. Oxtoby: Traditional biographies of the prophet Zarathustra [\*]  
 16.30 - 17.00 R. J. Baldick: The legend of Rābi'a of Baṣra [p.645]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Cyriac K. Pullapilly: The life of Sri Narayana Guru, turning point in South Indian Hindu religious history [\*]

**PANEL 10: DEVICES FOR READING CHINESE TEXTS AMONG THE NEIGHBOURING PEOPLES***(Convener: Prof. Harumichi Ishizuka)**August 25, Monday**Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 7 - 1st Floor**Afternoon Session only*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Harumichi Ishizuka: Devices for reading Chinese texts among the neighbouring peoples [p.647]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Pung-Hyun Nam: On the development of Kikyō in Korea [p.649]  
 Further participants: R. Huszcza, Masahiro Shogaito, Daishun Ueyama

**PANEL 11: NARRATIVE MODES IN MODERN CHINESE FICTION: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO FICTIONAL REALITY***(Convener: Prof. J. S. Lin)**August 28, Thursday**University Main Building - Room C - Ground Floor**Afternoon Session*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Lai Fong Leung: Three modes of representation in Zhiqing fiction [p.651]  
 Yuan-huang Tsai: Narrative self-referentiality in contemporary Chinese fiction on Taiwan [p.651]  
 J. S. Lin: Rise above the ashes: "Nu Ts'ai" and "Jen Tao Chung-nian" [p.652]  
 Further participant: Ming-shui Hung

**PANEL 12: INDIAN EPISTEMOLOGY: 'HETU' AS REASON AND EVIDENCE***(Convener: Prof. Dr. Bimal Krishna Matilal)**August 25, Monday**Philosophen-Turm - Room B - Ground Floor**Afternoon Session**1st Session: Epistemology and causality*

- 14.30 - 15.00 Karl H. Potter: The traditional terminology of Indian epistemology [\*]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Mamoru Chishō Namai: On Śāntarakṣita's refutation of 'ahetuvāda'. Śāntarakṣita on Jātakamālā XXIII.27 [p.655]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Biswanarayan Shastri: The role of 'samavāya' (inherence) as foundation of causality in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika [p.656]

*2nd Session: Logical theories*

- 16.30 - 17.00 S. R. Bhatt: Hetu as reason and evidence [\*]  
 17.00 - 17.30 Masanobu Nozawa: Praśastapāda's theory of fallacious reason [p.657]  
 17.30 - 18.00 Ernst Prets: Notes on the Anandhyavasitahetvābhāsa [p.658]

*August 26, Tuesday**Philosophen-Turm - Room B - Ground Floor**Morning Session**3rd Session: Logic and epistemology*

- 9.00 - 9.30 Bimal Krishna Matilal: Pramāṇa as evidence [p.659]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Eli Franco: Valid reason, true sign [p.660]



**PANEL 13: RECENT DISCOVERIES IN SOUTH ASIAN EPIGRAPHY**

(Convener: Prof. Dr. Richard Salomon)

August 29, Friday

University Main Building - Room C - Ground Floor

**Morning Session**

- 9.00 - 9.30 Paul Kent Andersen: Written and oral means of transmitting the rock edicts of Aśoka [p.661]  
 9.30 - 10.00 Noboru Karashima: Vijayanagar rule in the lower Kaveri valley during the 15th and 16th centuries: as seen in the Srirangam inscriptions [p.661]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Richard Salomon: Translation and interpretation of the Senavarma inscription [p.662]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Oskar von Hinüber: Recent epigraphical discoveries in North Pakistan [p.663]  
 11.30 - 12.00 W. S. Karunaratne: The earliest script of Sri Lanka (the paper was read by Prof. Salomon) [p.663]

Discussant: A. D. H. Bivar

**PANEL 14: RELIGION, ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT IN ASIA**

(Convener: Prof. Dr. S. W. R. de A. Samarasinghe, Prof. K. M. de Silva)

August 28, Thursday

University Main Building - Room H - Ground Floor

**Morning Session**

- 9.00 - 9.30 K. M. de Silva: Introduction  
 9.30 - 10.00 K. M. de Silva: Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka [\*]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Omar Farouk Shaeik Ahmad Bajunid: The political integration of the Muslims in Burma and Thailand: A cross-national analysis [p.665]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Katharina Hackstein: The management of potential ethnic conflict in Jordan [\*]  
 11.30 - 12.00 Ružica Čičak-Chand: South Asia — Migrations as a Factor of Inter-State Relations [p.666]

**Afternoon Session**

- 14.30 - 15.00 Mohd. Fauzi Hj Yaacob: The accumulation of wealth: Islam and the Malays in Malaysia [\*]  
 15.00 - 15.30 M. Basheer Ahmed Khan: Conflicts in a plural society — The problem of religious minorities in India [p.667]  
 Further participants: Ildikó Puskás, Sławoj Szynkiewicz

**PANEL 15: THE WORLD OF THE SAKAS**

(Convener: Prof. Dr. R. E. Emmerick)

August 26, Tuesday

Congress Centre Hamburg - Room 5a - Ground Floor

**Morning Session**

Chair: Pulleyblank, E. G.

Sub-chairman: Reinhold, Beate

- 9.30 - 10.00 Fridrik Thordarson: The Ossetic Bākh Fāldisyn funeral rites [p.669]  
 10.00 - 10.30 Esther Jacobson: From mythic symbol to narrative structure: landscape representation in the art of the Scytho-Siberians [p.670]  
 11.00 - 11.30 Hans-Wilhelm Haussig: Die ältesten Namen der Seide und die Wanderungen iranischer Stämme aus Mittelasien nach Südrussland [p.671]  
 11.30 - 12.00 K. Jettmar: Saka migrations via the 'Hanging Passages' [\*]  
 12.00 - 12.30 R. E. Emmerick: The Crosby collection [p.672]

Chair: Jacobson, Esther

Sub-chairman: Best, Bettina

**Afternoon Session**

- 14.30 - 15.00 Edwin G. Pulleyblank: Chinese in Khotanese brahmi [\*]  
 15.00 - 15.30 Douglas A. Hitch: Old Khotanese synchronic Umlaut [p.674]  
 15.30 - 16.00 Anna Butler: On the Nart hero Acāmāz [p.675]

**ADDITIONAL:****PANEL 16: MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST**

(Conveners: Dres. Jan Just Witkam and Prof. Dr. Hans Daiber)

August 29, Friday

University Main Building - Room G - Ground Floor

Considerations [p.677]



Keith N. Schoville

### Literacy at Lachish

Excavations at biblical Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) have produced evidence of literacy, in terms of alphabetic writing, from the Middle Bronze through the Iron Age II periods. Under the direction of James L. Starkey, the Wellcome-Colt-Marston expedition excavated from 1932-1938. David Ussishkin of Tel Aviv University has directed the second major expedition to the site from 1973 to date. The site is located approximately thirty miles southwest of Jerusalem, east of Ashkelon and west of Hebron in the Shephelah.

Because of the very limited evidence prior to Iron Age II, we can speak of literacy only in very general terms; however, by the period of the divided kingdoms of Israel, Joseph Naveh's definition of literacy is applicable to Lachish: "A Society can be considered 'literate' if, in addition to the professional scribes, there are people who can write, not only among the highest social class, but also among the lower middle classes." At Lachish, evidence for writing exists in the MB and LB periods, but in insufficient quantities to distinguish the levels of literacy. However, based on the evidence of the Amarna Letters, scribes at Lachish were literate in cuneiform, and very likely also in Egyptian hieroglyphics in the Late Bronze Age.

The Lachish Dagger found in Tomb 1502, provides the earliest evidence of alphabetic (?) writing at Lachish. The four pictographic signs, dated to ca. 1700-1600 B.C. by contemporaneous artifacts, pre-date the similar forms from Serabit el-Khadim. It is likely that the blade was embossed by the metalsmith, not be a professional scribe. We can assume that the made-to-order dagger bore the name of its owner.

Some three dozen inscribed scarabs from the same period, Dynasties 13-18, have been found. They do not prove a knowledge of hieroglyphics at Lachish in MBIIIC, but they indicate an awareness of writing. The current excavations are only now reaching the strata of the period; hopefully they will produce additional evidence of literacy.

From the late Bronze Age, evidence of literacy includes a seal from Tomb 555, a censer lid from Tomb 216, Lachish Bowl 1 from Tomb 527, and the famous Lachish Ewer, recovered in fragments from the refuse pits related to phase three of the Fosse Temple. The vessel is decorated on the shoulder with symbols, along with a Proto-Canaanite inscription: "Mattan. An offering to my Lady 'lat.'" Similar letters were discovered on a sherd in the 1983 season of the Tel Aviv University Expedition; however, even though the sherd was stratigraphically datable, there is insufficient text to translate. A few other fragmentary inscriptions also came from the Late Bronze period. Some are alphabetic and others hieratic.

Lachish lay desolate from approximately 115-920 B.C. No epigraphic remains relating to the period of the Judges have been discovered there.

The Iron Age II inscriptions consist of those dated before 701 B.C. (the Siege of Sennacherib) and those later. Since 1973, Ostraca XXIII-XXXII, none of which is lengthy and most of which are fragmentary, have been found. They do suggest an increasingly broader spectrum of the society who were literate, desiring their personal names on private property. This is



in line with the "La-melek" stamped jar handles, indicating a relationship to the royal house and government.

The famous Lachish Letters (Ostraca I-XVIII), discovered by the British in a guard room of the bastion, a part of the main gate structure of Judean Lachish, are military communications. They were discovered in 1935. They illuminate the situation in a fortified city as the conquest of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar was underway. Along with seals, seal impressions, and inscribed weights from the period, these letters help confirm the functional literacy that existed in pre-exilic Judah in the period of the Writing Prophets.

Taken together, impressive and convincing evidence exists that at least some of the inhabitants of Lachish were literate from the MB through the Iron Age periods, from the inception of alphabetic writing until it became the widespread property of the common citizen.

1. "A Palaeographic Note on the Distribution of the Hebrew Script," *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968), 68.
2. F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Evolution of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet," *Basor* 134 (1954), 20-21.



Naṭarāga from Tanjira  
(Bilaspur), c. 12th-13th  
cent. A.D., Kalacuri



Naṭarāga from Chaurasi  
garh, c. 12th-13th cent.  
A.D., Paramāra





Nāṭeśa from Bhanpura  
(Mandsore), c. 8th-9th  
cent. A.D., Pratibāra



Nāṭarāga from Tanjgira (Bilaspur),  
c. 12th-13th cent. A.D., Kalacuri



Nāṭarāga from Chaura-  
sigarh, c. 13th cent. A.D.,  
Paramāra



Nāṭarāga from Ghatiani  
(Durg), c. 11th cent. A.D.  
Kalacuri

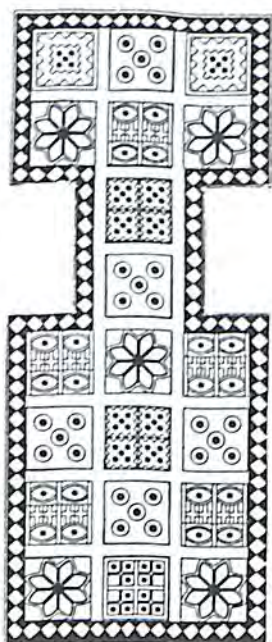


Nāṭarāga from Kaṭaghora (Bilaspur),  
c. 12th-13th cent. A.D., Kalacuri



Karlheinz Spreer

Ein Spielbrett aus dem Königsfriedhof von Ur  
(U.9000: Woolley, Ur-Excavation, 1934)



Der Vortrag beschränkt sich auf einige Erläuterungen zur Spielfeldanordnung auf der Oberseite des Spielbretts und bezieht sich auf diejenigen ihre Bedeutungsinhalte, die über die rein spieltheoretische Erklärung der Spielfläche als Zwei-Personen-Nullsummenspiel hinaus noch möglich erscheinen.

Die folgenden Vermutungen sollen die These stützen, daß dieses Spielbrett einen elementaren Wissenskatalog der Menschen im fröhdynastischen Ur enthält, auf dem einzelne Grundkenntnisse aus unterschiedlichen Wissensgebieten in einem vieldeutigen symbolischen Bezugssystem durch geometrische Formen dargestellt sind.

Vier Aspekte – bezogen auf astronomische, chronologische, mythologische und symbolische Inhalte – sollen das beispielhaft belegen.

#### 1. Symbolischer Aspekt

Der symbolische Charakter der zwanzig quadratischen Spielfelder auf der Spielfläche kann nicht geleugnet werden. Die Fünf hat hier offensichtlich eine beherrschende Stellung: neun der Felder zeigen drei Varianten eines Fünf-Punkte-Musters in diagonalen Kreuzform; die fünf Felder mit achtblättrigen Rosetten sind zu einem rechteckigen ausgezogenen Fünf-Punkte-Muster geordnet; fünf Felder zeigen das Fünf-Punkte-Muster in diagonalen Kreuzform mit kreisumrandeten Punkten; fünf Felder haben das gleiche Vier-Augen-Muster; die restlichen Felder (zwei mit viermal fünf Punkten in je einem Zuckenquadrat, zwei mit je fünf Punkten von je einem kleineren und größeren Zuckenquadrat umrahmt, das nur einmal vorhandene Feld mit zwölf Punkten) ergeben zusammen die Anzahl fünf; die fünf Rosetten-Felder teilen die übrige Spielfläche in fünfmal je drei in einer Reihe liegende Felder auf.

Die Spielfelder auf dem sogenannten Steg des Spielbretts – die Verbindung der sechs und zwölf Felder großen Teilflächen – können als Symbole des Mondes und der Sonne gesehen werden: einen literarischen Hinweis auf das Fünf-Punkte-Muster als Symbol des Mondes finden wir nur bei Agrippa von Nettesheim in seinem Werk "De occulta philosophia" von 1533, wo in den Planetentafeln als Zeichen des Mondes auch das Fünf-Punkte-Muster auftaucht, nur daß hier die Punkte durch ein diagonales Linienkreuz direkt verbunden sind.

Im Hinblick auf das Zwanzig-Punkte-Feld finden wir auf dem Mosaik mit der Auffahrt des Sonnengottes aus Münster-Sarmsheim um 250 n.Chr., das in seiner Mitte den Sonnengott Sol mit seinem Viergespann umgeben von den Tierkreiszeichen darstellt, zahlreiche quadratische Flächen mit unterschiedlichen Sonnensymbolen, darunter auch solche mit vier Zuckenquadraten in der gleichen Anordnung wie auf dem Zwanzig-Punkte-Feld des Steges; das fast gleiche Symbol finden wir auch auf der Keramik der frühen Bronzezeit in Damb Sadaat II der Induskultur.

Die Verbreitung und jahrtausende alte Tradition solcher Zeichen ist hier von weitergehendem Interesse.

#### 2. Astronomischer Aspekt

Die fünf Rosetten-Felder teilen die übrige Spielfläche zwischen sich auffällig in fünf Reihen von jeweils drei hintereinander- bzw. nebeneinanderliegenden Spielfeldern auf, wobei vier dieser Feldreihen in der Längsrichtung des Spielbretts liegen und eine Feldreihe (die äußere Reihe auf der Sechsfelder-Teilfläche) quer dazu; die über den Steg gelegte Reihe ragt aus konstruktionsgründen noch mit einem Feld in die Sechsfelder-Teilfläche hinein. Dies alles ein sehr deutlicher Hinweis zum Spielverlauf.

Weiter fällt dazu auf, daß das vermutliche Symbolfeld des Mondes – im Gegensatz zu den anderen Spielfeldarten – in jeder der fünf Feldreihen anzutreffen ist. Eine Markierung, die zu der Überlegung führt, in diesem Spielverlauf gleichzeitig den Phasenverlauf des Mondes zu sehen: die Außenreihe links bzw. rechts (als Spielanfang) auf der Zwölf-Felder-Teilfläche symbolisiert den Punktmund das Neulicht (die aufgerissenen, gleichsam nach Licht suchenden Augen der anliegenden Felder können Dunkelheit Nacht bedeuten); die Reihe über den Steg, die im angenommenen Spielverlauf hin und zurück überspielt werden muß, symbolisiert den zunehmenden und abnehmenden Mond den ersten und letzten Halbmond (das Mondsymbol liegt hier nicht zentral in der Reihe und wird nur an einer Seite (halb) durch das Sonnen-symbole berührt); die äußere Querreihe auf der Sechsfelder-Teilfläche symbolisiert den Vollmond (die Felder links und rechts des Mondsymbols bilden zusammen das Sonnensymbol und berühren das Mond-Feld von beiden Seiten; diese Feldreihe stellt auch den "oberen" Wendepunkt des Spielverlaufs dar).

#### 3. Chronologischer Aspekt

Auf Grund der Mond-Sonnen-Symbolik der Spielfläche wird in der beim astronomischen Aspekt ausgenommenen Feldreihe in der Mittelachse der Zwölf-Felder-Teilfläche der Ansatz eines lunisolaren Kalenders sichtbar. Das "untere" Zwölf-Punkte-Spielfeld wird als Jahres-Feld mit den zwölf Monaten Tierkreiszeichen angenommen. Die über ihm liegenden beiden Spielfelder sind wieder die Mond- und Sonnen-Symbole wie wir sie in gleicher Lage auf dem Steg finden. Im Hinblick auf die bemerkenswerten Zahlenverhältnisse in dieser Feldreihe können die Felder als Jahre und die Punkte auf ihnen als dieser Feldreihe gedeutet werden: das sich ergebende Verhältnis von drei Spielfeldern zu 37 Feldpunkten, d.h. im Sinne der Vermutung drei Jahre zu 37 Mond-Monaten, entspricht genau dem Drei-Jahres-Zyklus im lunisolaren Kalender.

#### 4. Mythologischer Aspekt

In den Spielfeldern und Felderpunkten Zahlen und Zahlenverhältnisse zu sehen, ist naheliegend. Dem Spielbrett mit Bezug auf diese Überlegung auch mythologische Aspekte zuzuschreiben, kann insofern nicht überraschen, da wichtigen Gottheiten im alten Mesopotamien bestimmte Zahlen zugeordnet wurden, die so auch gleichermaßen die Götter in ein rechenbares Verhältnis zueinander setzten: An 60, Enlil 50, Enki 40, Nanna 30, Utu 20, Inanna 15, um die bekanntesten zu nennen, die hier auch von Interesse sind.

Wenn wir die Summen der Querreihen der Spielfläche errechnen, so finden wir – auf die drei Teilflächen verteilt – auf der Sechsfelder-Teilfläche die Zahl 15 (5 + 5 + 5), auf dem Steg die Zahl 20 und auf der größeren Teilfläche die Zahl 30 (5 + 20 + 5), die gerade den obersten astralen Gottheiten Inanna/Venus, Utu/Sonne und Nanna/Mond zugeeignet sind.

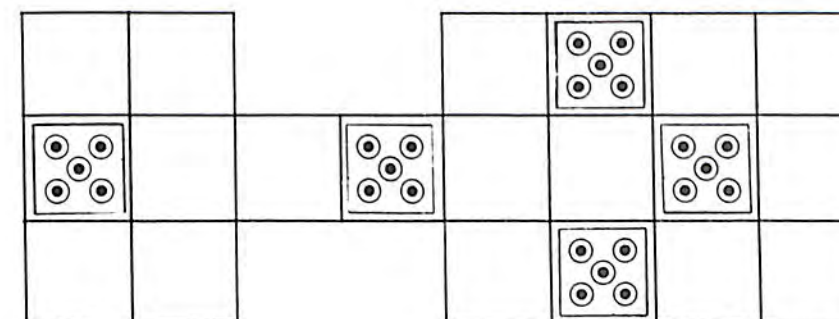
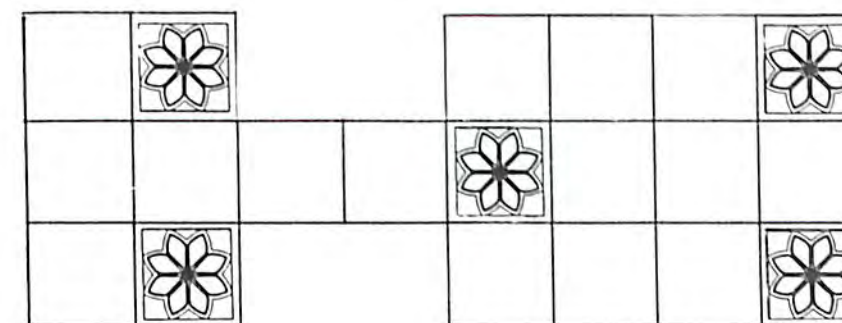
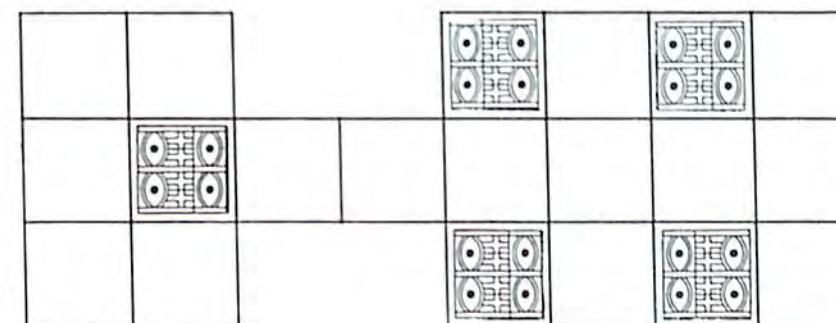
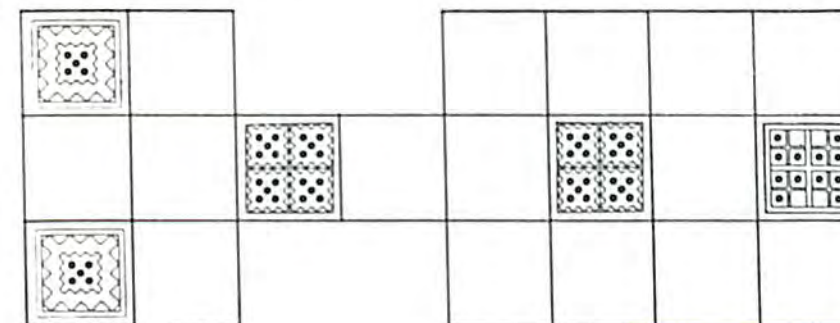


Wenn wir andererseits dem behaupteten Spielverlauf nach (beginnend mit dem Rosetten-Feld links bzw. rechts außen "unten" auf der Zwölf-Felder-Teilfläche, weiter über den Steg und quer über die Sechs-Felder-Teilfläche und zurück vom Augen-Feld zwischen den beiden Rosetten-Feldern auf der Mittelachse bis zum Ende auf dem Zwölf-Punkte-Feld) die Punkte der einzelnen Spielfelder immer zur Summe der davorliegenden Felder hinzuzählen, erhalten wir folgende Zahlenkette (in Klammern die Nummer des Feldes): 1(1)-5(2)-10(3)-14(4)-15(5)-20(6)-40(7)-44(8)-45(9)-50(10)-55(11)-60(12)-61(13)-65(14)-85(15)-90(16)-91(17)-111(18)-116(19)-128(20). Die Felder mit den Summenzahlen 40, 50 und 60 stehen auf der "oberen" Spielfläche in einer ausgezeichneten geometrischen Position, die hier selbst wieder als Symbol für die oberste Götterdreieheit des damaligen Pantheons gesehen werden kann, nämlich An, Enlil und Enki.

Zählen wir die Punkte auf den Spielfeldern, die wir als Mondsymbole bezeichnen (fünfmal 5 Punkte), und die Punkte der rosetten-Felder, die in ihrer Anordnung ein sechstes Mondsymbol auf der Spielfläche darstellen (fünfmal 1 Punkt), zusammen, so erhalten wir die für den Mondgott Nanna genannte Zahl 30. Da Nanna als Stadtgott von Ur gilt, scheint dieses Spielbrett ihm vielleicht besonders zugeignet gewesen zu sein.

TAFEL 1

Symbolischer Aspekt

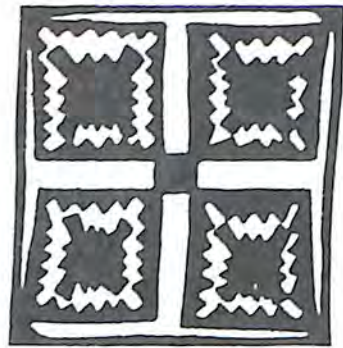


Beispiele der Fünf-Symbolik auf dem Spielbrett

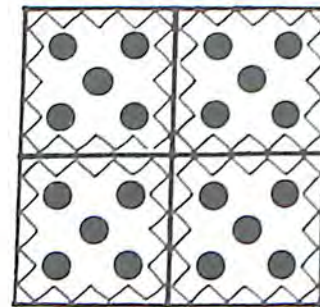


TAFEL 2  
Symbolischer Aspekt

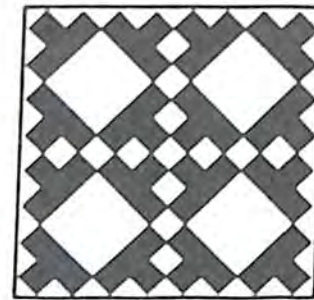
Sonnen-Symbole



Damb Sadaat

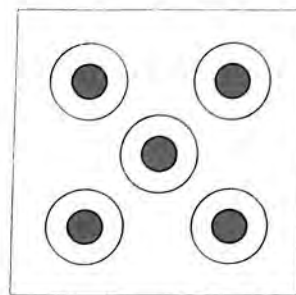


Ur

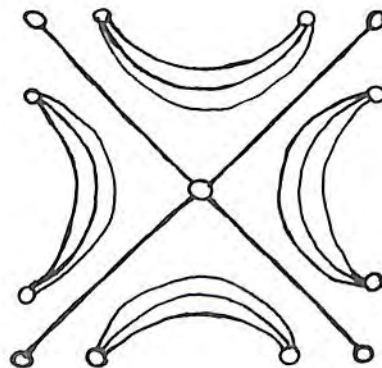


Münster-Sarmsheim

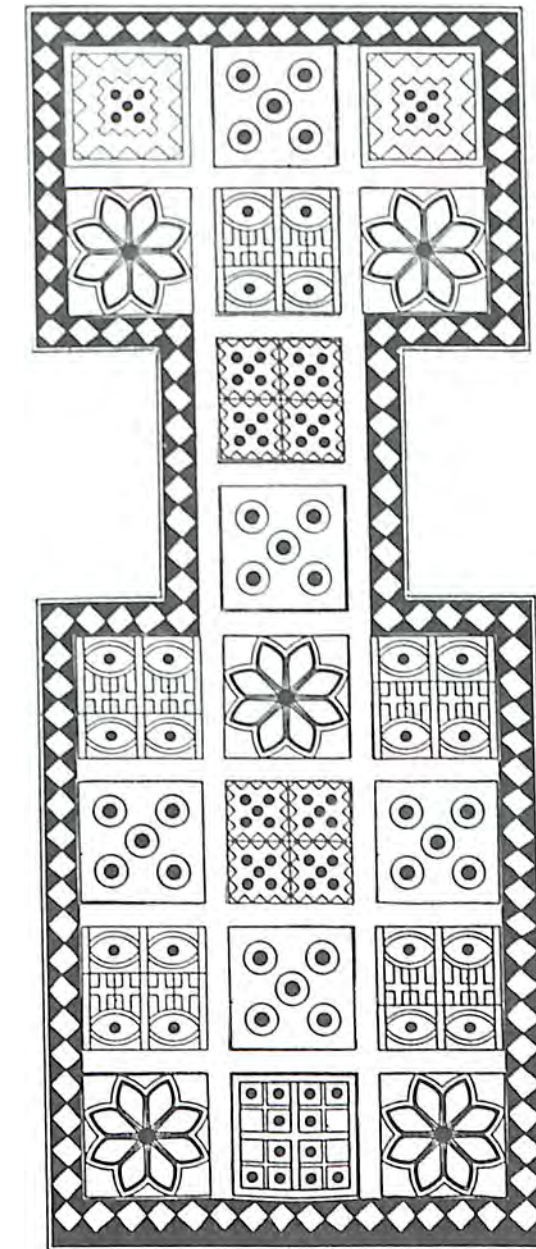
Mond-Symbole



Ur



TAFEL 3  
Astronomischer Aspekt

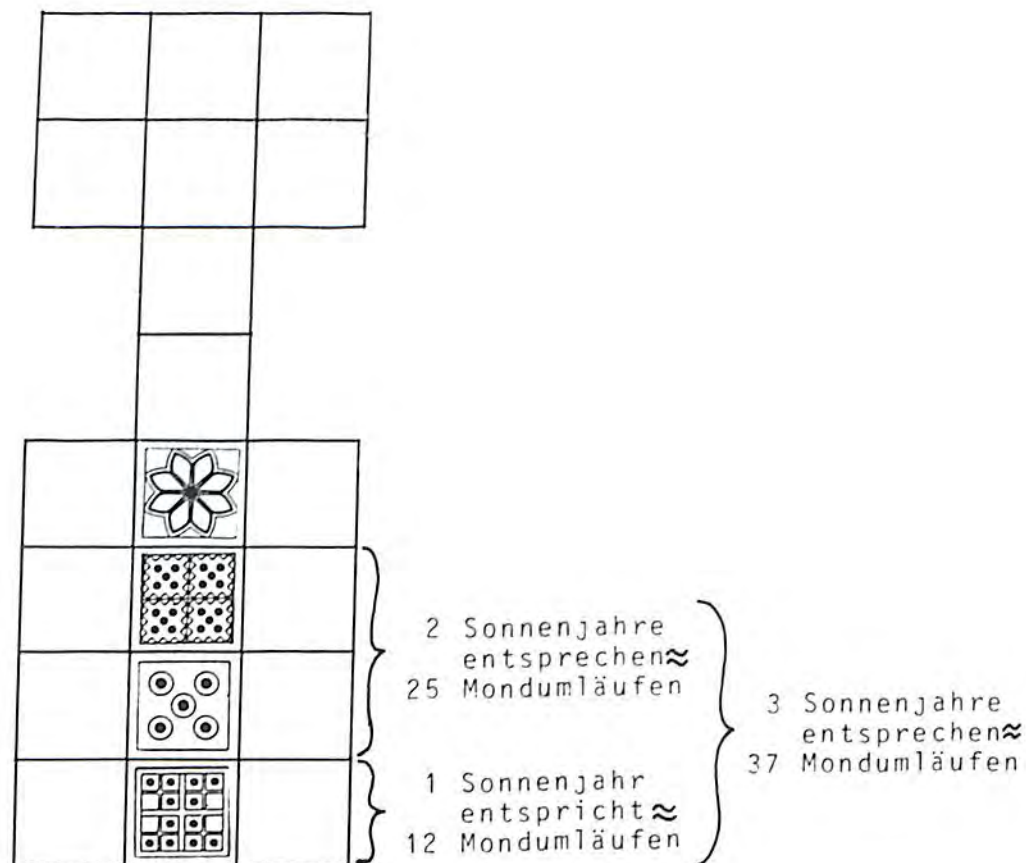


Rekonstruktionsversuch der Spielbrett-Oberseite



## TAFEL 4

Chronologischer Aspekt

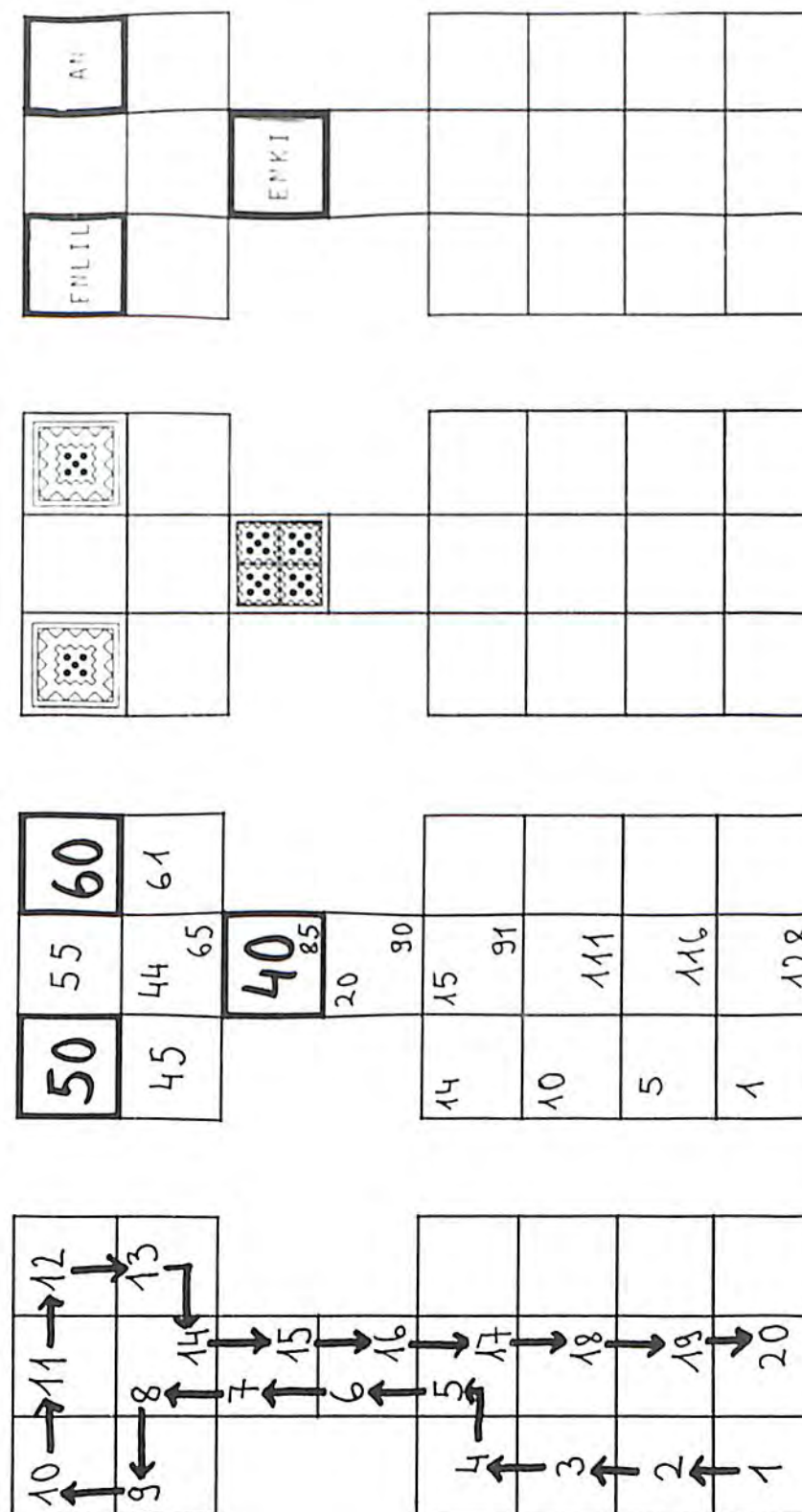


Drei-Jahres-Zyklus im lunisolaren Kalender

(Siehe hierzu auch E. Bickermann, Chronologie, 1963, Seite 13.)

## TAFEL 5

Mythologischer Aspekt

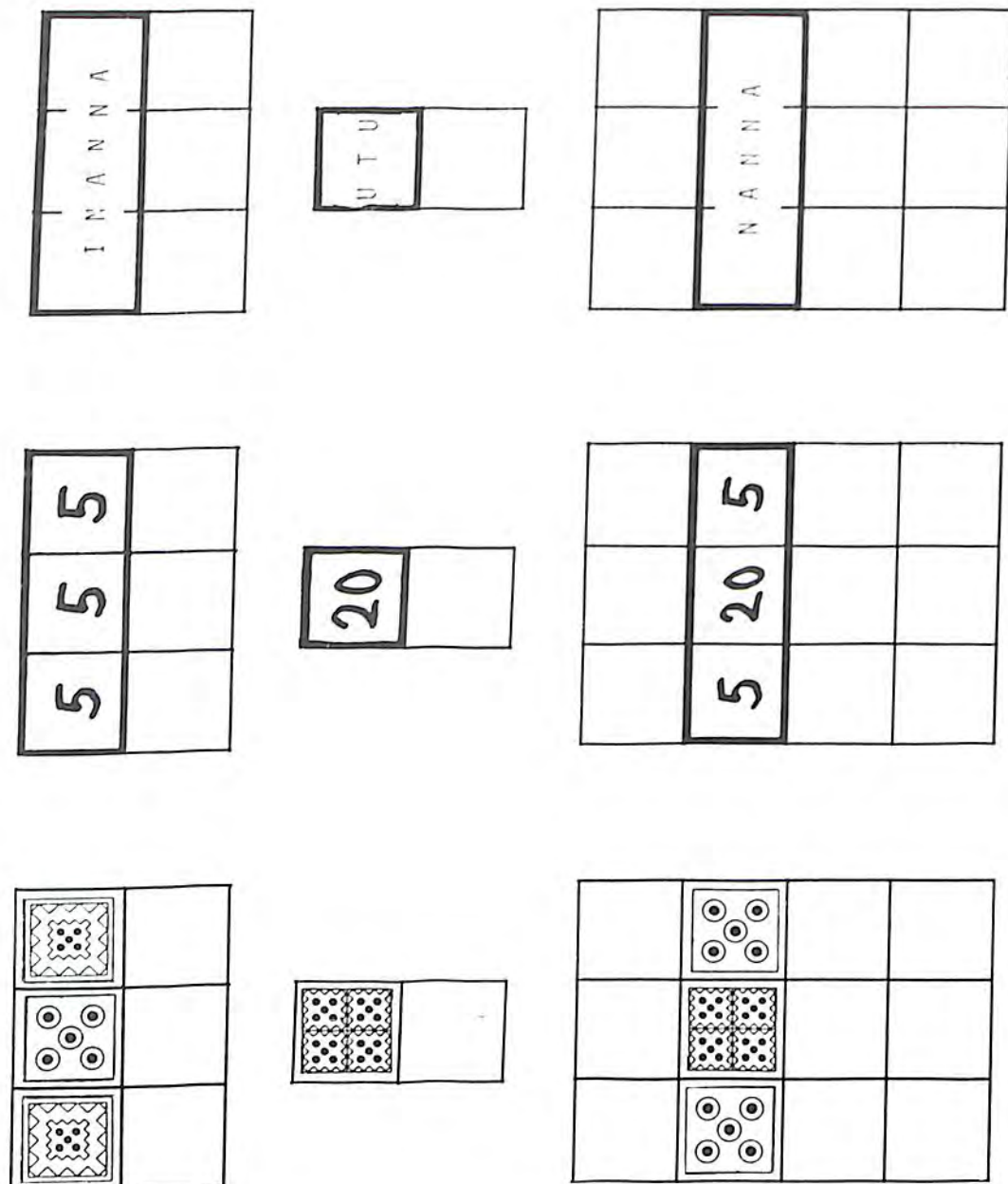


Die oberste Götter-Dreieit AN-ENLIL-ENKI

(Zu den Götterzahlen siehe K. Jaritz, Geheimschriftsysteme im alten Orient, in: ADEVA-Mitteilungen, Heft 8, 1966.)

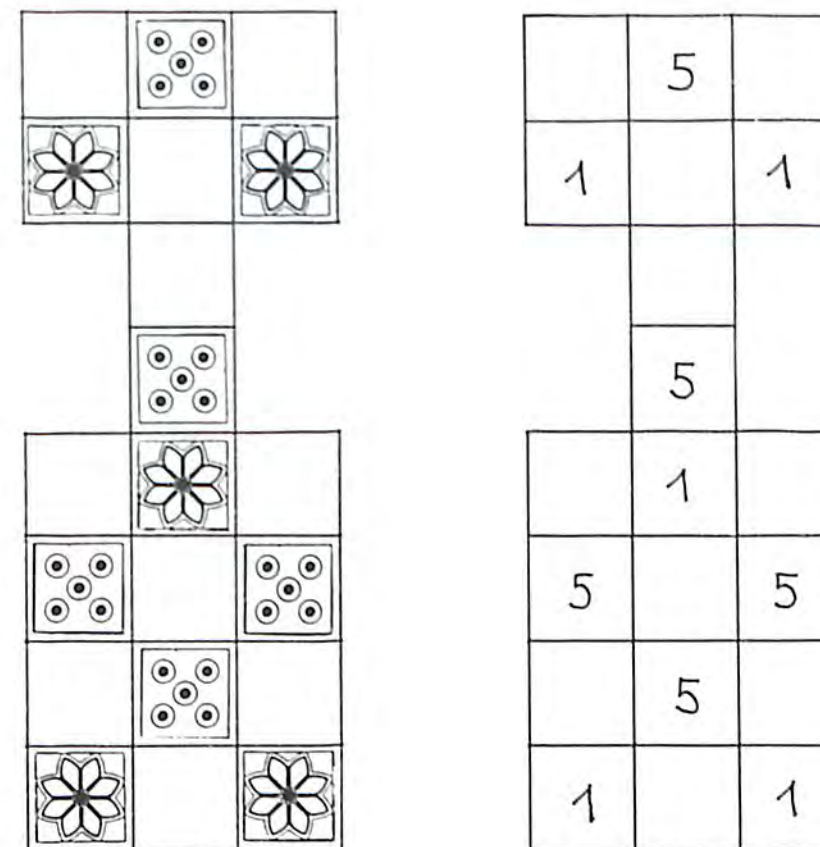


TAFEL 6  
Mythologischer Aspekt



Die obersten Astralgötter NANNA-UTU-INANNA

TAFEL 7  
Mythologischer Aspekt



Der Stadtgott von Ur und das Spielbrett

Die Summe aus den Punkten der Symbolfelder des Mondes in Fünf-Punkte-Anordnung (fünfmal 5 Punkte und fünfmal 1 Punkt) ergibt die Zahl 30, die dem NANNA zugeordnete Götterzahl.



Karol Myśliwiec

# Some Ancient Egyptian Aspects of Hellenistic Cults in Athribis

The discovery of a group of sculptures from the Ptolemaic period representing Greek and Egyptian gods came as a result of a campaign of rescue excavations carried out in November 1985 in Tell Atrib (ancient Athribis, close to modern Benha) by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology (Cairo). Coming from a well dated stratum (mid IIIrd - mid Ist cent. B.C.) of an exact spot (a villa of a nobleman), these representations prompt one to some reflections on a possibly Ancient Egyptian background for some of the Hellenistic cults as well as on the mutual assimilations occurring between the two great religions.

The statues representing Greek gods were sculpted in imported marble, while the images of Egyptian gods were made of local materials: limestone and clay. In the first group there prevail fragments of several statues showing Aphrodite. Some possible reasons for the presence of the cult of this goddess in Athribis can be deduced from the following observations:

- In Egypt Aphrodite was identified with Hathor and Isis - two local goddesses whose cult at Athribis had been established long before;
- a mythological parallel associates Aphrodite with Hwt - the principal female deity of Athribis. Each of these goddesses is the motorial power in a myth of divine rebirth: Hwt - "the one who wraps the god" (ḥbs(.t) ntr), plays a similar role in the resurrection of Osiris as Aphrodite does in the revival of Adonis - the god slain by a wild boar;
- according to Strabo, one of the Egyptian cities called Aphroditopolis was situated in the 11th Lower Egyptian nome that in various aspects reveals affinities with the neighbouring 10th nome of which Athribis was the capital. The small dimensions of both provinces and the geographical proximity of their capitals imply a short distance between Athribis and Aphroditopolis, from where probably the cult of the goddess had radiated into the central part of the Egyptian Delta. Confirming these influences would be a group of similar statues of marble, representing Aphrodite, found at Thmuis (close to Mendes) in the north of this region.

The next sculpture from our excavations - a small limestone altar representing Bes, the Egyptian god of magical protection, who also played the role of a gay dancer - brings to mind the god's affinities with Aphrodite, as recorded by Greek authors in respect to the temple of Aphrodite-Arsinie in Alexandria.

A small terracotta head of Athena wearing a helmet, found in another part of our excavations, appears to be a fragment of an oil lamp or lantern and as such it calls to mind the observations of Herodotus concerning the cult of Athena, identified with the warlike goddess Neith in Sais, the capital of a neighbouring province. Since a feast featuring the lighting of lamps was an important element in this cult, we may suggest the interpretation of our fragments as a representation of Neith-Athena and consider it as a contribution to the knowledge of the geographical distribution of this cult.

Hellenistic sculptures from Tell Atrib



Fig. 1: Head of a priest .  
Terracotta figurine fragment.



Fig. 2: Harpocrates. Terracotta figurine.





Fig. 3: Aphrodite. Marble statue

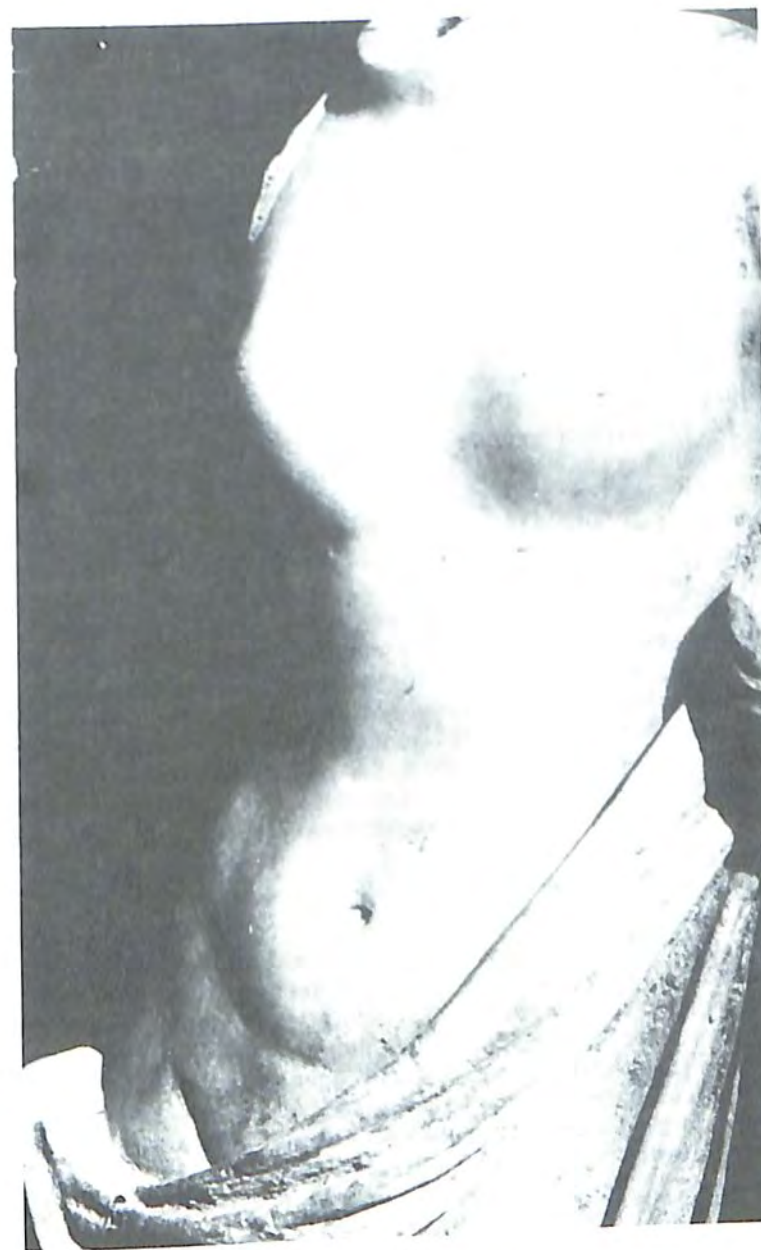


Fig. 4: Aphrodite. Marble statue



Jean Leclant

Researches on the Pyramids with Texts at Saqqara

Au cours des récentes années, les recherches de la Mission Archéologique Française de Saqqarah ont porté tant sur le grand temple de Pépi Ier que sur les appartements funéraires de sa pyramide. Pour nous en tenir ici à ces derniers, le travail a consisté, de 1966 à 1971, à déblayer patiemment des dizaines de milliers de blocs et de fragments de toutes natures et de toutes dimensions qui les obstruaient. En même temps, était effectuée la consolidation des parois très attaquées et des faitages; dans ces espaces très étroits, avec un outillage assez rudimentaire, la remise en place des blocs, dont certains pèsent plus de 10 tonnes, présentait nombre de difficultés.

Au fur et à mesure de l'apparition des blocs, l'équipe de la MAFS a dressé l'inventaire détaillé de ceux qui étaient inscrits, enregistrant dimensions et caractéristiques diverses; des photographies systématiques ont été effectuées et le relevé grandeur des inscriptions; enfin, on a mené l'étude minutieuse des textes du point de vue de la philologie et de l'étude minutieuse des textes du point de vue de la philologie et de l'interprétation. Peu à peu ont été opérés des rapports entre les blocs et des assemblages avec les inscriptions encore en place; ainsi ont été développés d'énormes puzzles qui ont été complétés d'une campagne à l'autre. Le travail de reconstitution devrait être terminé en 1988 et, peu après, serait prête la publication de l'ensemble des textes de Pépi Ier, car nous avons tenu à reprendre la copie intégrale des textes. Nous estimons en effet que les inscriptions d'une pyramide forme un tout; certains des textes se trouvent à des endroits en quelque sorte "canoniques". Si l'établissement d'une synopse par Kurt Sethe a été un moment nécessaire de la recherche, on se doit désormais de prendre les ensembles des textes de chacune des pyramides en eux-mêmes.

dans la pyramide de Pépi Ier, les textes se développent en longues colonnes dont la largeur varie selon les parois (de 3,5 à 7,7 cm); les signes de Pépi Ier sont d'une magnifique gravure en creux, très nette; l'intérieur des signes est souvent précisé (plumages des oiseaux, détails des corbeilles); souvent aussi, le vert splendide dont ils étaient peints a été préservé: couleur de la végétation et de la croissance (*ouadj*) et, par là, de la pérennité, elle fait encore "vivre" jusqu'à nous les textes de Pépi Ier. Certains des signes de cette haute époque ont disparu du système graphique postérieur, la forme de certains autres s'est trouvée modifiée: tel est l'intérêt de ce trésor épigraphique que ce fut une ??? supplémentaire de copier intégralement l'ensemble des textes.

En dehors de la préparation de la publication, la phase finale de notre travail se poursuit également sur place; nous avons confié à M. Michel Wuttman, restaurateur, le soin de remettre en place tous les fragments recueillis, jusqu'aux plus infimes, sur plusieurs parois: parois Est, Ouest et Sud du vestibul (P/V/E, P/V/W, P/V/S), débouché du couloir aux herses (P/C ant/W et P/C ant/E); cette tâche très délicate donne toute satisfaction aux autorités archéologiques égyptiennes.

Un intérêt capital s'attache, pour la connaissance de la pensée religieuse des anciens Egyptiens, aux Textes des Pyramides - le plus ancien corpus de textes religieux de l'humanité (de 2350 à 2250 env. avant J.-C.). Relatifs à la survie (plus exactement à la re-naissance) du Pharaon, ces

textes doivent lui assurer l'accès à l'au-delà. Offrant une synthèse d'accumulation, la pensée égyptienne, répugnant à tout exclusivisme, peut procéder, simultanément, à plusieurs affirmations, apparemment opposées, mais valables selon des points de vue différents. C'est d'abord la renaissance osirienne: on invite le défunt à se redresser, à s'asseoir sur son trône d'airain et, muni de la couronne et des insignes de la souveraineté, à régner, tel le dieu Osiris, sur le royaume des ombres, à l'Occident, pour l'éternité. Mais il peut tout aussi bien préférer regarder vers l'Orient, monter au matin dans la barque du soleil; un trône l'y attend, mais éventuellement il devra faire le matelot, ramer, voire écoper; le soir venu, de toutes façons, le barque solaire doit traverser les espaces sombres de la nuit. Autre forme d'éternité: celle des étoiles qui tournent autour de l'axe polaire, les "impérissables", celles "qui ne connaissent pas la fatigue", les "indestructibles".

Très déférent vis-à-vis des dieux, le Pharaon peut au besoin recourir à la menace. Glorieux de préférence, il est disposé pourtant à toutes les métamorphoses: oiseau (faucon qui plane au ciel ou hirondelle), voire sauterelle. "Né à nouveau", les pratiques de la nurserie tel que l'allaitement lui conviennent également. De façon magnifique, un texte gravé de pyramide en pyramide, juste à la hauteur de l'avant du sarcophage, sur la paroi Sud de la chambre funéraire, affirme: "O roi, certes ce n'est pas mort que tu t'en es allé; c'est vivant que tu t'en es allé".

L'apport philologique et épigraphique des textes nouvellement découverts est également considérable. Des données nouvelles ont été obtenues concernant la proscription et la mutilation de certains signes. On s'abstient, le plus rigoureusement possible, de figurer des êtres animés qui, reprenant mouvement, pourraient agir de façon malveillante envers le roi; ceci entraîne la suppression de nombreux déterminatifs. Les signes animaux sont dans l'ensemble évités; parfois les animaux sont coupés en deux par une réserve de la pierre ou l'insertion d'un peu de plâtre. Sur la paroi Est de l'antichambre (P/A/E) en particulier, une pratique très singulière affecte les images de lions, bovidés, voire girafe: le contour du signe a été entièrement gravé, puis l'arrière a été soigneusement plâtré, la partie avant de l'animal se présentant seule peinte; ainsi l'animal redoutable est-il tout à la fois présent pour le système graphique et magiquement mutilé.

Certes ces textes, d'une poésie souvent grandiose, n'offrent pas la moindre révélation autobiographique ou historique. Conçus, pour de toutes autres fins, que de noter le transitoire ou le particulier, fût-il royal, ils apportent cependant à l'historien de l'Egypte des indices où peut à l'occasion se saisir le reflet d'une de ces "modifications" qui constituent le cours de l'histoire. Le dieu Seth, dont l'animal bien caractéristique est régulièrement gravé dans la pyramide d'Ounas, se trouve proscrit chez Pépi Ier, comme il l'était déjà chez Têti. Les tensions se devinent entre les tendances héliopolitaines, celles du dieu-soleil Rê, et la présence, plus diffuse, d'Osiris, dieu de la germination, des espaces souterrains et de l'au-delà. Ce qui s'affirme dans les Textes des Pyramides, c'est essentiellement la volonté des Pharaons d'être les égaux de dieux, des "immortels". Si les temples et les pyramides ne sont plus que ruines, dont on ne peut guère sauver que quelques vestiges, en revanche les Textes des Pyramides, dûment complétés par les nouvelles découvertes, sont les garants de la perpétuité des Pharaons.



Ronald T. Marchese

Northern Caria: Shifting Settlement  
Systems in Antiquity

The classical definition Northern Caria in southwestern Turkey comprises one of the most important river systems in antiquity. Closely affiliated with the cultural development of Greek Ionia, little is actually known of this rugged interior region. Although a wealth of literary commentary exists, our understanding of the settlement system is severely hampered by a lack of archaeological data. Chronologically, shifting settlement systems can be reconstructed with varying degrees of accuracy from the Late Chalcolithic to the Roman Imperial period - 5000 B.C. to 150 A.D.

Geographically, Northern Caria is dominated by a deep trough and an articulated relief of rift valleys and folded mountains. Alluvial drowning tectonic plate rotation, and general seismic activity are common features. The rivers are erratic and known for flooding. This has caused site relocation, abandonment, and finally economic stagnation as well shifting land use which is most clearly seen between the fifth century B.C. and the second century A.D.

Chronological divisions for shifting settlement systems can be divided into three general units:

Prehistoric - 5000 - 1700 B.C.

This period is marked by the inception of village life and early agricultural economies. By the end of the Middle Bronze Age village systems were well developed with populations clustering along the lower shoulders of the valleys away from the more rugged mountain zones.

Protohistoric - 1700 - 800 B.C.

Village systems continue to develop throughout the Late Bronze Age (to 1200) with the region considerably influenced by three cultural zones - southwestern (Beycesultan) and northwestern (Trojan) Anatolian and Aegean (Mycenaean). The transitional centuries of the first millennium B.C. indicate a loss of population and site relocation. Ethnically, the region was dominated by historical Carian speakers which appear as rude country folk residing in hill-top villages. Additional ethnic elements include mainland Greek colonists who occupied the coastal zone after the breakup of Late Bronze Age Greece.

Full Historic - 800 B.C. - 150 A.D.

This period is marked by the emergence of city-state political systems and the rapid growth of a supportive urban hierarchy. Throughout the period deforestation and shifting methods of land use to support a burgeoning population accelerated environmental desintegration. This is well illustrated in the post-Alexandrian period of the third and second centuries B.C. By the second century A.D. a vast urban mosaic of city-states was created.

Population and Resources

The agricultural potential for Northern Caria in all time frames was exceptional. However, the intensity of production was minimal until large populations dominated the region, especially after the fifth century B.C. Populations

tion increase, thereafter, greatly affected land use. The burgeoning economies of cities led to the expansion of pasture land for wool production and the wholesale clearing of the interior zones for olive and wine cultivation. The cutting of wood for fuel and construction contributed to the deforestation process. The creation of new municipal territories after the third century B.C. extended village agrarian systems which removed natural vegetation and helped generate soil erosion. Eventually, by the late second century A.D. the thin-soiled mountain regions of Northern Caria declined in productivity which weakened the urban economies of many cities. Populations also declined. After a millennium of extensive and intensive use, the region failed to provide sufficient resources for sustained growth. However, Northern Caria continued to exist on a much reduced scale into late antiquity.



Thérèse Metzger

La décoration de la Bible hébraïque au moyen âge:  
de l'Orient à l'Occident

D'après la documentation existante, les plus anciens codices décorés de la Bible hébraïque datent des IX<sup>e</sup>, X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles et proviennent d'Égypte ou de Palestine. Puis, alors qu'aucun document significatif ne nous est parvenu de l'Afrique du Nord, l'Espagne et l'Europe du Nord nous en livrent dès la fin du premier quart du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et l'Italie un peu plus tard au cours du même siècle, tandis que de l'Orient, en particulier du Yémen, ont survécu des volumes du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Dans ses premières manifestations documentées, en Palestine et en Égypte, la décoration de la Bible hébraïque apparaît déjà complexe dans ses partis et diverse dans ses techniques.

En effet, la relation au livre de ses différentes composantes n'est pas unique. En premier lieu, quelles qu'aient pu être les reliures originales, aujourd'hui disparues, de ces manuscrits, qu'elles aient contribué seulement à leur protection ou également, par leur décor propre, à leur embellissement, les grands panneaux ornementaux qui occupent les pages initiales et finales de plus d'une de ces bibles font de ces pages autant de gardes précieuses qui enveloppent le livre de leur richesse et de leur beauté.

Mais à cette décoration toute extérieure au livre, qui lui est apportée comme un tribut de révérence et dont le rôle pourrait être tenu par des étoffes de prix, s'en associe une autre qui entretient avec le livre une relation organique et doublement fonctionnelle.

En effet, la relation peut s'établir sur deux plans, celui du livre-objet matériel, faisceau de cahiers de parchemin cousus ensemble, dont la plus petite unité est la page écrite encadrée de ses marges, et celui du livre-support d'un texte qui s'articule en parties, livres, chapitres, versets, et de plus, en texte principal et en texte marginal.

Ainsi, le décor pénètre non seulement dans le livre, mais dans le texte lui-même et est associé non seulement à ses articulations matérielles mais à celles de son contenu.

Des composantes possibles de ce deuxième type de décor, intérieur au texte, on relève particulièrement dans les Bibles des IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles, les panneaux qui marquent la fin des différents livres, les indicateurs des péripécies du cycle triennal ou encore les motifs qui enrichissent les marges des deux Cantiques de Moïse (Exode, V, 1-18 et Deutéronome, XXXII, 1-40).

Ce décor utilise les encres sépia et de couleur, l'or, la peinture et la micrographie.

Aucun texte ni aucun document ne nous permettent de tracer les voies de transmission, du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée à l'Europe médiévale, des procédés de décoration déjà établis dans les Bibles hébraïques. Cependant, malgré la nouveauté des vocabulaires décoratifs et des styles, qui appartiennent à l'Europe médiévale et se diversifient selon les aires de résidence juive, il ne semble guère douteux que certains partis dans les

fontions attribuées au décor et dans ses techniques, en particulier l'usage de la micrographie ornementale continuent en Europe médiévale ceux qui avaient été adoptés dans les codices bibliques d'Égypte et de Palestine.

Très rares en Europe du Nord, les pleines pages ornementales (Fig. 1 - 3, 25) sont connues en Espagne au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et se retrouvent tout au long des XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Et que ce soit dans les codices du Nord de l'Europe ou dans ceux de la péninsule ibérique, le décor ne fait pas qu'envelopper le livre; il s'attache plus intimement à sa structure matérielle (Fig. 4 - 7): ainsi la micrographie ornementale apparaît dans les marges inférieures et plus rarement supérieures des seuls folios initiaux et finaux de cahiers, et aussi parfois sur la double-page médiane, ou bien, quand elle orne aussi les autres pages, elle se fait plus riche à ces emplacements privilégiés. On note aussi que dans les codices du Nord de l'Europe le décor cristallise fréquemment autour des réclames des cahiers. (Fig. 8 - 9).

Cependant, de même que dans nos plus anciens codices orientaux, le décor des bibles médiévales occidentales s'associe au texte lui-même. Ainsi, en Espagne, la pleine page ornementale n'est plus seulement extérieure au livre, mais elle peut marquer les divisions du texte en grandes unités. De même, toujours en Espagne, le décor marginal micrographique, enrichi ou non d'or et de peinture, peut orner tout particulièrement les marges des pages initiales des différents livres bibliques ou même, associé encore plus étroitement à la structure du texte, les marges des pages sur lesquelles commencent les péripécies hebdomadaires du Pentateuque.

En péninsule Ibérique se maintient aussi l'usage, déjà établi en Orient, de signaler la fin des livres bibliques par un morif ornemental (Fig. 10 - 11), plus ou moins développé. En effet, on continuera jusqu'au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à ignorer le plus souvent mot initial, titre ou décor initial de texte.

Autre point commun aux bibles produites en péninsule Ibérique et aux codices orientaux, la décoration du mot-indicateur des débuts de péripécies (Fig. 12 - 15), soit encore même celles du cycle triennal, soit, plus généralement, celles du cycle annuel, le seul désormais en usage en Occident médiéval. Parfois assez sommaires et répétitifs, ces motifs témoignent le plus souvent d'une remarquable invention ornementale. On y associe parfois des motifs qui illustrent le texte (Fig. 14). On continue aussi à décorer tout spécialement les marges des deux cantiques de Moïse (Fig. 4, 26).

En péninsule Ibérique encore, le même type de décoration que celui des indicateurs de péripécies, offrant également parfois des éléments d'illustration, peut s'attacher aux lettres-numéros des Psaumes.

Cependant, dès le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, en Europe du Nord et en Italie, la Bible hébraïque voit sa structure ornementale calquer déjà certains traits de celle du livre latin contemporain. Ainsi, à défaut de la lettre initiale, la majuscule n'existant pas dans l'écriture hébraïque, c'est le mot initial de livre (Fig. 16 - 18) et aussi, parfois, de péripécie, qui est mis en évidence par le choix d'un plus grand module, sa présentation dans un panneau ornemental et/ou la décoration des lettres elle-mêmes. Plus rarement et plus tardivement, au XIV<sup>e</sup> et au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le procédé s'introduit aussi en pays ibérique: on y trouve le panneau initial de livre, portant ou non le mot initial, et même, mais exceptionnellement, au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, la seule lettre initiale ornée ou sur panneau ornemental (Fig. 19 - 21).



Cette occidentalisation des partis adoptés pour la décoration de la Bible hébraïque se fait encore plus sensible quand au décor du mot initial de livre ou de péricope s'associe l'illustration du texte. Déjà apparue dans le deuxième quart du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans les Bibles du Nord de l'Europe, l'image initiale de texte, qui peut être assez étroitement associée au mot initial pour en faire un mot historié, est très rare en pays ibérique. Jamais très fréquente dans le Nord de l'Europe ni en Italie, elle n'en continue pas moins à apparaître dans ces deux aires géographiques au cours des XIV<sup>e</sup> (Fig. 22) et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Par ailleurs, et surtout au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, en pays ibérique comme en Italie, et aussi, parfois, en Europe du Nord, la mise en évidence du mot initial s'enrichit de la décoration peinte des marges de la page où il figure (Fig. 18 - 21), selon un procédé alors presque constant dans le livre non-juif. Il faut aussi considérer comme des emprunts au livre occidental les quelques exemples d'illustration bibliques à pleine page insérées dans des manuscrits de l'Europe du Nord.

La décoration de la Bible hébraïque s'occidentalise aussi dans sa palette et sa technique. Les enlumineurs de nos bibles adoptent la palette, le vocabulaire décoratif et les styles propres aux régions où ils se sont formés, quand la décoration des codices hébraïques n'est pas elle-même confiée - le cas se présente surtout en Italie - à des enlumineurs non-juifs. Ainsi, certains de nos manuscrits ne diffèrent des manuscrits bibliques latins contemporains que par la langue et l'écriture de leur texte.

Cependant, l'un des traits caractéristiques de la décoration de la Bible hébraïque en Occident, du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, en pays ibérique, et aussi, vers la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans des milieux de réfugiés espagnols, en Italie (Fig. 23, Fig. 24) ou, exceptionnellement en Bourgogne, c'est, le plus souvent en tête du manuscrit, une série, plus ou moins longue, de pages d'arcades, traitées décorativement ou architecturalement. Elles encadrent des textes d'apparat critique et des traités massorétiques. Leur présence contribue à conserver leur spécificité même à des manuscrits complètement occidentalisés dans les autres traits de leur structure ornementale et dans leur style, y compris celui des pages d'arcades. Le motif de l'arcade, simple ou répétée, n'est pas absent de la décoration de la Bible hébraïque orientale. Son origine et ses relations avec la décoration de la Bible chrétienne orientale n'ont pas encore pu être établies avec certitude. Son usage, purement ornemental ou symbolique paraît indépendant de celui qu'en fait l'art chrétien pour les Tables des Canons des Évangiles. Dans les manuscrits sefarades considérés, au contraire, le rôle des arcades qui encadrent des listes et des textes, semble se rapprocher, malgré l'éloignement dans le temps, de celui qu'elles avaient dans les Tables de Canons évangéliques.

L'originalité de la Bible hébraïque est aussi et tout particulièrement marquée par sa fidélité à l'emploi, unique en Occident médiéval, de la micrographie ornementale (Fig. 25 - 26). Et non seulement le procédé reste constant dans toutes les aires de résidence juive, sauf en Italie, du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais c'est à la fin de ce siècle qu'il connaît, en Espagne, une des phases les plus riches de son développement.

L'examen codicologique et paléographique le plus récent de l'unique manuscrit enluminé considéré comme de la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, soit de 805, le codex des Prophètes du Caire, Synagogue karaïte, Ms. 34, a conclu à une date beaucoup plus tardive, probablement du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (voir B. Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts, a Treasured Legacy*, Cleveland-Jérusalem, 1990, pp. 18 et 55).

Il ne nous reste qu'un exemple médiéval ancien de décor dans une bible hébraïque sûrement originaire d'Afrique du Nord. C'est le fragment (un double feuillet) de Leningrad, Bibliothèque publique, Ms. 11 B 108, qui porte un double indicateur de *parasha* ornemental et, dans un panneau décoré, le colophon du copiste du Pentateuque auquel ces feuillets appartenaient, précisant qu'il le copia à Tlemcen en 1225.

L'exposé était accompagné de la projection de dispositifs qui illustraient chacun des traits spécifiques et chacune des phases du développement de la décoration de la Bible hébraïque médiévale.

Les images étaient toutes prises dans la documentation que nous avons réunie en vue d'établir un corpus de la Bible hébraïque médiévale enluminée et nos remarques livrent quelque-unes des réflexions que suggère leur examen comparatif.

Les exemples étaient empruntés aux manuscrits suivants:

Pour le Moyen-Orient: IX<sup>e</sup> - XI<sup>e</sup> siècles:

Fostat, Synagogue karaïte, Prophètes (805); Leningrad, Bibliothèque publique, Ms. 11. 17. (020), Ms. 11 B. 10. (040?), Ms. 11. S. (051), Ms. 1. B. 10a (1000), Ms. 11. 202.

Pour la péninsule ibérique: XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle

Jérusalem, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Heb. 4<sup>o</sup> 700 (1200); Leningrad, Bibl. publ., Ms. 11. 53; Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1020, vol. 2 et 3; Parme, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. Parm. 3183 (1272)..

XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle

Anciennement Collection Sassoon, Ms. 508 (1307) et Coll. Sassoon, Ms. 368 (1306-1382); Copenhague, Bibliothèque royale, Cod. Hebr. II 368 (1306-1382); Paris, Bibl. nat. et univ., Ms. Heb. 8<sup>o</sup> 5147; Lisbonne, (1301); Jérusalem, Bibl. nat. et univ., Ms. Heb. 8<sup>o</sup> 5147; Modène, Biblioteca Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 11. 72 (1200-1300); Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Cod. 37 A 2; Orléans, Cod. 4. M. 8. 4; Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. Estense, Cod. 4. M. 8. 4; Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Cod. 37 A 2; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Kenn. 2 (1306?); Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. hébr. 25 (1232), ms. hébr. 7 (1200) et ms. hébr. 20 (1300); Paris, Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice, ms. 1933; Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 1908-2000; Rome, Comunità Isrealitica, Ms. No 19 (1325) et Ms. No 20; Vatican (Le), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. ebr. 475.



## XVe siècle

Coimbre, Biblioteca Universitária, Ms. Coffre-fort 1; Anc. Coll. Sassoon, Ms. 487 (1468); Copenhague, Bibl. roy., Cod. Hebr. I, V, et VII-IX; Gênes, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. D IX 31 (1481); Imola, Biblioteca Comunale, Bible hébraïque; Londres, British Library, Ms. Or. 2626-2628 (1482); Modène, Cod. . . D. 5. 9. (1470); Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. hébr. 1314-1315; Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 1994-1995, Ms. Parm. 2018, Ms. Parm. 2809 (1473) et Ms. Parm. 2825 (1442).

## Pour l'Italie

## XIIIe siècle

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ms. or. quart. 371; Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 1870; Vatican (Le), Bibl. Apost., Cod. Ross. 554 (1285-1286) et Cod. Ross. 556 (1293).

## XIVe siècle

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. II, 1 (1396-1397); Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 2151-2153 (1304), Ms. Parm. 2877 et Ms. Parm. 3216.

## XVe siècle

Aberdeen, University Library, Ms. 23 (1495); Berlin, St.-Bibl. Pr. Kult.-Bes. Or.-Abt., Ms. Hamilton 547; Florence, Bibl. Med. Laur., Ms. Plut. III, 10; Hambourg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Scrin. 154; Jérusalem, Musée national d'Israël, Ms. 180/55; Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 3596; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2830 (1455).

Pour le Nord de l'Europe, royaume de France, terres d'Empire et états allemands:

## XIIIe siècle

Berlin, St.-Bibl. Pr. Kult.-Bes. Or.-Abt., Ms. or. fol. 1212; Copenhague, Bibl. roy., Ms. Hébr. XI (1290); Londres, Br. Lib., Ms. Add. 11639; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. B. Inf. 30-32 (1236-1238); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 14; Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. hébr. 4 (1286) et ms. hébr. 5-6 (1294-1295); Vatican (Le), Bibl. Apost., Cod. Urbin. ebr. 1 (1294); Wrocław, Bibliothèque universitaire, Ms. M 1106 (1237-1238) et Bibliothèque Ossolinski, Coll. Pawlikowski, Ms. 141.

## XIVe siècle

Cambridge, University Library, Ms. E. E. 5. 9 (1347); Jérusalem, Schocken Library, Ms. 14940 et Musée nat. d'Israël, Ms. 180/52 et Ms. 180/94 (1344); Londres, Br. Lib., Ms. Add. 15282; Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. hébr. 36 (1300); Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. (3286-3287); Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Heb. 16 (1299).

## XVe siècle

Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 2823; Berlin, St.-Bibl. Pr. Kult.-Bes., Or.-Abt., Ms. Hamilton 81.

## Légendes des figures

## Pleines pages ornementales:

1. Vatican (Le), Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. ebr. 475 (début du XIVe s.), fol. 1v.
2. Rome, Comunità Isrealitica, Ms. No 10 (1325), fol. 212v.
3. Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Biblioteca Abbaziale, Cod. 37 A 2 (début du XIVe s.), fol. 5v.

## Décor marginal en micrographie:

4. Madrid, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 118, Z. 42 (XIIIe s., avant 1280), Cantique de Moïse, Deut. XXXII, 17-38.
5. Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Bibl. Abb., Cod. 37 A 2, (début du XIVe s.), fol. 320v.
6. Copenhague, Bibliothèque royale, Cod. Hebr. I, (3e-4e quart du XVe s.), p. 111.
7. Copenhague, Bibl. royale, Cod. Hebr. V, (2e moitié du XVe s.), fol. 88r.

## Décor et illustration de la réclame:

8. Hambourg, St.- und Univ.-Bibl., Cod. hebr. 6 (1309), p. 124.
9. Hambourg, St.- und Univ.-Bibl., Cod. hebr. 5 (1309), p. 32; Samsen le fort, Judges, II, 10.

## Décor et panneaux de fin de livre et indicateurs de péripécopes:

10. Madrid, Bibl. Univ., Ms. 118, Z. 42 (XIIIe s., avant 1280): fin de Lévitique et indicateur de la 1ère péripécopie des Nombres (cycle trisannuel).
11. Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Bibl. Abb., Cod. 37 A 2, (début du XIVe s.), fol. 320v: fin des Chroniques.
12. Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Bibl. Abb., Cod. 37 A 2, (début du XIVe s.), fol. 51r: indicateur de péripécopie du cycle annuel, Lév. XIV, 1.
13. Madrid, Bibl. Univ., Ms. 118, Z. 42, (XIIIe s., avant 1280): indicateur de péripécopie du cycle annuel, Genèse, XXVIII, 10.
14. Lisbonne, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Il. 72 (1300), fol. 112v: indicateur de péripécopie du cycle annuel et illustration, Deut. XXVI, 1.
15. Parme, Bibl. Palatina, Ms. Parm. 3216 - De Rossi 1261 (fin du XIIIe s.): indicateur de péripécopie du cycle annuel, Lév. XXV, 1.

## Mots initiaux de livres bibliques:

16. Hambourg, St.- und Univ.-Bibl., Cod. hebr. 4 (circa 1300), p. 389: Ecclésiaste.
17. Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 1891- De Rossi 27 (XIVe s.), fol. 283r: Osée.
18. Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 1994- De Rossi 346 /1 (dernier quart du XVe siècle), fol. 170v: I Rois.



19. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ms. Hamilton 81 (3e-4e quart du XVe s.), fol. 20v: Genèse.
20. Gênes, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. D. IV. 31 (14-15), fol. 8v: Genèse.
21. Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 1094 - De Rossi 340 (1) (dernier quart du XVe s.), fol. 14v: Genèse.

Illustrations initiales de livre biblique:

22. Parme, Bibl. Pal., Ms. Parm. 277 - De Rossi 58 (1ère moitié du XIVe s.), fol. 2v: Job et ses amis; le maître et ses élèves.

Pages d'arcades:

23. Copenhague, Bibl. roy., Cod. Hebr. II (1301), fol. 4v.
24. Aberdeen, University Library, Ms 23 (1495), fol. 3r.

Décoration micrographique vers la fin du XVe siècle:

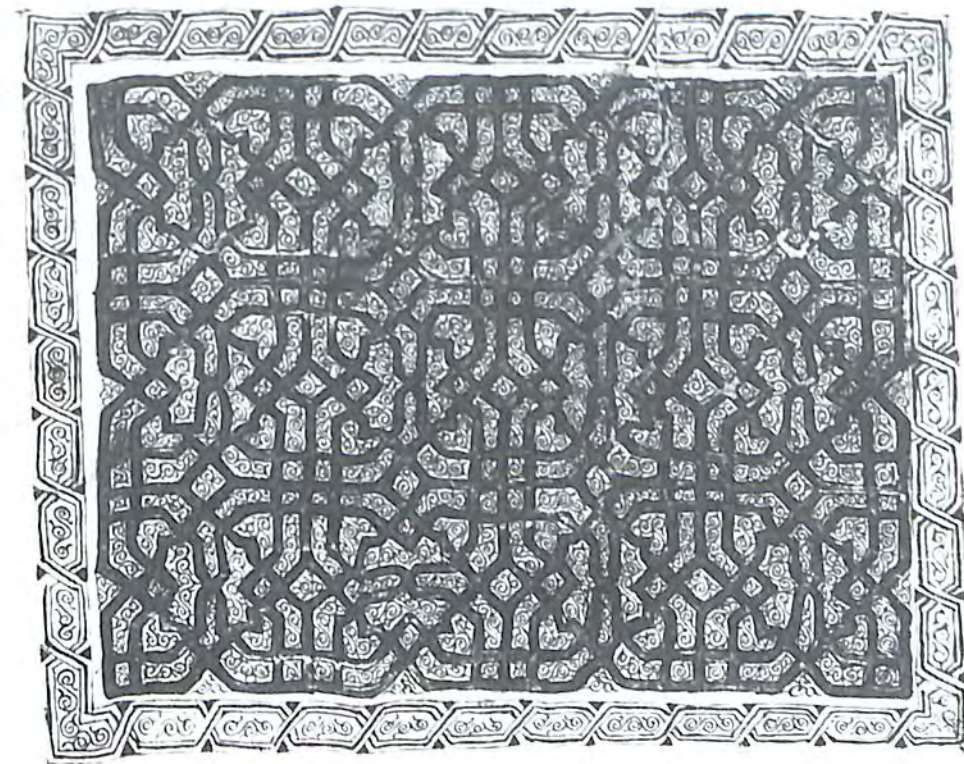
25. Modène, Biblioteca Estense, Cod.  $\alpha$ . O. 5. 9 (1470), fol. 5r: pleine page ornementale.
26. Modène, Bibl. Est., Cod.  $\alpha$ . O. 5. 9 (1470), fol. 35v: Cantique de Moïse, Ex. XV, 1.

Les manuscrits auxquels sont empruntées les figures 4, 10, 13, 16, 17, ne figurent pas dans la liste des projections.

Nous remercions les Bibliothèques citées de nous permettre de reproduire ces photographies.

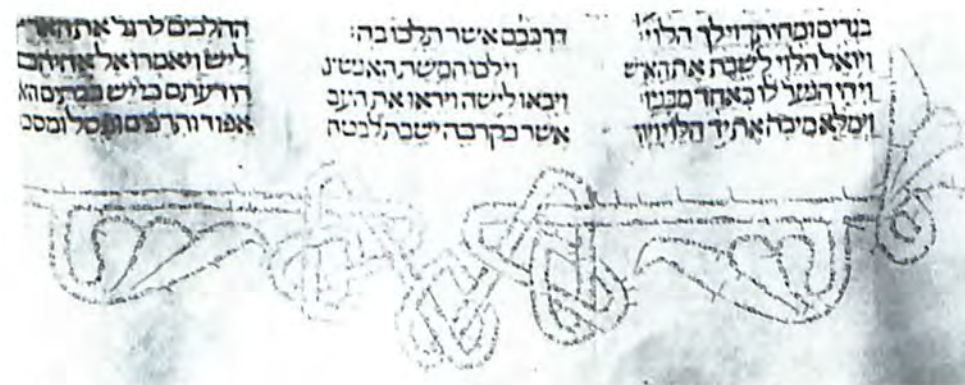
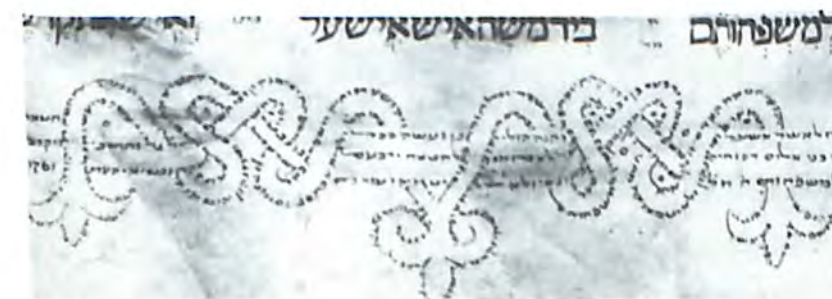
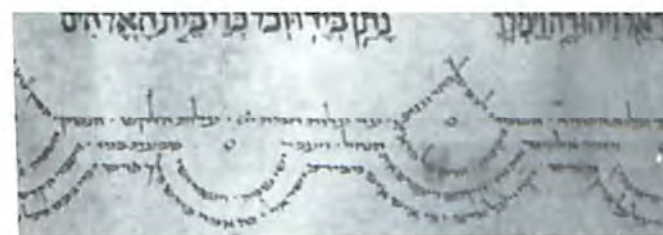
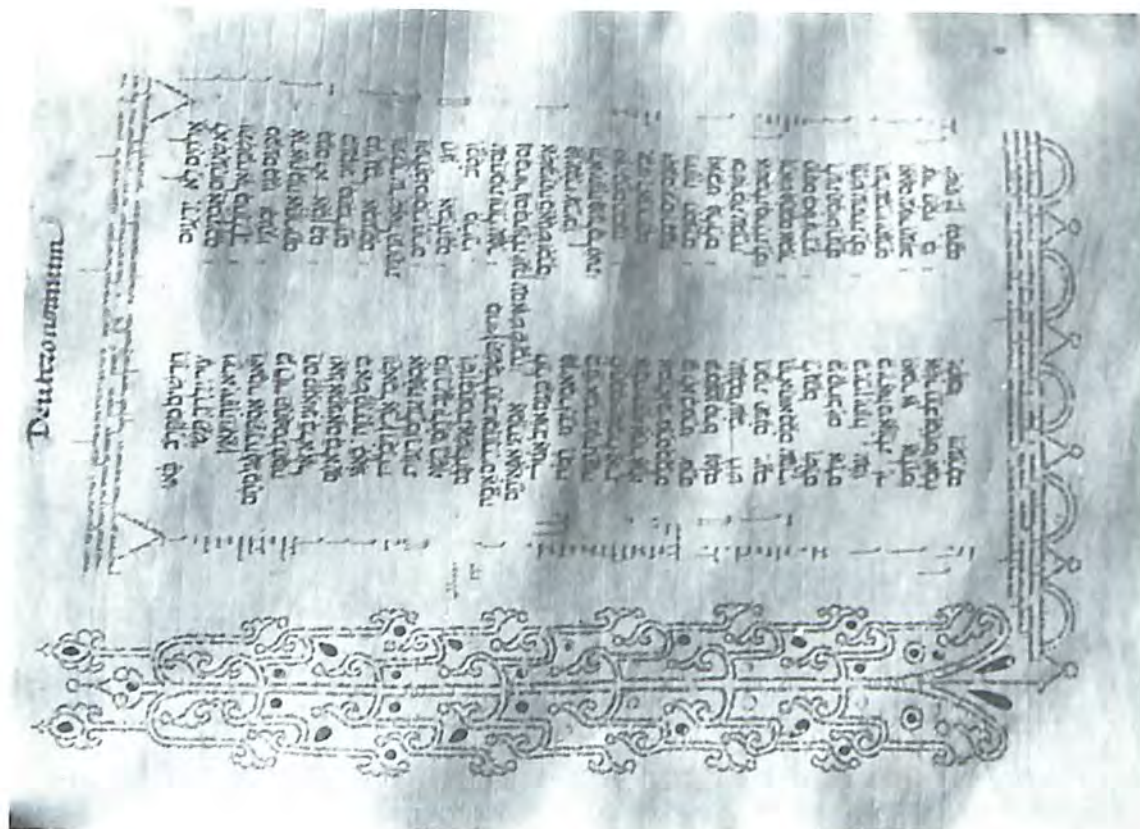


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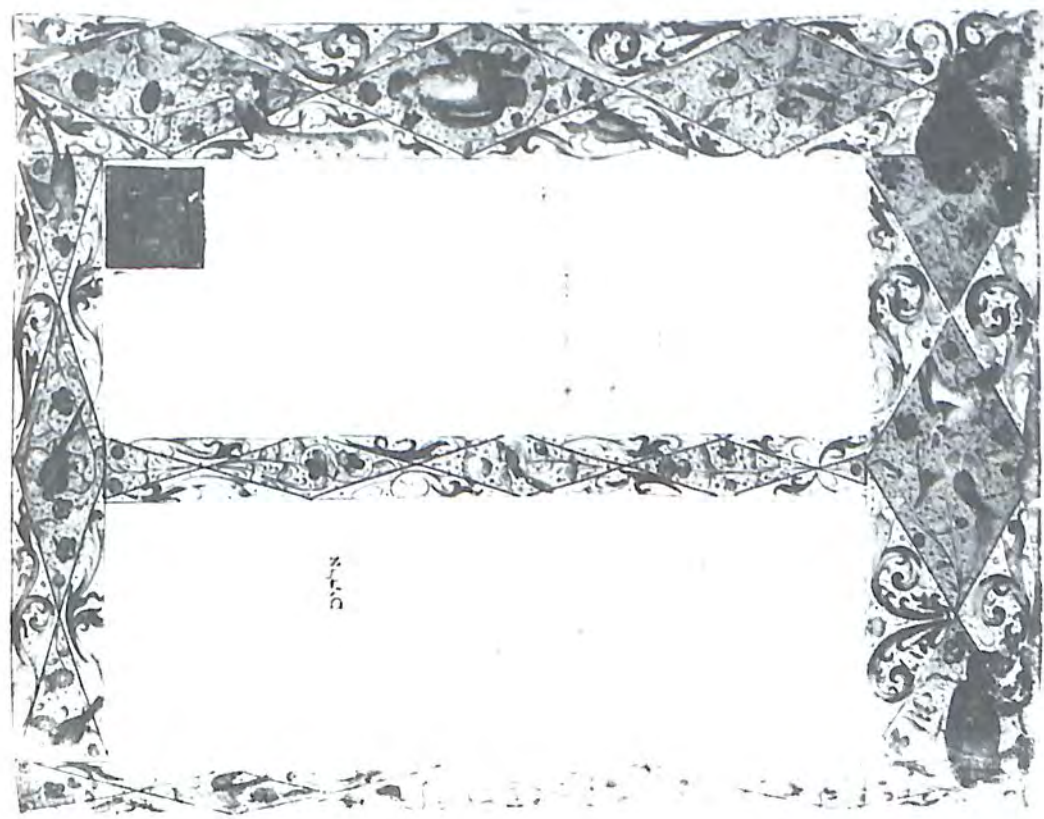








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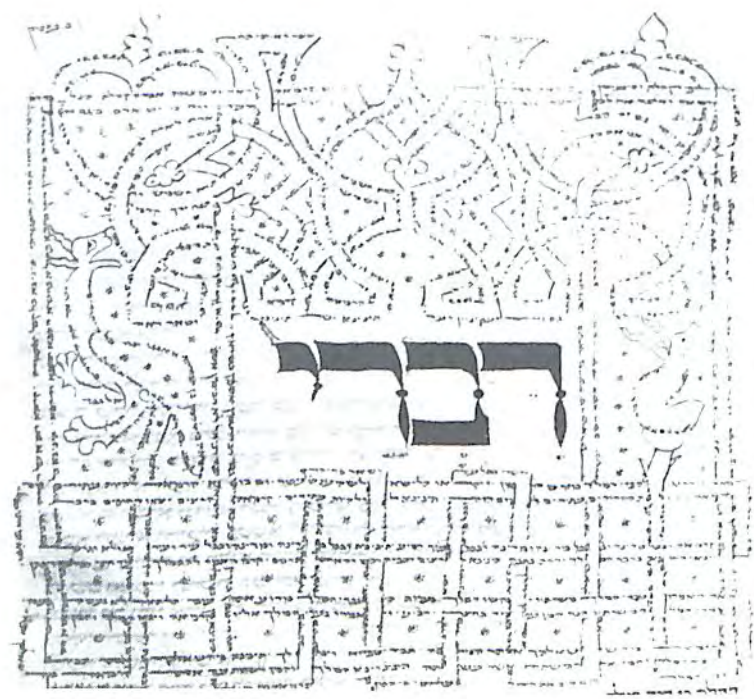
14



ויזנו  
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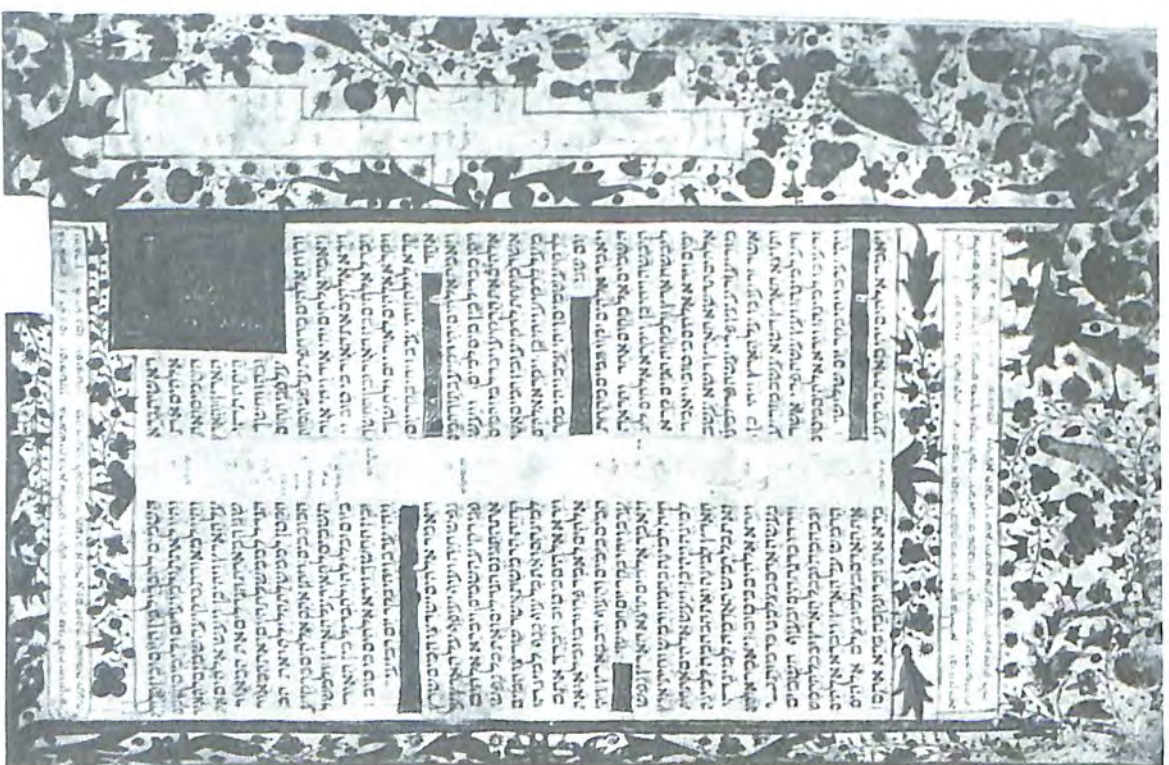
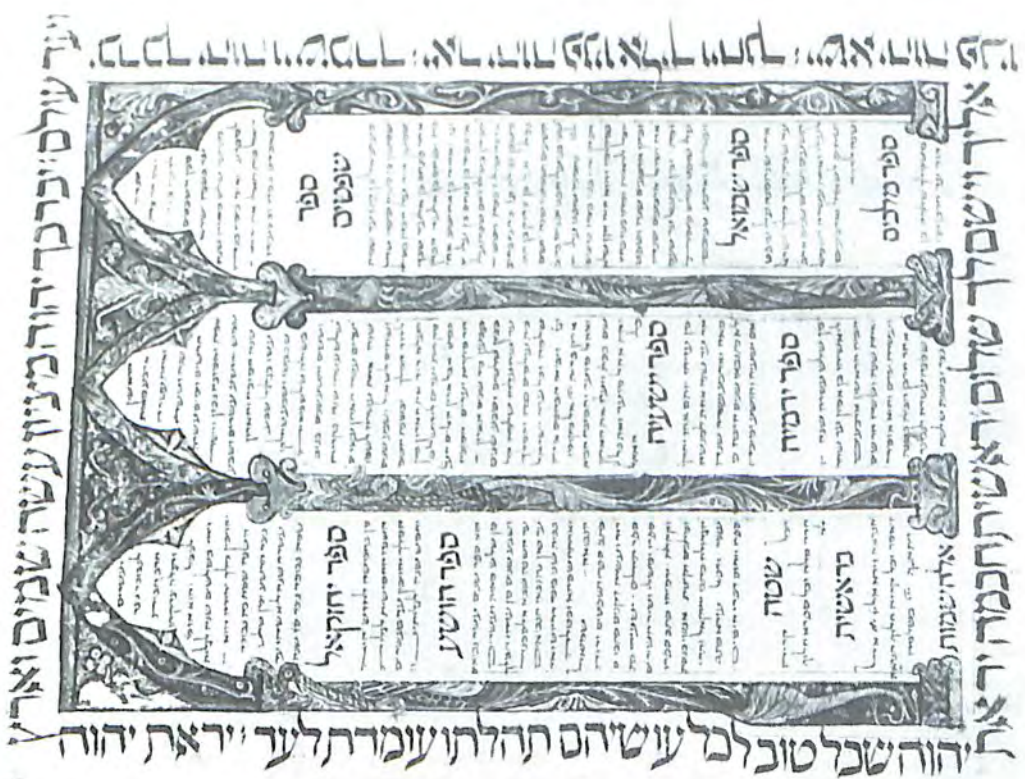
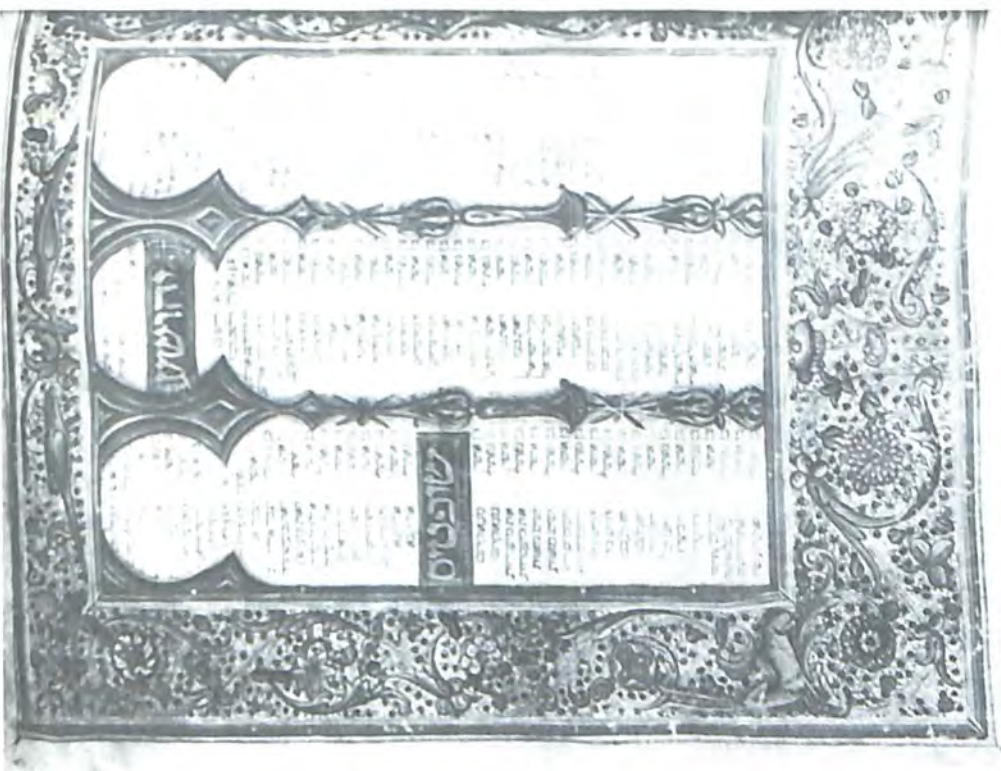


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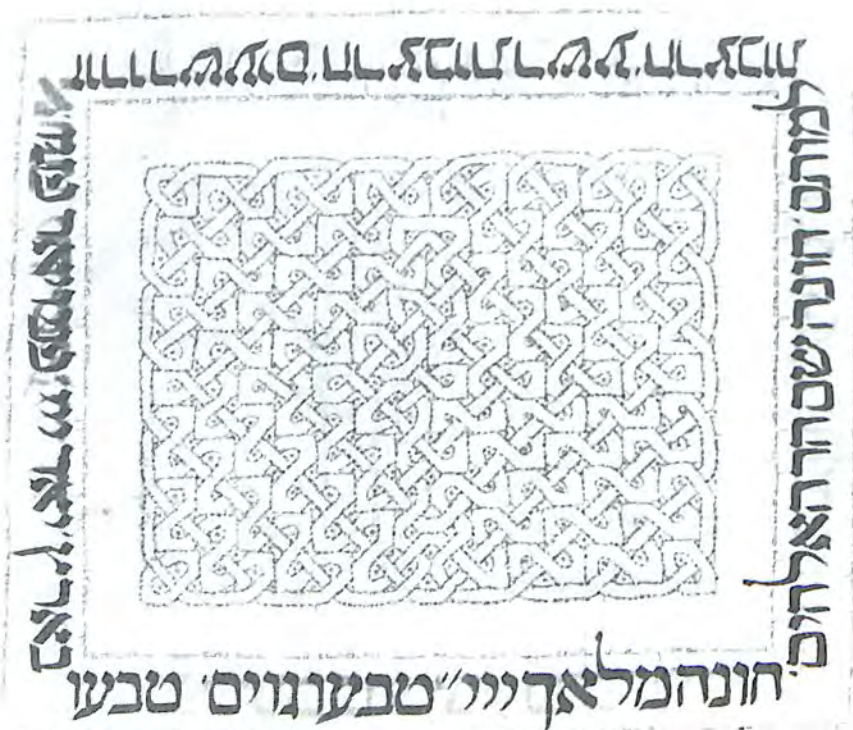


16









Mendel Metzger

An Illuminated Jewish Prayer Book of the 10th Century.  
The ms. Smith-Lesouef 250 in the Bibliothèque nationale (Paris)

To Dr. Hans Striedl (Munich)  
for his 85th Birthday (17th January 1992)

The Bibliothèque nationale in Paris had received in 1913 through a donation, made by the heirs of the collector and well known specialist of Far Eastern languages, the French scholar Auguste Lesouef (1820-1900), an important collection of manuscripts (in Latin, French and other Western languages and further 94 in Oriental languages) as well as a considerable number of rare and precious early printed books. This donation was first deposited in a special building, part of the Municipal Library in Nogent-sur-Marne, the town in which Lesouef had resided. The printed books were not brought over to Paris before 1930, while the manuscripts did certainly reach the Bibliothèque nationale only after 1950. But both the printed books and the manuscripts had been already catalogued by the Bibliothèque nationale with the specific shelfmark "Smith-Lesouef" while they were still in Nogent-sur-Marne.

Amongst the Oriental manuscripts only two are in Hebrew. Ms. 251 is an Esther scroll (*m-gilla*) with pen drawn decoration and illustration to the biblical text. The other one, ms. 250, which Blochet described erroneously (*loc. cit.*) as comprising only the "prières pour les jours de la semaine" (prayers for weekdays) is in fact a much more complete Jewish prayer book, as it is a *mahzor*, comprising as such not only the "common prayers" for weekdays, but essentially the prayers for *shabat* and the special *shabatot*, the festivals with their wealth of *piyyuṭim*, the Haggada, the special events in any individual's life (birth, circumcision, redemption of the first-born son, wedding ceremony - the prayers for burial being here omitted), all following the Italian rite. Blochet (*loc. cit.*) was also unaware of the fact that this manuscript had a colophon with the date and the year 1520, when he mistakenly attributed it to the "XVII"th century, which from the point of view of style is out of the question for the illustration.

The text of this *mahzor* has been written by Moses ben Hayyim Aqrish, known as a copyist who wrote several Hebrew manuscripts during the last decade of the 15th and in the first decades of the 16th century. So the activity of this scribe spanned over a period of at least forty years. Seldom can we document the work of a Jewish scribe so fully and over such a long period. As Jewish scribes did not always sign their work, it is even possible that more manuscripts copied by him have survived than the seven which bear his colophon.

In these colophons he gave his name and the year, sometimes even the date (day and month), when he completed writing the text. In two of these manuscripts he gave as well the name of the town in which he had written them.







- Fol. 154 v<sup>o</sup>: for the first chapter of *Mishnayot* (Sayings of the Fathers), the *matan tora* (giving of the Law) (Fig. 7), Moses and the people receiving the tablets of the Law on Mt. Sinai.
- Fol. 200 v<sup>o</sup>: for the *selihot* (penitential prayers for the ten days before *rosh ha-shana* (the New Year), Jews praying in a synagogue.
- Fol. 231 v<sup>o</sup>: for *rosh ha-shana*, blowing the *shofar*.
- Fol. 238 r<sup>o</sup> and 239<sup>o</sup>: also for *rosh ha-shana*, Abraham and Isaac on their way to Mt. Moriah and the sacrifice of Isaac.
- Fol. 269 r<sup>o</sup>: for *yom kipur* (Day of Atonement), the *hazan* and the community kneeling in prayer (Fig. 8).
- Fol. 307 v<sup>o</sup>: also for *yom kipur*, the *hazan* kneeling in front of the pulpit (Fig. 9).
- Fol. 332 v<sup>o</sup>: for *sukot* (Feast of Tabernacles), taking a meal in the *sukka* (booth).
- Fol. 335 v<sup>o</sup>: also for *sukot*, taking the *Lulav* (palm) and the *etrog* (citrus) to say the special benediction - in the marginal decoration another beautiful *etrog*.

But the manuscript as we can see it now - is very different from what it looked like when Isaac took it back from the hands of the illuminator. Owing to striking differences in the ornamental vocabulary and the style, it can be established that in its first stage the codex contained only four illustrations, those for the *haggada* (one on fol. 113 v<sup>o</sup>, the two on fol. 118 r<sup>o</sup> and one on fol. 118 v<sup>o</sup>), and the decoration on 18 folios, seven in the first quire of the codex (fol. 5 r<sup>o</sup>-14 r<sup>o</sup>) and eleven in the 13th and 14th quires (fol. 105 r<sup>o</sup> - 123 v<sup>o</sup>). While, in its later stage, all the other illustrations (see the list above) and most of the decoration have been executed, from fol. 15 r<sup>o</sup> to 255 v<sup>o</sup> and then, among the remaining 135 leaves, only on four pages (269 v<sup>o</sup>, 307 v<sup>o</sup>, 332 v<sup>o</sup> and 335 v<sup>o</sup>) each of the four bearing an illustration.

The second series follows the same program of decoration as the first: ornamental panels for initial words and marginal decoration attached to the panels, the illustrations being part of the marginal decoration. The first decoration, the workmanship of which is of high quality, is obviously the work of one hand only who just started on what had been perhaps a much more ambitious program. The second one, on the whole of an equally high quality, shows that different hands were at work during this stage of the enterprise. Some variations in the colours for instance the change in the blue (from fol. 37 v<sup>o</sup> onwards) or in the green (fol. 22 v<sup>o</sup>) or in the introduction of new motives (from fol. 51 v<sup>o</sup> onwards) seem to indicate less a change of hand than the use of newly supplied pigments, and an endeavour to avoid fastidious repetition. Nevertheless, between fol. 126 v<sup>o</sup> and fol. 148 v<sup>o</sup>, the work of the principal hand has been interspersed with that of a third hand, on thirteen pages.

The first decoration, made up of stylised foliage, precious stones and pearls, sculptural motifs, medallions with animals in landscapes (fol. 4 r<sup>o</sup>) and mostly lush leaves on the other margins, fits perfectly within the production of the period in Ferrara. The closest parallel to the border of fol. 5 r<sup>o</sup> is to be found in MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. Add. 34, fol. 1 r<sup>o</sup>, a copy of the Book of Ecclesiastes with Abraham Farissol's commentary, composed in 1521, and presumably an autograph.

More surprising in a prayer book is the ornamental vocabulary of the other series. It borrows also from the conventional stock of animals (Fig. 10), flowers and fruit but it multiplies the motifs taken from stucco decoration (Fig. 11), cartouches, draped cloth, grotesque figures, putti (Fig. 12), ignudi, cameos (Fig. 13), typical of the manneristic decoration developed by the followers of Giulio Romano in the Ducal Palace in Mantua. A date can be advanced for the execution of this decoration on our codex: in the marginal decoration of fol. 253 r<sup>o</sup>, the date "1500" is written in a small cartouche. (Fig. 15).

Isaac died circa 1550. We know by the inscription written in the upper cartouche of the frontispice, painted on fol. 4 r<sup>o</sup> (Fig. 14), that the codex was inherited not by his first-born son, who succeeded him at the head of the bank, but by the third of his four sons, Jacob. As this page is obviously painted by another hand than those of the second series, it may well have been added already before, when Jacob inherited the manuscript from his father or his mother. Although nothing is known of Jacob after 1501, we can assume that it was he who still possessed the codex in 1500 (Fig. 15) and had it so richly illuminated, for the three Latin letters which appear with the family coat of arms in the marginal decoration (fol. 250 v<sup>o</sup> and 255 v<sup>o</sup>) (Fig. 16) are the initials of the words translating his personal Hebrew motto (taken from Ps. CXVI, 2), the three initials of which can be seen on fol. 4 r<sup>o</sup> (Fig. 14).

This book is remarkable for its intrinsic beauty, but also by what it can tell us about the mentality of at least some rich members of an Italian Jewish Community on the 16th century. Its two possessors were Jews living in their community according to its rules and traditions, and keeping faithfully enough to the full cycle of Jewish rites and ceremonies to have asked the illuminators, probably non-Jew, to illustrate them fully and precisely, in the very tradition of the Italian *maḥzor* as known already mostly in the 15th century.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, its second possessor showed no reluctance to accept in it the most profane repertory of motifs, on fashion among artists and dilettanti, and to have a prayer book transformed in a piece of decorative art, according to the most advanced taste of the day.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Ch. de la Rencière, *La bibliothèque Smith-Lesouëf (Bibliothèque nationale) à Nogent-sur-Marne*, in "Bulletin du bibliophile", 1939, pp. 431-438.
2. See for example in the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale*, tome XCVI (Paris, 1929), col. 234-235; five books mentioned. On the other hand, a partial copy of the catalogue of about 200 manuscripts (not published) written by Pierre Champion on about 1905, can be consulted in the Department of Manuscripts of the Bibl. nationale, while separately, the 94 Oriental manuscripts were shortly described by M. Blochet (a typescript of this list can be asked for in the Reading Room of the Oriental manuscripts Section in the Bibl. nationale). Finally, together with Champion, Seymour de Ricci published an *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits anciens de la Bibliothèque Smith-Lesouëf à Nogent-sur-Marne* (Paris, 1930), 16 p., which includes 120 manuscripts (Latin MSS. nos. 1-51; various languages, nos. 52-61; French MSS. nos. 62-120).



3. In the Exhibition catalogue, *Jewish Treasures from Paris, from the Collections of the Cluny Museum and the Synagogue in Jerusalem*. The Israel Museum, 1982), the author of the entry for the Musée de Cluny *mahzor* (see the exhib. catalogue No 61 - also below, our no. 3), Sed-Rajna, claims that "Aqrish is known from two other manuscripts" (see below our nos. 1 and 6 for these two), thus ignoring no less than four (our nos. 2, 4, 5 and 7, below).
4. See D. S. Loewinger, (an article in Hebrew), in "Tarbiz", XXXVIII, 1968, p. 188. A. Freimann knew only nos. 1 and 2 (see here in our list) and thought them by two different scribes, one *saphardî* (in "Zeitschrift für hebraeische Bibliographie", XIV, 1910, p. 110, No 101), the other Italian (in *Alexander Marx Jüdische Volume* (New York, 1950), p. 303, No 359).
5. See Loewinger *op. cit.* supra n. 4, p. 188, n. 14, with the incorrect shelfmark "Rossian. No 4"; in the List (of microfilms of Hebrew manuscripts) in the Institute (in Hebrew), by N. Allony and D. S. Loewinger, pt. 3: *Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican* (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 87, No. 759, this Vatican manuscript is entered, without reason as Rossian, No 4. On the other hand, the year "1447" proposed by Loewinger, *loc. cit.*, for this *mahzor* cannot be retained, as not two, but four Hebrew letters are dotted, giving thus the year 5273/1512/1513.
6. D. Simonsen (in "Zeitschrift für hebraeische Bibliographie", XV, 1911, p. 26, No 3, his addition to Freimann's No 101) has corrected the wrong date "1637" given for this manuscript in the Copenhagen catalogue *Codices orientales* (Copenhagen, 1851), p. 27, No XXXIX.
7. That he was by then in Italy, and wrote there the two Bibles, can also be deduced from the codicological features of these two codices, which are in the London Bible mostly and in the Parma Bible completely Italian, as those of the other five manuscripts which have been written indubitably in Italy, nos. 3 and 4, copied in Ferrara, and no. 6, commissioned for an Italian Jewish banker. Moreover, the London Bible offers a lavish Italian style decoration, evidently added to the volume close to 1497/1498, when it was written.
8. In *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag David Hoffmanns*, edited by Simon Eppenstein, Meier Hildesheimer and Joseph Wohlgemuth (Berlin, 1914), p. 291 (XI) "Cod. 940. Gehört zu den schönsten mit herrlichen Initialen verzierten Bibel-Handschriften".
9. In the exhibition catalogue (by Victor Klagsbald), *Catalogue raisonné de la collection juive du Musée de Cluny* (Paris, Grand palais, 1981), p. 39, G. Sed-Rajna describes, under No 29, the Musée de Cluny *mahzor* (see our no. 3) and assumes that Moses Aqrish "est probablement responsable de la décoration aussi, celle-ci étant semblable aux ornements de deux autres manuscrits signés par lui" (here she mentions our nos. 1 and 6). The wide discrepancy between the two styles exhibited by the decoration of no. 6 would suffice to induce us to reject such a statement. Moreover even a mere glance at no. 1, no. 3 and no. 6 reveals at once the marked difference between the three. One can only conclude that the copyist has had no hand at all in the embellishment of these manuscripts which must have been decided upon and commissioned in each case by the possessor of the completed copy.

10. The colophon (fol. 372 v<sup>o</sup>) thus disagrees with the declaration copied on fol. 2 v<sup>o</sup> by another hand than Aqrish's, stating that Isaac's wife, Consela, commissioned this *mahzor* in 1520 for her own use. One can only speculate upon this enigma. The two Hebrew inscriptions have been published in *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques, Tome III, Notes, Bibliothèque de France et d'Israël* by Colette Sirat, Malachi Beit-Arie and Mordechai Glatzer (Jerusalem - Paris, 1980), No III, 69. The Norsa ownership is further confirmed by the appearance of the family coat of arms, on what was originally the first decorated page of the codex (fol. 5 r<sup>o</sup>).
11. This family of loan bankers was prominent since the end of the 14th century, and with Isaac's father and himself had reached the acme of its fortune and influence. The Norsa head-banking-house had been already for over a century in the city of Ferrara. (On this family see Paolo Norsa, *Una famiglia di Banquieri, la famiglia Norsa (1350-1950)*, in "Banco di Napoli - Bollettino dell'Archivio storico", VI, 1953, pp. 1-70, for part I, and *ibid.*, XIII, 1959, pp. 50-191, for part II, and on Isaac's father himself, see *ibid.*, XIII, pp. 50-72).
12. Outbreaks of plague seems to have been frequent during the first quarter of the 16th century in the cities of North-Eastern Italy, for instance in Padua, in 1506 and 1508. Nearly the only way to escape the contagion was still to leave the town where the disease was raging.
13. The family Norsa had other branches, the most prominent of which was established in Mantua. Isaac's family might have taken refuge in this city, or its region, Bologna, where his wife's family resided - she was a daughter of Abraham ben Jacob Finzi, former partner of Immanuel - is less likely to have been chosen owing to the fierce quarrel between his father and his father-in-law (see A. Marx, *A Jewish Cause*, *Cluj*, in *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York, 1944), pp. 107-154, and P. Norsa, *op. cit.*, XIII, pp. 62-65). He might also have called Moses Aqrish, already known as a copyist in Ferrara, to his temporary residence for copying the *mahzor*, as was the custom among wealthy Jews.
14. Codicological specifications of the codex: 380 fol., parchment; 175 - 170 x 130 (95 - 98 x 64 - 68) mm; 39 quires: 1 II (fol. 1-4) + 29 V (fol. 5-204) + 2 IV (fol. 205-310) + 7 V (fol. 311 - 380); starting with flesh-side; neither catchwords nor signatures now visible, but edges slightly trimmed as evidenced by the present state of several illuminations; vertical lines ruled with pencil; fol. 1 - 234: 21 lines ruled and written; fol. 235 - 351: 20 lines ruled and written; fol. 352 - 380: on most pages 20 lines ruled and written; on some pages: 21 lines ruled and 20 written.
15. We have already published a list of the ritual illustrations in Thérèse and Mendel Metzger, *Jüdisches Leben im Mittelalter nach illuminierten hebräischen Handschriften vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Fribourg - Würzburg, 1983), p. 324.
16. This is a unique illustration of the rite. All the other images known in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts show the rite such as it is performed at the end of a *shabat* followed by a festival, i.e. without the



benediction on the spices. So only a cup of wine appears in the images. But here, the performer of the rite holds not only the cup of wine but also the receptacle for the spices.

17. On this ritual use see T. and M. Metzger, *op. cit.*, (above, n. 15), and M. Metzger, *The plate and the book of the Italian mahzor* (still to appear).

18. Only one illustration of the first series is included in an initial panel (fol. 11<sup>v</sup> r<sup>o</sup>) and one of the second series is the only ornament in the margins (fol. 200 v<sup>o</sup>).

19. See above, n. 9. Jacob had a similar frontispiece, but of inferior quality, also added in the former De Bry Psalter (acquired by his father in 1519) when he acquired it. (See Cecil Roth, *The De Bry Psalter and the Norsa family*, in "Revue des études juives", CXXV, 1966, pp. 401-405).

After the Congress ICANAS, Hamburg (August 1960), appeared the two volumes of *Tom III, Manuscripta medicea in univ. lib. medicea* (see above, n. 9). The volume *Noticia*, No III 69 (recto and verso) has a description of the codicology and some indications on the decoration (but no mention of the illustrations) in the ms. Smith-Lesouef 250, based on information given by M. Garel (see, *ibid.*, n. 1), and two reproductions (see the volume *Imago*, pl. III 69a and 69b) of two pages with decoration in this manuscript.

However, the two frontispieces (our fig. 1 and 14) have been given (in *Manuscripta medicea in univ. lib. medicea*) erroneously the same page-number: fol. 5 r<sup>o</sup> (see *Noticia*, pl. III 69 (recto) and pl. 69a reproduces the frontispiece painted on fol. 4 r<sup>o</sup> for Jacob of Norsa (our fig. 14) with the wrong indication: fol. 5 r<sup>o</sup>).

20. The motto appears also in the above mentioned frontispiece in the De Bry Psalter.

21. On the iconography of the Italian *mahzor* see T. and M. Metzger, *op. cit.* (above, n. 15), pp. 241 - 272 *passim*, and M. Metzger, *Un mahzor italien enluminé du XVe siècle*. (Vol. I: Jérusalem, Bibl. Nat. et Univ., Ms. Heb 8<sup>o</sup> 4450. Vol. II: Jérusalem, coll. Weill), in "Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz", XX, 1970, pp. 159 - 196, 21 fig.

We thank the "Service photographique" of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris for having supplied us with a microfilm of the Ms. Smith-Lesouef 250, and for the permission we have received to reproduce some of its illuminated pages.



Fig. 2: fol 65 r<sup>o</sup>



Fig. 1: fol 5r<sup>o</sup>













Fig. 12: fol 39 b

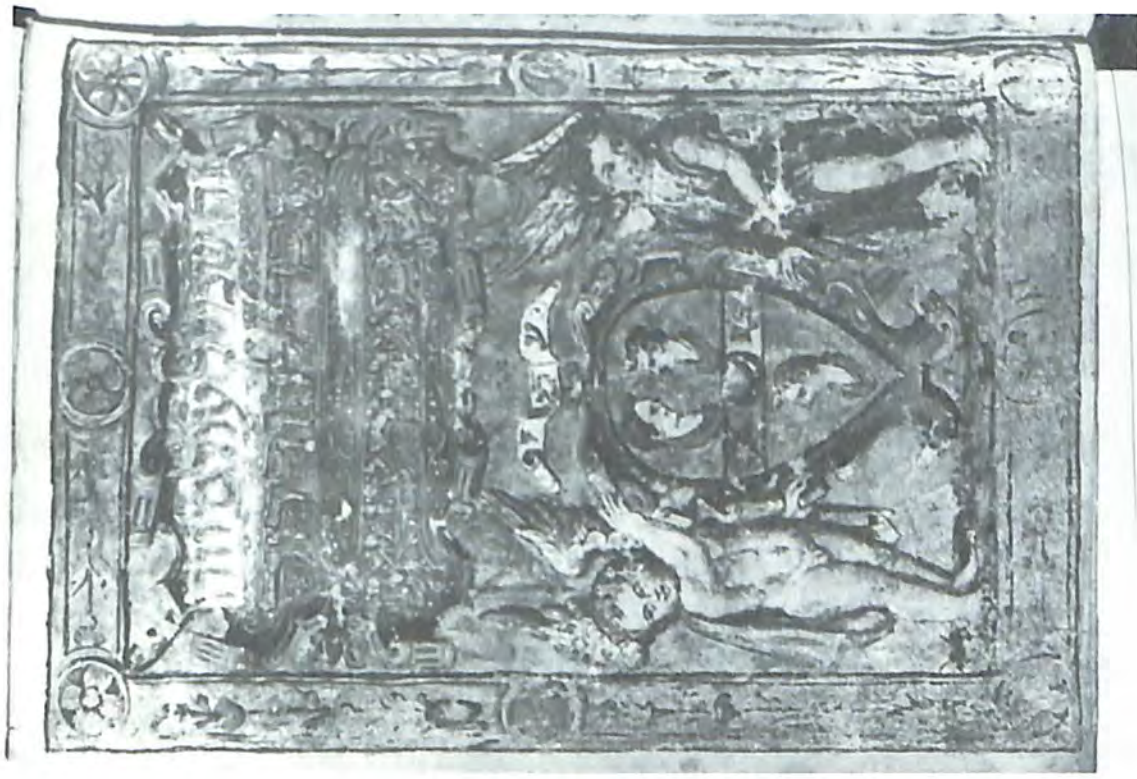


Fig. 14: fol 4 r



Fig. 11: fol 68 b

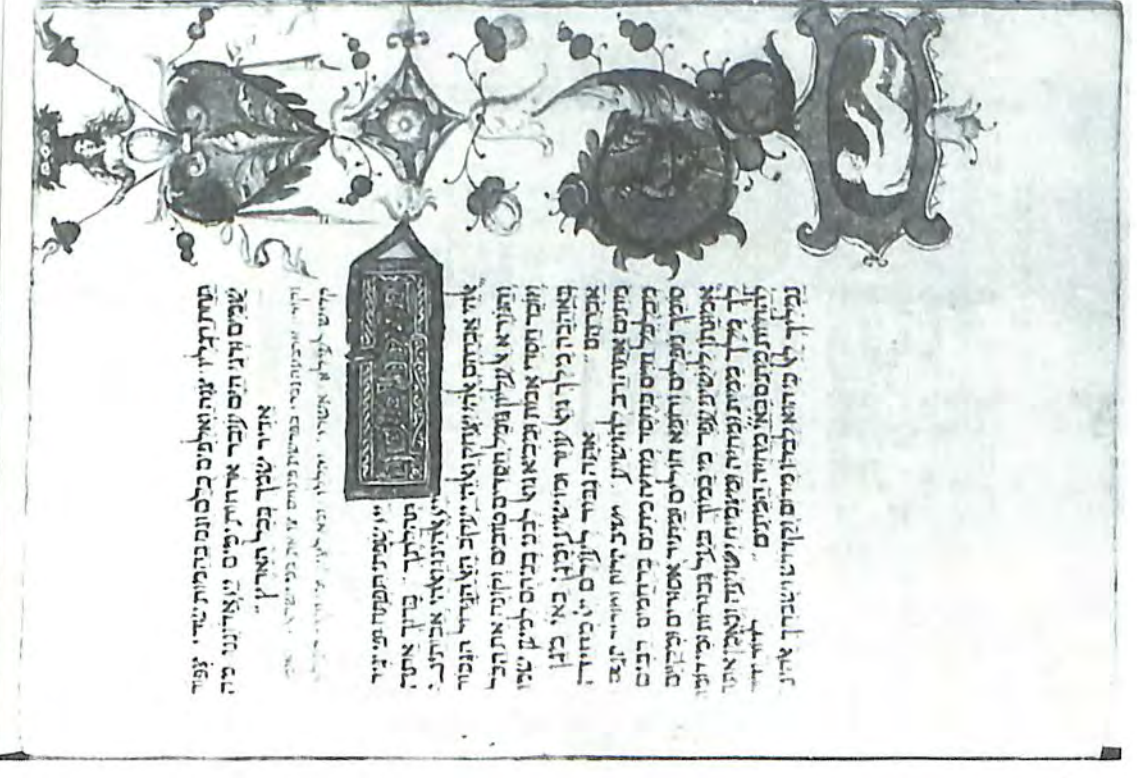
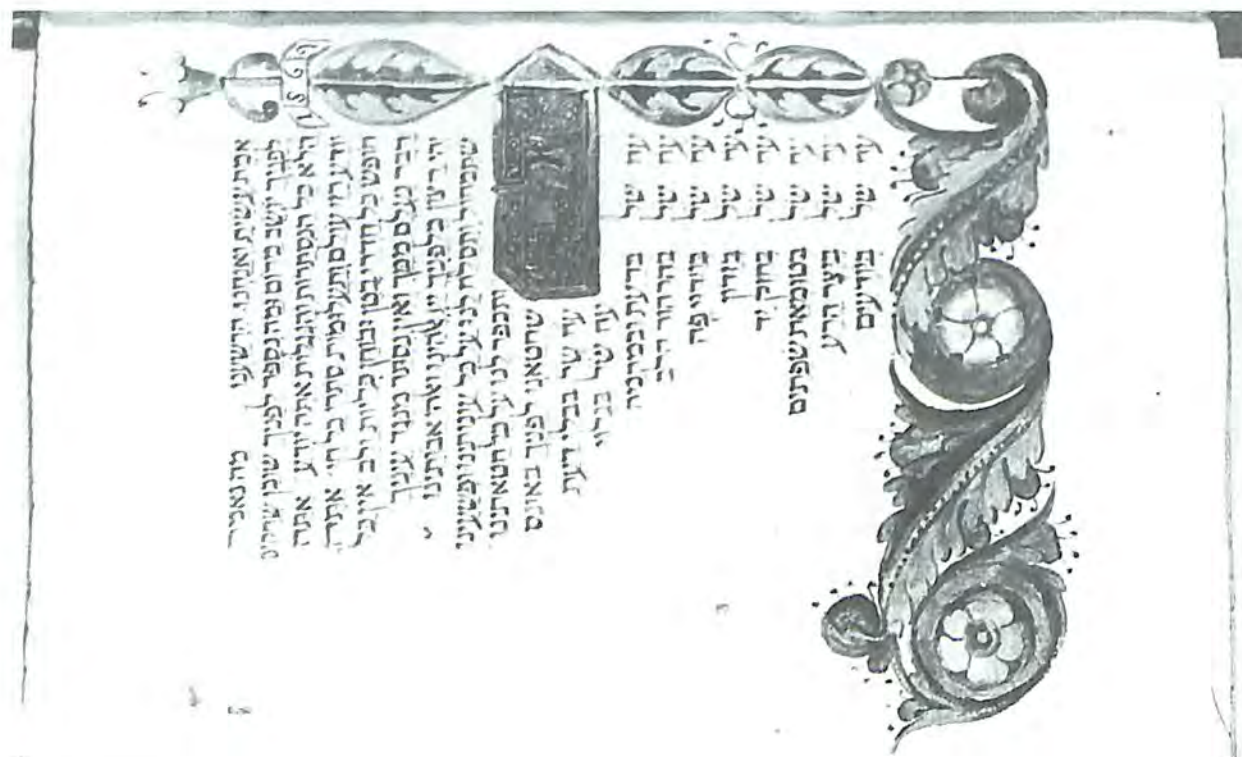


Fig. 13: fol 137 v



Fig. 10: fol 235 v<sup>o</sup>Fig. 15: fol 253 v<sup>o</sup>

Firouz Bagherzadeh

Persian Iconography:  
A question just 500 years old  
A simple answer

In the late sixties the writer identified a group of three Rowzeh scenes painted by Abū-Zeyd, the illustrious Persian potter of the sixth/seventh centuries of the Hegira, i.e. twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D.

These significant works of art are at the same time outstanding historical documents, for they illustrate elaborate ceremonies held at Persian Si'ite courts of the late sixth century of Hegira, i.e. twelfth century A.D., to commemorate the martyrs of Karbala.<sup>2</sup>

The follow-up of the aforementioned research resulted in the constitution of a vast repertoire, not only of Rowzeh scenes, but also of Dasteh Processions and Ta'ziyeh passion plays, all dating from around the same period.

One iconographical puzzle in Abū-Zeyd's work which remained unsolved until recently resided in the fact that on two out of three pieces of the *Triad* two of the personages depicted are clad in entirely identical garb. One is the character occupying the central place on the main seat, and the other is the person sitting apart, facing the group.<sup>4</sup>

The solution to this riddle was to be found in the chronicle of Adam Olearius,<sup>5</sup> the celebrated secretary of the embassy sent to Muscovy and Persia by the Duke Frederick of Holstein from 1633 to 1639, i.e. four-and-a-half centuries after Abū-Zeyd potted and painted his *Triad*.

While in Šamāxi, the capital city of Širvan, the ambassadors and their entourage were invited by the Xān to attend a ceremony held to commemorate the anniversary of the martyrdom of Ali, the first Emām of the Si'ites.

Olearius provides a most extensive account of the ritual, including a description of the premises where it took place, the scenic arrangements, the audience and the Xatīb with all the details of the narrative and the performance of the latter. But most important of all, the keen chronicler records an event which took place at the very end of the ceremony and which contains the answer to our enigma:

"When the Chatib<sup>[6]</sup> hath given over Reading, the Chan<sup>[7]</sup> sends him a Garment of Silk, which he immediately puts on, and ..."

One should have known - of course! From time immemorial it was a tradition at any Persian court that monarchs and dignitaries expressed their appreciation to their esteemed personalities by presenting to them, on appropriate occasions, a Xal'at, i.e. a sumptuous garment.

Olearius does not tell us if the Xān of Šamāxi presented to the Yatīb a garment like his own; probably he did not, but one classical definition of Xal'at is the following:

"Garment that one takes off his own body and presents to someone. Customarily it is a dress that monarchs and Emīrs present to someone."

Now let us turn back to Abū-Zeyd's *Triad*. The piece in the Metropolitan Museum presents a Rowzeh scene while the ceremony is in full swing.<sup>10</sup>



For the other two pieces however, at the British Museum and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art,<sup>11</sup> the artist captured, as in a snapshot, that very historical moment when the Rowzeh ceremony has just ended and the prince has already honoured the Xatib by sending him a Xal'at identical to his own and which the Xatib has immediately put on, exactly as it happened in front of Olearius's eyes in Samāxi, once again four-and-a-half centuries after Abū-Zeyd painted his *Triad*.

## NOTES

1. The complete and fully illustrated version of the present study has already appeared in *Archaeologia Iranica Orientalis. Miscellanea*, Gent, Peeters Press 1989, pp. 1007-1028.
  2. The writer calls this group of three major pieces *Abū-Zeyd's Triad*. They are the following:
    - a) piece dated Moharram 582/1186, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Accession No. 64.178, 1). First published in: New York, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries Inc., *The Emile Jabbagh Collection* (Catalogue of Auction, 3-4 January 1936), p. 61, No. 154.
    - b) piece dated Moharram 583/1187, British Museum (no. 1045, 10-17, 261). See Arthur Upham Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art*, (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938-39), Vol. V, plate 688.
    - c) piece dated Moharram [583/1187], Los Angeles County Museum of Art (No. L.2100.45-1338, new number M.45.3.110). See *A Survey of Persian Art*, plate 687.

Appropriate acknowledgements to the three museums for their cooperation is made in the full text of the paper with illustrations.
  3. Publications now imminent, entitled: *Les Débuts de l'Iconographie Religieuse Si'ite en Iran*.
  4. *A Survey of Persian Art*, plates 687 + 688.
  5. Adam Olearius, *The Voyages and Travells of the Ambassadors*, English translation by John Davies, (London: printed for John Starkey and Thomas Basset, 1969).
- [6] Xatib
- [7] Xān
8. See Olearius, p. 161.
  9. *Farhang-e Dehḡoda*. Word-by-word translation from Persian.
  10. *Emile Tabbagh Collection*, illustration no. 154
  11. *A Survey of Persian Art*, plates 687 + 688



Hafrang ceramic  
Iran, Moharram 583 E./1187 A.D.  
Master potter-painter Abū Zeyd  
British Museum No. 10-17, 261



Jenny Zimmer

### A Stylistic Analysis of a Series of Early Islamic Gold Bracelets and Anklets

This research paper was based on the evidence of specific excavations and a substantial range of precious gold objects in major collections and private collections encountered throughout the Middle East and Europe. From the available data it is possible to assume that the peoples of Early Islam enjoyed the possession of various distinct categories of bracelets and anklets. Certain types of bracelets appear to have been exclusive to central Islamic lands during the early period which I take to extend to the fifteenth century. It may even be possible to discern the stylistic preferences of the peoples to the east and west of these lands. After careful analysis of a large corpus of artefacts, it becomes clear that very idiosyncratic modes of assembly and metalworking techniques were utilized by Islamic goldsmiths.

The categories examined in the paper may be described in the following manner - item with symmetrical arrangements of animals or animal heads; repoussée item with animals, vine scrolls and huntsmen; items with triangular, filigree decorated, terminals; items with clasps featuring raised filigree bosses lavishly decorated with granulation; items decorated with hollow gold birds and torque-wire cones and, finally, items featuring niello decoration and set stones. Between these categories there is distinct overlapping of stylistic features and decorative preferences.

Although, at times, the techniques used to manufacture the bracelets are hardly distinguishable from those used by goldsmiths in neighbouring Christian lands and from Christian communities within Islamic lands, this does not constitute a major difficulty. The details held in common across these areas can be shown to be perfectly consistent with normal technological interchange during periods of religious and political upheaval.

The paper suggested that, although there are some difficulties associated with the attribution of the term 'Islamic' to the items under consideration, it is inconceivable that a culture so rich in the decorative arts should have been universally deprived of the finest jewellery. Some items can be inhesitatingly classified as Islamic. However, certain other specimens existing in Islamic collections cannot be accepted or classified with the same confidence - their incidence is too rare and their construction too obvious for detailed analysis to apply. Such works employ a repertoire of decorative forms originating in the Ancient Near East and taken up by the Graeco-Roman West in its orientalizing phase.

The paper concentrated on a range of highly distinctive works from collections in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Iran which the author considers to be central to the arguments presented.

Jenny Zimmer

### A First Millennium B.C. Iranian-Caucasian Bronze Belt in an Australian Collection

This paper was prompted by a bronze belt with an incised animal design said to come from Ardebil in Persian Azerbaijan and purchased in Teheran in 1975 by the late Mr W. Culican for the University of Melbourne collection. In this paper I concentrate on the Melbourne belt's stylistic relationship with the arts of Iran in the first millennium B.C. (As opposed to an article in *Iranica Antiqua* XXI, 1986, in which it is placed within its Caucasian context.)

After research into the stylistic features and available archaeological data surrounding similar bronze belts in collections throughout the world, we reached the conclusion that the Melbourne belt and the so-called Trialeti belts, which resemble ours from technical and stylistic viewpoints are close, in certain respects, to the beaten metal tradition of North Iran and Luristan and share cultic significance introduced by an earlier migration of Indo-Iranians. The metal belts of Urartu are technically and stylistically dissimilar to ours but are comparable from the point of view of their ordered design and compartmentalized compositions.

A combination of Urartian, North Iranian and Luristani elements seems to have contributed to the style of the belts found at Ziwiye - but these are slightly later than the Melbourne belt. Our belt, and its close counterparts in the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum and another from Podgorsta, share Trans-Caucasian metal working techniques and seem to form a distinctive group lying somewhere between the North Caucasian Tli belts and a later group from Mouci-Yeri. They suggest a connection with Iran shortly after the period of intense artistic production in Northern Iran which brought about the Amlash-Kalouraz phase in the ninth century B.C.

By the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. the Iranians of North Iran, who had assembled there in the last centuries of the second millennium and established their metal style, were to be vastly affected by the ascendancy and decline of Urartu and Assyria - and by the arrival of the Cimmerians, Medes and Scythians. At the same time Iran and Caucasus were experiencing transition to its Iron Age. The Trialeti area became a junction between North-South and East-West trade routes and susceptible to great cultural interchange. It is possible that the art of chasing and a design repertoire from North Persia travelled north as early as 1200 B.C.

After thorough analysis, our conclusion is that belts such as those from Marylyn Deresi, Trialeti and Tli, with figurative-narrative themes, belong to the period c. 1100-800 and the Late Gandsha-Karabagh, Lelvar and Early Koban cultures of the Caucasus which enjoyed cultural interchange with the newly settled Iranians of North Iran. Such belts reflect the iconographical themes seen in the beaten metal wares of Gilan, Mazaderan and Luristan.



Our belt, the British Museum belt, and the Podgersta belt are slightly later. They document a later preference for symmetrically organized design stimulated by the arts of Urartu and the Zagros. In order to maintain technical continuity with the earlier incised belts, and to incorporate the new design preferences, our belt should be dated to the 9th century B.C.

I wish to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the late W. Culican of the University of Melbourne who supervised my research on this artefact.

William Trousdale

### The Šaffārid City of Sīstān (Afghanistan)

The largest, most impressive, most heavily fortified and mysteriously situated ruin in all of Afghan Sistan is also one of the least well known. It was visited by British surveyors early in this century who identified it as Sar-o-Tar, and later by French archaeologists, who stopped at it briefly in 1936, and who called it Tar-o-Sar. This five-walled and triple-moated kilometer-square city is, in fact, correctly named Shahr-i-Gholghola, and is located in the sand sea of several hundred square kilometers properly bearing the name Sar-o-Tar. The city lies some thirty-five kilometers east of the Helmand river, and the water for its moats and for the surrounding agricultural land was brought from the Helmand through a vast network of canals engineered originally late in the second, or early in the first millennium B.C.

Surveys and excavations were conducted at this site and at nearby localities for a total of thirty-four weeks between 1971 and 1974. Though there is abundant evidence in the region of occupation during the earlier part of the first millennium B.C., the site of Shahr-i Gholghola does not appear to have been occupied before the third century B.C. Ceramic remains are plentiful for the Hellenistic, Parthian and early Sasanian periods, but the oldest structure at the city appears to be the Islamic period citadel which rises above the remains of two earlier palaces, or fortresses, on an artificial mound surrounded by a moat.

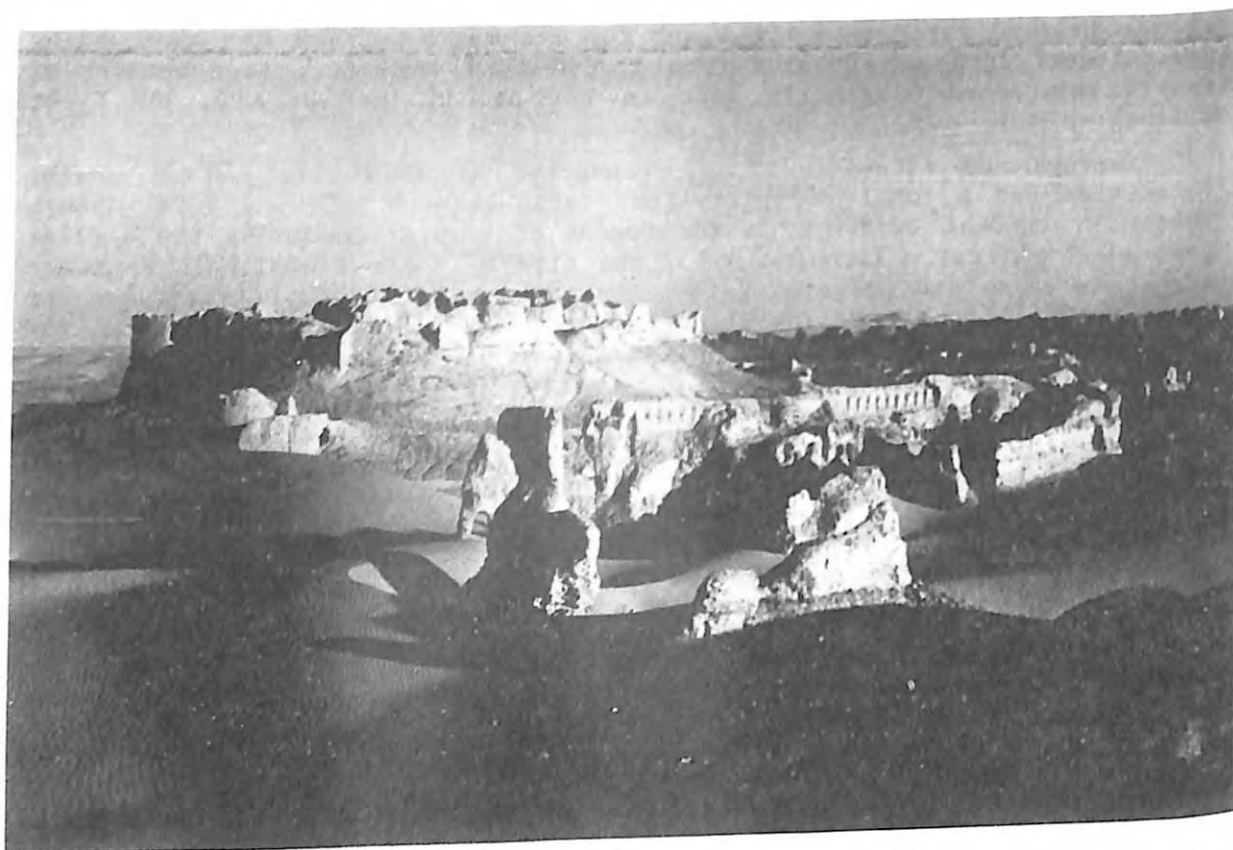
The city itself was planned on a large scale, with a walled and moated circular inner precinct containing, besides the citadel, a large ceremonial palace, congregational mosque, other official buildings and bazaars. In the outer reaches of the city there are only foundations of a wide variety of buildings. A plan of the entire city was made, but excavations were conducted only within the central part.

While the Islamic city at Shahr-i Gholghola was certainly constructed over a long period of time, we believe its destruction occurred suddenly. In the ruins of the mosque several hoards of coins were found. These were not the gold and silver treasure of the rich, but copper-plated lead coins, struck at what we believe was probably a local mint; all bear the names of the last two pre-Mongol Saffarid rulers and were struck within six years of the Mongol invasion. Sistan itself enjoyed a considerable renaissance during the fifteenth century, under Timur's successors, but Shahr-i Gholghola was occupied by little more than a few farmers and a small military garrison.

If the plebeian origins of the Saffarids reminded their Tāhirid and Sāmānid adversaries of bandits, then Shahr-i Gholghola is the kind of dynastic pirate's lair Ya'qūb b. Laxth and 'Amr b. Layth would have set out to develop in the ninth century. It was a stronghold deeply within the inaccessible hinterland of their domain. The irrigable, hence habitable, part of the Sar-o-Tar plain hardly extends farther to the south. Not before the unity provided by a jingoistic local dynasty would we expect such an anomalous commitment to a royal city of such magnitude in such a place at the fringe of empire. Shahr-i Gholghola was, in a sense, a spiritual sanctuary of the Saffarids, as Persepolis was for the Achaemenids. While a close comparison of the ambiguous historical texts and archaeological



evidence might argue as well either for its identity as Zaranj or Tak (there is a great fire temple three farsakhs distant), it might as well be neither of these. From the archaeological standpoint, I think it better to refer to Shahr-i Gholghola simply as the City of Sistan, or, as I believe and would prefer, the Saffarid City of Sistan.



Sand-buried Saffarid City of Sistan in southwestern Afghanistan



Sand-buried Saffarid City of Sistan in southwestern Afghanistan



Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers

### Harappan Temples - Fact or Fallacy?

In spite of a certain degree of cultural dependence on Sumerian iconography, in architectural matters and most emphatically in the construction of temples the Indus Civilization is largely *sui generis*. On the several hundreds of Harappan sites now known from an area largely coinciding with present day Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, with single sites in both Jammu and Kashmir and in north-eastern Afghanistan, no structural remains have been reported which warrant the classification of having been used for religious purposes. This is in striking contrast with the ancient Near East where temple structures abound right from the dawn of the civilization.

A possible exception, however, is House A 1 in the HR Area of the Lower Town of Moenjo-daro on the grounds of its architectural layout, notably two symmetrically disposed stairs parallel with the frontage access to which was provided in turn by a monumental double gateway between two irregular blocks of buildings. In the inner court of this gateway is a ring of brickwork 1.22 metres in internal diameter. Both the late Sir John Marshall and the late Sir Mortimer Wheeler have recognized this stone ring as once having housed a sacred(?) tree and have, therefore, hailed this architectural unit as a kind of sanctuary. (Fig. 1)

The crux of the identification of this building in the HR Area of Moenjo-daro as a holy place lies in the consequential acceptance of the presence of a shrub or a small tree inside this brick-built ring.

This supposition is fully corroborated by representations on 'sealing amulets' from Harappa (Fig. 2) of what are possibly accacias and related species standing inside a clearly outlined enclosure and also by accacias(?), pipal bushes or saplings planted inside a kind of tub as an integral part of the black painted decoration of the pottery from Harappa (Fig. 3), Moenjo-daro and Chanhudaro (Fig. 4-5). However, the restricted diameter of the brick ring from House A 1 and of similar enclosures from Moenjo-daro and possibly also Chanhudaro - though surprisingly enough no such stone rings have been as yet reported from Harappa - forces us to the conclusion that, in the days of the Indus Civilization, tree worship did not exclude the necessitating practice of uprooting saplings or bushes once their protective fences had become too confining and the ensuing preparation of replanting them elsewhere on the site. The story "narrated" on a representation on a 'sealing amulet' from Moenjo-daro (see H. Mode, *Das frühe Indien*, Stuttgart, 1959, Pl. 69 below) (Fig. 6) may just relate to this practice, contrary to the generally accepted interpretation of a sacrilegious violation of the tree's sanctity. This is in sharp contrast to present day practice in India where such an act would be considered sacrilegious.

Although it is difficult at the moment to make anything but a tentative statement on this subject new excavations at Harappa may shed more light. Perhaps eventually we may even have material for pollen analysis and similar scientific studies.



Fig. 1: Moenjo-daro, HR Area, Section A, Block 1, Room 10, Low level courtyard with two flights of steps and a circle of bricks, looking North (Marshall 1931, Pl. XLI a)



Fig. 2: Harappa, 'sealing amulet' displaying a spiky tree placed inside a railing or tub. Photo! J. Moloney. Courtesy of the Dept. of Arch./Pakistan





Fig. 3: Harappa, potsherd with black painted tree (acacia ?) placed inside a tub or enclosure (Vats 1940, Pl. LXIX,1)

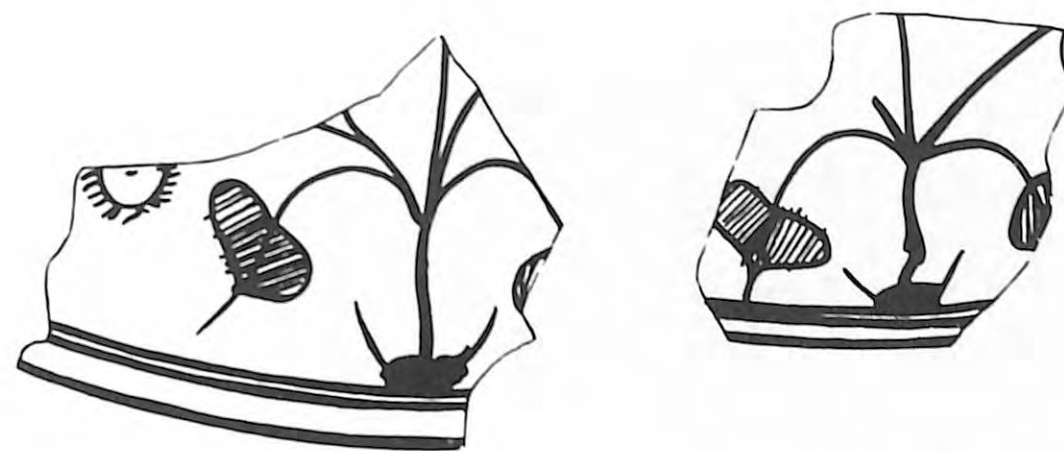


Fig. 4: Chanhu-daro, potsherd with black painted pipal shrub or tree placed inside a tub or enclosure (Mackay 1943, Pl. XXXI, 2-3)

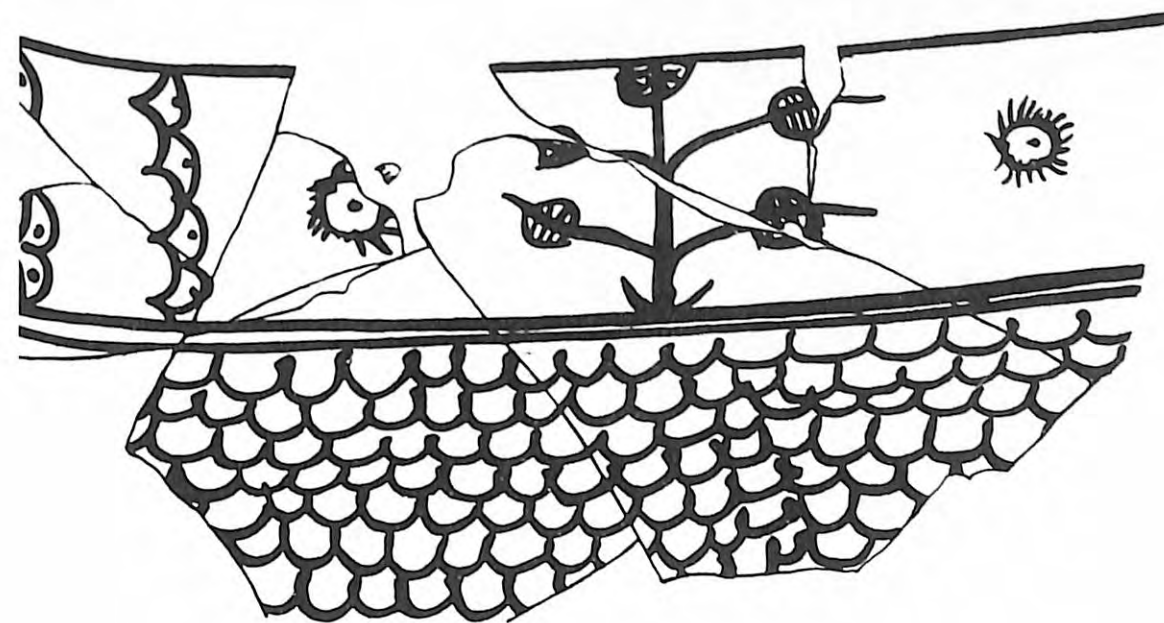


Fig. 5: Chanhu-daro, potsherd with black painted pipal shrub or tree placed inside a tub or enclosure (Mackay 1943, Pl. XXXII, 1a)





Fig. 6: Moenjo-daro, 'sealing amulet' showing on one side two nude men each uprooting (?) a tree accompanied by a centrally placed tree spirit

S. R. Rao

### Discovery of Submerged Dwarka

The Marine Archaeology Division of the National Institute of Oceanography, Goa excavated in 1983 through 1986 the legendary cities of Dwarka and Bet Dwarka on the Gujarat coast of western India. These cities, according to the epic Mahābhārata and other ancient texts, were the abode of Lord Śrī Krishna and got submerged by the sea. Onshore excavation at Dwarka in 1979-80 had adduced evidence of destruction by sea of two protohistoric settlements (14th and 10th century B.C.) and three early historic temples (1st-9th century A.D.). The main objective of offshore explorations in the Arabian sea near Dwarka and in the Gulf of Kutch nears the island of Bet Dwarka was to search for structural remains, if any, and to ascertain the cause and date of submerge.

The excavation in Bet Dwarka waters 400 m seaward of the onshore southern wall brought to light the remains of another fortification wall built on a wavecut bench at 4 metre water depth and also yielded datable antiquities including an Indus-type seal, an inscribed votive jar, chert blades and pottery of Late-, and post-Harappan periods.

Exploration in Dwarka waters resulted in the discovery of two large structures 300 to 600 m seaward of the temple of Sea God (Varuṇa Devatā) at 4 to 5 m water depth. A submerged stone-built jetty and perforated stone anchors weighing 100 to 150 kg are indicative of port-installations and overseas trade in the 14th century B.C. and later.

The three-headed animal motif on the Late Harappan seal of Bet Dwarka is engraved in the Bahrainian style. Further evidence of trade and cultural contact with Bahrain is provided by the Kassite Ware of Bet Dwarka.

Provisionally the submergence of Bet Dwarka can be dated to 1400 B.C. on the basis of 14 C dating of the post-Harappan Lustrous Red Ware which occurs in Dwarka and Bet Dwarka. This ware found in Period II at Prabhas on Gujarat coast is dated 1500-1200 B.C. The three-holed triangular stone anchors of Dwarka reminiscent of the Late Bronze Age anchors of Ugarit in Syria and Kition in Cyprus are also assignable to the 14th-13th century B.C. The votive jar from Bet Dwarka inscribed in Late harappan script identical with North Semitic alphabets serves as an important link between the Indus script of 2nd millennium B.C. and Brāhmī script of 3rd century B.C.

Marine archaeological exploration undertaken for the first time in Indian waters has provided a datum line for further eustatic studies. The rise in sea level in the Gulf of Kutch since 1400 B.C. is more than 5 m. This transgression of the sea corresponds to the second transgression on Bahrain coast as worked out by Larsen.



S. R. Rao

Bet Dwarka Inscription - a Link between Indus  
and Brāhmī Scripts

According to the epic Mahābhārata the legendary city of Dwarka built on the island of Bet Dwarka on Gujarat coast is believed to have been submerged by the sea. The onshore exploration by the Marine Archaeology Unit of the National Institute of Oceanography, Goa in 1982-83 brought to light a stone fortification wall of mid-second millennium B.C. In 1984 offshore excavation yielded a Late Harappan seal and post-Harappan pottery which could be dated 15th-14th century B.C. A votive jar of post-Harappan fabric found in 1984 in the Bet Dwarka sea bears a unique inscription in Late Indus (Harappan) cursive writing. All the signs except one bear resemblance to Semitic alphabetic signs and four signs are comparable to Brāhmī signs of 3rd century B.C. The inscription is written from left to right.

It is demonstrated elsewhere (Rao, S. R., *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*, Asia, Bombay, 1982 and Rao, S. R. in *Bharati*, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1985) that the early Harappan script of the 3rd millennium B.C. was a mixed writing still retaining pictures of hill, scorpion, pipal leaf etc., and pseudopictures of compound signs besides purely cursive signs. This writing was gradually simplified by dropping pictures in the Late Harappan period in the 2nd millennium B.C. when cursive signs alone were retained. The structural analysis of the early and late Harappan scripts has revealed that there are no more than 62 basic signs (including pictures) in the early stage and only 22 basic cursive signs in the late stage. Two fundamental principles of Indian alphabetic scripts of the historic period (3rd century B.C.-A.D.) namely vocalisation by attaching slashes to consonantal signs and joining two or more basic signs to form conjunct consonants are noticeable in the early and late Harappan scripts also. In fact Indus scribes formulated these principles.

Sixteen out of 22 basic cursive signs of Late Harappan script are identical with corresponding signs in the North Semitic alphabetic writing of 16th-11th century B.C. (Lachish, Byblos etc.). By giving the Semitic phonetic value to Late Harappan signs the Indus inscriptions can be read without resorting to *a priori* assumptions regarding its language. The use of vowel signs and conjunct consonants in Harappan script distinguishes it from Semitic script. In fact the vocabulary suggests that Harappan language is Old Indo-Aryan. In semantics, vocabulary and grammatical features Indus writing closely follows language of the *Rgveda* and to a limited extent, that of the *Avesta*.

If Semitic phonetic value is given to seven letters in the Bet Dwarka inscription it reads *ma-hā-ha-ga-ch-sha-ha-pa* = *mahāha-gaca* (*mahākaacha*) *shah-pa* conveying the sense 'Sea (*mahākaacha* - Skt.) Lord (*Shah* - OP) protect (*pa* - Skt)'. The offering was made to Sea God (Varuṇa) to seek his protection. On palaeographic and ceramic evidence the inscription is assignable to 15th-14th century B.C. It serves as a link between Late Indus and Brāhmī scripts. The characters occurring here continued to be used in Megalithic inscriptions of early first millennium B.C.

Vibha Tripathi

Development of Iron Technology vis-a-vis Economic Growth  
in India during First Millennium B.C.

Iron makes its earliest appearance in India around the opening years of the 1st millennium B.C. in a chalcolithic milieu. In the centuries that follow there is a cultural resurgence resulting into the second urbanisation, though in a different ecological zone. An attempt is being made here to evaluate the role played by iron technology in the complex phenomenon of culture change. To fulfil this objective we address ourselves to the following two questions:

- (i) Was the progressive diversification in the tool typology a consequence of an advancement of technology of iron working?
- (ii) Were the above two phenomenon i.e. (a) diversification; (b) technological advancement precipitated by the improvement in the quality of material life to the needs that were unthinkable in an earlier age?

Our approach would be to examine the tool typology in detail and determine the stages of diversification. Additionally, the developmental stages of technological changes have to be delineated by subjecting the available technological data to a thorough scrutiny. Our next task would be to examine the material culture in detail and mark the nodal points in chronology as to where maximum changes are concentrated.

During a span of thousand years three cultural stages, enumerated below were discernible. In absence of the statistical data from other sites of Gangetic Valley, material from Rajghat (Singh, 1985) and Atranjikhhera (Gaur, 1983) alone could be utilised. In a general way the evidence is corroborated from other sites of the region.

**Stage I** (Ca 1000 - 7/600 B.C.) Iron was just introduced on the scene with very limited tool typology of elementary nature and extremely restricted number (see table).

Technologically, only wrought iron was manufactured. In very rare cases carburization is suggested (Agrawal, O.P. 1983).

**Stage II** (Ca 7/600 - 300 B.C.) A prosperity is noticeable on cultural scene. Metallurgical expertise grows indicated by diversification and profusion in tool typology.

**Stage III** (Ca 4/300 - 100 B.C./A.D.) An overall cultural growth accompanied by technological advancement in steel making is noted.

#### Material Culture:

For a clear understanding of culture, growth pattern in settlement, agriculture, ceramic art, crafts and metal objects etc. pertaining to each of the above three stages is closely observed. Under the constraints of limited words, some of the important points are mentioned here.

At stage I habitations are confined to one small area with post holes for house remains. Rice and barley are main crops with heavy reliance on animal husbandry. In the succeeding period settlements expand. Larger houses with sanitation facilities, wells, barns, roads, bunds and fortifications



tions with irrigation facilities and better quality agricultural implements (of iron), new crops (black gram) and surplus production pave way to material prosperity. It is clearly indicated in fine works of crafts and luxury items. All these features are further exelerated in stage III.

Since all other factors, viz. socio-cultural and ecological milieu remain largely the same, it is logical to assume that the technological skill of a much higher order acquired by these people brought about the socio-economic and even political changes. Though it appears an over-simplification of an otherwise complex phenomenon, it is only too apparent that technological advancement played a predominant role in socio-cultural development which took place during the 1st millennium B.C. in the Ganga-Yamuna basin.

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|                                      | SITE    | RAJGHAT |         |            | ATRANJIKHERA |            |            |    |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|----|
| IRON OBJECT                          | PHASE   | I       | II      | III        | I            | II         | III        | IV |
| DATES IN B.C.                        | 800-600 | 600-400 | 400-200 | 1100 - 600 | 600-50       |            |            |    |
| HUNTING TOOLS                        |         |         |         |            |              |            |            |    |
| Spearhead                            | -       | 1       | 4       | 8          | 22           | 11         | 24         |    |
| Arrowhead                            | -       | 6       | -       | 21         | 19           | 2          | 30         |    |
| Shaft                                | -       | -       | -       | 10         | 4            | 1          | 5          |    |
| AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS              |         |         |         |            |              |            |            |    |
| Axes                                 | -       | 2       | -       | 1          | 1            | -          | 1          |    |
| Sickle                               | -       | 1       | -       | 1          | 2            | -          | 4          |    |
| Spud                                 | -       | -       | -       | -          | 1            | -          | 1          |    |
| Ploughshare                          | -       | -       | -       | -          | 1            | -          | 1          |    |
| Hoe                                  | -       | -       | -       | -          | 1            | -          | 1          |    |
| Chisel                               | 2       | 4       | 1       | 6          | 13           | 1          | 14         |    |
| HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS                    |         |         |         |            |              |            |            |    |
| Knives                               | 2       | 1       | 17      | 3          | 9            | 4          | 13         |    |
| Tongs                                | -       | -       | -       | 1          | 1            | -          | 1          |    |
| Discs                                | -       | -       | -       | -          | 1            | -          | 1          |    |
| Spoons/Ladle                         | -       | 2       | 1       | -          | -            | -          | -          |    |
| BUILDING MATERIALS                   |         |         |         |            |              |            |            |    |
| Rods/Bars                            | -       | -       | -       | 7          | 8            | 4          | 12         |    |
| Nails                                | 5       | 31      | 17      | 20         | 35           | 38         | 73         |    |
| Clamps                               | -       | -       | -       | -          | 3            | 1*         | 4*         |    |
| Sockets                              | -       | -       | -       | 7          | -            | -          | 18         |    |
| Hooks                                | -       | -       | 7       | -          | 14           | 4          | -          |    |
| Nail hooks                           | -       | 3       | -       | 1**        | -            | -          | Several    |    |
| Others                               | -       | -       | -       | -          | -            | -          | new shapes |    |
| <hr/>                                |         |         |         |            |              |            |            |    |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF OBJECTS<br>RECOVERED | 13      | 101     | 75      | 135        | 226          | 120        | 346        |    |
|                                      |         |         |         |            |              | Phase D-50 | 296        |    |

\* Socketed clamps

\*\* Bangle



Y. K. Mishra

#### Pre and Proto Historic Anga

##### Pre Historic Anga

Anga area (a part of Eastern India) yielded a large number of palaeolithic sites in the laterites. Monghyr (a part of ancient Anga kingdom) is one of the most important palaeolithic sites of this region. Palaeoliths have been found from the sites either in the river sections or in the pits. Some sites have yielded more than one industry. The stone age industries have been classified into Chopper-biface element and Flake element in this locality. They are found to occur in different stratigraphical contexts. These culture elements are succeeded by Flake-blade element.

The evolutionary sequence of the types and techniques is found to be similar in both the cases particularly in Bihar and West Bengal. The sequence generally starts with a Chopper-biface element, which is found at the junction of the mottled clay and the overlying lower gravel conglomerate. This element extends upto the upper loose gravel. On the technological ground, it may be divided in two different phases. The first one is the Abbevillian Phase characterised by chopper and crude hand-axes on pebbles and cores. The exact stratigraphical position of this phase is the junction of the mottled clay and the lower gravel conglomerate. After this phase it is continued with the succeeding Acheulian Phase.

The culture represented by these tools is well known as the Acheulian phase of the lower palaeolithic and Acheulian hand-axes are the most commonly found implements of old stone age man, known from all parts of India including Anga region.

Tool types represented in the collection are handaxes, scrapers, scraper-cum-points, knives and blades and borers. Hand-axes are small and rarely found.

We do not find the remains of Middle Stone Age in the Anga area. This is, as yet, the least known of all the phases of Indian Stone Age. From the microlithic phase, man passed on to the New Stone Age of Neolithic, when he learnt how to polish stones, to make pottery and more important than these, how to till the soil. The New Stone Age was followed by the Metal Ages, first the bronze Age in relatively recent times followed by the Iron Age. The Neolithic period in India - as in the rest of the world - had been taken essentially as constituting the use of polished stone tools, domestication of animals, incipient agriculture or at least foraging of edible grains, and use of pottery first hand made and then wheel made.

##### Proto Historic Anga

A team of the archaeologists of the Patna University discovered a Chalcolithic site in the vicinity of Antichak (Anga region) in course of exploration. The finds included a few black-and-red Ware with paintings and a white painted bowl luted with a lipped spout at the rim portion also in black-and-red ware and a few microlithic pieces. Thus it has been found that this black-and-red ware culture was widespread in this region. It is not unlikely that if a thorough exploration is undertaken in this region, some new sites may be discovered.

Orup is an important Chalcolithic site in Anga region. It is situated in the district of Bhagalpur. Two trial trenches, each measuring 0-4 m. were taken by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University which yielded painted black-and-white ware, copper bangle, bone tools, terracotta female figurine, stone heads, waste stone chips and flakes, etc. from Pre-N.B.P. Ware deposits.

Thus, from the above study it may be concluded that the Chalcolithic people inhabited the country of Anga, which may be considered as an important Pre-and-Proto historic site in India. The modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr, require a further study to ascertain fully its pre-and-Proto history.

1. Sinha, P. P. (ed.) *Potteries in Ancient India*, p. 104.
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Purushottam Singh

The Rise of Cultures in Saryupar Plain with  
Special Reference to Excavation at Narhan

The region of Saryupar comprising the present-day districts of Basti, Gorakhpur, Deoria and two Tahsils of Gonda of eastern Uttar Pradesh and district Saran of North-western Bihar is a part of the vast middle Ganga Plain. In the early Vedic literature there is only casual reference about this region but it became an important administrative unit with the formation of Kosala and Videha kingdoms during the later Vedic period. During Buddha's time several small kingdoms such as those of the Mallas of Pawa and Kusinara and the Sakyas flourished in this region.

Although the literary evidence is silent about the rise of the cultures in this region before the later Vedic period, a large number of ancient sites have been located in archaeological explorations. In fact it has been claimed recently that the earliest settlers in this region were a Neolithic people who perhaps migrated from the Vindhyan region (Chaturvedi, 1985; 108). The next phase of cultural development in the Saryupar Plain is marked by a Chalcolithic culture comprising painted black-and-red ware and black slipped pottery identified in regular excavation first at Sohgauna. Our own excavation at Narhan (lat. 26°19'N; long. 83°24'E) located 28 km south-south west of Sohgauna yielded interesting data regarding the Chalcolithic and early iron age cultures of the Saryupar Plain.

Narhan is located on the left bank of the Ghaghara river in district Gorakhpur. Excavations conducted during 1983-86 have brought to light a sequence of cultures divisible into five periods and ranging in date from the middle of second millennium B.C. to the 6th century A.D. (Singh et.al. 1984-85; 1985).

Period I at Narhan is represented by about one meter thick deposit of black-and-red ware culture. This fact is particularly important because at other sites of black-and-red ware culture, the average thickness is from 30 to 50 cms only. Secondly, black-and-red ware at Narhan accounts for 57.70 percent in the total pottery of the period I, while it accounts for less than 3 percent (2.58 percent) in the Neolithic levels of Koldihwa. A similar situation obtains at Chirand. At Atranjikhara black-and-red ware and black slipped ware put together account for nearly 50 percent.

The first settlers of Narhan lived in wattle-and daub houses. Remains of post-holes and reed marks in burnt clay lumps, two successive floors, ovens and hearths have been found. Pits cut into the natural soil were noticed in several trenches. A good quantity of archaeobotanical remains examined by K. S. Saraswat of the Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany gives a fair idea of the agricultural practices of these people. Cereal grains of hulled and six-row barley, club wheat, bread wheat, dwarf wheat and cultivated rice have been identified. The pulses include pea, green gram, gram/chick pea and *khesari* besides mustard oil seeds and flax/linseed. Although the first settlers practised agriculture, meat was an important component of their diet as is evidenced from the presence of large number of charred animal bones, and antlers, some of them having cut marks. In a limited collection of about 15 percent animal bones excavated during

1984-85 from Period I, bones of humped Indian cattle, sheep-goat, remains of a wild ruminant like deer or antelope and horse have been identified. The small finds include pottery discs in large numbers. Bone points account for 21 pieces and nine terracotta dabbers and two balls, one each of terracotta and stone, have been recorded. Besides, a solitary stone bead and one micro bead of steatite were also found. Stone-chips (microliths) available at other sites like Chirand, Koldihwa and Soggauria, have not been recorded so far. An iron object about 13 cm long, was reported from the topmost deposit of Period I during 1985-86. Although there are no radiocarbon dates from Period I at Narhan, this culture may be dated to the second half of the second millennium B.C. on archaeological grounds.

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2. Singh, P., et. al.: Narhan: 1983-85 - A preliminary report of archaeological excavations; *Bharati* (N.S.), No. 3, 1985, pp. 113-188.
3. Singh, P., et. al.: Excavations at Narhan 1983-85; *Puratattva* No. 15, 1984-85, pp. 117-122.



S. Ramaratnam

Sculptures of the Later Chola Period -  
Their Sociological Connection

The Chola empire which lasted for about four centuries in South India was at the height of its glory during the reign of Rājārāja I (985-1014 A.D.). His son, Rājendra Chola and his successors consolidated the gains made by their predecessors. But from the beginning of the 13th century, the empire showed signs of weakening and finally collapsed around the year 1279 A.D.

With the weakening of political power, there was a gradual degradation in all spheres during the later Chola period. Historical evidences point out that there were instances of treason, communal clashes, arson, looting, misappropriation of the temple funds, riots and even civil war resulting in the death of a royal prince during this period. (K. A. Nilakantha Sastry, *The Cholas*, p. 478ff.)

But notwithstanding the political instability and serious lapses in the law and order situation, the cultural unity of the people was somehow preserved. A careful study of the temples of this period will point out that the temples which were citadels of social and cultural integrity played a dominant role in arresting a possible erosion into the cultural values. In this context, we find that the didactic element is more prominent rather than the artistic element in the later Chola temples. Certain message or even an exhortation was absolutely necessary to wean the people away from narrow sectarian outlook, religious quarrels, riots and lawlessness and instill a sense of moral fear in their minds. This is what we find reflected in the later Chola sculptures.

At the Darasuram temple, for instance, a four armed Nāgarāja having the hoods of a cobra over his head, the dancing Aghoravīrabhadra with four hands, three heads and a terrible countenance, Śarabha destroying Narasiṃha, Liṅgodbhava Śiva issuing forth from a flaming pillar, eight armed Durgā standing on the severed head of the demon-buffalo, Śiva as Tripurāntaka Bhairava, and Maheśamūrti in their awe inspiring forms - all seem to be intended as an exhortation to all those who resorted to violence and to instill a sense of moral fear in the minds of the people. The message was that those resorting to violence will be paid by their coin by the divine will. Similarly the separate Śarabha shrine at the Tribhuvanam temple indicates a rather militant posture the Śaiva sect was beginning to assume, which was perhaps the need of the hour. (See C. Sivaramamurti, *The Chola temples of Tanjore, Gangaikondacholapuram, and Darasuram*, p. 20ff. and S. R. Balasubramaniam, *Later Chola temples*, p. 330ff.) Likewise the sculptural depiction of the lives of the Nāyanmārs at the Darasuram temple, emphasises the need for upholding the moral order and providing an inspiration for the people during the troubled days. The Rāmāyaṇa sculptures at the Tribhuvanam temple seem to stress the importance of religious tolerance which was very essential for preserving the cultural unity among the Hindus.

To conclude, the Chola period was the golden era in the history of South India. The empire showed signs of disintegration during the later period (1070-1279 A.D.). There were also instances of treason, anarchy and

religious quarrels. With the administration not quite capable of arresting these tendencies, an alternative medium was needed to stop the erosion of cultural integrity. It was left to the temples of this period to provide the much needed encouragement to the people to preserve their identity and integrity even in the wake of several calamities they had to face. The thread was picked up during the Vijayanagara period, when much more serious efforts were needed to fight against far greater challenges and preserve their cultural heritage. Thus the later Chola temples like the ones at Darasuram and Tribhuvan are important landmarks in the cultural history of South India.

List of Illustrations

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Sudha Malaiya

## Naṭarāja Sculpture from Central India

Central India is the home of certain best representations of the dancing Śiva from the earliest to medieval times. Śiva is credited with the creation of dance and is regarded its tutelary deity. To most of the people the cult of dancing Śiva seems to have originated in South India. The dancing pose portrayed through the Bronzes of South India with one leg uplifted and extended across the body, is commonly understood as the only Naṭarāja pose.<sup>2</sup> The present study high-lights certain select Naṭeśas from Central India and reveals that it is not the fact. The concept of dancing Śiva in Central India is older than that of the South India and each image of dancing Śiva in any of the attitude can be called as Naṭarāja, which is only one of the several epithets given<sup>3</sup> to the Lord of dancers.<sup>4</sup>

The coins<sup>5</sup> of certain independent rulers of Ujjain ruling in 1st century A.D. bear images of Śiva, a few of which can be identified as dancing. However, the sculptural representations started appearing in Central India only in Gupta Period (4th-5th cent. A.D.) which proliferate in medieval period. Almost all the temples dedicated to Śiva during 5th to 13th centuries are practically rich in Naṭarājas. The important among these temples are those found at Nachnā, Bhumarā, Saker, Tumain, Malhār, Sirpur, Śeori-nārāyana, Ujjain, Mandsore, Gyāraspura, Nehtā, Jānjgīra, Udaypur, Hinglājgarh, Chaurāsigarh and Khajurāho. These Naṭarājas, when counterpoised against the technical language of dance as codified<sup>8</sup> in *Nāṭyaśāstra*<sup>7</sup> and analysed<sup>9</sup> in terms of their symbolism in that language, reveal that most of the poses<sup>9</sup> exhibited through the Naṭarājas of different regions are represented by them, barring a few.<sup>10</sup> Characterised by the presence of *karihasta*<sup>11</sup> i.e. the arm extended across the body, the *vivartita hasta* (the hand placed near the shoulder or the ear) and the *sama-kūñcita*<sup>12</sup> feet position (one foot placed naturally and the other resting on the forepart or the toes), the *lalita*<sup>13</sup> and the *karihasta karaṇas* are the most frequently repeated *karaṇas*. Within the basic format, consisting of *sama-kūñcita* foot position, emerge the different stages of certain other *karaṇas*, due to the variation in the position of the hands. The presence of *dola hasta*, instead of a *karihasta*, related the pose to the initial stage of the *janita karaṇa*.<sup>14</sup> A few examples having the hand facing in opposite directions i.e. one upwards in *ūrdhvamukha* and other downwards in *adhomukha*, faithfully represent *udvṛtta nṛtta hasta* and *udvṛttakarāṇa*. Some of them bear striking similarity to the final position of *kaṭisama-karaṇa*, consisting of *udvāhita kaṭi* (hip deflected on side), *ardhacandra hasta* and *kaṭakāmukha hasta*. Certain early examples display *swastika* (cross-legged) feet position with one hand either placed on him in *kaṭi-hasta* or the arm is in *karihasta*, representing the *swastika deśī sthānaka* and *ardhaswastika-karaṇa*.<sup>15</sup> This is, however, rarely seen in later period except the one from Mandsore (early Pratihāra).<sup>16</sup> The Naṭarājas depicted with one leg uplifted and the knee facing sideways or upwards ideally represent *pārāvajānu* and *ūrdhvajānu karaṇas* respectively.<sup>17</sup> Though portrayed in early art through the *gaṇa* figures, no Naṭarāja is available in this pose during Gupta period.

Predating its southern counterpart, is found the only example of *bhujagatrāsita*<sup>18</sup> or the common Naṭarāja pose, from Bhumara<sup>19</sup> that proves its origin in North. Surprisingly no such example has so far been discovered in this region after 6th century. The twisting of waist (*vivartita*), posterior view and *arṇita pada* are represented in an example from Kaṭaghorā (Bilaspur), the only one of its kind. The mutilated Naṭeśa carved in the *bhāṇḍarathikā* of Duladeo temple, Khajurāho, does depict *vivartita trika* (waist) and posterior view, but with *ūrdhvajānu*. The *ūrdhvatāṇḍava* or *lalāṭaṭilaka*, a pose so frequently been depicted in the art of South India, is particularly absent.

Many significant movements and positions of hands<sup>20</sup> such as *karihasta*, *caturāśra*, *laṭā*, *dola*, *patāka*, *udvṛtta*, *keśabandha*, *recita*, *daṇḍahasta*, *tri-patāka*, *ardhapatāka*, *saṁdāṇṣa*, *ardhamuṣṭi*, *vastra*, *kaṭakāmukha*, *mudrā*, *kartarimukha*, *kapittha*, *muṣṭi*, *śikhara* and *ardhacandra* among others have ideally been represented. Slight bend of head is quite common while *sama-kūñcita* and *ūrdhvajānu* are more popular feet position. Nevertheless it can not be said that other dance movements were not practised in the realm of dance. The stylisation of the iconography of the Naṭarājas, perhaps also accounts for the lesser variety and the disappearance of certain poses from the sculptural art of this region. Whereas the Gupta artists were free to depict the cosmic dancer in their chosen moment of dance, the medieval sculptors were bound by seemingly rigid conventions. Wherever the artist used their creative genius, the results are astounding but the lack of imagination has often resulted in stereotyped mass production. This also explains for the overwhelming evidence of *lalita* and *karihasta karaṇas*. Aesthetically, the finesse and grace of Gupta art is maintained at best in Paramāra Naṭarājas despite the added ornamentation, which has only enhanced their charm. Paramāra and Kalacuri sculptors of Ratnapur appear to be more imaginative while these of Dāhal region were only repetitive. Chandella artists fancifully portrayed the dexterous movements and curves of body. Iconographically a Naṭarāja represents many other aspects of life of Śiva and many mythological strands are woven into one image. Overhead snake held in upper two hands, *ḍamaru*, *triśūla* (trident), begging bowl and Śiva's vehicle bull are universally present.<sup>21</sup> Vertical third eye and *ardhacandra* (half moon) in *jaṭās*, are frequent<sup>22</sup> but not invariably present. Arrangement of the coiffure differs with the region. It is turban like in many Paramāra examples while it is half bound and half loose in several others. Śiva fondling his consort with one of his left hand or Pārvatī acting as accompanist are the features that continued from Gupta to Pratihāra period.<sup>23</sup> Śiva's sons acting as accompanists and a skull garland alongwith a skull in crown is the speciality of the Paramāra Naṭeśas. No Gangā flows out of or is interlocked in the *jaṭās*. Nor is the conquered dwarf-*apasmāra*- or the *Mavūlagana* is seen below the dancing feet of the Naṭyādhipati, barring the only example from Udayeśwara temple, Udayapura, where Śiva is dancing in *ūrdhvajānu* on the prostrate dwarf's back. Moustaches present in many Gupta *mukhalingas* are peculiarly absent in dancing examples.<sup>24</sup> Threefold *mṛdaṅga* or *paṇava* or *paṭah* are the usual percussion accompaniments, while in a few either ?lute/or flute constitutes the whole music. In still others, Śiva dances without any accompaniment.<sup>25</sup>



The tradition of celestials -Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and others - witnessing the dance of Great Dancer -<sup>26</sup> is continued from Gupta period to Pratihāra but is rare in later examples.<sup>27</sup> The representations of Śiva dancing on bull are found only in South Kosal in Central India which is a very popular motif in Pāla art.

1. Śiva is called *Nṛtyapriya*, *Nityanṛtya*, *Nartanas*, *Sarvasādhala* in *Linga Mahāpurāṇa*, Pl. 55-74) and *Vāḍyanṛtyapriya*, *Nṛtyaśīla* and *Sugīti* in *Vāyupurāṇa* (240, 142, 43).
2. The *nāḍānta* mode of dance which became standardised in South by the 8th century.
3. *Narteśvara* in Bharella (Dacca) inscription; *Nṛtteśvara* in Iṣānavarman Samber Preii Kuk inscription Combodia; *Advallān* in Chola inscriptions; *Charīsañcaranravīna* in Chadreh stone inscriptions; Also see, Śivaramamurti, C., *Naṭarāja in Art, Thought and Literature*, Delhi 1974, p. 4-5.
4. For details see Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Dance of Siva*, Delhi, 1968, 2nd ed.; Rao, Gopinath, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi 1968, 2nd ed. vol. 2, part I; Banerji, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 3rd ed., Delhi 1974; Agrawal, V. S., *Siva Mahādeva the Great god*, Benares 1966; Mookerji, R. K., *Indian Culture and Art*, Delhi 1959.
5. See Bajpai, K. D., *A Seminar of Numismatic Society of India*, Lucknow 1968.
6. The *nṛttamūrtis* of Naṭeśa are dealt with in a special category, separate from *ugra* and *saumya* and occupy a greater place in *Silpaśāstras* than that of the other deities.
7. See *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NS) of Bharata (1971 and 1975) and translated by Madhusudan Shastri, part I and part II (Hindi), Kashi Hindu Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi, Ch. IV, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII.
8. Vatsyayan, Kapila, *Classical Dance in Literature and Arts*, Delhi 1968, did the basic relief work for the study of the *nṛttamūrtis* and the dance sculptures in their proper perspective and analysed them in terms of dance terminology.
9. These are called *karaṇas*, the basic units of dance also known as *tanḍavas* in Śaiva literature. *Sritattyanidhi*, *Mayamata*, *Silpasamgrha* and *Karaṇāgama* enlist 108 *tāṇḍavas* but only 7 are discussed; *Silparatna*, *Kāśyapaśilpa*, *Suprabhodaḡama*, *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, *Uttarakāmikāgama*, *Pūrvakaraṇāgama* discuss nine *nṛttamūrtis*.
10. At Tanjuvara (11th cent. A.D.), Chidambaram (14th cent. A.D.) and Kumbhakenam (14th cent. A.D.) these *karaṇas* have been carved on *gopuram* walls. These panels have been discussed in details by Sivaramamurti, op. cit. 1974; and Vatsyayana, op. cit. 1968 and in *Dance Sculpture in Sāraṅgapāṇi Temple*, Madras 1982.
11. NS 9.65.
12. NS 9.278, 274, 279 respectively.
13. NS 4.83.

14. Cf. Malaiya, Sudha, 'Naṭeśa sculptures in the Early Art of Central India', *Purdattva*, No. 10, 1985-86, Pl. 11.IV.
15. NS 4.82.
16. Also cf., Malaiya, Sudha, op. cit., Pl. 11.II and 12.V, I and Sivaramamurti, op. cit., p. 171.
17. NS 4.133 and 4.85.
18. NS 10.42 and 4.84.
19. See Banerjii, R. D., (1924), "The Temple of Shiva at Dhumra," *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, Calcutta 1924; Malaiya, S., op. cit., p. 11.I.
20. See, NS, Chap. IX for the movements of hands.
21. Cf. Sivaram-murti, op. cit., for Gupta Naṭarāja from Sirpur fig. 9, p. 172.
22. Cf. the coiffure of Bhānpurā Naṭeśa. (Pl. 3) and Naṭeśa from Jānjgīra (Pl. 1).
23. Cf. Malaiya, S., op. cit., Pl. 11.III, 11.IV and 12.V; see also Pl. 3.
24. Cf., Gasten, Anne Marie, *Śiva in Dance, Myth and Iconography*.
25. Cf. Pl. 3, Pl. 4 and Pl. 7 respectively.
26. Cf., Malaiya, S., op. cit., Pl. 11.III.
27. The best example is preserved at Malhar Museum, Malhar (Bilaspur) of which only the dancing foot of Paśupati on the back of bull has remained intact. Also cf., Sivaramamurti, op. cit. fig. 9, p. 36.



Joachim Bautze

The murals in the Jagatśiromaṇijī temple in Uniara, Rājasthān

Uniara is a "large fortified town"<sup>1</sup> (population: 5.760 ((1961)))<sup>2</sup>. It was a "feudatory Chiefship (of the former Jaipur state) situated to the south at a distance of about 70 miles from Jaipur. It lies between Latitude 25.40° and 26.30° and Longitude 75.30° and 76.10°". Today, Uniara belongs to the Tonk district, Tehsil Uniara. The tallest building of the town is the Jagatśiromaṇijī temple, the antechamber of which is decorated with a number of wall paintings. A twenty-eight lined unpublished stone inscription provides detailed information about its date and construction. It is written in Nāgarī, the languages used are Sanskrit and Hindi. The Sanskrit part comprises the first twenty-three lines composed in twenty-one anuṣṭubh verses. The last lines give a summary of the Sanskrit text in Hindi (*bhāṣā* in the text). Verses 1-5 describe the town and the temple of Uniara. Verses 6-9 describe Rao Sardar Singh<sup>3</sup> (1740-1778) of Uniara. Verse 10 gives details about Kuār Jasvant Singh, oldest son of Sardar Singh. The remaining texts tell us that Jasvant Singh had a son called Viṣṇu Singh and a younger brother, Mahā Singh. This Mahā Singh had a son, Sarūp Singh. Mahā Singh was brought up by Parbatī, a concubine of Sardar Singh. She told Mahā Singh to build a temple, which he accordingly did. This is the present Jagatśiromaṇijī temple. Its idol was installed on the second Friday in the bright half of Phālgun in the year Saṃvat *imdu vahni vasu caṃdra* (Verse 15a) or 1831 (1774 A.D.). The installation was made by a certain Gaṇapati Miśra. The name of the architect is given as *Ratanā*, and the *Praśasti* was written by Jet Singh. The Hindi text gives the additional information that the money agent of the project was a certain Bakhtaram Kaslival who spent 18,771 Rupees and 10 paise for the construction of this temple. Its murals show a pronounced influence from the Bundikalam although Uniara was a tributary to Jaipur and should have employed painters from there. Jasvant Singh and Sardar Singh were personally fighting against Umed Singh of Bundi, who tried to reconquer his native town which was occupied by the Jaipur forces in the 1740's.<sup>4</sup> In 1761 however, Rao Sardar Singh was forced by Rājā Madho Singh of Jaipur to march against Kota, which the Rao refused. Uniara was consequently shelled and looted by the Jaipur forces and Sardar Singh had to pay a fine of 20 lakhs of Rupees to Madho Singh.<sup>5</sup> Already during this time, a painter from Bundi, mentioned as *dhano*<sup>6</sup> worked in Uniara and illustrated a Hitopadeśa manuscript for the young Jasvant Singh in saṃvat 1818.<sup>7</sup>

The murals in the Jagatśiromaṇijī temple in Uniara are thus precisely dated and were in all probability done by a painter who received his training somewhere in the former Bundi state. The murals in the temple of Baroli (District Tonk, Tehsil Deoli) were copied from the Jagatśiromaṇijī temple in Uniara and can also be dated as the same period on stylistic grounds.

1. *The Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Calcutta 1879, p. 159.
2. *Census of India 1961, Rajasthan, District Census Handbook, Tonk*, compiled by C. S. Gupta, p. 8.

3. *The Jaipur Album or all about Jaipur*, ed. by Kesharlal Ajmera Jain and Jawaharlal Jain, Jaipur, 1935 (The Indian Album Series Vol. No. 1), chapter "Jagirs and Jagirdars", p. 53. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, Vol. XXIV, p. 131f. Cf. also *Chiefs and Leading Families in Rajputana*, Calcutta 1903, p. 63, the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, op. cit., p. 140 and jagadīśasimha gahalota: rājapūtāne kā itihāsa, tṛtīya bhāga: jayapura va alavara ... kā itihāsa, jodhapura 1960, p. 197ff.
4. For the exact location within the Tehsil cf. *Census of India 1961*, op. cit. Section IV, District and Tehsil map of Uniara (unnumbered).
5. Some of them were published by M. C. Beach in his *Rajput Painting at Bundi and Kota*, Ascona 1974 (Artibus Asiae Supplementum XXXII), figs. 57-58, but wrongly dated as will be shown further below.
6. We are grateful to Prof. C. B. Tripathi of the Free University Berlin for kindly translating parts of this inscription.
7. For one of his portraits see Sangram Singh: *Exhibition of Dhundhar Painting, From Raja Man Singh to Sawai Man Singh*, Jaipur 1977, exhibit No. 103, opp. p. 12. The same Rao appears most probably in one of the murals in the Jagatśiromaṇijī temple, published by Beach, op. cit., fig. 57, where however misidentified as "Kunvar Maha Singh ... Wall painting in the Jagat Sriromanji Temple (sic!)".
8. For his portrait see e.g. *Rasa - les neuf visages de l'art indien*, Paris 1986, no. 174, col. Plate p. 189.
9. Cf. Lala Chiranji Lal Agrawal: *Status of Uniara (A reply to Mr. C. U. Will's Report on the Land Tenures and Special Powers, on Certain Thikanedars of the Jaipur State)*, Jaipur n.d., p. 44.
10. Ibid., p. 50f. Jadunath Sarkar: *A History of Jaipur*, revised and edited by Raghubir Singh, Hyderabad 1984, p. 250.
11. Andrew Topsfield: *Painting for the Rajput Courts*, in: *The Arts of India*, ed. by Basil Gray, Oxford 1981, p. 167.
12. Jeremiah P. Losty: *The Art of the Book in India*, London 1982, p. 131, no. 101. (saṃbat 1818 śāke 1683 māsotma māghamāse śubheśuklapakṣa tithau / saptamī 7 caṃdrabāsare ... citragara dhano bāsi būdī ko).



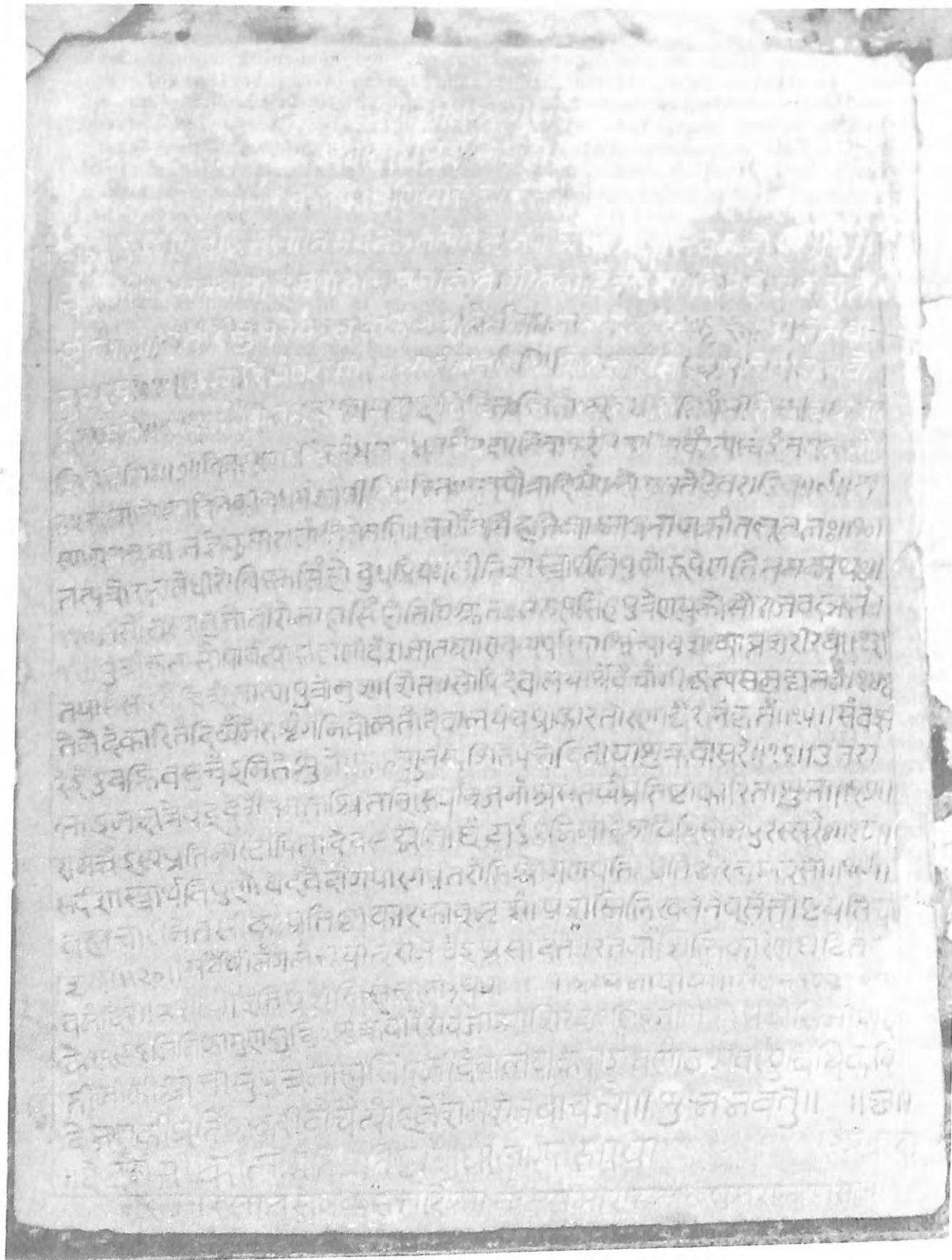


Fig. 1: Inscription at the Jagatśiromanjī temple in Uniara, dated 1774 (A.D.)



Fig. 2: Miniature painting showing "mahāsiṃghajī narukā (i.e. of the Naruka clan, inscription at the left hand border)" and his son "sarūpa siṃhajī (lower inscription at the left hand border)" worshipping in the "śrī jagatasiromaṇe(sic)jī ko maṃdi(ra) uṇiyārā main (inscription on upper red border)", ca. 1774 (A.D.)





Fig. 3: The Jagatśiromaṇijī temple as seen from the palace in 1983

Rolf Italiaander

### Social, Political and Ethical Aspects of the Folk Arts

For 16 years I had my own little museum on the outskirts of Hamburg for my collection. This museum gained supra-regional recognition and popularity. Meanwhile the collection has been turned into a trust for the German nation, administered by the town of Reinbek on the periphery of Hamburg.

Herewith some of the ideas I have acquired on the topic of museums in a long life of creative work and championship of all sectors of culture: ... A museum should aim at being a tacit educational tool for the creation of new values ... All arts should, above all, benefit the art of living ... The museum should be a monument of conviction and of love, possessing its own character ... The museum is a place of democratic ideals ...

In his remarkable essay, "Art as Experience", John Dewey postulates: "In a civilization there are both temporary and permanent elements. The permanent elements are not isolated; they are functions of a mass of fleeting events and these are organized into meanings which educate the intellect. Art is the great force which brings about this consolidation. Thinking individuals pass on, one after the other. The works in which meanings have achieved objective expression remain. They are part of the environment, and interaction with this development stage of the environment is the axis of continuity in the life of civilization."

These "parts of the environment" can become those intellectual or artistic "revelations" which proclaim the inherent attitudes of a people. As a humanitarian ethnologist and publicist, I attach the utmost importance to the best possible education for adolescents. Education to shape the minds of the younger generations is criminally neglected the world over - unfortunately in the development countries as well. If we scientists do not insist on more and improved educational provision, we will one day no longer have a public who can understand and fully grasp our message. In our Museum Rade at Reinbek Castle we have fitted out a room especially for children. Children and young people cannot be confronted early enough with all our themes. The education of the 21st century citizens of the world must now begin in earliest childhood; at university it will be too late. At a congress like this, we should jointly and vehemently protest against the continuous barbarization of our society.

Although I am interested in all cultural trends anywhere in the world, I have, as an art collector, concentrated on what is generally known as "popular art". Implicit in this term for me is both so called "primitive" and so called "naive" art.

The work of today's artists is based, as has always been the case, on the artistic representation of some primeval theme, unchanged since time immemorial. Leonard Bernstein, the composer of the folklore opera, "West Side Story", never fails to point out that he does not distinguish between serious and entertaining music, but only between good and bad music. We should judge the fine arts in the same way.

Of course, we should also bear in mind what Herbert Read asks in "The Grass Roots of Art": "Where are we to find criteria for art if not in a moral code?" He is right. When collecting and exhibiting pictures and objects of folk art in public museums, we should comply with universally valid ethical principles.





Fig. 1: Dieses Bild stammt von einem jungen Black namens Jimmie Allen aus Chicago. Immer wieder hat er die Einsamkeit der heutigen Menschen dargestellt.



Fig. 2: Der brasilianische Maler D. Pires malte brasilianische Frauen, die der Meeresgöttin Yemanya Blumen opfern.



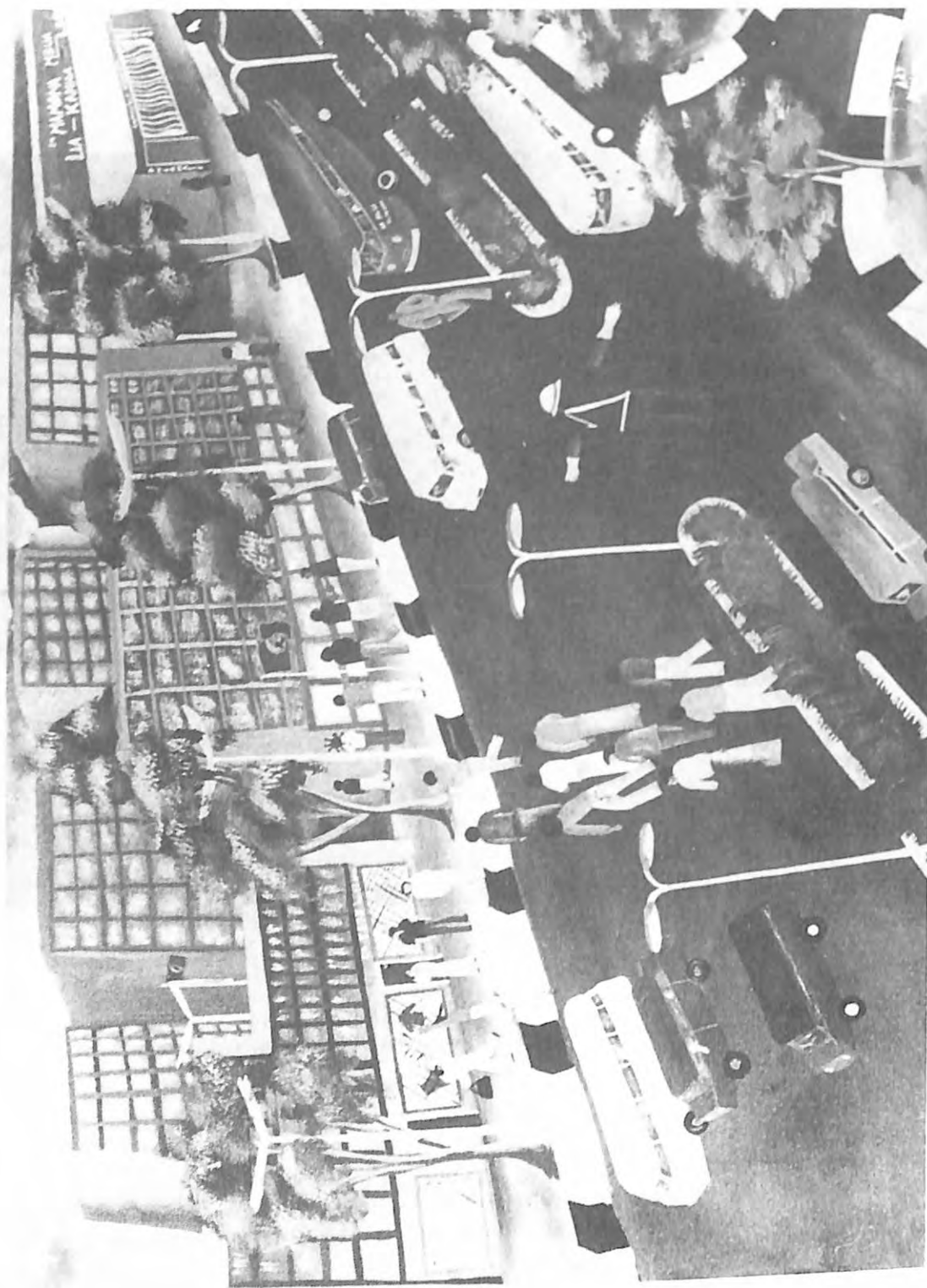


Fig. 3: Nach der Dekolonisierung begann auch in Zaire eine neue Malerei. Der Laienmaler Mokona gestaltete das moderne Kinshasa, das die Bevölkerung sehr beeindruckt

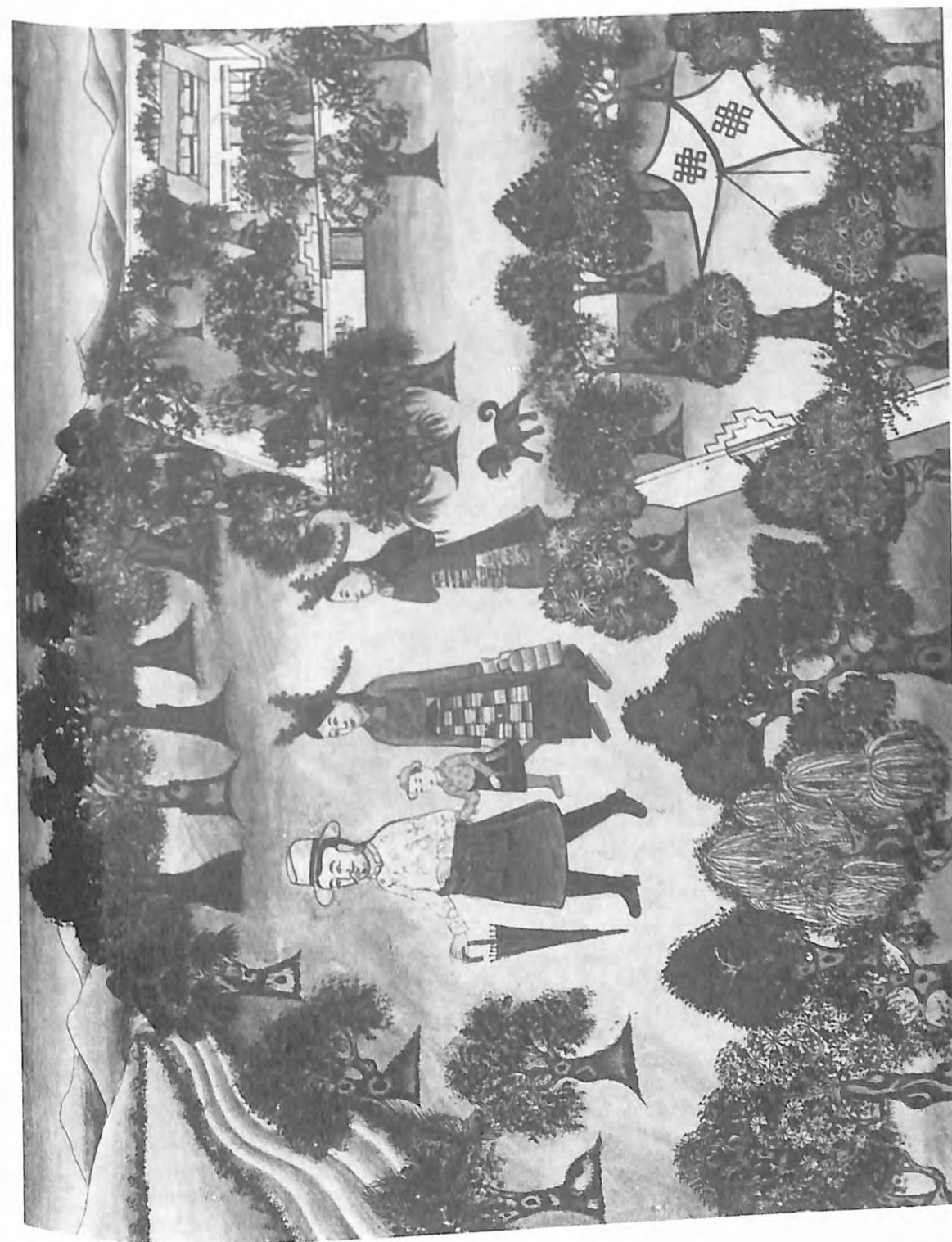


Fig. 4: Auch in Tibet gibt es vorzügliche Laienmaler. Hier ist ein tibetische Dorf mit einer Familie beim Spaziergang dargestellt



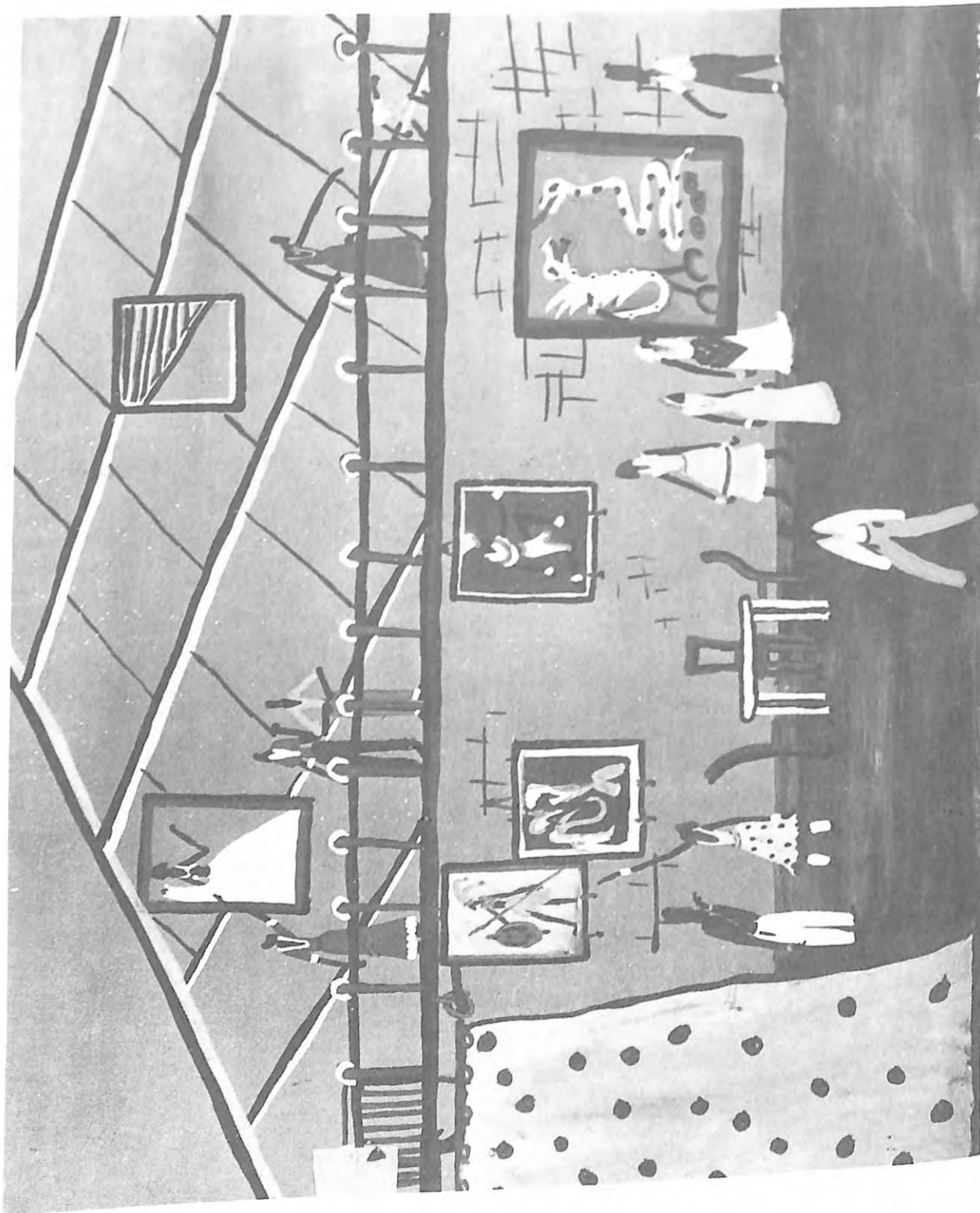


Fig. 5: In der Republik Congo hat der mehrfach ausgezeichnete Maler Jacques Zigoma das Interieur eines Hauses dargestellt

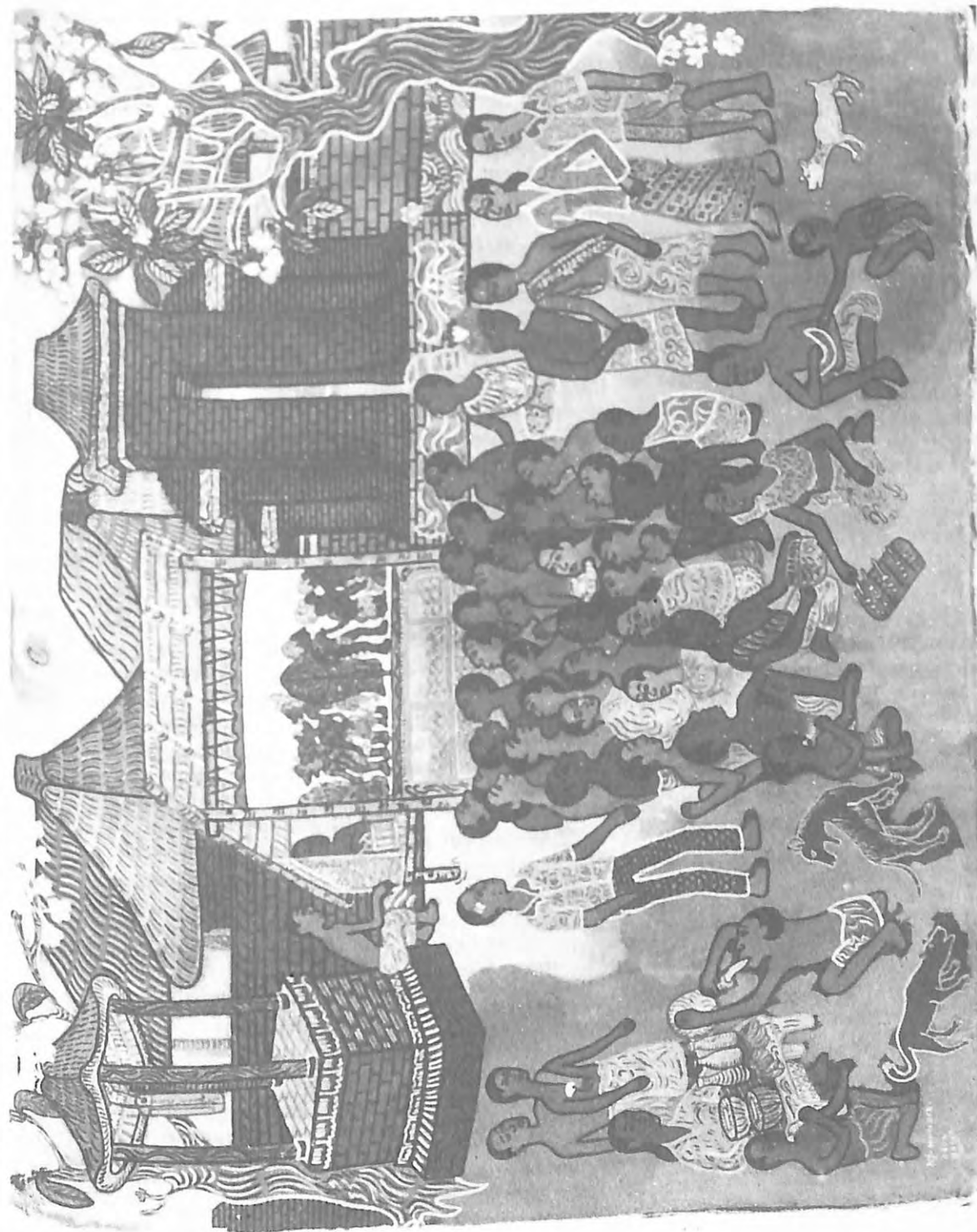


Fig. 6: Nachdem die Balinesen früher meistens religiöse Themen gemalt haben, widmen sie sich jetzt dem Realismus. Hier wird die Vorstellung der Schattenspieler in einem balinesischen Dorf gezeigt



R. C. Gaur

## OCP Culture and the Indo-Aryans

A large number of Ochre Colour Pottery (OCP) as well as pre-Harappan sites have been located during the last three decades in Pakistan, Punjab, Rajasthan, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh as a result of extensive explorations followed by a few important excavations. Their results are tantalizing as they have thrown valuable light on the protohistory of the Indian subcontinent. So far the OCP sites are concerned, they may be divided into three groups viz. (i) genuine OCP sites, (ii) OCP sites with Harappan influence and (iii) probable Harappan sites with OCP influence. It is obvious that the latter two are liable at westerly sites in the districts of Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, etc. whereas the pre-Harappan attest their link with the north-western part of Pakistan and the surrounding areas on one hand and with the sites of the upper Doab including Lal Qila on the other. Though generally the OCP sites are effected by flood and the deposits are either disturbed or not *in situ*, the excavations at Lal Qila, a site in District Bulandshahar, U.P. excavated by the writer of this paper, changed our views about this culture. The excavation of the site brought to light a well developed wheel turned red pottery with paintings in black, incised designs and graffiti marks. The excavation also yielded typical terracotta human figurines, terracotta animals, bangles and beads, objects of bones, stones and copper. Most significant was the discovery of cultivated rice, barley, gram and khesari.

A close study of the excavated repertoire reveals that the Lal Qila complex has an affinity with those found at Sothi (Rajasthan), Siswal (Haryana), Saraikhola (Pakistan) and similar sites. It is found that incised decorations and paintings so characteristic of sites like Lal Qila and Atranjikhara are unknown at Ambkheri (Uttar Pradesh) where limited Harappan traits are however present, whereas the pre-Harappan trait of the horizontal black-painted band as noticed at Saraikhola, Siswal, etc. are quite akin to the OCP of the Doab. Among the crops, barley (*Hordum vulgare*) and gram (*Cicer arietinum*) and among the wood, chir (*Pinus roxburghii*) have been found at Atranjikhara, an OCP site. All these had their link in the north-western region including Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The general assumption that the Aryans moved from west to east is based mainly on the clay tablets of about 1400 B.C. found at Boghaz Keui in which the names of the Rigvedic gods are referred to. But the names as given in the tablets are corrupt forms (*tadbhava*) of the original (*tatsama*) names as found in the Rigveda. It is well known that a word assumes corrupt form gradually and the process is never in the reverse direction. Thus the names as appear in Asia Minor must be derivatives and therefore subsequent to the Rigvedic references.

The thermoluminescent dates of twelve sherds from Atranjikhara, Lal Qila, Jhinhana and Nasirpur, all situated in the Upper Doab area, reveal that OCP was not only contemporary with the pre-Harappan and Harappan cultures but continued to survive for a few centuries even after their end. All the evidences tend to indicate that the OCP people and the pre-Harappan probably were one and the same and both appear to be the early Aryans.

Y. B. Singh

## Leitmotive Conventionality in Pahari paintings Analysed

Paper deals the socio-political and economic factors responsible for stereotype portrayals in Pahari Paintings.

Motivating ideology provided by political thinkers and failure of *dharma-yuddha* (righteous war) against "total-war" ideals of aliens brought degeneration in the political will of the indigenous rulers to its nadir by the advent of Mughals. The ambition to become *cakravartin* (universal monarch) was replaced by the wish to survive merely as a *Sāmanta* (feudal). Such rulers also accepted Mughal way of life as their "cherished ideals". They started observing grandiloquent court ceremonies and maintaining *vanī-vāsa* on the pattern of Mughal court and harem. Accordingly poets started providing amorous themata to painters by increasing the number of *nāyikās*. Concept of *parakīyā-nāyikā* (heroine in love with a person other than her husband) though bereft of social sanctions became so popular that Rādhā the embodiment of that concept emerged as the most favourite *nāyikā*. Even puritan religious systems failed to resist the said trend. The impact of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa dalliances on the writings of believers in Maryādāpuruṣottam's ideals (monogamic morality) is found in abundance. Aphorism *jog hū se kaphina samjoga paranāri ko* (union with others' wives is more difficult than the austere yogic practices) reflects the liking of the age. *Rāgas* and *rāginīs* too are depicted like hero-heroine without pronounced iconographic details and sometimes even without *bandiśa* (musical composition based on seven notes of Hindustani music) the determinant of their iconography. The efforts of the painters was thus to present the panorama of female charm alone. But canonisation of female form had deterred the artists from portraying even the regional specifics. Thus fish like eyes are found in Jammu paintings though the people of that region treat beautiful the eyes of almond shape.

And since these factors created a market only for "a particular type of paintings" painters had no choice except to produce only "that particular type" as most of them subsisted on feudal ateliers. Moreover in hereditary based feudal society since change of profession was almost a sacrilege painters' sons had always tried to become painters alone even in absence of a painter's quality. Such people, therefore, had no alternative except to copy their illustrious ancestors. Thus so-called schools are merely *gharānās* (family traditions) as differences between them appear due to the "personal touch" of a master painter and not because of novelty in style, etc. Efforts were also made by artists to humiliate their rivals by demonstrating better art as there were rivalries among their patrons. And, since failure of artists was taken as that of their patrons safer for them was to obtain mastery over the heritage than to attempt innovations. Artists' insignificance and resultant apathy among them are apparent from the fact that paintings seldom display painters' names. Though signature at least on back of miniatures would never spoil the beauty.

However, inspite of these the painters had succeeded in adding a *leit-motive* touch to the said oft repetitions.



Pinna Indorf

## Architecture as Cultural Communication

This paper presents an overview of a method of developing a dual, multi-faceted and multileveled model based on the concept 'deep structure', as an aid for understanding meaning in architecture. The model is built up from both cultural and architectural information, analysing each category of data in terms of basic relationship patterns and searching for deep structure correlations to architectural relationship patterns at three levels. The method encourages interpretation of the meaning of historical architecture to emerge from the values, priorities and world view of the culture it represents. It could also be used by designers concerned with responding to cultural contexts in a profession buffeted by cross-cultural influences.

To illustrate its use, the meaning of the 13th/14th century Sukhothai monument, Wat Mahathat was re-evaluated. Symbolic and stylistic identifications and the historical context already established by other scholars and deep structure patterns in both the layout of the city as well as the monument itself were compared to the deep structure patterns of Mon-Khmer and Thai social structure and non-Buddhist/Hindu beliefs or customs.

An analysis of the layout of the city of Sukhothai reveals a clear priority given to locality spirits at the expense of formal hierarchy. This may reflect a Mon-Khmer values system, however, the ordering system within Wat Mahathat clearly echoes the multi-layered hierarchies of the Thai social structure. While it bears some similarities to the Khmer ideal order which preceded it, it shows clear deviations. In these deviations there is a similarity to the mix of formality and informality found in Thai social order.

Re-evaluating the mix of 'borrowed' stylistic motifs in the context of a poly-cultural society, the 'big man' politics of early South East Asia and the role of this monument as a politico-religious mandala, it becomes clear that it was not only deliberate but necessary for the monument to make reference, symbolically, to all the cultural groups claimed as part of the Sukhothai Kingdom. Furthermore the use of Sinhalese Buddhist elements to both mix and unify these motifs is logically explained by the status of Sinhalese Buddhism as a pure form of the religion which was being used to reinforce the ruler's moral right to rule. Within this context the dominant feature of the monument must be a Thai symbol, and must have strong significance for the majority of the population, i.e. the Mon-Khmers. Thus the lotus bud may have been chosen as it had due recognition as a Sinhalese *stūpa* form and was reminiscent of the locality and ancestor spirit posts found throughout the area.

The re-evaluation of Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai illustrates the value of a model for interpretation of meaning in two ways. It allows the values of the culture which produced it to take a dominant position in the process and it encourages an investigation of more basic relationship patterns at several levels of architectural composition rather than relying entirely on the evaluation of stylistic and symbolic motifs.

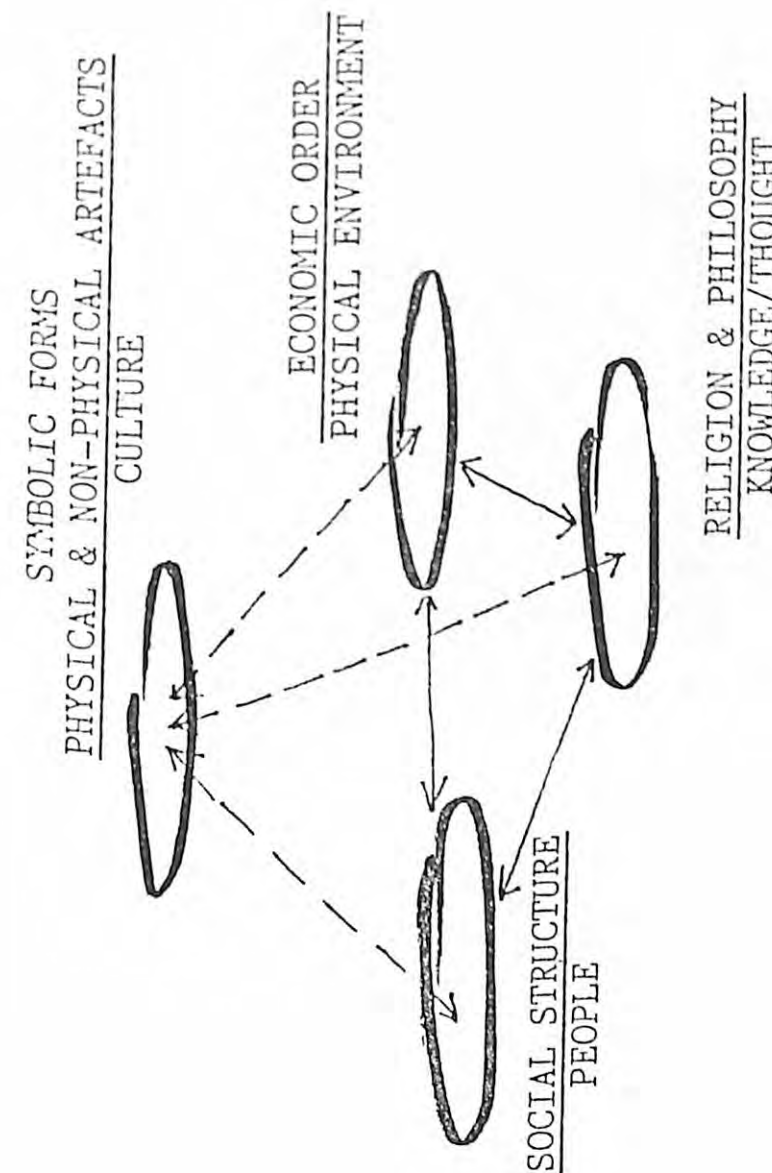
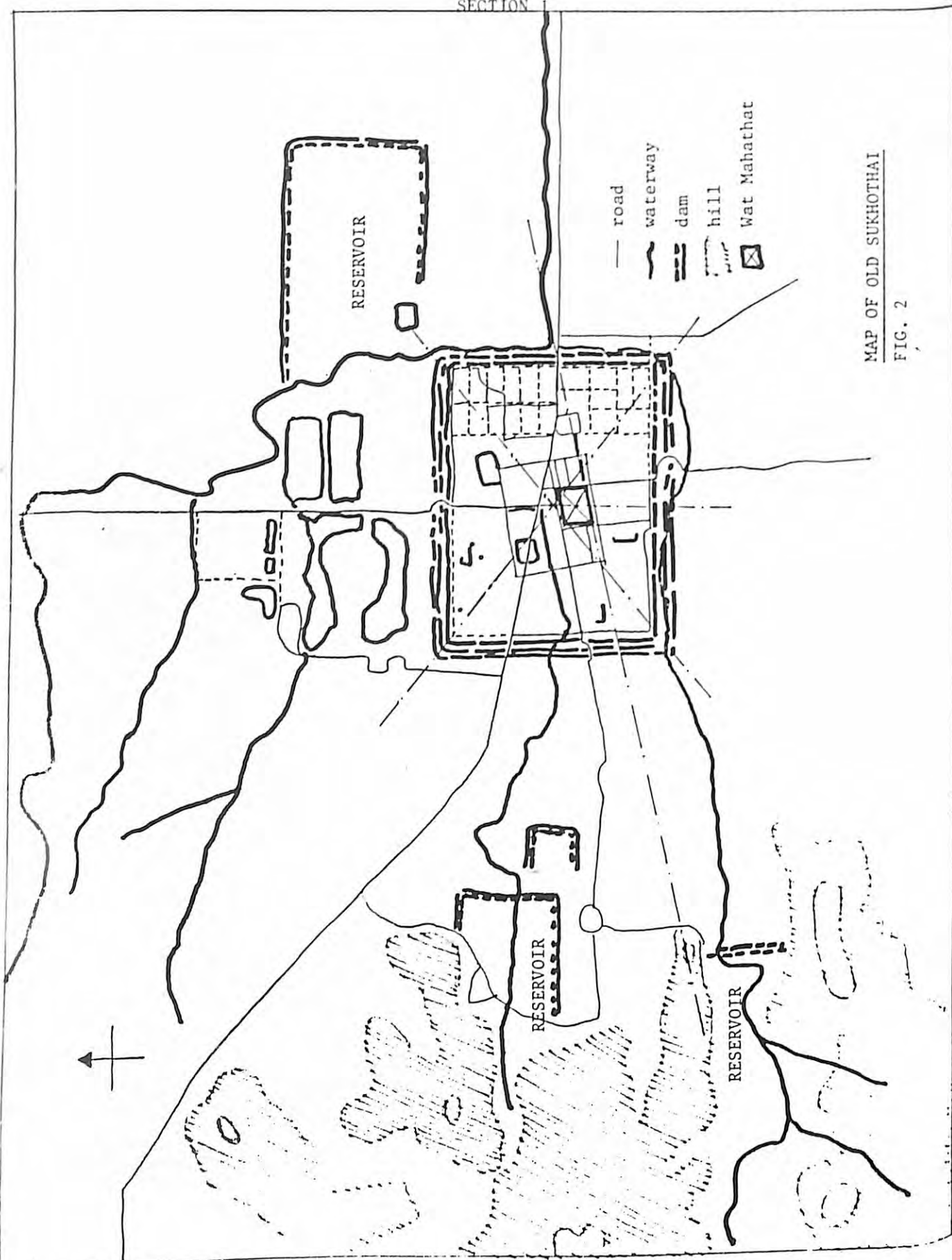


FIG. 1





MAP OF OLD SUKHOThAI

FIG. 2

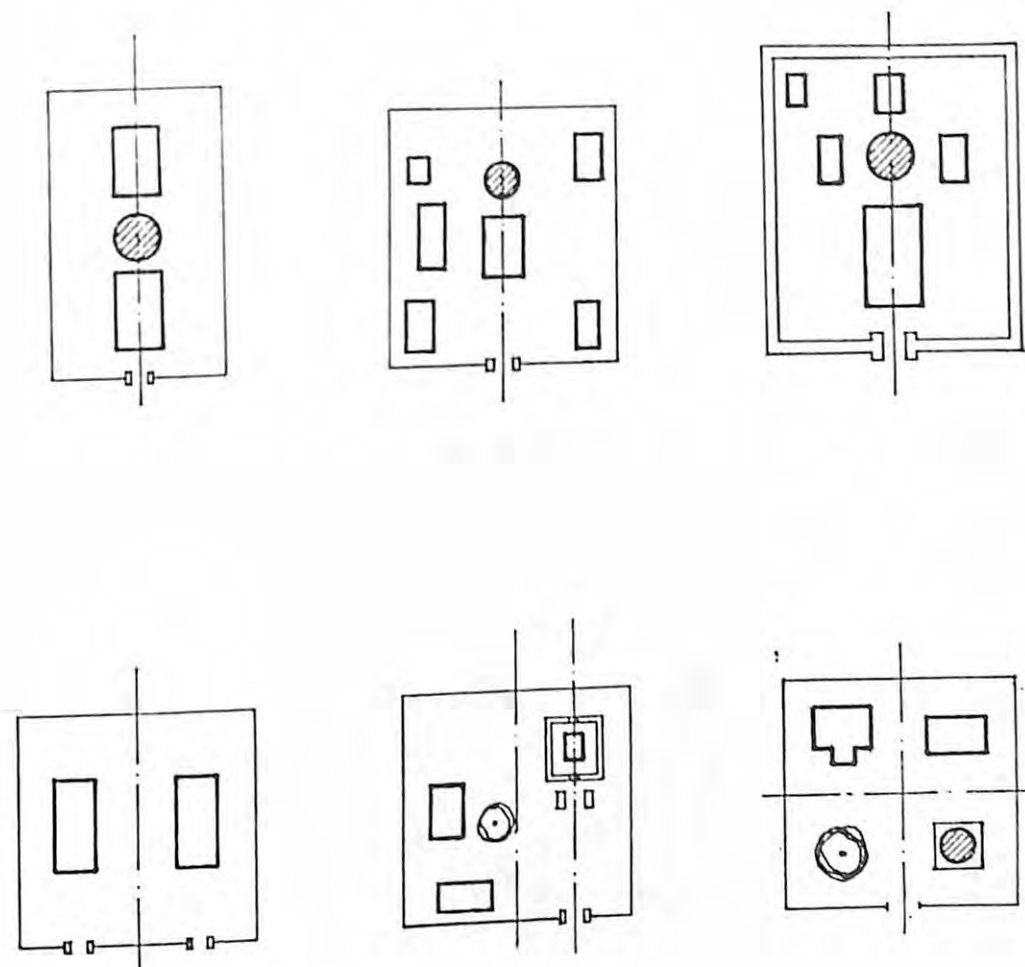


FIG. 3

Top: Three typical ordering systems for the Thai wat based on a central axial composition.

Bottom, right and middle: Two ordering systems for the Thai wat based on division of the ceremonial compound into two sections.

Bottom, left: Ordering system of the pabbata vihara of Sri Lanka.



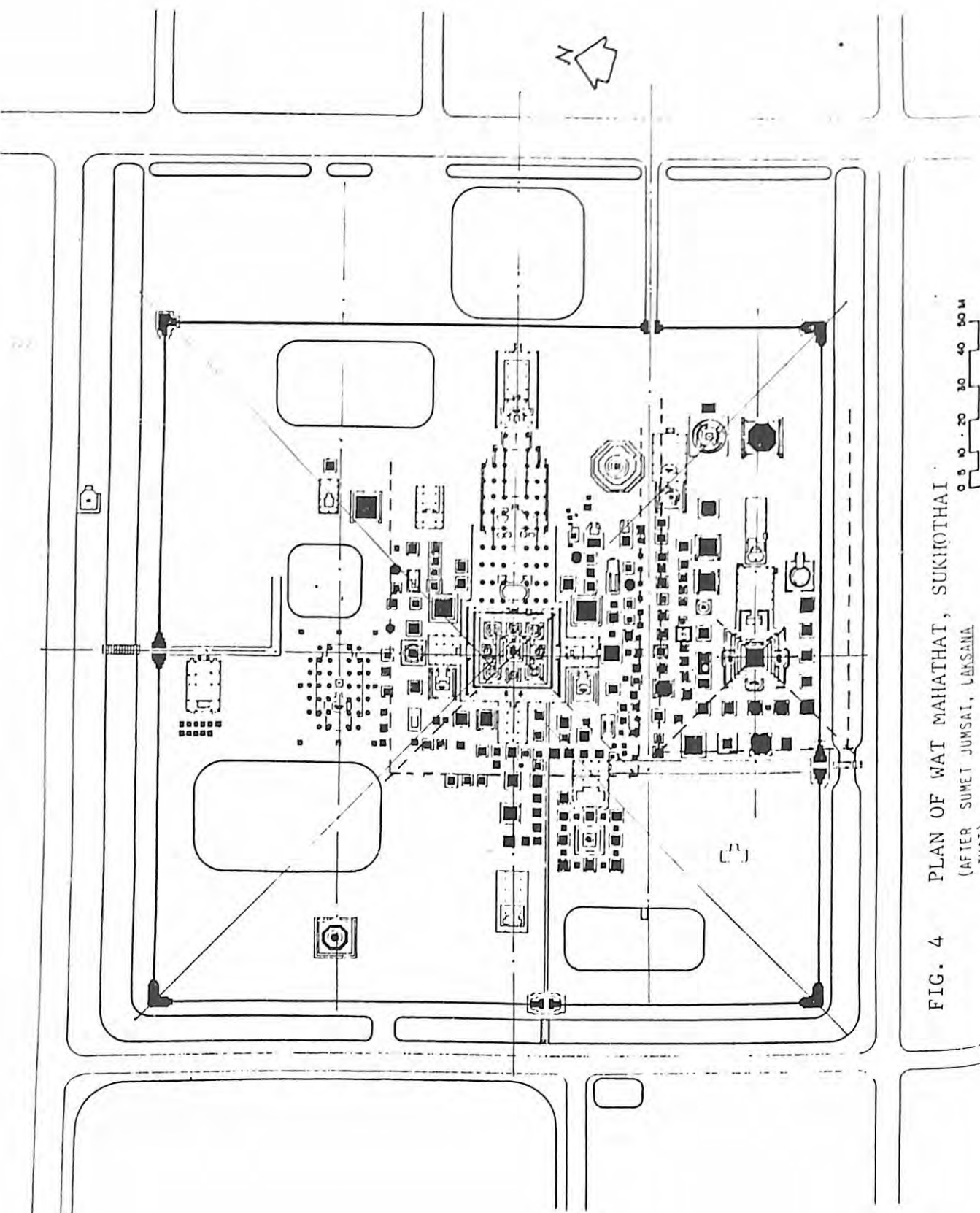


FIG. 4 PLAN OF WAT MAHATHAT, SUKHOATHAI  
(AFTER SUWET JUMSAT, LBSANA  
THAI)

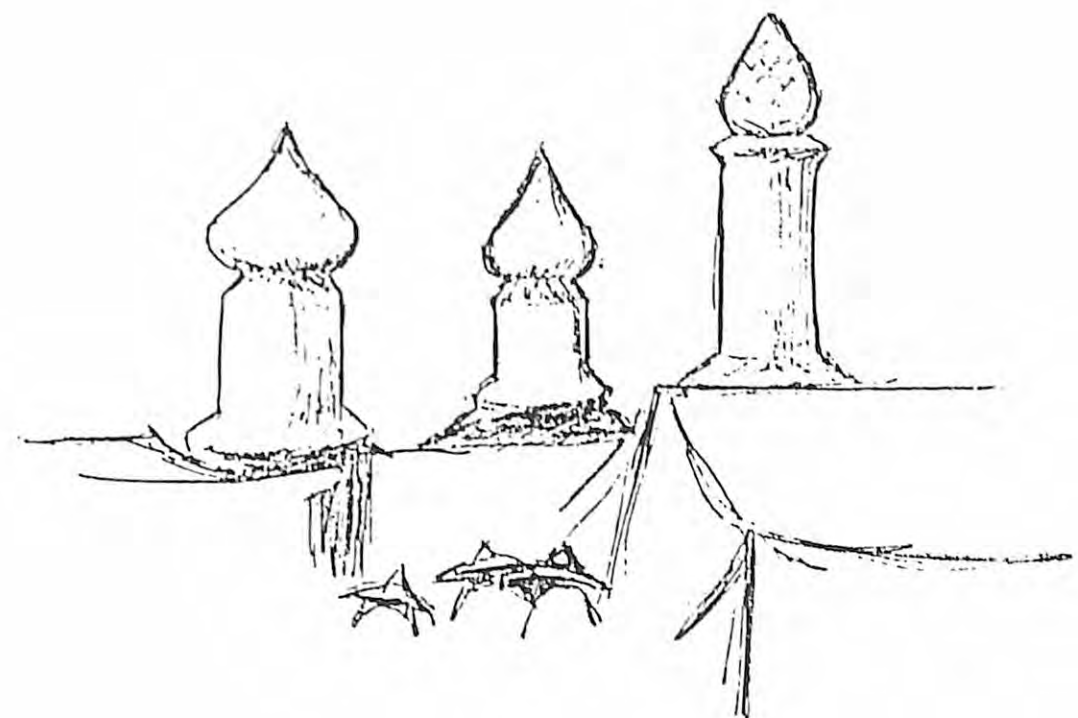


FIG. 6  
TOMBS OF THE RULING TAI PRINCES  
OF KENG TUNG IN THE TUNGA MARKET  
(AFTER MENGRAI 1981: fig. 12)



Nisar Ahmad

Numismatic and Epigraphical Materials of Devanimori  
Stūpa: A Review

## I

At first I propose to examine the ascriptions and the dates of some of the Western Kshatrpa coins found from the excavations at Devanimori which is situated in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat.

The attribution of the coin to Rudrasena I seems doubtful. The cataloguer reads the legends as *Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasimhasaputrassa Rajño Mahakshatrapasa-senasa*. But due to the facts that half of the legend is 'blurred due to wear' as well as, at times, it is difficult to differentiate the letters *ha* and *na* on these coins because of the sameness in their shape and, further more, no specimen of the five successors of Rudrasena I is represented here, we presume the legend as *Rajño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrassa Rajño Mahākshatrapa Viśvasimha*.

Of the coins of Bhartrdāman, the coin no. 9 simply retains the legend *Mahakshatrapa-Rudrasenaputra* and the numerical symbol 10. His coins bear the dates 200 to 204 as Kshatrpa and 211 to 217 or probably 225 as *Mahākshatrapa*. Hence the present date can be regarded as 210. Bhartrdāman appears to have been appointed Kshatrpa by his elder brother Viśvasimha in Śaka 200. If it was struck by him as Kshatrpa, then it shows that he enjoyed this junior regal position till Śaka 210. But we cannot be sure about the attribution of this coin to Bhartrdāman, since it does not reveal the name or status of the issuer, and, moreover, when during this period Viśvasimha also flourished as Mahākshatrapa and recorded the name of his father Rudrasena on the coins.

The issues of Viśvasena struck in his Kshatrapaship bear the dates 215, 215 or 16(?), 220 and 25 – the last one can be considered as 225. The date 220 confirms to the same uncertain date previously known and, the dates 215 and 225 appear to be new. However, the possible identification of the date 216 requires confirmation.

## II

The most important discovery of this place is an inscription written in the relic casket of the stūpa whose expressions *Saptaviṃśatyadhike Kathikanripāṇam samāgatebhasate* and *Nripato Śrī Rudrasena* need discussion. The former refers to the year 127 belonging to Kathika kings and the latter mentions the reigning king Rudrasena as *nripati*. Since the kings known as Kathika are not mentioned elsewhere, their identification is debated.

Writing about the word Kathika, it is suggested that 'the Western Kshatrapas were known as Kathika kings and not as Kardamaka'. But Sātavāhana record contradicts it. Elsewhere, it is also said that the term Kathika is 'simple case of Sanskritisation of the words like scythia, skythe, from which the name Scythian or Skythian was derived'. But nowhere these words were applied by the Western Kshatrapas from themselves. Moreover, they had the title of Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa whereas this Rudrasena is simply designated as *nripati*.

The era used in the Devanimori casket inscription is regarded generally as the Śaka era which was started in 78 A.D.; and hence it is put in (127-78) 205 A.D. To bring the matter home, it is argued that the Kushāṇas of the Kanishka's house were called Kathika kings due to their patronage to Buddhism; and since the Western Śaka Kshatrapas were the viceroys of these Kushāṇas, they were alluded to. It is also put forth that 'the Śaka era was the continuation of the general reckoning of Kanishka'. But before this time the Kushāṇas had confined themselves to the brahmanical faith alone and as such their reference by a unknown name Kathika, which, moreover, is supposed to be related with them due to their association with the Buddhism, is unacceptable. Likewise, the Śaka era initiated by the Western Śaka Kshatrapas and the regnal reckoning of Kanishka I cannot be linked.

Between 203 and 220 A.D. Rudrasena I was on the Western Kshatrpa throne; and, therefore, this monarch and Rudrasena of Devanimori inscription are taken identical. However, in view of the fact that the coin-board buried under the casket in question contained the metallic issue of the subsequent Kshatrpa ruler Viśvasena who flourished between 202 and 305 A.D. and thereby reveals the later existence of the king mentioned therein, it is presumed that 'the construction of the stūpa was begun in 205 A.D. but was abandoned and was again taken up as well as completed after a century'. But the excavators do not find any later opening from the top or any disturbance in or repair to its interior. Hence both these rulers cannot be regarded as the same.

The excavators opine that 'Rudrasena of the Devanimori inscription should be identified with Rudrasena III or IV'. But the former possibility is favoured by them because of the longer reign of Rudrasena III which is favoured by them because of the longer reign of Rudrasena III which pertained to the third quarter of the 4th century A.D. So obviously according to them the Kathika era was started roughly in the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. and, as during this period the Kalachuri era was founded, they were attracted to establish the identity of the Kathika era with that. But Viśvasena, who was the last ruler to be represented in the coin-board, died in 305 A.D.; and, Rudrasena III was on the throne from 348 to 378 A.D. So indeed the absence of any of the specimens minted during the period of at least more than four decades is highly surprising. Further, if the Kathika and the Kalachuri eras were the same, the Devanimori inscription has to be put in (248-127) 375 A.D.; and it is strange that, even after the expiry of twentyseven years of the reign of Rudrasena III, not his single coin occurred in the hoard.

It is also assigned on the grounds of the language, which is in good Sanskrit, and the palaeography, to 'about the same age' as the Pardi plates of Dharasena that is dated in the year 207 of the Kalachuri era; and hence the present record is, too, ascribed to this era. It is further stated that it was established by Iśvarasena, the founder of the Abhīra dynasty; and, therefore, this Rudrasena is considered as Abhīra king. But the Devanimori epigraph certainly shows the earlier palaeographical features than those of the Pardi plates which is dated in (248-49+207) 455-56 A.D. Furthermore, at this time, the Abhīras ruled over Khandesha and not in Gujarat.

Thus this Rudrasena was neither a Kardamaka king nor a Abhīra. As well the era used in the Devanimori inscription, in all probability, was distinct than that of the Śakas or Abhīras. It seems to have commenced in approximation of 305-127=178 A.D. Possibly this ruler belonged to the house of Mitrasena who administered a different territory.



Morton Smith

## Halos from China to India

Halos are to us symbols of sanctity or divinity. This led me to research on Buddhist and Indian halos, the result of which were not as anticipated. Classical rulers do not have halos on their coins till the 4th century A.D. Iranian kings do not have them on coins or sculpture, but seem to get them on silver plates in the 4th century A.D.

Divinized emperors of Rome do not have halos. Sun-gods may have rays from the 4th century B.C.; the flat halo seems later, and can be found in the Near East from 50 B.C. Gods have halos first in the classical world, e.g. Danubius on a coin of Trajan, Dionysos on a mosaic in Africa c 90 A.D.

Christian halos appear in the 4th century and spread from Christ to the Virgin and disciples, saints in the 5th. Halos are not necessarily earlier in Coptic art than in Roman.

In India king Huvishka has a halo on coins c 160 A.D.; the Gupta king Candragupta I c 320.

Buddha has a halo from the beginning in Gandhāra, and must receive it as a god, though the halo spreads to Bodhisattvas.

The early halos are plain; ornament creeps in slowly, first a rim, then rays in the form of small triangles, which may develop to lotus petals, acquiring more symbolism. Some Gandhāra halos may have been painted, probably with many rims, i.e. concentric circles of colours (cf. Bāmiyān), which we call rainbow halos. Greek motifs do not prosper, e.g. the victor's wreath; the creeper is not found on Gandhāra halos.

The halo is brought to Mathura ornamented, first with scalloped rays, but soon the body of the halo gets ornamented, first with Gandhāra motifs not found there on halos, but soon these are Indianized, and we have motifs with Indian symbolism, e.g. the lotus flower at the centre. Jains quickly adopt the halo. They retain rays at the centre, Buddhists only have lotus there. The creeper seems to appear towards 350; the flame I cannot find in India before 500; flames seem to surround the halo and mandorla earlier in China. The oval halo appears about 550, originally due to the high head-dress of the Hindu gods concerned.

Buddhas and worshippers appear on Buddhist halos, but no figures on Jain, though gods may overlap onto halos of both.

In Central Asia an unhaloed Bodhisattva teaches at Miran, but the rimmed halo and the plain are normal; after c 550 the rainbow halo seems commonest. Elaborations occur, and rayed halos can be found, but occasionally Central Asia remains faithful to Gandhāra in the halo, though Chinese influence shows on other features.

In China plain halos can be found but there are concurrent types from the 5th century, though the creeper seems only to appear in the early 6th, but there is one in Bronze of 442. Rimmed and rainbow halos are common, and there is growing tendency to fill the centre with lotus (as in India) though Indian Buddhas are reverting to the plain centre from the 6th century. The Chinese creeper is simpler than the Indian.

Flames round the halo and mandorla are ubiquitous in China from the 5th century. In metal I find the ajourée halo in China in 524, and it spreads to Korea and Japan in the next centuries. In these countries the appearance of Buddhas/arhats seems to begin on the mandorla before spreading to the halo. The mandorla is on Kaniška's coin, and it seems to spread from Gandhāra, through Central Asia, but I do not find it in the West not before the 5th century.

Indian influence supersedes Gandhāran in Central Asia and China with the Pax Gupta, but is not renewed after 700.



Fig. 1: Scallop, pearls and creeper. Sarnath





Taf. 15a. Stück aus einer Reihe von Buddhas

Fig. 2: Rainbow halo and mandorla



Taf. 15b. Adorierender Bodhisattva

Fig. 3: (Narrow-)rimmed halo

Julian Sherrier

## Vajrapāṇi in Gandhāra

How a Yakṣa of humble origin, Vajrapāṇi, surmounts to the heights of the Buddhist pantheon, as the supreme guardian of the Śākyamuni Buddha, bears some examination.

On Mount Meru, at the four corners, resides the Yakṣa, Vajrapāṇi, thunderbolt in hand – to guard and protect the Trayastriṃśa Heavenly Gods directly aligned to the King of this realm, Śakra (the Buddhist Indra) with whom he shares in common the attributes of the Vajra. But where does this link arise from, which unites Vajrapāṇi, the Yakṣa of humble origin, to the great Aryan Gos, Indra. Under the name of Śakra, the powerful Indra has gained access into the Buddhist pantheon, *ad infinitum*, as represented in Gandhāran iconography. But gradually, Vajrapāṇi, the simple successor to Śakra, detaches himself – assuming the main role of acolyte and protector. From the relative silence of the texts; as indeed from the total absence of any representations at Barhut, Bodhgaya and Sanchi, it appears that at the start of the Buddhist tradition he was just a paler version of Śakra, as a menacing divinity (which many Gandhāran scenes bear out). It then falls to the Vinaya Mūlasarvāstivādin to finally plant Vajrapāṇi in the Buddhist context; e.g. when relating to the long voyage undertaken by the Buddha in N. India (Bhaiṣajyavastu). The advent of Māhāyāna marks the turning point in the legend of Vajrapāṇi: the compilers of the Vaipulyasūtra elevating him to the rank of a Bodhisattva – declaring him the perpetual acolyte of the Buddha. Now, of the Śrāvakas, by far the most important, in his total service to Śākyamuni for 25 years, was Ananda. And it is to him that Śākyamuni always confides the paridāna, and to whom he explains the sūtras. However, whilst continuing to refer to and include Ananda, the Mahāyānists juxtapose Bodhisattvas with him, especially Vajrapāṇi! In short, Ananda represents Theravāda, while Vajrapāṇi incarnates the Mahāyāna; and from thereon their fates are interlinked, especially in the later traditions. Later still, with the cult of Vajrapāṇi growing, by the 7th century another great Mahāyānist school flowers – Vajrayāna!

But as it is Śakra's mantle that Vajrapāṇi eventually dons, let us start with some representations of Śakra/Indra. 1. This is the usual crown, dress and appearance of Śakra, whether in Jātakas, 2. like this famous *Sibi Jataka* or 3. innumerable others of *Sakra and Brahmā flanking Sakyamuni*, 4. or as in the *Birth in Lumbinī Park*; 5. or in a typical *Indrasala Cave* scene and 6. we also see Vajrapāṇi represented almost always partially or totally naked! This may have some connection with the Greco-roman tradition inherent in a lot of the Mahāyānist aspects of Gandhāran Art. But there does not appear to be any consistent or logical sequence in his attire or his aging, as we progress through the events depicted in the Buddha's life. He really makes his first solo appearance only after Prince Siddhārtha relinquishes his wordly life in 7. scenes of the *Great Departure*. 14. Certainly he is at the Buddha's side in *His Quest* for the answers to Life which the Buddha puts to the Brahmin Ascetics. This leads to 9. scenes of the *Grasscutter's offering* of grass for the Throne of Enlightenment. 10. He is witness to the *Bodhisattva Siddhārtha's Great Fast*. 11. Next we see *Nāga Kalika and his queen sing paens of praise to the Buddha*. 12. Followed by



the *Subjugation of Apakaka*. (NB. This is a watershed occasion, as it is one of the very rare times that Vajrapāṇi takes direct action, himself, instead of being an observer.). 13. Next he is the observer again at the momentous *Assault of Māra* on the Buddha. 14. Show the *First sermon at the Deer Park*. Then, on to the miracles! 15. Where the *Kāśyapa Ascetics* try putting out the *Buddha's effulgence, emanating from the fire-temple*. 16. This leads on to the *Subjugation of the Black serpent*, creeping into His bowl and of His offering to them, at *Uruvilva*. 17. A similar event also happens at *Rājagṛha*, where the *Serpent is then presented to King Bimbisara*. 18. Vajrapani, sitting european-style, is witness to the *Ascetics who come to visit the Buddha in his cave*. 19. Depict the *Great Miracle of Srāvastī*. 20. The *Abduction of Ananda*, is when he thwarts his step-brother's attempts to escape his spiritual destiny. 21. Is the marvellous episode of the *bandit, Angulimāla*. 22. Relates the miraculous story of the *Dead woman and giving birth to and suckling her child* through the Buddha's intervention. (NB. once again Vajrapāṇi is totally naked!) 23. There are innumerable scenes like this of the *Buddha Vajrapāṇi and Donors*. In 24. Vajrapāṇi is a bearded veteran watching *Samughadha* *belaboring her naked ascetic in-laws*, when the Buddha arrives through the air emitting flames from his shoulders and feet. 25a and b. is the *Offering of a Handful of Dust by the boy to the Buddha* show two extremes in Vajrapani's appearance - nude Hellenistic one and coiffured hair, mustached and classical attire in the other. 26. Here are shown the two main protagonists, Vajrapani and Ananda, both present, whilst the *merchant presents the Cloth of Gold to the Buddha*; this episode leads into the final scenes of the *mahāparinirvāṇa*. 27. First we see him just stunned whilst the others bewail their loss. Next 28. he is more *openly expressing his grief*. in 29a and b. "he sinks down to earth like a crumbling mountain, but on reviving, bursts out in long lamentations" (from the sorrow and love of Guhyaka Vajrapāṇi. trans: from Chinese 4/5th cent. A.D.). Finally we see him, beside himself with grief, even dropping his vajra. 30. Here, I feel sure we are seeing the *grief-stricken, gaunt-faced Vajrapani* attending the Blessed One for the last time. 31a and b. shows *two double-panelled reliefs* Vajrapani in different guises and ages; the former one the *Presentation of a statue to the Buddha*. 32. But here, we are finally seeing the elevation to *Bodhisattvahood of Vajrapāṇi and Panchika*, seated either side of the Buddha? 33. And this *lion-hooded, cowled Heraklian figure* must surely put the seal of Bodhisattva on Vajrapani. The cult continued into the 6th/7th century as we know from this Hadda. 34. *terracotta* and from the *Central Asian paintings*. 35.

## SLIDES

## VAJRAPANI IN GANDHARA

1. Sakra/Indra - Sherrier Collection
2. Sibi Jataka - British Museum
3. Sakra and Brahmah flanking Sakyamuni - Sherrier Collection
4. Birth in Lumbini Park - Karachi Museum
5. Buddha in the Indrasala Cave - Peshawar Museum
6. Indrasala Cave with naked Vajrapani - Sherrie Coll.
7. Great Departure of Prince Siddhartha - Peshawar Museum
8. Prince Siddhartha visits Brahmin Ascetics - Peshawar Museum
9. Grasscutter offering of Grass to the Buddha - Peshawar Museum
10. Siddhartha's Great Fast -
11. Naga King and Queen singing paens of praise - S. Simon Coll.
12. Subjugation of Apalala - Sherrier Coll.
13. Assault of Mara - Berlin Museum
14. First Sermon in the Deer Park - Freer Gallery, Washington
15. Kasyapa Ascetics and the Fire-Temple - Lahore Museum
16. Serpent in the Buddha's bowl at Uruvilva - Karachi Museum
17. Black Serpent at Rajagriha - Lahore Museum
18. 16 Ascetics visit the Buddha in his cave - Peshawar Museum
19. Great Miracle of Sravasti - Cleveland Museum, USA
20. The Abduction of Ananda - Lahore Museum
21. Story of Angulimala - Norton Smith Coll.
22. Dead woman giving birth and suckling her child - Peshawar Museum
23. Buddha, Vajrapani and Donors - Sherrier Coll.
24. Samughada and the Ascetics - Karachi Museum
- 25 a + b: Offering of a Handful of Dust to Buddha - Sherrier Coll.
26. Merchant presents Cloth of Gold to the Buddha - Peshawar Museum
27. Mahaparinirvana - stunned - Peshawar Museum
28. Mahaparinirvana - grieved-stricken - Freer Gallery, Washington
29. Mahaparinirvana - a + b - Victoria and Albert Museum
30. Vajrapani in grief - Ishiguru collection
- 31a. Presentation of a statue to the Buddha - Private Coll.
- b. Double-panelled - Berlin Museum
32. Vajrapani and Panchika - Private Coll.
33. Heraklian Bodhisattva Vajrapani - Ishiguru Coll.
34. Seated Vajrapani - Hadda terracotta. Kabul Museum
35. Vakrapani - Central Asian painting



Claudine Bautze-Picron

The Stone Images of the Buddha in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*  
at Kurkihār and the 'Kurkihār Style'

We have listed eight representations of the Buddha showing the *bhūmisparśamudrā*; they are datable to the 9th and first part of the 10th c. They are: 1° Indian Museum, Calcutta (abbr. IM) inv. Kr.2/A24136 (John Anderson, *Catalogue and Hand-Book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum*, Part II, Calcutta, 1883, (reprint:) Patna, 1977, p. 73, Geri Hockfield Malandra, Ellora: The "Archaeology" of a *maṇḍala*, *Ars Orientalis*, 15, 1985, p. 67-77, fig. 29-30); 2° IM inv. Kr.3/A24140 (J. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 73-74, R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, Delhi, 1933, pl. VIII-(c)); 3° IM inv. Kr.8 (J. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 75); 4° IM inv. Kr.12/A24122 (J. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 76, B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography mainly based on the Sādhnamālā and cognate Texts*, 2d ed., Calcutta, 1958, fig. 46); 5° IM inv. Kr.15/A24137 (J. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 78); 6° Lucknow Museum (J. Ph. Vogel, *Buddhist Sculptures from Benares, Annual Report of the A.S.I. for the year 1903-4*, p. 212-226, pl. LXII, fig. 3 = J. Ph. Vogel, *Buddhistische Kunst van Voor-Indië*, Amsterdam, 1932, Afb. 37); 7° State Chandradhari Museum, Darbhanga, inv. AY/39; 8° *in situ* at Kurkihār (Susan L. Huntington, *The 'Pāla-Sena' Schools of Sculpture*, Leiden, 1984, fig. 117). These eight images from Kurkihār from a homogeneous group from stylistic and iconographic points of view. This allows us to introduce a second group of six representations of the Buddha showing the same *mudrā*, which are of unknown origin: 1° British Museum, London, inv. 1942.4-15.1; 2° Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin inv. I 9973 (Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, *Auktion 110 - AM 27. November 1961, Indische Plastik, Persische Bronzen*, n° 34); 3° Seattle Art Museum (*Indian Buddhist Sculpture in American Collections*, J. R. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, 1968, n° 38); 4° Asian Art Museum of San Francisco inv. B60 S598 (*Pāla Stone Sculpture*, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1984, n° 3 = Alvan C. Eastman, *Catalog of the Heeramanek Collection of Early Indian Sculptures, Paintings, Bronzes and Textiles*, New York, 1934, n° 20); 5° Los Angeles County Museum of Art (A. C. Eastman, *op. cit.*, n° 13 - 9, H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, 1954, pl. 381 = *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1966, n° 29 = Alice N. Heeramanek, *Masterpieces of Indian Sculpture from the former Collections of Nasli M. Heeramanek*, n.p., 1979, n° 116); 6° Los Angeles County Museum of Art (J. Leroy Davidson, *Art of the Indian Subcontinent from Los Angeles Collections*, Los Angeles, 1968, n° 39).

To these fourteen images, can be compared, taking also into consideration images the origin of which is known to be Kurkihār (e.g. 1° Mañjuśrī, IM Kr.7 (J. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 75, R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII-(c), 2° Mañjuśrī, Baroda Museum (2500th Buddha Jayanti Celebration, *Exhibition of Buddhist Art*, intr. by C. Sivaramamurti, organized by Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, 1956, n° 90)). some representations either of the Buddha (but displaying another *mudrā*) or of various characters of the Buddhist pantheon. They are, e.g.: 1° Buddha showing the *dharmacakramudrā* (Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, *Auktion 102 - Am 2. Dezember 1960, Kunstwerke aus Indien - Siam ...*, Hamburg, 1960, n° 20); 2° Avalokiteśvara, Musée Guimet,

Paris inv. MA2479 (Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, *Auktion 102 ...*, n° 8 = O. Monod-Bruhl, *Deux steles indiennes acquises par le Musée Guimet, Revue du Louvre*, II, 1961, p. 235-237 = J. Naudou, Cl. Picron, Ph. Stern, *Au service d'une biologie de l'art*, Publications de l'Université de Lille III, Ville-neuve-d'ascq, 1978, fig. 36); 3° Avalokiteśvara (Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, *Auktion 102 ...*, n° 35 = P. Chandra, *Indian Sculpture from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1963, n° 9); 4° Tārā (Stanislaw Czuma, *Indian Art from the George P. Bickford Collection*, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975, n° 13); 5° Tārā (P. Pal, *The Sensuous Immortals, A Selection of Sculptures from the Pan-Asian Collection*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1978, n° 53 = Alice N. Heeramanek, *op. cit.*, n° 118); 6° Tārā, Musée Guimet, Paris inv. MA2480 (Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, *Auktion 102 ...*, n° 10 = O. Monod-Bruhl, *art. cit.*); 7° Vajrasattva (P. Pal, *op. cit.*, n° 52); 8° Vajrasattva IM inv. A25144/3785 (R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pl. XV-(a)).

The analysis of this material shows a succession of three phases. Moreover, similarities are observed with elements in the late caves (12, 16, 32) of Ellora, suggesting a connection between the two sites, particularly towards the end of the 9th or the first half of the 10th c.





Fig. 2: Vajrasattva, Indian Museum, 3785/A25144

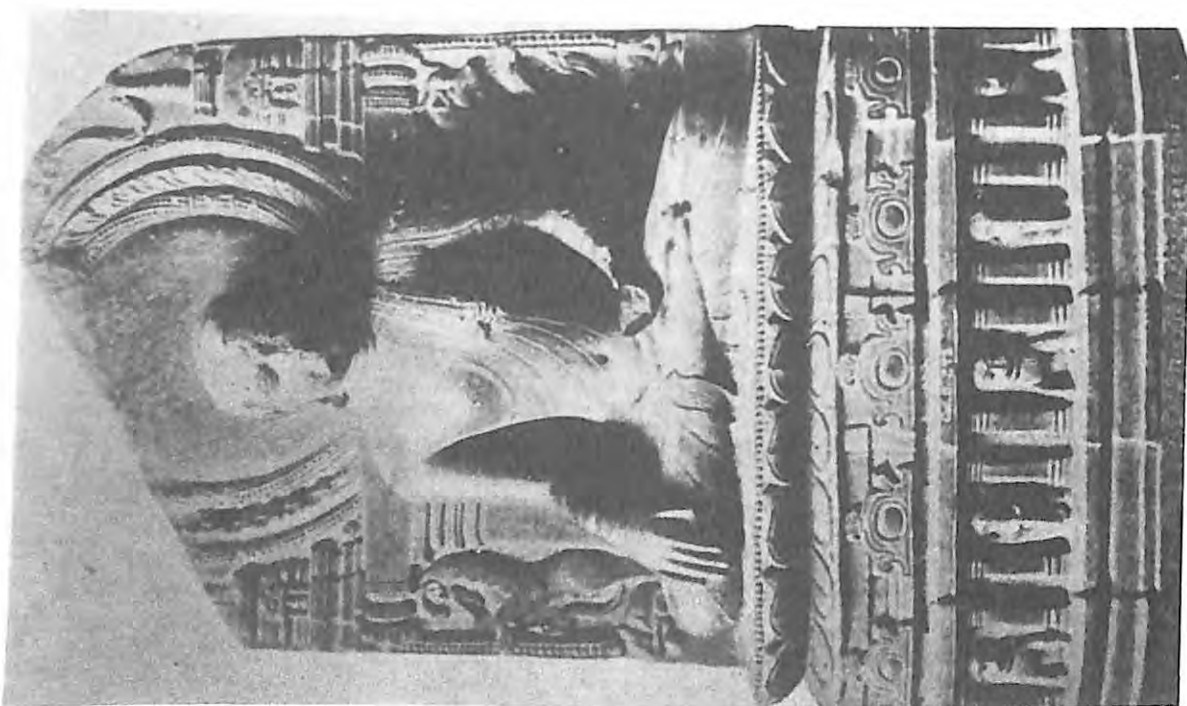


Fig. 1: Buddha, Indian Museum, Kr.3/A24140

Kalyan Kumar Sarkar

The Viṣṇu Image in a Dieng Temple  
Some Iconographic Observations

The Dieng Plateau, about 2000 metres above sea-level, is well-known as an archaeological site in central Java, Indonesia. Eight small temples are still standing. On both epigraphic and stylistic grounds those temples might date from about 800 A.D.

By the side of Candi Arjuna stands Candi Srikandi. Its outer walls are decorated with bas-reliefs sculptured in stone. On the north false window, Viṣṇu is sculptured, whereas on the east and south windows are found Śiva and Brahmā respectively. He is shown on a pedestal on which there are a case of flowers on our left and an incense burner on our right. On either side of his head a divine being is showering flowers. A parasol is seen above his head. This is a standing (*sthānaka*) image with a slight bend (*ābhāṅga*) on the right side. In his upper right hand he is holding a *cakra* (wheel), in his lower right hand we find a *vajra* (thunderbolt). His upper left hand holds a fragment of a broken *śaṅkha* (conch shell) and the object in his lower left hand may be identified as the bud of a lotus (*padma*) or earthen ball.

Although the image in question was identified as Viṣṇu by N. J. Krom as early as 1920, it failed to draw the attention of scholars in any discussion of the prevalence of Indian religions, or more specifically Viṣṇuism, in pre-Islamic Indonesia. Not only does this image provide a valuable archaeological evidence for the reconstruction of the history of Viṣṇuism in ancient Java, the unusual attribute in one of his four hands, namely *vajra* (thunderbolt) also makes the image quite unique in the Vaiṣṇava iconography of ancient Java.

In the Vaiṣṇava iconographic tradition *vajra* does not seem to be an usual attribute of Viṣṇu in his anthropomorphic form. However, in some iconographic texts Viṣṇu in his Nṛsiṅha (man-lion) incarnation should have *vajra* in one of his hands. Thus on the one hand, it is tempting to identify the image in question as Nṛsiṅha incarnation of Viṣṇu, the absence of some of the forms, aspects and attributes of that incarnation as enjoined in Indian iconographic texts, on the other, prevents us from making any definite assertion.

The presence of *vajra* in one of his hands points to the possible identification with one of the Vajrayāna Buddhist deities, namely Vajrapāṇi or Vajrasattva. Apart from the association of this single attribute, there is, however, hardly anything else such as the standing or sitting posture or the manner in which the Buddhist deity holds the weapon, which might warrant such an assumption. Are we then supposed to suggest that this is an early example of Hindu-Buddhist syncretism in the art of ancient Java? Although the art of the Dieng Plateau has so far been seen as the expression of Hinduism, it may not be altogether impossible to find traces of Buddhist influences in the sculpture of the Hindu gods. The great centre of Buddhist artistic activities under the Śailendra patronage in central Java which produced Candi Borobudur, Pawon and Mendut was not too far from the provenance of the image in question both geographically and chronologically.



In later Balinese ritual texts Viṣṇu is considered the god presiding over the northern direction, and the fact the sculptured panel is found on the north side of the temple tends to strengthen the identification of the image in question with Viṣṇu. Old Javanese literary evidence points to the popularity of Viṣṇuism in a later period and it is in this context that the Viṣṇu image on the Dieng temple should be considered a definite proof of the existence of the worship of Viṣṇu in a central Javanese site, probably a pilgrim's spot, in the early period. Both in style and in iconography the image in question unique and shows certain features not to be found in other known representations of Viṣṇu from ancient Java.

Helmut Loofs-Wissowa

### The Rise and Fall of Early Bronze in Thailand

Seriously scholarly research into the Bronze Age of Southeast Asia only began towards the end of the nineteenth century. This research was, however, concentrated on one class of objects only, the huge bronze drums, 165 of which were known by then from all parts of Southeast Asia. A number of important works by Austrian, German and Dutch scholars appeared in close succession around the turn of the century analyzing these drums, but without attempting to date them in any way.

It was only in 1918 that a French scholar noticed the "curious similarity" which existed between decoration elements of these drums and of other bronze artifacts found in northern Vietnam. Thus, the junction was belatedly made between the bronze drums and the archaeological context of the "Bronze Age" itself, an integral part which they finally came to be seen. However, this did not help much with the dating of early bronze, as all the other bronze objects known from Southeast Asia (mainly axes and daggers) were also, like the drums themselves, surface or chance finds without any indication as to their exact age.

A few years later, in 1924, the first archaeological excavation of a site yielding bronze artifacts (including drums) in Southeast Asia was conducted at the village of Dong-son near Thanh-hoa, in northern Vietnam. Later excavations, from 1935 to 1939 added much to our knowledge of this Dongson Culture - except for a precise chronology of it; estimates centered around the 3rd-4th centuries B.C.

However, already in the 1930s, but more so in the following decade, some scholars were struck by marked resemblances between various cultural elements of Southeast Asia and of eastern Europe. The Austrian scholar Robert Heine-Geldern eventually developed a most ingenious theory to account for this by a migratory movement, called by him the "Pontic Migration". Although this theory did and does not meet with general acceptance, it had at least the merit of assigning a more reasoned date to the earliest manifestations of bronze metallurgy in Southeast Asia. By analyzing in the most rigorous manner the cultural elements of what may be called the "donor" civilizations in Europe (notably that of Hallstatt), as well as those on the "receiving" end, Heine-Geldern concluded that this migratory movement must have taken place mainly in the eighth century B.C. and that therefore the earliest manifestations of the Dongson Culture must be of that age.

To sum up the "traditional" view of the beginning of bronze metallurgy in Southeast Asia, we may thus simply state that the proposed dates were all well within the first millennium B.C. and that they were all arrived at by "archaeological" means, such as stylistic and typological considerations, links with dated historical events and the like, without the benefit of the more modern absolute dating methods (radiocarbon or thermoluminescence), now often called "scientific".

World War II put an end to much of the archaeological research in Southeast Asian countries that had mostly been carried out by scholars of the respective colonizing nations. The country to start post-war archaeological research on a large scale, admitting western expeditions for the purpose and this publicizing discoveries to the western and in particular the English-speaking world, was Thailand - significantly



the only Southeast Asian country never to have been the colony of a western power. From then on, the controversy with regard to the dates of early bronze in Southeast Asia was based on sites in this country only, especially in its Northeast.

Here, at the site of Non Nok Tha, several moulds, or fragments thereof, for socketed bronze axes were found and dated to the third millennium B.C. This of course caused a sensation, as it was interpreted to mean that bronze was used in what is now northeastern Thailand, about a thousand years earlier than in China and about two centuries earlier than in India (as it was then thought); it simply was the earliest bronze in eastern Asia.

These dates were first presented in a paper at the Hawaiian Academy of Sciences in April 1967 and were almost simultaneously published in several different scholarly journals. This fact seems to indicate that immediate and maximum publicity of the dates was sought by the author, the American archaeologist Wilhelm G. Solheim II, without adequate checks regarding their reliability. There was no expression of doubt, surprise or bewilderment at them; as they came out of the radiocarbon machinery, so they were published without questioning, because they were "scientific". Thus begun a chain reaction the results of which are felt to this day.

As this is such an important matter, not only for local Southeast Asian but even for world archaeology, a closer examination of those dates and the way in which they have been arrived at is warranted. In Solheim's original article it was stated that 21 archaeological layers were recovered and followed during the excavation and that nineteen charcoal samples were selected for C-14 dating, some associated with burials, others only with a specific layer. Of these, thirteen were discarded for various reasons, leaving only six dates ranging from 1220 A.D. for layer 9, to 2290 B.C. and 2325 B.C. for layer 19, from which the date of 2500 B.C. for layer 20 with the earliest bronze was simply extrapolated. However, the report of the 1968 excavations at Non Nok Tha by one of Solheim's PhD students, Donn Bayard, makes it abundantly clear that the site is an unusually disturbed one where graves, pits and other disturbances not only cut through one or several layers, but also through and into each other in a most disconcerting manner; moreover, it was candidly admitted that layers could often not be distinguished at all in this unfamiliar tropical soil in the stratigraphical interpretation of which much room must therefore be left for doubt. But no such room is left in Solheim's numerous publications where, right from the very first one onward, the evidence is called "unequivocal" and where, during the next two or three years, there is much talk about the "feeling" for a considerably higher antiquity of bronze in the area; these conjectures – still only based on the Non Nok Tha excavations – go as far as the first half of the fourth millennium B.C., thus postulating the earliest bronze in the world for Thailand.

During this time excavations went under way at another northeastern Thai site, Ban Chiang, the results of which were soon to appear to support Solheim's thesis beyond all expectations. Ban Chiang, which had become known on account of the beautifully painted pottery with spiralic decoration found on the surface or dug up by locals, began to be excavated by Thai archaeologists in 1967, and soon after some potsheds of this painted ware were taken to Philadelphia, U.S.A., in order to be dated by the then still fairly new method of thermoluminescence. The University Museum of Pennsylvania University had indeed just installed a TL dating laboratory which was using the method elaborated by the Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art but, in an attempt to improve on it, had changed the method in such a way that it was at times mysteriously producing dates way out

of what they should be in reality. The astonishing results of this dating, then, must be seen against this background and also keeping in mind the fact that interest in Southeast Asia by archaeologists affiliated with the Pennsylvania University Museum was – as in the case of their Hawaiian colleagues – brand new, i.e. without there being any previous experience in this field.

In 1969 it was reported back to the Thai Fine Arts Department that the first dates thus obtained were in the early fifth millennium B.C. which would give this pottery an age of almost 7000 years. Rumors have it that not only the Thai archaeologists were startled by these dates, but even the Pennsylvania dater himself and that the former were moved to accept and publicize these dates immediately by a visiting American archaeologist into whose ideas concerning the chronology of Thai prehistory they fitted marvellously well. For, the main point was, and still is, that these painted pots were not found in isolation, but in association with burials where artifacts in bronze and iron and even glass beads were present. This dating having thus been uncritically accepted, there was soon the ludicrous situation that Ban Chiang finds, including bronze and iron artifacts as well as glass beads, were exhibited in the Bangkok National Museum as being from the fifth millennium B.C. – well before these Pennsylvania TL dates were published in a scholarly periodical. Countless newspapers and magazine articles appeared throughout the world about these sensational finds. In Thailand itself a real cult developed around "Ban Chiang", The Place The World Forgot Seven Thousand Years Ago" (the title of an article in *Holiday Time in Thailand*, Oct.-Dec. 1972). And all this under the watchful eyes of the American archaeologists involved in this research, who were often mentioned or even quoted, and who did nothing to publicly rectify any possible misinterpretation of these dates or data. They are now already in textbooks from which they cannot easily be removed.

Exactly ten years ago, I had the opportunity to present to this Congress in Mexico alternative dates from Ban Chiang painted pottery which I had already published in 1974 in *Antiquity*. These dates, obtained from the TL laboratory of the Australian National University, averaged in the second century B.C., thus within the Dongson National University, averaged in the second century B.C., thus within the Dongson period and had been republished several times since. And yet, for its 1980 New Year greeting card, the Bangkok-based South East Asian Ministers of Education Organization Project of Archaeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA) issued one with, again, the photograph of painted pots from Ban Chiang together with glass beads, bearing the legend "Prehistoric Period 4000-6000 B.C.". And as late as 1982, I found at an exhibition of Ban Chiang artifacts, including many bronzes, in a leading West German museum of East Asian Art the date of 4,630 B.C. still prominently displayed.

In view of all those developments an agreement was reached in 1973 between the Thai Fine Arts Department and the Pennsylvania University Museum, that this highly important site be excavated further by professional specialists from the latter institution. What these specialists found out about the site was soon made public – not in a scholarly journal, but in an article in *Time* (of 31st May 1976), entitled "Turning the Clock Back". In this article, which contains photographs not only of some of the artifacts unearthed at the site, such as a socketed bronze spearhead and a black earthenware pot, but also of a Thai and an American archaeologist, it is simply stated that bronze was made in Ban Chiang in 3600 B.C. and that, therefore, this is the earliest bronze anywhere, which in turn implies that the discovery of bronze itself must have been made in this area and not, as it is generally believed by archaeologists and laymen alike, somewhere in western Asia.



This *Time*-article, which itself must have been read by virtually millions of readers, was immediately republished by a number of journals, scholarly or not, and newspapers, and the story was marketed by Press Agencies throughout the world; the *New Scientist* (of 10th June 1976), for example, published it under the title "Early Thai Metallurgy Predates Near East Finds", stating that a bronze spearpoint from Ban Chiang is *dated firmly* at 3600 B.C. All this is to say that the idea that bronze technology – and therefore civilization – really begun in Northeast Thailand, rather than in western Asia, became more and more entrenched in the minds of common people, bypassing the archaeologists.

This process of escalation of misinformation culminated in two distinctive events. One was the publication, in a *Reader's Digest* of 1980 – which boasts of a circulation of over 30 millions –, of an article intitled "Where was the 'cradle of civilization?'", with the answer that, indeed, it must have been in Thailand because of the 3600 B.C. date for early bronze there; and the other the TV series "Out of the Fiery Crucible" by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in 1984 which endorsed this date and drew the same conclusion. Virtually hundreds of millions of people throughout the world must in this way have been reached and influenced. And this process is still going on.

Looking at this process as a whole, it appears that we have witnessed here a remarkably successful exercise of public opinion-forming by the media, manipulated – or at least condoned – by a handful of archaeologists, and being based on very questionable evidence. Remembering how it all started, that is by the publication of surprising high, albeit utterly unproven dates for early bronze in Northeast Thailand in several scholarly journals, probably read by only a few hundred specialists at the most in 1967 and 1968, through to this truly world-wide publicity of Thailand having been the Cradle of Civilization from the mid-seventies on to the present, one cannot help but being flabbergasted by it all. In not much more than a decade, what was only a theory held by two or three archaeologists on the basis of some erroneous or misinterpreted radiocarbon dates had become part of "common knowledge" – and all this without going through any stage of rigorous scientific scrutiny.

When the 3600 B.C. – date for early bronze in Ban Chiang was first published in *Time*, no specific information about how it was obtained was given, except that it was the result of scientific dating methods. Its first publication in a scholarly journal, *Expedition* (Pennsylvania University Museum), did not contain more precise information either, except for the revelation that the famous socketed bronze spearhead came from a layer which extended from 2900 B.C. to 3600 B.C. Considering this new information one is led to wonder why, unless it was found lying on the very bottom of this layer virtually on sterile soil (which was not the case), this artifact is inevitably referred to as dated to 3600 B.C., rather than 2900 B.C., or somewhere in between; after all, the difference of seven centuries is quite appreciable.

As it turned out much later, this spearhead was found lying near the knees of a flexed burial "in the bottom layer" (whatever this may mean for a burial which anyway is usually in a pit, cutting *through* several layers), and its retrieval was apparently done, without any sort of recording at all, in considerable haste, due to the danger of an imminent cave-in in the deep narrow pit in which this find was made. As, moreover, there is no information whatsoever as to where the piece of charcoal (or whatever) used to date this particular burial came from and how it was collected in this atmosphere of panic, one may be forgiven to shudder at the thought of how fragile a foundation it is on which these truly revolutionary conclusions with

regard to world prehistory are based. Every single link in this chain of argumentation leading to these conclusions is a very weak one, because it is open to quite reasonable doubts.

Again very recently (1983), these doubts were amply confirmed by new interpretations of the pottery sequence at Ban Chiang. As it turned out, the bronze spearhead was not associated with the kind of pottery (black, with incised decoration) which, again erroneously, was attributed to the fourth millennium B.C., but with a particular ware which only dates to the second millennium B.C. The fact that, therefore, the entire dating of early bronze in Thailand had to be scaled down by almost two thousand years was finally admitted by Solheim in an article in the *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society* of 1984. The trouble with this belated admission is that it is almost useless as it only reaches a very limited audience, the membership of this society and therefore the readership of its journal being 250 at the most; and even if the possibility is taken into account that some library copies may be consulted by a few more people, it is clear that the overall readership of this particular scholarly journal cannot exceed a few hundred. If one compares this paltry figure with the millions of people who have been subjected to the campaign of misinformation about Thailand being the Cradle of Civilization, one is led to lament the total lack of impact this belated change of mind has on the world at large. *Le mal est fait*, truly and thoroughly, and to undo it is well-nigh impossible. At least we have the satisfaction of having witnessed the greatest archaeological extravaganza of our time.

Moreover, after having admitted to the need of revising the chronology of early bronze in Northeast Thailand upwards by a mere two millennia, Solheim insists on maintaining that therefore the earliest bronze known in this region is that from Non Kok Tha, mentioned above. Now, this is purest cheek, as that author knows very well (for having been there himself) that at the London Colloquy on Early South East Asia in 1973, it was agreed – for all that this is worth – that there is no doubt that there was bronze in this part of Mainland Southeast Asia by the late second millennium B.C. This august gathering did not endorse Solheim's proposed date for early bronze in the middle of the third millennium B.C. and I myself, for one, doubt whether there is reliable evidence for even any second millennium B.C. bronze in that area.

Thus, after almost half a century of apparent advances in archaeological research, including the development of "scientific" dating methods, we are back to the situation prevailing at the time when "archaeological" reasoning was the only way of dating. The morale is evident: if the technological servants of archaeology, scientific dating methods, are allowed to dominate the master, the archaeologist himself, then archaeology ceases to be a science altogether and simply becomes science-fiction.



Los Angeles Times, Sep 7, 1975, p. 147

LAT 7/75

## Thai Pots May Help Rewrite Human Story

BY JOSEPH ALSOP

PHILADELPHIA—The first and most decisive chapter in the history of civilization is being briskly rewritten. The revision began in Thailand. It is being completed here in Philadelphia. It is not so drastic as the 19th-century scientists' rejection of Archbishop Usher's long-accepted proof that God created the world in 4004 B.C. But it is quite drastic enough to be causing a major scholarly storm. All this began at a large, low mound in northeast Thailand, where the little village of Ban Chiang sits on top of an enormous prehistoric graveyard. The countless ancient graves contain offerings to the dead. The most striking offerings are richly swelling pottery vessels of unique design, with a dove-to-buff body decorated with swirling ear patterns in vermilion. But the sensational finds are the bronze bells, bracelets, and adzes that the Ban Chiang graves contain.

The Ban Chiang graveyard is being excavated cooperatively by one of the Thai government's archaeologists, Dr. Pisit Charoenwongsa, and Dr. Chester Gorman of Philadelphia's University Museum. The museum's Field Science Center is also doing the tests to date the material from Ban Chiang. It is evidence of the tests, in turn, that makes Ban Chiang material sensational: for the



and 12,000 years ago. Without the food surpluses that farming produces, the entire human population of this planet could never have numbered more than the present population of a single medium-to-big city of the modern age.

The "metallurgical revolution" then fol-

lowed, supposedly to have been invented in the Middle East. Here, it was believed, settled farming and serious metal-working both began for the first time in human history.

In the past couple of decades, however, unsettling new discoveries have begun to be made in more than one area, including the Middle East itself. Here, the most upsetting find was made by the British archaeologist, James Mellaart, at the Catal Huyuk mound in central Turkey. The mound contained the remains of what can only be called a proto-city dating from the seventh millennium B.C. Small copper ornaments and a fragment of slag indicated the Catal Huyuk people had actually smelted copper.

Finding a proto-city of the seventh millennium B.C., where people also worked copper, was just a bit like finding evidence for a nuclear power plant dating from the Middle Ages. Other archaeologists digging in the Balkans then began to make further discoveries directly challenging the Middle East's proud place as civilization's source area—which Mellaart, of course, had never challenged.

The worst was yet to come, however, for the Middle East could still claim the earliest known bronze, dating from about 2500 B.C. The earliest bronze was so important because pure copper is a most unsatisfactory metal for

## Turning the Clock Back

Historians have long accepted the notion that the Bronze Age began between 3500 and 3000 B.C. in the valley between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in Mesopotamia. It was during this period that man is believed to have developed advanced writing techniques, built the first true cities and brought metallurgy to the stage necessary to produce bronze. Now there is evidence to suggest that a cultural flowering may have occurred earlier—and thousands of miles farther east. Archaeologists excavating sites at Ban Chiang, a small farming village in northeastern Thailand, have found sophisticated bronze artifacts dating back to about 3600 B.C.

Thai archaeologists knew as long ago as the early '60s that unusual and ancient pottery had been found in Ban Chiang. But it was not until 1968, when a visitor brought some of the shards to

the University of Pennsylvania's University Museum for testing, that scientists began to take the site seriously. Two types of dating methods indicated that the pottery was fired around 3600 B.C. That discovery led to a long-term archaeological investigation of the area by an expedition headed by Pennsylvania Archaeologist Chester Gorman and Pisit Charoenwongsa (called Dr. Pisit), curator of the National Museum in Bangkok.

In the past two years, excavations around Ban Chiang have yielded 18 tons of artifacts, includ-



ARTIFACTS UNEARTHED AT BAN CHIANG



Fig. 1: Article by the well-known American journalist Joseph Alsop in the LOS ANGELES TIMES of 7 Sep. 1975, endorsing the 7000 years age for Ban Chiang pottery and showing a painted pot from that site (now given an age of ab. 2000 years only) as proof that the Cradle of Civilization must have stood in Thailand

Fig. 2: Article in TIME, 31 May 1976, showing the claimed association of a bronze socketed spear-head with black pottery with incised decoration at Ban Chiang, dated to 3600 B.C. The upper photo shows the Thai archaeologist Pisit Charoenwongsa and the late Dr. Chet Gorman





Fig. 3: Black-incised pot from Samrong Sen, Cambodia, showing marked similarity in form, decoration and workmanship with black-incised pottery from Ban Chiang



Fig. 4: Black-incised pot from Samrong Sen, Cambodia, showing marked similarity with black-incised Ban Chiang pottery; note spiral-motif



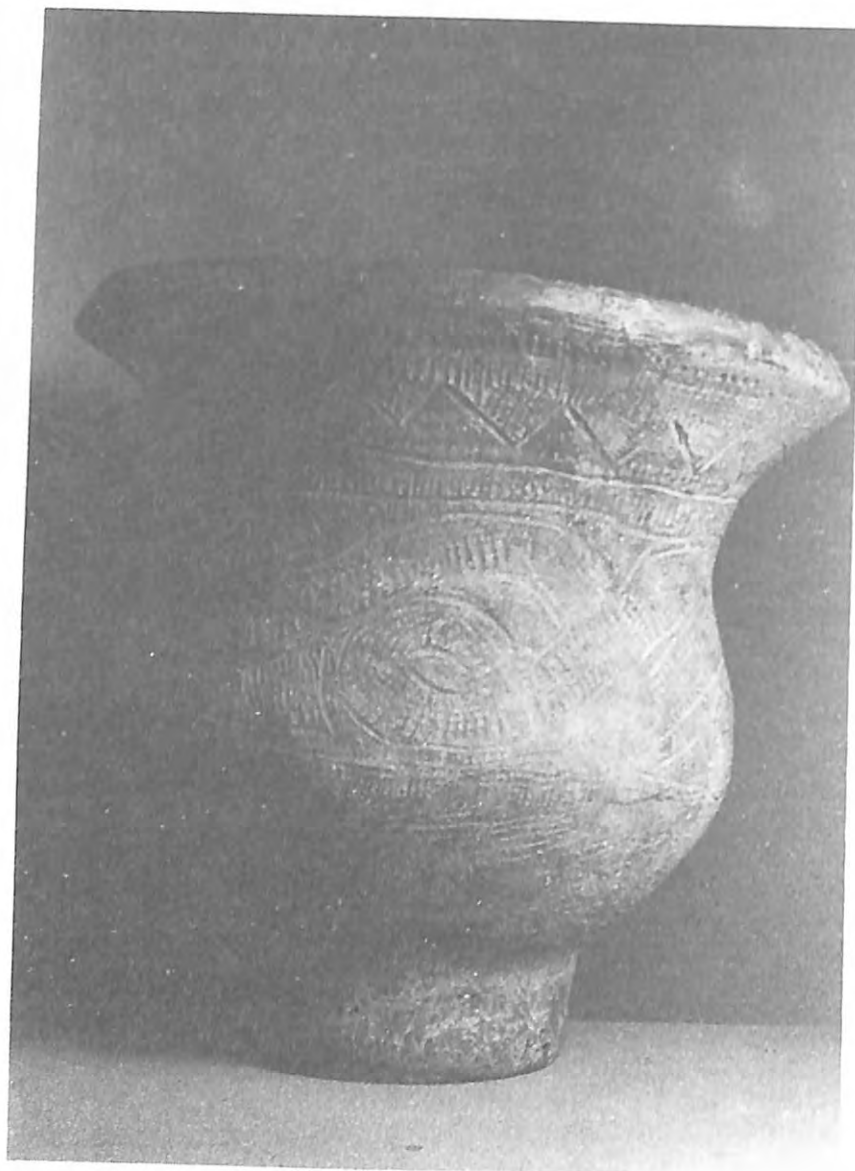


Fig. 5: A black-incised Ban Chiang pot in the Musée Guimet, Paris

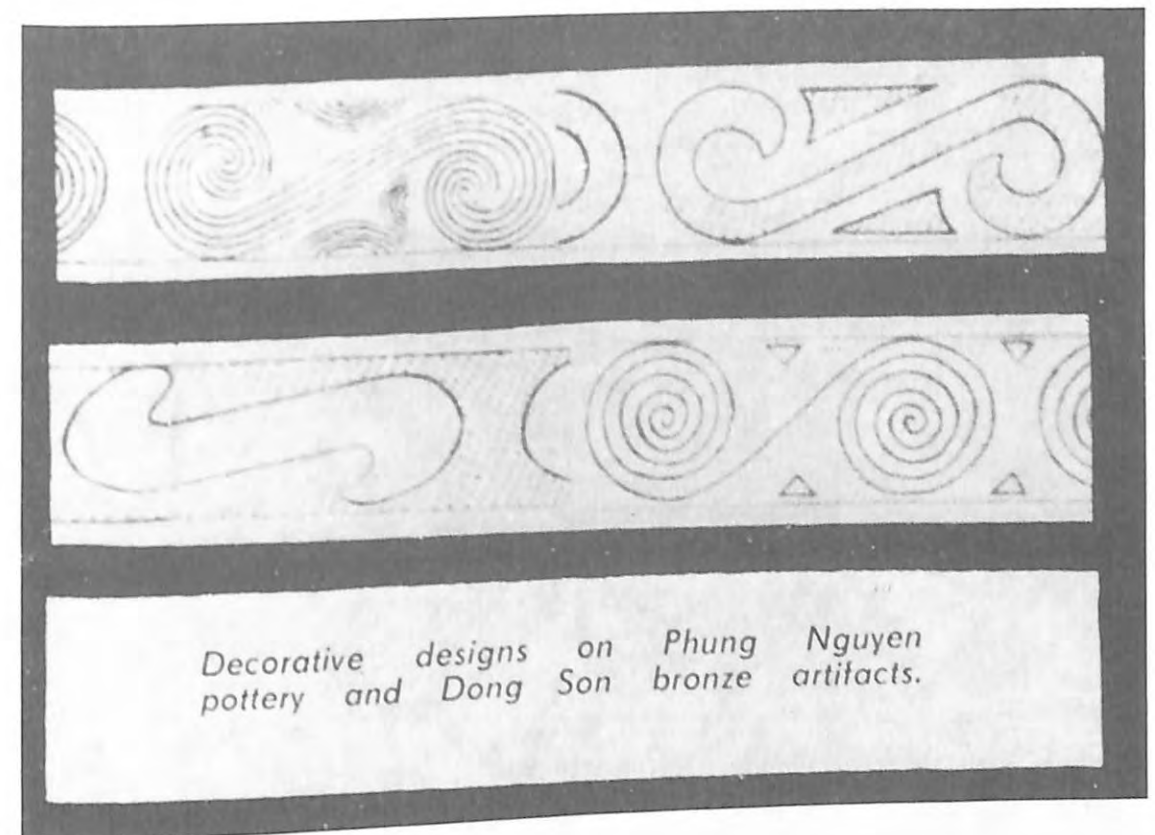


Fig. 6: From an article by Prof. Pham Huy Thong in VIETNAM PICTORIA (Engl. ed.), 1983, drawing attention to the similarity of spiral-designs on Neolithic and Bronze-Age artifacts in Vietnam, suggesting that the latter had developed out of the former without any outside influence





Fig. 7: A potsherd from the Bronze Age site of Samrong, Cambodia, showing the same characteristic spiral designs as Ban Chiang pottery

Chang Lin-sheng

# A Commentary on Ta Shih Vases

The term "Ta Shih vases" has many connotations, it was applied to indicate Islamic wares in general, or, as in the *Sung-shih*, various recorded notes from the Sung dynasty, and in Wu Yüan-ying's Yüan dynasty poem "Yung Ta Shih P'ing" the identical phrase was used with vastly different meanings in each particular case. Because of this multiplicity of meaning it becomes necessary to consider the historical development of different types of wares to correctly determine the meaning of the term in each particular case. For example, in the *Sung-shih* the phrase referred to *liu-li* glass vases or gold-painted minai *po-li* glassware, while in Wu Yüan-ying's fourteenth century poem it described either blue glazed ceramic vessels decorated with gold-colored luster enamels or gold-painted ceramic wares. Scholars in the past used to cite this poem in connection with motif-bodied cloisonné common to all of these is the gold enameled decoration, which, before the Yüan dynasty had only been seen in extremely rare instances on some T'ang dynasty ceramic human and horse burial figures, and on a few Sung dynasty Ting wares. Only in the Yüan dynasty did it become common practice to decorate blue glazed porcelain ware with overglaze gold-painted designs. In addition, in early Yüan dynasty China, Chou Mi in *Kuei-hsin tsa-chih* remarked that Ting ware porcelain used garlic juice as a secret ingredient to prevent the gold-painted enamel from peeling off. This necessity for secrecy illustrates the importance placed on gold enamel at that time, and causes us to realize the strong reciprocal influence of Islamic crafts on Chinese arts.

Finally, let us return to the unexpectedly complicated question raised at the beginning of this paper - the date when cloisonné was first introduced into China. If we negate the validity of Wu Yüan-ying's poem as evidence of the earliest introduction of cloisonné, then supposedly we only are left with the *Ko Ku Yao Lun* by Ts'ao Ming-chung in the early Ming dynasty as the earliest citation. However, a passage in Ku Wen-chien's

*Fu-hsüan tsa-lu* 顧文薦 負喧雜錄 states:

I received a copper-bodied vase ... its decor was colorfully painted with a foreigner with a strange appearance. It even looked to be as if made of *liu-li* glass, and was extremely well crafted. I do not know from where it comes, though I hear it may have originated from the land of Kashmir. I dare not say for sure, and should seek the advice of erudite scholar.

Now, after more than a thousand years, as we look back over this passage, I think we can all agree that the vases described therein were cloisonné vessels, in which case, cloisonné had already been introduced into China as early as the Southern Sung period. If this is the case, we no longer need to worry about the problems posed by the interpretation of the Wu Yüan-ying's poem.



Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky

# A Tang Scene of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha

A Tang stone reliquary sculpted with scenes of the Parinirvāṇa was discovered in Lingtai County, Gansu. The reliquary was found in the basement of the Siju temple placed at the center of a low brick base that was adorned with floral carvings. Placed in the top part of the basement's walls was an epitaph naming Chen Weijiang who died at the age of 67 in A.D. 850.<sup>1</sup> In addition were several ceramic bricks each bearing a shallowly modeled figure of a seated Buddha or celestial musician. The date when this arrangement was made is not certain, nor whether all of these objects were made to accompany each other; it is only recorded that the temple was in existence during the Sung. The Parinirvāṇa illustration is a paradigm of Tang narrative art, but still reflects the Indian Buddhist origin. Despite the lack of dated Tang paintings, this period was known for its accomplishments in figure painting and the reliquary depictions attest to high level of development of pictorial narration in this era. Judging by the complexity of the composition, it seems probable that this rendering, like other Buddhist narratives carved on stones steles, was based on paintings that were subsequently transmuted by sculptors in bas relief compositions. The majestic figure of the reclining Buddha is surrounded by his disciples who by their figural disposition, posture, physiognomy and gesture express their psychological and spiritual state of mind.

The Parinirvāṇa scene was late to develop relative to the other scenes of the life of the Buddha. Compared to other earlier renderings of the Parinirvāṇa scene, this Tang example is better adapted to the indigenous format and style of art. For example, the earliest painting, ascribed to the beginning of the sixth century, is from the cave chapels of Dunhuang, Gansu, Cave 428 where the Western prototype still dominates - the background color is dark red, the figures are undifferentiated - two rows of identical looking monks are lined up behind the reclining Buddha, and the trees of the Sala grove are schematically rendered. By the Sui Period at the turn of the seventh century, for example Cave 295 at Dunhuang, the background color becomes light, the figures are representative of different types of beings including supernatural creatures - Bodhisattvas, Guardian Kings and even Buddhas, but the composition is comprised of the mourners placed around the funeral couch in several shallow layers of space parallel to the picture plane. In the Tang Dynasty depiction adaption of the Western composition to the indigenous format of the horizontal handscroll is apparent - there is a new organization of the figures: they are grouped in twos and threes across the surface of the picture. The variety of postures and dramatic content of the gestures has increased. The Parinirvāṇa is now a set of two scenes - the farewell and assumption of the Buddha; just as other Tang stele represent the whole narrative cycle with illustrations of the preparation of the corpse, cremation, etc. The emotional tone of the Tang scene develops to an even greater extent; at Dunhuang Cave 158 from the ninth century a new format (a large clay reclining Buddha has the narrative figures painted on the wall behind) shows the mourners in extreme grief, some of whom lacerate themselves. The expansion of the attendant

figures in dramatic expression as well as diversity of figure type is the prototype that is transmitted to Japan where up to several tens of mourners are depicted including animals, humans and supernatural beings.

In conclusion this Tang depiction of the Parinirvāṇa not only preserves a fine example of Tang narrative technique where few extant reliable examples are found, but also marks a stage in the sinicization of Buddhism where Western art and iconography are altered to accommodate Chinese thought and style.

1. Cheng, M. C. "The Stone Coffin Reliquary from Ling Tai", *Wen Wu* 1983, 2, p. 48ff.
2. Soper, A. C. "A Tang Parinirvana Stele", *Artibus Asiae*, XXII, 1959, p. 166.



Peter Hardie

### The Earliest Glass in China

This paper is based on a survey carried out with the assistance of Keith Lowcock and other MSC staff, covering the Chinese archaeological magazines from 1972 to July 1986. We recorded finds not only of glass, but also of other personal ornaments, up to the end of the Han dynasty in A.D. 220.

Ancient Chinese cultures did not feature a strong interest in jewellery. Only in Erlitou and Shang times do we find strings of barrel-shaped turquoise or bun-shaped agate beads: formally composed necklaces were a development of Western Zhou.

From this period (about 950 B.C.) date the tombs of the Earl of Yu and his wife, at Rujiazhuang, Baojixian, Shaanxi, where over one thousand beads of originally blue and green bubbly glassy material containing quartz particles were found strung together with carnelian/agate and turquoise. Their chemical composition (90%  $\text{SiO}_2$  with some magnesium and copper) is similar to that of "Egyptian faience", the earliest precursor of glass. Probably imported, they must have been exceptional, for only two or three more such finds have been reported.

"Glass" remained rare in the subsequent Spring-and-Autumn period, but suddenly, about the beginning of the Warring States (481 B.C.), some remarkably ostentatious burials were furnished with large quantities of jewellery, among which we find the first eye-beads.

The eye-beads are of three main types:

(A) Stratified eye-beads, their body containing reconstituted glass: originating in Egypt about 1450 B.C., they had spread from the Levant to Iran and the Black Sea area by the 5th century B.C.; in China they appear in the Yellow River region comparatively early in the Warring States.

(B) Compound eye-beads, of glass: these are a 6th century B.C. (perhaps Levantine) development from Type A, and similarly diffused Eastward; the Chinese craftsmen showed considerable originality in variations on their basic design. First found earlier than Type A in the same region, they spread South: splendid examples have been found in Chu territory.

(C) Beads with stratified eyes in lozenges formed by elongated eyes, made of a glass-faience of clayey body: representing a purely Chinese fusion of Types A and B, these seem to come from the Yellow River region. A late derivative group made of glass on a terra-cotta core has been found in Sichuan and Guangdong.

These beads are often found singly, very rarely in substantial strings.

Monochrome glass was also used, for beads and for characteristically Chinese *bi*-rings and scabbard-slides, the last specific to Hunan.

Early in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220), glassware underwent a dramatic change, with huge quantities of monochrome beads in substantial strings evidenced from Cantonese tombs. The *bi*-rings and scabbard-slides spread throughout the Empire, and biconical ear-spoons appeared.

The first glass vessels found in China are three little cups unearthed in Canton (about 144 to 77 B.C.), and the bowl and two ear-cups from the Mancheng tombs (about 113 B.C.) which must be of Chinese manufacture.

A. Wezler/E. Hammerschmidt (Hrsg.): Proceedings of the XXXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies, Hamburg, 25th-30th August 1986 (ZDMG-Suppl. 9).  
© 1992 Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart



Compound eyebead, glass, height 2.7 cm; Chinese, Warring States period, 5th or 4th cent. B.C., City of Bristol Museum & Art Gallery, Oriental Section, Or N 7847



Tsugio Mikami †

Ceramic Trade during the Late Tang and  
the Five Dynasties in China

Great quantities of Chinese ceramic began to be exported as trade goods around the early 9th century. In this paper, I deal with the places which imported Chinese ceramic wares limiting the period spanning the late Tang to the Five Dynasties (9th - 10th centuries). Recent archaeological research of Asian and North African sites has resulted in the unearthing of the Chinese ceramics of this period not only in Korea, Japan, South-East Asia, but also South Asia, West Asia and Egypt in North-East Africa.

In Korea, at Kyongju area, the capital of the Silla Kingdom, and at coastal sites near Kaeseong, the capital of the Koryo Kingdom. Tang tri-colour ware, Ding-yao and Xing-yao white wares of North China, Yue-yao celadons of Zhejiang Province and the Changsha ware of central China have been discovered. In Japan, thorough and careful archaeological excavations at numerous places have produced Tang tri-colour ware, white ware, Yue-yao celadon and Changsha ware. Their distribution reaches from Okinawa and Kyushu in south-western Japan through central to north-eastern Japan. In Philippines, numerous Chinese ceramics of this period are found; however, we don't know the exact location of many of the finds, with two or three exceptions. One of these is Batangus in southern Luzon; the other is Butuan in north-western Mindanao. Both have yielded white ware, Yue-yao celadon, Changsha ware and pale-green glazed ware of Guang-dong Province. Numerous Chinese ceramics of these periods are found in the Indonesian islands. But the precise site of such finds are not known in many cases. Exceptions are the Yogyakarta area of central Java, and Palembang-Jambi areas of southern Sumatra and some other sites, from where have been yielded the same sort of Chinese ceramics as have been found in the Philippines. In Thailand the port site of Chaiya at the mid-point of the Malay Peninsula and the Phanat Nikom district of the Chonburi Province, close to the mouth of the River Mae-Nam, have presented us with a great number of the same kind of Chinese ceramics which were found in Indonesia. In Sri Lanka, the Mantai port and Anuradhapura capital site yielded many Chinese ceramics exactly the same as those from Chaiya site of the period. In Pakistan, the Banbhor port site and Brahminabad along the Indus has yielded the same sort of Chinese ceramics as that found at Chaiya and Mantai. In Iran and Iraq farther west, the port site of Siraf of the Persian Gulf and Nishapur site in the north-east, and the Samarra site, Capital of the Abbasid Empire are, at the moment, main sites which yield Chinese wares of this age. The westernmost archaeological site which has yielded Chinese ceramics of these periods is al-Fustat in Egypt. From this site the 9th to the 10th century white wares and Yue-yao celadons have been found.

In conclusion, the main ceramic items that were exported from China in the 9th and the 10th centuries were white-ware, Yue-yao celadons, Changsha ware, and pale-green glazed wares of Guangdong Province. The types of ceramics imported often vary from one area to the next, and this would reflect variations of taste and demand on the side of the importers.



Fig. 1: Chinese Ceramics and Egyptian Pottery excavated at Batangus.

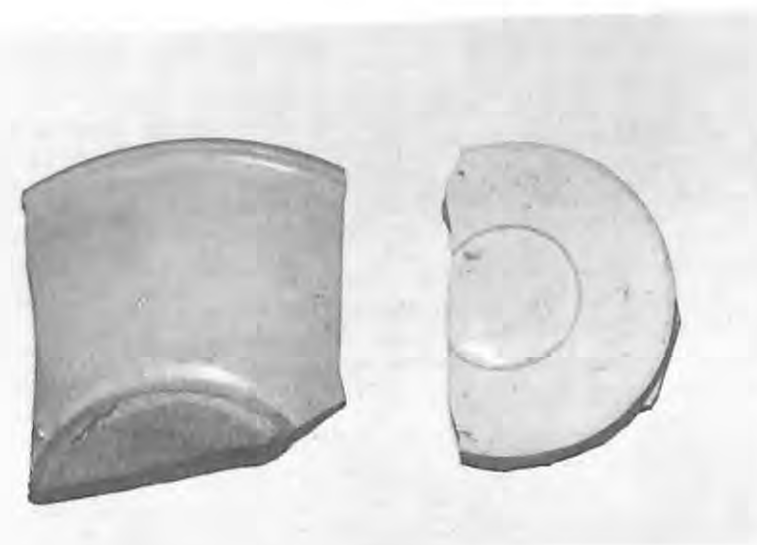


Fig. 2: North Chinese White Ware excavated at Chaiya.





Fig. 3: Changsha Ware  
excavated at Mantai.

Zou Heng

### The Early City in Ancient China

In ancient China city walls were built even before the beginning of the Xia Dynasty (about 2100-1600 B.C.).

Recent archaeological data prove that walls, surrounding dwellings, existed as early as the Longshan Culture (about 2500-2100 B.C.). Up to now we have found remains of surrounding walls at five sites that belong to the Longshan Culture. Walls were discovered at three sites in Honan Province, one at the site of Hougang, city of Anyang; one at Wangchenggang, Dengfeng district, and one at Pingliangtai, Huiyang district. In Shandong Province, surrounding walls were found on two sites, the wall of Chengziya at the town of Longshan, Zhangqiu district and the remains of Bianxianwang in Shouguang district. The scale of the walls is rather small, surrounding 10.000 - 54.000 m<sup>2</sup> areas, they were obviously used for military-defense purposes, similar to castles. Probably city centres in ancient China evolved from that kind of defense structures.

By the period of the Shang Dynasty (1600-1100 B.C.) there is clear evidence of the existence of urban centres. Up to now the ruins of four different sized Shang Dynasty cities have been discovered. Large scale walls were discovered at Zhengzhou, capital of Honan Province, and in Shixianggou near Yanshi, also in Honan Province. They cover an area of approximately 1.900.000 - 3.000.000 m<sup>2</sup>. Smaller sized ones were found at Guchengzhen, Yuanqu district in Shanxi Province, and at Panlongcheng, district of Huangpi in Hubei Province, covering an area of only 75.000 - 120.000 m<sup>2</sup>.

All these cities have walls, much higher and stronger than those of the Longshan Culture. Located within these cities we find the remains of the palace-foundations which took up an important role in the structure of the city. The city walls were built in order to protect the palaces within city. The city walls obviously belonged to the ruling class, an important local authority or a king and their administrative bodies. Therefore all of these Shang Dynasty sites seem to represent capital cities.

A large part of people living in the city were peasants but we also find handicraft workshops and resident areas of workers and merchants. It is plain to see that the economy of the early city in ancient China was based on agriculture and handicraft industries.



Toshio Watanabe

## High Victorian Design Reformers and Japanese Art

If one looks through the art literature of the 1850s and up to 1862 one sees that reactions specifically to Japanese Art are sporadic, isolated and mostly not by art specialists. On the other hand there is a new shift in emphasis discernible among the theoretical writings on design and design reform, namely a positive evaluation of non-European, but particularly Oriental, design often at the expense of Western design.

In 1982 the Japanese section of the International Exhibition in London made Japanese art available to a wider audience and it was duly noticed and commented on by artists and critics, particularly by those involved in design. From this time on we find Japanese art continually discussed and evaluated by Western specialists in art and not just by travellers, as was the case before. Compared to travellers the writers from the art profession related the comments on Japanese art much more to contemporary Western art and design. Artists and critics of differing backgrounds argued the superiority of Japanese art in very diverse areas. Commentators such as J. B. Waring, William Burges or W. M. Rossetti made claims similar to those made in the 1850s for Oriental art in general, but this time more narrowly applied to Japanese art alone. The reports by the art specialists were much more analytical, often not only making evaluative comments on individual examples but trying also to deduce the more general characteristics and principles of Japanese art and design, especially in the case of writers on design. Occasionally the critics contradicted each other or made erroneous comments but, in general, they are surprisingly unanimous in picking out certain characteristics of Japanese design. These include asymmetry, what Waring calls 'the diagonal principle of ornamentation', 'picturesqueness', subdued colour, and relative simplicity and economy of means. These are often praised at the expense of Chinese design.

In the decade immediately after 1862 the reputation of Japanese design in Britain really establishes itself. So far within this period, no wholly negative criticism of Japanese design has come to light. Positive comments predominate with some exceptionally laudatory ones. However, the British response to Japanese 'high' art was a very different matter and most of the fine art critics completely ignored it. The exceptions among these, J. J. Jarves and W. M. Rossetti, nevertheless have some reservations about the sense of beauty and the moral purity of the Japanese, as did a number of earlier travellers to Japan. However, none of the design critics are worried about these points.

In general, the High Victorian design theorists used their analysis of Japanese design as ammunition for their own design theories and in some cases totally opposing theorists can each find in Japanese art those elements which will suit their theory. The lively, and in many cases surprisingly perceptive debate, shows that already at this early stage of the development of Japonisme in design there was a varied response to this new impetus but also that above all it was an overwhelmingly positive one.

Terukazu Akiyama

## The Evolution of Iconography in illustrations of the Tale of Genji from its origin to the early 17th century.

The literary masterpieces known as the Tale of Genji had already received acclaim at the imperial court by the time its author, Lady Murasaki Shikibu, completed it around the years 1005-1008. Despite its surprising length totaling 54 chapters, it is most probable that illustrations of this work were done at the same time or soon after it was written. This remarkable monument of literature has been considered a fountainhead of Japanese literary achievement and a fundamental base for classical culture ever since then throughout the medieval period. It consistently served as an inspiration for artists providing them with important motifs for paintings in a variety of formats either large or small from illustrated books, handscrolls, fans, or square papers (*shikishi*) to screens and sliding paper doors (*fusuma*).

Of all the examples of Genji illustrations (*Genji-e*), the most outstanding and oldest is the famous set of illustrated handscrolls of the Tale of Genji (*Genji Monogatari emaki*) dating from as far back as 1120-40 and now stored for the most part at the Tokugawa Foundation and the Gotō Art Museum. Originally it probably was made up of 80 to 90 illustrations with accompanying explanatory text. Today, only 20 scenes are left, including one recently discovered illustration now in the Tokyo National Museum. One can surmise that some of this early 12th century set of illustrations reflects the Genji illustration tradition of the previous century. Yet, as a general tendency, this tradition was not codified until the end of the 14th century and the selection of scenes to be illustrated for each chapter, as well as the means of depicting them, still remained freely suited to the patron's or client's taste as well as the artist's talent.

In the 15th century, iconography for Genji illustrations became systematized little by little in order to facilitate their production, allowing the artist to depict scenes without having to read this lengthy romance. "Repertory books" were published listing traditionally selected and well-known scenes for every chapter and indicating the season, place, and personages necessary to the corresponding passage of text.

Finally, basing themselves on this traditional iconography, the great artist of the Momoyama Period (end 16th to early 17th century) from different schools like the Kanō, Tosa, and that of Tawaraya Sōtatsu, gave new life to Genji illustrations in the lively spirit of a renaissance of classical culture.

To explain within the time limit this characteristic phenomenon of tradition and innovation in Japanese art, I will show as variations in Genji illustrations examples from five chapters: Wakamurasaki (Lavender, Chapter 15), Sekiya (The Gate, Chapter 5\*), Yomogiu (The Wormwood Patch, Chapter 15), Hashihime (The Lady at the Bridge, Chapter 45), and Ukifune (A Boat upon the Waters, Chapter 5). Through slides, I will show different representative works of successive periods.

\* The English titles and corresponding chapter numbers are in accordance with those of Edward G. Seidensticker's translation published by Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.



Ulrich Mammitzsch

## Form and Function in Japanese Maṇḍala

A study of the type of Maṇḍala called *Besson Mandara* ("M. devoted to a particular Venerated One"), shows that these M. were widely used in rituals performed to secure benefits (such as warding off the "Seven Calamities" and securing the tranquility and prosperity of the realm). The survival of a large number of sketch drawings and full-color ("formal") versions of such M. may be credited to this popularity. They belong to that part of the Esoteric Buddhist practices which aimed at manipulating physical phenomena through minutely prescribed rituals in which the M. displaying a particular *honzon* ("Causal Venerated One") - held by tradition to be particularly efficacious in bringing about the hoped for benefit - formed the central object of these rituals.

The paper examines six surviving "formal" M. from the Heian and Kamakura periods: Buddhalocanā M. (J.: Butsugen M.); Ekākṣaroṣṇīsacakravartī M. (Ichijikinrin M.); Gundhara M. (Dōjikyō M.); Mahārāga M. (Aizen M.); Aṣṭākṣarimañjuśrī M. (Hachijimonju M.); "Northern Bushel" M. (Hokuto M.) and their various sketch versions (all collected in the iconographical section of the Taishō edition of the Tripitaka) and one M., the "Rain-Requesting" M. (Shōugyō M.), of which no "formal" M. has survived.

A comparison of sūtra texts (on which these M. are based), sketch version(s), and "formal" M. shows that the sūtra texts provide usually only the essential elements of such M. ("cadre" M.); they are supplemented by ritual handbooks and iconographic sketches ("intermediary" or "informal" M.); the "formal" M. may be called "actualized" M. which updates the M. in the light of the particular tradition and particular ācārya. These "formal" or "actualized" M. may therefore be said to display the "maximal" features such M. attained (in contrast to the "minimal" features listed in the sūtra texts). Sketch versions and "actualized" versions of a particular M. allow us to trace the manner in which the "minimal" features came to be expanded, iconographically fixed and aesthetically transformed, during the course of transmission from India to China and, finally, to Japan.

Monika Dahneke

## A Hemispherical Bowl from Eastern Iran

The author presented a large bowl cast of auriferous looking metal with rich decorations in- and outside. It had recently appeared on the Kabul market and went straight to a private collection of early Islamic art at Munich.

The design of the exterior is very close to the bowl in the Kabul Museum (s. R. Ettinghausen, *The Wade Cup*, Fig. 10) and to that one of the Kevorkian Collection (ibid. Fig. 13). The large kufic inscription below the rim is not much elaborated but legible, it has a clearly ornithomorphic character.

Another kufic inscription of the same type is to be found inside under the rim but beautifully engraved and elaborated expressing good wishes. It is followed by a superbe acanthus-scroll surrounding the exciting bottom scene showing a royal rider hunting a lion and an onager. His horse is nearly identical to that one engraved on the jug of the Lewisohn Collection (Survey of Persian Art, VI, pl. 1295 B). The whole scene is strongly influenced by Sassanian tradition to which several Central-Asian elements are added.

Due to its importance the object will be published properly with photographs and copies of the inscriptions in *Deutsche Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N.F., Bd. 20, 1987.

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Tsugunari Kubo

The Central Concept of the Bodhisattva Practice  
in the Lotus Sūtra

1. The Lotus Sūtra has been historically accepted as a whole despite the discussion of the possibility that it was compiled in different stages. The contents of the Sūtra should thus be examined as a totality, especially the textual development from Chapter One through Chapter Twenty. The Sūtra's uniqueness is revealed through its references to previous concepts of bodhisattva practice.

2. The *Nidāna* Chapter sheds light on the contents of the following chapters and figuratively explains the stance of the Sūtra towards bodhisattva practice. The bodhisattvas first referred to are not necessarily followers of the Lotus Sūtra.

3. The teaching begins in Chapter Two. Śāriputra asks in his first request to the Buddha, "How shall we fulfill the practice?" The Buddha's reply manifests the Buddha's purpose, including the *mārga* he advocates for the sentient beings aspiring to buddhahood.

The idea that all human beings can enter the path of a buddha is successively expressed by the references to easy practices carried out by sentient beings in the past, by the references to the heirs of the Buddha, and by the predictions of future buddhahood given to all the people.

4. In its concept of the *dharma-bhāṇaka*, the Sūtra treats equally men and women, as well as renunciants and the laity. However, in the age in which the Sūtra was compiled, it is doubtful that lay men and women or nuns were actually among the *dharma-bhāṇaka* practitioners.

The Sūtra explicitly requires the practices of accepting, reciting, expounding, copying and honoring the Sūtra of its practitioners, although it does not completely disavow the practices of the six *pāramitās* and of the stūpa cult.

5. Chapter Nineteen comes at the conclusion of the teachings in the core part of the Sūtra. The bodhisattva in the story is described as being the previous life of Śākyamuni, thus stressing the value of his practices. In this story, Sadāparibhūta Bodhisattva addresses everyone, saying, "I dare not belittle you. You must all practice the bodhisattva path and you will become buddhas."

The story focuses on the practice of the bodhisattva before he encounters the Lotus Sūtra, thus showing that the Sūtra advocates the philosophy behind his behavior regardless of whether or not he was one of its followers. The Sūtra thus stresses that a positive attitude of trust is necessary for human action.

A subtle intention of the Sūtra is revealed when it says that those who despised and threw stones at Sadāparibhūta Bodhisattva are the lay bodhisattvas, nuns and lay women who are in the assembly and who have already attained *anuttarā samyak-saṃbodhi*. It is probable that renunciant *dharma-bhāṇakas* put such a reference in the text in an effort to overcome the actual inequality - i.e. the prejudice against women and the laity - of the times.



6. The practice of *Sadāparibhūta* in Chapter Nineteen and the philosophy behind the story reveal the necessary attitude with which one must do the practice of reciting and expounding the contents of the Lotus Sūtra. The story shows the fundamental importance of connecting one's actions to a spiritual function.

[A full text is to appear in the commemorative volume dedicated to Professor Jikidō Takasaki (Tokyo)]

Akira Yuyama

# Miscellaneous Remarks on the Lotus Sūtra

In this paper I have in the first place introduced some important recent research works on the Lotus Sūtra - newly discovered source materials as well as publications, which necessitate a full revision of my bibliography published from the A.N.U. Press (Canberra) in 1970. Then I have shown a few examples of textually interesting readings gleaned from the Lotus Sūtra, with special reference to the so-called Kashgar Manuscript and Kumārajīva's Chinese version. The Central Asian recension of the Indic text offers a number of important variants and will certainly throw light on the question of the transmission of the Sūtra. It is of particular interest to compare it with the Chinese version translated by Kumārajīva in 406 A.C. Some cases may seem to be trivial, but often turn out to present serious problems from the philological point of view:

- Chapter XII "Devadatta" in Kumārajīva's version (see Taishō No. 262, Vol. IX p. 34b23: colophon) is supported at least in the Kashgar MS (folio 255b5-7; cf. 246a3-4 for Chapter XI), and most probably in the Farhād-Bēg fragments. Whether this tradition is of Indian origin or not, is a problem which remains to be solved.
- It is noteworthy that the readings in Kumārajīva's version correspond to the Central Asian recension in many cases. A number of proper names, in particular, offer confirmation.
- There is a verse found only in the Kashgar MS (folio 218b3-5) and Kumārajīva's version (Taishō IX 31b14-15). The Sanskrit text can easily be reconstructed in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* (Chapter X, verse 16):  
*bhaiṣajyārāja prativedayāmi ārocayāmi ca punaḥ punas te /*  
*bahu sūtra vividhāni prakāśitāni sarveṣa teṣāṃ ayam agra khyāyati //*
- One prose example compels us to admit different transmissions of the Sūtra together with some misunderstanding on the part of Kumārajīva (Kern-Nanjio 73.2-3 / Taishō IX 12b24-25).
- A serious example of different transmissions is to be found in Chapter I verse 22 (Kern-Nanjio 11.13-14 / Taishō IX 3a18-19).

NOTE: Those who are interested in such examples are cordially requested to refer to a full text to appear in English in the commemorative volume dedicated to Professor Jikidō Takasaki (Tokyo: Shunjūsha).

Takao Maruyama

# Concepts of the Buddha: Chinese Lotus Sutra Commentaries

Even in early Buddhist canons we find the seven Buddhas including Śākya-muni. In the Lotus Sutra, one of Mahāyāna sutras, the Buddhas in the ten quarters in the past, present and future are expounded and unified into one. They are classified into two, three or more *Buddha-kāyas* and systematized theoretically in Chinese Lotus Sutra commentaries. We elucidate concepts of the Buddha in them, especially in *Chi-tsang's*.

*Nāgārjuna* (c. 150-250) explains the concepts of the Buddha in his commentary on the Great Wisdom Sutra (the *Ta-chih-tu-lun*). (1) The Buddha has two sorts of Buddha-bodies; one is the *Fa-hsing-shên* and the other is the *Fu-mu-shên-shên*. (2) The Buddha has two sorts of bodies; one is the *Chên-shên* and the other is the *Hua-shên*.

*Vasubandhu* (c. 4-5 C.)'s commentary on the Lotus Sutra is the earliest of all that are systematic and coherent commentaries on the sutra in existence. He explains three sorts of Buddhas and each enlightenment of them based on the sutra. (1) The enlightenment of the *Ying-hua-fo*. (2) The enlightenment of the *Pao-fo*. (3) The enlightenment of the *Fa-fo* is shown, because it means *Tathāgata-garbha* (*Ju-lai-tsang*).

*Chi-tsang* (549-623) is the first commentator on *Vasubandhu's* commentary mentioned above. At that time various concepts of the Buddha were interpreted and explained in China, based on many sutras and their commentaries. *Chi-tsang* tried to harmonize them with his concept of the two bodies of the Buddha. He especially tried to connect the concept of the three bodies of the Buddha with his own and to harmonize them.

1. His concept of two bodies of the Buddha consists of the true body of the Buddha (*Shên-chên-shih*) and the expedient body of the Buddha (*Shên-fang-pien*). He interprets and explains the sutra based on the theory of "ultimate aspect of truth and secular aspect of truth," or "real wisdom and provisional wisdom."

2. The concept of three bodies of the Buddha is connected and harmonized with his own concept based on the theory mentioned above. (i) The *Fa-shên* is not provisional but true. (ii) The *Ying-shên* is divided into two aspects. One is inwardly corresponding to the *Fa-shên*, so it is not provisional but true. The other is outwardly born in the Pure Land responding to Bodhisattvas, so it is not true but provisional. When he explains the *Pao-shên* (*Sambhoga-kāya*) quoting *Vasubandhu's* commentary, he interprets that the *Pao-shên* is equal to the *Ying-shên*, because the word *Pao* means the reward of practices, and the word *Ying* means response or correspondence to somebody. (iii) The *Hua-shên* is not true but provisional. [Cf. *Vasubandhu's* concepts (1)].

He divides the *Fa-shên* into two aspects. When it is concealed, it is named *Ju-lai-tsang* (*Tathāgata-garbha*). When it is revealed, it is named the *Fa-shên*. Thus we realize that he is greatly influenced by *Nāgārjuna* and *Vasubandhu*.

- Maruyama, Takao, *Hokke-kyōgaku-kenkyū-josetsu: Kichizō-ni-okeru-juyō-to-tenkai* (Kyoto: Heirakuji-shoten, 1978), pp. 227-259.







## 6. Kuan yin in Folk Religion

The formation of a folk religion centering on Kuan yin was dependent on the establishment of Buddhist beliefs and practices. Therefore, Kuan yin in feminine form cannot be dated earlier than the fifth or sixth century. A number of instances of the folk aspect of Kuan yin are discussed. These include Kuan yin with a fish basket, Tārā in Tibet, and Kuan yin's revelation to Chūjō Hime.

## Conclusion

Our examination of the mythical, historical, religious, philosophical, psychological and artistic aspects of Kuan yin has indicated that he was a symbol of compassion and wisdom. Throughout the centuries he has captivated the minds of the masses, a trend which we believe will continue in the future.

Makato Ozaki

## Nichiren's Concept of Bodhisattva

The return to the Buddha Śākyamuni as the origin of Buddhism entails at the same time, for Nichiren, the future development of the hidden teachings which had been transferred to the eternal Bodhisattva from the Buddha, who was imaged as the practical agent to come after the Buddha's passing. The future form of the eternal One Buddha is necessarily described as a Bodhisattva subordinate to the Buddha, for the future effect has not yet been attained in actuality, but is still to be attained. This is the reason why the eternal Buddha takes a form of Bodhisattva in the future, despite his own accomplishment already. The most inner essence of the Buddha Śākyamuni, henceforth hidden, is now at last reached, to be fully manifested through the historical process in which the antecedent Buddhas are integrated into the final point, which is also the ultimate root origin in eternity. The eternal Bodhisattva, called Viśiṣṭacāritra, or the Supreme Conduct, is no less than the anticipatory preappearance of the eternal Buddha who will appear with full reality in the future *Mappo* era.

The self-developing movement of the eternal Buddha is not completed by the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, but is furthermore extended to, and is finally accomplished by the unseen future figure, and is simply anticipated as the imaginary Bodhisattva springing out of the eternal origin. Although both the eternal Bodhisattva and the original Buddha are different in expression, they are not different in essence, but in appearance. Their difference is made from the perspective of history and eternity; the original Buddha is seen as acting in the dimension of space and time, while the Bodhisattva is seen as the original Buddha in terms of eternity. With the attainment of the historical event, the Old Buddha, situated as the

Bodhisattva in action, is replaced by and changed into the actualized Buddha in fact, and is therefore eventually identified with the historical entity, Nichiren.

There is a direct connection between the Buddha Śākyamuni and Nichiren, despite their historical as well as geographical distances. The re-appearance of the Buddha must supersede the preceding one and exhaust the latter's potential essence in actuality by reverting to the original root, i.e., the eternal Buddha from whom all historical Buddhas are manifested. Hence, Nichiren turns to be the reappearance of the eternal Buddha, whose prototype proleptically occurred in the form of Bodhisattva prior to his historical realization. The identification of a historical figure, Nichiren, with the Buddha means the self-completion of the eternal Buddha through a chain of appearances of a successive variety of names and forms. The farther the Buddha goes on to advance into the future, the deeper he also retreats into the past. The consequence of the Buddha's self-realization is a way of retroacting to the ultimate origin in eternity, and this discloses the personal identity of the Buddha and Nichiren in the end. The Buddha's continuous self-returning movement from the eternal beginning ends perfectly, without exception, with a historical figure, Nichiren, and never remains any more than him.

Roy C. Amore

## Merit in the Zen Tradition

The presentation argued that merit theory and practice are more important in Zen thought than one might think from the usual treatment of the Ch'an/Zen school as anti-ritual and anti-merit.

An examination of the theory of merit in early Indian Buddhism suggested that the early Buddhists placed a strong emphasis upon merit as a quality (of mental purity) rather than as a quantity.

The Buddha taught the goal of getting "beyond merit": "Whoever in this world, having put aside *puñña* and *pāpa*, wisely leads the Brahmachariya life, he is accurately called 'Bhikkhu'." [SN i.182]

The idealization of "doing merit" emerged in the popular stories of the fifth Nikāya, where even a single merit-act done on earth will yield a corresponding, multiple reward in a heaven. The "beyond merit" position of the Buddha taught that even winning heaven was suffering because the wheel of rebirth would turn again. In contrast to this, the "doing merit" position of the *Vimānavatthu* glorifies the goal of going to a heavenly mansion and talks as if one's stay in heaven would continue almost indefinitely.



The second section of the paper considered the famous story about Bodhidharma telling King Wu that all the king's pious activities had created no merit whatsoever. This was not taken as a rejection of Buddhist merit practices, but as a radical rejection of the popular tendency to quantify merit. The *Lankavatara Sutra*, said to have been important to Bodhidharma, presupposes the standard karmic worldview and the usual Buddhist merit practices, but it teaches that the essence of the Buddhist experience is to attain a higher wisdom which goes beyond morality.

Hui-neng's *Platform Scripture* teaches that ordinary merit works (chanting, building temples) are useless. Real merit comes from the "wisdom of salvation," for persons who can see their own nature and enter into the calmness of wisdom are praised as having "an infinite number of merits".

The third section of the paper, based upon recent interviews in Japan, considered whether contemporary Japanese Zen rejects or embraces the merit making practices of other Buddhists. It concluded that the Japanese Zen laity do not normally call their good works "merit", but they do good deeds similar to the merit practices of Theravada Buddhists.

The Zen tradition emphasizes beyond merit more than Theravada does, but Zen's teaching is consistent with the "higher wisdom" position of Theravada. So, there is a good basis for understanding between Zen and Theravada on merit.

K. T. S. Sarao

#### Early Buddhist Attitude towards Women

In the ancient world the course of women's lives from birth to death, was set by men, especially husbands - the male citizens who formed governments and raised armies. Buddhism, an institution which was predominantly male and patriarchal, played an important role in perpetuating subordination of women. Buddhist literature emphasizes male characters, male themes and male fantasies. The presence of few and isolated "women worthies" did not have any positive influence worth the name. Buddhism like most religions with ascetic ideals showed utter obsession with celibacy. Sexual life was considered as causing impurity of soul and body and hence total contempt for women who caused "defilement even in sanctified souls" (J.IV.468). To Buddhism women are biologically determined to be sexually uncontrollable and deadly for *Brahma*-faring (BD.V.356). *Aganña Suttanta* holds women responsible for the fall of human race and death of the spiritual being. They are seen as the anti-thesis of religion and morality, whose "nature ... is very hard to know" (J.V.446) and who are "pearl of sea-monsters" (GS.II.129), ending their life unsatiated and unrepented with "intercourse, adornment, and childbearing" (J.III.342; GS.I.77). In fact rejection of household life by Buddhism was nothing but rejection of woman herself.

Acceptance of women into the *Saṅgha* was neither an invention of Buddhism nor unique to it. Early Buddhist bias against women becomes clear from the fact that after having reluctantly admitted women into the *Saṅgha*, Gautama accorded them a degraded status and further perpetuated the notion that women are inferior beings. *Bhikkhūṇīs* had to pay all sorts of respects even to far junior *Bhikkhus* (Vin.V.52) and their votes did not count (SBE.XVII.269). It may not be wrong to say that by according an inferior status to women in the organisation, Gautama sanctioned the view that women are inferior to men. If Brāhmanas degraded woman in her house, Buddhism went a step further by doing it outside. It appears a complete travesty of facts to call Gautama a champion of women's cause. As a Bodhisatta, he took pride in being called "a woman-hater" (J.IV.469).

At more than one place women are called treacherous, ungrateful, untrustworthy, degraded, vile, lustful, envious, greedy, uncontrolled, foolish and profligate (GS.II.93; KS.II.146; J.II.111, 285; III.474, 478, 527; IV.125-125). In a Jātaka (J.II.115-121) the Bodhisatta relates how he offered his thirsty wife his own blood to drink, who in turn tried to kill him and started living with a criminal. Women are seen as bent upon losing their honour and to "prove" this the Bodhisatta seduces a bride for a king (J.VI.235-236) and helps a student "successfully" to seduce his own mother (J.I.285-89). The Bodhisatta as a child bore such hatred against women that his mother had to "dress as man to give him the breast" (J.IV.469). According to Gautama bad days will come when "men will leave everything at the disposal of their wives" (J.I.342) because women are weak in judgement and should not be allowed to "sit in a court of justice ... (or) ... embark on business." (GS.II.93).

In Buddhism prostitution finds not only sanction but even a word of praise and rates charged by prostitutes are mentioned prominently (J.III.435, 475). Kings, priests and ministers had their harems full of women as a reward for past good deeds. Husbands could sell, lend, borrow or pass on their wives to others like any form of property. A king is praised for his generosity because he gave his wife to a man to enjoy for seven days (J.III.337). In fact more than once the Buddhist monks exploited women so much that they were deserted by their husbands to fend for themselves (Vin.IV.79). Opinion of women upon themselves was not from their own sense of direct observation of the subject, but from the attitude toward it of the opposite and more articulate sex. A princess says "... till the sixth (birth) is past I shall not be free from my female sex." (J.VI.238-39). Though we have many examples of sex-change from one birth to another [Ananda himself was born as a female (J.VI.255)], the Bodhisatta prefers without exception to take birth in the Jātakas as male be it an animal, human or any other form.

Only those women were accepted in Buddhism who were rootless and had already fractured out of the morality of the society. Others had to gain permission of their overbearing fathers/husbands (Vin.IV.334-35). The institution of nunnery and fall from "high spiritual ideals" of some nuns must have further restricted women's freedom. Undoubtedly, during the early Buddhist period the marriageable age of girls was being gradually lowered. Early Buddhism clearly practised sexual castism and propagated it to the hilt in its canon. Nowhere do we see Gautama making favourable comments on women's property rights, choice of husband, female education or against their being ill-treated. Buddhism in fact became an instrument through which woman's biological inequalities and differences were crystallised into social meanings. Gautama himself applies the yard stick of overwhelming



evaluation of the wife as a producer of male-heirs to her husband's property (KS.II.166) and the maltreatment of a (presumed) sterile or exclusively daughter-producing wife.

There is no doubt in the fact that early Buddhism sees women as destructive, elusive, mysterious, treacherous, sensual and not much higher than animals. Association with her is shown as deadly and polluting. She is seen as a threat to religion, culture and the society at large. And, hence, she must be suppressed, controlled and conquered by man. Such a logic was clearly used as a justification for relegating a common woman to a marginal existence. Everywhere one-sided respect and service was expected from her.

Brij B. Khare

#### Church-State Dichotomy in Buddhist Thought: The Case of Japan

Buddhism is based on a philosophical rather than a theological view of the human condition, and it conceptualizes the solution to problems in society in terms of incremental growth, characterized by our collective existence, and guided by the need for propagating these teachings in both theory and practice. In Buddhism there is no conscious plan in behalf of the *Sangha* for social change, but the conversion of the political ruler to the attitudes entailed in the Buddhist conviction is regarded in the scriptures as highly conducive.

Yet it is wrong to concentrate on merely the philosophical precepts of Buddhism; it is not only about high moral principles. Great concerns are encompassed within it for the welfare of the people. In the West, a great deal of emphasis is placed on its traditional strength, i.e., its monastic order, called *Sangha*, which together with the Buddha and his doctrine, *dharma*, comprise "the Three Jewels". Buddhism stresses the meditative life, but the Buddha did not remove life from its socio-economic and political context; he looked at life in a wholistic framework.

According to the *Nihonshoki*, Buddhism reached Japan in 552, during Emperor Kimmei's rule, who was the twenty-ninth mikado of Japan. This Buddhism was similar to that which flourished in Northern China. In other words, it was not monkish and hence it was not confined to a few. The lay Buddhists played a significant role in its development. It was the Buddhism of laity, therefore, which evolved into the national religion.

In spite of the fact that Buddhism lacked its impact at the individual level in the early monasteries, its role had a great potential nonetheless. Unlike its initial growth in China, Buddhism in Japan was able to merge with the religious beliefs of the North Asiatic tribes. In that context it presented itself to Japanese society as a *fait accompli*, of course not

without a protracted dialogue. The outcome of these verbal exchanges led to the conversion of the two *uji no kami* (deities) of the Soga - Iname and Umako. These dialogues and conversions turned the religion of the immigrants into one of the foundations of Japanese religious psyche. The process of psychological transformation achieved through these dialogues was characteristic of Japanese society. Therefore, major changes were achieved within the *uji no kami* themselves; however, not among the lower stratum of the *uji* (lineage). All the members of the *uji* were tuned-in to the religious convictions of their leaders.

Even then, the dream of an ideal relationship between Buddhism and the State, with Emperor as the head of the Buddhist hierarchy, was never truly realized. The Buddhist hierarchy that began by supporting the State ended up as a frightening counterbalance to it, and they in fact caused out of the emergent Buddhism-State coalition a Sangha-State deprecation, discontent, and slow-burn. In the end, during the second half of the sixteenth century, it was left upto Oda Nobunaga to harshly dismantle organized Buddhism in Japan.

Upendra Thakur

#### Some Eminent Buddhist Missionaries in China

The first contact between India and China seems to have taken place before the Christian era, and scholars generally believe that Buddhism formally entered China during the reign-period of Ming-ti (58-75 A.D.) of the Han dynasty, who accorded royal welcome to Buddhism in his capital, Lo-yang, which also finds corroboration in the *Records of the Lineage of Buddha and Patriarchs* by Chih-pang (A.D. 1127-1280). It was after this epoch-making event that great Indian sages and scholars came to China and learned Chinese monks and scholars travelled to India in large numbers in different times carrying on the real work of cultural exchanges through the medium of Buddhism.

In the present paper we have tried to discuss in detail the activities of some of the eminent Indian missionaries who passed on foot through Central Asia and crossed difficult deserts, dense forests and snowy mountains. Besides, they had to encounter terrible animals and face hunger and cold. And after years of hardship they could reach their destination. But, these terrific trials and hardship could not in any way discourage these ancient sages who were inspired with the sublime ideal of universal love, and were possessed of indomitable courage and untiring missionary zeal. And, it was these bands of missionaries who fostered intimate relationship between the two great nations in the past, the like of which we shall never see again.



Hubert Durt

Remarks on the Concept of Worship in the  
Ta-chih-tu-lun

Although the Prajñāpāramitā texts are largely philosophical in content, we must keep in mind that they were used by monks. It is no surprise, then, that the Prajñāpāramitā literature contains numerous references to monastic life, devotional practices, and particularly to places of worship and of other monastic activities.

We can see, for example, that in Kimura Takayasu's recent publication in book form of the second and third parts of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* (Sankibo, Tokyo, 1986) much emphasis is placed on reliquaries (*stūpa*, pp. 56.23-67.16, p. 87.16-22) and on relics (*śarīra*, pp. 87.23-101.13). In both cases, the merit of erecting stupas and of filling the universe with relics is exalted as a "fair-valoir" in order to show how much greater is the merit earned from the worship of, or even better, the diffusion of, the Perfection of Wisdom. A comparative scale of merit is established. In *Ta chih tu lun*, Kumrajiva uses the term *chiao liang* 校量 to refer to this comparative evaluation.

Kumrajiva translated both the *Pañcaviṃśati* (T. 223) and the commentary on it known in Chinese as *Ta chih tu lun* (T. 1509). The Sanskrit text he translated was slightly different from the recast version in eight *abhisamaya* of which Nalinaksha Dutt published the first part (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 28, London, 1934) and Kimura the second and third parts (Kimura is said to be preparing the remaining five parts). The Chinese terminology used by Kumrajiva is more uniform for the doctrinal portions of the *Ta chih tu lun* than for the passages related to more concrete things, particularly those concerning monastic places and activities. This probably reflects the fact that the organization of monastic Buddhism in China was still primitive during Kumrajiva's era, i.e., the early fifth century.

As part of a collective study of sacred space in the Far East, a program under the aegis of the French School for Far Eastern Studies (E.F.E.O.), I have investigated a few terms related to sacred space in the *Ta chih tu lun* and will present here, in a much shortened form, a few provisional conclusions.

1. *Vihāra* is generally translated as *ching she* 精舍, perfect or pure abode, a term that has a Classical Chinese connotation. For place of meditation, Kumrajiva combines *tsō ch'an* 坐禪, seated meditation, and *ching she* or just *she* (T. 25, 77c4, 118c20). Later, however, the term *tsō-ch'an ching-she* 坐禪精舍 seems to have fallen into disuse, and the term used for "meditation room" is *tao ch'ang* 道場. This term appears in the *Ta chih tu lun* only in reference to the *Bodhimāṇḍa*, the sacred area where the Buddha reaches his enlightenment.

2. *Ssu* 寺, a much-studied term that has a non-religious origin, is rarely used in the *Ta chih tu lun* and occurs mostly in a compound with *t'a* 塔, *stūpa*: *t'a ssu* 塔寺. It is found also in the compound *wang ssu* 王寺, *rāja-vihāra* (T. 25, 165a26), referring not to a royal palace but to a royal monastery of Kashmir that holds a Great Assembly (*mahā-pariṣad*, *ta hui* 大會).

3. For *stūpa*, Kumrajiva usually uses *t'a* but occasionally employs the archaic transcription *fo t'u* 佛圖. This transcription and others, similar but even more antique, were used both for *Buddha* and for *stūpa*. They have been extensively studied (see *Hōbōgirin*, s.v. *Butsu*, and more recently F. Bernhard, quoting Dschi An-lin, "Gandhāri and the Buddhist Mission in Central Asia," *Añjali Wijesekera*, Peradeniya, 1970, pp. 55-62). In the three instances in which Kumrajiva uses *fo t'u*, it seems that he is trying to convey an impression of remote antiquity. *fo t'u* appears in two popular tales (T. 25, 150c20, 705a1) and in an enumeration (T. 25, 176b23) where it refers to the sanctuary of a god, *t'ien shen* 天神. Used instead of the more common *t'ien tz'u* 天祠, it also has a popular flavour.

Pol Vanden Broucke

The Yugikyō (Taishō ed. XVIII no 867)

## 1. Textual information

The Chinese title in full of the Yugikyō is Chin-kang-feng Lou-ke I-ch'ieh Yü-chia Yü-ch'i Ching 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經. It is a Chinese translation from the T'ang 唐 dynasty (618-907 A.D.) of an esoteric Buddhist text of which there is no Indian nor Tibetan original. The literal Sanskrit translation of this title might be *Vajraśekhara-vimāna-sarvayogayogi-sūtra*, which means: "The Scriptural Text of the Ascetics of all Yogas of the Palace on the Vajra Peak". As this text is highly revered in the Japanese esoteric Buddhism known as the Shingon school 真言宗, founded by the Japanese monk Kūkai 空海 (774-835 A.D.), posthumously called Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, it is usually mentioned under its shortened Japanese title Yugikyō 瑜祇經 or Yugayugikyō 瑜伽瑜祇經.

The Taishō edition of the Yugikyō consists of two volumes containing twelve chapters, that is to say eight chapters in Volume I and four in Volume II.

The author is unknown to us. There is a great deal of confusion whether the text was translated by Vajrabodhi (Chin. Chin-kang-chih 金剛智, Jap. Kongōchi, 671-741 A.D.) and Amoghavajra (Chin. Pu-k'ung 不空, Jap. Fukū, 705-774 A.D.).

The Yugikyō is not mentioned in any Chinese Buddhist catalogue dating before Kūkai (774-835 A.D.), who introduced the Yugikyō in Japan. This text is first listed four centuries after its introduction in Japan, in the sixth chapter of the Chih-yüan-lu 至元錄, a comparative Chinese-Tibetan catalogue, compiled in Peking between 1285-1287 A.D. But in Japan, there are a number of catalogues which mention the Yugikyō, because this text has been brought to Japan by several monks after Kūkai.



## 2. Contents

The most striking characteristic of this text, in fact of esoteric Buddhist texts in general, is the lack of coherence between its twelve chapters. But if we roughly schematize, we can discern a preacher, usually Vairocana or Vajrapāṇi, dwelling in some samādhi or transforming, and explaining some teaching, ritual, maṇḍala, etc. to his audience. In each chapter we find explanations of mantras and mudrās, and some chapters also explain the representation of certain deities. For example, Chapter 5 is the base of the common iconographical representation of Rāgarāja 愛染明王 (Chin. Ai-jan Ming-wang, Jap. Aizen Myō-ō), represented here with six arms and one head; Chapter 8 explains Daishōkongō (大勝金剛, literal Sanskrit translation Mahājayavajra), etc.

## 3. The importance of the Yugikyō in Japan.

The text which, according to the tradition in Japan, is thought to belong to the Tattvasaṃgraha tradition, is one of the basic texts of the Shingon canon.

A number of important rituals, such as the Yugikanjō (瑜祇灌頂, Chapter 11) and the ritual of Aizenmyō-ō (Chapter 5), are based on the Yugikyō.

The Yugikyō has also an iconographical importance. Besides the description of deities, this text is also the base of the pictorial representation of some maṇḍalas. For example, the Butsugenmandara (佛眼曼荼羅, Chapter 9), the Godaikokūzōmandara (五大虚空藏曼荼羅, Chapter 9), the Daishōkongōmandara (大勝金剛曼荼羅, Chapter 8), etc.

Kūkai named the collection of temples on Mt. Kōya 高野 after the first three characters of the full title of the Yugikyō, namely Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺, "Temple of the Vajra Peak". Within the temple complex of Mt. Kōya are two pagodas, the Konpon Daitō 根本大塔 and the Yugitō 瑜祇塔, of which the layout is said to be based on the Yugikyō.

Finally, the Yugikyō is one of the basic texts for the Tachikawa-ryū 立川流, an heterodox school founded by the Japanese monk Ninkan 仁寛 (1057-1123 A.D.).

Hideaki Kimura

## The Maṇḍala of the Māyājālatantra in Chinese Version

The Māyājālatantra (MJT), a yogatantra, may be situated between the Tattvasaṃgraha and the Guhyasamājatantra. Its Chinese version (佛說瑜伽大教王經, T. Vol. 18, no 890) was translated by Hokken, Dharmabhadra (法賢) in 995 A.D. There are two Tibetan versions, namely an old translation and a new one (11th cy.). The new translation (Pek. no 102) corresponds to our Chinese version.

MJT explains the maṇḍala with 41 deities, namely 5 Buddhas with Vairocana as the central deity, and 4 goddesses in the first circle, 8 goddesses in the second circle, 16 bodhisattvas and 8 krodhas in the third circle.

The Niṣpannayogāvalī (NSP, written by Abhayākara Gupta in the twelfth century) no 20 explains the Mañjuvajramāṇḍala. It is mentioned there that this maṇḍala comes from the MJT. We can find quite some correspondence between these two maṇḍalas, however 1) the central deity changes from Vairocana to Mañjuvajra (i.e. Mañjuśrī), 2) two krodhas are added as the protectors in the zenith and the nadir, and 3) there are differences in the appearances of Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi, Maitreya and Padmāntaka.

Although the maṇḍala of the MJT is obviously derived from the Tattvasaṃgraha, it is close to the maṇḍalas of the Guhyasamājatantra, especially to the maṇḍala of the Arya school, which is explained in NSP no 2. The central deity of NSP no 2 is Akṣobhya. The maṇḍala of the MJT can be situated between the maṇḍalas of the Tattvasaṃgraha and of the Guhyasamājatantra. As the maṇḍala develops from the maṇḍala of MJT to NSP 20 and NSP 2, we see a tendency in the appearance of the deities to gradually standardize to three faces and six arms.

In the Chinese canon there exists another short MJT (幻化網大瑜伽教+忿怒明觀想\*, T. Vol. 18, no 891), which was translated by Hokken in 994 A.D. It only explains ten krodhas, eight of which correspond with the other Chinese and Tibetan MJT. More exactly, the description of eight krodhas of this text more closely corresponds to the Tibetan version than to the Chinese version of MJT.

For Padmāntaka, who is one of the eight krodhas, we can find a short Sanskrit text in the Sādhnamālā. The Sādhnamālā (SM) no 259 closely corresponds to the description of Padmāntaka in Tibetan MJT and T. 891. SM 259 might be recognized as a part of the original of these two texts. The Tibetan version and T. 891 could be a literal and accurate translation.

Our Chinese version is fundamentally the same, but in detail of expression we can find some difference between the Chinese MJT and SM 259. But both the Chinese MJT and T 891 were translated by Hokken within 2 years. Therefore we may assume that the difference between the Chinese and the Tibetan version of MJT is mainly caused by the difference of their Sanskrit originals.

From our research into the whole maṇḍala of the MJT, we might also conclude that the Chinese version is at least as reliable as the Tibetan version.

## \* 儀軌經



Biswanath Banerjee

## Buddhism and the Kālacakra system

Vajrayāna is the general appellation given to the later form of Buddhism, the Tantric Buddhism, which developed with much emphasis on various rituals and ceremonies, meditational practices etc. Brahmanic gods and goddesses along with *mantra*, *dhāraṇī*, *japa*, *jāpa* and such other concepts have changed the complexion of the Buddha's religion so much beyond recognition that scholars have been provoked to criticise and brand Tantra-Buddhism as Hinduism of the Buddhists or Hinduism with a garb of Buddhism. This criticism of the Tantra-Buddhism does not appear to be a correct one inasmuch as this phase of Buddhism has not lost its essence of Buddhism in spite of its interfusion with brahmanic ideas and beliefs.

The incorporation of Hindu gods and goddesses into Buddhism reached its maximum limit with the development of the Kālacakra system. The most important factor for the increase of the compromising attitude of the Buddhists towards different brahmanic sects may be traced in the change of Indian situation with the advent and infiltration of Islamic religion and culture. It is learnt from Kālacakra texts that the Buddhists were faced with the social problem of the overpowering infiltration of the semitic religion and to resist the growing influence of the foreign culture they offered to join hands with the followers of the brahmanical religion. It is said that the purpose of introducing the Kālacakra system has been to prevent the people from being converted to Islam. In order to stop the inroad of the alien culture the leader of the Buddhists proposed inter-dining and inter-marriage among the Buddhists and the Brahmanic sages and to assemble under the banner of the one Lord Kālacakra who might have been set up as a non-sectarian God to make it possible for all the warring elements of different religious groups to unite and fight against the foreign culture. With a view to offering a united resistance to the impending danger of the semitic penetration an endeavour was made to bring the followers of different sects of Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śiva and such other sages united in one family, the *Vajrakula*, - all differences in race, class, creed, customs were sought to be removed. The Kālacakra system and the concept of the *Kālacakra* are two important examples of the process of cultural fusion as going on in India since long.

The Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and even Śākta ideas and Yoga elements are noticeable in a large measure in the principles and doctrine of the Kālacakra system. Some traits of the system have sometimes led scholars to misunderstand this system as fully Vaiṣṇava in origin and character. It is true that Vaiṣṇava elements are there but to call it a Vaiṣṇava work is to ignore textual materials.

In fact Vajrayāna reached its extreme development with this form of Buddhism. It is a system which true to the principles of the Tantra and Vajrayāna attempts to explain the whole creation within this body. An elaborate system of yoga-practices with the control of the vital winds in the body has been regarded as an important factor in realising the truth.

The Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Yoga principles must have influenced, along with other forms of Indian and foreign ideas, the formation of the Kālacakra system at some time or other. It is certainly a syncretic system particularly in its meditational principles, it is nevertheless out and out a Buddhist system in origin, spirit and character. It is essentially Buddhist in its ideas, theories and propensity.

Arvind Sharma

## Are there two Buddhist Doctrines of Karma?

If one examines the references in the Pali canon to the doctrine of Karma one soon discovers that these references by themselves do not constitute a single monolithic doctrine but are capable of being interpreted and integrated in somewhat different ways. In the context of modern thought these references are capable of generating and indeed have generated two distinct understandings of the doctrine: (1) that the doctrine of Karma constitutes a *moral* law and (2) that it constitutes a *natural* law. This double understanding of the doctrine of Karma can not only be identified in the traditional explication of Theravāda Buddhism, it can also be located in the writings of modern exponents of the Theravāda tradition. Thus, for example, Bhikku Kantipalo seems to present the doctrine as a moral law in his book entitled *Buddhism Explained* (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich Press, 1970). Walpola Sri Rahula, on the other hand, seems to expound the doctrine as if it were a natural law in his book entitled, *What the Buddha Taught* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1974).

Reasons can be adduced for favouring the latter interpretation over the former by utilizing the distinction between pure science and applied science. Atomic physics is a pure science. It is its application to produce the atom bomb or generate electricity which provides a moral dimension to the issue. Similarly, anatomy is a pure science but its use to either cause or cure diseases provides it with a moral dimension, a dimension which as a pure science it does not possess. Thus, whereas at the level of pure science both atomic physics and anatomy partake of the character of natural laws, as when dealing with fission or fusion or the circulation of blood, at the level of applied science they acquire a moral dimension by virtue of the use that is made of the principles discovered in the realm of natural law.

It can now be argued that the doctrine of Karma by itself represents a natural law - namely that what we do to others ultimately happens to us. Whether this law is true or not is not at issue at the moment - what is at issue is the fact whether, irrespective of its truth or otherwise, is it akin to a natural law or a moral law? The statement that what we do to others happens to us is a value-neutral statement by itself. It is a natural law. It is when the further understanding is developed that therefore one should perform good deeds rather than bad that it acquires a moral dimension. But this is a case of the application of the law, this moral dimension does not belong to the law as such.

The question posed in the paper was: Are there two Buddhist doctrines of Karma in Theravāda Buddhism, one akin to a moral law and another akin to a natural law? The answer proposed in the paper is that the understanding of the doctrine of Karma as a natural law is fundamental and primary and corresponds to pure science and that its understanding as a moral law is derivative and secondary and corresponds to applied science.



Mahesh Tiwary

### Process of Death in Early Buddhism

1. The present paper is intended to make an enquiry into a problem mysterious in nature, universal in character, and unavoidable in procedure. It starts with the springing up of the process of life and continues to exist in making uninterrupted way-faring till the *Kamma*-generated life-circle revolves in one form of existence or the other. What is it? We name it death (*maccu*).
2. Life in the human world (*manussa-loka*) begins from the moment of *Paṭisandhi*. It is the first moment of the present life which unites one state of existence with the other. It starts with the arising of a *Paṭisandhi-citta* (uniting consciousness); being one of the nine types of resultant consciousness of sensuous sphere, namely, one investigating consciousness moral resultant and the eight great resultants, potential to do so due to the force of the accumulation of the fruition of the moral and immoral actions. The same Kammic force acts simultaneously in generating the Seat of consciousness, (*hadaya-vatthu*), the subtlest form of the material qualities. The two, though of diverse nature, are united together by the relation of co-born (*sahajātapaccaya*) and being so, emerge into a physio-psychic form of the personality of a man. With this there preceeds the life.
3. What is death then? It may be presented in two ways - conventionally and truly. Conventionally, it has several names like - *maccu*, *māra*, *yama*, *antaka*, *namuci*, *marāṇa*, etc. Its taking place is presented by the expressions like - fall out of a state (*cuti*), the dropping out of it (*cavanatā*), the dissolution (*bhedo*), disappearance (*antaradhāṇam*), the accomplishment of the life term (*kālakiriyā*), the breaking of the groups (*khandhāṇam bhedo*), the laying down of the body (*kalevarassa nikkhepo*), etc.

Really speaking, it is purely a psycho-ethical phenomenon - intrinsically psychological and functionally ethical. It is the arising of a consciousness known as *Cuti-citta* (Dying consciousness). It is any one of the nine types of resultant consciousness, namely, one investigating consciousness moral resultant and eight great resultants of sensual sphere of consciousness. Each of these nine types of resultant consciousness has the potentiality of appearing as *Cuti-citta*. Arising in this way it makes the total exhaustion of the mental and material life-force (*nāma-jīvitindriya* and *rūpa-jīvitindriya*) and puts a stop of the generation of material qualities. As a result of that the body falls flat on the ground just like unconscious wooden log. We name this state as *Death*.

4. Arising of a *Cuti-citta* presupposes an object on which it arises. According to the tradition, there are three objects of the dying-consciousness. They appear individually. They are the *Kamma*, *Kamma-nimitta*, and *Gatinimitta*.

*Kamma* is the conceptual representation of the sum total of moral and immoral actions done by the dying one in whole span of life. *Kamma-nimitta* is the manifestation or the symbolic expression of the means through which one performs the actions. *Gati-nimitta* is another symbolic manifestation of the destiny-sign which awaits him. It should also be known here that the

*Kamma* always expresses itself in the form of a concept because of its being the expression of the past deeds. It presents itself at mind-door. *Kamma-nimitta* may appear at any one of the six doors according to the situation. *Gati-nimitta*, being the physical, appears before the mind-door as a dream, a vision or a pleasant or fearful appearance.

See for details:

Khuddaka-Nikāya, Paṭṭhāna, Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Dīgha-Nikāya, Abhidhammatthasangaha.

Mantosh Chandra Choudhury

### The Decline of Buddhism in Eastern India

India has been the glorious cradle of Buddhism, as of many other religious systems. It is also well known that E. India was the last most important stronghold of Buddhism marked, as it was, by such eminent Buddhist universities as the Nālandā, the Vikramaśilā and the Jagaddala *Mahāvihāras*. It has, however, not been exactly ascertained as to how and why, in spite of its remarkable services and humanism, Buddhism gradually lost its hold on the Indian mind, so much so that at last, it had to seek what may be called a sort of religious asylum in countries beyond the borders of the Indian Peninsula.

Several theories have been put forward by scholars to explain the decadence of Buddhism as a living force in India, one of the commonest being the Brāhmaṇical persecution "till Buddhism was overpowered and hounded of the land of its origin." But the few instances cited in favour of this hypothesis cannot by any means outweigh the large mass of evidence indicating clearly the high degree of Brāhmaṇical tolerance of Buddhism.

The next cause of the decline of Buddhism is said to be the corruption in the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. I-tsing (7th century) speaks of the relaxation of the rules of monastic discipline, of a depraving luxury, of indulgence to wine and woman, and of gluttony. But we have many counter-evidences too in this regard, and the accounts of Dharmasvāmin and Tāranātha mention many names of venerable monks and nuns even in the 12th century. Hence something more plausible should be sought for the decadence of this religion.

Buddhism, it is again conjectured, was gradually enfeebled by the absence of a central episcopal authority which could prescribe uniform catechism and prevent schism (*Saṅghabheda*). Here it must be remembered that in spite of the absence of any such ecclesiastical heads, and notwithstanding great differences in principles and practice, the various Hindu sects did not suffer any decline in the way the Buddhists did towards the close of the twelfth century A.D.



The Moslem conquest, although another grave factor, has also been over-emphasised by scholars. In fact, to ascribe the fall of the religion to the demolition of Nālandā, etc., would be, to say the least, an utterly simplistic theory. That the Hindi temples "could withstand centuries of neglect and active persecution, only lends strength to the belief that Buddhism (in India) was already an exhausted volcano, whose smouldering ashes were incapable of rekindling a new fire."

Thus, all the above hypotheses have failed to explain satisfactorily the phenomenon of the decadence of Buddhism in India.

An attempt is therefore made in this paper to examine the question critically from a historical perspective. A close study of the evidence - both archaeological as well as literary - clearly indicates that the foremost cause of the collapse was the steady imperceptible absorption of Buddhism, by degrees, into Purāṇic Brāhmaṇism or, more specifically, Brāhmaṇical Tāntricism.

Siglinde Dietz

#### Remarks on a fragmentary list of kings of Magadha in a Lokaprajñapti fragment

In the Proceedings of the Thirty-First International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, Ed. T. Yamamoto, Tokyo 1984, pp. 217-18, Sudha Sengupta dealt with a unique list of kings in a fragment that she had not yet identified.

In the present paper this topic will be taken up again. The reverse folio (5[1]r) with the list of kings belongs to six folios of Lokaprajñapti fragments from Gilgit in the Library of the Scindia Oriental Museum at Ujjain. The Lokaprajñapti is an Abhidharma work of the Sarvāstivādins in which the cosmological and cosmogonical ideas of the Hīnayāna are described. Three complete versions are available:

1. The Chinese translation of Paramārtha from the year 558 (Taishō No. 1644).
2. The Tibetan translation 'Jig rten du b'zag pa, most probably from the time of king Khri sroñ lde btsan.
3. The Pāli Lokapaññatti that is dated by its editor Eugène Denis (Paris 1977, I, pp. II-X) to the 11th-12th century.

The Sanskrit fragments and the Tibetan translation are recensions of the same school, i.e. the Mūlasarvāstivāda.

The fourth fragment starts with the final portion of a record of kings. The names of the kings together with their years of reign are as

follows: Prasenañjit (7 yrs.), Nanda (10 yrs.), Candra (1 year), Parvata (1 year), Candragupta (25 yrs. + 7 months), his son Bindusāra (25 yrs. + 5 months), his son Aśoka (36 yrs.), his son Sabhāpati (18 yrs.), Dṛḍhadhanu (15 yrs.), Śatadhanu (14 yrs.), Bṛhadratha (13 yrs.), Puṇyaśarman (24 yrs.), Puṇyāmitra or Puṣyāmitra (24 yrs.).

Already from the first words of the folio it can be guessed that the list is fragmentary and from the concluding sentence of this genealogy we see that the names of the kings who ruled during 350 years before Prasenañjit are missing from the text. However, the great divergences of the available part of the record from other sources show the difficulty or even impossibility of reconstituting its lost portion.

The concluding sentences of this record run as follows: "Immediately following Puṇyaśarman, Puṣyāmitra became king. He is the Brāhmin king who dethroned the Mauryavaṃśa and took possession of Pāṭaliputra himself. He ruled for 24 years. So 540 years [had elapsed] when Puṣyāmitra dethroned the Mauryavaṃśa and took possession of Pāṭaliputra himself. This [was] the series of kings when the world had developed."

Since the record of kings is fragmentary, we do not know from which event the 540 years were counted. This record is not contained in the Tibetan version of Lokaprajñapti and is inserted at the end of chapter 11. There the description of the era of destruction of the world and its reconstitution afterwards is concluded by a genealogy of the Śākyas that begins from Mahāsaṃmata and ends with Rāhula the son of the Buddha. After him the lineage of Mahāsaṃmata became extinct. To this genealogy of the Śākyas another list of kings was added in Lokaprajñapti (Sanskrit).

This insertion in just this chapter could be motivated by the wish not only to attach the genealogy of the Mauryas to the Śākyas, but also to place the kings of Pāṭaliputra in a family relationship with Śākyamuni and the offspring of Mahāsaṃmata, the first king of the present world-age, a practice that is well-known from Tibetan and Mongolian historiography.

Oskar von Hinüber

#### Thalpan: A Buddhist Site in North Pakistan

Until very recently the only source of information on Buddhism in the Northern Areas of Pakistan were the Gilgit manuscripts and those bronzes called "Kashmir" bronzes, for the better part erroneously instead of "Gilgit" bronzes. During the past few years, however, at least some 2000 mostly very brief inscriptions written in Brāhmī script have been discovered along the river Indus mainly on a stretch of about 60 km between Shatial in the west and Chilās/Thalpan in the east, to which a considerable amount of inscriptions written in Kharoṣṭhī script and further in Iranian languages, first



of all Sogdian, may be added. Among other prominent find spots such as Shatīal, Thor, Ashibat, Hodar or Chilās, the site of Thalpan is of special importance because of the numerous Buddhist inscriptions found there. These form a unit together with part of the Chilās sites on the south bank of the Indus, designated as Chilās I. Here, in Thalpan/Chilās, not only inscriptions, but numerous rock drawings of unusually high artistic quality have been discovered as well, which are frequently accompanied by inscriptions mentioning the respective donors. Consequently it is possible to separate three different groups: Exclusively on the south bank of the river, Sinhōṭa and Gamanaśūra (or: Śamana<sup>o</sup>) have been active. Part of their contribution, still seen and partly photographed by Sir Aurel Stein in 1942, has been destroyed while the Karakorum road was built, which cuts right through this group comprising drawings of *bodhisatvas* such as Lokeśvara, Mañjuśrī or Maitreya and *tathāgatas* such as Śākyamuni or Vipasyin. However, the most important donor in the area was Kueravāhana (that is Kubera<sup>o</sup>), whose son Devavāhana, too, is known from a single inscription, who sponsored the drawing of *stūpas*, *jātakas* and scenes from the life of the Buddha, among which there is the tiger-*jātaka* seen but not photographed by Sir Aurel Stein. The headline of this *jātaka*-drawing runs: *vryārghyāni dharmarāyaṃ*. The reading of the ending of the first word is not beyond doubt, and the meaning of the second word occurring once again in an inscription in Thalpan, is unknown. However, the Dardic metathesis of liquids in *vryārgh<sup>o</sup>* is of some significance, as it is found in the same word in the tiger-*jātaka* told in the Khotanese *Jātakastava* as *vrrāghraja strīya* and *vrrāgrī* "tigress" corrected by the editor into *vyā<sup>o</sup>* in both instances and thus covering up an interesting linguistic as well as literary link between Gandhāra and Khotan. The *stūpas* donated by Kueravāhana are conspicuous by the beams fixed on top of the *aṇḍa* to support the *chattrāvalī*, and by figures depicted as standing next to them, parallels to which seem to be hard to find elsewhere so far. The third group of donations found again on both sides of the Indus consists of very delicately drawn, rather small *stūpas*, only exceptionally accompanied by minute inscriptions incised deeply into the rock, and difficult to decipher. Here the donors Varuṇeśvara and Vicitradeva are mentioned. Further, not only in Thalpan, but elsewhere, too, rare and complicated names of *tathāgatas* and *bodhisatvas* have been discovered. These have been studied in greater detail in a volume of collected articles giving the first results of the recent epigraphical discoveries in North Pakistan, which will be published by the Academy at Heidelberg: *Buddhistische Inschriften aus dem Tal des oberen Indus*, and: *Brahmī inscriptions on the history and culture of the Upper Indus valley*; further: *Zu einigen iranischen Namen und Titeln aus Brāhmī-Inschriften am Oberen Indus*, in: *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach. Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft. Beiheft (Neue Folge) 13. München 1986.*

Marilyn Edwards Leese

Expressions of Kingship in Western Indian Buddhist Cave Excavations  
of the A.D. Fifth and Sixth Centuries

The royal character of Buddhist caves in Western India dating to the A.D. fifth and sixth centuries has been the subject of recent scholarly attention. With respect to cave excavations at Ajanta, the assumption has been that their magnificence may be attributed to imperial patronage or, at least, patrons with close royal ties. Certainly, inscriptions show that a feudatory ruler sponsored the excavation of one cave, a king's minister donated another and a third was undertaken by a monk with court acquaintances. However, as this paper will show, the nature of patronage may not be the key to understanding why Buddhist *viharas* intended for monastic habitation and meditation were transformed into palatial residences or why Buddha images were portrayed as sovereign figures. Rather, the trend toward imbuing caves and images with a regal aura would seem to have more to do with an impetus to merge notions of teacher and ruler, expressed in the term *muniraja*, which is applied to the Buddha in Ajanta 26's inscription.

In demonstrating the ways in which the ideas of religious and sovereign authority are combined in the caves of Western India, architectural treatment, wall painting and sculpted imagery will be considered. The textual parallel, it will be suggested, lies in the concept of the universal Buddha, who incorporates the notion of the *cakravartin*, or universal king. In particular, caves at Ajanta and Kanheri (a cave site without apparent evidence of regally-associated patronage during the fifth and sixth centuries) will be discussed with regard to their respective approaches to the task of integration. In so doing, the aim will be to reach a broader view of the factors involved in this new conception of the Buddha and his setting.

Claus Oetke

Remarks on the Sarvāstivāda Theories of Time

In some texts of the Buddhist philosophical literature the names of four masters are mentioned who belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism and are supposed to have propounded four different views regarding the time and are supposed to have propounded four different views regarding the time epochs of past, present and future. We are told that the difference of the three time epochs consisted according to one proposal in the difference of *bhāva* or being, according to another in the difference of *lakṣaṇa* or attribute, according to a third one in the difference of *avasthā* or condition and according to the fourth view in the difference of *apekṣā* or



reference. With these theories are associated the names of Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva respectively.

A few years ago [See Journal of Indian Philosophy 4, 1977: 279-294] an interpretation of Buddhadeva's doctrine of temporality was proposed by Paul Williams according to which Buddhadeva attempted "to account for all three A-determinations" - that is the temporal determinations 'past', 'present' and 'future' - "solely in terms of B-relations" - these are temporal relations like 'later than', 'earlier than' and (with some reservations) 'simultaneously with' (comp. p. 288). The author claims on this basis that Buddhadeva was superior in originality and subtlety of analytic powers to the other three Sarvāstvādin masters. Unfortunately the views of Buddhadeva are only testified from sources which were not written by the propounder of the theory himself. This circumstance creates problems for the exact interpretation of the doctrine.

Although the proposal of P. Williams is in harmony with some of the sources and may correspond to the view the authors of these texts had of Buddhadeva's theory - as for example the prose section to Kārikā 25 of the fifth Book of the Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu - there are some passages of other sources which create difficulties for this interpretation. Among these are the sections dealing with Buddhadeva's views in the Mahāvibhāṣā and Saṃghabhadra's Shun-zheng-li-lun.

The most serious problem is created by the fact that according to those texts Buddhadeva claimed on the one hand that something is called 'present' with regard to what is former and to what is later and on the other hand that dharmas are called 'present' with respect to past and future. In this case the interpretation proposed by P. Williams can only be maintained at the cost of assuming that Buddhadeva claimed a theory which was even obviously inadequate.

There exists another possible interpretation which harmonizes better with the wording of the known sources and is free from those defects. On this interpretation Buddhadeva's proposal can be paraphrased as follows: Each dharma is called 'past' with regard to the fact that the present and the future are later than it, 'future' with respect to the fact that the past and the present are earlier than it and 'present' with regard to the fact that the past is earlier and the future later than it. Here we have both A- and B-expressions within the explanatory phrases. It can be shown that possible counterarguments against this interpretational hypothesis can be set aside and that Buddhadeva's proposal would have under this interpretation a philosophical point especially on the background of the Sarvāstivāda-doctrine.

T. R. Sharma

### A Critical Appraisal of Karmaphalaparīkṣā of Nāgārjuna

The doctrine of action (*karman*) is pivotal to Indian culture. In all the philosophical systems of India this doctrine plays an important role and likewise this occupies an important position. In pre-Buddhist literature it was used in the sense of either religious or social functions and the duties of man. The Īsopaniṣad uses this word Karma in the latter sense. This meaning has survived in the Buddhist texts where Karma is used in plural to denote the various professions or occupations of man. Nāgārjuna critically examines this doctrine from the Madhyamaka standpoint and in the end repudiates the tenability of this doctrine.

Nāgārjuna refers to a position according to which on account of non-breakage of the continuity (*santāna*) there is a series of birth and death and there is also a cause and effect relation (*hetu-phala-bhāva*). Then it is pointed out that if world (*samsāra*) is accepted, the retribution of the action should also be accepted. Actions are divided into two: (1) Volitional (*cetanā*) and (2) acts according to volition (*cetayitvā karman*). Do the actions continue to exist upto their retribution or not? If the former, then we have to accept them as eternal. According to Nāgārjuna there are three things: (1) Seed (*bīja*); (2) Sprout (*aṅkura*) and (3) conducive elements for the seed. The seed is a series of moments (*santāna*). As far as this Bīja theory is concerned, it may be said that Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya and Sphutārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra contain several references to theory of Bīja. To this theory Nāgārjuna has added a new dimension of sprout (*aṅkura*). Thus as in the model of Bīja theory where there is neither extinction of the Bīja nor there is the continuity of (*santāna*) it; similarly in the consciousness also there is no extinction of action (*karman*) and its continuity also is not there. Nāgārjuna once having established a parallelism between consciousness (*citta*) and seed (*bīja*) tries to show that both are not tenable as far as the extinction (*uccheda*) and continuity (*śāśvata*) are concerned. In order to avoid this paradox the opponent introduces a new concept of Aviprañāśa (non-perishing) which is always associated with action (*karman*). Aviprañāśa is like a Rūpatra (pronote) and the action (*karman*) is like a Rūpa (loan). Following his famous method of dialects Nāgārjuna seems to refute the existence and destruction or non-existence of Karma. Then he finally says that Karma (action) is not born because of its having no self-being (*svabhāva*) of its own; because it is not born, it is not destroyed. Nāgārjuna tries to link Karma with Kleśa and says that if Karma has any connection with Kleśa, we say that Kleśas also do not exist in principle. He also discusses whether there can be any doer and enjoyer of fruits of actions. He says that the Karma is not born out of any cause. Since Karma itself does not exist, the doer also does not exist in principle. On this the commentator Candrakīrti expresses a similar opinion. The doctrine of Karma can also be compared with the theory of motion of and rest of Nāgārjuna (Gatāgataparīkṣā). He says that the mover (*gantā*), movement (*gamana*) are totally different entities and there can be no relation between the two. He denies the existence of a mover, non-existence of a mover and both existence and non-existence of a mover. According to him there is no mover, no moving and no space traversed.



Following the example of seed and the sprout it can be concluded that action (*karman*) and fruit (*phala*) are the two distinct entities and there is no relation between the two. If the action (*karman*) itself passes into fruit (*phala*), the Phala would be Karma and not the Phala. The present analysis shows that according to Nāgārjuna Karmaphala and its relation are not possible. All these are mere concepts and since concepts are always subjective, they are bound to lead us to conflicting descriptions of facts or a reality. So all concepts or views are rejected by Nāgārjuna (*sarva-dṛṣṭisūnyatā*).

Christian Lindtner

#### On Nāgārjuna's Epistemology

Dealt with here are some "epistemologically" significant *kārikā*-s by Nāgārjuna that have been misunderstood or misinterpreted by ancient Indian/Tibetan commentators and modern scholars failing either to identify the canonical background inspiring N, or to interpret them in the light of appropriate parallel passages elsewhere in N's authentic works.

Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 34 (*mahābhūtādi vijñāne proktaṃ samavarudhyate / tajjñāne vigamaṃ yāti, nanu mithyā vikalpitaṃ //*) has, since Śāntarakṣita (*Mādhyamakālaṃkāra* ad 92), been read to the effect that N advocates *citta-mātratā samvṛtitaḥ*. But the verse is actually an attempt of N's to interpret the celebrated canonical passage DN I, 223 (Taishō I, 102c17). In the light of Ratnāvalī I, 91-100, I, 40; Catuḥstava I, 26-27; Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 35, it is, however, clear that N, like Buddhaghosa ad DN (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* II, 393), here takes *vijñāna*, in the sense of *nirvāṇa*. In c *tajjñāne vigamaṃ yāti* (not *taj jñāne* as Ichigō, or *yadī* as Ruegg) is but an epexegetical paraphrase of a and b, in Ratnāvalī I, 99b expressed by *tat-tvārthanirṇaye*, just as *mithyā vikalpitaṃ* is clarified by *ajñānakalpitaṃ pūrvam* (ibid.). In Tibetan doxographical literature confusion was created by this misinterpretation of N.

Mūlamadhyamakakārikā XVIII, 5 (... *prapañcas tu śūnyatāyāṃ nirudhyate //*) is structurally and semantically identical to YṢ 34: *prapañca* ~ *mahābhūtādi, śūnyatāyāṃ* ~ *vijñāne* (= *tajjñāne* (hence Tib. *ston pa nid kyis*, as if instr., is quite misleading), *nirudhyate* ~ *samavarudhyate* (= *samyag nirudhyate*, MK XXVI, 12d < *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* III, 9d, q.v.). N's use of *vikalpa* and *prapañca* in MK XVIII, 5 is inherited from the *Laṅka*, as is e.g. his definition of *nirvāṇa* in XXV, 3, see *Laṅka*, p. 99: ... *aprahīṇāsaṃprāpti-to 'nucchedāśāsvato ... nirvāṇam ucyate*, cf. below.

In MK XVIII, 7b we should, with the best MS ("R"), Bhavya, etc., read *nivṛttaḥ cittagocaraḥ*, not *nivṛtte cittagocare* (thus La Vallée Poussin, de Jong, Ruegg et. al.) – perhaps contaminated by *Laṅka* I, 42b, q.v. The

retention of case ("epexegetic nominative") is required, since *pāda b* is a gloss on *pāda a*, cf. MK XXV, 24ab. Here, as in Catuḥstava III, 35-361; Ratnāvalī I, 99 and Śūnyatāsaptati 2, N is inspired by the nominalism of the oft-quoted Bhavaśaṃkrāntisūtra verses to the effect that the *dharmatā* of dharmas is that *idaṃ sarvaṃ* (= *skandha-s*, etc.) is *nāma-mātra(ka)*, there being no *abhidheya* apart from an *abhidhāna*. Thus one also understands the three *api*-s in MK XVIII, 6: they are not connectives (thus modern translators), but concessives. So in MK, XVIII, 6-8 N says that it is true that the Buddhas (= *pluralis majestatis*?) have advocated to different people *ātman*, no *ātman*, etc., but still, what they speak of is not there, i.e. the *gocara* of *citta* (= *prapañca*, *mahābhūtādi*, etc.) is not there, for, as known (*hi*), there is a canonical text to the effect that everything is but words. So nothing is really "true" or "false". Same idea in Ratnāvalī II, 4b and 35; Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 33, etc.

MK XVIII, 12 (*sambuddhānām anutpāde śrāvakāṇām punaḥ kṣaye / jñānaṃ pratyekabuddhānām asaṃsargāt pravartate //*) has been sadly misunderstood by all the ancient commentators and their modern translators. N is not talking about "when/if the fully enlightened ones do not appear", etc., an old canonical idea, it is true, but entirely out of context here. He is referring to an old canonical distinction between various degrees of insight: *anutpāde jñāna* and *kṣaye jñāna*, see DN III, 214, etc. (Three kinds in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* ad VI, 67; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* I, 180, etc.) Similarly Ratnāvalī IV, 86ab: *anutpādo mahāyāne pareṣāṃ śūnyatā kṣayaḥ*. The discussion in MK XIII is unintelligible outside of this context. Starting with the ambiguous canonical expression *moṣadharma(n)* ("delusive" or "elusive", see BHS and CPD s.v. *amosadhamma*, ref. to Pj) N discusses whether *śūnyatā* indicates *nīḥsvabhāvatva* (= *anutpāda*) or *anyathābhāva* (= *kṣaya*), concluding with a ref. to Kāśyapaparivarta, a Mahāyāna authority in support of the former interpretation. For various reasons the ref. to the two kind of *jñāna* was forgotten already by the earliest commentaries to MK, Akutobhaya / Chung lun, this, incidentally, providing us with yet another argument against their authenticity. – For *asaṃsarga* N is influenced by the same *Laṅka* passage as in MK XXV, 3 (ref. above): ... *śrāvakapratyekabuddhānām ... asaṃsargato ... vikalpo na pravartate*. Though some modern scholars may not yet be accustomed to the idea that the early Indian Mādhyamikas were familiar with an early recension of the *Laṅka* (an "Ur-*Laṅka*"), the final corroboration of our interpretation of MK XVIII, 12 is, nevertheless, afforded by that *sūtra*, X, 488: *śrāvakāṇām kṣaya-jñānaṃ buddhānām janmasaṃbhavam / pratyekajinaputrāṇām asaṃkleśāt pravartate //*. Here, again we find a ref. to the three kinds of insight, or *bodhi*, as in MK XVIII, 12. This distinction may well be related to that of the three kinds of people found in Kāśyapaparivarta § 103; Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 55; Catuḥśataka VIII, 15, q.v. – In *Laṅka* X, 488 it is now clear that the awkward expression *janmasaṃbhavam* is an old and rather hopeless corruption, and that, in *pāda d*, we should, with the Chinese versions, read *asaṃkleśāt*, corresponding to *asaṃsargāt* in MK, rather than *asaṃkleśāt*.



Tilman Vetter

### On the Import of *śūnyatā* in the *Hṛdaya Sūtra*

One of the problems in understanding East-Asian Buddhism in general and the modern Kyōto school in particular is the identification of matter etc. and voidness (*śūnyatā*) (in modern terms: of being and non-being). This identification is found in the Heart-Sūtra (third century A.D.). The author tries to offer a comprehensible interpretation of the original identification sentences in the Heart-Sūtra. The clue to this is the 24th chapter of Nāgārjuna's (ca. 200 A.D.) main work, the *Mūla-Madhyamaka-Kārikās*.

Michael Hahn

### The *Avadānaśataka* and its Affiliation

The *Avadānaśataka* is the oldest known *Avadāna* text preserved in its original Sanskrit. We have at our disposal a carefully done critical edition of the Sanskrit text by J. S. Speyer (St. Petersburg 1906-1909) and a French translation of the work by L. Feer (Paris 1891) which is based on its canonical Tibetan translation. The number of serious studies, leaving aside the long and valuable introductions to the Books of Feer and Speyer, is scant. Przyluski, Fa Chow (W. Pachow) and Bagchi have investigated the relationship between the Sanskrit text and its third century Chinese translation.

Recently, Uwe Hartmann has dealt with the question of the doctrinal affiliation of the *Avadānaśataka* in his paper "Zur Frage der Schulzugehörigkeit des *Avadānaśataka*" (in: *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur, Erster Teil*, hrsg. von Heinz Bechert, Göttingen 1985, pp. 219-224). Hartmann convincingly refuted the earlier ascriptions of the work to the Sarvāstivāda school. As for his methodology, he uses linguistic criteria developed by O. von Hinüber, L. Sander and G. von Simson, in particular the use of consistently different words and phrases in otherwise identical portions of Sarvāstivāda (SV) and Mūlasarvāstivāda (MSV) texts. In all those places where Hartmann was able to trace parallel expressions in SV and MSV works, the *Avadānaśataka* always follows the wording of the MSV versions, never the SV versions. However, it has to be kept in mind that wording alone is not a sufficient criterion, as it, at least occasionally, may also reflect regional differences. Hartmann then adduces another evidence pointing to a MSV affiliation, the quotation of three stanzas from the *Avadānaśataka* in those parts of the *Udānavarga* which Schmithausen has shown to belong to "recension 2", i.e. the MSV recension.

I would like to extend this latter type of evidence to a larger portion of the *Avadānaśataka*, to the central parts of two of its legends, Nos. 37 (Śāśa) and 38 (Dharmagaveṣin). The main parts of these two stories can also be found in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The location of the two legends in the MSV Vinaya are:

1. Śāśa: Peking Kanjur, 'dul ba, ge, foll. 332a-233b1 (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*; = Kern pp. 208.8-211.2).
2. Dharmagaveṣin: Peking Kanjur, 'dul ba, de, foll. 165a8-167a7 (*Vinaya-kṣudraka*; = Kern pp. 218.6-222.13)

Except for a few redactional changes which became necessary because of the different frame stories, the Tibetan texts of the MSV Vinaya point to a wording which is absolutely identical with that of the *Avadānaśataka*. In principle, borrowing in either direction is possible, although in this particular case it seems to be more likely that the redactors of the *Avadānaśataka* extracted the two legends from the MSV Vinaya and furnished it with the standardized frame they used throughout their work. In any case, it is the most convenient assumption that both the *Avadānaśataka* and the MSV Vinaya would have quoted from a work belonging to the same school. Hence this finding further strengthens the conclusion Hartmann arrived at after his careful study of the available evidence.

Masaki Yamamoto

### Buddha's Death by Food Poisoning

The circumstances surrounding the death of the Buddha are recounted in the Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta, and its relevant versions (see e.g. Waldschmidt, E.: *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, 3 Teile. Akademie Verlag, Berlin. 1950-1951).

According to this sūtra, the Buddha died in a grove of sal trees near the city of Kusināra (now Kasia, near Gorakhpur) after leaving on his last journey from Vulture Peak. On this journey he passed through a number of villages, where he taught, and arrived in a village by the name of Pāvā. Here the Buddha and his disciples stayed in a mango grove owned by a blacksmith named Cunda. Cunda was deeply moved by the Buddha's sermon and he invited the Buddha and his disciples to his home and offered them a special meal. Without words, the Buddha graciously accepted his hospitality.

After the meal, the Buddha began to suffer severe pain and soon became seriously ill. The nature of this illness is still unknown, but it is presumed to have been dysentery; it is recorded that the Buddha's illness was accompanied by diarrhea and intestinal bleeding.

Of the food the Buddha ate, only the name is known, *sūkaramaddava*, and it is unclear what this *sūkara-maddava* actually was. The most reliable account suggests it was either soft boar meat or a type of mushroom. In the



Majjhima-Nikāya, Dr. K. E. Neumann listed some names of plants similar to *sūkara-maddava* (Neumann: Die Reden Gotama Buddha's. Leipzig. 1986. S. 19-22).

In *Yóu-xín-jǐng*, a translation of *sūkara-maddava* into Chinese can be found: *zhān-tán-ér* (Taisho. 1924 repr. 1962. p. 18, c.). But some believe that this word actually has no meaning in Chinese.

Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids interprets *sūkara-maddava* as truffles (Nikāya Mahāparinirvāna-suttanta. p. 126-128). But since truffles are used in fine French cooking, it is doubtful that these could have contributed to the Buddha's death. Truffles (*Tuber* spp) actually are a delicious mushroom. They are famous for being a mushroom harvested with the aid of pigs.

In accordance with the Buddha's order, *sūkara-maddava* was served only to him, the other guests received other dishes. The leftovers were buried in the ground according to the Buddha's wishes because *sūkara-maddava* could be digested by no one but the Buddha. If this is the case, it does not make sense that *sūkara-maddava* would be boar meat. Furthermore, in the upper castes of Hindu society, eating pork and mushroom was strictly prohibited.

The Buddha is said to have had *mán-wǎng-mò* (extraordinary webbed hands) and *jāla-hattha-pāda* (webbed feet) and showed auspicious marks. These facts suggest that the Buddha might have had extraordinary enzymic digestive capabilities.

However, according to Dr. A. Hirakawa (Hirakawa: History of Indian Buddhism. I. *Shunjū-sha*, Tokyo. 1974. p. 26), in the era of the Buddha, agriculture was well advanced and the use of sophisticated rice-planting techniques made for abundant food supply. Furthermore, since food spoiled quickly in this tropical region, surplus food had to be discarded.

From personal communication with Drs. T. Hongo and K. Yokoyama in Shiga University, I have learned that poisonous mushrooms include *Amanita phalloides*, *A. verna*, *A. virosa*, *Galerina fasciculata*, *G. autumnalis* and *G. venata* and related species. Dr. H. Okabe has related a case of heavy food poisoning by *G. fasciculata* in Kyoto (Okabe: *Trans. Mycol. Soc. Japan* 16: 204-206, 1975).

I visited India in 1984 to observe some mushrooms in the district where the Buddha lived but unfortunately I could find only *Agaricus menier* Bon, since it was dry season. I am very anxious to visit India sometime during the wet season to look for mushrooms that may be the *sūkara-maddava*.

Hari Shankar Prasad

### Language and Reality: A Buddhist Approach

In this paper we are concerned with the philosophy of language as used by some of the metaphysical systems of Indian philosophy with special reference to the Sautrāntika and the Mādhyamika schools of Buddhism. The most important question in this regard is: What is the relationship between our language which helps us to conceptualise and what it conceptualises? The answer to this question is determined by the philosophical trend a system adopts.

Let us first begin with the Buddhist presupposition - 'everything is impermanent'. From this we have the logical deduction of perpetual change and therefore momentariness, according to which a thing is a moment, both spatially and temporally. Because of its momentary character it is not possible to say anything about it. It is, thus, inexpressible. What a word or a name describes is not a reality (*svalakṣaṇa*), but a series of realities (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). Such a thing can be described only negatively, i.e., by the exclusion of its opposite or other things. In other words, if A is a thing, then it will be described as 'not-not-A' (*anyāpoha*). This process of excluding other things is the function of mind or inference. A word always refers to universal which is a mental construct and is not an objective reality. It is a kind of nominalism not different from conceptualism.

The Mādhyamika position is described as the middle way, i.e., the rejection of the two extreme views (or conflicting views) about the same reality. A Mādhyamika philosopher is equally critical of both the Buddhist as well as the non-Buddhist views. The unending philosophical conflict among different systems is an eye-opener for the Mādhyamika. Why are there different conflicting or sometimes diametrically opposed views about the same fact or reality. Certainly there is something wrong with the views themselves, not with the fact or reality. This insight is developed throughout the Mādhyamika system and the logic is applied accordingly to each view.

To understand the Mādhyamikas it is important to understand the nature, levels and functions of the language used by them. They make use of language to analyse other's language/concepts/views about reality. Their mode of speech is formal, not material. Their language does not refer to any extra-linguistic reality.

Now, we can say that in the light of the doctrine of momentariness and in consonance with the logic of the system, the Dinnāga school of Buddhism cannot admit any positive (or referential) relation between a word (language) and the reality. Whereas the Mādhyamikas, puzzled as they are by different and sometimes diametrically opposed views about the same fact or reality, show the voidness of all such views (*sarvadṛṣṭiśūnyatā*). They prefer not to propound any view of their own. Thus, the Mādhyamikas maintain that any view or word or language does not and cannot reveal or describe the reality in ultimate sense.



Peter Della Santina

Sākāravāda - Nirākāravāda Controversy

The term *ākāra* is translated as form, image or representation. It first became important in the context of the Sautrāntika representative theory of perception.

The Sautrāntika critical realism was criticised by the Yogācāra. The result was that the term *ākāra* was shorn of its representative connotation, but remained a term within a phenomenological description. The controversy centered upon the ontological status of the term *ākāra*.

This paper relies upon Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṅkārikā* and Vṛtti and Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakālaṅkārapañjikā*. Nine *kārikās* (LII-LX) and the corresponding commentatorial material are dedicated to the controversy.

If cognition (*jñāna*) and its image are both real (*satya*), then a contradiction will appear between the unity of cognition and the plurality of the images. This would mean the disassociation of cognition and its images.

The Nirākāravāda solution is to assign cognition and its images different ontological values, the former being real and the latter false (*mithyā*). Thus, they hoped to preserve the unity of cognition without contradicting the experience of manifold images.

The critique of the Nirākāravāda solution begins with an appeal to experience. There is no cognition of an image in a locus wherein it does not exist. If cognition of a non-existent image exists, then a contradictory probans is apprehended (*vyāpaka-viruddhopalabdhi*). If ultimately the non-existence of images implies the non-existence of cognition, then it is a case of proving the proven (*siddha-sādhana*), because Śāntarakṣita's school would agree.

Cognition may be actual or conceptual. In the first case, if images are not of the nature of cognition, images cannot be objects of cognition. Therefore inasmuch as non-existent images are not of the nature of cognition, a contradictory probans is apprehended. In the second case images should have the efficiency to produce their conceptual cognition, but non-existent images are without efficiency. Inasmuch as non-existent images are without efficiency, a contradictory probans is apprehended. Actual and conceptual cognition are mutually exclusive, therefore, non-existent images imply non-existent cognition.

There can be no experience of images without a relationship existing between them and cognition. Non-existent images and existent cognition are not related either by identity or causality, therefore, the probans is not apprehended (*vyāpakānupalabdhi*). The relationship cannot be one of identity, because then either the images would be existent like cognition, or cognition would be non-existent like the images. Neither can it be one of causality, because non-existent images cannot be the effects of cognition.

Inasmuch as non-existent images are uncaused, their occurrence will be random. If images are caused, then inasmuch as they participate in interdependent origination, they will be included in the interdependent nature (*paratantra-svabhāva*), not in the imputed nature (*parikalpita-svabhāva*). The images will be existent, because existence is only origination relative to causes.

If the images are non-existent, then cognition without images should be apprehended, but it is not. If the images are non-existent, they will be unrelated to the maturation of errant propensities. Then they will exist even in pure states or not exist even in impure states, because the removal of the maturation of errant propensities will not imply the removal of images.

If the plurality of cognition in impure states is false, but the unity of cognition in pure states is real, then how will the latter arise from the former, inasmuch as falsity is without efficiency? If the former is efficient, it is not false.

Neither cognition nor its images exist ultimately, because they exist relative to causes. Causality in the case of momentary events is ultimately untenable, because a moment, like an atom, is infinitely divisible. Unity and plurality and cognition and its images exist apparently, but not ultimately.

Karen Christina Lang

On Aryadeva's Citation of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Texts in the \*Sātaḥ

Much has been written on the literary debate between the Mādhyamikas and the Naiyāyikas. Most of these studies examine the relation between Nāgārjuna's works, the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* and the *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa*, and the *Nyāya Sūtra* (NS). Some, however, mention that Aryadeva quotes four sūtras from the third book of the NS in the second chapter of his \*Sātaḥ. In spite of the fact that there is ample evidence in Aryadeva's major work, the *Catuḥśātaḥ* (CŚ), of his familiarity with Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika tenets, and no reason to doubt that some early version of the NS was known to him, I will argue that he is not responsible for these NS citations. Both internal evidence from the \*Sātaḥ and external evidence from parallel passages in other works suggest that it was the commentator Vasu who quoted from the NS.

Quotations from Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika works occur throughout Vasu's commentary. Earlier in chapter two, for example, Vasu quotes VS III.2.4; but nowhere else either in the passages traditionally marked as sūtra in the \*Sātaḥ or in the CŚ does Aryadeva directly quote from the NS or the VS. The first reference to the arguments on the self in section one of the third book of the NS occurs in Vasu's commentary, thus establishing his familiarity with this work.

The vārtika style of commentary, which I believe Vasu used, easily could have led to confusion about which were originally Aryadeva's views and which were Vasu's. This confusion would only be made worse by Kumāra-jīva's translation of the \*Sātaḥ into Chinese. The necessity of marking Aryadeva's sūtras in order to end this confusion is obvious; unfortunately,



we do not know anything about the criteria used in determining which passages are sūtras, or when and by whom these passages were so marked. Chitsang's early seventh century commentary on the *\*Sataka*, the *Pai lun su* (T. 1827), seems unaware of these markings.

There is also some external evidence from the *Ta chih tu lun* (T. 1509) and Ch'ing mu's commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, the *Chung Lun* (T. 1564), to support the supposition that Vasu was responsible for the four quotations from the NS. Passages from the first section of NS book three are quoted in both works' discussions on the self. The *Ta chih tu lun* (149a3-5) quotes NS III.1.5-6; the *Chung Lun* (37c16-17) quotes III.1.7. This section of the NS and its arguments in favour of the self evidently were well-known in the monastic communities in northwest India and central Asia in which these two texts, as well as Vasu's commentary, circulated.

Shotaro Iida

Buddhist Critique of Sāṃkhya-Yoga  
- Aśvaghoṣa and Bhāṇaviveka\* -

The gist of Bhāṇaviveka's (c. 490-570) critique of the Sāṃkhya's position is essentially identical with Aśvaghoṣa's point expressed in his *Buddha-ca-rīta*, i.e., as long as there is *ātman*, total freedom from self-attachment and self-possession is unattainable, although the *puruṣa* is said to be *svabhāvāt mukta* or intrinsically liberated (SK 62-65). Because it also states, "since the sentient spirit (*cetanah puruṣaḥ*) experiences pain of decay and death until the turning back of *liṅga* (a subtle body, *liṅ-gasyāvinivṛttes*), it is essentially *duḥkha* (*duḥkhaṃ svabhāvena*)" (v. 55). Bhāṇaviveka's new contribution to the subject, however, is his presentation of the Sāṃkhya doctrine of two kinds of liberation, i.e., *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, and refutation of them.

A. The liberation of *prakṛti*

Avalokita-vrata introduces the Commentator [Bhāṇaviveka's] critique which can be paraphrased as follows:

\* The primary sources of this study are:

- 1) the so-called auto-commentary (i.e., *Tarkajvālā*, extant in Tibetan only) on the verse 135 of the Chapter III of the *Madhyamaka-hyda-ya-kārikā* (MHK).
- 2) the Chapter VI of the same text called *Sāṃkhyatattvāvatāra* and
- 3) the Chapter XVIII of the *Prajñāpradīpa* which is Bhāṇaviveka's commentary on the *Middle Stanzas* of Nāgārjuna together with Avalokita-vrata's Commentary entitled *Examination of Self and dharma* (*bdaḡ dang chos brtag-pa*).

- (1) Your major assertion, "the Self (= *puruṣa*) is different from *prakṛti*", is an erroneous view, for the contrary statement should be true.
- (2) Because, according to the Siddhānta of the Sāṃkhya itself, they maintain the following evolution scheme, i.e., *prakṛti* > *mahat* (= *buddhi*) > *ahaṃkāra* > *indriyas* > *manas* > *tanmātra*. Thus, there is clearly a fundamental relation between *prakṛti* and *mahat*.
- (3) Granted that many *puruṣas* are liberated with the work of *prakṛti*, *prakṛti* will never be liberated, for *puruṣas* are endless, just as one single master is survived by many servants. It will be an endless journey as the Sāṃkhyas say, "a dancer dances around from the village to another."

B. Liberation of *puruṣas*

Critique in the *Tarkajvālā*

The doctrine of *pratibimba* (reflexion)

As we have seen in the above, an undeniable gap exists in the Sāṃkhya system between *puruṣas* and *prakṛti*: while the former, as non-agent and unchangeable, still *acts* to maintain own attributes and actions, the latter, as non-cognizant and agents, tries to increase *buddhi* (intellect). A solution to this gap, perhaps, culminated in the doctrine of *pratibimba* or reflexion, which can be summarized as follows:

- 1) If the *puruṣa* has the intrinsic nature of the viewer, it should not depend on the conglomeration of the instruments of viewing [i.e., eye, form, etc.]. [*Puruṣa*, however, is dependent on these things].
- 2) That *puruṣa* is also impermanent, for *puruṣa* also changes, like milk and so forth.
- 3) It is unreasonable to say that it (*puruṣa*) is the viewer, for just as water reflects images, it (*puruṣa*) reflects images. [And something which is the locus of reflection cannot be an active viewer].
- 4) It is also unreasonable to maintain that it (*puruṣa*) sees like the mind, for the mind also cannot grasp the object-sphere which is not seen by the eye, etc.

Thence, a possible way out from this difficult position is the ultimate denial of the system which necessitates the existence of a substantial entity as Bhāṇaviveka concludes: *iti-sva-para-siddhānta-kalpita-ātma-nirātmatām / vidvān vibhāvya bhāṇānām tattva-jñānām pibet* // MHK III 136 // "Thus, *ātman* is imagined by the *siddhāntas* of the other and own [Buddhist] schools. However, having realized the selflessness of the entities, may the wise drink the ambrosia of knowledge of ultimate reality (*tattva-jñāna*)."



Narendra Awasthi

## Treatment of Buddhism in Nyāyasilāvatī of Śrīvallabha

According to Śrīvallabha definite perception (*savikalpaka pratyakṣa*) is that which appears as qualified by universals etc. He asserts that definite perception is also a separate kind of perception because in this perception we have an apperception in the form of *sākṣātkaromi* 'I directly perceive the object'.

To defend his thesis he himself raises following Buddhist arguments and rejects them.

- 1) It should not be objected, says Śrīvallabha, that this definite perception is an imposition of indefinite perception (*nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa*) just like redness of rose is imposed on a crystal gem, for, *anubhava* i.e. indefinite perception is already past when definite perception takes place. A thing already gone by cannot impose itself upon a thing that is present. The case of rose and crystal gem is totally different as they exist simultaneously.
- 2) Buddhist argues that since we fail to find any difference between indefinite and definite perception we attribute perceptibility to definite perception but in reality, it belongs only to indefinite perception. If so, says Śrīvallabha, then it may also be very well stated that the case is just the opposite and perceptibility of definite perception is attributed to indefinite perception.
- 3) If Buddhist says that definite perception cannot be held to be a true perception because it has relatedness to words (*abhilāpasamsargayogya-pratibhāsatvāt*), then, contrarily, Vaiśeṣika can also comment that indefinite perception is not a true perception because it does not have relatedness to words (*abhilāpasamsargayogya-pratibhāsarahitatvāt*).
- 4) Finally, Śrīvallabha concludes that every perception which is generated by sense-organs is invariably generated by an object. Since both the perceptions are generated by sense-organs both are also generated by the objects. There is invariable concomitance between sense-organs-generatedness and object-generatedness. He further adds that if we will not accept this kind of perception i.e. definite perception as generated by sense-organs, we will hardly find any perception which is generated by the sense-organs.

Manabendu Banerjee

## The Asiatic Society, Mr. B. H. Hodgson and Buddhist Studies

From the very beginning, the Asiatic Society has been engaged in carrying out its object of enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia with active co-operation of the leading scholars of the world. The Society's Museum possesses a rich collection of manuscripts which were collected from the Government of India as well as from Indian and European scholars. Of the contributors of the manuscripts to the Society, the greatest one is Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson who was himself the most munificent collector of manuscripts.

Hodgson came to Calcutta in 1818 and on August 26, 1819, he was appointed Assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaon. Next year he became the Assistant to the Resident of Kathmandu and in January 1833 he was himself appointed Resident. He spent 21 years in Nepal and 13 years in Darjeeling and in those two places he was absorbed in literary and scientific pursuits. In 1858 he finally retired to England.

Within a few years of his assuming the service in Nepal, Hodgson gathered a large number of manuscripts a lot of which were donated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His valuable collections enriched some other reputed libraries and museums, such as, British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Asiatic Societies of Great Britain and France.

Hodgson's contributions to the Asiatic Society's Journals amount to the total of 112 research papers. He had written about 18 papers on Buddhism and they are full of varied and instructive information. He collected Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal, studied them with great steadiness, wrote articles on them and thus put up the Buddhism on sound philosophical basis. Hodgson's first articles on Buddhism were authorised to be published in the Asiatic Researches and Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society and those papers appeared in 1828. Through these articles Hodgson tried to enlighten scholars with the current Buddhism which he saw in Nepal. According to Professor Weber, the path which Hodgson had opened had already been of the greatest service to a better understanding of the most curious religion, Buddhism. Hodgson's laborious collections included two complete sets of Tibetan manuscripts – bKaḥ-ḥgyur and bsTan-ḥgyur which were procured at his own cost and many of which were deposited with the Asiatic Society Library.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal is still proud of this talented associate. He joined the Society on 24th April, 1833 as an ordinary member. The Society held a special Monthly Meeting, chaired by the President W. W. Bird, on 6th February, 1844 on the occasion of the first retirement of Hodgson from India. In response to the Meeting's resolution, a marble bust was put in the Society as a testimony of the high sense entertained by this Society of Hodgson's scientific and literary labours, and also as a mark of personal regard. On 6th July, 1858, he was elected Honorary Member of the Society. Thus in various ways the name of Mr. Hodgson was intimately associated with the progress of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In appreciation to his services to literature and science, the Royal Society of London elected him a Fellow. The French Academy elected him a Foreign Member and the French Government bestowed on him the dignity of the Knighthood of the Legion of Honour. These honours prove the estimation in which Hodgson's contributions to the Buddhist studies were held not only in India but in the Continent of Europe also.



Michael Balk

On the Problem of Hypermetric Lines in  
Metres Counted by Syllables

The following remarks are based upon an inquiry into the metre of the Udānavarga (UV), the Patna-Dharmapada (PDhp), and the well-known Pali Dhammapada (Dhp). I would like to turn attention to the so-called hypermetric lines which can be found in metres that are counted by syllable such as anuṣṭubh and triṣṭubh. From the odd (i.e. pādas ac as opposed to bd) anuṣṭubh or śloka lines, for example, 5 percent of all pādas are hypermetric in the UV, which means that they have not the usual eight, but nine or sometimes ten syllables. In the PDhp 9.5 percent, and in the Dhp 8.5 percent of all odd śloka lines are hypermetric. It is generally accepted that these lines can be understood if we assume a supplementary rule of the metre saying that two short syllables can be equivalent to one long; this is known as resolution or substitution (of two shorts for a long). There are two objections that can be raised against this rule: sometimes no regular structure results if we take two shorts as equivalent to a long; in some cases two shorts are not available. In the following nine-syllable line we might be tempted to take the two shorts -uru- as the substitution for a long.

UV 12.1c *satkāraḥ kâpuruṣaṃ hanti*

The structure resulting from that (- - -; - - -; - x) is, however, impossible. The metre can not be a *ma-vipulâ*, as its regular form always has the *ra-gaṇa* (- v -) in the first foot and a caesura after the fifth syllable (x - v - -; - - x). If the rule of resolution is to make sense, a regular structure must be the result from application of the rule. In the line cited the only possibility of understanding the metre seems to be that we take the syllables -âpu- as the equivalent of a long. Taken this way, a regular *pathyâ* is the result (- - -; - v -; - x). It seems to be somewhat eccentric to suggest that a long fourth syllable in a śloka pāda may be "resolved" into a trochee (- v). As a metrical rule this is unconvincing. But we might assume a different approach to the problem: *kâpuruṣaṃ* is a word with the structure - v v x. As a matter of fact, there are some Sanskrit words with this structure that appear as - v x in Prakrit, cf. *devakula/deula*, *râjakula/râula*, *pûgaphala/poppala*, *vyākaraṇa/vâraṇa*. Is it possible that a similar development with regard to the word *kâpuruṣa* was responsible for the irregularity of the Sanskrit - most likely: Sanskritized - line mentioned? In some cases the rule of resolution cannot be applied because there are not two shorts side-by-side in the pāda, for instance:

UV 21.6c *dharmacakram pravartayisye*

It seems reasonable here to regard the syllables -ayi- as standing for a long since Skt. -ayi- was contracted to -e- in Prakrit. In Vinayapīṭaka I, 1.6.8 - the parallel of UV 21.6 - we read: *dharmacakkaṃ pavattetuṃ*. Metrically speaking, the UV-line would suggest a "resolution" of a long into a iambus (v -).

Hisashi Matsumura

Über die Edition von indischen Codices Multi

Seit Erscheinen der beiden großen Werke zur Sanskrit-Textkritik (Sukthankar 1933; Katre 1959) sind viele Jahre vergangen. Die Textkritik ist jedoch auch heute noch ein wichtiges Feld der Forschung, so vor allem im Bereich der buddhistischen Sanskrit-Texte, die sich grundlegend von klassischen und vedischen Sanskrit-Texten unterscheiden, da sie im Zusammenhang mit den tibetischen und chinesischen Übersetzungen gesehen werden müssen. Vor kurzem legte Prof. C. Vogel einen Aufsatz über die Edition von Codices Unici vor (1981), in dem er auf die Notwendigkeit der nochmaligen Überprüfung der Methode hinwies. Die bekannte Einführung in die Textkritik von Prof. P. Maas (1927), die nicht nur in Vogels Aufsatz, sondern auch sonst häufig zitiert wird, entspricht nicht mehr den Maßstäben heutiger Textkritik.

Bei einer sorgfältigen Überprüfung der Turfan-Handschriften und einer Gilgit-Handschrift des Mahāsudarśana-sūtra (oder -avadāna) in der synoptischen Ausgabe (Matsumura, im Druck, [17]-[19]), lassen sich drei Typen erkennen (ebenda § 6.2-6.5): d.h. Typ A *yad devasya caturaṣṭiṣu rathasahasreṣu nandighoṣarathapramukheṣu chando vā pūrvavad yāvan niravekṣo devo bhavatu jīvite* (Kat.Nr. 399); Typ B *caturaṣṭiṣu rathasahasreṣu nandighoṣarathapramukheṣu* (Kat.Nr. 592 und Gilgit [auch tib. Kṣudrakavastu]); Typ C *yad devasya caturaṣṭiṣu rathapramukheṣu chando vā pūrvavad* (Kat. Nr. 400). In der Waldschmidt'schen Ausgabe dieses Textes sind alle drei Typen vermischt, da bei der Auswahl der Lesarten keine Einheitlichkeit herrscht (Waldschmidt 1949-51: 348-350). Diejenigen, die erfahren sind im Umgang mit Handschriften, wissen, daß innere Kriterien wie *lectio difficilior* oder *lectio brevior*, nicht immer entscheidend sind (Royse 1979: 143-148; Albrektson 1981). Deshalb ist es unmöglich zu entscheiden, welcher der drei Typen Prototyp und welcher eine Ableitung ist. Dieser Umstand macht deutlich, daß es besser ist, eine als Grundlage gewählte Handschrift so genau wie möglich wiederzugeben, als einige Handschriften zu kollationieren und damit eine neue Version hervorzubringen (vgl. Vinaver 1939: 352). Vor der falschen Kollation zweier Versionen wie im Falle des Saddharma-puṇḍarikāsūtra, der Kollation der nepalischen und der zentralasiatischen Version, wurde wiederholt gewarnt (z.B. Bechert 1973). Diese Warnung muß auch für den engeren Kreis der zentralasiatischen Handschriften gelten.

Hinsichtlich der Bewertung einer Handschrift ist es unumgänglich notwendig, mit Hilfe innerer und äußerer Kriterien so viele Lücken als möglich auszufüllen. Wenn man sich damit zufriedengibt, anstelle der Lücke im Sanskrit-Original nur die Version der tibetischen Übersetzung zu geben, verzichtet man darauf, den Wert jeder einzelnen Handschrift zu bestimmen. Das Zählen verlorener Silben und der Versuch, sie zu ergänzen, ist daher unbedingt notwendig. Der Vergleich der Turfan-Handschriften mit den Papyri (Bechert 1966:21) ist mehr als eine bloße Metapher.

Durch die zunehmende Spezialisierung wird es immer schwieriger, Entwicklungen in anderen Fachgebieten zu verfolgen. Wird jedoch das Blickfeld auf den Untersuchungsbereich eingeschränkt, ist die Folge davon eher Verarmung als Bereicherung. Verlangt werden muß deshalb die Forcierung der interdisziplinären Arbeit. Der Versuch der Anwendung der Dom Quentin'schen Methode auf buddhistische Texte (Matsumura 1982-83), ist ein Schritt in diesem Bereich. Es wäre erstrebenswert, die Methoden und Ergebnisse der textkritischen Forschung auszutauschen und allgemeingültige Prinzipien für die Textkritik aufzustellen.







accepted concept 'neither identical nor different' is carelessly applied by the translation to the case (I) beyond doctrinal limitation.

These points may show unguineness of the second version as a translation from a Sanskrit original.

Hidenori Sakuma

#### The Classification of the Commentaries on the Dharmakāya Chapter of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra

The Indian commentators on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra can be classified from the point of view of the Buddhakāya theory, namely the three- and fourfold Buddha-bodies. These two major interpretations arose from the different understanding of the 17th verse of the first chapter which is quoted again in the 8th chapter of the Alokā and also in the other commentaries:

*svābhāvikaḥ saśāmbhogo nairmāṇiko 'paras tathā /  
dharmakāyaḥ sakāritraś caturdhā samudīritaḥ //*

According to the three-body-system *caturdhā* means three bodies (*svābhāva-*, *saśāmbhoga-* and *nirmāṇakāya*) and the activity, while the *dharmakāya* is a generic term. By contrast, from the point of view of the four-body-system *caturdhā* means four bodies (*svābhāva-*, *dharmakāya-*, *saśāmbhoga-* and *nirmāṇakāya*) and the activity refers only to the specific term *dharmakāya* (i.e. *jñāna-dharmakāya*).

#### The three-body-system

1. Ārya Vimuktisena, 2. Bhadanta Vimuktisena, 3. Ratnakīrti, 4. Ratnākara-śānti, 5. Abhayākaragupta.

Without considering alternative interpretations 1. and 2. understand this verse according to the three-body-system. 3. deals with the four- and five-body-system as well as the three-body-system, but he accepts the latter one as Pāramitā-system. Having refuted the interpretation according to the four-body-system 4. and 5. put forward the three-body-system, the former in the *Suddhamatī* and *Sāratamā*, and the latter in the *Marmakaumudī* and *Munima-tālaṃkāra*.

#### The four-body-system

1. Smṛtijñānakīrti, 2. Dharmakīrtiśrī, 3. Prajñākaramati, 4. Dharmamitra, 5. Kumāraśrībhadrā, 6. Buddhaśrījñāna, 7. Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (Atīśa), 8. Dharmasrī.

Evidence proving that commentators 1. to 5. are proponents of the four-body-system can be found easily in their words where they all express ap-

proximately the same opinion. 6. differs with his interpretation by connecting the four bodies with five *dharmas*, namely *dharmadhātuvibuddhi* and four *jñānas*. 7. seems to follow this interpretation. As for 8., there are a few phrases in his commentaries indicating his position but in the absence of decisive evidence his classification here can only be tentatively.

Haribhadra himself introduces the Buddhakāya-system in the Alokā and Sphu-tārthā successively as the three- and fourfold system. The later commen-tators and Tson kha pa associate Haribhadra with the four-body-system. Thus, it seems that he favoured the four-body-system. On the other hand, however, the three-body-system alone is put forward in his commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (P. ed. No. 5188). Moreover, Haribhadra teaches it also in the passages in the Alokā, that is, other than the 8th chapter, as, for example, in the colophon, and - according to Go ram pa's interpretation - in the *Parārthādhimukti mṛdu-madhyama* section of the second chapter. Therefore, Haribhadra can according to one's bias be taken as representing either the three- or fourfold body-system. Thus it seems that in Haribha-dra's works both systems are placed side by side without a preference for either of them.

It is likely that the four-body-system arose between Ārya Vimuktisena ca. 500 and Haribhadra ca. 750-800. If the sequence of texts in the Peking edition is more or less chronological, then the introduction of the four-body-system can be ascribed to Smṛtijñānakīrti or - according to Tson kha pa's description - to Vairocana, the teacher of Haribhadra. The other four-body-system, namely *svābhāva-*, *saśāmbhoga-*, *parasāmbhoga-* and *nirmāṇakāya*, is found first in the *Buddhabhūmyupadeśa* and *Viññaptimātratāsiddhi* compiled and translated by Hsüan chang in c. 650. These facts suggest that at that time the discussion in India concerning the differentiation between *tathatā* and *jñāna*, which were both originally comprised by only one *dharmakāya*, began with ever increasing intensity.

Rev. Sumana Siri

#### A Buddhist Moralism Reflects on Kant's Ethics

The moral evaluation of an 'Early Buddhist' is based on reason and spiritu-ality, enjoining the synthesis in Kant's pure reason and practical reason, notwithstanding the rejection of rationalism and empiricism by the Buddha.

The 'Enlightened One' (Buddha) and Kant (Age of German Enlightenment) were both devoid of theological ethics. Moral will and moral perfection was anticipated, by both rather than emotions or metaphysical inquiry. Like Gotama, Kant was rigorous in the case of moral doctrine. While he twisted to practical ethics only after years of metaphysical speculation, Gotama's moral philosophy was inborn.

Kant's 'goodwill' and the 'pure mind' of the Buddhist is quite simi-lar, both illuminative. But the Buddhist draws parallel in evil roots as



well. Duty for him is not "merely for duty's sake" as in Kant, but for a 'causal efficiency', the betterment of all.

Though for a Buddhist, moral discourse is a species of rational discourse he remains more a teleologist and less an axiologist unlike Kant who was a pure deontologist. Denying a God, Commandment and 'Pure Duty', the Buddhist moralist remains a part-time deontologist.

Self-knowledge and impermanence are key concepts in Buddhist and Kantian Moral Science. But the Kantian postulate of 'Freedom of the Will' is influenced by a metaphysical entity. Kant's treatment of man as an end is contestable. But the criterion of 'truth' disregarding the majority is acceptable.

While Kantianism morally justifies war, Buddhist psychology advises the individual to 'understand' the impulse to war and how to avoid it. Kant, and Gotama were against priestcraft and on the contrary, interested in social ethics. Yet, Kant was not a utilitarian whereas the ethics of the Buddha was one based on universalistic hedonism.

Ah-yueh Yeh

#### The Theories of the bodhisattva's āvaraṇa and kāraṇa

The bodhisattva doctrine is a famous Mahāyāna buddhist altruism. The *Madhyānta-vibhāga-bhāṣya* (MAVB), one of the Mahāyāna Yogācāravijñānavāda's texts, is also intended to teach us the bodhisattva doctrine, which can cause us to purify our minds and actions for the purpose of enjoying a peaceful life in the pure world, since there are actually many obstacles to be overcome before we attain the highest purpose.

This MAVB not only explains the characteristics of the *viññāna* and *śūnyatā*, but also insists on practicing the bodhisattva doctrine. *Maitreya*, in the second chapter of the MAVB, thoughtfully and systematically classifies the meanings and characteristics of obstacles (*āvaraṇa*, *chang-ai*) and active causes (*kāraṇa*, *neng-tso-yin*) for the purpose of teaching us to realize what kinds of *āvaraṇas* and *kāraṇas* we have, and how to destroy those *āvaraṇas*. This paper attempts, from the viewpoint of MAVB, to explain the following sections:

##### 1. The meanings and kinds of āvaraṇa.

This *āvaraṇa* represents the impure defilements (*saṃkleśa*) which obstruct the good *dharma*s from arising. Generally there are 53 kinds of *āvaraṇas* of bodhisattva and *śrāvaka* etc., introduced by *Sthiramati*; but the 10 good *dharma*s (from *śubha* to *vaśitva*) of bodhisattva have not just 10 *āvaraṇas*, but 30 *āvaraṇas* (from *aprayoga* to *saṃādhy-aparīkarmitā*); therefore my count yields more than 53 kinds.

##### 2. The relations of 10 good dharmas with their āvaraṇas and 30 kāraṇas

The *kāraṇa*, whose meaning and characteristic stand in opposition to *āva-*

*raṇa*, has *hetu* (main cause, *yin*) and *nimitta* (causal characteristic, *yin-hsiang*) as its synonyms, so that the *kāraṇa-hetu*, one of the six *hetus*, contains two kinds (*svabhāva* and *prabheda*) of the *hetu-pratyaya* in the famous texts of Abhidharma and Vijñānavāda. However, these *kāraṇas* are the active causes of the Bodhisattva's 10 good *dharma*s, obstructed by *āvaraṇas*. Thus the *kāraṇas* and *āvaraṇas* always appear as pairs in opposite characteristics and numbers. Although *Maitreya* enumerates 30 *āvaraṇas* and 10 *kāraṇas* in MAVB, *Sthiramati* enumerates 30 *kāraṇas* (from *prayoga* to *saṃādhy-parīkarmitā*) in his *Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā* to show that every person or bodhisattva has innate pure consciousness and activities to overcome the obstacles in order to attain peace in the pure world.

3. The relation of 10 dharmas and 10 kāraṇas  
Every *kāraṇa* performs two activities in support of its *dharma*s; therefore 10 *dharma*s are supported by 10 *kāraṇas* (from *utpatti* to *prāpti*). Among them the *utpatti-kāraṇa* (No. 1) is the most important, without which the *kuśala-mūla* and *śubha-dharma* cannot be produced. The *kuśala-mūla*, which is both an important object of *śubha-dharma* and cause of *bodhi-citta* etc., has close relations with many *dharma*s and *kāraṇas*.

4. The manifestation of the bodhisattva-bhāva  
The *bodhi-citta*, produced by *kuśala-mūla*, becomes an important cause for the manifestation of the yogin's bodhisattva-bhāva through practicing the *prayoga-mārga* (allied to the *nirvedha-bhāgīya*), which has *saṃādhi* and *prajñā* as its nature. This bodhisattva-bhāva (nature of bodhisattva), a synonym of *bodhisattvatā*, belongs to the *dharmatva-dharma* (No. 4, possessing wisdom or intelligence). After the manifestation of bodhisattva-bhāva, the *abhrānti-dharma* (No. 5, absence of erroneous idea) belongs to the stage of *darśana-mārga* (path of vision).

5. The highest purpose of the bodhisattva  
In order to carry out the highest purpose of the bodhisattva, the purification of this world, or the Mahāyāna buddhist altruism, every bodhisattva, practicing the bodhisattva's paths, should overcome the 30 *āvaraṇas* by the activities of 30 *kāraṇas* which contains many actual theories of altruism, such as to live with good friends and love others etc.

In conclusion  
It can be said that the bodhisattva, possessing the innate pure consciousness, has 30 *kāraṇas* for practicing the theories of philosophical and actual altruism, through which the 30 *āvaraṇas* are overcome, and consequently, the peaceful and pure world will emerge to us.



Lambert Schmithausen

On the Origin and early Development of *ālayavijñāna*

1. Attempt to identify, on the basis of the oldest textual material, the context which made it inevitable for early Yogācāra to introduce a new kind of *vijñāna* and which explains at the same time in a plausible manner why it was designated as *ālayavijñāna*.
2. Delineation of some aspects of the early development of this concept.

For details see: Lambert Schmithausen: *Alayavijñāna. On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy*. Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series, IVa (Part I) and IVb (Part II), Tokyo, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies (5-3-23 Toranomon, Minato-ku, Tokyo 105), 1987.

B. N. Puri

Buddhism in Central Asia - an Analytical Study

I. Buddhism in Central Asia is a stage of peaceful pursuit undertaken by Buddhist scholars from Kashmir and Kabul to propagate the message of the Buddha. Its importance in this vast expanse could be assessed in terms of its flexibility and attuning to local needs and ethos. The impact of Indian Buddhist thought in Central Asia was not sporadic and exotic. It was deep, durable and extensive. No precise date can, however, be fixed for the settlement of Indian colonies there or for the introduction of Buddhism in that area. Buddhism, no doubt, flourished in Central Asia before its introduction into China in the first century A.D.

II. Buddhism in Central Asia is characterised with a spirit of wide charity and compassion which later on became more prominent. Moral ideal and not personal perfection with stress on the happiness of all living creatures, and not individual salvation are the key notes of Buddhist thought and practical religion. Buddha's life is taken as a manifestation of a cosmic force which reveals itself in countless other Buddhas. Faith in a Buddha, especially in Amitābha is taken as a safety valve in this world, and for securing rebirth in the paradise. Further, the two notable Bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, are described as splendid angles of mercy and knowledge for alleviating the sufferings of the people in this world. New tenets in Buddhism are accompanied by a remarkable development of art and metaphysical ideals. Of the two important schools, the Mahāyāna did not suppress the Hīnayāna, but gradually absorbed the traffic in its bigger boat (*mahāyāna*).

III. Buddhism was enlivened and transformed into a living and a changing stream of thought with greater stress on the personal performance of the individual. This demanded emotional morality and in return the deities provided sympathy and consideration. Further, foreign impacts and influences stimulated mythology and provoked fresh and new imagery. Buddhism thus passed into the hand of persons accustomed to Greek statuary. A more ornate and mythological form of Buddhist religion was becoming prominent and the system of idealistic or nihilistic metaphysics called *Prjñā-pāramitā* was coming up in an evolved form in Central Asia. A study of these aspects of Buddhism and activities related to literary productions and art with the participation of savants, scholars, monks and laity, sculptors and painters are considered in full in this paper.

IV. Among the Buddhist savants and their literary contributions reference might be made to the Tocharians distinguished by the prefix *Che* (from Yueh-che), the Kuchians with the prefix *Pe*, and Parthians with the prefix *Ngan*. These scholars collected, collated and translated Buddhist texts into Chinese and also made contributions in their own languages. The finds of Buddhist texts - religious as also secular ones - in explorations and excavations by different Missions on Central Asia, and those retained in Chinese translations in that part of Asia, provide an index to their volu-minous character and versatility. The texts connected with the two schools are traced in different centres, since the Sarvāstivādins flourished in Tokharistan, Kashgar, and Kucha, while the Mahāyānists dominated in Khotan and Yarkand. Fragments of the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādin school, a complete text of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* belonging to the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya - all in Sanskrit - were discovered at Kucha and in the ruins of Sorcuq near Turfan respectively. *Udānavarga* as a complete text in Sanskrit was found in Eastern Turkestan.

V. Yarkand and Khotan were great Mahāyānist centres, and the texts of this school include *Sukhāvativyāha*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Prajñāpāramitā* of different recensions, *Vajracchedikā*s, *dhāraṇī* texts, and many Yoga texts. There are also commentaries on Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamikakārikā*. These works are in Classical Sanskrit, and Hybrid or mixed one. There are also translations and elaborations of Buddhist texts in local dialects. The Tibetan Buddhist literature at the other end of Central Asia reflects the late Buddhism of Magadha adapted to local needs, with the new Tantric phenomenon and literature connected with it. The Mongolian Buddhism is very much akin to the Tibetan one in deities, doctrines and observances with Mongolian translations of a few Buddhist sūtras and *dhāraṇīs*.

VI. Central Asia remained for a long time the home of broad and vigorous Buddhist life. Buddhism in relation to other religious systems - Brahmanism, Manichaeism and even Christianity - was liberal, receptive and cooperative. There are proofs of co-existence of different forms of worship at Turfan and Tun-huang as is evident from literary finds. As a result of mingling of different religious ideas, a spirit of toleration and understanding was evolved. Central Asian Buddhism also introduced Amitābha in its pantheon who provided the highest heaven called the 'boundless light' for his votary.

VII. Buddhism in Central Asia has a long history in a wide expanse of territorial popularity. Its decline was gradual due to several factors - absence of royal patronage, assimilation of tantric elements leading to decay in morals in the monastic set-up, and finally the push of Islam which gave the hardest blow, finally ending the history of Buddhism in the Tarim basin.



Paras Nath Singh

A Psycho-cultural Approach to *Cīvara*

Since long, the basic requisites of a person are known to be food, cloth and house. Every living being needs to them. Even a *Bhikkhu* needs them. In the Buddhist literature, we get four resources for the life of a *Bhikkhu*, which are known as *Nissaya*. These are food, robe, house and medicine. I have taken only one of the four essential requisites for discussion, namely robe. In the Buddhist literature robe (cloth) is known as *Cīvara*.

The present paper includes a discussion about the different aspects of a *Cīvara* (robe), namely, the meaning of the *Cīvara*, the importance of its name, needs, colour, size, number, sewing, cutting, border, utility, etc. The discussion is being attempted in the light of its psychological and cultural importance.

The *Cīvara* is a robe or robe-cloth of a monk. In the early stages of the history of the Buddhist order, the Buddha advised the monks to use *Pamsukūla* for the *Cīvara*. He also includes the *Pamsukūla* among the four *Nissayas* on which a monk should depend for his *Cīvara*. The *Nissayas* were considered to be such an important feature in the life of a monk that the Buddha enjoined the *Sangha* to instruct the newly ordained monk, soon after his *Upasampadā*, all the four *Nissayas* which he should bear in mind throughout his life. Possibly, the Buddha was following the line of the ideas that in this world nothing is without some use. Everything has its own use. And to introduce this idea among the monks the Buddha emphasised the *Pamsukūla* for the *Cīvara*. It is also said that the *Cīvara* must be used up to the last. If it is torn and worn out, it may be plastered in the wall. This was meant to impress upon the mind the idea that nothing is to be thrown so long as it has the slightest use.

The Buddha allowed only three robes for a monk, namely *Saṅghātī*, *Uttarāsaṅga* and *Antaravāsaka*. This is the proper dress of a monk. Without having on his person these three robes, a monk was not allowed to go to the villages. If he does so, he commits a crime, for which punishment is prescribed. The purpose possibly was that a *Bhikkhu* must be in his uniform to produce his identity.

The colour of the robe is prescribed to be *kāsāya* i.e., between red and yellow. By mixing these two colours we get the colour of honey. A bee always visits flowers and leaves to collect their nectar to prepare honey without harming them. A *Bhikkhu* also wanders to ask for meal and cloth from the people like a bee. It means that a *Bhikkhu* has the characteristics of a bee and his *Cīvara* has the characteristics of honey. It was possibly for this reason that the Buddha chose this colour for the regular *Cīvara* of a *Bhikkhu*.

Regarding the size of robes, it is clearly said that they should not be equal to or bigger than the *Cīvara* of the Buddha. If one violates this rule he commits a crime for which punishment is prescribed. The rule shows the feeling of high respect for a teacher.

Regarding cutting and stitching of robes also some rules were laid down. To prepare a *Cīvara* it is necessary to cut the cloth into pieces and then to stitch them. The pieces may be in odd numbers, namely five, seven, nine, etc., like the fields in Magadha. They were to be covered by a border (*kusi*) having extra layers. This shows that even though having different colours, areas, etc. all people are one, under one umbrella.

Lokesh Chandra

## Assimilation in the Theogony of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara

Avalokita has four phases of development:

- (i) Commences as Avalokita-svara who is an acolyte of Amitābha.
  - (ii) Avalokita worshipped in his own right as equivalent to a Buddha.
  - (iii) The assimilation of Avalokita with Īśvara/Śiva and the emergence of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.
  - (iv) Extension of the process of assimilation by the fusion of Avalokiteśvara with various Lokeśvara/Lokanātha, e.g. Hayagrīva.
- Amitābha is Lokeśvara-rāja.  
Avalokita becomes a Lokeśvara.

Avalokita-svara, a bodhisattva.  
Avalokita + zero grade, a Buddha  
Avalokit-eśvara, an esoteric Buddha  
Avalokit-eśvara = Lokeśvara.

Assimilation of Avalokita and Īśvara/Śiva and the emerge of the Thousand-armed Avalokit-eśvara can be seen in several versions of his hymn.

The Vulgate version of the hymn is one of the three basic sutras of the Zen school of Buddhism in China, Korea and Japan. It is the shortest version and is recited in the monasteries of China, Japan and Korea. Its recitation is available on cassettes. It is extant in the transliteration of (i) Bhagavaddharma and (ii) Amoghavajra. The transliteration in both is nearly identical.

The date of Bhagavaddharma's translation lies between A.D. 650–661. Amoghavajra (A.D. 705–774 var. 770) has two texts of the Vulgate version. The hymn clearly terms itself as *Nīlakaṇṭha-hṛdayaṁ vartayīṣyāmi*. The following epithets unmistakably pertain to Śiva: *kṛṣṇa-sarpa-opavīta viṣa-viṣaṁ prañāśaya*, *siddha*, *mahāsiddha*, *siddha-yogeśvara*, *Nīlakaṇṭha*, *Nīlakaṇṭha-vyāghra*, *Mahābālī-śaṅkara*.

*Long Version*. In the middle of the ninth century Chos-grub translated the Bodhisattvāvalokiteśvara-sahasrabhuja-natrisig-mahākāruṇika-citta-vistara-paripūrṇa-nama-dhāraṇī from a Chinese text (*Rgya dpe*). Chos-grub, known as Fa-ch'êng in Chinese, hailed from Hgos. He is renowned as one who translated the Chinese sutras into Tibetan and vice versa. He lived during the reign of King Ral-pa-can who ruled Tibet from A.D. 817 to 836.

The epithets in this *dhāraṇī* can be classified as pertaining to Hara and Hari. Hara is invoked as *Nīścareśvara*, *Tripura-dahan-eśvara*, and *Nīlakaṇṭha* (several times). His attire is spoken of as: *ajina-kṛṣṇa jāṭā-mukuṭa-ālankṛta-śarīra*, *kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavīta* (twice), *vāma-skandha-deśa-sthita-kṛṣṇ-ājina*, *vāma-hasta-vyāghra-carma-nivasana*. Other epithets are: *mahā-halāhalaviṣa-nirjita*, *mahātṭāṭṭa-hāsyā*, *siddha*, *mahāsiddha* (twice), *mahāsiddha-yogīśvara*, *siddha-yogīśvara*, *sarva-siddheśvara*, *siddhavidyādhara*, *mahāsiddha-vidyādhara*.

The aspect of Hari is invoked by the words: *Nārāyaṇa-bala-rūpa-veśadhara*, *Mahāpadmanābha*. The two incarnations of Hari represented as two faces are: *Varāha-mukha*, *mahā Varāha-mukha* (twice), *vāma-sthita-Mahāśimha-mukha*, *Narasimha-mukha*, *mahā-Narasimha-mukha*.



The attributes held in his four hands are: *vajra*, *lotus*, *cakra*, and *conch*: *vajra-hasta*, *mahāvajra-hasta*, *padma-hasta* (twice), *mahāpadma-hasta*, *cakr-āyudha-dhara*, *śaṅkha-śabda-nirṇādana-kara*.

*Process of transition*: from a locutor Avalokiteśvara becomes the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. In the hymns to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara we can see the same process of transition. Originally Avalokiteśvara was the locutor of the *hrdaya* hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha, but later on Nīlakaṇṭha became a form of Avalokiteśvara.

HERBERT FRANKE

*Mongolian Glosses in a 14th Century Arabic Manuscript*

The Arabic astronomical tables of ca. 1365-1366 (MS Ar. No. 6040, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) are being studied by Professor E. S. Kennedy (Frankfurt). When Prof. Kennedy showed me last year the photostat copies of the documents in connection with the Arabic orthographies of Chinese solar terms and lunar mansions I noticed that on many folios marginal glosses in Uighur-Mongolian script have been written. Further research showed that the existence of Mongolian glosses had been noticed before but apparently no attempt at deciphering them had been made. It turned out that many of the Mongolian words of the glosses were transliterations of Arabic astronomical terms. The assistance of a scholar competent in Arabic astronomy was therefore indispensable and I am grateful to Professor Paul Kunitzsch (Munich) for his help in elucidating the Arabic original terms. In not a few cases we find transliterations of Arabic terms linked by Mongolian morphological suffixes. For example, *qamar un tadil*, where *qamar* is Ar. "moon" and *tadil* Arabic *ta'dīl* "equation". Mongolian is only the genitive suffix *un*. In the gloss *tabun garaq un qas-a* the word *qas-a* renders Ar. *ḥāṣṣa* "value, argumentum of a planet", whereas *tabun garaq* is Mongolian, "the five planets". The words for solar and lunar eclipses are in Mongolian, *naran bariqu* and *sara bariqu* respectively. In a table for determining the first visibility of the new moon the Mongolian gloss reads *sara üfegdekü qučin naiman ars un*. Again *un* is the Mongolian genitive suffix without, however, a following noun, *ars* is a rendering of Ar. *arḍ* "latitude". The whole passage therefore means "moon visibility of the thirty eight latitude (gen.)". Indeed the tables can be shown to refer to the geographical latitude of 38° 10'. On folio 29v of the manuscript the names of the months are given in Arabic and Persian. To these have been added in a minute *dbu-med* script the transliterations of the Arabic and Persian names in Tibetan. The patron to whom the tables were dedicated is a Mongol prince, a descendant of Qubilai Qan's fifth son (see Paul Pelliot in Louis Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan Che*, Leiden 1945, 145-147). The name of the place where he resided is given in the manuscript as Qūgiū. This is a rendering of Chinese Ho-chou, a prefecture in the Tibetan borderlands of Kansu province.

A full version of the paper will be published in the *Journal Oriens*.

HIDEHIRO OKADA

*Dayan Khan in the Battle of Dalan Terigün*

Ming Chinese sources report that in 1510 the Little King (hsiao wang tzu) of the Mongols attacked Chiefs A-erh-t'u-ssu (Ordos) and I-pu-la (Ibrahim) and the latter, defeated, sought refuge with their tribesmen in Kansu. Comparison of the Chinese accounts with information found in Mongol chronicles establishes that the battle was the famous one fought at the place called Dalan Terigün in Inner Mongolia, and that the Mongol chiefs who took part in that battle were Batu Möngke Dayan Khan who was called the Little King by the Ming Chinese, Mandulai Aqalaqu of the Ordos tribe, and Ibarai Tayisi of the Yöngsiyebü (of Uyighud) tribe respectively. All Mongol chronicles agree that the battle was fought between two wings of the Mongols and that the civil war was won by the Left Wing commanded by the Mongol Khan himself. They also agree that the war was triggered by the assassination of the Khan's



son Ulus Bolad Jinong who had been enfeoffed as the lord of the Ordos Myriarchy (tümen) in the Right Wing. Circumstances leading up to the violent death of the prince differ considerably among the Mongol chronicles, but they are unanimous about the resulting flight of another son on the Khan, Barsubolad, who had married into the Monggholjin (or Tümed) tribe. This flight became a memorable historical event because two young sons of Barsubolad, Gün Bilig and Altan, had also to be taken to the safety of the camp of their grandfather, Dayan Khan, at the same time. Altan was to become later Khan of the Tümed tribe, famous for his conversion to Tibetan Buddhist faith. Dayan Khan, bent on avenging the death of his son, took field with his army consisting of the three Left-Wing Myriarchies, the Čaqar, the Qalqa and the Uriyangqan, against the enemy forces consisting of three Right-Wing Myriarchies, the Ordos, the Tümed and the Yöngsiyebü at Dalan Terigün. The result was a complete victory for the Khan. The Battle of Dalan Terigün was the most outstanding event in the reign of Batu Möngke Dayan Khan who reunified the fragmented Mongols after a period of the Oyirad supremacy and thus reestablished the leadership of the Chinggisid house all over Mongolia.

JUNKO MIYAWAKI

*Did a Dzungar Khanate Really Exist?*

History of the Oyirad (Kalmyk) people from the early-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century is commonly regarded as a period in which they formed a tightly-knit nation-state called the Dzungar Khanate. Nothing could be farther from truth. They were known as the Four Oyirad as they originally consisted of four great nomadic tribes of northwestern Mongolia, the old Oyirad, the Barghud, the Naiman and the Kereyid, who, after the fall of the Qubilaid Yüan Empire in China in 1368, formed an anti-Yüan, anti-Mongol alliance. The Four Oyirad tribal federation was later joined by the Xošüd, a tribe from eastern Mongolia, in the days of Toghon and Esen, the great leaders of the Oyirad Empire in the mid-fifteenth century. Thereafter the resurgent Mongols drove the Four Oyirad tribes farther and farther away into the northwest, until the tide turned in 1623 when joint forces of the Four Oyirad chiefs defeated and killed Ubasi Qong Tayiġi of the Qalqa Mongols, who was known to the Russians as the first Altyn Tsar'. In those days the chief 'taisha' in all Kalmyk land was Dalai Tayisi of the Dörböd, not a Dzungar. Then it was Bayibaghas Khan of the Xošüd, who commanded the largest number of troops in the battle of 1623. The first Oyirad chief to take on a title of Khan upon himself in the seventeenth century was this Bayibaghas, a descendant of Chinggis Khan's brother. After the death of Bayibaghas the Khanship passed to his younger brother Güüši. Güüši Khan of the Xošüd, upon his conquest of Kokonor and Tibet, granted the title of Xong Tayiġi in the sense of viceroy to his aide, a Dzungar chief Batur Xong Tayiġi, in 1636. From that time on Xong Tayiġi became a title inherited by the tribal chiefs of the Dzungar, while the title of Khan remained in the Xošüd. The only Dzungar chief who was able to style himself Khan was Galdan, a son of Batur Xong Tayiġi, and it was because he was born by a Xošüd princess. After Galdan's death in 1697 the Dzungar chiefs all styled themselves Xong Tayiġis, not Khans. Even in the last half-century of the Dzungar power, the tribe was no more than a member group in the Four Oyirad tribal federation, and the title of Xong Tayiġi signified the chiefdom of the Dzungar tribe, not a leadership of all Four Oyirad tribes. We also should not disregard the fact that, away from Dzungaria, there were other factions of the Four Oyirad tribes also on the Volga and in Kokonor who did not

acknowledge a Dzungar supremacy in their tribal federation. After all, there never was a Dzungar Khanate, in name or in reality, that can be regarded as a nation-state of the Oyirad people.

JIRO IKEGAMI

*The Element 'n' in Some Indicative Forms of Tungus Verbs*

The Nanai and Olcha indicative first person singular form of the present II, *būrāmbi* 'I give', can be analysed into a verb-stem and the aorist (or imperfect) ending in *-ra* and the element *-m* and the first person singular ending, viz. *būrā-m-bi*. The element *-m* in this verb-form is regarded as a combinatory variant of the verb formative *-n* before the labial consonant *b*. This formative was probably *\*-n* at an earlier stage as well.

It is noteworthy that this *-n* accompanies the aorist ending *-ra* in this verb-form. This aorist ending which was originally *\*-ra*, appears as *-ra* in many of the Tungus languages, but takes different forms in some other Tungus languages, such as *-ja* in Negidal. The aorist ending *-ra* is not accompanied by any formative in the negative construction of Tungus verbs. However, it is accompanied by various formatives when some verb-endings or verbal-noun formatives are formed as follows:

The verbal-noun formatives Even *-rī*, Negidal *-ji*, Uilta *-ri* and others, which form verbal nouns, result from the amalgamation of the aorist ending *\*-ra* and the formative *\*-gī*, as J. Benzing assumes.

The endings Evenki *-raki*, Solon *-rki* and Uilta *-rai*, which form conditional converbs, consist of the aorist ending *-ra* and the formative *-ki*.

The Nanai, Olcha and Uilta imperative ending *-ru* probably results from the amalgamation of the aorist ending *\*-ra* (or *\*-rī* such as Uilta *-ri*) and a formative ending in the vowel *u*.

In addition to these, we have the sequence *-ra* and *-n*, with which we are concerned here. This *-n* seems to have served originally to form an indicative form (a finite form) of a verb rather than a verbal noun. N. Poppe assumes the *-n* in Solon to be the formative praesentis imperfecti and K. Menges considers the *-n* in Evenki as a temporal element.

Benzing assumes two original paradigms and their intermixture in the aorist forms of the Tungus languages. One paradigm includes the formative *-n*, whereas the other includes the formative *-ra*. However, for the early stage of Tungus, I would posit a system of indicative verb-inflection in which the indicative present forms are composed of the *-ra-n* accompanied by the personal endings in the first and second persons, but not accompanied by any personal ending in the third person. Further, it is assumed that a number of indicative present personal forms lost *\*-ra*, *\*-n* or both, or were formed on a second system of the indicative verb-inflection, in which *\*-n*, a verbal-noun formative (not accompanying *\*-ra*) is followed by a personal ending in the first and second persons but by no personal ending in the third person, or were formed on a third system in which *\*-ra* (without *\*-n*) is also accompanied by a personal ending in the first and second persons but by no personal ending in the third person. If some indicative present forms belong to the latter inflection systems, the indicative present paradigms of Tungus languages would be a mixture of forms belonging to different inflection systems.



LAJOS KAZÁR

*Japanese-Uralic-Altaic Word Comparisons:  
Contact, or Genetic Relationships?*

The provenance of the Japanese people and language is still a vexing problem. It is clear that several waves of immigration or intrusion have occurred into the archipelago from the south and southwest as well as from the west and northwest.

As far as structure and basic vocabulary go, the Japanese language cannot be classed with the Austroasiatic and/or Austronesian languages. The fact that no genetic relationship has been demonstrated between Japanese and "Altaic" (Turkic, Mongol, Manch-Tungus) either, does not mean that Japanese is an isolate. Although suggested for over a century to be linked with Japanese, the Uralic language family (Finno-Ugric-Samoyed) has not been seriously drawn into the picture yet, mainly because people, especially in Japan, have thought that "Altaic" comprises Uralic as well. A second factor has been the distance between Japan and the present habitats of the Uralic peoples, which are found as far west as Finland, Estonia, and Hungary.

The complex method of searching for erstwhile links among peoples that may have been related in contiguous areas but subsequently migrated far from one another in various directions employs, in addition to linguistics, archaeology, history, ethnology, anthropology, etc. Archaeology and cultural history have shown that Japanese connections are traceable as far west as southern Russia and western Hungary.

The recently published research results of Prof. Hideo Matsumoto concerning the distribution of the (immunoglobulin) *Gm st* gene marker, typical for the *northern Mongoloid* populations, clearly link the Japanese to the northern Mongoloid peoples among whom the Buriats in the northern Baikal region show the heaviest occurrence of the *Gm st* gene marker. So far as descent of blood relationship goes, this finding means a breakthrough. However, it does not solve the origin of the Japanese language. In fact, Japanese-Mongol comparative linguistic research has yielded only good structural similarities, but no similarly good results in essential vocabulary. However, the turning of many researchers in Japan toward Central Asia is a good indication. It should be followed up by applying the complex method of research. The Uralic and Altaic languages could and should be considered together again, now from the point of view of Japanese, and the auxiliary disciplines should be linked with this effort.

*Conclusions:* While it is not likely that the phonologies of reconstructed Japanese, Uralic, and Altaic can be harmonized and, say, primitive Ural-Altaic can be reached, the structural parallels already established and the evidence of word similarities which can be produced will probably show that:

- a) Japanese is linked to both Uralic and Altaic; detailed comparisons involving the whole systems indicate that Japanese stands closer to Uralic than Altaic;
- b) comparison among Japanese, Uralic, and Altaic is not only rewarding to all three fields, but also indispensable because they complement one another.

(The present paper included samples of Japanese-Uralic-Altaic word comparisons — with reference to the author's book *Japanese-Uralic Language Comparisons. Locating Japanese Origins with the Help of Samoyed, Finnish, Hungarian, etc.: An Attempt*. Hamburg, 1980.

LODE TALPE

*A Buddhist Cosmological Work in Mongolian  
A Preliminary Study*

The aim of this paper is to introduce briefly a Mongolian Ms. brought from Ordos by Rev. A. Mostaert. The work bears the title *Abidarm-a-yin γoul-un yertinčü-yi üjügülügči šastir orusiba*, "Treatise showing the Central world of Abhidharma". (Serruys H., J.A.O.S. 95.2 (1975), p. 196 nr. 37). This work is based on an unknown translation probably from Tibetan and its content corresponds to known Buddhist cosmological works; (*Lokaprajñapti*). From the linguistic features we may deduce that the Ms. is of the latest period, although it preserves features representative of the XV–XVII Cies. There are also examples of pre-classical language: ex. *addition of yod*. asuru-a (=esuru-a) 30b3, 31b3; orun-a (=örün-e) 28b4; *Gen-Acc -uγan*: urtu qarsi-uγan (9a4) and even *Common Mong.* "döteger" (Pre-Class. dötüger WM dörbedüger) to name only a few. Besides the language seems to reflect the spoken language: ex.: üjibesü (=üjebesü) passim, *Conv. Conc.* -baču, *coll.* -bači: ex. bolbači (24a1); küitkübeči (21b2) etc.

This cosmological work belongs to the larger *Lokaprajñapti*-texts which exist in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan. cf. Heissig, Sagaster (1961), nr. 289, Lalou M. (1933), p.43.

One of the important sources of the *Abidarm-a* is the *Bodhi mör-ün jerge* in which we find hell-fragments. Besides we find a large quotation from the *Altan Tobči Nova* (1655) and the *Čiqula Keregleči* (written after 1607) (Heissig, 1984), but which has been reworked. In the last lines *Namai Köke* is identified with *Šākyamuni*. *Činggis qaγan* and *Altan qaγan of the Tümet (1507-1583)* are called *cakravartin*.

This work needs further investigation and will be compared with the other *Lokaprajñapti* versions (Tanjur, 2 Mss.) so that this can contribute to a better knowledge of the text.

TATSUO NAKAMI

*Prince Güngsünnorbu and Inner Mongolia in Transformation*

Güngsünnorbu (1871-1930) was a well known Mongol prince of Qaračin Right Banner of Josutu League in Inner Mongolia. However, contradictory appraisals has been made of him; a traitor to the Mongol independence of 1911; a reactionary feudalistic opportunist; a pro-Japanese and Ch'ing loyalist; and a forerunner of "modernization" in Inner Mongolia. I will reassess him by examining his activities, depending on historical materials of several languages.

Firstly, we have to give attention to his birth place and home background to find a clue to understand his political activities. In the late Ch'ing, the majority of Qaračin habitants were the Han Chinese, while the Mongols were the minority. Güngsünnorbu's lineage was tied with the Ch'ing royal family.

The first big problem he was faced with was the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. To preserve his land and political power, he had to improve the administrative organ of his Banner. In 1903, Güngsünnorbu was invited to visit to Japan. Then, he was strongly impressed by the "modernization from the upper side" in Japan. After his return to China, he founded schools and established a factory and a trading company and set up publishing a newspaper in



Qaračin. For these new organizations, the strong financial base was indispensable. He asked for loans to the foreign banks and Chinese usury. However, in the latter half of 1900s, for the redemption of the overdebt, he abandoned all his enterprises except for a Mongol school. His failure was resulted not only from financial difficulty but also from his lack of managerial ability. In process of carrying out his plans, huge amount of money, people and information rushed into a little Qaračin, which made the social balance of his Banner in confusion.

About that time, the Ch'ing government initiated a drastic reform of its machinery. As a part of the reform, it examined its Mongol policy. Making use of this opportunity, Güngsünnorbu demanded several points concerning to the Ch'ing policy toward Mongolia, that became the keynote of new policy. However, the princes and lamas of Qalq-a Mongolia regarded this new policy as one that threatened to destroy their independent social structure. Thus, the Mongol image among Qalq-a leaders was so different from that of Güngsünnorbu's.

The Chinese Revolution in 1911, for Güngsünnorbu, meant the collapse of the very system he had depended on. He had to search for new prospect. Güngsünnorbu first attempted to effect a political consensus, assuring integrity for a new political age among the princes in Inner Mongolia, or at least in East Mongolia. Since he recognized that his political and military ability was insufficient, he tried to make it up with foreign aids. Then, Kawashima Naniwa, a Japanese expansionist, offered his service as a mediator between Güngsünnorbu and Japan. For Güngsünnorbu, Japan was the only foreign power that gave him any aid, although Japan attached a different meaning to it. However, all of his attempts collapsed. The Mongols in Inner Mongolia could nothing but respond separately to the social upheaval. Güngsünnorbu was obliged to go to Peking to show his loyalty to the President, Yüan Shih-k'ai and was appointed Director of the Bureau of the Mongol-Tibetan Affairs. The affiliation with Yüan was the only way left for him to maintain his "feudalistic" rights and position.

SLAWOJ SZYNKIEWICZ

*Ethnic Boundaries in Western Mongolia.  
A Case Study of a County in the Mongol Altai Region*

Ethnicity and ethnic relations in nomadic societies conform to specific rules as compared with sedentary ones. The following rules are drawn from the author's field research in the Bulgan county of SW Mongolia inhabited by some 8.000 people comprising two Mongol peoples of the Oyrat branch (the Khoshut and the Torgut) and the Kazakhs.

1. Ethnic differences, in most general terms, are historically determined. Thus, the Khoshut and the Torgut have constituted particular ethnies for centuries, differing in dialect, culture and symbols of identity. These have been preserved in spite of close contacts in the areas of coexistence: Xinjiang, Volga Kalmucks. Always the ethnic identity has been supported by own political authority and administrative distinctiveness.
2. Once created ethnic identity is reproduced notwithstanding historical adversities, being coded into the society's information system based on genealogical memory, of which most important is the genealogy of the ruling line. The Bulgan Khoshut testify to this regularity. They have arrived in the Torgut territory as a small group devoid of their

ruler but preserving genealogical memory. They survived in spite of conditions strongly favouring acculturation and dissolution in the Torgut milieu.

3. Cultural unity is secondary to administrative unity in creating and supporting ethnic-type identity. The Torgut, although recognizing their cultural homogeneity, are divided into groups deriving their particular identities from previous administrative divisions. They had formed two separate fiefs ruled by their own lords, operating on a particular territory and employing own symbols of unity, separate names including. It has resulted in their separatedness still continued 60 years after the old administration was abolished and the territory united under a new administration. There exist minor differences in culture of the two groups which are, however, disregarded.
4. Political separatedness as a criterion for creating the ethnic cohesion operates in conditions of the tribal-like or feudal-like administration symbolized by easily recognizable signs of unity. These are: territorial boundaries and the aristocratic ruling line as opposed to modern administration consisting of symbolically neutral individuals.
5. Administratively created groups or political societies tend to social and cultural isolation. Thus arises the local cultural specificity, as well as reluctance to merging with taxonomically equal groups. Hence, in the past, the Torgut were ready to absorb the Khoshut who were then representing an amorphous crowd of immigrants, while the latter — aspiring to administrative independence (finally restored) — felt equal and refused to merge.
6. Hierarchical organization of nomadic societies, actual or potential, enables merging with higher units or makes possible a federation of equals for the purpose of creating a higher unity. Thus, the particular Torgut groups were ready to admit their Torgutness and act accordingly. They have accepted as equals (i.e., a symmetrical unit) the recent Torgut migrants from the Chinese Tarbagatay to form a third ethnic-like Torgut group in Bulgan. For the same reason the Khoshut, once bitterly anti-Torgut, now are ready to mix with the latter for they have accepted the idea of the all-Mongol unity within the Mongol state. For the same reason alike all Bulgan Mongols continue to consider the Kazakh neighbours as strangers because they are too far apart to be able to form one nation.

The above specified rules seem to regulate ethnic relations in the studied region and perhaps in other nomadic regions.

RUTH I. MESERVE

*Mongol Horse Care, Training, and Management*

Among the major texts on Mongol hippological methods are select passages from the *Yüan shih*, the *Ta Yüan ma cheng chi*, two manuscripts in the Mongolian collection of the Royal Library (Copenhagen), and modern Mongol descriptions on animal husbandry which provide an historical perspective on Mongol horse training, care and management over the centuries.



Emphasis has been placed on two neo-Classical texts from Chakhar in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.

A. *Mori temege-ü ebedčin-i jasaqu arγ-a anu* (MONG. 62) contains material on veterinary medicine, presenting various symptoms and the treatment for some diseases that afflict horses (1r-13v). The lack of symptoms sometimes makes it difficult to pinpoint the exact disease as known by veterinarians today, but the ailments of horses fall roughly into the following categories: 1) respiratory problems, 2) tumors or swellings, 3) viral infections, 4) nervous disorders, 5) internal ailments, including catarrh of the digestive tract, 6) "evil spirit" diseases, 7) mouth ailments, 8) lameness, 9) spinal problems, and 10) mange.

B. *Mori temege-ü soilγ-a neilegülfü uyaqu qauli bičig* (MONG. 90) is an incomplete manuscript containing a decree issued by the Yung-cheng emperor (r. 1723-1735) in 1727, governing the regulations for horse care (1r-6v). What is most interesting is the reason that this decree was issued: namely, it had been observed that soldiers as a class no longer knew how to put their horses and camels into proper condition and it was the Mongol way, not Manchu methods, that is presented in the decree with instructions that officers teach the soldiers how to care for their animals in the various seasons. Comparison of this manuscript with Chinese observations found in the *Meng ta pei lu* (1221) and the *Hei ta shih lüeh* (1237) bears out the importance of seasonal differences in horse care. This Mongol manuscript provides much greater detail and takes into consideration both the body condition of the horse (thin, medium or fat) as well as the question of exercise (ridden hard and not ridden for any length of time) with special attention to the highly important use of tethering for the proper condition of horses.

This would seem to present a picture of great emphasis and concern for horse training, care, and administration. It is, perhaps, almost more important to notice what has not been talked about: reproduction, foaling, the whole idea of breeding stock. Coupled with other evidence, particularly that from eye-witnesses (ambassadors, travelers, missionaries, naturalists, military men, adventurers etc.) another, less favorable, picture emerges. The quantity of horses that were raised often hindered the quality of any attempt to improve the breed until recent times. It is almost a classic example of the Inner Asian using the environment, but not changing it to his advantage to improve his life, his very civilization.

MARIA SALGA

#### *New Phenomena in Contemporary Mongolian Literature*

The position of those outstanding representatives of folk poetry — they can be termed official folk poets — has been taken over by the aesthetics, verse-teaching and genre theories of well-known poets striving for their own individual voice. The world of Mongolian poetry has spread: it has become capable of expressing various more complex feelings, moods and opinions. New tendencies and aesthetic categories have appeared (e.g. peculiarities).

The various temporal phenomena at the same time appear in juxtaposition e.g. the psychologically motivated realistic novella, partially structured and composed in great detail, experiences its prime, but already the special genres characterizing the decline of the novella genre have appeared, namely the satirical novella fairytale, blended into a uniform essay-like style, anecdotic short-stories and the most modern mini-novella.

There are still such sonnets in which the four-line stanza of folk songs are disguised as a quartett, and there are, indeed, all the forms of the sonnet, namely the complete one, the shortened one, the sonnet cycle, the strict form of the sonnet circle (first and last lines alike), even the sonnet in the novella. Mongolian poetry is now experiencing its sonnet period.

The literary trends enabling complete free association do not occur.

Just as in world literature, Mongolian literature also tends towards psychologizing. Authors prefer to portray psychological changes than the outside world and, instead of events, their mental projections.

The mode of language of the poetry has also changed. As well as sentences ending at the end of the line, there are also all the various forms of line-jumping (e.g. free verse).

The texture of the text has become more closely-woven and the pictures have been drawn in greater depth thanks to the multi-compound word structure, but without the fashionable exaggerations of European literature.

The pictures in general contain symbols but many poets are striving for non-symbolism. Mongolian poetry has therefore reached the post-symbolic period.

Reality therefore takes care of the pictorial material of poetry just as it does that of prose. The pictures show sensitive individual observations.

In addition to the landscape pictures, the idol, macro, cosmos and plant cultivating pictures have appeared. The two levels (the picture and poetic observation) follow each other in the poems or are intertwined. The new verse structure, namely intertwining, suggests a new idea: the outside world and I are identical.

Most recently, in some poems, waves of thoughts follow each other in quanta, intensifying closer to the climax.

The metaphorical style has appeared and at the same time the non-metaphorical, pure, aphorist poetic language.

The poets seize the traditional themes at a higher level, philosophically or carried by the mood. Decadent phenomena also appear e.g. New Romanticism. The poets take on the poetic attitude of European poets. They, the chosen loners, profess to being able to find a way to their fellow-humans by means of their poetry.



JÖRUNDUR HILMARSSON

*An East Tocharian Reduction Rule  
With Stray Notes on the Interrogative Pronominal Stems*

On the basis of the unexpected correspondence Toch. A *wärkänt*: Toch. B *yerkwantai* (obl.sg.) "wheel, circle", representing Common Toch. *\*w'ærkänt-* < I.-E. *\*H<sub>2</sub>ērgunt-*, a special reduction rule is proposed for East Tocharian, i.e. that in this language an *a* in the position before a tautosyllabic resonant was reduced to *ä*. Further examples are introduced and examined. Thus B *trōñk* "cave, hole" is explained as reflecting Common Toch. *træñku* from I.-E. *\*dhronghu-*, an *u*-stem also found in Germanic, cf. Icel. *dröngull* "monolith, icicle" to *drangr* "rock". The corresponding East Tocharian *trāñk* can then be explained in terms of the proposed reduction rule, i.e. A *\*trāñku* > *trāñk* before *u*-umlaut had the chance to operate. Furthermore, the occurrences of a variant A *wānt* to A *want*, B *yente* "wind" are discussed as possible instances of such a reduction. Also, A *kärkšim* "bond, chains" is considered as having an equivalent root structure to that of the cognate B *kerketse*. Finally, the interrogative and relative pronominals A *äntannene*, *äntāne* are compared with their West Tocharian equivalents *ente* (*inte*), *\*entsu* (*intsu*), for which a reduction rule might also find its application.

The second half of the lecture was dedicated to some speculative remarks concerning the formation and etymology of these and some other Tocharian pronominal and adverbial forms. The view was expressed that Tocharian *k* was not palatalized in Tocharian. Van Windekens' examples of such palatalization were discussed in a footnote and found to be unconvincing. Only in two cases did palatalization really seem to occur, but in both instances alternative explanations were possible. First, the palatalization before the optative sign *ī* might be seen as a generalized morphological trait. Second, the form B *ynes* "evidently" could represent I.-E. *\*en-ok* "en", i.e. an *n*-stem locative.

Thus, there would be no obstacle to deriving the interrogative pronoun B *kūse*, A *kus* from I.-E. *\*k<sup>s</sup>s-so*. The gen. sg. of this pronoun A *ke* can (with Lane) be derived from I.-E. *\*k<sup>s</sup> oios* (cf. Lat. *cuius*), whereas the corresponding B *kete* cannot derive from such a preform. An explanation was proposed by assuming a preform *\*k<sup>s</sup> o-to-*, i.e. the interrogative stem plus an adjectival (possessive) *-to-* suffix, as seen in OIcel. *hvaðan* "whence" (< *\*k<sup>s</sup> o-to-* +). Furthermore, the modal conjunction AB *kos* "how much" is derived from I.-E. *\*k<sup>s</sup> o-suō* through Common Toch. *\*kwæswkō* > *\*kosu* AB *kos* (cf. Gk. *πῶς*).

Finally, there follows a discussion of the Tocharian pronominal forms beginning with *ma-* / *mä-*, i.e. B. *mäkte* "how", *mäksu* "who", *makte*, A *mättak* "ipse" and the forms in initial Common Toch. *\*änt-* (B *ent-* / *int-* / *ints-*, A *änt-* / *änts-*). Through the assumption of the existence of I.-E. *\*me-* and *\*m-* (as seen in Gk. *μέχρι* and *ἄχρι* "until", Arm. *merj* "near") in the initial syllable of these Tocharian pronominal stems, they can be understood as reflecting I.-E. *\*me-k<sup>s</sup> id-tod*, *\*me-k<sup>s</sup> is-so* and *\*m-k<sup>s</sup> id-tod*, *\*m-k<sup>s</sup> is-so* resp. through Common Toch. *\*mäkwättä*, *\*mäkwässä* and *\*äñkwättä*, *\*äñkwässä* > *\*mäkte*, *\*mäksä* and *\*äñktä*, *\*äñksä* with subsequent loss of interconsonantal *-k-*, insertion of *-t-* (already in Common Tocharian).

The full text of the second half of this paper appeared in *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, I, 40-48, Reykjavik 1987.



GEORGES PINAULT

*Arbeitsbericht über die weltlichen Texte auf Tocharisch B.*

Die meisten tocharischen Texte sind religiöse und literarische Werke: in den Sammlungen von Handschriften auf Toch. A (Ost-tocharisch) und auf Toch. B (Westtocharisch) finden wir vornehmlich Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen von buddhistischen Sanskrittexten. Demzufolge kennen wir die zwei tocharischen Sprachen als Kunst- und Kirchensprachen. Aber, neben dieser großen Masse des buddhistischen Schrifttums, haben die Archäologen öfters an den gleichen Orten der nördlichen Seidenstraße Dokumente von nichtliterarischem Inhalt entdeckt: sie entstammen fast ausschließlich dem Westtocharischen. Ich nenne weltliche Texte solche Texte, die von Laien oder Mönchen in einer nicht-religiösen Absicht geschrieben wurden: Klosterrechnungen, Geschäfts- und Klosterbriefe, gerichtliche Dokumente, Karawanenpässe, Sgraffiti; dazu kommt noch eine Reihe von Schreiberzusätzen in literarischen Texten. Solche Dokumente sind für den Sprachforscher von Belang, weil sie die seltenen tocharischen Originaltexte enthalten. In der Sammlung Pelliot (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), bilden die weltlichen Materialien — auf Papier und auf Holz — ein Viertel (etwa 200) der auswertbaren Stücke. Die Inschriften auf Toch. B (etwa 60) sind durch eine große Zahl von photographischen Platten bekannt; die meisten sind eigentliche Sgraffiti: sie geben den Namen einer oder mehrerer Personen — fast immer Mönche — manchmal mit einem Titel, und der Angabe des Datums. Es gibt nur eine klare religiöse Inschrift: eine Strophe, die aus frommen Sprüchen besteht. Eine vollständige Ausgabe mit Kommentar dieser Funde der Pelliot Expedition liegt im Druck.

Die Sgraffiti und die Karawanenpässe haben mehrere Gemeinsamkeiten. Sie geben uns einen Blick über die geschäftlichen oder religiösen Reisen in dem tocharischen — ich würde sagen: kutschischen — Gebiet; überdies erweisen sie sich, gleichzeitig zu sein. Die vollständigen Daten der Pässe sind auf einen Abstand von 21 Jahren verteilt. Mehrere erwähnen ein Regierungsjahr des Königs Suvarṇadeva, der ein Zeitgenosse des chinesischen Kaisers T'ai Tsong war. Nun können wir, an Hand eines Sgraffito von Qyzyl Qargha, noch genauer den Zeitabstand der Regierung von Suvarṇadeva bestimmen: von 624 bis 646. Andere Könige sind in den weltlichen Dokumenten genannt. Dazu lesen wir das Adjektiv *kūśiññe* "kutschisch" (frz. koutchéen), in der wohl traditionellen Titulatur 'des großen Königs von Kuci', genau entsprechend dem üblichen Titel *Kucimahārāja* in Sanskrit-Handschriften. Nach den Pässen gebrauchte die kutschische Verwaltung ein ziemlich festes Formular und eine normierte Sprache; außerdem ist deren Abschrift sehr gepflegt. Dagegen, obwohl die meisten Sgraffiti von Mönchen eingeschrieben wurden, lassen sie die phonetischen und morphologischen Eigenheiten der geläufig gesprochenen Sprache erkennen. Im Vergleich damit, ist die Sprache der literarischen Texte alttümlich, gewiß mehr als was man bisher vermutet hat.

Die weltlichen Texte der Sammlung Pelliot liefern tocharische Eigennamen in ergiebiger Weise. Die Tocharer, die Buddhisten geworden waren, nahmen selbst buddhistische Sanskritnamen. Daher finden wir vorwiegend indische Namen. Neben der phonetischen Anpassung, hat dieser fremde Namenschatz einen starken Zuwachs durch solche Sekundärnamen erhalten, die mittels zusätzlicher Morpheme aus primären Namen oder aus deren Kürzung abgeleitet sind; diese Hypokoristika gebrauchen insbesondere die Suffixe *-yše* und *-ške*. Ferner, können neue Namen von iranischem Ursprung identifiziert werden. Der wohlbekannte indogermanische Typus der zweigliedrigen lobenden Vollnamen hat auch im Tocharischen interessante Spuren hinterlassen. Zwei Laien tragen Namen, die alte Bahuvrīhi-

Komposita widerspiegeln: *Kleṇkarako* "die Lenkung des Wagens (bzw. Pferdes) habend", und *Kweṇtoko* "den Lauf (die Schnelligkeit) des Hundes habend". Beide entsprechen den formelhaften Verbindungen der Heldendichtung in anderen Sprachen; sie sind einige der letzten Überreste der vorbuddhistischen Kultur der Tocharer, also der Tocharisch Sprechenden Leute.

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

*The Development of the Sogdian Verbal System*

Of all Middle Iranian languages, Sogdian possesses the greatest range of verbal forms. Certain Old Iranian categories have been lost, but their place has been taken by new paradigms created by periphrasis, by the use of indeclinable particles, or by analogy. The analogical process typically results in the development of a whole paradigm on the basis of an isolated inherited form.

Sogd. 'z "it was" derives (according to I. Gershevitch) from \*āha zi, a remnant of the old perfect. Later, 'z was fused with 'skw- "continue, be" to form 'skw'z, whose reinterpretation as (a)skw-āz-Ø, with the zero-ending of the 3 sg. imperfect, led to the creation of the late Sogdian "āz-preterite" consisting of the present stem + infix āz + impf. endings.

The paradigm of the impf. middle similarly consists of pres. stem + infix t + impf. (active) endings. Since the only Sogdian verbs which commonly form an impf. middle are the heavy stem ās "take" and the light stem kun- "do", the origin of the paradigm may be sought in the inherited 3 sg. forms āst and kunta, whose -t(a) from \*-ata was reanalysed as -t- + 3 sg. impf. act. ending (heavy -Ø, light -a).

The so-called precative has the following paradigm: 1 sg. -ētu, 2 sg. -ēta, 3 sg. -ēt(e), 3 pl. -ētēnt. The basic form is -ēt from \*-aita, 3 sg. opt. middle, to which the equivalent active ending -e is optionally added. (Cf. Khotanese 3 sg. opt. act. -īyā from opt. mid. -īya + opt. act. -ā.) The other endings added to -ēt are 1 sg. inj. -u, 2 sg. subj. -a, and 3 pl. opt. -ēnt. A similar apparently miscellaneous collection of endings is attested in the manuscript C2 in the paradigms of the irrealis and of the "modal future": 1 sg. -w-q' (inj.), 2 sg. -'q' (subj. or impv.), 3 sg. -Ø-q' (inj.?) or from opt. \*-y-q'?) or -yty-q' (prec.). (The 1 sg. forms in -n-q' are not subj. but indic., with -ā-kā from -ām-kā.)

The irrealis is a secondary formation based, as W. B. Henning recognized, on the single form βwt'y, bwty (= Persian buvaδ-ē rather than būδ-ē), 3 sg. irr. of β(w)- "be(come)". The ending -e was correctly understood as 3 sg. opt.; what precedes was apparently reinterpreted as the light stem β- + infix ōt and as the heavy stem βō + infix t. Thus, in C2, in two ways, as the light stem β- + infix ōt and as the heavy stem βō + infix t. Thus, in C2, -ōt is added to light stems and -t to heavy stems to form an "irrealis stem", which takes the same endings as the precative: 1 sg. -u, 2 sg. -a, 3 sg. -e, 3 pl. -ēnt. The fact that such diverse forms could be combined into a single paradigm indicates the inadequacy of historical terms such as injunctive, subjunctive and optative for the description of Sogdian.



YUTAKA YOSHIDA

*Remarks on the Third Phonetic Hymn of the Chinese Hymnscroll*

The so-called *Chinese Manichaean hymnscroll* (S 2659) contains three Iranian hymns transcribed in Chinese script. Of these three hymns the third one, which consists of 22 Parthian verses, has been studied extensively by E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *APAW*, 1926, no.4 [=W.-L.], 84-93 and E. Morano, *East and West* 32, 1982, 9-43. In spite of their effort and the help of the fragmentary texts of the Parthian original (M259c and 529) and a Sogdian translation (TM351), there remain three verses which have resisted the attempt at reconstruction, i.e. verses 4, 17 and 20.<sup>1</sup> However, two of these difficult verses can now be reconstructed safely with the help of the new materials, namely two fragments of the Otani collection (Otani 7117 and 7524) containing verses 15-21 transcribed in Sogdian script (cf. Y. Yoshida, *Orient* 28, 1985, 50-65) and two Turkish translations of the hymn found in Pelliot Chinois 3049v and 3407v (cf. J. Hamilton, *Manuscripts oulgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-Houang*, Louvain, 1986).

The Turkish translation *yörüg* 'explanation' of verse 4 strongly suggests that its Sogdian translation should be read as *pywst* 'ky' 'revelation' rather than W.-L.'s *pyrst* 'ky' 'Wachsein' and Morano's *pywst* 'kyn' 'prone or willing to reveal himself'. Considering the Sogdian and Turkish translations and the final portion of the original Parthian word [ ]b preserved in M259c (cf. W.-L.86), one is entitled to reconstruct 唵呼布 *âm xuo puo* as *\*abhumb*, which may be taken as a verbal noun derived from a verb *\*abhumb-*, Parthian cognate of Middle Persian *abhum-* 'to reveal'. The Chinese transcription may represent such a mispronunciation as [*\*amhub*] with a metathesis of a nasal element. For a similar mispronunciation see *myxrm* 'nyft' (Otani 7117) for *myhrb* 'nyft' (verse 15). That *myxrm* 'nyft' cannot simply be a miscopying of *\*myxrβ* 'nyft' is confirmed by its Chinese transcription 哩麼你弗, of which 麼 *muâ* stands for either [*mā*] or [*bā*] rather than [*βā*].

The Sogdian transcription *wnt* 'dyšn and translation *βyr* 'm 'nty 'finding' of verse 17 as well as its Turkish translation *bulunč* 'obtainment' make it certain to reconstruct the verse as *\*wynd* 'dyšn 'finding' (< *wynd*- 'to find'). For the verbal noun with the suffix -yšn derived from the past stem cf. Parthian *dydyšn* 'sight' and Middle Persian *'mdyšn* 'coming'. Incidentally, fresh examination of the original ms. reveals that the first character 阿 'â of the Chinese transcription 阿雲那咄訖 is nothing but a miscopying on the part of the scribe. At first he skipped one verse and copied the first character of verse 18, then he noticed his mistake and marked it with a dele, which has been overlooked by the previous editors.

In view of the Turkish translation *üdrümiš bulunč* 'selected obtainment' of verse 20, Hamilton must be right in proposing to see a word derived from a base *wynd-* 'to find' behind 雲那羅咄 (于勒). However, this transcription remains unexplained and must be left for further consideration.

N.B. As for verse 4, N. Sims-Williams, *apud* Hamilton, *op.cit.*, p.47 has independently

<sup>1</sup> For verse 6 see my remark in *BSOAS* 46, 1983, 326, n.3. Though Morano hesitates to decide between *w* 'wryft' and *\*wx* 'wryft', verse 8 can safely be reconstructed as *w* 'wryft' 'belief' by emending the first character 呼 *xuo* to 呼 *yuâ*, see now Yoshida, *art. cit.*, 60, n.24.

reached the same conclusion as mine. Unfortunately, when I wrote this article I could only consult Hamilton's typescript, which does not contain Sims-Williams' note.

DUAN QING

*Einige Götter in dem khotanischen Text S 2471*

Das khotanische Manuskript S 2471, das in der India Office Library, London, aufbewahrt wird, enthält nicht nur die khotanische Version des bekannten Sanskrit-Werkes *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra*, sondern ab Zeile 226 auch einen weiteren Text, der noch nicht untersucht worden ist, obwohl Sir Harold W. Bailey bereits 1951 die ganze Handschrift in dem von ihm herausgegebenen Werk *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* in Transkription veröffentlichte. In diesem Text habe ich die Planetengötter identifizieren können:

|   | Khotanisch            | Sanskrit  | Identifizierung |
|---|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| 1 | Mahayāna-prrabāsta    | Āditya    | Sonne           |
| 2 | Sūma                  | Soma      | Mond            |
| 3 | Kīlaha(sta)           | Aṅāraka   | Mars            |
| 4 | Bauda                 | Buddha    | Merkur          |
| 5 | Brrahaspa             | Bṛhaspati | Jupiter         |
| 6 | Śasu (Śukra)          | Śukra     | Venus           |
| 7 | Śanaīścara            | Śanaīśaya | Saturn          |
| 8 | Vaiṇḍūyerākādūmaketta | Ketu      | Komet.          |

Darüber hinaus habe ich die zwei in diesem Text in Zeile 270 erwähnten Nāga-Könige Ttaša und Ttara mit den Nāga-Königen Da-ci und Da-ra des tibetischen *Li yul luñ-bstan-pa* (ed. R.E. Emmerick, 1967, Seiten 64-65) identifizieren können. Ferner machte ich darauf aufmerksam, daß Baileys Trennung in *śarīmā dīvyē*, die ihn dazu führte, in *śarīmā* eine sonst unbekannte Gottheit zu sehen (*BSOAS*, X.4 1952, 916), korrigiert werden muß. Ich habe gezeigt, daß es sich um die bekannte Gottheit Śrī Mahādevatā handelt, so daß man in *śarī mādivyē* trennen muß.

ALMUTH DEGENER

*Fremdsprachiger Einfluß auf khotanische Suffixe*

Das khotanische (khot.) Suffixsystem<sup>1</sup> ist aus historisch-phonologischen Gründen relativ konservativ. Gerade deshalb lohnt es sich, nach einem möglichen Einfluß von Sprachen der kulturell verwandten Gebiete zu fragen.<sup>2</sup> Solch ein Einfluß kommt in Lehnaffixen, durch Bedeutungsentlehnung und durch Modifizierung der Funktion eines Suffixes auf Grund syntaktischer Erfordernisse zur Geltung. Feststellbar sind Einflüsse durch indoarische Sprachen, nämlich Sanskrit (Skt.) und Prakrit, und durch das Tocharische (Toch.).

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. A. Degener: *Khotanische Suffixe*. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, 39), Wiesbaden 1989.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. A. Degener: "Indisches Lehngut im Khotanischen." In: *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 26. bis 30. September 1988 in Köln. Ausgewählte Vorträge*, hrsg. von W. Diem und A. Falaturi. Stuttgart 1990, 381-90.



## 1. Lehnuffixe

1.1 *-ja-* als Zugehörigkeitssuffix stammt aus Skt. *-ja-* "stammend aus".<sup>1</sup>

1.2 *-hā-* entspricht in einigen indischen Lehnwörtern dem Abstraktsuffix Skt. *-tā-*, z.B. in *śūṃhāhā-* "Leerheit" (Skt. *śūnyatā-*), *dharmahā-* "wahre Wirklichkeit" (Skt. *dharmatā-*).<sup>2</sup> Wahrscheinlich wurde es aus einem Nordwest-Prakrit (\*-(d)hā- für altindisch *-tā-*)<sup>3</sup> als Bestandteil der Lehnwörter übernommen.

1.3 Das Abstraktsuffix *-ia-* stammt vermutlich aus indischem *-ya-*, da für Skt. *-ya-* regelmäßig khot. *-ia-* erscheint<sup>4</sup> und es für eine iranische Etymologie (\*-ika-) an Parallelen mangelt.

1.4 Das spät-khot. Deminutivsuffix *-ska-* muß mit westtocharisch *-ške/-ške* verglichen werden, das möglicherweise aus dem Baktrischen<sup>5</sup> stammt. Khot. *-ska-* ist vermutlich entweder ein toch. Lehnsuffix, oder es stammt aus einer durch *\*-ya-* zu *\*-ska-* palatalisierten Suffixkombination *\*-ska- < \*-ča- + \*-ka-*.<sup>6</sup> Auch damit könnte es letztendlich denselben altiranischen Ursprung haben wie toch. *-ške/-ške*.

1.5 Ins Tocharische als toch. *-tstse* entlehnt wurde wahrscheinlich das khot. Possessivsuffix *-jsa- < \*hača*.

## 2. Lehnbedeutung

2.1 Das Adjektivsuffix *-sta-* wird auf altiranisch *\*(a)sta- < \*(an)t-ta-* zurückgeführt. Während es von dort seine possessive Funktion erhält, stammt vermutlich aus dem indischen Kompositionsglied Skt. *-stha-* seine Bedeutung "befindlich in (einem Zustand)".

2.2 *-ššaa-* ist dem Ursprung nach vermutlich ein Deminutivsuffix.<sup>7</sup> Seiner Verwendung zur Übersetzung von Skt. *-putra-* verdankt es die konkrete Bedeutung "Sohn". In Kombination mit einem zweiten Suffix *-ika-* erscheint es als selbständiges Nomen *ššika-* "Kind, Sohn".<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Bailey, BSOAS X, 4, 1942, 921.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. E. Leumann: *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XX, Leipzig 1933-36, 172.

<sup>3</sup> unsicher: in Gāndhārī (J. Brough: *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962, 94-95) erscheint zuweilen *-dh-* für altindisches *-t-* und sehr selten *-h-* für *-dh-*.

<sup>4</sup> z.B. *āśiria-* für Skt. *ācārya-* "Meister".

<sup>5</sup> W. Winter, apud Klingenschmitt in: "Flexion und Wortbildung". *Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Regensburg 9.-14. Sept. 1973*, hrsg. von H. Rix, Wiesbaden 1975, 149.

<sup>6</sup> Altiranisch *\*(i)ča- + -k(a)- > khot. -(i)sk-* liegt vielleicht in dem Suffix *-iskyā-* und in spät-khot. *kaṇaṣka* "kleiner Finger" vor.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. E. Leumann, KZ 57, 1930, 199.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. H. W. Bailey: *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* Cambridge 1979, s. v. *ššika* und s. v. *širka* mit

## 3. Syntaktischer Einfluß

Das Khotanische neigt zur Suffixderivation eher als zur Bildung von Komposita. Indische Komposita werden bevorzugt aufgelöst und ihre Glieder durch Suffixe zueinander in Beziehung gesetzt. Dabei erwies sich vor allem das Materialsuffix *-inaa- < \*-ainaka-* als flexibel. Außer dem Materialsuffix (z.B. *ysāysīno dālysu* "aus Gras bestehendes Floß"<sup>1</sup>) fungiert es als Vergleichs- oder Identifikationssuffix (z.B. *jaḍīnai rākṣaysa* "Dämon der Unwissenheit"<sup>2</sup>) und erscheint besonders oft in Lehnübertragungen wie *dātīno ttarandaru* "Gesetzes-Körper"<sup>3</sup> für Skt. *dharmakāya-* "Körper (des Buddha) auf der Ebene der wahren Wirklichkeit" bzw. "Corpus aller dharmas".

anderer Etymologie.

<sup>1</sup> Z 13.28 (Z = *The Book of Zambasta. A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*, hrsg. von R. E. Emmerick, London 1968).

<sup>2</sup> Manj 76-77 in *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, hrsg. von H. W. Bailey, London 1951, 116.

<sup>3</sup> Z 2.231.



TSUGUHITO TAKEUCHI

*Preliminary Report on the Tibetan Texts in the Ōtani Collection*

It is well known that the Ōtani Collection, acquired by the Ōtani expeditions to Central Asia between 1902 and 1914 and preserved in Ryūkoku University, contains a considerable number of Tibetan texts excavated from the Turfan basin and Chinese Turkestan. But so far no serious study of the texts has been attempted, nor has a catalogue been made. In 1986 a research group headed by Daishun Ueyama was organized to investigate the Tibetan texts in the Ōtani Collection. This is a preliminary report of our investigations.

The number of Tibetan texts is relatively small compared to the Chinese and Uighur texts of the collection, and all of them are very fragmentary. However, our texts, together with the German Collection, consists in the main of Tibetan texts excavated from the Turfan basin.

The Ōtani Collection of Tibetan texts consist of the following groups:

- a) The texts which bear the numbers 6001-6070
- b) A Buddhist text which bears the number "Ryūsa Zanketsu 136".
- c) A copy of the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra*, obtained at Tun-huang.

Text c) has been photographically reproduced. As for the texts of group a) and b) although detailed information on the exact place of discovery of these texts is not available, most of them are considered to have been excavated from the Turfan basin, though some may have been obtained in the area of Kucha.

Texts numbered 6001-6014 are documents, or secular texts. Among them 6004 through 6011 are too fragmentary to identify. 6001 through 6003 are letter fragments, probably scribal exercises, consisting of the introductory formula of letter type III (according to my classification of the Old Tibetan letters). Mention should be made that the name of a Tibetan official, Zhang-stag-klu-bzang, is found in text 6001. This name appears also in a letter in German Turfan texts (*BTT* text 1), and in a few documents from Mazār Tāgh and Mīrān. Though it is not absolutely certain that these names refer to the same person, we may infer from these data that Klu-bzang was an official in the Tibetan colonies of the northeastern border in the 8th-9th centuries.

6012 is a legal document concerning the borrowing of wheat with finger measure seals (*mdzub-tshad* of two borrowers, and *sug-yig* of a guarantor *khas-len*) drawn upside down at the end of the text, following the regular form of the Old Tibetan legal documents or contracts. One of the borrowers' names reads: *sag za shib ir nyang*, which is in part a phonetic transliteration of a Chinese name, and means "the eleventh daughter of the Sag (Chin. 索 so) family".

6013 and 6014 form one document. Though its content has not been well identified yet, we may ascribe it to the time of the Kuei-i-chün due to its palaeographic features and to the fact that a part of a red square Chinese seal appears on it.

6015 through 6024 are fragments of Buddhist texts. These Buddhist texts and the one in category b) will be studied by Prof. Ueyama.

6025 and 6026 are fragments of one text, on the recto of which is written a text in 'Phags-pa script. On the verso is written a Mongol text in Mongol script. This is one of the few known



examples of handwritten 'Phags-pa script.

6027 through 6070 are prints of the same blockprint "Ye dharmā mantra". Interestingly, the same print is found in the German Turfan Collection (BTT text 49). This supports the above-mentioned close connection between the Tibetan texts of the Ōtani collection and the German collection. It would be interesting if we could date these blockprints, which may be expected to throw light on the beginnings of printing in Tibet and Central Asia. The paper quality is now under examination.

We hope to be able to publish facsimiles and edited texts of all the materials, along with annotated translations of them, in the near future.

PER KVAERNE

### *Chronological Tables (bstan-rcis) of the Bon Religion*

An important aspect of Bon, as of any religion, is the establishment of a reliable chronology. Fortunately, this is a problem with which the Bonpos themselves have been concerned, and for at least two centuries they have composed a number of *bstan-rcis*, "chronological tables of the Doctrine", short texts in which the most important events in the history of their religion are listed in chronological order.

The only such *bstan-rcis* which has so far been easily available is that of the Bonpo scholar Ni-ma-bstan-'jin (b. 1813). Drawn up in 1842, a translation was published by myself in 1971, and subsequent studies of the history of Bon have made extensive use of it.

However, in recent years it has become clear that there are other texts which in the same way provide a chronology of the Bon religion, and that the information they contain not only supplements, but often contradicts that found in Ni-ma-bstan-'jin's *bstan-rcis*.

One such text is the *bstan-rcis* of Chul-khrims-rgyal-mchan of the gŠen lineage (b. 1783). Written in 1804, a manuscript has only recently come to light. Most of the dates it provides are, when the same events are referred to, later than those found in Ni-ma-bstan-'jin. We are thus faced with problems of chronology which can only be solved by means of a broad study of all available historical sources. Below is given a list of those chronological texts of Bon which have so far become available:

1. *gŠen gyi rcis gsar rnam dag las/ bstan rcis skal ldan dañ 'dren*  
Composed in 1804 (šin byi) by gŠen-mkhas Chul-khrims-rgyal-mchan (b. 1783). ms., 10 fols.  
Edited and studied by Per Kvaerne, "A Bonpo *bstan rcis* from 1804", *forthcoming*.
2. *Saṅs rgyas kyi bstan rcis ño mchar nor bu'i phreñ ba*  
Composed in 1842 (čhu stag) by Ni-ma-bstan-'jin (b. 1813).
  - A. pp. 23-40 in *Tibetan Žang Žung Dictionary*, Delhi n.d. (1965), edited and brought up to date (1961) by Tenzin Namdak. Text and translation published by Per Kvaerne, "A Chronological Table of the Bon po. The bstan rcis of Ni-ma-bstan-'jin", *Acta Orientalia* 33 (1971): 205-282.
  - B. ms., 32 fols., entitled *g.Yuñ druñ bon gyi bstan rcis ño mchar nor bu'i phreñ ba*, brought up to date (1980) by g.Yuñ-druñ-bdud-'dul.

C. *bsTan rcis kyi rnam bšad mthoñ ba'i dga' ston nam dogs bsal pan ca li ka'i čhun po*, composed in 1842 by Ni-ma-bstan-'jin as a commentary to his own *bstan rcis*, published in *Tibetan Žang Žung Dictionary*, pp.41-61.

3. *dPyad gsum dag rcis bskal srid dus kyi 'khor lo las/ žag gsum rcis gžuñ nam mkha'i gter mjad*, composed by Khyuñ sprul 'jigs-med-nam-mkha'i-rdo-rje (1897-1956), contains a *bstan rcis* section which was composed in 1924, but with entries added up to 1936. Pp. 55-71 (fols. 28a-36a) of Vol.1 of *Khyung-sprul 'jigs-med-nam-mkha'i-rdo-rje on Calendrical Calculations and Astrology*, 2 vols., reproduced by Tenzin Namdak from the lithograph edition printed in Delhi about 1950, Dolanji, H.P., India, 1972.
4. *gŠen gyi rcis gsar rnam dag las/ saṅs rgyas bstan rcis bskal bzañ nor bu'i mgul rgyan*, composed in 1952 (čhu 'brug) by slob-dpon Chul-khrims-rgyal-mchan (b. 1893). ms., 15 fols.
5. *rGyal ba saṅs rgyas bstan pa'i rcis gsar ke ta ka yi 'phreñ ba*, Composed in 1955 (šin lug) by Hor-bcun bsTan-'jin blo-gros (1888-1975). ms., 13 fols. Discussed by Per Kvaerne, "A New Chronological Table of the Bon Religion. The *bstan-rcis* of Hor-bcun bsTan-'jin-blo-gros (1888-1975)", *forthcoming*.
6. *Žaṅ bod gaṅs ri'i ljoṅs dar g.yuñ druñ bon gyi dgon deb*, Composed in 1972 (čhu byi) by dPal-ldan-chul-khrims (1902-1973). Pp. 563-643 of vol. 2 of *g.Yuñ druñ bon gyi bstan 'byuñ* 2 vols., Dolanji, 1972; New edition by bsTan-'jin-dbañ-grags, published in China 1983.

PAUL KENT ANDERSEN

### *Passive and Antipassive in Classical Tibetan*

The fact that there is neither a nominative (NOM) nor an accusative (ACC) case in Classical Tibetan (CT) corresponding to NOM and ACC in the Indo-European languages has posed great problems for the correct analysis of the structure of CT. In languages like the Indo-European we find that the intransitive subject (S) as well as the transitive subject (Agent=A) are placed in the (usually unmarked) NOM case whereas the transitive object (Patient=P) is placed in the (usually marked) ACC case. Such languages will be called NOM/ACC languages. In a large number of languages around the world including CT we find that A is placed in the (usually marked) ergative (ERG) case (the instrumental in CT) whereas S as well as P will be placed in the (usually unmarked) absolutive (ABS) case. These languages we will call ERG languages. In investigating passive constructions in the languages of the world we find that two distinct processes can be involved: (a) the demotion or suppression of A either by removing it entirely from the sentence or by placing it in an oblique case (very often the instrumental), and (b) the promotion of P by placing it in the case usually reserved for A. Some languages employ (a) without (b), others employ (b) without (a), and still others employ both (a) and (b). We also notice that some languages obligatorily remove A in the passive while others allow A to appear in an oblique case. Although we usually expect to find the passive in NOM/ACC languages, we do find passives in some ERG languages such as CT as well. In ERG languages we quite often find a construction comparable to the passive in NOM/ACC languages; this is called the antipassive. Again we find that the two processes will



be involved here: (a) the demotion or suppression of P either by removing it entirely from the sentence or by placing it in an oblique case (very often the dative), and (b) the promotion of the (ergative) A to the case usually reserved for the P, i.e. the ABS. Until now it has been noted that languages usually employ both of these processes, while only a few employ (b) without (a). The antipassive in CT therefore represents a hitherto non-existent variant in which P has been demoted or suppressed while A has not been promoted but remains in the ERG case, i.e. (a) without (b). We can furthermore note the fact that the suppressed As and Ps in passives and antipassives are usually recoverable from their respective contexts. But when dealing with CT we find that As and Ps are quite frequently deleted under coreference. We are therefore faced with the problem of determining whether the As and Ps in the constructions called passives and antipassives have merely been deleted under coreference (and hence are not passives and antipassives) or not. In a recent investigation into deletion processes in CT it has been shown that ERG noun phrases (NPs) as well as ABS NPs and even DATIVE NPs are readily deleted under coreference with the same NP (independent of the specific case marking) in the previous clause. There are, however, certain syntactic boundaries across which coreferential deletion of NPs cannot operate. The passive and antipassive constructions in CT are found in contexts in which the suppressed A and P have been separated from their previous occurrences by one or more syntactic boundaries which block coreferential deletion. This means then that for a correct syntactic analysis of CT we will recognize not only an (ergative) active construction, but also a passive and an antipassive.

HISASHI MATSUMURA

#### *Neueres zu tibetischen Genera*

Obwohl in der neueren Forschung zur tibetischen Sprache große Fortschritte gemacht wurden, sind Fragen der tibetischen Syntax bislang nicht ausreichend behandelt worden. Dieser Umstand bereitet nicht nur Anfängern sondern auch Fachleuten Schwierigkeiten. Es ist unmöglich, in diesem Artikel auf alle Genres der tibetischen Literatur einzugehen. Zur Vermeidung diachronischer und synchronischer Verwirrungen, wird hier ein begrenzter Ausschnitt aus einem nur einer Gattung angehörigen Text, nämlich Udrāyaṇa (Nobel 1955) zugrundegelegt. Für die Wahl dieses Textes sprechen folgende Gründe: Erstens ist der Text in Nobels Ausgabe aus einer Handschrift (B) und drei Xylographen (NLP) kollationiert, zweitens besteht die Möglichkeit, das Sanskrit-Original (Divyāvadāna Nr. 37) zu konsultieren und drittens enthält der zweite Teil von Nobels Arbeit ein Wörterbuch, das das Nachschlagen erleichtert.

- (1) *khyod* (NL; *khyod kyis* PB) 'di (sc. *khrab*) *bdag dañ rkyen pas rañ ñid kyis bcañ bar bgyi zin* (3.32)

Angesichts von Nobels Wahl der Lesart (NL) muß man sich die Frage stellen ob und wenn ja, welchen Grund es für die Wahl der einen und die Zurückweisung der anderen Lesart gibt. Der Kasusanzeiger *kyis* (und dessen Allomorphe *gyis*, *gis*, *-s* sowie *yis* in Versen) wird in Lehrbüchern und Grammatiken nur ungenau erklärt: "Agentive" (Hannah 1912:67-68), "Instrumentive or agentive" (Csoma 1834:42, Jäschke-Wenzel 1883:21), "l'agent ... des verbes transitifs" (Bacot 1946:25, Lalou 1950:25-26), "sub-ekt dejstvija (v predložení, soderžaščem perechodnyj glagol)" (Rerich 1961:59, Parfionovič 1970:128), usw.

Hervorzuheben ist unter diesen Francke-Simon's (1929:137-8) Klassifikation der Verben in vier Gruppen und zwar aufgrund der Nomen, mit denen sie konstruiert werden. Auch Regameys Aufsatz, in dem er die tibetischen Sätze mit den Termini *ergatif*, *absolutif*, *patient* analysiert, sollte erwähnt werden (1954. Vgl. auch Matsumura 1982:58 Anm.4). Leider ist die tibetische Syntax nicht das Hauptthema dieses Aufsatzes. Der Verfasser bezieht sich nur in wenigen Fällen auf das Tibetische, wenn er früher geäußerte Ansichten (1946-47) korrigieren will.

Fast alle Syntax-Darstellungen von Sprachen scheinen vorauszusetzen, daß es ein rein syntaktisches Verhältnis gibt, das sich auf die Nominalphrase (*noun phrase*) und deren Prädikat beschränkt. Dieses Verhältnis, das gewöhnlich als grammatische Beziehung bezeichnet wird, wird in der traditionellen Terminologie als Subjekt und Objekt bezeichnet. Einige Linguisten kamen zu der Erkenntnis, daß der Terminus Subjekt, bei einer ergativischen Konstruktion nicht anwendbar ist (vgl. Anderson 1976). Um die Diskussion des so komplizierten Problems zu vermeiden, werden im folgenden Subjekt und Objekt durch drei Symbole S A P ersetzt (Comrie 1981:105). S bezieht sich auf das einzige Partizipient eines intransitiven Verbs. In der prototypischen transitiven Konstruktion (vgl. Givón 1986) wird der Agens als A, das Erleidende (*patient*) als P bezeichnet. Durch diese dreiteilige Unterscheidung entstehen fünf logisch denkbare Systeme für die Zuweisung des Kasus an S A P (Comrie 1978:333). Unter diesen fünf hat Typ III bei S und P den gleichen morphologischen Anzeiger (Absolutiv) während für A ein anderer Anzeiger verwandt wird (Ergativ). Dies ist das ergativ-absolutive System, das häufig einfach als ergatives System bezeichnet wird (für die Bezeichnung s. Steiner 1976:230 Anm. 7).

- (2) *tshe dañ ldan pa Kā tyā ya na chen po yul Bog ka nar phyin nas* (43.1)  
(3) (... *dañ*) *tshe dañ ldan pa Kā tyā ya na chen pos las ci bgyis na* (47.6)

Im Tibetischen ist der ergative Kasusanzeiger *-s* (und dessen Allomorphe) und der absolute Kasus wird nicht bzw. genauer gesagt mit Null bezeichnet.

Wie Nobel konstatiert, ist die Bedeutung des Satzes (1) tatsächlich 'zweifelhaft' solange man sich nur auf das Divyāvadāna stützt. Aber aus der chinesischen Parallele, dem Vinayavi-bhaṅga (T23.874a7), geht hervor, daß *bdag dañ rkyen pas* ein adverbialer Ausdruck ist, d.h. infolgedessen ist 'di P und *khyod*, das einen ergativen Anzeiger fordert, entspricht A.

Wie bereits bemerkt, sind die linguistische Analyse und das philologische Verfahren manchmal eng miteinander verbunden (de Jong 1969:311). Deshalb ist die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Tibetologen und Linguisten erforderlich, um zwei Ziele zu erreichen: zum einen eine theoretisch deskriptive Grammatik für Linguisten und zum anderen für den Philologen praktische Maßstäbe für die Text-Edition.

KATSUMI MIMAKI

#### *The Classification of the Yogācāra School in Tibetan Doxographical Literature*

Concerning the conflict between the two branches of the Yogācāra school we have a certain amount of material already in Indian sources. One of these two branches is called Sākārajñānavādin or Sākāravijñānavādin (or simply Sākāravādin) and another is called Nirākārajñānavādin or Nirākāravijñānavādin (or simply Nirākāravādin).



At least from the time of Śāntarakṣita (middle of the eighth century) the division of these two branches of the Yogācāra school began to be explicitly treated. We can find descriptions of the philosophy of these two schools most frequently in the works of Mādhyamika authors, such as Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Haribhadra, Jitāri and so on. These two schools appear as so-called 'two intermediate steps' before attaining the reality of the Mādhyamika.

We are also well informed about the famous Sākāra-Nirākāra conflict which took place between Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnākaraśānti during the final stage of Indian Buddhism in the eleventh century, Jñānaśrīmitra representing the Sākāravāda in his *Sākārasiddhi* and other works and Ratnākaraśānti representing the Nirākāravāda in his *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* and other works.

It is also well known that Tibetan authors wrote many doxographical works that include a classification of the Yogācāra school. Indian authors use the expressions Sākāravādin (rNam pa dañ bcas par smra ba in Tibetan translation) and Nirākāravādin (rNam pa med par smra ba), whereas Tibetan authors use the expressions rNam bden pa and rNam rdzun pa to describe the two branches of the Yogācāra school. It is therefore of some interest to clarify whether rNam pa dañ bcas pa is synonymous with rNam bden pa or not and whether rNam pa med pa is synonymous with rNam rdzun pa or not.

However, Tibetan authors are not unanimous in their classification. So it is necessary first to clarify and analyse their classification before discussing several other problems, and that is the purpose of the present paper.

By examining both old and new Tibetan doxographical materials I have been able to establish:

- 1) The famous division of the Yogācāra school into two sub-schools, the Luñ gi rjes 'brañ and the Rigs pa'i rjes 'brañ, does not appear until after the fifteenth century.
- 2) The rNam bden pa and the rNam rdzun pa are considered as synonyms respectively of the rNam pa dañ bcas par smra ba and the rNam pa med par smra ba by most of the Tibetan authors of the later period, but in the earlier period there are authors such as Roñ zom Chos kyi bzañ po (11th century) who do not regard them as synonyms.
- 3) The division of the rNam bden pa into three sub-schools in its final and fixed form, namely into the sNa tshogs gñis med pa, the gZuñ 'dzin grañs mñam pa and the sGo ña phyed tshal pa, can be found only after the fifteenth century.

FRANCIS V. TISO

*Tantric Dohās: Tradition and Change in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Tantrism*

In spite of the fact that the tantric Buddhism of Tibet confesses itself to be in continuity with the Indian vajrayāna, it is still not uncommon to attribute to the Indian tantric siddhas of the eighth to the thirteenth centuries views and practices that are quite unlike those of their supposed Tibetan heirs. The siddhas are presented as opponents of ritual and scholarship, but even a casual observer of Tibetan Buddhism would not fail to see the ubiquity of ritual and commentary in the historical accounts, in the biographies of saints (rnam thar), and in the practice of religion in monastery and village.

Native Tibetan emphasis on continuity with regard to the traditions of the Indian siddha gurus

is so strong that we should in fact be surprised to find such a disparity between what is thought to be their approach to the tantras and that of their Himalayan heirs.

The received tradition of tantric songs (dohā, caryāgīti, etc.) provides clues that reveal in the context of spiritual practice the attitude of siddha lineages toward ritual and scholarship. The songs have been collected by disciples, incorporated into biographies, translated into Tibetan, and in some cases accompanied by commentaries. Such songs continue to be a living part of the ritual practice of Vajrayāna sects in Tibet and Nepal. Significantly, siddhas' names are given in the Tibetan Tanjur as authors, commentators, and translators of major tantric ritual texts.

The siddhas, well-attested in their criticism of rituals and verbal explanations may neither have been advocating a rejection of the ritual practices nor repudiating the use of meditation practices (such as utpattikrama and sampannakrama). Rather they were a reform movement within trantrism emphasizing the realization of enlightenment of the Mahāyāna type by a short, direct path. They rejected the use of tantric rites for gaining such worldly objectives as wealth and long life.

Further confirmation of this view of the siddhas may be found in an examination of the fate of sandhābhāṣā (twilight language) as it passed from the world of the Old Bengali dohās to the visionary religion of the Tibetan rnal byor pas (yogins).

The tantric Candrakīrti gives a definition that explains the function of a term in twilight language: such a term reveals a truth of nature (dharmatattva) for the benefit of sentient beings *who are possessed of superior zeal* by the method of ambiguous discourse (viruddhala-pa). Twilight language is intended for the rare disciple, one on the verge of awakening to a direct realization of the non-duality of the relative and the absolute.

To speak of such an experience as spontaneous (sahaja) is meaningful only in relation to those few who are, by whatever prior experience, prepared to hear the allusive meanings of twilight language and to be thereby deeply transformed. The rnam thars present this perspective anecdotally, in accordance with the various systems of tantric practice.

In Tibet, the dohā tradition was further transformed, particularly under the influence of the indigenous institution of entranced bards. In their songs, the rnal byor pas used their own Himalayan symbolic elements to communicate a Buddhist tantric message. These songs emphasize the teaching aspect, even though they claim to be 'spontaneously generated.' In fact, they are song-sermons, often (e.g. in the songs of Milarepa) beginning with obscure discourse for the advanced disciples and concluding with allegorical interpretations for the benefit of less-gifted listeners. Such song-sermons would be inspired by revelatory messengers on the Sambhogakāya level, the Ḍākinīs, towards whom the rnal byor pas were to maintain a listening attitude. In the 'language of the Ḍākinīs' we may find the fate of sandhābhāṣā in Tibet, where a rich and manifold civilization arose from a unique appropriation of the Buddhist tantras.



D. SEYFORT RUEGG

*The 'Council of Tibet' in Two Early Tibetan Historical Works*

Since the publication in the 1950s of the relevant works of Demiéville and Tucci, the so called 'Council of Tibet/bSam-yas/lHa-sa' has — together with the associated religious, philosophical and cultural-historical problems — been the topic of much discussion among both Tibetologists and historians of Buddhism. Alongside some related, but rather fragmentary, materials found among the Tibetan and Chinese Tun-huang documents, our main source for this Great Debate in which the proponents of 'Gradualism' (*rim-gyis-pa*) and 'Simultaneism' (*cig-c(h)ar-pa*) met have been the sBa Traditions, embodied in the two extant versions of the *sBa-bžed*, and in related accounts in the works of later Tibetan historians such as Bu-ston and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreñ-ba.

Given the paucity of sources, questions have been raised concerning the reliability of the traditional account. Doubt has thus been expressed as to whether the 'Gradualist' Kamalaśīla ever actually debated with the Chinese 'Simultaneist' Ho-shang Mo-ho-yen (Hva-šan Mahāyāna). And the accounts based on the sBa Traditions have even been impugned as partisan ones reflecting a tendentious view put out no earlier than the eleventh century, in particular by the bKa'-gdams-pa followers of Atiśa.

The recent publication of the *Chos-'byuñ Me-tog-sñiñ-po*, a history by the rÑiñ-ma-pa/rDzogs-chen-pa master Ñaṅ-ral Ñi-ma 'od-zer (twelfth century), has now placed the matter in a clearer light as regards the Tibetan view of the matter. For the account of the Great Debate given by it is closely related to — and indeed often essentially identical with — traditions recorded in the *sBa-bžed*. The fact that this rDzogs-chen-pa master thus confirms the existence of the Great Debate, the religio-philosophical points at issue, and the defeat of the Hva-šan demonstrates that the account hitherto current was not just a sectarian version of events. In keeping, however, with the rÑiñ-ma-pa/rDzogs-chen-pa view of the Hva-šan's teachings attested e.g. by Kloñ-chen-pa (fourteenth century), Ñaṅ-ral's account is not hostile to Mo-ho-yen, even though (like the other accounts) Ñaṅ-ral records the defeat of the Hva-šan by Kamalaśīla and his followers. Very interestingly, Ñaṅ-ral's *Chos-'byuñ* makes no reference to Kamalaśīla's murder by the Hva-šan's agents (or indeed by anybody else); and it presents the Hva-šan's personal relation to Kamalaśīla, and also to Indian Buddhism, in a quite eirenic light.

In sum, even though he has recorded the existence of a debate between 'Gradualists' led by Kamalaśīla and 'Simultaneists' headed by the Chinese Hva-šan and the defeat of the latter by the former, Ñaṅ-ral's account in his *Chos-'byuñ* lends little support to the interpretation of the Great Debate as a Sino-Indian confrontation or conflict on the religio-philosophical level — and even less on the secular, political level — with the Tibetans cast in the more or less passive rôle of a people merely waiting to be converted to either the Indian or the Chinese national form of Buddhism. The issues appear as much deeper — and more interesting — ones that reach far back in the history of Buddhism as a whole; they are incidentally connected with individual Indians and Chinese, rather than with any monolithic national forms of Buddhism. The controversy centering on these issues that took place in Tibet at the end of the eighth century C.E. culminated strictly speaking not in a council (or even in a synod) but, according to our sources, in a more or less traditional-style debate with the Tibetan ruler acting as witness-arbiter.

FLEMMING FABER

*Vimalamitra — One or Two?*

One of the Indian pandits who were invited to Tibet in the dynastic period was Vimalamitra. Later sources (from 12th century onwards) describe him as one of the main transmitters of the rDzogs chen teachings, and this is what makes him an especially interesting figure.

According to the *sBa bžhed*, he came to Tibet around 795 AD. But our main sources of information for the life of Vimalamitra are the later writings of Nyang ral pa can, Klong chen pa and especially the *Blue Annals*, where Vimalamitra is mentioned as the transmitter of rDzogs chen to Tibet together with Padma Sambhava. For the first time the possibility of two Vimalamitras is mentioned, an 'earlier' and a 'later'.

If we take a closer look at the writings of Vimalamitra registered in the *lHan dkar Catalogue* it soon becomes clear that the 'earlier' Vimalamitra is identical with the person described in the more or less legendary accounts we have of Vimalamitra. The 'later' Vimalamitra is only mentioned by 'Gos lo tsa ba. We know no biography, not even the most sketchy, of the 'later' Vimalamitra. The *lHan dkar Catalogue* does not support the assumption of the two Vimalamitras. The Catalogue lists two texts where one is stated by the *Blue Annals* to be written by the 'earlier' Vimalamitra (no. 529) and one by the 'later' Vimalamitra (no. 499), but the *lHan dkar Catalogue* does not make any distinction; on the other hand the two important texts mentioned by 'Gos lo tsa ba, the *Cig car 'jug pa* and the *Rim gyis 'jug pa* are not listed in the *lHan dkar Catalogue*. Everything added up, the most credible solution is that there has been only one Vimalamitra who has written some of the texts credited him, and the rest has been credited him by posterity, as in the case of the *Cig car 'jug pa*, as I have shown earlier.

That there is only one Vimalamitra is supported by 'Jigs med gling pa in his *dKar chag* to the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*. Through his writings we might draw the conclusion that 'Gos lo tsha ba considered it unacceptable that a *yogin* should be author both of Tantric texts and Vinaya texts. He might therefore have thought it necessary to introduce two authors by the same name.

Anyhow, I do not think we have to worry about one or two Vimalamitras any more; if there has been two, the so-called 'later' is of no consequence whatsoever, as all available informations on Vimalamitra appears to refer to the 'earlier' Vimalamitra.

ALEX WAYMAN

*The Seven Causes of an Utterance per Bu-ston*

The brief work by Bu-ston on the title *Pramāṇa-viniścaya*, preceding his great commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa-viniścaya*, contains a list of seven causes of an utterance with an overly concise definition for each. The seven causes (S. *hetu*, T. *rgyu*) for an utterance, as here given, undoubtedly stem from the grammatical texts preserved in the Tanjur — principally the *Kātantra* and the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*. This tradition does not use the element symbolism of fire (Agni) and wind (Māruta) found in the *Pāṇiniya-śikṣā*, claimed to be consistent with the Pāṇineen system. The Buddhist tradition, at least originally, did not have the fire sacrifice featuring the Vedic deity Agni; and this fact may well be behind this







Johannes Irmscher

Oriental Christian Writing as a Component of the Literature  
of Late Antiquity

Classical philology and the philology of the *Oriens Christianus* have long co-existed in such a way as if they were unconnected. In the realm of science, classical philology (as suggested by the epithet "classical") used to occupy a position of pre-eminence because ancient civilization was universally regarded as exemplary and because Latin served as an international language of scholars even at a time when those conditions had ceased to exist or were present only to a limited extent. This special position gave rise to a concept of history in which the ancient world was dominant and in which at times Hellenism alone, perhaps only in its classical sense, was deemed relevant. The civilizations on the periphery of the *Orbis antiquus* were looked upon as barbarian, meriting attention only from the angle of their relationship with ancient civilization.

The philology of the *Oriens Christianus* has its roots in the efforts of the Roman Church towards union, which increased after the Council of Florence (1438-1445). It may suffice here to recall the Maronite family of the Assemani, which produced four important Orientalists in the 18th century who arguably initiated the study of the Christian Orient. In terms of personnel and substance, these studies were closely related to theology and its scholarly institutions, and were sometimes regarded as a theological discipline. For all these reasons there existed no close link to classical philology, with the result that among the community of classical scholars the unrealistic view gained currency that Oriental Christian writing was purely "biblical, ecclesiastical and monastic". The study of Byzantine culture emerged in the course of the 19th century as a philological-historical science operating on the theoretical foundation of historicism and positivism. For a long time to come it remained indebted to classical philology, strongly emphasizing the two classical languages and the ancient elements surviving in medieval Byzantine society while often underrating or even ignoring the Oriental part of the multiethnic Byzantine Empire - if only because of the lack of linguistic expertise required for scholarship.

In our age, which can treat economic, social and political processes only in global terms, it is only logical that the past, the history of primitive society, the ancient world and the Middle Ages, should also be examined from a global perspective, in the context of world history. But another aspect should be taken into account as well. Seen from the angle of present-day historiography it is not so much the rulers who merit closer scrutiny as those over whom they ruled, those beyond the orbit of power, the outsiders and peripheral figures who have so far been neglected. Only if both social groups are given due attention, along with their divergent interests and the resulting (class) struggles is it possible to gain reliable insights into objective historical processes. Applied to the historical period under consideration, this means that both the Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire were states of great ethnic diversity. To a certain degree they were also economic entities, but their economic integration never attained a scale comparable to the realities of the modern world.







Michel Breydy

Les Extraits Syriacques de Proclus  
dans l'Exposé de la Foi de Jean Maron

Proclus de Constantinople est l'un des rares Pères grecs qui ont eu une renommée très étendue en dehors de leur milieu byzantin. Ses homélies furent traduites très tôt par les syro-antiochiens comme par les coptes. Les textes qui en sont conservés en syriaque comme en copte prouvent que ses traducteurs ne se sont pas laissés prendre aux différentes interpolations et manipulations de la tradition grecque de ses homélies et ont gardé fidèlement les titres originaux des passages qu'ils citaient, contrairement à ce que nous constatons dans les sources grecques.

La tradition manuscrite des homélies de Proclus a été largement étudiée par F. J. Leroy, qui a consacré aussi plusieurs pages aux versions syriacques, et Ch. Martin en a édité deux homélies, retrouvées dans le ms. Paris.gr. 1491.<sup>3</sup>

Alors que dans l'Exposé de la foi de Jean Maron nous retrouvons deux passages de Proclus<sup>4</sup>, nous constatons que l'Eranistès de Théodoret ne s'y réfère point, et que, de même que le florilège de Chalcédoine les deux Ps.-Léonce apposent un faux titre<sup>5</sup> aux témoignages qu'ils lui ont empruntés.

L'attestation que nous donne Jean Maron (§ 46) de l'homélie de Proclus sur la Nativité présente des variantes qui remplissent les lacunes de la recension grecque du ms. Par.gr. 1491<sup>6</sup> et servent à la corriger à certains endroits.

a) Le fragment sur la Nativité:

Nous disposons actuellement de deux exemplaires syriacques de cette homélie, qui se complètent l'un l'autre. Ce sont: Vat.Syr. (= VS) 368 et le ms. Orient. 8606 de la British Library. Ils proviennent de deux milieux différents, car l'un est maronite et l'autre syro-melkite. Mais là où le VS 368 est mutilé d'une feuille (= 17<sup>7</sup> rv), il a été possible de le compléter par le texte du ms. Orient. 8606.

La version latine préparée pour le Card. Mai par le maronite Matta Shahwan sur le VS 368 est donc restée incomplète, tout en étant une version assez libre. Cependant, pour apprécier la juste valeur testimoniale du ms. VS 368, il faudrait écarter l'opinion de J.-M. Sauget sur son origine monophysite.

Avant d'arriver à Rome, ce manuscrit se trouvait d'abord au monastère maronite de Hawqa, près de la résidence patriarcale de Qannubin. Puis il avait appartenu à la bibliothèque du patriarche Estéphan Duayhy (+ 1704 A.D.). De ce manuscrit, Duayhy avait puisé parmi bien d'autres un long passage de cette homélie de Proclus.<sup>10</sup>

Mais c'est au monastère de Hawqa qu'avait dû le consulter (en 1619), Girgis al-Karimsaddani, lequel n'est autre que l'auteur du *Lexicon syriacum* et l'ancien élève du collège maronite de Rome connu comme Georgius Carmeniensis. La note de lecteur signalée par J.-M. Sauget sur la marge du f. 147 r est bien de sa main.

Dans les manuscrits de l'Exposé de Jean Maron que nous avons consultés, nous avons constaté des écarts dans la titulature de cette homélie, et une hésitation manifeste dans la reproduction du témoignage convenable. Car le titre du § 46 est répété en tête d'un extrait de l'homélie de Proclus pour l'entrée en Carême (§ 78), et c'est le même que nous retrouvons plus loin au § 94.

Cela permet de penser que le premier scribe avait trouvé ici une lacune dans son antiigraphe, ou bien qu'en voulant résumer l'œuvre de Jean Maron, il avait jugé inutile de reproduire en entier un passage de Proclus dont un fragment avait déjà été cité auparavant (- § 46).

La déformation successive du titre a joué probablement un grand rôle dans la stabilisation de la confusion: le ms. A porte = **وحلا ملوہ الله**

**حصفو**, ad litteram = de l'homélie sur la mère de Dieu dans la

chair; mais le contre-sens est ici bien évident, surtout si on le compare avec le titre donné précédemment (§ 46) = **وحلا ملوہ وحق حصفو**

**مع صر صرنا** ad litt.: du Sermon sur la Nativité de Notre-Seigneur dans

la chair. La confusion semble reposer sur la graphie syriaque très ressemblante des mots " **ملوہ الله** : Mère de Dieu" et " **ملوہ الله** :

naissance de Dieu". La perplexité des scribes se manifeste dans plusieurs détails qui montrent comment chacun a essayé de réduire pour son compte cet obstacle et de contourner la difficulté.

Le ms. K a cru pouvoir compléter ainsi le titre imprécis à son avis:

**مع صر صرنا وحلا حلا ملوہ الله**  
= de l'homélie sur la Vierge Marie mère de Dieu. Il l'a d'ailleurs confirmé dans sa version arabe (p. 44) par = من ميمر الذي على البتولة مريم والدة الله

Dans le ms. Orient. 8606 (f. 113 v b), on trouve une certaine nuance littéraire qui rend fidèlement le τὸ γενέσθαι τοῦ Κυρίου

ἐμῶν du ms. Par. Gr. 1491, mais n'exclut pas nécessairement l'originalité de l'expression "naissance de Dieu dans la chair": **وححق حصفو**

**ملوہ** Je crois donc qu'à la place du texte de Proclus donné au § 78 de l'Exposé de J. M., (soit par erreur ou bien pour sortir de l'embarras), il y avait à l'origine un long passage de Proclus, tiré de cette homélie sur la Nativité et qu'il incluait le passage cité précédemment au § 46.

Cet emprunt à Proclus avait intéressé également la patriarche Duayhy, lequel l'a transcrit en entier dans sa III<sup>e</sup> *Apologie des Maronites*, en se référant à l'actuel VS 368. Je reproduis ce passage en face du texte grec du Parisinus, dont la position, de l'avis même de son éditeur<sup>12</sup>, se range nettement à côté de la version maronite du Codex VS 368. La recension grecque y trouvera de cette façon le complément nécessaire à ses propres lacunes. En marge du texte syriaque j'ajoute les variantes de l'Or. 8606, qui montrent par le fait même les avantages conceptuels et stylistiques de la recension maronite:



Par. Grec 1491

(Ed. Martin, p.42-43; Nr.16-22)

Ὁ γὰρ Λόγος σαρξ ἐγενετο  
καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.

17. - Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θεοτόκος

ἡ Παρθένος.

Ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετὰ τόκον

παρθένος ἔμεινεν,<sup>1)</sup>

ανερμήνευτος ὁ τόκος

διὰ τὸ ἀνέφικτον μυστήριον

.....<sup>2)</sup>

.....

ὁρατὸς ὁ Λόγος

διὰ τὴν ἐνσαρκον οικονομίαν.

VS 368 f.18 r-v

(Duayhy, Apol.III, p.62)

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

Var. de Or. 8606 f. 115 r/a-b.

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

2) omit.et habet hic: ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

3) om. ob praeced. variantem.

5) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

4)

6) omit.

7) var. sic: ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

9) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

8) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

18. - ὅρα δέ

..... [ ? ]

ὅτι ἔμεινεν ὁ ἦν

καὶ γέγονεν

ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν :

παθητὸς δὲ καὶ ἀπαθῆς

.....<sup>2)</sup> κατὰ τὸ ὁρώμενον.....<sup>2)</sup>.....<sup>2)</sup>

ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ

ὑπάρχων κατὰ τὴν Θεότητα

καὶ ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν

.....<sup>2)</sup>

κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα

χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας.

<sup>10)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ  
<sup>11)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ  
ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ  
ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ <sup>12)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ  
<sup>13)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ <sup>14)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

<sup>15)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

<sup>17)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ <sup>16)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

<sup>18)</sup> ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

## Remarques sur le texte grec

1) L'éditeur Martin (n°24) a cru  
qu'un membre de la phrase manquait

ici. La recension syriaque prouve  
que le défaut se trouve plus loin,  
là où manque la désignation du  
mystère, à savoir celui "de Dieu  
le Verbe par rapport à son humanité  
visible".

2) Endroits défectueux qui se  
laissent compenser par les mots  
que l'on voit soulignés dans  
le texte syriaque.

## Variantes de Or. 8606 (suite)

10) omit.

11) hic addit :

12) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

13) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

14) omit. Waw.

15) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

16) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

17) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

18) ܠܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ







21. - Οὐ γὰρ φιλὸς ἄνθρωπος

ὁ τεχθεὶς,

ὡς Ἰουδαῖε<sup>5)</sup>

οὔτε γυνὸς θεός.

Εἰ δὲ φιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Χριστὸς

πῶς ἡ παρθένος

μετὰ τόκον

ἔμεινεν παρθένος.

[Init. fragm. p 46 JM]

له يهوذا  
مسيح  
.....

<sup>26)</sup> مس. هلا الهه  
ابن  
.....

<sup>27)</sup> مس. هلا الهه  
مسيح  
.....  
<sup>28)</sup> مس. هلا الهه  
[?]

#### Variantes texte grec ( suite)

5) C'est manifestement une interprétation . Cette apostrophe manque dans l'Exposé de Jean Maron comme dans le VS 368.

#### Variantes Or. 8606 ( suite )

26) invertit: مس. هلا الهه  
JM habet : مس. هلا الهه

27) مس. هلا

28) مس. هلا

22. - Ἐνα οὖν νοοῦμεν

τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν δύο φύσεσιν

ὁμολογεῖν

μετὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν<sup>6)</sup>

θεότητος τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος,

ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος<sup>6)</sup>

ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτόν,

υἱὸν μονογενῆ

Κύριον<sup>7)</sup> Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

.....

Δύο γὰρ φύσεων ἐνωσις

γένονεν εἰς

μίαν υἰότητα

τε καὶ κυριότητα<sup>8)</sup>

ἐνωσις γέγονεν, οὐ ἀγχυσις;

ἐνωσις οὐ τροπή;

ἐνωσις, οὐ φερμός.....

<sup>29)</sup> مس. هلا الهه  
مسيح  
.....

<sup>30)</sup> مس. هلا الهه

<sup>31)</sup> مس. هلا الهه  
مسيح  
.....

<sup>32)</sup> مس. هلا الهه

(Finis § 46 apud JM)

<sup>33)</sup> مس. هلا الهه  
مسيح  
.....

<sup>34)</sup> مس. هلا الهه  
مسيح  
.....

مس. هلا الهه

<sup>36)</sup> مس. هلا الهه  
مسيح  
.....

مس. هلا الهه

مس. هلا الهه

6) Les mots soulignés dans les deux endroits manquent dans le syriaque et sont superflus.

7) Le nom de Jésus, que l'on voit souligné dans le syriaque, manque ici !

8) Ces mots manquent dans le syriaque et sont erronés, ou au moins superflus; car la Seigneurie n'est pas un attribut personnel ( comme la filiation ) pour qu'il soit permis d'en faire le principe par lequel a lieu l'union des deux natures .

#### Variantes Or. 8606 ( suite)

29) omit.

30) JM habet: مس. هلا الهه

31) omit.

32) omit. Waw.

33) مس. هلا

34) omit

35) مس. هلا الهه  
36) omit.



La version latine de Matta Shahwan (PG 65 c.845/A 7 - B 2) étant assez imprécise, je donne ci-après une traduction plus fidèle à l'original:

"Le Verbe s'est fait chair et habita parmi nous (In.1,14)."

"C'est pourquoi la Mère de Dieu est vierge aussi, parce qu'elle l'est restée telle après l'enfantement. La naissance ne s'explique pas en raison du mystère incompréhensible de Dieu le Verbe, eu égard à son humanité visible."

"Car le Verbe devient visible à travers sa conduite dans la chair; mais il est invisible, en raison du fait qu'il est devenu ce qu'il n'était pas, (à savoir) passible et impassible, tout en restant ce qu'il était. Passible en ce par quoi il est visible, et impassible en ce par quoi il est connu. Il est consubstantiel au Père dans la divinité, et consubstantiel à nous dans l'humanité, hormis le péché. Par conséquent, la mère est (restée) vierge, pour avoir engendré sans semence le Verbe incarné, et elle est encore vierge à cause de la nativité glorieuse de celui qui a voulu (qu'il en fût ainsi)."

"Elle est mère de Dieu le Verbe dans la substance (ousia) humaine, parce qu'il a pris corps d'elle, s'est manifesté (d'elle) et s'est uni (à la chair) comme prévu par la volonté de celui qui opère les miracles; car, "c'est d'eux qu'est (apparu) le Christ dans la chair", comme le dit le bienheureux Paul (Rom. 9,5)."

"Celui qui est né n'est pas un simple homme, encore moins un dieu tout nu; car, si le Christ est un homme tout simple, comment la sainte Vierge serait-elle demeurée vierge après son enfantement? Apprenons donc à confesser que le Christ a deux natures: celle de la divinité et celle de l'humanité, tout en demeurant le même: Jésus-Christ, le Fils et le Monogène. Jésus le Seigneur, Jésus le Messie. L'union de deux natures fut dans la Filiation unique. C'était une union, non une confusion; une union, non un changement; une union, non un mélange."

b) Le fragment sur le dogme de l'incarnation:

En ne reproduisant au § 94 que le premier mot du passage appartenant à l'homélie de Proclu sur le dogme de l'incarnation, (alors qu'il l'avait donné en entier au § 78, mais sous un titre qui ne lui convenait pas), le scribe du ms. A a laissé percevoir une fois de plus sa perplexité au sujet de l'emplacement à donner à ce témoignage, déchargeant ainsi l'auteur de l'original de la confusion qui s'était introduite dans les copies postérieures. Le traducteur arabe dont dépendent les mss. A (p. 63) et P (f. 38r) a essayé de donner une autre teneur aux mêmes mots, en les introduisant par une paraphrase justificative, mais hors de place. *ولدها السيد المسيح*

*قالت السيدة عن* = La Madonne a dit au sujet de son fils le Seigneur-Messie "...".

C'est l'omission de tout le contexte signalé d'après le VS. 368 (selon l'édition de Duayhy) qui est la cause de toutes ces confusions. La valeur testimoniale du texte de Proclus n'en a souffert que dans la traduction arabe.

On serait tenté d'en rapprocher un titre semblable, que les deux Ps.-Léonce avaient employé abusivement c'est-à-dire: *in Domini Nativitatem* chez Leoncius II et *in Christi Nativitatem* chez Leontius I.<sup>13</sup>

Les passages cités sous ce titre prouvent cependant qu'ils sont mal placés, car ils reviennent en fait à la *Oratio de laudibus S. Mariae*.

Mais il ne manque pas d'intérêt d'observer ici que ce faux intitulé avait été employé aussi par Sévère d'Antioche et par ses adversaires chalcédoniens, comme on peut le constater maintenant dans ses ouvrages publiés: le *Contra Grammaticum*, et la *Oratio altera ad Nephaliu*<sup>5</sup>.

Cette constatation permettrait de conclure que les deux Pseudo-Léonce avaient puisé dans les florilèges de Sévère et qu'ils lui sont donc postérieurs.

Cette déduction aurait besoin cependant d'être confirmée par d'autres indices qui dépassent le cadre de cette recherche.

Une étude plus attentive du texte tiré du sermon sur le dogme de l'Incarnation nous amène à constater que Jean Maron reste en pleine conformité avec la tradition qui avait conservé l'original grec. Le titre abrégé dans

le Ms. A *ما منّا وبعده ملك واهل* est rendu intégralement dans les mss. P et K:

*ما منّا وبعده ملك واهل وبعده ملك واهل*

Bien mieux que le texte grec signalé par Ephrem d'Amid<sup>16</sup> ou encore par la *Doctrina*<sup>17</sup>, la version copte du ms. 5001 de la British Library confirme le titre donné par Jean Maron, en référant par ex. "on the sunday which preceded the holy forty days".

Le titre donné dans le ms. VS 368 "sermon du dogme pour le samedi qui précède le Carême" en serait bien l'équivalent, si l'on s'avisait de traduire le mot *احد* par *semaine*, et non pas par *samedi*; car, ce vocable syriaque peut signifier les deux choses à la fois.

Le cycle annuel de l'année liturgique étant divisé en semaines, l'indication du Lectionnaire/Homiliaire VS 368 équivaudrait à celle énoncée plus clairement par Jean Maron: "pour la *semaine* qui précède la Carême, ou de l'entrée en Carême".

Le texte grec que Ch. Martin a publié selon Par. Gr. 1491 montre combien cette homélie fut *adaptée et harmonisée* au cours des siècles par les différents scribes, donnant lieu à l'application de plusieurs recensions grecque et syriaques non-maronites.

La recension de Jean Maron, qui se distingue de toutes les autres par trois détails importants, nous autorise à conclure qu'elle est puisée à un original plus ancien, plus complet et plus correct.

En dehors du titre "*sermon prononcé à l'entrée du Carême*", les trois distinctifs sont les expressions suivantes:

- a) *مسيو* = Monogène;
- b) *ولا حلا* = sans confusion;
- c) *امر واهل* = comme le dit Nestorius.

Chacune de ces expressions trouve sa justification dans l'une ou l'autre des recensions grecques. Considérons-les dans l'ensemble du contexte tel que repéré dans le ms. Parisinus Gr. 1491, pour mettre en relief leur importance dans le cadre des autres variantes:



Par.Grec (Martin, Nr. 11, p. 46)

1) οὐ αὐτὸς γὰρ θεὸς  
 καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀψευδῶς<sup>2)</sup>  
 τῷ πατρὶ καθ' ὃ ἦν  
 ὁμοούσιος  
 .....  
 καὶ τῇ μητρὶ<sup>3)</sup>  
 κατὰ πάντα<sup>4)</sup>  
 χωρὶς<sup>5)</sup> ἁμαρτίας.  
 Ἡ δὲ θεία φύσις ἀκτίστος  
 καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἡμῶν φύσις<sup>6)</sup>  
 ἀνόθεντος.

N.B.

Variantes du grec, infra.

JM § 78 / 94

1) ܐܘܬܪܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 2) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 3) ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 4) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 5) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 6) ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 7) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

Variantes syriaques d'après VS 369 f. 47 v-b  
 (VS 368 mutilus in hoc loco)

- 1) VS 369 ܐܘܬܪܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 2) omit.  
 3) VS 369 add. ut Graec.: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 4) omit.  
 5) VS 369: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 6) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 7) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

Καὶ ἔστιν υἱὸς<sup>7)</sup>  
 .....<sup>8)</sup>  
 οὐ τῶν δύο<sup>9)</sup> φύσεων εἰς  
 δύο<sup>10)</sup> ὑποστάσεις  
 διαρρουμένων<sup>11)</sup>,  
 .....<sup>12)</sup>  
 ἀλλὰ, τῆς φρικτῆς<sup>13)</sup>  
 οἰκονομίας!  
 τὰς δύο φύσεις<sup>14)</sup> εἰς  
 .....<sup>15)</sup>  
 μίαν ὑπόστασιν  
 ἐνώσας ἑαυτὸν<sup>16)</sup>.

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ<sup>8)</sup>  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ<sup>9)</sup>  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ<sup>10)</sup>  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ<sup>11)</sup>  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

(suite des variantes syriaques)

- 8) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 9) VS 369 omit.  
 10) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ  
 coet. omit. (Primitus habuit: ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ)  
 11) omit.  
 12) omit.

Variantes du texte grec, selon

Leontius I (abrégé en Le I), c. 1309/C;  
 Doctrina Patrum (= DP) p. 48-49;  
 Hodegos (= Ho), PG. t. 89, c. 184/AB;

- 1) Le I : οὐ αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς θεὸς  
 2) Le I et DP invert. καὶ ἀψευδῶς ἄνθρωπος.  
 3) Le I et DP καὶ ἐμοὶ. Comme dans le syriaque il n'est pas question de la mère, mais de la nature de l'orateur lui-même!  
 4) Le I et DP (comme VS 369) : καθ' ὃ γέγονεν... (ὁμόφυλος)  
 5) Le I et DP : ἀνευ loco χωρὶς  
 6) Le I et DP se conforment au syriaque, mais DP a πρόσληψις tandis que Le I écrit: πρόσληψα.

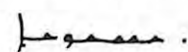


7) Ho : 'Εστι γὰρ εἷς καὶ μόνος Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ;

mais auparavant ( c. 160 /AB) il reproduisait la recension de la DP:

καὶ ὅστις εἷς Υἱὸς οὐ τῶν φύσεων \_\_\_\_\_, omettant le Μονογενὴς .

8) Ho est le seul témoin grec qui confirme le syriaque de JM, en mentionnant

le Μονογενὴς = .

9) Ho, DP et Le I omit. δύο .

10) Ho : δυνάδα .

11) Le I et DP : διαιρουμένων ; mais Ho : τεμνομένων .

12) Le rappel de Nestorius donné par JM manque partout ailleurs .

13) Ho aliter : ἀρρήτου λόγου .

14) Ho omit. τὰς δύο φύσεις .

15) L'équivalent grec ἀσυχύτως , signalé dans l'homélie de Proclus

sur la Nativité , manque dans le ms. Paris. Graec. comme dans Ho , DP et Le I.

16) DP et Le I : ἐνωσάσης ; Ho : ἐνώσαντος .

Nous avons rencontré le terme "Monogène" dans le passage étudié auparavant de l'Homélie sur la Nativité, et il apparaît à nouveau dans le fragment actuel de Jean Maron, comme dans la seconde recension attestée par Anastase le Sinaïte, contrairement à ce que cet auteur avait donné dans le passage parallèle de son chapitre X.

Quant au rappel de Nestorius dans ce discours de Proclus, on le comprendrait mieux dans la recension de Jean Maron car la version copte atteste clairement que ce "sermon historique" fut tenu en présence de Nestorius lui-même. Aussi, le "comme le dit Nestorius", convient beaucoup mieux dans la bouche de l'orateur pondéré que l' "ὦ Ἰουδαίε", une apostrophe odieuse et pleine de mépris, que nous lisons actuellement dans d'autres endroits de la recension grecque éditée.

Enfin, le terme ἀσυχύτως = sans confusion, rentre bien mieux dans l'idéologie de Proclus, puisque la ἐνωσις οὐ σύγχυσις est clairement attestée dans son Homélie sur la Nativité du Seigneur.

Bien qu'il y ait plusieurs ressemblances entre le passage référé par Jean Maron et ceux de la *Doctrina Patrum* comme de *Leontius I*, et des trois recensions d'Anastase le Sinaïte, des détails divergents demeurent entre tous ces témoins, entachés tous ensemble par l'omission des trois expressions signalées, mais qui ne confirment pas moins, chacun de son côté, l'authenticité de chaque mot dans la recension de Jean Maron.

#### NOTES MARGINALES

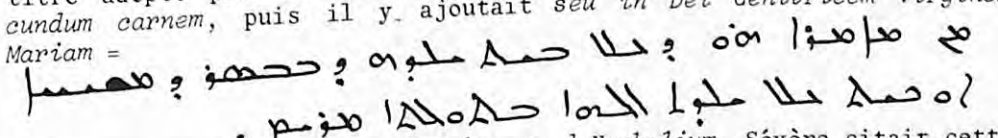
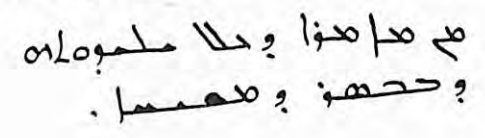
J'utilise les abréviations suivantes:  
Pour les manuscrits cités des oeuvres de Jean Maron:

- A " ms. Ashqut (Liban) 52 (Karshuni)  
P = ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, syr. 203  
K = Ms. Deir al-Kreim (Liban) 31/a.  
ACO = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, éd. Sd. Schwartz, Leipzig/Berlin 1927 ss.  
Barsum, *Histoire* = Patr. Ephrem Barsum, *Histoire des sciences et de la littérature syriaque*, 2 éd. de l'original arabe, Alep 1956.  
B.O. = J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, Rome, I (1719), II (1721), III (1725), IV (1728).  
CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Louvain.  
Devreesse = R. Devreesse, *Le Floripège de Léonce de Byzance*, dans *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, t. 10 (1930), 545-578.  
*Doctrina Patrum* = *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*, ed. Franz Diekamp, Münster 1907; 2 éd. 1981.  
Duayhy, *Apologie III* = Patr. Etienne Duayhy, Troisième Livre de ses *Vindicciae Nationis Maronitarum* (texte arabe, publié par Philippe Assemrani, Jounieh 1937-1943).  
JTS = *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford.  
Leontius I = Léonce de Byzance, PG t. 86, c. 309-1313; fragments repertoires par Devreesse, Nr. 1-122 bis, tirés de plusieurs manuscrits et éditions.



- Leontius II = Léonce de Jérusalem, *Sanctorum Testimonia*, PG t. 86, II, c. 1769-1902.
- Martin, *Florilège* = Ch. Martin, *Un florilège grec d'homélies christologiques des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles sur la Nativité*, dans *Le Muséon*, t. 54 (1941) p. 17-57.
- Moss, *Proclus* = C. Moss, *Proclus Homily on the Nativity*, dans *Le Muséon* t. 42 (1929) p. 61-73.
- PG = J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*.
- PL = J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* ...
- RSR = *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, Paris.
- Sauget, *Homiliaires* = J. M. Sauget, *Deux homiliaires syriaques à la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, dans *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, t. 27 (1961) p. 378-424.
- ST = collection *Studi e Testi*, Vatican.
- Syri = Editions des oeuvres de Sévère dans CSCO, Syri, vols. 45, 46, 50, 58, 64, 65.

1. Cf. Barsum, *Histoire*, p. 224, et les mss. VS 368 et 369, homélies décrites par Sauget, *Homiliaires*, p. 402-404; 411 et 417. Item: ms. Orient. 8606, Brit. Library, homélies décrites par C. Moss, *A Syriac Patristic Manuscript*, JTS, 30 (1929) p. 252, puis son édition du fragment manquant dans VS 368, in *Le Muséon*, t. 42 (1929) p. 63-66. J.B. Chabot avait publié une édition (incomplète) de trois homélies tirées du VS 368 dans *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Ser. V. vol. 5 (1886), p. 178-197. Sur l'étendue de la renommée de Proclus en dehors du milieu byzantin, voir J. Nikiou, *Chronique*, éd. Zotenberg, Paris 1883, pp. 462 ss; et la traduction copte de ses homélies, éditées d'après le ms. Orient. 5001, Brit. Library, par E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic homilies*, Londres 1910, p. 241-247 et 381-386.
2. Cf. F. J. Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople*, Vatican 1967 (ST 247). Leroy y a consacré plusieurs pages aux versions syriaques, corrigeant certaines données de Sauget, *Homiliaires*. Voir p. 64, 75, 84, 110-111, 138-139 et 212-223.
3. Cf. Ch. Martin, *Florilège grec*, pp. 40-43.
4. Ce sont dans l'édition que je prépare les §§: 46 = sur la Nativité du Seigneur, et 94/78 = sur le dogme de l'Incarnation.
5. Cf. *Florilège de Chalcédoine*, n<sup>r</sup> 11; éd. ACO t. II, 1, 3, p. 115. Ce lemme a été repris ensuite par Leontius I (Devreesse n 59) sous le même titre "Puer natus est nobis". Au moins pour le fragment n<sup>r</sup> 8 (Devreesse) qui le porte aussi, il s'est révélé être erroné; car le passage en question est tiré du Sermon de Proclus sur le dogme de l'Incarnation. Le lemme du florilège chalcédonien et Devreesse n 59 n'a pas été identifié jusqu'ici. Leontius I (Devreesse n 60) cite aussi un lemme du sermon sur la Nativité (repris ainsi par Leontius II, c. 1836/C 6-8), qui revient plus correctement à la *Oratio de laudibus S. Mariae*, PG t. 65, c. 684/A. Par contre, Leontius II (c. 1836/B 10-13) et Leontius

- I (Devreesse n<sup>r</sup> 8) donnent un texte de Proclus (sous le faux titre indiqué plus haut) qui fait partie du fragment cité par Jean Maron (§ 78) du *Sermon sur le Dogme pour l'entrée en Carême*. Chez Leontius II, ce passage est tronqué de son contexte initial.
6. Voir *infra* nos remarques sur le texte grec de cette homélie et comparer les passages syriaques parallèles.
  7. Cf. C. Moss, *Proclus*, p. 63-64.
  8. Cf. A. Mai, *Spicilegium romanum* t. IV, Rome 1840, pp. LXXXVIII-XCVII (reprod. PG t. 65, c. 841-850). A cause d'une feuille mutilée dans ce ms. le maronite Shahwan n'avait pas pu estimer l'étendue de la lacune, dont il avertissait cependant le lecteur en disant: "Hic unum saltem folium ex codice excidit".
  9. Cf. Sauget, *Homiliaires*, p. 395 et 400 n.l.
  10. Cf. Duayhy, *Apologie III*, pp. 62-64; 77-84 et 101-103.
  11. Sur Georges de Karmsaddé et son Lexicon, voir le rapport de A. Chebly sur les manuscrits de Deir Kfifan dans *Mashriq*, 24 (1926) p. 473, et les manuscrits de 'Ain Warqa (Nr. 12) dans *Mashriq* 25 (1927) p. 693. Lors de son séjour à Rome il avait consulté et transcrit certaines données du ms. Arab. crist. 13 de la Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele; mais il n'en est pas le copiste! Cf. I. Guidi, *Catalogo dei codici siriani, arabi ... della Bibl. Vittorio Emmanuele*, Firenze 1878, p. 11 (item: OCP 3, 1937-363).
  12. Cf. Martin, *Florilège*, p. 23.
  13. Leontius II, c. 1836/C 6-8; Leontius I, Devreesse n<sup>r</sup> 60. Le même passage, mais sous un titre plus correct, (sur la sainte Mère de Dieu), dans la *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 49. Cependant les mots cités par Leontius I et la *Doctrina* sont encore plus mutilés que chez Leontius II!
  14. Cf. PG t. 65, c. 684/A 5-8.
  15. Ainsi dans *Contra Grammaticum III*, cap. 41; Syri 50, p. 334, où Sévère recourt aux passages correspondant à PG t. 65, c. 684/C 12-14; c. 685/A 1-9 et c. 13-D 4; puis c. 689/C 7-692/A 5. A remarquer que Sévère (ou son traducteur syriaque!) donnait le même titre adopté par Leontius I, c'est-à-dire: *In Christi Navitatem secundum carnem*, puis il y ajoutait *seu in Dei Genitricem Virginem Mariam* =
- 
- Cependant, dans son *Oratio altera ad Nephaliu*, Sévère citait cette homélie de Proclus, de la même façon dont l'avaient citée ses adversaires: "Ecce dicunt adversarii: Ecce Proclus dixit in navitatem Christi, de (= circa) Dei Genitrice Maria: officina unionis naturarum." Cf. Syri 65, p. 33, 14-16 et PG t. 65, c. 681/A 11-12. Mais plus loin (Syri 64, p. 55) il reprenait le même titre à son compte:
- 



= *ex oratione in Christi Nativitatem secundum carnem* (version, *Syri* 65, p. 41), puis il reproduisait le passage (PG t. 65 c. 689/C 9 - D 4) qu'il avait apporté dans son *Contra Grammaticum*, III, cap. 41, quoique écourté ici à son début comme à sa fin. Cf. *Syri* 50, p. 334.

16. Cf. PG t. 103, c. 992/A 7-11.
17. Cf. *Doctrina Patrum*, pp. 48-49 (V): sermone dicto in quadragesima  
ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ .  
Cf. là-dessus Martin, *Florilège*, p. 25.
18. Cf. Anastase le Sinaïte, *Hodegos, Viae Dux*, ch. X; PG t. 89, c. 184/A 11 - B 5; item: Ch. Martin, *Florilège* p. 25-26, n. 22.
19. Op.cit. c. 160/A 3-6.
20. Cf. Martin, *Florilège*, p. 46, n<sup>r</sup> 11, et p. 47, n<sup>os</sup> 15, 18, 19.

## ADDENDA:

## APPENDICE:

- 1) L'édition annoncée dans la note (4) est déjà parue dans le CSCO *Scriptores Syri*, No 209/210: Jean Maron, *Profession de la foi et autres opuscules* Louvain 1988.
- 2) E. Lucchesi a publié dans les *Cahiers de l'Orientalisme* t. X (1984) une version inédite de la Oratio II in laudibus S. Mariae en syriaque. Mais il maltraite à plusieurs endroits de sa traduction l'original édité.

Veronika Six

Bemerkungen zur äußeren Form der Textgestaltung  
äthiopischer Handschriften

Es kommt immer wieder vor, daß man sozusagen als Experte für äthiopische Handschriften schnell über den Inhalt einer Handschrift Auskunft geben soll. Mitunter sind auch Fragmente zu bestimmen oder Photographien einzelner Blätter. In manchen Fällen ist für einen Laien nicht zu erkennen, wo der eigentliche Text beginnt. Er lichtet oft willkürlich Blätter aus der Mitte einer Handschrift ab, da die in Rot geschriebenen Textanfänge für ihn ohne Bedeutung sind und Vorsatzblätter zuweilen mit anderen Texten versehen werden. So zeigt die Erfahrung, daß unter Umständen schon die äußere Gestalt einer Handschrift oder eines Textes einen Hinweis geben kann, welcher Literaturgattung der Text zuzuordnen ist. Dies gilt keineswegs für alle Fälle. Dieser Beitrag soll nur in groben Zügen einige Merkmale beschreiben, die für mich während meiner langjährigen Beschäftigung mit äthiopischen Handschriften bei der "Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften" augenfällig geworden sind.

Bei der Herstellung von äthiopischen Handschriften handelt es sich um ein sehr altes Handwerk, dessen Methoden sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte wahrscheinlich kaum verändert haben. Auch wenn die ältesten uns bekannten Textzeugen aus dem 13. Jh., dem Zeitpunkt der Wiedereinsetzung der salomonischen Dynastie, stammen, so zwingt zum einen die Qualität dieser Schreibkunst zu dem Schluß, daß die Handschriftenherstellung bereits auf eine lange Tradition zurückblicken muß. Und zum anderen muß man berücksichtigen, daß die Übersetzertätigkeit, z.B. die Übertragung der biblischen Bücher aus dem Griechischen, ihren ersten Höhepunkt bereits nach dem Konzil von Chalkedon (451), als syrische Mönche nach Äthiopien flüchteten, erreichte<sup>2</sup>. Es ist zunächst wichtig zu wissen, wie eine äthiopische Handschrift entsteht:

Wenn der Auftrag für eine Handschrift vorliegt, muß als erstes das Schreibmaterial hergestellt und als Blatt zugerichtet werden. Bis zum Ende des 19. Jh. war das Pergament, erst ab diesem Zeitpunkt wurde mitunter auch Papier verwendet<sup>3</sup>. In der überwiegenden Zahl der Fälle waren dies aber dann bereits gebundene Hefte europäischer Provenienz: Ausnahme ist z.B. Ms. or. oct. 1002 (SBPrK Berlin)<sup>4</sup>, in der Papier und Pergament gleichsam gleichberechtigt zusammengebunden worden sind.

Uns interessiert hier nur der Arbeitsvorgang ab dem Zuschnitt der Blätter<sup>5</sup>. Der Schreiber benutzt immer eine Vorlage, schreibt den Text also nie aus dem Gedächtnis nieder - anders verhält es sich zuweilen bei der Abfassung der Kommentare, die eine individuelle Meinung wiedergeben können und meist jüngeren Datums sind (vgl. dazu auch unten). Also ist die Vorlage Anhaltspunkt für die Größe und Zahl der Blätter, die der Schreiber zu Lagen schichtet und diese gegebenenfalls numeriert. Nach der Vorlage markiert er dann auch die Spalten und Zeilen der Blätter. Dieses Verfahren erleichtert das Abschreiben des Textes, denn bei ungefähre Identität des abgeschrieben Textes mit der Vorlage ist es für den Schreiber einfacher, die Stelle wiederzufinden, wo er unterbrochen hat. Anders als in abendländischen mittelalterlichen Skriptorien nämlich saß oder sitzt der äthiopische Schrei-



ber nie an einem Tisch<sup>6</sup>, sondern schreibt im Freien: die zu beschreibenden Blätter liegen auf seinen Knien, die aufgeschlagenen Seiten der Vorlage, die er vor sich auf den Boden gelegt hat, sind mit Steinen oder dergleichen fixiert. Diese Arbeitsweise dokumentieren bereits die frühen Miniaturen in den Evangelien<sup>7</sup>.

Wie exakt sich ein Schreiber an seine Vorlage halten kann, mag das Beispiel von Cod.aeth.89 (BaySB München) illustrieren: Es handelt sich um ein Psalterium, in dem an einigen Stellen quer durch die ganze Handschrift Textpassagen fehlen, ohne daß Blätter herausgeschnitten worden sind. Und zwar fehlt jeweils der Text im Umfang von einer Seite, auf der sich statt dessen eine Miniatur befindet. Eine wahrscheinliche Erklärung für dieses Phänomen ist, daß der Schreiber in der äußeren Textgestaltung ganz sklavisch seiner Vorlage gefolgt ist: Sobald er beim Schreiben an einer Seite angelangt war, die eine Miniatur schmücken sollte, übergang er diese Seite, blätterte in seiner Handschrift – gleichzeitig aber auch in seiner Vorlage – weiter und setzte das Abschreiben des Textes an der Stelle fort, die ihm die Vorlage zeigte.

Nach diesen Ausführungen wird wohl deutlich, daß solch ein Verfahren ein konservierendes Element beinhaltet. So weist ein Deggwā oder Psalterium des 15. Jh. das gleiche Aussehen auf wie eine Handschrift desselben Inhalts aus dem 19. oder 20. Jh. Unterschiede sind allein in der Schrift oder Größe einer Handschrift auszumachen. Die Größe einer Handschrift kann variieren: Sie hängt einmal von der finanziellen Potenz des Auftraggebers ab, denn Pergament ist teuer. Zum anderen von der Schrift, deren Aussehen sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte sehr wohl verändert hat. Besonders im 17. Jh. wurde bevorzugt mit großen Schriftzeichen, die zuweilen eine Höhe von 3,0–4,0 cm erreichen konnten, geschrieben<sup>8</sup>, was sich natürlich auf das Format einer Handschrift auswirkt. Die Anordnung des Textes aber bleibt konstant, denn auch hier hält sich der Schreiber an eine Vorlage. So hat z.B. ein Evangeliar des Gabrielklosters auf der Insel Kebrān im Tānāsee aus dem 17. Jh. die Maße 37,5:32,0:10,0 cm; der Schriftspiegel mißt: 23,0:25,0 cm<sup>10</sup>. Es gehört somit zu den großformatigen Handschriften. Da das Evangeliar aber zweispaltig mit jeweils 21 Zeilen geschrieben ist, entspricht dies in etwa durchaus einer Handschrift von kleinerem Format. Auffällig ist, daß eine Klosterbibliothek wie die des gerade erwähnten Klosters auf Kebrān sehr viele großformatige Handschriften besitzt. Von den 58 Handschriften haben 28 eine Höhe von mehr als 30,0 cm<sup>11</sup>. Im Vergleich dazu besitzt die Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBPrK), Berlin, unter ihren 168 Stücken ganze 14, die im Format diesen annähernd gleichkommen und 131 von mittlerer Größe, d.h. deren Höhe reicht von 10,0 bis zu ca. 30,0 cm<sup>12</sup>. Ähnlich verhält es sich bei der Sammlung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek (BaySB), München, mit 5 großformatigen Handschriften von insgesamt 114<sup>13</sup>, um nur die beiden umfangreicheren Sammlungen der Bundesrepublik herauszugreifen. Anders als das British Museum, das mit der 'Magdala Library' eine Reihe Prachthandschriften sein Eigen nennt, die – ursprünglich dem äthiopischen Königshaus gehörend – im Zuge einer militärischen Aktion 1868 nach England gelangten<sup>14</sup>, waren die Erwerbungen der deutschen Bibliotheken eher Zufallseinkäufe, auch wenn autorisierte Personen den Ankauf vornahmen, wie z.B. Johannes Flemming als Mitglied einer kaiserlichen Sondergesandtschaft im Jahre 1905 oder Enno Littmann, der 1906 an der Deutschen Aksumexpedition teilnahm<sup>15</sup>. Sie waren überwiegend auf die Verkaufsbereitschaft einzelner Personen angewiesen und erhielten daher in großer Zahl eher solche Texte, die einen Äthiopier in seinem täglichen Leben begleiten, die er also auch

mit seiner Handschrift in einem Maḥdār, einer lederen Tragetasche, mit sich herumträgt, was ein Großformat selbstverständlich verbietet. Die kleinformatigen und winzigen Handschriften, die wahrscheinlich persönlicher Besitz der Mönche sind, fehlen in den Klosterbibliotheken [*Eqā bēt* (= Schatzhaus)]. Die Handschriftensammlungen der Klöster sind in erster Linie Tresore des Wissens und der Dokumentation. Diese Texte sind umfangreich und man kann individuell zusammengestellte Gebetssammlungen oder Ähnliches mit ziemlicher Sicherheit von vornherein bei diesen großen Handschriften ausschließen. Bei den mit bis zu drei Spalten beschriebenen Handschriften handelt es sich meist um theologische Enzyklopädien, wie das Maḥafa ḥāwī, ein Werk mit moralischen und asketischen Fragen (Tānāsee 2: 49,5:43,0:11,0 cm; 3 Sp.; 40 Zl.)<sup>16</sup>, apokryphe und pseudoapostolische Texte wie den Sēnodos (Tānāsee 29: 41,5:31,5:8,0 cm; 28 Sp.; 33–35 Zl.)<sup>17</sup> (Ms.or.fol. 3117: 34,0:22,0:2,5 cm; 2 Sp.; 43 Zl.)<sup>18</sup>, den Oktateuch (Tānāsee 4: 51,0:34,0:12,0 cm; 2 Sp.; 36 Zl.)<sup>19</sup> (Ms.or.fol. 3066: 28,0:21,5:12,5 cm; 3 Sp.; 28 Zl.)<sup>20</sup> und Hāymānot, abaw (= Glaube der Väter) (Cod.aeth. 35: 38,5:34,0:8,5 cm; 3 Sp.; 34 Zl.)<sup>21</sup> oder die Sammlung patristischer Texte: die Lehre der Didaskalie [Cod. 49 (Stuttgart): 29,0:26,5:7,0 cm; 3 Sp.; 24–25 Zl.], um nur einige zu nennen. Was die äußere Form betrifft, so vermittelt das Textbild auf den ersten Blick den Eindruck der Dichte. Unter diesen Handschriften findet man fast nur sauber und akkurat geschriebene Texte mit genau abgegrenzten Spaltenrändern und gleichmäßigen Zeilenabständen, die meist auch noch gering sind. Außer dem Textanfang, Kapitelüberschriften und ganz vereinzelt mit roter Tusche geschriebenen Wörtern zeigen die Seiten ein gleichförmiges, mit schwarzer Tusche geschriebenes Bild. Ähnlich gleichmäßig geschrieben sind z.B. auch Handschriften mit den biblischen Büchern des Alten Testaments und beispielsweise dem Fetha nagašt, der äthiopischen Gesetzessammlung, die allerdings etwas kleiner ausfallen, wie auch alle nun erwähnten Werke. Das mag damit zusammenhängen, daß die Gesetzestexte zu Gerichtsversammlungen mitgenommen wurden und daher tragbar zu sein hatten.

An dieser Stelle sind die Kommentare zu einzelnen Werken anzuführen, wie eine Handschrift mit dem Fetha nagašt (Cod.aeth. 404, Hamburg), in der der amharische Kommentar in winziger, aber doch gut lesbarer Schrift zwischen die Spalten und an die Ränder gesetzt worden ist. In derselben Weise geschriebene Kommentare findet man mitunter auch zu Büchern des Alten Testaments<sup>22</sup>. Bei diesen Texten sind des öfteren Lesehilfen und Markierungen in Form von kleinen Strichen im Text angebracht ebenso wie in den äthiopischen-amharischen Glossaren. Hier ist anzumerken, daß diese – oft auch pisch-amharischen Wörterverzeichnisse mit den ergänzenden und erläuternden Texten, wenn sie jüngeren Datums sind, bevorzugt auf Papier geschrieben wurden. Dasselbe gilt auch für die äthiopischen und amharischen Glaubenslehren: Nagara hāymānot, Hāymānot ret'et oder Amestu<sup>23</sup>, emāda meštir, die wahrscheinlich im 17. oder 18. Jh. entstanden sind<sup>24</sup>. Bei diesen Katechismen ist die Divergenz beim inhaltlichen Aufbau der oft diesen gleichbetitelten Texte auffällig, die denselben Sachverhalt, nämlich die Glaubensfragen, wiedergeben, aber eben in einer nicht-kanonisierten Form. Es ist außerdem anzumerken, daß neben gutgegliederten und schön geschriebenen Handschriften ungelenk und nachlässig zusammengestellte Manuskripte zu finden sind, wo sich die Schrift einer kursiven Schreibweise – die es bei der äthiopischen Schrift als solche ja nicht gibt – anzunähern scheint. Gemeinsam ist diesen Handschriften ihr junges Datum: die meisten stammen aus dem 19./20. Jh. Unterschiedlich können auch Handschriften mit dem Ta-



āmra Māryām ausfallen. Es gibt kalligraphisch anspruchsvoll gestaltete mit bis zu 316 Wundern vollständige Exemplare<sup>24</sup>, denen nachlässig, mit nur einer Auswahl an Erzählungen zusammengestellte gegenüberstehen. Bei den unschön Geschriebenen springt besonders die unregelmäßige Zeilenführung ins Auge. Als Erklärung mag folgendes dienen: Weil die Auswahl der Wunder unter Umständen abhängig ist vom Auftraggeber (ein Vergleich von Handschriften zeigt, daß die Reihenfolge der Wunder nicht einmal bei zwei Handschriften durchgehend identisch ist), kann sich ein Schreiber nur bedingt an eine Vorlage halten. Ein ungeübter Schreiber wird, wenn ihm der optische Anhaltspunkt fehlt, Mühe haben, die Zeilen korrekt einzuhalten.

Zu den gestalterisch wenig attraktiven Handschriften, die im Aufbau oft stark voneinander abweichen, gehören auch das Maṣḥafa genzat und Maṣḥafa sa'ātāt. Dabei handelt es sich um viel gebrauchte liturgische Bücher, die – wie von anderen Autoren bereits ausgesprochen wurde<sup>25</sup> – von nicht sehr gelehrten Personen (der Bildungsgrad der Schreiber ist keineswegs gleich hoch) verfaßt wurden und bei denen individuelle Anliegen bei der Auswahl der einzelnen Stücke eine Rolle gespielt haben. Es ist auch durchaus üblich, daß ein Mönch seine Handschrift selbst hergestellt hat<sup>26</sup>. Dabei wird er Texte, die er auswendig beherrscht, nur in Stichworten – wenn überhaupt – als Gedächtnisstütze notieren. Damit sind wir bei den Handschriften mit den Texten der äthiopischen Kirchenmusik angelangt: Deggwā mit Me'erāf und Ṣoma deggwā, Mawāṣe'et, Zemmārē etc. Um diese Gesänge auswendig zu beherrschen, bedarf es eines außergewöhnlich langen Studiums, wofür sich mancher Schüler den Text selbst abschreibt. Sind diese Werke komplett ausgeschrieben, gehören sie zu den umfangreichsten Handschriften, oft dreispaltig mit bis zu 30 Zl. beschriebenen Seiten. Sind es aber nur Auszüge oder durch Stichworte abgekürzte Versionen, können sie sogar winziges Format erhalten: 1-spaltig beschriebene Blätter mit 8–9 Zl. Gemeinsam ist ihnen – und daher sind sie von der äußeren Gestaltung eindeutig als Gesangstext zu identifizieren – eine kleine, manchmal sogar winzige Schrift und dabei ein großer Zeilenabstand, wo die Gesangsnoten eingetragen werden, die mit äthiopischen Schriftzeichen und den Melekket: zusätzlichen Punkt- und Strichzeichen<sup>27</sup> vermerkt sind. Auch wenn diese fehlen, so ist doch der Raum immer dafür vorgesehen und gibt den Textseiten ihr charakteristisches Aussehen. Ebenfalls unverwechselbar ist die Schreibung der Psalterien: und zwar sind mehr als 2/3 der Handschrift: die Psalmen mit dem apokryphen Psalm 151, den alt- und neutestamentlichen Cantica sowie dem Hohenlied ein-spaltig geschrieben, wobei jeweils die rechte Textseite keinen ausgeglichenen Rand zeigt, obwohl die Spaltenmarkierung (ruling) als gerade Linie gezogen ist. Häufig sind Ergänzungen in abweichender, kleinerer Schrift an eine Zeile oder auch zwischen die Zeilen gesetzt. Danach folgen zweispaltig geschrieben die beiden Marienoffizien: das Weddāsē Māryām und das Sonntags-offizium: Weddāsē wa-genay emmu la-<sup>28</sup>adonāy.

Endlich seien hier noch die magischen Gebete in Rollenform angeführt: Lange Pergamentstreifen, auf die die Schreiber nach Gutdünken ihre Abwehrtex-te schreiben konnten, was sogar zu spiralförmiger Anordnung des Textes inspirieren<sup>29</sup> oder zur Herstellung von Leporellobüchern<sup>30</sup> führen kann. Texte wie Heiligenviten, Gebete, Hymnen, Litaneien sowie viele andere sind hier nicht angeführt, weil dieser Beitrag nur die auffälligsten Merkmale herausstellen soll.

Abschließend sei noch ein winziges Handschriftenexemplar mit der Temherta hebu'āt (IV Af 3789 Mannheim) vorgestellt: Dieser Text hat seinen Platz in der Liturgie ebenso wie im magischen Bereich (eine ähnliche Zweit-

terstellung hat auch das Lefāfa ṣedeq)<sup>30</sup>. In dieser Handschriftenform geschrieben scheint eher die apotropäische Wirkung eine Rolle zu spielen, denn in dieser winzigen Form kann man sie immer ohne große Umstände bei sich tragen. Ein gedrucktes Exemplar aus der Bibliothek von Prof. Hammer-schmidt, Hamburg, zeigt eine frappierende Ähnlichkeit bezüglich Größe und Gestaltung desselben Textes. Dies ist nur ein Beispiel, wie stark die äthio-pische Handschriftentradition auch auf den modernen Buchdruck Einfluß genom-men hat.

#### ABKÜRZUNGEN

|           |                                                                                                               |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BaySB     | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek                                                                                   |
| SBPrK     | Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz                                                                     |
| SUB       | Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek                                                                            |
| VOHD Iff. | Wolfgang Voigt (Hrsg.), Verzeichnis der orientalischen Hand-schriften in Deutschland Iff. (Wiesbaden 1961ff.) |

#### ANMERKUNGEN

1. *Sergew Hable Selassie*, Bookmaking in Ethiopia (Leiden 1981) 23.
2. Vgl. z.B. *Edward Ullendorff*, Ethiopia and the Bible (London 1968) 51; *Ignazio Guidi*, Storia della letteratura etiopica (Roma 1932) 12f. und 21f.
3. Vgl. *Sergew Hable Selassie*, Bookmaking ... 9.
4. VOHD XX 4, 73–74.
5. Heutzutage stellt der Schreiber das Pergament nicht mehr selbst her; vgl. *Sergew Hable Selassie*, Bookmaking ... 33.
6. Vgl. *Sergew Hable Selassie*, Bookmaking ... 20f. und 31 sowie Abb. 40; Abb. in: *Rassegna di studi etiopici* (Roma 1941) 127–45.
7. Tafel VI and VIII in: Ethiopia. Illuminated Manuscripts. Published by the New York Graphic Society by Arrangement with UNESCO (Paris 1961).
8. VOHD XX 5, 120–33.
9. Vgl. Ethiopia. Illuminated ... 25.
10. = Tānāsee 41; VOHD XX 1, 180f.
11. Vgl. VOHD XX 1.
12. Vgl. VOHD XX 4.
13. Vgl. VOHD XX 5.
14. Vgl. z.B. *William Wright*, Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1847 (London 1877) III–IV; *Stefan Strle*, Catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts in the British Library acquired since the year 1877 (London 1978): Vorwort.
15. Vgl. VOHD XX 4, 7.
16. VOHD XX 1, 91–93.
17. VOHD XX 1, 146–51.



18. VOHD XX 4,301-05.
19. VOHD XX 1,98f.
20. VOHD XX 4,275f.
21. VOHD XX 5, 57-62.
22. Eine zweite Art des Kommentars, d.h. die amharische Übersetzung mit Kommentar folgt unmittelbar auf den zu kommentierenden Satz, findet sich z.B. in einer Handschrift der SUB Hamburg, Cod.or. 410.
23. Vgl. dazu auch VOHD XX 4, 143f.
24. Vgl. z.B. VOHD XX 1,120f.
25. Vgl. I. Guidi, *Storia* ... 29; VOHD XX 1,115 und XX 2,72.
26. Michael Powne, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction* (London-New York-Toronto 1968) 107f.
27. M. Powne, *Ethiopian Music* ... 91.
28. Z.B. Cod.aeth. 115; vgl. VOHD XX 6. Edition und Abb. in: ZDMG 139 (1989) 310-17: V. Six, Kategorien der äthiopischen Zaubertexte.
29. Z.B. Hs.III A 2359, Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin = V. Six, Ein äthiopischer Zaubertext aus der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts = Afrika und Übersee LXVI (1983) 105-13.
30. Vgl. z.B. VOHD XX 2, 129: das Lefäfa sedeq als Bestandteil des Begräbnisritus und VOHD XX 4,176: zusammen mit anderen Gebeten magischen Charakters.

Lothar Störk

# St. Menas in Stolzenfels - ein ägyptischer Heiliger am Rhein

Die Gemeinde Stolzenfels, heute Ortsteil von Koblenz, bis 1968 Kapellen genannt, liegt gegenüber der Lahnmündung auf dem Westufer des Rheins. Beherrscht wird der kleine Ort durch die vom Trierer Erzbischof Arnold II. von Isenburg um die Mitte des 13. Jahrh. errichtete Burg Stolzenfels, die nach ihrer Zerstörung 1688 durch die Franzosen im Pfälzischen Erbfolgekrieg, 1823 als Geschenk der Stadt Koblenz an den preußischen Kronprinzen und nachmaligen König Wilhelm IV. kam, der dem Schloß unter Wahrung des Baubestandes zu seinem heutigen Aussehen verhalf.

Am Berghang, wenig unterhalb der Burg, liegt die Kirche St. Menas, die in diesem Jahr die 500jährige Wiederkehr der Erhebung zur Pfarrkirche feierte.

Ihre erste Erwähnung fällt in das Jahr 1110, wo ein Wingert "iuxta cappellam" erwähnt wird. 1153 bestätigt der Erzbischof Hillin die Benediktiner des Koblenzer Beatusberges im Besitz von Kirche und Ort, stellt gleichzeitig aber fest, daß der Zehnte St. Kastor in Koblenz zustehe. 1153 wird die Kirche, vermutlich nach ihrem Stifter "capella Sewardi" genannt. 1328 weiht der Trierer Weihbischof Daniel von Wichterich, episcopus Mocensis, die Kapelle dem Hl. Menas. 1331 treten die Karthäuser als Nachfolger der Benediktiner auf dem Beatusberg in die Besitzrechte ein. 1371 wird am Rheinufer mit dem Bau einer der Hl. Dreifaltigkeit geweihten Kirche begonnen, die zu Beginn des vorigen Jahrh. dem Straßenbau weichen mußte. 1486 wurde Kapellen zur Pfarrei erhoben. Ende des 18. Jahrh. hören wir von der Baufälligkeit der Menaskirche, deren Neubau schließlich 1829 nach Plänen des Koblenzer Baumeisters Joh. Cl. von Lassaulx begonnen wird. am 5.5.1833 konsekrierte Weihbischof Josef Hommer aus Trier die neue Kirche. 1967/68 erfolgte im Zuge einer Restaurierung die Neugestaltung des Innenraumes. Im Gefolge der iconoclastischen Auswirkungen des 2. Vatikanums werden wie auch andernorts die Wandgemälde überputzt. 1979/81 wird eine zweite Restaurierung erforderlich, wobei die zugestrichenen Malereien wieder freigelegt werden.

Der Patron der Kirche, St. Menas, wird in den älteren Quellen Mennas oder St. Menchen genannt. Auch der mit Hagiographie wenig Vertraute wird in ihm eine bei uns zumindest sehr seltenen Heiligen vermuten, der mit Ägypten Befasste sofort an den bei den Kopten hochverehrten Märtyrer denken, der allein auch in den gängigen Heiligenlexika vertreten ist. Wer jedoch zu umfangreicheren Werken, etwa Stadlers Heiligenlexikon greift, begegnet einer verwirrenden Vielfalt von nicht weniger als elf Menasgestalten, von denen allerdings einige gestaltlos und von fragwürdiger Existenz sind.

In unserer Kirche finden sich zwei Darstellungen des Heiligen, eine von dem Koblenzer Bildhauer Tophinke 1940 gefertigten Statue sowie ein von M. Adler 1907 gemaltes Wandbild. Damit wird klar, daß es sich um einen Märtyrer handelt, wodurch die in Betracht kommenden Menasgestalten weiter reduziert werden. Ältere Stolzenfelser kennen ihren Heiligen schon seit ihren Schultagen als ägyptischen Märtyrer, wobei die Komponente Ägypten durch die der Gemeinde von Otto Meinardus 1979 überreichte, heute in der



Kirche angebrachte Menas-Ampulle sowie einen 1984 erschienenen Aufsatz des Genannten mit dem Titel "St. Menas: Ein unterägyptisches Patrozinium am Mittelrhein" erheblich verstärkt wurde. Es ist an dieser Stelle angezeigt, einen Blick auf den ägyptischen Menas, einen Blutzeugen der diokletianischen Verfolgung zu werfen, über den reichhaltiges, noch nicht zur Gänze ausgewertetes Quellenmaterial in griechischer, koptischer, lateinischer, arabischer, äthiopischer, altnubischer und armenischer Sprache vorliegt. Es genügt in diesem Zusammenhang an der Stelle der Heiligenbiographie einzusetzen, wo sich das den Leichnam des Märtyrers tragende Kamel in der westlich von Alexandrien gelegenen Mareotis weiterzugehen weigert, damit dem Wunsch des Heiligen, an dieser Stätte begraben zu werden, Ausdruck verleihend. Wunder geschehen, Pilger strömen herbei, Kirchen, Badeanlagen, Herbergen, Wirtschaftsanlagen wachsen empor, es entsteht ein Wallfahrtsort internationalen Zuschnitts, wie an der Verbreitung der Pilgerfläschchen, der sogenannten Menas-Ampullen, die man unter anderm in Spanien, Frankreich und Deutschland gefunden hat, zu erkennen ist.

Die Darstellung des Menas als Orans, flankiert von zwei Kamelen auf den Ampullen, geht auf das Kultbild der Pilgerstätte zurück. Mit der muslimischen Eroberung des Landes und dem dadurch bedingten Zerfall der Einheit der Mittelmeerländer, wird aus einem internationalen ein nationaler Wallfahrtsort, dessen Bedeutung durch Verlagerung des politischen Zentrums, der Handelswege, nachlassende finanzielle Zuwendungen, Beduinenüberfälle und Glaubenswechsel zunehmend gemindert wird, bis er spätestens im 13. Jahrh. schließlich völlig verödet ist. An der von C. M. Kaufmann 1905 entdeckten Stätte dauern die Grabungen bis heute an, seit 1974 liegen sie in alleiniger Regie des D.A.I. Seine religiöse Bedeutung hat Abu Mena durch ein von Kyrill VI (Mönchsname Menas!) 1959 gegründetes Kloster, die Rückführung eines Teiles der im Mittelalter nach Kairo verbrachten Reliquien 1962, die zweimal im Jahr zu den Festtagen des Heiligen am 15. Baūnah (22.6.) und 15. Hatūr (24.11.) erfolgenden Wallfahrten, den Bau einer Basilika, nicht zuletzt aber durch die 1972 erfolgte Beisetzung des wunderkräftigen Kyrill VI. in der Krypta derselben wiedergefunden. Ihren ikonographischen Niederschlag findet die Renaissance der Menasstadt in den neuen Darstellungen des Heiligen, die nunmehr ausschließlich dem dort geprägten Typ folgen, während in der dazwischen liegenden Zeit ebenso exklusiv der Reiterheilige zu sehen war.

1984 war Abu Mena Hauptziel einer Ägyptenreise von Stolzenfelsern. In einem Bericht notiert eine Teilnehmerin: "... es ist schon ein etwas seltsames Gefühl, hier zu stehen, gewissermaßen am Ursprung unserer weit entfernten Stolzenfelser Kirchengemeinde. Doch es ist nicht die große, räumliche Entfernung allein, auch geistig sind wir sehr weit von hier entfernt. Ich komme mir etwas verunsichert vor. Erst die heilige Messe, die wir in den Ruinen der Kathedrale feiern, rückt alles wieder zurecht." Wenden wir uns damit wieder dem rheinischen Heiligen zu und versuchen, in der Geschichte zurückgehend, seine Anfänge aufzuspüren. Die Suche wird durch eine Reihe widriger Umstände erschwert, so z.B. durch die Tatsache, daß das Pfarrhaus 1945 durch Bomben völlig zerstört wurde. Archive, 7000 Bücher und 6000 Seiten Manuskripte des gelehrten Pfarrherrn und gelernten Kirchenhistorikers wurden völlig vernichtet.

1968 wurde ein neuer Altar geschaffen und konsekriert. Die in den Altar vermauerte Urkunde lautet: "Im Jahre des Herrn 1968, am Sonntag, dem 7. Juli, habe ich, Jakob Schmitz, Prälat des Päpstlichen Hauses und

Domkapitular an der Trierer Domkirche, kraft besonderer Beauftragung durch den Diözesanbischof, Dr. Bernhard Stein, auf Grund der den deutschen Bischöfen gewährten Quinquenal fakultäten, diesen Altar konsekriert zu Ehren des heiligen Märtyrers Menas. Reliquien der hl. Trierer Märtyrer und der Gefährten des hl. Mauritius wurden in das Reliquiengrab eingeschlossen."

Die Provenienz von Menas wird hier durch die beigelegten Reliquien herausgestrichen. In Ermangelung von Menasreliquien werden solche der in Trier bzw. der Schweiz hingerichteten Glaubenszeugen der Thebäischen Legion in den Altar eingesenkt. Weiter wird mitgeteilt, daß die Urkunde des alten, am 18.5.1903 von Weihbischof Karl Ernst Schrod konsekrierten Altares beigegeben wurde. Wo aber sind die Urkunden der 1833 und 1328 geweihten Altäre? Nachforschungen beim Diözesanarchiv blieben bislang ohne Ergebnis. Dabei wissen wir, wie eine Altarurkunde zu Beginn des 14. Jahrh. ausgesehen hat. 1321 wandte sich das Stift St. Goar mit der Bitte an den Trierer Erzbischof, die wegen Kriegsgefahr nach Karden an der Mosel evakuierten Gebeine des heiligen Einsiedlers Goar zurückzuerhalten. Der Hochaltar der Kardener Kirche mußte aufgebrochen werden und damit neu konsekriert werden. Die Kirche nebst einem Reliquiensäckchen in einer Bleihülle im Altar vermauerte Urkunde von Weihbischof Daniel von Wichterich wird heute im Kardener Stiftsmuseum aufbewahrt.

1787 heißt es im Bericht einer Stolzenfelser Kirchenvisitation: "In der Kirche sind zwei Altäre: einer des hl. Menas und einer des hl. Sebastians ... Es sind einige Reliquienstücke von unbekannten Heiligen da. Sie sind ohne Authentik und werden an hohen Festtagen auf den Hochaltar gestellt." Kommen wir zur Ikonographie des Menas. Erwähnt wurde oben die 1940 geschaffene Plastik und das 1907 entstandene Wandbild. Wir wissen aber, daß die Kirche 1844 von Johann Adolf Lasinsky ausgemalt wurde. Bei der Freilegung und Restaurierung der Adlerschen Bilder 1981, konnte an der Stirnwand die ältere Malerei herausgeholt werden. Wie Lasinskys Menas aussieht, kann nur vermutet werden, doch dürfte er dem seines Nachfolgers ähneln. Aber auch die ursprüngliche Kirche besaß Bilder und Figuren. So lesen wir in dem auch die erwähnten Visitationsbericht: "Die Bilder sind mit allerhand Anhängen versehen und werden in den Prozessionen mitgetragen!" 1830 wurde ein Teil des Inventars der alten Kirche einer Versteigerung, deren Erlös dem Neubau zugute kommen sollte, freigegeben. 1310 schrieb eine von Erzbischof Balduin gehaltene Synode vor, daß "jeder Altar ein Bild seines Patrons, sei Skulptur oder Gemälde, besitzen müssen." So ist es nicht auszuschließen, es Skulptur oder Gemälde, besitzen müssen. So ist es nicht auszuschließen, daß sich in irgendeinem Museum, einer Kirche oder in Privathand Menasbilder der alten Kirche erhalten haben. Um eine Vorstellung davon zu bekommen, wie der frühe Menas von Stolzenfels ausgesehen haben könnte, müssen wir uns andernorts umsehen. Nicht überraschend kommt die Feststellung des Lexikons der christlichen Ikonographie: "Die Darstellung des Menas im Westen ist spärlich, stets im Typus des Ritters." Als älteste Darstellung gilt diesem Werk Menas in den Novemberbildern des aus dem 12. Jahrh. stammenden Zwiefaltener Martyrologs. Darauf folgt eine Darstellung in Hartmann Schedels 1493 erschienener Weltchronik, eine Statue des 16. Jahrh. aus der Rochefort-St. Firmin sowie ein in der Galleria Estense in Modena befindliches, für eine venezianische Kirche gemaltes Bild von Paolo Veronese, ebenfalls aus dem 16. Jahrh. Nicht genannt wird ein Martyrium des Mennas vom gleichen Meister, das heute im Madrider Prado zu sehen ist. Heißt es in Stadlers Heiligenlexikon: "Auf Abb. sieht man den Hlg. Mennas in seinem Martyrium", so dürfte sich das auf den Pradoer Veronese sowie Lasinskys Stolzenfelser Gemälde beziehen.



Fragen wir abschließend nach der Provenienz des rheinischen Menas. Kaufmann, der Entdecker von Abu Mena, sieht die Lösung im Exil von Athanasius 342 und 346 in Trier. Dem steht entgegen, daß Menas damals erst in statu nascendi war, ganz abgesehen davon, daß dann ein früheres Patrozinium zu erwarten wäre.

Der Koblenzer geistliche Rektor Georg Reitz meinte 1928 auf die Funktion des Heiligen als Schutzpatron von Reisenden bezugnehmend "ein Reisender oder Kreuzfahrer habe durch den Bau der Kapelle seiner Verehrung Ausdruck verliehen."

Am detailliertesten geht der eingangs zitierte Artikel von O. Meinardus der Frage nach, wobei er m.E. zurecht die Kaufmannsche These zurückweist und nach Begebenheiten Ausschau hält, die in der Nähe der Stolzenfelser Kirchweihe von 1328 liegen. So erinnert er an einen arabischen Bericht, demzufolge die Gebeine des Heiligen unter dem 1327-1339 amtierenden Patriarchen Benjamin aus der Mareotis nach Alt-Kairo überführt wurden. Ganz abgesehen von der chronologischen Schwierigkeit, ist es fraglich, ob die translatio realiter wahrnehmbare Dimensionen hatte und wenn ja, ob ein Reisender in dem orientalischen Heiligen den ihm aus seiner Überlieferung bekannten hätte erkennen können. Meinardus erörtert weiter Kreuzfahrer, dabei solche des Koblenzer Raumes sowie bestimmte Heiliglandfahrer und zeitgenössische diplomatische Kontakte europäischer Mächte mit Ägypten. Zweifellos spielten die Kreuzzüge eine beachtliche Rolle im Reliquientransfer. So sei etwa an die Reliquienschatze erinnert, die die Lateiner bei der Eroberung Konstantinopels 1204 erbeuteten. So schenkte der Eifeler Ritter Heinrich von Ulmen 1207 eine von ihm in Konstantinopel geraubte Kreuzreliquie der Trierer Abtei St. Eucharius/St. Matthias. Man muß daher auch mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, daß der Stolzenfelser Menas seinen Ursprung diesem Ereignis verdankt und auf den konstantinopolitanischen Menas, ein Seitenstück des ägyptischen zurückgeht.

Die Koberner Matthias-Kapelle wurde nach 1221 zur Aufnahme der vermutlich vom Damiette-Kreuzzug mitgebrachten Apostelhauptes gebaut. Wie eine Durchsicht von Berichten europäischer Ägyptenreisender ergibt, besuchte man vornehmlich die Aufenthaltsorte der Hl. Familie und immer wieder das am Roten Meer gelegene Kloster des Großen Antonius, dessen Reliquien (z.B. Bartreliquiar von St. Kunibert zu Köln) sehr begehrt waren. Stätten des Hl. Menas wurden m.W. nicht aufgesucht. So dürfte es näherliegen, den Ursprung des rheinischen Menas in anderer Richtung zu suchen. Die Burg Stolzenfels ist eine kurtrierische Anlage und Daniel von Wichterich, der Konsekrator der Menas-Kapelle, Weihbischof des berühmten Trierer Erzbischofs und Kurfürsten Balduin von Luxemburg, der seinen Bruder Kaiser Heinrich VII. 1310 auf seiner Krönungsreise nach Rom begleitete.

Unter Papst Pelagius II. wurde 589 von einer alexandrinischen Handelskorporation zwischen dem Tor nach Ostia und der Basilika San Paolo fuori le mura eine Menas-Kirche gebaut, also noch zur Blütezeit von Abu Mena. Bis zum 8. Jahrh. hatte Menas nach dem Ausweis römischer liturgischer Bücher als Tagesheiliger des 11. November den Vorrang vor dem heiligen Martin. Die heute nicht mehr existierende und von keinem Werk über das heutige Rom, nicht einmal dem 3bändigen Handbuch der römischen Kirchen von Buchowiecky erwähnte Kirche, dürfte aber, nach Ausweis einer Quelle, noch um die Mitte des 14. Jahrh. existiert haben. Angeschlossen war ein kleines Hospital, und so ist es denkbar, daß sich beim römischen Menas ein Wissen um seine

ursprünglichen Heilkräfte erhalten hat. O. Meinardus machte auf die Nähe eines Siechenhauses zur Stolzenfelser Kapelle aufmerksam und gab zu bedenken, ob die Wahl des Thaumaturgen Menas nicht wegen dieses Siechenhauses erfolgt sein könnte. Die römische Menaskirche könnte außerdem die ältere Ikonographie vermittelt haben. Unabhängig davon, ob diese Menaskirche nun eine Rolle beim Romaufenthalt des Kaiser gespielt hat, wird man auch in Betracht ziehen, daß die Kaiser ihre Romzüge immer auch zum Reliquienerwerb nutzten. So steht auf einer Silberstatue des Hl. Petrus, die Balduin 1347 dem Trierer Dom stiftete: "Im Jahre des Herrn 1347 überreichte der Herr Balduin, Erzbischof von Trier, seiner Kirche diesen Zahn des hl. Apostels Petrus, welchen seinem Bruder, Kaiser Heinrich VII in Rom gegeben worden war."

Vielleicht ist das Patrozinium auch prosaischer zu erklären. Wie der Trierer Festkalender dieser Zeit belegt, war Mennas auch kalendarischer Bestandteil der Region, und so könnte die Wahl einfach deshalb auf ihn gefallen sein, weil die Kirchweihe an einem 11. November vorgenommen worden wäre. Zwar steht auch im Trierer Festkalender Martin an erster Stelle, doch hätten die zahllosen, nach diesem benannten Kirchen der Region einmal den Wunsch nach Abwechslung aufkommen lassen können. Schließlich soll noch die Tatsache Erwähnung finden, daß unter Balduin der Rheinzoll von Koblenz nach Stolzenfels verlegt wurde, und Menas auch als Patron der Kauflaute und Reisenden galt.

Nach Abschluß der Arbeit erhielt ich die Information, daß die Kapelle der 1912 gestifteten, unfern von Stolzenfels an der Mosel gelegenen Dieblicher Klausen neben dem hl. Dominikus einen hl. Mennas als Patron aufweist. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß dies ein anderer Menas und zwar der aus den Abruzzen stammende Klausner der 2. Hälfte des 6. Jahrh. ist.



Manfred Kropp

Older Amharic translations of the *šer'āta mangešt* and their contributions to the interpretation of the Ge'ez-version

As I. Guidi once pointed out many of the institutions and customs at the Gondarine royal court may have faded away and may be lost forever since the downfall of the monarchy at the beginning of the 19th century. Thus many paragraphs of the court ceremonial, the *šer'āta mangešt*, offer difficulties for translation and interpretation, and some of them remain obscure and hardly intelligible. In fact, since its publication in 1916 by J. Varenbergh, the text has not been revised. The interpretation, however, was remarkably improved by I. Guidi, who based his study on a far better manuscript than those used by Varenbergh which belong to a very special branch of the textual tradition of the *šer'āta mangešt*. Recent efforts in interpretation by H. Scholler and Bairu Tafla brought some valuable contributions; but the history of the text itself whose careful investigation should result in a critical edition has yet to be elucidated.

When preparing this edition on the basis of now more than 40 manuscripts, it became clear that there is not only one version. The ceremonial was indeed not a literary and fixed text, but served practical purposes and therefore developed with the changing customs at the court. The different versions are not only the true reflex of this juridical development (that of the court etiquette included) but indicate clearly the sensitive areas of rivalry between the court's dignitaries. Thus we get an interesting insight into the disputes concerning rank and jurisdiction.

When the *šer'āta mangešt* was written down for the first time there was already a long oral tradition among the court officials and judges. We can identify *azzažes* and in some cases their names as an authoritative source for this tradition. Here we can rely on texts dating from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. This means that the Ge'ez-version renders an official text at the court expressed entirely in Amharic which described the reality of everyday life. This is easily to be seen in the rather clumsy construction of the Ge'ez-phrases which are directly calqued on the underlying Amharic expressions and in the numerous technical terms in Amharic. There is even an example of a complete Amharic phrase which was completely taken over.

We may conclude that older Amharic translations, or should we better say, documents written down in the original language of the oral tradition, must be of great value for elucidating this difficult text. This led to a careful analysis of the older Amharic versions of the *šer'āta mangešt* contained in the collections of C. Mondon-Vidailhet (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) and the EML, Addis Abeba. Surprises and immediate solutions of textual problems did not fail to appear.

The Amharic is in many cases more natural and fluent, clearer and easier to understand. This is especially true for certain technical terms where the Amharic word is certainly the correct one, applied in direct speech, while the Ge'ez translation (note that the use of *translation* and *original* is at variance with the usage in the title of the paper) reveals

an artificial and somewhat inadequate wordage. The language of the *šer'āta mangešt* in the Ge'ez-version well may be compared to the use of Latin in Europe. We can even cite one fine example in the field of Ethiopian studies: When A. Dillmann in his Ge'ez-Latin lexicon tried to avoid ambiguities about the meaning of a technical word he quotes the respective German word printed in Gothic letters after the Latin term. It is in this way we must apply the Amharic versions of the *šer'āta mangešt* for a better understanding of this important historical document.



F. A. Dombrowski

# Internment of Members of the Royal Family in Ethiopia, Turkey and India

This paper deals with the imprisonment and relegation of members of the royal family in the Ethiopian mountain fortresses of Ambā Gešen and Wakni and in Asīrgarh of India situated in the Farūqī Kingdom of Khandesh as well as in the Qafes ("The Cage") of the Grand Seraglio of Istanbul.

Comparisons are drawn with regard to their origins, partly following patterns traditional since antiquity, the reasons therefor and the methods, especially, as applied to the treatment of persons held in confinement.

The following conclusions are drawn:

*Differences* are apparent regarding the practice of relegation on Ambā Gešen/Wakni and in Asīrgarh on the one hand and such in "The Cage" on the other.

1) *Ethiopia and Khāndēsh*: fratricide and *parricidium*, in general being abhorred, had never been legalised nor known any moral acceptance there, when the imprisonment of potential rivals came into practice, whereas such was the case in the *Turkish Empire*, when their legalisation through the promulgation of the *Zanān-nāme* by Mehmed II (1451-81) came into force. Thus, imprisonment seemingly became a matter of expediency to facilitate the apprehension and control of would-be victims and also to check the number of persons to be eliminated, so as to avoid excessive bloodshed.

2) Moreover, the fortresses of Ambā Gešen, Wakni and Asīrgarh were more humane than the confinement of the princes in "The Cage".

3) There is no evidence of the terrible mental and physical effects produced by "The Cage" as compared to the Ethiopian and Farūqī prisons. The princes held there appear, by and large, to have been familiar with the affairs of their country and other aspects of life.

4) The princes on the mountains were allowed to live with a great amount of safety, while "The Cage" did not remove the fear of the bowstring.

Most similar was "The Cage" to the other approximately contemporary types of *relegatio in insulam* by its basic intent to prevent *parricidium* and civil war, however. While killing of persons free and behind walls was common in all these countries, the matter was different with regard to the Ethiopian and Khāndēshian attempts to check parricide and fratricide, whereas the imprisonment in the Grand Seraglio did not foreclude the many acts of *fratri-* and *parricidium* having become known or hushed over by the rulers of the Ottoman Empire.

Kristin Arat

# Die armenische Diakonissin und die Rolle der Frau in der Kirche (Kirchenrechtliche und ökumenische Perspektiven)

## 1. PROBLEMSTELLUNG

In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat sich die Stellung der Frau nicht nur in der Gesellschaft, sondern auch in der Kirche geändert. Obwohl in der katholischen Kirche die Frau nun sämtliche Aufgaben eines Diakons ausüben darf, wird sie nicht zur Diakonatsweihe zugelassen. Aber auch ein amtliches "Nein" liegt nicht vor<sup>2</sup>, denn die alte Kirche kannte ein biblisch begründetes Amt der Diakonissin<sup>3</sup>, das besonders im Osten weite Verbreitung gefunden hatte<sup>4</sup>.

Während die Orthodoxen wie die Katholiken die Priesterweihe der Frau ablehnen und sogar Ordinationen<sup>5</sup> in anderen Kirchen belastend für die ökumenischen Beziehungen betrachten<sup>6</sup>, versuchen sie in ihren eigenen Kirchen den Diakonatsdienst der Frau wiederherzustellen<sup>7</sup>. Doch auch hier handelt es sich nicht um die alte Diakonissenweihe, sondern um eine bloße Amtseinsetzung, wie es bei den Griechen und Kopten der Fall ist<sup>8</sup>.

Heute ist die armenische Kirche die einzige Kirche, die geweihte Diakonissen, besser gesagt, nur mehr eine Diakonissin hat, die gleichzeitig das letzte Mitglied eines armenischen Frauenordens ist. Mit ihr hat in der armenischen Kirche nicht nur das weibliche Mönchtum<sup>9</sup>, sondern auch der weibliche Diakonatsdienst überlebt. Auch wenn das Aussterben dieses Frauenordens auf den ersten Blick als ein trauriges Ereignis erscheint, birgt es in sich ungeahnte Möglichkeiten für den Dienst der Frau in der Kirche, denn diese Nonne ist nicht nur die einzige geweihte Frau in der Kirche, sondern auch die einzige Diakonissin, die nicht mehr wie früher im Kloster wohnt, sondern im öffentlich-kirchlichen Dienst steht. Dadurch gewinnt ihre Existenz, die man als eine "Rarität" in der Kirchengeschichte bezeichnen kann, auch ökumenische Perspektiven.

Die ältesten Quellen, in denen der Diakonatsdienst der Frau historisch greifbar wird, sind die syrische Didaskalie aus dem 3. Jh. und die Apostolischen Konstitutionen aus dem 4. Jh.<sup>10</sup>. Es handelt sich hier um ein Notamt, und die einzige liturgische Funktion der Diakonissen bestand in der Mithilfe bei der Taufe erwachsener Frauen. Die Diakonissen im 6. Jh. in Konstantinopel hatten eine Weihe und gehörten zum Klerus<sup>11</sup>. Bald danach verloren sie jedoch ihre Bedeutung und es wurden nur mehr Äbtissinnen zu Diakonissen geweiht, damit sie im Kloster Evangelium lesen. Aber auch dieser Diakonatsdienst verschwand spätestens im 12. Jh. in Ost und West<sup>12</sup>.

## 2. DER WEIBLICHE DIAKONAT BEI DEN ARMENIERN

Während im 12. Jh. das Diakonissenamt überall im Aussterben war, erwähnen plötzlich armenische Geschichtsschreiber das Aufkommen des Diakonissenamtes in der armenischen Kirche und beklagen sich über diese Neuerung, für die sie die "Franken", d.h. die Lateiner, verantwortlich machen.



Um diese Zeit befanden sich die Armenier nicht mehr in ihrem ursprünglichen Siedlungsgebiet<sup>11</sup>, sondern in Kilikien, wo sie ein westlich orientiertes Königreich hatten<sup>11</sup>. Da wir keine Quellen besitzen, sind wir bezüglich der Entwicklung des weiblichen Diakonats vor dem Mittelalter nur auf Vermutungen angewiesen.

In der Tat scheint die Kirche seit allem Anfang gegen den Dienst der Frau gewesen zu sein. Die chronologisch älteste Erwähnung von Frauen, die sich anmaßen, bei der Taufe mitzuwirken, findet sich in den sogenannten Kanones von Sahak aus dem 5. Jh. In c. 16 heißt es:

"Man soll mit großer Ehrfurcht taufen und während der Taufe sollen die Frauen sich nicht anmaßen, den Priestern näher zu kommen, wie es manche tun und mit ihnen taufen, sondern sie sollen an ihren Plätzen beten."<sup>12</sup>

Diese Bestimmung wurde in den folgenden Jahrhunderten erneut bestätigt, wie es aus dem Kanonbuch zu entnehmen ist. Interessanterweise richten sich diese Verbote an "Frauen", die offenbar keine Diakonissen sind. Vermutlich deshalb, weil die Kanonsammlung bereits abgeschlossen war, als das Amt der Diakonissin sich erst allmählich ausbildete<sup>13</sup>.

Zum ersten Mal wird das Wort "Diakonissin" in einem handschriftlichen Ritual aus dem 9./10. Jh. verwendet, das sich bei den Mechitharisten in Venedig befindet. In diesem "Mastoc"<sup>14</sup> von San Lazzaro findet sich beim Ritus für die Mönchsweihe eine Eintragung, die für die Frauen, welche den Mönchsstand einnehmen, denselben Ritus vorschreibt, bloß mit der Einschränkung, daß die "Diakonissen sie entkleiden", d.h. ihnen ihre weltlichen Kleider abnehmen sollen<sup>15</sup>.

Erst im 12. Jh. beginnen die Überlieferungen der Geschichtsschreiber in Kilikien. Im Jahre 1101 schreibt Bołos Taronac<sup>16</sup>, daß die "Franken den Frauen erlauben den heiligen Altar Gottes zu betreten, was den apostolischen Überlieferungen widerspricht<sup>16</sup>. Im selben Jahrhundert schreibt 1184 Mxit<sup>17</sup> ar Gos<sup>17</sup> in seinem "Datastanagirk"<sup>18</sup>: "Die Frauen werden zu Diakonissen geweiht, damit sie den Frauen predigen und Evangelium lesen, auf daß kein Mann ins Kloster eintritt und sie dieses nicht verlassen. Aber wenn sie taufen, kommen sie zum Taufbecken und waschen die Frauen mit dem Wasser der Vergebung hinter dem Vorhang ... Glaube aber nicht, daß es neu und gesetzwidrig ist, denn wir erfahren aus der Überlieferung des Apostels, daß gesagt wird, ich nehme dich als unsere Schwester Phoebe zur Dienerin der Kirche."<sup>19</sup> Das ist die einzige Stelle, in der Phoebe aus Röm. 16 als Beispiel gebracht wird.

Ein Jahrhundert<sup>20</sup> später, also im 13. Jh., schreiben die Armenier Smbat<sup>20</sup> und Orbelean<sup>21</sup> ebenfalls über Diakonissen, deren Aufgabe die Taufe erwachsener Frauen und Predigt in Frauenklöstern<sup>22</sup> ist. Die Beteiligung am hl. Meßopfer bleibt ihnen jedoch streng untersagt.

Seit dem 13. Jh. werden uns auch Weiheriten für weibliche Diakone überliefert. Der älteste uns überlieferte Weiheritus befindet sich in San Lazzaro in einem "Mastoc"<sup>23</sup> aus dem Jahre 1216. Dieser Weihetext wird in der Zukunft immer wieder kopiert und erscheint in anderen Handschriften des 14. und 18. Jh.<sup>24</sup>

Trotz der geltenden Meinung, daß die Armenier den weiblichen Diakonats im Mittelalter von den Lateinern übernommen haben, gibt es einige Anhaltspunkte, die die Existenz von Diakonissen in Armenien schon im 9. Jh. vermuten lassen.

1. Dieser in der Handschrift aus dem Jahre 1216 überlieferte Weiheritus kommt auch in einem handschriftlichen "Mastoc"<sup>25</sup> aus dem 17. Jh. vor, der sich in Erewan befindet<sup>25</sup>. Diese Handschrift ist allerdings eine Kopie einer anderen Handschrift aus dem 9. Jh.<sup>26</sup>
2. Dieses Weihegebet in der Handschrift aus dem Jahre 1216 ist identisch mit einem der drei Gebete eines georgischen Rituals aus dem 10. Jh.<sup>27</sup>
3. Dasselbe Gebet zeigt eine große Ähnlichkeit mit dem Eingangsgebet der Diakonissenweihe im byzantinischen Ritus<sup>28</sup>.
4. Die bereits erwähnte Handschrift mit dem Ritus für die Mönchsweihe, wo Diakonissen erwähnt werden, stammt ebenfalls aus dem 9./10. Jh.
5. Im 11./12. Jh. hatten die Lateiner weder Diakonissen, noch die späteren Missionen, durch die eine Übertragung möglich gewesen wäre, d.h. die Armenier hatten diese Sitte des weiblichen Diakonats nicht erst im 11./12. Jh. von den Lateinern in Kilikien, sondern schon früher von den Griechen übernommen, als sie noch in Großarmenien waren. Historisch handelt es sich um die Bagratidenzeit, welche eine zweite Glanzperiode der armenischen Kultur bedeutet. Diese Periode war aber sehr kurz, und erst in Kilikien kam die Tradition des weiblichen Diakonats zur Entfaltung. Die Bezeichnung des weiblichen Diakonats als eine "lateinische Unsitte" wird als romfeindliche Tendenz der Mönche zu verstehen sein.

Nach dem Fall des kilikischen Königreiches verlagert sich der Schwerpunkt der Klöster nach Großarmenien und Persien. Als historisch greifbare Gruppen von Nonnen erscheinen uns Diakonissen erst ab dem 19. Jh.<sup>29</sup> in drei Klöstern, nämlich im Katharinenkloster in Neu Dschulfa in Persien<sup>30</sup>, dann im armenischen Stephanuskloster in Tiflis<sup>30</sup> und ab dem 20. Jh. im Kalfayan Kloster in Konstantinopel<sup>31</sup>. Als die ersten beiden Klöster zu Beginn des 20. Jh. ausgestorben waren, blieb das Kalfayan Kloster die einzige Institution, wo seit 1932 armenische Diakonissen geweiht wurden. Die letzte Diakonissin der armenischen Kirche ist gleichzeitig auch das letzte Mitglied dieses Frauenordens.

Die Diakonissen der armenischen Kirche hatten und haben eine eigene Kleidung<sup>32</sup>, die schon von den Schreibern des Mittelalters beschrieben ist. Sie tragen ein Orarion und einen Schleier. Die Nonne heute verwendet den eigenen Nommenschleier und einen gewöhnlichen Diakonstalar.

Auch die Aufgaben sind uns überliefert. Im Mittelalter halfen sie bei der Erwachsenentaufe und predigten in Frauenklöstern, aber bei der Messe durften sie nicht dienen. In Neu-Dschulfa und Tiflis wurden sie zunächst für die Liturgie im Kloster geweiht, aber hatten auch diakonale Aufgaben in der Gemeinde<sup>33</sup>. Neu war das Abhalten des Hausteils der Totenliturgie (*tan karg*) und das Trösten der Witwen<sup>34</sup>. In Konstantinopel steht die Hausliturgie im Mittelpunkt. Die allerletzte Neuerung ist allerdings, daß heute diese letzte Nonne des Ordens ihren Dienst nicht mehr im Kloster ausübt, sondern in gewöhnlichen Pfarrkirchen, obwohl die Nonnen die Diakonatsweihe ausschließlich für klosterinternen Bedarf empfangen.



Bezüglich Weihe und klerikalen Stand der mittelalterlichen Diakonissin der armenischen Kirche wissen wir nichts. Über die Art ihrer Weihe können wir allerdings Vermutungen anstellen. Höchstwahrscheinlich hatte die mittelalterliche armenische Diakonissin keine sakramentale Weihe, denn:

1. ist der Weihetext im Vergleich zur Diakonatsweihe der Männer sehr kurz,
2. wird die Überschrift "jernadrowt iwn", Handauflegung, im Sinne Weihe in der Handschrift 1216 auch für andere Amtseinsetzungen verwendet, die keine Weihe sind und zu den niederen Graden gehören, wie z.B. Akolythen.

Die Diakonissin aus Konstantinopel hat aber eine echte Weihe, denn bei ihr wird derselbe Text wie für die Weihe männlicher Diakone verwendet. Sie gehört auch eindeutig zum Klerus. Wie man sieht, haben sich nicht nur Aufgaben, sondern auch Weihe und klerikaler Stand der armenischen Diakonissin gewandelt und entfaltet.

### 3. VERGLEICHE UND ÜBERLEGUNGEN

In der alten Kirche waren Diakon und Diakonissin ziemlich gleichgestellt. Der größte Unterschied bestand in der liturgischen Funktion. Auch bezüglich Ehestand waren sie verschieden. Während der Diakon verheiratet sein konnte und kann, ebenso der Priester, mußte die Diakonissin entweder Jungfrau oder Witwe sein.

Wenn wir aber die armenische Diakonissin mit der byzantinischen vergleichen, beobachten wir folgendes: Während in allen übrigen Traditionen das Diakonissenamt sich rückentwickelt hat, erfuhr sie in der armenischen Tradition eine Entfaltung. Diese Entfaltung betrifft sowohl die Weihe als auch den Dienst. Während die mittelalterlichen Diakonissen nur einen sehr kurzen Weiheritus hatten, der mehr eine Segnung als eine Weihe war, wird heute die Diakonissin nach demselben Text geweiht wie der männliche Diakon. Jedenfalls hat der Patriarch von Konstantinopel das Bewußtsein echte weibliche Diakone zu weihen, die zum Klerus gehören<sup>35</sup>. Somit übertrifft die Qualität ihrer Weihe sogar jener der byzantinischen Tradition. Hier ist die Weihe nicht nur ähnlich, sondern gleich. Der Dienst hat sich auch entfaltet, sowohl der liturgische Dienst, als auch der Ort. Zunächst war der armenischen Diakonissin jeder Altardienst untersagt, heute darf sie während der Messe dienen und die Gabenprozession durchführen, wie der Diakon. Die byzantinische Diakonissin hatte nie einen Altardienst. Jedenfalls hat die armenische Diakonissin auch bezüglich Altardienst die Befugnisse ihrer byzantinischen Kollegin eingeholt und überschritten. Ebenso ist es mit ihrem Wirkungsbereich. Während die byzantinische Diakonissin vom Gemeindedienst auf den Klosterbereich zurückgedrängt wurde, übt die letzte armenische Diakonissin ihren Dienst, der noch dazu ein liturgischer ist, in gewöhnlichen Pfarrkirchen aus. Somit hat das Aussterben dieses letzten Frauenordens eigentlich zur Entfaltung des Dienstes der Diakonissen beigetragen. Diese Nonne ist zum ersten Mal in der Kirchengeschichte aller Kirchen die einzige Diakonissin, die sowohl eine echte Weihe hat, als auch außerhalb des Klosters in Pfarrkirchen einen liturgischen Dienst ausübt.

Zwar hat die armenische Diakonissin dieselben Befugnisse wie der armenische Diakon, aber der armenische Diakon hat weit weniger Befugnisse als der lateinische Diakon heute. Während das Taufen zum Aufgabenbereich des Diakons gehört<sup>36</sup>, darf dies weder der östliche Diakon noch die Diakonissin. Ebenso ist es mit der Kommunionsspendung, das in der armenischen Kirche nur dem Priester zusteht. Von Eheassistent des Diakons kann bei den Orientalen

gar nicht die Rede sein, und Abhalten des Begräbnisse durch Diakonissen ist nur zum Teil und nur in Tiflis bezeugt. Während der lateinische Diakon Segen erteilt, war das der Diakonissin verboten. Gemeinsam haben die östliche Diakonissin und der westliche Diakon nur den klerikalen Stand und die Weihe.

Die armenische Diakonissin hat nicht nur weit weniger Befugnisse als der lateinische Diakon, sondern auch weniger Befugnisse als eine gewöhnliche Frau in der lateinischen Kirche, die als Lektor oder Kantor wirken, Kommunion spenden, predigen oder Eheassistent leisten kann<sup>37</sup>. Der Grund liegt darin, daß in den Ostkirchen liturgische Handlungen viel mehr an die Priesterweihe gebunden sind als im Westen. Niedere Weihen sind in der lateinischen Kirche seit 1972 überhaupt abgeschafft<sup>38</sup> und alle anderen Dienste, einschließlich die des Diakons, die ausnahmsweise ausgeübt werden, brauchen keine besondere Beauftragung oder Einsetzung<sup>39</sup>. Aber auch in der armenischen Kirche haben heute die niederen Weihen ihre Bedeutung verloren und Laien können Dienste eines Diakons ausüben<sup>40</sup> - jedoch nur männliche Laien, da eine gewöhnliche Frau den Altar nicht einmal betreten darf.

Seit Neuem dürfen Laien in der lateinischen Kirche auch Verwaltungsaufgaben übernehmen<sup>41</sup>. Im Gegensatz zu liturgischen Diensten, standen solche Dienste in der armenischen Kirche dem Laien immer offen und umfassen auch einen größeren Bereich als in der lateinischen Kirche<sup>42</sup>. Sie waren und sind beteiligt bei der Wahl der Priester, Bischöfe und des Kirchenoberhauptes, ferner bei der Vermögensverwaltung der Kirche, im kirchlichen Gericht usw. Obwohl Frauen theoretisch nicht ausgeschlossen sind, werden sie zu höheren Diensten nicht gewählt, besonders dann, wenn sie mit dem höheren Klerus verhandeln sollen<sup>43</sup>. Der Ausschluß der Frau von manchen Ämtern in der armenischen Kirche ist nicht kirchenrechtlich, sondern gesellschaftlich bedingt, deren Änderung nicht unmöglich ist.

### 4. SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN

#### 4.1. Für den Diakonats der Frau

Die Zulassung der Frau zum Diakonats ist sowohl in den Ostkirchen, als auch in der lateinischen Kirche problemlos möglich. Für die Ostkirchen ist dieses Amt nichts Neues und einige Kirchen versuchen dieses traditionelle Amt wiederzubeleben. Weil aber dieses Amt bezüglich Dienst und Weihe sich gerade in der armenischen Kirche am vollständigsten entfaltet hat und im eigentlichen Sinne nur mehr in dieser Kirche existiert, ist gerade sie die einzige Kirche, die in der Lage wäre, diese Aufgabe zu übernehmen. Es fragt sich, ob nun angesichts der Tatsache, daß es nur mehr eine Nonne, bzw. Diakonissin gibt, auch eine weitere Entfaltung des Amtes eintreten wird; d.h. ob in der Zukunft auch nicht Nonnen oder sogar verheiratete Frauen dem Diakonats zugelassen werden. Selbst dann würden aber ihre Befugnisse nicht mehr sein, als jene des armenischen Diakons, folglich weniger als eine gewöhnliche Frau in der lateinischen Kirche ohne Weihe.

Gerade aus diesem Grund ist die Zulassung der Frau zum Diakonats im Westen auf Widerstand gestoßen<sup>44</sup>. Dieser Widerstand wird verständlich, wenn wir bedenken, daß das Vergleichsobjekt noch dazu die byzantinische Diakonissin war. Doch man darf nicht vergessen, daß sich Ämter immer gewandelt haben, wie wir am Beispiel der armenischen Diakonissin gesehen haben. So sind auch der Diakon und der Bischof der lateinischen Kirche nicht völlig identisch mit ihren Vorgängern im Neuen Testament.



Das Vorenthalten der Diakonatsweihe für die Frau in der lateinischen Kirche ist nicht gerechtfertigt, denn viele Frauen üben hauptberuflich Dienste eines Diakons aus. Warum sollte diese Gnade Gottes, die in der Berufung in seinen Dienst begonnen wurde, nicht durch das sakramentale Zeichen der Handauflegung voll entfaltet und sichtbar vermittelt werden? Was ist denn eigentlich eine Weihe? Meines Erachtens hat die Weihe zwei Komponenten. Die erste ist das Gebet um den Hl. Geist für eine bestimmte Aufgabe. Als Christ ist es aber geradezu unsere Pflicht, den Hl. Geist um Seinen Beistand zu bitten, wenn wir eine Aufgabe übernehmen. Die zweite Komponente drückt wieder aus, daß diese Aufgabe mit Zustimmung der Kirche innerhalb ihres Gefüges durchgeführt wird. Auch hier hat die Kirche heute ein eigenes Zeichen, nämlich das Diplom und die bischöfliche Beauftragung für kirchliche Mitarbeiter. Gewissermaßen wurde hier die Funktion der Weihe aufgelöst. Wo es aber diese Hilfsmittel nicht gab und gibt, werden die kirchlichen Mitarbeiter, in diesem Fall die Diakone des Neuen Testaments und die Diakonissin der armenischen Kirche geweiht. Die deutschen Bischöfe forderten damals, daß die Theologie der Praxis folgen sollte<sup>45</sup>. So war es in der Kirchengeschichte immer üblich. Letztlich muß man auch darauf hinweisen, daß Ämter in der Kirche immer dann entstanden, wenn ein Bedarf danach war, wie z.B. bei der Einsetzung der Sieben in Apg. 6. So gesehen war der Diakonats im Neuen Testament ein "Notamt", wie auch das Amt der frühkirchlichen Diakonissen in orientalischen und die neuzeitlichen Frauenordinationen in den evangelischen Kirchen. So gesehen müßte die Zulassung der Frau zur Diakonatsweihe auch in der lateinischen Kirche ohne große Probleme möglich sein.

#### 4.2. Für die Priesterweihe der Frau

Die Frage der Priesterweihe der Frau ist wesentlich schwieriger zu lösen, denn ob Jesus die Frauen absichtlich nicht in den Jüngerkreis berufen hat, kann weder bewiesen noch widerlegt werden. Daß auch Frauen den Hl. Geist empfangen haben, bestreiten selbst die Ostkirchen nicht, sondern unterscheiden zwischen Amt und Charisma, und sind davon überzeugt, daß die Frau aufgrund natürlicher Begabung für manche Dienste besser geeignet ist, z.B. für geistliche Führung<sup>46</sup>. Für sie ist nicht nur die Tradition wichtig, sondern auch der "Ikonencharakter"<sup>47</sup> des Priesters. Weil Jesus ein Mann war, kann er nur von einem Mann repräsentiert werden. Dieses Problem ist am schwierigsten zu lösen, weil es nicht mit dem Verstand zu bewältigen ist. Wenn jemand von der Notwendigkeit des Symbols überzeugt ist und das für sein Gefühl als unerlässlich betrachtet, wird er schwer vom Gegenteil zu überzeugen sein. Gerade die Orientalen haben sehr viel Sinn für Symbole. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß die Ordination der Frau sich zuerst in der Kirche durchgesetzt hat, die am wenigsten Sinn für Symbole hat. Ein möglicher Ansatz zur Lösung des Problems wäre vielleicht die Einheit der Weihe des Diakons, Priesters und Bischofs. Wenn nämlich die Diakonatsweihe für die Frau möglich ist, dann müßte sie auch logischerweise zur Priester- und Bischofsweihe zugelassen werden. Obwohl diesen logischen Schritt die Anglikaner vollzogen haben<sup>48</sup>, meinen katholische und orthodoxe Theologen, daß die Diakonatsweihe theologisch und funktional verschieden von der Priesterweihe sei<sup>49</sup>. Auch in der armenischen Kirche gibt es Tendenzen, die Diakonatsweihe auszuklammern und die Weihe des Priesters, Bischofs und Katholikos als eine Weihe zusammenzuziehen<sup>50</sup>. Die moderne Theologie jedoch stimmt mit der westlichen Theologie überein<sup>51</sup>.

Jedenfalls ist in der lateinischen Kirche der c. 1024 nicht Gegenstand göttlichen Rechts<sup>52</sup>. Was die Orthodoxen betrifft, müßten eigentlich gerade sie mehr Verständnis in der Frage der Frauenordination haben, denn der weibliche Diakonats ist ebenso als ein Notamt entstanden. Jede Kirche kann nun ihren eigenen Weg gehen und diese Frage innerhalb der eigenen Tradition regeln. Dann wäre ihre Tradition eben eine Tradition unter vielen anderen auch.

#### 5. DIE VERANTWORTUNG DER ARMENISCHEN KIRCHE

Die armenische Kirche hat aber eine große Verantwortung in der Frage des Dienstes der Frau in der Kirche, nämlich sowohl in Hinblick auf die eigene Kirche, als auch auf die Gesamtkirche und Ökumene. Heute hat sich das armenische Volk in der Diaspora ziemlich etabliert und könnte diese ruhige Zeit für die Entfaltung auf kirchlich-spirituellen Gebiet nutzen. Eine Wiederbelebung der monastischen Tradition, gerade der Frau und der Diakonissen wäre sicher ein großer Nutzen. Denn nicht nur der Priestermangel ist wie in allen Kirchen spürbar, sondern auch die nachteiligen Folgen der Diasporasituation erfordern eine größere Zahl an kirchlichen Mitarbeitern. Somit hätten wir wieder eine "Notsituation", die nach einer Lösung verlangt. Die Erhaltung des weiblichen Diakonats der armenischen Tradition hat auch eine große Bedeutung für die Gesamtkirche und Ökumene. Heute tendiert man bei der Lösung vieler kirchlicher Probleme, wie Ehescheidung<sup>53</sup>, Zölibat, Bishofsamt und Primat u.a. zur östlichen Praxis. So könnte auch der weibliche Diakonats der armenischen Kirche als Modell für die lateinische Kirche dienen. Gerade die Übernahme östlicher Traditionen ist ein geeignetes Mittel, die unsichtbare Einheit der Kirchen, die jenseits jeder Spaltung und Trennung existiert<sup>54</sup>, wieder sichtbar zu machen. Nur so ist es möglich, eine lebendige Gesamtkirche zu haben.

Aufgrund dieser Tatsachen trifft die armenische Kirche eine besonders große Verantwortung sich selbst und auch der Gesamtkirche und Ökumene gegenüber, da allein sie in der Lage ist, das altkirchliche Amt des weiblichen Diakonats wiederzubeleben.

#### ANMERKUNGEN

1. 1975 hatte die "Gemeinsame Synode der Bistümer in der BRD" den Papst gebeten, die Frage des Diakonats der Frau zu prüfen und sie zur Diakonatsweihe zuzulassen. Vgl. Gemeinsame Synode der Bistümer in der BRD. Offizielle Gesamtausgabe, Bd. 1, Freiburg/Basel/Wien 1976; Beschluß 7.1. Votum 3. vgl. S. 634. Als ein Jahr später Rom die Frage der Priesterweihe der Frau negativ entschied, berührte die Glaubenskongregation in der Erklärung "Inter insigniores" vom 15.10.1976 die Frage des Diakonats der Frau gar nicht. vgl. AAS 69 (1977) 98-116. Der deutsche Diakonats der Frau findet sich zusammen mit einem Kommentar und Text der Erklärung in den theologischen Studien von R. Spiazzi, A. Descamps u.a. in dem von der deutschsprachigen Redaktion des "L'Osservatore Romano" herausgegebenen Band: Die Sendung der Frau in der Kirche, Kevelaer 1978.



2. Vgl. G. Lohfink, Weibliche Diakone im NT, in: Die Frau im Urchristentum. Hrsg. v. G. Dautzberger (=QD, Bd. 95, Freiburg/Basel/Wien 1983) 320-338.
3. A. Kalsbach, Die altkirchliche Einrichtung der Diakonissen bis zu ihrem Erlöschen, Freiburg 1926 (RQ, 22 Suppl.); A. G. Martimort, Les Diaconesses, Roma 1982; R. Gryson, Le ministère des femmes dans l'Eglise arménienne, Gembloux 1972; E. Theodorou, Ein orthodoxer Beitrag zum Problem der Frauenordination, in: Una Sancta (1978) 162-172; C. Vagaggini, L'ordinazione delle diaconisse nella tradizione greca e bizantina, in: OCP 40 (1974) 145-189; B. M. v. Stritzky, Der Dienst der Frau in der alten Kirche, in: LJ 28 (1978) 136-154.
4. Fr. A. Schmemann, Letter to an Episcopal Friend, in: Sexuality-Theology-Priesthood, ed. H. K. Lutge, San Gabriel o.J. 12-13; zit. von K. Ware, Man, Woman and the Priesthood of Christ, in: Women and the Priesthood, ed. Th. Hopko, New York 1983, S. 11.
5. Vgl. Theodorou, 164, Anm. 10 und 172; K. Fitzgerald, The Characteristics and Nature of the Order of Deaconesses, in: Women and the Priesthood, 91.
6. Nach dem koptischen Pfarrer in Wien P. Joh. El-Baramousy haben die sogenannten Diakonissen der koptischen Kirche keine Weihe und keine liturgische Funktion.
7. Die einzige bisher gute Zusammenstellung von V. Hatzouni, Kowsank<sup>C</sup> Hayastani mēj (Nonnen in Armenien), in: B(1923) 12-17; 43-47, 72-78.
8. F. X. Funk (Hg.) Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum, 2. Bde, Paderborn 1905; H. Achelis/J. Flemming, Die syrische Didaskalia (= Texte und Untersuchungen. Hrsg. A. v. Harnack/C. Schmidt, NF.10, Leipzig 1904).
9. Vgl. Martimort, Les Diaconesses, 106-107.
10. Ebd. 165f., 219f.
11. J. Mecerian, Histoire et institutions de l'Eglise Arménienne, Beirut 1965 und F. Tournebize, Arménie, in: DHGE, 4, 311-320.
12. V. Hakobian (Hg.), Kanonagirk<sup>C</sup> Hayoc<sup>C</sup> (Kanonbuch der Armenier), Bd. 1, Erewan 1964, S. 377, Z. 12-378, Z. 6.
13. Zur Geschichte des Kanonbuchs vgl. M. K. Krikorian, Das Kirchenrecht der armenisch-apostolischen Kirche, in: Die Kirche Armeniens (= Die Kirchen der Welt, Bd. 18, Stuttgart 1978) 139-157; T. Nersoyan, A Brief outline of the liber canonum and its status in modern times, in: Kanon. Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für das Recht der Ostkirchen. I. Acta Congressus 1971, 76-86.
14. HS. 1 "Mastoc<sup>C</sup>" in San Lazzaro, Nr. 457 9./10. Jh. Ort unbekannt, fol. 105b<sup>1</sup>-127a<sup>2</sup>; vgl. Großer Katalog der Handschriften der Mechitharistenbibliothek in San Lazzaro/Venedig. (arm.) Hrsg. v. P. B. Sarkissian/P. A. Sarkisian, Bd. 3, Venedig 1966, Sp. 27-33.
15. HS. Nr. 457 in San Lazzaro, fol. 126b<sup>2</sup>; Großer Katalog, 3, Sp. 32.
16. Bolos Taronac<sup>C</sup>i, Ar T<sup>C</sup>èop<sup>C</sup>iste, zit. v. V. Hatzouni, Die Nonnen, 72.

17. Über ihn vgl. V. Inglisian, Die Armenische Literatur, in: Armenische und Kaukasische Sprachen. Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1 Abt./Bd. 7, Leiden 1963, 197-198.
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19. Mxit<sup>C</sup> ar Gos, Datanagirk<sup>C</sup>. HS San Lazzaro Nr. 1237, 12. Jh. fol. 266a-b.
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### The Renaissance of Coptic Monasticism

In January 1985 the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak released Pope Shenûdah III from 40 months in exile in his cell in the Desert Monastery of St. Bishoi in the Wādī 'n-Natrûn. There was great rejoicing in the Christian community. A few months later I met with His Holiness in the patriarchal residence in Cairo. "To be sure", he commented, "the revival of Coptic monasticism and the spiritual reawakening of the Church was not endangered by my absence. On the contrary, the experiences of our forefathers proved to be substantial. During my days at Dair Anbâ Bishoi I was able to ordain 95 young men to be monks. Moreover, two new monasteries were established in Upper Egypt."

The spiritual revival of the 'Sons of the Pharaohs' is one of the remarkable developments of Oriental Christianity in these days. This renaissance is visible in Coptic parishes throughout the country, it is felt in the work of the Sunday-Schools, the social- and educational agencies and the urban and rural diakonia. Every aspect of Christian life seems to be touched by it, including the ecclesiastical art and architecture.

The 20th century reawakening, possible through the reforms of the 19th century by Pope Cyril IV (1854-1861), can be dated to the period following the patriarchate of Anbâ Yûsâb II in 1956. With the accession to the patriarchal throne of Abûnâ Minâ al-Muttawahad al-Barâmûsî as Cyril VI and 116th successor of St. Mark the Evangelist the monastic ideal in its anchoritic and coenobitic forms regained its original importance, thus determining the spiritual life of the Church in general and that of the monasteries in particular. Prior to his election by altar-lot in 1959 he had lived for years as an anchorite in a cave near the Monastery of al-Barâmûs. Here he followed the ascetic disciplines of the Ethiopian hermit Abûnâ 'Abd al-Masîh al-Habashî, who inhabited a cave a few miles away. Abûnâ 'Abd al-Masîh's extreme asceticism, his consistent fasting and long vigils, in some ways even surpassing the austerity of his 5th century models, left a lasting impact upon Abûnâ Minâ, but also upon Abûnâ Antûniûs as -Surîânî, the present Pope Shenûdah III and several Coptic bishops who were called from the cave to the episcopacy.

In the late fifties, and especially throughout the sixties and seventies, many academically trained young men took the monastic vows and reseeded the desert monasteries. These men gathered around Anbâ Tawfilûs, Bishop of the Monastery of the Syrians. During the papacy of Cyril VI, 21 new metropolitans and bishops were enthroned to fill vacant sees. Many of these new church-leaders were educated men who had either been hermits or monks and had absorbed the deep spirituality which the desert imparts upon men.

This resulted in a steady change of the age-structure within the monasteries. Today, the great majority of desert fathers are between 25 and 50 years of age. The diversity of the educational standards between the older and younger generation of monks is obvious, a problem that can only be solved by patient love among the brethren. After all, many of the desert fathers of the 4th and 5th century cherished their simplicity and their



biblically inspired anti-intellectualism. The majority of them were originally peasants. St. Macarius the Great was a camel-driver, St. Macarius the Alexandrian had been a seller of sweet-meats, St. Apollo of Bawit used to be a goat-herd. St. Pambo and St. Paphnutius were illiterates like so many of the desert fathers who had memorized large portions of the Holy Scriptures. Of course, there were exceptions to the rule. The Saints Evagrius, Albanus, Maximus and Domitius were members of the intellectual or hereditary aristocracy. However, they were foreigners who were attracted to the desert life hoping to achieve in the *eremos* the God-pleasing life. Today, the great majority of the desert fathers come from middle and even upper middle class families. They joined the monasteries after having completed their military service in the Egyptian army and spent some time in their respective academic professions as engineers, chemists, architects, pharmacists, surgeons or teachers. This does not mean, of course, that there are no *fellahin* any more among the Coptic monks.

It is difficult to measure the degree of spirituality and yet, there is no doubt that today the ascetic disciplines practised in the eleven officially recognized Coptic monasteries are considerably more severe than a generation ago. This is unquestionably due to the motivations which have led young men to decide to enter the monastery. Some of them join the desert fathers on account of a genuine religious experience, be it in the form of a vision, a dream or an inspiration resulting from contemplation. A profound sense of guilt has led many men to accept a life of asceticism in hope that by self-denial and renunciation, prayer and mortification of the senses they may atone for their sins. St. Antony the Great was moved to his decision to forsake the world upon hearing the teaching of the Holy Scriptures: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all thou hast and give to the poor; (Mt 19:21). Consequently he retired to a cave in the Wādī al-'Arabah near the Red Sea. For the majority of the Copts the monastic life is still considered spiritually and morally superior to that lived in the world. Thus the monks are often referred to as "Angels of God". To follow their example is thought to be a surer way to eternal salvation than by remaining in the world. Lastly, some monks, e.g. the late Pope Cyril VI and now Pope Shenouda III have radiated such a deep spirituality that they have attracted others by their personal example.

To join a monastery means the total identification of the person with the Church. This is an important witness in a situation where the Church represents the faith of a religious minority. Others embrace the monastic life as a sign of protest against the laxity and worldliness of the Church. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the higher ranks of the Coptic clergy are nowadays selected exclusively from the monks. This means that there may be cases where a man joins the monastic life out of a desire for eventual leadership. These men then would regard the monastic profession as a means rather than as an end.

The influence of the various monasteries at a given time has changed considerably. Whereas from the 7th to 13th century 25 out of 35 popes used to be monks at the Monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādī 'n-Natrūn, from the 17th to 19th century 10 out of 12 popes came from the Red Sea Monastery of St. Antony. In the middle of the 20th century, 16 bishops had served as monks of the Monastery of the Syrians. In the last ten years, the Monastery of St. Bishoi provided 17 monks for the Coptic episcopacy.

His Holiness Anbā Shenouda III has pointed out that he would like to see the Church today as strong as in the days of the 5th and 6th century.

This goal explains many of the structural developments which are so evident in recent years within the Coptic Church. During his office as Pope and Patriarch he advanced five bishops to the rank of metropolitans and consecrated 41 bishops and 10 chorbishops. For the sake of comparison, R. Strothmann, writing in 1932 listed 18 bishoprics and in my list of Coptic Bishops<sup>2</sup> of 1964 I mentioned 31 episcopal sees, of which six sees were vacant. This structural renaissance of the Church has become possible on account of the quantitative and qualitative increase of monks. Whereas in 1960 there were 206 Coptic monks living in 9 monasteries, there are as of 1986 620 Coptic monks in 11 officially recognized monasteries. The distribution is as follows: Dair al-Barāmūs - 83 monks; Dair as-Suriān 55 monks; Dair Anbā Bishoi 115 monks; Dair Abū Maqār 105 monks; Dair Abū Mīnā 30 monks; Dair Anbā Samwīl 45 monks; Dair Anbā Antūniūs 45 monks; Dair Anbā Būlā 40 monks; Dair al-Muharraḡ 50 monks; Dair Anbā Abkhūm 10 monks; Dair Mārī Girgis 25 monks.

A spiritual and structural renaissance of this magnitude is accompanied and embedded by a variety of religious events, some of which are typical to the Oriental Christian tradition. The support of the saints of old has been manifested by the translation or inventions of their holy relics. Thus the relics of St. Mark the Evangelist, the traditional founder of the Church of Egypt, were returned from Venice to Cairo in May 1968. In May 1973, Pope Shenouda III received from Pope Paul VI the relics of St. Athanasius of Alexandria. In November 1978 the monks of the Monastery of St. Macarius claimed the invention of the relics of St. John the Baptist and the Prophet Elisha in the principal church of their monastery. In the Monastery of St. Antony the incorruptible body of the great theologian Anbā Yūsāb al-Abah, Metropolitan of Girga and Akhmīm (1735-1826), has been recently discovered and placed there in a glass-feretory in the Church of the Holy Apostles. The monks of the Monastery of St. Samuel testify that in December 1976 the incorruptible body of St. Pisada, kept in the Church of St. Misāil, issued blood.

Moreover, apparitions of the Holy Virgin and light-appearances have provided celestial confirmation, be it the apparitions of the Holy Virgin on the dome of the Church of al-'Adhrā in Zeitūn in 1968, the apparitions of the Holy Virgin on the roof of the Church of Sitt Dimianah in Shubra in 1986 or the light-appearances in the night of September 4, 1975 above the ancient Cave-Church of St. Paul in the Red Sea Monastery of St. Paul the Theban. For the biblically oriented faithful, even the Arabic Holy Bible provided the assurance of divine election when on Sunday, June 13, 1976 a copy of the Bible floating in the Nile reached the shore at the Coptic Church of al-'Adhrā in Ma'adi south of Cairo. Anbā Gregorius, Bishop of Theological and Scientific Studies at the Coptic Theological Seminary, verified the story that the Bible was opened on the page of Isaiah's prophecy: "Blessed be Egypt my people" (Is 19,25). Due to the monastic revival in our days two modern saints are highly venerated. Abūnā Yustus al-Antūnī lived for many years as hermit within the walls of the Monastery of St. Antony. He died in 1976, and on the site of his cell a two-story guest-house for men has since been erected. I remember meeting him several times and I heard of the numerous miracles, visions and apparitions that were part of his life.<sup>3</sup> More significant in the Coptic Church is the widespread cult around the great *thaumaturgos* of the 20th century, the late Pope Cyril VI. Even during his life he was the most beloved person



superceding in charismata even the great Upper Egyptian Saint Anbâ Abrâam of the Fayyûm (1829-1914).<sup>4</sup> His cave two miles from the Monastery of al-Barâmûs in the Wâdî 'n-Natrûn and his tomb in the crypt of the new Basilica of St. Menas in Maryût have become popular pilgrimage shrines, to which large numbers of pilgrims repair.

In conclusion, one very significant new development should be recorded. On account of the desert-land-reclamation work by the Egyptian Government and the desert monasteries, all Coptic desert monasteries with the exception of the Monastery of St. Samuel at al-Qalamûn, can nowadays be reached on asphalt roads. For the first time in their 1600 years of history the desert monasteries are set on the fringe of the lay and the unascetic, a few gallons worth of gasoline separate them from golf courses, maisons de coiffure or the noise of the Egyptian village life. The silence around the monasteries is broken. These venerable fortresses of spiritual austerity are being rapidly integratd into the life of the Coptic Church. Literally hundreds of pilgrims of cities and villages descend every week-end upon the monks. For the sake of the visitors the monks have installed souvenir-kiosks selling pamphlets, leather-crosses, medals and textiles. During the *ramadan beïram* 1986 over 1000 pilgrims travelling by busses and cars visited the Monastery of St. Antony in the Red Sea Desert. The days of quietness, solitude and isolation are gone for ever, except for those few hermits of the Monasteries of St. Bishoï and al-Barâmûs who have left the monasteries and fled from the world and inhabit the caves of the inner desert miles away from the noise of our civilisation.

#### NOTES

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#### Women in Ethiopian Society

I have tried to evaluate the traditional, historical and current position of Ethiopian women from as many perspectives as possible. Applicable research material is scarce, difficult to obtain, and must be reviewed carefully, due to the often distorting prejudices of the authors in question.

Exhaustive research would be necessary to do justice to this subject and an absolute depiction of woman's presence in all of its infinite variety is a goal worthy of a lifetime's work.

The first striking observation one makes is that a large gap exists between the women's official legal status and the de facto extent of her rights as governed by customs. Naturally, tribe and social class must always be taken into consideration in the mosaic which is Ethiopian culture. I will begin with observations about the Ethiopian Civil Code, which assures women a seemingly absolute equality with men. Ethiopian women achieved the right to vote simultaneously as their male counterparts. The fact that suffrage depended on the amount of land one owned, excluded however most women from participation in elections, although the Civil Code clearly stated equality in all aspects of landownership. In reality most women did not own land, inheriting only when their father dies before marriage, the land being substitution for dowry.

Although the Civil Code stated that both sides must with free will enter into a marriage, it was often only the future husband or the families who got to exercise their will. It is interesting to note that a woman did not need to be married in order to demand support or inheritance right after a separation, both for her or any children resulting from the union.

Regardless of the fact that equality was obviously stated in the Civil Code, the law in its written form gives the reader the clear impression that a woman's primary responsibilities lie in the home. The law declared that, barring situations where the husbands financial freedom is broad enough to provide servants, the wife is unconditionally bound to care for all domestic matters. Although it seems conservative, the tone of the law was a progressive one, whereby the woman was in no way allotted to the household-work because this work is intrinsically "woman's work", but out of solely economic reasons.

The Civil Code's law perspectives, unless invalidated by prior contract, were in no sense of disadvantage for the wife. After a separation each party reclaimed any personal property, then any property which had become commonly owned was divided up in such way whereas the woman had first choice. This was not in order to give her an advantage over the man, but instead to balance out the fact that the husband throughout the course of the relationship as a rule had acted as administrator of common property.

Now here are interesting examples of customary law, taken from the Tigrinna, as well as other northern tribes. One must constantly remember that due to the high number of ethnic groups in Ethiopia those customs



which apply for one group are not to be generalized. I concentrate on examples from rural Ethiopia because here, as in other cultures, traditions are still held on to the strongest.

Among the Tigrinna the father of the bride had to pay a dowry to the groom's family or the groom himself. In the latter case did the bride receive ten percent of the dowry's value, payable in silver jewellery. The husband might not use the dowry to pay his own debts and had to inform his wife about his use of the money as far as common investment. Two friends of the groom were appointed by him as responsible for protection of the interests of his wife, who they had to defend even if it brought them into disagreement with the man.

In a second form of marriage the woman agreed for a previously determined time-period to live with a man for a set sum of money. In case of a pregnancy she had the same legal rights as the woman in a normal marriage. After the contract had ended the woman and her children were entitled to support for the first two and three years. Afterwards the children belonged to their father. A further category involved children born within absolutely free relationships, who were entitled along with their mother to support-payments, even if the only proof of fatherhood was the testimony of the mother.

Upon death of a man, the landinheritance would be divided among all existing children and his wife. Unmarried daughters received either the guarantee of a dowry upon marriage, or a fraction of the inheritance (material, not land), and had the right to live along with their brothers, being supported until marriage.

Both husband and wife could initiate a divorce. The woman had to inform her father of her wish, who then informed his son-in-law. Loss of the virginity before marriage was a common reason for husbands to divorce their wives. In this case the woman would be sent back to her parents in shame and disgrace. In case of adultery when on part of the man, the wife received reparations for jealousy. If the husband later entered into a contract marriage, the wife could get divorce and her father reparations. When adultery was committed by the woman, she could be sent back home with her head shaven.

All in all the position of these women was relatively favourable, instead of what one might expect. But the existence of laws concerning punishment for wives who hit their husbands is perhaps an oblique clue to the researcher about the actual state of affairs ...

Among the Beni-Amer only the birth of a boy was cause to give a traditional cry of joy. After a divorce the wife received only one third of the common property. Sons inherited always twice as much as their sisters. Legally a woman could never serve as a guarantor or a witness. Otherwise the woman seemed to enjoy a fairly independent status. It was said among them that they had sharp tongues and they were not afraid of insulting their men in public. It has even been common for a Beni-Amer woman as a result of disagreement to throw her husband out of their tent and let him sit through cold and rain, refusing him entry until she had been satisfied with his reparations. A traveller remarked that women in this method often accumulated greater material fortunes than the husband himself. Negative about the Beni-Amer was their practise in infibulation.

Among the Bilen the woman was looked down upon because her family had to pay the suitor's family five times the worth in live-stock of any courting presents they had received.

An unmarried Afar girl who became pregnant was in no way judged badly. Her lover, however, was required to pay her father a fee in case she died in delivery. Again, the word of the girl alone was all that was needed to officially establish who was the father of the child, even when disputed by him. According to a traveller although the Afar considered women inferior to men their women still did not show fear of behaving freely in public.

Today among the peasantry, the woman is certainly the backbone of the entire economic structure from which they subsist. Not only house, children and field demands her constant attention, often having to travel long and stretches just to get water, but she is also in no way rewarded, paid or given particular recognition for her extreme efforts. All work except for plowing is expected from her, the plough being traditionally reserved only for the man. Usually she manages a small garden at home to provide the nourishment needs of her family, because the man's income is never sufficient enough. Since the revolution attempts have been made to encourage women to take part in the "Peasant Associations" and to organize them also within women's groups. These organizations strive to improve women's lot in Ethiopia by, for example, providing them with machinery that helps them in their daily tasks, or by planning construction of well-situated wells. Literacy campaigns, often coupled with political propagandizing, are also carried out here. The woman should learn here to be both a good revolution-ary as well as a "feminist" in order to be armed for the struggle against the double oppression facing her as woman and as worker.

Despite all attempts these programs have not reached women as well as has been hoped because in the "Peasant Associations" only heads of households are registered. According to tradition this is still the man, and so is the tradition perpetuated.

In 1981 only 17,9 percent of women were official members of the work force. Of course, the percent of women actually working, especially at home, is much higher. Earning of money is still seen as exclusively a man's sector. Most female workers occupations is poorly paid; low level jobs in factories or in the social sector are predominating. Lack of education and training and high unemployment force them to accept these conditions. Many employ women simply for the reason that they can be paid a fraction of what a man is for the same work. Pregnancy-leave alone discourages many from hiring a woman. Despite the official 45 day paid pregnancy-leave granted Ethiopian women by law, most women have to choose between returning to work already one week after delivery or getting fired. This law exists almost only on paper, and in reality it is rarely respected by employers.

Regardless of the fact that there are laws against wage discrimination by sex, most employers hide their discrimination by clever name tags on the jobs in question: Where a woman is a clerk the male counterpart is a clerical officer. The duties are exactly the same, only the man's pay is much higher.

- Now to my last point, once again turning back to history: Any comprehensive assessment of the societal role of Ethiopian women must deal with the subject of the upperclass nobility. Not only as queens and empresses



but also as spouses of powerful men did Ethiopian women exercise considerable influence on Ethiopian history. Typically they functioned as advisors for their husbands. European travellers were often startled by the "freedoms" they observed at the court. "Women drinking right along with men, playing chess with equal fervor and being active as tradeswomen" must have been surprising for the average nineteenth-century-European. Interesting particularly is the high level of education such as women enjoyed allowing them to assess and advice upon complex political matters. It is documented, however, that this behavior was not always met with approval among men. Some even maintain that women of the upperclass cleverly used marriage and divorce as a tool for gaining wealth. In any case nobility offered a woman much better chances of developing her individuality and thus determining her own fate.

In conclusion, the Ethiopian woman was and is not the restricted and oppressed individual that one might expect. The liberality of Ethiopian law in respect to sex discrimination is, however, still not day to day reality for most women. One hopes for the most positive development possible.

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M. Chahin

Some legendary Kings of Armenia.  
Can they be linked to authentic history?

All dates are B.C.

Armenia has an unbroken history overlapping the pre- and post-Christian eras. Pre-Christian aspects of its history are therefore categorised under the overall titles of "Christian Caucasus (or Oriental) History", as in this instance. May I first emphasise that this is not a paper on the origin of the Armenians - although I mention that problem incidentally, when I must. Also, that its purpose is not to vindicate Moses of Khoren (Khorenatsi). I use Moses with respect, of course, but only as an instrument to help my attempt to put into historical context some of the "legendary" kings of Armenia.

Khorenatsi's king list (I.22) purports to be a synchronous list of Armenian and Median rulers, beginning with Paroyr, son of Skayordi of Armenia and Varbaces of Media. Varbaces was the name of a well-known ancient Iranian, aristocratic family (Harpagus). He was possibly viceroy of King Cyaxares, in command of the Median forces who, in alliance with the Babylonian King Nabopolassar, the Scythians under Madyas, son of Bartatua and, according to Khorenatsi, the Armenians under Paroyr, destroyed Nineveh in 612. In that moment of victory and triumph, Varbaces, representing Cyaxares, crowned Paroyr as the first King of Armenia.

The geographical position of Armenia at that time appears to have been that of the province of Shupria to the west of Lake Van, its south-eastern frontiers abutting upon Assyria-on-Tigris. In accordance with a tradition of independence, Shupria, protected as it was by the Sasun mountains, did not always pay tribute to either of its two powerful neighbours, Urartu and Assyria.

In common with other parts of territories east of the Euphrates (Firat), Shupria also probably harboured enclaves of Armenian settlers, who had infiltrated across the river, perhaps since the eleventh century from Tabal-Togarmah. It could have been seized by an Armenian chieftain in 714 when Urartu and Assyria were at war far to the east of Lake Van. As a powerful leader, he might have been known by his followers as "The Giant" - "Hskan" - father of Skayordi. The latter appears on Khorenatsi's List as Paroyr's father. It has been suggested that Skayordi means "descended out of a Saka", the Iranian for Scythian. It is then implied that Paroyr was a Scythian. But Scythian is an Old Persian language, whereas "Paroyr" is a Middle Iranian name. I believe "Skayordi" to be a corrupted form of the Armenian "Hskaï-vorti" (Son of the Giant).

When Assyria's King Sennacherib was murdered by his sons in 681, according to the Old Testament (2 Kings XIX,37), "they escaped into the land of Armenia", that is, Shupria, whose ruler at that time would have been HSkayordi or his father, Hskan. As an historical fact, Shupria was at that time, in 681, independent of both her great neighbours.

Thus, we are introduced to three Armenian princes, claiming historical credibility, who ruled an Armenian province, very probably Shupria, in the eighth and seventh centuries. In reverse order, they are Paroyr, who is closely associated with a great historical event, the destruction of Nineveh; his father HSkayordi, who sheltered at least one of the Assyrian patricides, Sharezer, in Armeno-Shupria, and Hskan, who undoubtedly existed (given the acceptance of HSkayordi) and was possibly the founder of an Armenian ruling dynasty. Perhaps Hskan and his followers inspired other Armenians, already scattered over Shupria, with an awareness of their common ethnic identity. In saying this, I am agreeing with those scholars who hold the view that the Armenians in Shupria would have had mainly Thracian-Phrygian origins (Herod. VII, 73; Strabo xi,14,12, 13,10; Eudoxus, *Ethnica*).

After the destruction of Nineveh, Assyria made a last stand at Harran, while awaiting rescue by its Egyptian ally. The Medes on their part, awaited the arrival of Nabopolassar and his Babylonians. Nabopolassar seems to have made a detour northwards from Nineveh on mopping-up operations. We hear of him in Izalla, well north of Nisibis and beyond Shupria, which he must have crossed and very probably colonised. Perhaps his main purpose for venturing so far to the north was to stop the king of Melid from going to the aid of the Assyrians. Eventually, he rejoined his Median allies and together destroyed Assyria forever (c. 607).

Paroyr in the List is followed by Hratch'eay, when Armeno-Shupria was most probably already a Babylonian colony. It was inherited by Nebuchadnezzar II, from his father, Nabopolassar. So, when Babylonia attacked Judea in 587 and ultimately sacked Jerusalem and deported the Jews, there would probably have been an Armenian contingent in the Babylonian forces. The Old Testament (2 Kings XXIV.2) instructs us that not only were bands of Chaldees (Babylonians) sent against the Jews but also Moabites, Amorites, and even Syrians. Although Armenians are not mentioned, there might well have been other small Babylonian colonies taking part, which are also not mentioned. After all, from Babylonia's point of view, Judea was only a tiny country with which Nebuchadnezzar would not concern himself personally, or commit too many of his Babylonian troops. He would more likely have used colonial troops against such petty states.

Assuming Armenia to have been at war with the Jews, the appearance of a Jewish prisoner named Pochereth or P'aka'rat, who is mentioned in the Book of Nehemia (VII.59) (called Shambat by Khorenatsi) is not inconceivable; The Bagratids's spurious claim to be descended from P'aka'rat cannot be discussed here; suffice it to say that "Bagarat" is derived from Aryan, not a Semitic source. But it does, to some extent support the alleged presence at the Armenian court of a prominent Jewish prisoner and, more importantly, somewhat strengthens the proposal that an Armenian king did, indeed, take part in the Judeo-Babylonian war. If he had not, how could he have asked Nebuchadnezzar to be given one of his captives, as is alleged by Khorenatsi? Hratch'eay's legendary figure is thus replaced by a personality of some substance, mainly because Armeno-Shupria, as a Babylonian colony, might well have taken part in Nebuchadnezzar's war against Jews. There must have been an Armenian ruler at that time and place; in the absence of a contesting name, why does it matter if his name was Hratch'eay?



Three kings follow one another in Khorenatsi's list: P'arnavaz, Pachoych, Kornak. I could find no information on the last two names. But P'arnavaz could have been a member of the Iberian Pharnabazids, with K'art'-velian antecedents, who appear to have been embroiled with invading Kimmerians in the eighth and seventh centuries. Many Kimmerians settled particularly west of Lake Van. There might have been some marriages between the rulers of Iberia, the Kimmerians and the early Achaemenid Persians, which, a very few years before the appearance of Cyrus the Great, perhaps provided a Perso-Iberian ruler in Armeno-Shupria, bearing the name of P'arnavaz.

The name of the next ruler of the list, P'aros, could be Pharos-Var-(d)os-Bardos or Bardiya, son of Cyrus the Great. On his death-bed, Cyrus nominated Bardiya to be satrap of Armenia. Cyrus's heir, Cambyses, full brother of Bardos, died in Syria in 522, whereupon Bardos-P'aros claimed the Persian throne. He ruled for eight months before he was murdered by "The Seven", led by Darius Hystaspis and Hydarnes (Idernes) I. Darius then seized the Persian throne. There followed widespread revolution throughout the Persian Empire. In Armenia, the revolution seems to have been led by the successor of P'aros-Bardos. HAYKAK II. Khorenatsi apparently confusing Haykak I with Haykak II ("the other Haykak"), writes: "Of him they say that he caused senseless riots and he perished therein". It is reasonable to suppose that Khorenatsi's "riots" were Haykak's unsuccessful revolutionary uprisings against Darius, in which he did, indeed, "perish", for the Armenians were eventually defeated and Haykak's kingdom became Darius's XIIIth satrapy, Armina.

ARMOG (Khor. I.31): The gap between Haykak and Pask'an could be closed by Armog, perhaps son of Haykak. The Greek form could be Artochmes (Herod. VII.73), son-in-law of Darius the Great, and leader of the Armenian contingent in Xerxes's Greek campaign in 480. I arrive at "Armog" from Artochmes (a) by deleting the Greek nominative ending -mes and, (b) following Toumanoff and Markwart, by substituting "m" for "t". The time gap between the death of Haykak, c. 519, and the appearance of Armog, well before 480, permits the possibility of the father-son relationship I have suggested.

PASK'AM or Pakam (Khor. I.31), possibly son of Armog, grandson of Haykak, satrap of Armeno-Shupria - henceforth Western Armenia, c. 430. He is said to have founded the princely house and state of Angl (Angel-tun), which was known to the Graeco-Roman world as Ingilene, on the site of modern Egil, near ancient Carcatheocerta in Shupria (or the later Sophene, covering approximately the western portion of Shupria). The Hittite king, Mursil II (fourteenth century) mentions "Ingalawa" among the states he invaded east of the Euphrates, which also supports the possibility of Shupria being the first Armenian state east of the Euphrates.

AMPAK (Khor. I.19) follows Pask'am. He would well be the Armenian version of Embas, (Cyrop. V.III.38) the last letter -s, being the Greek nominative. Ampak-Emba(s), too, would have been satrap of Armenia, for, according to Xenophon, he and his Armenian troops sided with Cyrus the Younger when the latter rebelled against his brother, the Persian Great King Artaxerxes II. After the battle of Kunaxa (401), Ampak would have been among the rebellious leaders who were massacred by the Persian loyalists. The successor of Ampak in Western Armenia, was the historically well-known Tiribazos.

All the personalities so far discussed (legendary or not) were rulers of Western Armenia. Eastern Armenia must have been within the territories

of Darius's tenth and eighteenth satrapies. The tenth satrapy was Media, divided from the eighteenth in the north by the great bend of the river Araxes. The eighteenth satrapy was composed of the Alarodii (Urartians), Saspeiri (Scythians) and Matieni (perhaps Mitannians or Hurrians). There is every possibility that there were substantial numbers of Armenian settlers both north and south of the Araxes. The Matieni straddled the river between the two satrapies. Although the eighteenth satrapy had its own governor, the ruler of neighbouring Media (the tenth satrapy) Hydarnes I, might well have had overall jurisdiction of both regions, because of his eminence in the ruling Persian hierarchy. Thus, the Armenians in those two regions would have communicated freely with one another and eventually, as a majority of the population, exercised a greater political influence than the fragmented communities within the two satrapies.

After the demise of Urartu (c. 590) the direct rulers of the two regions (not yet satrapies) which, as above suggested, became Eastern Armenia, successively were Cyaxares, Astyages, Cyrus the Great, Cambyses, briefly Bardiya and finally, under Darius the Great, Hydarnes I, the first satrap of Eastern Armenia (521).

Khorenatsi's List ends with Ervand the Short-lived and Tigran. Time does not permit me to say more than that Ervand the Short-lived might have been the eponym of a local Western Armenian dynast, founded by Haykak. Tigran was most certainly not, as Khorenatsi's avers, Tigran the Great, who lived in the first century B.C. However, there was, in fact, an Achaemenid general called Tigran(es) (Herod. VII.62), possibly satrap of Eastern Armenia, who took part in both Darius's and Xerxes's campaigns against Greece in 490 and 480 respectively. He was killed at Mycale (479) (Herod. IX.102). He could have been the successor of Hydarnes I, who was the satrap of Eastern Armenia between 521-499. Tigran(es) the Achaemenid would therefore have become satrap in 491 at the latest - he was going to war the following year. Then, a gap of a few years would remain between 499 and, at latest, 491. Ervand the Short-lived could have ruled for a few years from 499 to sometime before 491. Thus both Tigran and Ervand the Short-lived would fit in very well in the List, but only chronologically, not regionally, for their predecessors were rulers of Western Armenia.



Costas P. Kyrris

# Cypriot Ascetic and the Christian Orient

§ 1. Similarly to Mediaeval China, where "many peaks gained reputation as potent outcroppings imbued with numinous force, and among such peaks several became known as the specific seats of manifestation of exalted deities", and "centers for spiritual studies and practices, as well as sites to which intrepid practitioners would journey in quests for visions, Christian and Byzantine Cyprus became one of the centres of theologico-philosophical quest, fermentation, vision and sanctification in the Near and Middle East. Although the ascetic conception of life in the island should be traced back to the very origins of Christianity in it, having assimilated earlier, pre-Christian modes of thought and behaviour, there was resistance to them by worldly cultural currents and historic developments, particularly the luxurious large-scale rebuilding of cities destroyed by earthquakes in the thirties, forties and seventies of the 4th century A.D. First of all Salamis was rebuilt as Christian Constantia, which, once more ever since, became the ecclesiastical and political capital instead of Paphos, and others, which subsequently flourished. Cypriot shipyards undertook shipbuilding on a remarkable scale from the mid-4th century onwards, and expensive basilicas with excellent interior decoration were erected in several cities, of which the best-known, that of Constantia, was dedicated to one of the most ascetic figures of the Church of Cyprus and early Christianity, Epiphanius (366-402 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> The theatre of Constantia after its reconstruction as a Christian city, was converted from one for gladiatorial functions to a theatre for mime productions like those still tolerated in Christian Constantinople, a real check to the early growth of asceticism. Mutilated gods' statues decorated the stoas of the rebuilt baths of the Roman Gymnasium, whose palaestra became a meeting place; its latrines, however, were screened off with a wall in accordance with Christian morality. Pagan resistance went on until the early 5th c. A.D. as illustrated by the worship of Zeus Labranios on top of a hill near Limassol, by the continued inspiration of Cypriot sculpture from the Classical Greek schools of art in Asia Minor, and, not least, by the luxurious administrative and other public and private buildings at Paphos, Kourion and elsewhere. Though allusions to Christianity occur in the mosaics and inscriptions of some of them, e.g. at the late 4th - early 5th century House of Eustolios at Kourion, their dominant character was pagan Greek and partly Roman.<sup>4</sup>

§ 2. Still the Christian ascetic ideology fought its way with success into this entourage. In the mid-4th century Saint Hilarion, a disciple of Saint Antonius in Egypt, came from his Monastery at Thabatha south of Gaza in Palestine to Cyprus, and lived as a hermit at a mountain cave near Paphos in the S.W.; there he gave a strong push to ascetic life through his example imitated by his numerous local and foreign visitors.<sup>5</sup> It was there that he was met in 367 A.D. by the notorious hellenized Palestinian Jewish monk Epiphanius, ever since Bishop of Constantia, who stayed with him for two months in his hesychastic ascetic 'palaestra' = 'battleground for defeating the demons.'<sup>6</sup> The following visitor of the cave, by now enshrined by a halo of sanctity was the ex-archbishop of Constantinople, Gennadius accom-

panied by his disciple Neilus; both lived there for a short time to draw inspiration from the living traditions of Hilarion, according to the statement of the most famous Cypriot ascetic figure, Neophytos Enkleistos (le Réclus), the Cypriot Saint Francis of Assise, who practised asceticism in the same region several centuries later (12th-13th c. A.D.).<sup>7</sup> Not far from Hilarion's cave was established in the same period, 4th c. A.D., the monastery of the Priests (Μονὴ Ἱερέων).<sup>8</sup> Two other hermits born in a village of Paphos some miles to the east, Melandra, the future bishop of Arsinoe Arcadius and his brother Theosevius, practised strict asceticism in the late fourth century or later in caves nearby, probably following the steps of Hilarion: Arcadius before accepting to become bishop was hiding in mountains and caves, according to our only source, St. Neophytos.

§ 3. Epiphanius, who had begun his ascetic career in a monastery at Eleutheroupolis in Palestine and in Egypt, moved from Hilarion's ἀσκησιον near Paphos to Constantia, whose surrounding area was already another centre of ascetic life; there, like Arcadius, he failed to reject the offer of the local bishopric, as he had done in Palestine, and even embraced the wealthy heretically-minded local Greek capitalists and landowners who had already been possessing high positions in the episcopal administration. Instead of ejecting them -- this was obviously impossible -- he chose to convert them to "Orthodoxy" through miracle-working, especially curing illnesses -- a capacity of many ascetics -- and use their resources for building his famous luxurious five-aisled Basilica, perhaps the greatest of his time.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand Epiphanius did not alienate himself from his previous ascetic past: he maintained close connections with many monks, archimandrites, prelates, clergymen and even pious Christian laymen in Arabia, Asia Minor (Pamphylia, Pisidia), Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, etc., with whom he corresponded frequently on matters theological or for whom he wrote a number of his works (e.g. the Ancoratus for the Pamphylians in 374, the Panarion for monks in Syria in 376, the Περὶ Μέρων καὶ σταυρῶν for a Persian priest in 392). It was mainly the ascetic world of the Near East that he was addressing when carrying out his constant undefeated anti-heretical struggles, especially against Origenes "the father of Arius and root of all heretical doctrines", and, in alliance with Athanasius of Alexandria and his brother and successor Peter, against Meletius of Antioch in favour of the latter's rival Paulinus. At the request of Alexandria's bishop Theophilus, Epiphanius did also convene a local council at Constantia, where he was fighting against other local heretics,<sup>12</sup> to condemn Origenes in 401 A.D., and directed his persistent unjustified attack against St. Chrysostomus of Constantinople.<sup>13</sup> By participating in the local Synod of Rome in 382 A.D. -- having left in haste the Second Ecumenic Council of Constantinople (late 381 A.D.), Epiphanius contributed to the rejection by Pope Damasus (366-384) of the Acts of the latter council referring to Antioch.<sup>14</sup> However he had not prevented the other four Cypriot bishops who took part in the Council of Constantinople from signing the doctrinal part of its Acts, whose second canon favoured the autonomy of the Church of Cyprus by recognizing all metropoleis as autocephalous.<sup>15</sup> It is noteworthy that the second Ecumenic Council used Epiphanius' Credo -- added by him in the end of his Ἀγκυρωτός (374) -- as basis for its own Credo. The bishop's text was in substance identical with the Credo of Nicaea (325 A.D.) with completions and elaborations made by him through adding phrases and words taken from the Bible and patristic







A.D.). The possibility of success in a small scale in Cyprus might lead to unity throughout the empire as a whole, for which the example of Cyprus would serve as "balm". In that case the Greek community together with the Monophysite elements co-existing with it were expected to act as the mediating factor in the imperial policy of Constantinople: the reason of its failure to do so falls within the generally conservative Orthodox attitude of the Cypriot Church in religious matters, and this despite the close relations of Heraclius with the island, which he visited in 609-610 on his way to Constantinople, finding support from its governor and striking coins in it. Then he financed the construction of a large part of the aqueduct of Salamis-Constantia.<sup>50</sup>

§ 8. In 638 Arcadius after some oscillation, during which out of friendship for Heraclius he upheld the "one energy" theory of Christ, is said by his successor Sergius to have definitely rejected Heraclius's Monothelitic doctrines; in this he was followed by Sergius, whose letter of 29.V.643 to Pope Theodore was read in the Lateran Council of October 649 convened by Pope Martin I.<sup>51</sup> In the condemnation by the Council of Heraclius' Monothelitic *Ecthesis* (638) and the *Typos* (648) of Constans II (641-668), which just forbade the discussion of both divine will and divine energy, together with Martin's omission to obtain the emperor's sanction during his elevation to the papal throne (5.VIII.649), caused the latter's wrathful intervention, which resulted in secessionist moves by two local governors in the West.<sup>52</sup> The attachment of the Cypriot Church to Rome under such conditions, which were worsened by the Arabs's ominous advance does, like the building activities, show the growing secular power of the religious leaders of the Greek Community. This was a significant achievement in view of Heraclius's religious and political prestige owing to his "Crusades" against the "infidels" of that time, the Persians in Jerusalem.

§ 9. Within this context should be viewed the theologico-philosophical fermentations attested in Cyprus in the 7th c. A.D. Following Arcadius's advice, the generous and pious, extremely wealthy but immoral shipowner, merchant and landowner of Constantia, Philentolos the son of Olympios, paid for the establishment of a large Hospital there; this was also a Poor House, similar to the Poor House of Conon founded at Paphos by Justinian about 80 years before, and a complement to the group of buildings including Guest Houses existing in the 6th century in the area of the monastery of Saint Barnabas in the western part of Constantia. When Philentolos died, some time before the end of 641 (the year of Arcadius's death),<sup>53</sup> all Cypriot prelates, the 14 bishops, the abbots and other high clergymen assembled in Constantia to discuss whether he ought to be buried in honour owing to his philanthropy, or not because of his sins. The assembly was divided on theological grounds, until abbot Kaioumos, one of the stylite anchorites living next to Constantia in caves, who had lived for long at Klysma in the Bay of Saint Antonios of the Red Sea, gave his opinion: Philentolos's soul was neither to go to Paradise nor to enter Hell, but would stay in the middle - an idea resembling the later Latin concept of the *Limbus Puerorum* and, still more striking, the third, neutral condition of the souls of babies, imbeciles etc. according to the Koran (ch. 7, 40-50, and ch. 57, 13ff.), the so called *al-Araf*. It would appear that this idea of Kaioumos, which seems to have brought the solution to the dilemma of the Cypriot hierarchy, came from the Semitic theologico-philosophical

folklore dominant among the monks of Klysma, which was one of the sources of Islamic philosophy, theology and eschatology; therefore it was a spiritual link of Cyprus with the Orient. This is attested in many ways, from among which we mention here the - very similar to those of Kaioumos - ideas of Anastasios Sinaites, a monk of Cypriot extraction (7th c., he died ca. 700 A.D.), on the responsibility of God for the death of pious and impious men, the inscription at Sinai mentioning Sergius the successor of archbishop Arcadius of Constantia, and Gregory the Persian known as the "Cypriot", a Nestorian "Syrian Rationalist" of the mid-7th c.; the latter was, according to Syrian tradition, paradoxically instrumental in the creation of both the Christian and the Muslim Mystical Theory. I. Hausherr hesitates between Gregory and John of Lycopolis; but the weight of the pertinent arguments seems to favour Gregory. Gregory maintained close relations with Orthodoxy including the Church of Cyprus, where he lived for a number of years with two colleagues at the time of Arcadius (*Lorqedis*, according to an Arab source) and where he had determining mystical experiences and visions.<sup>54</sup>

§ 10. To these should be added abbot Paul who in 626 translated in Cyprus into Syriac the Works of Gregory of Nazianzos; Maximos the Confessor the staunch enemy of Constans II's church policy and supporter of Martin in the West, who had passed part of his life in Cyprus, like John Moschos the author of the *Λειτουργία*; his friend Sophronios the future antimonothelite Patriarch of Jerusalem, and others. Their contacts with the Cypriot John Eleemon (the Almsgiver) Patriarch of Alexandria, whose *Life* was composed by Sophronios and Moschos (before the latter's death in Rome in 619)<sup>55</sup> together with the other examples cited point to a widespread diffusion of ideas through and via Cyprus to and from the East and the West, which made the island a place of considerable tolerance and relatively independent theological research on the eve of the Arab raids (649ff.). The wealth suggested by the Lamboussa plates and cases such as that of Philentolos,<sup>56</sup> were not unfavourable factors for such an ideological independence, which influenced profoundly the development of the Cypriot Church in subsequent centuries.

#### Notes:

1. Raoul Birnbaum, 'The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen-Ving's Experiences on Mount Wu-t'ai in Tang Context', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 106, 1, Jan.-March 1986, p.119.
2. E.g. see apud Kyriakos P. Hadjioannou, 'Η Αρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς Πηγὰς [=AKEΠ], Τόμ. Α', Τὰ Θρυλούμενα, 'Ιστορία καὶ Ἑθνολογία ἀπὸ τῶν Προϊστορικῶν Χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 395 μ.Χ. Nicosia, 1971, pp.358-359 nrs. 114, 114.1, pp. 362-369 nrs. 118-120.2, pp.394-399 nrs. 133-133.2; *op.cit.*, Τόμ. Β', Μυθολογία καὶ Θρησκεία - Γεωγραφία καὶ Γεωλογία, Nicosia, 1973, pp. 72-73 nrs. 14-14.1; C.P. Kyrris, 'Χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἱστορίας κατὰ τὴν Πρώτῃ Βυζαντινῇ Περίοδῳ', Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου Κυπριακῆς Ἱστορίας (Λευκωσία 2-3 Μαΐου 1983), Ioannina, Κέντρο Ἑπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν- Πανεπιστήμιον Ἰωαννίνων, 1984, pp. 17-40, espec. pp. 20-24f.; *idem* 'Αθανάσιος Αναγνωστής', Μεγάλη Κυπριακή Εγκυκλοπαίδεια [=MKE], I, Nicosia, 1985, p.218.



3. Costas P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus* with an Introduction to the Geography of Cyprus, Nicosia, Nicocles Publishing House, 1985, pp. 162-165, with references.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-159.
5. Sozomenus, 'Εκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία, 3.14, 5.10 and other sources = Hadjioannou, *ΑΚΕΠ*, Τόμ. Α', Nicosia, 1971, pp. 358-404 nrs. 134-134.6; for St. Tychon's anti-pagan activities at Amathous (4th c. A.D.) see now C. Kyriakides, 'Συμπεράσματα ἀπὸ τὶς πηγὲς περὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Τύχωνα, Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς ἱεραποστολῆς στὴν Κύπρῳ', 'Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας, *Per.* III, Vol. XL, 3, March 1982, pp. 110-117; for a general review of or hints at early Christian and Byzantine Cypriot asceticism see C.P. Kyrris, art. 'Ἐκκλησία Κύπρου', *ΜΚΕ*, IV, Nicosia, 1986, pp. 361-371; idem, art. 'Εκπαίδευση', *ΜΚΕ*, V, Nicosia, 1986, pp. 15-19; idem, art. 'Ἀσκητές', *ΜΚΕ*, III, 1985, pp. 19-20; idem, art. 'Βυζάντιο καὶ Κύπρος', *ΜΚΕ*, III, 1985, pp. 318-325.
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7. Hadjioannou, *op. cit.*, Α', pp. 402-405 nr. 134.6. The bibliography concerning St. Neophytos is so rich that it cannot be cited here; we could only mention the names of the main modern authors who published some of his works or wrote on him: I.H. Hadjioannou, I.P. Tsiknopoullos, B. Eglezakis, M.-H. Congourdeau, K. Galatariotou, C. Hadjipsaltes, etc.
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9. C.P. Kyrris, 'Κυπριακὰ Ἀγιολογικὰ καὶ Μοναστηριακὰ Μελετήματα', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, XXVII, 1963, pp. 193-210, espec. pp. 194-195, 198-201; C. Hadjipsaltes, 'Σύμμεικτα περὶ τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Κύπρον', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, XXXII, 1968, pp. 57-64.
10. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, *cit.*, pp. 165-166.
11. S. Hieronymus, 'Epistola LI', apud J. Migne, *P.G.*, XXII, col. 50 § 3.
12. C.P. Kyrris, art. 'Βυζάντιο καὶ Κύπρος', *ΜΚΕ*, Vol. III, Nicosia, 1985, pp. 320-321; idem, art. 'Θεοσέβιος Ἀρσινόιτης', *ΜΚΕ*, VI, 1986, pp. 19-20; idem, *History of Cyprus*, pp. 165-167.
13. Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, 'Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας, Alexandria, 1951, pp. 139, 273 ff., 284-286, 310-311, 659-660, 682-683; Joannes E. Karayannopoulos, 'Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους, Τόμ. Ι, Ἱστορία Πρωΐμου Βυζαντινῆς Περιόδου (324-565), Thessaloniki, Sakkoulas, 1980, pp. 218-221; Benedictus Englezakis, 'Ἐπιφάνιος Σαλαμῖνος, Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυπριακοῦ Αὐτοκεφάλου', 'Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας, *Per.* III, Vol. XLIV, 1-2, Jan.-Febr. 1983, pp. 12-18, 42-45; Joannes Hackett, 'Ἱστορία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου transl. and supplemented by Harilaos I. Papaioannou, II, Piraeus, 1927, pp. 220-250; cf. the recent works by Jürgen Dummer.
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15. Englezakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-45.
16. Andreas N. Mitsides, in 'Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας, *Per.* III, Vol. XLII, 11, Nov. 1981, pp. 339-351.
17. C. P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, pp. 166-168: note the mention of Epiphanius' name in the interrogation of the Cypriot bishops at the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D., which resulted into the adoption of the positive Canon VIII definitively confirming a pre-existing status of autonomy: J.-M. Sauvaget, in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, XXV, Mélanges Venance Grumel II, 1967, pp. 147-153.
18. Peter Kawerau, *Ostkirchengeschichte*, I, Lovanii, 1983, pp. 100-152 passim; Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Men in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies*, LXI, 1971, pp. 80-101.
19. P. Kawerau, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 166-171; Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, p. 170.
20. C.P. Kyrris, 'Ἀκέφαλοι ἐν Κύπρῳ', *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, III, Athens, 1963, col. 158; idem, 'Ἀκέφαλοι', *ΜΚΕ*, I, 1985, p. 297; Hackett-Papaioannou, *op. cit.*, II, p. 72.
21. At a special council in Constantinople, obviously in reward for this, he was appointed bishop in Cyprus, to be soon promoted to the office of Archbishop of Constantia. We do not know which bishopric was allotted to him before his promotion.
22. Joannes Karayannopoulos, 'Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους, I, pp. 500-502, 529-530, 534-549 and passim.
23. Hackett-Papaioannou, 'Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου, *cit.*, I, Athens, 1923, p. 51, II, Piraeus, 1927, p. 87; Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, pp. 170-171.
24. Karayannopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-345, 373-374, 413f.; for other references see Kyrris, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
25. C. Hadjipsaltes, 'Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικαὶ περὶ τοῦ μέχρι σήμερον ἀγνώστου Ἀρχιεπισκοποῦ Κύπρου Φιλοξένου (6<sup>ος</sup> μ.Χ. αἰ.)...', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, XXXVII, 1963, pp. 69-74; A.J. Mitford, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXV, 1961, pp. 120-121; Kyrris, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.
26. M. Sacopoulos, *La Théotokos à la Mandorle de Lynthrankomi*, Paris, 1975; A.H.S. Megaw-E.J.W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lynthrankomi in Cyprus, Its Mosaics and Frescoes*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* XIV, 1977; 'Ελληνικά, XXXIII, 2, 1981, pp. 446-449; cf. J. Karayannopoulos, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 500-502; Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, p. 171.
27. Migne, *P.G.*, LII, col. 77, 'Epist. 221' by John Chrysostomos.
28. *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLV, 1927, p. 25; C.P. Kyrris, art. 'Ἀσπαγούριος', *ΜΚΕ* III, 1985, pp. 23-24; idem art. 'Βυζάντιο καὶ Κύπρος', *ΜΚΕ*, III, p. 322.
29. Kyrris, art. 'Ἀσπαγούριος', *ibid.*, III pp. 23-24; Jan Louis van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI (610-715)*, Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1972, pp. 24-26, cf. pp. 27-32; C.P. Kyrris, 'Ἐσχατολογικαὶ Ἀναλήψεις ἐν Ἀμμοχώστῳ τῆς Κύπρου ἐπὶ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀρκαδίου Α' (Α' ἡμῶν τοῦ VIIου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος)',



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30. Kyrris, *ibid.*; T.B. Mitford, 'Some New Inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus', *Byzantion*, XX, 1950, pp. 120-121; Evangelos Chrysos, 'The title βασιλεὺς in Early Byzantine International Relations', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXXII, 1978, pp. 72-74, cf. pp. 29-72; idem, 'Ὁ Ἡράκλειος στὴν Κύπρο (609/10)', *Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου Κυπριακῆς Ἱστορίας* (Λευκωσία 2-3 Μαΐου 1983), Ioannina, Κέντρο Ἑπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν Κύπρου — Πανεπιστήμιο Ἰωαννίνων, 1984, pp. 53-62; Charles Delvoye, *L'art paléochrétien de Chypre*, Athènes, XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, *Rapports et Co-rapports*, V, 4, 1976, pp. 45-46, 34; J.L. van Dieten, *op.cit.*, pp. 27-32f.
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33. J.L. van Dieten, *loc.cit.*, fn. 30.
34. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, pp. 174-175; idem, 'Ἑσχατολογικαὶ Ἀναζητήσεις...', *Βυζαντινά*, II, pp. 65-105 passim; idem, 'The Admission of the Souls of Immoral but Humane People into the "Limbus Puerorum", according to the Cypriote Abbot Kaïoumos (VIIth Century A.D.) compared to the Quran's 'Al 'Araf' (Suras 7<sup>44-46</sup>, 57<sup>13f</sup>)', *Revue des Études du Sud Est Européen*, IX, 3, 1971, pp. 461-477; Gregorii Monachi Cyprii, *De Theoria Sacra quae Syriace interpretata dicitur Visio Divina...*, ed... Irenaeus Hausherr, Roma, Or. Chr. Anal. 110, 1977, espec. pp. 5-43; Irenaeus Hausherr, 'Aux origines de la Mystique Syrienne: Grégoire de Chypre ou Jean de Lycopolis?', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, IV, 1938, pp. 497-520; cf. archbishop Sergius' inscription in the "Cave of Moses" on mount Sinai, Ihor Sercenko, 'The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of its Inscriptions', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XX, 1966, p. 264 nr. 13.
35. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, p. 175; Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzanz*, München, 1958, pp. 412f., 434. For Maximus see now: *Actes du Symposium sur le Maxime le Confesseur. Fribourg, 2-3 septembre 1980*, éditées par Felix Heinzer et Christoph Schönborn, Fribourg, Suisse, Éditions Universitaires/Paradosis, 27, 1982. For a 46-person council held in Cyprus between 634 and 638 to discuss Maximus' "duo thelite heresy", also called "Nestorian", following a letter of Sophronios to Arcadius I of Constantinople, see Sebastian Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor', *Anal. Bull.* 91, 1973, pp. 299-346, and idem, 'A Syriac Fragment on the 6<sup>th</sup> Council', *Or. Chr.*, 62, 1973, pp. 63-71; note the details provided by the *Life* on Maximus: "his father was a Samaritan ... while his mother was a Persian, the slave-girl of a certain Jew named Zadek from ... Tiberias". These specifications make Maximus' case comparable to that of Gregory the "Cyprist"; for Zadokites see Eisenman, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran, A new Hypothesis on Qumran Origins*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1983, passim.

Michael Breydy

Einfach tot oder hingeschieden?

Ein philologisches Problem mit theologischem Hintergrund  
nach dem alten Begräbnisritual der Syro-Maroniten

Nach Neuordnung der Blätter in der Handschrift Vat. Syr. 59 ist es dem Autor gelungen, die alte Struktur dieses Begräbnisrituals festzustellen und den ursprünglichen Ablauf von Gesängen und Lesungstüren herzustellen.

Das Ergebnis solcher Richtigstellung führte zu der Feststellung, daß die Thematik der Voroffizien und der darauf folgenden drei Offizien eines sehr langdauernden Begräbnisrituals sich nicht auf Trauer und Trost konzentriert, sondern auf eine Fülle von theologischen Betrachtungen, die dahin zielen, den Tod eines Gläubigen eher als ein Hinscheiden von einem Leben zu einem anderen, das besser ist, zu betrachten als schlechthin das Ende eines irdischen Lebens.

Die Unterschiede werden in den Gesangs- und Lesetexten deutlich und sichtbar durch Heranziehung von Zitaten aus der syrischen Bibel (Neues und Altes Testament).

Die "in Christus entschlafen sind" sind nur 'Annide (= Hingeschiedene) und dürfen nicht mit den übrigen toten Lebewesen (= Mithe) gleichgesetzt werden.

Der Vortrag wird in ausführlicher Form in der Reihe "Pietas Liturgica" im EOS-Verlag St. Ottilien herausgegeben im Rahmen einer Gesamtstudie über "Die Sterbe- und Begräbnisliturgie der Maroniten". Die Studie über "Die syrischen Fragmente des Proclus von Constantinopel", die man im Glaubensbekenntnis des Johannes Maron findet, wird demnächst in der Zeitschrift "Parole de l'Orient", Kaslik/Libanon, erscheinen.



Nikolos Dschanelidse

### Hagiographisches in der georgischen kirchlichen Literatur

Georgien – oder Sak art velo, wie wir Georgier unsere zwischen dem Schwarzen und dem Kaspischen Meer gelegene Heimat nennen – ist ein altes christliches Land.

Der Überlieferung nach breitete sich das Christentum in Georgien rasch aus, nachdem die Täuferin Nino auf dem Höhenzug gegenüber von Mc het'a, jener alten georgischen Stadt am Zusammenfluß des Mtkvari und des Aragvi, ihr Rebenholzkreuz (*vazidžvarisa*) aufgepflanzt hatte. Heute steht an dieser Stelle der Dom Džvari (Kreuz), der mit seinem kreuzförmigen Grundriß zu den ältesten kirchlichen Baudenkmalern Georgiens (Ende des 6. Jh. unter König Step'anoz I.) gehört. Die Chroniken Georgiens lassen erkennen, daß Mc het'a schon im Altertum die Residenz der georgischen Könige war. Im Dom Sveti C'hoveli (lebendige Säule), der als Holzbau zunächst Sitz früher georgischer Patriarchen war und im 5. Jahrhundert durch einen Steinbau ersetzt wurde, befinden sich zahlreiche Grabstätten georgischer Könige und Königinnen. In dem von dem ersten christlichen Herrscher Georgiens, König Mirian, erbauten Frauenkloster Samt avro liegt das Grab der hl. Nino.

Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts war das Christentum in Georgien bereits Staatsreligion: Kirchen wurden errichtet und (seit dem 5. Jh.) Klöster gegründet, Gottesdienste wurden in georgischer Sprache gefeiert. Obwohl zumindest seit dem Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts der Erzbischof von Cqon Didi (= große Eiche) in Westgeorgien das Amt des ersten Ministers oder Reichskanzlers bekleidete, war das Verhältnis zwischen Kirche und Staat im mittelalterlichen Georgien eher durch ein weitgehendes Zusammenwirken von Gleichgestellten gekennzeichnet.

Die nichtchristlichen Nachbarn Georgiens, die rivalisierenden Perser und Türken, versuchten immer wieder, das schöne reiche Land zu erobern und dort auch den Islam einzuführen. In erbitterten und grausamen Kämpfen drangen sie in Georgien ein und setzten Dörfer und Kirchen in Brand. Die georgischen Könige riefen ihr Volk zur Verteidigung des Landes und seines christlichen Glaubens auf. Bereitwillig zogen die Georgier, die von den Bergen und jene aus den Tälern, mit ihrem König in den Kampf, um den Feind abzuwehren, und Abertausende von Menschen fanden den Tod. Zum Gedenken an jene, die in Georgien für ihren christlichen Glauben das Leben gelassen haben, tragen in der Provinz Hevsuret'i noch heute alle Männer und Frauen, Junge und Alte, ein gesticktes blaues Kreuz in ihrer Tracht.

Ich erinnere mich an einen Artikel des georgischen Journalisten und Politikers Georgi Keresselidse. Er berichtet dort, daß ihm ein deutscher Historiker aus Berlin einmal gesagt habe: "Ihr sprecht immerzu von Georgien. Wenn Georgien heute von der Landkarte verschwindet, ist es doch kein Verlust für die Welt." Der Georgier antwortete ihm: "Heute nicht, aber es gab Zeiten, in denen Georgien für Ost- und Westeuropa große Bedeutung hatte! Auf georgischem Boden fanden erbitterte Kämpfe für die Verteidigung des Christentums statt." Georgien hatte die nach Westen drängenden persischen und türkischen Kräfte von Europa ferngehalten.

Trotz einer gewissen Gleichgültigkeit der Georgier bei der Aufzeichnung einheimischer Märtyrer- und Heiligenleben hat ihre Hagiographie eine stattliche Reihe von Werken aufzuweisen, die nicht nur künstlerisch-literarisch bedeutsam sind, sondern auch Geschichtsquellen von hohem Wert darstellen:

1. Zu den ersten Zeugnissen der georgischen kirchlichen Literatur gehört das "Martyrium der heiligen Sušanik" des Jakob Zurtaveli aus dem letzten Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts.

2. Das "Martyrium und Leiden des heiligen Eusthathios von Mc het'a" von einem Zeitgenossen (vor dem Ende des 6. Jh.).

3. Das "Martyrium des heiligen Abo von T'bilisi", das Johannes Sabanidze im Auftrage des Katholikos Samuel (780-90) verfaßte.

4. Das "Martyrium der neun Jünglinge von Kola" (spätestens 6. Jh.).

5. "Leben und Martyrium des Konstanti Kahaj", wahrscheinlich zwischen 853 und 850 niedergeschrieben.

6. Von Bischof Step'an Mtbevari stammt die Niederschrift (914/18) des "Martyriums des heiligen Blutzeugen Gobroni".

7. Das "Leben des heiligen Serapion von Zarzma" ist nur in metaphrastischer Bearbeitung erhalten; die ursprüngliche Fassung stammt von Basileios von Zarzma (10. Jh.), einem Neffen Serapions, dessen Bericht reich an historischen Materialien (Leben des Adels und der Hörigen, Klostergründungen, hagiographische Schriften) ist.

8. Das Leben des Gregor von Handzt'a, des Begründers des Mönchtums in Tao-Klardzet'i (gestorben 861), von dem Mönch Georg Merculi (951) mit vielen wichtigen Details nicht nur zur Geschichte des Mönchtums, sondern auch zum Leben im Georgien des 8.-9. Jahrhunderts allgemein.

9. Von den "13 syrischen Vätern", die in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts nach Georgien kamen und hier im Sinne der Orthodoxie wirkten, seien hier nur die (längeren) Viten des Johannes Zedazneli, des Šio Mgvime-li, des David Garedželi und des Abibo Nekreseli genannt, die in mehreren Redaktionen erhalten sind.

10. Die Vita des heiligen Ilarion K'art'veli (822-76).

11. Für die georgische Kirchengeschichte große Bedeutung hat das "Leben unseres seligen Vaters Johannes und des Euthymios", das Georg Mt ac mideli vor 1044 verfaßte. Die Vita Georgs wiederum stammt von seinem Schüler und Reisebegleiter, dem Priestermonch Georg.

Überreiches Material zu diesem und anderen Aspekten der georgischen kirchlichen Literatur findet sich vor allem in vier Werken:

(a) In den drei Textsammlungen:

Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomat'ia (= Chrestomathie der alten georgischen Literatur), Band I-II, von Solomon Qubaneisvili (Tbilisi 1940-49),

K'art'uli enis istoriuli k'restomat'ia (= Historische Chrestomathie der georgischen Sprache), Band I 1, von I. Imnaisvili (Tbilisi 1970), und

Dzveli k'art'uli agiograf'iuli literaturis dzegebi (= Denkmäler der alten georgischen hagiographischen Literatur), Band I-IV, von I. Abuladze (Tbilisi 1963-71);



- (b) in der auf Kekelidze beruhenden Literaturgeschichte: Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur. Auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze bearbeitet von P. Michael Tarchnisvili in Verbindung mit J. ABfalg = Studi e testi 185 (Città del Vaticano 1955).

Mit der georgischen Literatur untrennbar verbunden ist das georgische Mönchtum mit seinen Klöstern. Wie auch andernorts waren die Klöster Georgiens Zentren und Pflegestätten der nationalen Kultur. Aber auch außerhalb der Grenzen Georgiens entstanden Klöster, vor allem im Heiligen Land, auf dem "Schwarzen Berg" bei Antiochien, in Konstantinopel, in Bulgarien und auf dem Athos. Das Iviron-Kloster des Athos wurde zu einem Mittelpunkt der georgischen Kultur. Wie ich hörte, sollen sich jetzt auch junge Georgier als Theologiestudenten im Iviron-Kloster aufhalten. Die Universität von Tbilisi bemüht sich heute, alle Handschriften im Iviron-Kloster auf Mikrofilme aufzunehmen. Sie feierte auch das 1000jährige Jubiläum des Klosters und hatte dazu ausländische Wissenschaftler eingeladen.

Das Leben Georgiens wurde aber nicht nur von einheimischen Schriftstellern und Dichtern beschrieben und besungen, auch außerhalb der Landesgrenzen nahm man das Motiv Georgien auf:

Lessing erwähnt in seiner "Minna von Barnhelm" den georgischen König Irakli (= Herakleios), nennt ihn in dem Stück aber Prinz Herakles von Persien (!). König Irakli II. (1744-98), ein bedeutender georgischer Herrscher, kämpfte unermüdlich für Georgien und seine Kirche. Friedrich II. von Preußen bezeichnete ihn als seinen Cousin: "Im Westen kämpfe ich für die Freiheit, im Osten mein Cousin, der König von Iberien (= Georgien)."

Von Andreas Gryphius stammt das Drama "Catharina von Georgien, Oder bewehrte Beständigkeit" (1657): Es handelt von der Mutter des Königs Teimuraz I., Ketevan, die Schah Abbas ohne Erfolg zu zwingen versuchte, dem christlichen Glauben abzuschwören und Mohammedanerin zu werden. Als Ketevan standhaft in ihrem Glauben verharrte, ließ sie der Schah 1624 lebendig verbrennen und tötete Tausende von Georgiern.

Ich habe dieses Stück nach Georgien geschickt, wo es der Germanist Alaki Gelowani ins Georgische übersetzte. Es wurde an mehreren georgischen Theatern aufgeführt. Professor Hermann Wedekind, 1960-76 Generalintendant am Saarländischen Staatstheater Saarbrücken, hat "Catharina von Georgien" in Deutschland aufführen lassen.

Die schrecklichen Ereignisse der Vergangenheit sind in meiner Heimat unvergessen. Aber wir tragen nichts nach, wir versuchen, mit allen Menschen und Ländern in Frieden zu leben und der kommenden Generation eine humane Zukunft zu schaffen.

## ANMERKUNGEN

1. Vgl. dazu u.a. M. and O. Wardrop - F. C. Conybeare, The Life of St. Nino = Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica V 1 (Oxford 1900); M. Tarchnisvili, Die Legende der heiligen Nino und die Geschichte des georgischen Nationalbewußtseins = Byzantinische Zeitschrift 40 (1940) 48-75; dsl., Die hl. Nino, Bekehrerin von Georgien = Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni (Rom 1953) 572-81; N. Dschanelidse, Die Apostelin Nino. Eine georgische Legendengestalt (Itzehoe 1961).
2. Vgl. dazu Kl. Wessel - M. Restle (Hrsg.), Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst II (Stuttgart 1971) 669-73.
3. Vgl. dazu das in Anm. 2 zitierte Reallexikon II 684f.
4. Vgl. dazu M. Tarchnisvili, Das Verhältnis von Kirche und Staat im Königreich Georgien = Oriens Christianus 39 (1955) 79-92.
5. Vgl. dazu auch D. M. Lang, Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints = Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West 15 (London-New York 1956).
6. Vgl. dazu auch M. Tarchnisvili, Die Anfänge der schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit des hl. Euthymius und der Aufstand des Bardas Skleros = Oriens Christianus 38 (1954) 113-24.
7. Kurze Übersicht mit weiterführender Literatur bei J. ABfalg - P. Krüger (Hrsg.), Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients (Wiesbaden 1975) 124f.; G. Peradze, Die Anfänge des Mönchtums in Georgien = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 46, 34-75; Pfarrer Georg Peradze wurde ein Opfer für Kirchengeschichte: Wegen einer ungerechtfertigten Anschuldigung des Nationalsozialismus: Wegen einer ungerechtfertigten Anschuldigung wurde er verhaftet und hingerichtet.



SUSANNE ALBRECHT

*Syrian-Orthodox Christians in the Federal Republic of Germany  
In Search of Identity*

It is a generally well-known fact that the Syrian-Orthodox Christians in the south-east of Turkey have been persecuted by their Moslem neighbours for centuries, and that their native country has suffered several waves of emigration. The one which first brought a certain number of them to Western Europe, — most of whom went to either West Germany or Sweden, was initiated by the demand for foreign workers during the sixties. Since then, about 20,000 to 25,000 Syrian-Orthodox people from the Tur 'Abdin area have come to settle in the Federal Republic. After 1972, when German authorities put a halt to the unchecked immigration of foreign workers, the Syrian-Orthodox Christians started to apply for political asylum and thereby tried to open up another possibility of obtaining permission to immigrate. As a matter of fact, rigid visa regulations imposed by the German Immigration Office have indeed slowed down the steady influx of asylum seekers from Turkey, but through the channels of illegal immigration via the Netherlands, Syrian-Orthodox Christians can still come into West Germany.

Over many years it was extremely hard for them to become officially recognized here as refugees, because the German government did not want to interfere with domestic Turkish affairs, in order not to irritate Turkish authorities who were asked to exercise restrictive control over emigrants wanting to go to Europe. Almost all asylum applications were rejected at first, but thanks to the intervention of all German Churches, who played a leading role as advocates for the Syrian-Orthodox Christians, deportations were never actually carried out.

In August 1983, however, the Highest Administrative Court in Berlin passed a decision in favour of the people from the Tur 'Abdin as being politically persecuted. This decision gave new hope to those who had not been granted asylum before. Yet, the final say on a specific asylum procedure is left to the respective Federal State where the individual has applied, so that jurisdiction in Germany is not even now uniform. In Hamburg, where about three quarters of the Syrian-Orthodox congregation are asylum seekers, the situation seems to have relaxed and most applicants are likely to be granted their status as refugees. 60% to 65% of the applications have been successful already. As applicants the families have to face serious problems, for instance, in their forced living together in camps with people from many different countries, especially with a great number of West African men. Thus, marriageable daughters are often shut up in their rooms, so as not to expose them to a position that would conflict with their code of morals. Then, the family must try to make a living on as little as approximately 300,— DM monthly welfare money per person. Apart from these obstacles in daily life, asylum applicants encounter added difficulties concerning their court proceedings. It is necessary to find a lawyer, preferably one who is specialized in asylum cases. Likewise, an interpreter is indispensable.

Asylum applicants are under restriction of residence according to German law, i.e. they are not permitted to leave the district where they applied. This regulation causes isolation because social contacts among fellow-countrymen are deliberately prevented. Frequently, relations cannot see and visit each other for as long as their law-suit is pending. It has actually happened that a married couple was prohibited from meeting, since the partners had applied to different districts.

Nevertheless, the Syrian-Orthodox Christians get into contact with their compatriots fairly easy. The community possesses a strong sense of solidarity and new-comers usually know some friends or relatives who will help as best as possible.

The Hamburg congregation is a small congregation without a priest. It has about 1,300 members, whereas in the Gütersloh area for a comparison some 3,000 people under the leadership of a priest belong to the Syrian-Orthodox congregation. They have regular services in Protestant or Catholic churches at various places throughout the Gütersloh district. Efforts are being made to set up church buildings of their own in three different towns, so that all parishioners can attend services within easy reach.

After 1976 the number of Syrian-Orthodox Christians in Hamburg rapidly increased, and since 1978 the congregation has established itself, having a young lay-leader at the head of their parish council. Pastoral care is given by the priest of Delmenhorst, a small town near Bremen, where there is another large congregation. Their priest, Suleyman Eker, occasionally comes to Hamburg to celebrate mass.

I shall now try to show the general situation in a short survey: as mentioned above, around 20,000 to 25,000 Syrian-Orthodox Christians under the care of at least fourteen priests live in the Federal Republic. They belong to the Diocese of Central Europe, including France, the Benelux-countries, Austria and Switzerland.

At the beginning of the eighties, Archbishop Yulius Isa Cicek with the financial help of his people bought a monastery on the Dutch-German border, which serves as his episcopal see. Although the community in Germany is by far the largest in Europe, he decided not to leave the Netherlands, because the refugee status of the Syrian-Orthodox is more secure there than here. This monastery is planned to become a spiritual centre for the Syrian-Orthodox community. There is to be a seminary where young boys shall be trained in their ancient clerical language and the longstanding tradition of their Church. No theological seminary is in existence in Europe so far.

The major problem of the Syrian-Orthodox Christians apparently lies in the question of how to preserve their own religious Eastern identity against a totally secularized Western world to adapt completely to the surrounding them. Especially the young generation is liable to adapt completely to the German way of life, and it is remarkable how little biblical knowledge is to be found amongst the children today. Hence, the congregations try to maintain their old traditions in various ways. Cultural clubs and active parish work are vital to keep traditional elements alive within the Syrian-Orthodox community. Premises for these activities have been made available by the German Churches, whose general co-operation has been considerable, in particular on the congregational level. In our country the Syrian-Orthodox Christians lack the pressure of having to stand up against permanent persecution, which is a strong incentive to adhere to one's own tradition. For want of this pressure the danger of over-adaption and thereby losing oneself cannot be denied.

One of the main tasks in the congregations is doubtless to teach their children Old Syriac so that they may be able to follow the mass-liturgy, as well as to keep up the memory of their Church's history. Due to the oppressive policy the Turkish government exhibits towards minorities, there are so few parishioners at the moment who can understand Old Syriac properly, that the priest commonly translates parts of the sermon and the liturgy into one or more of the languages the Syrian-Orthodox people use amongst themselves, i.e. either



Ṭuroyo, Kurmānci, or Arabic. In Hamburg, however, 90% of the congregation speak Ṭuroyo, a neo-Aramean dialect which has been deeply influenced by Arabic and Kurmānci. The flexibility also of their language naturally promotes adaption to an even greater extent. Already some German words have found their way into Ṭuroyo, such as for example: *Tankstelle* (filling station) or *Termin* (appointment).

The difficulties as regards teaching Old Syriac to the children begin with the fact that only very few people would be able to do the teaching. Secondly, the financial aspect of the matter is yet another unsolved question. Several families cannot afford to send their children to Sunday school because of high public transport fares which they are unable to pay off their little social welfare money. There have been attempts to obtain permission for giving religious and language instruction at German schools, but petitions in this respect were rejected by German supervisory school authorities on the grounds that a bilateral agreement with the Turkish government merely allows language lessons in the official native language, which is Turkish, of course. On principle, no objections are raised against religious instruction. Since these two cannot be separated in the case of the Syrian-Orthodox Christians, the issue remains to be settled. Financially supported through both the Catholic and the Protestant Church, religious instruction could be realized in some places. In isolated cases such efforts were approved of by local school authorities, too. Yet on the whole, unfortunately, the ancient clerical Syriac seems to be dying out.

The other language problem concerns learning German, obviously. This does not apply to children and young people so much, as they grow into the German language quite easily by way of kindergarten, school and friends. The adults, on the other hand, are conscious that they are going to stay in Germany. Thus their willingness for integration is rather distinct, and intensive language courses, if offered, are attended eagerly and regularly. But because the question of competence regarding refugees and asylum applicants is not at all clarified between the respective authorities, it often presents great troubles to actually receive a place in one of these intensive courses. Although the Syrian-Orthodox Christians are generally intent on studying the foreign language, German teachers have to cope with the necessity of holding up their motivation over the months. That means, it is required that teachers should respond to their students' pre-occupation with e.g. their asylum proceedings etc. instead of insisting on teaching German grammar only. Besides, another difficulty most German teachers come across arises from a completely unfamiliar attitude towards teachers on the part of the Syrian-Orthodox Christians' Oriental mentality. German teachers are taught to deal with students in a liberal, democratic way, whereas the Orientals are used to a very authoritarian kind of schooling, so that their expectations differ greatly from each other.

An important question is also how to include women into a language learning programme. Many women can neither leave their household nor their children for the whole day. First of all, the children must be taken care of. In some places this has been done already. Language teaching institutions can get special financial support when offering women's language classes. A high percentage of middle-aged women are illiterate. About 90% have never attended any school, just as perhaps 20% of the men. There, language teaching has to start from scratch, which is extremely hard when undertaken in a foreign language. Maybe, in teaching women their own language first, this would facilitate an adequate transition to the German language.

Finally, I want to point out an essential change which is taking place concerning the interrelations between the old and the young generation within the Syrian-Orthodox

community. Considering an increasing alienation, conflicts are inevitable. The youth is put under constant strain, being torn between the liberal world around them and a strict education at home that parents exert for fear to lose their influence and authority over their children. Parental objections out of worry about loose morals mainly prevent the establishment of mixed youth groups, which the congregations offer to keep the youngsters away from alcohol and gambling houses. It happens not too rarely, as one Syrian-Orthodox social worker observes, that young people marry very early, in order to escape the almost unbearable pressure they are exposed to from home. In spite of this strict education, girls in particular must go through, the position of women is bound to alter considerably within the following generation as a result of Western influence.

Taking everything into account, we may say that there remain a great many problems yet to be solved as far as the present situation of the Syrian-Orthodox Christians in West Germany is regarded, and Germans as well as the Syrian-Orthodox community, — the young and the old generation —, are asked to contribute their share to find satisfactory solutions.

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RAINER VOIGT

*The Geminatio of the Present-Imperfect Forms in Old Ethiopic*

1. The gemination of consonants or rather consonant lengthening represents one of the relevant features of a Semitic language. In alphabetic script systems, consonant lengthening is traditionally not presented in their orthographic manifestations. The way how to find out the lengthening of consonants was described by A. Dillmann (Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache, hrsg. von C. Bezold, Leipzig 1899, p. 29) who referred to the "Bildungsgesetze" of the language and to its "Überlieferung". Structural considerations and the regard of traditional readings are, in fact, two main clues for revealing phonetic and phonemic traits of dead languages. The third one is to be seen in diachronic considerations of the genetic affiliation of forms with that of the related languages.

2. As to the gemination in present-imperfect forms, the first argument refers to the internal structure of the system of verbal forms. A comparison of the relevant forms reveals that geminated stems and stems with a 'long' vowel after the first radical show the same structure as four-radical stems (the examples taken from the basic stems):

|                     | perfect | present-imperfect | jussive-subjunctive |
|---------------------|---------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 0 <sub>2</sub>      | säbbärä | yäsebbär          | yäsäbbär            |
| 0 <sub>3a</sub>     | sabärä  | yäsabbär          | yäsabär             |
| 0 <sub>3e</sub>     | sebärä  | yäsebbär          | yäsebär             |
| 0 <sub>3o</sub>     | sobärä  | yäsobbär          | yäsobär             |
| 0 <sub>4-rad.</sub> | sänbärä | yäsänäbbär        | yäsänbär            |
| structure           | säXbärä | yäsäXäbbär        | yäsäXbär            |

As to the 'long' vowel stems, the 'additional' element X can easily be recognized; it is the structural radical ?, y and w that leads to the 'long' vowels *a*, *e* and *o*. In the geminated stems, the 'additional' element has two different shapes. In the perfect and jussive-subjunctive, it is identical with the following radical; in the present-imperfect, it has the shape of *y*:

|         | 0 <sub>2</sub> of 3-rad. verbs | 0 <sub>1</sub> of 4-rad. verbs |
|---------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| perfect | säbbärä                        | sänbärä                        |
| jussive | yäsäbbär                       | yäsänbär                       |
| present | *yäsä'äbbär → yäsebbär         | yäsänäbbär                     |

In the present-imperfect 0<sub>2</sub> of the three-radical verbs, a specific element is needed since in the present-tense of four-radical verbs the second and third do not form a cluster that could correspond to the lengthened radical of three-radical verbs (as in the perfect and jussive-subjunctive). This form ought to contain two kinds of consonant lengthening, the gemination of the intensive stem and the gemination of the present-imperfect. Since only one gemination can appear as such, palatality has been chosen as a means to represent the gemination that would otherwise get lost. In other words, in order to account for the 'double gemination' of the second radical, the preceding vowel was lengthened instead. The result of this process must be *e* since the choice of *a* would have led to a merger with the present of stem 0<sub>3a</sub>, i.e., *yäsabbär* (cf. the rise of the new stem 0<sub>3e</sub> which might be connected with this process).

3. In order to investigate thoroughly the present-imperfect innovation we have to explain how the need for this new form came into being. It is the loss of distinctivity between the vowels *i* and *u* in Proto-Ethiopic that led to the merger of the present-imperfect 0<sub>1</sub> (*yisabbVr*) and 0<sub>2</sub> (*yusabbir*), which were originally different in their prefix vowels. We know the shape of the prefix vowels in Proto-Ethiopic from the respective forms in Akkadian, the language most closely related to Old Ethiopic.

4. The system of verbal forms is based on their traditional pronunciation as documented by several authorities. The traditional pronunciation of Old Ethiopic has long been regarded as irrelevant because it was thought to have been influenced by the current Amharic of Tigrinya usage. This assertion is not confirmed by the facts. As to consonant lengthening of the present-imperfect forms, Old Ethiopic differs from Amharic and Tigrinya and can, therefore, not be assumed to have been modelled in accordance with the modern languages. Furthermore, it becomes evident that the Old Ethiopic forms constitute the basis of the modern forms. The Amharic present-imperfect *yäsäbr* (pl.) *yäsäbru* can only be explained as derived from (Tigrinya) *yäsäbbär/yäsäbru* which goes back to (Old Ethiopic) *yäsäbbär/yäsäbbäru*. A reversal of this development does not appear to be possible.

SIEGBERT UHLIG

*Die Krönung im Trauungsritus der orientalischen Kirchen**1. Entwicklung der kirchlichen Trauung*

1. Die frühkatholische Kirche hat in einem mehrere Jahrhunderte übergreifenden Prozeß eine feste Form für den Beginn der christlichen Ehe gefunden, an dessen Ende die Sakramentalisierung der Eheschließung stand. Die dabei auftretenden Wandlungen lassen vier Entwicklungsstufen erkennen:

- (1) Ehe und Sexualität werden — wie überall im semitischen Kulturkreis — im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert als Ausdruck normaler Lebensführung verstanden.
- (2) Sehr früh bildet sich daneben die hohe Wertschätzung des Asketentums und der Virginität heraus, die in einigen Gebieten Syrien-Palästinas zum Ideal der christlichen Lebensführung erhoben wird.
- (3) Damit einher geht die Tendenz zur Entsinnlichung: Zunehmend erfüllt die Ehe nur mehr den Zweck der Zeugung und "Aufzucht" der Kinder.
- (4) Die Ehe wird vor allem als Mittel gegen die Begierde erlaubt.

2. Zögernd nimmt die Kirche Einfluß auf die Eheschließung. Zunächst heiraten die Christen wie alle Menschen im römischen Reich ohne herausgehobene christliche Form; bald aber finden sich segnende oder fürbittliche Wendungen und Gesten, die zuerst den bereits Verheirateten gelten. Daraus entwickelt sich die kirchliche Mitwirkung, bei der der Kleriker zum *nymphostolos* wird, besonders dann, wenn der Bischof seinen Pflichten als Vormund nachkommt.

3. Die Verkirklichung des Trauungsaktes setzte gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts ein. Der Bischof oder Presbyter, zunächst als Ehrengast anwesend, beteiligt sich mit Gebeten und Benediktionen an dem Akt. Anzeichen für Vorstufen der "kirchlichen Trauung" finden sich



bei Klemens Alexandrinus, in den Thomasakten und bei Johannes Chrysostomos. Da die Kanones bis in das 7. Jahrhundert keine Mitteilungen über eine kirchliche Einsegnung bieten, dürften die Formulare während des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein. Parallel dazu entfaltete sich das Sakramentsverständnis der Ehe. War die Ehe erst ein Sakrament, mußte die Kirche bei ihrem Beginn handeln. So macht bereits im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert die staatliche Gesetzgebung die Gültigkeit der Ehe von der Segnung der Nupturienten durch den Priester abhängig.

## II. Elemente der Trauung

1. Die mit dem Sakramentsverständnis und der staatlichen Gesetzgebung notwendig gewordene Trauungsformulare lassen in den frühen Dokumenten erkennen, daß die Kirche den gestaffelten Ehebeginn in Verlobung und Trauung, den sie in den antiken Gesellschaften vorfand, übernahm. Das in der Antike verbreitete Arrhalverlöbniß mit Eheversprechen und rechtlich bindender Verlöbnißgabe kam den christlichen Moralvorstellungen entgegen.

2. Die konstitutiven Elemente der Trauungsakoluthie stimmen in den orientalischen Kirchen bis heute ungefähr überein.

- (1) Schriftlesungen: häufig Ps 11,6; 128,3; Mt 19,1-6; Eph 5,20-33 und Joh 2,1-11;
- (2) Gebete bilden trotz nicht unerheblicher Abweichungen in jedem Fall als Basis der Formulare; so folgen nach einer Ektenie drei Gebete des Priesters: Lob des Schöpfers und Ehestifters — Bitte um Segen für die Nupturienten in der Weise, wie Gott die Ehen der Patriarchen gesegnet hat — Bitte um Verbindung der Nupturienten.
- (3) Die Ringsegnung ist bis heute konstitutiv für den Verlöbnißteil des Rituals, der von einem Gebet des Priesters begleitet ist.
- (4) Die Darreichung des Kelches scheint seit den Trauungen im Privathaus zentrales Element zu sein, wobei die Kelchrubrik in manchen orientalischen Kirchen nicht zwingend eine Kommunion ist.
- (5) Die Krönung der Nupturienten ist in allen Formularen konstitutiver Teil des Ritus.

## III. Die Krönung

1. Die Coronatio wurde im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert aus der antiken Umgebung übernommen, wie sich an ihrer scharfen Ablehnung durch Tertullian einerseits und ihrer christlichen Deutung durch Johannes Chrysostomos andererseits ablesen läßt.

2. Der Krönungsakt, bald in der Hand des Priesters, gab dem Ritual bei den Orientalen seinen Namen. In der lateinischen Kirche konnte er sich nicht durchsetzen.

3. Die Symbolik der Krönung trug wesentlich zur Rezeption in den Ostkirchen bei. Von dem ursprünglichen Bild des siegreichen Kampfes über die Begierde klingt manches Element noch heute in den Gebeten des Priesters an: die Bitte um Bewahrung der Brauleute in Reinheit und Heiligkeit, zugleich aber auch die Bitte um den Lohn der ewigen Krone. Zugleich bestimmt das Grundmotiv der Herrlichkeit die Krönungstexte, wobei auch eschatologische Dimensionen ("unverwelkliche Krone") anklingen.

4. Das Aufsetzen der Kronen — gleichsam die Trauung in nuce — wird von Gebeten begleitet, einem festen Schema folgend: Segnung der Kronen — Krönung des Bräutigams — Krönung der Braut.

## FA-KAO CHOU

### *On the Date of the Chou Conquest of Shang*

During the past two thousand years, there were various solutions concerning the date of the Chou conquest of Shang, ranging from 1122 B.C. to 1018 B.C. For the discussion of the date of the Chou conquest, we should rely upon the following documents:

- (1) The inscription of the Li Kuei (unearthed in 1976 at Lin-tung Hsien, Shensi Province).
- (2) The "Wu-ch'eng" quoted by Liu Hsin in his *Canon of Generations* as incorporated into the "Lü-li-chih" of Pan Ku's *Han-shu*.
- (3) *Kuo-yü*, "Chou-yü" (in the 23rd year of King Ching [522 B.C.]): "Long ago, when King Wu attacked Yin, the Year Star was in Quail Fire."
- (4) A quotation from the *Bamboo Annals* in Pei Yin's (ca. A.D. 420) commentary *Shih-chi Chi-chie*: "From King Wu's extinguishing Yin down to King Yu was a total of 257 years." Jung Meng-yuan, Chao Kuang-hsien and Nivison have all suggested that the figure "257" resulted from the transposition of the last two digits of the figure "275".
- (5) *Huai-nan Tzu*, "Ping-lüeh-hsün": "When King Wu was attacking King Chou [of Shang], he went eastward to meet the Jupiter. When he reached the Fan River, it was overflowing. When he reached the Kung-t'ou Mountain, the rocks fell down. Meanwhile the comet was in the sky, its handle was toward the Yin people."

In this paper the date of 1045 B.C. suggested by Nivison is followed but with different evidences. According to Pankenier's calculation, he believed that 1046 B.C. was the year of the Chou conquest of Shang. Since 1046 B.C. could not fit the record in the "Wu Ch'eng" quoted by Liu Hsin, consequently he could not but reject its authenticity. On the other hand, since Nivison could not find a compromise between the records in the "Wu Ch'eng" and the *Kuo-yü*, he had to give up the latter.

Fortunately Y.C. Chang of the Purple Mountain Observatory published an article concerning "the tendency in orbital evolution of Halley's comet and its ancient history" in 1978. He based his arguments on the account in the *Huai-nan Tzu*. If Chang's calculation that in 1058-57 B.C. Jupiter was in Ch'un-ho "Quail Fire" is right, Pankenier's calculation must be wrong. The interval between 1058-57 B.C. suggested by Chang and 1047-46 B.C. suggested by Pankenier is 11 years only, I think that 1046-45 B.C. is the right time when Jupiter was in Quail Fire.

Now we may raise another question: Is Chang correct to say that the Chou conquest of Shang was in 1057 B.C.? I think the passage quoted from the *Huai-nan Tzu* is not reliable. King Wu's attack of King Chou [of Shang] and the return of the comet were two independent events in the *Wei-liao Tzu*, but were later mixed together in the *Huai-nan Tzu*. Therefore Chang Yüe-che's suggestion is groundless. If we follow Chang's calculation that Jupiter was still in Quail Fire of the twelve Jupiter stations on March 7, 1057 B.C., we must conclude that on Jan. 15, 1045 B.C. Jupiter was also in Quail Fire.

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WILLIAM G. BOLTZ

*The Ch'un ch'iu shih yü manuscript from Ma wang tui.*

The *Ch'un ch'iu shih yü* manuscript is a text of ninety-seven lines written on silk, found in 1973 at the archeological site at Ma wang tui, in Hunan province. It can be dated to about 200 B.C. The manuscript consists of sixteen separate historical accounts, all from the Ch'un ch'iu period. Fifteen of them have counterparts documented in transmitted texts, primarily the *Tso chuan*, but also the *Shih chi*, *Kuo yü*, *Kung yang* and *Ku liang chuan*, and in one particularly important case, the *Kuan tzu*. The historical background of only one of the accounts is unknown other than from its appearance in this manuscript.

The narrative structure of each of the sixteen accounts consists in first giving a brief résumé of a particular historical incident, followed by a discourse on the part of some explicitly named individual who draws in his comments either a moral or ethical platitude for good government through correct personal behavior, or a political inference of a practical kind as a form of advice, recommendation, or tactful admonition to his sovereign. In this respect the manuscript bears a close resemblance to the style and purport of the *Kuo yü*.

The striking difference between these accounts and their counterparts in the *Tso chuan* is that not even in a single case does the *Tso chuan* version include the moralizing, didactic discourse portion of the account. This uniform difference might lead to the suspicion that these moralizing discourses were idiosyncratic additions in this one manuscript, untransmitted and otherwise unknown, supplementing accounts of well-known historical events. But this is not the case, as we can know from the occurrence in the Ta k'uang chapter of the *Kuan tzu* of the entirety of one of the longer manuscript accounts, including the didactic discourse *in toto*.

The wording of the passage in these two versions is nearly identical, such that it is highly unlikely to be the result of either independent origin or independent paraphrase of a common general account. Both versions must devolve from a common exemplar, which can be reconstructed according to the standard procedures and canons of textual criticism. At the same time the passage also occurs in the *Tso chuan*, but without any vestige of the discourse portion whatsoever. Yet the wording of the *Tso chuan* version is also nearly identical with both the manuscript and *Kuan tzu* versions, showing that it too must have come from the same common source.

We conclude from the fact of the systematic absence of the didactic, moralizing discourses in the *Tso chuan*, in the face of their apparent occurrence as an integral part of at least one form of the text reflected in both the manuscript and the *Kuan tzu*, that for whatever reason that aspect of these historical accounts was not a part of either the form or intent of the *Tso chuan* as a primary historical document of the Ch'un ch'iu period, but did seem to characterize a separate, but textually closely related, line of transmission of the written record of Ch'un ch'iu history. That separate record is what we find reflected in the *Ch'un ch'iu shih yü* manuscript.

BARRY B. BLAKELEY

*Strategies for the Study of the Chu Xian*

This paper suggests a dual approach to the study of the *xian* of Chu, as well as some methodological cautions.

Several recent analysts, most notably Yang Kuan, have pointed out two essential features of the known Chu *xian*: 1) They were located exclusively on the northern borders of the state. 2) They were, at least for the most part, formerly independent states which Chu had incorporated.

The former, suggesting military considerations as the main issue in the formation of *xian*, has been discussed in general terms in a number of recent Chinese articles but has not yet been analyzed in detail. The latter encouraged Masubuchi Tatsuo, as early as 1960, to argue that the *xian* was primarily a mechanism devised to control the indigenous elites of conquered states. This has been countered by Abe Michiko in a series of recent articles, seeing the institution as a method for increasing royal power.

The present paper argues that before a definitive answer to the *raison d'être* of the Chu *xian* can be arrived at, three areas of investigation are necessary.

First, there are a number of details in the history of this institution which need to be clarified. (These are too numerous to list here; but firmer answers on some questions of dating and geographical location are essential.)

Second, if the *xian* were primarily military in nature, the question as to what degree this was defensive and to what degree offensive becomes an issue in evaluating their roles.

Finally, once a state was conquered and converted into a *xian*, administration of it then became a facet of the internal Chu politico-social milieu. Hence, an important parameter of the institution, which has not been thoroughly analyzed as yet, should attract our attention: the relationship of the administration of these local units to power politics in the court.

Thus, several issues concerning local administrators need to be considered: 1) Their societal (lineage) affiliations. 2) The degree to which such appointments were (or were not) hereditary. 3) Who was responsible for the appointments.

The hypotheses on which such a study of such issues must proceed are: 1) That they, as in the case of central government posts, depended on the balance among the power units at court at any particular time. 2) That, consequently, the kings were not necessarily the appointing agents. 3) That even when they were, the realities of current court politics influenced their decisions about whom (particularly, of what lineage) to appoint. 4) That, therefore, the history of the Chu *xian* must be viewed evolutionarily, not statically (a frequently-encountered assumption).

Methodologically, it is argued that caution must be exercised on two fronts in any such study. Grammatically, verbal and nominative usages of relevant terms (i.e., *xian* and *yin*) must be distinguished and critically evaluated. And evidence embedded in *Zuozhuan* dialogues must be assessed individually as to probable reliability.



CHANG-YAO SHIU YEN

*Confucius' Historical Concept*

## I. A brief introduction on Confucius

Despite his fame, Confucius has been best known as an educator or a thinker, but most overlooked that he was also a historian.

Confucius was born in the later period of Spring-Autumn (551-479 B.C.), about 560 years later since the founding of Chou Dynasty. Confucius's family was traced to Sung and later moved to Lu. Barring the childhood, his life might be divided into five phases:

The first phase ranged from 15 to 30 years, he earned his living by serving as a small employee. Meanwhile, he was diligent and well versed in the Rites of Chou Dynasty. As he was so well learned that a number of people were converted as his pupils.

The second phase began from 30 to 50 years. He travelled extensively between Kingdoms, Chi, Lu, Sung, and Wei. On one hand he taught his students and harbored the idea of participating in politics.

The third phase covered the period from 50 to 56 years old, during which he participated in the politics of Lu, as mayor of capital, Minister of justice, and Minister of public works.

The fourth phase of his life spanned the period from 56-68 years old. It was a period when he made an extensive tour around all the kingdoms.

The fifth phase began from 68 to 73 years old, while his main work had been educational activities and academic undertakings such as revising poems, rites, music, commenting the Book of Change, and compiling a history of Kingdom Lu, "Spring and Autumn".

## II. Confucius' historical Concept — by the Style of 'Spring &amp; Autumn'

Confucius' historical concept shall be studied with references basically to the Spring and Autumn Annals he compiled, and the firsthand historical materials such as the Analects of Confucius (論語), Kung-Yang Chuan (公羊傳), Tso Chuan (左傳), Mengtze (孟子), Shuntze (荀子), and the Book of Rites (禮記), etc.

1. Justification of names: Justification of names means coherence between name and fact, this being the primary work for research of enacting systems. Each name has its definite thing to refer to. When name is different, than the fact differs, and vice versa. In law of identity, A does not equal to non-A.

2. Respecting historical elements: History records what really happened. It represented what it was, not what it ought to be. Thus, time, place, person and event are the indispensable elements. When the four elements are complete, then it is known what actually happened at a certain time and place.

3. The selection and viewpoint of historical entries: History is what it was. But with a multitude of events in the world and limited space of making entries, there has to be some criteria, lest there should be subjective ambiguity, or bewilderment.

4. Theme and eulogy & denouncement in 'Spring & Autumn': The eulogy and denouncement in the foregoing book is not the subjective narration, but an expression of the keypoint and

meaning of the event.

5. The political viewpoint thought of Great Commonwealth. Such thinking was shaped up due to the following factors:

- A. Tradition of Chou's System
- B. The natural and geological environment
- C. The travelling scholars

Confucius' concept of great commonwealth was not built on military conquest. The great commonwealth ideal had become the common ideal in the later period of the Warring Kingdoms. Then, China was unified under Chin-dynasty.

YU-SHENG LIN

*Cosmology, Ancestral Worship, and the Classical Confucian Concept of Political Order*

Political order in ancient China was understood by classical Confucianism primarily as religio-moral order. Although political power was legitimated by the idea of the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming*), a central concern of both pre-Confucian and Confucian thought, classical Confucianism could not develop an independent category for politics and the characteristic problems of Confucian political thought were not "political" in the Western sense, the availability of the idea of *pa* (hegemony) notwithstanding. This was largely due to the influence of ancestral worship and the Chinese organismic world view.

Ancestral worship can be understood as the locus of charisma at the dawn of Chinese civilization. Following Edward Shils, if we regard charisma as the ultimate source of order, then the solemn rituals in ancestral worship might have been the most important origin of the Chinese concept of order. That the word "ritual" (*li*) referred to the standard and norms of religious, ethical, social, and political conduct as well as social and political institutions — implied the lack of a separation all kinds of order in both the sacred and the secular realms — implied the lack of a separation of the sacred from the secular; all manifested orders were thus pregnated with a sense of sacredness.

Concerning the relevancy of Chinese cosmology to the religious character of the Chinese notion of politics, the lack of creation myth about the beginning of universe must be emphasized. The Chinese cosmogony is that of organismic process: all of the parts of the entire cosmos belong to one organic whole in which all interact as participants in the spontaneously self-generating life process. Such a cosmology implies a holistic, immanentist view of the world, which is a basic presupposition of both Confucianism and Taoism. Whereas the implicit legacy of this holistic, immanentist view of the world has prevented the world from becoming "disenchanted" and has also thwarted the rise of Western style of nihilism, notwithstanding the structural breakdown of traditional Chinese culture in modern times, it entails that the worldly activities are possibly immanent with a sense of transcendence; it reinforces the notion of organismic integration of the secular order with the sacred order, because the "secular order" is not understood as an independent order in the West sense but as an integral part of the organismic universe, which is by definition sacred.

Under the legacy of this holistic concept of *li* and the holistic, immanentist world view, the







Ssu-ma Ch'ien (司馬遷) of the Han Period said in his "Grand Historian's Preface (太史公自序) to the *Historical Records* (史記): "Li rightly orders human morality and ethics and thus serves to regulate man's desires; Yüe, on the other hand, gives rise to peace and harmony." In this respect, *Li-Yüe* can be said to be superior even to the classics of *History*, *Songs*, *Changes*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, with regard to the need for preserving order in human society. When Ssu-ma Ch'ien compiled the *Historical Records*, authored the *Pa shu* (八書) (*Eight Books*) which can be said to express the basic theory of ruling the state. It is significant that the concept of *Li-Yüe* is presented in the very beginning of the *Eight Books* (八書), with the *Li shu* 1st (禮書第一) (*Book of Rites*) being first and the *Yüe shu* the 2nd (*Book of Music*) second.

The official history that ranks next after Ssu-ma Chien's *Historical Records* is the *Han shu* (漢書) (*History Book of the Han*) compiled by Pan Ku. This work is made up of ten sections. Of these, the first is the *Lü li shi* (律歷志), while the second is the *Li-Yüe shi* (禮樂志) (the "Section on Rites and Music"). At the beginning of this section, it is written that "the laws for governing the world are all fundamentally the same; and now, indeed, the need for *Li-Yüe* is very great."

It is possible to view this statement as an expression of the historian's hope that the Han, as the heir of Chou culture, would "establish *Li* and attain to *Yüe*."

In Chapter One of the *Lü li shi* (律歷志), there is a portion dealing with the system of weights and measures and frequent references to the musical theory of the *Wu sheng pa yin* (五聲八音) ("the five voices and the eight sounds"), which is connected with *lū-lū*. It was Pan Ku (班固), incidentally, who first substituted the word *chi* (志) for *shu* (書) in this context.

The ninth, tenth, and eleventh sections of the *Chin shu* (晉書) (*The History Book of the Chin*) discuss *Li* while the twelfth and thirteenth discuss *Yüe*. According to Chapter One of the *Yüe shi* (樂志), when the Emperor Wu (武帝) worshipped Heaven in accordance with *Li-Yüe* at the Hall of Light in A.D. 266, a great many "divine songs", "songs accompanied by dances", and "ritual songs" were composed and performed.

The period from 420 to 476 A.D. treated in the *Sung shu* (宋書) (*The Book of the Sung*), which was produced in the first year of the *Yung-ch'ü* period (永初元年), was apparently a time when *Li-Yüe* enjoyed a revival. The *Sung shu* contains five entries concerning the *Li shi* (禮志) and four concerning the *Yue shi* (樂志). The origins of *Yüe* are said to be found as far back as the Yin Period. Thus, in a "divine song" entitled *Tien ti chiao ying shên ke* (天地效迎送神典),

there is the phrase "one worships the ancestors with *Li*, and there is *shu* (樹) ("a tree") among the *chin chi* ("golden branches"). The phrase "the *chin chi* rely upon the *shu*" also appears. The *chin chi* (金枝) and the *shu* (樹) mentioned here are figures for the relatives of the *tsung shih* (宗室) (the ancestral house).

There is a poem entitled *Chiang Chung-Tzu* (將仲子) in the *Chêng-feng* (鄭風) section of the *Book of Songs*. This poem contains the phrase "Do not break my *shu ch'i* (樹杞)", which has the same meaning as the phrase "Do not destroy my relatives" as recorded in the *Chêng chien* (鄭箋). Moreover, the *Tai ya tang* (大雅蕩) section of the *Book of Songs* contains the phrase "Though trunk of the great tree — the *shu* (庶) — should topple, the branches and leaves are still unharmed." Here "the trunk of the great tree" refers to the *tsung shih*, while

"branches and leaves" refers to its descendants. Thus *shu* is an image for the ancestral family (宗室), and the *chin chi* symbolize the descendants, who flourish and shine like gold. These golden branches are synonymous with the golden bough which appears in Sir James George Frazer's great work, Part 1, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, Vol. II, Chapter ix, Worship of Trees, 1. Tree spirits. The image of the golden bough is thus found in China as early as the fifth century B.C.

In the first section of the *Sui shu* (隋書) (*The Book of the Sui* A.D. 589-617), there are seven chapters dealing with *Li-i shi* (禮儀志) (Rites and Decorum) and three dealing with *Yin Yüe* (音樂) (Music). From this it is clear how importantly *Li-Yüe* was regarded. In the beginning of Chapter One of the *Li Yüe shi* (禮樂志), the traditions concerning *Li-Yüe* from the age of T'ang Yü (唐虞) are recounted, and the Sui Dynasty's high regard for *Li-Yüe* is clearly brought out. Again, in the entry entitled *wen wu ke tsu* (文舞歌辭), it says "They established *fêng-shêng* (風聲) by washing things in the waters of the great river. They harmonized *Li-Yüe* and brought concord to the Yin and the Yang." This expresses the ideal of moral-spiritual education through *Li-Yüe*.

In the *Hsin T'ang shu* (新唐書) (*The New History of the T'ang*), there is a section dealing with *Li-Yüe* made up of twelve subsections. This is a kind of grand summary of ideas concerning *Li-Yüe* down to the T'ang Period.

The *Sung shih* (宋史) (*The History of the Sung*, A.D. 960-1278) has a section on *Li* made up of twenty-eight subsections and one on *Yüe* made up of seventeen. The *Yüe* section contains both general and specific treatises, and the *Yüe chang* (樂章) portion consists of as many as eight chapters. The *Ku ch'ui* (鼓吹) section is made up of two parts.

In the *Ming shih* (明史) (*The History of the Ming*, A.D. 1368-1661) the section on *Li* consists of twenty-four subsections while the *Yue* section consists of three. Both show the influence of earlier writings on *Li*.

The section of *Li* in the *Ch'ing shih kao* (清史稿) (*The History of the Ch'ing*, 1662-1911) consist of twelve subsections; the section on *Yüe* of eight. Here the idea of *Li* is discussed with great specificity, along the lines of the *Wu Li* (five types of *Li*). In the *Yüe chi wu* the following account appears: "In 1783 *Ch'ing yüe* (清樂) music called *Hua lin wan shu lien yao shi* (華林萬樹連瑤兒) was performed at the service of worship held at the Ch'ien Ch'ing Kung (乾清宮)." In the same work references are also made to *Tou ts'ung hsiu hsin* (都從若木秀新枝) and the *Chin chi p'ai yen yun jeng ch'eng* (金支派衍雲祚盛). All of these are metaphors for the prosperity of the ruling family. The concept of *Li-Yüe* of these are metaphors for the prosperity of the ruling family. The concept of *Li-Yüe* supported the successive dynasties from the Yin and the Chou down to the Ch'ing, and constituted the mainstream of traditional Chinese culture. In addition to offering support to the ruling dynasty, *Li-Yüe* made a not inconsiderable contribution to the development of traditional ideas and systems. *Yüe* in particular was without doubt the possession of the ruling and aristocratic classes, and as such was far removed from the life of the common people, as the *Mo tzu* points out.

In short, the formation of *Li-Yüe* meant the advent of a profound system of thought within a cosmological framework. In addition there developed a Confucian ethical system based on the cosmological view of *Tê yin* (德音) ("powerfully virtuous sounds"), which in turn rested upon the notion of human goodness. The *Li-Yüe* system itself continued until the downfall of the Ch'ing Dynasty in 1911.



HEINER ROETZ

*Classical Chinese Ethics in the New Light of a Developmental Logic of Morals*

How to evaluate Chinese ethics, has since long been a topic of philosophical as well as sinological debates. The respective standpoints of the enlightenment, which saw China as a first rank witness to a general consensus gentium, and of Hegel, who placed China at the "unreflected" beginning of history where the idea of freedom is not yet known, represent still today two types of opposite positions in the Western interpretation of China. The dominant view is that of Chinese "familism", "particularism" or "moral heteronomy".

Indebted to what can be called the enlightenment's systematical interest in the foreign, but in keeping with Hegel avoiding its neglect of development, I intend to reconstruct Chinese ethics by a phylogenetic adaptation of L. Kohlberg's "developmental logic of moral consciousness". Kohlberg's ontogenetic sequence of stages, substantiated by empirical research in a number of third world countries, among them Taiwan, makes the claim to intercultural validity against the relativism of ethical norms. It combines the conviction of something universal with the idea of a gradational development, thus allowing us to integrate hitherto conflicting modes of interpretation.

In terms of Kohlberg's developmental logic, Chinese philosophy of the "axial age" means a breakthrough towards a "postconventional" consciousness. All Chinese philosophers share this postconventional level. But, on that basis, they formulate very different answers to the crisis of traditional Chinese society, which again can be identified and evaluated as moral stages: Early Confucianism shows a strong tendency towards a morality of general reciprocity in accordance with stage 6. On the other hand, it attempts simultaneously to meet the demands of the conventional level, above all stage 3 (family). Typically, (with important exceptions) it tends to play down the possible contradictions between the claims of these two levels. Mohist ethics call to mind stage 5 utilitarianism and conventionalism. Legalism pleads in favor of the power of governmental institutions and a heteronomous "morality" strictly limited to stage 4, based on the punishment and reward orientation of stage 1. A radical faction of Daoism as a classical stage "4 1/2" position draws heavily on the non-alienated rationality of stages 1 and 2. In the Zhuangzi, such contrasting figures as the robber, the child, and the opportunist, as well as the idea of one's individual life as the "true", are linked together by one and the same deep-structure: a postconventional resort to the pre-conventional past. Daoism, in this perspective, is the clearest expression of an adolescent crisis of Chinese society. Most remarkably, it knows already the idea of a parallel between onto- and phylogenesis, and, rudimentarily, of a developmental logic. This logic, however, is a logic of decay. Thus Daoism would claim to stand above the paradigm of a possible movement towards something higher and unmask it as the worst ideology of destruction.

For our research, of course, Kohlberg's theory can be just one heuristic device among others and should not be mechanically adopted. Nevertheless, because of its universalistic normative claim, it is of fundamental importance. The reconstruction of Chinese ethics that I have in mind, is based upon a hermeneutic circle of mutual awareness of philological facts and of a theoretical framework that would allow us to combine our interest in the foreign with the concern for our own moral progress.

RAINALD SIMON

*Lady Wang's Shadow  
Remarks on the History of Chinese Shadow Theatre*

In sinology the Chinese shadow theatre is a traditional theme. This paper will show that we picked up the thread of this sinological research.

The following deals with the very first mention of what later was called shadow theatre and with the history of the adaption of this story. (We only have to follow Lady Wang's shadow through the history of literature). Sima Qian (145–68 B.C.) tells us about a magician called the "Young Graybeard" (Shaoweng), who let the faces of the God of the Stove and of Han Wudi's wife Lady Wang appear to the emperor. (Shiji, Beijing 1975: 458; de Groot 1901, Vol IV: 87; Simon 1983: 359). By the way, using the word "yun 云, meaning: one says ...", Sima Qian expressed his sceptical view of this report. In the first post-Christian century this story is told in the Qian Han Shu by Ban Gu (32–92 A.D.), who changes the Lady's name Wang in Li, and in the "New Essays by Huan Tan" (Huan Tan Xin Lun), too. Then the story again occurs in the collection Sou Shen Ji by Gan Bao (317 A.D.), and also in the "Documents of the Northern Hall" (Beitang Shuchao) written by Yu Shinan (558–638 A.D.) (See Simon 1983:359). The said texts stick closely to the first version of the Shiji, but the "Report of Collected Left Writings" (She Yi Ji) by Xiao Qi from Liang (502–583 A.D.) gives an extended description of the famous occurrence.

He especially presents further details concerning the production of the figure out of a certain stone! It may be a fantastic embellishment or the resumption of a now lost line of tradition — however it may be — the text shows the lasting interest in Lady Wang's (Li's) shadow.

Sun Guangxian (?–968 A.D.), who lived in the Wudai-period till the beginning of the Song-dynasty, describes in his famous collection of anecdotes "Fragments From the Northern Lake of Dreams" (Beimeng Suoyan) a similar occurrence in scholarly circles. He literally speaks of the Young Graybeard's (Shao Weng's) art. The "Lost History of the Tang-dynasty of the Young Graybeard's (Shao Weng's) art. The "Lost History of the Tang-dynasty (presented to the) Emperor" (Yulan Tang Queshi) — originated in the same period — treats the theme similarly (Needham 1962, Vol. 24: 122; Simon 1986: 16).

Our list of literary sources shows that Gao Cheng of the yuan feng-period (1078–1085 A.D.) is wrong in writing in his "Registered Sources of the Things" (Shi Wu Ji Yuan) that "such things" were not mentioned in the literature written after Shiji (Dolby 1972: 112).

Further research has to clarify the question, if the mentioned reports are merely treatments of a literary topos based on the version of the Shiji, or if there could have been an esoteric tradition of something like invocations of shadows, which results in the shadow theatre of the Song-dynasty?

A little poem by Zuo Qiaolin — school inspector of Luan prefecture two hundred kilometers east of Beijing in the guangxu-period (1875–1908) — shows clearly the great fascination of Lady Wang (Li) to the people:

In front of a big lantern they act,  
the airs sound like new ones,  
carefully they let the shadows slide to and fro,  
in a very true manner.



You will see:

With her girdle jingling Lady Li animated  
sets her lotus-feet on the curtain...

Lady Wang's (Li's) "long march" has now arrived in the 19th century. So the reports form  
an nearly unbroken line throughout the ages.

#### Literature

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BORA BELIVANOVA

#### *Ai Qing's Poetry and Cultural Revolution in China*

A creator of literature, that most sensitive barometer of society, reacts readily at times of tension or social crisis. This reaction does not necessarily find an immediate outward expression; it is rather an inner process which reflects outside changes but simultaneously, on its part, alters the creator's positions, aspects, and modes of writing.

At such times came the last Chinese cultural revolution of 1966-1976 and the creator reflecting those times was the poet Ai Qing (1910), one of the most prominent figures among the multitude of contemporary Chinese writers.

A typical son of China, typical in both his origin and the manner he was brought up, even in his talents. With his thirst for the exquisite, reflected through the prism of his pictures, he assimilates (similar to many other Chinese intellectuals and society figures) the European culture in Paris. For Ai Qing this culture is associated with the names of Verhaeren, Rimbaud, Appollinaire and others.

His return to China was stamped with a three-year-long imprisonment and marked by his first poetical manifestations. After that period till the time when he got under the blows of the cultural revolution (1957), came a twenty-year-long silence, then his delivery (1978) and during all those times he took his brave social standing.

The above mentioned twenty years have been a border separating two big periods in the poet's development. Their characteristics will be achieved by following a specific feature of the poet which gains in significance because it appears in the works of a painter-poet. This feature is the colour source in the poetry of Ai Qing.

The first period comprises his whole poetical production till the "ripe" age of about 50. Let us consider an epic "canvas" of this kind, such as his poem "The north". Without being an incorrigible pessimist (this is not typical of Ai Qing), the author sprinkles over dark, raging,

tempestuous images some of his beloved coloured spots: "darkened greyish-yellow", "yellow-earthish sadness", "a frowning-grey firmament..." The beginning of "Boatmen and boat" (1949) is almost graphical too.

However, a most expressive example in this respect is the first part of his cycle "The plain expanse" (1940): "...Greyish-yellow road is winding, / it is hardly seen / and vanishes in front of me, / black and dry fields, running along / in the greyish-white distance I can / tell apart earthish-yellow, reddish-brown and / brown-black merging in one."

A composed, even somewhat gloomy colour range (in no case is it a rigid black and white drawing). The monochromatic painting, traditional for the classic Chinese art, is in this case insufficient as a means of expression; it often flows over into the softness of the water-colour or the pastel.

Concerning the second period in Ai Qing's poetical production, we should search for its beginning presumably during 1978, i.e. the time when after a 20 year long silence his first poem "The Red Banner" appeared. This has been a "red" beginning: "...Fire is red, / Blood is red, / Lilies are red, / The rising sun is red, / But the most beautiful of all / is the red banner waving in the wind".

The red colour is in this case a universal concept which comprises in itself both an ideological and ethico-aesthetical, as well as a philosophical meaning.

Only a year later another life-confirming colour principle — the green (his poem "Green", 1979) burst out as fireworks: "... Like an upturned inkpot / spilling green — / green is everywhere. / And how come that there are so many / shades of green! / Dark green, pale green, reddish green, / emerald green, bright green, soft green, / down to black green, down to amazing green..."

If the poet is in some cases still searching for the right tone (right with respect to himself and also with respect to the new times), he soon sets his foot firmly upon his new positions, inherent to his nature. That is Ai Qing we know: profound, enriched in his fantasy, innerly lyrical, or pure and fine and very often multicolourful.

WENG T'UNG WEN

#### *The Origin of the "Red Boat" Treated by Prof. B. E. Ward*

*The Red Boat of the Canton Delta, A Historical Chapter in the Sociology of Chinese Regional Drama* is a paper read by Prof. B. E. Ward at the occasion of the First International Congress of Sinologists held in Taipei in the October 1980. In dealing with this kind of boat which was used by Cantonese Opera troupes with a center at Fushan 佛山 around 1920, B. E. Ward points out that they were not painted red and that certain types of official river boats in the Ch'ing Dynasty were also known as Red Boats. This being the case, B. E. Ward raises the problem of the origin of its name. Of the many good possible origins of the "Red Boats" conceived by B. E. Ward, one is its connection with the Hung-League or Hung-men 洪門, a secret society associated with Dr. Sun Yat-sen before the revolution of 1911. However, B. E. Ward did not continue to pursue his studies on this problem, because "the whole series of anti-Ch'ing and pro-Ming movement is a chapter in the history of South China the full details of which have not yet reached the history books."



Hung-men is a variant name of the T'ien-ti Hui 天地會, a secret society permanently aimed at overthrowing the Ch'ing and restoring the Ming and always reserved the "Imperial Throne" for a prince in waiting who should be genealogically a scion descended from the Ming Emperors. In spite of its secret nature, its documents in manuscript have been discovered and published here and there in South China and in communities of over-sea Chinese from 1866 up to the present. On the basis of these documents, the author of this paper has provided a good deal of definite evidence proving that the Red Boat or "hung-ch'uan" 紅船 was originally called hung-ch'uan 洪船, and was really a kind of boat used in the Hung-men and baptized with the word hung 洪 and eventually changed into the homophone hung 紅 by its members as a symbol of their pro-Ming and anti-Ch'ing sentiment.

The meaning of the word hung 洪 in the name Hung-men should be traced back to the name of the prince Chu Hung-yin 朱洪英 or Chu Hung-chu 朱洪竹, both mean a promised scion of Chu Hung-wu 朱洪武, the founder of the Ming Dynasty whose surname is Chu and whose reign title is hung-wu 洪武. As to the word hung 幻, which was a substitute for the word hung 洪 since it was a homophone, it is also a common sign meaning pro-Ming in the Ch'ing Dynasty to all Chinese who belonged to the Han branch race disregarding class distinctions; for it is in meaning the equivalent of the word chu 朱, the surname of the Ming Emperors. These two words in homophone were successively adopted by the member of Hung-men on account of their symbolic meaning and finally used as the name of their boats.

Then, the earlier history of the relationship between the actors of Cantonese Opera and the T'ien-ti Hui which had its origin in 1674 at Changchou in Fukien is to be treated.

YONG CHOON KIM

*The Ch'öndogyo Concept of Man and its Uniqueness in Korean Tradition*

Ch'öndogyo (天道教, The Religion of the Heavenly Way), which was originally called Tonghak (東學, Eastern Learning), is a unique religion of Korea. It was founded by Suun (水雲), Ch'oe Che-u (崔濟愚, 1824-1864) in 1860. There are certain elements of Confucian and Taoist influences and possibly also some Buddhist and Shamanistic influences on Ch'öndogyo. However, Ch'öndogyo emphasizes the uniqueness of its thought.

In the Ch'öndogyo thought, the concept of man is central and most important. Although the founder, Suun, and his immediate successors did not systematically expound the Ch'öndogyo concept of man, later thinkers like Yi Ton-hwa (李敦化) and Paek Se-myöng (白世明) interpreted it somewhat systematically.

God in the thought of Yi Ton-hwa and Paek Se-myöng is pantheistic and monistic and more or less impersonal. Therefore, the idea of creation by personal and transcendent God is rejected. Instead, God is primarily immanent Totality or original Totality of the universe and man is an evolutionary part of it.

One of the unique terms in Ch'öndogyo, by which the idea of the nature of man is expressed is *si ch'önju* (侍天主), which means "bearing God" or "serving God". This term was used by Suun to signify that man serves God who is within him with respect. The idea of *si ch'önju* becomes the basis of the idea of *in nae ch'ön* (人乃天), which literally means "man

is God (or Heaven)". It signifies the oneness of man and God, and it is the central creed in Ch'öndogyo.

One of the main ideas of Ch'öndogyo ethics is *hap ki tök* (合其德), which means identification with the divine virtue or the virtue of the universe. It signifies man's ethical union with God.

Probably the most important and unique ethical idea in Ch'öndogyo is *sain yöch'ön* (事人如天), which means "treat man as God". This idea is logically based on the Ch'öndogyo ontology of man. Since man is divine in his original nature, he should be treated with sense of divinity in man. It signifies that one should treat his fellowmen with sense of respect, dignity, and equality.

*Chisang sinsön* (地上神仙), which means "divine mystery on earth", is an important idea in Ch'öndogyo concerning human destiny. Suun said: "The people of the world that enter into the Way (our religion) become the superior man (*chün-tzu*) from that day and become natural (*wu-wei*). Isn't this divine mystery on earth?" Here, Suun synthesizes the Confucian idea of *chün-tzu* (君子) and the Taoist idea of *wu-wei* (無爲) to introduce a new idea of the authentic life. There may be some influence of Taoism and Shamanism on the idea of the term, *sin-sön* (神仙), which literally means "divine mystery", but in Ch'öndogyo the notion of mystery is humanized. By the synthesis of a Confucian moral idea with the Taoist idea of authentic and glorious life, Suun invented his unique idea of paradise.

To some extent the Ch'öndogyo concept of man is syncretic, as it synthesized certain ideas of Taoism, Confucianism, and possibly also Neo-Confucianism. By synthesizing certain ideas from various traditions, in the end Ch'öndogyo produced its own unique idea of man in Korean tradition.

Y. H. CHOE-WALL

*The Poetic Thought of Hö Nansörhön — Renowned Sino-Korean Poetess of the late 16th Century*

Hö Nansörhön (1563-1589), wrote during the reign of King Sönjo, a period, which witnessed the Confucianization of society to its greatest degree. The inflexibility of the Confucian system and its sanctions severely restricted the lives of Yi dynasty women, especially those of the *yangban* class, to which Nansörhön belonged. It was also the golden age of *hansi* when disillusionment with Confucian literary values emerged and the ideals of the literati-officials came under scrutiny. From this discontent, the influence of the Sung poetic convention was replaced by the T'ang poetic traditions.

Nansörhön can be grouped with those writers whose literature is known as the Literature of the Outsiders because of their deprived standing in society and their disenchantment with Confucian ethics. Their literature was influenced more by *Hsien* Taoism than by any other Confucian philosophy, but unlike a majority of this group, whose purpose was to bitterly protest social injustice, Nansörhön wrote poetry for its own sake. Her work has both enriched and modified Sino-Korean poetic language, marking her as a great poetess. Her writings on the Taoist immortals have been accepted as the classics of Hsien Taoist poems in Korea. The four basic characteristics evident in her work are, a lack of inventiveness; a developed indigenous,



aesthetic predilection; a pervading influence of *Hsien* Taoism; a highly-melancholic content.

The fact that some two-thirds of her poems are in *akpu* style, support the lack of inventiveness, as it means they are the reworking of traditional themes, drawn from early Chinese folk-songs. Notwithstanding, she developed an indigenous, aesthetic approach, simple and open-hearted. Struggling with her conscience to be a wife and conforming daughter-in-law of a *yangban* family and her incompatible but deepening desire to break through the social barriers, she turned to the occult world of the immortals for solace. Her strong belief in immortality is reflected repeatedly in her poems, with some explicit descriptions of her visions.

Another major influence on Nansōrhōn's poetic style was *Ch'u tz'u*. The poet's imaginary journey, based on the magical flight of the shaman in *Ch'u tz'u* songs such as *Yüan yu* of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju were used by secular poets as an allegory of their flight from a corrupt society. Poems of this type are known as the poetry of *hsüan hsüeh* and their characteristic is neo (or *Hsien*)-Taoist speculation, in highly-abstract terminology. Nansōrhōn's attraction to this theme is deeper-rooted than those of her Chinese counterparts, for Shamanism had a very deep base in the Korean mind and provided an important background to Korean *Hsien* Taoism. Her 87 "Wondering Immortals" poems demonstrate a far greater belief in immortality than was apparently held by any of the T'ang poets by whom she was supposedly influenced.

A further characteristic is its extraordinary melancholy. This is not, however, peculiar to her poetry. Sorrow, introduced into Chinese literature with *Ch'u tz'u* songs, pervades the Southern dynasty's love songs, most of Late T'ang poetry and succeeding Five Dynasties. Other than the T'ang influence, the basic factors which instill pessimism in her work, are: 1) the tragic death of two children; 2) failure as a wife and daughter-in-law; 3) constant anxiety about the delicate, political situation, a potential danger to members of her family; 4) anticipation of her family's eventual downfall.

Many of her poems, full of *Hsien* taoist terminology, are difficult to understand fully without at least some meaningful notes. A majority require a great deal of annotation, because of her profuse Taoist allusions.

P. A. HERBERT

#### *Provincial Selection and Perceptions of Provincial Officialdom in Early Tang China*

There was a contradiction between the ideal Tang conception of the provincial official and the way provincial service was actually regarded. This contradiction profoundly affected the selection of provincial officials and their status in office.

Provincial administration functioned at the prefectural and county levels. The main responsibilities of prefects and county magistrates were tax collection, law and order and public education and morality. Prefectures were deliberately kept small, so prefects could not build up independent power and challenge the dynasty. On the other hand, they had very grave responsibilities. Responsibility without power could lead to frustration, negligence or corruption, but Confucian moral training and annual assessment of officials were supposed to promote a responsible working attitude.

Senior provincial staff were appointed following the metropolitan selection examination for a term of office normally of four years. Thus provincial terms of office were short and unpopular.

The quality of provincial service was already very poor in the early years of the dynasty. In 685, Chen Zi'ang claimed provincial service was despised so only poorly qualified men were chosen and they served so badly that provincial administration became despised even more. By this time, the creation of many supernumerary posts in the capital had reduced the pool of good candidates from which provincial officials could be chosen. From 714 to 752, Xuanzong carried out a series of vigorous reforms, but the whole early Tang provincial administration was overturned during the An Shi Rebellion.

Provincial service was despised during the Tang because of the political and cultural emphasis on the capital. It was regarded as a form of exile.

EDWARD L. FARMER

#### *Fifteenth Century China: Turning Point or Black Hole?*

This paper seeks to formulate a strategy for the study of the period of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) about which we know the least: the 97 years from the end of the Yongle era to the beginning of the Jiajing era, i.e., 1424 to 1521. The body of the paper is divided into three sections. The first surveys what we do know about Ming history and about the 15th century in general. The second explores strategies for addressing the problem of the 15th century and the third contains some general observations.

The first section has three divisions. (1) Our picture of the early Ming, from 1368 until 1424 is one of a vigorous new state governed by strong rulers who forged new institutions, mobilized the resources of the economy and tried to impose an ideal order on Ming society and culture. (2) The late Ming period offers a marked contrast to the early Ming: after the 1520s Chinese society was transformed. In the lower Yangtze region a prosperous and increasingly monetized commercial economy emerged. Along with the growth of a wealthy and literate new elite in the urban centers of the Jiangnan area there occurred a general shift of cultural values. Symptomatic of the change was the appearance of radical new schools of philosophy, syncretic religious movements and the triumph of vernacular fiction. (3) Viewed from the perspective of Europe, the 15th century was a crucial time in the formation of the modern social and economical institutions which emerged as the capitalist system. What appear to have been some of the key elements in the European transformation — changes in technology, governance, trading practices, and overseas expansion — were for the most part absent in China.

Three strategies of inquiry are suggested by the above overview of our current knowledge. (1) Prospective strategies, carrying forward the picture of the early Ming could ask how government policy of that era affected Chinese society and culture. (2) Retrospective strategies, could look back from the late Ming in search of the origins of the late Ming innovations. (3) Finally, comparative studies can be used to put China's 15th century into a broader context. Two approaches are possible: one asks in various ways why China failed to follow the same line of development as Europe, while the other would compare the Ming Empire with contemporary empires elsewhere in Eurasia.



The final section contains four modest cautions: (1) in moving from the early Ming to the 15th century we must move from the study of great men and political history to the finer screen of social history (e.g., kinship institutions), (2) in looking for the source of late Ming cultural change we must be prepared to sense changes within a genre that are not easily linked to the society at large, (3) in comparing China to Europe we should not be dazzled by the model of capitalism, but be prepared to discover patterns of change in China as yet unknown, and (4) in comparing Ming China to other Asian empires can help to redress a Europocentric imbalance in the study of world history.

SHEE SUNG

*Connection Between Mu-i Fa and Pao-chia Fa of Wang An-shih's Reform*

Foreword

During the reign of Hsi-ning of Emperor Shen-tsung of the Northern Sung dynasty, when Wang An-shih was prime minister there began a reform movement. Wang An-shih's reform consists of three categories: economic development, national defense, and education.

Some historians believe that there is no connection between *mu-i fa* and *pao-chia fa*, one for economic development while the other for national defense. But in fact, from the administration of the later period of the Northern Sung, we can find these two projects are usually linked together. That is the point this study is dealing about.

*Mu-i Fa*

*Mu-i fa* was originally the drafted service. Only under this project, those who were legitimate to undertake drafted service could be exempted from it by paying a certain amount of money, called *mien-i-ch'ien* (exemption money), instead. Households of officials, monasteries, and those with only one male adult or headed by a woman were originally exempted from such service, but under the new project they were also required to pay *chu-i-ch'ien* (aid money), at a rate half of *mien-i-ch'ien*. The rates of *mien-i-ch'ien* and *chu-i-ch'ien* were determined by different local governments according to the requirement of drafted service and the conditions of households. Moreover, a twenty-percent surtax was added to these two for emergency's sake.

*Pao-chia Fa*

*Pao-chia fa* is in fact a reformed militia system. In December of the 3rd year of the reign of Hsi-ning (1070), ten households were organized into a *pao* (small guard), five *pao* into a *ta-pao* (large guard), ten *ta-pao* into a *tu-pao* (superior guard). *Pao* was headed by *pao-chang* (small guard chiefs), *ta-pao* was headed by *ta-pao-chang* (large guard chiefs), *tu-pao* was headed by *tu-pao-cheng* (superior guard leaders) and deputy *tu-pao-cheng* (assistant superior guard leaders), they were all chosen from among the members, respectively. In a family of more than two able-bodied men, one was chosen as *pao*-member, the others also could be chosen as *pao*-members if necessary.

From the 2nd to 4th year of the reign of Yuan-feng (1079-1082), strict military training was imposed on all the *pao-chia-chang* and *pao*-members.

The Connection between *Mu-i Fa* and *Pao-chia Fa*

*Pao-chia fa* was put into force in the 3rd year of the reign of Hsi-ning (1070), and *mu-i fa*

was put into force in October the following year. In October of the 7th year of Hsi-ning (1074), the *ssu-nung-shih* (the Court of Agricultural Supervision) asked to abolish *hu-chang* and *fang-cheng*. Instead, in villages and towns of various districts, *chia* was organized by combining 20 to 30 households, headed by *chia-tou* (heads of Tithing), with tenure of one year, in charge of tax collecting. Thus, *pao-chia* began to be charged with the duty of tax collecting. They served on rotation basis and were provided with allowances.

During the period of Shen-tsung, *pao-chia* as a drafted service system had come into being. But during the time of Che-tsung and Hui-tsung down to the reign of Shaohsing of Kao-tsung of the Southern Sung, *ch'i-chang*, *hu-chang*, *chuang-ting*, as well as *pao-cheng*, *pao-chang*, and *chia-tou* served either on conscription or on compulsory basis. In the fifth year of Shaohsing (1135), *mien-i-ch'ien* was changed into *ching-chi-ch'ien* to be paid over to the central government. Since then, *pao-cheng*, *pao-chang*, and *chia-tou* took the place of *ch'i-chang*, *hu-chang*, and *chuang-ting* and undertook drafted service without salary.

MASAHIRO YAMAUCHI

*Reciprocity of Tong-jian-gang-mu (通鑑綱目) in the East Asian Countries*

In Japan we have two editions of *Tong-jian-gang-mu* (=TJGM) printed in Korea: One published in 1438 under the direct of Sechong (世宗) is owned by the Hosa (蓬左) Library of Nagoya (名古屋) and the other probably in 1574 during the Time of Soncho (宣祖) by the Matsuura (松浦) Library of Hirado (平戸). The former called *Hun-yi-kan-mok* (訓義綱目) in Korean is annotated by the Korean scholars of the day, and the latter called *Par-myong-kan-mok* (發明綱目) has lemmata in its above margin. The original of TJGM of 59 vols. was compiled in 1172 by Zhu Xi (朱熹) picking up the principal items from the famous historical work of Sima Guang's (司馬光) *Zi-zhi-tong-jian* (資治通鑑) of 294 vols, and included many necessary prespects with Zhu Xi's commentaries for the ruler and his group. In other words TJGM is a historical digest by the Neo Confucianism. The TJGM was read widely not only by the ruling class of China, but also by one of Korea and Japan.

According to the repertoire of texts in Court Seminar extracted from the enormous true record of Y (李) dynasty covering 500 years, Y-cho-jir-lok (李朝實錄), TJGM has the greatest frequency of others so far as we verify. Though we can find a transition of rages of Historism, Neo Confucianism and Realism, then we can confirm that TJGM was the most useful one in Korea to comprehend the Chinese history and philosophy. In fact TJGM was regarded as a basical work for the Korean future generation to learn the various Chinese things. In Japan of Tokugawa (徳川) Shōgunate where the control was divided by many clans, the characteristic above mention cannot be said clearer than in Korea. However we may attest the same happening in whole. And more we must take notice of that TJGM had stimulated the emergence of native works in countries: *Goryosa* (高麗史) and the others in Korea; *Honchōtsugan* (本朝通鑑) and the others in Japan. Of course these native works contributed to nurse the original cultures respectively in the non-Chinese countries.

In sum, we can get our ideas in shape for the reason of reciprocity of TJGM in the East Asian countries following: 1. This text was very useful to understand the Chinese history and Chinese new concept for the first political power which must succeed their domestic integrations. 2. This text contained not only the Chinese history but also many precepts, so







FUMIKO YAMAUCHI

*The Trade Books of Chinese Merchant in Nagasaki*

Chinese merchant in Nagasaki had played an important part of the international trade with Japan since 17th century. Bamin Huaisuo (八閩會所) which was the organization of merchant coming from Fujian Sheng (福建省) has two kinds of trade books, Riqingbu (日清簿) and Zongbu (總簿). Riqingbu is the trade book which was registered income and expenditure after every month annually. Zongbu was recorded the state of income and expenditure in accordance with an itemized list of contents. These records are found to be very accurate because these numbers of Riqingbu and Zongbu are consited when they are collated.

The appearance of them was written with a brush pen and draw a ruled line in vertical and divided into two places. Income was filled in the upper column, and expenditure was lower columns. The method of total has a peculiar style, which shows a balance brought forward from the last accounts and the next balance as well as total of the month was filled in one line as transfer (原金), income (收金), expenditure (付金), balance (底存金).

Income was to be invested by merchant who belongs to Bamin Huaisuo, and investments was divided into two, a fixed amount and fixed rate according to the scale of their shops and their relations. In keeping a book, Chinese numerals and commercial numerals are used together. This method enables us to recognize the accounts easily and never be allowed us to change. Commercial numerals are easy to record and needn't take up much space, and attaches the first unit of money without using the decimal point, which came to have the following peculiarities and be recognized by Chinese merchant to support their business.

1. The commercial numerals are easy to be filled
2. They needn't to be changed the line by putting six or seven figures together into one space.
3. They are recognized the round number by attaching the unit of money.
4. They are seldom made mistake in calculating because of the reason above mention.
5. They show a clear financial state by enabling a large amount of contents to put a small space.

Then I'll try to give my comments on Chinese notation:

Chinese figure from one to nine were combined a sign of diget, and dividing blocks (算木) were used in calculation. They made a combination horizontal and vertical precisely so as to have the same pattern every other unit.

Commercial arithmetic was based on the calculation with dividing blocks. Practical arithmetic made a progress in Yangtze (揚子江) valley where the trade and business have been thriving since Sung (宋). I think that Chinese numerals were so simple but they were enough to quantify and never failed to make a diget. These manuscripts left in Nagasaki teach me one of the most important reasons about prosperity of Oversea Chinese Merchants.

AKIKO OHSUMI

*Chaogong Diplomacy of the Early Ming China*

Ming Dynasty is known to have had chaogong relation with foreign countries and haijin policy to its own people, which confined its relation with foreign countries within state to state connection including trades. However, it was not so at the time when the emperor Hongwu was enthroned. These policies were gradually fixed by the middle of his reign.

The emperor Hongwu sent missions to the neighbouring countries at the start of his reign to declare the establishment of the Ming with the letter written in a manner of edict. Most of the countries he sent missions came with the diplomatic letter from the king and the fact foreign kings sent their envoy was appreciated and propagated both domestically and outwardly to show the solidity of the Ming reign.

His trading policy at first was to establish the bureau of trade, following the precedent of the former dynasties. It seems that the licensed trade was allowed to people if they would pay taxes at the time when he started his regime. It is said that Ming Li code does not forbid trading (Cao Yonghe, Shilun Mingtaizu de Haiyang Jiaotong Zhengce, 1984). A Ming statesman (Qiu Jun, Daxue Yanyibu) of the Chenghua era also said that the outgoing trade is permitted under the code. Haijin policy had been formed gradually by the regulations announced by the emperor.

Meanwhile, traders from outside also began not to be allowed to come to China unless they came with chaogong missions. They began to be given kanhe-fu to identify themselves that they were sent by their kings, from the 16th year of Hongwu (1383). The number of the countries which were given kanhe-fu amounts to more than 50 during the Ming period.

Ming dynasty did not levy on the goods which were brought to China by chaogong traders, contrary to the preceding dynasties. The emperor told the official who asked to levy foreign goods that the chaogong traders cannot be regarded as merchants, and most of the goods were purchased by the libu officials to send neifu for the use of the emperor.

Hong-wu emperor left zuxunlu (ancestral admonitions) which include his concept of foreign relations. It was made in the 6th year of his reign and again printed in the 28th year with minor change. He warned never to send military and conquer overseas small countries unless they harm China as their lands and peoples are worthless, but never neglect to prepare for the invasion from the northwest. The latter version even puts the names of 15 countries not to be conquered but does not include northwestern countries.

It could be said that the policies the emperor Hong-wu took gradually concentrated to avoid his people's contacts with people outside as possible as the circumstances permitted.



HENK C. M. ZOOMERS

*A Voyage to Cochin China**A Trade Mission of the Netherlands Trading Society to Cochin China in 1828*

After the Napoleonic Wars Dutch commerce in the East Indies revived but slowly. To further 'the national trade, navigation, ship-building, fisheries, agriculture, manufactures and business' on 29 March 1824 — due to personal efforts of King William I, 'the merchant-king', who was founder, main stockholder and guarantee — the Netherlands Trading Society (Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij) was established.

In February 1826 the Society founded her trading station at Batavia, called the Factory (Factorij). Although the main activities of the Factory were concentrated on Java, she also wanted to explore new markets which could provide for a diversification in her home-ward freights, so that she would be less dependent of the situation at the coffee market. For this reason she arranged trial trading expeditions to the Moluccos, Bengal, the Coromandel Coast, Persia, Siam and Manilla.

In the opinion of the Factory Cochin China was a very rich and populous country, so in June 1828 she decided to organize a trial expedition: For that purpose the brig Anam, itself built in Cochin China, was chartered. The owner, Mr. Diard, had lived some considerable time in Cochin China and had been in favour with its ruler. The cargo was sent on consignment to Edouard Borel, at that time agent of the Bordeaux firm Balguerie, Sarget et Cie at Tourane.

In his letter of 25 September to the Factory at Batavia, Borel gave a neatly arranged review of the efforts, captain Nancy of the Anam had exerted in his absence to sell his cargo. Borel's report consisted of three written pages in which he gave an account of his activities on behalf of the Factory to collect a return cargo and a general survey regarding the possibilities of future trade.

In an annex of also three pages he provided for additional information regarding i.a. measurement duties, harvest-times of sugar and silk and marketable import and export articles. As prohibited import goods Borel mentioned missionaries (sic) and opium; exportation of gold, silver, copper and the coin of the country was contraband.

The trial expedition to Cochin China turned out to be more successful as the trade visit to Siam in the same period, but nevertheless resulted in a financial loss. Although the directors at The Hague had already sent to Batavia some 600 rifles (manufactured according to a French model, sent as a sample by Borel), infantry swords and some other merchandise destined for a second expedition to Cochin China, the Factory after some deliberations in January 1830 postponed the voyage to a later date which never came.

The voyage of the brig Anam to Cochin China was aimed at purely commercial objectives with no political overtures. Although from a political or commercial point of view the expedition did not have far-reaching consequences, it is nevertheless not without interest, as it resulted inter alia in an eye witness account of the commercial situation of Cochin China in the late twenties of the 19th century by one of the few Europeans permitted to stay in that country, Edouard Borel.

MING FOON LIEW

*The Fervent Discussion on the Birth of Capitalism in China During the Past Three Decades*

The research on the birth of Capitalism in China began in 1955, apparently initiated by the discussion on the social background of *The Dream of the Red Mansion*, written by Cao Xueqin (?-1763). In January 1955 Deng Tuo published an article entitled "The Discussion on the social background and historical meaning of the Dream of the Red Mansion". This article presents a very bold and new interpretation of the novel. However, the discussion on the social background of the novel was not initiated by Deng Tuo. In 1953 a new edition of the novel was published by the Writer's Publisher. Not long after two students from the University of Shandong wrote a joint article on the novel. They criticized Yu Pingbo's interpretation. The latter has been considered a great authority of the novel. Their article was first refused publication, however, it was later published in *Wenshize*. The late Chairman Mao after reading it wrote a short article in support of these two students' work. Hence, the discussion on the social background of the novel was officially launched.

Actually the discussion of the birth of capitalism in China could be traced back still earlier. In 1939 Mao questioned why the historical development of the Chinese society did not follow the Marxist theory on social development. In his article "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" Mao pointed out that capitalistic economy was emerging from feudal Chinese society. This question was brought up because it was important to the "periodization" of Chinese history. It also concerned the question of when modern Chinese history begins. In Europe the birth of capitalism began during the 15th to 16th centuries but for China her social history does not seem to fit into Marx's pattern of social development so neatly. Mao explained that the appearance of commercial products in feudal society of China had already contained the factor of nascent capitalistic economy. If there was no interference by foreign capitalistic powers the Chinese society would also have transformed gradually to a capitalistic society. This statement of Mao had been quoted very frequently by Chinese historians who took part in this great discussion before the Cultural Revolution.

In 1954 when the social background of *The Dream of the Red Mansion* was brought up during the great debate of class-conflicts, the question on the birth of capitalism in China was brought forward again. After the first stage of this hot debate the historians gradually concentrated on tracing the birth of nascent capitalism in Chinese society. Some historians trace the birth back to Tang times (618-907), some to Song times (960-1279), some to Yuan times (1279-1368), and some to Ming times (1368-1644). However, most historians later agree that the birth took place during the late Ming and early Qing period (1644-1911). This discussion was interrupted during the Cultural Revolution. Since the launching of this discussion a total of more than 300 articles have been published.

The post-cultural revolution articles differ from the earlier articles. The obvious differences are: There are few quotations from Marx, Lenin, or Mao. The thinking is comparatively liberal although still within the framework of Marxist thinking, and the research goes deeper and covers broader themes than the precultural revolution period. Regional studies and case studies are emphasized. The earlier articles were more the product of a political debate than the studying of the social and economic history of imperial China although there were some individual writers who despite the political tidal wave managed to bring forth some



enlightening viewpoints.

This long discussion on the birth of capitalism in China covers a rather wide field on the social and economic history of China. No doubt there were great social changes during late Ming times but if we look further back to the history of imperial China we are also able to find ample evidence which could be regarded as marking the birth of capitalism. The reasons for this long and difficult birth or a stillbirth are very complex. But would imperial China gradually become a capitalistic state without the influence of foreign factors? This is a question which I am not able to answer alone. The birth of capitalism in China could be said to follow the rise and fall of a dynasty or the rise and fall of a capable politician who had economic insight and tried to implement social and economic reforms but always encountered great hindrances from conservative groups. However, to say that the imperial Chinese society was a stagnant society is also lack of bases. I would rather say that it advanced in a very slow spiral motion for more than two thousand years till it fully encountered the foreign capitalistic powers.

GÜNTHER DEBON

*Versification in the Chinese Philosophical Writings*

Learned commentators like Wang Nien-sun (1744-1832) had already perceived that the philosophical works contained rhymed maxims and passages. The extent of which could, however, only be made clear by the reconstruction of the archaic language. Thus in 1932 Bernhard Karlgren restored the poetical form of *Tao-Tê-ching* and in 1982 Tsung-tung Chang — partially — that of *Chuang-tzu*. Other well-known texts like *Hsün-tzu*, especially the first chapter (*p'ien*), are full of rhymed stanzas.

To find out these versified parts is important in two respects; firstly, concerning philosophy: The rhymed sentences are an alien element within the context, in many cases they were not written by the author himself and belong to an earlier stratum.

Occasionally one gets the impression that the author was only interested in one of the lines quoted, the others can even contradict his train of thought.

Some of the mysterious words were only chosen for reasons of rhyme, and emendations have to be annulled if the emendated word rhymed while the substitute does not.

Since the philosophical maxims are very near to the common proverbs we have, however, to expect a certain amount of impure rhymes (cf. "A stitch in time / saves nine").

In general the philosophical literature will look rather different after the isolation of the versified parts; its mosaic structure will become evident.

Secondly, our knowledge of Chinese poetry is enlarged. We detect new metres due to the fact that those verses did not depend on music in contrast to the other poetry.

There is a lapidarian verse of three words, a verse of two words, and even of one word which was combined with longer verses: the best way to connect the subject with the predicate in a memorable manner (cf. "Haste / makes waste" or "Variety / takes away satiety").

The triplet, which can already be found in *Shih-ching*, is a favourite form in philosophic literature. One can also find a metre that comes quite close to the limerick.

We finally notice that the parallelism of later poetry is deeply rooted in the philosophic versification.

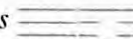
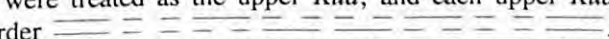
At the end of the lecture I read *Chuang-tzu*, chapter 22,5, in a poetical form as close to the original as possible, since this initiation of Confucius into the ultimate secrets of Tao is done almost exclusively in verses.

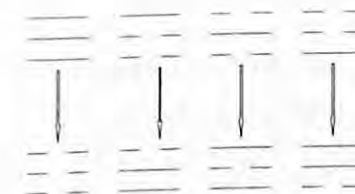
TAO-SUN CHEN

*The Relationship Between I-Ching Written on Silk and Hsien Thien Sequence of Kua*

Since the sequence of *Kua* (卦) in *I-Ching Written on Silk* (帛書易經) was deciphered<sup>1</sup>, scholars are seeking further its relationship with *Hsien Thien* (先天) system.<sup>2</sup>

Actually both the order of *Kua* appeared in *I-Ching Written on Silk* and the sequence of *Hsien Thien* shown on the tables of the symbols of *I-Ching* are derived from the same system.

A different arrangement appeared on *I-Ching Written on Silk*, in which such *Kuas*  were treated as the upper *Kua*, and each upper *Kua* combined with a lower *Kua* by the order , to form hexagrams. Nobody knew what did it mean before my study. As we put the upper *Kuas* in two lines, we get:



And as we read the two lines vertically, we get actually the same order as the lower *Kuas*. It is the basic order and also the very order which *Hsien Thien* system was derived from.

It was Shao Yung who made the binary notation in *I-Ching* known as the *Hsien Thien* system, but he was too cautious to pass the knowledge of it over to others. So his study lost to Chinese scholars for more than nine hundred years.

Around seven hundred years after Shao, a German philosopher G. W. Leibniz discovered that the 64 hexagrams were arranged by way of binary notation again.<sup>3</sup> It soon grabbed the

<sup>1</sup>Chen, Tao-Sun: "One of Marvelous Examples to Decipher the Mysteries of I-Ching", *Proceedings of the 31st International Congress of Human Science in Asia and North Africa*. Tokyo: The Institute of Eastern Culture, 1984, pp.958-959.

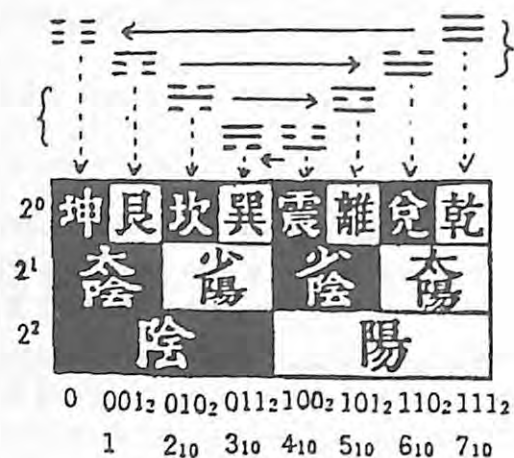
<sup>2</sup>Zhang, Zheng-Lan: "Postscript to the Silk Manuscript of the Sixty Four Diagrams". *Wen Wu* No.3, 1984, p.9.

<sup>3</sup>The Bouvet-Leibniz Letters, Chinese translation by Liu Pai-Min, in Li Cheng-Kang (ed.): *Essays*



attention of the western scholars. But recently it has been severely criticized.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact, by analyzing, with binary arithmetic, Shao Yung's works, especially his 4 Fu-Hsi Diagrams which appeared in Chu Hsi's *Chou I Pên I* with an explication, and *I-Ching* itself, we get a marvelous diagram where obviously the order of *I-Ching* Written on Silk sequence of *Hsien Thien* system and binary notation meet together, as shown below:



YOSHIKI IKENAGA

### *The Kingdom of Women and Wo People Mentioned in Wei Lio and Wei Chih*

According to *Tsien han shu* 前漢書 in the first century A.D., Wo 倭, in Japanese Wa, is consisted of a hundred or more countries, some of which send tribute to the Chinese court. The most important of these accounts is found in *San kuo chih* 三国志, 30.7b (*Wei chih*), compiled in c. 280 A.D. It describes the route to Wo (Japan) and to several of the centers of government, mentioning the country of Yamai 邪馬台 (Yamatai 邪馬台 in *Hou han shu* 後漢書) governed by an unmarried queen named Pimiko 卑弥呼, Himiko in Japanese. The *Hou han shu*, or the History of Later Han (25-220) was compiled by Fan ye (398-445) and others. After that, it was made up again by Li xian 李賢 in T'ang times (c. 676). And he wrote annotations to Fan ye's *Hou han shu*. Its note says that Yamai 邪摩惟 (= 邪馬台) have bad pronunciation. Then, he transferred Yamai in Fan ye's edition to Yamatai. Yamai in *San kuo chih* is regarded by many Japanese historians a credical error. And it is said that the location of Yamatai (= Yamai) and the identity of Pimiko cannot be determined accurately. Many Japanese scholars have been intrigued by the possibility that Yamatai refers to Yamato 大和, the old capital district in central Japan, or one of several places in Kyūshū. But it seems to me clear that 'Yamatai' is an erroneous reading of 'Yamai'. The name of Yamato comes from Yamai in *Wei chih*. Perhaps, 'Yamato' (= 'Yamatai') was made by the

of *Treatises on the Book of Changes*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1941, pp.99-113.

<sup>1</sup>Needham, Joseph: *Science and Civilization in China*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1956, vol. 2, pp. 276, 307, 323, 340-345.

Wo's government in 6th century. *San kuo chih* draws from a lost and more complete earlier source, probably the *Wei lio* and others. *Wei lio* says, to reach Nü kuo 女国 (the Country of Women) from Taifang 帶方 (near modern Seoul), the distance is over 12,000 li. And *San kuo chih* says, from the prefecture (Tai-fang) to Queen's country (= the country of Yamai), the distance is over 12,000 li. So, it seems to me that Yamai is the legendary country of female. And Nu, Pu-mi and Tou-ma were imaginary countries.

TRAN VAN DOAN

### *The Concept of Reason in Confucianism*

The crisis of reason is no longer a myth; it is visible in the disorientation of sciences, in the rising dominance of technology and in the absolute belief in power in solving human problems. It seems, as Horkheimer stated, that, reason is rooted in irrationalism, or, irrationalism is born in reason itself. In this article, we do not share the pessimistic view of Horkheimer although we acknowledge his insistence on a necessity of reflecting on the nature of reason. As a matter of fact, there is no end of reason, but there are only its uncountable misunderstandings. To demonstrate our thesis, we discuss the nature of reason, its transformation (from reason to rationality), and the way of recuperating its authenticity. We choose some analyses of Habermas, Heidegger and Confucius to defend that:

1. The crisis of reason stems from a misunderstanding of its nature: Heidegger describes *rationality* as inauthentic. It is incompatible to human nature. Habermas blames its radical transformation, from reason to rationality, to the radical tendency of favoring theory and of neglecting praxis, to the rationalisation-process intensively developed and cultivated by the Enlighteners and their followers, and to the distorted communication intentionally protected by advanced capitalism as well as by any totalitarian regime. Confucius would blame the failure of reason to human weakness of seeking nearsighted interests.
2. A sound reason (authentic), and not rationality, must conform to human nature. It is evident to us that reason and its manifesting ways such as logic, laws, ethics etc... are born and developed in conformity with the way of human development, with human activities (praxis). Habermas is chosen as guiding philosopher here, because he is one of the most able men who can reconstruct reason systematically. Unlike Kant, Habermas' 'quasi transcendental system' is built on the most concrete forms of human activities such as language, human relational acts etc..., i.e. life-world. The degree of universality and necessity of life-world is not as universal and necessary as those of mathematics and physics; they express nonetheless the quasi-scientific characters of human acts.
3. Relying on the insights of Heidegger that any science must be primarily and fundamentally human, on the Habermasian demonstration of the characters of human sciences, we try to rebuild systematically the Confucian understanding of reason. Our critique of Confucianism as ideology (a form of Confucianism expressed and manifested in laws, customs, social orders... build on class-interests...) is intended to show that, like the Greeks, confucian reason is not wholly metaphysically constituted but anthropologically and cosmologically constructed. Thus, social factors, religious factors and practical factors play a decisive role in constructing reason.

Our conclusion is thus: reason is not a product of The Enlightenment, nor a characteristic of



Western civilisation. It is born and constructed in human life-world. In this sense, the Confucian reason is not a myth but a reality.

KENNETH P. H. HO

*The Emergence and Characteristics of the Shanghen Wenxue*

The literature of the 'Wounded' or the *Shanghen wenxue* (傷痕文學) appeared largely in 1977 and 1978 immediately after the downfall of the Gang of Four in October, 1976. The subject matters of this kind of literature deal mainly with the tragic consequences of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

It originated from a short story called *Shanghen* by Lu Xinhua (\*1954), first in big-character poster form in Fudan University in 1977 and then in a Shanghai newspaper in 1978. Later, he was invited to Beijing to take part in writing a film based on his story. Because his story, that depicted the tragedy of a family separation during the Cultural Revolution, was in tune with the official campaign to "expose and criticize the intrigue of the Gang of Four", it sparked off a small-scale literary movement. The emergence of the literature of the 'wounded' was based on three reasons: (1) The Cultural Revolution brought China an unprecedented cataclysm: economic setback, political turmoil, social disorder, educational shipwreck etc. The *shanghen wenxue* was encouraged to publish with the purpose of arousing the common people's hostility against the Gang of Four. (2) The new regime under the leadership of Hua Guo-feng and Deng Xiao-ping proclaimed that "thoughts should be unfettered; democracy be advocated." This was welcomed by the mass population and the *shanghen wenxue* came into being. (3) During the 10-year Cultural Revolution, stories about family-separation, miscarriage of justice, repugnance between husband and wife, father and son, unnecessary tribulation, social disorder, etc. were countless in number. They provide ample material for literary compositions.

The *shanghen wenxue*, likewise labelled as *baolu wenxue* later, are characterized in that first, they explicitly condemn the violence, lawlessness and sufferings of the Cultural Revolution with the blame pinned on Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and secondly, intellectuals and Party cadres who were abused in the past decade play an important role in the stories whereas workers, peasants and soldiers recede or disappear from the scene. To some extent the *shanghen wenxue* may be consulted as genuine social records of the 'wounded' classes during the Cultural Revolution though they cannot get rid of dogmatic political ends.

XIA JISHENG

*Relations Between New China and the Maghreb Countries*

The traditional friendship between the peoples of China and the Maghreb Countries (Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria) has existed for a long time. The founding of the People's Republic of China and the independence of the Maghreb Countries opened up a new era in the friendly relations between them.

In the political field, frequent exchanges of visits between top leaders of China and the Maghreb Countries have taken place. From December 1963 to June 1965, the late Chinese

Premier Zhou Enlai made official visits to Africa for three times. During his first visit, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles adopted by Bandung Conference, Zhou announced the five principles of China's relations with the African and Arab countries. These principles are guidelines for China's political relations with the Maghreb Countries. From December 1982 to January 1983, the Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang visited eleven African countries including two Maghreb Countries, including Algeria and Morocco. This is another major event in the annals of friendly relations between China and Africa since Zhou's visits in the 1960s. In July 1986, during his six nation tour in the Balkan and Mediterranean region Zhao visited Tunisia. Besides, there were many high-ranking officials of China and the Maghreb Countries making mutual visits. In the economic field, Zhou announced China's eight principles in providing economic and technical aid to foreign countries in 1963 and Zhao put forward the four principles as guidelines for China's economic and technical cooperation with the African countries in 1983. It is based on these principles that China has developed economic ties with the Maghreb Countries. China and the Maghreb Countries have signed a series of agreements on economic and technical cooperation. The Maghreb Countries are among the African countries which have a larger trade volume with China. In the medical and cultural fields, historically, there were scientific technological, and cultural exchanges between China and Maghreb Countries. Since the 1960s, these exchanges have resumed and developed.

The reason why the friendly relations between new China and the Maghreb Countries have developed so rapidly and smoothly in the more than twenty years is mainly that they are developing Third World countries. They have shared the same historical experience of being invaded and exploited by colonialism and they have shared the identical or similar views on major international issues. In addition, China and the Maghreb Countries face the common task of invigorating their economies after they gain independence. The promotion of relations between China and the Maghreb Countries will not only benefit these countries themselves but also have an impact on the unity of the Third World countries and the maintenance of world peace. It can be expected that the friendly relations and cooperation between China and the Maghreb Countries will reach to a new and higher level.

CHUANG YING-CHANG

*Rotating Credit Association in Taiwan: An Anthropological Perspective*

This paper is based on the author's own fieldwork data from Hsingta township, southern Taiwan, and on ethnographic data from mainland China, in order to make a comparative analysis of the organization and operation of rotating credit associations. The emphasis is on exploring the social and economic significance of such rotating credit associations, and their relation to economic development. The conclusions can be summarized by the following four points:

- 1) Although the organization and operational procedures of rotating credit associations are different in different places, the basic principle is the same — that the assets come from the members' contributions, and that members take turns at the periodic drawing of funds.
- 2) The emergence of rotating credit associations are primarily due to inadequacies in local financial institutions, or troublesome and complex loan procedures that intimidate and deter



people, forcing them to cope in their own way with the problem of obtaining credit.

3) Rotating credit associations are based on a foundation of mutual assistance, depending on social and moral restraints to ensure sound operation. In recent times, because of social changes, increasingly complicated interpersonal relationships, and weakening of social and moral constraints, therefore traditional rotating credit associations are increasingly difficult to operate, and associations often collapse due to a member's default.

4) Rotating credit associations are more and more becoming a kind of special economic institution, and the commercial spirit is increasingly strong. In light of this, they are playing an ever-larger role in economic development, and finally it should be taken over by banks, credit unions, and other financial institutions.

GEORGE TOTTEN, SIKANDAR KHAN

*Problems in Technology Transfer via Joint Ventures in the People's Republic of China: Results of a Fact-Finding Survey*

In connection with a research trip to China in the summer of 1986, the authors surveyed seven enterprises: (1) the Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex in Shanghai, wholly Chinese owned but almost entirely built with imported equipment and is even being supplied with oil and coal coming from abroad; (2) the Guangzhou (Canton) Sewing Machine Industrial Company, also wholly Chinese owned, but almost all components are made in China and it generates foreign exchange from sales abroad, though domestic sales are also important; (3) the Huaqiang Sanyo Electronics Company in Shenzhen, an equity joint venture with Hong Kong, but is heavily dependent on Japan for equipment to produce TVs, tape recorders, etc., and half of its production is exported; (4) the Pepsi Cola Company, located in Shenzhen, 75% American, with bottles and cans imported from Hong Kong and even Japan; (5) the Shanghai-EK Chor Motorcycle Co., Ltd., Shanghai, 50% Thai (but really Hong Kong-related Chinese), operates with a license from Honda for five years without updating, obtained indirectly through a Hong Kong company; (6) the Sino-Swedish Pharmaceutical Corporation, half Swedish, located in Wuxi (near Shanghai); and (7) Atlas Copco, located in Sweden but with an office in China, sells licenses rather than forming a joint venture for such things as air compressors, mining equipment, and drillrigs.

This group is fairly representative in that it contains two wholly Chinese owned firms that are nevertheless very dependent on foreigners, four joint ventures (with Hong Kong, USA, Thailand, and Sweden), and one wholly owned foreign (Swedish) firm which prefers selling licenses than actually jointly producing.

We found a number of complaints among the foreigners engaged in joint ventures: (1) profit repatriation difficulties due to insufficient foreign exchange; (2) local components sometimes unsatisfactory; (3) or late; (4) disappointment over Chinese lack of initiative in improving products; (5) greater reliance than necessary on copying foreign technology; (6) poor worker motivation; (7) poor infrastructure; (8) too short periods for achieving independence from imported parts and for turning factories over to Chinese; (9) possibilities of boomerang effect; and (10) future political uncertainties.

Chinese complaints about foreign companies include: (1) foreigners drag feet on transferring

technology; (2) high costs of foreign plant, equipment, and parts; (3) difficulties in getting manufacturing manuals; (4) foreign protectionism; (5) COCOM restrictions; and (6) foreigners' lack of understanding of Chinese conditions.

Despite the complaints, in most cases solutions seemed to be on the way. Licensing works best when the number of kinds of products are great. Joint ventures have good prospects when undertaken after careful study and with a view to long-term investment. China is industrializing. Those foreign concerns which come in early and are counted as friendly will be the ones most likely to benefit most.

HE ZHAO-FA

*The Social Change After the Implementing of the Policy of Productive Responsibility System in Chinese Rural Community*

During the late 1970s a great reform was carried out in China's rural communities. This reform is to change the people's commune system into a productive responsibility system. Under the new system, farm land is distributed to each peasant family who can arrange for the production by itself and deal with the products freely so long as they pay their agricultural tax in grain to the country.

This system has brought about a great change in the nature and structure of rural economy. The traditional unique arrangement on agriculture has now been replaced by multi-directing arrangement on industry, commerce and agriculture as well. Three kinds of ownership, i.e., state ownership, collective ownership and individual ownership are co-existing in Chinese countryside. As a result, the peasant's income is largely increased and their life improved. Taking Lujiang Village, its industry income in 1984 is nearly ten times that of 1978; its yearly per capita income in 1984 is nearly doubled. Comparing the yearly per capita income between urban workers and suburban peasants, the Lujiang peasants near Guangzhou has averagely 222 yuan more than the Guangzhou workers.

The increase in income consequently brings a change to the structure of peasants' consumption, e.g., in 1978 the Lujiang peasants spent 82% of their income on food and only 12% on clothing and housing; while in 1983, only 44% of their income was spent on food and 56% on clothing and housing. What's more, the money spent on basic food was reduced from 78% in 1978 to 20% in 1983. The peasants now also demand for more comfortable living conditions and high quality housing, peasants in Fenghe Village, their housing area for each person in average has increased from 9m<sup>2</sup> in 1978 to 23m<sup>2</sup> in 1984.

In conclusion, the productive responsibility system is welcomed by the broad mass of peasants for it is bringing them towards a prosperous future.



YUNG-HWAN JO

*On China's Edge of the Future*

China's future developments and capabilities will be determined by its leadership's will for modernization, organizational and administrative structure and functions, and human and material resources mixed with science and technology. These components are related in a casual and circular chain with leadership affection through modernization strategy, structural/functional changes and build-ups, which manages resource/technology mix through reform policies. Results of technological application to resources and managements will feedback to the leadership. The direction of future changes as well as the chain of process mentioned above will be influenced by the success or failure of strategies and policies at each stage of process.

In China's tasks of nation-building, the leadership is a prime mover. Its policies are being shaped by their conceptions of past and future as well as interests and future goals.

The developmental process (triangular) will be equally related to the degree of mass receptivity to the strategy and policies of modernization. To a lesser but significant extent, the process will be affected by the capital and technology of the West which could facilitate the modernization process of China.

Methodologically, this paper will incorporate the following:

- (a) Trend analysis combined with surprise free projection.
- (b) A Delphi-like procedure of obtaining and using a convergent or a consensual view among experts.
- (c) A Scottish style of accepting a verdict/evidence even when there is no legally acceptable evidence beyond doubt such as the popularity of the reforms being carried out by Deng Xiaoping and his associates.
- (d) Though based on more likely and attainable variables, the models used in this study are admittedly crude and simplified. They are proposed as a futuristic prospectus based on a grand macro-level educated analysis rather than a report on complete research using a micro-analysis on hard data.

Nearly two decades after Fuchs' and Richman's studies we find a surge of studies on "China by 2000" in 1985-86. Some 400 Chinese experts and scholars began, in late 1982, a key scientific and technological research project on China by 2000 and its main reports as well as 12 sub-reports were ready by early 1985. The summaries of these reports appeared in November 1985.

According to some American economists at Harvard and Pennsylvania Universities, the Chinese economy in terms of GNP by the year 2000 will be three times greater than that of the Soviet Union and even greater than that of the United States, and its per capita income by 2000 is projected to be \$5,312 as compared to the Soviet \$6,409 although both are behind the U.S. Such a projection is based on the assumption that China and the Soviet Union will continue their 1980-84 growth rates: 8% for China and 2.5% for the Soviet Union. Even if China grows at a rate of a little lower than 8% and the Soviet Union at a rate a little higher than 2.5%, China's economic success will have political and ideological implications for the

USSR and its satellites in East Europe. Yet these American estimates should be compared with China's own assessment (by the 400 experts) of the future economic performance. In China's view, the average annual increase rates for GNP, national income and industrial/agricultural output would respectively be 6.6%, 6.2% and 6.4% by the year 2000. Hence, by the end of the century, China's economy would rank fifth or sixth and its per capita output value would place it 133rd on a list of 159 countries, with an average life span of 72 years.

LIN CHEN

*"Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office" and China's Great Debate*

Critics of Chinese Communism always assume a priori the existence of a Leninist or Stalinist model of government in China since 1949. How Communism was adapted or made to come to terms and molded to fit with Chinese values and traditions was seldom, if ever, attempted. To this end this is a study of the problem of the check of absolute power in Communist China, particularly the period after the failure of the great leap forward. In the Platonic or Communist model, the power of the philosopher-king is supreme. In classical Chinese Communist model, the power of the scholar/official is to demonstrate or even to oppose political tradition the foremost duty of the scholar/official is to demonstrate or even to oppose the Emperor or the supreme leader if absolute power is misused or abused. This conflict was manifested first in the great policy debate between Mao and Marshall Peng at Lushan in 1959. It continued with Mao's unleash of the red guards against his critics supporting the opposition during the cultural revolution (1966-76). By focusing on Wu Han's writings, particularly the different versions of the texts of his playscript, we come to the conclusion that Confucianism and the scholar/official remain a forceful, if not more powerful than Communism and the Leninist cadres, operative and constituent element in a modernizing "socialist state".

I. O. LEHMAN

*The Kai Fung Fu Bible Scrolls*

The Kai Fung Fu Jewish community in Honan Province, China, was unique. Under the Sung dynasty (c. 960-1126) KFF was the foremost cultural and commercial centre of the area and the seat of government. The Jewish community in China claimed to go back (stone inscription of 1512) to the days of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-221 A.D.). At one time it was rich and influential participating in the silk trade to Europe. French Bible scholars of the seventeenth century were anxious to lay their hands on Bible texts that seemed to antedate the beginning of printing by more than a thousand years. The first KFF synagogue was built in 1163, repaired in 1279, again in 1421, ruined by the Yellow River in 1461, again in 1642, this time in connection with a military operation. But the literary evidence found so far is still earlier. Sir Aurel Stein found a Judeo-Persian manuscript written on Chinese paper at Dandan Uiliq (Turkestan) in 1901. The colophons in the surviving quarto manuscripts usually are Persian in Hebrew characters. In 1908 Paul Pelliot found selichot written on paper at Tun-huang. The former is ascribed to the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century, but the latter has been ascribed to the 6<sup>th</sup> century, which would also date earlier the superlinear vocalisation used. Benjamin Kennicott was most anxious to obtain access to the KFF Biblical texts for his famous Bible with variant readings, Oxford, 1776-80, but he never succeeded. Whilst a great deal has been written about the KFF



Jewish community — even Manasseh ben Israel, Voltaire and the Japanese military intelligence in World War II got involved —, the texts themselves have been rather neglected taking deviations as "mistakes". The text is clearly not Ben Asher. — Here the first systematic analysis is offered of the Hebrew quartos and Torah scrolls of the "religion of Yi-tz'u-lo-yeh", a Chinese transliteration of Hebrew: Yisrael.

TSUNG-TUNG CHANG

*Indo-European Vocabulary in Old Chinese and a New Thesis on the Genesis of the Chinese Language and Civilization in the Late Neolithic Age*

The Thesis of lexical proximity between Chinese and Indo-European was postulated as early as 1871 by Joseph Edkins. Meanwhile efforts of Sinologists in reconstructing Old and Middle Chinese pronunciation made progress, and B. Karlgren completed in 1940 a comprehensive phonological dictionary *Grammatica Serica*. On the other hand Julius Pokorny compiled a useful etymological dictionary of Indo-European, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1959). Soon after, Jan Ulenbrook (*Anthropos* 1967) and Tor Ulving (*Anthropos* 1968/69) made use of these dictionaries to carry out lexical comparisons. Mr. Ulving thereby discovered 238 Chinese words similar to Indo-European roots.

Comparisons are most convincing in regard to the words of entering tone, since they still preserved final consonant stops -p, -t, -k in Middle Chinese, as attested by certain southern dialects of today and by Sino-Japanese, -Korean and -Vietnamese readings. For further progress of comparisons it is decisive to apply the rule of correspondences postulated by E. G. Pulleyblank (*Asia Major* 1962) that the Middle Chinese rising tone derives from Old Chinese velar finals and the vanishing tone from dental finals. Since four years I have been engaged in lexical comparisons and traced out about 1500 Chinese words corresponding to the word roots registered in the dictionary of Pokorny. These make up presumably more than half of the basic vocabulary of Old Chinese as known from the traditional literature. The common words are to be found in all spheres of life including kinship, animals, plants, water and landscape, part of body, emotional expressions, politics and religion, even function words as personal pronouns and interrogatives.

On the contrary, Chinese has no basic words in common with Mongolian, Manchu, Turkish, Korean and Japanese and very few in common with Tibetan. And even with the adjacent languages with similar phonetical and grammatical features such as Thai and Vietnamese, a direct oral communication was never possible from the very beginning of Chinese history, certainly because of great differences in everyday basic vocabulary.

Considering all these facts, the thesis presents itself that Old Chinese was a mixed language using an Old Eurasian common idiom which at the third millenium B.C. stretched from East Asia to Europe in the northern part of temperate zone.

The emergence of Chinese language and civilization should be connected with the first foundation of Chinese Empire by Huang-ti, the Yellow Emperor (etymologically to be interpreted as "blond theos/deus"), who came as conqueror and peacemaker from Inner Mongolia introducing chariots and covered waggons, cows and horses, and many other new cultural assets. He was also the founder of Chinese language according to the *Li-chi*, which explaining the reasons for worship to ancient heroes in Chapter 23 "Rules of Sacrifices",

pointed out:

"Huang-ti gave hundreds of things their right names to illumine the people with regard to common goods they have. And Chuan-hsü (his grandson and successor) was able to continue his work."

Archaeologically the emergence of Chinese state coincides with the classical Lung-shan culture (2400-2000 B.C.) in the eastern parts of North China.

I am writing an extensive work of this theme to give in detail the regular phonetic and semantic correspondences and am also compiling an etymological dictionary of Sino-Indo-European with more than 1500 entries.

PAN JIA-YI

*The Variation Between [p ph m] and [t th l] Before [i]*

Shanxi Province is located on the Yellow River in North China. In the southern part of Shanxi Province, there is a county of long history known as *Wenxi County*. The dialect spoken by the people there is the Guanzhong (關中) dialect — one of the northern dialects.

Observing its pronunciation, we can find a very conspicuous peculiarity in Wenxi dialect. The bilabial initials [p] [ph] and [m] that originated from the III and IV class of ancient 'bang' group initials (古 "幫" 組聲母), if followed by [i] in spoken language, they will change into lingual initials [t], [th] and [l] (or [n]) respectively, such as,

|           |          |                 |
|-----------|----------|-----------------|
| 兵 soldier | (rime 庚) | pin > tin       |
| 皮 skin    | (rime 支) | phi > thi       |
| 米 rice    | (rime 齊) | mi > li (or ni) |

This kind of variation involves ten rime groups. They are Xie (蟹), Zhi (止), Xiao (效), Liu (流), Xian (咸), Shen (深), Shan (山), Zhen (臻), Zeng (曾) and Geng (梗). See the table on the following page:



| Ancient initials |      |     | 幫     | 滂       | 並       | 明     |
|------------------|------|-----|-------|---------|---------|-------|
| Variations       |      |     | p > t | ph > th | bh > th | m > l |
| Ancient finals   |      |     |       |         |         |       |
| 蟹 Xie            | open | III | 蔽     |         |         |       |
|                  |      | IV  | 閉     | 批       |         | 米     |
| 止 Zhi            | open | III | 比     | 披       | 皮       | 眉     |
| 效 Xiao           | open | III | 標     | 飄       | 瓢       | 苗     |
| 流 Liu            | open | III |       |         |         | 謬     |
| 咸 Xian           | open | III | 編     |         |         |       |
| 深 Shen           | open | III |       | 品       |         |       |
| 山 Shan           | open | III | 鞭     | 篇       | 便       | 棉     |
|                  |      | IV  | 扁     | 片       | 辯       | 麵     |
| 臻 Zhen           | open | III | 鬚     | 匹       | 貧       | 密     |
| 曾 Zeng           | open | III | 冰     |         | 凭       |       |
| 梗 Geng           | open | III | 兵     | 僻       | 病       | 名     |
|                  |      | IV  |       | 劈       | 瓶       |       |

This group of variation in Wenxi speech was recorded in "Wenxi County Annals" as early as 1918. Here we quote a part of it (characters in brackets are the original phonetic notation):

平 [停]    皮 [提]    瓢 [條]    片 [綽]    貧 [停臨切]    撇 [鉄上声]  
 明 [零]    眉 [厘]    苗 [遼]    謬 [劉]    免 [斂]    民 [臨]  
 兵 [丁]    卑 [低]    扁 [典]    賓 [丁臨切]    別 [疊]

The instance of changing bilabial initial into lingual initial has never been found in modern Chinese Dialect.

Viewing from the angle of the history of development of modern Chinese pronunciation, this phenomenon is a rather rare one. What is more strange is that the variation in Wenxi speech is basically similar to the variation of labial initials of Sino-Vietnamese language, that is, in Sino-Vietnamese language, the labial initials (p, ph, m) in front of [i] always change into (t, th, z) and both languages seem to have a systematic correspondency too. This problem has not been studied yet, but I think that it must have a certain relationship between Wenxi speech and Vietnamese.

THOMAS CHIANG

*The Components of Chinese Tones*

From the auditory point of view, this study attempts a fuller analysis and description of the Chinese tones by introducing the component of quality in addition to the three components of pitch, length, and loudness which have been described in certain ways in existing works. It also attempts to find out the interaction or interrelation among the four components.

THE FIRST TONE: Pitch starts in the top third of a person's normal speaking pitch range and goes on about the same level of pitch to the end. Length is shorter than that of the third tone but longer than those of the second and fourth tones. Loudness is approximately the same all the way from the beginning to the end. Quality is clear throughout the whole course of the tone.

THE SECOND TONE: Pitch starts from about the middle of a person's normal speaking pitch range and rises to slightly higher than that of the first tone at the end. Length is longer than that of the fourth tone but shorter than those of the first and third tones. Loudness is least loud in the beginning but becomes steadily louder and loudest at the end. Quality is least clear in the beginning but becomes steadily clearer and clearest at the end.

THE THIRD TONE: Pitch starts in the bottom third of a person's normal speaking pitch range, gradually falls to almost the lower limit, and then rapidly rises to slightly above the middle of the pitch range. Length is the longest among the four tones. Loudness is louder in the beginning, least loud near the lower limit of pitch, and loudest toward the end. Quality is clear in the beginning, least clear near the lower limit of pitch, and clearest toward the end.

THE FOURTH TONE: Pitch starts slightly higher than that of the first tone and falls to near the lower limit. Length is the shortest among the four tones. Loudness is loudest in the beginning but becomes steadily less loud and least loud at the end. Quality is clearest in the beginning but becomes steadily less clear and least clear at the end.

The four components of the four Modern Standard Chinese tones appear to have both positive and negative interactions or interrelations in the following ways:

1. Pitch is a function of loudness and quality. When pitch is higher, loudness is stronger and quality is clearer. Even in the third tone which has an overall lower pitch, it is still the case where higher pitch results in stronger loudness and clearer quality.
2. Loudness and quality have a positive correlation. When loudness is stronger, quality is clearer, and vice versa.
3. Length does not seem to have any interaction of interrelation with pitch, loudness, and quality.

VIVIANE ALLETON

*Questions sur l'interrogation rhétorique en chinois contemporain*

Les formes interrogatives n'expriment pas nécessairement une modalité interrogative (énoncé d'une question). Un des cas les plus intéressants de cette non coïncidence est ce qu'on appelle dans la tradition occidentale l'interrogation rhétorique (IR). C'est celui où un locuteur



s'adresse sous forme interrogative à des auditeurs (souvent des adversaires) en attribuant une valeur assertive à son énoncé; ce déplacement de modalité s'accompagne d'une inversion de la négation. En chinois, les énoncés de ce type, assez usuels, sont appelés *fanwenju*.

Le fait remarquable dans cette langue est l'importance des marques formelles de l'interrogation rhétorique. Non seulement il y a, comme dans les langues européennes, des marques liées au médium, qui disparaissent quand on passe de l'oral à l'écrit (intonation) ou du registre soutenu à la parole familière (*nandao* "est-ce que par hasard?"), mais il y a aussi des marques syntaxiques. Celles-ci sont toutes liées à la position de la négation: (1) inversion de la négation et de certains adverbes, (2) négation entre le verbe auxiliaire et l'auxilié, (3) négation du verbe auxiliaire *dei* "devoir". Les énoncés ainsi construits ne sont interprétables — donc acceptables — que s'ils sont interprétés comme des interrogations rhétoriques, bien qu'ils ne comportent pas nécessairement de marque explicite de l'interrogation.

Passant en revue les différentes formes de l'interrogation en chinois, on a noté (1) que la plupart des cas non ambigus d'IR étaient des *shifei wenti*, interrogations marquées par la particule MA ou l'intonation, (2) que les *fanfu wenti* "interrogations disjonctives" n'étaient généralement pas considérées comme pouvant donner lieu à IR, (3) que les *tezhi wenti* "questions spécifiques", marquées par un pronom ou adverbe interrogatif, peuvent souvent donner lieu à deux interprétations, question véritable ou IR. Les énoncés négatifs comportant *zenme*, *na*, *nar* or *nali* sont particulièrement intéressants à cet égard.

On a examiné enfin des cas où des indications sémantiques suggèrent une interprétation de l'énoncé comme IR: interrogations sur le possible, commentaires dans le contexte.

Je conclus que le phénomène en question, loin d'être "moins marqué" en chinois que dans les langues européennes, l'est probablement davantage. Quant à sa fonction, elle est liée à la notion d'assertion, qu'on peut définir comme "la pression que quelqu'un exerce sur autrui quand il dit ce qu'il croit être vrai". Les assertions résultant d'une interrogation rhétorique semblent de bons matériaux pour évaluer les parts respectives des deux termes de la définition, "pression" et "vérité". L'équilibre peut varier d'une langue à l'autre. Les commentaires des locuteurs d'origine chinoise et française suggèrent que l'élément dominant est en chinois "pression", en français "adhésion à une vérité". Ceci ne signifie pas que l'autre élément soit absent, c'est seulement une différence de stratégie énonciative.

AKIRA HANEDA

### *Reflexion on the So-called "Manchu Anatomy"*

By order of the Emperor K'ang-hsi (1654-1722), the French Jesuit Father D. Parrenin (or Parennin) edited about 1720 an illustrated hand-book of the European anatomy in Manchu. According to him, he extracted the text from the thesis of the French anatomist P. Dionis, and translated it into Manchu. As for the drawings, they were selected from the chart of the Danish anatomist Th. Bartholin, and reproduced faithfully with the Chinese brush and ink.

Except the one left at the hand of Parrenin, only three fair copies of that manuscript were made up, and conserved separately in the imperial court and two villa palaces. The Danish manuscript, of which the part of drawings was published in facsimile in 1928, entitled "Anatomie Mandchoue", is considered to be the original conserved in the court library,

scattered and lost at the time of the Boxers Rebellion (1900). On the wrapper of this manuscript, we see a Chinese title which reminds us of that of the Dionis thesis. Parrenin's testimony seems to be trustworthy. By the way, Parrenin's manuscript conserved now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris has a title "Illustrated Hand-book by an European Physician of the Bones and Blood Vessel of the Human Body", in Manchu and Chinese.

In spite of the witness of Parrenin, the drawings are not wholly selected from the chart of Bartholin, but a mixture of figures borrowed from other various anatomical works. That is the conclusion of the studies by Profs. John B. de C. M. Saunders and Francis R. Lee ("Manchu Anatomy and its Historical Origin", Taipei, 1981. p.6.). The authors conjecture that Parrenin made use, in spite of his silence, of the materials collected by the Father Bouvet, when he gave previously, before 1697, lectures on the European anatomy to the Emperor.

This supposition is approved by the Chinese inscription of the red seal set to the blank of a few drawings of the Anatomie Mandchoue. It reads "(Collection of) the medical laboratory of the physician Pai (-chin, i.e. Bouvet), in the annex (or college?) Keng-yin-tang (which belongs to the Nan-tang) inside the Hsuan-wu-men gate (of the imperial palace). Nothing to say of the Nan-tang, the first Jesuit cathedral in Peking, built in 1602 by the Father Matteo Ricci.

Besides the above mentioned manuscripts, there exist several copies (at least three with and without drawings in Japan). They are all entitled in Sino-Manchu *ge-ti ciowan-lu*. *Ciowan-lu* is nothing but the Chinese "comprehensive work". As for the *ge-ti* two kinds of Chinese restoration are possible. *Ti* is without doubt "human body". However *ge* corresponds to 1) "each, every" and 2) "bones". I feel inclined to the second for some reasons, of which the most important is the title of a Mongolian version of the Manchu Anatomy (Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum. t. 17 Ulan Batur, 1971). It reads "Book of investigation of every (part of) the human body".

WALERY ZAITSEV

### *Discussion on Chinese Specificity*

The programme for "building of socialism with Chinese characteristics", promoted by Deng Xiaoping, became a leitmotiv of both mass media and social sciences in the People's Republic of China. But the very term "Chinese characteristics" or else as a variant of translation, "Chinese specificity" has been unspecified for a long time.

The main characteristics of Chinese specificity have been usually enclosed within the too narrow brackets of two key issues: "poverty" and "backwardness".

The Conference on the problems of Chinese culture, that took place at the Fudan University (Shanghai) last January, made a real "break-through", as put it an up-to-date term of the Chinese press, in rather monotonous clichés about "poverty" and "backwardness". The participants revealed a vast spectrum of opinions about Chinese specificity. We dispose of rather scarce information about them. Anyway, even the list of issues, discussed there, produces an impression that an important step is made in innovating the approach to the question of Chinese specificity.



Chinese culture as a central item on the agenda of the Conference, provided an opportunity for a broad discussion on numerous questions, related to Chinese specificity, from the point of view of history, philosophy, ethnography, psychology.

The most interesting moment, as far as we could judge, was the search for that watershed, where the ways of development of Western and Chinese civilization parted, and which turned out to be a kind of a starting point of the process of framing of Chinese specificity. As one of the participants, Xiao Shafu put it, the problem was to determine the point, where or when the leading ideology of China began to recede from the mainstream of development of the rest of the world.

Another author, Prof. Li Zehou, saw this watershed in the neolithic age. Consanguinity proved to be an effective system for Chinese agrarian society and it therefore lasted much longer as compared to the respective stage in other societies.

The same author drew several demarcation lines between Western and Chinese culture. One of them was rooted in the character of humanism. While in the West it was oriented to the individual, to his will, his reason, his personal rights and freedom, Chinese traditional way of thinking laid a stress on the harmony of interpersonal relations. Humanism in China implied that every human being was not but a loyal member of the family and the society, not but a small character in the millenniums taking part in the performances of the Chinese "Human Comedy", played every day for millenniums and centuries.

Diametrically opposite attitude to science per se was an important symptom of the gap between the two ways of development.

Western civilization recognized the independent, speculative value of science. At the same time, the author added, the Chinese had an inclination to subordinate pure science to the needs of his society. Practical rationalism determined the ways and goals of the Chinese system of intercommunication with reality. Therefore, Chinese contribution to human progress was made in the technological field. The so called "four great inventions" — paper, printed books, gun powder and compass — were merely practical.

Similarly, Chinese science made its most impressive advance in four spheres, or as the author put it, in four "great cultural interrelations" — military art, agriculture, medicine and art, or, more correctly, in skillful techniques in producing objets d'art.

These are only a few examples of the opinions, expressed at the conference. At this stage of the discussion every attempt to evaluate the views of the participants would hold a risk of oversimplification. The discussion, as a whole, showed an activeness of the scientific circles in the PRC in exploring the very roots of Chinese specificity, that reaches far beyond the limits of "poverty" and "backwardness".

In conclusion, allow me to reveal my own methodology of the problem. Chinese specificity could be presented as a net of horizontal and vertical coordinates. The former mark the periods of China's history in their chronological order, including, may be, her future. The horizontal sections could be divided into smaller ones, i.e. shorter periods — for instance — the period of the modern reforms and into more detailed levels of the specificity of the economic situation, of the cultural development, social conditions, etc.

The vertical lines would represent certain constant, determining signs of Chinese specificity,

such could be: the specificity of the geographical and ethnographic situation, existence of Chinese ethnopsychology, the specificity of the long coexistence of Chinese nation and culture with other nations and cultures, the specificity of the authentic Chinese culture as a very peculiar culture closely connected with the hieroglyphic system of language.

Such a net would be helpful in defining the various signs of Chinese specificity, because up to now the phenomenon has been viewed in a rather abstract way. In my view, a similar net could be drawn to research the specificity of other nations and cultures as well.

TANG YI-JIE

*On the Mergence of Two Different Cultures From the Perspective of the Introduction of Indian Buddhism Into China*

The introduction of Indian Buddhism mainly involved the following process: first, it attached the native culture so that it could be spread; secondly, it collided with the traditional Chinese culture; finally, it was assimilated by Chinese culture and promoted the development of Chinese culture. I would like to give a more detailed explanation about this issue. What can we learn from this process? I believe that there are at least two aspects: First, the process of the mergence of Indian culture in Chinese culture lasted several hundred years, which indicates that the mergence of one culture in another culture cannot be accomplished within a day and that such a mergence needs certain time and conditions. Second, any culture has its own characteristics which are different from others. If it exists as an unique culture, its fundamental characteristics must be protected, otherwise it would be a thing of the past and could not effect us today as a realistic culture.

M. L. TITARENKO

*Influence of Mo Di and His School on Evolution of Social and Political Thought in China*

Views by Mo Di, a great philosopher of ancient China (5th c. B.C.) express the interests of free urban and rural workers who represented the emerging feudal relations and stood counter to total power of slaveowners' aristocracy. Certain similarity between these social groups and "demos" of ancient Greek polises helps in revealing some common points in many of Mo Di's ideas and maxima of ancient Hellenic thinkers.

Mo Di's social philosophy is marked with democracy which follows up certain traditions of "The Book of Songs" ("Shijing"). It is spirit of democracy that penetrates through Mo Di's criticism of expensive and luxurious Confucian rituals, as well as through his assertions saying that any person able of doing it, has a right to rule other people, and there should be spiritual unity between the high power and the people based on the principle of "total love and mutual benefit" ("jiao xiangai jiao xianli").

Mo Di has developed a remarkable idea on treaty origin of a state which is similar to pertinent view of Epicurus and Lucretius, as well as to the "treaty theory" worked out by Gebbs in the XVII c.

Mo Di opposed perceptions of "Heaven's Will" and "Fatum" as predestining human affairs.



He asserted that people, through their labour activity, could change the state of arts, and his brilliant guess in developing the idea was that it's conscious and purpose-oriented labour that made the major distinction between a man and an animal. Mo Di has greatly contributed to Chinese culture when he raised a problem of a role of "a man" category in the traditional Chinese triad of "Heaven, Earth, Man"; he also tried to prove that the role of a man was active and expressed in conscious labour.

According to Mo Di, individual interests can be truly realized only when they harmonize social interests. He applied the same principles to inter-state relations, underlying the necessity to cease senseless wars and "to love alien states as one's own". Such approach preserves its positive value in our days as well; for example, similar ideas are laid in the basis of the U.N. activity.

Mo Di's ethic system based on the principle of "total love and mutual benefit" as well as his logics and theory of cognition developed later by disciples of "Teacher Mo", are of great independent value. His ideas on equal human right for happiness, on possibility of Utopian society with its "unity of upper and lower classes" have notably affected the Taipings' ideology as well as views of Chinese reformers of the XIX c. (Tan Sitong, Zhang Taiyan), and were also reflected in the "three popular principles" by Dr. Sun Yatsen.

In 1920's, Mo Di's ideas have been applied to counterweight the conservative Confucian ideology. Sometimes Chinese scholars tended to assess the philosopher in unhistorical or too modernized terms, presenting him either as a "founder of indigenous Chinese socialism" or a "theist" or even "fascist". At present, debates on Mo Di's philosophy take more scientific and objective colouring. No doubt that in the course of further research there will be revealed some new and insofar uncognized facets of "teacher Mo"'s philosophical inheritance.

DUŠAN PAJIN

*On Faith in Mind — Hsin Hsin Ming and Early Ch'an*

*Hsin hsin ming* is one of the finest examples of Ch'an literature. For a long time it has been considered as belonging to the earliest period of Ch'an, and its authorship was attributed to Seng Ts'an, the third patriarch of Ch'an. This authorship has been disputed by Nishitani and Keiji, and as probable date of the text is postulated the eighth century. Here we offer a new translation of the text, and a critical analysis of key concepts/characters, as well as a critical reexamination of five existing translations in English. Therefore we have determined which characters were used as *terminus technicus*, and which should be read colloquially. Upon that is based our new translation and the discussion of the main ideas of this text.

Essentially, *Hsin hsin ming* is an exposition of meditative experience and of guiding principles one should have in mind in order to practice meditation in a fruitful way. Also, it is a crystal sharp exposition of prajñā-perspective which opens with the one-mind, one of the main subjects in this text. Other main topics (real suchness, *chen ju*; emptiness, *k'ung*; faith, *hsin*; equality, *t'ung*; thing realm, *fa chieh*) have been related with the context and meaning they have in other schools of Chinese Buddhism, like Hua-yen, Mind-only and T'ien tai.

HENRIK H. SØRENSEN

*Methods of Meditation in Early Chinese Ch'an*

The purpose of this paper is to make an inquiry into the contemplative methods employed by the adherents of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism during the period ca. 500-700 A.D. By "Ch'an" or "Ch'an Buddhism" I primarily refer to the tradition which considered the semi-legendary Indian monk, Bodhidharma (d. 538?), either as the founder or second patriarch in China.

There is a general agreement, that *ch'an* or *ch'an-na* is a Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit word *dhyana*. *Dhyana* as a Buddhist key-term covers a wide range of meanings which in the occident has been rendered by such concepts as "contemplation", "meditation", "introspection", "absorption" etc. In the Chinese Buddhist scriptures *ch'an* is commonly found used in a general sense meaning "practice of meditation", often preceded by the word *tso* "to sit", to form the concept of "sitting in meditation".

What follows is a list of the more generally used terms for the practice of *ch'an*. a. *p'i-kuan*, (wall contemplation, i.e. sitting in meditation before a wall). b. *an-hsin*, (pacifying the mind, i.e. stopping the flow of the conscious mind). c. *shou-i*, (maintaining one-pointedness). d. *shou-hsin*, ("holding the mind"). e. *k'an-hsin*, (watching the mind). f. *kuan-hsin*, (contemplating the mind). g. *kuan-ting*, (contemplation and *samadhi*). h. *chih-kuan*, (stopping and contemplating, i.e. *samatha* and *vipasyana*). i. *nien*, (awareness, recollection, and remembering, to recite, to repeat). There has been a general tendency to try to interpret these terms as designating different methods of practice, however a brief investigation of the context in which they occur, would seem to show, that they are really general set of terms indicating meditation.

One of the most prominent early Ch'an lineages in China, the East Mountain tradition, originating with Tao-hsin (580-651) taught a type of meditation which, although it was based on the principle of non-duality, in fact propounded a progressive path of meditation to be followed. This is clearly borne out in the *Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men* of Tao-hsin, the successor of Tao-hsin, and the *Kuan-hsin lun* attributed to the famous Shen-hsiu (605?-706), who later — somewhat incorrectly — became known as the founder of so-called Northern Ch'an.

Standing in apparant opposition to the gradual practices of the East Mountain tradition, is the concept of meditation according to what may cautiously be termed Bodhidharma's Ekayana tradition which, in addition to Hui-k'o (487-593), the successor of Bodhidharma, and his disciples, included many monks of the She-ling tradition, eventually culminating in Niu-t'ou Fa-jung (594-657) and the tradition he is supposed to have initiated.

Despite a common goal, the respective concepts of these two major Ch'an traditions with regard to the practice of meditation certainly seem to have differed greatly. As both groups can be defined in relation to Bodhidharma and his Ch'an and Ekayana doctrines, it is tempting to see their respective interpretations of Ch'an as representing the two main approaches to practice according to the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*, that is, the entry through principle (*ju-li*) and entry through practice (*ju-hsing*). If this assumption is correct, the confrontation between the Northern and Southern schools of Ch'an in the first half of the 8th century, would, apart from the political issues at stake, appear to have been directly based on different approaches to the practice of meditation already evident in the early T'ang.



ANG TIAN SE

*The Polemic of the Concept of Tian in Tang China*

The disagreement and dispute on the conceptions of *tian* had been brewing for a long time before it culminated in a great polemic among the mid-Tang scholars of the 9th century. Featuring prominently in this polemic were Han Yu (768-824), Liu Zongyuan (773-819) and Liu Yuxi (772-843).

The polemic was initiated by Han Yu, an ardent advocate of Confucian doctrines. His concept of *tian* was based on the belief that *tian* had the unique character of generating and controlling everything in nature. It had to be respected for its role in impartial judgement and should be left completely free to perform its duties. He equated his concept of *tian* to "heavenly mandate" and advocated total submission to it.

Liu Zongyuan criticised Han Yu's remark by pointing out that *tian* was no different from any material substance. He substantiated his view with the introduction of *qi* as the basic structure of *tian*.

Both Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan were rather brief in their presentation. This promoted Liu Yuxi, a mutual friend of Han and Liu, to write a series of three essays on *tian*. He propounded the idea of the materialistic aspect of space which was not absolutely void but the manifestation of the presence of minute particles. One should not rely on the eye-sight alone on the perception of things, but on one's mental faculty to rationalise the existence of things. Liu Yuxi pointed out the unrealistic approach of the personification of *tian*. He reiterated that the wrong concept was due to the ignorance of physical reality. He emphasised the dynamic nature of *tian* that brought about a constant change in the universe. As the change was systematic and rhythmic, the pattern, the magnitude and quantum can be determined. Nothing should, therefore, be described as unknown. In order to facilitate his explanation, Liu Yuxi put forward the theory of *shu* (regularity) and *shi* (tendency). He argued that the change of a thing, tangible or intangible, was governed by its *shu* and *shi*. Hence, the process of change of a particular thing was done according to its own speed, at its own time and following its own direction. This theory dealt a severe blow to the concept of "heavenly mandate" and enhanced objective and rational thinking in the investigation and comprehension of all celestial and terrestrial events.

Finally, in his effort to uproot the concept of "heavenly mandate", Liu Yuxi explained that all material existence was characterised by its function and non-function. The function of *tian* was to reproduce and provide for the growth of all things while man was to harness and utilise them. Liu Yuxi considered this function of *tian* as its true nature and that of man as his purposeful actions. He brought the polemic to a close with an affirmative note that *tian* was non-interfering.

F. A. BISCHOFF

*The Plant as a Symbol in Classical Chinese Literature*

For two thousand and more years the problem of plant symbolism has caused persistent headaches to Chinese philologists, for references to plants are ubiquitous in Chinese classics and, alluding to the Classics, in all of Chinese literature. Indeed, the expression of the

Chinese is "flowery", meaning that plants are mentioned mainly for their symbolic value and not so much for their physical properties. This fact is pointed out in *Lun yü* 17:9 already, and every Chinese commentator has since insisted on it. The commentaries represent the native educated understanding of Chinese literature. Quite often a correct understanding of a commentary is more difficult to achieve than a superficial understanding of the original text. This, however, does not free the sinologue from the obligation of following to the best of his ability the cryptic multi-level indications set forth by his favorite commentator and to search for the symbolic meaning of a given plant aside and beyond its Latin name. The latter may be quite irrelevant, as a matter of fact, or inexistent.

In most instances the presence of symbolism is obvious — and symbolism calls for interpretation. Yet, this symbolism is complex because it includes not only an object (a plant) but also an action (what do they do with this plant?). Quite often the commentaries disagree with each other in interpreting a given situation. On the contrary, the symbolic, or rather the emblematic value of a given plant appears to be univocal. There is a system to the matter: fragrant plants stand for virtues, stinking plants for vices, creepers and climbers stand for slanderers, flatterers, careerists; trees for eminent, important men; flowers for girls; etc. The commentators never fail to define the characteristic qualities of each plant, for these are all-important for a correct understanding of the text.

There is, moreover, one aspect that is never mentioned by the commentators — I suppose they deemed it too obvious. No few plants are designated by kanjis that are but a quality augmented by a grass- or tree-radical. In other words, a kanji's phonetic may also express the symbolic meaning of a given plant. This method may be applied in a simple, or in a complex fashion.

- a) simple: ex. the pine tree, *sung*, symbolic of the grand old man, the phonetic *kung* means literally "the male that imparts (semen and food)"; — the orchid *lan*, the epitome of male virtue, phonetic "the door bar", a metaphor for the phallus; — the botanically undetermined orchid (?) *hui* is "the plant of goodness"; etc.
- b) complex: ex. the plant which by an absurd translation of Ode 1 is known as "duckweed" must be understood literally (and correctly) as "vegetables of good fortune"; — Ode 3, the meaningless "mouse-ear" means literally (and meaningfully) "to roll up one's ear (with one's hand)" i.e. "to listen carefully".

N. B.: The meaning of the phonetics are not always obvious. It might require some research in etymological dictionaries such as the *Shuo wen* or the *Kuang ya*.

More examples supportive of the observation were quoted. In the discussion that followed the presentation it was pointed out from the floor that, indeed, the list of ominous plant names could be lengthened considerably.

MORISE TOSHIZO

*On the Meaning of the Term "Tsa-shih" (雜詩)*

The term "tsa-shih" appears to have been used from a relatively early period in the history of classical Chinese poetry — the Chien-an (建安). The literal meaning of the expression "tsa" is 'miscellaneous' or 'various', and the term "Tsa-shih", therefore, has been considered



as "poetry that does not belong to any particular genre". This has been the generally accepted definition since the T'ang dynasty annotator of "Wen-Hsuan (文選)", Li-Shan (李善).

When, however, we examine the poems of the "Tsa-shih" section of the "Wen-Hsuan", we find in the situation of the speaker in each of the poems a common pattern. For example, each of the various speakers of the "Nineteen Old Poems (古詩十九首)" is presented as a man or woman who has been or will be separated from someone dear to him or her, or from the community where he belongs. And, despite their variety in motive, this pattern is common to other poems in this section. Some of the speakers are recluses, and others express their resolution to give up public life and retire from society.

This pattern of situation is found in the poetry of the T'ang dynasty too. The speaker of Tu Fu (杜甫)'s "Twenty Ch'in-Chou Tsa-shih poems (秦州雜二九首)", for example, is attempting to strengthen his resolution to give up the world of public service.

Our conclusion is this: from the Ch'ien-an period to the T'ang dynasty, poems entitled "Tsa-shih", or classified as belonging to a "Tsa-shih" anthology section, show an identity in speaker-situation, and that this determinate pattern is one in which the speakers faces or has already undergone separation from a person or group with whom he or she is intimate, and to which he or she is attached — a theme that may be expressed more succinctly in Chinese, as 離人離群之詩.

TSUTUN HSU

#### *Antithesis in Chinese Verse*

In the Chinese mind, there is a natural tendency towards antithesis. For example, instead of saying "landscape", one would say "hill and stream" 山水. Such an expression shows a dualistic and relativistic way of thinking. Furthermore, monosyllabic characters and disyllabic compounds which constitute the most part of Chinese language lend themselves easily to antithesis. Take for instance "heaven" 天 and "earth" 地 for an antithesis, so do "ancient" 古 and "modern" 今. These two antithetic pairs can then be used to form another antithesis: "heaven and earth" 天地 in contrast to "ancient and modern" 古今. Similarly, it is easy to form a tetrasyllabic phrase with two antithetic, disyllabic compounds: "remote mountain nearby stream" 遠山近水 "setting sun and green pine" 落日蒼松 and what not. Consequently, antithesis naturally plays an important role in Chinese poetry, particularly in the Regulated Verse 律詩.

Antithesis differs, however, from "parallelism" such as in Hebrew poetry. This is because antithesis consists of strict antonyms, allowing no repetition of the same words as parallelism does.

Antithesis, often of a loose kind, is found in ancient Chinese verse like "The Book of Odes" 詩經 and "The Songs of Ch'u" 楚詞. But it is neither so obligatory nor so strict as in Regulated Verse 律詩.

In Regulated Verse, antithesis is absolutely demanded by Chinese versification. The four middle lines of an eight-line poem in Regulated Verse must form two antithetic couplets, contrasting with each other in sense as well as in sound. And in an antithetic couplet, each syllable in the first line must contrast in tone with the corresponding syllable in the next line.

Besides, the contrasted characters must be of the same grammatical category, that is, noun against noun, verb against verb, adjective against adjective and so on.

In addition, the characters which contrast with each other should refer to the same category of things. The more closely the referents of the characters belong together in Nature, the more deft the antithesis is considered to be. Generally speaking, color should contrast with color, flower with flower and so forth. Nevertheless, two characters which do not appertain to objects of the same kind but are often mentioned together like "flower and bird" or "poetry and wine" when contrasted with one another, are also regarded as proper.

Antithesis also occurs in Lyric Meters 詞 and Dramatic Verse 劇詞 though not as necessarily as in Regulated Verse 律詩 for in Lyric and Dramatic Meters, the lines are often not of the same length, that renders strict antithesis impossible.

To sum up, antithesis is an important feature of Chinese poetry. Like any other device, antithesis can be abused, and, when it is, it degenerates into a mechanic pairing-off of characters. But, at its best, antithesis can present a perception of the contrasted aspects of Nature and simultaneously add much beauty to the poem. The perfect antithetic couplet is natural, not forced and, though the couplet forms a sharp contrast, yet they somehow seem to possess a strange affinity, just like a man and a woman of opposite temperaments happily married.

LIVIA KNAUL

#### *Taoist Sages — Genuine and Fake*

In old Chinese texts as well as in sinological literature it is a common cliché that Taoists usually have a negative attitude toward society, that is to say, toward the official orthodox Confucian establishment of traditional China. Individual seekers of Taoist salvation, immortality or transcendence are stereotyped as having no higher value than to keep apart from all social involvement. To them society supposedly means nothing but distress and an obstacle on the path to higher attainment.

To a limited degree this picture mainly given in the official sources is certainly justified. But it reveals only a part of the truth. It is thus necessary to provide some more detailed insight into the behavioral patterns exhibited by Taoists toward the traditional Chinese establishment.

Some works of the Tang dynasty Shangqing patriarch Sima Chengzhen, such as the *Tianyinzi* and the *Zuowanglun* with its appendix, the *Dingguan jing*, and the inscription of the same title allow illuminating insight. According to these texts, one can distinguish three different types of Taoist behavior toward established society. These three types correspond to three distinct levels of attainment of the Taoist practitioner. They are those of the beginner, the realized one, and the hypocrite — or, in more contemporary terms, of the undergraduate, the graduate, and the drop-out of the Taoist mystical curriculum.

Looking at how the Taoists themselves describe these types, it is found that individual Taoists genuinely striving for mystical realization are either (as beginners) cut off from society completely while undergoing their training or (as sages) active within the established society, but unrecognized for their true attainment. This characterization implies that the image of the perfected Taoist aloof from civilization who shuns all contact with people and only worries



about keeping his seclusion intact might be nothing more than a fabrication of non-initiate authors who viewed Taoism from the outside. It is an image at variance with what Taoist of the Tang considered their ideal.

On the other hand, Sima Chengzhen cautions his students against those not quite serious about the cultivation of the Tao. These "fake sages" tend to noisily proclaim their Taoist achievements within society, but upon closer inspection they turn out to be no different from ordinary folk. This evaluation implies that sages widely acclaimed outside of Taoist circles are almost always suspect. Especially extreme situations will reveal whether the alleged realized one is genuine or fake and more often than not his words will be found at odds with his deeds. This is most certainly the case when he exhibits an exceptional intricacy language and sophistication of arguments.

TAN CHUNG

### *Indian Source of Tang Golden Culture*

This paper deals with the historical phenomenon of Tang Chinese golden culture succeeding the Gupta Indian golden culture. Chinese cultural tradition contained two phases: the earlier Han culture and the later Tang culture which lasted till the modern period. Three great Tang rulers, Emperor Taizong, Empress Wu and Emperor Xuanzong, all usurpers of the throne according to Confucian norms, became great heroes of Chinese history by marrying the Indian ideological universalism (Mahayanism) with Chinese universalism on the ground. Buddhism was Tang China's affectionate concubine while the old wife — Confucianism — was retained. Buddhist intellectuals helped Tang rulers to launch a cultural revolution by universalizing learning and awakening the Little Tradition. A temple culture prevailed in Tang, with Buddhism being internalized into China to create Chan Buddhism. A male Indian Bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara, became the Chinese Goddess of Mercy who became the virtual transposition of the Indian symbolism of the Buddha into the saviour star in Chinese Little Tradition. This sex transformation of a deity also reflected Empress Wu's feminization of the institution of the "Son of Heaven" which was unprecedented and unique in China's socio-political development. While in the Han culture dragon was a beast unrelated to men, Emperor Taizong smuggled in the Indian symbolism of the sacred *nāga* and *garuḍa* to internalize the dragon and phoenix symbols into his own imperial image so as to acquire additional "wei" (deterrent power) and longevity. Emperor Taizong and Emperor Xuanzong perpetuated the legend of the "dragon-seed" to protect their own progenies from usurpation. This legend has become the unifying factor of the Chinese on both shores of the Taiwan Straits today.

Printing was great Chinese invention by adapting the ancient Indian practice of block printing of Buddha images. The Chinese tonal scheme of *ping*, *shang*, and *qu* came from the Sanskrit *svara* (intonation) of *udatta*, *svarita*, and *anudatta*. The Buddhist "suchang" (vulgar preaching) ushered in an era of popular art and literary performances which eventually made China the first country to develop novels. The Tang "bianwen" literature preserved in the Dunhuang caves for ten centuries was the harbinger of popular and colloquial literature in China. Another treasure of Tang literature, the "chuanqi" stories had its share of Indian influence. Even the brightest jewel of Tang cultural achievement, i.e. poetry, bore the impact of Buddhist influence. Great Tang poets, like Li Bo and Bai Juyi, were the *upāsakas* (*jushi*)

who kept one foot in the arena of high moralistic standard of the Buddhist framework, and another foot in the enjoyment of the mundane world. But, their works expounded the Indian ideals of equality, compassion and peace. Technically, the Tang poetry incorporated many Indian metaphors to enrich its content. A unique example was the internalization of the Indian symbolism expressed by the two Sanskrit words, *hiranya* and *suvarṇa* into the traditional Chinese word for "metal", i.e., "jin". As if to compensate patriotism, the traditional "yu" (jade) gained new vigours along with the usage of "jin" for *hiranya* and *suvarṇa*. The propagation of Buddhism in Tang China helped awaken the Confucian scholarship which saw the rudiments of the great revival of "rational learning" during succeeding Song dynasty. Both Neo-Confucianism and the Tang golden dragon culture put concrete substance to the abstract Chinese word "sheng" (sage) because of the Chinese internalization of the Indian idea of *mahāpuruṣa* (great man) of the Bodhisattva or Cakravartin tradition.

ICHIRO SHIGA

### *The Relationship Between Zhan Gan-quan (湛甘泉) and Wang Yang-ming (王陽明)*

Much is known about Wang Yang-ming (王陽明) since there are a considerable number of studies and books upon him. His respected friend Zhan Gan-quan (湛甘泉), however, has hardly attracted the attention of scholars. I was also among those who made a study of Wang Yang-ming paying little attention to his friend. But one day I found myself intrigued by Zhan Gan-quan. Deeply impressed with his significance, I decided to devote myself to the study of this great philosopher. Since then, I have been engaged in the study of Zhan Gan-quan for these twenty years.

Zhan Gan-quan's given name was Ruo Shui (若水), and his alias was Yuan ming (元明). Born in 1466, the second year of Cheng hua (成化) in the reign of the 9th emperor Xian Zong (憲宗) of Ming (明) Dynasty, he was six years older than Wang Yang-ming. His birth place was Sha bei (沙貝) Village of 甘泉 County in Guang dong (廣東) Province. He died at the age of 95 in Yu shan (禺山) School of Zhe jiang (浙江) Province in 1560, the 39th year of Jia jing (嘉靖) in the reign of the 12th emperor Shi zong (世宗).

Meetings of people sometimes exert a great influence upon their lives, just as it was the case with Zhan Gan-quan and Wang Yang-ming. When Zhan Gan-quan was aged 40, after passing with Jin shi (進士) to qualify as Han lin shu ji shi (翰林庶吉士), he went to the examination of Jin shi (進士) for the first time in his life, where his first meeting with Wang Yang-ming Bei jing (北京) took place. In those days, Wang Yang-ming, aged 34, was a lecturer of Li bu (吏部). Since that time, their friendship remained unchanged until 1528 when Wang Yang-ming died at the age of 57.

The relationship between two people is most clearly revealed in the letters exchanged between them. Wang Yang-ming wrote five letters to Zhan Gan-quan, and Zhan Gan-quan wrote eight to Wang Yang-ming. They disputed on 格物 in five of those letters. Of these five letters, the most enthusiastic is the letter 4. "Responding to the Comment of 陽明王都憲 on 格物". In this longest letter, Zhan Gan-quan deals with four unconvincing points in Wang Yang-ming's interpretation of 格物, comparing them with the five points in his own interpretation which he asserts convincing.

I described briefly the relationship between Zhan Gan-quan and Wang Yang-ming based on



their lives. This is the aspect which no scholars of the world has ever investigated to this date. So, my approach has caused a sensation in the area of the study of Wang Yang-ming. Since my presentation is merely a synopsis, it would give me a great pleasure if you should read for details my book, *The Relationship Between Zhan Gan-quan and Wang Yang-ming* (published by Kazama Shobo).

ROMEYN TAYLOR

*Hierarchies of Value in Chinese Religion: The Structures of Temple Inventories in Suzhou Gazetteers*

The long-term hierarchical ordering of status groups in a social system is sustained by a more or less pervasive ideology. In late imperial China, such an ideology was legally defined in the form of an official religion. The Chinese official religion was constituted by a hierarchy of prescribed cults which was matched with the social hierarchy; the social status of participants in the rites at each level of the official religion was specified by law. Moreover, the hierarchical form of the official religion was determined by an analysis of the cults in the form of a taxonomic scheme in which the principles of classification were found in the orthodox cosmogony and cosmology. In this manner, widely held beliefs about cosmic order were invoked directly to lend authority to the official religion and indirectly to justify and explain the social hierarchy.

In the present case, the logical structure of the temple inventories in seven prefectural and county gazetteers of Suzhou prefecture that were published between 1229 and 1904 have been analyzed. In all, forty named classificatory categories were identified, of which no more than fourteen were used in any one inventory, and no two inventories were identically organized. Changes in the structures of the inventories include a steady increase in the numbers of classificatory categories, from five in 1229 to fourteen in 1904. Another tendency was the increasing clarity of, and emphasis on, the hierarchical structure of the official religion (as defined by the *Sidian* or *Sacrificial Statutes*). With the singular exception of the 1904 gazetteer, the cults that fell outside the categories of the official, and explicitly Buddhist and Daoist, i.e. the "popular religion" were classified either shallowly or not at all.

Within the official religion, some of the rank-ordering principles that were invoked were universality (versus the strictly local) performance of the rites; the natural (versus human) origin and character of the spirits; civil (versus military, i.e. the auspicious over the inauspicious) role of the spirit; male (versus female) spirits. The use of these principles in the analysis produced a rank-order running from the local *sheji* altar (universal and natural) to the shrines of "chaste widows".

ISRAEL A. BEN YOSEF

*Jewish Views (F. Rosenzweig and M. Buber) on Confucianism and Taoism*

Both F. Rosenzweig (1886-1929) and M. Buber (1878-1965) were Jewish philosophers interested in Chinese culture. Rosenzweig completed his hierarchical classification of religions with an overview of the Chinese culture. Buber, a student of comparative religion, had a more scholarly and research oriented attitude.

Rosenzweig dealt with the Chinese culture in one major source "The Star of Redemption" (1921) while Buber maintained an interest in the Chinese culture for fifty years publishing seven discussions from 1909-1959.

Rosenzweig's attitude was totally Western and Eurocentric. It was value-judgmental and his verdict on the Chinese culture was wholly negative. In accordance with his concept of Revelation, he rejected its existence in non-monotheistic religions, thereby reducing their claim to truth. True to his Monotheistic Theology he saw Pantheism as an anathema. In comparison Buber was aware of the positive values of Chinese thought, and was seeking its influence on Western culture. Thus he believed that the doctrine on Non-Action may have a healing effect on Western Man (1928).

Rosenzweig's attitude towards China was completely dominated by his theological system. For example his belief that man's freedom to fulfill himself is related to his proper name explains his abhorrence of Lao-tzu's ideal of the nameless. In Buber's approach there seems to be a reciprocal influence between his system and the culture encountered. Thus his understanding of the Tao has influenced his Monistic philosophy; conversely, his characteristic distinction between Teaching (i.e. the living message of God or the sage) and Religion (i.e. petrified Teaching, formulated as laws, customs and tradition) influenced his liking of Taoism (considered as Teaching) and his rejection of Confucianism (considered as Religion).

Rosenzweig has formulated a theological approach of a returner to Judaism, therefore his approach seems to be schematic and hierarchical. The young Buber's approach was mainly influenced by a mystical bent and by the German cultural trends of the time. In later years his attitude to other religions was permeated by his dialogic philosophy and his liberal Judaism.

Rosenzweig appraised Confucianism negatively, and Taoism as inferior to it. Buber viewed Taoism by and large as positive and superior to Confucianism.

Rosenzweig's attitude towards China was that of a complete outsider. Buber examined Taoism as an anthropological philosophy and endeavoured to understand it from within its intrinsic message.

The prevalent distinction between East and West played a major role in Buber's work, and was explicitly formulated (1916). In Rosenzweig's work, the distinction was influential though not elaborated upon.

Both were committed Jews with diametrically opposing views: For Rosenzweig the ultimate religious truth is contained in the Judeo-Christian tradition which he conceived as one and Western; Buber saw the East as the source of the authentic and profound message, and he considered Judaism as an Eastern Teaching.

The distinction between the two views could be summed up by stating that Rosenzweig's view seems to be dogmatic and "closed", whilst that of Buber, is dialogic and "open".



SHOUWEI HU

*The Meaning of "Huang Tian" (Yellow Heaven) In the Slogan of the Yellow Turban Uprising*

"The Blue Heaven is dead, and in its stead will be Yellow Heaven. When that happens in the year of 'Jia Zi' (184 A.D.), the whole country will rejoice." This is the slogan of the Yellow Turban Uprising during the late Eastern Han Dynasty. What are the meanings of the slogan? Researchers have different interpretations. The basic purpose of the present paper is to explore the implications of the slogan, especially of "Yellow Heaven".

Towards the closing years of Eastern Han, the whole empire dissolved into anarchy and portents signifying the fall of the Dynasty were emerging. The representative personages of all social groups had something in mind to replace the old sovereign power. They created some "chen wei", a divination combined with mystical Confucianist beliefs as public opinion for their takeover. From then on, "chen wei" was further elaborated, spread widely, and was often used to serve political ends.

According to the doctrine of the Five Elements, which was taken as the great principle of the universe in ancient China, every dynasty symbolized a certain element and reigned over the earth in turn. The five elements came in the order of metal, wood, water, fire and soil, and each of them corresponded to a certain color. Since Eastern Han symbolized the fire element in correspondence with red, it would be subdued and replaced by the soil element in correspondence with yellow. Hence, all opposition factions at that time, for instance, the Yuan brothers, Cao Pi, Sun Quan, etc., asserted that soil virtue would befall themselves and used the yellow symbol as much as possible. The leaders of Yellow Turban Uprising were no exception. They claimed to be the embodiment of "Yellow Heaven" and "Great Peace", wore yellow garments and turbans, and called the thirty-six sections of their troops the thirty-six "fangs" of "Yellow Heaven", and so on. Some argue that "Yellow Heaven" referred to Yellow God worshipped by the Taoists and the words meant that the kingdom of heaven would realize. It is true that the Taoists used to worship Yellow God, but in most scriptures, Yellow God seem to appear as the God who evicted evils and sometimes offered to cure diseases. The leaders of Yellow Turban Uprising had dispensed free treatment to the sick, giving them magical medication. In fact, that was no more than a means to bring themselves into contact with the masses, and, with the help of such a magic dispensary they built up an organization of several hundred thousand. Moreover, the monarchical power and religion were strictly separated in ancient China. The Chinese emperors used to claim that they reigned by divine right, even though they might profess a religion, Taoism or Buddhism. It is this character which distinguishes ancient China from countries in ancient Europe.

Such being the case, the Yellow Turban Uprising would not go so far as to appeal to the masses for religious authority.

Evidently enough, "Yellow Heaven" in the slogan of the Yellow Turban Uprising is merely a symbol for adapting "chen wei", and, therefore it is not appropriate to interpret it as Yellow God or the color of garments worn by the serfs and lower people at that time.

CAI SHAOQING

*Secret Societies and the Early Labor Movement of the Chinese Communist Party*

As everyone is aware, the Chinese working class is a very young class. At the beginning of this century, the great majority of workers in China were first generation workers. Before the emergence of the CCP, there was basically no modern labor union organizations among Chinese workers on the European and American pattern; instead, there existed large numbers of feudal "gangs" and secret societies. These kinds of gangs and societies could be found not only among miners and unskilled workers, but also among the skilled workers of large cities like Shanghai, Peking, Wuhan, Canton, etc. These gangs and societies played a role in the introduction of jobs, the opposition of brutality, the launching of economic struggles, and so on.

However, because secret societies and gangs are both backward kinds of organizations, it was easy for bureaucrats, capitalists, feudal overseers and the like to control and use them such that they became an accomplice to the exploitation of the workers. Therefore, not only were secret societies incapable of leading the struggle of Chinese workers on to victory; they often proved instead to be a serious obstacle to the workers' movement.

When the CCP began to take part in the workers' movement, it first encountered the problem posed by the bonds imposed on workers by secret societies and regionally based gangs. How was the party to break through these fetters so that it could organize the workers into modern unions and advance the democratic revolutionary struggle? The CCP's approach in principle was to eliminate resolutely all obstacles, and to initiate activities for organizing unions.

But when CCP members undertook concrete activities among workers, they still ran into many difficulties. For example, when CCP members drew close to the workers of this gang, then it became very hard to form ties with the workers in that gang. When making contact among the workers in factories, they frequently were subjected to the surveillance, control and harassment of the Green and Red Gangs. In Shanghai in particular, the Green Gang was like a snake in its old haunts; if one didn't take care, then one would draw fire from the Green Gang at every move. It can be seen that a major obstacle in launching the work of the Green Gang at every move. It can be seen that a major obstacle in launching the work of the workers movement at that time stemmed from the regionally based gangs and the secret societies. Therefore, the officials in charge at the Secretariat of the Chinese Labor Association decided after studying the matter to take the following tactics and policy vis-a-vis regionally based gangs and secret societies: first delegate a CCP member to gain entry to the gang or based gangs and secret societies; then draw close to it and win it over; and finally cause it to disintegrate. The society; then draw close to it and win it over; and finally cause it to disintegrate. The concrete tactics chosen towards regionally based gangs were: first find its leaders; make friends with them and then raise the code of brotherhood with them; then undertake the gradual education of the gang in the spirit of "workers of the world are all one family", eliminate the contradictions among gangs, and make the workers unite. The concrete tactics undertaken towards the Green and Red Gangs were as follows: if there was no means of establishing ties to the members of these two societies, then a CCP member would be sent to enter the societies. In the case of the Green Gang, he would undergo the ritual of acknowledging a gang leader; in the case of the Red Gang, he would become a brother in the organization. Then, after learning the society's rules and regulations, he was to use his legitimate status to begin work among the workers.

Because the early labor movement of the CCP adopted correct tactics towards the secret

societies and gangs among the workers and eliminated a serious obstacle to organizing in a timely manner, it enabled the workers to organize rapidly, and moreover led a series of strikes. From January 1, 1922 to February, 1923, there occurred seven large scale strikes which together formed the first high tide of the Chinese workers' movement.

IGNAZIO DANDOLO

*Genesis, Evolution and Prospective of the Civil Law in China*

In order to trace the genesis and development of Civil Law in China it is necessary to analyse the various extant codes of the Imperial Dynasties, the Civil Code of the Republic of China and the General Provisions of the Civil Code of the People's Republic, which was adopted by the National People's Congress in April 1986 and which will go into effect on January 1, 1987.

The first indication of civil law is to be found in one of the nine sections which constituted the Han-lu, the Code of the Han Dynasty.

More evident is the importance of civil law in the Code of the Tang whose fourth section (of twelve) entitled "Civil Affairs" deals with problems related to landed property and marriage. The same Code, under the section entitled "Miscellaneous Statutes", deals with problems related to payment of debts and control of the market.

After the Tang Code, which we possess in its entirety, the other Code that we know in its complete form is the Ta Ming-lu, which is the watershed of the legislative system of China. An entire Book of the seven Books which constitute the Code is devoted to civil law, and the following subjects are treated: The Family and Corvée System, Landed Property, Marriage, Government Granaries and Treasuries, Taxes and Tariffs, Money Lending, Public Markets. It is this corpus juris civilis made out of 31 fundamental articles which gave the Chinese Imperial Justice Courts the possibility of dealing with cases related to civil affairs. In the process of time this corpus passed intact into the Ta-Ching-lu-li.

During the period of the Ta-Ching Dynasty 91 additional articles, the so-called li, permitted the Chinese courts to deal more amply with problems of civil law. This Imperial legislation on civil matters was kept in the modified version of the Ta-Ching-lu-li, which in the year 1910 was promulgated under the title Ta-Ching hsien hsing hsing-lu (Current Code of the Ta-Ching).

This set of rules was utilized by the Courts of the Republic of China until the promulgation of the Civil Code in the biennium 1928-30. Notwithstanding that this Code had benefitted from the wisdom of the Chinese Supreme Court, had integrated in its text certain ancient Chinese Institutions, and had embodied the social doctrine of the Kuo-min tang, it remained a Code chiefly based on the European doctrine of civil law.

The reception of this Code by China was limited. Measuring the degree of reception based on the number of articles which had given occasion to decisions of the Supreme Court it was found that out of the 1225 articles which constituted the Code, 538 articles had no decisions.

Notwithstanding this initial limited degree of reception, the civil law system of China has remained strongly influenced by the continental or modern Roman Law system. The

confirmation of this fact is given by the promulgation of the General Provisions of the Civil Code of the People's Republic which are in line with the General Provisions contained in the First Book of the Code of the Chinese Republic. The Provisions of the People's Republic Civil Code cover a larger series of institutes than the General Provisions of the Civil Code of the Republic of China.

They in fact include institutes of Guardianship and institutes related to Property and Contracts. This larger spectrum of provisions does not permit to forecast the direction in which the Civil Code of the People's Republic of China will tend to go.

Will the other necessary parts of a civil code, namely the laws on Obligations, Real Property, Family, and Inheritance, form the object of distinct books to be promulgated in an order dictated by the circumstances, or will the Chinese legislator limit the Civil Code to the General Provisions as they are, simply amending or completing them with specific decisions made by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress?

In other words, will China continue to adopt substance and structure from the Western legal tradition, or will it go back to the honorable Chinese tradition of lu and li?



IRMELA HUIYA-KIRSCHNEREIT

*Some Reflections on So-Called "Female Literature" (Joryū Bungaku)*

The growing portion of productive and prolific women writers in contemporary Japanese literature could be one reason to reconsider the conception of "joryū bungaku", a familiar category to Japanese readers and literary scholars alike. The special classification by gender in the case of women, thus separating "joryū bungaku" from what has to be understood as mainstream literature, that is "bungaku", consequently written by men, gives rise to the assumption that women writers are rare and exceptional existences in Japanese literature. Anyone superficially acquainted with the history of Japanese literature will, however, know that women played a more eminent role in its formation than any of their counterparts in Western countries, and scholars often point to this fact in order to prove that "joryū bungaku" is held in particularly high esteem even today.

The matter presents itself in a more complex manner, though, as can be shown first of all in the inconsistencies concerning the conception itself. For some scholars, "joryū bungaku" only designates female authorship, while others imply literature written for women readers and still others detect certain "female" qualities in the texts themselves. What are those "female" qualities which, according to some scholars, even influenced the character of Japanese literature as a whole?

We can find a large range of characterizations, partially contradictory, from sensitivity, emotionalism, closeness to everyday life, and a lack of intellectual concerns to passivity, sensuality, and a satirical touch, to name only a few. A number of these characterizations could also be found in statements of Western critics about "typical" female writings in their societies, and we need not even limit ourselves to literature. Literary criticism obviously only reflects the stereotyped views of what is thought to be "female".

For the case of Japan, we can state that although it may be assumed that the high reputation of female authors in Japanese literary history has facilitated women's access to the literary world in early modern times, this reputation did not prevent a highly ambivalent image of "joryū bungaku" as a whole.

Even though there is no indication of open discrimination of women writers in the literary life of contemporary Japan, the low status of their literature among Japanese scholars and critics can be seen from the small number of studies devoted to them, as well as from their misrepresentation in anthologies, literary histories, and dictionaries, a fact which can be underlined by many statistical data.

Another reason for this state of the field, however, lies in the fact that the clear separation of all spheres of life in Japanese society results in certain "female" topics, which in turn appear less accessible to the scholar who still in most cases tends to be male.

Certain thematic tendencies which set them off from "male" literature therefore do exist in "joryū bungaku" works, although their background is not of a biological nature, as many statements on assumed "female" qualities suggest. Moreover, femininity is often seen as an unchanging, supertemporal set of features, and in face of all these highly problematic, contradictory and academically doubtful operations we should propose to do away with the category of "female literature", which cannot claim to be of much descriptive value anyhow. Only then will the works by Japanese women authors be judged as literature proper.





former spurred his readers on to join socialism making the best of London's "How I Became a Socialist" (1903). The latter translated *The Call of the Wild* (1917), which won a great applause of the reading public and made the name of the author as "a socialist novelist" known all over this country.

As Hiroichiro Maedako (1888-1952), himself a proletarian writer called "Japanese Jack London", writes "London's influence covers a wide range of labor novels, social novels and early proletarian literature in Japan" (1929), some Japanese writers had made a model of London's thoughts and style. The years between 1917 and about 1932 are especially ablaze with various sorts of flowers of Jack London, as it were, needless to say that lots of his stories had been translated then.

Seikichi Fujimori (1892-1977) is a striking example with his essay "To Become a Wolf! My Labor" (1925-6) which tells about the labor experiences of himself, who had been from the upper intelligent class. As the title shows, London's story of a dog becoming a wolf strongly urged him to the discussion of the problems of laborers.

Reading London in their youth in the period under the big influence of socialism, however, such writers as Hatoju Muku (b. 1905) and Yukio Togawa (b. 1912) are scarcely moved by his socialism. Their original works published after World War II clearly show the shadow of London, not as a socialist novelist but as a master story-teller of men and animals in the nature. It is this face of London that most Japanese readers today appreciate, just as in any other country perhaps.

Though it is generally true that the Japanese have liked to read what was good and desirable in London and that some aspects in his works, inconsistent with his thoughts of reform, had been neglected in most cases, there are a few honourable exceptions. For instance, in an essay "Jack London and I" (1922), Maedako criticizes some of London's way of thinking which had sprung out of his commitment to social Darwinism, philosophy of the survival of the fittest.

TZVETANA KRISTEVA

### *Narrative Time in the Japanese Lyrical Diaries*

My paper aims at applying the category of *Time*, understood in the terms of Poetics, to the discussion of the generic structure of the Japanese lyrical diaries<sup>1</sup>. The theoretical background for this study has been provided by Gerard Genette's "Narrative Discourse" and Tzvetan Todorov's "Introduction to Poetics"<sup>2</sup>.

In the process of writing the "I" (one person) of the Japanese lyrical diaries splits into three: author, narrator, protagonist, and there are three different times corresponding to each of them — the time of writing (we shall ignore it in the present study on the presumption that

<sup>1</sup>For a definition of the genre see my 'Japanese Lyrical Diaries and the European Autobiographical Tradition', *Europe interprets Japan*, ed. by Gordon Daniels, Paul Norbury Publications, Tenterden, Kent, England, 1984.

<sup>2</sup>Gerard Genette *Narrative Discourse*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1980; Tzvetan Todorov *Introduction to Poetics*, The Harvester Press Ltd., Great Britain, 1981.

the identification of the narrating instance with the instance of writing is possible in the case of autobiographical works), the time of the narrating (this we can only occasionally ignore and shall return to it in our future studies), and the time of the narrative discourse, or narrative time, which is our main target.

By the category of narrative time poetics understands the temporal relationships between the narrative (story), and the actual events that are being told (history), i.e. the time of the signifier and the time of the signified. There can be distinguished three subcategories in it: order, duration and frequency.

By *Order* we understand the relationships between the temporal order of the events that are being told, and the pseudotemporal order of the narrative.

As a rule the narrative time in the lyrical diaries follows the chronological order of the narrated events, so we can speak of a continuous flow of time from younger years to older age. There are no deliberate transgressions or diversions of this chronological order, although some accidental diversions can take place. We can qualify them rather as a 'slip of the memory' than as narrator's devices, which stands for the difference between the lyrical diaries and 'pure fiction', whereas the mere fact of their occurrence can be considered as one of the differences between the lyrical diaries and the 'natural diaries' (*nikki*).

This large-scale linearity of the narrative discourse does not exclude, somehow, the presence of some anachronisms, i.e. retrospections, and even to a larger extent, anticipations, which could be said to form an important part of narrator's role<sup>1</sup>.

The sub-category of *Duration* is dealing with the relationships between the duration of the events and the duration of the narrative. It is based on the quality of isochrony — a uniform projection of time on narrative extension. There are at least two great difficulties in the discussion of this sub-category: first, the defining of a third referential system, with regard to which each of the two systems could be defined; second, the defining of a unit of measurement, on which we could base the comparison between the two systems. The only possible referential system seems to be the chronological time, although the chronological duration of the narrative has no absolute value, but only a relative one, i.e. in relation to itself. So we must record variations in the speed of the narrative measuring effects of acceleration, deceleration, stasis, and ellipsis.

In the Japanese lyrical diaries we can find instances of all the four types of duration defined by Genette:

1. Narrative stasis, or dramatic pause ( $NT \infty > ST$ , or  $NT > > ST$ ), when the narrative discourse continues while historical time is (almost) at a standstill. As such we can qualify the meditations on time, life and the human beings, the descriptions of decorations and clothes, etc.
2. Dramatic scene ( $NT = ST$ ), when narrative and historical time are supposed to be nearly equal.

To the typical examples of dialogue given by Genette we can add the instances of *waka* in the

<sup>1</sup>The specific function of anachronisms in the narrative discourse can be further revealed on semantic level in the terms of the polyvalency of the text.

Japanese lyrical diaries.

3. Summary ( $NT < ST$ ), when the narrative duration is (greatly) reduced with respect to the historical duration.

We can say that the instances of this type of duration are much more rare in the lyrical diaries as compared with the modern psychological prose, and their increase in a later work as *Towazu-gatari* stands for the movement of the genre towards the 'fictional prose' *monogatari*, or, in other words, stands for the expiring of the possibilities of the genre.

4. Ellipsis ( $NT < \infty ST$ ; or  $NT < < ST$ ), when we have a certain amount of historical time covered in a zero amount of narrative.

Paradoxically enough this last form of a zero narrative seems to be most complicated because it suggests a lot of possible variants both of explicit ellipses with the lapse of time being indicated, and of implicit ones, whose presence is not announced in the text.

There seems to be one shortcoming in Genette's system, i.e. the absence of a form with variable tempo symmetrical to the summary. To do him justice we must admit that he mentions it although he refrains from further discussion for he considers it to be of no importance with regard to the Proustian narrative, which is his main subject. For us, somehow, this form seems to be of great importance, first, for the completing of the system itself, and second, for the discussion of the lyrical diaries, where this form occupies major place. Thus to Genette's four types we add a fifth one to exemplify the cases when the narrative duration is extended with respect to the historical duration. It could be called extension and illustrated with the formula  $NT > ST$ , the most typical examples being the famous episodes of 'waiting' in the lyrical diaries.

The third sub-category is *Frequency* (or, repetition) between the narrative and the diegesis, or the relative frequency of the narrated events and the narrative sections that report them.

According to it we can say that in the lyrical diaries we have as a rule singulative narratives (narrating once what happened once) and iterative narratives (narrating one time what happened  $n$  times). The iterative sections, whose function is very close to that of a description, usually are hierarchically subordinated to the singulative scenes, which could be said to be the norm of the narrative discourse in the Japanese lyrical diaries.

ATSUKO OYAMA

*When and For What Motive Had the Author of the Tale of Genji Written her Tale*

*The Problem is:* when, for what motive and under what circumstances did the author of the Tale of Genji begin the Tale?

1. In 999 Empress Akiko, Regent Michinaga's daughter, married Emperor Ichijo, much earlier than was common in those days. She was only 12 years old. The author was among those new ladies-in-waiting who were recruited for this wedding.
2. At that time the author had been in Echizen Province, her father's post. Governors' families went to post together, spent four years' term of office in the province, and generally returned to Kyoto together under the protection of guards. Although it was very dangerous

for a woman to travel alone in those days, she returned hurriedly to Kyoto alone much earlier than her father's term of office expired, with much extra cost for a travel escort.

3. Ladies-in-waiting could not carry out court-service without a male-guardian. The person who arranged her marriage must have been the Regent Michinaga to recruit a gifted woman for his daughter. From his group of retainers the Regent selected Nobutaka, to become the author's husband-guardian.

4. The reason why the only 12 years old girl married the Emperor was the suddenly changed political circumstances: the rival family fell from power, and the senior Empress of the rival side became a nun.

Thus we can fully explain why the author suddenly returned to Kyoto alone from Echizen Province and married much older Nobutaka.

5. It was very dangerous at the Court where many rivals were constantly competing with each other. Rape was the easiest way to eliminate rivals. Rumours even spread that one of the Emperor's concubines was killed by poisoning. At that time Regent Michinaga had not yet completely consolidated his power. The need was urgent to educate the Empress in her relationship with the Emperor and to defend herself from other rivals at court. In addition, in order to be a well-respected consort she needed to be highly cultured.

Thus it occurred to the author to teach the Empress through a tailor made text book.

6. In this text book,

- 1) the author taught the Empress Akiko the necessary knowledge regarding the coming days of her marriage which had not yet been consummated. The Empress was still quite innocent and perhaps she had not yet experienced even her first menstruation.

- 2) the author also, through the Tale, admonished other staff members to take the necessary measures to protect their young Empress. She warned them to beware of young men who would sneak into the heroine's bedroom.

- 3) The author requested the Emperor to be kind to the young Empress in their sexual life because the Empress was still physically a child. No one talked about such a matter to the Emperor directly, so the author tried to speak to him through her Tale. In the Tale Prince Genji restrained himself under difficult circumstances until the day when the girl became an adolescent. Through reading this Tale the Emperor understood what he should do and fully protected the young Empress.

Thus we can explain why the heroine in this Tale is a young girl of only approximately 10-12 years old while usually tales about beautiful heroines were about girls of marriageable age.

In short, the beginning of this Tale of Genji was arranged mainly for marital education for an approximately 10 year old girl and 20 year old man, which corresponded to the real ages of the Empress Akiko (12 years old) and Emperor Ichijo (20 years old) in 999.



WILLEM A. GROOTAERS

*The Grammar Atlas of the Japanese Dialects*  
*A Preliminary Report*

The National Institute has published the Linguistic Atlas of Japan (6 vol. 300 maps, 2nd edition 1985) in which the lexical variety of the dialects was described. In 1976 a new survey in 808 localities has gathered the main grammatical features of the dialects.

Five maps show some archaic features in the use of word markers "no" and "ga"; two maps try to foresee future changes in the declension of the verbs by comparing the map of the progressive forms with the map of the finite forms.

LAJOS KAZÁR

*Ethnolinguistic Links from Japan to Western Hungary*

The Japanese are said to be descended in a considerable portion from "southerners", originally speaking Austroasiatic and/or Austronesian languages, while the rest are thought to hail from the northern regions of continental Asia. Much effort has been poured into showing by archaeological, comparative linguistic, and ethnological means that the Japanese are basically a southern race whose language has become "Altaicized" in grammar and, to some extent, in vocabulary. In the direction of the Altaic peoples (Turks, Mongols, Tunguses) comparative efforts have been considerable, too, but linguistically it concentrated on Japanese-Mongolian, while the Uralic, i.e., Finno-Ugric-Samoyed, languages have received, at least in Japan, little attention. Yet, Uralic is every bit as good a candidate for comparison with Japanese as Altaic, and when it comes to archaic grammatical features and the essential parts of the vocabularies, Uralic steps out as pre-eminently suited for historical comparison with Japanese.

The neglect of Uralic vis-à-vis Japanese is attributable to: a) geographical distance, b) the fact that the term "Altaic" is thought by many to cover "Uralic", c) the idea that if comparison with pre-eminently Altaic Mongol does not the solution of Japanese origins; then it is futile to waste time and resources on the (from Japan) distant Uralic languages. This line of defective reasoning seems to underlie the fact that in Japan there is still no chair for Uralic studies.

Until approx. 1900, one generally spoke of a Ural-Altaic language family. The two groupings have been separated because cohesion within Uralic could be demonstrated, while among the Altaic languages it is still debated.

Uralic-Japanese historical language comparisons have been carried out by Heinrich Winkler, Vilmos (Wilhelm) Pröhle, Hisanosuke IZUI, and the present writer. Pröhle, an eminent Hungarian Altaicist who was well versed in Uralic and Japanese, too, found as early as 1916 that Japanese had conspicuous similarities with Uralic.

Japanese archaeologists and cultural historians have done laudable work in tracing Japanese connections as far as western Hungary. We point especially to the archaeologist and historian Namio EGAMI. In 1984, the anthropologist Hideo MATSUMOTO has published most relevant research results according to which, by *Gm st* gene marker criterion in the immunoglobulin

field, the Japanese are closely linked on the mainland with the northern Baikal Buriats as well as the Yakuts, Koryaks, and Koreans. Also, the *Gm st* marker, characteristic of the northern Mongoloid populations, was found, in a smaller degree, in the investigated Uralians. Of course, such a relationship does not necessarily involve language relationship. But if the dominant part of the Japanese is related by blood to peoples in the northern zone of Asia, or Eurasia, one would expect that there are at least ethnological links discoverable.

(The original paper offered, in a simplified way, samples of parallels which reach into ethnology as well as linguistics in the said field (with reference to the author's book *Japanese-Uralic language comparison; locating Japanese origins with the help of Samoyed, Finnish, Hungarian, etc.: An attempt*; Hamburg 1980).)

V. M. ALPATOV

*The Notion of Parts of Speech in the European and Japanese Linguistic Tradition*

The modern linguistic theories disseminated in Europe and America, however vastly different, have a common feature: they all to varying degrees go back to the European linguistic tradition formed as early as the Graeco-Roman times. To varying degrees they preserve the traditional conceptual apparatus, which dates partly from the Alexandrian and Roman grammars, partly from the universal grammars of the 17th and 18th centuries. This applies to the notions of sound, word, sentence, part of speech, verb, adjective, etc. Many works by 20th-century linguists specify and explicate traditional notions.

However, the European tradition is not the only one in existence. The author will discuss the Japanese tradition, although it is not fully independent. Originally, it was influenced by the Chinese tradition, and since the 19th century the European tradition, but it is made interesting by the fact that many of its specific features did not disappear even after the spread in Japan of the ideas and methods which had come from Europe and America and had found themselves compatible with modern linguistic methodology.

The notion of parts of speech is of great relevance to the European and Japanese traditions. The European grammatical tradition reflects primarily the specific properties of Greek and Latin. The determining role here is played by the presence in that languages of a developed morphology.

The Japanese system of parts of speech shows affinity to the European. Differentiation was extended, first, to independent (*kotoba*) and dependent (*tenioha*) basic units of language, second, to inflected units (*yo:gen*) and uninflected units (*taigen*); the *Yo:gen*, in their turn, were divided into two subclasses, which changed in different ways (according to Suzuki Akira (1764-1837), *arikata-no kotoba*, or "state words", and *shiwaza-no kotoba*, or "action words"). The dependent units were also divided into inflected and uninflected. The differentiation of the *kotoba* and *tenioha* is quite comparable to the traditional European division into autosemantic and syntactic words. The only difference is that among the *tenioha* were included many affixes. The basic unit of the Japanese tradition (*go*, or *tango*) is comparable to the European word as regards the central position in the system, but it does not always coincide with it as regards its linguistic characteristics.

The opposition of *taigen* and *yo:gen* is comparable to the European differentiation of noun



and verb and is also connected with the morphological differences between these classes. However, the noun (*taigen*) was regarded as a class of uninflected units, which was determined by the purely agglutinative character of the Japanese nominal system. The differentiation of the *arikata-no kotoba* and *shiwaza-no kotoba* was later rethought as the differentiation between adjectives and verbs, but grouping adjectives and verbs together into a common class is without analogues in the European tradition. The division of syntactic units into inflected and uninflected is without parallel in the European tradition, and the identification of syntactic parts of speech in Europe is entirely different.

The traditional systems of parts of speech undoubtedly have a psycholinguistic basis. The integration of the basic units of language into classes is a general property of man's psycholinguistic mechanisms. But it may have different manifestations depending on the system of a concrete language.

PETER KNECHT

### *KUCHIYOSE: Calling the Spirit of the Dead*

In a session of *kuchiyose* as it is performed in Northern Japan the medium, mostly a blind woman, lets the spirit of a departed person speak through her mouth to the survivors. Leaving aside the shamanistic aspects of *kuchiyose*, I intend to discuss its features as a ceremony in behalf of a household (*ie*), which serves to strengthen the links between its living as well as its departed members.

There exist two basic forms of *kuchiyose*. One of them, the *furukuchi* ("old uttering") is performed mainly on fixed dates during the year where all the dead are commemorated. For a *furukuchi* session the family members visit the medium's house and may have any number of spirits called from among the departed of their family. The other, the *shinkuchi* ("new uttering") is performed mostly within a limited period after a person's death (not later than a year) and in the house of the departed, not in that of the medium. The new spirit is the focus of attention, although it appears to be introduced by an older ancestral spirit.

For the *shinkuchi* a temporary altar is set up on which the tablet of the spirit to be invited is placed together with some offerings. A basket of white rice with a twig each of willow and peach stuck into it, signifies the route by which the spirit descends into the medium. A person from the audience who is not a member of the spirit's immediate family acts to relate the audience's wishes and questions to the spirit and to interpret its utterings to the audience.

The analysis of a session of *kuchiyose* suggests that the household under various aspects is in fact the focus of attention. The ideal order in which the attending family members may converse with the spirit shows a strong bias for the direct line represented by the household head and his immediate family. Although the audience contains further removed relatives and even unrelated but close neighbours, the order of addressing the spirit is determined first by structural closeness to the departed person and only secondarily by the intensity of social intercourse.

The spirit's own relation to the household is demonstrated in various ways. One of the *ie*'s ancestral spirits introduces the new and still unsettled spirit to the *ie*'s living members whose world it is about to leave definitely. Then the spirit asserts its lasting concern for the living by giving them information on how to avoid future misfortune and by promising to bestow

its protection upon the household. In return for this it asks the living not to forget their duty to give the spirit its share of offerings and prayers. This spiritual duty is one aspect of *kuyō*, the turning over of merit to the benefit of the departed as a means for promoting their full integrations as ancestral spirits. But the villagers view the commemorative gatherings for their departed in a more practical sense as opportunities to reaffirm the links between the living members of their *ie*. Therefore, *kuchiyose* is an occasion not only for promoting the settlement of a newly departed's spirit in the ancestral and spiritual part of the *ie*, but also for making the living aware that they participate in and carry obligations toward the same *ie*.

KAZUE SAITO

### *Children's Songs and Games in Japan*

#### I. Culture of Children's Songs

Various kinds of children's songs in Japan have been handed down from children to children and from generation to generation for centuries. However, we do not know who composed them. These children's songs include both ancient magic and very contemporary compositions; some are spread widely all over the nation and some only in limited areas. Itinerant players and peddlars brought games, toys and instruments for play and games into the villages. Now year by year play and games are getting more complicated and expanded through the mass communication. What about those in the old days? Play and games were simpler than these at the present time. Those songs usually consist of 8 or 12 measures mostly with a simple melody and rhythm. For instance, ball bouncing must be continued longer so the words of the song are entertaining, and the short and simple melody must be better.

#### II. Classification of Children's Songs

1. *Game Songs*: Ball Bouncing, Beanbag, Battledore and Shuttlecock, Jump Rope, Hand Game, Hide-and-seek, Finger Play, etc.
2. *Climate and Astronomy*: Kite Flying, Rain, Wind, Snow, Sunset Glow, Moon, Walking on the Ice, etc.
3. *Plants and Animals*: Birds, Frogs, Snails, Cattle, Fireflies, Bats, Trees and Plants, etc.
4. *Annual Events*: New Years, Equinox, Bon (a ritual for ancestor's souls), Harvest, etc.
5. *Lullabies*: Play and Sleep.

#### III. Functions of Children's Songs

1. These songs may transmit incidents, accidents, happenings or legends.
2. These songs teach children the way of life of farmers, merchants, Samurai-families and court nobles including the traditions, customs, habits, religions, etc.
3. These songs tell children the stories or contents about traditional drama such as *kabuki*, *johruri*, *noh*, *kyogen*, etc.
4. These songs give children ethical and moral education.
5. These songs enlightened children to go to school at the time when compulsory education system was being established in Japan.
6. These songs in lullabies help children play or let them play enjoyably, help children sleep and help resolve a baby-sitter's stress which comes from her work and



homesickness.

#### IV. Conclusion

Children's songs in Japan provide some evidence of the scope of songs and games in traditional Japan. They served many functions in educating children and in providing release and expression of the tensions of daily life. An understanding of children's folklore helps us understand both them and the large culture of which they are a part.

KLAUS ANTONI

#### *Yasukuni-Jinja and Folk Religion*

The so-called 'Yasukuni-problem' centers mainly on the question whether the shrine for the Japanese war dead, Yasukuni-jinja, "Shrine to make the country peaceful" (official explanation of the name) is a mere memorial, to be compared to the tombs of the Unknown Soldier in Western countries, or if it is a real "shrine" in the sense of a definitely religious place.

Since its official foundation in the year 1879 everyone who died for the Empire in a war was deified and became a protecting God for the country — therefore the name of *yasukuni*, "peaceful country".

But in recent times a new, we may say heretical, definition of the Yasukuni Gods appeared in the field of academical discussion.

It may be called the "goryô-interpretation" of the Yasukuni Gods. Goryô, the "vengeful spirits of the dead", are a specimen of deities whose cult flourished especially in the Heian period of Japanese history.

Since medieval times the belief in vengeful souls flourished among the ordinary people too. In this belief the mental situation at the very moment of death is regarded as essential for the future fate of the soul. The Yasukuni Gods are interpreted as goryô by some authors, because the individual soldier's will to live was crushed in war, and so his spirit might have been full of hatred and frustration.

As we can see, the concept of goryô is an extremely *individual* one. The individual hatred and bitterness, the individual fear, do determine the fate of the soul in the afterlife.

But in the case of Yasukuni shrine it is a fact that *all* of the souls of the war dead are enshrined to become deities, without regard to their former lives and individual circumstances of their deaths.

Seen from the standpoint of comparative religion it is more meaningful to take another sort of *conceptual* instead of individual view of a horrible fate of the soul under consideration which is very well known to many societies, especially to the world-view of the South East Asian peoples.

According to this concept of the so-called 'wicked death' every kind of unnatural death leads to the horrible fate of becoming a frustrated and thus dangerous ghost. Especially the warriors' spirits are feared, because they cannot enter the realms of afterlife and have to

wander around restlessly. But men can appease these ghosts by building a house (shrine) for them. There they will find peace.

In folk beliefs of Japan we can find traces of this concept too (*muen-botoke* and *gaki*); so it becomes clear that the community of spirits of the fallen soldiers may be regarded rather as object of fear and horror than of gratitude and worship. And the spirits of the war dead were a potential danger for the whole nation.

By erecting a shrine for them, these spirits find a new existence in the afterlife and are therefore appeased. So we may argue that in the view of folk belief the country in fact becomes a *yasukuni*, a "peaceful land", because the warriors — as 'wicked dead' — are no longer a danger to it. So the country is rather protected *from* the spirits of the fallen soldiers than by them.

URS APP

#### *Chan/Zen's Greatest Encyclopedist Mujaku Dochu (無著道忠) (1653-1744)*

In the West, nothing apart from some admiring remarks by Paul Demiéville has so far been written about this extraordinary sinologist and buddhologist. In Japan, however, Mujaku's scholarly influence grew by leaps and bounds after World War II: compilers of Chan/Zen dictionaries and encyclopedias as well as translators and modern research teams rely very much on his work. Reasons for the lack of recognition of Mujaku in the West include the small number of Mujaku's published works and the lack of information about the content of and access to the astonishing number of extant manuscripts. The aim of this paper was to supply a first impression of the man and his work (an annotated bibliography was distributed).

Born in 1653, Mujaku entered monastic life at age six, went to the Myôshinji 妙心寺 in Kyoto one year later, and stayed there for most of the following years until his death at age 91. These years were mostly devoted to scholarly work; long lists of read and written books show that his interests were extremely wide. Strong intellectual curiosity coupled with thoroughness and precision mark Mujaku's work. His research methods match the standards of modern science: recension of texts, collation of relevant passages from a wide range of literary sources, inductive interpretation based on textual evidence, and a generally critical attitude towards his own and others' subjective views and prejudices.

Of a total of 374 works in 911 fascicles (巻), only one was published in Mujaku's lifetime. Even today, most of Mujaku's writings exist only in manuscript form. Almost all of Mujaku's books are written in classical Chinese. These works can be classified in the following categories: Chan studies (170), general Buddhist studies (45), sinological works (40), poetry (26), dictionaries and encyclopedias (19), japanological (9), and various other works. Of particular interest to the modern student of Chan texts and art are Mujaku's commentaries on texts and his encyclopedias and dictionaries. A few major works have recently appeared in print (see below).

Unpublished materials are best consulted at the Institute for Zen Studies, Hanazono College, Nakakyo-ku, Kyoto, 604 Japan. In 1965, this institute had published the most complete catalogue of Mujaku's work to date; however, that catalogue will be substantially revised and published by the same institute in 1986 as an appendix to a new edition of Iida Rigyô 飯田利



行's *Gakushô Mujaku Dôchû* 學聖無著道忠.

The following is a list of Mujaku's major works that are currently available in print:

1. *Zenrin shôkisen* 禪林象器箋. Kyoto: Chûbun shuppansha 中文出版社, 1979. (Volume 9 上 of the *Zengaku sôsho* 禪學叢書 edited by Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山).
2. *Kattô gosen* 葛藤語箋. Kyoto: Chûbun shuppansha 中文出版社, 1979. (Part of volume 9 下 of the *Zengaku sôsho*).
3. *Zenrin kushû benmyô* 禪林句集辨苗. Kyoto: Chûbun shuppansha, 1979. (Part of volume 9 下 of the *Zengaku sôsho*).
4. *Chokushû Hyakujô shingi sakei* 敕修百丈清規左題. Kyoto: Chûbun shuppansha, 1979. (Forms volume 8 上 and part [pp.623-1042] of volume 8 下 of the *Zengaku sôsho*).
5. *Rinzai eshō zenji goroku shoyaku* 臨濟慧照禪師語錄疏論. Kyoto: Chûbun shuppansha, 1979. (Volume 10 下, pp. 1251-1403, of the *Zengaku sôsho*).
6. *Yôshōyoroku* 席餘錄. Published in *Chokushû Hyakujô shingi sakei*. Kyoto: Chûbun shuppansha, 1979. (Pp. 1101-1268 of vol 8 下 of the *Zengaku sôsho*).

BEATRICE M. BODART-BAILEY

*The Yōgenroku of Hotta Masatoshi (1634-1684)*

The *Yōgenroku* is the record of Hotta Masatoshi's experience as *tairō* (Chief Councillor) under the Fifth Tokugawa Shogun Tsunayoshi (1646-1709), the infamous Dog Shogun.

The document is brief due to Hotta's assassination in 1684, but its brevity does not detract from its value. For here Hotta relates in some detail the political changes initiated by the Fifth Shogun after his accession in 1680 and the reactions to them. Like no other document of the period it contains a record of personal conversations between the shogun and his highest minister, revealing the ruler's motivations and political thought. While historians have traditionally divided the thirty years of Tsunayoshi's government into a period of progress and enlightenment under Hotta and one of regression and decadence under the chamberlains after Hotta's death, it becomes evident from the document that the shogun's later policies were already formulated at this early stage. In his discussions with Hotta the shogun insists on the need for establishing new norms in government and firmly lays down the guidelines. Hotta is seen not as an initiator of policies, as generally believed, but as administrator of directives based on premises which on occasion even he felt the need to question.

The *Yōgenroku*, consequently announces an important paradigm change in Tokugawa history. It provides the key to such diverse policies as the so-called Laws of Compassion, the debasement of the coinage and the Forty-seven Rōnin incident. Furthermore it outlines the beginnings of a political trend which would find its concrete theoretical expression only in the next century, namely in the political writings of Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728).

KIHARA NORIYASU

*Symbolic Meaning of the Ise-Shrine*

Many Powers are engaged in the most terrible war the world has yet known. National feelings are running high. The Jewish councillors were in error when they said to Nicodemus: "Search and look: for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet" (John VII. 52); but probably they ignored Jonah because his mission was to gentiles a thought abhorrent to their pride. (W. W. Fereday)

Mythology and legend underline the roles played in world affairs by China, Japan and Korea, because they considered themselves superior to other mortals, with high cultures, and entitled to appropriate deference. Also in Japan, we have been taught the common ancestors resided in Heaven. One of Jonah's faults was his intense nationalism. He could rejoice in divine forbearance towards his own people, although deeply guilty, but he felt unable to rejoice in God's forbearance towards others. (W. W. Fereday) C. F. Keil pointed out that Jonah knew by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that the repentance of the Gentiles would be the ruin of the Jews. He really grudged salvation to the Gentiles. He feared lest their conversion to the living God should infringe upon the privileges of Israel above the Gentile world, and put an end to its election as the nation of God. But such salvation is almost incomprehensible to Japanese, who believe the exact opposite. They are apt to interpret the Bible's teaching to mean that human beings, after a short life, return to heaven. The special attack forces used during the Pacific War, too, were encouraged and bolstered by the belief that death is no more than a returning to the eternal home. (The Japanese and the Jews)

MICHIKO YUSA

*The Consortium of Kami, Buddha and Human Beings: The Origin of Noh According to Zeami*

Zeami's discussion of the origin of the art of *sarugaku* (today's *noh*) reveals his understanding of it as a sacred art. Three different origins are discussed by him, going back to the time of *kami* deities, Śākyamuni Buddha and his disciples, and the patronage of Prince Shōtoku (cf. *Fūshikaden*).

The Japanese myth recounts that when the Sun Goddess Amaterasu hid herself behind the Heavenly Cave, the world became utterly dark. In order to entice her out, numerous *kami* deities gathered together and performed *kagura*, gods' dance accompanied by singing and acting. This is the beginning of *sarugaku*, says Zeami. As the Sun Goddess reappeared from the cave, the world was again delighted.

Zeami seeks the second source to Śākyamuni Buddha in India. The Jetavana grove was donated to the Buddha as a place for meditation and religious teaching. When the Buddha held a dedication ceremony of this grove, a mob, led by Devadatta who was campaigning against the Buddha, interrupted it. In order to divert the attention of the mob, the Buddha ordered Śāriputra, Pūrmamaitrayāṇiputra and Ānanda to perform some entertainment. The three disciples performed dramatic plays accompanied by musical instrumentation. This is the Indian origin of the stage art, which eventually arrived at the shore of Japan, says Zeami. Within the context of Buddhism, dramatic performance and entertainment are considered to



be an *upāya*, a "skill in means", which helps promote and spread the Buddha's teaching. It also explains the presence of dramatic performances in conjunction with certain Buddhist ceremonies, such as the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* Ceremony (Yuima-e), which is mentioned by Zeami.

The third source that Zeami discusses is Prince Shōtoku, who is accorded status of a "god-father" of the art of *sarugaku*. It is he, says Zeami, who gave the dramatic performance the name of *sarugaku*, by choosing the character *kami* (神) from the word *kagura* (神樂, the divine dance and music), and by dividing this character in two and retaining the right side component 申, which is pronounced *saru*. Prince Shōtoku commanded Hata no Kōkatsu, the first *sarugaku* actor, to perform sixty-six pieces at the time of an unrest. It is said that the performance restored peace to the domain. Later, Emperor Murakami also adopted *sarugaku* in order to bring peace to his reign.

Seemingly unrelated though these three sources are, they actually share one common thread: the motif of the sacred power. Zeami seems to assert that *sarugaku* is divine and sacred because of its connection with the *kami* deities and the Buddha, two sources of spiritual authority. (And the emperor is the living *kami*). The proto-actor, Hata no Kōkatsu, was believed to have come down from heaven, and after his departure from this world he was deified and became Ōsake Daimyōjin, Great Kami Ōsake, held to be the manifestation of an Indian deity, all-hearing Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa). Kōkatsu was also said to be the reincarnation of the First Emperor of Qin of China. The actor was endowed with military genius as well. It is clear that the image of the proto-actor is a semi-divine man of supernatural power. (We read in *Sarugakudangi* that Zeami himself was believed to have a certain supernatural ability; he was recognized by dream oracles three times, twice to administer rituals related to the curing of sickness, and once to be given a calligraphy, done by Sugawara no Michizane, which had been treasured at a Tōnomine monastery for centuries.)

The connection between the sacred world and *sarugaku* is apparent elsewhere, such as the *okina* piece which confers the divine blessing, and the picture of the *yōgō* ("temporary hierophany") pine tree painted on the background of the *noh* stage. In Zeami's mind, *noh* was a sacred art which could be potent and powerful in itself, though its aim was to entertain people. This power is attributed to the peculiar status of the actor, who is ultimately a divine instrument, an intermediary between this world and the world of the spirit. "The way of *noh* has been favoured by the kami gods", reads a passage in *Sarugakudangi*.

CARL STEENSTRUP

#### *The Principles of Civil Litigation in Thirteenth Century Japan*

The Hōjō regime (1203-1333) developed, through custom and legislation, advanced principles for litigation about real property in bakufu courts. Elsewhere in the world, these principles only appeared later.

They were: The parties decide on the steps they want to take during litigation, and when to stop litigation; each party can know, and contest, all of his opponent's arguments and proofs; the parties themselves are the fact-finders; the court decides what is proved and what not, according to its free judgment; the court is neutral to the parties, and hears them impartially; the court can award a party no more than what he has claimed; and the whole litigation

business takes place for the benefit of the parties, not for the benefit of the rulers.

The reasons for this unique development were 1) The Hōjō régime made up for its illegality through posing as just arbiters 2) the régime wanted to *dominate*, but lacked the power to *exterminate* the competing judicial organs of the imperial government in Kyoto 3) The régime realized that when landowners litigated before its courts, or composed their strife under its aegis, they reinforced the legislative and judiciary role of the régime and kept the peace.

Thanks to the research of Ishii Ryōsuke, Satō Shin'ichi, Seno Sei'ichirō, Kasamatsu Hiroshi, Asakawa Kan'ichi, Frédéric Joūon des Longrais, Wilhelm Röhl, Cornelius Kiley, and Jeffrey Mass, and their students, and because litigation manuals (see *Monumenta Nipponica* XXXV (1980, pp 404-35) have been preserved, we can follow in detail how suits were brought before the bakufu courts, and how they were processed and decided. We can also see who could sue, and who could be sued, and what the duties of the judges and clerks were.

On the whole, the ways of civil litigation under later régimes became more authoritarian and less just. What kept the Kamakura bakufu courts "clean" by modern standards was the fact that the society had *multiple and competing* élites. When the élites (bakufu and Northern Court) began to fuse in the Ashikaga dynasty, and particularly when absolutism won out during the Sengoku period, legal procedures became cruder and ultimately intimidating. Possibly, the "non-litigiousness" of the Japanese was the ultimate outcome of this experience.

URY EPPSTEIN

#### *Music Education in Japan of the Immediate Post World War II Period*

Music education was part of Japan's education reform after World War II. The objectives of music education, as enumerated in the "Essentials of Educational Guidance" (1947), were:

"Cultivation of high aesthetic sentiment and an enriched human nature by activating the comprehension and awareness of musical beauty...; cultivation of the creative capacity and of the capacity for performing that exists in music...; of the capacity to read and write music notation; and of the capacity for music appreciation."

The significance of these objectives becomes clearer when compared to those enunciated in 1941, before the Pacific War, stipulating "national sentiments" and "spiritual discipline", ignoring aesthetic and artistic values or accomplishments, and excluding foreign songs.

School song texts were selected according to these objectives. The 1947 innovation lies in its defining music, for the first time in Japan, as an art, and not as a means to an end.

These new ideas were reflected in the school songbooks published in Japan soon after the war. They are here examined in detail to show how their content differs from that of the songbooks published between 1941 and 1943, whose tendency was obviously nationalistic.

The songbook texts of the immediate post war period represent, in contrast with the former ones, a spirit of peacefulness and broadmindedness. The previous nationalistic songs were deleted and foreign songs were reinstated.

In the war time songbooks pure Western tonality occurs in only a few instances, while in all the volumes appear songs in pure traditional Japanese tonality based on the pentatonic modes



taken from Koto and Shamisen music and from folk music. Many songs feature a traditional tetrachordal structure. This figures prominently in most of the war period songs and stresses the tendency to emphasize their national character.

In the post war songbooks Western keys appear prominently, and many foreign songs are included. Not much room is left for songs in traditional Japanese tonality.

The changes in the music education of the immediate post war period were manifested on two levels: in official pronouncements such as laws, regulations, rules and songbook prefaces, and in the school songs that represent the implementation of these pronouncements. The school songs reveal similar tendencies in their textual and musical aspects, showing a shift from a nationalistically tinged "education of sentiment" to a cultivation of aesthetical sensibilities, from narrow-minded chauvinism to an internationally oriented broadmindedness, and from aggressive national self-assertion to humanistic values.

The fact that music was raised in post war Japan education to the rank of art for its own sake and no longer regarded as a means to an extra-musical end signifies that music education in Japan had come of age, and was no longer subordinated to politicians and moralists.

DEREK MASSARELLA

#### *Aspects of Information and Development in Japan*

Information has become a much-used word these days and one which usually passes undefined. In this paper information is defined as the means by which we acquire and communicate knowledge. Information and knowledge are thus inseparable. Moreover, information can be seen as both a commodity and as a resource. The use that a society makes of information especially for economic development will depend greatly on how information is perceived, whether as commodity or resource, especially by its ruling elites.

After the Meiji Restoration Japan responded to the challenge of modernisation with a clear consciousness of what it wanted to achieve from the transformation of the Japanese polity, and information was viewed as a vital means to that end.

During the so-called years of seclusion the Japanese did not stagnate in idle bliss under the cherry blossoms. Foreign intelligence, books and ideas came into the country along Japan's foreign trade routes and there was an openness to new information which during the eighteenth century enabled Japan to dump Chinese learning in favour of western learning. By the bakumatsu years the shogunate could no longer even pretend to control the flow of information and found itself in competition with domains like Satsuma which placed a high premium on it. The recognition of the need to seek out information became significant after the Meiji Restoration especially with the policy of sending missions and students abroad and bringing foreign experts to Japan. Its dissemination within Japan was speeded up, amongst other things, by the educational legacy of the Tokugawa regime.

The Japanese evaluation of information as a resource remains alive today in the major corporations where information has high priority and is seen as something to be shared not hoarded.

In drawing attention to the information factor it is not intended to suggest that the Japanese

have an information policy to complement the industrial policy which some have argued lies at the heart of the recent Japanese achievement.

DANNY S. L. PAAU

#### *Nineteenth-Century European Historiography and the Quest for Modernity in East Asia: The Case of Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862)*

To his countrymen and contemporary scholars, Henry T. Buckle (1821-1862) was merely an amateur; a self-trained historian known mainly for the controversy caused by the positivism of his work entitled *Introduction to the History of Civilization in England* (1857-1861). To many intellectuals of developing nations in the nineteenth century, particularly those in East Asia, however, he was the spokesman on the secrets of Western and modern civilization. Introduced into Japan in 1875, Buckle's book was documented to be one of the most widely circulated translated works in Meiji Japan. It stood out among European works interpreting Western success introduced into East Asia and had left undeniable imprints in the search for modernity in Japan and China.

Firstly, Buckle provided the East Asianers, intentionally or otherwise, with a set of criteria for measuring the extent of progress in a nation. He claimed England to be at the spearhead of civilization; having achieved unmatched development in, for example, the pursuit of scientific knowledge, liberty and democracy, as well as the cultivation of her national intellect and national character. Meiji Japanese discussed intensively on the importance of these aspects of civilization and methods to acquire them. Chinese exiles and students in Japan followed.

Secondly, the popularity of a history of civilization which examined few if any necessary factors leading to material achievement helped breed a negligence of the latter. This was, perhaps, a convenient negligence for Confucianist intellectuals who had little if any training in the acquisition of modern material progress or national strength. Intellectuals thus laboured on how to achieve the "traits" of civilization but discussed comparatively little on material achievement as though problems regarding national salvation would automatically be solved after having becoming thus "civilized". The Chinese turned their attention from the once popular Self-strengthening issues to highly culturalistic programs as the "New Citizenry".

Thirdly, political liberty and democracy were viewed as inseparable parts of Buckle's "criteria" for modernity. They were, however, difficult to achieve peacefully at that time in East Asia. Revolutionaries claimed to search for civilization in justifying their radical acts. The quest for modernity in East Asia thus took on radical colours, especially in China. This culturalism, (and the abovementioned negligence of national strength issues) tinted with radicalism, persisted in Modern Chinese history and flavoured major events as the New Cultural Movement (1910s), the subsequent series of cultural debates, as well as the Great Cultural Revolution in the 1960s.

TUVIA BLUMENTHAL

#### *Delayed Gratification, Time Preference and Japanese Economic Development*

One of the common questions treated by both economists and psychologists is the question



of the attitude towards time. Economists use the concept of "time preference", while for psychologists this comes under the heading of "delayed gratification". Both deal with the question of comparisons between the present and the future, and whether people have a preference for consumption in one or the other period.

The psychological literature deals mainly with alternatives presented to children concerning immediate or deferred gratification and the variables that explain the outcome of the choice made. Economists are concerned with consumption and investment decisions and the determination of the rate of interest.

In this paper we attempt to relate these concepts to the recent experience of the Japanese economy. As is well known, Japan represents a successful example of economic growth and stability, and many factors have been cited to explain the Japanese performance. The main thesis of this paper is that many of these factors are derived from one basic source, namely the attitude towards time as reflected by both individual behaviour and institutional structure. In particular the high rate of saving, the structure of the labor market, the composition of business capital and the role played by the government, all direct the economy onto a future-oriented path.

One implication of this thesis is that the future course of the Japanese economy will depend to a large extent on the continuation of this preference structure in the future.

HAN-SHENG CHUAN

*The Role of Europeans in the Sino-Japanese Silk and Silver Trade in the 16-17th Centuries*

As early as the late 15th century, the Portuguese had sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to Calicut, India; they soon occupied Goa. By the early 16th century they had sailed as far as the China coast, and they settled in Macao in 1557. Thereafter, Portuguese ships based in Macao began to call regularly at Japanese ports, particularly Nagasaki, which had been opened to foreign trade in 1571. The primary cargoes of Portuguese ships sailing between China and Japan were raw silk and silver.

Because of Japanese pirates, *wako*, along the China coast, the Ming government had restricted direct commerce with Japan. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Portuguese acquired a near-monopoly in the Chinese silk export market, and they profited enormously from the Sino-Japanese trade. Historical records show that the Portuguese ships carrying raw silk to Japan earned a profit of 70-80 per cent on their cargoes and at times profits even exceeded 100 per cent. The Portuguese appear to have earned greater profits from this trade than from their trade in spices and other commodities with Europe.

Japan's silver output sharply increased after the 16th century, and this trend continued until the mid-17th century. As the silver supply greatly increased, the value of silver of Japan became lower than in China. Each year, Portuguese merchants sailed from Macao to Nagasaki to exchange their silk for silver. It has been estimated that during the last quarter of the 16th century at least one-half of Japan's total output of silver was exported, and most of that was shipped by the Portuguese of Macao. By the end of the 16th century about 600,000 to 1,000,000 taels were shipped annually from Nagasaki to Macao. Silver exports

from Nagasaki rose from 1,500,000 taels in 1635 to 2,350,000 taels in 1636, and to 2,600,000 taels in 1637. Most of this silver was promptly used to buy Chinese silk and other commodities, with only a small portion being re-exported from Macao to Goa.

During the early decades of the 17th century, the Dutch used their superior naval power to capture Portuguese ships sailing to Japan. In 1622 the Dutch fleet attacked Macao, planning to eject the Portuguese and take over the Sino-Japanese silk trade, but they failed. After the Dutch occupied Taiwan in 1624, Chinese merchants delivered great quantities of silk and other commodities to the Dutch, who quickly realized that the market for Chinese silk was greater in Japan than anywhere else. This lesson was apparently learned in 1627, when the value of silk cargoes shipped from Taiwan to Japan exceeded the value of silk shipped from Taiwan to Batavia and Holland. In 1636 Dutch ships carried 1,422 piculs of raw silk to Japan, as compared to only 250 piculs brought by the Portuguese.

In 1637 Japanese Christians conspired with Portuguese Jesuits to foment anti-government disturbances, which government troops finally suppressed in the next year. Fearing foreign subversion, the Japanese government terminated the Macao-Nagasaki trade in 1639 by forbidding further Portuguese dealings with Japan. After the Portuguese lost the Japanese market, the Dutch moved in and enjoyed a thriving trade with Japan, netting the largest profits of any factory in Asia. In fact, the net profits of the factories in Taiwan and Persia, the second and third largest, respectively, came to only about half the profits of the Japan factory.

V. N. GOREGLIAD

*Some Peculiarities of the Development of Cultural Self-Consciousness in Medieval Japan*

Myths and traditions reflected in Japanese literary works of the 8th century testify both to the existence of a cultural substratum shared by the Japanese and the continental peoples and to the appearance of borrowings of the early writing period assimilated by the local cultural context.

From the end of the 10th century when the official Japanese contacts with the continent were broken, cultural borrowings of the previous age underwent the process of absorption accompanied by change under the influence of local factors. As a response to the growth of the Chinese cultural influence Japanese culture developed a tendency to single out the Chinese elements and to oppose them with indigenous ones. Not infrequently the Japanese declared a human quality highly prized by the Chinese tradition to be an exclusively Japanese property.

The same tendency can be traced in the period of developed Middle ages (Jien, Kokan Shiren, Kitabatake Chikafusa & others). Late versions of feudal gunki epics use Confucian criterions as model ones.

In belles lettres motifs of the self-sufficiency of Japanese culture and even of the superiority of things Japanese over things foreign can be observed in *Taiheiki* (14th century), in religion — in the teaching of Nichiren (end of the 13th century), which preached the need for instituting a Centre of Buddhist oecumenical church in Japan. In historiography they had the brightest manifestation in *Jinno Shotoki*, by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354), whose central



postulate said that Japan was a land of gods and that, consequently, no values were above Japanese.

The 17-18th centuries witness the formation of two tendencies in the Japanese traditional thought, up till now referred to by Japanese nationalistic circles as manifestations of the "Japanese spirit", i.e. Bushido ("The Way of the Warrior") and Kokugaku ("National Learning").

The former presents an ideal image of a warrior loyal to his suzerain, the concept having no equal outside Japan; the latter elaborates the concept of national exceptionality implying the Japanese — foreign opposition. Both tendencies use basic postulates of Confucianism and Buddhism, at the same time declaring the rejection of both doctrines.

A similar process can be traced in Japan on the verge of the 19th and the 20th centuries when assimilation and evaluation of Western cultural achievements were in the order of the day. Here again we discern the model consisting in assimilation of elements of a foreign culture, their adjustment to local conditions, and the choice of a standard for self-evaluation on the basis, that provides one with the illusion of a "view from aside" of one's own culture. The model in question remains permanent from the early Middle Ages up to 2nd half of the 20th century — the time of the "Introspection Boom" in Japan.

Thus, striving for identity in the context of the foreign cultures which they know as models should be recognized as a distinguishing feature of the cultural self-consciousness of the Japanese. The formal bounds and criteria for assessing the most exalted moral qualities at each stage are borrowed, correlated with due account of traditional culture and absolutized until this stage is completed, and conclusions are made — as a rule, against the background of donor cultures.

MADOKA KANAI

#### *East Meets West: The Life of Tommy, a Samurai Interpreter*

The first Japanese diplomatic mission to the U.S. in 1860, brought with it a young, unpaid, apprentice interpreter. He was far too junior a member of the mission to attend President James Buchanan's reception of the ambassadors on May 17 or the ceremony to ratify the 1858 trade treaty on May 22. But the young interpreter, Tateishi Onojirō Noriyuki by name, but nicknamed Tommy by the American press, won the hearts of Americans because of his youth and engaging behavior.

Some related documents ever known reveal that he was named Komeda Tamehachi in his childhood, and Tateishi Onojirō when he served at the U.S. Legation. He encountered Ernest Satow as Komeda Keijirō, and accompanied with the Iwakura mission to Europe as Nagano Keijirō. But personal references to Tommy in Japan are so limited in number that a bibliography could not be described when in 1979 the author published a book in Japanese entitled *Tommy to yū na no Nihonjin* (A Japanese Named Tommy).

In January 1980, however, an account in *The Mainichi* (both Japanese and English editions) stirred up new interest in Tommy. A copy of the *Tommy Polka*, composed by Ch. Grobe and published in Philadelphia in 1860, was discovered by Paul Blum, a French-American born in Japan, and donated by him to The Yokohama Historical Archives which opened in 1981.

The article enabled a descendant of Tommy to identify himself as such. Since then, some personal records and other materials have surfaced.

The new records tell us that Tommy was born in Edo in 1842 or 1843 (accounts differ) as son of Obanawa Norimasa, a liege-vassal to the shogun. A sickly child, he was put out to nurse and his birth was not reported until 1864. He was adopted by his mother's family named Komeda. Upon return from the U.S., he styled himself Komeda Keijirō Narimasa and after the Meiji Restoration he adopted the surname Nagano. After long service as an official interpreter in Osaka, Tommy died in 1917 at Heda in Izu.

This paper introduces two records left by Tommy himself. These show us how a man who was not among the leaders of Japan's modernization struggled to achieve his own accommodation between East and West.

1) *Diary of Nagano Keijirō*, from December 16, 1871 to February 1, 1872 (Meiji 4.11.5-12.23), long preserved by the Obanawa family in Tokyo. It begins with his preparation for overseas travel and troubles which ensued in connection with the appointment and ends with his departure from Sacramento, California. It is comparable with Kume's official record and Sasaki's personal journal.

2) *Letter from Nagano Keijirō to Itō Hirobumi, State Councillor*, dated (Iwanai, Hokkaido), September 1, 1883 (Meiji 16), printed in *Itō Hirobumi Kankei Monjo*, Vol. 6, Tokyo, 1978, pp. 299-300. Tommy recounts his changing ideas, opportunities and employments since 1877, and asks Ito for assistance in finding a new occupation.

RUDOLF REINELT  
ICHIRO MARUI

#### *Closed Season for Students*

0) In Japan university there is an intermediate institution before taking up work and we looked at the development of students' written self-presentations according to certain topics.

1) After difficult tests, about 36% of all pupils of any one year enter one of the many and tiered universities. There, progress in public socialization is presupposed, but students are usually treated as adults to a much lesser degree than their peer group in the West. At many Japanese universities, 1) strictly following all sanction invoking rules of adulthood and society is not yet required, and 2) a development takes place which can be seen from the written productions of the students.

In high school, only a highly norm-governed essayistic style of writing, like *kansōbun* (感想文) is been acquired by most, although other ways of writing are mentioned in textbooks.

2) Three ways of how students treated various topics were differentiated (examples underlined):

1. Socially tightly fixed topics like (in Japan) *marriage* were treated in a script-like manner only along predetermined lines (e.g. course of arrangement) and fixed relations between points on them (e.g. the partner, children). The students thus showed that they are conscious of the highly rated importance of how to present such a topic.



2. Topics with a clearly preferred conclusion, such as *war* and *peace* showed variegated proceeding and treatment with the use of several text types (e.g. argument, criticism, etc.) before the socially recognized conclusion, or even an alternative one, was reached.
  3. A third, open kind of topic, e.g. *foreign language learning*, could be used by the students for an — albeit one-way — interaction with the teacher: The writing became strategic. We looked at the most important ways, their changes constituting a tendency toward personalization through the early time of study, and the foundations of the strategies in the overall societal context.
- 3) With the third kind of topics, the students tend to employ strategies for opening up a unilogue with the teacher:
- Scriptlike presentation in quite general terms (*FLL is good for internationalization*, etc.) prevails with first graders.
  - Later on, more reference to involved persons, i.e. the teacher or themselves, enables the students in higher grades to make suggestions, laud the teacher's class, and, especially, to use self-degradation (*I am stupid, but; Japanese are bad at FLL*, etc.). The latter strategy, although usable as an excuse in speaking from high school times, only now becomes writeable. It is however an important escape point in many situations with socially higher persons in this hierarchical society.
- 4) Our study gives results for socialization research in that it shows that the time at university is a phase for the development of writing according to socially required ways of expression. For writing research this means that the written treatment of topics is much more socially determined than hence supposed, and that some ways of strategic self-presentation only become writeable at a much later time than they become speakable.

TOKIHIKO TANAKA

*Moderate Statesmen Facing a Critical Situation  
A Study of Japanese Government and Politics in 1930's*

It is already well-known that the early 1930's in Japan were years of political transformation different from Western countries, in that it was a decade absent of any strong national leaders. In 1932, Genro Saionji Kinmochi and other palace politicians who held the power of cabinet appointments, realized that political party government was no longer effective in the face of the May 15th military coup d'état, and decided to commit the government to Admiral Saito Makoto, a moderate statesman with no party affiliation. Saito's so-called "national consensus cabinet" (later, succeeded by a government led by moderate Admiral Okada Keisuke) was expected to calm domestic chaos and, at the beginning, restore party government rule. Those who formed these consensus cabinets were, however, maintainers of the *status quo*, and failed to recognize the serious nature of the crisis. They looked at the situation superficially, as being caused by a temporary flare up among young radical militants.

These neutral cabinets were heavily supported by civil bureaucratic factions which, nevertheless, grew closer to the military, since both shared the common aspiration of a

centrally controlled economy. At the same time, bureaucratic leadership over "self-recovery movements" in the agrarian sector deprived parties of their power base. On top of this, the military successfully won the favor of public opinion as a great contributor to the people's interests through its role in defense industry investment and its contribution to relief funds for afflicted agrarian areas. This popularity was the result of a large scale military repletion budget which Finance Minister Takahashi Korekiyo, a leading liberal-minded statesman, reluctantly yielded to for the sake of political stability. In his economic recovery policy Takahashi dared not include a tax increase, which might have driven the people against the military. At the cost of temporary economic stability narrowly maintained until 1936, the continual compromises, which made this possible, paradoxically put Japan on its well-known path towards military government, while the political parties lost more and more of their bygone influence.

CORNELIUS J. KILEY

*Imperial Kindred in Ritsuryo Japan*

The Imperial kindred organization of the early eighth century was, like its Chinese model, designed to avert dynastic quarrels by providing for princes being excluded from the succession. It had other functions, however, among them to express the uniqueness of the crown and its relationship to the nobility. Another purpose of this system was clearly to underline the power of the monarchs. In 706, 4 years after the enforcement of the Taiho Ryo, the scope of the group was expanded to include the fifth generation. The intermediate status of "nominal prince" was, very probably, permitted to subsequent generations in an indefinite primogenitural series.

The very wide scope of the imperial kindred class in the early eighth century meant that most royal princes had no reasonable expectation of succession to the throne. The imperial kindred system served as a kind of downward escalator, retaining each lineage of royals until its claims utterly expired. For princes close to the throne, special provisions were made. The *ryo* provided that children of siblings of present or past rulers be entitled princes or princesses, "of the blood" (*shinno* or *naishinno*). The *ryo* did not provide for the stipends of this very special class of imperial kindred, most probably because their status transcended routine formulae. They were ranked according to a unique system of "royal rank" of which there were four grades, and they were eligible only for high and extraordinary offices. Royal rank is prescribed by the *ryo* for the two "consorts" (*hi*) who rank second to the empress in the rear palace, a clear indication that they, and probably the empress herself, were expected to be "princesses of the blood".

The problem of dynastic succession was still paramount in the eighth century, and during the seventh, the death of a ruler had almost invariably triggered rebellions on behalf of disconsolate princes. The *ritsuryo* codes probably contributed greatly to a more elaborate but better integrated court structure that reduced the danger of interregnum periods. Every such period was nevertheless a serious emergency to the eighth century court, and every son or grandson of deceased rulers was a potential threat.

By the late eighth century, the dynastic significance of imperial kindred *per se* was greatly reduced, largely because of the disappearance of the tension that had once prevailed among



numerous potential claimants only distantly related to the incumbent rulers. The dynasty was no longer "corporate". This also explains the abandonment of the principle of strictly lineal *chakushi* inheritance in dynastic succession. Limitation of princes of the blood by what amounts to special licenses insured that potential successors would be close to the throne, small in number, and of either royal or Fujiwara maternity. Licensing potential successors was rather like selecting consorts for the ruler. But the ruler's power was now isolated from the possible support of his lateral kin, and threatened by the chief ministers of his court.

#### ARCADIO SCHWADE

##### *Three Historical Stages in Japanese-European Relations Compared: The years 1586, 1886 and 1986.*

*The year 1586:* Hideyoshi informs the European Jesuits in Japan on his plans to conquer China and asks for material help from the Portuguese. But Hideyoshi's foreign expeditions ended in failure.

*The year 1886:* Again over thirty-five years have passed since the country had been opened to active political, social, commercial exchange with the Western world. But contrary to the development in sixteenth-century Japan, hundreds of Japanese students, young scholars and politicians were now studying in the USA and Europe the political, social, commercial and cultural life of Western peoples. After their return home many of them became the leaders of the movement to build a strong and modern state.

At the same time the Japanese government encouraged thousands of foreign experts to work in Japan to aid the country's rapid modernization. During the entire Meiji period (1868-1912) over three thousand foreign advisers (*komon*) were employed in all areas of government ministries and institutions.

Among the best known German specialists and advisers active in Japan around 1886 were the following: Hermann Roesler (in Japan from 1878-1893) began his career in Japan as legal adviser to the Foreign Ministry. By 1881 he had become the first legal adviser to the Japanese government in all questions concerning the modernization of the legal and administrative system. Apart from exerting considerable influence on economic legislation, he was intensively involved in shaping the Meiji Constitution as a close collaborator of Itō Hirobumi.

Another German who contributed to the drafting of the Meiji Constitution was Albert Mosse (in Japan from 1886-1890). He further worked as adviser to the cabinet and the Ministry of the Interior and influenced the legal reform of local government administration. At about the same time as Mosse, Otto Rudorff (1884-1890) was engaged at the University of Tōkyō as Professor of Roman Law and as adviser to the Ministry of Justice. Another specialist in Law, Karl Rudolph (1884-1887) was employed as adviser to the Japanese government, especially for the organization of local police administration. Also well known as an expert and Professor of state and administrative Law at the University of Tōkyō was Karl Rathgen (1882-1890). Another German Professor of Law at the Tōkyō University was Georg Michaelis (1887-1889) who later became Chancellor in his home country from July to November 1917. Around the same time Ludwig Riess (1887-1902) was lecturing at the University of Tōkyō as Professor of History and attained great recognition for introducing to the Japanese Western scientific methods for the critical study of History.

Of special interest to the people of Hamburg is the name of Professor Karl Adolf Florenz, who lived and worked in Japan from 1889 to 1914 as Professor of German Literature and Philosophy at the University of Tōkyō. After his return to Germany he became the founder of modern German Japanology in the field of Japanese Literature, History and Religion. In 1914 he introduced Japanese Studies first to Hamburg's "Kolonialinstitut" and later to the University of Hamburg, where he held the first Chair of Japanology at a German University.

In the field of medical sciences Dr. Julius Scriba (1881-1905) as Professor of Surgical Medicine and Dr. Erwin von Bälz (1876-1905) as Professor of General Medicine, both of them active at the Medical Faculty of Tōkyō University, attained a high degree of recognition and popularity for their scientific and practical work in Japan. Dr. Johannes Ludwig Janson (1880-1914) gained a reputation as Professor of Veterinary Science at the Agricultural School of Tōkyō University and at other institutions.

Klemens Wilhelm Jakob Meckel (1885-1889) made a name for himself as an instructor at the Military Academy of Tōkyō. Apart from these and other German experts working in Japan around the year 1886, the German trading companies, cultural societies and institutions active in Meiji Japan also made valuable contribution to the mutual enrichment and understanding of both countries.

*The year 1986:* Today, Japan maintains political, diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with practically all countries of the world. Occupying a pre-eminent place in the family of nations it strives with great commitment for the development of worldwide welfare and the maintenance of universal peace and order.

The example of Japan in its history of relations with the Western world and the position it occupies today in the international community of nations serves as an inspiring example to all nations who are still at a developing stage.

#### JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN

##### *Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925) as Expert and Western Observer in Meiji Japan*

Between 1868 and 1912, Japan's restored imperial government determined to modernize and strengthen its rule by hiring approximately 3000 *yatoi*, or foreign technical experts. The American zoologist Edward Morse, unlike most of the other hired hands, continues even in 1986 to be the subject of special adulation by the Japanese, in the form of monuments, medals, and effusive testimonials.

Why this adulation? Other Westerners contributed significantly to Japan's material and scientific progress, and, as Robert Rosenstone has pointed out, many Westerners praised Japanese ability to learn quickly, to imitate Western ways, and to serve as behavioral models for the West. Morse's contrast with many other Westerners in Japan seems to have been in four areas.

First, he was not a narrow specialist in his academic researches. He was a generalist, Murakata Akiko's "naturalist-Japanologist", with a broad outlook, characteristics also subsumed under Watanabe Masao's term *hakubutsu gakusha*. While other *yatoi* teachers such as Mendenhall, Milne, or Naumann may have been generalists by training and/or occupation in the West, their activities within Japan were more or less confined to their own specialties.



Morse's academic activities in Japan, and overseas on behalf of Japan, were of a far broader scope.

Second, Morse sensed that public lectures in his fields of academic interest were as important as his lectures to exclusively student audiences. Few if any other *yatoi* teachers gave as many public lectures as Morse did or made as concerted an effort to popularize intellectual concepts.

Third, as evidenced by *Japan Day by Day*, by his 1878 letter to the editor of *Popular Science*, and by other published attacks on "civilized" Western nations which encroached upon Japan, Morse held little if any racial or religious prejudice toward the Japanese. This was an unusual personal quality among *yatoi*. While *yatoi* teachers appear to have been largely free from racial bias against the Japanese, religious bias was not uncommon, even among those who loved the Japanese. Such religious bias was expressed in epithets like "Christianity is the only religion for mankind" or "heresies such as Buddhism or Shintoism". Such sentiments elicited strong anti-foreign feelings from Japanese. Morse's forceful advocacy of Darwinism set him apart from fundamentalist Christian pedantry and endeared him to many Japanese.

Fourth, Morse seems distinct in his denunciations of the meretriciousness of mechanical civilization. He loved the simple beauty of nature as reflected in early Japanese artifacts. He admired Japanese who clung to this same value in their personal lives.

The roots of Morse's contemporary and historical popularity lie, then, in more than his teaching of useful skills. The very thrust of his activities was positive, in terms of what he offered a developing society, and were derived from a long-held empathy with the Japanese people. He played a role in stimulating an indigenous Japanese effort to "preserve the national excellencies" (*kokusui hozon*) and to glorify indigenous art, architecture, life, and customs. His technical information coupled with his preservation of traditional Japanese culture, far from extending foreign political or cultural hegemony, assisted Japan to grow materially and spiritually and thereby to resist Western political and cultural encroachment.

MARZIEH AGHA KHAN MOHEB

*A Study of Some Socio-Cultural Factors Relating to the Process of Marriage in Iran*

The study of the role of social, cultural and economic elements and their effects on the structure and dimensions of the family is the major part of social and cultural study. Studying the effect of these factors on the family, mainly when speaking of the traditional societies with their particular properties is valuable and interesting.

In this research, altogether 2230 persons (men and women) without indicating their names responded to the questionnaire. Incomplete and vague answers were eliminated during the analysis; some of the answers given will be discussed separately elsewhere.

*Conclusion:*

1. The survey of young women ( $n=406$ ) and their husbands ( $n=392$ ), a total of ( $n=798$ ), showed that the mean age of married females was ( $X=17.9$ ) and the standard deviation ( $3.69$ ) and the mean age of married males was ( $X=22.77$ ) and the standard deviation ( $3.47$ ).
2. The mean age of these young girl's mothers ( $n=173$ ) was ( $X=14.96$ ) and the standard deviation ( $2.79$ ). Comparing the mean age of these married women and their daughters shows that in the past women married at an earlier age.
3. Another part of this research considers altogether 1259 persons ( $F=681$ ;  $M=578$ ), which shows that illiteracy in women ( $17.76\%$ ) in comparison to illiteracy in men ( $8.65\%$ ) is greater and on the whole the percentage of women with higher qualification is  $2.78\%$ , that of men  $15\%$ .
4. Also in this research the cause of preventing divorce in 302 females has been studied carefully. Figures show that  $75.16\%$  of women have mentioned that their main reason for not divorcing is only on account of the children. The main reasons for not seeking divorce were given in the remaining cases as loneliness ( $9.27\%$ ), consideration of the families on both sides ( $7.61\%$ ), and economic factors ( $7.94\%$ ).

MEHRI BAGHERI

*Aždahāk Fettered*

The legend of Frīdūn and Aždahāk is the most important and detailed dragon-killing myth mentioned in the Avesta, religious tradition, and the Persian National epic. According to the epic Frīdūn overcomes Zahāk but on the command of god he does not kill him, he conveys the captive to Mount Damāvand, binds and fetters him there. Zahāk remains fettered till the Last Day. Then he will break his bonds, but will be slain finally by Kərəsaspā. In the Avesta to describe Frīdūn's victory over Aždahāk, verbs and derivatives of the root "gan-" (to strike) are used. Bartholomae took those derivatives in the sense of "besiegen". Other scholars amongst them Lommel, Herzfeld, and Boyce took the verb to have the meaning of "to kill". Thus the Avestan version of the legend, according to which Frīdūn slayed Aždahāk came into existence which is in contrast to the well-known epic version.



So scholars tried to explain the apparent discrepancy between the two versions of the legend. According to Herzfeld Frīdūn killed Ažidahāk. Prof. Boyce also thinks killing of the dragon is prior to its fettering. According to her the later version is a product of late Zoroastrian scholasticism. And she concludes: "This makes it increasingly improbable that there is an IE. connection between the Iranian myth of the fettered Ažidahāk and the Norse one of the fettered Loki."

In the Avesta where the verb "janat" is used in connection with the heroic deed of Frīdūn, I believe that the verb has the meaning of the root gan- "to defeat". And the heroic tradition knows only of the binding of Zahāk. It has been suggested that the Iranian myth of the fettered Ažidahāk is a product of late Zoroastrian scholasticism. If it were so, how is it that the Iranian gosans and bards accepted such a fabrication of the priests? And how is it that the final slaying of the dragon has an entirely non-Zoroastrian aspect? Because the slayer of Ažidahāk at the Last Day is Kərəsaspā, who was damned as an insulant pagan to eternal punishment in hell by the Zoroastrian priests.

To my mind, the pattern upon which the Iranian myth of the chained dragon is based, is the original and inherent pattern of one of the main concepts of IE. eschatology: The belief in the immortality of the saviour king and his opponent till the end of the world.

We see the same pattern in Armenian legend of Artāvāzd, who is imprisoned in a cave, bound in iron chains. We see the same pattern in the structure of the Norse legend of the fettered Loki, who is bound and bolted with iron into rocks. In the myth of Midgardsorm, the world serpent, whom, Thor failed to destroy in their initial struggle and still lives in the encircling sea, we find the same pattern.

There are also the Greek parallels of bound demons. According to Hesiod Zeus after overcoming "Typhon", buried him under Mount Aitna. He still remains there alive. There are other Greek Giants buried under mountains or islands: Enkelados is under Sicily, Polybotes is imprisoned by Poseidon. Also famous legend of Prometheus Vincetus should not be forgotten.

Thus, the Iranian legend of the fettered Ažidahāk is not an isolated tale but forms a link in a long chain of IE. myths.

KAZEM TEHRANI

### *Hedāyat's "Water of Life"*

Hedāyat's story, "The Water of Life", is about a journey of three brothers two of whom become antagonistic in their subservience to the evil forces of gold and narcotics that bring suprasensory blindness and deafness to the poor. The third brother who is abandoned in a cave by the two older ones, encounters an inspiring dervish, who shows him how to associate with the forces of good. By performing heroic acts, the abandoned brother finds 'the water of life', an elixir that opens the eyes and ears of the people. At appropriate times mythological figures help and save this hero. These figures turn out to be the ones who have traditionally represented the strengths of the Iranian people — their independence, their resourcefulness, and their capacity to find and live the good life. However, the traditional enemies of these helpful figures are the voracious dragons, mischievous demons, oppressing

kings, bewildering witches, and demagogic pseudo-prophets, who are all embodied in two centripetal forces of perverted religious ideology and secular leadership, which draw society away from its goal.

Hedāyat ties these forces in with a deep mystic strain in which the young hero sets out on his quest for freedom (āzādī). This freedom is achieved when the hero, who rises from the depths of starvation and famine (qaḥtī), overcomes all the devastating forces of evil and rides on the wings of the rescuing legendary bird, Sīmurgh. Sīmurgh carries the hero beyond the summit of the imaginary Mt. Qāf, where the magnificent land of Eternal Spring, the source of the 'water of life' is located.

This story may be read on two levels. Level one is a political commentary on social oppression and the class struggle which this oppression begets. Level two is a description of a mystical journey in which the hero, after leaving his homeland and passing through the obstacles of material life, goes to another world where he is revived by the water of life and returns home to bestow boons on his homeland.

Regarding these two approaches we see Hedāyat presents a mirror of socio-mystical thought in Iran. In this mirror is reflected, on the one hand Iranian society's internal strife as a major problem, and on the other, ancient myths, parables, and legends as part of people's religious rites and beliefs in a fashion that the solution to that problem is linked to the expressive significance of the characters, and multiple meanings of the symbols surrounding them. Thus the characters and symbols, particularly the hero, play a great role in this story.

The hero is distinguished from his hostile brothers, who represent the world of material entities by their greed for collecting gold at the cost of exploiting people. He stands for the world of ideologies. He always has an action in the course of execution. He moves forward progressively from one point to another. In this process he shows a path (rāh) on which one travels and follows step by step until he reaches a region (sarzamīn) in which man is freed from bondage. This freedom is an all-time desire (murād) which is attained after a struggle (jang) between the forces of good and evil and reaches the thick of battle (maghlūbih) and results in a higher level of man's awareness and perception.

Briefly stated, Hedāyat depicts a growing conflict between the oppressed and the oppressors. This conflict is illustrated through a series of mystical symbols in a form that they appear as the logical contraries of present-day society. The consequence of this conflict is a peaceful, ideological society, in which the chaotic struggle for daily survival is replaced by a unity in man's existence. This unity is the synthesis of the two distinct cycles of thought. One is the short cycle of the world of ephemeral senses that considers past, present, and future the result of the unpredictable forces that no one can ever understand and control; the other is the long cycle of the world of peace and harmony that regards man as in a continual process of development from lower to higher achievements. What we think is incomprehensible is to Hedāyat a fantasy which has a short cycle like the temporal oppressive behavior of the two antagonistic brothers. What we envision to be, is like the hero's quest that stands for man's commentary on the experience of his continual advancement toward the coherent whole of existence. Possibly this is Hedāyat's personal view of the meaning of life since he poses his question not only to present-day man but also to the man of the future.



C.-H. DE FOUCHÉCOUR

*Le récit de l'ascension (mi 'râj) du Prophète de l'Islam dans l'oeuvre de Nézâmi  
(poète persan du VI<sup>e</sup>/XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*

Dans la foi, il est des instants dont la densité peut être représentée comme une immense période au cours de laquelle il est possible de parcourir un immense espace. C'est le temps qu'il faut pour un voyage hors de ce bas monde: le croyant devient voyant des réalités du ciel et de l'enfer. Avant l'Islam, dans le judaïsme et dans le christianisme, une vaste littérature d'apocalypse s'est développée, où ont été construits des récits de visions, des récits de voyages, ou ces deux ensemble. En Islam, une grande littérature s'est tôt développée autour de l'ascension du Prophète: précédé du récit d'un voyage initiatique (ou horizontal), le récit de cette ascension comporte aussi celui des visions de l'au-delà. Les récits de *mi 'râj* sont centrés sur la personne du Prophète, avec une intention dominante: celle de mettre en valeur la fonction prophétique comme telle.

Nézâmi de Gandja est célèbre, entre autres choses, par le soin étonnant avec lequel il a assemblé les matériaux qui lui ont servi à édifier ses cinq grands poèmes (ou *masnavi*): un traité de morale et de soufisme, "Le Trésor des mystères" (abrégé: *M.A.*), puis quatre "romans", dont (dans l'ordre chronologique) celui de Leyli et Madjnune (*L.M.*), celui des Sept Beautés (*Haft Peykar*, *H.P.*) et la première partie du Roman d'Alexandre (*Š.N.*). Dans l'introduction à chacune de ces oeuvres, on trouve un récit d'ascension; ces récits se font remarquablement écho et tiennent compte de l'oeuvre dans laquelle ils s'inscrivent. Qui est familier de la littérature des *mi 'râj* ne peut qu'être impressionné par la façon dont Nézâmi a su aller à l'essentiel du message de cette tradition littéraire.

Lecteur vraisemblable du livre de base sur le *mi 'râj* écrit en arabe par l'Iranien Qušayri (de Nichâpour; m. en 465/1082), Nézâmi adopta les grandes affirmations de celui-ci dans le récit de soixante-six distiques contenu dans *M.A.* Ultime épanouissement de sa personnalité, l'ascension du Prophète lui permit d'avoir la vision réelle de Dieu, dont il obtint la miséricorde pour sa communauté. Le récit du *mi 'râj* contenu dans *L.M.* est en forme d'apostrophes au Prophète, ce qui convient à l'entrée du roman, mais il n'a pas encore de développement proprement spirituel.

Le magnifique récit du *mi 'râj* par Nézâmi dans *H.P.* rassemble les éléments posés dans les deux premiers récits; ils sont intégrés dans un grand poème fortement charpenté en sept points, ce qui n'est pas sans rappeler la belle construction du récit de l'ascension élaborée un siècle plus tôt par Surâbâdi. Le premier distique donne le sens de tout le récit: le Prophète a une telle nature qu'il n'accomplit son être que dans cette ascension jusqu'au Trône divin. Puis Gabriel invite le Prophète au voyage nocturne vers le Trône (2 à 22); prédisposé à la prophétie, Mohammad accueille entièrement le message de Gabriel (23 à 30); il s'élance sur Borâq, la monture céleste (31 à 39, description de l'envol de la monture); le Prophète franchit les sept cieux, dont il éclaire et colore les astres (40 à 49) au-delà des sept cieux, c'est l'ultime parcours vers la présence divine: dans le désir, puis dans l'effroi devant l'abîme, jusqu'à la miséricorde divine qui offre la proximité (50 à 60); au-delà de ce parcours spirituel, le Prophète dépasse son propre être, et il peut voir réellement Dieu hors de tout "comment" (61 à 71); le fruit de cette ascension fut la délivrance des pécheurs (72 à 75). La lyrique du poème rend l'ascension présente aux sens de l'auditeur, et l'emporte vers le modèle; sa doctrine met en valeur les trois traits de Mohammad: prophète,

intercesseur, spirituel accompli. Le récit du *mi 'râj* contenu dans *Š.N.* insiste sur le fait que cette ascension fut un voyage par lequel le Prophète dépassa toute la création; le modèle, en somme, de ce qu'aurait dû être le voyage d'Alexandre.

La miniature persane a trouvé dans tous ces récits de Nézâmi une grande source d'inspiration. La réflexion devrait aussi prendre notre poète comme un guide de lecture de la littérature des *mi 'râj*.

BERNFRIED SCHLERATH

*Verbvalenz und Verbbedeutung*

1. Von der Schwierigkeit, die Syntax einer Proto-Sprache zu rekonstruieren

Die Syntax bindet den Sprecher nicht so stark wie die Morphologie. Ihre Regeln setzen dem Sprecher einen Rahmen, in dem er Alternativen zur Verfügung hat. Er kann in diesem Rahmen einen Individualstil entwickeln. Die Freiheiten sind in Sprachen mit reich entwickelter Flexion wie dem Altindischen und dem Altiranischen besonders groß. Eine Sprachbeschreibung, die ja bis zu einem gewissen Grad von den Texten selbst abstrahieren muß, kann folglich nur den verbindlichen, mehr oder weniger weiten Rahmen nachzeichnen und Beispiele für seine tatsächliche Ausfüllung geben. Diese Besonderheit tritt noch stärker hervor, wenn die Syntax mehrerer historisch verwandter Sprachen rekonstruiert werden soll. Der Rahmen wird dann noch weiter, und da Beispiele für die Ausfüllung nicht vorliegen, erscheint das Ergebnis der Rekonstruktion vom Standpunkt der Einzelsprachen aus notwendigerweise banal.<sup>1</sup>

2. Helfen die vedisch-awestischen Formeln zu einer genaueren Rekonstruktion der indo-iranischen Syntax?

Man könnte die Hoffnung haben, daß das Formelmateriale, das ja schon innerhalb der Texte, in denen es vorkommt, eine archaische Schicht repräsentiert, ein genaueres Bild der Syntax vermittelt, dadurch daß die Möglichkeiten auf einen engeren Kernbereich eingeschränkt sein könnten. Diese Hoffnung wird enttäuscht. Die indo-iranische Syntax, die sich aus dem Vergleich der Formeln ergibt, unterscheidet sich in nichts von der rigvedischen und der awestischen Syntax. Man kann feststellen, daß es offenbar das Bestreben der Dichter war, die zusammengehörigen Wörter, die einen bestimmten Ausschnitt der geistigen Welt widerspiegeln, immer neu und verschieden zusammenstellen. Die *feste Basis* ist die semantische Zusammengehörigkeit der an einer Formel beteiligten Wörter, ihre *Solidarität*<sup>2</sup>. Das *Veränderliche* ist die *syntaktische Zusammenstellung*.

<sup>1</sup>*Incontri linguistici* 8, 1982/83 habe ich versucht, mit dem Begriff der *Strukturdichte* der einzelnen sprachlichen Ebenen, die unterschiedliche Rekonstruierbarkeit von Phonologie, Flexion, Wortbildung, Syntax und Semasiologie zu erklären.

<sup>2</sup>Solidarität verstanden im Sinne von E. Coseriu, 'Lexikalische Solidaritäten', *Poetica* 1, 1967 und *Einführung in die strukturelle Betrachtung des Wortschatzes*, 1970.



## 3. Ein neuer Vorschlag

Im Jahr 1984 erschien das Buch von Thomas Krisch "Konstruktionsmuster und Bedeutungswandel indogermanischer Verben. Anwendungsversuch von Valenztheorie und Kasusgrammatik auf Diachronie und Rekonstruktion", Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Nancy 1984. In diesem Buch wird versucht, einen inneren Zusammenhang herzustellen zwischen den verschiedenen Rektionen eines Verbums und davon abhängigen verschiedenen Verbbedeutungen. Die bei der Beschreibung auf diese Weise gesammelte Erfahrung soll die Rekonstruktion der indogermanischen Verbrekationen auf eine sichere Grundlage stellen. Wegen seines Theoriebewußtseins wurde das Buch von Erich Neu, *Incontri Linguistici* 9, 1984, 1986 S. 110 und Anm. 26 nachdrücklich begrüßt. Das Verfahren geht folgendermaßen: 1. Die Kasus der vom Verb registrierten Nomina werden nach der Art der *Valenzgrammatik* als E<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub> usw. bezeichnet. 2. Es wird (nach Ch. J. Fillmore) mit *Tiefenkasus* (agent, experiencer, source, goal) gearbeitet. 3. Annahme von *Inkorporierung* von Objekten, die für ein Verbum typisch sind. Die Objekte können dann eingespart werden. Dadurch daß sie mitverstanden werden, entsteht eine Bedeutungsspezialisierung. 4. *Exkorporierung*: "Bei Bedeutungserweiterung würden wir erwarten, daß semantische Informationen, die in der Verbbedeutung vorhanden sind, herausgenommen, als Tiefenkasus systematisiert werden und semantisch-syntaktische Leerstellen ausfüllen können" (S. 15 f.).

Jedes der Beispiele, das das Funktionieren der Methode zeigen soll (S. 12-40), verrät statt dessen das Theoriedefizit des Autors, das notwendigerweise zu falschen Ergebnissen führen muß. So wird z. B. (S. 12-15) von dem absoluten Gebrauch von nhd. *geben* (z. B. in dem Satz "Er gibt!") behauptet, daß es sich auf das Geben beim Kartenspiel beziehen müsse, was natürlich nicht stimmt. Goal (die Kartenspieler) und Object (die Karten) seien in das Verbum inkorporiert, dadurch sei "die Zahl der semantischen Merkmale gestiegen, die Extension, der situative Anwendungsbereich, ist daher wesentlich kleiner geworden". In Wirklichkeit ist es natürlich genau umgekehrt. Gegeben ist die Situation. Je mehr sie institutionalisiert ist, umso mehr kann in der Kommunikation zwischen den Aktanten eingespart werden. Die angeblich inkorporierten Objekte haben sprachlich nie existiert und verdanken ihre Existenz nur nachträglicher Interpretation. Man könnte mit solchen Interpretationen (=Erläuterungen) noch viel weiter gehen.

## 4. Idg. \*nes-

Näher untersucht werden sollen Krischs Ausführungen zu idg. \*nes- S. 26-40 (ai. *násate*, gr. *νέομαι*, got *ganisan*). Aufgrund der Bedeutungsangaben in Wörterbüchern (nicht aufgrund von Beschäftigung mit den Belegstellen wie es seine selbstverständliche Pflicht wäre) gelangt Th. Krisch durch Vergleichung der einzelsprachlichen Ansätze zu einer Bedeutung von idg. nes-: "'Agent begibt sich mit innerer Beteiligung/Betroffenheit von Source nach Goal' (wobei gilt: Agent = Source)" (S. 39).

Altind. *nas-* kommt nur im RV vor. Es ist dort elf mal belegt. Davon sieben mal mit dem Präverb *sam-*. Eine Durchsicht der Belege ergibt, daß der Bedeutungsansatz von Grassmann "liebvoll herangehen, sich gesellen" verbessert werden kann. Th. Krisch ist es nur wichtig, die syntaktisch notwendigen Ergänzungen herauszufinden, "wobei es mir nicht darauf ankommt, welcher Kasus in den einzelnen Sprachen an der Oberfläche erscheint. Nur die Zahl der Leerstellen ist mir wichtig. Diese einzelsprachlichen Leerstellen fülle ich mit dem jeweiligen einzelsprachlichen Tiefenkasus auf" (S. 29). Dieses Vorgehen von der Tiefenstruk-

tur zur Oberfläche, wobei sich eine Kompetenz angemäßt wird, die wir gar nicht haben können, führt zur mangelhaften Beobachtung des Sprachgebrauchs. Krischs Ansatz für ai. *nas-* "Agent begibt sich freundlich nach Goal", "Agent nähert sich freundlich" ist ein Rückschritt hinter Grassmann.

Eine Interpretation der Textstellen ergibt für *nas-* eine Bedeutung "durchkommen, glücklich ans Ziel gelangen" und für *sam- nas-* "sich glücklich am Ziel vereinigen". Das Wort wird gebraucht für das glückliche Durchkommen der Lieder des Dichters zu dem angerufenen Gott. (Das Lied könnte ja auch ungehört verhallen).

1,186,7: die Lobreden (*gírah*) gelangen zu Indra wie Gattinen zu ihrem Mann, wie Kühe zu ihren Jungen. 9,71,3: Soma gelangt ans Ziel, er hat Erfolg aufgrund der Lobrede (*gírah*). 9,92,5: alle Dichter (*viśve kārāvah*) vereinigen sich glücklich am Ziel, d.h. sie stimmen überein. 9,71,8: Soma vereinigt sich glücklich am Ziel mit dem Lobgesang (*susṛutī*).

Die oben 1,186,7 anklingende glückliche Vereinigung der Gatten wird an weiteren Stellen angesprochen: 4,58,8: die Ströme des Butterschmalzes kommen glücklich zu Agni als ihrem Ziel, so wie schöne Frauen zu den Zusammenkünften gelangen. 9,68,4: Soma vereinigt sich glücklich mit den Schwestern (= den Fingern des Pressenden; so auch Lüders, Varuṇa S. 229f., der in diesem Punkt Geldner folgt). Hier liegt ein Euphemismus für das Erschlagen (*han-*) des Soma vor, das als ein Sich-Vermählen verhüllend bezeichnet wird. Der gleiche Euphemismus 9,82,3: Soma vereinigt (vermählt) sich mit den Preßsteinen (*sam grāvabhir nasate*). 8,72,4: die ausgepreßten Säfte verschwistern sich mit den Zutaten, sie vereinigen sich wie Kalb und Kuh. 9,89,3 und 2,16,8 drücken in ähnlicher Weise Vereinigung der Gatten aus. Das glückliche Zusammentreffen der Priester mit den Maruts am Opferplatz spricht 10,64,13 an.

Auch *asta-* ntr. "Heimstätte" = "Ort wohin man durchkommt" (das Th. Krisch gar nicht erwähnt), fügt sich zu dieser Bedeutung.

Griech. *νέομαι* unterscheidet sich nur in Nuancen von der Grundbedeutung des altind. Verbs: "ans (erwünschte) Ziel gelangen", "durchkommen" = "heimkommen".

Die ärgsten Fehler unterlaufen Krisch bei der Behandlung von got. *ga-nisan*. Er wundert sich über die Inkorporierung zweier verschiedener Objekte (in der Tiefenstruktur, denn an der Oberfläche gibt es nur den absoluten Gebrauch), die zu zwei Bedeutungen von *ga-nisan* führt: "zur Gesundheit kommen" = "gesund werden" und "zur Seligkeit kommen" = "selig werden". In Wahrheit liegt in allen Fällen Übersetzung von *σώζεσθαι* vor, das eben "glücklich durchkommen", "gerettet werden", "heimkommen" (*οἰκαδε*) bedeutet. Krisch scheint zu glauben, daß Jesus einmal als Arzt und einmal "religiös" tätig war und daß dementsprechend *ganisan* (*σώζεσθαι*) zwei verschiedene Bedeutungen haben müsse. Eine Verkenntung von Grundtatsachen der neutestamentlichen Vorstellungswelt. Nebenbei sei noch die medizinische Unkenntnis verratenden Geschmacklosigkeit erwähnt, den Blutfluß der Frau (Mt. 9,20) als Hämorrhoiden aufzufassen.

Die laienhaften und redseligen Versuche von Th. Krisch erlauben dennoch, ein Urteil über die Möglichkeit einer verbesserten Rekonstruktion mit Hilfe von Valenztheorie und Tiefenkasus zu fällen: Die Hoffnung (wenn sie denn bestand) hat getrogen.



GERNOT L. WINDFUHR

*A Spatial Model Applied to West Iranian Verb Systems*

A spatial model for tense, mood and aspect was developed by the author (see *Folia Linguistica* 19.3-4, 1985, pp. 415-461). This paper demonstrates the applicability of that model to the comparative description of the verb systems of Iranian dialects.

It has been observed that the verb systems of most of the modern Iranian dialects have a common core system, from which individual dialects, most significantly those in contact with non-Iranian languages, have diverged. That core consists of five members, irrespective of morphological variation: present and past imperfective, present and past perfective, and a tense neutral, and partially modally neutral and aspectually neutral form which is generally called 'preterit' or 'simple past'.

As to differentiation, a case in point is Talyshi which, in contact with Azari Turkish, has radically changed its verbal system. Another are the three major varieties of Persian. For example, Iranian Persian has two subjunctives, whereas Dari in Afghanistan has developed a fully developed dubitative system. In turn, Tajiki has three forms each for the assumptive-potential, and conjectural.

The model suggests that present and past are not points of sections of the time-line of past-present-future, but represent two basic axes which intersect. Future is not on the time-line, but is located on the axis of reality (including deictic [progressive] — structural [habitual] — predictive [future]- potential [subjunctive]). Similarly, imperfective present ('present') and perfective present ('present perfect') represent degrees along the axis of experience. The axes of these two modalities, i.e. of reality and experience, likewise intersect. The axis of aspect divides this system into imperfective and perfective.

This model allows for the mapping of individual verb forms according to their semantic-syntactic functions in terms of these axes, resulting in a synoptic model for individual languages. At the same time, the model allows to map changes and to show that these imply extensions or reductions of functions along the categorical axes.

Thus, it is shown that the innovations of Dari Persian involve modal differentiations along the axis of reality, while the modal innovations of Tajiki involve differentiations along the axis of experience. The former may be due to the influence of Indic, the latter is clearly due to interference with Central Asian Turkic.

Similarly, it is shown that the restructuring of Talyshi involves increased differentiation along the axis of reality due to the influence of Azari Turkish.

Finally, it is shown that the distinctions in the 'core' still reflect the result of a double cycle of loss of 'aorist' during the stages from Old to New Iranian. This is demonstrated with regard to the imperfective present, aorist, perfective present, and its equivalents, i.e. the three major distinctions along the axis of experience. The loss of the original inflected aorist and inflected perfect resulted first in the predominance of forms based on the perfective participle in /-ta/, then in the shift along the axis of experience of the new perfective to the aorist position in late Old and in Middle Iranian, largely losing its perfective function. In turn, new perfectives evolved in various dialect areas by various means. One of these is the extension of the Middle Iranian aorist in /-t/ (< old perfective in /-ta/) by /-aka/ > /-a/ in Persian.

dialects and a regionally well defined area of Iranian dialects.

AHMAD TAFAZZOLI

*The Importance of the Early Islamic Sources for the Culture of Pre-Islamic Iran*

The extensive researches in the past few decades have revealed that the literature of pre-Islamic Iran bears the characteristics of oral literatures. Interest in this kind of literature led to the fact that apart from state or commercial records and documents and, on rare occasions, religious works, hardly anything was written down in this period. Most important Middle Persian works remained unwritten until the end of the Sasanian, and especially early Islamic period (9th/10th = 3rd/4th century A.H.), when they received their final redaction. It was during the latter period that the Islamic authors, many of whom were Iranian or of Iranian origin, were active in translating books from Middle Persian or compiling general works on history, geography, literature etc., in which they devoted chapters to pre-Islamic Iran. In the matters concerning this period, these authors not only relied on the then extant written documents, but made use of different oral traditions. Early Islamic books are therefore invaluable sources for the knowledge of the history, customs, literature, religions and, to a lesser extent, the languages of pre-Islamic Iran. For example al-Biruni's accounts of the Iranian festivals preserved in his works are of prime importance. In this paper I would like to discuss a passage in his *Āthār al-bāqiyā* (ed. Sachau, p. 228) containing a corrupted and unrecognized Middle Persian term, namely *dnbk* 'hw' the correct decipherment and interpretation of which reveals an Iranian custom. On the evidence of the Pahl. term *gāh ī dēn* the 'religious throne', it is suggested that the term mentioned by Bīrūnī should be deciphered as *dēn gāu(g)* 'the religious seat', in contrast with the 'royal throne'. It can be inferred from the account of Bīrūnī, confirmed by other Islamic sources, that it was customary during the Sasanian period to keep a golden seat in the important Fire-temples for the kings to sit on when they attended the religious ceremonies.

EHSAN YARSHATER

*Observations on the Sources of the Bāṭinī Doctrines*

The origin of the Bāṭinīs has been the subject of controversy, generally with inconclusive results. Their affinity with the early *ghulāt* or extremist Shi'ites can hardly be doubted. The characteristic doctrines found among the *ghulāt* could be summed up as follows: (1) Belief in an imam who is held to be *ma'ṣūm*, that is, divinely protected from error (or divinely ordained, or sharing the prophet's authority, or being the bearer of the divine light, or being a manifestation of God on earth — the notion depending on the sect), and who is in possession of the inner meaning of the religion. (2) Belief in the continuity of divine revelation, generally through *ḥulūl* or transmigration. (3) Docetism, or denial of the imam's death and belief in his *ghaiba* or temporary absence. (4) Belief in *raḡ'a* or return of the imam, a notion related to his occultation; the imam would return as Mahdi or Qā'im to reveal the true meaning of the religion, rule the world, punish the wicked, etc. (5) Belief in a cyclical view of the religion, rule the world, punish the wicked, etc. (6) Belief in seven prophetic cycles. (7) Belief in salvation through the true faith which consists of the recognition and acknowledgement of the imam. (8) Belief in the esoteric or symbolic meaning (*bāṭin*) of the apparent messages and



injunctions of the scriptures, such as the creation, resurrection, punishment and reward, worship, and religious duties. (8) Belief in *ibāha* or insignificance of ritual worship and observance, and even sometimes conventional morality, once the knowledge of the *bāṭin* is achieved or the imam recognized. (9) Belief, in a number of cases, in *taqiyya* or dissimulation of one's true faith in the face of danger. Of course, not all these beliefs were present or fully developed among all the *ghulāt*s, but by and large these were the doctrines which distinguished them from other sectarians.

In our detective search for the origin of the extremist views, so incompatible with orthodox Islam and no less with orthodox Zoroastrianism, Judaism or Christianity, we meet one sect, namely the Khorramdīniyya, which deserves particular attention. This sect is often thrown together with other extremist Shi'ite sects since it shares in general their characteristic beliefs. But there is a major difference here, one that we should not lose sight of: the other sects such as Kaysāniyya, Khaṭṭābiyya, Hāshimiyya and scores of others, the accounts of which fill the pages of heresiographic works, cannot be considered descendants of any known pre-Islamic sect, whereas the Khorramdīnīs are, as I have argued elsewhere, and as is amply borne out by our sources, the direct descendants of the Mazdakites, their doctrines having been modified only by the necessity of adapting themselves to the environment created by Islam and the suppressive measures taken against them by the caliphs and their lieutenants.

Less than a century before Islam, Mazdakism achieved a spectacular success and spread widely in the Sasanian empire. It attracted followers also among the Arab tribes and townsmen. Such a widespread religious movement could not be strangled and made to disappear overnight, no matter how savage the suppression may have been; and this is not only because of its large following, but also because it represented a response to widely felt sentiments that orthodox Zoroastrianism could not satisfy. But when the Omayyads, too, betrayed these very sentiments held by a large segment of the society, we find that the radical sects of esoteric and *bāṭinī* leaning crop up, with unmistakable Mazdakite traits, and that they increasingly become the refuge of frustrated *mawālīs* and needy or disgruntled Arabs. The subversive efforts of these diverse groups, united in their anti-regime feelings, culminates in the 'Abbāsī *da'wa*, originally a radical movement of extremist type.

An event under the caliph al-Rāḍī in the 4th century which Wilferd Madelung has discussed at length with respect to the Isfahani Mahdi is significant. Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī, after sacking Mecca and reaching the climax of his power, proclaimed this Isfahani as the expected Mahdī, who then claimed to be a descendant of Persian kings and a Magian, and who proceeded to abrogate the Islamic law and worship and to restore the Iranian religion. The incident revealed some of the secret inclinations of the sect and brought into the open its affinity with pre-Islamic religious thought.

M. RASTEGAR

#### *The Revolt of Arslān Basāsīrī*

A historical event of great importance that occurred in the early part of the Saljuq domination during the 'Abbāsīd reign, was the revolt of Abū 'l-Ḥarb (Abū 'l-Ḥārith) Arslān al-Basāsīrī. This Iranian, who led a serious struggle against the Caliph of Baghdad, has not been given the due historical recognition he deserves. Through a great revolt instigated in Iraq, he took

Wāsiṭ, Mosul, and Baghdad, captured and expelled the Caliph and his viziers from Baghdad, hoisted the flag of the 'Abbāsīds, ordered that 'Alī and his descendants be honoured and glorified in the pulpit, and that in the mosques the *Shī'ī* prayer form be used.

Five major causes can be suggested as the underlying factors behind al-Basāsīrī's enmity towards the 'Abbāsīds: (1) the Ismā'īlī leanings of al-Basāsīrī; (2) unstable conditions in Baghdad: the weakening power of the Caliph and the conflict between al-Basāsīrī and his *mawālīs*, the Dailamites, resulted in widespread revolt in Baghdad; (3) racial differences between al-Basāsīrī and the Arabs, who regarded him and his fellow countrymen as *mawālīs*, as well as the Iranian upbringing that he had received while in the service of the Buwayhid dynasty, contributed to his taking a stand against the Caliph of Baghdad; (4) al-Basāsīrī's bitter enmity towards a powerful adversary, the Caliph's vizier, the *ra'īs al-ru'asā'* Ibn al-Muslima, who is said to have caused his house and property to be burnt and pillaged and his harem taken into slavery; (5) the antagonism that had developed between the Saljuq Toghrul and his step-brother Ibrāhīm Īnāl left al-Basāsīrī with no expectations of effective support from the Caliph even though he had married the daughter of Toghrul's brother.

When Īnāl rose in rebellion against Toghrul, the latter was compelled to leave Baghdad in pursuit of his own brother, thus leaving Baghdad without a protector able to match al-Basāsīrī, who, reinforced by the troops of Quraish b. Badrān, proceeded to Baghdad, captured it, banished the Caliph al-Qā'im and hanged his vizier.

MASASHI HANEDA

#### *The Hūzānīs — History of a Distinguished Family of Isfahān From the 15th to the 17th Century*

Among a number of chronicles composed in the Safavid period, *Afḍal al-tavārīḥ* is no doubt one of the most important. But so far no research has cast enough light upon this source. It was written in the first half of the 17th century by Faḍlī Hūzānī Isfahānī, provincial vizir of Šāh 'Abbās I.

With the aid of this source, the author attempts to trace the family history of the Hūzānīs, one of the most notable families of Isfahān. Since the author of *Afḍal al-tavārīḥ* was a member of this family, valuable family history references can be found in this source. This study complements the work of Dr. Quiring-Zoeche (*Isfahan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*), who has covered the Hūzānīs without taking advantage of *Afḍal al-tavārīḥ*.

After explaining the genealogy of the family found mainly in *Afḍal al-tavārīḥ*, the author points out the military power of the family, who enabled Šāh Maḥmūd to become one of the leaders in the city of Isfahān soon after his immigration from Baghdad in the 1440s.

Next he describes the activities of Yār Aḥmad, a grandson of Šāh Ismā'īl Šafavī in 1503 that changed the destiny of the family. While the family had been local nobility before this encounter, afterwards many family members came to occupy various administrative posts of the Safavid state.

Observing the career of these persons, the author has found several interesting facts.

1) All of the three family members who took the highest position in the state hierarchy



ruined themselves as a result of struggles for power.

- 2) In contrast to this, the other members of the family, who for the most part worked on the provincial level, lived more secure lives and successively took charge of the province.
- 3) Though family member activities expanded from Āḍarbayḡān to Sīstān during the 16th century, the family kept their original domain in Hūzān and also kept certain interests in Naḡanz. They were large landowners.
- 4) There is little evidence as to the cultural activities of the family — a marked contrast with the large amount of references concerning their energetic political activities.
- 5) The military character indicated at the early stage of the family's career seems to have become more and more obscure in proportion to the level of political stability within the Safavid state. The Hūzānīs had become a typical bureaucratic family by the second half of the 16th century.

While it is true that the incompleteness of *Afḍal al-tavārīḥ* makes it very difficult to trace the family history after the 17th century, there is no denying that the activities of the Hūzānīs somewhat declined after the 17th century. Some family members even emigrated to India.

As for the reason for this post-17th century inactivity of the Hūzānīs, there is really no satisfactory answer at present, since at the present stage of our research it is not clear whether this decline was a simple question of intra-family features, or whether there was a deeper cause related to some social change in the 17th century. Further studies on other Iranian influential families and on the policy of Safavid sovereigns towards the Tāḡīk in the 17th century should further elucidate the actual reasons.

ROBERT MICHAEL BURRELL

*The Persian Army in the Reign of Muḡaffar al-Dīn Shāh 1896-1907*

Travellers who visited Persia at the end of the nineteenth century often commented on the poor state of the country's army and on the shabby appearance of many of its soldiers. While such reports are not without interest, few of their authors had the necessary knowledge or professional skills to provide a detailed and systematic picture of the army. Though there are some secondary Persian sources available there does not appear to be a substantial body of archival material accessible in Tehran which could form the basis for such an enquiry. Fortunately the Public Record Office and the India Office Records in London contain several documents which enable the state of the army to be investigated in some detail.

Anglo-Russian geopolitical rivalry over Qajar Persia has been studied by several scholars and its magnitude was such that the British government made many efforts to obtain much information on internal conditions in the country. One source of such knowledge was the series of reports made by British army officers who travelled through Persia, often on their way to or from postings in India. While those accounts are useful — particularly for the information which they contain on conditions in the remote provinces — they were not written at regular intervals, nor are they always easy to locate in the archives.

A second fruitful source of information lies in the routine reports made by British consuls and

vice-consuls. The extent of Anglo-Russian rivalry was such that more and more such posts were being established at the end of the nineteenth century and the geographical coverage provided by such reports is therefore quite extensive. The most useful documents, however, are the series of secret reports written by successive British military attachés in Tehran. Those men were experienced army officers with a good command of Persian and their knowledge was considerable.

From a study of all those sources it is clear that the Persian army was indeed in a very poor state during the reign of Muḡaffar al-Dīn Shāh. The recruiting system was in disarray and the number of men actually serving with the infantry in 1900 was probably less than 15% of the official total. Money was being allocated by the government for regiments which existed only on paper and corruption was to be found among the officer corps. The pay of soldiers in the ranks was often in arrears and this led to desertations and occasionally, to mutiny. The equipment, clothing and training of the men was woefully inadequate. In 1899, for example, the infantry fired just five rounds of ammunition per man. The notable exception to this picture of military decrepitude and very low morale is the Cossack Brigade — but its numbers did not exceed 1800 men at this time, and almost all of them served in Tehran. In the provinces governors rarely had sufficient troops at their disposal to maintain law and order and to ensure the collection of taxes. The failure of the army was quite widely appreciated and in May 1905 its reform was demanded by leading merchants and 'ulamā' in the capital.

KAMRAN EKBAL

*Britain and the Russian-Iranian Peace Negotiations at 'Askarān (1810)*

After concluding the Preliminary Treaty with Persia (Tehran, March 12, 1809) the British Envoy, Harford Jones Brydges, soon came to believe that Russia rather than France represented the more realistic threat to India. But the Russians, following their extensive gains in the Caucasus in the course of 1805, were becoming eager for peace. Fighting against Ottomans, Persians and rebellious Georgians at a time when the main body of their troops had to be assembled in Europe to meet the French challenge proved to be a major problem. After the military setback at Erivan in 1809, which led to the resignation of the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces in Georgia, General I. V. Gudevich, attempts were intensified under his successor, General A. P. Tormasov, to arrange an armistice.

The Russian intermediary, Baron Wrede, was deputed again in December 1809. The letter he carried from Tormasov to the Persian Heir Apparent, Abbas Mirza, laid stress on the great Russian interest in concluding peace. The Minister of Azerbaijan, Mirza Bozorg Qā'em Maqām, was duly authorized by the Shah to meet Tormasov. Alarmed by the prospects of a peaceful settlement Brydges warned the Prime Minister, Mirza Shafī', that such a settlement would be regarded as contrary to the spirit of the Anglo-Iranian Treaty and pointed out that the British Government would consent to neither armistice nor peace.

The ultimate character of this document results from the tensions between Brydges and Mirza Shafī', who was reckoned to favour a French rather than a British alliance. For Brydges it was Mirza Bozorg, his old friend and intimate since the time Brydges resided as agent of the East India Company at Basra, on whom he relied and from whom he received the assurance that no arrangements would be concluded contrary to the British designs. With



his support Brydges was soon in a position to inspect nearly all relevant political documents relating to the projected armistice, sometimes even before Tehran was able to.

Brydges thus succeeded in having the negotiations postponed for nearly two months. 'Askarān on the Russian side of the frontier was nevertheless fixed as the place for a conference. Mirza Bozorg left Tabriz on April 5 and was received on the Russian frontier with singular distinction.

The extent of Brydges' influence on the political proceedings may be gathered from the fact that among all others he alone was entreated by Abbas Mirza to work out a 'Project of a Convention and Armistice between Persia and Russia' which was accordingly transmitted to 'Askarān. Besides obstacles which were bound to torpedo the conference, article 6 stipulating British approval prior to the signing of any peace treaty is a clear indication of the extent to which Persia was already losing actual sovereignty at such an early stage.

The negotiations were a farce. From the very beginning they were doomed to failure. Brydges was soon able to give a full report of his success and congratulate himself for having brought about the breakdown of the conference. A peaceful solution having been frustrated the Russian-Iranian war continued with renewed vehemence. England had every reason to be satisfied.

(This paper is based mainly on documents of the Public Record Office (FO 60/1-3) and the India Office Library (PFR 27, 30a,31). A full account of the negotiations will be published in the near future)

A. W. AZHAR

#### *Indian Elements in Indo-Persian Poetry*

The story of Indian Culture in the beginning appears to be the process of conflicts and contrasts but soon it is one of synthesis, enrichment and continuity. During the Medieval period the real history of India is thus the record of attempts at synthesis and cooperation between Hindus and Muslims on a thousand planes. The process of assimilation had gone so far during the time of Babur that he characterised it as a unique mode of life or the Hindustani way.

Persian literature produced in India has its own colour. The question has been debated whether the style and period be described as Indo-Persian or otherwise. In the Persian speaking world, with the shifting of the seat of power, the seat of learning was also moving. This widened the area of the influence of Persian. It raised the status of the language from national to international. Indo-Persian literature has widened its dimensions.

The sixteenth century has generally been regarded as the time when Sabke Hindi became well established. It could be traced back earlier but in embryonic form only. Abul Faraje Remi and Masude Saade Salman could mention only Lahore and Jullundur.

In the opening verses of a Mathnawi in praise of the courtiers and companions of Amir Shirzad, we can see not only that the poet has employed the Persianised form of a Hindi word but also that he praises the Indian weather, fauna and flora. No Iranian poet would appreciate the rain as it is not the spring season there.

The literature produced during the period could easily be distinguished from the earlier

writings both in prose and poetry due to the style. In poetry some vocabulary from India along with new metaphors and phrases were employed. This Sabk or style like any other has both its merits and demerits. Translation projects and original writing in Persian were launched which have no parallel in Indian or Muslim history. At the instance of Akbar and later on the Mughal princes and nobles, Sanskrit and Persian scholars were engaged in translation activity that enriched Persian literature with the ancient wisdom of India and also became a means to introduce these masterpieces to the rest of the world.

A literature is assessed not only by the original writings and creative genius, but also by the power of assimilation and the spirit of understanding and borrowing from other languages and literatures. Besides the genius of the Persian-speaking people in creating monumental works, their translation activity is also very significant and appreciable. The Indian classics were translated into Persian and transmitted to the intellectual world. Starting from the well known Panchatantra in old days, the writings of Nehru in modern times were made available to Persian readers. The great epics of India, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana were translated into Persian.

Ghazal as a genre received special attention in Indo-Persian poetry and acquired unprecedented psychological depth, making it a vehicle for transmitting the vibrations of the sub-conscious mind. Though the ghazal of Sabke Hindi may lack the emotional intensity of the earlier masters such as Sadi and Hafez, yet it surpasses them in the subtle overtone it projects to the theme of love common to Persian poetry of all times.

JOSEF ELFENBEIN

#### *Balochi Literature*

In this paper I have attempted a concise and up-to-date description of the nature and extent of Balochi literature, both classical and modern, as I have found it during many years of fieldwork in Baluchistan. Unfortunately only a very small part of the huge corpus of classical balladry still extant has as yet been collected and written down, despite the enthusiastic labours of many native enthusiasts since 1947.

The oldest poems, the *Dapter Ša'irī* or "Ballads of Origins" date very likely from the 17th C. or even earlier; but they are few in number and often corrupt. They purport to give the history of the early migrations of the Baloch from Aleppo, their traditional (but quite imaginary) original home, beginning about the 8th C. These migrations, in many separate stages over the next 6 centuries, proceeded first to Persian Baluchistan, and thence eastwards across Makran as far as the Indus River.

But the main corpus of classical balladry, until quite recently only orally preserved, is represented by what I have called the "heroic cycles" — of which 3 are of special importance. The first is the "Čākur Cycle", which describes the life and deeds of Mīr Čākur, chief of the Rind tribe, and the destructive 30-years war waged against their main rivals the Lašārīs, in the second half of the 15th C. The second, the "Dodā-Bālāč Cycle" of approximately the same date or perhaps a bit later, is more personal and "sociological", dealing as it does with refugee status, hostages, cattle raids, murder, deceit, and the obligations of blood-feud and revenge. The third cycle consists of the poems about Mīr Hammāl Jihand, Sultan of Kalamat in the 16th C., and his struggles with the Portuguese.



This corpus of ballads is uniquely interesting for its extent and the detailed account of a purely tribal "heroic" society, in which the individual is constantly at the mercy of impersonal outside forces which compel his unquestioning obedience. Life as viewed in these ballads is essentially totally tragic, with final disaster inevitable. The tragedy lies not in personal inadequacy but rather in a primordial conflict between what is required by tribal law and tradition and the particular situation of an individual, who at the end of the day has no choice. Tribal law must prevail; outside it life has no meaning at all.

The few specimens of this poetry so far collected and published in Europe are the work of Dames, Mayer, and Zarubin. Unfortunately the work of the first two mentioned, pioneering as it was, is seriously marred by errors and corruption in both text and translation, as well as by the use of a peculiar dialect. Recently Šer Muhammad Marī has published a fine, if limited, collection of some of these ballads with an extensive commentary, written in the Eastern Hill Baloči dialect, and printed in the Sindhi character. Apart from these, some brief specimens of classical balladry have appeared from time to time in the Quetta Balochi magazines "Baloči" and "Noken Dawr", as well as in "Uluss".

The history of Baloch writing was also briefly discussed. It seems likely that the first attempt to write Balochi is to be seen in a ms. preserved in the British Library, which probably dates from the early 19th C. and written in Pashto style. Thereafter there was little interest in writing Balochi by natives until the 1930s, when Muhammad Huseyn 'Unqā started the magazine "Bolān" in his village Mach, near Quetta. But the real impetus to write the language came only after 1947, when several literary societies were formed to promote it in both Karachi and Quetta. The earliest and most influential was the *Baloči zubāne dīwān* in Quetta, 1950-58. Also in the 1950s were founded Academies in Karachi and Quetta to print Balochi books; the most durable of them has been the Baluchi Academy in Quetta. Still flourishing with the aid of a Pakistan Government grant, it has some 60 books to its credit up to now (1986), all but about a dozen of them in Balochi; the main concentration has been on modern writing, both poetry and prose.

Outside Pakistan, it is only in Kabul that Balochi writing is actively promoted, with a newspaper and some books printed since 1981.

Of classical poets prior to the 19th C., the earliest of whom anything definite is known is Jam Durrak, who lived at the court of Nasir Khan I of Kalat in the 18th C.; some of his work was collected and published by Bašīr Ahmad in 1963. The 19th C. saw a flowering of poetry in many towns of the former Kalat State by known poets, some of whose work has been collected and printed in Quetta. The 20th C. has also seen a notable production of poetry, as well as the birth of drama, serious prose writing, essays, and literary criticism, by writers from all over Baluchistan.

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G. G. BERADZE

#### Georgian Seals of the 17th-18th Centuries With Bilingual and Multilingual Inscriptions

Georgian seals with inscriptions are known chiefly by their impressions on 15th/early 19th cent. historical documents. Owing to the vast number of Georgian documents of the indicated period, the impressions of the seals they bear form an extensive mass of sphragistic monuments. These monuments differ from one another in a number of characteristics, including the language of the legends. The seals of the 15th-16th cent. are monolingual, i.e., they bear exclusively a Georgian inscription. The same is the case with most of 17th-18th cent. seals; however, among the latter there also occur frequently seals with inscriptions in two or more languages. In the case of bilingual seals, the legends are largely Georgian-Persian or Georgian-Armenian, and when trilingual, they are Georgian-Armenian-Persian. Several seals with Georgian-Greek and Georgian-Turkish legends also belong to the bilingual group. Special mention should be made of two 18th-century seals, for they constitute an exceptionally rare specimens of "multilingualism" in sphragistics: (1) A pentalingual seal of King Erekle II (1744-1798), carrying the king's name inscribed in Georgian, Armenian, Greek, Latin, and Arabic letters; (2) A tetralingual seal of a rich townsman from Tbilisi, Isai Pitushvili, with a date (1764) and the owner's name rendered in Georgian, Armenian, Russian, and Arabic letters.

As a rule, the foreign-language inscriptions of the seals under study are laconic, comprising from 1 to 6 words. The Georgian inscriptions of the same seals are largely the same; however, the latter are occasionally more extensive. A comparative analysis of different-language parts of the bilingual and multilingual legends shows that in many cases the foreign-language inscriptions are in content adequate to their Georgian counterparts, or give relatively less information than do the Georgian legends. At the same time, there are a number of examples of a foreign-language inscription containing information that is lacking in the Georgian legend of the seal. There are also cases where the basic data necessary for the identification of the owner of the seal, the date of making, etc., is contained only in the foreign-language inscription.



It may be stated in general terms that the emergence in Georgia of seals with bilingual and multilingual inscriptions was due to a number of causes of political and ethnocultural nature. The intricate complex of internal and external political conditions, the changes and progress in the development of craft-industry and urban life in Georgia at the end of the 17th and throughout the 18th century, a motley "ethno-linguistic situation" in Georgian cities (primarily in Tbilisi), the development of economic and cultural relations between various ethnic and confessional groups of population — all this facilitated a further spread in this region of seals with multi-language legends.

A further special study of the Georgian seals under discussion and introduction of this little known group of sphragistic monuments into broad scholarly circulation is valuable not only for the history of Georgia and Georgian sphragistics, but also for the solution (in the comparative-historical aspect) of a number of questions of Oriental sphragistics of the later Middle Ages and modern times.

RICHARD N. FRYE

#### *A Periodization of Iranian Cultures*

*Aim:* To bring the attention of students to the eastern Iranian world, as well as to the western Iranian region which is so closely bound to Mesopotamia in early times, and to plead for an extension of interest of those in the ancient world down to the tenth century of our era rather than cutting off attention far earlier. As I have said many times to know the past, one must also study the present.

*Periodization* — this is not the Marxist progression of societies but rather the great cultural as well as social or political changes which influenced the entire Iranian world. To be chronological, I would propose the following divisions:

- a) The first great period is that of the Achaemenid world empire and its ideology, which is tied to the spread of Mazdaism (which I prefer to the term Zoroastrianism) throughout the Iranian world.
- b) The second division is that of the spread of Hellenism, which had many aspects, (artistic, cultural, political, etc.) all over the Iranian world.
- c) The third period is that of the nomadic invasions, similar to the Germanic expansion in western Europe, but the culmination of these movements of peoples was the establishment of the Kushan Empire and the spread of Buddhism into Iran and Central Asia.
- d) Finally, just as the Carolingian family in western Europe established a revival of the Roman Empire, so the Sasanians tried to revive the great empire of the past (knowing little about the Achaemenids) but with a nomadic heroic background of the Völkerwanderung. The legitimacy and charisma of the Kushans in the east was more than matched by the parallel of the Sasanians in the west.
- e) It all came to a climax in the tenth century with the dominance of Islam and the Turks.

*I. Geographical extent* — Mesopotamia to Gansu, China, and south Siberia to the Indian sub-continent

- a) West Iranian plateau — tendency towards unified state with official language and religion
- b) East Iranian area — tendency towards decentralization
  - 1) Eastern Iran and western Afghanistan — similar to a)
  - 2) Khwarazm — local monarchy, language, religion and art
  - 3) Sogdiana — local oligarchies, local language, religion, and art
  - 4) Bactria — local monarchies, language, Buddhism, and art
  - 5) Hindukush area — local monarchies, language, Buddhism and Hinduism, and Gandhara art
- c) Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) and steppes north of Issyk Kul and Tien Shan
  - 1) Steppe peoples (mainly Sakas or Scythians)
  - 2) Oasis peoples
    - a) Northern rim — Aqsu, Kucha, Agni (Korla), Turfan, Hami
    - b) Southern rim — (primarily) Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, to Dunhuang

#### *II. Temporal divisions*

- a) Western Iran — Achaemenids, Seleucids, Parthians, Sasanians, early Islamic period to tenth century
- b) Eastern Iran — Achaemenids, Seleucids, Parthians, Sakas, Kushans, Hephthalites, Turks (tenth century)
- c) Inner Asia (eastern Turkestan) — third century B.C. — migrations and the Han dynasty of China to third century A.D., Tocharians, Indians and Iranians from third to tenth century A.D., afterwards Turks and Islam

The main date of greatest change is the tenth century A.D. for both the western and the eastern Iranian worlds, and a convenient date would be 1000 A.D. when the dominance of both Turks and Islam was assured for the future in the eastern and the western Iranian areas. The greatest parallel in ancient times was the advent of Buddhism into eastern Iran and Central Asia and this was promoted by the Kushan Empire.

#### *III. Dominant cultural influences from the outside on the various parts of the Iranian world*

- a) Western Iran — the Semitic world of the Near East
- b) Eastern Iran — India (first Buddhism and then a resurgent Hinduism of the Gupta dynasty)
- c) Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) — China (except for Khotan and adjacent areas where Indian influences were very strong)
- d) Transoxiana — from all sides including the steppes



*Methodology — two remarks alone:* (except for the Bardiya-Gaumata episode)

- a) In conflicting reports in the sources about events of persons, I suggest one should follow the lead of the *lectio difficilior* or manuscript analysis. For example, I believe Darius was essentially telling the truth in his story of his rise to power in his Behistun inscription and in Herodotus since what he relates is too involved and difficult to believe to be other than truth; i.e. truth is stranger than fiction. Likewise, in the stories about the origin of the Sasanian dynasty, I do not believe that Sasan was the father of Papak and the grandfather of Ardashir, since this would be the equivalent of the *lectio faciliior* in texts of varying manuscripts.
- b) With all due respect to Sir Harold Bailey and his unbelievable capacity for etymologies, I think he goes too far in seeing Iranians everywhere in the East. For example, his analysis of a Hsiung-nu couplet preserved in Chinese, as Iranian instead of Turkic has been shown by a student of ours at Harvard to be off the mark.

S. MERGANOV

*Problems of the Development of Pashto Vocabulary at the Present Stage*

It is justly believed that the socio-political changes in the life of a country's society are rapidly and fully reflected in the vocabulary of the language its members speak. Language is most immediately and closely linked with the life of the people, by dint of which its vocabulary is designed to serve as a means of communication and speedy transmission of information about what is happening in society to its members. In modern literary Pashto, particularly important developments have begun, mainly since the second half of the 1970s. Over the period which began on 27 April 1978 revolutionary events have taken place in Afghan history resulting in radical positive changes in all the spheres of political, social and cultural life of the country and its people.

One of the most important developments affecting Pashto vocabulary in our view is the appearance of numerous realia which have required to be given a name. In this respect, we have to bear in mind that as a rule the words used for this purpose are those which existed in the language before rather than neologisms coined for the purpose. A graphic example is the appearance on the political map of the world of a new state with an absolutely new name, Da Afghānistān Demōkrātik Jamhuriyat, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and the setting up of new party and government agencies and public organizations, such as siyāsi daftar or more often siyāsi birō, The Political Bureau, Lumṛanay gundi sāzmān — The Party Cell, etc.

An important source for the replenishment of the Pashto vocabulary, apart from the formation of new words and new meanings to designate new objects and realia is the wide use of words previously outside the active sphere of use, as well as the revival and active use of archaic and dialectal words, etc. Currently in use are words like capcapānd — distressed, spoilt, deprived; murchal — trench, foxhole, position; kalābandi — siege, encirclement; kabu — precisely, exactly.

At the present stage, the Pashto vocabulary is expanded under the impact of the rapid progress in science, technology and culture, a process which also obeys extra-linguistic laws

and regularities. In this respect, a very characteristic means of coining new words in Pashto is abbreviation.

At the present stage in the development of the Afghan vocabulary it is our impression that affixation is becoming particularly important, especially the semi-affixation which comprises the following patterns — *noun + verb stem* or *noun + present* or *past participle*.

The problems of lexical development in Pashto at the present stage we have briefly touched on are in our view most typical. On the one hand, they reflect the processes which are taking place in the socio-political life in the country and bring about a new layer of words and terms, and, on the other hand, they revive the vocabulary of different Pashto dialects, which is undoubtedly a welcome phenomenon for a further development and expansion of the Pashto vocabulary.

R. T. AKHRAMOVICH

*Notes on Social Processes in Afghanistan After the Second World War*

A most important feature of the historical development of the countries of the East in our time is the increasingly active participation of broad masses of the people in the struggle for social emancipation.

Social processes in Afghanistan after the country gained independence in 1919 have wholly been developing on the national basis and at the same time in the stream of objective changes in the world situation. The direct prerequisites for the qualitative change in the social development of that country had taken shape during the 30 years after the Second World War.

The national bourgeois evolution of the backward country, which retained considerable feudal and even pre-feudal survivals, was accompanied by the intensification of exploitation and the deterioration of the position of the working people. The sentiments of protest were growing increasingly stronger. *The first postwar stage* in Afghanistan's social history (1946–1953) — the rapid rise of movements in favour of the democratization of the state system and economic reforms. *The second stage* (1953–mid-1960s) was marked by the ruling circles' certain steps for expanding the social basis of the regime, without any changes in the class structure of a state power. It was a policy of actual rejection of transformations, which could even in a slight degree affect the positions of the ruling upper strata.

From the mid-1960s the situation in Afghanistan was marked by a notable aggravation of social conflicts and the general growth of political instability. *The third stage* in the post-war social development (mid-1960s–1973) was distinguished by the organization of forces of the left-radical national-democratic orientation. The latter included representatives of middle social strata, the intellectuals, who did not belong to the gentry, students, the lower layers of the state machinery and army officers, petty entrepreneurs and traders, hired workers, craftsmen and urban and rural workers. In January 1965 the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was founded at the first constituent congress, held illegally in Kabul.

In the early 1970s a group of representatives of the upper strata also found themselves in opposition to the regime. The supporters of that group, led by M. Daoud, hoped to remove the growing threat to the privileges of the ruling classes by means of more flexible superficial



measures, one of which was considered to be the abolition of the monarchy.

The armed overthrow of the monarchy in 1973 and the proclamation of Afghanistan as a republic began *the fourth stage* of the modern development of the country (up to April 1978). But the main task of Daoud and his dignitary followers, who played the leading role in administering the republic, remained the consolidation of positions of the ruling classes along the line of "controlled modernization" and suppressions of the social protest of the deprived masses. In launching repressions against the PDPA members and supporters, the upper strata set the goal of complete elimination of that party. This resorting to dictatorial and repressive methods of class domination only speeded up the resolute actions of the supporters of national revival.

An anti-feudal, national-democratic revolution took place in April 1978 in Afghanistan, the revolution, that opened up *the modern stage* in the historical development of the country.

Despite all the complicated aspects of the events in Afghanistan, they show the historical base, the tremendous potential and irreversibility of social changes, brought to the country by the 1978 revolution. The forces of the international imperialist reaction and its henchmen are openly threatening the historically imminent renewal of conditions in Afghanistan. The expanded social basis of changes under way in the country is the real and objective moving force of the national democratic processes in Afghanistan.

M. SHAHIDI

*Eastern-Western Literary Synthesis in Jalaliddin Rumi-Balkhi's Works*

During the ages Jalaliddin Rumi-Balkhi (1207-1273) along with Firdawsi, Sana'i, Attar, Amir Khusrau, Saadi, Hafiz, Jami is a "ruler of men's mind" of eastern peoples. As for his mutual heritage, Jalaliddin Rumi-Balkhi stands higher than all his great brothers by pen. His Mathnawi consists of 6 books (daftars) in about 25618 rhyming couplets and the collection of poems known as Diwan-i Shams-i Tabris, consists of more than 43 thousand beyts, among them an enormous quantity of ghazals, ruba'iyat, qasida, git'a and so on. His thoughts and ideas are reflected also in his prose works and letters. The best Iranian and Greek traditions as well as new trends of Arab-Spanish searchings had their inspired reflections in his teachings. The poet saw in humanity never-ceasing potentials of Good, Beauty and Justice. The teachings of antiquity, especially Plato and the Neo-Platonists on public welfare had its further development in Jalaliddin Rumi-Balkhi's works. At the same time, the poet developed the ideas and image of Iranian antiquity, especially personification of Good and Beauty, expressed in the Avesta. We investigate one actual aspect of the poet's art: the ideas of Jalaliddin Rumi-Balkhi on the main point of war and peace. The poet sees the solution of the problem in moral training of man, in his possibility of realization of knowledge in life and of course, training him to love his neighbour.

Research on the ideas and thoughts of the great poet draw nearer the points of view of the peoples of East and West. They help us to understand and help each other in different situations of our life because the dreams and hopes of Jalaliddin Rumi-Balkhi do not differ from those of the great representatives of the West.

A. A. GVAKHARIA

*The Persian Versions of the "Romance of Balawhar and Budasaf" ("Balavariani")*

The "Balavariani" — a well known medieval Rahmenerzählung romance about the Indian prince Budasaf/Iodasaf and his tutor, the sage Balawhar/Balahvar — is a highly interesting monument from the viewpoint of the history of literary links both on the general theoretical and concrete-historical plane. The broadness and attractiveness of the theme, and the absence of dogmatism and of national narrow-mindedness allowed new wine to be put into old bottles, i.e., to use the plot for various religious and didactic purposes. This accounts for the curious fact that the legend on the life of the Buddha formed the basis of the Manichaeic-Pahlavi treatment of the Life of Bodhisattva, which, in the Arabic rendering became transformed into the romance of the sage Balawhar and prince Budasaf; in its turn, the latter served as the basis of the first Christian Georgian version of the Life of Prince Iodasaf and the Wisdom of Balahvar, which came down to us in two redactions: the long ("The Life of Iodasaf", 9th-10th centuries), and the short ("The Wisdom of Balahvar", 11th century). The celebrated Greek novel "Varlaam and Ioasaph" — the source of all later versions in West-European, Slavonic, and Oriental languages — evidently derived from the Georgian version.

The problem of the "Balavariani" has engaged the attention of scholars of different countries for over a century. Attention is basically focussed on three versions: Arabic, Georgian and Greek. The discussion in the present paper draws on Persian material: the reflection of motifs of the "Balavariani" in classical Persian literature ("Kalila wa Dimna", "Marzban-nama", etc.), and mainly the separate Persian versions of the "Dastan on Budasaf (Iodasaf) and Balawhar" (Majlisi, Abu Nasr b. Gershasb, Nizam ad-Din). If it is borne in mind that most of these derive from non-extant or unknown Arabic sources that differ from the Bombay text, the significance of the realia preserved in these versions is beyond doubt. Especially interesting in this respect is Abu Nasr b. Gershasb's translation (12th century), the manuscript of which was discovered by the present writer in the fonds of Persian MSS of the Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences (Tbilisi).

This version appears to be an intermediate stage between the Bombay text and the Babawayh-Majlisi recension. With the latter it is connected by its final part, especially the three long stories absent in the Bombay edition although there is an important difference between them: the third story — about the prince who left the kingdom and preached the truth, which according to the correct observation of S. F. Oldenburg, dubs the tale itself and stands much closer to the Indian source material, is in the author's version a continuation of the main story, i.e., relates the history of Budasaf (Iodasaf) himself. Consequently, it was not related by Balavhar. Thus, the stories, incorporated into the frame-story are also related by Budasaf. This makes the composition of the Dastan more logical and coherent.

The study of the Persian versions of the "Romance of Balawhar and Budasaf" is highly important not only for the history of the development of Persian prose and Arabic-Persian literary contacts, but also for answering some questions concerning the origin of the Georgian version of the "Balavariani".



F. DEROCHE

*Nouveaux documents relatifs aux écritures coraniques anciennes*

L'un des problèmes majeurs auxquels se heurte l'historien de l'écriture arabe au cours des quatre à cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire est la difficulté qu'il rencontre à trouver des documents datés qui permettent de jeter les bases d'une chronologie sérieuse. Ce problème est compliqué par l'existence d'une littérature traditionnelle relative à l'écriture ou plutôt à la calligraphie qui, tout en donnant l'illusion d'un savoir précis, ne permet généralement pas d'organiser le matériel à la disposition du paléographe.<sup>1</sup>

C'est pour combler cette lacune qu'il est important d'étudier les collections anciennes de manuscrits qui ont été conservées par exemple dans les mosquées de Kairouan, du Caire, de Sana'a ou de Damas. C'est de cette dernière que proviennent les documents datés que je vais évoquer. Tous ceux-ci sont écrits sur parchemin et presque tous sont des Corans; ce type de manuscrit, loin d'être d'un moindre intérêt pour notre projet, offre l'avantage d'exister en nombre suffisant pour qu'il soit possible d'établir des séries viables, généralement dans des caractères soignés qui se prêtent mieux à l'analyse paléographique. En attendant d'avoir épuisé les richesses de cette collection<sup>2</sup>, nous proposons un bilan provisoire des documents datés que nous avons découverts et qui appartiennent à plusieurs catégories: tout d'abord les colophons, malheureusement trop rares, qui fournissent un renseignement en principe indiscutable, ensuite les indications qui doivent être prises avec précaution parce qu'elles ne fournissent qu'un *terminus ante quem* — actes de waqf, enregistrement d'événements (généralement familiaux: naissance ou décès), notes de lecture.

On peut dresser le bilan chronologique suivant<sup>3</sup>

- B II: cette écriture est bien attestée avant le milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s. H/IX<sup>e</sup>s. AD; mais la vie des manuscrits se prolonge jusqu'au second quart du V<sup>e</sup> s., comme le montrent ŞE 2534 et 9742.
- C III: pour la première fois, nous disposons d'une date qui nous permet de constater qu'un Coran de ce groupe était en usage à l'extrême fin du III<sup>e</sup> / IX<sup>e</sup> s.
- D I: les documents que nous avons trouvés jusqu'à présent ne modifient pas la position de D I par rapport à ce que nous avons signalé antérieurement<sup>4</sup>. Cette graphie est très

<sup>1</sup> N. Abbott (*The rise of the North Arabic script and its kur'ānic development*, Oriental Institute Publications, t. L, Chicago, 1938) utilise abondamment ces sources qu'elle énumère.

<sup>2</sup> Nous remercions la direction du Musée des Arts Turc et Islamique d'Istanbul pour son soutien à nos recherches. Pour les manuscrits dits "Şam Evrak" (ci-après: ŞE), voir F. Déroche, "Collections de manuscrits anciens du Coran à Istanbul, rapport préliminaire", *Études Médiévales et Patrimoine Turc*, J. Sourdél-Thomine éd., CNRS, Paris, 1983, p. 145-165.

<sup>3</sup> Nous reprenons la classification que nous avons proposée dans *Les manuscrits du Coran, Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, *Manuscrits musulmans*, t. 1, 1) Paris 1983, p. 35-47.

<sup>4</sup> *Les manuscrits du Coran, Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique*, p. 50-51.



fortement représentée au cours de la seconde moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. / IX<sup>e</sup> s.

D IV: un nouveau témoignage permet de constater que des manuscrits copiés dans cette écriture étaient en usage avant le troisième quart du III<sup>e</sup> / IX<sup>e</sup> s.

D Va: nous avons la chance de disposer de deux colophons pour cette graphie; celui de Topkapi Sarayi EH 2, de 307/919, est assurément moins déconcertant que celui de ŞE 1790 qui nous amène très avant dans le III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> s., en 362/972.

D Vc: nos datations nous reportent au V<sup>e</sup> / XI<sup>e</sup> s, ce qui peut paraître tardif. ŞE 12760, qui porte l'enregistrement d'une naissance, est antérieur — mais de combien ? En revanche, si le texte qui accompagne ŞE 12796/1 constitue bien le colophon de ce Coran, il nous faut admettre que D Vc était encore en usage au cours du premier quart du V<sup>e</sup> / XI<sup>e</sup> s.

E: nous disposons désormais d'une attestation qui remonte au début du IV<sup>e</sup> / X<sup>e</sup> s., ce qui rejoint les observations faites antérieurement à partir de documents indirectement liés à la copie du Coran. Notons que, comme B II, l'utilisation de manuscrits exécutés avec cette écriture est suggérée par la note de lecture retrouvée sur ŞE 12792/2, du second quart du V<sup>e</sup> / XI<sup>e</sup> s.

NS: un des faits les plus marquants est la longévité des diverses variétés d'écritures que nous regroupons sous cette appellation. ŞE 7764 permet de constater l'emploi de NS dès 246 / 860. Les formats verticaux sont par ailleurs relativement fréquents dans ce groupe.

Ce bilan, rapide et provisoire, conduit à quelques remarques générales que nous proposerons en guise de conclusion. Tout en tenant compte de la disparition naturelle d'une proportion plus grande de manuscrits à mesure que l'on remonte dans le temps et tout en réservant la possibilité d'attribuer aux I<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> / VII<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> s. certaines des familles pour lesquelles nous ne disposons pas actuellement de datations directes,<sup>1</sup> il nous paraît de plus en plus clair qu'au III<sup>e</sup> / IX<sup>e</sup> s. et encore au IV<sup>e</sup> / X<sup>e</sup> s., l'emploi des écritures mentionnées plus haut était une réalité bien vivante. Ce qui signifie que, tandis qu'Ibn Muqla et même Ibn al-Bawwāb introduisaient de nouveaux canons dans le domaine calligraphique, les graphies antérieures se maintenaient et éventuellement, se renouvelaient. Les documents confirment en tout cas, s'il en était besoin, ce que les sources arabes nous disent de la multiplicité des graphies utilisées à une même époque.

Parallèlement aux problèmes d'histoire de l'écriture, les Corans damascains jettent un jour nouveau sur l'histoire du livre manuscrit dans le monde arabo-islamique; un premier point qu'il convient de remarquer est le maintien de l'emploi du parchemin à une époque où le papier exerçait une forte concurrence. Il nous faut également souligner à quel point le format dit "à l'italienne", longtemps privilégié pour la copie du texte coranique, continua à jouer un rôle important alors que le format vertical gagnait du terrain comme l'attestent nos manuscrits du groupe NS.

Lentement, l'exploitation de ces sources inédites nous permettra de mieux saisir ce que fut

<sup>1</sup> D'autres approches peuvent donner des résultats: on pense au comparatisme (A. Grohmann, "The problem of dating ancient Qur'ans", *Der Islam*, 33, 1958, p. 213-231) ou à l'histoire de l'art.

le livre islamique durant le haut Moyen-Age. Deux siècles se sont écoulés depuis la publication par J. C. G. Adler du livre qui a marqué le début de l'étude des écritures arabes anciennes<sup>1</sup> et qui a introduit la nomenclature qui restée en vigueur jusqu'à nos jours, le terme: *coufique*; sans doute cela suffisait-il à cette époque pour une documentation fort limitée. La croissance de cette dernière et les progrès de nos connaissances ont permis de constater que cette appellation recouvrait une réalité extrêmement complexe. Le moment nous semble venir où il faudra faire le choix d'une terminologie mieux adaptée aux nécessités de la paléographie arabe et à la richesse des calligraphies.

LEAH KINBERG

### *The Idealization of Poverty in Islam*

A well-established trend in Islamic historiography, going back to Goitein, stresses the role of the rising bourgeoisie during the first three centuries of Islam in shaping economic ideology<sup>2</sup>. By contrast, a tradition of the kind that states that the poor are the first to enter Paradise, has often been dismissed as the "prejudice of certain pious circles against the merchant class".<sup>3</sup> This historiographic trend has consistently viewed early Islam as divided into two camps: the pious-religious elements, who opposed all trade and condemned all ownership of property, and the merchant classes, who fostered a contrary ideology that approved of these very same activities. In my view, it was not the bourgeoisie who dominated the scene and developed Muslim religious law, nor was the ideal of renouncing the world an undercurrent in Islamic thought. Rather, renunciation of worldly goods was always the main current in Islam, and traditions favoring property and wealth came as a reconciliation to the rising economic power of the bourgeoisie.

To illustrate the futility of wealth, Islam uses the means of traditions. Through sayings ascribed to the Prophet, to his companions and to other pious Muslims of later generations, Islam stresses the dangers caused by property, warns the new believers against hoarding it, and threatens them with future punishment if they transgress. These traditions are widely distributed throughout Islam, and create a rich and highly developed literature concerning the Afterworld. They fall into two categories. While both agree that piety is a *sine qua non*, the first negates any involvement in the world and calls for the renunciation of the struggle to fulfill physical and material needs. The second category of traditions supports the notion that earning a living, as long as it is coupled with the giving of charity, is an honorable way of life.

These traditions can be presented as stemming from two opposing classes, but it is also possible to explain this contradiction as a reflection of different degrees of piety, both belonging to religious circles. Actually, the pietistic attitude of total renunciation was always predominant in Islam, as attested by numerous traditions. At the same time, Islam has always

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptio codicum quorundam cuficorum... et ex iisdem de scriptura Arabum*, Altona 1780.

<sup>2</sup> S. D. Goitein, "The Rise of the Near Eastern Bourgeoisie in Early Islamic Times", *Journal of World History*, vol. 3 (1956), pp 583-604.

<sup>3</sup> Heffening, "Tidjāra", E. I., vol. 4, p. 747.



had to contend with reality, adjusting its religious concepts to secular Muslim circles.

Consequently, Islam showed enough flexibility to reach a compromise between pietistic philosophy and real-life exigencies and accepted compromise as the least of all evils. It adjusted itself to a new social situation through the creation of new traditions. It was not the bourgeoisie that created the traditions relating to poverty and wealth, as Goitein states. Had the bourgeoisie initiated these sayings, we would have expected to find a counter-reaction to the exhortation to poverty. Instead we find traditions allowing different levels of piety. These impose some restrictions on the rich, stating that as long as they were good, pious Muslims, their entrance into Paradise may be delayed, but was nonetheless assured.

Islamic society then shaped its ideal consistently according to religion. While this religion was willing to adjust some of its demands to economic reality, it remained throughout the guiding force.

GUY MONNOT

#### *Shahrastānī's Exegetical Method*

Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Shahrastānī (d. 548 H./1153) is chiefly known as the author of *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-nihal*. Among his other works stands a Koranic commentary, only preserved in the *unicum* manuscript of Tehran (cf. *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, V<sup>e</sup> Section-Sciences Religieuses, t.XCII, Paris 1983-1984, 305 ss). The so-called *Mafātih al-asrār wa-maṣābiḥ al-abrār* is a big work of 872 pages, although it does not go beyond the end of *sūrat al-Baqara*. A technical introduction in 12 detailed chapters, as well as the effective practice of the author in the proper *tafsīr*, brings out his exegetical method. It is two-sided.

The traditional process is rooted with him in his general introduction which, three centuries before Suyūṭī, carefully studies all sciences of the Koran and aspects of the *tafsīr*. Thereafter, Shahrastānī displays an acute knowledge of ancient leading commentators and *muḥaddithūn*, mentions Sālim b. Ma'qil (perhaps the first collector of the Book) and 'Amr b. Shuraḥbīl (d. 63 H.), draws up a list of 69 *mufasssīrūn*. He records the arrangement of Ibn Mas'ūd's *muṣṣḥaf*. He has kept for us the most ancient complete text of the two additional surats registered by Ubayy, namely al-Khal' and al-Ḥafd. Last but not least, he hands down the scheme of al-Barqī's *muṣṣḥaf*. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (Imamite of the beginning of III<sup>d</sup> century H./IX<sup>th</sup> century) had set seven series of 16 surats, each series being headed by one of *al-sab' al-tuwal*.

However, the most striking feature of Abū l-Faṭḥ's exegesis is elsewhere: in the search for and finding of koranic mysteries. This hermeneutics is commanded by three principles.

First, in the sacred Book of Islam lie hidden mysteries, particularly concealed in the consecution and link-up of words and sentences: *Inna l-mufasssīrīn takallamū fī ma'ānī l-kalimāt wa-l-asāmī lughat<sup>an</sup> wa-riwāyat<sup>an</sup>, wa-lam yatakallamū fī asrāriḥā naẓm<sup>an</sup> wa-tarīb<sup>an</sup>...*

Second, these mysteries are sealed to human mind, except for 'Alī and following Imams. They are the *Ahl al-Qur'ān*, who alone were entrusted its keys. Whenever Shahrastānī leaves the classical commentary to get at the hidden meaning of the Koran, he begins by such

voicing as: *Qāla lladhīna ūtū l-'ilma wa-l-īmām* (cf. Koran 5, 7), or even: *Qālat al-'itratu l-tāhira, alladhīna hum aḥadu l-thaqalayn...*

The third principle is that Shahrastānī was given from high some share in the lofty understanding proper to the People of the Koran, in such a way that, according to his very words: "I found in myself the faculty of guidance into the word of Prophecy and I knew the language of [Messengers'] Mission, so as to be guided into the mysteries of words of the Noble Koran, without any interpretation of the Koran by personal judgement". This astonishing statement should be connected with a passage of the Preface where the author speaks of his initiation to a deeper knowledge of the Koran by some nameless servant of God.

Anyway, the esoteric part of the commentary makes great use of three couples of notions, previously dealt with in the Introduction: *al-mafrūgh wa-l-musta'naf* (completed and inchoative), *al-taḍādd wa-l-taratub* (opposition and hierarchy), *al-khalq wa-l-Amr* (creation and Order). The last one and other elements betray Ismā'īlī trends.

KOJIRO NAKAMURA

#### *The Meaning of Logical Studies in Ghazālī's Thought*

Ghazālī wrote five works on Aristotelian logic. And his interest in logic was not temporary, but lasted for long. All this means that Ghazālī totally accepted Aristotelian logic. He even tried to islamize it by adopting or coining more traditional words instead of the philosophical terms, and to defend it as utilized and recommended in the Qur'an. Such a positive attitude toward logic is unique in the Sunni tradition. It is due to several reasons.

Apparently he came to know through his study of Falsafah that Aristotelian logic was useful in refuting the heterodoxies, including Falsafah. In his preface to the *Mi'yār*, Ghazālī mentioned two motives for his composition of it — Firstly, to clarify the method of thinking and demonstration and to enlighten the ways of analogy; and secondly, to explain the technical terminology in the *Tahāfut*. He also recommended that logic be applied as a useful method in the study of Fiqh as one of the theoretical sciences. In fact, in the Introduction of the *Mustasfā*, he explained logic as the "Organon" to all sciences, including Usūl al-Fiqh.

Such are the declared reasons. But I think there is another implicit, and more important, reason. That is the importance of logic and its principles in Ghazālī's Ash'arite theological world-view as a whole. First of all, what he calls "the first principles", "the first knowledges" or "certain knowledge" (*'ilm yaqīnī*) is nothing but the logical principles or the mathematical tautology, such as "Ten is more than three". "The same thing cannot be both affirmed and denied at one time" etc..

It is also well known that Ghazālī denied the necessity of causality and defended the miracles in the *Tahāfut*, since there is no logical necessity between "cause" and "effect". And he explains the order of the universe in terms of God's habit or custom (*'ādah* or *sunnah Allāh*), and His creation of its knowledge in the human mind. But there is something absolutely certain even about God's acts, besides His habit; namely there are things absolutely impossible (*muḥāl*) even for the Almighty God. He cannot, for instance, "affirm the same thing, while denying it at the same time". He cannot "deny the general, while affirming the particular" etc.. All these are the examples of the law of contradiction. Thus the logical rules



are used in Ghazālī's thinking as the criterion of possibility and impossibility of God.

Lastly, if things are not impossible themselves, and thus God is powerful over them, He can move, for example, a dead man's hand and let him write a letter exactly as a living man does. Even in this case, it is meaningful to talk about the distinction between them in the ordinary language besides God's habit. According to Ghazālī, the orderly action means by definition the life, will and knowledge of the agent. In the case of a dead man, therefore, the orderly action shows the knowledge of the agent. But the agent is God, not the dead man. Since the dead man does not have knowledge by definition. The same is true with his arguments about God's essence and attributes, and others.

MASATAKA TAKESHITA

*The Theory of Sainthood in Ibn 'Arabī*

It is well-known that Ḥakīm Tirmidhī is the first who elaborated the theory of sainthood, and all later Sufis based their theory of sainthood on Tirmidhī. Ibn 'Arabī's theory of sainthood is no exception. Indeed, he refers very often to Tirmidhī in his exposition of the theory of sainthood. In this paper I compare Ibn 'Arabī's theory of sainthood to that of Ḥakīm Tirmidhī.

According to Tirmidhī, Sufi saints have a hierarchical order. The highest rank is called *muḥaddathūn*, that is, those who receive *ḥadīth* (speech) directly from God. They have close similarities to prophets, and their *ḥadīth* to prophets' *waḥy* (revelation). The manner in which *muḥaddathūn* are chosen by God from the beginning is the same as that for prophets. The messengers, the prophets, and the *muḥaddathūn* are all sent by God (*mursalūn*).

Ibn 'Arabī's theory of sainthood differs from that of Tirmidhī in the following main points.

1. Ibn 'Arabī divides prophethood into the special, legislative and the general, absolute, and the latter is attributed also to the saints, while the former is only applied to the messengers.
2. In the Prophet, his sainthood is higher than his prophethood and messengership.

As for the first point, Tirmidhī always distinguishes explicitly "the messenger", "the prophet", and "the saint". While the difference between the messenger and the other two is clear, the former being the bringer of the Law, the latter the followers of the Law, the cognitive difference between the prophet without law and the saint is not clear. Once the principle of continuous revelation from God is accepted, it is difficult to maintain the distinction between prophets and saints. Although in Tirmidhī prophethood and sainthood are well distinguished terminologically, still one wonders whether the distinction is really anything more than the difference of terminology. Both the prophet and *muḥaddath* are divinely guarded by God from any mistakes, and both *waḥy* and *ḥadīth* are infallible. Although Tirmidhī emphasizes that *waḥy* is higher than *ḥadīth*, still we do not know exactly in which points the former is superior. In Ibn 'Arabī, the ambiguous term "prophethood" is divided into the special, legislative prophethood which came to an end with Muḥammad and the general, absolute prophethood which continues to the Day of Resurrection, because there is no end of divine instruction for mankind.

This new doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī does not endanger the uniqueness of Muḥammad. He is not only the last and most perfect messenger, but also the most perfect saint. The revelations the saints receive only confirm the Qur'an and disclose its deeper meanings. These points are again and again emphasized by both Tirmidhī and Ibn 'Arabī.

As for the second point, it is expressed by Ibn 'Arabī in a highly circumspect manner. When he states it, he emphasizes that it should not be taken as the superiority of saints over messengers. It is a comparison within one person. For the saints without the law are obviously inferior to the prophets with both sainthood and the law, that is, the messengers. However, Ibn 'Arabī sometimes hints at the equality of saints to messengers. Although saints follow the law brought by messengers, saints obtain knowledge of the law from the same source as that of the messengers.

STEPHEN D. RICKS

*Kinship Bars to Marriage in Islamic Law*

Marriage, with its resultant structures of kinship (biological relationship) and affinity (relationship deriving from marriage) is a characteristic feature of societal organization. Nearly as universal are bars to sexual relations and, *a fortiori*, to marriage, on the basis of consanguinity or affinity. Islamic law recognizes impediments to marriage based on kinship and affinity and, in addition, fosterage (milk relationship).

Information concerning impediments to marriage in pre-Islamic Central Arabia is sketchy, contradictory, and unreliable, but suggests that some incest prohibitions existed during this period. However, at least two marriage practices permitted during the Jāhiliyya were expressly forbidden in the Qur'an: forcibly inheriting (and marrying) the wives of deceased kinsmen (Sura 4:19), and marrying two sisters together (Sura 4:23).

The primary Qur'anic text detailing prohibitions to marriage is Sura 4:23. There, a man is forbidden to marry mother, daughter, sister, father's sister, mother's sister, brother's daughter, foster-mother, foster-sister, mother-in-law, son's wife, two sisters together, and the stepdaughter of a woman to whom one "has gone in". The *ḥadīth* add no further categories of degrees prohibited on account of consanguinity and only one additional category barring marriage because of affinity: a woman and her maternal or paternal aunt are forbidden to be married to the same man simultaneously. On the other hand, numerous *ḥadīth* deal with impediments to marriage based on fosterage, suggesting that proper behavior in this regard was somewhat unclear to the early Muslim community. A constant refrain in these *ḥadīth* is "what is unlawful by reason of consanguinity is unlawful by reason of fosterage", which resulted in imposing on the category of prohibitions the same order that existed in the others.

The contribution of representatives of the various legal schools to the development of bars to marriage based on kinship, affinity (and, by analogy) fosterage consists primarily in their extension, *ad infinitum*, along ascending, descending, and lateral lines of bars already in existence. Thus, where the Qur'anic directive prohibits the marriage of a man to his mother, the jurists forbid the union of a man and his mother or any of his female ascendants on either the maternal or paternal side; where the Qur'an bars marriage between a man and his daughter, the jurists prohibit marriage between a man and any of his female descendants through either his son or his daughter. In sum, while the expansions in the *ḥadīth* and in the legal schools



of impediments to marriage on the basis of consanguinity and affinity run, in general, along lines already articulated in the Qur'an, the prohibitions on the basis of fosterage underwent a fundamental reworking so as to accord with the pattern of impediments resulting from consanguinity.

MARIE BERNAND

*Logique juridique en Islam médiéval*

Il est question ici d'un problème de logique juridique qui a été âprement discuté en Islam médiéval, celui du *dalīl al-ḥiṭāb* communément désigné par l'expression "argument a contrario". Comme le *qiyās*, le procédé du *dalīl al-ḥiṭāb* entend combler les lacunes créées par les silences du texte coranique et, par extension, par ceux du *ḥadīth*. Le *dalīl al-ḥiṭāb* tente de résoudre le problème du statut qu'il faut appliquer au non-dit (*ḡayr manṣūṣ*). Le silence entraîne-t-il nécessairement un vide juridique, une absence de règle? Et, dans ce cas, faut-il considérer comme opérant l'adage "qui ne dit mot consent"? Autrement dit, dans une situation différente du cas évoqué, faut-il appliquer la même règle ou bien faut-il considérer, comme le font les tenants du *dalīl al-ḥiṭāb*, que cette différence entraîne l'application d'un statut contraire?

Tel est le problème qui a donné lieu à une abondante littérature. Des pans entiers d'ouvrages d'*uṣūl al-fiqh* lui sont consacrés. L'exemple type avancé dans les débats entre *uṣūliyyūn* est le *ḥadīth: fī l-sā'imati zakātun* (sur le bétail qui pâture prévelez la dîme aumônière). Est-ce à dire que le bétail nourri à l'étable n'est pas soumis à la dîme? Les adversaires d'une pareille inférence ont argué de l'injonction coranique: "Ne tuez pas vos enfants par peur de la misère" (*An'am* VI, 151). Cet ordre est-il atteint de caducité quand il n'y a pas lieu de craindre la misère?

A l'expression *dalīl al-ḥiṭāb* dans sa littéralité (indice probant du texte), il est légitime de s'interroger sur la raison pour laquelle une expression qui, apparemment, désigne un procédé d'amplification compréhensive, peut en arriver à désigner un processus d'exclusion, et être considérée comme une "preuve a contrario". Cette expression a certes l'avantage de désigner le procédé d'argumentation mettant en oeuvre l'indice tiré de l'absence de preuve. Il n'en demeure pas moins qu'à examiner l'expression et son objet on constate une inadéquation entre la dénomination du procédé et la réalité du processus logico-normatif ainsi désigné. On connaissait l'opposition hanafite-mu'tazilite à la validité de ce procédé de logique juridique. Cette opposition est attestée par les traités d'*uṣūl al-fiqh* malikites, aṣ'arites, zahirites. Les hanafites A.l-ʿUṣr al-Pazdawī (483/1011) et Sorahṣī (m. 490/1091) exprimaient leur opposition en occultant la notion. Avec les *Uṣūl* d'al-Ḡaṣṣāṣ (m. 370/980) on tient le document manquant du dossier. A propos de la spécification (*taḥṣīṣ al-ʿumūm*) l'auteur hanafite développe une argumentation très structurée contre la validité du *dalīl al-ḥiṭāb*. Il refuse de conférer au signe (*dalīl*) la valeur d'un concept opérant dont on pourrait tirer des preuves logiques selon les divers procédés modaux.

Le *dalīl al-ḥiṭāb* n'est pas un procédé logique autorisant à conclure avec certitude à une réelle équipollence de preuves. C'est plutôt une manière de penser, une habitude de raisonnement tendant à se dégager de la rigidité des formes étroites, à éviter l'ankylose du procédé conceptualisateur.

WERNER SCHWARTZ

*Ibn Sallām al-Lawānī, the First Berber Historian of Islam*

From the *Siyar* of aṣ-Ṣammāhī (d. 928/1522) (see *El*<sup>2</sup> s. v. "Ibn Sallām") we learn that Ibn Sallām b. ʿUmar b. Tamṭanīn al-Lawānī has been not only the first north-african historical writer of the Ibādī *firqa* but also the author of the oldest work on Islamic history compiled in Arabic by a Muslim of Maḡribī origin. But his work, written not long after 273/887, does not appear to have excited the curiosity of fellow Ibādīs and it is most probable that it remained unknown until the beginning of the 10th/16th century. It was only then that aṣ-Ṣammāhī, author of a history of the north-african Ibādīyya, got hold of Ibn Sallām's writings and made extensive use of them. It is not unlikely that on his demand a copy of the work was made at about the same time. This copy, discovered in 1964 by shaykh Sālīm b. Yaʿqūb on the island of Jerba/Tunisia, brought to light perhaps the main reason for the apparent neglect into which Ibn Sallām's book, entitled *Badʿ al-Islām wa-ṣarāʾiʿ ad-dīn* by the copyist, had fallen: Consisting roughly of four sections of uneven length and style, treating (a) religious principles of Islam, (b) rules guiding the Muslim's life as individual and in community, (c) early Islamic history and finally (d) Ibādī history, the work has never been brought into its final form by the author. Sections a and b are made up largely of compilations from older written sources, whereas in sections c and d Ibn Sallām relied mostly on information collected by himself either orally or from his own or his father's correspondence. Especially those parts treating the development of the Ibādī movement in Tripolitania and Ifrīqiya and most interesting as Ibn Sallām's original contribution represent nothing more than the author's notebook rendered into what only by outward appearance is resembling a homogeneous text.

Another possible reason for the silence other writers kept concerning Ibn Sallām may be his relations to outstanding religious or political leaders opposed to the Rustamid imams ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān (d. 208/823–4) and his son Aflaḥ. Foremost among those are Ḥalaf b. as-Samḥ b. abī ʿI-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī, whose long predominance over the Ḡabal Nafūsa could not be broken by Rustamid partisans until 221/836, and Naffāṭ b. Naṣr an-Nafūṣī the ambitious religious scholar praised for his wide learning even by his decided adversaries.

On the other hand Ibn Sallām cannot be seen to support any of the anti-Rustamid standpoints, rather he seems to avoid discussion of all questions that would turn him one side or the other. His obvious aim of spreading the basic teachings of Islam among his contemporaries might well have played a part in making him stress those points on which all Ibādī factions could agree. What might have prevented him from siding with opponents of the Tāhart imamate was perhaps also his father's Sallām b. ʿUmar's ties to imam ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. He had been the latter's representative at Surt on the eastern border of Tripolitania about the beginning of the 3rd century.

What makes Ibn Sallām's book interesting apart from the purely historiographic sections (for those see Schwartz, *Anfänge der Ibaditen*, 1983) is precisely the fact that he compiled large parts of it from other written sources without apparently changing much of their wording and style. Much material is made up from *ḥadīth*. Still Ibn Sallām does not seem to have relied on *ḥadīth*-collections in the strict sense but rather on works of exegetical or legal character.

This is exemplified by the only work he cites by its title and author's name, *Kitāb ar-radd*



'alā 'r-rawāfiḍ of 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī (see Ibn an-Nadīm, *al Fihrist*, 1871/72, p. 183). Indeed, Ibn Sallām is not caring much about citing his written sources by name nor does he give full *isnāds* to corroborate the reliability of his information. In this latter practice he might just be following the example of those very sources, which must be dating mostly from the 2nd/8th century. However, we may hope to identify some of them by comparing Ibn Sallām's extracts to extant works or by analyzing the contents of specific passages. For instance, parts of §§ 3 and 9 of the book may prove to be excerpts of al-Ḥaṣan al-Baṣrī's *Tafsīr* as related by 'Amr b. 'Ubayd.

Finally attention should be paid to the fact that all those passages that Ibn Sallām composed by himself can be used as a source for studying the degree of Arabisation of educated Berbers in the eastern Maḡrib in the 3rd/9th century. Certainly Ibn Sallām's mastery of Arabic was still far from perfect and his readers might still have had some difficulty to understand an Arabic text: on two occasions Ibn Sallām thinks it necessary to explain Arabic words by their Berber equivalents.

(N. B.: A printing of Ibn Sallām's book entitled *al-Islām wa-ta 'rīhu-hū min wiḡhat naṣr ibāḍiyya* has been published in 1985 from an unfinished blueprint under my name and that of Sālim b. Ya 'qūb by Dār Iqra ' /Bairut. This printing is unauthorized, incomplete and has not been proof read. The only "official" edition is vol. 33 of Bibliotheca Islamica (1986) and carries the title taken from the ms. *Kitāb fi-hi Bad ' al-islām wa-ṣarā 'i ' ad-dīn*.)

BERND RADTKE

### *Hikma und Falsafa*

Several islamic mystics of the 3-4/9-10 century who later in literature are considered sufis are commonly called *hakīm* (sage, thinker, theosophist). This is especially true for the eastern part of the islamic world, i. e. Chorasan and Transoxania. More specifically they are called *ḥukamā' al-maṣriq*. Their field of activity seems to have centered around the cities of Balḥ and Tirmid.

Of the works of these *ḥukamā'* only those of Ḥakīm Tirmidī (died 910) have come down to us, whereas those of Abū Bakr al-Warrāq and Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Balḥī seem to be lost.

The teaching of Ḥakīm Tirmidī is a theosophical doctrine, a syncretical structure consisting of part islamic theology, part mystical experience and varied neoplatonic, gnostic and hermetic elements. It must be sharply differentiated from its contemporary philosophy (*falsafa*) (Kindī, Plotiniana arabica) in spite of numerous similarities, on account of its speculative mythological contemplation, which is not in the tradition of classical thought. Neither does this islamic philosophy show any similarity in concept to the later theosophy of the East of Suhrawardī Maqtūl.

MUNIR D. AHMED

### *Theological Controversies in Indian Islam in the 19th Century*

Theological controversies in the Indian Islam during the last two centuries in general and in the 19th century in particular have profoundly influenced the beliefs and dogmas of the contemporary Muslims on the Subcontinent. So much so that for an appraisal of different manifestations of the Muslim creed one has to refer to this formative period and to the issues which for decades preoccupied the Muslim elite. Some of the issues are still intriguing the Muslim mind, while others have lost their relevance due to perhaps changed circumstances or because the emphasis has shifted. Some issues may well be regarded as settled.

At the outset the circumstances which generated religious controversies may very briefly be mentioned. The decline of the Mogul empire and its place being taken by an alien power was perhaps the most important event for the Muslim community. The loss of political preeminence aggravated the sense of insecurity which had always haunted the Indian Muslims due to their being a minority. Christian missions had embarked in the wake of colonial rule on the ambitious plan of converting India into a Christian territory. Emboldened by the changed circumstances, the Hindu community was showing signs of self-assertion. As inter-religious debates are outside of my purview, I will confine myself to inter-Islamic controversies.

That the Muslim community was rudely shaken by these events, can be studied at the example of *Shāh Walī Allāh*. His letters to the King of Afghanistan instigating him to invade India and to save its Muslim community from annihilation may be cited in this respect. But this theological contribution is far more important. Leaving aside all other aspects of his theological writings, his views on *ijtihād*, which revolutionized the thinking of the Indian Muslims, will suffice to secure him a lasting place in the galaxy of great Muslim thinkers. It is no coincidence that almost all important religious movements in the Indian Islam since the beginning of the 19th century had their roots in his thinking.

In this respect one may point out that he and his descendants were to a great extent responsible for the propagation of a rigorous Islam which almost completely negated native traditions and customs. For this reason they came to be linked generally with the *Wahhābis*, although there were a number of dissimilarities between both movements. Perhaps the most important among the movements which were either directly influenced by *Shāh Walī Allāh*, or came into being as an answer to his thinking, was the group of the *Ahl-i Ḥadīth*.

The negation of *taqlīd* stood at the core of the dogma of the *Ahl-i Ḥadīth* besides their emphasis on *Ḥadīth* which they regarded to be the primary source of the Muslim faith. Particularly the second half of the 19th century witnessed heated debates both on the question of *taqlīd* as well as the place of *Ḥadīth* vis-à-vis the *Qur'ān*. The coming into being of a group called *Ahl al-Qur'ān* was directly interlinked with the dogma of the *Ahl-i Ḥadīth*. In the opinion of the *Ahl al-Qur'ān*, there was no other source of the Muslim faith besides the *Qur'ān*.

The third important movement which also had close links with the school of thought of *Shāh Walī Allāh*, had *Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān* as its chief architect. His writings had an apologetic approach and were more or less of defensive nature. His main concern and that of his associates as well as of a host of other writers such as *Amīr 'Alī*, *Chirāgh 'Alī*, *Khudā*



*Bakhsh* etc. was to present the teachings of Islam in the light of modern sciences. Therefore, they were generally referred to as *Necharīs*. As a matter of fact, this movement was born as an answer to the Christian missions and it was prone to polemics.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, *Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad* emerged as a highly controversial writer on Islamic themes. His earlier association with the *Ahl-i Ḥadīth* is perhaps better known, than his borrowings from *Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān*. His books may be counted as belonging to the apologetic literature, as he wrote mostly in response to Christian and Hindu attacks on Islam. But at the same time, his contribution to the inter-Islamic debate was important enough to be taken notice of.

In the realm of the *Fiqh*, the main debate was whether or not it was incumbent on every Muslim to follow the school of law of his or her birth. *Shāh Walī Allāh's* contribution to this question was, as was mentioned before, to allow diversion from one's school of law. But cautious, as he was, he pleaded for a restricted *ijtihād* by competent scholars. Notwithstanding his scruples, the *Ahl-i Ḥadīth* took the liberty of allowing almost any and everybody to deviate from the schools of law as such. In fact they had stretched the argument of *Shāh Walī Allāh* to its logical end. The matter is, however, still inconclusive, as far as the personal belonging to a school of law and the possibility of deviation thereof is concerned. But *ijtihād* as an institution has come to be recognized widely as a legitimate instrument for law-giving.

Another matter, in which *Shāh Walī Allāh* came to play an important role, was the question of abrogation (*naskh*) in the *Qur'ān*. He had exerted great efforts to prove that the scoop of abrogation in the *Qur'ān* was rather limited. He would reconcile the abrogating and the abrogated verses of the *Qur'ān* by trying to unravel the seeming contradictions between such verses. His argument was taken up by *Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān* and later on more vigorously by *Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad* for apologetical purposes. Not even a single verse of the *Qur'ān* was abrogated, according to *Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad*, let alone the five verses which *Shāh Walī Allāh* had accepted as such. His battle was with the Christian missionaries, whom he had shown in so many words that their holy scriptures were untrustworthy, due to alterations made during the centuries. The *Qur'ān*, he said, was devoid of such imperfections. Not a single letter had undergone any change whatsoever. The whole discussion of the abrogating and the abrogated verses was but a folly. This position seems to have gained general acceptance in the relevant discussion, at least on the Indian subcontinent.

Questions pertaining to the advent of 'Īsā (Jesus Christ) and the *Mahdī* were among the hotly discussed ones during the 19th century. It was a widely held belief among the Muslims that the *Mahdī* will appear at the dawn of the 14th century according to the Muslim calendar. His mission will be to guide the Muslims in religious matters and to bring about the final victory for Islam. He will be aided by the Prophet 'Īsā, in whose stead another person was put on the cross and who himself was taken to the heavens, from where he will descend.

It was again *Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān*, who challenged the belief regarding the escape of Prophet 'Īsā from the cross and the story of his ascension to the heavens. *Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad* went further to substantiate this argument by putting forward copious evidence from scriptures and even claimed to have found the last resting place of the Prophet 'Īsā, who, he said, had immigrated to Kashmir and had died there after leading a long life and that he was buried in Srinagar. He said, 'Īsā, who was to come, was nobody else, but *Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad* himself and that he had come in the name of 'Īsā. He also claimed to be the awaited

*Mahdī*.

Notwithstanding his claims, the matter was discussed among the Indian Muslims upto the beginning of the 20th century. Theologians occasionally do so even today. But it seems that the advent of the *Mahdī* and the return of 'Īsā have ceased to attract much attention these days.

Perhaps the most important question of all is about the Finality of the Prophethood (*khatam al-nabiyyīn*). To put it in other words, the question is, whether or not a prophet can come. The common Muslim belief is that there will be no prophet after *Muḥammad*. *Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad* challenged the dogma partially. In his opinion, legislative prophecy had come to an end with *Muḥammad*. Therefore, no messenger (*rasūl*) with a new Law (*sharī'a*) will come so as to supersede the Islamic *sharī'a*. However, non-legislative prophecy, for which a prophet (*nabī*) is sent to reaffirm and renew the Islamic Law, is continuing. He claimed that he was such a prophet, for which he coined the term *ṣillī nabī* (literal meaning: shadow prophet), and that God had blessed him with revelations and given him prophetic signs.

This was the beginning of bitter feud between two uneven opponents. On the one side was almost the entire Muslim community and on the other the *Ahmadiyya*. Right from the beginning, both sides have been calling each other *Kāfir*. The general feeling among the Muslims on the Indian subcontinent was that the *Ahmadis* had left the *umma* by their recognition of *Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad* as a Prophet.

The demand to extern the *Ahmadis* from the Muslim community is almost as old as the sect itself. During the British raj the colonial government was approached without success by the *Majlis Ahrār-i Islām* to recognize the status of a non-Muslim community for the *Ahmadiyya*. This demand surfaced in Pakistan again and led to widespread riots in 1952-53 and again in 1974. In September 1974 the National Assembly passed a bill declaring the *Ahmadiyya* to be a non-Muslim minority.

It has been argued since that the verdict of the Parliament was an act of *ijtihād*, as the members of the Parliament had decided in representation of the Muslim *umma*. Others have objected to this rather simplistic view, as the members of the Parliament had no mandate from their voters for such an act. Over and above, they said, the Parliament was a political body with no special religious competence or expertise. Therefore, it may for example pass a bill to forbid smoking in the country, but it cannot pronounce smoking as an un-Islamic act. In the same way, a verdict in a religious matter pertaining to a specific belief is outside of its purview.

Some of the questions were rather specific to that age and have since either been solved or they were discarded. For example, the debate on the status of India as *dār al-salām* or *dār al-ḥarb*. Or the question, whether or not the Muslims were enjoined to wage a war (*jihād*) against the British, or the Sikh. Again there were a host of minor questions, such as saying *āmīn* loudly or softly. Then the right way of folding or unfolding of the hands during the prayers.

Religious debates during the 19th century were occasionally held in the form of *munāzarā*, in which the adversaries would present their respective view-points orally or in written form. Mostly a chairman was selected by mutual consent and at times even judges were appointed by nomination and their verdict was sought. In rare cases *mubāhala* was held, in which case



both sides would beseech God's wrath on themselves and their kith and kin, if they were liars. This form was confined to the inter-Islamic controversies. The most common form for the public debate was by way of publishing books, tracts, handbills, posters and articles in journals and newspapers. Open debates were quite prevalent upto the early decades of the 20th century and even today in rare cases *munāzaras* are held about important or less important questions. Lately, in Pakistan the publication of polemical literature is again surfacing and incidents of violence in denominational disputes are becoming a common occurrence.

H. E. KASSIS

*Muslim Revival in the West in the Eleventh Century and its Ramifications*

By the beginning of the eleventh century Muslim authority in Spain and North Africa was disintegrating. The collapse of the Spanish Umayyad caliphate, rise of the ever-warring *ta'ifah* kings, the unstable triumph of the *shi'ah* and the rise of heresies in the Maghreb, the revitalization of the power of the Christians in Spain and France and their missionary and military assault against Islam, all these factors combined to pose a serious threat to *dar al-islam*. To this should be added the serious threat to Malikism after the fall of Kairouan (to the Hillalians) and the demise of Maliki scholarship in North Africa.

Such notable Malikis as Abu Irman al-Fasi (Kairouan) and Abu al-Walid al-Baji (al-Andalus) responded to the crisis of the eleventh century by promoting a revival of Islam as interpreted by their Maliki school. The former fomented the rise of the Almoravids in Morocco while the latter advocated the espousal of their cause in al-Andalus. This led not only to the rise of an organized and — for the first time in history — unified state in the Maghreb but also to the reunification of a divided Muslim Spain. It is significant that a puritanical and reformist religious revival was the moving force behind this change.

Retreating Islam became assertive and advanced to halt the advance of Christendom as well as to the restoration of Muslim rule over the lost territories (Valencia). The coinage of the Almoravids demonstrates this new assertiveness. The Christians in Spain responded militarily through appeals to France and Rome and religiously through a rearrangement of their diocesan map of Spain reaffirming the unity of the peninsula and moving the see of the Metropolitan of Spain from Muslim-held Toledo (until 1086) to Christian-held Tarragona. The latter details are contained in a hitherto unpublished Arabic Christian ms. that dates from 1046. When all efforts failed to halt this Muslim revival, Latin Christendom called for war against the "infidel": Turk in the east and Almoravid in the West. In this paper I shall present and examine the evidence.

JOSEPH GIVONY

*The Portrayal of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa in the Heresiographic Literature of the 10-12th Centuries and Concomitant Issues*

The controversy on the historic and religious portrayal of the Sunnī Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, aspects of which are to be found in some genres of medieval Arabic literature, exposes interesting historic and historiographic problems. An inquiry into these problems, which in this

paper centers over the controversy as reflected in the heresiographic literature of the 10-12th centuries, sheds new light on the question of the crystallization of Sunnism in the context of the great strife on the definition of Sunnism and on the socio-religious borders of the Sunnī community from the 10th century onwards. Furthermore, this inquiry contributes to our understanding of later Ḥanafī attitudes to their ideological and historic roots.

On the face of it, reading through the heresiographies of the aforementioned period in chronological order of compilation may give the impression that the harsh criticism levelled at Abū Ḥanīfa by the earlier heresiographers was to be greatly mitigated, if not to be ceased by the later ones. This impression is false, for according to the findings of this paper, which are based on a re-examination of the sources, it appears that such criticism never completely ceased. Even the heresiographers Al-Baghdādī and Al-Shahrastānī on which W. M. Watt based his observation, suggesting that their works represented the end of the heresy charge hurled at Abū Ḥanīfa till then, did express doubts as to whether the Imām could be totally cleared by them from his heretic associations.

As far as this alleged later heresiographic unsullying of Abū Ḥanīfa from the stigma of heresy can be taken as an indication of the process of increasing integration among Sunnites during that period, this paper concludes that the dual nature of Abū Ḥanīfa, as portrayed by these sources, stresses him being a controversial rather than an unblemished Sunnī. Thus, it pulls the rug from under the argument that the end of the criticism at the Imām by the heresiographers of the 11-12th century marked the watershed, or at least was indicative of the formation of Sunnī self-awareness, and indeed casts doubts as to the actual extent and depth of the whole process of integration, especially in the dogmatic sphere, during the period in question.

WERNER ENDE

*Taqrīb im Irak: Versuche einer theologischen Annäherung zwischen Sunniten und Schiiten im 20. Jahrhundert*

Seit dem Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts gibt es im Irak Versuche einzelner Autoren bzw. religiöser Führer, zu einer Entspannung im Verhältnis zwischen Sunniten und Schiiten zu erreichen. Eine langen oder sogar eine Annäherung (*taqrīb*) zwischen beiden Konfessionen zu erreichen. Eine Reihe von historisch bedingten Faktoren haben derartige Versuche zeitweilig begünstigt, andere standen ihnen im Wege. Die Geschichte des Staates Irak seit 1920, dem Jahr der Einsetzung eines ersten Kabinetts durch die britische Mandatsmacht, kann über weite Strecken auch als die Geschichte eines ständigen Bemühens der schiitischen Bevölkerungsmehrheit beschrieben werden, den Anteil von Angehörigen ihrer Religionsgemeinschaft an der Besetzung von Schlüsselstellungen in Politik, Verwaltung und Militär zu erhöhen, also — aus ihrer Sicht — "gerechter" zu gestalten. Dieses Bemühen erreichte nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg erhebliche Intensität. Die Zeit bis zum Sturz der haschimitischen Monarchie (1958) ist gekennzeichnet sowohl von heftigen Fehden innerhalb der schiitischen Gemeinschaft des Irak als auch von zwei entgegengesetzten Tendenzen im Verhältnis von Sunniten und Schiiten zueinander: Bemühung um Annäherung einerseits und scharfe konfessionelle Polemik andererseits. Die Bemühungen um Annäherung gingen fast ausschließlich von schiitischer Seite aus und waren innerhalb der schiitischen Gemeinschaft nicht unumstritten. Am Beispiel der jahrelangen heftigen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dem schiitischen Theologen



Muḥammad Mahdī al-Ḥālīṣī und dem sunnitischen Literaten Maḥmūd al-Mallāḥ, die Mitte der 50-er Jahre ihren Höhepunkt erreichten, werden in dem Vortrag die wichtigsten politischen und sozio-kulturellen sowie die religionsgeschichtlichen Aspekte eines Grundproblems irakischer Staatlichkeit untersucht. Das Scheitern der Annäherungsbemühungen Ḥālīṣīs wird u. a. auch als zeitweiliger Rückschlag für modernistische Bestrebungen innerhalb des schiitischen "Klerus" gedeutet.

NELLY P. A. VAN DOORN

*An Unusual Christian View of Islam in Modern Egypt*

In his book: *Muḥammad, al-Risāla wa-l-Rasūl* (Muḥammad, the Message and the Messenger), published in 1959, the Copt Dr. Naẓmī Lūqā (born in 1919 in the city of Damanhūr) tried to give an objective description of the religion of his compatriots. It was his intention to give an objective description of the prophet Muḥammad and the religion Muḥammad proclaimed.

Although this book caused some furious reactions among the Copts of Egypt, Dr. Lūqā continued to express his ideas on Islam, especially in the book *Ilṭiqā' al-Masīḥiyya wa-l-Islām* (The Meeting of Christianity and Islam), published in 1981.

Following a philosophical method which Dr. Lūqā regards to be purely descriptive, he reduces religions to ethical systems. According to Dr. Lūqā we have to leave the problem of the deity out of consideration and we should restrict our observations to the conduct someone shows towards other human beings.

When Dr. Lūqā investigates the ethical systems of several religions he starts with the natural religion and concludes that the ethical system of these religions is subject to an internal development from a lower to a higher level.

Then he analyses the ethics of the divine revelations of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Here he finds an internal development as well. For the divine revelations he assumes, as many Christians do, the Ten Commandments to be the basis for the ideal ethical system.

In the comparison, according to Dr. Lūqā, Christianity turns out to be superior to Judaism and Islam. In this religion it is not enough just to obey the Commandments, but the adherents of this religion also have to obey the command of perfect love for their fellow-man. This Dr. Lūqā considers to be a difficult appeal.

The Koranic Sharī'a, so Dr. Lūqā upholds, corresponds largely with the Ten Commandments although, in fact, it is one step backward: again it was sufficient only to obey the law in order to deserve the Kingdom of Heaven. But, although Dr. Lūqā regards Islam to be a religion less perfect than Christianity, he nevertheless considers it to be a divine revelation. Such a view of Islam clashes with the traditional Orthodox opinions of both Christians and Muslims. Muslims believe their religion to be the last and most perfect of all divine revelations. Apparently they do not read Dr. Lūqā's books carefully enough since most Muslims think Dr. Lūqā has embraced Islam. Coptic Christians traditionally regard Islam as a trial of God or a punishment from heaven. In their predicament they have little possibility to appreciate positive writings about Islam by one of their co-religionists.

In 1959 Coptic reactions on Dr. Lūqā's book were furious. He was excommunicated and

although he has been rehabilitated by the Coptic Orthodox church, many Copts still believe him to have embraced Islam.

In spite of the little understanding his ideas meet in his own circles, Dr. Lūqā regards publishing his ideas as a farḍ 'ain (an individual religious duty). Many will abhor even his use of this Muslim technical term.

BARBARA FREYER STOWASSER

*Women's Issues in Contemporary Arab Islamic Thought*

While Islamic family law, albeit in variously modified forms, remains in power in the countries of the Arab Islamic world, increasing numbers of Muslim thinkers and activists today engage in *ijtihād* or individual interpretation of the scriptures (Koran and Hadith) in their quest for answers to the contemporary needs of their societies.

Among these are the *modernists* who perceive Islam as a "dynamic" religion; they emphasize its "openness" and "permissiveness" as legislated in the scriptures, which allows them to consider the factors of time and societal change in their interpretations. Modernists distinguish an early, open, and "pure" Islam from its later manifestations which resulted from the wars of expansion, the internationalization of Islam, and a host of ultimately "damaging" acculturation processes. In their efforts to show the compatibility of modern social and political issues with early Islamic norms, the modernists deemphasize the *shari'a* as well as the processes and principle of community consensus.

Unlike the modernists, the *conservatives* do not favor individual *ijtihād* but perceive Islam as an inherited, balanced system of faith and action which provides for some adaptation of the scriptures to the needs of the age; but the processes here involved require consensus building and institutionalization, and thus have to unfold within the perimeters of Islamic law. Led and guided by the '*ulamā'*', conservatives adhere to the patterns of the past, established doctrine and traditional custom.

The *fundamentalists*, like the modernists, rely largely on individual *ijtihād*. But unlike the latter, they insist on the "static" and immutable nature of Islam as legislated in the scriptures. Accordingly, social reality or social development has no influence on religion, while religion unilaterally shapes and guides it from above. Islam, as the final and all-inclusive religion of mankind, is valid for all times, places, and nations. Even though it was revealed in human time, it is not historically conditioned by it. Individual interpretation of the scriptures plays a crucial role in social development as it spells out the eternally valid order. Society may lag behind in hearing and adopting the blueprint thus conveyed; but what is real is always the message, not its temporary, frail and fallible realization and application. The less society conforms to the ideal, the more urgent is the fundamentalists' demand for "purification". Thus, fundamentalists are scripturalist activists who translate the sacred texts directly into contemporary thought and action while bypassing and disregarding the work of centuries of theological experts.

Socially, the *modernists*, for the most part, represent the well-to-do, Westernized, urban, intellectual elite. They formulate the problem of women's status in acculturationist terms. Because of their economic, social and cultural minority status, their influence on Islamic



society at large is limited and their efforts remain marginal in overall terms, even though their voice has been and continues to be important, especially to the members of their class. In modernist interpretation, women must have the franchise. Women are under a social and religious obligation to work, including work outside the home, as their contribution is critical to the achievement of Islamic development. There is no particular "Islamic dress" for women beyond the general Koranic order concerning men's and women's modesty. Women's status is generally equal to that of men's except for the fact that in the family the male, as its provider and protector, has the natural right to be "head of family".

The *conservatives* represent the bulk of the population. Their spokesmen hail from and speak for the small towns and traditional quarters of the cities. Both old and young, the conservatives have little experience of nor do they see any promise in modernity, while traditional custom provides a safety anchor in cultural, spiritual, and even economic terms. While the conservatives emphasized the inferior nature of women in physical and mental terms roughly through the 1950s, conservatism has lately come to speak of the equality of the sexes which, however, they perceive as based on the sexes' immutable and complete difference in nature. By virtue of her anatomy, the woman is destined to be wife and mother. She may not work outside of the house, except in times of utter necessity. She has to wear "Islamic dress" when in the company of strangers. She may neither vote nor be elected to public office.

The *fundamentalists* perceive women's status and obligations in roughly the same terms. Even so, the fundamentalists differ from the conservatives in mood and tone, in a higher degree of politicization and greater engagement for action. Mostly young, recently urbanized, educated, and aware of the world at large, the clash of their expectations with the reality of poverty and/or "outsider status" leads to a more anguished and politicized formulation of social, economic, and political issues in Islamic language. They perceive the Muslim woman as strong, the repository of all cultural values, the soldier in the battle for Islamic authenticity. The God-given arena for her activities is her home which she deserts when she opts for work elsewhere. While the "return to the shari'a" is an emotional issue with the fundamentalists, their knowledge of the technicalities of Islamic law processes is generally hazy, because of their lack of training in this area and their distrust of the establishment 'ulamā'.

The *modernists*, then, propose modernization and equalization of women's status in Islamic terms. The *conservatives* propagate the status-quo, and the *fundamentalists*, in their role of self-perceived "conscience of Islamic society", deal with women's issues as a central aspect of Islamic authenticity and cultural survival.

TORD OLSSON

#### *The Divine 'Alī* *The Aretalogies in the Nuṣairī Literature*

Religiously, the Nuṣairīs, or 'Alawites, belong to a secret sect of the Shī'a type, with striking gnostic features. Except from the Mandeans, the 'Alawites seem to be the only now living group of people who adhere to a mythological gnosis. The materials for the study of Nuṣairī religion are very rich, but consist mainly of unedited Mss in European and Syrian

libraries. Most Mss are unique. They are written in a particular religious sociolect which contains dialectal features as well as other non-literary characteristics, i. e. in a sort of Middle Arabic. The primal purpose of this paper is to draw attention to a certain group of texts, which all belong to a particular literary genre, and which contain basic materials for the study of Nuṣairī religion, in particular its doctrine of the divine nature of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. A pregnant expression of this doctrine is found in the first paragraph in the catechism *Kitāb ta'lim diyānat an-nuṣairīya*, Ms Paris. arab. 6182, fol 2 v: *man huwa rabbunā llaḏī ḥalaqanā — huwa maulānā amīr al-mu'minīn amīr an-naḥl 'alī ibn abī ṭālib wa-huwa llāhu llaḏī lā illāha illā huwa r-raḥmān ar-raḥīm*. "Who is our Lord, who has created us? — He is our master, the Commander of the faithful, the prince of the bees, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and he is God, of whom (it holds true that) there is no god except him, the merciful, the compassionate". In these texts — mainly unedited Mss, though one important one, Ms Kiel.arab.19 is available in a facsimile edition made by R. Strothmann — it is notable that the role of 'Alī as political and religious leader is given express form particularly in connection with certain autobiographical statements which are ascribed to 'Alī himself. These statements are here called "aretalogies" (= 'mighty acts'). For instance, in the above mentioned catechism, of which the author is preparing an edition, an aretalogy ascribed to 'Alī begins as follows: *anā 'indī 'ilm as-sā'a wa-'allayya dallat ar-rusul* — "I have knowledge of the hour (of resurrection), and for me the apostles furnished evidence" (fol 2v, 12f). One of the most striking features in these self-proclamations is the extent to which 'Alī appears with epithets taken from the *Qur'ān*, where they are attributed to God alone. By the transfer of these epithets to 'Alī, he appears as a *cosmic* being, or God himself. Simultaneously, however, the aretalogies are ascribed to the *historical* 'Alī, in his role of imām. This tension in the representation of God is a constitutive element in the traditional Nuṣairī scriptures. Comparative studies, which include Turkish and Persian versions, confirm that the 'Alī aretalogies have consisted of a homogeneous group of texts, with respect to form and content. These texts have been quoted with disapproval, mainly by Shī'a writers, but always with reference to groups related to the extremist tradition, *ḡulāt*. However, the most extensive, and positive, quotations are found in Nuṣairī literature, where they hold a central position in testimony of the divine nature of 'Alī.

JACQUES WAARDENBURG

#### *Revitalisation in Islam*

Current western perceptions and interpretations of what is sometimes called the resurgence or revival of Islam reveal typically western values and interests. This can be demonstrated by the ways in which "Islam" and "Islamic revival" are identified at the moment. Present-day scholarly literature pays much attention to the increased political use of Islam, even to legitimate the use of violence. So-called "fundamentalist" and militant movements catch the eye not only of the general public but of researchers as well. Some hold that a general, Islamic movement has taken off, akin to a new *Internationale* in some ways.

The present paper contends that we need a more scholarly approach, considering Islam as a religion, culture and way of life, if we want to do justice to the phenomena under study.

1. The concept of "revitalisation" is proposed as a descriptive term to replace the less detached term "revival". The revitalisation of a cultural and religious tradition implies the



rediscovery, reinterpretation and new application of elements of that tradition and of the culture and religion they belong to. Revitalisation processes can be studied empirically and the results of such a study verified.

2. The starting-point should be the views and practices of the various groups studied, rather than the definition of what Islam as a religion "is" followed by the study of how it is "applied" or "works". Special attention must be paid to the way in which Muslims belonging to different groups interpret their situation and how they express this in religious writings, ideologically, in literature etc..
3. Some recent works on the revitalisation of Islam, in which the authors explicitly try to take into account the intentions of the people concerned, are analysed. Among the authors treated are S. A. Arjomand, M. Ayoob, O. Carré, A. Hussain, D. Khalid and E. Sivan. The inherent schemes of interpretation in these works are discussed.
4. The religious aspects of the current revitalisation of Islam have received comparatively little attention. Yet for a number of Muslims it is precisely their spiritual world view and ethics which convince them of the need for a revitalisation of Islam now and make them work in this direction. To do justice to the revitalisation of Islam we should pay heed to its religious aspects, too.
5. Besides the observations under (1) and (2), the study of the religious aspects of any revitalisation should not only establish empirical facts but also analyse how these facts are interpreted and "read" by different groups of adherents. "Religious" data are always interpreted data.
6. The major task of the study of the religious aspects of the revitalisation of Islam is to ascertain the "religious" interpretations and applications which specific Muslim groups and persons have given of elements of Islam as well as of Islam itself.

The interest of this approach is twofold. First we discover patterns of meaning through which specific Muslims and Muslim groups understand reality and themselves on different levels including the religious one. Secondly we may tentatively detect new intellectual, moral and spiritual trends in the Muslim world of today which can bear fruit in the future.

YORDAN PÉEV

#### *Islamic Tendencies and Movements in the Contemporary Arab World*

Over a century now the profound changes in the Arab world are both reflected and influenced by Islam. This process of change passes through a number of stages, each of which leaves its imprint on its dynamics, depth and scope.

The initial stage begins in the mid-nineteenth century and lasts to World War I. It is characterised by the rise of bourgeois relations in some parts of the Arab world and by active colonial expansion. The confrontation causes ideological and political unrest which finds its expression in the sphere of religion in what is called Reformers' movement. Thus Islam's Reformation begins — a process which nowadays still goes on. It implies a new, rational in spirit, interpretation of the overall system of religious, ethic, social and political problems facing the Arab Muslim society. The Reformers' (Dj. Afgānī, M. Abduh, A. Kawākibī)

approach to the interpretation of Islamic dogmas and practices integrates elements of Mu'tazila's rationalism, combined with borrowing from European philosophical thought and supplemented by the pragmatic requirements of the present day. All these principles and approaches are rather different from and often contrary to the prevalent traditionalist conceptions and from here stems the persistent rivalry between the two trends.

In the early 20th c. and particularly after WW I the Arab countries are faced with the pressing and historic task of achieving national independence. Its imperatives affect the development of Reformation and inevitably leads to a differentiation. A modernist wing splits from the main Reformers' trend. It is represented by a small group of intellectuals and politicians whose conceptions fail to spread widely, but their challenge against tradition has considerable consequences.

Islam's evolution today is closely bound up with the political changes following WW II. The Arab countries have gained independence and every social force, political organisation and government pretend to interpret Islam correctly and be in position to realise its ideals and prescriptions.

The Traditionalists still have a considerable following, mostly among the feudal circles and broad backward masses. Their fundamental slogan still condemns borrowing from the "infidels" as sinful "innovation" of religious doctrine and practices.

The Reformation is still incomplete and two policies could be outlined among its advocates. One of them campaigns against Traditionalism and makes efforts to restrict archaic structures, the other is a policy of compromise with Traditionalism.

The Modernists' trend also splitted. Writers and politicians (H. Bourguiba) voicing their commitment to "intransigent values" of Islam, interpret them so as to turn them into a factor facilitating the secularisation and modernisation. The leaders like G. A. Nasser, H. Boumedienne and others formed a neo-modernist trend. They proclaim Islam a "hundred-percent socialist religion". Elements of populism, social reformism and scientific socialism combined in socio-political practices under the label of Islam.

Neofundamentalism (Takfīr wa'l-Hijra in Egypt, Al-Ikhwān in Saudi Arabia etc.) is influenced by the revolution in Iran and gives a radical socio-political interpretation to Traditionalism.

M. Kaddafī's conceptions and practices have some original traits. He is more strict than the Neomodernists in implementing Islamic prescripts, more radical than them in social and political reforms, but he does not lapse into Neofundamentalist excesses.

Intricate relations of reciprocal influence and rivalry exist among these trends and their representatives.



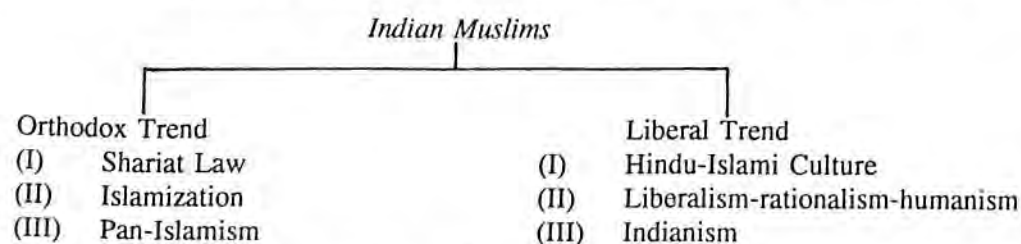
AMALENDU DE

*Islamic Fundamentalism and Indian Muslims: An Historical Perspective*

The main features of Islamic fundamentalism, crosscurrents in medieval Indian Muslim society and the impact of the processes of Islamization on Indian Muslim life till the days of the vivisection of this country in August 1947 are analyzed in this paper in a broad historical framework noted below:

1. Islam in Indian context before the advent of the British rule: (a) main features of Islamic fundamentalism; (b) crosscurrents in medieval Indian Muslim society: ideological struggle.
2. Islam in the Colonial Period: (a) pattern of modernisation in the Muslim society; (b) Islam in the Pre-Ghandian and the Ghandian phases of the struggle for freedom.

The fundamentals of Islam moulded the newly constituted Muslim society in India right from the 7th century A.D. The introduction of political elements along with the conquest of Sindh in 711 A.D. by the Arabs actually changed the socio-political scenario of the country. In 1206 A.D. a Muslim ruler ascended the throne of Delhi. Since then Islam and the Muslim community became part and parcel of Indian life. A new political system and a new way of life were engrafted in this country. It created a stir in the traditional pattern of the Indian body-politic. The Muslim rulers during these periods 1206-1526 and 1526-1707 were confronted with a different social and cultural life. The question of adjustment of fundamentals of Islam with this setting cropped up. The people of this country had to pass through war and conflict. But, for living side by side, a spirit of mutual appreciation developed among the Hindus and the Muslims which, in course of time, resulted in the growth and development of Indianness or Indianism through the processes of assimilation between Hinduism and Islam. These were reflected in the socio-cultural and political life of the country in medieval times. But the efforts to enforce fundamentals of Islam into the body-politic of the Muslims resulting in the *Muja ddi diya* revivalist movement in the 16th-17th centuries greatly stunted the growth of the spirit of mutual appreciation and assimilation. The ingredients of secularism sprouting during the Mughal rule could not flourish in this situation. We can broadly indicate the impact of these two opposite trends on Indian Muslim life in the following manner:



The orthodox trend became the most powerful moulding factor for the reason that it was backed by a temporal authority like Aurangzeb. Even in the Colonial period the forces of Secularism within the Muslim society could not bring out the Muslim mind of the narrow theological orbit as the Islamic modernisation was integrated with the ideals of Islamization. This peculiar feature of Islam in modern India created a favourable situation for those who were at the helm of Muslim League Politics. The League-Ulama combination was so powerful that it did not find any difficulty to crush the "emancipation of intellect movement" started by a group of Muslim rationalists since 1926. The spirit of adjustment between Indian

nationalism and Islam did not get a concrete form though Mahatma Ghandi made serious efforts in this direction. In this situation a two-nation theory gained currency. The voices of nationalist Muslims were silenced by the fundamentalists. Jinnah could successfully fight battles for Pakistan state as he received the support of a powerful section among the Ulamas. Thus in different stages of Islam in India Islamic fundamentalism remained a potent factor.

M. KAMLIN

*The Organization of Islamic Conference: A Step Towards Ummatic Unity ?*

The establishment of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1970 arguably represents perhaps history's first successful attempt to create a systematic, voluntarily agreed international body, a sort of mini-UN of the Muslim world, in order to generate unified attitudes and united actions on a specific set of issues of crucial importance to the member-states.

"Unity" is a recurrent theme in Muslim history. Right from the earliest days of the Prophet's mission, the "call" or "feeling" for unity has continued to serve as a spur to Muslim thought and action. From the first also, ummatic unity was not merely a religious concept, a divine obligation. It was made a socio-political virtue at the earliest opportunity when, following the flight (hijrah) of his persecuted but ever burgeoning group of followers from Mecca to Madina, the Prophet proclaimed the birth of the Islamic ummah as a socio-political reality.

Ummatic unity is not merely an idea deeply embedded in Islamic theology and history. It is an emotion, an impulse, so finely woven into the psychic tapestry of a Muslim that it may not be too much of an exaggeration to describe it as part and parcel of his very nature.

In practice as distinct from theory or ideology, however, unity may be said hardly ever to have been the hall-mark of the Muslim ummah, in the sense in which it was envisioned by the Prophet or enjoined by God. But it lived on as an ideal.

In our own times a new perception of the ummah as moderated by the western doctrine of nationalism could be said to have helped redefine the concept of ummatic unity in terms of "a community" of independent political units drawn together by common spiritual and moral values and working in concert, through specially contrived diplomatic means, to achieve such common goals and objectives as may be deemed necessary to promote that unity. In the rather cautious beginnings of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and the relatively modest objectives and goals that the Organization has set for itself, is to be seen the impact of this redefined conception of ummatic unity, sustaining the main ideological thrust toward cross-national unity. This is so because the leaders who have re-conceived and are executing the design for global Islamic solidarity, are the bearers of the Afghani-'Abduh legacy, or are cast in the intellectual mould of the early nationalists, or are themselves those nationalists, combining their western learning and modernist ideas with hostility to western political and economic domination, inspired by an image of the glory of pristine Islamic civilization and the desire to revive it, but at the same time tempered by a sense of the pragmatic which informs them that the contemporary international system is too well-established and interdependent a phenomenon to permit an autonomous, exclusivist Islamic system to operate outside of it, still less as a rival system dedicated to its subversion and destruction. Here we observe a further modification of the idea of ummatic unity on a global scale, as incorporated



in the Charter of the OIC, namely, that the organization would promote its goals, including the primary goal of consolidating Muslim solidarity, within the framework of the general international system, not in rivalry or opposition to it.

The OIC is more accurately described as a "system", in the sense that the UN is often spoken of as a system, consisting of a whole host of organs and specialized bodies, some central, many others peripheral. The OIC, like the UN, is a political system consisting of three major core institutions, namely the Secretariat General, the Foreign Ministers' Conference, and the Heads of State and Government Conference (Summit). In addition it has a range of many subsidiary, secondary and affiliated bodies to perform specific functions.

In sum, the Organization of Islamic Conference system would continue to operate, other things being equal, rather like the United Nations' system, as a loose system of states, a system, that is, of which the nation-state is the basic and quintessential unit. As such, it would continue to try to enable member-states to overcome the inconvenience and the handicap of not having an universal polity of ummah, by means of mutual cooperation rendered on the basis of sovereign equality in such fields as are by *iğmā'* (consensus) deemed to be of benefit to it.

JACQUES WAARDENBURG

*Apologetical Literature about the Position of Women in Islam,  
A Propos of a Recent Study by Ghassan Ascha*

The position of women in Islam, according to both the Shari'a and the variations of lived practice, has given rise to an abundant literature in Western languages. Our interest is in what Muslim authors themselves, in particular in the Arab world, say about this subject. The internal Muslim Arab discourse can disclose to what extent this topic is not only a matter of violent debate but also of serious reflection in each new generation.

The literature in Arabic falls into two categories. First, there are works by thinkers who call for a continuous improvement of the situation of women; the pioneer here is Rifā'a al-Tahtāwī (1801-1873).

Secondly, there is category of writings which aim to demonstrate the excellence of the situation of women in Islam. These books are basically a defence of Islam intended for Arab Muslim readers and they are, consequently, of an apologetic nature. This literature, in which Islamic norms are affirmed or defended, is of three kinds:

1. books in the classical tradition of fiqh, explaining the legal position of women in Islam according to the Shari'a, with little eye for new situations and social developments;
2. books by reformists and also modernists who reinterpret the religious sources wherever possible either to improve the situation of women or to show that the position of women in Islam meets the standards of equality between the sexes. They are aware of at least some new situations and social developments and want to bridge the gap between Koranic prescriptions, the classical rules of fiqh, and the demands of modern times;
3. books by those whom we may call activists. They want to reactivate the rules of the

Shari'a as much as possible and do not hesitate to reject the West and the position of women in it at the outset, just as for a long time some Western critics have completely rejected Islam and the position of women in it. These activists do not know the West any better than the Western critics know Islam.

The present paper discusses a number of points made in this second category of writings which aim to demonstrate that the position of women in Islam is excellent and that Islam is superior to all other systems which have devised rules for women, religious or otherwise. This is done with reference to Ghassan Ascha, *Le statut de la femme en Islam* (Paris: Ed. l'Harmattan, 1986). This book, which has been written by a Muslim who takes a critical stand to the second category of literature, is an important example of the inter-Muslim discourse we are interested in.

A. GORGI

*In the Name of God  
Law and Government in Islam*

Before elaborating the subject, it is proper to define the concept of "qanun" (the law). Qanun is derived from the Greek word Kanon or from the Syriac or the Roman or less likely from the Persian. There are various definitions of the concept of qanun such as custom, order, criterion, way etc.. Among scholars, it is referred to as a general standard corresponding with certain individuals whose rights and duties are known from those standards. Qanun has been divided into natural and positive law. Here, by law we mean the positive law. It therefore, should be defined as a general instruction laid down by competent individuals or groups to regulate the society's affairs.

What is Hokumat or government? It means rulership, arbitration and the like. As a legal term, its meaning is not much different from the above. But in any case, it is a relative concept and bears no fixed or unchanging truth. But government in the special sense which is what we understand from the term, denotes an organization which the people of a particular geographical area create for the purpose of determining the rights and duties of individuals, groups, public and private organizations, etc.. In this sense, government is usually of three types. 1. Despotism, 2. Constitutional monarchy and 3. Republic. But there is a fourth category which is only understandable by the Moslems and which will be referred to below.

1. *Despotism* is a government subject to the will of one person, whether people wish it or not. In this type of government no prior enacted laws exist and even if they existed, they would still be subject to the will of the same individual ruler.

In my opinion, governments based on a one party system or a minority government, even when adopting other names and allege freedom and democracy, are still included in this category unless they are really inclusive of the great majority of the people, a condition which is usually far from being obtained.

2. *Constitutional Monarchy* is a government based on enacted rules and principles which normally define the rights and duties of individuals and organizations, while at the head of the government there is a single dynasty among whose members rulership and sovereignty is changed by inheritance.



3. *Republic*: This type of government in addition to being subject to principles and rules does not suffer from the defects of the monarchical government. The head of state i. e. the president is elected for a limited period of time by the free ballots of the people. There is probably provision for his removal when necessary, therefore it is called a republic.

4. *The Divine government*. There is another type of government which is neither the government of an individual or party over the people, nor the government of the so-called people by the people; this is the government of God over the people, and you may call it the rule of law over the people. Since in this type of government, the holy Islamic legislator has laid down certain rules and regulations and has appointed a leader, generally or particularly, who is knowledgeable, just, pious, expert and aware of the contemporary problems, to such a degree that he can aptly apply these laws and regulations. Non-Moslems are not aware of this type of government. But according to Moslems who believe God to be the creator of all the good and evil of the human mind and behaviour and regard God not only as the creator of the whole universe but also as the legislator of the holy laws of Islam i. e. Shari'a. This type of government is the best and is called the Islamic government.

Rules and regulations in the holy Islamic Shari'a have two phases: The phase of legislation and the phase of execution. Execution is also of two types: Adjudication and government. A brief description of these titles will be attempted below:

a) The phase of legislation. This phase has certain stages:

1. Stage one which is legislation itself. This is innately peculiar to God himself.

إِنِ الْحُكْمُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ أَمَرَ أَلَّا تَعْبُدُوا إِلَّا إِيَّاهُ (12.40)

أَلَا لَهُ الْخَلْقُ وَالْأَمْرُ (7.54)

2. Stage two which is the stage of propagation which is peculiar to the Prophet of Islam (peace and blessing be upon him).

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا بَشِيرًا وَنَذِيرًا (17.105)

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ (5.67)

3. Stage three which is the stage of maintenance, promulgation and explanation of rules and precepts of the Quran and tradition. This is the duty of the Imams (peace be upon them).

4. Stage four which is the stage of inference and legal opinion which is the duty of religious jurists and on this, there is no difference.

b) Adjudication and Arbitration. There is no difference of opinion among Moslems, that God has entrusted the office of judgeship to the Prophet and he, in turn, has delegated it to the Imams and they too have passed it to the qualified jurists. Verses and narrations also substantiate this.

c) Government and rulership in society. This subject is the most important issue in our discussion. The governmental power has been conferred on the Prophet by God, the most holy, as is indicated by the many verses in the Quran. God says:

مَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا مُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ (33.36)

النَّبِيُّ أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ (33.6)

The Prophet, in turn, has delegated that power to the Imams as for example at the Khom Pool, when he said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَهَذَا عَلَى مَوْلَاهُ

There are also many narratives denoting the necessity of obeying him (Ali, peace upon him) and requirements to refer to him on matters such as punishment and flogging, management of affairs of incapacitated persons and other non-litigious matters. The Imams in their turn have delegated the power of government to qualified jurists.

الْعُلَمَاءُ أُمَنَاءُ الرُّسُلِ مَجَارِي الْأُمُورِ بَيْنَهُ  
الْعُلَمَاءُ بِاللَّهِ الْأُمَنَاءُ عَلَى مَلَأِيهِ وَمَرَامِهِ  
عُلَمَاءُ أُمَّتِي كَأَنْبِيَاءِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ  
هَلُمُّهُ مُجِبِّي عَلَيْكُمْ

Moslem people will surely receive the clergy who is qualified. If we take this reception as their vote, we may say that they have voted for them. But this voting does not confer their vote, we may say that they have voted for them. But this voting does not confer competence on the clergy since their competence derives from the characteristics existing in them. In certain circumstances votes can be of effect in the development of the office of government; when there is plurality of qualified jurists. If no one is preferred to the others, the one who receives the majority vote would be given preference.

It is proper at this juncture to refer to two more questions:

A. If it be said that in Islam the laws are divinely ordained, therefore what can the Islamic



Consultative Assembly do, it should be said in response, that the Majlis could do a lot of things including the following:

1. It can codify the Islamic rules in contemporary ways and state clearly all the conditions and requirements.
2. To define the limits of rules and regulations in temporal matters.
3. In cases where the holy Shari'a is silent or has only provided the generalities, the Islamic Consultative Assembly (ICS), having regard to the common good of society and without contravening the precepts of Shari'a, can give content to those generalities and in case of contravention, the Council of Guardians will decide the matter.
4. Create rules and regulations which put into force the Islamic laws in a better way.
5. In view of the guardianship of the jurist, it can pass laws which are beneficial to the society.
6. To provide solutions to new problems according to Islamic criteria.

B. Is there a place for consultation in Islamic matters? The answer to this question is affirmative. According to the Quranic Verses and narratives, consultation is legitimate and approved and even obligatory. According to the noble Verse:

وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ (3.159)

the Prophet himself was enjoined to consult, not in the matter of precepts themselves, but in other matters such as inference of rules, their better application, selection of individuals for various offices, etc. It is evident that after taking the council, it is the executive officer who should ultimately decide the matter.

ANDRZEJ CZAPKIEWICZ

*The Views of the Arab Medieval Philologists on Language and its Origin*

The standpoints of the Arab medieval philologists, or more precisely, of the medieval scholars of different kind and different origins who lived between the VII/VIII-th cc. and the end of the XV-th and who wrote in Arabic, concerning the emergence of language oscillated between the view based on Koran, II, 30 that language was wholly created by God and revealed by Him to Adam and then through the latter one to men and the looking on it as a result of a purely human agreement. Between these two extremes there were those who promoted the idea of language as of a product of the divine-human cooperation and who differed among themselves as to the God's role in this cooperation. However, the majority of scholars admitted all these alternatives as possible origins of language having stated that there were no convincing arguments or proofs which would definitely speak for the rightness of any of them.

The consideration on the origin of languages included also the speculations concerning the time of the emergence and the question which language appeared as first in the world? According to some of the scholars, the time of the emergence of language coincided with the appearance of Adam in the Paradise, while some maintained that language was only transmitted to him by an extinct generation which existed before him. As for the language which was to have appeared as first, a group of scholars considered Arabic as such, but some of them were of the opinion that all different languages appeared at one time.

Closely connected with the above presented problems were many more detailed ones which also occupied the minds of the mentioned scholars. Some of their views in those respects as well as their proposed solutions of some of them seem surprisingly modern. To mention here only e. g. their definition of word as a phonic sign of the object denoted by it, their awareness of the complexity of its structure: the phonic denoting part and the denoted object, their considerations on the character of the relation between the two which, again, oscillated from its naturalness through intuitiveness manifesting itself in the phonetics and structure of the word, to arbitrariness, or finally their considerations concerning the problem to what actually do the words point: to an abstract idea of the denoted object, to its mental notion, or to the concrete denoted object itself? It is also impossible here to pass over in silence their presentiment, if only a vague one, of the surface and deep structures.

The frames of this summary do not permit the enumeration of many other interesting details which include other precursory linguistic ideas. But, already this what has been presented above seems sufficient to become a one more interesting leaf to the history of general linguistics.



PESSAH SHINAR

*Islamic Orthodoxy and Profane Arabic Literature: A Paradoxical Relationship*

Despite qur'ānic and (largely) prophetic condemnation of poets and poetry (especially lampoons) as *jinn*-inspired and untruthful, poetry dominated cultural life and served as effective medium in partisan strife under Umayyads, became basis of Arabic philology, a tool for qur'ānic exegesis and a constituent element of "polite" secular literature, *adab*. The present paper

- 1) lists 5 factors facilitating Islamic legitimation as follows: Prophet's favour of poets supporting his cause, paucity of idolatrous allusions in *jāhili* poetry, partial adoption of pagan *muruwwa* virtues by Islamic ethics, immense prestige of the *qaṣīda* and role of amatory prelude, *nasīb*, in development of profane love poetry;
- 2) finds that attitudes of outstanding religious scholars towards the poetic art comprise enjoyment of poems and love-songs (Ibn 'Abbās, *fuṣṣṭa* of Medina and Mekka), expertise in ancient poetry and versification (Imām al-Shāfi'i), producing of secular prose (*adab*) and compiling of a poetic anthology (Ibn Qutayba), literary criticism based on esthetic criteria exclusive of moral consideration (qāḍī al-Jurjānī), composing codes or repertoires of courtly love (ẓāhirite theologians Ibn Dā'ūd and Ibn Ḥazm), rejection of prevailing view of stylistic inimitability of Qur'ān (i'jāz) and assertion that great *jāhili* and islamic poets could match qur'ānic style but were "deflected" by God from doing so (Ibn Ḥazm, Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī), qualified approval of poetry with allowance of "lying" (i. e. use of hyperbole — Imām al-Ghazzālī), factual presentation (Ibn Khaldūn), combining of sacred and secular Arabic studies in Islamic universities (example: Zaytūna 'ālim al-Khaḍir b. al-Ḥusayn, later Rector of al-Azhar);
3. compares the above with rabbis' stand on profane love poetry, as expressed in two instances:
  - a) final admission of Song of Songs to biblical canon thanks to Rabbi 'Aqība and to the use of allegorical interpretation;
  - b) responsum by Maimonides prohibiting the listening to profane love-songs;
4. compares the above with negative attitude of the early Church towards the literary legacy of pagan Greece, especially the homeric epics, finds that criticism of Homer for presenting his gods as anthropomorphic and their conduct as unedifying was already voiced by pagan philosophers (Xenophanes, Plato), yet legacy was studied and taught to the end of Byzantium thanks to Stoic system of allegorization of ancient myths, selection of texts *ad usum delphini* and the needs of the rhetorical schools, but preservation was mainly due to the three Cappadocian Fathers, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa, themselves deeply imbued with pagan Greek culture;
5. concludes that, unlike the above Jewish and Christian instances, foremost exponents of Islamic orthodoxy felt no need to allegorize and/or expurgate in order to legitimize *jāhili* poetry and islamic profane literature as an integral part of their cultural heritage, nor did they consider it improper to study, compose or enjoy such literature, and that in fact Sunni scholars appear to have continued to do so almost to the present time.

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

*Aesopic Fables in Arabic Translation*

On the basis of a small collection of Aesopic fables in an Istanbul manuscript, apparently dating from the fifteenth century, the problems of the translation and transmission of Greek popular literature are discussed and illustrated by some of these fables.

SUSANNE ENDERWITZ

*Tadler, Boten, Denunzianten im Ḡazal*

Von den vielen Nebenakteure, die die arabische Dichtung bevölkern, ist m. W. bisher nur den "zwei Freunden" aus der altarabischen Qaside ein eigener Aufsatz gewidmet worden. Dabei gibt es gerade in der arabischen Liebesdichtung eine kaum überschaubare Anzahl von Personen, die, sei's helfend, sei's hindernd, sei's gefragt, sei's ungebeten, sei's offen, sei's heimlich, in den Bund zwischen den beiden Hauptakteuren eingreifen: Vater und Onkel, Brüder und weibliche Verwandte, Freunde und Nachbarn, Ratgeber und Tadler, Boten und Späher, Feinde, heimliche Hasser, Neider, Lügner und Denunzianten.

Daß dieser ganz Pulk allgegenwärtiger Figuren bisher noch keiner, es sei denn einer rein deskriptiven, Betrachtung unterzogen wurde, mag vor allem daran liegen, daß es sich hier um Klischees zu handeln scheint, die unverändert oder doch nahezu unverändert aus der vorislamischen in die umayyadische und abbasidische Dichtung übergangen. Eine nähere Betrachtung, durchgeführt im Vergleich zwischen der frühislamischen und der abbasidischen Liebesdichtung und exemplifiziert an den Dichtern 'Umar b. al-ʿAbbās (gest. um 712) und al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (gest. um 804), zeigt indessen, daß diese Figuren durchaus entwicklungsfähig sind. 'Umar begegnet dem Tadler ('ādil) seines Liebesverhältnisses mit spielerischer Leichtigkeit, entzieht ihn mehrfach durch Namensnennung seiner traditionellen Anonymität und konzidiert ihm, indem er ihn als freundlichen Ratgeber (nāsīḥ) apostrophiert, die gute Absicht. Al-ʿAbbās hingegen antwortet seinem Tadler mit schroffer Zurückweisung, die gute Absicht. Al-ʿAbbās deutet die Anonymität des Tadlers in Omnipräsenz um und sieht ihn mehr mit dem Denunzianten (wāṣī) als mit dem Ratgeber verwandt. Ein entsprechender Unterschied zwischen den beiden Dichtern läßt sich auch für den Boten (rasūl) und die Feinde (a'dā') unterschiedlicher Art, den Neider (ḥāsīd) und Hasser (kāṣih), den Denunzianten (wāṣī) und Lügner (kāḍib), konstatieren. Die Übermittlung einer Botschaft an die Geliebte bedarf bei 'Abbās einer weit umsichtigeren Planung als bei 'Umar, denn seine Boten sind häufiger perfide Naturen, und seine Feinde finden sich öfter unter den engsten Vertrauten.

Die auffallend schematisch-systematische Feindseligkeit der 'Abbās'schen Nebenfiguren geht nicht nur und nicht einmal primär auf die Individualität des Autors zurück, sondern hat ihre ganz konkrete und genau kalkulierte Funktion. al-ʿAbbās spricht für die höfische Gesellschaft, die vielen, Dichtern wie ihm, Musikern und Gelehrten, den sozialen Aufstieg bietet und die sich nicht wesentlich durch Herkunft und Vermögen definiert, sondern durch ihren Seelenadel, dessen höchster Ausdruck das Lieben ist. Das Lieben indessen gewinnt seine Besonderheit, seine Kontur und seinen Wert erst auf dem Hintergrund derer, die nicht lieben können oder wollen. Es setzt den Liebenden ab von der kleinlichen Rationalität, die das Lieben als nutzlose Beschäftigung tadelt, weil sie den empfangenen Lohn nicht einzuschätzen vermag. Es nimmt zugleich den Charakter eines kostbaren Gutes an, weil es



Neider und Mißgünstige, wie sie sonst nur im Umkreis von Status und Reichtum auftreten, auf den Plan ruft. Es befördert schließlich die Selbstkultivierung des Liebenden, weil ihn die Anwesenheit der Feinde, die störend zwischen ihn und die Geliebte treten, zur unablässigen Wachsamkeit und Diskretion zwingt. Die Distanzierung des Dichters von seinen Tadlern, die Anerkennung seiner Liebe als Objekt des Neids durch die Mißgünstigen und seine Selbstdisziplin angesichts der vielen Feinde, dies zusammen macht ungeachtet seiner Genealogie und seines Besitzstandes eines unzweifelhaft klar: Seine isolierte Position inmitten einer Umgebung von Neid, Lüge und Betrug ist nicht ein Schicksal, das ihn niederdrückt, sondern eins, das ihn emporhebt.

ULF HAXEN

*Ibn Sana' al-Mulk (c. 1155-1210)*  
*Waššāḥ and Literary Theorist*

The ars poetica, *Dār aṭ-Ṭirāz fī 'amal al-muwaššahāt*, by the Egyptian magistrate and literary theorist Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk is a treasury of information in respect to technique and aesthetic evaluation of the enigmatic poetic genre of Andalusia, the *muwaššaha*. A lyric composition which was immensely popular, in the *salon* as well as in the street, among Jews, Arabs and Mozarabs of 10th-13th century Spain.

Based on the two extant manuscripts of Leiden and Cairo, Jawdat Rikaby published a critical edition of *Dār aṭ-Ṭirāz*, Damascus 1949. In 1962 Emilio García Gómez issued a full translation in Spanish (*Al-Andalus*, vol 27) of the theoretical part of the treatise, which consists of three sections: (1) the ars poetica proper (2) an anthology of 34 *muwaššahāt* by Andalusian poets and (3) a collection of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's own *muwaššah*-poetry (modestly referred to as "mere shadows of the genuine Andalusian lyrics"), 35 in all.

Fifty years prior to Jawdat Rikaby's edition of *Dār aṭ-Ṭirāz*, Martin Hartmann discussed Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's treatise, in a rather condescending manner. But Hartmann was the first to present a detailed description and literary treatment of *muwaššah*-poetry — and its sister genre, the *zajal*. He culled his material from various Jewish and Arabic anthologies, and he was the first to take the then unpublished ars poetica by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk into account in the monograph, *Das arabische Strophengedicht (Das Muwaššah)*, Weimar 1897.

Half a century later — and one year before Jawdat Rikaby's critical edition of *Dār aṭ-Ṭirāz* — Samuel Miklos Stern wrote his epochmaking study, "Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les *muwaššahs* hispano-hébraïques: une contribution à l'histoire du *muwaššah* et à l'étude du vieux dialecte espagnol 'mozarabe'" (*Al-Andalus*, vol 13). Stern expounded and refined his views on the subject in his doctoral thesis (1950), publ. Oxford 1974 and in "Les Chansons mozarabes", Palermo 1953. His works reflected a far more sympathetic attitude towards the Andalusian genre than Hartmann did. And Stern managed to give a consistent presentation of the complex questions, as far as the genesis and development of the *muwaššaha* are concerned, in conjunction with a thorough attempt to decipher the so-called *kharja*, a refrain-like estribillo in old Romance, attached to the Hebrew (or Arabic) main stem of the poem, and written in Hebrew or Arabic characters. Both scholars have since been reckoned among the advocates of an Arabico-Persian theory of origin, as apposed to the contenders of a Romance school of thought. Stern, however, was less dogmatic than generally claimed: "A

vrai dire, les deux théories de Hartmann et Ribera (representing "the Romance school") quoique, à première vue, elles semblent se contredire, ne s'excluent pas forcément. On peut concevoir que le *musammaṭ* (a Persian strophic form with an *abbb* pattern) en préparant le chemin pour une poésie strophique, a rendu plus facile la réception de la forme populaire romane, le *muwaššah*" (Vers finaux op.cit.).

Stern's theories have been elaborated further by J. M. Sola-Solé, *Corpus de poesia mozarabe*, Barcelona 1973, in which attention is given to the rôle of the Hebrew *muwaššaha* as a ferment in the evolutionary process of the *muwaššah*-genre as a whole. In so doing Sola-Solé revives the theories of Jose Maria Millás Vallicrosa, who, incidentally was the first to interpret some Romance *kharjas* in Yehuda Ha-Levi's *muwaššahāt*, "Sobre los más antiguos versos en lengua castellana", *Sefarad*, vol VI, and Francisco Cantera, "Versos españoles en las *muwaššahs* hispano-hebreas" *Sefarad*, vol. IX. The cautious suggestions by the two scholars as to the rôle of the Jews provoked a strong objection from García Gómez, on a rather passionate note.

It is extremely important that the "Hebrew approach" be reconsidered in the *muwaššaha*/*kharja* discussion, which in the last decades has stagnated in barren speculations as to quantitative versus syllabic-accentual metrics, Arabic ('arūḍ) contra Romance scansion etc. (Gorton, Jones, Semah, García Gómez and others). For a more balanced view reference is given to James T. Monroe and David Swiatlo, "Ninety-three Arabic *Harḡas* in Hebrew *Muwaššahs*: Their Hispano-Romance Prosody and Thematic Features", *JAOS*, vol. 97.

As far as the prosodic and structural analysis of the *muwaššaha* and *kharja* are concerned, it is of utmost significance that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's treatise is taken into consideration. *Dār aṭ-Ṭirāz* delivers crucial hints to the musico-instrumental ("cross-rhythmical") influence on *muwaššah*-prosody in the interrelationship between refrain (*kharja*) and the richly faceted strophic architecture (rhyme and rhythm) of the main corpus of the strophic composition.

(For further reading see Richard Hitchcock, *The Kharjas, A Critical Bibliography*, London 1977.)

ARIE SCHIPPERS

*Descriptions of Apples in the Tradition of the "Elegants" or ẓurafā'*  
*Some Remarks on Hebrew Andalusian Poetry in Relation to Arabic Poetry*

In the eleventh century A. D. there existed a school of Jewish poets who lived in Andalusia and who constituted virtually the only Jewish community in the Arabic world which succeeded in developing their own form of non-religious poetry in the Arabic manner. The Jewish poets followed in the footsteps of their Oriental Arabic colleagues, poets from the East, such as al-Mutanabbi (915-955), Abu Tammam (806-846) and Abu Nuwas (750-815).

Among these Jewish poets, whose main activities can be dated to the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century, four poets attained an eminent position. These are Shemuel ha-Nagid (993-1056); Shelomo ibn Gabirol (1021-1055); Moshe ibn Ezra (1055-1138) and Yehudah ha-Levi (1074-1141). They are the four most important representatives of the Hebrew Andalusian school.

In the poems of these four Hebrew Andalusian poets, there are isolated descriptions of fruit,



e. g. of apples and pears. The apple was a very popular motif, as it was regarded as the symbol of love. In this short article we will therefore deal with only this one aspect of Hebrew Andalusian poetry, namely its imitation of the description of fruit as developed within the tradition of the "elegants", or the *ẓurafā*.

The style of poetry which uses various descriptions of fruit came to prominence during the time of Abu Nuwās (750-815).

In the descriptive poems concerning fruit, we find reminiscences of the wine scene during which fruit is served, which were also scenes popular in love poetry — usually part of the wine scene because the cup bearer, a young boy or girl, often denoted as a gazelle or roe, is the object of someone's love passion. Descriptions of nature scenes, gardens and flowers commonly served as a background of the drinking scene.

Less than a century after Abu Nuwās the author of the *Book of the Embroidered Cloth* (*Kitāb al-Muwashshā*) entered the realm of Arabic literature. He was called Abu l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Washshā' and he lived between 855 and 936. His book contains a form of code which deals with the manners and customs of the so-called *ẓurafā*. The book also contains prescriptions in order to regulate the way they had to follow in love affairs.

In order to illustrate the background behind the ideas and themes of the apple poems in Hebrew Andalusian poetry, we will give an example from an apple description as represented in the *Race Course of the Red Wine* (*Ḥalbat al-Kumayt*) by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nawāji (1383-1455; a collector of poetry of earlier centuries) (Cairo 1299/1882, p. 257):

2. *Kāna -l-hawā qad ḍamma min ba'di furqatin/  
bi-hā khaddu ma 'shuqin 'ilā khaddi 'āshiqi. //*
2. It is as though, even after the departure,  
Love has combined in it (i. e. the apple) the cheek  
of the beloved with the cheek of the lover.

The green colour of the apple refers to the greensickness of the lover who suffers from the cruelty of his beloved; the red colour has to do with the beloved who becomes ashamed, when the lover kisses him on his cheeks. We will see how Moshe ibn Ezra adopted this motif and made an almost literal translation of the second hemistich of line 2 of this poem in his poem nr. 227 (diwān I, ed. H. Brody, Berlin 1935, p. 331):

2. *Ḥ(a)shabti-hu be-shur yāroq we-'ādom /  
qebuṣim bo penē ḥāshuq we-ḥoshēq. //*
2. As I observe (an apple) in which red and  
green are joined, I think I see the faces of lover  
and beloved combined in it.

This is only one example from my lecture. For more detailed information and further examples: see my article on this subject, forthcoming in the *Journal of Semitic Studies*.

HILARY KILPATRICK

### *The Frame of the Kitāb al-Aghānī*

This paper forms part of a larger study of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Book of Songs) of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 363/972-973). The *Aghānī* is constructed round a framework of songs, hence its name; it falls into two main parts, connected with each other by a contrasting section. The first part is based on the list of the hundred best songs originally drawn up for Hārūn al-Rashīd and later revised, and when this list is exhausted al-Iṣfahānī treats other famous groups of songs. In the second part it is al-Iṣfahānī's own choice of memorable songs which determines the succession of articles. In both parts each introductory song is followed by an article on the poet and composer responsible for its words and music, provided they have not been treated earlier. From the beginning the author is concerned not merely to establish the correct words and melodies of the songs but also to provide biographical notes on the poets and composers and other background information of relevance.

In the contrasting section al-Iṣfahānī resorts to an organisational method similar to the one he employs in the earlier *Maqātil al-Ṭalibīyīn*, where it is a list of names which determines the order of the articles. In the *Aghānī* he makes use of the list of names of members of the ruling house who had a reputation as musicians, devoting articles to them in chronological order.

Most of the articles in the *Aghānī* are biographically oriented, but three other focusses can be distinguished: on historical events, relationships, or lines of poetry. It is suggested that an analysis of the *Aghānī* articles would reveal that they are all focussed in one of the four ways mentioned. In the second part of the work, based on al-Iṣfahānī's own selection of songs, the *adab* principle of elegant variation in the choice of subjects appears to be at work, and the author takes care to include substantial articles at regular intervals.

In the execution of the plan of the *Aghānī* a small number of inconsistencies can be detected; these, together with the incomplete state of the preface and last article and the absence of a biographical article on Abū Nuwās, point to the *Aghānī* not having been completed. What little can be established about the last years of al-Iṣfahānī's life is consistent with this conclusion.

SHMUEL MOREH

### *The "Khayāl" as a Medieval Arabic Theatre*

Scholars of Muslim Shadow plays considered the term "*Khayāl*" or "*khiyāl*" as a shortened term of *khayāl al-ẓill* (shadow play). Few scholars who noticed the difference between these two terms couldn't understand the type of performances the term *khayāl* meant in Medieval Arabic literary and historiographic sources.

With the rise of Islam, theatrical elements, both Hellenistic and Persian continued to influence the cultural life. The Hellenistic farce and the Persian hobbyhorse (*kurraj*) and masked actors (*samāja*), were developed in the Islamic period, especially during the 'Abbasid. During the eighth century C. E. the *kurraj* which was called in Arabic *khayāl* (statue) of a horse with which players (*mukhannathūn*) performed various plays (*ḥikayāt*), was given to the plays themselves, thus the player was called *khayālī*. During the tenth century C.E. when the sha-



dow play was introduced from the Far East to the Muslim World, the word *ẓill* (shadow) was added to the term *khayāl* (play). Thus the Arab got the term *khayāl al-ẓill* for the shadow play theatre. The actors of both *khayāl* (life theatre) and *khayāl al-ẓill* were called *khayālī* and *mukhāyil*.

The *khayāl* performance was played in various occasions, both in palaces and markets, with props and dress, gestures and accents adequate to the *dramatis personae*. It was generally a short plot, in prose or poetry, played either with dance or in proper imitation of various personalities and characters. Some of the *khayāl* performances were improvisations, others were written or performed regularly with no wide scope of improvisation. Many plays were acted by single actor who exchanged sharp retorts with his audience, or pick up some persons among his audience to perform the play, while some plays were played by troupe of actors. From the fourteenth century onwards, live actor of *khayāl* was called *muḥabbāz* and the master of the guild was called *Rayyīs al-muḥabbāzin*.

JACOB M. LANDAU

*Popular Arabic Plays, 1909*

The paper discusses an Arabic manuscript, entitled *Kaṣḥf al-sitār 'an baladiyyāt Aḥmad al-Fār*. Its author used to perform at the head of a troupe in Cairo during the years immediately preceding the First World War. The manuscript, possibly an autograph, is dated 1909. It comprises a five-act play and four one-act ones, all in the vernacular.

The importance of these texts is highlighted by the relative scarcity of available original plays in the Arab vernacular of Egypt. These were rarely printed and chiefly used for reference by theatrical troupes; hence texts of plays which were discontinued have very frequently been lost.

As with popular farces elsewhere, the elements of humor and ridicule are achieved via the comedy-of-manners and the comedy-of-situation. On the former level, the behavior of most *dramatis personae* is truly characteristic and the mannerisms of out-of-towners especially well-presented. Others are mocked as well; al-Fār, too, gets the brunt of abuse -- indicating that the playwright and troupe-director could laugh at himself. The comic element prevails even more frequently on the latter level, in unexpected situations: misunderstandings of identity, mistaken assumptions, misinterpretations of meaning and futile attempts at getting the better of somebody else.

It is conversation, however, that serves al-Fār best: Puns are provided; intended misunderstandings are based on differences of pronunciation in various localities, social classes, or origin; Italian phrases and words are employed, *à propos* and *mal-à-propos*. This is highlighted in the text, which is written throughout in several colloquial dialects.

Another comic feature of this popular theatre is obscene words and obliquely lewd suggestions. These expressions are occasionally balanced, however, by phrases in praise of the virtues of female modesty and of Islam in general. As to the former, obedience to one's husband is enjoined and wives are warned not to leave home even briefly without their husbands' permission; should one of them kiss another man, her lips will burn in hell. As to the latter, suitable references are often made to Islam, no doubt in order to "insure" the author and his troupe against the wrath of pious Muslims at the otherwise lighthearted

frivolous contents. Moreover, a *shaykh* is duly consulted about the rules of women's comportment outside the home.

(The entire paper will be published in the *Journal of Arabic Literature*, vol. XVII (1986).)

FADLOU SHEHADI

*Al-Kindi's Philosophy of Music*

Theoretical Knowledge is the primary goal of the philosopher in the study of music, according to al-Kindi. But the philosopher is also like a physician who uses knowledge to heal and maintain a state of health. These two goals, the theoretical and the applied, reflect the two goals or two main subdivisions of philosophy as a discipline.

Theoretical knowledge of any kind seeks the 'illah or causal principle. To discover this for music, the philosopher has to know the connections that link music to the general scheme of things. In al-Kindi's view, music is relevantly connected to the metaphysical elements, to astronomical, astrological and meteorological phenomena, and in the animal kingdom to the specific characteristics that music corresponds to or can produce.

Similarity (*mushākalah*; or correspondence, *munāsabah*) is the most pervasive causal principle. In this al-Kindi is thoroughly Greek, but especially Pythagorean in stressing the astral connections and in assuming that there is an affinity binding the various segments of the *Kosmos*. Moreover, in the relations between music and the animal kingdom, al-Kindi introduces efficient causality, along with the principle of correspondence, to cover the effects of music.

To illustrate, consider the C-string on the lute (*al-zīr*). This is the thinnest and highest in pitch, and therefore, of the four basic elements, it has affinity with fire; "It is all soul and no body." This is unlike the A-string, *al-bam*, which is all body and no soul. It is the thickest and lowest in pitch, and thus akin to earth. Of the seasons, the C-string corresponds to summer, the A-string to winter.

Al-Kindi makes further connections with the quarters of the moon, quarters of the month, of the day, quarters of the *falak* and of the Zodiak; with the ages of man, the basic organs of the body, its humours, its functions such as the digestive, the retentive; with the powers of the mind such as the rational, the imaginative, memory; with psychological moods and character traits such as courage, cowardice, patience.

Then there are connections of a different sort. For example, the Indians developed an instrument, the *kankanah*, which has one string, for they found that the cause of the world is the One Cause of the manifold. Thus they tightened one string and one fret. Furthermore, the one is a root number, and the self is one. Correlations are also made between the beliefs of other people and the musical instruments they created.

The philosopher who knows all these extra musical facts about music is in the same position as the physician. He can now use his knowledge of the entire elaborate scheme of connections to custom tailor his treatment, to know what to administer, how, to whom and at what time, in order to achieve both physical and psychological health.

A knowledge of the effects of colours and scents can be applied to enhance the effects of music



in the pursuit of both therapy and enjoyment. Thus the double task of philosophy, the theoretical and the practical, as it pertains to music, can finally come to rest.

ALAN S. KAYE

*Some Historical Remarks on Juba Arabic and Ki-Nubi*

The paper examined some aspects of Juba Arabic and stressed the similarities and differences with the Ki-Nubi (Arabic) of Kenya and Uganda, basically in terms of vocabulary. It also offered some parallels to Chadian and Nigerian Arabic dialects.

For example, the word for "tree" serves as an interesting illustration. Heine's book on Nubi (1982) records *lakáta* for this, but all of my informants pronounced *lááta*, pl. *laatá*, which makes its etymology more obscure. This lexeme may be diachronically analyzed as follows: *lááta* begins with the Arabic definite article *l-* followed by the Arabic word for "wood", *ḥaṭab*, which had probably become *xaṭab* in pre-Ki-Nubi (as parallels consider the changes of Proto-Semitic \**ḥ* and \**ḫ* > Hebrew *ḥ*), as happens in some other dialects. The *ḫ* then, due to a pidgin's and a creole's desire to make fricatives into stops, > *k*, giving now \**lkáṭab*. There is a loss of emphasis (so well known from Chadian Arabic) now giving \**lkátab*. When the final consonant deletes, one obtains \**lkáta* (final consonant deletion is a regular characteristic of Ki-Nubi and rural forms of Juba Arabic). The initial consonant cluster is now resolved to a far more usual (=normal) CV CV CV pattern (so common for pidgins and creoles anyhow) giving *lakáta*. Now, due to some inexplicable reason (i.e., anomalous sound change), the /k/ deletes, giving the pronunciation *lááta*.

It should be noted that there is another word for "tree", viz. *šeder*, pl. *šederá*, which has /d/ as the reflex of the /jīm/ (discussed in A.S.Kaye, *Chadian and Sudanese Arabic in the Light of Comparative Arabic Dialectology* (1976) paralleling *šejāra* in Juba Arabic (some people in Juba know the broken plural *ašjaar* as well).

Other lexical items prove that Ki-Nubi and Juba Arabic are cousins, deriving ultimately from the same type of proto-language in the greater southern or south-central Sudanese area, e.g., *sédegu* "sneeze". This is the common verb for "sneeze" in Ki-Nubi, also used in some varieties of Juba Arabic. Educated forms of Juba Arabic use, however, *atas* or *atis*. The historical development of *sédegu* is via semantic reinterpretation. Although colloquial Sudanese Arabic dialects use *sedeg* for "believe, approve", when one is expressing an opinion about something and someone else (in close proximity) abruptly sneezes, the one expressing the opinion says *sadag alhak/g* ≈ *sedeg elhak/g* "he is confirming or sanctioning (approving) the truth". This appears to be an excellent isogloss for Ki-Nubi and Juba Arabic and seems to be unknown elsewhere in the Sudan (there is a most interesting European parallel to this development, viz., Yiddish *er nist oyfen emes*, "he is sneezing on the truth").

KHALIL I. SEMAAN

*The Arabian Tribe: Social Organization in Pre-Islamic Arabia*

Arab geneologists maintain that the Arabians all go back to Abraham, and that their organizational was patriarchal: "The groups were all patriarchal tribes, formed by

sub-divisions of an original stock, on the system of kinship through male descent."

This paper proposes to examine critically this theory with reference to works of Western scholars who have dealt with the subject, showing that this geneological unity is nothing more than a fiction growing out of cases of local unity; the great scheme of the tribes all coming from a common ancestor is but a development of the "Pension List" of 'Umar, as Sprenger pointed out. In the Shu'ubiyya movement, when the Arabians asserted their supremacy in the new religion of Islam as a privileged people all members of which were to receive pensions from the state out of the spoils of conquest and who alone were to serve in the works of conquest and administration, it became imperative to have authoritative lists of Arabian tribes. 'Umar had these lists made up. This was a source of intemperate fabrications as well as a process which provided the later geneologists with abundance of material for linking up the various Arab tribes into one great family whose root was Abraham.

MARTIN ROBBE

*Die Palästinafrage nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg  
Akteure, Interessen, Regelungsansätze und -versäumnisse*

Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg trafen in Palästina, das britisches Mandatsgebiet war, gegensätzliche Interessen und Bestrebungen aufeinander: Das arabische Volk von Palästina kämpfte, sich der weltweiten Bewegung für nationale und soziale Befreiung einordnend, für einen eigenen Staat; die politischen Zionisten arbeiteten — Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts hatten sie damit begonnen — auf einen "Judenstaat" (Th. Herzl) hin; für Juden, die den faschistischen Massenmord überlebt hatten — Hunderttausende befanden sich in Palästina, andere warteten in Europa auf eine Klärung ihres Schicksals —, war eine neue Heimat zu finden. Das Ergebnis: die ohnehin existente arabisch-jüdische Kluft wuchs; Zionisten gingen zudem gegen Briten und nichtzionistische Juden vor. Die Auseinandersetzungen nahmen Bürgerkriegscharakter an. Die Briten sahen sich nicht mehr in der Lage, ihre Mandats Herrschaft aufrechtzuerhalten, und trugen die Angelegenheit der UNO vor.

Die UNO entschied sich im Herbst 1947 mit der erforderlichen Zweidrittelmehrheit dafür (Resolution 181), Palästina zu teilen und einen jüdischen sowie einen arabisch-palästinensischen Staat zu schaffen. Das Gebiet von Jerusalem sollte internationalisiert werden. Es war dies als Kompromiß gedacht. Keine Seite bekam alles, was sie forderte, doch erhielten das arabisch-palästinensische wie das jüdische Volk in Palästina die Möglichkeit, ihr nationales Selbstbestimmungsrecht zu realisieren. Die USA und die UdSSR stimmten für die Resolution 181. Gemeinsamkeiten aus der Zeit, in der sie als Alliierte den Faschismus niedergeworfen hatten, erwiesen sich, obgleich bereits der kalte Krieg heraufzog, noch als tragfähig genug, um in der Bewältigung einer Problematik zusammenzuwirken, die durch die britische Kolonialpolitik wie den faschistischen Massenmord an Juden heraufbeschworen worden war.

Eine Chance bot sich, die Palästinafrage friedlich zu lösen. Sie blieb ungenutzt. Die arabischen Staaten, damals von rechten Kräften repräsentiert, versagten sich dem Kompromiß. Sie vergaben dadurch auch die Möglichkeit, einen arabisch-palästinensischen Staat zu schaffen. Die Zionisten waren mit der UN-Resolution einverstanden; auch die Extremisten in ihren Reihen — hofften sie doch, das zugesprochene Staatsgebiet als Startposition nutzen zu können, um das von ihnen erstrebte Großisrael zu schaffen. Die



jüdische Führung proklamierte einseitig Israel, wenngleich einige ihrer Vertreter, darunter N. Goldmann, dafür plädierten, den Termin zu verschieben, um vielleicht doch noch zu einem Ausgleich mit den Arabern zu gelangen. Die UNO, der sich verschärfende kalte Krieg lähmte sie weitgehend und Großbritannien zeigte sich nicht kooperationsbereit, war nicht in der Lage, den Beschluß in seiner Komplexität, die seinen Wert ausmachte, durchzusetzen. Ein arabisch-israelischer Krieg brach aus. Die Israelis eigneten sich in ihm einen Teil des Territoriums an, das die UNO für den zu gründenden arabisch-palästinensischen Staat vorgesehen hatte. Von dem, was übrigblieb, nahm Jordanien das Westjordangebiet, während der Ghazastreifen als autonomes Gebiet Ägypten zufiel.

Aus der ungelösten Palästinafrage ging der Nahostkonflikt hervor. Verantwortlich dafür zeichneten Kräfte des Imperialismus, der arabischen Reaktion sowie des politischen Zionismus. Die Leidtragenden waren die Palästinenser; ohne eigenen Staat wurden sie zu einem Volk von Flüchtlingen. Ihre Eigenstaatlichkeit ist unabdingbar, um zu einer politischen Nahostregelung zu gelangen.

N. H. HOVHANNESIAN

*Irregularities in the Development of Arab Countries and their Consequences  
(1950-1970)*

Irregularities in development became apparent in the fact that Arab countries did not succeed in simultaneously achieving political independence, as a result of which they had to cope with different problems, which favoured not a decrease, but an increase of the remoteness between them. The formation of about twenty Arab states brought forth an abundance of state forms both monarchical and republican, which is also an expression of the law of irregular development. Arab countries are distinguished by a diversity of socio-economic formations and structures. Tribal and feudal relations predominate in one group (Saudi Arabia, Yemen Arab Republic, United Arab Emirates, Qatar), in the second group, survivals of feudal relations are potent side by side with the development of capitalist relations (Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, etc.), in the third, capitalist relations dominate (the Lebanon, Tunisia). In consequence of such irregularity in development, in the mid-1960's a group of states with socialist orientation were formed as Algeria, Syria, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Libya, Iraq and Egypt (until the beginning of the 1970's).

Thus it follows:

Firstly, as a result of irregular development nowadays, in our opinion, the process of estrangement of Arab countries from each other prevails rather than the process of their rapprochement.

Secondly, the creation of separate states, consolidation of their sovereignty, establishment of clear-cut and strictly guarded frontiers, creation of national markets, etc. brought forth a situation where under a preservation of the general feelings of belonging to the Arab nation, each Arab in concrete cases appears as an Algerian, Tunisian, or Iraqi, etc.. Nowadays the concept of sovereignty of each Arab country is so consolidated that Arabs are very zealous of being acknowledged in interrelations not only with non-Arab, but with Arab states as well.

Thirdly, the law of irregular development forces a new approach to the problem of Arab

unity. Its realization (if the final aim — creation of a united Arab state — is meant) in the presence of different socio-economic and political structures in different Arab countries, will entail great difficulties and does not seem to be possible in the near future. And now, as it seems, unity of action rather than a movement towards the creation of a united Arab state should be implied under Arab unity.

Fourthly, irregular development is one of the reasons of discord and cleavage in the Arab world, it gives a clue to understand existing contradictions, motives of formation of this or that grouping in the contemporary Arab world.

Fifthly, it also gives a clue to understanding the nature of relations of Arab countries with socialists and western states.

A. N. IMANGULIEVA

*Concerning Arab Emigrant Literature*

Against the background of traditional Arab culture Arab emigrant literature by virtue of its very essence showed itself to be innovative, largely reviewing the themes, genres and language of its characters and forming a tributary to the mainstream of modern Arab literature.

The emigration was caused by the militarist and police regime which prevailed in the Ottoman Empire culminating under Abdul Hamid (1876-1908) when brutal political repressions, persecutions and terror became common occurrence. This situation was aggravated by economic backwardness which led to the impoverishment of the population and discrimination against the Christians. The emigrants included progressive educated individuals trained either in Arab places of study or in Russian, French or British mission-schools. Among them stand out such literary figures as Amin ar-Reihani, Jebran Halil Jebran, Mikhail Nuayme and Nasib Arida.

In their new conditions of life, away from censorship and police terror, the Arab emigrants strove to preserve their traditions and their native language and to develop their national literature.

In an effort to achieve still greater cohesion abroad, they united to form various clubs and societies. Hence, the emergence in the United States of various Arab societies — religious, philanthropic and literary.

Emigrant writers knew it was necessary to establish an organization to play an active role in the life of the Arab emigration and to maintain close ties with the Arab world.

That was a well-known literary association Ar-Rabita al-Kalamiyya (Association of the Pen) organized under the chairmanship of J. H. Jebran in April 1920. Around this organization rallied M. Nuayme, A. D. Haddad, N. Arida, R. Ayub and other well-known prosewriters and poets all of whom became literary innovators.

The unification was also furthered by newly established newspapers and magazines which were edited by the most progressive and most socially active members of the Arab intelligentsia. Kavkab Amerikan (The Star of America, 1892, New York), Jarida al-Huda (The Right Path, 1898, Philadelphia) As-Saih (Traveller, 1912, New York), Al-Funun (Art, 1912, New York), Al-Alim as-Suri (Syrian World, 1926, New York) make up a far from full



list of the Arab emigrant periodicals opened in the United States.

Emigrant writers strove to help their people realize the necessity of social changes. This applies, for instance, to novellas by M. Nuayme included in the collections "Perhaps it Happened, Perhaps it Didn't" (Kana ma Kana, Beirut, 1937) and "The Noble" (Akabir, Beirut, 1956). He portrayed the difficult life of the fellaheen ("The Noble"), of a stone mason ("A Present"), of an Arab emigrant ("Cuckoo Clock"), the oppressed position of an Eastern woman ("Her New Year" and "A Barren Women"). Similar problems are highlighted in many works by Jebran and ar-Reihani ("Broken Wings", "A Tear", "A Smile"). A colossal merit of all the three writers is their struggle against religious differences and the intransigence of the religious fanatics. Suffice it to recall the stories "The Devil", "Grazy Yuhanna" and "Infidel Halil" by Jebran.

The new ideological and social orientation of the emigrant literary works predetermined their authors' refusal to follow the old literary canons and a search for new artistic means and methods.

The direct basis of Arab emigrant literature was formed by the philosophical, sociological and aesthetic achievements of European cultures. The natural result was the deep influence of European literature itself.

The Arab emigrant writers could not begin with realism because of the low level of their countries literary development and the pressure of old literary canons and authorities. Beginning from enlightenment and naive realism emigrant writers subsequently turned to sentimentalism, and afterwards to romanticism. They were predominantly drawn by works of English romantics — Shelley and Wordsworth. The motifs and uplift of their poems found a ready response in the consciousness and sentiments of Jebran and ar-Reihani naturally, all these motifs were adopted by the Arab writers in a complex, "refracted" form.

The emigrant writers learned a great deal from the American romanticists Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman, especially as regards the interpretation of the role of a poet and poetry in society.

Above all, the powerful influence of Russian classical literature shall be noted here. Some Arab writers, among them Nuayme, Arida and Haddad were greatly influenced by democratic ideas of Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, the new aesthetic principles of Belinsky, the great creations of Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev, Tolstoy and others.

The Syrian-American school of writers renewed Arab literature with respect to themes, genres and language. They turned it in the direction of realism, making it reflect the life of Arab society.

GÜNTER BARTHEL

#### *Transformation and Transition in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia*

Many of the oil-producing countries in the Arabian Peninsula have been able to take on a new look, owing to the substantial influx of petrodollars which have given them considerable economic weight in the world today.

However, the transformation peculiar to these states are not merely confined to economic

growth and its indicators. Far more apparent are the changes in the socio-economic systems. Though these are not fundamentally new, they must surely qualify as unique when regarded under universal historical dimension in view of the rapidity of the transitions and diversity of the specific forms. Whereas the comparable change-over from feudalism to capitalism in European countries partially lasted over several centuries, and was at times an extremely harrowing experience for most of the population, this period has been shortened in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to a quarter of a century. In contrast to Europe, where revolutionary uprisings and power struggles accompanied the advent of the new social order, mostly in head-on collision with outmoded patterns of ownership and rule, in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia capitalist relations have so far pervaded the existing social base in a nonviolent manner. In the course of this development theocratic power has remained in the hands of the feudal forces, who are gradually becoming quasi-capitalists. The monarchistically and feudally determined superstructure, which more often than not impeded progress in Europe, has unobtrusively yet extensively encouraged the development of the capitalist mode of production in both countries as well as in the other Gulf emirates. Most people living in the region have thus been catapulted out of medieval ignorance and widespread poverty into a modern age, all too often geared solely towards the consumption of products.

Interestingly enough, next to one of the omnipotent clan leaders or reputable merchants having political and economical influence at the beginning of the 20th century let the abundant sinecures slip by that were around after the Second World War, particularly in the 70s and 80s.

Giant petro-chemical and heavy industry complexes, assembly plants for motor vehicles, and major building materials companies, established in the late 70s and early 80s, demonstrate the development adequate to the material fundamentals of capitalist relations of production. The ruling monarchs with their family clans were the backbone and, at the same time the main beneficiary of this process.

However, a competitor and partner is moving in, whose ancestors were involved with commercial capital. A number of industrial capitalists have emerged from the group of families that control the whole market in both countries. They remained faithful to trade and, chiefly, import business, but became also engaged in the manufacture of consumer and capital goods as well as in banking.

Besides the bourgeoisie a large stratum of domestic wage-earners and salaried employees arose who were torn out, however half-heartedly, from their roots in pre-capitalist dependence. Only few of its members are employed in material production, and there is little awareness among this group of a leap to a new form of exploitation, since their standard of living has obviously improved.

LOTHAR RATHMANN

#### *Conditions of Labour and Trade Unions under Wafdist Administration in Egypt (1942-43)*

This historiographic on the Wafdist Administration when it came into office in the spring of the critical year of the war 1942 is extensive in comparison with other periods of modern Egyptian history. Nevertheless you can find only few serious publications on the conditions



of Labour, the role of the trade unions and the official policy towards the Labour movement. More light on the matter cast two documents, till now unpublished:

- A very comprehensive and confidential report by T. E. Evans, Second Secretary of the British Embassy in Cairo on Conditions of Labour and Trade Unions. Received in Foreign Office, London, 28th July, 1944.
- A report on Trade Unionism in the Middle East by M. I. Zein Ed-Din, received in Foreign Office, London, the same time. Zein Ed-Din was the head of the private Chauffeurs' Union and a member of the International Transport Workers Federation.

To take into consideration the following main lines of the Egyptian Trade Union movement during the Second World War are visible:

1. Up to the Wafdist Administration in 1942 there was in Egypt no real Labour legislation. After the signature of the treaty of 1936 the Third Wafdist Government promised extensive labour legislation: But the Wafd-Administration fell in the end of 1937 and the programme had to be postponed.
2. On the occasion of the opening of Parliament on the 30th March 1942, Nahhas Pascha outlined his so-called Government Labour Programme. In September it was promulgated. The main part of the Labour legislation was the Syndicates Law.

In 1942 in Egypt were registered 311 Trade Unions, among them 205 Craft Unions and 106 Factory Unions with a total membership of about 100 000.

The principal provisions of the Wafdist Syndicates Law were as follows:

- A Syndicate is defined as an organisation the object of which is to protect and promote the interests of the workers, to defend their rights and improve their material and social conditions.
- Workers engaged in industrial and commercial enterprises may form syndicates.
- Foreigners permanently resident in Egypt are eligible for membership provided their number does not exceed one quarter of the total of numbers.
- Registered syndicates of trades of industries concurring in the production of the same goods may form federations, which shall have the same rights and obligations as syndicates.

That doesn't sound bad in comparison with former Labour Legislation. But in decisive questions Nahhas Pascha was completely in line both with the British authorities, the British Chamber of Commerce and the Federation of Egyptian Industries representing partly the capitalist wing of the Wafd Party.

So the following restrictions were not abolished:

- Meeting of the unions could only be held with the authority of the Public Security Department;
- Government officials and agricultural workers were debarred from forming syndicates;
- Syndicates were forbidden to deal with political questions;

- The Minister of Social Affairs could dissolve any union guilty of organising strikes;
- A comprehensive federation of syndicates of different trades or industries might not be registered.

3. According to a census of industrial establishment taken in June 1942 in agreement with the terms of the Industrial Convention of Labour statistics 284584 workers were directly connected with manufacturing processes and approximately more than 300 000 in transport. To this figure must be added the very large number of unskilled workers trained by the British Army. This means in context with the growing number of unions and strikes Labour became an essential political factor.

When the Palace and the Wafd were gathering their forces for their off-post-poned trial of strength, both sides paid special attention to labour:

But his pronounced Fascist leanings caused him to be regarded with suspicion even among Labour elements that he had formerly controlled.

The Wafd was more successful than the Palace in its effort to control Trade Unions. It was estimated by reliable sources that the Wafd influenced about 40 per cent of the Trade Union membership in Egypt, that was about 42 000 registered members.

A third group constituted so-called Independent Unions, not connected with the Palace, the Wafd or other political groups.

This was the situation when after the end of the Second World War the Trade Unions made a new start in their struggle for a decisive improvement of Labour conditions.

ATHANASIOS TH. PHOTOPoulos

### *The Arabic and Islamic Studies in Modern Greece*

In 1453 Constantinople was occupied by the Turks and the Greek nation lived under the Turkish domination for almost 400 years. Continuing in the Byzantine tradition the various scholars and clergymen (Pachomios Russanos, Anastasios Gordios, Nektarios Terpos) wrote essays and published books against the religion of Islam. These writers emphasized the religious controversy and ignored the contributions of the Islamic civilisation to humanity and the importance of the classical heritage in Islam. The interest not only on religion but also on other aspects of the Arabic and Islamic world began about the end of the 18th century. Below follows a brief account of the main intellectual works of the modern Greeks on Arabic and Islamic subjects.

*I. History.* The study of Arabic history began in Alexandria of Egypt, in 1928, by Christophoros Nomikos, who published the book "Introduction to the history of the Arabs". He also published the book "Orient and Islam" and "Arabic historical studies", for which he used Arabic and European sources. There are several essays and books on related subjects: the capture of Athens by the Saracens (Dem. Kambouroglus), the Moslem sources about the city of Amorium (P. Karolidis), the capture of Crete by the Arabs (V. Christides, N. Tomadakes, V. Kalaintzakis etc.), the Turks and Arabs Philhellenes during the Greek war of Independence 1821 (Sp. Loukatos), the Arab historian Ibn Athir (Al. Savvides), the economy of the Arabs in the Middle Ages (L. Choumanides) etc. There are books on the



modern history of some countries of the Middle East.

*II. Philosophy.* Prof. Gregorius Ziakas published: "Aristotle in Arabic tradition".

*III. Religion.* There are related publications of the first great islamologist Eugenius Michaelides (1885-1975), who lived in Alexandria of Egypt. The most significant scholar on Islam in Greece is Gregorius Ziakas, professor at Thessaloniki. He has published books on Islamic religion, the mystic poetry and the Coran. Very interesting are the essays on the dervishes (Vl. Mirmiroglu), the sources of Islam (P. Fouyas), Muhammad Iqbal (D. Stathopoulos), the polemics of Byzantine theologians against Islam (Ev. Sdrakas), the oracular texts of the Greek scholars and clergymen (Ast. Argyriou, Al. Karyotoglu). The orthodox bishop A. Jannulatos wrote an extensive book titled "Islam, a general survey".

*IV. Art.* There are only very few essays mainly on the arabic (cufic) decorative elements of some Byzantine monuments of Greece (G. Soteriou, M. Gitakos). The specialist Papadopoulos published his voluminous and richly illustrated book on the Moslem art.

*V. Lexicography-Grammar-Language.* A. Dictionaries: — Greek-Arabic 1) By Gerassimos Pendakes (1885). 2) By Ph. Glytsis in collaboration with the Egyptian Rachman. — Arabic-Greek, by Artemios Thalassinis and Samuel Camel. Other related publications: "Arabic chrestomathy containing elements of the Arabic language" by St. Athanassiades; "the new practical method for the learning of the written and colloquial Arabic" by Od. Spanakides; "The assistant of the arabist: terms and phrases of the written Arabic" by Ph. Gysis; "Origin of the Arabic alphabet as arithmetic system" by Eug. Michaelides; "Arabic method", a teach yourself book compiled by Aly Nur (for Greeks).

*VI. Mathematics-Physics.* Alexandros Karatheodoris (1833-1906) translated the unpublished text of the Arab mathematician Nasr ed-din el Tussi. Ev. Stamatis wrote about the discovery of some works of Archimedes among the manuscripts of Patna (India). G. Arvanitakis wrote (in France) two essays on the chronometry of the Moslems.

*VII. Geography.* In 1808, Demetrius Alexandrides edited in Vienna a part of Abulfeda's Geography. There are essays of A. Miliarakis and St. Kordossis on El Edrisi's geographical work.

*VIII. Translations.* 1) From European languages on several subjects: history (Wash. Irving), religion (E. Dermenghem), philosophy-poetry (R. Nicholson), politics (Max. Rodinson), art (E. Grube, P. Bamboroug). 2) From Arabic (or from translations into European languages). — The Coran by G. Pendakis (1878) from Arabic; from France or English by M. Zographou-Meraneou (1964) and by Zoi Milili (1980). — "The 1001 nights" were translated from Italian and published in Venice three times in the 18th century. Between the years 1921-1930 Kostas Trikoglidis translated a great part of the work from Arabic in 7 volumes. He also translated from Arabic poems and novels. (Another famous translator of Arabic and Persian poems was St. Karatheodoris). The "Book of Sindbad" was reprinted 25 times in Modern Greece. There are many popular editions of "1001 nights".

*Information:* 1) Arabic and Islamic subjects, mainly historic, are taught at the University of Crete (Prof. D. Gutas). 2) In Athens a Society of Greek-Arabic studies was founded and publishes the journal "Graeco-arabica" (vol. I-III).

KLAUS BOEKELS

*Edition von neumandäischen Texten mit einem Personalcomputer*

Das Neumandäische ist ein ostaramäischer Dialekt, der von der religiösen Minderheit der Mandäer gesprochen wird, die in den Flußläufen des Euphrat und Tigris, im heutigen Iran und Irak, beheimatet ist. Durch den Druck des Islam und Zwangsumsiedlungen ist es eine zum Aussterben verurteilte Sprache. Der Dialekt steht dem Talmudisch-Aramäischen sehr nahe, steht aber eigenständig gegenüber dem klassischen Mandäisch, das in dieser gnostischen Sekte noch als Kultsprache gepflegt wird.

Mit dem Entschluß von Prof. Macuch, von ihm im Iran gesammelte Aufzeichnungen des gesprochenen Dialekts neben unzulänglich geschriebenen, zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts in mandäischer Schrift erschienenen irakischen Texten aus J. De Morgan, *Etudes linguistiques, IIe partie: Textes mandaites* (Mission scientifique en Perse V), Paris 1904, S. 273-286) zu veröffentlichen, wird dieser Dialekt erstmalig der Öffentlichkeit in Form von Texten zugänglich gemacht. Die Veröffentlichung sollte mit Hilfe eines Personalcomputers erstellt werden, um die Kosten und den Aufwand niedrig zu halten. Die Aufgabe, die sich mir hier zunächst stellte, bestand darin, die normalisierten Texte in der phonetischen Umschrift in den Personalcomputer einzugeben. Hierzu waren einige Probleme zu lösen, wie die Ausgabe von den sonst nicht gebrauchten phonetischen Zeichen auf dem Computer und deren Ausgabe auf dem Drucker. Beides wurde gelöst, indem ein RAM-font-fähiger Drucker und Monitor eingesetzt wurde in denen diese Zeichen speziell definiert wurden. Als Textprogramm wurde Wordperfect gewählt. Von diesem Textprogramm wurden dann die Texte in das Datenverwaltungsprogramm dBase übernommen und aus ihnen über ein Programm automatisch eine Konkordanz erstellt.

Nach der automatischen Erstellung einer vollständigen Konkordanz wurden in dBase die verschiedenen vorkommenden Worte nach dem mandäischen Alphabet über ein dafür erstelltes Sortierprogramm geordnet und mehrfaches Vorkommen ein- und desselben Wortes ausgezählt und die identischen Einträge gelöscht. Diese Datei stellte die Ausgangsform für die Erstellung des Glossars dar. Nachdem darin jede Form bestimmt und Bedeutung und etwaige Bemerkungen eingetragen worden waren, wurde hieraus wiederum über ein speziell hierfür geschriebenes Programm direkt die Rohform des Glossars hergestellt. Nachdem diese überarbeitet worden war, konnten die Einführung und die Grammatische Skizze, bei der die vollständige Konkordanz nützliche Dienste leistete, bearbeitet werden. Die Arbeit mit dem Computer erfordert gegenüber der herkömmlichen Bearbeitung einiges Umdenken. So liegt die Hauptaufgabe bei der Erstellung eines durchgängigen Konzeptes, das alle Sonderfälle kategorisiert und mitberücksichtigt, so daß diese Aufgabe dann in Form eines Programms vom Computer abgearbeitet werden kann. Während der Arbeit erwies es sich z.B. als sehr aufwendig, an sich kleine Unstimmigkeiten oder Fehler zu beheben, da diese dann vom Programm durchgängig durchgeführt wurden und sich auf das gesamte vom Programm bearbeitete Material erstreckten, andererseits konnten sonst äußerst aufwendige Sortier- und Selektierprozeduren in kürzester Zeit bewerkstelligt werden. Die Chrestomatie mit den mandäischen Texten neben einer deutschen Übersetzung werden noch in diesem Jahr erscheinen.



JEFFREY HEATH

*Dialectology of Moroccan Arabic*

Moroccan Arabic (MA) includes a chain of Muslim dialects framed by national borders, and a set of distinct Jewish varieties (MJA). As a whole, MA is distinctive (vis-à-vis Egypt and Asia) due in part to its long coexistence with Berber, and its recent massive borrowings from French (in most of Morocco) and Spanish (northern coast, and separately in the former Spanish Sahara to the south). This paper addresses some general issues in MA dialectology.

1) To some extent MJA dialects form a separate dialect chain among themselves, especially in the Fes/Meknes/Rabat belt of cities. Important dialectal variables are shared by these MJA dialects but are absent in coexisting Muslim MA in the same cities. In other parts of Morocco, such as Oujda (far east), Muslim and MJA dialects were more similar to each other in a given community.

2) Morocco displays a common pattern of increasing geographical and occupational mobility combined with urban migration; this favors development of a national colloquial koine stripped of stigmatized regionalisms. However, in some ways the northern dialect around Tetouan is more divergent than it was sixty years ago because of its Spanish lexical stratum (vs. French in the main part of the country). The impact of European languages is exemplified, with discussion of the mechanics of integrating foreign stems, especially verbs.

3) In the study of dialect chains we have opportunities to test whether surface variation reflects minor, late rules or significant "deep" restructurings. Analysis of the phonology of MA shows that competing "deep" models are at work. Former short vowels are treated in various ways: a) phonetic elimination; b) reinterpretation as epenthetic, with rounding reanalysed as a consonantal feature; or c) lengthening to merge with former long (full) vowels.

JACOB MANSOUR

*The Judaeo-Arabic Dialect of Baghdad:  
Notes on Vocabulary*

1. A striking feature of the vocabulary of the Judaeo-Arabic dialect of Baghdad (=JB) is its large number of words borrowed from Persian and Turkish. But while Persian and Turkish loans are common to all Baghdadi dialects, as well as to Iraqi dialects in general, JB is distinguished by its incorporation of Hebrew and Judaeo-Aramaic words.

The Hebrew and Judaeo-Aramaic words in JB occur mostly in the fields of religion and ritual, though they are found also in everyday matters. It is noteworthy that there are sometimes two words having the same referent — object, action or concept — one derived from Hebrew, the other from Arabic, Persian or Turkish. But having the same referent does not necessarily make them synonymous or interchangeable. The Hebrew word usually focuses on the religious aspect of the referent; the other on the more general aspect. Examples are:

(a) The Hebrew for 'a book' is *sefer*; in Arabic *kitāb*. Both are used in JB: *sēfār* and *ktāb*, but not synonymously. The former denotes sacred texts, particularly the Pentateuch Scroll read in the synagogue, while the latter is the general term for secular books.

(b) 'A meal' is expressed in JB by two words: the Arabic *akāl* and the Hebrew *s'ōda*. However, the Hebrew word is used only for meals on religious occasions to which guests have been invited, such as weddings, festivals, etc.

(c) The word *'asar* in Hebrew means 'to forbid, prohibit'. In JB *'aššar* has the same meaning, but it is used only in religious, ritual matters. The JB's equivalent of *'aššar* for general use is the Turkish *yassağ*.

(d) JB has also two forms for 'curtain': the Hebrew *parōxeṭ*, and the loan word from Persian or Turkish, *parda*. The former is used only for the curtain over the Ark in the synagogue.

2. The above does not imply that all the loan words in JB have acquired a special meaning. Some have the same meaning as the equivalent Arabic word. There may, however, be a 'generational' difference between parallel words: the older members of the community using the older term, the younger members using the newer term. The Persian and Turkish words are as a rule the older, the Arabic word having come into JB (or being used as an equivalent of the loan word) only later. The linguistic phenomenon revealed here is that the older, foreign words are being replaced by Arabic words under the influence of Classical Arabic (=CA) and other Arabic dialects. Examples are:

(a) The regular word in JB for 'a quarter, fourth part' was *čāgak*, borrowed from Turkish or Persian. It was later replaced by the Arabic *gāb* (CA *rub*).

(b) Cf. *čānki* (pers. *čūnki*, Turk. *çünkü*) vs. *li'an* (CA *li'an*) for 'since, because'.

(c) *pāya* (Pers. *pāy*, Turk. *paye*) vs. *dağja* (CA *daraja*) for 'step'.

(d) JB has several words for 'train, railway'. The oldest, used during the Ottoman regime, appears to be *šamandafar* (French *chemin de fer*). After the British occupation the words *rēl* (English *railway*) and *trēn* (English *train*) came into use, replacing *šamandafar*. However, young people and those who have recently emigrated from Baghdad exclusively use the Arabic *qitār*.

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA

*Some Issues in Classical Syriac Syntax*

The paper is an attempt to take up some of the central issues of the sentence structure in Classical Syriac which have been the subject of three recent studies, i.e. T. Muraoka, "On the nominal clause in the Old Syriac Gospels," *J. of Semitic Studies*, 20 (1975), 28–37; idem, "On the Syriac particle 'it,'" *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 34 (1977), 21f.; Gideon Goldenberg, "On Syriac sentence structure," in M. Solokoff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (Ramat-Gan, 1983), pp. 97–140. Whereas the first of these three studies attempted to show that the English utterance 'I am Abraham' can have five different expressions in Syriac with three structural meanings to be distinguished, the present paper, in addition to attempting to deal with some issues raised by Goldenberg, goes on to investigate the question how Syriac expresses 'David is my lord', i.e. an utterance neither of whose major components is a personal pronoun, and concludes by suggesting four tripartite structures with three distinct structural meanings, namely, descriptive, identificatory, and contrastive. Furthermore, the nature of the so-called pronominal copula is discussed, and it



is suggested that its original and primary function was to extrapose a sentence constituent. Finally, the types of clause with the particle /'it/ is discussed. For further details, see T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden, 1987), §§ 101-107.

G.KH. SARKISYAN

*Babylonian Variant of Hellenism*

The Greek language penetrated into Babylonia together with the Greek conquerors themselves in the conditions of existence of bimillenary traditions of the written (cuneiform) Akkadian language and the prevalence of the Aramaic language in colloquial speech. Neither of the two ceded its sphere. The Greek language only crowded the cuneiform system in the private law and administrative, and even here only up to a point. No clear traces of the penetration of Greek material or spiritual culture into Babylonian or of their obvious synthesis are in evidence. The architecture, sculpture and applied art of the Hellenistic Babylonians preserved their long-standing traditions. The same applies to the literature, religion, and science. The most productive in Babylonia was the contact in the sphere of politico-administrative and partly socio-economic forms. The necessity of having semi-autonomous units in the systems of monarchies, especially the Seleucid monarchy, as a social standby of royal authority, led to a certain evolution of Babylonia's ancient cities which oriented themselves to the Hellenistic poleis. Characteristically, this evolution proceeded within the framework of the genuine traditions of the local forms of city life, the most important common result of which was the formation of civic-and-temple communities, which were the city, more exactly, the city communities, of Hellenistic Babylonia. The civic community stood out amid the rest of the city population much more clearly than before. There was an increase in the role of the "Council of the city", an upsurge in the activity of the city magistrates, and a widely disseminated practice of prebend (isqu, logogram — GIŠ.ŠUB.BA) granted for the performance of ritual functions at the temple on festive days. Curious features were acquired by acts of manumission. The mediatory function of the temple shows the influence of Hellenistic practices. A characteristic evolution was shown by the position and role of the Greeks who lived in Babylonian cities, in particular, in Uruk. At the end of the 3rd century they fused with the Uruk civic-and-temple community with all ensuing results. A characteristic feature was the penetration of Greek anthroponymy among the Babylonians, namely, the fact it should be classed predominantly with the administrative and social rather than the cultural sphere of life. The Babylonian cities exhibited the cult of the Seleucid dynasty and its ruling representatives. The Hellenistic Babylonian city had an appropriate agricultural environment comparable to the chora of the Hellenistic poleis. The status of the Babylonian city was characterized by the recognition by the Seleucid kings of his semi-autonomy. Alongside this, however, the limits of self-government were clearly determined by the presence in the city of the royal official of the epistate type. Beginning from Alexander the Great, the kings had participated in temple construction schemes in Babylonian cities. A very characteristic fact is that of inclusion into the possession of Babylonian cities of the land presented by the king as a gift to his courtiers and kinsfolk. The three cities, Babylon and nearby Barsip and Kutha, are described as maintaining so close unity that their relations can be compared with Greek sympolity. Naturally, the Babylonian city was not a polis, which was a purely Greek phenomenon. But, due to the dictates of the time the Babylonian city began, as it were, to receive some features of the polis. A typical feature of this process of likening

was that it proceeded within the bounds of the old and even ancient local traditional forms of city life.

The Babylonian city in its turn influenced the polis as well. The adaptation of this structure, originally formed on the basis of the sovereignty of the classical Greek "city-state", to the new role of "city-in-a-state", preceded under his certain influence.

J.M. CÓRDOBA

*Fortlaufender Übergang und Staffellung*

*Ein Vorschlag zur Charakterisierung der Churriter-Welt in Vorderasien*

Der Ausgangspunkt der derzeitigen Krise der Charakterisierung des Churriter-Wesens dürfte im XXIV RAI (1977), der in Paris stattfand, zu suchen sein. Hier verfocht M.-T. Barrelet eine rückblickende, kritische Vorlage, die grundlegend darauf hinausläuft, daß die den Churritern zugeschriebenen Kulturgegenstände stets auf der Grundlage von Materialien erfolgte, die gleichfalls eine Gegenhypothese gestatten.<sup>1</sup> Ihre endgültigen Schlußfolgerungen sind eindeutig vernichtend: das archäologische Schaffen ist derzeit nicht in der Lage, die eigentliche oder wesentliche Beschaffenheit eines Objektes zu definieren. Die von ihren Mitarbeiterinnen und unter ihrer Leitung durchgeführten Tätigkeiten, die sich auf Elemente beziehen, die als zur Welt der Churriter und Mitannis gehörend angesehen werden, wie der stilisierte Baum und die geflügelte Scheibe, kamen zu ähnlichen Schlußfolgerungen.<sup>2</sup> Die Kritik an der These Barrelet ist in gewisser Hinsicht interessant und nützlich. So sahen sich zahlreiche Kollegen gezwungen, ohne eine ausreichende Analyse erstellte Konzepte und Zuschreibungen einer entsprechenden Überprüfung oder Revision zu unterziehen, z.B. B. Hrouda.<sup>3</sup> Ich bin der Ansicht, daß die kritische These von Barrelet, so wie sie vorgelegt und entwickelt wird, in gewisser Weise von der New Archeology mit all ihren Vor- und Nachteilen, einer von P. Courbin entsprechend analysierten und korrekt beurteilten Tendenz, beeinflusst wird. Man kann jedoch nicht behaupten, daß die erworbenen Untugenden, die zuerst vom Textmaterial Gebrauch gemacht hatten, ein Privileg der Forschung über die Churriter gewesen seien. Wenn wir außerhalb des Rahmens des Zusammenhanges identifizierte Materialien wie aramäische, hititische, aquämenidische oder neubabylonische Funde ähnlichen Analysen unterziehen, dürften wir zu erstaunlichen Schlußfolgerungen gelangen. An diesem Punkte angekommen sollten wir uns die Frage stellen: Was ist nun zu tun? Auf alle Fälle sind die archäologische Praxis und die Stratenvergleiche weiter intensiv zu betreiben. Ohne aber die archäologische Feldarbeit beiseite zu lassen, glaube ich, daß das

<sup>1</sup> M.-T. Barrelet, "Le "cas hurrite" et l'archéologie". *RHA*, XXXVI, 1978, 23-34.

<sup>2</sup> M.T. Barrelet (ed.), *Problèmes concernant les hurrites*. Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris 1984, S. 9. Ch. Kepinski, "Un motif figuratif, l'arbre stylisé à Nuzi et Alalakh, durant la période mitannienne". In M.-T. Barrelet (ed.) op.cit. 1984, S. 199-212. D. Parayre, "A propos de la glyptique "mitannienne": le disque ailé de Thèbes à Kirkuk et d'Alishar à Meskene". In M.-T. Barrelet (ed.), op.cit. 1984, S. 213-259.

<sup>3</sup> B. Hrouda, "Zum Problem der Hurriter". In *Mari 4*. Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris 1985, S. 595-613. Vid. S. 596-597.



vorhandene Material und die darüber erstellten Studien unter Berücksichtigung der These Barrelet die Ausarbeitung einer Charakterisierungs-Hypothese der Churriter-Kultur gestatten, welche die Erforschung dieses Volkes und seiner Spuren in Vorderasien erlauben. Meiner Meinung liegt der rote Faden dieses Aspektes in der Summe der Elemente verschiedener Disziplinen und deren Zwischenverbindungen. Ich lege die Hypothese "fortlaufender Übergang und Staffelung" zur Charakterisierung des Churriter-Wesens vor. Während des Jahres 1981 legte ich an der Universitas Complutensis zu Madrid eine Dissertation vor, die sich in erster Linie auf die Rekonstruktion der Kulturgeschichte der Churriter und Mitannis und auf die Erläuterung der erbrachten Wurzeln und Charaktergegebenheiten des Churriter-Wesens<sup>1</sup> bezog. Ein Teil der darin erfaßten Ideen, die ich für die Verwirklichung einer Lösung als grundlegend erachte, wurde durch eine Arbeit von Herrn Prof. I.M. Diakonoff bestätigt, die kurze Zeit danach in meine Hände fiel.<sup>2</sup> Nachstehend erlaube ich mir, einen Teil dieses Ideengutes vorzulegen, das durch das Werk von I.M. Diakonoff und meine eigenen, später durchgeführten Studien bereichert wurde.

Die Suche oder Identifizierung nach dem ungefähren Vaterland des Churriter-Volkes mit Hilfe nachstehend genannter Elemente kann weniger als eine Spekulation als eher als eine auf gewissen Kontrasten basierende notwendige und nützliche Hypothese bezeichnet werden. Wir verfügen über ausreichende sprachliche und anthropologische Beweise, um das Vaterland der Churriter-Völker in Zentralasien zu suchen. Ich verweise auf A. Kammenhuber, die das Vater- oder Ursprungsland in ein unbestimmtes Gebiet jenseits des Kaspischen Meeres verlegt.<sup>3</sup> Vor geraumer Zeit habe ich diese Zuwanderung vertreten und entsprechend belegt, so daß ich zwecks einer weitgehenden Erläuterung auf mein genanntes Werk verweise. Ihr friedliches Eindringen geht langsam vonstatten und scheint den bereits dort Ansässigen nicht den Eindruck einer Invasion vermittelt zu haben. M. Astour hat bereits auf diesen langsam, graduell folgenden und sich mehr oder weniger gleichförmig abwickelnden Charakter verwiesen und darauf hingewiesen, daß das Anwachsen der churritischen Präsenz in Nordsyrien zur Zeit von Alalah VII "nicht auf die Handvoll Churriter zurückgeführt werden könne, die in der Epoche von Ebla nach Nordsyrien kamen".

Um natürlich die Wirkung des vorgeschlagenen Mechanismus etwas besser verstehen und erfassen zu können, muß eine Reihe von Extremfakten in Betracht gezogen werden. Seit seinen Anfängen, Ausweitung, Ansiedlung auf Hochebenen, erneuter Ausweitung und schließlich Festansiedlung im Staate Mitanni durchläuft das Churriter-Volk verschiedene Kulturphasen in chronologischem Verlauf. Unabhängig davon, daß wir seine Wandertätigkeit oder seine Niederlassung am Rande des syrisch-mesopotamischen Gebietes in Erwägung ziehen, — die dort Ansässigen erhielten auf unaufhaltsame Art und Weise und ebenso wie die Anwohner der Ebenen eine langsame, jedoch ständige Einbringung von kleinen Gruppen,

<sup>1</sup> J.M. Córdoba, *Mitanni y los hurritas*. Dissertation presentada en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid 1981.

<sup>2</sup> I.M. Diakonoff, "Evidence on the Ethnic Division of the Hurrians". In M.A. Morrison-D.I. Owen (ed.) *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 1981, S. 77-89.

<sup>3</sup> A. Kammenhuber, "Die Arier im Vorderen Orient und die historischen Wohnsitze der Hurriter". *Orientalia*, NS, 46 1977, 129-144.

die durch Hunderte von Jahren hindurch die Richtungen der Zuwanderung verfolgten — so ersehen wir, daß sowohl die Wandergruppen als auch die Ansässigen einer logischen eigenen Kulturrevolution unterzogen wurden, wobei die Evolution der letztgenannten außerdem durch den Kontakt mit höher entwickelten Völkern bedingt war. Logischerweise muß man zu der Schlußfolgerung gelangen, daß in dieser langen Zeitspanne die Churriter, die vielleicht in der Zeit des Übergangs von IV. zum III. Jahrtausend, des III. Jahrtausends und in der ersten und zweiten Hälfte des II. Jahrtausends eingetroffen waren, wohl nicht den gleichen Kulturstand besaßen, wohl aber ähnlich lautende ideologische Grundbegriffe, ähnliche Glaubenzüge — mit den entsprechenden Unterschieden<sup>1</sup> sowie eine identische Sprache, deren Dialekte, wie von M.L. Khacikyan und Professor I.M. Diakonoff erwiesen, meine Theorie der Staffelung bestätigen, die sich im Kulturbereich infolge der progressiven Deskulturalisierung in einem "fortlaufenden Übergang" wiedergibt. Mit einem Wort: die churritischen Völker sind in Mesopotamien und Syrien auf langsame, beständige Art und Weise wahrscheinlich seit den ersten Jahrhunderten des III. Jahrtausends eingedrungen. Infolge ihres Rahmen oder direkten Kontaktes mit den höher entwickelten Kulturen des Gebietes unterziehen sich die Churriter einem langsamen Entkulturations- und Anpassungsprozeß ihrer eigenen Gegebenheiten mehr oder weniger innerhalb dieses geographischen Bereiches.

Ich gehe von der grundlegenden Akzeptationsvorlage des ursprünglichen churritischen Vaterlandes in Mittelasien und des Weiterbestandes der jeweiligen Symbole und Mythen vor allem im Volksglauben, deren fortschreitender Anpassung an ein neues Milieu und des nach und nach eintretenden Verlustes deren Original- oder Ursprungsbedeutung bis zur Gleichstellung mit mehr oder weniger nahestehenden syrisch-mesopotamischen Parallelen aus. Die Churriten, d.h. asiatischen Völkerstämme altaischen Ursprungs, legten bis zur Errichtung von Mitanni einen langen Weg zurück. Zauber und Schamanentum der Steppe waren in der Kultur der Churriter vorhanden, obwohl die Residualangaben deren Studium alles andere als erleichtern. So müssen also die ikonographischen Darstellungen auf Glyptik und Keramik erneut untersucht werden, da zugleich mit den üblichen syrischen oder mesopotamischen Elementen Symbole erscheinen, die in Bezug auf ihren schamanischen oder magischen Ursprung, der in den alten churritischen Glaubenswurzeln verwurzelt sind, zu lesen sind, obwohl sie aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ihres ursprünglichen Sinns verlustig gingen. Angesichts der Bedeutung von Vögeln und anderem Geflügel im allgemeinen innerhalb der Riten und Magie der Churriter gewinnt auf diese Weise ihre betonte Gegenwart und Ausbreitung im churritischen Bereich eine gewisse Reichweite, die vielleicht nicht nur mit der "Unterwelt" in Verbindung zu bringen ist, sondern ebenso mit dem Tod und der ursprünglich in der Welt der Churriter gehandhabten Beerdigungs- oder Grabeszeremonie. Ihre Nachdrücklichkeit innerhalb der Kulturelemente findet somit eine Erklärung und eine Zuordnungsgrundlage.

Der für eine Debatte und die archäologische Praktik deutlichste Leitfaden ist bekanntlicherweise die Keramik. Die Churriter passen sich bald und ziemlich gut an die Stadtkulturen an, wie Urkis oder Alalah zu belegen scheinen. Sprache, Riten und Magie der Churriter bildeten im Inneren anderer Staaten ein Bindeglied und die Aufrechterhaltung einer bestimmten Churriter-Welt. Sie passen sich dem Milieu und den technischen Errungenschaften an und erstellen im Rahmen ihrer Kulturstaffelung, die sie während ihrer nach und nach erfolgenden

<sup>1</sup> V. Haas, "Substratgottheiten des westhurrischen Pantheons". *RHA*, XXXVI, 1978, 59-69.



Ankunft ausweisen, Keramikwerke, die sich gleichen und gleichzeitig unterschiedlich sind. Hier kommen die Liebe zur Malerei, die technische Sorgfalt und die überlieferten Ornamentmotive in einer klaren Unterschicht zusammen. Sie benützen alles, was ihnen gefällt und nützlich ist, unabhängig davon, ob es aus Syrien, Palästina, Assyrien, den Bergen oder dem Seengebiet stammt. Nun könnten auf dem Bereich der Glyptik genauere Ausführungen gemacht und weitere Beispiele herangezogen werden. Es steht außer Zweifel, daß die klassische Ordnung oder Anordnung der "churritischen Stile" überprüft werden sollte, was ich derzeit vorhabe. Auf jeden Fall besitzen das Siegel von Saussattar sowie jedes einfache Siegel mit Baum und Ziegen bedeutende andere Unterschiede, sie weisen jedoch ikonographische churritische Züge und Eigenheiten und nur diese auf. Die Gründe für deren augenscheinliche Unterschiede oder Abweichungen besitzen eine einfache Erklärung, auf die ich zu einem gegebenen Zeitpunkt zurückkommen werde.

Zusammengefaßt also: Die in den geographischen Bereichen Vorderasiens, die von den Churritern besetzt wurden, vorhandenen Materialobjekte können die Besonderheiten oder Eigenheiten der Churriter-Welt aufweisen und tun dies auch; desgleichen geben sie jenen ständigen Übergang und jene kulturelle Staffelung im Rahmen des churritischen Eindringens nach Nordmesopotamien und Syrien wieder. Natürlich wurden die Churriter auch von der örtlichen Tradition geprägt, die ebenfalls Wandlungen verursachte und zu regionalen Differenzen führte. So muß z.B. darauf hingewiesen werden, daß nicht alle Churriter Vorderasiens während einer bestimmten Zeitperiode Habur- oder Bichrome-Keramik fertigten, sondern nur die Bewohner einer bestimmten Region dank bestimmter Faktoren. Wir stoßen jedoch dauernd auf Elemente, die uns eine Identifizierung der Churriter-Anwesenheit gestatten. Eine zum Teil gemischte Kunst, die jedoch ausreichend persönlich geprägt ist und uns vor allem gestattet, die Essenz der churritischen Geschichte und Kultur wie von mir vorgeschlagen zu lesen und zu erfassen, d.h. wie ein "fortlaufender Übergang und eine fortlaufende Staffelung".

B.W.W. DOMBROWSKI

*"Eblaitic": The Earliest Known Dialect of Akkadian*

Being based on an intensive and extensive investigation of the published written materials unearthed at Tell Mardikh, this paper shows that previous classifications of their language such as "Northwest Semitic", "North Semitic" or "Archaic" resp. "Proto-Semitic" are untenable. It draws attention, however, to the true character of Eblaitic as the earliest well attested Akkadian dialect.

Surely, the obviously native tongue of the people of Ebla has been subject to both the impact of Old Sumerian in layers being clearly older than those well known prior to the discovery and evaluation of the archives of Ebla and influences originating in this kingdom's geographical situation and environment, yet its genuine Akkadian character, especially, when compared with Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic becomes the more apparent the more one devotes oneself to careful scrutiny of both its morphology and its lexicon. Phonological matters can be clarified concomitantly. Their treatment prior thereto must inevitably be misleading.

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METUGE ENONGENE

*The Scientific Foundations of Agricultural Technology in the Egyptian Nile Valley of the 14th Century B.C.*

*Introduction:* Technology is an ancient Nile Valley Craft with key developments. From antiquity, technology has evolved in an essential way. In the very early ancient epoch 4236-1320 B.C. direct Upper Nile Valley Support for scientific policy analysis, politico-economic unification of the 470 km stretch of the Nile Basin has produced humanity's longest history in agricultural technology. Particularly so, the epoch 1400 B.C. documents with certainty; scientific achievements, management, acts of skill and insight in agricultural technology development.

*Key Developments:* The foundations were laid for the great technical achievements that followed directly on the developments of large irrigation schemes, mathematical concepts of agricultural technology, the wooden-plough, science of empirical regularities and fundamental laws, engineering, mechanics and socio-economic management. Because of the requirements of agricultural farmlife, concepts such as matriarchy, totemism and monotheistic religion were born. Such an agricultural economy owed its vitality to the weaker resistance put up by feudal ceremonial patterns of farmlife, development of iron-mouldboard turn plough, row cultivation, seed drill, oxen-heoing complex and winnowing technology. Agricultural technology and quality of life reach full flowering with science policy reforms, land use and values. Proof of these details can be found in written documents: Papyri, Pyramids texts, Manetho's chronicles, models and paintings of technical devices in tombs of Priests. Thus, millennia of the technology of crop production and the existence of disposable money "DEBEN" stems from state revenue policy of financing applied agricultural research, technology development, training and stimulus diffusion of knowledge. Here, we encounter an economy-wide production process where commodities were produced by means of commodities.

*Frontier Phenomenon:* This thesis contends that the Lower Nile Basin was frontier region to the Saharan-Upper Nile Valley civilization. A frontier is a penetration phenomenon. It evolves. The Nile Basin is a region into which people came from another and older sedentary African civilization which practised scientific farming systems and Neolithic technology; circa 7000 B.C. It brought with it its acts of skill and insight that produced humanity's first technological leadership and agricultural revolution. Agricultural technology in particular had only to be diffused because resistance at the frontier was free and easy. The actual experience of frontier civilization is that it was endowed with a full complement of scientific tools, derived from parent culture and then completely severed from the institutional power system of its parent that resisted technological change. East-Asia, Americas, Mediterranean, became frontier regions to the Nile Valley. Regions into which Egyptian agricultural treaties were diffused by Memphis and Thebes Priests. These were later copied by Jesuit Priests for Medieval European development. Hence, agricultural technology is known to have spread across the whole inter-tropical region from the Sahara to Asia.

Modern Sub-Saharan Africa and the Nile Valley is frontier to industrialized regions in stimulus diffusion of technological capabilities, research and development.

*Conclusion:* It is maintained that technology diffusion evolves within frontier concepts. It is recommended that frontier technological policy must consider unique institutional severance



and factors that generate accumulated capabilities. The Nile Valley has bequeathed to humanity technology policy that promotes international collaboration.

LUKAS M. MUNTINGH

*A Syro-Palestinian Free Man during the Amarna Age*

In 1987 it will be 100 years since the discovery of the Amarna letters in Egypt. These invaluable texts dating from the 14th century B.C. contribute greatly to our knowledge of the relations of the ancient Near East, and of Egypt to Asia in the second half of the second millennium B.C. Recent linguistic research gives proof of the lasting value of the texts and enables us to understand them even better.

Since their discovery, the Amarna letters have been supplemented by other texts found at Ras Shamra (Ugarit), Kamid el Loz (Kumidi), Tell Hariri (Mari), more recently at Tell Mardikh (Ebla), and elsewhere. A clearer concept is gradually emerging of the Syro-Palestinian social structure, including the Israelite settlement in Palestine, during the third and second millennia.

The following three main classes may be distinguished: (1) the state and its officials, (2) free people, and (3) semi-free and unfree people. This paper is limited to the second class, with special reference to the term *aw/mīlu*, "man" in a changing society as a result of the decline of Egyptian suzerainty. While the ancient Near Eastern texts are often neutral and impersonal, this is not the case with the letters from the Amarna archive.

The following aspects of a "free man" in the El Amarna letters were discussed:

1. *The form of the term*, always written with the ideogram LÚ in the West-Semitic texts, in earlier times was pronounced *awīlum*, but later as *aw/mīlu*. The Canaanite scribes could even have had a local term for "man" in mind (compare the situation in Ebla 1000 years earlier).

2. *Man and ancient Near Eastern anthropology*. In the Hebrew story of the creation of man, God breathed life into man's nostrils. In the EA letters soldiers were encouraged by means of the divine breath that flowed to them from the deified Pharaoh (EA 100: 36, 40, etc.).

3. *The Old Babylonian term awīlum* could mean:

- 1) a man of the higher class, a noble;
- 2) a free man of any class; and
- 3) a man of any class, from king to slave.

4. *The meaning of aw/mīlu in Syria-Palestine in the EA letters*. The term was used as an indication of

- 1) the local ruler in one of the many cities;
- 2) the subject, citizen or inhabitant of a city or region; and
- 3) man, someone.

*Conclusions*

1. The EA letters reflect some evidence of ancient Near Eastern anthropology, and the question: 'What is man?'

2. For a study of Syro-Palestinian social stratification it is important to keep in mind that the

same Akkadian terms in the same time but different regions, do not necessarily have the same meaning, especially where Akkadian was not the mother tongue. In Syria and Palestine the meaning could differ from that in Babylonia.

3. In Syria and Palestine during the Amarna age, the term *awīlu* was preferably used for 'free man' (local ruler, citizen and inhabitant of a city, with different shades of meaning) and in combinations also indicating gentilicia.

DIETHER KELLERMANN

*Notes on the Trisagion in Isa. 6,3*

In the OT the trigemination is found twice in Jer. (7,4;22,29), once in Ezek. (21,32-engl.v.27), and as the Trisagion in Isa. 6,3. Jer. 7,4 is an apotropaic formula, by which people assured each other of Jahwe's help, which was thought to be represented by the temple. But Jeremiah exposed the threefold magic formula "the temple of the Lord" as void, not forceful enough to grant the desired protection.

Jer. 22,29 the threefold "o land, land, land" is an imploring incantation supposed to emphasize the author's passionate will to be heard. Ezek. 21,32 (engl.v.27) the threefold "ruin, ruin, ruin" sounds very much like a forceful magic formula.

In Accadic, in the collection of magic texts, the trigemination can sometimes be also found as an introduction of sentences. This observation has been taken up by O. Keel, and in connection with his interpretation of the seraphim as "snakelike and birdwinged, as beings perhaps endowed with human hands and feet" he would like to deduce the Trisagion from the officially prohibited magic of that seraphim-cult. But as J. Herrmann has already pointed out, Isa. 6,3 is a liturgical formula not comparable with the Accadian parallels. As there are only rare examples of the trigemination in the OT, some of the old versions have reduced it to a mere gemination, which, as a figure of speech, is quite common in the OT. There is also some controversy about the trigemination Isa. 6,3. R. Kittel has wondered whether originally qādoš stood only once in that verse, because then we would have a so-called "Doppeldreier" as the most common metre. In 1QIs<sup>a</sup> the word qādoš only turns up twice, while it's found three times in the masoretic text. The reason might simply be an error of the copyist (haplography). But N. Walker has pointed out that there is a linea paseq after the first qādoš in the masoretic text. As this sign does not belong to the masoretic system of accentuation it might be a text-critical sign. So N. Walker considers it an amalgamation of two different readings. A very early text had only one qādoš in this verse. In 1QIs<sup>a</sup> someone made a "pious" correction by doubling the word qādoš in the sense of a superlative. Another scribe supposedly either wished to preserve both readings or was not able to make up his mind which to accept of the two and therefore put a paseq-sign between the variants; so an amalgamation of the two readings would possibly be the way by which the existing form of the Trisagion in Isa. 6,3 could have come into existence. Considering that the paseq-sign as an auxiliary sign has emerged comparatively late in the Middle Ages there was no consent whatsoever as to when and where the paseq-sign had to be put in, and since it is known that already in the Old Church and during the Middle Ages up to modern times the threefold qādoš referred to the trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, — considering all this, the insertion of the paseq-sign could be understood as a Jewish-rabbinic protest against such a



Christian interpretation.

With the paseq Isa. 6,3 is to be translated: Holy, very holy indeed, is Jahwe Zebaoth (the Lord of hosts), all countries are full of his glory.

RUDOLF MACUCH

*Der gegenwärtige Stand der Samaritanerforschung und ihre Aufgaben*

In unserem Jahrhundert wurden gelehrte Kontakte mit den Samaritanern intensiviert, wertvolle Handschriften erworben, die traditionelle Aussprache des SH und des SA wurde eingehend studiert, zuverlässige Grammatiken der beiden Sprachen sowie mehrere grundlegende samaritanische Werke wurden veröffentlicht oder befinden sich im Druck, die Vorbereitung des Wörterbuchs des SA wurde in Angriff genommen, neue Zentren samaritanischer Studien mit eigenen Handschriftensammlungen und Schriftenreihen sind an den Universitäten in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, Leeds, West-Berlin, Torino und sogar an den australischen Universitäten in Sydney und Melbourne entstanden. Zwecks Koordinierung der internationalen Zusammenarbeit auf diesem Gebiet wurde am I. internationalen Samaritanistenkolloquium im Oktober 1985 in Paris die Société d'Etudes Samaritaines gegründet. Die Bibliographen der Samaritanerstudien arbeiten um die Wette. Nach der posthumen Veröffentlichung von L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of the Samaritans* (1964), die ungefähr 800 Titel enthielt, haben J. Margain, M. Mor, S. Noja, R. Pummer, R. Weiss u.a. zahlreiche weitere ältere und neuere Titel hinzugefügt, und die neueste Bibliographie von A. Crown (1984) enthält schon 2806 Titel und wird auch bald ergänzungsbedürftig sein.

Der ungewöhnliche Aufschwung der samaritanischen Studien in unserem Jahrhundert hat Z. Ben-Hayyim nicht nur grundlegende Veröffentlichungen, sondern auch persönliches Engagement für die Erfüllung vieler wichtiger Aufgaben auf dem Gebiet der hebräischen, aramäischen und arabischen Literatur der Samaritaner zu verdanken.

Die phonetischen Studien des SH und des SA können hiermit als abgeschlossen gelten. Trotz aller Schwankungen der mündlichen Tradition enthält die eigentümliche samaritanische Phonetik viele altentümliche Züge, die für das SH durch die Eigennamen in der LXX sowie durch die Onomastica sacra des Eusebios und Hieronymus, für andere Wörter durch Origenis Hexapla und für das SA durch die μεταγραφαι der aramäischen Wörter Jesu in den Evangelien genügend bewiesen wird. Sie werden deshalb auch für das Studium der Aussprachetraditionen des Hebräischen sowie der Phonetik des Palästinischen Aramäisch in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Ära berücksichtigt werden müssen.

Über weitere an verschiedenen Orten und auf verschiedenen Gebieten der Samaritanistik laufenden Arbeiten soll die *Lettre Annuelle de la Société d'Etudes Samaritaines* informieren.

(Der vollständige Text des Referats erscheint in der ZDMG.)

JOHN F. HEALEY

*Some Aspects of Nabataean Aramaic*

Although Cantineau's treatment of Nabataean grammar of 1930–32 is still in some respects satisfactory, his remarkable synthesis is gradually becoming outdated by new discoveries. It is now clear that there is a need for a major new and more comprehensive treatment.

(a) The texts need re-editing and should be brought together in a coherent series of volumes. (b) There is need for more work on syntax, incorporating newly discovered texts on papyrus and comparison with other Late Aramaic inscriptions. (c) With regard to lexis there is again a need to set Nabataean in the context of other Late Aramaic dialects (Palmyrene, etc.). (d) The typology of the personal names has not been studied systematically on the basis of a full corpus of texts. There are also important questions of ethnicity and history at stake. Scholars have always had the feeling that the personal names support the view that the Nabataeans were Arabs by race, but this needs to be quantified.

The most important part of the corpus comes not from Petra but from Madā'in Šālīḥ in Saudi Arabia, where there are thirty-four tomb inscriptions, many of them quite long (up to 14 lines) and mostly very well preserved. Recent work by the author at Madā'in Šālīḥ has led to the establishment of new readings and new texts which will be published in due course. Taken with the texts from Petra and the Ḥawrān they form a substantial corpus, mostly ascribable to the 1st century A.D. However, the vast majority of the inscriptions are tomb texts of a rather legalistic type. Despite this, some of the information in them is of considerable historical importance. Apart from numerous legal terms and formulae, there is frequently a date in the reign of a Nabataean king and reference to temples and deities. The Nabataean legal papyri overlap in legal terminology with the tomb inscriptions.

The graffiti and a few of the more formal inscriptions cover a much wider historical period, extending beyond the fall of the Nabataean kingdom to the Romans and as far as the 4th/5th century A.D. The graffiti are still being found in large numbers. They can, however, often only be dated on the basis of palaeography. The establishment of the Nabataean palaeographic sequence is one of the aims of the present author's research. Fortunately, apart from the 1st century inscriptions there are a few dated later texts using Nabataean script (e.g., 166/9, 267, 306, 328, 356 A.D.).

Although Arabic influence has long been recognized in the Nabataean texts, the relations between Nabataean, Nabataeo-Arabic and *Frühnordarabisch* need to be explored. It is important, however, that Nabataean Aramaic should be evaluated in the wider Aramaic context. Nabataean Aramaic is much closer to Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic of the earlier period than to later Jewish Aramaic. Its roots may lie in the earlier Aramaic influence in the area of southern Jordan and northern Arabia, best attested to by the Tayma' inscriptions of the 6th/5th century B.C.



NAPHTALI KINBERG

*Al-Farrā's Grammatical Terminology — an Examination of the Kūfic Term mutarjim and the Baṣrian badal*

The terms *mutarjim* and *tarjama* are said to be the kūfic equivalents to the Baṣrian term *badal* 'apposition'.<sup>1</sup> An examination of the occurrences of these terms in al-Farrā's *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* shows that indeed they are often used where the Baṣrian term *badal* would be a proper substitute, e.g. *Qur'ān* 37:6: *innā zayyannā s-samā'a d-dunyā bi-zīnatini l-kawākibi* the author says: *fa-xafaḍa l-kawākib tarjamatan 'anī z-zīna* (2, 159, 7). In this verse the word *al-kawākib* actually occurs in apposition to the preceding *zīnatin*, and agrees with it in case (even though not in definition). Similarity between the two terms is also manifested in *Qur'ān* 20:29-30: *wa-j'al lī wazīran min ahlī hārūna axī*. According to one analysis *hārūna axī* is a *mutarjim* of *al-wazīr* (2, 178, 8-10). Here too one could use the term *badal* instead of *mutarjim*, and the latter agrees with the preceding noun in case, but not in definition.

However, the term *mutarjim* in al-Farrā's *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* is not always identical with the Baṣrian *badal*. The author uses the term *mutarjim* with regard to the word *say* in *Qur'ān* 34:39: *wa-mā anfaqtum min say'in fahuwa yuxlifuhū: li-'anna s-say'a lā yakūnu ḥālan, wa-lākin nahū-smun mutarjimun. wa-innamā dakartu ḥādā li-'anna l-'araba taqūlu: li-llāhi darruhū min rajulin, tumma yulqūna "min" fayaqūlūna: lillāhi darruhū rajulan, fa-r-rajulu mutarjimun [li-mā qablahū] wa-laysa bi-ḥālin* (2, 104, 3-5). From this passage it is clear that the term *mutarjim*, unlike the Baṣrian *badal*, reflects a semantic category rather than a syntactic category which follows the grammatical case of its antecedent.<sup>2</sup> The different approach regarding the Kūfic term *mutarjim* and the Baṣrian *badal* is clear in this passage, where *say'in* is presented as *mutarjim* of *mā* and *man* even though it does not agree in case with these nouns, and the same is true with regard to *rajulin*. In other words, whereas the term *badal* belongs to a wider category of syntactical elements which agree in case with their antecedents, namely the so-called *tawābi*, the term *mutarjim* reflects a semantic category, and is applied even when there is no case-agreement within the noun and its complement.

The conclusion from this short examination is quite obvious: the special terms occurring in al-Farrā's *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* reflect not only differences in terminology, but rather a different approach to grammatical analysis. Hence it is impossible to make a mechanical substitution of a Kūfic term with an apparently equivalent Baṣrian term.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Maxzūmī, 310, who cites *Sarḥ al-Usmūnī*. See also the footnote of Muḥammad 'Alī n-Najjār, the editor of vol.2 (p.261)

<sup>2</sup> The author explicitly states so saying: *wa-dalla 'alā annahū mutarjimun 'an mā'nā* (the emphasis is mine, N.K.) *man wa-mā*(2,104,2).

ALICE FABER

*Diachronic Relationship Between Interrogative and Negative Markers in the Semitic Languages*

This paper consists of a study of negative and interrogative markers in the Semitic languages. The negatives studied are \*ma, \*ī, \*lā/\*al, and their derivatives, and the interrogatives treated are those based on \*m- and \*'ayy-. Based on the attestation of negative \*ma in extra-Semitic Afroasiatic language groups and the innovation within Semitic of non-negative uses of \*ma (e.g., enclitic *mem*, -m(a) in indefinite pronouns like Akkadian *mimma* 'anyone'), I suggest that \*ma was the primary negative marker in PS. The narrowing of the contexts permitting negative \*ma in the attested languages is correlated with increased use of other negative markers as well as an increase in non-negative uses of \*ma; indefinite \*ma, however, betrays its negative origins in continued negative polarity (NP) — distribution restricted to negative and semantically allied contexts. Given extra-Semitic attestation of negative \*ma and interrogative \*'ayy-, it appears that the PS presence of negative and interrogative forms of both stems results from convergence and contamination.

The significance of this research is two-fold. Treatment of non-negative, non-interrogative uses of Semitic \*ma as innovations allows more rigorous morphological comparisons within Afroasiatic and greater precision in reconstruction. And, at a more general level, diachronic studies of interrogative and negative markers in particular languages are relevant to general claims about the possible behavior of these particles. Most studies of negative polarity assume that NP particles originate as referential nouns which become weakened through overuse in phrases like "not a bit" to the point that they acquire negative force; the reconstruction discussed in this paper of a source other than a referential noun for a Semitic NP marker requires rethinking of the developmental series posited by Jespersen of noun → emphatic particle → NP marker (→ negative marker) as a universal source for NP markers.

OTTMAR HEGYI

*Arabic Lexical Patterns in Spanish Aljamiado Texts*

The term *aljamiado* (derived from Arabic *al-ğamiya*) is normally used in modern times to refer to Iberoromance texts written in the Arabic alphabet, and, by extension, it has also been applied to similar phenomena elsewhere, e.g. to Serbocroatian, Albanian and Greek texts in the Arabic alphabet. Such linguistic documents differ from the corresponding standard written languages not only in their external aspects, but also in their linguistic peculiarities.

In the past, there has been a tendency to regard Spanish *aljamiado* texts as written expression of a linguistically unsophisticated minority, not fully conversant with the subtleties of Spanish. However, there is sufficient evidence that the authors of most *aljamiado* texts were native speakers of Spanish. The Arabicizing peculiarities found in them should, accordingly, not be regarded as signs of inadequate knowledge of Spanish, but rather as a conscious effort to transform the language into a suitable vehicle for the transmission of Islamic thought and spirituality. We would thus have an Islamic variety of Spanish, in which Arabic is looked upon as a model language, acting as a linguistic superstratum as Latin does in the case of Christian vernacular texts.



This influence of Arabic is particularly noticeable in the frequency of loan-words and syntactical patterns imitating Arabic sentence structure. Less easily recognized are loan-translations and changes in the semantic content of Spanish lexemes induced by Arabic model. Even more surprising is the presence of paradigmatic lexical structures which reflect characteristic patterns of Classical Arabic. The present paper intends to examine these in the light of E. Coseriu's theories related to semantic fields and lexical structures (outlined in his *Principios de semántica estructural*, Madrid: 1977).

The above can be illustrated by examples like *la buena creencia* 'the good faith', *el alqunut bueno* 'the good alqunut', or *buenas rogarías* 'good rogations', etc. While, at first sight, the use of the adjective *bueno* would seem to be possible in the above cases, such combinations are, nevertheless, not quite reconcilable with the linguistic sensibilities of the native speaker of Spanish. Expressions like *the good Lord's prayer* would sound outlandish in most European languages. However, the adjective *bueno*, in the above cases, seems to translate the Ar. *ṭayyib*, the nuances of which do not correspond to that of the Spanish *bueno*, but are determined by its relationship to the paradigmatic set of synonyms and antonyms of which it forms a part. *ṭayyib* also differs in its function in the syntagmatic sequence and in its combinatory possibilities with other lexemes. Apart from loan-words, neologisms and the more obvious loan-translations, the influence of Arabic lexical patterns contribute considerably to a linguistic differentiation of aljamiado texts from the standard ones.

SAMIRAN CHANDRA CHAKRABARTI

*The Vedic Tradition in Assam: The Present Situation*

The article is an attempt to present a preliminary report on the investigation undertaken with reference to the area of Cachar and Sylhet (now in Bangladesh) and the area adjoining the Brahmaputra valley. At the present time, when the Assamese people is trying to emphasize the Assamese culture, not many are interested in identifying the traits of Vedic culture still prevailing there. The majority of the people is not much aware of the Vedic tradition, and apathy towards Sanskrit and Sanskritic studies can be felt in general.

Tradition goes that western Brahmins from Ita (near Agra) came with their families to Sylhet and settled there. They formed a Vedic society in Ita pargana of Sylhet. Afterwards, Brahmins from Mithila came to this region for helping the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The localities where they settled are also mentioned. Several *gotras* are mentioned in this connexion — Vatsa, Vātsya, Bharadvāja, Kṛṣṇātreya, Kāśyapa, Kātyāyana, Parāśara, Maudgalya, Svāmakaśika, and Gautama. Brahmins belonging to these families are called *sāmpradāyika* and said to be devoted to virtuous conduct. The land grants of Assam present a historical, and therefore far more reliable, account of Brahmins settling in Assam. Nidhanpur Grant alone mentions 205 Brahmins of 58 *gotras* receiving landgrants. The grants also indicate royal patronage behind the spread of the Vedic culture in Assam, particularly during the reign of the Varman dynasty. From different sources, published and unpublished, names of 81 *gotras* prevailing in Assam have been collected. A few of them are however mere variants.

The majority of people have no clear idea of the Vedic texts they follow (or are supposed to follow) in performance of their rites. The following *paddhati* works are reportedly followed: *Kāleśipaddhati* based on the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, *Pāśupatapaddhati* based on the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, and *Bhavadevapaddhati* based on the *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*. Previously, the *Maithila Smṛti* was mostly followed. It appears that later on Raghunandana's work became current in Bengal and from there they were introduced also in Assam. In practice one now finds followers of both. On enquiry from some local advocates it is learnt that *Dāyabhāga* prevails also in Assam, and *Mitākṣarā* applies to the outsider now residing in Assam. According to tradition, Naraka came from Mithila, and during his reign the Maithila culture spread in Assam and gradually influenced the earlier cultures. During the Gupta period Hinduism flourished in Assam under the patronage of the Varman kings, who themselves performed grand Vedic sacrifices. Reportedly, no Vedic sacrifice was performed in recent years.

Vedic manuscripts are now rare in Assam. Jatindra Bhattacharya collected a large number of manuscripts from different sources. The collection, now in care of Jadavpur University, has not yet been duly processed.

Traditional Vedic teaching is imparted in Manikul Ashram in Gauhati. No Tol in Assam is known to be exclusively devoted to Vedic studies. The situation is in no way better in colleges and universities.

Several features of the Assamese rites and festivals are believed to be survivals of Vedic sacrifices. Interesting resemblances between the religious belief of the Vedic people and that of some hill tribes of Assam have also been noted. Further careful investigation is however



essential for ascertaining the extent of borrowing or mutual influence.

INDIRA Y. JUNGHARE

*Dr. Ambedkar: The Hero of the Mahars, Ex-Untouchables of India*

Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of India's ex-untouchables, was a champion of human rights. He was a fighter for the dignity of man and a saviour of a suppressed people. Being born as an untouchable, Dr. Ambedkar faced caste discrimination of the worst kind. He was treated like a leper. Yet, he grew in name, fame and national prominence without being lifted by a party press or party caucuses. The drafting of the Indian Constitution brought him recognition as its Chief Architect. By his efforts, Ambedkar insured that untouchability was abolished in the Constitution of Independent India. He released a suppressed people from the stigma, shackles and slavery under which they had groaned for ages.

The unique life of Ambedkar has become a new source of learning and a new source of inspiration for the ex-untouchables of India, particularly the Mahars of Maharashtra. A great deal of folk literature has sprung up centering around Dr. Ambedkar in which Dr. Ambedkar is not only treated as folk hero but elevated even to the rank of divinity, as an *avatar*, a reincarnation of Vishnu.

This paper serves three purposes. Primarily, several songs of the untouchables from Maharashtra, collected in the Vidarbha region, have been translated from Marathi and Hindi and analyzed in a way which reveals the several images of Dr. Ambedkar. Secondly, the paper discusses two processes that make Dr. Ambedkar a special hero. One process is exaltation, which can be referred to as 'ascension' through which a person is uplifted to the status of deity, and the other process is *avatara* or descending of a deity to the earth in the form of a human. Thirdly, the paper explores the implications of the literature of the Mahars and their making of the Ambedkar deity for their new religion, Neo-Buddhism.

The songs of the Mahars provide various images of Dr. Ambedkar: a common man who with his struggle rose above society; a blessed man with fame and fortune, a unique leader with extraordinary talent; an unparalleled hero; a canonized saint; a deity, and an avatar. Finally, through the songs Dr. Ambedkar is promoted to the foremost rank of the great divinity. Furthermore, he is believed to be a human form of the Supreme God who came to earth to help suppressed people. It is surprising that in such a short time, less than thirty years after his death, we have been able to see a process of deification, the phenomena of god-making.

The Mahar tradition is responsible for putting Ambedkar on a pedestal. Dr. Ambedkar revived Buddhism, added to it some of his philosophies and created a new religion for his community. He gave the Mahar tradition a religion. In turn, the tradition filled the void of God, which was apparent in the religion, by making him the God. Similarly, Dr. Ambedkar provided the tradition with the poetic inspiration, and the Mahar tradition, in turn, produced folk songs and used them as a vehicle in the making of their hero.

GEORGE KURIAN

*Role of Christians in Initiating Social Change in Kerala, India*

Christianity has ancient roots in Kerala and it is believed that St. Thomas, the Apostle of Jesus Christ preached Christianity in South India. The Kerala Christians are known as Syrian Christians as they use Syriac liturgy and also called Nazaranis meaning the followers of the Nazarene. At present, next to the Hindus they are the largest community in the state and are one-fourth of the population of about 27 million. Christianity survived in Kerala by developing an indigenous character. They are in practice a caste maintaining strict endogamy and have always benefited from the tolerance of Hindus.

Christians have reached a dominant position in Kerala due to their high level of education. European missionaries, first Anglicans and then Catholics are primarily responsible for spreading modern education from early 19th century. By 1826, Nairs the dominant Hindu community started their first schools and have since emulated the Christians and have now reached high level of literacy.

Women were encouraged to get education in missionary schools. By only 1876 Government started giving encouragement to women's education and by 1907 there were a number of women's schools. By 1936, 317 girls were in school. At present, co-educational schools and colleges are the norm though there are a few women's colleges. As a result of women's education, child marriage gradually disappeared and widow remarriage is possible. Women are now equal participants in all professions. In fact, the first woman Surgeon General in the world was in Kerala in 1935.

Perhaps, one of the best indicators of social change is the modernization of the family. The author has made investigations periodically in Kerala in 1961, 1968, 1972 and 1984 and noted the gradual and steady modernization of the family. These studies covered various aspects of family life. Major decision making in family is now increasingly done in consultation with all adult family members rather than by the head of the family. As regards marriage, while for the predominant majority, marriages were arranged by their parents with their consent, approximately one-fifth claimed they made their own choice with the consent of the parents. About one-fifth are also willing to allow free choice for their children.

While Kerala is one of the most densely populated areas in India, even among working class people family planning is fully accepted and population growth has declined by 40% in the last fifteen years leading the rest of India. Two-child families are increasingly common. Marital stability is still the norm due to social pressures and influence of relatives. Children's education is a primary concern for the parents leading to the highest literacy level in India of over 70%.

The 1984 study of youth in Kerala showed that they have increasingly good communication with parents, retaining respect for them. As regards premarital heterosexual interactions the youth is willing to change their attitudes but in practice majority are still not exercising this freedom. While their comments in general are a mixed bag, the move is towards more egalitarianism.

Well developed school and post-secondary education in Kerala originally sponsored by Christians have spread to all religious groups. As a result, people are now able to get jobs not only in Kerala but all over the world and Kerala is a model of high level of community



health and hygiene and political awareness leading to progressive social and labour legislation unmatched in the rest of India.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

*The Country of Fabulous Beasts and Naked Philosophers — India in Classical and Medieval Literature*

Classical antiquity possessed a comparatively reliable picture of India thanks to Megasthenes and the historians of Alexander the Great. Necessarily this picture was biased and contained many elements from purely Greek tradition, the so-called *interpretatio Graeca*, yet it originated from real experience of India and included many correct observations. This picture was transmitted by such authors as Strabo and Arrian who tried to critically select the best authorities available. It survived until late antiquity, when it was already badly dated, but was then replaced by something much worse. The new picture was then transmitted throughout the Middle Ages and lasted more or less until the dawn of modern indology. It consisted of several elements:

Geographically, Ptolemy's relatively correct information was completed by the curious notion of India as the country situated next to the Garden of Eden. The Ganges was accordingly identified with the Biblical Phison, a river flowing from Paradise.

The classical accounts were still read but now it was no more the real India but Indian marvels that were sought. Thus it happened that Ctesias could displace Megasthenes. The terrible martichora and the dog-headed men became again an essential feature of the western picture of India.

The history of Alexander had changed into a legend of Alexander, the so-called Alexander romance, and strange adventures in India and other still more fabulous eastern countries were an essential part of it.

Stories about gymnosophists, the naked ascetics of India, became very popular. There was not much real information about their doctrines, but their severe asceticism attracted many. They were contrasted with the warrior Alexander and used for propagating the Christian monastic ideal. India became a land of wisdom, and philosophers of old, beginning with Pythagoras were ascribed Indian travels. Some really did go to India in search of wisdom, like Mani.

India was also the country reputedly converted by the apostle Thomas and thus there had been no contact with them over many centuries.

This was the picture of India during late antiquity and the Middle Ages. There were no contacts with the real India anymore, and the legend of India lived its own life in medieval tradition. The Indian marvels were endowed with Christian symbolism and used in literature and art. When the late Middle Ages got some fresh information from travellers like Marco Polo and Jordanus of Severac, it did not affect this picture at all. Even after the Portuguese had opened the direct route to India it gave way only slowly. In the 16th century even scientists were still too ignorant to abandon the Indian marvels straight away, and even later they lingered long in popular fantasy and literature. Thus we can meet most of them e.g. in *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* of Flaubert in the late 19th century.

HORST BRINKHAUS

*The Descent of the Nepalese Malla Dynasty as Reflected by Local Chroniclers*

On the subject of the descent and history of the Nepalese Malla dynasty — from about the end of the 14th century up to the second half of the 18th century — quite a number of indigenous historiographic documents are preserved:

- The Gopālarājavarṇasāvalī which undoubtedly dates from the reign of Sthitirājamalla (completed around 1390 A.D.),
- stone inscriptions and manuscripts of genealogical contents from the 17th century,
- and chronicles in Nepali and Newari, written down in the 19th century.

These traditional Nepalese sources from the 14th, 17th and 19th centuries offer three remarkably different developmental stages of views Nepalese chroniclers brought forth on the ancestry of Sthitirājamalla and his descendants.

*1st stage:* The Gopālarājavarṇasāvalī as well as all other historical documents from the 14th and 15th centuries keep quiet about the descent of Sthitirājamalla; apparently his origin was unknown or perhaps even kept consciously wrapped in mystery. Both Sthitirājamalla and his sons were denied the full title of king in Bhaktapur. Sthitirājamalla's claims to power were based mainly on the rights of his wife Rājalladevī, the daughter of the former Bhaktapur ruler Jagatsiṃha, who descended from the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Tirhut.

*2nd stage:* The ignorance about the descent of Sthitirājamalla and thus of the whole Malla dynasty was felt later on to be a shortcoming in the hereditary monarchy of Nepal under the later Malla kings. Two diverse conceptions were developed in the 17th century in order to eliminate that blemish.

Genealogical documents from Bhaktapur under Jagajjyotirmalla and his successors offer the following lineage: The line of Mallas is traced back to "Jayasthitimalla", as Sthitirājamalla is called now; then four names are listed as direct ancestors of "Jayasthitimalla" which are otherwise totally unknown and seem to be invented only to create a transition from the Nepalese Mallas to the Karṇāṭa line of Tirhut; and finally the genealogy shifts to the Karṇāṭa king Harisiṃha whose ancestry is followed further back to Nānyadeva.

On the other hand, four stone inscriptions written between 1637 and 1658 under the Malla kings of Kathmandu and Patan uniformly present the following divergent view: The Malla line is traced back only up to Yakṣamalla, the grandson of Sthitirājamalla; then the genealogy jumps back to Harisiṃha and his Karṇāṭa ancestors; and finally, all are assigned to the ancient Indian Sūryavarṇas.

Thus all genealogical documents of the 17th century agree in tracing back the Malla dynasty to the Karṇāṭa line of Tirhut. This must be seen as the background for the remarkable popularity which the Karṇāṭa king Harisiṃha attained in Nepal at that time: He was credited with having introduced into Nepal the highly venerated goddess Taleju who became the house-goddess of the Malla family. Harisiṃha, who in fact never reached the Kathmandu valley since he died while fleeing to it, was obviously by this means elevated to a worthy ancestor of the Malla dynasty.

*3rd stage:* A similar process once again recurred in the 19th century, but this time in favour of the Malla ancestor Sthitirājamalla. Chronicles of that century uniformly follow the



Bhaktapur concept: They all trace back the Malla line via "Jayasthitimalla" and his four obscure ancestors to the Karnāṭas of Tirhut. In addition, however, the chroniclers of the 19th century still felt the need to corroborate this view by crediting "Jayasthitimalla" with an impressive list of accomplishments. Among these deeds assigned to "Jayasthitimalla" the introduction of the caste system into Nepal has become most famous. Until today modern scholars treated of this deed as of a well-testified historical fact.

That "historical fact" is open to doubt: On the one hand, there seems to be not the slightest indication of any such deed by Sthitirājamalla in any older Nepalese source of evidence. And on the other hand, the late Nepalese chroniclers who intended to describe Sthitirājamalla as a notable ancestor of the Malla dynasty had good reasons to assign impressive accomplishments to him who, after all, had been disputed as king during his lifetime and whose name chroniclers of the 17th century still preferred to conceal.

PHANINDRA NATH CHAKRABARTI

*Trans-Himalayan Trade (1774-1857)*

Since much of the recent controversy has been centred on the India-China border issue, we propose to undertake further investigations in this focal area. In the present paper, however, we would confine ourselves to the empirical side of the debate.

The connection between India and her Himalayan neighbours is though very old we overlooked the strategical importance of this region until the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950 and the Sino-Indian confrontation in 1962 took place which kindled India's rude awakening regarding the strategical importance of these areas.

For the first time in the history of India-China relation the act of spilling blood took place in the rough, useless Himalayan tract breaking the long silence and making the region restive.

Since time immemorial India carried on intra-Asian overland trade with her Himalayan neighbours. But Tibet was, however, not a prospective market for Indian commodities. Again, Tibetan goods have very insignificant demand in India.<sup>1</sup> Both Indian and Chinese merchants had access to Tibet. They exchanged their goods reciprocally. Tibet, therefore, posed actually as a transit place for the trade between India and China.

Failed to enter into inland trade of China through Canton, the English East India Company, directed its Governor of Bengal to investigate the possibility of entering into China through Tibet.<sup>2</sup> The period from 1774 to 1857 had witnessed altogether nine official and unofficial European and non-European missions sent by the Company to Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet.<sup>3</sup> The Tibetans disliked the English as well as the Chinese. In spite of this, at least two English

<sup>1</sup> George Bogle, who led the first British commercial mission to Tibet, observed that the scope of East India Co.'s trade with Tibet was very limited. *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle ...* ed. by C.R. Markham. P.162 (India Office Library, London),

<sup>2</sup> Home Miscellaneous, Vol.219, P.325 (I.O.L., London), *Narratives*, P.4 (I.O.L., London).

<sup>3</sup> Sir Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, PP.7-27.

commercial missions headed by George Bogle and Captain Samuel Turner entered into Tibet.<sup>1</sup>

In order to keep the English out of Tibet the Tibetans preached that Tibet was under Chinese political control.<sup>2</sup>

A close investigation of documents on Tibet, however, shows a different picture.

The Gurkhas of Nepal invaded Tibet twice in 1788 and 1791.<sup>3</sup> Tibet had no standing army. So they sought military help from the English in Bengal.<sup>4</sup> If Tibet would have been under direct political control of China, she could not have asked for help from the English. Refusal of the English only directed them to seek help from China. This helped China to delude world opinion. They reiterated their claim to Tibet and forcefully imposed unbridled authority in the land of the Lama.<sup>5</sup>

In 1791, the Gurkhas once again invaded Tibet.<sup>6</sup> Chinese help saved them again. The British inactivity enabled the Chinese to try to strengthen their control over Tibet leading to cut off India's commercial relation with Tibet.

The British concluded a trade agreement with Nepal promising her to help secretly against China.<sup>7</sup> But this was a hoax. Nepal was not only not given assistance when she desperately needed it<sup>8</sup> but the role played so far by the English had been uniformly deplorable, inept, pusillanimous and treacherous.

Therefore, Nepal closed her door for the English commerce into Tibet through her. Bhim Sen Thapa, the Nepalese Prime Minister (1806-37) envisaged a plan to build an 'Asian Front' against the growing British Colonialism.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Home Misc., Vol. 219, P.375. For details see Samuel Turner, *An Account of an Embassy ...* (I.O.L., London).

<sup>2</sup> Tashi Lama's letter reached Calcutta in July 1775 in which he wrote 'As this country (Tibet) is under the absolute Sovereignty of the Emperor of China ...'. Bogle's Papers: Tashi Lama to Hastings (I.O.L., London).

<sup>3</sup> Aitchison, C.U., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads ...* Vol. XIV, P.56.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Two Chinese Political Agents or *Ambasis* were 'appointed by the Court of Peking resided at Lhasa ...'. Home Miscellaneous vol. 219, p. 385.

<sup>6</sup> Aitchison, op.cit., Vol. XIV, P.56.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Col. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, P.204 (I.O.L., London).

<sup>9</sup> G.C. Sastri, *Historical Glimpses of Modern Nepal*, PP.25-38.



BRJ B. KHARE

*The Constitutional Path and Indian Nationalism*

The founders of the Indian National Congress, who were well-versed in Western institutions and thought, supported the creation of a political environment as a prerequisite for nation-building, not only encompassing all social elements of India, but working closely with sympathetic Englishmen, and cultivating a sense of national identity. Since the early Congress movement was essentially secular, it could easily amalgamate all Indian cultures and religions. Although it failed to bring into its fold the middle-class Muslims, eventually it succeeded in its objective of securing national independence. That eventual nationalism had to be based on liberal constitutional ideas from the West is undeniable.

As the European education spread many native peoples in the colonies began to learn about the ideals of unification and nationalism which had dominated Europe in the nineteenth century. In India this subject was feared and its teaching was prohibited by the British government. Unknowingly, the European leaders themselves encouraged the ideals of nationalism. For instance, the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919, along with the Atlantic Charter of 1941, declared that every nation had the right to choose its own government. Yet, the colonial powers did not apply these hyperbolic ideals to their own foreign possessions.

But the ideals of self-rule spread anyway. As the twentieth century progressed, there was a contagious growth of nationalism to a large number of colonies and the struggle for national independence was on. In India, the ideal of national independence was formulated in constitutional terms. The first nationalists were members of the prosperous middle class: they were British trained lawyers, doctors, teachers and journalists. Their inspiration came from European systems of parliamentary democracy. Early nationalists created the Indian National Congress (INC), which held its first conference in Bombay in 1885. They were encouraged by several enlightened Englishmen, including a Scottish civil servant, Mr. Allan Hume, who described the Congress movement as a safety valve to allow the escape of uncontrollable energies. The question in his mind was not if the movement was premature, but was it too late? Could the harm brought to India through colonialism be remedied?

The end of the long road to India's independence came at least but not soon enough. Although there were many reasons for Britain's withdrawal from India that were historical and circumstantial in nature it is also true that as nationalist feelings along with communalism intensified, the British were quick to find a final solution. That solution was constitutional in nature, resulting in the creation of two dominions, India and Pakistan.

The commendable manner in which the last scene in the nationalist drama was played out depended a great deal upon the sagacity and perseverance of Lord Mountbatten. It was a fitting recognition of his dedicated service to India that the Constituent Assembly unanimously endorsed the Congress proposal that Lord Mountbatten should be appointed as the first Governor-General of India. Mountbatten humbly responded in the affirmative and said that not only was he proud of this honor bestowed upon him, but that he would carry out his duties in a constitutional manner. In retrospect, it can be argued that in colonies such as India, with English-educated middle-class, the guidance received by the British sympathizers, at least in the formative phases of nationalism, helped direct the fight for independence in a constitutional direction.

VINITA DAMODARAN

*Working the Constitution**A Study of the Acceptance of Office under the Government of India Act of 1935*

The period 1934–37 was a very eventful phase in the history of the Indian nationalist struggle. It was one of fervent debate and doubt which severely tested Gandhi's strategies of political action. It was in this period that the Congress leadership decided to opt out of a policy hitherto followed of agitation, to take up a constitutional programme. The context of this debate is set within the ending of the civil disobedience movement in 1931 which created an impasse wherein both the imperial policy makers and the nationalist intelligentsia struggled to find a new equation.

When in 1935 the imperial policy makers came forward with the 1935 Government of India Act the Congress was in a quandary. The Act itself conceded very little and the Congress was vehement in its opposition to it. The Governor-General continued to have sweeping powers which permitted him to over-rule the elected legislature in all cases. But at the provincial level the machinery was slightly more elastic. In a situation of impasse that existed after Civil Disobedience had wound down some elements in the Congress were attracted to the constitutional programme. In October 1933 Satyamurthi, a Congressman from Madras formed a provincial Swaraj party to contest elections to local bodies. Other congressmen contacted Gandhi and he tentatively gave his blessings for a parliamentary programme. Gandhi in this period did not see the parliamentary programme as being the sole programme of the Congress which it was later to become. But as the programme gradually gathered further strength opposition to it came to be increasingly voiced by Nehru and others who came to constitute the Congress left. Nehru viewed the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience as a blunder and felt that direct action alone had any validity. The Congress socialists who were organised as a party in 1934 also criticised it vehemently and pointed out that it would degenerate into a responsive cooperation.

As the left could offer little alternative in the form of a viable programme the trend seemed to be to continue with the parliamentary programme. An acute helplessness and absence of policy seems to have gripped the Congress. They were in a situation where despite opposition to the Act they were drifting towards it as no other alternative to a parliament programme had emerged. In October 1935 Gandhi appealed to Nehru to accept the Presidency of the Congress to help evolve a consensus on the twin issues of Council entry and office acceptance. Gandhi hoped that Nehru's links with the Socialist group would help integrate them with the Congress.

The growing parliamentary trend was reflected by the majority of provinces voting in favour of contesting elections and accepting office. As the debate continued the Council entry seemed to become the slogan of the right wing while non-acceptance of office became the cause of the left of the party. The main arguments put forward by the right were expressed best by Rajendra Prasad when he said that by abandoning direct action the Congress had not become suddenly reformist and reactionary. Instead it would still be revolutionary by going to the legislatures and pushing forward the Congress programme. The best way to combat the Act, then, was to use it the way the Congress wanted.

The left on the other hand saw the acceptance of office as draining the vitality of the movement, of tempering revolutionary mentality and of allying with imperialist machinery.



As Nehru put it, if the decision was for office acceptance it would mean responsibility without power and the Congress would find itself responsible for the administration along with the apparatus of imperialism for the deficit budget and the suppression of labour and peasantry. He was prepared to allow for elections but he was against office acceptance. He therefore suggested that the Congress go to the people and make the constraints of the constitution clear to them and use the legislative platform to end these imperialist bodies by creating deadlocks in them.

It is interesting that the Communists took up a different viewpoint. In line with the Dutt/Bradley thesis which had emphasised the necessity for working within the Congress the Communists opined that the left should concede to the right the issue of ministry acceptance and should not give it any ground to split the anti-imperialist ranks, but it should formulate the tactics of ministry acceptance in a way that it ceased to be a means of compromise with imperialism but on the contrary became a weapon of struggle against imperialism and against the right. Such a programme would ensure that the right wing would either support such a programme for fear of risking their legitimacy or be isolated. The CSP and Nehru were correct in seeing the risks of office acceptance; they were correct in visualising that the Congress would find it difficult to keep pace with mass demands once in office. But the alternative suggested by them of Council entry would only create deadlocks and force the Congress on the path of direct action almost immediately, which at that juncture it was difficult to contemplate. The right wing were correct in seeing their political options more realistically but they did not reckon with the force of mass demands which they would have to meet once in office.

Despite the differences the Congress went ahead on the minimum consensus of accepting office. Despite the limitations of franchise the Congress success showed that the party had generalised mass support. The question of office acceptance could not be deferred further and as the opinion of the Provincial Congress Committees became available it was clear which way the Provincial opinion was swinging.

The British viewed these developments with growing satisfaction. They believed that the acceptance of office was of vital importance as thereby the constitutional elements in the Congress and the right would split with the left on this issue leaving the right to continue in office.

Within the working committee Nehru, Narendra Dev, and Patwardhan still opposed office acceptance and Gandhi set about trying to find a solution. He himself had come around to office acceptance although he stressed the limited role it could play. The Congress he said was going to the legislatures not to give but to take cooperation. His resolution stressed that the Congress intended to combat the Act by accepting office and coordinating activity inside the legislatures with activity outside. The only condition he laid down for acceptance was a verbal agreement in each province by the governor that he would not use his special powers of interference. Nehru and the Socialists were forced to accept this resolution and they bowed to the majority decision. The conditional acceptance did not require any impossible declaration to be made. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State after some hesitation duly made a conciliatory statement, and in July 1937 the Congress accepted office.

The whole debate on the issue had evolved as a debate over the strategies of political action to be followed at a particular conjuncture. For any nationalist struggle participation in the

constitutional experiments of the imperial policy makers was fraught with the dangers of incorporation and co-option. The debate over the acceptance of office in 1935 hinged on this. It was an attempt to resolve a situation of impasse wherein the national struggle was threatened by political inactivity and where the alternative of constitutional action was endangered by co-option into the imperial structure. Gandhi's solution of combatting the Act by coordinating activity inside and outside the legislature was an attempt to resolve this dilemma.

GERALD JAMES LARSON

*An Old Problem Revisited: The Relation between Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Buddhism*

(The full text of this paper has been published in: *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik (StII)* Bd. 15, 1989, p. 129.)

KAREL WERNER

*Pratyakṣa and Darśana  
Indian Theories of Perception and Knowledge*

The aim of the paper is to investigate the criteria the Indian mind has developed for accepting or rejecting truth claims both on everyday and the assumed absolute level.

In virtually all Indian schools of thought, orthodox or unorthodox, the process of knowledge is understood as consisting of three mutually interdependent constituents: (1) *pramātṛ* (the knower), (2) *prameya* (the object of knowledge) and (3) *pramā* (the process of knowing). *Pramā* proceeds through specific channels of knowing termed *pramāṇas* of which three are almost universally accepted as true channels of knowing: (1) *pratyakṣa* (perception), (2) *anumāna* (inference) and (3) *śabda* (testimony). In the cognitive process two or all three *pramāṇas* are involved almost simultaneously or in close succession. In the verification process all three *pramāṇas* have to be employed.

*Pratyakṣa* regarded as direct perception becomes knowledge through *anumāna* which relates it to past *pratyakṣas* and *śabdas*. It appears to be a kind of direct knowledge not in need of a further proof. *Anumāna*, or inference and judgement, is based on *pratyakṣas* and/or *śabdas*. It results in derivative knowledge or theory. *Śabda* or testimony is based on someone's *pratyakṣa* or *anumāna* or even *śabda*. Most of our personal general knowledge (gained by study) is a complex of *śabdas*. So is tradition (including revelation).

Verification of knowledge on phenomenal level proceeds by the interplay of all three *pramāṇas*. *Pratyakṣa* relies on *anumāna* for the elimination of errors and on *śabda* for further confirmation and so, although it has a certain primacy, it does depend on the other two *pramāṇas*. *Anumāna* requires confirmation of conclusion by *pratyakṣas* and/or *śabda* of the élite or the 'best minds' of the particular culture (*mahājanas*). *Śabda* has to be tested by both *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, often again by proxy (relying on the élite).

Indian tradition insists on having found a direct avenue of knowing absolute truth, an equivalent of *pratyakṣa* on the ultimate level, often called *darśana*, (in Buddhism *vipaśyanā* and ultimately *bodhi*). Yet it also needs inference and testimony for its verification. An



ordinary person may have a *darśana* only by proxy when seeing an accomplished master, but will use *anumāna* when deciding whether the master is genuine, together with *śabda*, i.e. the judgment of others, especially his betters, i.e. *mahājanas*, thus applying all three *pramāṇas*. In this way all teachers and teachings can be tested (cf. Kālāma Sutta of the Pali Canon (AN I,3,65; PTS I, p. 188) if faith is not accepted as criterion. Even so they can be accepted only on the grounds of the *likelihood* of their being true before own *darśana* is achieved.

The verification of absolute knowledge by an accomplished master is by self-examination. He must have *darśana* of ultimate reality, i.e. universal *pratyakṣa* or *bodhi*, he will use *anumāna* to establish that his experience is consistent (as exemplified by the Buddha's formula of *pañiccasamuppāda*) and will receive confirmation of his achievement by other accomplished *mahājanas* (*muktas* or *buddhas* and *bodhisattvas*).

The conclusion is that the basic epistemological pattern of three avenues of knowing, viz. direct perception, inference and testimony, applies both to the relative knowledge on the phenomenal level and to the ultimate knowledge of the final truth. Subjective claims of own enlightenment outside this pattern are not acceptable.

EDELTRAUD HARZER

### *Sāṅkhya Inference*

Until recently, Sāṅkhya theory of inference has been a largely neglected subject. Nevertheless, on the grounds of the attention that its opponents gave to the Sāṅkhya school, Erich Frauwallner some thirty years ago proposed that it must have had a well-developed theory of inference during the first centuries of C.E. He himself reconstructed a part of this theory of the pre-classical period. The *Śaṣṭitantra* is apparently a representative text of the pre-classical Sāṅkhya. In his reconstruction of this text, Frauwallner distinguished two forms of inference, but he did not deal adequately with Dignāga's reference to a threefold distinction. He drew his information from Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, wherein the Buddhist logician scrutinized the most important philosophical schools of his time (first decades of the 6th century C.E.), focusing primarily on the Hindu schools. The threefold distinction of inference has been fully accepted by the Sāṅkhya school of the classical period, while the twofold distinction has been altogether forgotten.

Various Buddhist and Jaina texts are also helpful in reconstructing Sāṅkhya inference in the classical period. The *Yuktidīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, which is the basic classical Sāṅkhya text, provides the main supporting material. The *Yuktidīpikā* is the only Sāṅkhya commentary which contains extensive and elaborate arguments, many of which are directed against Dignāga. Since Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* is significant for the background material for this topic, I intend to show how Dignāga was influential in shaping Sāṅkhya inference during the classical period.

NAOMICHI NAKADA

### *Word and Inference in the Yuktidīpikā*

We can see the comparison of word and inference in the controversy between Sāṅkhya school and Buddhist, the controversy perhaps being introduced as Paddhati in the *Yuktidīpikā*.

The background of this controversy is that Sāṅkhya school admits *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āptavacana*, and Dignāga admits *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* only. Debate on whether *āptavacana* is *pramāṇa* or not is demonstrated in the *Yuktidīpikā* on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* v.6, p. 45,1.1-p. 46,1.3 from bottom (in Prof. Dr. Pandeya's ed.).

Cf. Nakada: Collation of the text of the *Yuktidīpikā*, the part discussing the problem of word and inference (The Bulletin of Taurumi College, Studies in Humanities and Social Science, vol. 19, part 4, 1986, pp. 31-30.)

Now Sāṅkhya school was obliged to refute Buddhist's criticism and establish its epistemological foundation, indicating some differences between word and inference.

Several points of the differences only as indicated in the YD may be introduced here.

- 1) A reliable person (*āpta*) can be *pramāṇa* even he may not utter the sentence (*vacas*) of the means (*sādhana* — perhaps the formulated statement of inference), for example as in the case of *niyama* (which is accompanied by some restricting *vidhi* though not uttered). (On the contrary, *anumāna* is to be expressed through *sādhana* in order to be understood by other).
- 2) The concept which has not extension as moon can not be made the object of inference, but can be made the object of word. On this topic, discussion starts with the following opponent's view.

((Depending on such an inference as mentioned below, knowledge of those, which have not extensions, is possible)).

[REASON] As the word *candra* (moon) is depending on the parts (as the standard for the meanings). — The word *candra* takes place among (the set of) many parts, viz. *jāri* (genus), *dravya* (individual), *guṇa* (quality), *kriyā* (action).

(([PRATIJÑĀ] so the word has the meaning,))

([DRṢṬĀNTA] just as the words *ḍiṭṭha* and so on.

- 3) Word is depending on the speaker, but middle concept does not.
- 4) Concerning word, changes takes place according to districts and ages. Concerning middle concept, not so.
- A) It is seen that the original meaning of the *dhātu* is observed in the particular district only, and on the other hand the derivatives from the same *dhātu* show far deviation from the original meaning and used in some races.
- B) It is found that the same meaning is expressed in mutually different words according to the various differences of the districts.  
Author of the YD knows both of A and B as shown in Bhartṛhari's commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*.



- 5) The perceptible thing which has mark is known through the mark, but that which has no mark is known through word. The knowledge of the one universal soul (which has no mark) and religious duties through word as referred in Śāṅkara on BS.2-1-6 can be compared with this.
- 6) Man can use the words to apply them to the objects according to his wish, but can not use middle concept in such a way.
- 7) Ability of "Word", which can be defined as being only, can set forth all meanings, but middle concept can not cause to know all the meanings.

MINORU HARA

*The Holding of the Hair (keśa-grahaṇa)*

In the war-books of the Mahābhārata, the epic heroes are described fighting in single combat, trying to seize the hair of each other. Once the warrior succeeds in holding the hair of his adversary, it promises him a perfect triumph. Viewed from the side of the defeated, on the other hand, the same act of being held by hair is an unbearable humiliation, for it is nothing short of a final defeat. When a warrior holds the hair of helpless women, particularly married women in a miserable situation, it is condemned as the unfair and even ignoble measure.

But the same act of holding the hair changes its aspect completely, once we turn our eye to the romantic scene of love-making. It is no more a violent action, but a tender approach to the beloved. Thus, in the legal literature, it becomes an indicative of adultery or unchastity, when man and woman are observed as indulged in holding each other's hair. Sanskrit lyric is full of romantic description of seizing each other's hair.

Yet, it is curious to note that even in these heterogeneous contexts of fight and love, there are some elements common to both. Not only *keśa-grahaṇa*, but also the fighting nail to nail (*nakha*), teeth to teeth (*danta*), pressing by arms (*bāhupīḍana*) and striking (*āhata*) — all these actions in battle are transformed into such arts of love as *nakha-radana* (nail-print), *cumbana* (kissing), *ālīṅgana* (embrace) and *praharaṇa* (patting) in erotic literature. Sexual union (*surata*) is thus in a way the single combat (*rati-raṇa*) between male and female, where all the items in actual fighting can be applied as they are. Hence the phrase of Kāmasūtra: *kalaha-rūpaṃ suratam ācakṣate!*

WILLIAM H. SNYDER

*Sanskrit Consonants and Sandhi: A Description Based on Psycho-Acoustic Features*

The physical limitations for the production of speech sounds define and limit the possibilities for consonant clusters. Acoustic properties of the sounds reveal factors involved in sandhi which are best explained in the light of current research in psycho-acoustics. Traditional grammar has been based on the purely descriptive analysis of the articulatory features of language. Phonological rules have subsequently been derived from these descriptions. Variations in the production which are encountered in the actual speech context are characterized by rules which are to be applied in the specific context. Thus we recognize that Sanskrit and German have both voiced and unvoiced occlusives but the voiced occlusives

seem to lose the feature of voicing in the word-final position. Similarly, final consonants in French may be said to be lost when not followed by a vowel in the initial position of the following word. Changes which occur in the combination of voiced and unvoiced occlusive in Sanskrit are not, however, the result of the application of a set of extrinsic rules but are rather a consequence of the real physical limitations on the production of such sequences of sounds. This paper explores the possibility of explaining the sandhi rules in terms of their articulatory, acoustic, and psycho-acoustic features. This analysis presents a description of Sanskrit phonology very different from that of the traditional grammars and reveals much more valuable insight into the actual mechanisms of the phonological system.

VIT M. BUBENIK

*Passivized Causatives in Sanskrit and Prakrits*

It is often maintained that causative constructions occur only in the active voice. This paper will demonstrate that while passivized causatives appear rather rarely in modern languages (French, Turkish, Hindi) they were quite common in Sanskrit and Prakrits. In Sanskrit drama *Mudrārākṣasa* (with extensive passages in several Prakrit dialects) the active and passive causatives are on a par (ca. 100 occurrences of both constructions were recorded). The passivization on the Causee Agent appeared to be more common than that on the Goal (59 vs. 37 instances). The passivization on the Goal could have resulted in syntactic doubling with both the Causer and the Causee grammaticalized by the instrumental:

- (1) *viṣakanyayā rākṣasena ... ghātitaḥ tapasvī parvatakaḥ* (Mudr. 1.14.4-5)  
'unfortunate Parvataka ... has been killed by Rākṣasa by means of a poison-girl'

The assigning of the Subject function to the Causee Agent results in a passive construction with the Causer Agent realized as an agentive phrase:

- (2) *sa mayā ... sakhyam grāhitaḥ* (Mudr. 1.15.16-8)  
'That person was made by me to form friendship ...'

In jussive sentences, either the Goal or the Causer Agent may remain unexpressed. The second option is seen in:

- (3) *yo 'yam aparāḥ ... śūlam āropyatām* (Mudr. 1.20.35-7)  
'and that other man ... should also be impaled'.

The only verb whose passivized causative was found to occur in both types of constructions was *likh* 'write':

- (4) *śakaṭadāso 'pi tapasvī tam tādṛśam kapaṭalekham ... mayā lekhitam* (Mudr. 7.8.6-7)  
'Poor Śakaṭadāsa, also, was made by me to write that forged letter'
- (5) *āryacāṇakyena ... lekhitam ... lekhas* (Mudr. 5.1.3-4)  
'the letter ... which was caused to be written by his Honour Chāṇakya'.

In other instances this potential ambiguity of the passive causative participle was avoided by activating it (by the suffix *-vant*):

- (6) *eṣa rākṣasaprayuktayā viṣakanyayā parvateśvaraṃ vyāpāditavān* (Mudr. 2.18.10)  
'He (= the Jaina mendicant Jivasiddhi) killed Parvateśvara through the agency of the

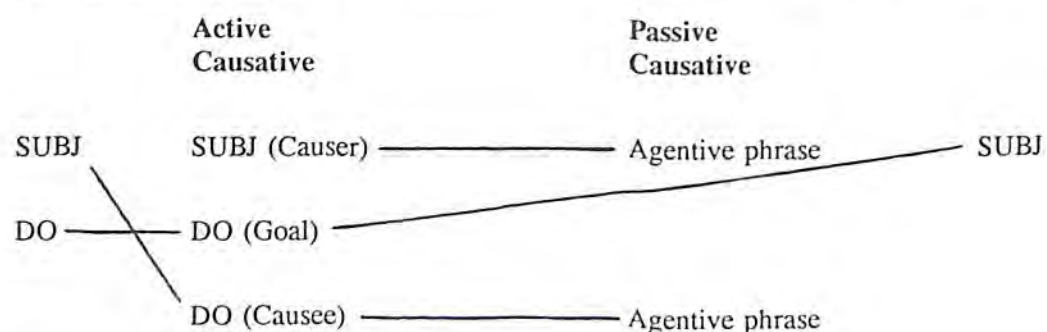


poison-girl employed by you (= minister Rākṣasa)'.  
 In non-modal contexts the passive finite forms were used rarely in the present tense; in the past tense, on the other hand, the passive non-finite forms (the participle in *-ta*) represented ca. 70% of all the instances. In modal contexts (commanding) the dichotomy of the active (imperative) vs. passive causative (imperative and gerundive) implements the distinction between neutral and more polite directives:

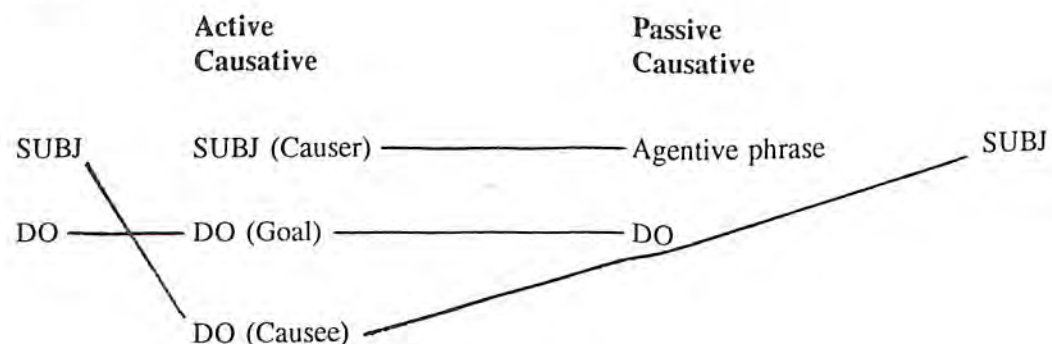
- (7) *praveśaya* (Mudr. 5.5.11)  
 'bring him in!'  
 (8) *sa tvayā praveśayitavyaḥ* (Mudr. 5.3.6)  
 'Let him come in, please'.

The active causative imperative grammaticalizes the Causer Agent but not the Causee which is obvious from the extralinguistic context; the causative gerundive, on the other hand, grammaticalizes the Causee and (optionally) the Causer Agent. However, neither of these two constructions grammaticalizes the Goal which coincides with the addresser of the command.

The valency changes in a monotransitive causative verb passivized on the Goal may be summarized as follows:



The valency changes in a monotransitive causative verb passivized on the Causee Agent may be summarized as follows:



COLETTE CAILLAT

*The constructions 'mama kṛtam' and 'mayā kṛtam' in Asoka's Edicts*

The starting point of this paper is the article by G. Cardona, *Language*, 46.1 (1970), p. 1-12, on "The Indo-Iranian construction *mana (mama) kṛtam*, in which a genitive form "used to denote an agent" occurs with a past participial form. In this paper the Asokan data is examined (only those (pro)nominal forms which are unambiguous are taken into account).

1. Normal construction type (19 x): the agent is in the instrumental form (Cardona's type "F"). 1.1 the pp. is from a simple stem (11 x): cf. Major R(ock) E(dict) V Gi(mar) (D), *mayā bahu ka(l)lāṇaṁ kataṁ*, "by me many virtuous deeds have been performed" (Hultsch, CII I), "I have done much good". 1.2. the participle is from a causative base (8 x): I Gi (A), *iyaṁ dhamma-lipī /./ rā(ñ)ñā lekhāpitā*, this rescript /./ has been caused to be written by king /./ (Hultsch). — Two variants with the agent in the genitive seem inconclusive; one in Sh(ahbazgarhi) I (A), *raño likhapitu* (but, in such statements, Sh is not immune from Iranian influence); the other at the end [compare 2.2] of IV (K) Dhauli only, *lājine /./ likhite* [simple stem! but Gi, etc., *rā(ñ)ñā /./ lekhāpitāṁ*].

2. The "agent" is in the genitive (Cardona's type "H"). 2.1. the participial form has an "atemporal" instead of a past reference (cf., especially, those from the roots meaning "wish, know, honour", compare Pāṇini 3.2.187-188; 2.3.67); the edicts have six occurrences of *-mata* (ifc.; even *-matatara*), five of which are in RE XIII. — The other is in I, Gi (E), *eka(c)cā samājā sādhu-matā /./ rā(ñ)ñā*, "some festival meetings /./ are considered right according to ~ by the king".

In some occurrences, the pp. seems equivalent to a substantive: XIII Sh (I), *pratibhagaṁ ca /./ savra-manuṣaṇaṁ guru-mataṁ ca devanaṁpriyasa*, "the tribute of all men and the grief of His Majesty", cf. also, XIII Ma(nsehra), etc., (S), *devanapriyasa dhrama-vuta*.

2.2. With verbs other than those meaning "to know ...", the construction with the "agent" in the genitive is not usual (3 x, two of which occur in RE XIII; + and two inconclusive variants supra 1).

In the construction type *mama kṛtam*, the emphasis is not on the agent but on the action and its result: thus, clearly, XIII Sh (Q), *so [scil. dhamma-vijaya] /./ ladho devanaṁpriyasa*, "His Majesty has gained, achieved, the victory of the Law". In the opening sentence of XIII, the gen. has a comparable shade of meaning (cf. U. Schneider, *Die großen Felsen-Edikte Aśokas*, p. 117, 140, "als der König /./ acht Jahre geweiht war, wurde Kalinga erobert"), Sh (A), *aṭhavaṣa-abhisitasa /./ raño Kaliga vijita*, "the king had Kalinga conquered, as a conquest"; again II (A) insists on the achievements of the king and details the various projects which have actually been "completed by the king", Gi, (etc.) *rā(ñ)ñā /./ katā* (gen.; except Dh-Jaugada, instr.).

Thus, in Aśoka's inscriptions, the two constructions *mayā kṛtam* and *mama kṛtam* apparently express different shades of meaning: an opposition seems more or less in force between the common expression of the preterite (with the "agent" in the instrumental) and the specialization of an otherwise existing pattern (with the genitive; cf. Oertel, *Zu den Kasusvariationen in der vedischen Prosa*, Sitz. B. Ak. Wiss., Philosophisch-historische Abt., 1939, 6, p. 3ff.) to express the perfect.



CLAUS VOGEL

*The Preliminary Work Done by H. Roth (1620-68) on a Sanskrit-Latin Dictionary*

In 1967, while working in the National Central Library at Rome, A. Camps rediscovered two long-missing manuscripts once owned by the German Jesuit Heinrich Roth (1620-68), who had lived as a missionary at Agra for ten years. One of them contained a hitherto unrecognized copy of Veṇīdatta's Pañcatattvaparakāṣa (a 17th-century synonymic lexicon) transcribed by a native hand but provided with numerous interlinear and marginal glosses from Roth's pen, which appear to have been preparatory to a Sanskrit-Latin dictionary intended as a supplement to his Sanskrit grammar (the oldest European one of its kind). Out of a total of 912 lexical units found in the Pañcatattvaparakāṣa, as many as 644 (or 70.6 p.c.) have been furnished with such glosses, which may be classified as under:

- (1) Glosses referring to two or more articles together, such as "necklace" (*mālā*) for the terms pearl necklace and flower garland (I 99cd).
- (2) Glosses referring to a single article as a whole and applying to all synonyms listed in it.
- (3) Glosses referring to a single word within an article and not applying to the other synonyms listed in it, such as "window" (*fenestra*) for *gavākṣa* "netlike texture" (I 9d) and *vātāyana* "silk cloth" (I 11a).
- (4) Glosses referring only to part of a word within an article and not applying to the synonyms listed in it, such as "maternal uncle" (*mamu*) for *mātula-* in *mātulabhū* "maternal uncle's son" (I 58c).

It goes without saying that the glosses of the first, third, and fourth types were primarily meant for Roth's own orientation, and that merely those of the second type were suitable for lexicographical purposes. Hence it is but fair that only they are subjected to a critical examination, which reveals the following kinds of error:

- (1) Amalgamation of articles, such as "back" (*tergum*) for the terms backbone and back (I 84ab).
- (2) Confusion of words, such as "brother's daughter" (*filia fratris*) for *bhrātrjāyā* "brother's wife" rather than *brātrjā* (I 51c).
- (3) Misinterpretations, such as "grass-eating animal" (*herbatica*) rather than "agriculturist" for *kṣetrājīva* "living on field (crop)" (I 212b).
- (4) Incongruities, such as "flea" (*pulga*) rather than "nit" (I 134ab).
- (5) Oversights, such as "tiger" (*tigris*) rather than "lion" (*leo*) and *vice versa* (I 122).
- (6) Inexactitudes, such as "adulteress" (*adultera*) rather than "lustful woman" (I 42cd).

In order to obviate any misunderstanding, it must be emphasized that the bulk of the glosses gives rise to little or no criticism. Their provisional nature, on the other hand, follows from the fact that there is no unity of language in them: 46.0 p.c. are in Hindustani, 43.3 p.c. in Latin, 8.7 p.c. in Portuguese, 0.9 p.c. in German, and 1.1 p.c. in a medley of Hindustani or Portuguese and Latin, the choice of idiom being not governed by logic. Hindustani words have been written in Roman characters according to Portuguese pronunciation.

A more detailed German version of this paper has been published in: *Vicitrakusumāñjali*. Volume presented to Richard Othon Meisezahl on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Edited by Helmut Eimer. Bonn 1986. (Indica et Tibetica. 11) Pages 131-146.

MICHAEL C. SHAPIRO

*'Sporadic' Sound Change and Hindi Historical Phonology*

In the evolution of modern Hindi from its Old and Middle Indo-Aryan progenitors there are numerous examples of so-called "sporadic" phonological change. As compared to some other branches of Indo-European, the history of the Indo-Aryan languages, and of Hindi in particular, has involved a relatively large number of anomalous or "unproductive" phonological changes. "Sporadic" change may be of many different types. It can consist of a phonological development that is limited to a very small set of forms, one that is phonologically "unnatural" in some way, or one that is an irregular exception to some more regular or "productive" phonological development.

In this paper I will attempt to provide an inventory of the types of "sporadic" change that have occurred in Hindi. I will distinguish those changes for which a phonological explanation can be provided from those where no such explanation is possible. The historical reasons for the prevalence of "sporadic" change in the history of Hindi will be discussed. It will be shown that some, but by no means all, instances of "sporadic" change are related to alternations introduced into Hindi as a result of language contact and as a result of the simultaneous existence in Hindi of vocabulary items representing different historical stages in the development of the Indo-Aryan languages. The paper will conclude with some general remarks on the undesirability of carrying out the study of Hindi historical phonology only in terms of unidirectional and exceptionless sound laws.

ETIENNE TIFFOU

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NASIR UDDIN HUNZAI

*Towards an Edition of Hunza Buruṣaski Proverbs*

The authors intend to give an edition of proverbs, formulas, and riddles of Hunza. Mrs. E. Lorimer provided H. Berger with manuscript notes of her husband containing around 170 proverbs. During his field work, H. Berger gathered around 150 proverbs. Finally, when he was in Montréal as associate researcher, Nasir Uddin worked with Y. Ch. Morin and E. Tiffou on these corpora and provided them with 300 others, some formulas and 30 riddles. With his help, it has been possible to decipher Lorimer's notes. Excluding a substantial number of doublets, the corpus consists of around 600 entries.

The followed classification is formal: assertive proverbs, interrogative proverbs, precepts, comparisons, formulas and riddles. It is intended to indicate other types of classification (s. M. Kuusi: *Towards an international type-system of Proverbs*. FF Communications, CCXI, Helsinki, 1972 and W. Nieder: *International Proverb Bibliography*, New York, 1984) which may be indicated in appropriate indexes.



Almost all the proverbs which have been gathered have to be explained, for their meaning is rarely transparent or refers to particular feature of civilisation. The following implicit comparison gives a good example:

|            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| <i>imi</i> | <i>gučhábá</i> |
| his mother | she is in bed  |

literally 'his mother is in labour', but which really means 'he is gorging himself'. As a matter of fact, when a woman gives birth, the neighbours bring food, which the children of the house snatch away immediately. That is why, when in a gathering a man eats a lot, one says 'his mother is in labour'.

But the edition of such proverbs does not involve only problems of understanding and interpretation. It is also important to know to what extent the symbolic meaning remains the same in Burušo culture and in ours. For example, the donkey, which we perceive as a poor or stubborn animal, is systematically seen as bad and perverse. This is also the case in proverbs of other civilisations (e.g. Bearnese proverbs).

However, the main reason which, from the very start, led Y. Ch. Morin and E. Tiffou to undertake such an endeavour, was the linguistic value of such texts. In fact, these present a great value both from the point of view of vocabulary, morphology and syntax. For instance an expression such as

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Sapúme</i> | <i>isk</i>  |
| ?.GEN         | young/child |

is understood as an expression used to greet holy and great persons, in which, however, the meaning of *sapúme* is no longer known. The Burušaski suffix *-as* is considered as a morpheme of 'nomina agentis'. This must be partially rejected on the basis of constructions such as

|                   |               |                 |              |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>Šumá</i> (sis) | <i>tikar</i>  | <i>málas</i>    | <i>apáy,</i> |
| good person       | earth.DAT     | fall. NOM5      | NEG.it is    |
| <i>yénis</i>      | <i>sámulo</i> | <i>balúuyas</i> | <i>api,</i>  |
| gold              | sand.in       | lose. NOM5 NEG. | it is        |

'Good men can no more fall on earth than gold can be lost in the sand'. It is clear in this text that *balúuyas* cannot mean 'the loser', but 'what is lost'. Other proverbs give valuable information on the relative constructions:

|            |             |               |              |
|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Sel</i> | <i>yam</i>  | <i>tháane</i> | <i>tanós</i> |
| needle     | prick. NOM5 | place. GEN    | mortar       |

'Where the needle pricks, there will be a mortar'. The relative verb must be a nominal 4 or 5, while the semantic relation between the postcedent and its trace in the relative has to be induced from the context (cf. Basque *gizon den etxea ederra da* 'the house where is the man is beautiful').

But overall one can expect the publication of such material to contribute to the survival of a civilisation and of a culture which deserve to be better known.

K. L. CHATTOPADHYAY

*Radical Trend in the Brahmo Reform Movement in Bengal*

Brahmo Reform Movement in 19th Century Bengal was the mother movement to which almost all modernising efforts at popular level owed their origin. Its contributions towards popular awakening outshine its ultimate eclipse.

The movement progressed through four distinct, though overlapping phases. The central figures of the first three phases were, one after the other, Rammohan Roy, Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen. During the fourth phase — the phase of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, the incipient radical trend in the movement reached its high noon.

Female upliftment was the central aim of early reformers. Agitation for abolition of Sati, polygamy and child marriage; agitation against debauchery and drunkenness, among menfolk; campaign for female education, widow remarriage and property right for women marked the widening range of female upliftment movement.

At the beginning, it was felt that modern education, the key to national regeneration, was possible only through the English medium. Later on, there was an increasing advocacy for the vernacular medium.

Early leaders like Rammohan and Dwarkanath were zealous patrons of indigo cultivation. But as the oppressive nature of the system became evident, Debendranath and Akshaykumar opposed it and espoused the cause of indigo cultivators. This change of front reflected a change in the social composition of the Brahmo movement; aristocratic elements were being outnumbered by recruits from the urban middle class.

A new dimension was added to the movement during the third phase by Keshabchandra Sen. He tried to give the movement an All India character and enlist the support of toiling masses. Two items of his reform programmes were indeed original, publication of low priced newspapers and training of the distressed in industrial arts.

Keshab began with a great promise which somehow was not fulfilled. His growing reliance on official patronage, his gradual withdrawal from radical reform activities, the Coochbehar marriage scandal, his ostentatious style of living, affliction of a fell disease and lapse into mysticism reduced him to a lonely and pathetic figure.

The break of radical Brahmos with Keshab was therefore inevitable.

From 1876, Brahmo Reform Movement flowed in three distinct lines. One line spearheaded by Keshab was the line of anachronistic mysticism and soon ended in a blind alley. The second line, the line of political agitation represented by Sivnath, Anandamohan, Surendranath and Nabagopal found its fulfilment in the establishment of the Indian National Congress. The third line of socio-economic reforms, sponsored by Sasipada, Dwarkanath, Krishnakumar and others represented the most vital line along which the movement continued for some more time. The last two lines converged at many points.

Dwarkanath Ganguly succeeded in bringing the wretched condition of tea plantation labourers of Assam to the public notice. Pioneering activities of Sasipada Banerjee in the industrial suburbs of north Calcutta proved to be the seed-bed of Indian trade union movement; with Krishnakumar Mitra began the period of peasant rallies on peasant demands.



Finally, under the twin impact of growing political agitation and resurgent Hinduism, the Brahmo Reform Movement gradually lost its distinct identity and merged, almost imperceptibly, into broad national stream.

S. A. A. RIZVI

*The Role of the Sūfis and Khānqāhs in the Urbanization of Medieval India*

The Muslim conquerors of India, as was the case in other parts of the Islamic world, founded new towns and made modifications in old ones in order to meet their military, strategic, administrative, political and commercial needs but the life-span of some of these was very short. Towns founded by the Arab conquerors such as Mansūra, can be unearthed only by archaeologists but the towns which developed around sūfī *khānqāhs* came to be more stable and prosperous. Uch, where Shaykh Saif u'd-Dīn Gāzīrūnī settled in the eleventh century, developed into the capital of Sind. The repeated Mongol invasions could not undermine the importance of Multan because of the influence of Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyya (d. 661/1252) and his successors. The tomb of Bābā Farīd (d. 664/1265) made Ajodhan (Pāk Pattan) a prosperous town. A large number of pilgrims were always attracted to Sehwan because of the tomb of La'ī Shahbāz Qalandar. Although Delhi Sultans and the Mughal emperors constantly changed the sites of their capital in Delhi, the tombs of Khwāja Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235), of Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325) and Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i Dīhli (d. 757/1356) made the expansion of Delhi very unique. From Peshawar to Sylhet in Assam and from Kashmir to the Deccan, the sūfī *khānqāhs* and tombs gave rise both to the establishment of new towns and to the growth of the old ones. The pilgrims who moved from one *khānqāh* to the other closely interlinked the towns with each other. Besides the families of the keepers of the *khānqāhs* and tombs, artisans, craftsmen and merchants also settled there. The merchants engaged in overseas trade and commerce also stayed in *khānqāhs* both for reasons of piety and protection. They deposited their surplus goods and money with the keepers of the *khānqāh*. The influence of *khānqāhs* was responsible for the remission of innumerable urban taxes. The urban taxes remitted by Sultān Fīrūz Tughlaq (752/1351-790/1388) can be analysed more adequately in the light of the sūfī influence on him.

The religious and cultural activities of *khānqāhs* made a very deep impact on the social and intellectual life of the towns. Eminent scholars who settled there for peaceful and pious life delivered advanced lectures to keen scholars and encouraged them to produce scholarly works on different branches of knowledge. Consequently towns which were predominantly strategic or administrative centres also encouraged sūfīs to settle there and to promote the spiritual and cultural life of their inhabitants.

MAKHAN JHA

*History and Social Organisation of Hindu Tirthas in South Asia  
An Anthropological Appraisal*

The great classical traditions, what we call today the *Shāstriya* or textual traditions of ancient India, made a tremendous impact on the culture and civilization of South Asian countries, in particular, and the South-East Asian countries, in general, which are still reflected more prominently in their arts and architecture, iconography and temples, sculptures, musical instruments, folklore, myths and legends etc. Although, in course of time sufficient changes have taken place in mode of worship due to new political set up and emerging ideological obstacles, but even then many facets of culture and civilization of these South Asian countries remain living museum of ancient and mediaeval India.

The origin and history of the *Tirthas* (places of Pilgrimage) may be traced back to the early Vedic period (around 1500 B.C.), when the *Nadistuti* (river-hymn) came in vogue and perhaps from the Aryan reverence of the sacred rivers grew the concept of *Tirthas*. Another classical reference to the practice of *Tirtha-yatra* (pilgrimage) is found in the Manu-Smriti, the first law giver of Vedic India. After Vedic period, the practice of pilgrimage seems to have gained considerably increased popularity as referred to in the various epics like the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the *Purans* etc. During the mediaeval period of Indian history, the different *Nibandha*-writers of the Hindu *Tirthas* made the rules of *Tirtha-yatra* more complicated; the history of patronisation of the Hindu *Tirthas* have revealed its politicalisation and the study of social organisation of such Hindu *Tirthas* becomes subject of deep anthropological interest.

In the study of the Hindu places of pilgrimage the analysis of the social organisation of the sacred centres has a great importance. On the basis of our researches on the Hindu *Tirthas* viz. Gaya (Vidyarthi: 1963), Janakpur in Nepal (Jha: 1971), Puri (Jha: 1978, 1985), Kashi (Jha et al.: 1978), the sacred centres of Kathmandu (Jha: 1980, 1986), Badrinath in the Garhwal Himalaya (Jha: 1980, 82) etc., we find that the social organisation of the Hindu *Tirtha-kshetra* *Tirthas* are based on three basic components viz. the organisation of the *Tirtha-Purohitis* (sacred zones of the places of pilgrimage), the organisation of the *Tirtha-Pujas* (sacred specialists) and the *Tirtha-yatrees* (pilgrims) and thirdly, the perpetuation of the *Tirtha-puja* (performances and religious rites at the places of pilgrimage) or the *Tirtha-phal*. I call these trichotomic elements, in brief, as three *T's*. In some of these studies, as referred to above, attempts have been made to discuss as to how these important dimensions of Hindu pilgrimage go to constitute the basic social structure of a Hindu *Tirtha*, which have both the *Shāstric* (textual) sanction and contextual continuity. These three trichotomic phenomena are inter-related and thus, may be conceived together to understand the socio-religious complexities of a Hindu *Tirtha* in South Asia.

There are various types of *Tirthas* and hence there are various gods and goddesses, as conceived by the Hindus, to fulfil various human desires.

The *Tirtha-yatra* (pilgrimage) is an indigenous institution, deeply rooted in history, which has undoubtedly been a levelling influence on the diverse social life of the Hindus. Sex, colour, civil conditions, economic inequality, traditions of servitude, which have made some people the so-called untouchables, become unreal distinction in course of a pilgrimage. The unity of the faiths, sects and traditions in the Hindu society and religion can be seen at its best. The



*Tirthas* are the centres of civilization. The societies have patronised and preserved them since time immemorial.

HARRY FALK

*Viṣṇu Trivikrama*

In Yajurvedic literature gods often are associated with various implements used in the sacrifice. To Viṣṇu belong the post, *yūpa*, the beams of the *havirdhāna*-construction, Soma's throne, the vertical churning stick, and other items like e.g. an arrow-shaft. All these utensils seem to have one thing in common: they are made of wood, and as logs, sticks and beams they all display the same outer shape. In a similar way, gods are connected with numbers. To Viṣṇu belong the numbers one and three, in a way, that three is contained in one (as e.g. in his trikapāla roasting tablet). Taking up the arguments of R. Shamasastri of 1938, it was shown, that Viṣṇu as the creating force may owe his existence to the gnomon, i.e. the vertical stick in the ground, with which the *prācī* line of the sacrificial ground is measured out. The "behaviour" of a gnomon agrees to a surprising degree with what is known about Viṣṇu Trivikrama of the Vedic literature. The stick "strides out" with its shadow in three significant directions. In the morning it points to the west in a long line, at noon it is shortest pointing north, and in the evening it is drawn out again towards the east. These three lines were used at least from Mauryan times onwards to determine the hours of the day. On one of these three lines the course of the year was observed, when the shadow touches one of seven points on a row on the line every new month of the year. These seven points symbolize the course of a complete year, and therefore stand for "complete time". They are used in the *saptapādī* rite at the marriage ceremony, where the couple does the "seven steps of Viṣṇu". The same year may be divided into four periods of 90 days (between equinox and solstice and vice versa). In RV 1.155,6 it is stated that Viṣṇu brought time into being "with four times 90 names ... like a turned wheel". This would fit perfectly to the working of a gnomon. These periods of 90 days can be observed with only three points on the year line, and the shadows reaching these three points may be meant as the "three strides" in the earliest literature. The furthest step, *paramaṃ padam*, would then coincide with the winter solstice.

Certainly, the gnomon was not considered to be a god, but like the *vedī*, from which it can not be separated, it served as a means to prove and demonstrate the working of heavenly rules.

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O. P. BHARADWAJ

*The Ṛgvedic Dṛṣadvatī*

The two river names Dṛṣadvatī and Aśmanvatī mentioned in Ṛgveda III.23.4 and X.53.8 respectively refer to one and the same river. Both mean "stony", signifying a river bringing down lots of stones.

Scholars have variously identified the Dṛṣadvatī with Ghaggar, Chautang, Rakshi and even

Gaṅgā and Yamunā rivers but only its equation with the old bed now occupied by the Hansi-Hissar Branch of Western Jumna Canal, first proposed by M. L. Bhargava, satisfies the geographical, historical and linguistic considerations.

From the account of Sārasvata and Dārṣadvata sacrificial sessions in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta Sūtras it is clear that in its upper reaches the course of the Dṛṣadvatī lay quite close to the Yamunā while at its lower end it joined the Sarasvatī a little above Vinasana or the place of its disappearance in the desert near Kalibangan. This agrees with the course now followed by the Hansi-Hissar branch of the W.J.C.

The account of this canal as given in the Gazetteers cannot be accepted in respect of these three statements: (i) the W.J.C. flows in an old bed between Tajewala and Dadupur and in a newly constructed channel between Dadupur and Buria (ii) Feroz Shah Tughlak utilised the torrent bed of the Chautang for its canal, and (iii) the Yamunā flowed below Buria till as late as 1760 A.D. These statements run counter to the testimony of Muslim historians as well as the information available from the reports of British engineers who were connected with the maintenance of this canal since the early part of nineteenth century A.D.

Evidence of literary sources and local geography indicates that although a perennial river in Vedic times the Dṛṣadvatī along with the Sarasvatī suffered diversion of its waters in the Great Deluge which caused extensive Seismic-Tectonic upheavals in the valleys of the Indus and the Sarasvatī and the Shiwalik hills. The flow of Dṛṣadvatī-Aśmanvatī was broken by a ridge which was born above Ādbadri in these upheavals. The two hill torrents Ashmi and Assan now flowing eastward into the river Giri which joins the Yamunā represent the upper part of its course. The Somb river rising above Ādbadri and joining the Patharala torrent before meeting the W.J.C. at Dadupur represents its remaining portion. Although, when not needed, the waters of the Somb are now passed on to the Yamunā through the Dadupur syphon-crossing it originally flowed in the bed now occupied by the W.J.C. The names Ashmi, Assan and Somb have evolved from Aśmanvatī, a synonym of Dṛṣadvatī and Patharala.

Between the Tajewala and Dadupur headworks the W.J.C. flows in the channel initially got constructed by Feroz Shah Tughlak in 1356 A.D. from the Yamunā and thereafter meets the Somb and follows the old bed of the Dṛṣadvatī-Aśmanvatī. In its upper reaches this bed is quite close to the Yamunā while at the lower end it is generally marked in old maps beyond Hissar by a dotted line joining the Ghaggar-Sarasvatī above Kalibangan. Along this bed of the Dṛṣadvatī lie the old towns of Safidon, Jind and Hissar, Vedic towns of Srughna, Āsandivat and Kārotī and the pre-historic sites of Rakhigari, Mitathal, Siswal, Sherapura, Sothi and Nohar.

RAI G. N. PRASAD

*Scientific Resurrection of Ancient Hindu Calendar*

Since all the phases of ancient Hindu calendar was intimately related with the destruction, caused by the floods of various order, therefore, its scientific resurrection can be concreted more successfully on the basis of the Astronomical Theory of Ice-ages. 12,000 years Chaturyuga system can be related, scientifically, with the Adhémar's half-cycle glaciation period of the 25,920 years precessional cycle of equinoxes, including two intermediate sandhi-



periods of 960 years each. One Chaturyuga is equal to one Manvantara. By equating 9090th year of Dhruva-samvatsara or polar-era and 3030th, the last year of the third-cycle of Saptarishi era, quoted in Matsya 56/13-14 and Vāyu 39/17-18, with 582 A.D. of Christian calendar, we can start the Kṛta-yuga of the present, Vaivasvata the 7th, with 8508 B.C. If we equate the Dharma-pāda structure for the present Chaturyuga, given in Sūrya-Siddhānta I/15-17, with the either direction of the average global temperature fluctuation within 6°C recently plotted by Profs. G. H. Denton and W. Karlen, we can decode our ancient Hindu Chaturyuga calendar, at least for the present Vaivasvata manvantara in climatological terms with full scientific accuracy. Beginning of Kṛta yuga of 1200 years with 8508 B.C. may be verified with the flood-stories of 30 countries and 8 traditional calendars of the various ancient World cultures in which Vaivasvata-Manu was escaped in a boat. Manuḥ, the nominative case of Manu may be equated with the Arabic *Nuh*, the contracted form of sanskrit *Manuḥ* and also with the *Noah* of Bible. Beginning of Tretā-yuga of 2400 years with 7308 B.C. may be equated with the beginning of Agriculture i.e. Neolithic-age of Archaeology; beginning of Dwāpara of 3600 years with 4908 B.C. with the beginning of Chalcolithic (Copper-Bronze age); and the beginning of Kali-yuga of 4800 years with 1308 B.C. with the Iron-age beginning and also with the chronology of north Indian kings from the birth of Parikshit upto the coronation of Ashoka-Maurya.

14 Manvantaras make a Mahāyuga of 182,640 Sāvāna-years which is the actual duration of the one high eccentricity epoch of the Earth's orbit around the Sun to the next. Out of the 14 Manvantaras, 6 had been already elapsed. They may be equated with the 6 sub-stages of the 4th (Wurm) glacial-age of Pleistocene, and the 7th with the Holocene. First Manvantara began with 86,268 B.C.

1000 Mahāyugas make a Kalpa and two Kalpas, including the dawn and twilight, constitute an Ahorātra of Brahma of 365.28 million years. It can be related with the Sun's orbit in the Galaxy and the Continental drift and long-regime Ice-age cycles on earth. Present Vārāha Kalpa began 58.53 million years ago. 9 of the recent Kalpas, out of the 35 total spent Kalpa-cycles, were also intimately related with the 9 geobiological Sargas of the organic-evolution. Life began on earth 3.34 billion years ago, whereas, present expansion of the Universe from the Cosmic-egg began 12.843 billion years ago. 200 Ahorātras of Brahma with a surplus of 4.704 b. years constitute a Brahma-year of 77.76 billion years which can be related with the Big-Bang (Pulsating model) cosmology of Allan R. Sandage. 8000 Brahma-years constitute a Brahma-yuga of 622.08 trillion years which is in exact coincidence with the double of the total life span (311.04 trillion years) of Brahma (i.e. Ahorātra of Viṣṇu) of traditional Pañchāngas.

S. M. RAZAULLAH ANSARI

#### *Transmission of Islamic Science into Medieval India and its Further Development*

Whereas in the early period of the development of Islamic Science during 8-9th centuries, Indian exact sciences and medicine transmitted to Middle East through the translations of Indian works, for instance astronomical treatises of Āryabhaṭa (b. 476) and Brahmagupta (ca 598) — the so-called *Arjabhar* and *Sindhind* — on one hand and Ayurvedic works of physicians like Chānakya, Suśruta and Charaka on the other, recent researches have shown quite conclusively that the transmission of knowledge reversed its direction in the medieval

period to India. To start with we mention a couple of references on Islamic astronomical-mathematical knowledge in poetical works of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān (11th c.) and Amīr Khusrō (13/14th c.). Then we present evidence for the flourishing of the actual scientific activity in the pre-Mughal *Salṭanat* period (1206-1546). In particular we substantiate that the first Indian *Zīj-i Nāṣirī* was compiled even before Al-Ṭūsī's *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* and the first Indian observatory was supposed to be built in 1408, even before Ulugh Beg's observatory in Samarqand in ca 1420.

Second, we delineate quite a bit the promotion of Islamic exact sciences and medicine in the Mughal period, from Bābur (1526-1530) down to Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748). In this connection we point out following few characteristic features, namely:

1) Efforts to collect all the classical scientific texts, works of Thābit Ibn Qurra, Qustā bin Lūqā, al-Šūfī, Abū Naṣr bin 'Irāq, Ibn al-Haytham, al-Bīrūnī, Ibn Sīnā, al-Ṭūsī, Quṭbuddīn Shīrāzī, Ulugh Beg, al-Barjandī, al-'Āmulī, to name a few. We present a list of important works extant today in Indian libraries.

2) Attempts to establish astronomical observatories in the reign of emperors Humāyūn (1530-36), Shāhjahān (1627-58), culminating in the actual foundation and construction of a number of observatories in various Indian towns in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48) and the resulting compilation of about a dozen astronomical tables (the *zīj*s) in the best tradition of Arabia and Central Asia. We substantiate that the most famous *zīj* was *Zīj-i Muḥammad Shāhī*, which was even introduced back into Central Asia from where *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* was brought to India during the early Mughal period.

3) A Lahore family of mathematicians, i.e. of Ustād Aḥmad Ma'mār (the architect of Taj Mahal), of his sons Luṭfullāh (mid 17th c.) and 'Atāullāh (mid 17th c.), of grandsons Imāmuddīn (1656-1732) and Khayrullāh (mid 18th c.) whose scientific works were then quite known, promoted arithmetic, geometry and theoretical astronomy quite substantially in India.

Finally we give a brief account of the dissemination and promotion of Islamic medicine in India and its interaction with the indigenous system of Indian medicine — the *Ayurveda*. In this connection we mention especially the penetration of Ibn Sīnā's medical works into India.

In conclusion we present a thesis, that all that scientific activity led to a budding *scientific renaissance* in India during the 18th century, when Maharaja Jai Singh (1688-1743) got translated the Arabic and Persian works into Sanskrit. However political chaos, which prevailed in India in the wake of European colonisation, stifled that scientific renaissance in the bud. Consequently, the introduction of modern science into India during the British period of Indian History could not lead to an organic growth of science as an integral part of Indian culture; science remained a system of *alien* knowledge. However, since independence Indian scientists are trying their utmost to take modern science to grass-roots of Indian society.



SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA

*Transmission of Arab Astronomical Instruments to India*  
*The Yantraprakāra of Savai Jai Singh II*

There are two notable instances when the Islamic or Arab astronomical instruments aroused the interest of Indian astronomers. The first was Mahendra Sūri's Sanskrit tract on the astrolabe written in 1370. Some three and half centuries later, Savai Jai Singh II wrote another work on the construction and use of the astrolabe. But he is more famous for his observatories (at Delhi, Jaipur, Banaras and Ujjain) consisting of huge observational instruments in stone and plaster.

In the *Zij-i-Muhammad-Shāhī*, Jai Singh states that he had constructed at Delhi several instruments according to Samarqand models, but not being satisfied with their accuracy, he invented the *Rāma-yantra*, *Jayaprakāśa-yantra* and *Yantra-samrāt*. So far we had no details about the instruments used by Jai Singh at first, save their names. His chief astronomer, Jagannātha, pays but passing attention to these in the *Yantrādhyāya* section of his *Samrāt-siddhānta*. Moreover, even among the existing masonry instruments, the *Kapālayantra* and the *Rāśivalayas* are thought to be later additions, since they were not mentioned in any contemporary source.

Fortunately, a Sanskrit Ms., entitled *Yantraprakāra* (= YP), of the City Palace Library, Jaipur, throws valuable light on the instruments used initially by Jai Singh and helps in establishing a relative chronology for the existing masonry instruments. This text describes the method of constructing some sixteen types of instruments of wood, metal or masonry, and four of these instruments bear Arabic names.

There is internal evidence to show that the YP was written during the early stages of Jai Singh's astronomical researches, before he invented the *Rāma-yantra* and the *Yantra-samrāt* and designed an improved version of the *Jayaprakāśa* consisting of two complementary bowls with sunken walkways — in other words, before the observatories took their final shape.

After this introduction, the present paper proceeds to discuss in detail the instruments described in the YP, compares them with Ulūgh Beg's instruments at his Samarqand observatory (as reported by al-Kāshī) and then shows how some of the ring-instruments described in the YP inspired the masonry instruments. The paper dwells on the successive stages in the evolution of Jai Singh's instruments — starting from the Samarqand models and culminating in the majestic versions in stone and plaster —, and shows that some of the intermediary stages in design are represented by several instruments at Jaipur and Banaras.

It is also established, in this paper, that the *Kapālayantra* and the *Rāśivalayas* are Jai Singh's own creations and not later additions, since the YP describes both these instruments. However, *Rāśivalayas* described in the YP are ring-instruments, out of which the design for the masonry versions at Jaipur had evolved.

To sum up, while Jagannātha's *Yantrādhyāya* deals mainly with the masonry instruments finally erected in the observatories, the YP describes the largest number of early prototypes and thus is an invaluable source for the interesting cultural synthesis attempted by Jai Singh.

B. V. SUBBARAYAPPA

*Scientific Texts in Sanskrit: Their Nature and Structure*

The number of extant scientific texts in Sanskrit is indeed legion. In their earlier phases, from about 1500 B.C. to 5th cent. B.C., the scientific ideas and technical practices found adequate expression as an integral part of the religio-philosophical texts. Later, secular texts on astronomy, mathematics, physical concepts and specially on medicine and alchemy began to assume definite shape.

However, the Classical Age of India witnessed the emergence of their precise scientific texts as well as authentic redactions incorporating the earlier and the then emerging scientific ideas and practices. This endeavour continued with sustained intellectual vigour till the 12th cent. A.D. Thereafter, came out, by and large, a large number of commentaries which also had frills of some originality.

The Indian savants of science had an open mind — a characteristic of scientific attitude — with the result there was purposeful assimilation of scientific ideas and practices from other culture-areas, notably in astronomy, medicine, alchemy, metal-working and other crafts. There was also an important transition from the earlier palm-leaf to paper as a base for writing, specially from the 14th cent. A.D. onwards.

The scientific texts, of necessity, had to develop a meaningful linguistic structure and terminology, the nature of which contributed a great deal towards the sustenance of oral tradition of transmission. The technique of manuscript-writing was noted both for its artistic and precise expression. The present paper attempts to throw light on these and allied aspects, delineating, in a broad chronological frame, the nature and structure of extant scientific works in Sanskrit, as also on the endogenous developments and exogenous influences.

BRIAN CARL JOSEPH SHAW

*Bhutan: Development of a Traditional Polity*

Virtually, everything modern (including roads) that one can see in modern Bhutan today has been brought in, built, or established since 1961. Now, the more complicated political and social aspects of modernisation are being confronted.

The kingdom's leaders are anxious to perfect Bhutan's sovereignty, although the country was never under foreign rule. Border talks were proposed to Peking in May 1981 and commenced in April 1984. The movement in Sino-Bhutanese relations causes alarm in some conservative Indian observers, but is part of a legitimate Bhutanese determination not to be permanently restricted solely to an Indian sphere of influence at eventual Sino-Indian rapprochement. The Indian government has scrupulously observed its 1949 treaty obligations not to interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan, but it would be imprudent for any Bhutanese leader to presume an indefinite extension of the present level of trust and confidence under Mr. Gandhi's successors.

The major emphasis in Bhutan from 1983 to 1985 has been economic planning. For the foreseeable future, Bhutan cannot expect to become economically independent, or even self-reliant. The goal is therefore "self-sustenance", and this has almost been achieved. Domestic



political issues include regional balance in development, national integration, increasing popular participation in decision-making, the need to strengthen political institutions and the continuing struggle to eliminate nepotism and corruption in the ranks of the civil service.

Policy in the immediate future must seek to equalise the per caput income across the regions if a major potentially destabilising factor is to be avoided.

National integration is not a simple task, because of poor communications isolating eastern from western settlements until quite recently. Illiteracy and different languages compounded the lack of unity. Numerous persons of Nepali origin settled in Bhutan's foothills in the first decades of this century, and illegal immigrants continued to flood in after such settlement was forbidden in 1958. From 1959 onwards, some 6,500 Tibetan refugees were given succour in Bhutan; many of these declined to accept proffered citizenship and threatened to create a state within a state. The policies that are being applied are experimental rather than dogmatic.

Politics in Bhutan at present, from the village upwards, takes a conservative form as a guided search for consensus. A major goal of current decentralisation policies is to nudge village-level leaders into being more assertive, hence more nationalistic. Party politics and trade union activity are effectively banned. The National Assembly allows expression and assessment of political demands; but its potential powers may come to be abused by men of ambition.

A clear-cut concept of citizenship, a rising level of literacy, substantially better economic benefits for citizens compared with non-citizens, a strengthened sense of confidence in the system of justice, and a demonstrable system of rewards based on merits — especially within the civil service — will probably be among the major factors enhancing national unity in the coming years.

R. P. GUPTA

*A Socio-Linguistic Study of Sanskrit Place Names of South-East Asia*

An attempt has been made to study Sanskrit place-names (PNS) in this paper to reach some definite conclusions from a socio-linguistic point of view. Sanskrit PNS thus obtained can be divided into three categories:

1. These words have been derived on the basis of Geography and religion, from the Sanskrit works going back to the fifth century B.C.
2. Just about the beginning of the Christian era place names were given on the basis of abundance and shapes of things.
3. Rulers gave names to their settlement in these islands after religious as well as their own names.

PNS indicate three different routes followed by the Indians in their Journeys and Voyages to these countries.

1. From North India to Burma, Laos, Cambodia etc.
2. From Orissa to Thailand
3. From Southern India to Malaysia and Indonesia.

Among these PNS those indicating rivers, mountains, water falls, seas, islands, villages, towns, cities, regions and habitations etc. are found in large number which shows that the Indians were the first to reach there.

Suffixes also indicate the number of regions into which S.E.A. can be divided i.e. three; similarly phonetics also shows the existence of three distinct regions.

Bearing in mind these facts we have an isogloss of routes which indicates the lines of travels followed by the Indians.

The use of some words is frequently found in these countries the origin of which is undetermined.

If we link this study of ours with that of local languages and the PNS in them, our study will become all the more important.

KARMA ORAON

*History of Tribal Situation in South Asia  
A Case Study of Chotanagpur Plateau in India*

The sub-continent of South Asia lies south of Himalayas and Afghanistan. It comprises of the countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Nepal and Bhutan. While these countries together may be thought of as constituting a single region, they contain a multitude of ethnic groups. The people of the Himalayas have Mongoloid features. The upper-caste groups of the Indo-Gangetic plains are basically Mediterranean in appearance. The tribal populations of middle and south India have dark skins, flat noses and wavy or curly hair. The Kadar of Cochin, the Andamanese and Onge of the Andaman Islands and the Vedda of Sri Lanka have the Negrito characteristics of dark skin, small stature and frizzly hair.

Chotanagpur plateau, an important area in the Central Tribal Zone of India, is presently consisted of two administrative Commissionaries, viz., the North Chotanagpur Commission-ary and the South Chotanagpur Commission-ary under which there are many districts inhabited by nearly 30 tribes belonging to the different linguistic and socio-economic conditions. According to the 1971 census, the total Scheduled Tribes population in the State of Bihar was 49.33 lakhs (nearly 5 millions) which is about 1.3 per cent of the total population of India. Again, 93 per cent tribes of the State of Bihar live in Chotanagpur plateau.

*Tribes of Chotanagpur*

In the Chotanagpur plateau nearly 30 tribes live in the different districts of the region and I give below, their names, populations and locations

| Sl.No. | Tribes  | 1971      | Main concentration/District |
|--------|---------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| 1.     | Santhal | 18,01,340 | Santhal Pargana             |
| 2.     | Oraon   | 8,76,218  | Ranchi                      |
| 3.     | Munda   | 7,23,166  | Ranchi                      |
| 4.     | Ho      | 5,05,172  | Singhbhum                   |
| 5.     | Kharwar | 1,39,212  | Palamau                     |
| 6.     | Kharia  | 1,27,002  | Ranchi                      |



|     |                |          |                 |
|-----|----------------|----------|-----------------|
| 7.  | Bhumij         | 1,24.918 | Singhbhum       |
| 8.  | Lohra          | 1,16.828 | Ranchi          |
| 9.  | Mahli          | 74.452   | Ranchi          |
| 10. | Saoria-Paharia | 59.047   | Santhal Pargana |
| 11. | Mal-Paharia    | 48.636   | Santhal Pargana |
| 12. | Beolia         | 48.021   | Hazaribagh      |
| 13. | Gond           | 48.869   | Singhbhum       |
| 14. | Chero          | 38.741   | Palamau         |
| 15. | Chik-Baraik    | 33.476   | Ranchi          |
| 16. | Karmali        | 26.908   | Hazaribagh      |
| 17. | Korwa          | 18.717   | Palamau         |
| 18. | Kora           | 20.804   | Santhal Pargana |
| 19. | Pariya         | 14.651   | Palamau         |
| 20. | Kisan          | 16.903   | Palamau         |
| 21. | Binjia         | 9.119    | Ranchi          |
| 22. | Asur           | 7.026    | Ranchi          |
| 23. | Gorait         | 3.239    | Ranchi          |
| 24. | Birjia         | 3.628    | Ranchi          |
| 25. | Birhor         | 3.464    | Hazaribagh      |
| 26. | Savar          | 3.548    | Singhbhum       |
| 27. | Baiga          | 1.807    | Palamau         |
| 28. | Khond          | 596      | Hazaribagh      |
| 29. | Bathudi        | 880      | Singhbhum       |
| 30. | Banjara        | 130      | Santhal Pargana |

Out of these 30 tribes inhabiting the plateau of Chotanagpur, only some major tribes like Santhal, Oraon, Munda, Ho, Kharia etc. have been studied intensively both by the then British Administrators and by some of the Indian Anthropologists. The minor tribes like the Birjia, the Kora, the Karmali, the Chik Baraik, the Birhor etc. have not been studied so intensively as the major tribes referred to above. Thus it high time to study these minor tribes from different angles to understand the changing tribal situation of Chotanagpur, in particular, and South Asia, in general.

INDIRA V. PETERSON

*Arjuna's Combat with the Kirāta: Rasa and Bhakti in Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya*

*I Introduction: Rasa and Bhakti in the Kirātārjunīya.* For the theme of his *kāvya* epic *Kirātārjunīya*, the poet Bhāravi (circa 6th c. A.D.) chose the *Mahābhārata* episode (III.31.24-42) in which the hero Arjuna performs penance in the Himalayas in order to obtain powerful weapons from the gods, and succeeds in his mission after proving himself in combat with the great god Śiva who challenges him in the guise of a *kirāta* (mountain man). The episode ends in a magnificent devotional (*bhakti*) tableau, in which Śiva reveals himself to Arjuna, and favours the hero with divine grace and the gift of the great Pāśupata missile. Bhāravi's poem is celebrated as one of the earliest and best examples of the *mahākāvya* (court epic) genre in Sanskrit poetry. At the same time, the Śaivite theme of the *kirāta* story, as well as Bhāravi's own South Indian *bhakti* milieu of the 6th century, demand a serious consideration of the

religious dimensions of the poem. This paper is a study of Bhāravi's treatment of the twin themes of *vīra rasa*, the heroic mood (one of the nine canonical moods in the *rasa* aesthetic of *kāvya* poetry), and *bhakti* religion in his epic. Specifically, how does the poet relate the interests of the heroic theme and mood of the epic to the proper presentation of the scene of devotion and grace with which the poem ends? To answer this question, I have examined the *Kirātārjunīya* in relation to its older epic source, and to its many counterparts in South Indian vernacular literature and temple sculpture.

*II Rasa in the Kirātārjunīya: Structural Considerations.* Examination of the development of *vīra* (the heroic) as the dominant mood (*rasa*) in the poem.

*III Prelude to Combat: The Warrior as Yogi (Kirātārjunīya VI-XI).* It is shown that, through his depiction of Arjuna's fierce penance in a warrior's attire, Bhāravi establishes the hero's ascetic discipline as a prelude to his final combat with Śiva, which, as the most appropriate arena for his own *dharma*, the code of a warrior (*kṣatriya*), is itself the highest yogic discipline for him.

*IV Heroic Action in Bhāravi's Epic: Kirātārjunīya (XIV-XVIII).* It is in and through the description of the *kirātā*-Arjuna combat, which is longer and more complete (in terms of epic repertoire) than combat description in earlier *mahākāvyas*, that Bhāravi established the delicate balance between *vīra* and *bhakti* in the poem. Several features of this description are both stylistically unique and specifically appropriate for the *kirātā*-Arjuna theme; three such features are examined here: the sustained depiction of the hero's weapons in human terms and as abstract qualities; the contextually significant use of particular cosmic images; and the alteration of the climax of the combat, when Śiva reveals himself to Arjuna.

The imagery of arms becomes a symbolic language for the suggestion of the heroic mood in the combat scenes. Arjuna's arms are symbols of his warrior identity; just as he continued to bear arms while practising ascetic discipline, he faces his severest test when, in the course of combat, Śiva strips him of all his weapons and forces him to engage in a wrestling match. At significant moments in the combat, Arjuna is identified alternately with forms of Śiva himself (Rudra-Pāśupati at the sacrifice, the Destroyer of the Triple City of the Demons) and Viṣṇu (Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the ancient warrior-ascetics), revealing the hero's own divine dimensions, and the complexity of his relationship with Śiva.

*V Points of View: Ignorance and Knowledge in the Kirātārjunīya.* The power of Śiva's revelation at the end depends on the balance of ignorance and knowledge on the part of Arjuna, Śiva and the audience with regard to the *kirātā*'s true identity. In the *Kirātārjunīya*, Arjuna alone remains ignorant of Śiva's identity till the moment of revelation, while the readers, and all the other characters, are knowing witnesses to Arjuna's combat with God in the final cantos of the epic.

*VI Climax: The Moment of Revelation in the Kirātārjunīya and other Versions of the kirātā Tale.* The precise nuances of the *rasa-bhakti* configuration in the *Kirātārjunīya* are thrown into relief when we compare Bhāravi's treatment of the moment of Śiva's revelation with other accounts of the situation in the *kirātā* tale. In the *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition) Śiva mangles and crushes the hero's body, and renders him unconscious, then reveals himself. In South Indian devotional poems from the 10th century onwards, as well as in several manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* itself, a sequence in which Arjuna regains consciousness and worships Śiva with ritual acts of devotion, is interposed between the combat and the moment



of revelation. In Karnataka temple sculpture and folk versions of the story, the entire narrative revolves around an argument between Śiva and Pārvatī regarding Arjuna's heroism, and the hero's courage is vindicated through his victory over the god in their wrestling match. Bhāravi seems to stand midway between these two extremes, allowing neither combatant to achieve a decisive victory before the moment of truth. In his version, when Śiva leaps up to attack Arjuna, the hero grasps the god's feet in a flying tackle, thus *unconsciously assuming the position of the devotee (bhakta) who takes refuge at the Lord's feet*. This approach to the climax of the battle satisfies the demands of both *vīra rasa* and *bhakti*. As the quintessential hero and springboard for the heroic mood in the poem, Arjuna cannot lose the fight, even in a battle which has been "staged" by God, lest the *rasa* experience be marred. So Arjuna must grasp the Lord's feet, as a *bhakta* would, but he must be completely ignorant of the devotional implication of his gesture. Śiva, the great god, on the other hand, can and does immediately respond to this gesture in both its heroic and devotional meanings. The heroic-devotional tableau of Arjuna grasping Śiva's feet in mid-air is an apt metaphor for Bhāravi's approach to *rasa* and *bhakti* in his poem: In this visual pun the poet achieves a creative suspension of the two themes.

HEIDRUN BRÜCKNER

*"Jumādi, an Oral Tulu Myth and ritual of Bhūta-Worship in Coastal Karnāṭaka"*

The coastal region of present-day Karnāṭaka State is the home of hundreds of powerful divine beings referred to locally by the Sanskrit terms *bhūta* (Tulu: *būta*) and *daiva*. The myths of these folk-deities form part of an oral-literary genre called *pāḍḍana* in Tulu. Those *pāḍḍana*-s that contain myths of *bhūta*-s and *daiva*-s are normally recited exclusively in the ritual texts of the annual festivals for the deities whose status is in several texts described as "one step below the gods, one step above the *bhūta*-s." To show in some detail the interrelation of myths and ritual, the paper focusses on just one of the orally transmitted texts collected by the author and discusses it in the light of its ritual context. The myth describes the first appearance of the *daiva* *Jumādi* in the Tulu-country, the places he passes and his encounters with other *bhūta*-s. By miraculous deeds he makes his presence known to human beings who then start worshipping him. After some time he is satisfied by the worship and proceeds to another place. The analysis of the text leads to the conclusion that there are two major sections in it. The transition between them is marked by a certain gap in the narration. Whereas the chronologically earlier part of the myth describes *Jumādi*'s wanderings and his establishment at different places in the Tulu-country, the following section considers the cult as already established: a shrine (*sāna*) and a festival are mentioned without reference to their origin. The analysis of the ritual recitation of the text shows that this later part of the myth is recited at the beginning of the festival as an invocation. Later the "entire" myth is sung with the part that has already been recited now coming at the end. Several reasons are given for the sequence of the two recitations. References to other invocation-*pāḍḍana*-s confirm that for the initial invocation a section of the *pāḍḍana* is chosen that refers to the actual place of performance as well as to two or three other locations where the *daiva* has stayed previously and from where he has come to his present location. In the second recitation at the beginning of the third stage of the rituals the first part of the myth is told and at a certain point is blended with the local section. The latter differs depending on the shrine where the ritual recitation takes place, but it can be linked up with the same earlier part of the myth.

(For an elaborated version of the present paper cf. the author's article "*bhūta*-worship in Coastal Karnāṭaka: an oral Tulu myth and festival ritual of '*Jumādi*'." In: Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Heft 13/14 1987 (= Festschrift Rau), Reinbek)

ILDIKÓ PUSKÁS

*Indian Religions in Classical Sources*

The first Greek author to throw light on some Indian religious practices was Herodotos of Halikarnassos. While describing what he knew to be India he mentions that some people living there do not kill anything that has life, do not eat meat, rather live on herbs, and mentions a few tribal practices regarding the ill and dead members of their community. This, in other terms, means that he referred to *ahiṃsā*, vegetarianism, asceticism and separate tribal practices.

A little more information, though restricted by the nature of its sources, comes from Ktesias the Knidian. He speaks of Sun- and Moon-worship as a special religious practice of people living somewhere in Western India, along a desert. He knows about the custom of mass-pilgrimage as well.

Until the campaign of Alexander the Great the Western world's knowledge was restricted to the above informations of Herodotos and Ktesias. Alexander's companions got a firsthand knowledge, though truly superficial.

Since their works all got lost and we have them only quoted in later works, it is difficult to separate their genuine informations and those of which the source was Megasthenes. However, a few common to all sources descriptions make clear that the informations regarding the gymnosophists, the story of Dandamis and Kalanos have come from them. Also, the first identifications of Indian gods, without naming them, with Greek counterparts. This means that things witnessed but not understood fully were superficially generalized and the picture was to mark the differences rather the common things.

A qualitative change into the India-knowledge was brought by Megasthenes who had been for several years Seleukos Nikator's ambassador in Pāṭaliputra, to the Mauryan Court. He did not only have a firsthand information but a deep insight also into the Indian culture through its languages and daily reality. It is he who understands the social divisions and singles out the specific role of the Brāhmins, he is the one who understands what a *śramaṇa* is and distinguishes them from the *digambaras*, commonly called by the Greeks gymnosophists, while the allobioi might well be the *ājīvikas*. He is well aware of the rules of the *varṇāśrama-dharma*, refers clearly to each stage, and knows of the *upanayana* rite, too. His knowledge is not restricted to any creed, religion, he seems to know a complex of these, and the basic notions of different philosophic systems: the five elements of the *sāṃkhya-yoga*, their pantheistic god-principle etc. Megasthenes refers to the doctrines of *dharma*, *karma* and *saṃsāra*. This means that the basic ideas of the *Bhagavad Gītā* were already current by his time. Yet this was the period preceding the acme of Buddhism in Aśoka's time: Megasthenes knows the main set-up of the *Saṅgha*, monks and nuns living according the rules of the *Dhamma*.

It seems, neither Buddha, Jina nor any Indian god has been mentioned by name in the Indika.



For the latter the general practice of identification of gods of similar functions seems to be responsible (that is why *Śiva*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Indra* appear in the guise of Dionysos or Herakles), while the great teachers in Megasthenes' time were not yet deified.

This was to come with the period of the Indo-Roman contacts when the briskened trade contacts facilitated mutual travels of philosophers, missionaries. Clemens Alexandrinus does not only know Buddha by name but takes him "as a great god of ... extraordinary sanctity". A still later author, Johannes Stobaios mentions for instance the image-worship of *Ardhanārīśvara*.

It seems, it is worth-while examining the Classical sources on Indian religions as the synchronic and diachronic picture they provide us help in understanding the Indian religions and religious practices of a millennium long period between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D.

N. M. KARPOVICH

*Hinduism in Nepal: Traditions and Syncretism*

In Nepal the main — and official — religion, Hinduism, coexists with other religions, among which the first place with regard to the number of followers belongs to Buddhism.

Although among the present-day Nepalese 89.4 per cent are Hindus and only 7.5 per cent are Buddhists, it is customarily believed that Buddhism has exercised an enormous influence on the spiritual life of the Nepalese and that this influence, in particular, has manifested itself in specific amalgam, or syncretism, of Buddhism and Hinduism, which until the present time permeate widely varying spheres of Nepalese life, religion, ethics, culture, social relations, etc.

Apparently, until the 6th century B.C., i.e. until the incipience of Buddhism, various animistic cults existed on Nepalese territory. Hinduism (still in the form of Brahmanism) was brought to Nepal by the Indo-Aryan settlers from India in the course of migration.

The majority of the Nepalese Hindus of the Khas origin are Shaivites. Their next biggest sect is the Vaishnavites, who, in contrast to their Indian counterparts, do not ban marriages with members of other religious trends. Furthermore, there are many smaller sects such as Tantrists, Shaktists, Vedists (Brahmans who recognize rituals and ceremonies of the Vedas as basic), Bhairavs, who practise asceticism bearing no relation to the intimidating deity of the same name, Naths, and many others.

One of the most remarkable features of Nepal's religious life is syncretism. This is partly explained by the fact that at one of the stages of its history Buddhism, incorporating many Tantric conceptions and elements evolved into a new trend — Vajrayana, which gained dominance in Nepal. On the other hand, mass popularity was enjoyed by Hinduism in the form of Shaktism. Since Tantrism and Shaktism exercised a great mutual influence and share many features in common, it is natural that Vajrayana with Tantric elements and Hinduism in its Shaktist form should in some measure have become integrated in Nepal. In its turn, this integration brought forth such an interesting phenomenon as the syncretism of Hinduism and Buddhism. Syncretism manifests itself at different levels. It is confusion of deities and inclusion of "alien" deities in pantheons. For example, Macchendranath and Vajrayogini, of

a predominantly Buddhist origin, are added to the Hindu pantheon. On the contrary, Buddhist chronicles make frequent references to Hindu gods — true, of a lower status than the Buddhist deities. For example, one of such chronicles says that the fourth Buddha of Lokeshvara (a son of Amitabha) created Brahma and other Hindu gods and taught yoga to Shiva.

Thus, despite the presence of several sects and trends, Hinduism in Nepal is characterized by a measure of integrity. Furthermore, it appears to the author that it is to some extent a closed system distinguished from Indian Hinduism by a number of specific features. These include, first, the predominance of the cult of Shivaite gods with a profusion of Bhairavs and Shaktis and a strong influence of Tantrism and Buddhist Vajrayana; second, the specificity of the caste system; third and final, the most significant specific feature is the syncretism of Hinduism and Buddhism, which permeates the entire religious and spiritual life as well as the sphere of material culture of Nepalese society.

J. L. BROCKINGTON

*Textual Studies in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa*

Starting from Dr. Shah's comment in the Uttarakāṇḍa (Critical Edition) about variations within the manuscripts written in Malayalam script and my own impression that the uniformity of the S recension has been overstated, I undertook research on Rāmāyaṇa manuscripts, concentrating on the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. I here report initial results of a visit to India in 1981 and of work on the Chandra Shum Shere Collection in Oxford.

In the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, I identified ms. 14052 as similar to M4 of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa and another fragment (ms. 13468, two leaves preceding the Kiśkindhākāṇḍa) as also belonging to this alternative Malayalam tradition; other manuscripts in Malayalam script belonged to the standard S recension. A visit to Darbhanga produced no further Maithili manuscripts but I located and had microfilmed an Oriya ms. at Calcutta (not yet examined). The Scindia Oriental Institute at Ujjain yielded several interesting manuscripts, including one (ms. 1357) having affinities with the Ś1 D1-7 grouping, which spans the NW and W recension; this ms. and two others there give one indication of a distinct local version, although this needs further investigation.

In the Chandra Shum Shere Collection, Telugu ms. c.410, while generally agreeing with the S recension, exhibits a significant proportion of new variants (including readings noted in the CE only from a printed edition — another indication of the incompleteness of its manuscript evidence). A Devanāgarī ms., c.82(2), though basically S, shows occasional links with the NW and W recensions.

Of the varied manuscripts examined, the most significant is ms. 14052 (unfortunately containing only half the Ayodhyākāṇḍa) for it is closely related to M4 and probably of similar age. Their closeness is marked by omissions — more exactly absence of material — rather than additions, indicating relative antiquity. However, omissions unique to each show that, despite their regular shared readings, neither could have been copied from the other, nor probably from an immediate ancestor. One instance where ms. 14052 has a unique variant apparently underlying its omission by haplography in M4(40.2ab), along with other indications, suggests that it is closer to their ultimate exemplar than M4 is. However, they



combine features of the present N and S recensions; within the N recension they align particularly with D1.2 and to a lesser extent V1. Such details suggest that the CE scheme of recensions and subrecensions is too limiting. I propose as a possible model the Venn diagram, which can better represent overlapping influences and avoids a straight either/or classification. Specifically, the links of D1.2 (also of V1 D3) with M4 and ms. 14052, and more generally with the S recension, raise again the question of the W recension. Geographical considerations appear significant.

This alternative tradition of M4, ms. 14052 and the fragmentary ms. must have enjoyed some currency in Kerala. Further examples or similar ones in other South Indian scripts no doubt exist and their evidence will help in reassessing the true nature of the S recension and its complex relationships with the other recensions.

PRATAP BANDYOPADHYAY

*On the Readings pragītānām and apragītānām under Dhvanyāloka, 1.7*

In the first *uddya* of the *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana establishes the existence of *dhvani* (suggestion) as the quintessence of literature with arguments levelled against all possible objections thereto. In the 7th *kārikā* the argument given in favour of *dhvani* is that, it is not understood by a mere knowledge of grammar and lexicons (*śabdārthasāsa*) unlike the expressed meaning of a sentence. In the *vṛtti* under the *kārikā*, Ānandavardhana seems to compare the literary critic with the connoisseur of music. The text as per the *Kāvyamālā* edition runs thus:

*atha ca vācyavācakalakṣaṇamātrakṛtāśramāṇāṃ kāvyatattvārthabhāvanāvimukhānām  
svaśrutyādīlakṣaṇam iva pragītānām gāndharvalakṣaṇavidām agocara evāśāv  
arthaḥ /*

Hermann Jacobi renders the passage into German thus:

"Aber jener Sinn geht ebenso über den Horizont derjenigen, welche sich zwar mit der Lehre von den Wörtern und ihrer Bedeutung beschäftigen, aber die Nachempfindung des wahren Sinnes der Gedichte beiseite lassen, wie solchen, welche nur die Theorie der Musik kennen, die individuellen ganzen und Zwischentöne guter Sänger unerkennbar sind."

K. Krishnamoorthy accepts the reading *apragītānām* for *pragītānām* and renders the relevant portion into English thus:

Even as the true appreciation of notes and tones of music will remain beyond the reach of scholars in the science of music if they are not good musicians.

It is not clear whether Abhinavagupta accepts the reading *pragītānām* or *apragītānām*. His commentators generally understand him as accepting the latter reading. As Krishnamoorthy explains, the question is one of construction. *Pragītānām* meaning 'of good singers' (Jacobi) or 'good songs' has to be construed with the expression which precedes, i.e., *svaśrutyādīlakṣaṇam iva* ('like the appreciation of notes, microtones, etc.'). *Apragītānām* has to be construed with the expression which follows, i.e., *gāndharvalakṣaṇavidām* ('of those acquainted with the science of music'), and this makes the comparison in question perfectly

balanced. The other reading would claim the reading *gāndharvalakṣaṇamātravidām* ('acquainted only with the science of music') for the word which follows. But this is not supported by manuscripts.

Now the question is — what is the meaning of the word *apragītānām*? While Jacobi's translation of the passage tallies well with the reading followed by him, Krishnamoorthy's translation would create a problem. It is difficult to maintain that in order to appreciate notes, microtones, etc. of music, one has to be a good musician. Such a contention may have a preposterous bearing on the position of the literary critic in the light of the simile in question, and the classification of literary talent as creative and appreciative may lose much ground.

It is, therefore, suggested that *pragīta* in the passage in question means 'people with attuned ears' (*prakṛṣṭaṃ gītāṃ gāṇaṃ yeṣāṃ* — those who have listened to good music sufficiently), i.e., connoisseurs of music, and, accordingly, the passage may be translated thus:

This meaning is beyond the grasp of those who have exerted their energy in understanding merely the science of expressed ideas and expressive words but are averse to the contemplation of the quintessence of literature, just as the appeal of musical notes, microtones, etc. is beyond the reach of those who are acquainted merely with the (technicalities of the) science of music but are not connoisseurs (of the art).

L. A. VAN DAALEN

*The Form of Vākpāti's Gauḍavaha*

At v. 1073 the poet announces that he will tell how Yaśovarman killed the Eastern king (who must be the same as the king of Gauḍa). In the last verse, 1209, the poet announces he will tell the life story of Yaśovarman, the verse and the poem ending with "Listen!". We do not hear either story.

To solve the problem we see here, Pandit argued that the present poem is a prelude to a much greater work. He is followed by Bühler, Smith, Hertel and Belvalkar. According to Jacobi, followed by Winternitz, the present poem is an epitome. Utgikar defends the thesis that the poem is complete but it should lack the finishing touch owing to political circumstances. Warder advises us to read the poem again to get the promised story. This, too, is not very helpful.

The present poem is arguably how the poet left it to us and how he intended it to be.

From the verses 99 (cf. 108); 253f.; 838; 1072; 1120; 1187; 1191 and 1209 it becomes clear that the poet's real wish is to tell the *carita*, the life story, of Yaśovarman. However, faced with his overwhelming greatness the poet's heart and those of his colleagues are overjoyed and they cannot speak, see vv. 98; 253; 847. And that is why the poet is not able to tell Yaśovarman's life story: vv. 847; 1072 and 1120.

Instead of it he will give an example only: the killing of the Eastern, Gauḍian, king: 1073. Verse 1074 says that this is an illustration indeed, because *gauḍavaho ... mahārambho*, "the killing of Gauḍa ... was a great undertaking." The title of the poem is a kind of a misnomer (cf. *Mṛcchakaṭikā*), taken from an event in Yaśovarman's career, which, according to our



poet, may serve as an illustration of his greatness.

Of course, the poet affects his inability to praise: e.g. we hear that Yaśovarman actually is Viṣṇu and that Indra feels honoured by sharing the same seat with him. The poet also deos show his inability: v. 845-1121 are an inadequate reply to a request to sing Yaśovarman's praise.

Instead of the promised episode, the killing of the Gauḍa, the poet announces his major theme at v. 1209, although he had already said thrice he could not manage. So we understand now why after the word "Listen!" the rest is silence.

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(For a full version see: "A note on the form of the Gauḍavaha", *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 4 (1986).)

U. C. SHARMA

### *The Legend of Purukutsa*

Purukutsa is a Ṛgvedic king of considerable importance. His name occurs in several contexts in the *Ṛgveda*. At one place he is said to be a contemporary of Sudās. He became victorious due to divine favour. At another place he seems to have been mentioned as a king of the Pūrus and a conqueror of the Dāsas. His son was Trasadasyu, who is also called Paurukutsya and Paurukutsi. Purukutsānī is said to be his wife who gave birth to a son named Trasadasyu.

The Vedic and the post-Vedic literature gives a brief but interesting account of the legend of Purukutsa. The name Purukutsa in itself is quite interesting. Literally it means 'hated or defamed by many'. One may take the clue that he was feared for his valour and was hated by the enemies, who of course were many. It was not unusual to give such type of name to a son of valiant Kṣatriya who was to emerge in future as a conqueror of many alien tribes. Prof. Paul Thieme has suggested that the name Purukutsa might have been given by the mother to ward off ill-omen — another practice prevalent in the ancient India.

In several verses of the *Ṛgveda*, Trasadasyu has been mentioned as the son of Purukutsa. The former is also referred to as the king of Pūrus. Trasadasyu is also said to have been born to Purukutsa from his wife Purukutsānī at a time of great distress. It seems that Purukutsa suffered a defeat on the battlefield and was in a very sad state of mind when his wife Purukutsānī gave birth to Trasadasyu which came as a ray of hope to the vanquished prince.

Purukutsa was a contemporary of Sudās. Probably he was the latter's enemy. It is so because Divodāsa, a predecessor of Sudās, was at enmity to the Pūrus and in the Dāśarājña the Pūrus were ranged against Sudās and his Tṛtsu-Bharatas. His tribesmen, the Pūrus, were settled on both the banks of Sarasvatī which is quite a convenient place for would-be union of the Pūrus

and the Kurus, who inhabited the middle country around the Sarasvatī. The Tṛtsu-Bharatas, who appear in the *Ṛgveda* as enemies of the Pūrus, later coalesced with them and came to be known as Kurus.

Thus it can be said that Purukutsa belonged to the Pūru line of the Indo-Aryans and was father of Trasadasyu, a great warrior and commander. He was ranged against the forces of Sudās and seems to have been the leader of ten or more confederate tribes in the Dāśarājña war. This leadership was taken over by his son after his death in battlefield. The legend of Purukutsa is a very important recording in the Vedic texts.

BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI

### *The Concept of Mother Goddess and Kāmākhya*

The scholars trace the origin of the Mother Goddess cult in the pre-Aryan civilisation, and point to certain objects i.e. female figures in the Mahenjodaro ruins, while others find its origin in Mesopotamia and other places of ancient middle-east. Whatever might be the place of origin of this cult, in course of time, it crossed the boundary of its origin, developed and manifested in different forms and shapes. Evidence of this aspect may be gathered from the sculpture, inscriptions, and other imperishable materials, and also from *purāṇas* and *tantras*.

The practice of worshipping the Mother-Goddess on some symbol is older than that on the manifested form. In the Indian context the oldest form of manifestation of the Mother-Goddess is in the form of Mahiṣa-mardinī, the Goddess, who throttled the buffalo demon. This form has been very popular throughout India. Terracotta objects with the image of the Goddess Mahiṣa-mardinī are found in Rajasthan which date back to the first century B.C.

Some *purāṇas* and *tantras* assignable to medieval period give an account of *śākta-pīṭhas*, i.e. places sacred to the Mother-Goddess. The number of *pīṭhas* has gone on rising from three in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparva*) to one hundred and eight in the *purāṇas* and other works. The three places, namely, (i) Bhīmāsthāna, (ii) Udayaparvata, and (iii) Gaurīśikhara are described in the MBh. Of these three places Gaurīśikhara is located in Kāmarūpa (modern Assam) by the work *Pīṭha-nirṇaya*. This Gaurīśikhara is also described as *stanakuṇḍa*. Here in this Gaurīśikhara is located the shrine of the Goddess Kāmākhya, where She is worshipped on the symbol of a vagina. The mythology identifies this symbol with the pudendum of Satī.

The *Kālikā-purāṇa*, a work produced in Kāmarūpa in tenth century A.D., gives a vivid description how the pudendum of Satī fell on a mountain in Kāmarūpa, how the mountain turned blue, and came to be known as Nīlakūṭa or Nīla-śaila (blue mountain), how that limb of Satī turned into a piece of stone, and Śiva also turned into stone.

Here the Goddess is worshipped in Her five-fold form, namely Mahāmāyā, Kāmākhya, Mahotsāhā, Tripurā and Śaradā. The Goddess is worshipped by both *dakṣiṇa* (right) and *vāma* (left) method of worship. Though five different manifestations are meditated in worshipping the Goddess, the performance of worship is done on a piece of stone in the form of vagina inside a cave. "Within the temple there is a cave, in a corner of which stands a block of stone on which the symbol of a *yoni* has been sculptured. The stone is kept moist from the oozings of a natural spring within the cave. The offerings of flowers and leaves are made on the *yoni*."



It is quite likely that the block of stone had been the object of worship by the people as the symbol of the Mother-Goddess from the time immemorial, and in course of time, the myth of Satī has been super-imposed. Thus a local Goddess has been identified with *Śakti* of the *purāṇas* and *tantras*.

CATHARINA KIEHNLE

*Pātāñjala Yoga and Nātha Yoga: The Praṇava*

The study is dedicated to the way in which yogis educated in accordance with Pātāñjali's system, and yogis of the tantric tradition were supposed to use the *praṇava*. The Nātha yoga dealt with here is mainly based on 140 songs in Old Marāṭhī. They are attributed to the 13th century poet-saint Jñānadeva, a yogi of the Gorakṣanātha school. The songs describe the last steps of Kuṇḍalinī's ascent in the head. During that process the elements of the *praṇava*, A, U, M, and the *ardhamātrā*, are perceived one after the other, the world of sound coming to an end in the *brahmarandhra*. The *sūtras* of Pātāñjali, of course, do not mention Kuṇḍalinī, though the heart and the navel *cakras* are touched upon. However, the passages discussing the eight limbs of yoga refer to practices recommended in the Nātha scriptures as well. That is not only so with respect to *āsanas* and *prāṇāyāma*, but also with respect to *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, and (*nirbīja*) *samādhi*, which corresponds to *unmanī* in the (Mahārāṣṭrian) Nātha system. The question arises whether the common ground comprises the usage of the *praṇava*, too. In the *sūtras* it is a designation of *īśvara*, God. Its pronunciation, and the contemplation of its meaning are conducive to *samādhi*. Now, the Nātha *praṇava*, too, is a stage on the way to *unmanī*, in fact, the last one. However, whereas in the Yogasūtras and their commentaries deliberate (mental or oral) pronunciation of the *praṇava* evokes one-pointedness, and (according to Vācaspati Miśra) the compassion of God, who bestows the desired state of mind on the yogi, the *praṇava* of the Nāthas is in itself an unfoldment of God. Kuṇḍalinī is identical with it in the head centres, and in the form of sound she merges into Śiva who is *caitanya* 'pure' consciousness, and unmanifest. That is the Nātha *unmanī* state. So here the *praṇava* is self-existing, and not a designation of anything. Thus discussions as in the Yogasūtra commentaries about the eternity of the connection between name, and object to be named are hardly necessary in the Nātha school. Another question one may ask is why Vācaspati Miśra who knew Kuṇḍalinī yoga and the concept of AUM under consideration here did not refer to it in connection with the *sūtras* on the *praṇava*. One answer may be that in Sāṃkhya yoga the practitioner endeavours to sever the bonds between *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* who are eternally different, whereas with the Nāthas, Śakti is supposed to merge into Śiva. AUM with its stages of increasing subtlety not only connects the two but also shows their identity: 'the unchangeable flowed into *saṃsāra*' runs a line of the songs, and that flow is sound in the beginning. The Nāthas, though making full use of the elements of Sāṃkhya, were tantric *advaitins*. Their views were affiliated to Upaniṣadic teachings like those of Uddālaka Āruṇi in the Chāndogyaopaniṣad rather than to Sāṃkhya.

DAVID N. LORENZEN

*The Kālāmukhas of Karnataka (A.D. 800-1250)*

The Kālāmukhas were by far the most important religious group in Karnataka and adjoining regions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Many Kālāmukha preceptors served as *rājagurus*, and their large temples and monasteries were generously financed and endowed by the kings and feudatories of the region, especially those belonging to the dynasty of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The religious doctrines of the Kālāmukhas were derived directly from the Pāśupatas, some of whose texts survive. Nonetheless both the Pāśupatas and the Kālāmukhas seem to have disappeared rather suddenly and completely during the second half of the thirteenth century.

In the last fifteen years a large number of important inscriptions related to the Kālāmukhas have been edited and published. These epigraphs help to provide a much more complete understanding of the Kālāmukhas' organizational divisions and of the geographical distribution of their temples and monasteries. There have also appeared several new historical studies which attempt to explain the rapid demise of the Kālāmukhas and the rise of the Vīraśaivas, who soon after rose to prominence in the same region. The present paper will discuss this new epigraphical data and analyze the sudden disappearance of the Kālāmukhas in the light of recent theories.

PARMINDER SINGH SODHI

*The Concept of Suffering in Medieval Indian Islamic Literature (With Special Reference to the Punjabi Sufi Poetry)*

Unlike the Hindu ideology of Indian tradition, Islamic tradition believes that the basic cause of man's suffering is human existence itself. According to Islamic ideology man's physical existence is the most important factor of human life and not the 'karm' of the previous birth. It rejects the Indian theory of previous birth's 'karm' resulting in suffering in this life.

The source of Medieval Islamic literary tradition of Punjabi Sufi poetry is the similarities and diversities of these two different ideologies. When Sufi philosophy invaded Punjabi life, it was very naturally influenced and to some extent transformed by Punjabi way of thinking and life style also. Yet suffering was depicted as the penance of human existence only and not as a result of 'karm' of previous birth. Coming into existence in this world was considered the basic cause of human suffering. According to the famous founder poet of Punjabi Sufi poetry, Baba Farid (1172-1266 A.D.):

When the midwife had cut the naval string,  
had she cut my throat instead, I would not  
have to face the problems of the world and  
bear the suffering of this existence.

Though the Sufi poets point toward social suffering but the suffering of existence has been the pivotal point of their entire tragic sensibility. The Sufi does not relate to the immediate social set up but individualistic consciousness alienates him from the collective man and he feels the suffering of arrangement. The Sufi express it so:



I can not make out, my senses can't grasp  
the meaning of the smouldering fire of this  
world. (Farid)

One stage of existential penance is the spatial consciousness. Here man finds himself alienated from nature or social set up, which is voiced by Shah Hussain (1538-1599):

Oh, to whom can I tell the woes of separation,  
this separation from the Beloved has nettled me so!  
To whom shall I tell of this suffering?

The source of existentialist crises, which has been expressed so vastly in the Panjabi Sufi poetry is consciousness of time also. The pain of the destructibility of human body, helplessness and suffering of old age and ultimate fear of death has been expressed in Sufi poetry again and again.

Baba Farid has expressed the painful and eminently human experience of old age and death as the ultimate truth poignantly:

Sheikh Farid has grown old, his body is shaking  
with weakness. Had the body lived for hundred  
years, with end it would have become just a heap  
of dust.

Thus in Medieval Indian Islamic Panjabi poetry the concept of suffering is born out of existentialist crises of man. According to this literary tradition, the very existence of man is the basic cause of his suffering. The Sufi finds himself alienated from society, world and nature inspite of being a social being himself.

FRANÇOISE MALLISON

*A Study of Krishnaite Vallabhan Writings in Gujarāt (16th-19th centuries)*

The Vallabhan movement originated in the Braja country where its founder Vallabhācārya had 'rediscovered' the localization of Kṛṣṇa's mythological exploits. This is why the Vallabhan corpus of holy texts was composed both in Sanskrit and Braja. The majority of the followers of the movement, however, hail from Gujarāt where the converts belong mainly to the castes of merchants and of rich peasants. It seems that there was a special attraction towards *puṣṭimārga* for the Vaiśya who play a dominant role in Gujarāt and that the doctrine as well as the practice of the sect agreed with the world view of the mercantile castes. It is therefore not surprising that Vallabhan writings in Gujarātī should have come to exist, they are of not negligible importance.

This literature, catering to the needs of a single religious group and being utilitarian in its aim, is fairly unknown. An important part of it is composed of translations of those Sanskrit and Braja texts which corresponded best to the cultural level of the Gujarātī converts. However, from the 17th c. onwards, there appear works originally written in Gujarātī which belong to three groups:

1) the *dhoḷa*, which, in opposition to the *kīrtana* or learned lyrics of the *havelī-saṃgīta*, are simple *pada* composed by Vallabhan poets in easy language and to be sung on a popular tune.

Their subjects are essentially the praise of Śrī Nāthajī and the Vallabhan idols, of the Yamunā river, of the festivals of Kṛṣṇa. They eulogize the founder of the sect and his descendants. They describe the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa. Some long *dhoḷa* list the 84 and 252 *vaiṣṇava* saints. They are sung essentially, if not exclusively, by women, either alone during the domestic cult or in groups when they gather at the *havelī* or during a *satsaṅga*. The transmission of the *dhoḷa* is oral but manuscripts and printed versions exist, circulating privately among the users;

2) The *Vallabhākhyāna* or *Navākhyāna* by Gopāladāsa (before 1577) exalts in its nine chapters the qualities of Viṭṭhalanātha, the second *ācārya*, son of Vallabha, and of his family, and establishes the divinity of the *mahārāja* leaders of the sect, descendants of Viṭṭhalanātha. The author, converted by Viṭṭhalanātha in Gujarāt when he was a child, wrote in an unusual style, concise and strongly sanskritized. The *Vallabhākhyāna* earned itself great fame among all Vallabhans, even outside Gujarāt and was thus commented upon in Sanskrit several times;

3) Dayārāma (1777-1852), an important Gujarātī poet of the medieval period, has written two types of works inspired by his newly adopted Vallabhan faith. First, the *pada* (*dhoḷa* and *garabī*) which established the renown of Dayārāma's lyric genius, describe with subtle touches the feeling of the *gopī* for Kṛṣṇa. Secondly, Dayārāma exposed in verse the quintessence of the philosophic and theological doctrine of Vallabha in several lengthy didactic poems, the best known of them being the *Rasika Vallabha*.

It appears from the three facets of the Vallabhan literature in Gujarātī that the *dhoḷa* are appreciated by the Vallabhan community in Gujarāt, that the *Navākhyāna* reaches the Vallabhan community as a whole whereas Dayārāma speaks to the entirety of the Gujarātī public.

GÉRARD COLAS

*The Temple-Priest: a Devalaka?*

According to some *smṛti*-s a *devalaka* is the one who lives on the treasure of God (*devakoṣopajīvin*); some others explain that a *devalaka* is the temple-priest who has officiated for more than three years and that *devalakatva* is a hereditary profession. Socially, *devalaka*-s are despised as "inferior brahmins" (*upabrāhmaṇa*-s) or *brāhmaṇacāṇḍāla*-s; they are stamped with non-brahminhood (*abrāhmaṇya*) and ranked among untouchables; the mere view of a *devalaka* while eating calls for a *cāndrāyana* expiation. This disrespect emanates either from a professional or from a doctrinal point of view.

Although the concept of *devalaka* is applied to temple-priest in general, paradoxically, the *saṃhitā*-s and *āgama*-s which are ritual texts meant for the temple-priests themselves, also discuss this concept (*Sāttavata* S XXI, 20; *Pārama* S III, 47). In these texts the term is applied to those who worship unaccepted Gods in temples or those who belong to an alien sect (*Pūrvakāraṇāgama*, Madras ed., 1921, p. 209).

One wonders whether there is a universally admissible definition of *devalaka*. Is the dependance on God's property and the period of this dependance the main cause of the so-called inferiority of the temple-priest? Can the priest who is busy with the day-long *pūjā* in the temple have a source of income other than the temple? How and on which grounds should one distinguish between a temple-priest and the Vedic priest? What is the exact difference



between *dakṣiṇā* and *bhṛti* (salary)?

In the *Ānandasamhitā*, a Vaikhāṇasa text attributed to Marīci, the *devalaka* is defined as a non-Vaikhāṇasa who worships Hari in a temple. It is argued that only the Vaikhāṇasa *sūtra* enjoins both *parārtha*- and *svārtha-pūjā*, whereas other *sūtra*-s prescribe only *svārtha-pūjā* (III, 24 and sqq.). The fact that the right of worshipping in a Viṣṇu temple is reserved to Vaikhāṇasa-s and that this right is obtained by birth in a Vaikhāṇasa family (through the rite of *viṣṇubalikarman*) absolves the Vaikhāṇasa priest of *devalakatva*.

Another passage (IV, 79-82) distinguishes three types of Brahmin *devalaka*-s: *kalpa*-, *karma*- and *śuddha-devalaka*-s.

Vaikhāṇasa-s, said to be born for the worship of Viṣṇu, may live on God's properties; in fact, they are enjoined to do so and may even sell icons of the God (IV, 84-87). Enjoyment of God's properties brings *mokṣa* to a devotee Vaikhāṇasa (XVII, 14b).

The reproach of neglect of Vedic duties is also considered in *ĀnandaS*: it is said that these do not remain unfulfilled through a special order of Viṣṇu (IV, 46-47); *ṛṣi*-s perform *homa* etc. for the Vaikhāṇasa temple-priest who cannot perform them (IV, 69).

The modern Vaikhāṇasa temple-priest does not bother any more about *devalakatva*, neither about his dependance on God's properties, non-performance of Vedic rites, nor about his alleged superiority. On the contrary, the Vaikhāṇasa-s wish to be ranked with "scheduled castes" to gain the economic advantages that can be obtained by this denomination in the present day India. But it remains to be seen whether the Vaikhāṇasa priest of today, instead of fighting a sort of political issue on modern lines, will search for support from his own scriptures which speak for his cause.

HANS T. BAKKER

#### *The Tradition of the Agastyasamhitā*

Of the ten different texts listed in the New Catalogus Catalogorum under the title *Agastyasamhitā*, we are concerned with the *Agastya-sūtikṣṇa-samvāda*. This is a Vaiṣṇava text which may have originated among a Pāṇcarātra, or rather Bhāgavata circle, even though it teaches the paramountcy of Rāma as the supreme form of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa instead of the classical doctrine of *vyūhas* and *vibhavas* emerging from Vāsudeva. The text deals with such Pāṇcarātra topics as *mantraśāstra*, *yantraśāstra*, *yoga*, *pratiṣṭhāvidhi*, daily ritual (*āhnikā*), *varṇāśramadharma*, and *utsava*. The edition that was published in Lucknow in 1898 has 33 *adhyāyas*, whereas several south Indian MSS have an even larger number of chapters. It was found that the first 23 *adhyāyas* are comprised, rather systematically, of the four traditional sections: Jñānapāda (*adhyāyas* 1 to 4), Caryāpāda (*adhyāyas* 5 to 8), Kriyāpāda (*adhyāyas* 9 to 18), and Yogapāda (*adhyāyas* 19 to 23). *Adhyāya* 23 closes with a eulogy of the text (referring to itself explicitly as *Agastyasamhitā*) and sums up the merits which accrue to everybody who reads, listens, or copies it. As such it seems to have been the original conclusion of the text. This is confirmed by the MS evidence collected.

So far we have collated nine MSS, seven of which are complete. It appears that they fall into two groups, deriving from archetypes containing 23 and 32 *adhyāyas* respectively. The printed Lucknow edition as well as some of the southern MSS have added further material

to the 32-chapter-version. The archetype of 32 *adhyāyas* must postdate the shorter of 23 chapters. In my study of the history of Ayodhyā (Groningen 1986) I have provisionally dated the text represented by the Lucknow edition in the 12th century, chiefly on account of the testimony of Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* which quotes *adhyāya* 26 (dealing with Rāmanavamī). It now appears that this testimony relates to the version of 32 *adhyāyas*. Consequently the shorter archetype may be of a still earlier date, although the lack of any circumstantial archaeological and epigraphical evidence pertaining to a Rāma cult makes a date before AD 1000 rather improbable.

The most likely place of origin of the text seems to be Benares since the 7th *adhyāya* contains a kind of *māhātmya* of this city in the context of the myth of Śiva's initiation with the six syllable Rāma mantra (*rāṃ rāmāya namaḥ*) which took place in the *tīrtha* Lolārka, well-known from several grants bestowed upon it by Gāhaḍavāla rulers in the 12th century. Other places, all in north India, are only mentioned in passing. The oldest stratum of the text also contains a reference to the *Rāmarakṣāstotra*, with which text it shares the doctrine of the soteriological power of the Name 'Rāma'. This cult of the Name may therefore date from before the period of Muslim rule and may have originated in traditional Vaiṣṇava (Bhāgavata) circles in north India that were tending towards a more personal devotion to a humanized god. Besides in certain branches of Vaiṣṇava devotees this powerful mantra was in use in ascetic circles, which again may account for its adoption by Śivaite Yogis. It is intended that, after collection of more MSS, a critical edition of the text will be prepared which should lead to a better understanding of religious developments in north India in the first centuries of the second millennium of our era.

ANDREAS BOCK

#### *On the Evaluation of the Vyūha Doctrine in the Cosmogonic Account of the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā*

In his book "Introduction to the Pāṇcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā" F. O. Schrader treats this text as if it were a coherent and systematic description of Pāṇcarātra philosophy. On closer inspection, however, it becomes apparent that the AS. abounds in inconsistencies which are due to the fact that the whole text presents an accumulation of various sources and traditions. This is particularly true of the 5th chapter which is part of a cosmogonic account and deals with the manifestation of the Vyūhas. Apparently, there are three different juxtaposed accounts of the development of the Vyūhas which with regard to the history of texts probably belong to different times. The first account (AS. 5,17-20) explains the manifestation of Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha by means of the formation of the six ideal Guṇas to pairs and goes back to an older source, namely to Sātvata-Samhitā 3,5-15. A comparison between these two texts reveals above all that in the AS. the highest god, who is superior to the Vyūhas, is Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, whereas in the SS. it is always Bhagavat-Vāsudeva who holds this position. Evidently, Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu is a figure which the redactor of AS. 5 intentionally worked into the material of his source, at the same time eliminating Vāsudeva from his version of the formation of the six Guṇas. As can be shown in the light of another text — Mahābhārata 12,326,20-46 — the reason for this seems to be rooted in an antagonism between two religious groups, the followers of Vāsudeva and those of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. In the text of the Mbh., which contains another account of the evolution of the



Vyūhas, Vāsudeva is at first characterized as the highest being, but then nearly everything that has been said before about him is in an inclusivistic manner referred to Nārāyaṇa. Further, Nārāyaṇa's explicit association with the Veda and the Vedic sacrifice in the Mbh.-text lends support to the view that there he figures as the highest god of a religious sect closely associated with Vedic-orthodox circles. According to the evidence of the Mbh. this group was at a certain period for some reason inferior to the belief in Vāsudeva and tried to include into their own religion this Vāsudevaism. Similarly, in the case of the AS. there is evidence that the redactor of AS. 5 — who is probably identical with the compiler of the whole Saṃhitā — had strong leanings towards the Vedic-brahmanical orthodoxy. This is corroborated by the fact that in contrast to other Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās in the AS. there are numerous passages revealing a thoroughly orthodox, "pro-vedic" character. It therefore seems probable that the compiler of both the 5th chapter and the whole text of this Saṃhitā belonged to a specific group of Smārta-Pāñcarātrins who on one side had adopted Pāñcarātra-tenets such as the Vyūha-doctrine, but on the other side were orientated towards and affiliated with the Vedic-brahmanical orthodoxy.

KLAUS BRUHN

### *The Kaṣāya Concept in Jaina Soteriology*

Our paper represents an attempt to make the impervious *guṇasthāna* theory more transparent. This theory is practically the last stage in the development of Jaina soteriology. It has several component parts: the *guṇasthāna* chain (a progress chain describing the 14 stations or grades in the annihilation of *karma*), the affiliated strategies or modes of *karma* annihilation, and the different types of *karma* (as described in the actual "*karma* theory"). The *guṇasthāna* chain (formaliter the skeleton of the entire scheme) may be compared with the *śotāpanna* (etc.) tetrad of the Buddhists.

Such an attempt necessitates distinguishing three Periods in the development of Jaina soteriology: Period I (pre-Bhagavatī texts), Period II (Bhagavatī, Prajñāpanā, Nirvyūkti-Bhāṣya literature), and Period III (Karmagranthas etc.). The *guṇasthāna* theory (Period III) must be viewed as an attempt to amalgamate in successive stages originally unconnected elements. Fortunately, we know not only the remote origins (Period I) but also fairly advanced conceptualizations which can be called the immediate precursors of the theory (Period II). We have therefore to study these conceptualizations (taking them as subjects *sui generis* but at the same time as typical products of Period II) in order to throw light on the *guṇasthāna* theory.

As a first step we isolate "Motif I" and "Motif II". The former is mainly represented by a pair of verses ("A" and "B"), describing how a cluster of 28 negative psychic factors (roots-of-evil) is attacked in two ways, suppression ("A") and destruction ("B"). The two *āryā* stanzas occur inter alia in the Bṛhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya (834-35). Motif II is a multi-layered classification based on the opposition of "more contaminated and less contaminated" (root-of-evil categories of a more general character). See Prajñāpanā §§ 120-32 (Jaina-Āgama-Series IX 1). Motifs I and II are intimately connected with the *kaṣāya* concept (anger-pride-deceit-greed) which can here be called a sub-motif.

Motifs I and II recur in the *guṇasthāna* theory at three different places. The theory describes

how the 148 types of *karma* can be attacked (suppressed/destroyed) by five proportionate strategies, and it presents the different stations of *karma* annihilation in the form of the 14 *guṇasthānas* (rungs of a ladder and units of soteriological classification). Here we recognize Motif I as the fourth out of 8 basic *karma* categories (*mohanīya*) and as a conceptual pair amongst the five offensive strategies. Motif II has been converted into the upper part of the *guṇasthāna* chain (nos. 8-14), thus supplying 50% of the vocabulary of the chain.

Our paper has a content-oriented aspect (soteriology as part of the wider field of practical dogmatics) and a formal one (laying open the infrastructure of a field of research before starting research proper)

*Bibl.*: H. von Glasenapp, Karman (1915 and 1980); H. Jacobi, translation of Umāsvāti's Tattvārthadhigamasūtra (ZDMG LX); Suzuko Ohira, Tattvārthasūtra (L.D.Series 86, 1982), see especially pp. 99-101.

GENSEI ASANO

### *The Yoga System in the Thought of Haribhadra-Sūri*

The principal theme of my paper is to introduce some points concerning Haribhadra-sūri's interpretation of 8 types of Yoga. He takes up the 8 types of Yoga in YDS. verse 12 to 20.

First, in verse 13, he lists the 8 types of Yoga: *mitrā*, *tārā*, *balā*, *dīprā*, *sthirā*, *kāntā*, *prabhā* and *parā*. In connection with verse 13, he gives a simile in verse 15. *Mitrā* corresponds to *trṇa*, *tārā* to *gomaya*, *balā* to *kāṣṭhā*, *dīprā* to *kaṇḍāṭṭha*, *sthirā* to *ratna*, *kāntā* to *tārā*, *prabhā* to *arka* and *parā* to *candra*. These similes are important. His aim here was to divide 8 types of Yoga into 2 parts in this verse. The former 4 types and the latter 4 types clearly make a separate set. The former 4 types express the brightness of fire which exists visually as a concrete being, while the latter 4 express the light which we can perceive indirectly, which is far away or seen through reflection.

As a matter of fact, Haribhadra seems to think that, as a result of dividing Yoga into 3 types, the former 4 corresponds to *sāmarthyayoga*. It is difficult to see how he understands the relationship between the 8 types of Yoga and the Jain 14 *guṇasthāna* just on the basis of these verses.

But verse 14 of YDS. provides us with the key to this problem. In this verse, Haribhadra states "the worldly viewpoint or *oghadṛṣṭi* should be known; it must not be free from *mithyādrṣṭi*". This is important, for *mithyādrṣṭi* corresponds to the first of the Jain 14 *guṇasthāna*. Moreover, in this verse, *saddṛṣṭi* which is opposite in conception to *mithyādrṣṭi*, is used. Haribhadra thinks all 8 types of Yoga correspond to this *saddṛṣṭi*. Therefore, we must recognize that all 8 types of Yoga correspond to second *guṇasthāna* on up. Concerning the point of divisions between the former 4 and the latter 4, K. K. Dixit holds that it is between the third and fourth *guṇasthānas*. But I have no concrete evidence for it. However even the former 4, which Haribhadra explains that "These are used to contract with degradation" in YDS. verse 19, are distinguished from *oghadṛṣṭi*. This is an important point.

Moreover, we have to point out that, in his explanation of 8 types Yoga, he is very much conscious of one other 8-fold classification of Yoga, especially Patañjali's 8 types of Yoga.



In YDS. verse 16, he introduces *yama-ādi*, *kheda-ādi*, *a-dveṣa-ādi* of which he is conscious in his explanation of the 8 types of Yoga. *Yama-ādi* corresponds to Patañjali's 8 types of Yoga: *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, *samādhi*.

*A-kheda-ādi* is mentioned in his other work, *Ṣoḍaśaka*, from which he quotes. He enumerates 8 weak points of human spiritual activities, and explains the order in which these 8 points are to be remedied: *a-kheda*, *an-udvega*, *a-kṣepa*, *an-uthāna*, *a-bhrānti*, *an-anyamud*, *a-ruk*, *an-āsaṅga*. I have yet to find the origin of *a-dveṣa-ādi*.

In reading Haribhadra's Yoga works, we must keep the following points in mind. If not, we shall misunderstand the context of Haribhadra's works. Haribhadra has a very good understanding of Sāṃkhya-Yoga. He holds that *mokṣa* can be achieved through the practice of Yoga. Yoga is taken up by him for this purpose, which is realization of *sarvajñā* as a best man of character in Jainism. Moreover, in analyzing the various types of Yoga, which is indigenous to Jain thought. He takes up Yoga because he sees it as a profitable instrument for such purposes. In YDS. verse 16, we can surmise the following things when he contrasts his Yoga with Patañjali's. As for his enumeration of 8 types of Yoga, although it formally follows the common classification method, Haribhadra tries to make it fit his own intention, in the hopes to achieve the highest grade on 14 *guṇasthāna*.

(YDS.: Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya; ed. and tr. with Haribhadra's Yogaviṃśika, by Krishna Kumar Dixit. L.D.ser. 27, 1970)

NALINI BALBIR

#### *Anadhyāya According to the Jainas*

*Anadhyāya* is the technical designation of various sets of causes or taboos creating temporary "intermission of study" of the Veda in Brahmanical normative texts (cf. K. GLASER, "Der indische Student. Auf Grund der Dharmaśāstra- und Gṛhyasūtraliteratur". ZDMG 66, 1912, esp. 19-22; P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra* II, 1, 394-402; Ch. MALAMOUD, *Le Svādhyāya*. Paris 1977, 53-54; for the Śaiva Āgamas, see, recently, *Mṛgendrāgama*, trsl. H. BRUNNER. Pondichéry 1985, 371-375). The Jainas also have dealt with this topic (pk. *a-sajjhāya* = Skt. *a-svādhyāya*) in their old Books of Discipline. The present paper is based on the following sources: a) Sthānāngasūtra 10; b) three closely related texts: Vyavahāra-bhāṣya 7.266-406 (on sūtra 7.14-16), Nīśītha-bhāṣya vss. 6074-6178 and 6065-6068 (on sūtra 19), and Āvaśyakaniryukti vss. 1321-1417 (on Āv. sūtra *akāle kao sajjhāo ... asajjhāe sajjhāiyam* ...); c) the Dīgambara Mūlācāra 5.77-82 (ed. trsl. K. OKUDA. Hamburg 1975). It considers three questions:

1. Why *anadhyāya*? Defining proper and improper time for study is necessary to take full advantage of the teaching. The scriptures are equated with a deity: lack of respect towards them results in an offence which brings new karman and endless rebirths (see the first *drṣṭānta* in Vyavahāra, Nīśītha and Āvaśyaka).
2. Scope of *anadhyāya*. *Anadhyāya* does not mean cessation of all types of reading. Basic recitation and learning of handbooks can be carried out. Only texts which owe their authority to prestigious masters are excluded (according to Mūlācāra 5.80-82; but hints found in Śvetāmbara sources are less clear).

3. Typology of *anadhyāya*. The shortest accounts are restricted to lists of atmospheric disturbances (Sthānāngasūtra 10; similarly in the simplest Gṛhyasūtras). More than half the terms appear in the same contexts in Brahmanical sources, whether the same word or a synonym. Two difficult words are mentioned only in Śvetāmbara works (*jūya* and *jakkh'ālitta*).

In the Mūlācāra, like in many of the Dharmaśāstras, instances of *Anadhyāya*-causes build a rather sundry collection which can easily be inflated. On the contrary, the Chedasūtras and the Āvaśyakaniryukti attempt to classify these causes. They distinguish between factors "of external origin" (*para-samuttham*) pertaining to time or place (five categories are discussed at length), and "physiological reasons" (*āya-samuttham*); i.e. fistulas or menstrual blood). This dichotomy clearly reminds of the Brahmanical phrase: *dvāv anadhyāyau yad ātmāśucir yad deśaḥ* (Tait. Ār. II.15 = ĀśvGrSū 3.4.7).

Thus, when discussing *anadhyāya*, the Jainas have naturally been influenced by the Indian cultural background and the technical terminology connected with the subject (e.g. in the case of atmospheric phenomena). On the other hand, they have adjusted the common Indian speculations to the important points of their own doctrine: refer to the emphasis laid upon factors implying violence (fights, riots ...: *vuggaha*) which are not listed in all Hindu sources, or the designation *saṃjama-ghāa* ("which damages self-control", i.e. *hiṃsā*) applied to natural disturbances.

Interestingly enough, Theravāda Buddhist sources have purposely refrained from considering the topic of *anadhyāya*. Meteors, strange lights, earthquakes, eclipses (P. *ukkāpāta*, *disādāha*, *bhūmikampa*, etc.) which are thought of as omens worthy of attention in Hinduism and Jainism are regarded as mere superstitions specific of Brahmanic ideology (DN I 10, 17; J I 374, 3\*-6\* ≠ Sn 360; J VI 475, 30\*-31\*; Mil 178, 20).

HARNAM SINGH SHAN

#### *Prof. Dr. Ernst Trumpp's Contribution to Semitic, Indian and Sikh Studies*

Dr. Ernst Trumpp (1828-1885) was one of the most gifted Orientalists and learned missionaries of the Nineteenth Century. He was a born polyglot scholar who was bestowed with the rare talent of learning Occidental and Oriental languages with equal ease. His capacity to master especially Semitic and North-Indian languages, learn their scripts and conduct pioneering research about them was remarkable. His scholarly command even on their lore and literature was also distinguishable. Hence his contribution to their fold is not only memorable but also manifold and monumental.

He entered the field of Semitic studies during the last phase of his active life. Even then he contributed enough to their domain by publishing some searching articles, such as *Accent in Ethiopic Language* in 1874, and a critical edition and translation of *Ajrumiyah*, famous Arabic grammar, in 1876.

His contribution to the Indian Studies was rather more significant and voluminous. On his arrival in India around 1854, as soon as he learnt Sindhi, he prepared *Sindhi Reading Book* and published it in 1858. In it was used for the first time in print its Arabacised alphabet



which Trumpp had himself got cut. He was the first to compile, edit and publish in 1866 *Divan of Abd-ul-Latif Shah*, masterpiece of Sindhi literature. His Grammars of *Sindhi* and *Pushtoo languages* (1872 and 1873) are still regarded as their standard, learned and best grammatical treatises. He published his Grammatical Note of Kafiri and Dardui in 1862. But his findings on Brahui and grammars of Nepali and Prakrit have remained unpublished.

Trumpp turned to 'Hindui'. Panjabi and Sikh Studies in 1869 when he was assigned the translation into English of Sikh Scriptures by British Government. He has many firsts to his credit in the domain of Sikh Studies too, as he was the first to translate and produce into English *Guru Granth Sahib* (about one-third of Sikhs' Holy Book) and two oldest *Janamsakhis* (biographical accounts of Guru Nanak, their founder); present the original text of Guru Nanak's masterpiece, *Japji*, in its present printed form; compile the first-ever grammar and dictionary of the *Holy Granth* (which he could neither finalise nor publish), acclaiming it as "the treasury of the old Hindui dialects"; and publish two books in German on Guru Nanak (1876) and Sikh Religion (1881). He initiated and conducted thereby critical, comparative and scientific study of Sikh lore and literature. The stir created by some of his translations and observations, offending the susceptibilities of the Sikh community, generated, in turn, a re-examination of the Scriptures by various scholars resulting into the preparation and publication of considerable literature and reference works on the subject, proving it thus a blessing in disguise.

Trumpp's volume came out in 1877 under the title *The Adi Granth*. He spared no pains to prepare and produce that voluminous work. But it was accepted neither by the Sikh community nor approved by the scholarly world, because "Trumpp had no inclining of the system on which the *Granth* was arranged." (Pincott, 1866). Besides, he "was by no means a trustworthy translator" (Max Müller, 1901). "At most places it was so literally rendered as to make the superb poetic original look ridiculous in translation", (Lohelin, 1958). Moreover, "His work was highly inaccurate and obscure to the extreme. He gave mortal offence to the Sikhs by the *odium theologicum* introduced into it (Macauliffe, 1909). "It was universally disapproved because of Trumpp's hostile bias; he took every opportunity to misrepresent and to belittle the Gurus and the Sikh religion" (Duncan Greenlees, 1952) — "resulting into first-ever attempt at the English translation of the *Granth Sahib* ending in fiasco". (Talib, 1984).

Trumpp's contribution to Oriental Studies also lies in his collection of some rare manuscripts and research material which he brought home and some of which now stands preserved in German repositories.

MOHAMMAD ISRAIL KHAN

#### *The System of Education in India During the Time of the Vāmana-Purāṇa*

The *Vāmana-Purāṇa* is one of the principal *Purāṇas* and is also one of the celebrated *Rājasa-Purāṇas*. The *Purāṇas* are the basis of the bulk of Indian thinking on matters-social, cultural, religious and political. The *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, too, plays a pivotal role in the life and culture of Indian people and it vividly describes a set of pattern of social, monetary, geographical, political, philosophical, religious and educational systems. In the present context, some systems are mentioned as follows:

a) *Aim of Education*: During the time of the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, the *Varṇāśramadharama* was in full practice related to moral, ethical, mental, physical etc., through education.

b) *Age of pupil and duration of education*: The *Vāmana-Purāṇa* says that pupil should go for schooling only after the *Upanayana-Saṃskāra*. At a place in this *Purāṇa* it is said that *Upanayana-Saṃskāra* of a pupil was performed at the age of nine by Vasiṣṭha (23/2). Taking *Smṛtis* and other literature into account, it seems that schooling would have been between nine and twelve.

c) *Centre of education*: During the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, the formal education of pupils started at the *Āśramas* or in the homes of teachers (1/2). Most of such *Āśramas* were located in the villages or in cities.

d) *The Institutions and the number of students*: In this *Purāṇa*, there is the mentioning of various *Gurukulas* or *Āśramas*, but there is no mentioning of number of students therein. One and more than one student are mentioned in this regard.

e) *Fee and punishment*: There was no fee system. This *Purāṇa* assigns great sin to fee, if taken. If a Guru took fee, he was looked down upon and he was unfit for *Ṛtvika*. However, *Gurudakṣiṇā* was in vogue. There was no physical punishment as pupil led a disciplined life and was cursed sometimes for his misdeed or sin.

f) *Co-education*: In the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, there is no mentioning of co-education. However, women education is mentioned at several places. By the study of this *Purāṇa*, we are sure that women of this age, were literate and they knew reading and writing. We are not definite where and how, they got their formal education. In some other *Purāṇas*, co-education is mentioned.

In the modern age, the readers must be anxious to know whether co-education was prevalent in India, or not. Our literary records don't shed a flood of light on this aspect. The *Māliumādhava* of Bhavabhūti was written in the 8th century A.D. By this drama, we come to know that Kāmandakī got her formal education with her co-fellows Bhūriyasu and Devarāṭa. By this rendering, we deduce that by the time of Bhavabhūti and even somewhat earlier, female pupils used to sit by male pupils for their education and they practised Brahmacarya. Again, Bhavabhūti shows Ātreya, in the *Uttarāramacarita*, studying with Kuśa and Lava in the *Āśrama* of Vālmiki (Act.2). In some other *Purāṇas*, in the anecdotes of Mahoda, Sujātā, Pramadavarā, etc. it is shown that girls got married, when they reached full youthhood. They took their education with their counterparts. Sometimes, girls and boys got engaged on the Gāndharva style. It seems that in the Purāṇic age, too, there were *Gurukulas* separate for girls and boys as some are found even today. But *Gurukulas* for girls could exist only, when there were able female teachers. In their absence, parents sent their wards in the *Gurukulas* patronised by Ācāryas. In the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, there are no specific references of the type.



VIJAI GOVIND

*Historical Astronomical Instruments of Ancient and Medieval India*

The abundant crop of literary and archeological sources shed valuable light on the origin and evolution of the Historical Astronomical Instruments of Ancient and Medieval India. The evidence on record testify that both simple and sophisticated scientific instruments mainly belong to the disciplines of astronomy (Nakshatra Vidya); Jyotish Vidya, surveying (Sulba Sastra), architecture (Vastu Sastra) etc. were devised and profusely employed during ancient and medieval India.

Besides referring to the typological classification of nearly 20 kinds of ancient scientific instruments the paper has also highlighted the other sophisticated astronomical instruments like Globes (astronomical and geographical type Gola Yantra) Compass (Machchya Yantra), Sextant theodolite (Yasti Yantra), Plane table (triphalak), Sun-dials (Samrat Yantra) etc.

It is evident that the sources like Vedanga Jyotish, Sulba Sutra, Varahmihira's Panchasiddhantika, Bhaskaracharya, Lalla, Bhaskaracharya II, Suryasiddhanta, Sripati's Siddhanta Siromani, Aryabhatta's Aryabhatiya, Siddhanta Sekhara, Triprasnavasana, Ganesh Daivojna's Pratodoyantra, Yantra Cintamani, Yantra Cintamanidipika, Yantra Cintamanitika, Yantra Cintamani Vivarana, Yantra Cintamani Vivrti, Yantra Dipika, Yantradhyaya Vivrti; Yantra Ghatna, Yantra Prakash; Yantra Raj, Yantra Raj Paddhiti etc. etc. shed valuable light on the diversified kinds of astronomical instruments.

The foreign travellers like Herodotus and Diodorus siculus also corroborate the existence of these instruments and refer to the measurement of time as well as longitude and latitude of sources of heavenly bodies with the help of sun-dials. The paper also refers to the typological classification instruments of Astronomical Instruments of Ancient and Medieval India.

Astrolabes (Planmaspherium of flat type, Spherical type, Rod type), Globes (Ziauddin Muhammed Lahore 1064 AH, Qaim Muhamad Lahore 1047 AH, Smith's Celestial Globe 18th Century), Masonry Astronomical Instruments, Azimuth Instrument (Digamsa Yantra) Circular Dial (Nadivalaya Yantra), Circular astrolable (Ram Yantra) Cylindrical astrolab (Ram Yantra), Equatorial (Chakra Yantra), Quinoxial Dial (Samrat Yantra), Hemisphere (Jai Prakash Yantra), Hemisphere (Kapala Yantra), Meridian Circle or Mural Quadrant (Daksinvrttiyantra), Mixed Instrument (Misra Yantra).

The Persian and Arabic sources like Al-alat al-'ajaiba al-rasadiya by Abu Ja'far Al-khazin (d. 961-71), Al-alat al-rasadiya by Ibn Sina (980-037), translated into German by Wiedemann and Juynball (1926), Risalah fi al-alat al-rasadiya by Abdarrahman Al-khazini (ff. 1120), investigated by S. M. R. Ansari & S. A. Khan Ghor (1984), Kitab Jami al-mabadi wa-al-ghayat by Al-Hasan Al-Marrakushi (d. 1262), translated and studied by Sedillet (1845), Risalah fi Kayfiyya al-arsad by Mu'ayyad Al-Din Al-Uradi (13th C.), translated into German by Seemann (1928) and edited with Turkish and English translation by Tekeli (1956/1972), Risalah dar sharha alati-rasad by Ghiyathuddin Al-Kashi (d. 1430), text published with English translation by Kennedy (1961), Risala fi alat al-rasad by Nizamuddin Al-Barjandi (d. 1525), Risalahata'lim-i-alat-i-rasad by 'Abdul Munl' im Al-'Amilio (16th c.), Jami'al-anwar min al-Kwakib wa al-absar by Qasim Ali Qayini (d. 1650), Risalah alat al-rasad by Abul Qasim Abu Bakr (unknown), Yantraprakara (on Arabic Instruments) in Sanskrit by Swai Jai Singh (1686-1743) etc. etc. also shed valuable light on scientific instruments.

R. K. KAR

*Tea Plantation Labour in Assam  
Some Anthropological Observations*

India produces the largest quantity of tea in the world. The leading provinces in this respect are Assam and West Bengal.

There are some 750 odd tea gardens covering about 0.20 million hectares of land in Assam. The average number of labourers employed in a day is around 0.40 million. They are mostly tribals, drawn from various cultural, linguistic and ethnic heritages from other provinces.

At present, about 20 percent of the total population of Assam is constituted by the tea and ex-tea labour groups. They are distributed in at least 61 major tribes and 40 castes.

In the present setting, the people have been exposed to many non-traditional conditions, for example, (i) contact with numerous other groups belonging to various tribes (and castes) working in the same industry, (ii) contact with the garden officials with varied cultural and urban background, (iii) contact with the heterogenous local people living in the neighbourhood, (iv) involvement in cash economy, (v) urban contacts, (vi) education, and (vii) association in the various activities of labour union in different capacities.

All these factors seem to have influenced the peoples' socio-economic and socio-religious life to a remarkable degree. In certain areas they have adapted very effectively resulting into some re-organization of their traditional ways of life. In some areas, however, the tradition yet seems to work as an inhibitive factor in their successful adaptation. Degree of adaptation seems to vary with generation also.

The per-capita income of the people is at par with that of the rural Assam. But, most of them spend a lot towards country liquor. Many youths spend a major amount for purchasing non-traditional consumer and other goods like fashionable clothes, wrist-watch, radio etc. A numerically small group however, has realized the value and necessity of money, and some of them have resorted to the habit of regular savings with some Savings Organizations.

Regarding the social situation, some scholars observe that the tea labour in Assam has an undifferentiated class structure because they work and live under similar conditions.

In daily, economic, social, political and religious life there does not exist enough scope for the people to experience their independent ethnic identity in the present setting. Besides, ethnic specificity does not seem to derive any differential treatment from the management.

Thus, it may apparently be concluded that the tea labourers in Assam form an undifferentiated society sharing a common composite culture.

But, this appears to be only one aspect of the total situation. There are certain occasions when the various groups overtly and covertly tend to assert their ethnic identities in the midst of this multi-ethnic setting.

Some of the numerically dominant groups have been found to organize district and state level conferences at regular intervals to express ethnic affiliation and renew group solidarity. Recently, an organized movement is gaining momentum to pressurize the Government to declare various tea and ex-tea labour groups as scheduled tribes and castes.



All these are probably indicative of the fact that the tea labourers in Assam who share many things in common tend to maintain dual identities.

SANTASILAN KADIRGAMAR

*Nationalism and Conflict in Sri Lanka*

The concepts 'nation', 'nation-state' and 'nationalism' are complex. Nationalism today is no longer identical with that which was prevalent in nineteenth century Europe, or in early twentieth century Asia. The partitioning of India in 1947 marked the beginning of a turbulent search for a redefinition of what constitutes a 'nation' in Asia. The nationalism of the period prior to decolonization was a territorial nationalism born out of a colony whose territorial limits had been determined by the powerful European rulers. The one unifying emotive force behind the nationalisms of this period was the anti-imperialist freedom movement. Little thought was given to the problems of minorities within the existing territorial units.

In Sri Lanka the assertion that the Tamils are a distinct 'nation' has become the central issue in the country's politics and has led to a serious conflict situation. This demand was first made by the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi (Federal Party). At its first National Convention in 1951 the party claimed that "the Tamil-speaking people in Ceylon constitute a nation distinct from that of the Sinhalese by every fundamental test of nationhood," and demanded "for the Tamil-speaking nation in Ceylon their inalienable right to political autonomy," based on the right to self-determination.

The Sinhalese majority reacted with hostility. The period 1955-56 saw the birth of a resurgent Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism which in turn had momentous consequences. Sinhalese nationalism had a partially progressive content, in seeking to free the country from the remnants of imperialism and in attempting to restore the language, religion (Buddhism) and culture of the Sinhalese people to their rightful place, after four centuries of European domination. But Sinhalese leaders began to play in a most dangerous and opportunistic manner with the forces of Sinhala chauvinism. In 1956 the Sinhalese dominated Government of Ceylon enacted that Sinhalese only shall be the official language of Sri Lanka. The Tamils were pushed into resistance. The demand for political autonomy that remained a minority demand among the Tamils soon became a majority demand. Continuing discrimination and oppression with regard to citizenship rights, land settlement, official language, education and employment resulted in the Tamils making the ultimate demand for the right to self determination including the right to secession in 1976.

In the context of the conflict between two resurgent nationalisms in Sri Lanka, it is vital that the model of the nation-state imposed by the Europeans on Asia be re-examined. Solutions may possibly be sought by giving due importance to the principle of self-determination, and the establishment of autonomous units within a larger framework of inter-dependent units.

IZZUD-DIN PAL

*Pakistan, Islam, and Economic Development*

The case of Pakistan once again underlines the fact that there is an intimate link between economics and politics, and between an economic system and a political system of a country. The government of President Zia-ul Haq has taken several steps to Islamicize the country and its economy. All this may seem to be a sudden development, but it is in fact the result of a long evolution in the short history of Pakistan. The purpose of this paper is to establish a perspective on this issue.

What role was Islam to play in the economic and political life of the country was never clearly defined during the days of the Pakistan movement. For Zia-ul Haq and his supporters, Pakistan was created to be an ideological state, i.e., to reestablish the Sharia (the Divine Law of Islam) in the country as interpreted by the classical jurists. For the modernists, the purpose of Pakistan was to create a state with Muslim majority, to get rid of Hindu domination in the decision-making process concerning their lives. Although, at present, the weight of Zia-ul Haq's government is on the side of the Islamic fundamentalists, the issue is far from being resolved.

With regard to the Islamic question, there is a clear division within the religious group. The traditional ulama would accept minimal Islam as established by the secular authorities, so that the daily prayers, zakat (the religious tax), family laws of inheritance, and the abolition of riba (usury) are maintained. For the militant Islamicists, led by the Jamaat-e-Islami, the establishment of Nizam-e-Mustafa (the system of the golden period of Islam) is the raison d'être of Pakistan's existence. Islamic economics, as it has become to be known, is largely based on Jamaat's interpretation of the Islamic system, with the so-called interest-free banking as the pivot for this kind of economy.

The first Constitution (1956) of Pakistan laid the foundations for the enforcement of minimal Islam, but the pressure from the fundamentalists continued. The 1973 Constitution of Bhutto reflected some important concessions to the fundamentalists that were to become instrumental for the Zia-ul Haq regime in pursuit of its Islamicization programme. As part of the goal for Nizam-e-Mustafa, the system of zakat was introduced in 1980, of ushr (tax on the produce of land) in 1983, and of Islamic banking in 1985. Zakat and ushr are proportional taxes and are likely at best to have mixed effects on the economy. The interest-free banking is in fact a replacement of the market interest by a variety of subterfuges, not all in line with the fundamentalist view of Islamic banking which is a very simple form of profit and loss sharing.

Almost the entire literature on Islamic economics is based on the fundamentalist view of Islamic economics. The paper presents an examination of the dissenting opinions of modern Islamicists such as Fazlur Rahman and Syed Yagub Shah concerning riba and other related matters in order to underline the fact that the Qur'anic precepts are subject to interpretation, and that these dissenting opinions deserve a careful consideration in any serious discussion about the future of Pakistan economy.



B.R. GOPAL

*Two Dominant Societies of South India — Karnataka and Tamil Nadu  
A Study in Contrast*

*Preamble:* Historians, in general, consider South India as a Politico-cultural region distinct from North India. A few decades ago, the term 'South India' included also the Deccan inclusive of present-day Maharashtra, denoting all the regions below the Vindhya mountains. But this connotation has now undergone a change and is now associated with four Southern States — Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. But it has been seen that historians treat this region as one unit, although strictly they will be referring only to Tamil Nadu. Of late, such has been the trend even among Indian and Western scholars who have specialised on South Asian and more particularly, Indian regional histories. Burton Stein, G. W. Spencer, N. Karashima, Kathleen Gough, Indrapala, R. Champakalakshmi, Y. Subbarayalu and others have, in the last decade, written about religious, social, economic and administrative aspects of 'South India' or 'Medieval South India' etc. But surprisingly, almost always their studies are restricted to Tamil Nadu. It would appear from their writings that conclusions arrived at by them apply to whole of South India. The major source material for their studies has been the rich crop of Tamil inscriptions. But most of them forget that almost vying with Tamil ones are Kannada and Sanskrit inscriptions from Karnataka and a close scrutiny of these would show that generalisations made by the above scholars and several others do not hold good to the society of the State of Karnataka.

The purpose of my study in this project is to stress the fact that South India of today has two predominant societies with distinctly different characteristics.

*Geographically*, this part of India could be divided into two regions, one below Cauvery comprising of Tamil Nadu and Kerala States and the other that region of the Deccan between Godavari and Cauvery comprising of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Tamil Nadu depends very much upon Cauvery which is its only major river, that, however, comes from Karnataka. There are other big rivers like Tungabhadra and Krishna in Karnataka which had stretched upto Godavari in Karnataka making its land more fertile. Seasonal rains help tank irrigation and this makes the people get sufficient land yields without much effort. Hence, the people are easy going and contented while the Tamilians are robust enterprising and ambitious. The people of Coastal Karnataka seek fresh pastures away from their bases only because they have insufficient land and poor yields. They thus resemble the Tamilians much of whose land is coastal and salty. That is why they have greater overseas contacts.

*Historically*, there has been rivalry and incessant warfare between the two, down to the 14th century. But Tamilians have been on the offensive all along with an eye on the occupation of the Cauvery region and the Tungabhadra-Krishna deltas. People of Karnataka have withstood the onslaughts bravely and only perhaps on less than half a dozen occasions have invaded. The wars have been long-drawn out. That no battle was decisive speaks of the valour and grit with which both sides fought. It was only with the birth of Vijayanagara that these units were brought under one rule and this brought about important changes in South Indian society. But the Tamilians were engaged in loot and boast of it while Kannadigas have been too shy even to speak of their own victories.

*Culturally*, Tamil Nadu was predominantly folk and 'Dravidian'. Karnataka was Aryanised and 'Sanskritised' much early and has inherited vedic culture. Tamilians have resisted Aryan

elements. Karnataka has welcomed all religions and philosophies, Buddhism, Jainism, Srivaishnavism have always been well received and patronised. In Tamil Nadu Saivism is the major religion, and because of the Bhakti movement that mostly originated there, Srivaishnavism was accepted and tolerated. Other religions, down till the 14th century, have had practically no footing. The traditional account of persecution of non-Saivas there stands corroborated at least to some extent. Virasaivism of Karnataka was revolutionary, against the traditional 'rigid' customs etc. in the society. It was with the advent of neo-Saivism that Karnataka stepped into the Bhakti movement. Temples have played remarkable role in Tamil Nadu, virtually being centres of religious, socio-cultural activities and even acting as 'segmentary States'. The Tamil inscriptions speak of 'distribution pattern' of gift lands and villages, social conflicts between the left and right hand groups, the activities of the *Sabhas*, the *Urars*, *nattars* etc. They give minute details of usage of gift land and seem to be laying down checks to prevent misuse. The beneficiaries enjoying them hereditarily for even centuries seem to make them develop vested interests. But the very format of Kannada inscriptions is different. They record grants of lands or villages to temples, made over in lumps to the *stanapatis* who had obviously complete freedom in utilising them as they deemed fit. A general statement occurs stipulating that the revenue is to be utilised for worship and offerings etc. But the modalities of such use are not specified. This would explain the decline of the temples as institutions in the 12th Century consequent to Virasaiva movement and the rise of *mathas* in those places where once temples flourished. It may be noted that Temple-building activities virtually came to a standstill in the region above the Cauvery while in the southern area due to Tamil influence and the purely aesthetic and artistic outlook of Hoysalas, temples continued to be social institutions and religious centres to preserve *Dharma*, which due to the Muslim inroads in the north now needed protection.

*Architecturally and sculpturally* too, one can notice the distinctions. Temples of Tamil Nadu, and the sculptures therein are more 'male' than those of Karnataka which are 'female'. There is greater liveliness grace and beauty in the bends and curves of Karnataka achitecture and sculpture. The concept of *parivara* shrines, *gopuras* and *prakara* walls originated quite early in Tamil Nadu. The massive pillars, huge *mantapas* and other adjuncts characterise its architecture, features which came to be adopted in a smaller measure in Karnataka from the 14th Century. Karnataka has assimilated features of both the north and the south and evolved a style of its own.

*Script and language* also indicate the different features. Epigraphically speaking, Tamil engravings are bold, deep and big, Grantha being used for Sanskrit. Kannada letterings are frail, thin, small. In Kannada epigraphy artistry is considered to be a virtue and an accomplishment. Sanskritic influence is pronounced both in Language and Literature. Epigraphs turn out to be beautiful, poetical compositions from the 10th-11th centuries, but contentwise they are strictly factual and speak little. This is quite in contrast with Tamil epigraphs which are elaborate and list out minute details giving practically no room for ambiguity. They are veritable treasures to reconstruct Tamil society, trace their economy and get an insight into the tensions of class conflicts, administrative acrobats. They help us to know the make up of the Tamil mind.

*Investigation.* My object is to stress the fact that here we have two distinctly different societies. As assumed by and large, neither in matters of administration, nor in the facets of society or culture are they the same. We could possibly see in them Dravidian and Aryan



prototypes, in the TAMILIAN and the KANNADIGA.

S. AZIMJANOVA

*Humayun-nama, a Valuable Historical and Ethnographic Source Material*

Humayun-nama (The Book of Humayun) is a well-known source material for the study of the history of what is now Soviet Middle Asia, Afghanistan, Iran and India during the reign of Humayun (1530-1556). The book was written by Gulbadan Begim, a daughter of Zahiriddin Babur, the founder of the Great Moghul Empire of India, who was also a renowned historian and lyrical poet. Gulbadan was the only woman in the medieval East to have left behind such a valuable historical account.

Gulbadan received a good education. Her early years having been spent in Kabul, she was subsequently taken to Agra, where she was surrounded by scholars and prominent statesmen, who came from Maverannahr and Khorasan. Humayun-nama contains no details about Gulbadan's biography.

Gulbadan's arrival in Agra is dated 935 A.H. (1528). The events recounted by Gulbadan took place during her father's rule of India and drawn from Babur-nama, which the author had read in the original Uzbek version. Uzbek was the native tongue both of Gulbadan and of Babur's numerous companions-in-arms who had come to India. Gulbadan wrote Humayun-nama in Persian, of which she also had a good command.

As regards the general outline of the events, the structure, style and manner of presentation, Humayun-nama is akin to Babur-nama. This book, small but rich in historical facts, shows the author's originality of narration. In the present author's opinion, this is due to the fact that it was written by a woman whose scope of interests was basically different from that of the court historians — all men.

Gulbadan relates noteworthy facts about the last days of Babur's life and about his death. They form an essential supplement to Babur-nama, and since the final parts of the latter book are a subsequent addition, Gulbadan's data about Babur's closing days of life furnish simply unique relevant witness evidence.

Well-informed about the events in Northern India during Humayun's rule (1530-1556) and a witness of many of these events, Gulbadan strove to give an extremely detailed picture of the political situation in India after Babur's death. This explains why Humayun-nama contains such a meticulous description of the political history of mid-16th century India, in particular, of Padishah Humayun's efforts to preserve and consolidate Baburid power in India, as well as of his encounters with Afghan feudal lords in Bengal, Bihar, Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, Kanauj, etc. There is a minute description of Humayun's struggle for power in India with his strong enemy Sher Shah Sur and of two battles — first at Chausi (June 27, 1539), then at Kanauj (May 1540), which ended in Humayun's defeat and his forced flight to Kazvin, in Iran. Interesting information is furnished with regard to Humayun's life at the court of Shah Tahmasp I of Iran (1513-1557).

Alongside political events, Humayun-nama reflects the diplomatic and trade relations in the state of Babur and Humayun.

Humayun-nama contains curious facts regarding the role and position of women at the Baburid court.

Judging by the data given in Mir Mahdi Khoja's book Gulbadan was also endowed with a talent for poetry. As an example of her poetic vision it reproduces her distich preserved on the folios of the MSS Nishtari ishk and Tazkirat-ul-hawatin. It reads:

هر پری روئیک او عاشق خود یار نیست  
تو یقین میدان که هیچ از عمر بر فردا نیست

Mind that no beauty who has not known sweetheart love  
Will ever be happy in her subsequent life.

Gulbadan Begim was the only woman in the mediaeval East to have become a historian and to have written an account of 16th-century India which occupies a worthy place in the historiography of what is now Soviet Central Asia and India and is a major source material for historians and ethnographers.

RENATE WÜNSCHE

*The Non-aligned Movement in the Struggle of Our Time*

It is an important fact, that the non-aligned movement in the 1980s disposes of an important understanding of peace which has gradually emerged in the course of its 25 years of development. The movement's understanding of peace consists of two main parts which have to be considered and evaluated in their unity: one part is related to global issues (necessity of the prevention of a nuclear war, disarmament in the nuclear fields and safeguarding world-peace), whereas the other one concerns regional problems (political settlement of regional conflicts, anti-colonialism and struggle for changing their economic situation). Sometimes it proves to be very hard to draw a dividing line between them. This cannot be done just because today most of these problems belong to the global problems of mankind and are by no means of regional significance only. This rather was to elaborate the specifics of a number of positions held by developing or non-aligned countries which essentially influence and stimulate their understanding of peace. As a matter of fact, the mentioned global problems as well as the problems described by regional factors form a unity. They condition each other as seen from the developing countries' position. During the past years this understanding has grown among the developing countries. For various reasons the non-aligned countries attribute special importance to economic questions. Considering their enormous difficulties resulting from the still existing economic dependence on imperialism as well as continuing neocolonial exploitation, they attach great weight to the struggle for bringing about a change of their subordinate and unequal position within capitalist world economy, against backwardness, starvation, indebtedness and blackmail, for economic development. The extreme deterioration of their economic situation in the 1980s is, first and foremost, due to the course of confrontation and arms build-up followed by the most aggressive circles of imperialism. There is a vast anachronism in the present world, i.e. at the end of the 20th century: \$ 1 billion of arms expenditure, on the one side, under-development, backwardness,



starvation and misery for millions of people, on the other. The incompatibility of peace and development with the arms race is obvious.

Quite naturally the majority of non-aligned countries increasingly feel their peace and security interests endangered by the existing economic inequality, dependence, discrimination, and subordination caused by the policy of imperialism. Their security interests do not only originate in political and strategic motives but, to a growing extent and simultaneously, in economic and social conditions. Their struggle for world peace and nuclear disarmament serves to ban the danger of a nuclear inferno, however, it includes as well the demands and hopes for economic development of the non-aligned countries. They consider their economic struggle to be part and parcel of the struggle for peace and disarmament. Economy means to them a significant field of the struggle for peace and a substantial element of the tasks to be solved in the struggle for peace. Their struggle for a new international economic order, for overcoming starvation, against foreign indebtedness, against economic pressure and neocolonial exploitation is an essential component of the worldwide struggle for peace, disarmament and development.

V. M. NEMCHINOV

*Systemic Organization of National Economic Development in Newly Liberated Countries*

The developing world's independent experience of recent decades in mixed economic growth has promoted the establishment of national economic management systems (NEMS), through which the state attempts to balance the play of market and nonmarket forces, coordinates traditional and modern segments of economic activity adjusting it to a more reasonable national and international pattern of production and exchange. NEMS consists of two subsystems. The regulatory one is the state as subject of control with all its political institutions, executive apparatus and development administration. Theoretically, the regulated subsystem should include multiple sectors of economy under national jurisdiction, but the object of direct or indirect regulation is spatially less encompassing due to existence of the uncontrolled zones of economic activity. Connections between the regulatory and regulated subsystems evolved a sophisticated web of material, communicative and human interrelations. Apart from planning and control mechanisms NEMS almost invariably rely on the public sector and state enterprise that can be directly guided to meet important national priorities.

Through public sector the economic decision-making by the state authorities can introduce dynamic proportionality to the other segments of economy, primarily in various intermediate forms of state-cum-private ownership. The paper focuses on communicative structure for transmitting developmental regulatory and feedback impulses. They pass through three interrelated control loops that form the NEMS communicative pattern. The first one has to cope with immediate recognition of the actual state of affairs in various sectors of economy. The second has to strain traditional and modern sectors in order to create a favourable developmental environment and induce dynamic activity by tapping economic opportunities. The third inhibitory loop has to damp down staggering disproportions of both market malpractices and non-market administrative discretion.

Consensus decisions taken by the government reflect the symbiotic nature of developing states

which absorb the variety of interests and transduce part of them into amplified regulatory signals. Passing down and up the institutional hierarchy economic information carried by them invariably acquires vested social bias which makes actual implementation something quite different from what was anticipated. Lack of adequate knowledge about the economic situation coupled with absence of actual power to change it pestifies development efforts.

Therefore, political economy of development should discriminate between actuality, ability and possibility of development. The theoretical constructs of NEMS organization — that are in fact a managerial anatomy — give us a static picture of how the economic structure could have worked. Physiology of developmental process presumably open for rational decision-making and implementation says how the system may operate. Yet, we have to concentrate on managerial pathology to learn how the control actually works.

L. B. ALAYEV

*The Rural Community and Indian Traditional Social Structure*

The social structure of mediaeval India having revealed some similarity to the other societies, was marked at the same time with unique features, such as two interlinked institutions of the caste system and rural community. The Indian rural community was notable for the considerably economic, social and professional heterogeneity, the upper layer was composed of the members of one caste, who had proprietary rights (svāmya, milkiyat) in land, some social privileges of purely feudal type, received rents from tenants, non-agricultural products and labour from artisans and the low-caste people, embraced into the Jajmani system. The dominant caste in the village included people of various economic status, from the poor peasants to the well-to-do petty landlords, but the caste as a whole was an exploiter at least partially, of the other layers of the rural population: peasants-tenants, artisans, traders, landless untouchable labourers. The Community as a whole, including the upper stratum, was exploited through revenue exactions by the State, i.e. by the upper stratum of the ruling class, bureaucratically or feudal-militarily organised. The National economy was desintegrated into rural and urban substructures. The struggle between the upper and lower strata of the economically dominating class for partition of the feudal rent constituted the main contents of the history.

YE. P. CHELYSHEV

*On the Formation of Literary Unity of the Developing Countries of the East*

A set of important common features determined by the unity of historical destinies in the contemporary world is inherent in the historico-literary evolution of the developing countries, despite the difference in the time of social processes taking place there, their different economic levels and potentials, and types of social evolution.

Likeness of historical conditions and contemporary social and economic structures, characterized by coexistence of divergent socio-economic modes of production, resulting in multifariousness of ideological processes may serve as an objective foundation for the emergence of typologically similar cultural processes. Thus likeness is most apparent in the democratic cultural layers connected with the ideas of social and artistic progress.



Accelerated development leads to an ever greater narrowing of the gap between the development stages of literatures, which distinguishes the postcolonial period from the colonial. Due to the universal involvement of the developing countries in the world cultural intercourse, as well as to the special tempo peculiar to the period of transition, countries with a lower level of cultural development are "pulled up" to those with more developed modern forms of culture.

In other words, objective conditions emerge in the East for the integration of literatures into a broad multinational complex. Certain synchronism of the happenings in the world makes it possible, first, to more graphically juxtapose the historical, esthetic and functional substance of literary phenomena and processes, and, secondly, to reveal, parallel with the stating of stage and typological analogies, the common traits in the evolution of the parts of the multinational literary complex, i.e. to follow the typological similarities not only statically, but also dynamically.

At the same time, it is necessary to take into account that the existence of common regularities in no way precludes the national individuality determined both by the historical and political situation in each country, the level of its social and cultural development and different artistic traditions.

Though a set of common regularities is found in the historico-cultural evolution of the developing countries of the East, one cannot but notice variations in the literary unity under formation, due to the above mentioned historico-cultural differentiation of the countries of the East.

Literary evolution in each of these historico-cultural regions, in addition to general regularities common to all developing countries, is characterized by common cultural traditions, similarity of religious and philosophic, ethical and esthetic ideas, stability and systemic nature of genetic contact and typological literary links.

YU. V. GANKOVSKY

*National Movements in Contemporary Pakistan: 1977-1986 (The Case of Sind)*

1. The nationality question is one of the most complex and difficult problems making the legacy of its colonial past. The events of the 1977-1986 period speak of the beginning of a new, most acute and turbulent stage in the history of the Sind national movement.
2. A specific feature of the new stage of the Sind movement is its wide scale. Its participants are not only the Sind national bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and students (as was the case in the 1950's-1960's), but also a great number of landlords, peasants, craftsmen, workers, as well as ulema.
3. The rise of the Sind national movement was not caused by transitory circumstances. Deep in its foundation lie objective factors, from which discontent of broad strata of the Sind society evolved; of these the most important was the growing relative economic and social backwardness of the inner areas of Sind (where most of the Sind people live).
4. Three presently active main trends developed in the Sind movement at the end of the 1970's — the beginning of the 1980's: the left radicals, the liberal landlords and bourgeoisie,

the ulema in opposition to the military regime. Turbulent events of 1983-1984 demonstrated these forces' potential for contemporary action in defense of the Sind national interests.

ASOK SIRCAR

*Parliamentary Government in Asia  
A Comparative Study of the Evolution Between India and Japan*

India and Japan, two Asian countries, began their full-fledged parliamentary career almost at the same time after the second world war (1947), although under different circumstances. They show interesting points of similarities and dissimilarities in working this essentially western constitutional system in an eastern context, as between themselves as with their prototype in England — largely the result of their different evolutionary process. The beginning of western political system neither in India nor in Japan was the outcome of native initiatives as in England, and yet in both it received a willing acceptance from the local population and a favourable ground for development. Both the countries needed external agents for the purpose of political modernization — the British Raj in India and the pressure of foreign treaty powers after the Meiji restoration (1868) in Japan followed by the more direct intervention by the American occupation authorities after the war.

The course of progress of parliamentary government in England has been long and tedious and in two distinct but related phases: first, the "representative government" and secondly, the "responsible government" — the latter providing for the accountability of the executive to the popularly elected legislature alone being the real hall-mark of a "parliamentary" as distinguished from a "presidential" form of government. In India although the western political institutions first appeared as early as in 1773 in the Governor-General-in-Council — the forerunner of the present Council of Ministers — it was not until 1919, after gradual development, that truly representative legislative bodies were established and significant steps towards responsible government were taken. The continuity of progress along the British line was consummated with the attainment of Dominion status (1947). The constitution of the Republic of India (1950) rounded off the process with sufficient scope left in the constitutional system for the growth of conventions in the British style.

In Japan the introduction of the Westminster type of parliamentary government with a constitutional monarch at the head faced difficulties from the outset by the overriding consideration for "national polity" (KOKUTAI) which regards the Emperor sacred and inviolable and the fountain-head of all governmental power. Precisely because of this Okuma's plea for a constitutional scheme on the British model was rejected. The cabinet established in 1885 instead made a constitution (1889) which at once provided for both a representative legislature and a non-responsible executive following the prevailing German style. Experiments in the Taisho period for creating conventions for working a traditional pattern of parliamentary politics ultimately foundered on the weakness of the constitutional provisions. In the post-war constitution, although the "Emperor system" was abolished, the Emperor as "the symbol of the State" was maintained as the "fixed" policy of General MacArthur which made it almost inevitable to adopt a British type of parliamentary government to accommodate a powerless Emperor to an active executive (cabinet) responsible to an elected legislature. Otherwise perhaps the American inspired constitution would have produced a "presidential" form of government as evidences in the details of both national and



local administrations strongly suggest. Thus, unlike in India, parliamentary government in Japan was rather an afterthought than the fulfillment of a natural process of development.

## URANIE ANTYPÄ

*La femme cambodgienne au XIX siècle*

Cette communication a comme but d'examiner la position de la femme cambodgienne dans la société traditionnelle khmère au XIX siècle et surtout au sein de sa famille.

Cette approche se fera en fonction de sa condition — jeune fille ou femme mariée —, et de son rang social: princesse ou femme du roi, jeune fille ou femme du peuple, servante sans solde.

En tant qu'enfant, la jeune fille jouit de la même liberté que les garçons indépendamment de son rang social.

En devenant une jeune fille, si elle est princesse elle devra rester confinée dans les appartements des femmes où nul homme ne pénétrera.

Le monde féminin du palais est hiérarchisé, et au sommet de cette pyramide se place une seule femme: la reine principale, qui, malgré son rang prestigieux, vit à l'écart de la société entourée des autres reines et concubines du roi.

Les enfants du roi auront un titre qui est fonction de celui de leur mère.

La reine mère, par contre, jouit d'un statut et d'une liberté importants, ce qui résulte de sa situation de veuve et de mère.

La jeune fille du peuple se trouve sous la tutelle de son père, mais elle jouit d'une liberté de mouvements. Son rôle le plus important est de se marier.

La notion du mariage fait intervenir l'autorité parentale et celle ancestrale du côté de la femme, dans la famille nouvellement constituée. Les mariés vont habiter près des parents de l'épouse jusqu'à la naissance d'un ou plusieurs enfants et les parents pourront intervenir dans leur vie.

Le mari, tuteur de la femme, peut avoir droit à la polygamie et la première épouse jouit de tous les avantages que l'on accorde à une femme mariée. Les relations des épouses entre elles et envers leur mari sont complexes. Leurs devoirs et leurs droits sont différents et la vie entre elles est régie par une hiérarchie prédéterminée. Toutes doivent respecter leur rôle, sinon elles seront rejetées par la société.

Leurs enfants sont considérés inégaux vis-à-vis du père selon le rang de leur mère, mais ils sont égaux vis-à-vis d'elle.

Cependant en tant que veuve, la femme peut vivre seule avec ses enfants et dans ce cas elle jouira de l'autorité paternelle.

La femme servante sans solde ne se trouve pas dans une situation plus défavorisée que celui de l'homme serviteur sans solde. Cependant, dans certains cas, elle est plus vulnérable que lui.

Elle pourra se marier avec un homme libre, mais ce fait ne pourrait rien changer à sa condition. Ses enfants dans certains cas seront libres.

En principe elle habitera avec son mari, et vis-à-vis de lui elle aura les mêmes devoirs que ceux d'une femme du peuple, s'ils sont du même rang social.



En concluant ce travail, on pourrait donc dire que la femme au Cambodge du XIX siècle n'est pas égale à l'homme sur le plan social, mais qu'elle est son ombre.

TATSURO YAMAMOTO

*Punishment Principles of the Penal Code of the Lê Dynasty  
(Quốc Triều Hình Luật)*

The "Quốc Triều Hình Luật" or the "Penal Code of the National Dynasty" is also called the "Lê triều Hình luật" or the "Penal code of the Lê Dynasty" which ruled Vietnam from 1428 to 1789 A.D. This code was first translated into French by R. Deloustal and was studied later in detail by Nguyễn Ngọc Huy.

The text used for the study was the edition carrying the preface with the date of the 28th year of Cảnh-hu'ng (1767 A.D.), but there is another better edition in the collection of Vietnamese books made by the late E. Gaspardone. Study of the details of printed forms of these two editions makes us presuppose the existence of several older editions before them. We find also in the two editions similar kinds of curves in the vertical columns of Chinese characters composing the same text. This makes us assume the pre-existence of at least one edition printed by movable types before the two woodblock editions.

The stipulations concerning the punishment principles included in the first chapter on "General Principles" can be regarded as unchanged from the beginning years of the Lê dynasty. It has been well known that so many articles of this penal code are textual copies of the Tang code, but besides these there are also many original stipulations peculiar to Vietnam.

The chapter on "General Principles" begins with the enumeration of the Five Punishments, Ten Abominations and Eight Deliberations. All these are borrowed from China, but there are considerable modifications. For example, in the regulations of the Five Punishments excepting the Death Penalties, male and female criminals are treated separately, paying special attention to the weakness of women. This is not to be found in the Chinese codes.

We have to notice that besides these Five Punishments there existed several other categories of punishments: Degradation of Noble Titles, Fine, Redemption in compensation of homicide, Redemption in compensation of damages and Tattooing. Among these items, the Degradation of Noble Titles (Biêm-tu'ố'c) appear most frequently in the text of the Code. If we compare the gravity of punishment of the Degradation with those of the Five Punishments, we can grade it between the Heavy Stick and the Penal Servitude. The stipulations of the Degradation system induce us to suppose the prevailing existence of tu'ố'c Noble Title system in the country. This institution is understood to have functioned as a method to control the people using the prestige system under the Lê dynasty.

Generally speaking, the Lê Code was inclined towards a *fine* based principle, and the stipulations are more unrestricted than the Tang Code, leaving room for considerable deliberations and adjustment on the part of the judge.

MICHEL TRANET

*Redéfinition du mot khñuñ dans la société khmère pré-moderne*

Le caractère humain de la servitude pratiquée au Cambodge a été souligné par certains auteurs, mais l'explication du mot *khñuñ* qui, en khmer, identifie traditionnellement un statut que l'on traduit en français par le mot "esclave" est loin d'être satisfaisante. En effet, ce terme soulève une double difficulté: la condition sociale des *khñuñ* et le caractère juridique du mot. C'est de cette double question que cette étude se propose de débattre, par l'examen des "Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor" (choix limité volontairement à la période 1625-1698) en relation avec quelques textes juridiques que l'on peut supposer contemporains.

Etant des "serments de vérité", les IMA nous livrent quelques exemples sur l'affranchissement in extrémis ou testamentaire par les religieux ou laïcs, dont le mobile est d'ordre spirituel ou affectif. Ainsi un couple "conscient de l'impermanence des choses", rompt les liens de servitude d'un *khñuñ* (IMA 17). Par ailleurs, une dame "remplie de foi", affranchissait son *khñuñ* (IMA 15). Des exemples se trouvent aussi dans les IMA 18 et 19. Nous voyons un madarin affaibli par sa maladie recommander à son fils de libérer son *khñuñ* (IMA 21) ou une veuve, suite aux recommandations de son défunt, libérer un *khñuñ* (IMA 26); dans l'IMA 20, un *khñuñ* est libéré pour l'âme du mort; pour obtenir des mérites, un *Mahāsaṅgharāj* affranchissait des "esclaves" (IMA 36).

Bien qu'affranchis, la condition des *khñuñ* dépendait de la volonté des maîtres: ils pouvaient être affectés au service de la famille (IMA 23) ou des *Vatt* (IMA 9, 13, 22, 35) ou devenir *bhikkhu* (IMA 9, 14, 17, 23); les maîtres étaient soucieux du salut des affranchis. Les *khñuñ* étaient également libérés en *anak jā* (IMA 20), en *baṇāsram* (IMA 18, 23), en *brai* (IMA 24, 25) ou en *ñom* (IMA 4).

Les textes juridiques comportent aussi des actes d'affranchissement émanant de la monarchie, du clergé bouddhique ou des laïcs. Les *khñuñ* pouvaient recouvrer leur liberté suite à des devoirs mortuaires rendus au maître (*Kram Puok*, art. 8, *Cpāp Subhādhipatī*). Si un maître promet de libérer son *khñuñ* pour qu'il prenne le froc, il ne peut lui refuser sinon il sera jugé; même si ce dernier quitte les ordres, il ne pourra le réclamer (*Lakkhaṇa Dīṇ Pañcām*, art. 23).

Le *Lakkhaṇa Kpat' Sik* fournit des détails intéressants sur l'affranchissement: en cas de victoire sur l'ennemi, les *khñuñ brah* (du *saṅgha*) libérés en *anak jā*, tandis que les *bal rāj* (*khñuñ* d'État) en *anak nā*. Descendants de criminels ou de prisonniers de guerre, ils pouvaient bénéficier de l'affranchissement lors du décès du roi ou de la reine-mère.

La notion de "servitude" au Cambodge est donc beaucoup moins à analyser dans des termes de rapports de classe, liés à un certain modèle économique, qu'en ceux d'un contrat de devoirs et d'obligations personnels établi entre maître et *khñuñ* (statut juridique). Les lois protégeaient les *khñuñ* contre les violences physiques et morales (*Kram Sangrī*, art. 55; *Kram Tulākār*, art. 46; *Kram Subhādhipatī*, art. 128), interdisaient les rapports sexuels maître-esclaves; en cas de violation, les "esclaves" pouvaient par jugement recouvrer leur liberté (*Kram Dos Bhariyā*, art. 7).

Les *khñuñ* doivent obéissance, respect et dévouement au maître; toute fausse accusation contre leur maître (meurtre, trahison, vol, viol) leur inflige des peines corporelles ou la vente (*Kram Cor*, p. 301); en revanche, ceux qui ont servi fidèlement leur maître ont droit à une



part d'héritage (*Kram Maratak*, art. 56).

Ceci est amplifié par le fait qu'il y avait différentes catégories d'affranchis: *baṇāsram* (libres), *ñom* tutelle des *Vatt*), *anak nā* (*khñuṃ* d'Etat) *brai* (service des *Vatt*), *anak jā* (hommes libres); ils devaient assurer au moins trois mois par an des travaux pour le compte du roi ou du clergé ou de leur maître. Le caractère personnel, spécifique et limité de leurs tâches traduit bien qu'ils ne constituaient pas plus la base de la vie économique.

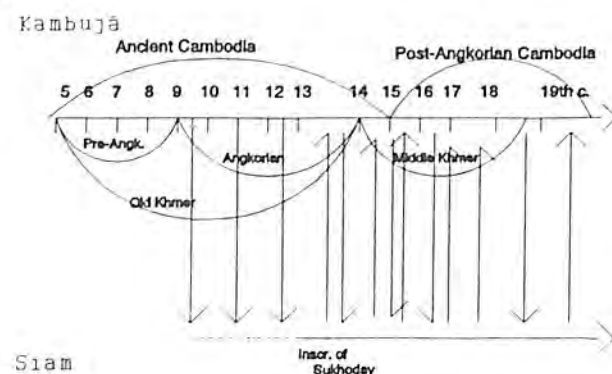
La désignation de *khñuṃ* par esclave au sens occidental se trouve donc inadéquate en pays khmer; le statut de *khñuṃ* revêtait un caractère juridique, hautement humain: il me paraît dès lors plus naturel de le traduire par serviteur. C'est cela qu'avait pressenti Leclère: "Le législateur avait fait plus pour les protéger que pour confirmer le pouvoir du maître".

SAVEROS POU

### Old Khmer and Siamese

In the making of Siamese, i.e. the Thai language of Siam or Thailand, the main contribution was shared by three languages of different origin, to wit Thai, of course, Khmer (a Mon-Khmer language) and Sanskrit (Indo-Aryan). Many a research has been devoted to this subject by Siamese and Western scholars, and lately Japanese, with different approaches and methods. On the Thai side, the general output is mostly anything but scholarly because of a deficient knowledge of Old Siamese in connection with Old Khmer and a ludicrously strong political motivation.

The fact is that Old Khmer contribution — from ancient Cambodia — was overwhelming in many respects, as a purveyor of a) Old Khmer words, b) some Khmer syntactic patterns, c) the oldest Sanskrit loans. Evidence of all this is to be found plentifully and clearly in the oldest Siamese inscriptions. Unfortunately, Siamese philology — in the true "wissenschaftlich" sense — has not started yet, neither at home nor abroad. But on the other hand, the first stone was laid, long ago, in Khmer philology. As a result, we have bridged over the three main periods of the history of Khmer which shed a terrific light not only on Khmer but also on the position of Khmer and Siamese face to face, their interaction until the 19th century, and first and foremost the role of Old Khmer as supplier of Khmer and Sanskrit vocabulary and culture, as shown below:



The paper, thus, examines in details — which will be provided only in the final version for publication — the cultural backbone of Siamese, to which Old Khmer has tremendously contributed, uncamouflaged, as evidenced by both Khmer and Siamese texts.

CHOULEAN ANG

### La place de l'animisme dans le bouddhisme populaire khmer Exemple du monastère

Trois pièces sont ici versées dans le dossier du syncrétisme entre bouddhisme et animisme, dont le principe est déjà connu et admis. Les trois exemples sont pris parmi les plus significatifs et forment un ensemble cohérent, puisqu'il s'agit de faits et croyances observés au sein du monastère bouddhique même.

1. *La géographie sacrée du monastère*: De même que le village possède son génie tutélaire (*anak tā*) abrité dans une hutte, quelque part sur sa périphérie, de même le monastère possède le sien, dont l'abri se trouve le plus souvent à son angle nord-est. Ce qui montre que l'univers du monastère bouddhique inclut régulièrement dans son sein — ici symboliquement un microcosme — le génie protecteur le plus important dans l'animisme khmer.

2. *Accaparement de la puissance surnaturelle du Bouddha par un esprit de malemort*: Par le biais du monastère, un type de *brāy* (esprit féminin de mort violente) se bouddhicise en résidant dans le sanctuaire (*vihār*) même, devenant ainsi la gardienne de la statue principale du Bouddha qui s'y trouve. Vénérée, la *brāy* est dénommée alors de plusieurs façons; et ces appellations, confrontées les unes aux autres, reflètent sa personnalité "syncrétique" (animisme et bouddhisme), pour ainsi dire. Ceci corrobore ses actions et attributions. En effet, la *brāy* veille au bon ordre du monastère, ne tolérant aucune inconvenance dans ce lieu, mais en même temps garde quelques traits spécifiques de sa nature première. Par exemple, dans certaines circonstances, elle provoque une fausse couche à la femme enceinte qui passe à proximité d'elle (les *brāy* sont des esprits de femmes mortes en couches et, au village, qui cherchent à molester par jalousie les femmes enceintes et les accouchées).

3. *La pratique des moines eux-mêmes*: Tout dévots et religieux qu'ils soient, les moines s'adonnent souvent à des pratiques animistes, en entretenant par exemple quelque rapport avec certains êtres surnaturels, en vue de bénéfices magiques. Ceci est notamment vrai en milieu rural, où il est fréquent qu'un religieux s'érige en guérisseur et en magicien.

IAM CHAYA-NGAM

### The Promotion of Thai Studies through Modern Communications Technology: The Case of Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University

Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University, in common with other institutions of higher education in Thailand, is deeply conscious of its responsibility for safeguarding and conserving the nation's cultural heritage in the face of threats to it posed by the rapidly-changing world of the 20th Century. While viewing with satisfaction the increasing opportunities for the average Thai citizen to improve his standard of living, his material prosperity and his state of health, the University is concerned about the detrimental effects



of a modern consumer society based on the pursuit of material gain. Industrialization, urbanization, an increasingly uniform and internationalized way of life, a lapse of religious faith and of its moral teachings, a preoccupation with material possessions at the expense of spiritual values, a disregard of the feelings of others, fast food and plastic bags: it is impossible to halt the spread of these aspects of modern living. It is hoped, however, that by promoting Thai Studies at the higher educational level on a large scale, and at the same time by encouraging the general public to develop an awareness of their own national culture through modern communications technology, STOU can help to conserve the enormously rich Thai cultural heritage and stop the erosion of traditional values. With this objective, STOU has at its disposal the resources of modern communications technology and the use of the mass media, and intends to make full and imaginative use of them, as its contribution to promoting Thai Studies both domestically and among the international academic community.

EM-ON CHITTASOBHON

*History and Development of Thai Literary Conventions: A Sociolinguistic Analysis*

The study attempts to present a new approach to Thai literature by applying a linguistic analysis to Thai literary conventions. A systematic approach to Thai literary conventions is regrettably neglected by most scholars even though it provides a good foundation for the understanding of the traditional Thai society and thinking.

*An Introduction:* A part of the study of the Thai traditional literature is to learn about the language, thoughts, culture and society in the former times which persist until today. A part of the culture is expressed through literary conventions. They form the basic and indispensable knowledge of the study of literature.

Due to the time limit, only the poetical genre is selected in order to narrow down the scope of study to a level of manageability. Additionally, under the demands of metricality and poetical styles, literary conventions are more discernible in poetical works than prosaic ones.

For the sake of clarity, the writer defines the convention as an expression of tradition within the contexts of Thai society and culture.

*The Categorization of Thai literary conventions.* Various types of poetical literature produced during the time between the Sukothai period and the reign of King Rama VI of the Bangkok period are plays, didactic literature, religious literature, stories from the Jataka, Niras literature, Lilit literature, Pleang Yaw and other miscellaneous genres such as the Klong and Klon. In creating a literary work, the poet usually makes use of traditional rules in order to express his feelings or beliefs; as if the rules were codes with meanings which are readily intelligible to the readers. The literary traditions which prevailed in Thai literature are centered on the themes of love, sorrow, rites, and beauty. These forms of expression licensed by traditions can be called "literary conventions".

1. *Conventions for the Expression of Love:* The expression of love is often met in the poetic works, because love is the symbol of natural feelings of human beings. However, in the didactic literature, women are often told to keep their feelings of love from being noticeable. They have no right to express this kind of feeling, unless they want to invite contempt upon themselves.

In Niras literature, the expression of love is metaphorically alluded to nature by names of trees, places etc. that the poet has observed on his journey which separates him from his beloved. And the poet shows his love for his sweetheart by trusting her to the powerful, either deities or kings. This convention of expressing deep concern with the beloved's safety and fidelity can be seen in Niras from the Ayudhaya period up to works written under King Rama VI.

One distinctive feature of Samuthakhos Kham Chanda is that the heroine behaves in a way usually reserved for men when yearning for her departed husband.

Another convention of love expression typical to Thai literature is an earnest wish of a man to be born in his next lives as the harmonious opposites of his beloved. For example, if she were to be born a branch of a tree he would have been a bird, if she a stream, he a fish etc.

Rama VI's heroines such as Mathana and Usa, unlike their predecessors in former literatures, express their feeling of love by saying to themselves while they are alone. The deviation from the convention in these cases indicates the weakening power of the convention.

2. *Conventions of the expression of sorrow:* The expression of sorrow can be clearly represented in the time of separation between two loving characters. The men and the women have an equal right in expressing their kind of feeling.

3. *Conventions of the expression of rites:* It is customary in Thai literary texts to devote quite a big section to an exposition of ritual performances or ritualistic actions. The treatment of the rituals, strictly observed by all poets, might have been a reflection of firm belief in rituals and animistic beliefs in the Society.

4. *Conventions expressing thoughts:* In the expression of thoughts, the poet often shows that the man is undeniably the chief of the family, consequently an ideal man should have a strong mind and body, while an ideal woman should be polite, quiet, obedient to the elders, and faithful to the husband.

5. *Convention expressing the sense of beauty:* The expression of the sense of beauty is important in poetical works. A Sanskrit text literary appreciation gives its name: "Sanvaroscani".

We can see the expression of beauty in the description of nature, the royal palace and other royal regalia, and the most important in the world: the feminine beauty.

The beauty of the gentle sex is usually enumerated from one part of her body to another, such as her face, eyes, eye-brows, nose, cheeks, teeth, lips, ears, arms, legs, body. Very often these parts are compared to other natural beings such as certain parts of plants or animals which are conventionally regarded as beautiful. For example, a beautiful arm of a girl is compared to an elephant's trunk which alludes to its straightness, roundness as well as its delicate form.

In a later period, the conventions expressing the feminine beauty alter to an expression of the total beauty of the whole person rather than an enumeration of each part of the girl's body.

*A Sociolinguistic analysis of the Thai literary conventions:* Sociolinguistic studies structure of language within the social contexts in which it is learned and used. The relation of language to society is more or less comprehensible when taking into account the social



psychology, sociology and anthropology. However, the language of poetry is emotive, it expresses feelings and attitudes towards the matters referred to, while objective facts are not completely ignored. It is simultaneously an approach empirical as well as idealistic.

It is well accepted that culture has influence on a poet's works, because the poet himself has mental as well as material life in a particular culture. But at the same time, the poet undeniably influences the society and culture to which he addresses himself as well. He can put up his point of view in his works which may affect the pattern of thinking and behaviour of the people. Examples which show the influence of the society on the poets are numerous in Thai literature. The belief in magic and animism of the Thai people is reflected again and again in literary texts. The hierarchicalization of language reflects the rigid social hierarchy of the Thai social system. And since Thai society is strict in the personal and social conducts of women, poets also emphasize the ideal conducts for women in their works. On the contrary, poets sometimes deviate from old traditional expectation and introduce new ideas that may shock the society; for example, the expression of love of the heroine in the King Rama VI's plays.

On the expression of love, we can see a tint of male egoism such as in the literary convention of comparing the beloved couples to complementary things. Men are always placed in better positions such as being a swan with the women being a cave, or the man a bee, the woman a flower. Intentionally or not, the comparison suggests greater freedom and feeling of superiority among men.

*Conclusion:* Thai literary conventions provide a good foundation for the understanding of the traditional Thai society and thinking. Therefore they are the basic and indispensable knowledge for the study of literature which should not be neglected anymore.

Contrary to the West, the Thai emphasize the beauty of political works on the originality within the convention only.

Besides, the search for new approaches to the study of Thai literature presented here should generate more energetic attempts by others to bring fresher air to the study of Thai literature.

N.C.T. TAPP

*The Impact of Missionary Christianity upon Marginalised Ethnic Minorities  
The Case of the Hmong*

This paper examines the impact of missionary Christianity, of both Protestant and Roman Catholic denominations, upon the culture of the Hmong, a tribal group of shifting cultivators inhabiting the uplands of Southwest China, Indochina, and northern Thailand (where anthropological fieldwork was conducted from April 1981 to October 1982). The paper begins with an examination of the history of Christian missionary work among the Hmong of southwest China since the 19th century, showing how the nativistic reactions to the adoption of Christian beliefs in times of poverty and economic distress led directly to the emergence of messianic movements in China and with later missionary work in Laos and Thailand during the involvement of the Hmong in the civil wars of Indochina. The importance of missionaries in providing the benefits of medicine and literacy to deprived populations is stressed. The original adoption of Christian beliefs by the Hmong is seen to have arisen from the belief that

the Bible represented their longlost books which according to legend these people possessed of a purely oral tradition had been deprived of at the dawn of time by the oppression of the Chinese majority population. These legends are shown to be generalised among other minorities of the region, including those of Burma, who have also become staunch Christians. Recent Christian mission work in Thailand following the Chinese Revolution of 1949 is discussed, and individual and communal case-studies of Christian conversions in Hmong villages presented. The persistence of Christian beliefs and the conflicts thereby introduced into social organisations are also examined among sectors of the refugee Hmong population overseas and in the US. The paper concludes that while the tolerance of Catholic attitudes towards tribal religious customs stems from an essentially *sceptical* outlook towards them, the cultural intolerance manifested by Protestant missionaries is due to a much more credulous and *naïve* attitude towards them. From a wider historical perspective, the concentration of missionaries upon ethnic minorities rather than upon the adherents of large organized world religions has had the effect of increasing and enhancing the conceptual distance between minority and majority populations in Asia. Thus the recent revival of Christianity among groups related to the Hmong in southwest China can be traced to the importance of a tribal sense of ethnicity as well as to the recent economic changes in the Chinese countryside. It is anticipated that this will result in a further increase of messianism in these areas.

B.J. TERWIEL

*Acceptance and Rejection: the First Inoculation and Vaccination Campaigns in Thailand*

When the introduction of modern methods to combat smallpox in Thailand are mentioned in standard history books, these are invariably proclaimed to be mainly the result of Dr. D.B. Bradley's work, foresight and diligence. We are told that it was Bradley who, in the 1830s and 1840s singlehandedly persuaded many Thais to attempt inoculation and vaccination.

In this paper it is demonstrated, with the help of contemporary documents, that in reality Bradley was much less prominent in introducing smallpox inoculation and vaccination than hitherto has been assumed. The dissemination of information on new methods to combat smallpox had begun well before Bradley even arrived in Siam. As early as 1822 some Thais had expressed their eagerness to introduce the cow-pox.

Examination of contemporary documents shows that the person of King Rama III was the leading force behind the first experiments and large-scale vaccination and inoculation campaigns. It was he who spent great sums of money on these projects and it was the king who engaged and encouraged many indigenous medical practitioners to try to immunise the population as a whole. Bradley played a relatively minor role in these campaigns.

Bradley's role, instead of being pivotal, as "colonial" history would have us believe, was largely ineffectual, and some of the reasons for his striking lack of success are examined in the final part of the paper. In the first place Western medicine was regarded with distrust: its methods often involved shedding of blood, antithetical to indigenous opinion on the maintenance of health. Secondly, the missionary-doctors were unable to appreciate indigenous medical views, these were regarded as at best a mixture of superstition and ignorance, and at worst a dabbling with spells and evil forces. Thirdly the foreign medical notions did not



take account of the hierarchical nature of Thai society. Especially where the transfer of material from one human body to another is concerned — as in inoculation — the Thais were repulsed by inoculating across class barriers. Fourthly, the foreign doctors frequently lacked the appropriate "bed-side manners".

The most surprising fact to emerge from this study of inoculation and vaccination is the apparent success of the 1838-39 campaign. It was established that this campaign was organised by the Thais themselves. In light of the subsequent failure of other campaigns there is ground for the assertion that if Bradley had been in charge, the 1838-39 campaign might well have failed, like all his other attempts to introduce vaccination. New measures and large-scale health campaigns are doomed to fail when the chief organiser's motivation is suspect, when he deliberately belittles locally-held ideas concerning healing, and when his actions inspire no confidence. Bradley, with his strong prejudices and uncompromising stance, was a most unsuitable person to act as an agent of change.

Much more suitable agents, it has been shown, were the local doctors. Even their successes, however, were bound to fail in the face of the practical difficulties of maintaining a vaccine virus. There were no laboratories, no facilities to test the virus, no continuing government support, and apparently not sufficient inquietude and alarm regarding smallpox in the general populace to sustain initial campaigns. It would take another five decades before the circumstances were ripe and more effective and enduring measures could be taken to suppress smallpox.

EMMANUEL GUILLON

*Les Empreintes de Pied du Buddha en Thaïlande et en Birmanie*

Le Bouddhisme a adopté la théorie indienne des *Lakṣaṇa*, des signes corporels auspicioeux, et l'a intégrée à la légende de Gautama. Celui-ci aurait possédé 32 de ces signes, dont le deuxième des listes anciennes est celui de la Roue sous la plante des pieds. C'est cette dernière qui symbolisait le Maître dans la sculpture, en Inde et à Ceylan au 2<sup>ème</sup> siècle av.J.C., à laquelle se sont ajoutées, vers le début de notre ère, des *Svastika*. A Ceylan l'évolution de ce symbole s'est arrêté là, jusqu'au XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, et l'art bouddhique y est resté abstrait.

Par contre, en Asie du Sud-Est continentale, les pieds du Buddha, au moins après le XIV<sup>ème</sup> siècle, ont été et sont toujours décorés de 108 signes, selon une rotation conventionnelle, qui constituent un index des idées mystiques, mythologiques et cosmologiques adoptées par le Bouddhisme. Le Buddha dépose ainsi, en laissant son empreinte, le monde cosmique tout entier. Mais la difficulté est de faire correspondre ces figures aux listes existant dans les textes, et ces listes entre elles.

Les plus anciennes connues remontent au XI<sup>ème</sup> siècle: Lopburi, puis Sukhotai pour la Thaïlande, Pagan et Shwe-Zet-Taw pour la Birmanie. Mais il existe deux formes principales: l'une, développant en rayons les signes sur toute la surface du pied, l'autre, apparue au XIV<sup>ème</sup> siècle à Sukhotai, concentre ces signes dans une petite roue centrale. L'ensemble est cependant le même.

Entre le second et le cinquième siècles de notre ère sont apparus, en Inde et au Népal, les

8 signes bouddhiques de Bonne Augure ou d'emblèmes royaux. Après le VI<sup>ème</sup> siècle et jusqu'au VIII<sup>ème</sup>, ces signes s'augmentent des 7 trésors traditionnels, et de 38 autres marques, objets, monuments, lotus et éléments cosmiques. C'est donc à partir de cette époque — encore obscure pour l'histoire du Bouddhisme — que le tableau des signes s'étend au monde cosmique, et que la cosmogonie bouddhique apparaît. Toujours en suivant l'évolution des Buddhapada, c'est entre les VIII<sup>ème</sup> et XI<sup>ème</sup> siècles que se fixent les éléments de ces Trois Mondes.

Les 108 signes apparaissent dans les *Jñalankara-tika* et l'*Anagatavamsa-Atthakatha*. Ils ont été sculptés sans doute pour la première fois à Pagan, aux temples de Lokananda, de Shwezigon et de l'Ananda, c'est-à-dire à une période où la culture mone prédominait. La source des ces 108 signes semble bien être là, pour l'Asie du Sud-Est. On les retrouve dans la *Paṭhama Sambodhi*, qui semble également avoir là son origine.

Or ces signes ont été depuis très fidèlement reproduits, et ils sont l'objet d'un culte populaire important (transport de sa reproduction en toute pompe, création de couvre-empreintes en cuivre, etc.), tant en Birmanie qu'en Thaïlande, encore de nos jours. La portée sociologique d'un tel fait ne peut être dissociée de son histoire religieuse, ni de sa valeur symbolique.

LELA GARNER NOBLE

*Opposition to the Marcos Regime in the Philippines: The Politics of Protest*

Focusing on the role of religion in the articulation and mobilization of opposition to the Marcos regime, the paper explained how Islam and Christianity, as understood and acted on by Philippine Muslims and Christians, led to protest and political action. Specifically, it argued that the coincidence of an Islamic resurgence and post-Vatican II reassessments in the Catholic church with the "constitutional authoritarianism" instituted by Marcos resulted in conflict between religious people and the regime. While the conflict between Muslim separatists and the regime emerged first, and most violently, that between the church and the regime was ultimately more instrumental in Marcos's downfall.

Using the writings of Philippine Muslims and Christians, the paper described the messages of the Islamic resurgence and post-Vatican reassessments, contrasted them with features of Marcos's "constitutional authoritarianism," and traced the evolution of active opposition to the regime. It concluded by noting the dominant role of religion in defining both a sense of identity and standards for judgment and action for Muslim and Christian Filipinos, comparing government policies toward Muslims and Christian opposition, and identifying resources and limits affecting religiously-motivated action.

M. SARKISYANZ

*Filipino "Propagandistas" 1882-1896 and Pi y Margall (1824-1901)*

What seems to have been the strongest influence of Spanish Republican thought upon Rizal was exercised by a president of Spain's First Republic, the Catalan Francisco Pi y Margall (1824-1901): Among the very first books Rizal purchased in Spain was one by Pi y Margall. There is reason to assume that it was "Las Nacionalidades" of 1876: It contains the project



of Spain's Federal Constitution of 1873, declaring the Philippines a Territory — to be made a State in accordance with their progress.

Pi y Margall demanded that the Colonies of Spain should be as autonomous as the Regions of its peninsula. Accordingly, Pi y Margall's party demanded still in 1883 that all authority not explicitly delegated to the Federation should belong to the Regions, their Autonomy equaling that of the Regions of the Peninsula. He wanted the sovereignty of the Nation — the community of Regions (which were to be the community of Municipalities) — to be replaced by that of its components. He saw humanity more respected in small federations like contemporary Switzerland than in centralized empires.

Rizal saw in him "the venerable Republican whose name in itself is since long ago a synonyme of science, consistency and honesty .... La Solidaridad cannot rise with ... Pi y Margall to the spheres where are discussed principles that are liberating but ... alien to the state of the Philippines in the present circumstances." Thus whatever Rizal did select from Pi y Margall's "Struggles of our Days" for the Filipino reader can be considered as accepted by Rizal as relevant for the Philippines.

KENNETH R. HALL

*The Gift in Cross-Cultural Perspective  
Rethinking the Development of Early States in Southeast Asia*

As I wrote my recent book on early Southeast Asian history I was frequently frustrated by my inability to balance my description of international maritime trade with a similar in-depth discussion of local trade. There was insufficient internal evidence that would allow me to more adequately document the economic infrastructure that facilitated a society's response to the external trade. This paper thus places more emphasis on explanations deriving from factors internal to early Southeast Asian societies. I am looking for the "autochthonous base" to which external influence was applied; i.e. to identify the body beneath the shared foreign clothes, be they Chinese, Indian, or European.

Such a reference to the body beneath foreign clothes is a graphic allusion that I have found to be well known to the peoples indigenous to Southeast Asia. Over the past few years I have been conducting intermittent research on the fifteenth through seventeenth century chronicles of early Malay states in the Indonesian archipelago. These chronicles are all obsessed with the importance of proper dress among the local populations. Dress was viewed by chronicle authors as critical to the success or the failure of the realm. The chronicle texts contain repeated reference to the dress of their characters, the court elite as well as subordinate commoners. A character's clothing was appropriate to his status. Further, cloth goods were prime commodities in gift-giving ceremonies that are a focal point of the chronicle texts. In these sources cloth bestowed vitality, well-being, fertility, and connected the living to the spiritual or ancestral forces. Cloth also enhanced the moral and legal obligations that validated relationships through generations. The chronicles are representative of other early Southeast Asian sources that depict the ceremonial function of similar gift exchanges.

I have found that gift-giving transactions were the basis of traditional social order, as opposed to a modern market society in which self-interest rather than social subordination prevails. The Malay sources well-perceived the difference between the two types of societies in a world

in which the old order that was based on status distinctions was coming under intensive pressure — due to the heightened trading opportunities prevalent in the Indonesian archipelago. I argue that in a stable traditional center of power there was less immediate need for material or this-worldly reward. But the rules changed as society became more unstable, or when, in later times, the marketplace dominated society.

CLARA BRAKEL

*Bedhaya Merak Kesimpir  
A New Choreography of the Yogyakarta Kraton Tradition*

In this lecture I shall discuss the relationship of theme and form in two predominantly visual art forms, a Javanese temple relief and a choreography of the Yogyakarta tradition.

In colonial days Dutch officials in the 'Netherlands Indies' often were invited to attend ceremonies and festivals at the Javanese courts, where they were watching what seemed to them endlessly slow and monotonous court dances. Not understanding what they were seeing they were soon overcome by boredom, unable to appreciate an art form which for the Javanese was a royal delight or 'kelangenan Dalem', a refined pleasure leading to enrapture. I have studied this art form for many years in its Javanese context, with growing appreciation for its delicate expressiveness and its intense concentration, which is similar to a prayer — and I hope to be able to transmit some of my enthusiasm to you through this lecture.

*Bedhaya Merak Kesimpir*: During my research into kraton choreographies, especially of female dances, which lasted from February 1982 until November 1985, I found that the dances performed by nine girls, called *bedhaya*, have become a rare phenomenon now that the courts of central Java are no longer political centres. I therefore decided to organize a video recording of a traditional kraton *bedhaya*, in cooperation with the Department of Education and Culture of the Yogyakarta district. The person in charge of the performance was R. Ay. Sri Kadaryati, a niece of the present Sultan Hamengku Buwana IX and an official at the above mentioned Culture Department. I filmed her dance group Surya Kencana, the recording will be available as a supplement to my Ph.D. thesis on the sacred *bedhaya* dances of the kratons of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, which is to appear next year.

The dance is called *Merak Kesimpir*, the peacock with drooping wings — in contrast to the prancing peacock — after the gamelan music to which the dance has been set. The composition has three main components: dance — music — song/recitation, which are performed simultaneously and are attuned to each other. In this short lecture I shall concentrate only on one of these, the dance and its relation to the theme.

The choreography is divided into two main parts: the first part, called '*lajuran*' is considered sacred and is rather fixed in its choreographical form; the second part, called '*ketawangan*' is less sacred and may contain more variations. It is therefore in the second part of the dance that one must look for an expression of the theme.

A *bedhaya* choreography is characterized by several factors, such as:

- the dance is performed by nine women
- the dancers are arranged in specific formations
- the dancers perform highly stylized dance movements



dance movements, costume and make-up of the dancers are uniform the facial expression does not change and is not dramatic, the eyes are down-cast the dance is influenced by court etiquette, etc.

In view of the highly stylized character of this art form, the possibility to express a theme is very limited; it is mainly the formations during the second part of the dance which bear a relationship with the theme, that derives from the history of king Angling Darma. In this composition one fragment of this complicated narrative is 'dramatized', in which the king receives the 'aji gineng', the power to understand the language of the animals, as a reward for his efforts to keep up the cosmic order or 'darma'.

The same theme is depicted on a series of reliefs on the 14th century candhi Jago, situated to the east of Malang. The final scene on the relief is the suicide of queen Setyawati, wife of king Angling Darma, embittered because her husband does not want to share this supernatural power with her. In his monograph: 'The romance of king Angling Darma', Drewes therefore characterizes the theme depicted on the relief as: "Satyawati's act of despair and the events leading up to it" (Drewes 1975, Bibliotheca Indonesica no. 11, p. 32). The purpose of the relief seems to be the moral lesson, also formulated in the Kidung Aji Darma translated by Drewes in the same publication, which says in stanza 42b): "Even though King Darma may be afraid of his wife, I'm not going to act that way. I'd rather have no wife at all than, like King Darma, give in to the whims of an inhuman female!"

*Conclusion:* Contrary to the literary version and the temple relief of this story, the choreography of bedhaya Merak Kesimpir does not include the suicide scene of the queen. Such an event would be considered highly inauspicious for a kraton composition. To the Javanese choreographer, the accent in the story was not put on the moral lesson formulated in the kidung, but rather on another aspect that was much more relevant under the circumstances: the acquisition of a supernatural power or 'aji gineng'. Formulated in this way, the theme is appropriate for a dance form called 'kelangenan Dalem', royal delight.

G.E. MARRISON

#### *Modern Balinese — a Regional Literature of Indonesia*

Since independence, Indonesian has had a dominant role: nevertheless the regional languages have reasserted themselves and Balinese, with its long, unbroken tradition, has been active in this. The modern period of Balinese literature dates from the destruction of the kingdom of Gèlgèl by Karang Asem in 1686. The earliest corpus is of poems in *macapat* metres, similar to the Javanese, except that they adopt more regular rhythms, mostly with lines of eight syllables. *Adri* or *Sri Tanjung* metre, a stanza of nine lines from East Java, is widely used in Bali for stories of religious content. *Ginada* is purely Balinese, with the formula 8a, 8i, 8o, 8u, 8a, 4i, 8a. Many of the original poems in this metre include the Panji tales *Bagus Umbara* and *Pakang Raras*; *Jaya Prana*, the Balinese *Uriah*; *Jambé Nagara*, the story of an elopement to Lombok; *I Ketut Bungklung*, a farcical tale critical of traditional religion; and *Basur*, a story of witchcraft. There are also poems in several cantoes using mixed Balinese and Javanese metres.

Folk tales include stories of village wisdom and humour, animal fables, fairy tales and outlines for shadow plays. Some were collected by H.N. van der Tuuk at the end of the 19th

century and many more by the Gedong Kirtya Manuscript Library, Singaraja, from 1937 to 1941, and have been drawn upon by European researchers and the publishers of school textbooks. They are valued as examples of good but simple and lively modern prose.

Balinese writing in modern forms includes lyric poetry, short stories, novels and drama in European forms, with subjects of the present day, romantic and realistic, frequently dealing with social or national themes. An anthology in two volumes was compiled by I Gusti Ngurah Bagus and I Ketut Ginarsa, entitled *Kembang Rampé Kasusastran Bali Anyar* and published in Singaraja, 1978. *Telaah Puisi Bali*, (Den Pasar, 1984), is a study of seven recent poets. Among the writers of short stories, I Madé Sanggra is to the fore. Novelists include I Wayan Bhadra (Gedé Sréwana), born 1905, who wrote *Mlancaran ka Sasak* — Migrating to Lombok; and I Wayan Gobiah whose romance, *Nemu karma* — Meeting one's fate, was published in 1931. Prose drama with social themes was developed by writers from Bulèlèng in the 1950's. Non-literary works include textbooks and religious writings.

Many Balinese writers have published poems and short stories in Indonesian in the newspapers of Den Pasar and in the journals of Jakarta. The most important novelist has been Anak Agung Panji Tisna, a nobleman born in Singaraja in 1908, whose works, providing a sharp critique on Balinese traditions and society, have been recognised as of national standing. Three were first published by Balai Pustaka: *Ni Rawit*, *Ceti penjual orang* (1935), *Sukréni, gadis Bali* (1936) and *I Swasti setahun di Bedahulu* (1938). Some Balinese writers translated Balinese and Old Javanese works into Indonesian, and so rendered them more accessible to other Indonesians. Many books promoting modern reformed Hinduism have been published in Bali in Indonesian, as well as a monthly religious journal, *Hindu Dharma*.

The Balinese derives his literary knowledge not only from books, but also from the dance-drama and the visual arts, for literature has provided the source for many artistic productions. This interdependence is well demonstrated in the work of B. de Zoete and W. Spies: *Dance and drama in Bali* (1938). In the 1960's officially sponsored schools of dance-drama were established, beginning with the Kokar Dance Academy, which promoted the *Sendratari Ramayana*. Modern Balinese painting, harmonizing traditional and European elements in the 1930's has drawn many of its subjects from literature; and there has been a recent revival of classical painting, with subjects from the texts.

Balinese literature has a long tradition, but has shown itself ready to experiment and improvise, taking into account Hindu-Javanese, European and modern Indonesian influences, while remaining true to its indigenous character. The vigour and commitment of the people, especially their educators, artists, writers and religious leaders, will ensure that their language and literature will continue to flourish and to contribute substantially to the Indonesian scene.

VIVIANE SUKANDA-TESSIER

#### *The Non Inventoried Manuscripts of West Java*

In a short introduction the author presents the non inventoried Manuscripts of West Java she can access after several missions which led to a joined Inventory and a Catalogue, the first part of which is about to appear, i.e. Muslim Manuscripts.

Four types of private collections she found and that kind of Manuscripts which are conserved



in it constitute the first part of her Paper. These Manuscripts are reality of sociocultural present life: they are still in use, often sung (*bĕluk* ancient vocal art), and, for the most, belong to the day-to-day traditional and spiritual rural Sundanese life. Because they are written, for the most, in Arabic or in adapted arabic spelling (*pegon*), they concerned Islam which is the faith of most of Indonesian people. Its specific characteristics led to divide each collection into categories going from the Coranic Manuscripts themselves to what seems to be farthest from Islam, from an orthodox point of view, but which cannot be neglected.

One of these categories deals with Islamisation and former times which preceded it, where old millenary so-called hinduistic faith, pre-hinduistic customs and original behaviours may have to be linked or considered by people as an intrinsic part of Islam, by means of epic and historical chronicles and stories. This is this first-hand knowledge of some specific literary texts, such as *Cariosan Prabu Silihwangi*, which allows me some new remarks: a cult hero can be seen in numerous literary works which is not always linked with specific Islam or precise Arab countries. In a same view this conception of the perfect ruler can explain the very numerous local genealogies from XVII-XIXth centuries, where Indonesian rulers attached themselves to Silihwangi up to Adam, not always with the special mention to Sunan Gunung Jati as ancestor. As divulgator of Islam doctrine they have to prove their aptitude to rule.

The notion of old Indonesian perfect ruler, such as *devaraja*, already appears strongly in Middle Javanese texts such as *Cariosan Prabu Silihwangi* which refers to a Hindu-Buddhist pattern with tantric influence. But this text may have to be used in "Islamic" times, without any inconvenience. The similarly or extremely near notion of *insan kamil* (*insan-al-kamil*), perfect Islamic ruler, can be found in numerous more recent texts. Among them, the author draws her examples from an almost unknown Sundanese text, i.e. *Wawacan Ogin atawa Raden Amarsakti* where she examines the Indonesian Islamic concept of perfection, as a chief element of continuous Indonesian spirituality.

The author illustrated her paper with citations she quotes from *Wawacan Ogin* and *Cariosan Prabu Silihwangi*, and 38 slides about Arab, Javanese and Sundanese XVI-XIX centuries Manuscripts. A part of them, collected by research EFEO team proceeds from South of Bandung area, and another one, collected by the National Research Centre of Archeology of Indonesia, is part of Banten collections. They are good examples of ancient materials, such as bark-tree and specific west-Javanese script.

DING CHOO MING

#### *Access to Malay Manuscripts*

Until today, our knowledge of the written traditional Malay literature depends to a great deal on the Malay manuscripts copied and collected particularly in the 19th century, despite various contributions by scholars in recent years in studying them and discovering other hitherto neglected versions of the already known texts. As most of the manuscripts do not contain dates of writing, though there are some with dates of copying furnished by the respective copiests, we are in the dark as to when the potentially earliest Malay manuscripts were actually written. Since written Malay traditional literature started after the coming of Islam, many literary, philosophical and dynastic-historical works, inspired by Persian-Arabic

models, bloomed in Pasai, Aceh, Malacca and many other Malay sultanates, in port cities on both sides of the Straits of Malacca and estuaries of important rivers. Works composed originally in one Malay court have been carried by means of migration, trade and diplomacy, to other neighbouring courts in the Malay Peninsula, Riau Lingga Archipelago, Borneo, Sumatra and so on from time to time. From the various researches done, it is clear that every single piece of the manuscripts collected was marked with vicissitudes. The massive collection of them represent love, patience, labour, time, interest and curiosity of a great number of early European amateur manuscript collectors, who came from different backgrounds. The existence of a large body of manuscripts in libraries in the Malay royal courts suggested that there must have existed a continuing tradition of well-staffed scriptoria that received and copied manuscripts when necessary. For practical reasons, commercial copying of manuscripts did not exist until the Europeans began to offer money to procure them. Since then, there were dealers in manuscripts, and commercial copying of manuscripts on an unprecedented large scale began. In the process of acquisitions, some manuscripts were copied by the Europeans themselves. After finding their respective new owners, Malay manuscripts netted by the different scholar-administrators, regardless of their initial motives, were later on donated, sold or bequeathed to various libraries and museums, i.e. their new homes in new places. On bibliographical control, we have to acknowledge the strengths of Dutch and British enthusiasm and scholarship. There emerge not only outstanding and prolific scholars in Malay studies in their own rights, but also some of these scholars are the most assiduous compilers of various bibliographies and catalogues on Malay manuscripts. Retrospectively, the earliest published reference on Malay manuscripts was that by Francois Valentijn, a Dutch missionary-historian. And, before Tuuk, Ronkel, Overbeck, Blagden and handful other orientalist began to seriously document Malay manuscripts in libraries in Europe and Museum Pusat in Jakarta, only a few of the manuscripts collected by Marsden, Raffles, Von de Wall and Schoemann — to mention a few, in the 19th century were known widely, despite their existence in these institutions for a long time. In spite of whatever their attempted coverage, no bibliography or catalogue could claim to be up-to-date and comprehensive at all times. Over the decades, much improvement had been achieved in bibliographical control of Malay manuscripts in coverage, quality and modes of access. Now, there are more and more manuscripts from more and more libraries being brought into general knowledge. Basically, the issue of availability of any type of library materials depends on initial acquisitions, processing and cataloguing, organization and administration, quality and attitude of the staff, application of the latest technology and system of supply. These factors can either facilitate or become a barrier to accessibility.

S. SUPOMO

#### *The Bhāratayuddha and the Parwas*

Considering that the *parwas* (i.e. Old Javanese adaptations in prose of parts of the Sanskrit epics) must have been in existence for more than one and half centuries before *mpu Sēḍah* began the composition of the *Bhāratayuddha* in 1157 A.D., the question arises whether he derived his material from the *parwas* or from the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. This question is complicated by the fact that only two of the six *parwas* which correspond with the narrative of the *Bhāratayuddha* are extant in the body of Old Javanese works that has come down to us. Apparently, the other four were either lost through the passage of time, or had never



existed.

As the term 'adaptation' implies, the *parwas* are not translations of the epics in the true sense of the word. In general, the Javanese translators seemed content with merely presenting an abbreviated form of the epics in Old Javanese. In this way, the *adhyāyas* were shortened — many were even omitted altogether from the *parwas*. The rendering of the Sanskrit text into Old Javanese is also not free from errors, many of which are obviously the result of misunderstandings on the part of the translators. Once the rendering was completed, however, such shortcomings would not have been apparent to the common reader who had no access to the Sanskrit original, and the erroneous renderings subsequently became the accepted correct readings. It stands to reason that a *kakawin* that contains similar 'errors' is more likely to have been derived from the *parwas* rather than directly from the Sanskrit texts.

A careful comparison of the text of the *Bhāratayuddha* and the corresponding passages of the two extant *parwas* — the *Udyogaparwa* and the *Bhīṣmaparwa* — clearly shows the dependence of the first two parts of this *kakawin* (1.8-13.10) on these two *parwas*, for they share such 'errors' as well as quite a few identical, or almost identical, words and expressions.

We also find that there is no marked difference in the way the material from the epic was used in these first two parts and the rest of the poem. Apart from the substantial additions and variations that occur in Part 5 (33.1-49.6), the narrative of the *Bhāratayuddha* closely follows the sequence of the main battle as recounted in the *Mahābhārata*. In fact, in respect of both the story and the arrangement of the episodes of the war, Part 3 (13.11-20.25) is more faithful to its original source than all the other parts of the *kakawin*, including the first two parts. Examination of the names of lesser known princes and warriors found in Part 3 and the particular account of the death of Jayadratha suggests that the ultimate source of Part 3 is the Sanskrit *Droṇaparwa* of the Northern recension, either its Bengali or Devanagari version.

Based on all the available data, it seems to be more reasonable to argue that the narrative of the *Bhāratayuddha* was derived from the Old Javanese *parwas* rather than from the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. In other words, the Old Javanese *Droṇaparwa*, *Kaṇṇaparwa*, *Śalyaparwa* and *Sauptikaparwa* were in existence before the date of the composition of the *Bhāratayuddha*, but, unlike the *Udyogaparwa* and *Bhīṣmaparwa*, they have been lost.

VIKTOR KRUPA

*Metaphor and Vocabulary Extension in Malay/Indonesian and in Maori*

The study of the metaphor helps us to understand how languages cope with situations that may be regarded as critical, such as 1) emotional factors, 2) massive interethnic contacts, 3) rapid growth of terminology. External stimuli force language to accommodate its vocabulary to the ever changing demands of communication but the systemic nature of language guarantees that changes are regulated. New elements do not appear in the vocabulary out of nothing. They are either borrowed or linked to the existing lexical system through motivation which is often metaphorical. Deep and surface structure is distinguished and lexical metaphors are classified into simple and complex ones. Complex metaphors are felt to be awkward and tend to be reduced although the elimination of tenor leads to an increase in homonymy and

ambiguity.

Lexical metaphors in Malay/Indonesian and Maori serve practical purposes and therefore, instead of being individually original or aesthetically impressive, they are appreciated for being easy to understand. Their motivational diversity is only seeming and may in fact be reduced to several basic, virtually universal models according to the conceptual characteristics of their metaphorical vehicle. These metaphorical models increase the semantic transparency of the vocabulary and, at the same time, they serve as means of internal organization and structuration of the vocabulary. The main metaphorical models used in Malay/Indonesian and Maori are human body, social organization, plant organism and natural phenomena.

P. PINK

*Neptu and Urip  
Numerology in Javanese and Balinese Almanacs*

For calendrical calculations and for various kinds of divination the Balinese use some different kinds of ninefold squares.<sup>1</sup> By far the most common one might be understood as a cosmogram which coordinates among other things each day of the different weeks as well as other time units to numerical values (in Balinese called *urip*, in Javanese *neptu*) and the directions of the compass (fig. 1). It is in use in Java too. Although this square is anything but a magic square (number 2 missing, 8 occurring twice, different totals of the numbers in the rows and diagonals), the Balinese *wariga*-literature which deals with divination, mostly based on calendrical calculations, brings the cosmogram into connection with a magic square from the type shown in fig. 2. E.G. for a special divination the 8 of the center is replaced by the number 2, and it changes the arrangement of the figures in such a way that they form a magic square. But still there remains the question: is this relationship of both squares mere speculation, or are there in fact good reasons for seeing a connection? I think there are, although the *wariga* themselves don't give any explanations about that.

A hint for a solution to this problem is offered by the *urip* of the ten-day week. Two days occupy the center of the diagram (fig. 3); that means that one day is located in the zenith, and the other one in the nadir. Because they are opposite each other, the difference of their *urip* can become the symbol for the center. Taking this figure as a starting point, a second problem arises, i.e.: if this diagram really has its origin in a magic square, then there must be a rule or a system according to which its numbers are distributed over the nine fields. If one looks more closely at the magic square, one will discover that it consists of 4 pairs of numbers which are grouped around the five as center, the difference of which is always five (fig. 4). This fact serves as a mnemonic aid for the reconstruction of the square, and it is also the starting point for various speculations in Chinese astrology.<sup>2</sup> These four binomes are the basic elements for the construction of the Balinese cosmogram. The binomes 1-6 and 3-8

<sup>1</sup>The following discussion is based on the *lontar*-mss. of Gedung Kirta, Singaraja, Bali, No.64/4, 240/5 and 828/1 and a *lontar*-ms. in the possession of the author.

<sup>2</sup>Kermadec, J.-M. de, *Les huit signes de votre destin*. Paris 1981, chapter 4. It is possible that the knowledge of this fact was part of oral tradition.



flank the north-south axis, while binome 4-9 embraces the east-west axis in such a way that they enclose one field and so form a kind of woven textile or wickerwork-pattern. The east-west axis — the more important one, as it represents the path of the sun — is formed by two pairs; they are complete in the three-dimensional version with 2 and 10 as the *urip* of the center, and are present in an abbreviated form in the common two-dimensional version with *urip* 8 in the center. So the square becomes a symbol of the harmony of the different forces of the cosmos.

EAST

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 6 | 5 | 8 |
| 4 | 8 | 9 |
| 1 | 7 | 3 |

Figure 1

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | 9 | 2 |
| 3 | 5 | 7 |
| 8 | 1 | 6 |

Figure 2

|   |      |   |
|---|------|---|
| 6 | 5    | 8 |
| 4 | 2/10 | 9 |
| 1 | 7    | 3 |

Figure 3

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | 9 | 2 |
| 3 | 5 | 7 |
| 8 | 1 | 6 |

Figure 4

GEHAN WJEWWARDENE

### *A Critical Approach to the Palm-Leaf Texts of Northern Thailand*

Over the last ten years or more, a major scholarly enterprise, focussed on the tertiary institutions of Chiangmai, has been the collection, microfilming and publication of the Lanna documents preserved on palm-leaf manuscripts found in monasteries throughout Northern Thailand. Earlier this year the Social Research Institute of Chiangmai University published

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a handsome catalogue (*Lanna Literature*) of 954 titles, described by the catalogue as 'secular', of the nearly four thousand manuscripts now recorded on microfilm.

Also earlier this year Aroonrut Wichienkeo (of the Teachers College Chiangmai) and I published the first joint transliteration into modern Thai and English translation of a northern Thai text, a version of the law code *Mangrayasart* one of a collection of Northern Thai texts collected by the late Richard Davis.

The corpus of Northern Thai texts, especially the law codes and histories, are potentially of great interest to the international community of scholars. However, a primary task is to elucidate the provenance of these manuscripts and the social milieu in which they were produced and reproduced. It is unlikely that either the histories or the law codes should be taken at face value, as sometimes happens.

An earlier partial translation of a version of the *Mangrayasart*, belonging to a monastery in Saraburi province of the Central Plain, claimed that the copy was likely to have been commissioned by a Central Thai official to administer the Northern Thai settlers in his region according to their own laws. This is highly unlikely, if only because the Central Thai official could not be expected to read the Northern Thai script in which the document is written. Such untenable assumptions underlie a lot of our thinking on these matters.

The version of the law code translated by us, (*The Laws of King Mangrai*, Canberra 1986) seems more like a collection of disparate elements than a 'code' in any modern sense of the term. It is in some ways an intellectual reconsideration of ancient values and social norms, a collection of exemplary tales, and the kinds of categorizing which appear again and again in the religious texts which come down to us from antiquity. There is a point of view among some scholars that certain versions of the Northern Thai legal texts do not show ancestry from the *Laws of Manu*, but demonstrate their pragmatic antecedents as codes of laws actually applied. This is a view that needs critical scrutiny.

One of the obvious motives for the reproduction of manuscripts is to be sought in the institutions of merit-making, but more important questions remain, and this paper is primarily a plea for the involvement of a wide range of scholarly expertise in the study of these manuscripts.

MICHAEL VAN LANGENBERG

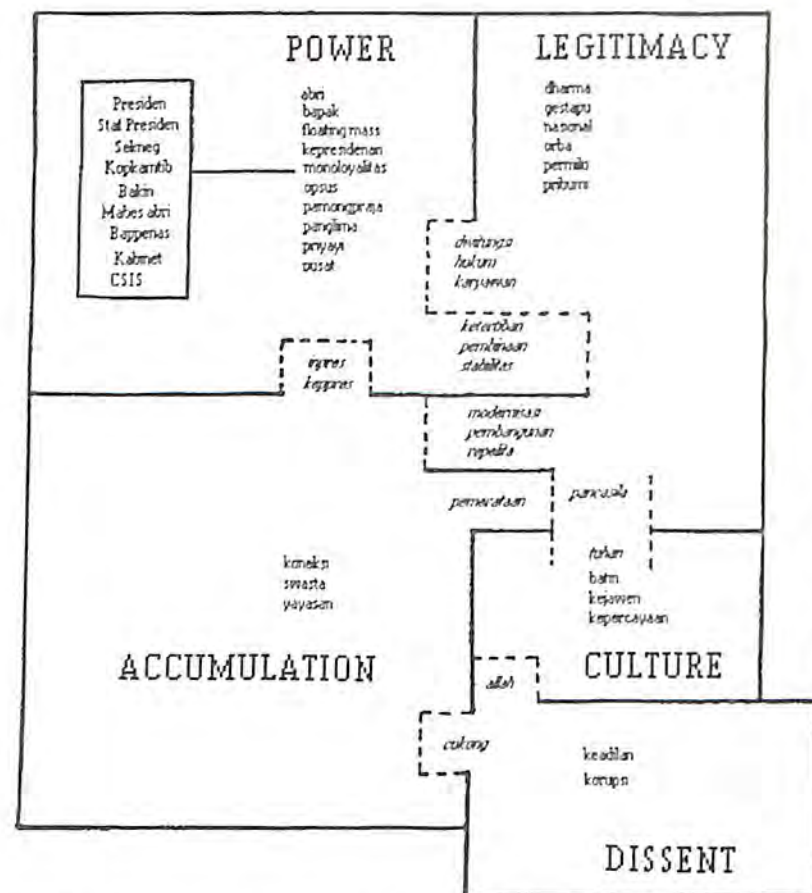
### *Analysing Indonesia's New Order State: A Keywords Approach*

Is there a basic lexicon of keywords to be drawn from the domestic political language of the contemporary Indonesian state-formation which identifies the major facets of the state, both as apparatus and as system? If so, is this a useful methodology for analysing the structures of that state?

A model of state, and a framework for its analysis, can be constructed from a relatively small lexicon of keywords taken from the political language of the state. Such a basic lexicon of keywords can provide an internal, detailed and comprehensive understanding of the state as the interaction of five major facets: power, accumulation, legitimacy, culture and dissent. The keywords are located in the ideological discourse of the state itself. They identify the state in its broader context of power, policy and culture. It is through its political language that the

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sing development and modernization based upon integration into the world capitalist economy with maintenance of domestic agricultural self-sufficiency and low inflation. The state now rests upon substantial structures of both legitimacy and accumulation. Regime control of the state rests upon the efficient use of *all three* of performance legitimation, repression, and symbolic legitimation. A feature of the New Order regime since 1966 has been its integrative function of the exercise of state power: in its emphasis upon the consolidation of a centralized national polity and the popular inculcation of a coherent national consciousness based upon identification with and loyalty to ideological formulations of the state itself.

This paper presents a lexicon of 40 keywords which can comprehensively articulate the totality of the Indonesian state-formation and through which the interaction of the major facets of the state can be analysed. They are 'primary' words, and the state-formation is the totality of their interconnections. The lexicon emphasises the state as the congruence of five main facets — power, legitimacy, accumulation, culture and dissent. While some keywords serve primarily to emphasise a particular single facet, others stress the inter-relationship between them.

There is no logical pattern of relationship between each of the keywords within any single facet of state. The keywords are, thus, illogical variables that articulate each of the facets of state and interlink them into a totality. Each facet of state is the totality of *all* the keywords within it. Some keywords serve to interlink the facets of state more than others do. The

state can be understood within the particular social order in which it is located, providing the best view of the relationship between the state apparatus and the underlying social formation. The 'key-words' model permits analysis of the state to be in the first place through the language of state-populace discourse.

Since its establishment early in 1966 the New Order state in Indonesia has been governed essentially by an oligarchy around President Soeharto. Economic policy has remained highly consistent over the past twenty years, emphasising

keywords emphasise the linkages between the broad "social"/"cultural" context of the state and the 'rules' which regulate the "political" and "economic" systems of the state. The language of power, legitimacy, accumulation, culture and dissent provide very important access to both the context and the rules. The discourse that informs the forty keywords of the New Order articulates a state that is authoritarian, theist, corporate, institutionalized; and undergoing major structural change.

BERNHARD DAHM

### *Rizal and the Uses of Violence*

The paper takes current developments in the Philippines as its point of departure, asking whether the teachings of José Rizal (1861-1896), the national hero of the Filipinos, can be included among the sources of the recent people's power movement. In some of his writings, Rizal rejects outright the use of violence in the process of emancipation from colonial rule and depicts future developments in the Philippines in "dreams", idealizing non-violence in a way resembling what was practiced in the amazing events of February 1986.

In other writings, however, Rizal appears to be less critical of the use of violence and there is, in fact, disagreement among scholars of Rizal with regard to this question. Some see him as absolutely opposed to the idea of a violent revolution (W.E. Retana, F. Blumentritt, A. Craig); others believe that he was in favor of violent revolution under certain conditions (J.A. Alejandrino, M. Kalaw, R. Palma, C. Quirino). Still others regard him as ambivalent, uncertain about violence and revolution (T.A. Agoncillo, C. Leonard, M. Unamuno).

The paper attempts to approach the question from a historical viewpoint. It describes some factors in Rizal's development (family, the Church, his own experiences in the colonial setting) which helped to shape his views on the matter. Before he went to Spain (1882), Rizal was convinced that violence against the colonial power would not pay. There, however, he perceived that the colonialists were not so clearly in command as he had expected them to be. He was impressed by statements from liberals sympathetic to the cause of the Filipinos encouraging them to fight, rather than pray, for reforms.

Therefore, his first major publications reflect a certain ambiguity with regard to the use of violence. In *Noli me tangere* (1887), Rizal criticizes the excesses of colonial rule and the machinations of the friars, but also the submissiveness of his countrymen. He considers the threat of revolutionary violence without giving a clear answer whether he is in favor of it or not. Unquestionably, he prefers peaceful emancipation. Still, he views revolutionary violence as a legitimate last resort if the Filipinos' pleas for reforms are neglected or rejected. This is also the theme of other articles and private letters from the period up to 1890.

The paper then discusses the change in this ambiguity in the period after 1890. Learning of the persecution of his family and friends as a reaction to his novel and to the Calamba Report, which disclosed irregularities in the Dominican order, Rizal now rejects the use of violence, even as a last resort. It is of no avail in the colonial setting, where the Spanish political and clerical forces are so clearly in command; only the innocent would pay the inevitable price. Instead, Rizal pleads for a moral revival as a precondition for liberation. In *El Filibusterismo* (1891), he argues: "We must win our freedom by deserving it ... by enhancing the dignity of the individual, loving what is just ... to the point of dying for it." What is needed is a



shining example, self-sacrific and not violent revolt.

In its conclusion, the paper places Rizal, who is ready to follow this path himself, in the recently discovered Philippine tradition of "pasyon" (Ileto). Readiness for self-sacrifice, not the threat of revolutionary violence, is for him the key to true progress for the Philippine nation. In this, Rizal's ideas may well have inspired the recent non-violent people's revolution in the Philippines.

(A full version of the paper can be found in the memorial volume for the 100th anniversary of Rizal's *Noli me tangere* edited by J. Arcilla, S.J., Manila 1987.)

## B. CHAKRAVARTI

### *Likely Links Between the Ancient Indian and Amerindian Cultures*

Some trade and cultural exchange between traditional India, Polynesia and Precolumbian America are apparent from the similarity of some of their flora and fauna, art and architecture, human values, religion and philosophy, social, economic and cultural institutions and practices.

*Flora and Fauna:* The cotton of ancient Peru is of the 26 chromosome *Gossypium barbadense* variety a hybrid between Indian cultivated cotton and the American wild cotton. The animal of the Indus valley seals resembles the Llama of Peru.

*Script and Language:* The Prehistoric scripts of Easter Island tablets are very similar to the scripts on the Indus valley seals. Many *Quechua* (Inca) words have close affinity with Sanskrit and Tamil words having the same meaning.

*Religion:* Viracocha, the name of the ocean god of the ancient Peruvians and the name of an Inca king, can be compared with *Virakoca* the name of a king mentioned in a Sanskrit South Indian inscription of the 9th century A.D.

A goddess of dark colour protruding her tongue and having a necklace of severed human heads is portrayed in Nazca pottery of Peru (circa 400 A.D.) reminds one of the Hindu goddess Kalika. Sculpted images of Chac with elephant head are found in the Mayan temples which resemble the Ganesa images of India.

The *Swastika*, a holy symbol of the Hindus, was also a holy symbol of the Mayas, the Aztecs, the Incas and the "red" Indians of North America and the ritual of circumambulation around a holy icon or shrine is also common to both the Indians and the Amerindians. The Greka sign which is thought by some as exclusively Amerindian is found in abundance in the Ajanta fresco designs and appears to be a very favourite Indian symbol from the 2nd century B.C. to 5th century A.D.

The self injury (blood sacrifice) rites in which the tongue of the devotee is pierced by dagger or his shoulder-muscles are hooked by piercing iron angles to suspend him on cross poles erected high is known as *chadak* in Bengal and as *Voladora* (Vola — Slanting, dora — rope) in Karnataka. The same ritual is known as *Voladores* ritual in Mexico and as *Sun dance* in the Amerindian reservation in Dakota (USA).

Many representations of phallic god are found in Mayan sites like Uxmal, Kaba etc. which

look like the *Sivalingas* of the Hindus. The word "Xib" means phallus in Mayan language. At Coatzacoahuaca in Guatemala, we come across the anthropomorphic form of this god with matted lock and a snake garlanding his neck overlooking a younger chak figure. The anthropomorphic representation of Siva and his son Ganesa is exactly similar in India.

The image of a deity, seated on the coils of a snake at La Venta, Tabasco of the 6th century A.D. resembles the Visnu image of the same period (6th C. A.D.) seated in snake-coil in a similar manner at Aihole (Karnataka) in India.

The Mayan sites invariably have of the *Dwarf*. One of the incarnations of the Indian God Vishnu is known as *Dwarf* (Vāmana or Trivikrama). Trivikrama is sculptured as raising one leg to indicate that it covered the whole heavenly world thereby. The relief of a Mayan deity has exactly the same posture.

The hand-gestures in the images of Mayan gods remind one of the Hindu mudras like the *Varada*, *Abhaya*, *Katakamukha*, *Vyākhyana*, *mudrās*.

Use of red colour (vermillion) in worship of Hindu deities very much resemble the use of red colour in Mayan and Amerindian worship.

*The name of 'Maya' in Sanskrit text:* According to Mahābhārata 'Maya', a Danava, built the Pandava palace at Indrapastha. Two palmleaf Sanskrit texts on Architecture, the *Mayamatam* and the *Mayasastram* have been found in the coastal regions of India. The *Sūrya Siddhānta*, a text on Astronomy, proclaims that this school was founded by 'Maya' the *Asura* (Danava).

*Customs:* The fourfold social strata and the use of parasole as a sign of rank were also common phenomena to both the countries. The ancient Mexican *Patolli* is similar in its details to the games of *Pacisi* played in India.

*Values and Philosophy:* The belief in the spiritual world in all pervasiveness of *Wakan* (the supreme being), in the age cycles and its destruction through predestined deluges and practice of vision-quest, penance and blood sacrifice were shared by the Mayans, Aztec and Incas alike with the north American Indians as well. Similar parallels in Hindu thought are well known. All these very strongly suggest some links between these cultures.



ELISABETH FINCKH

*Some Characteristics of Tibetan Pharmacology*

A very large part of Tibetan medical literature is concerned with pharmacology. Of course it is impossible to present the large field of pharmacology in a short paper. The attempt has been made to present a general view: description of the most important topics.

- (1) Books: the highly esteemed medical works of bsTan hñin phun chogs.
- (2) The standard work rGyud bñi must be the starting point for any study. Pharmacology is described: part II, chapters 19, 20, 21, and part IV, chapters 3-19. Right at the start it is vital to determine the medical terminology from this source. The terms of the most important topics are derived from these texts, preceding the translations.
- (3) Classification (classic division into eight parts).
- (4) Tastes of the medicaments (sweet, sour, saline, bitter, pungent and astringent = 6)
- (5) Potency of the medicaments (heavy, oily, cool, dull, light, rough, hot and sharp = 8).
- (6) Preparations: It was possible to make quite clear that in these passages not only the preparations but also the taste and potency of the medicaments are related to the threepart division of Tibetan medicine.

That means treatment is governed by the patient's constitution. It is obvious that without a recognition of the type, treatment is impossible.

An application of Tibetan medicaments in the West is likely to run into some difficulties because of the new pharmaceutical laws in Western countries.

The presentation of this paper should serve to broaden the theoretical foundations in a systematic way.

Very careful examination of the rich store of Tibetan medicaments is necessary in order that the West may benefit from the precious Tibetan medicaments.

CAI JINGFENG

*Towards the Early Developmental History of Tibetan Medicine*

It has long been a predominant notion, both at home and abroad, that the Tibetan system of medicine is originated from Ayurveda, the ancient Hindu medical system. Actually this is not the case. Through a penetrating study on historical and medical literatures, it is obvious that the above idea belittles the creativity of the Tibetan people. This paper draws the conclusion that Tibetan medicine is primarily the experience of the Tibetan people themselves, accumulated through the long course of history in the struggle fighting against diseases, though they did assimilate considerable amount of medicine, theoretical and practical, from Han people in inland China and Indian medicine. Viewing from historical documents, the earliest Tibetan medical classic, *sMan-dpyad Chen-mo (Medical Encyclopedia)* was of entirely Chinese provenance, being translated from Chinese medical classic, while the second earliest medical classic, *'Mi-Jigs-pa'i mTshon-cha (Fearless Weapon)* was compiled on the basis of a tripartition, Chinese, Indian and Persian. The earliest extant medical text, *sMan-dpyad Zla-*



*ba'i rGyal-po (Medical Investigation of the Lunar King)* is also an evidence of this medical system of a tripartite origin. The paper also cites many modern authors for supporting this viewpoint by verifying that the most important ancient Tibetan medical text, *rGyud-bZhi (The Four Medical Tantras)*, is not a pure duplication or translation of ancient Ayurvedic work, instead, it is evolved on the basis of the above ancient classics. Although there are some chapters carrying contents quite similar, some even identical, to that of the extant Sanskrit Ayurvedic classic. However, this does not necessarily support the strong evidence for the hypothesis that Tibetan medicine has a pure Indian origin. Ironically, there are also many strong evidences, opposing the said hypothesis such as theories of viscerology, sphygmology, drugs that cannot be found in South Asia or that are even taboo to the Buddhist disciplines. Though the Four Medical Tantras does carry an Indian title, *bDud-rtsi sNing-po Yan-lag brGyad-pa gSang-ba Man-ngag-gi rGyud ces bya-ba bzugs-so*, yet, it is in no case another evidence for the aforesaid theory, for in a region like Tibet where Buddhism is prevalent, the mantle of a buddhist title or any form used to be adopted by a buddhist canon means nothing but aiming at the easy distribution and popular acceptance to the secular sector. It is not plausible that, should there exist an important original Sanskrit Four Medical Tantras, the great encyclopedia of *Ancient Buddhist Canons*, either in Tibetan or in Chinese, composing of two parts, *bGahjur* and *bsDanjur*, doesn't carry any material, even a single sentence of this Sanskrit work. Nor can anyone find trace or clue of such origin in the Canon. That is why some authors who insist in the hypothesis of Indian origin sighed: "The availability of such a text not even heard of in India either in the past or in the present."

LISELOTTE PETERSOHN

### *Chinese Medicine is more than acupuncture*

Chinese medicine is more than acupuncture, it is a total healing system based on the same principles like Chinese art and culture, architecture, geology, building cities, painting, and music.

The "three teachings" of Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, and many other religious and intellectual movements have been influencing the Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) and are forming a living development, the end of which cannot be foreseen yet, also by the influence of occidental science and medicine.

Both in the orient and in the occident the healing systems from their first start were based on philosophic theoretic comprehensions: understanding the human being as a whole but yet as a part of the universe, closely linked (related) to sacral things, to the super rational, these are the common roots of the healing systems.

Especially during the last century in the occident the *monistic* comprehension of all things and forces to be an undivided whole was given up. This led eventually to the *dualistic* philosophy, the separation of macrocosm and microcosm, spirit and matter and with the *analytic* "measuring" of the state of health to the static consideration of the substratum.

In the orient, however, the *watching of the state of health*, the *dynamic judging* of functions, is still the unchanged principle in the traditional healing system.

The energetics of the Qi, the vital original power with its bipolar qualities of Yin and Yang

with the lawfulness of the evolutive phases (wuxing) and the functional orbs (zangxian) is the foundation of the TCM. A very special diagnostic following the eight guiding criteria (bagang) form the basis for the therapeutical concept with its many kinds of therapy like medicine, diet, Qi exercises (Qigong, Taiji chuan) physical treatment and acupuncture, and moxibustion (zhenjiu) as well.

The theoretical outsets like they have been extracted since decades by Prof. Dr. M. Porkert on behalf of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Association) are a distinct and clear concept for every physician for a Chinese diagnostic and the subsequent use of the therapeutical methods. This makes the Chinese medicine practicable, the diagnostic conclusions can be performed, the treatment and its effects are reproducible.

Of course, occidental medical diagnostic and therapy could (or should) be used either as a first step or accompanying and thereby supplementing the therapy, as the case may be.

Like in China, also here in the occident, both, physician and patient, should be aware of the possibilities and the limits of both healing systems.

Dealing objectively with the TMC, a thorough education and a further research must be aimed at and philosophical thinkings — both oriental and occidental — must also be incorporated like the modern results of occidental science and technology, so that eventually oriental and occidental healing methods, enjoying equal rights and supplementing each other, can be used throughout the world.

JUDITH MAGEE BOLTZ

### *The Rites of Wang Ling-kuan: Legitimation of a Local Healing Cult*

Two major power struggles lie at the heart of the legend of the local deity who came to be known as Wang Ling-kuan and the Taoist Master Sa Shou-chien (fl. 1141-1178?). One conflict is among the most commonly recounted in Taoist writings and the other is an internal combat that otherwise remains fairly well concealed. The predominant struggle illustrated in the saga of Wang and Sa is that between *shen* and *kuan*, that is, the classical battle between local deity and state religious figures of authority. According to hagiographic lore, Master Sa took it upon himself to destroy the shrine established in honor of Wang when he discovered patrons were offering blood sacrifices. The disenshrined wayward spirit initially sought revenge but, in the end, Sa's irreproachable conduct led Wang to pledge devoted service to the Master. Inherent in Wang's legitimation as a guardian of the Tao is the understanding that institutional authority had the right to proscribe and redefine or civilize any religious practice deemed socially unacceptable, primarily in the interest of reinforcing local allegiance to the state.

In addition to the celebrated theme of the eternal battle between the forces of good and evil, the story of Master Sa's victory over Wang also seems to embody the fragments of a myth designed to settle a critical struggle for power within the preeminent Taoist patriarchy popularly referred to as T'ien-shih or Celestial Master. Upon abandoning an unsuccessful career as a physician, Sa reportedly received instruction in therapeutic ritual techniques from three practitioners of the Tao, one of whom conveyed a letter which, when handed over to the seat of the Celestial Masters at Lung-hu Shan (Kiangsi), was recognized as a composition



of the 30th-generation patriarch Chang Chi-hsien (1092-1126). A similar episode concerning Sa's encounter with the avatar of the 30th patriarch is recorded in a genealogy of the Celestial Masters where it is dated to the year 1141. Here Sa's timely appearance with a communication from the apotheosized Chang Chi-hsien would seem to have been evoked when the succession of the patriarchy apparently faced a critical challenge. Both the genealogy and topographies of Lung-hu Shan suggest there was indeed some question as to the right of the 31st patriarch Chang Shih-hsiu (1080-1140) to succeed his nephew Chang Chi-hsien. Hagiographers seem to have found in Sa the prophetic spokesman for the confirmation of a collateral line of succession which was likely to have been contested even as Chang Shih-hsiu's son, Chang Shou-chen (d. 1176) took office as the 32nd patriarch in 1140.

A late devotional scripture reiterates the narrative of the hagiographic lore and emphasizes the role of both Wang and Sa in restoring order to a realm overtaken by daemonic forces. Internal evidence seems to link the scripture of Wang Ling-kuan to a Taoist Master named Chou Ssu-te (1359-1451), military adviser to Ming Ch'eng-tsu (r. 1403-1424) on his northern expeditions. During his reign, shrines of the two deities served principally as tokens of loyalty to the state. By 1603, Teng Chih-mo expanded upon the hagiographic records, producing a novel that immortalized popular perceptions of Wang and Sa. Variant ritual codes in the name of Wang Ling-kuan, moreover, inspired Taoist exorcists for centuries in their battles with possessing spirits. Such is the legacy of this reformed local deity that even today, in his assignment as guardian of Taoist temples, Wang Ling-kuan is thought to continually rise above his own defeat in warding off baleful forces.

ERIKA PLATTE

### *The State of Nutrition in China*

Research on nutrition has not been fully revived since the Cultural Revolution during which this science was condemned as a study for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, a shortage of nutritionists and a lack of general knowledge of nutrition are currently exacerbating China's nutritional problems.

Nevertheless China has come a long way to attain a nutritional status where caloric deficiency has been eliminated and chronic nationwide malnutrition has become a thing of the past. Since the late 1970s, the average consumption of calories in the Chinese diet has been adequate although severe malnutrition would probably still exist in certain localities of a country as vast as China were it not for a redistribution of food crops. China's level of energy availability now exceeds those of the low-income countries and even surpasses those of some of the middle-income countries.

The composition of the Chinese diet is in the process of changing in that the consumption of non-staples has been on the increase. While this development was slow up to 1978, meat intake has risen by about 50 per cent during the past few years. Especially in the cities, the Chinese are gradually tending towards high protein and low fat and a reduced consumption of cereals. With record grain harvests China can now afford to shift the focus away from agriculture to animal husbandry. There is also a trend for energy and proteins derived from fine grains to grow at the expense of coarse grains.

However, consumption levels of animal products are still low by international standards.

Chinese nutritionists are not keen on emulating the North American or Western European diets, which are higher in calories, proteins and fats, as they consider it as a possible cause for the high incidence of degenerative diseases and obesity. Nutrition is to be improved through vegetable protein development without neglecting animal protein production.

China's diet remains predominantly vegetarian and thus low in protein and certain essential minerals and vitamins. Therefore, the prevalence of mild to moderate malnutrition in the qualitative sense is still frequent in many parts of the country. Rickets, anemia, Keshan disease and goitre represent the major micronutrient deficiencies resulting from insufficient dietary intake of specific minerals. In addition, rickets and pellagra are the most widespread manifestations of lack of certain vitamins. These disorders cannot be prevented until China attains a more balanced diet in terms of protein sources. On the other hand, while in the developed world obesity is perhaps the most important nutritional disease, it represents a fairly recent phenomenon in China, especially among children in urban areas.

Given the limited natural resources and the huge population, China still has to go a long way to achieve a higher nutritional level. According to Chinese researchers, it will take at least another one hundred years, provided agriculture and animal husbandry will have grown three-and-a-half times larger, until a population of between 650 and 700 million can be guaranteed adequate daily protein requirements at consumption levels currently obtaining in the Western world.

SAROJINI AJWANI

### *The Philosophical Gleanings in the Medical Works of Caraka and Susruta*

Caraka and Susruta, the Indian encyclopaedic medical treatises on the philosophical and science of life (Jeevan Darshan) not only refers to the concept of Purushartha (Karma) but also refers to the protection and rejuvenation of a sound health, immunization from illness, their systematic diagnosis and their medication. An attempt has been made in the present paper to cast down a birds eye view on the various philosophical gleanings in these medical works. While referring to philosophy of life unlike all Indian system of philosophy these medical works are also based on the legistical approach to the Ayurveda philosophy, hence, the present paper deleneates on the conceptual and theoretical aspects of abstract philosophical notions in relation to the preservation of health. The mind-matter relationship evolution and hereditary concepts, humeral theory. An epistemological theory based on truth, knowledge, logical dedication towards Moksh realization, physiological processes i.e. longevity nutrition and diet and lastly the rejuvenation therapy are some of the salient features of the paper. In addition, the following contributions of Caraka and Susruta towards philosophical gleanings in relation to Indian system of philosophy, deserves special mention:

- Believing in the testimony of Vedas these two works are known as the major works of Ayurveda and thus can be clubbed together among the heterodoxical system of Indian philosophy so far as they refer frequently to the Indian system of Philosophy.
- Certain non-heterodoxical concepts like Trishna, ego, etc. of the Indian System of Philosophy are also mentioned in the Caraka and Susruta.
- Like Vaisheshika system, the Caraka accepted the six substances. But here the concepts of



the generalized and specific attributes of substances are developed out of the utilitarian nature of Ayurveda rather than by any philosophical stand point. While classifying the qualities (Gunas) Caraka and Susruta referred to body, spiritual and general qualities. This is a significant contribution of Caraka and Susruta in the world of Indian philosophy.

d) The classification of Dravya in the form of Rasbhedha, Antbhedha effect of its kinds Aaharbhedha, Yonibhedha etc. are again a unique contribution of Caraka and Susruta.

e) The concepts of hell, heaven, Loka, Parloka of Caraka and Susruta are common to the Indian beliefs of various systems of philosophy.

f) Caraka and Susruta of Ayurveda is based on knowledge which also not only refers to the intuition but also mind, heart and ego attributes: Mind is the root cause of pleasure and pain. The effect of Raja and Tama gunas leads to the stable or disturbed mental conditions. Karma is variously defined in the Vaisheshik system of philosophy.

g) While referring to the world and its annihilation Caraka and Susruta mentioned the theory of causation (Karyakaranvad). The world is treated as Prakriti and Purusha of the Sankhyayoga system of Philosophy. The Caraka ideas on the world are based on six elements and four cyclic orders which indubitably signifies its special characteristics.

h) The concept of Purushartha, physical and mental training through exercises and proper dietary system leads to the mental and physical equilibrium. This leads finally towards the rejuvenation of life.

i) The mind body relationship is inseparately demonstrated by the Caraka and Susruta, which are the common feature of all the heterodoxical system of Indian philosophy.

j) They refer to the Parloka, hell and heaven moksha and ways of attaining Moksha. This is also a unique contribution where material welfare is mingled together with the spiritual achievements.

k) They refer to the hell and heaven and recommend an ethical way of life to lead. Whenever the Tridoshas are disturbed, it leads to pain, untimely death, etc.

NAOMICHI NAKADA

*Several Āyurvedic Views as Referred to in Some of the Early Mahāyāna Buddhist Texts and so on*

Ṣaḍaṅga and tridoṣa in the early Mahāyāna texts are to be discussed. As space is limited here, what reported on tridoṣa at ICANAS is not presented but ṣaḍaṅga is discussed. What has been read at ICANAS is going to appear in the Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies, for 1986.

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, it is mentioned that both Tathāgata and men on the way to the enlightenment get into the state in which neither body nor mind moves.

(1) Saddh P. Kern's ed. p.5,11.7-11, (2) *op. cit.* p.19,1.11-p.20,1.1, (3) *op. cit.* p.20, 1.15-p.21,1.4, (4) *op. cit.* p.24,11.15, (5) p.158,1.13-p.159,1.7, (6) Hirofumi Toda: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra Central Asian Manuscripts Romanized Text, Tokushima 1981 Kyōiku Shuppan Center, part one Kashgar Manuscript, VII

A. Wezler/E. Hammerschmidt (Hrsg.): Proceedings of the XXXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies, Hamburg, 25th-30th August 1986 (ZDMG-Suppl. 9).  
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*pūrvayogaparivartaḥ 155b,11.1-3. "na(o) cāntare kāya kadāci cālito na(na) hastapādo'pi na cāpi grīvā cittam pi te śāntigataṃ susaṃsthitaṃ anīṃj (y) abhūta(m) sthita aprakāṃpika(m) naiv'āsi vikṣepa kadāci tubhyam (m) tyaṃta (śānta) sthita tvam anāsravam".*

Body, which does not move, is explained in detail, in the text given as (6) above. "Body is never moved at the trunk. Hand and foot are not moved, either. Neck is not moved, either."

This way of counting each part of the body may be compared with that as found in the Carakaśaṃhitā, Śārīrasthānam 7,5, which runs thus: *tatrāyaṃ śārīrasyaṅgavibhāgaḥ; tadyathā--dvau bāhū, dve sakthinī, śirogrīvam, antarādhi<sup>1</sup>, iti ṣaḍaṅgam aṅgam/*

What is said as antare in the text (6) may be compared with antarādhi in Carakaśaṃhitā mentioned just above. This text of Carakaśaṃhitā can be compared with the Aṣṭāṅgaḥḍayam, Śārīrasthānam, 3,1, which gives *antarādhi*. It can be compared with Cakrapāṇidatta on Carakaśaṃhitā, Sūtrasthāna, 30,4, which gives *antarādhi*, too.

*Madhya<sup>2</sup>* is mentioned for *antarādhi* in Cakrapāṇidatta on Carakaśaṃhitā, Śārīrasthāna, 7,5, ... *antarādhiḥ madhyam*. (Trunk means the middle part.)

*Antara* as found in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, mentioned in (6), may mean the trunk as the part of the body, *antara* is mentioned at the top in the detailed explanation on the body (*kāya*), which is motionless. "Trunk being the most motionless among the parts of the body (*kāya*), it is referred to at the beginning of the explanation of the motionless body." This last idea is influenced by a hint given by Prof. Dr. P. Thieme.

<sup>1</sup> *antarādhi* is translated as 'trunk' by P. Kutumbiah, in his 'Ancient Indian Medicine', Bombay etc. 1962 Orient Longmans, p.7. On *aṅga*, see Meulenbeld, 'Mādhavanidāna', Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *madhya* as found in the Suśrutasāṃhitā, Śārīrasthānam 5,3. "*taccaṇḍaṅgam—śākhāś madhyam pañcamam, ṣaṣṭham śira iti*".



MASAO MORI

*On the "säkiz adaqlıy barım" in the Yenisey Inscriptions*

- 1) The expression "säkiz adaqlıy barım" appearing in the three Yenisey Inscriptions signifies "the eight-legged horse."
- 2) "The eight-legged horse" was "the shamanic horse par excellence" or the "typically shamanic" horse.
- 3) The narration by the deceased using the first person in the Yenisey Inscriptions is based upon the custom or tradition of having a shaman or shamaness as a necromancer narrate in a trance the words of the deceased through his/her own lips.
- 4) The reason why "the eight-legged horse" is enumerated together with many properties which the deceased owned while he was alive is probably because the remnants of a narration by a shaman or shamaness in which the shaman or shamaness mentioned "the eight-legged horse" which was "the shamanic horse par excellence" or "the typically shamanic" horse as his/her own property, have been preserved as they were, thus making it seem to be the property of the deceased.
- 5) The reason why only in the case of "the eight-legged horse" the word *barım* meaning "property" was used, not "at" or "yunt" or "yılqı", is probably because "the eight-legged horse" was considered to be sacred as "the shamanic horse par excellence" or the "typically shamanic" horse, while "at", "yunt" and "yılqı" were "tabooed words." In short, *barım* must have functioned as a substitute for "at", "yunt" or "yılqı."

E. ESİN

*On a Tamgha Attributable to the Western Branch  
of the First Kök-Türk Dynasty (ca 550-658)*

The coins which could have belonged to the first Kök-Türk dynasty (ca 550-634 in the east, 659 in the west), were found in the areas ruled by both branches (the charismatic land of Ötüken, in present Mongolia and Turkistan). They are distinguished by inscriptions including the title *qaghan*, *qaghanlar*, without however the addition "Türgiś", usual on coins of that dynasty (659-766). They show neither the *tamgha* of the A-shi-na horses, nor that of the second Kök-Türk dynasty, nor those usual on Türgiś coins.

The coins found in the eastern region bore an inscription in Kök-Türk characters, diversely read, the last word of which was tentively deciphered as *qaghanlar* (The *Qaghans*) by Dr O.N. Tuna. The Turkish inscription had been stamped on a Chinese coin of the Han period.

One of the *Qaghan* coins from Turkistan, also in Chinese style, showed an inscription in Soghdian characters, the epithet of which was read either in Soghdian, by Mrs O.I. Smirnova, or in Turkish, by Dr O. Sertkaya, as "Bögü Qaghan". The other coin from Turkistan, with the inscription *Qaghan*, displays however a bow-shaped *tamgha*. This form appears to have been an insigne of power, not particular to a single dynasty, but also accepted by the Turkish *qaghans*. It has sometimes been interpreted as a crescent, or as the horns of a bull, all of which themes have semantic connections in Inner-Asian astrology. In a Kök-Türk context, the crescented shape of a letter could be read, either as *ay* (moon), or as *ya* (bow)



and the moon was an astral symbol of the western quadrant. The bow-like *tamgha* is equally observed on a mural of the same age, in eastern Turkistan, then under the rule of the western branch of the Kōk-Türk dynasty, depicting a warrior whose emblem is the *Bōri* (wolf)-headed totemic flag of Kōk-Türk (and Uyghur) *Qaghans*. The same *tamgha*, in varieties, figures on the coins with an inscription, read as a form of Khaqan, and ascribed to a member of the western branch of the Kōk-Türk dynasty, who went to Tokharistan and Khorasan.

The temptation to view in this sign the insigne of power of western Turkish monarchs is increased by its presence on some Khaqanid coins. The astrologic significance of the bow, as a Turkish emblem, was commented, towards the end of the Khaqanid period of Turkistan, by a Turk born in India, under the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, the poet and historian Khusrav Dihlavi (1253-1325).

HORI SUNAO

*A Chinese Document About Central Asia in the Ming Period*

Various Chinese books of the Ming period include a document entitled *Hsi-yü-t'u-ti-jên-wu-lüeh* and further, a book printed in 1547 also includes a similar document entitled *Hsi-yü-chu-kuo*. These two documents are very valuable in the study of the history of Central and Western Asia. However, many questions about the documents still remain unsolved. Herein, I attempt to unravel some of them and conclude as follows:

Although the above two documents are not the same in style nor title, they are derived from the same original text in Chinese, which is compiled at the western frontier of the Ming in 1512-1514, based on some further unidentified original source brought in by West Asian people.

The original Chinese text, recompiled by means of collating the above two documents, consists of many geographical names with some notes. The order of these place names, however, is very confused. They are generally put in order of an itinerary route from Kia-yü kuan (the famous gate at the north-western frontier of China) to Lu-mi ch'eng (the capital of Rum, namely, Istanbul). But in addition to the route, many other routes are also covered in the original Chinese text in various ways. For example, in one case, each description of a place on the route includes a description of some places on other routes which run either to the south or north of it. In another case, place names from a certain route are grouped together and mentioned at once in the description of one place on the route.

Judging from a puzzling way in which places and routes are listed in the Chinese original, the as yet unidentified further original western source is thought to be in the form of a map with many notes, the original Chinese text being compiled and translated summarily from the map at the place and the time above mentioned.

TÔRU SAGUCHI

*On Ethnic History of the Yügu (Sarigh Uyghurs)*

After the collapse of the Orkhon Uyghur empire in 840, some of the dispersed Uyghur groups emigrated to Kansu to become Kan-chou Uyghurs, and some became Huang-t'ou Uyghurs distributing themselves in the Tsaidam frontier from Sha-chou to the Lop-nor region. The Sa-li wei-wu-er and the Sarigh Uyghurs in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries may have been posterities of the Huang-t'ou Uyghurs. In the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries chieftains of the Sarigh Uyghurs, attacked by the Turfan Islamic powers, emigrated with their tribesmen from Sha-chou to Su-chou and Kua-chou to be known as Shiraghur. In the late seventeenth century, they were temporarily put under the Jungar powers, and, in 1696, they surrendered to the Ch'ing authorities as "horse-tax paying subjects": they were called Shiraghur or Huang-fan (Yellow Barbarians). They consisted of Turkic-speaking Sarō (or Sarigh) Yögurs and Inghar (Mongolian)-speaking Shira Yögurs. In all probability, Yögur (Yughur) are regarded to have been posterities of the mediaeval Sarigh Uyghurs. After 1953 Yögurs of Su-chou and Kan-chou were renamed Yügu by the government of People's Republic of China.

DENIS SINOR

*Notes on the History of the First Türk Empire*

The high quality of the early scholarly literature dealing with the Old Turkic (Orkhon) inscriptions and with the Chinese and Byzantine data on Türk history have, to some extent, created the impression that most of the major problems of Türk history have been solved. This may well be so, but there are plenty of questions that remain unanswered and some answers which hitherto have been considered satisfactory may well bear reexamination. A good example is presented by the names and identities of the first rulers of the Türk Empire.

According to the Orkhon inscriptions the kaghans Bumin and Ishtemi were co-founders of the Türk Empire. Bumin died soon after his victory over the Juan-juan (552) and was followed by his son Kuo-lu who ruled for only a few months. By 553, Chinese sources speak of two major rulers: Muhan (553-572), son of Bumin and Ishtemi (553-?), who was Bumin's brother (and thus Muhan's uncle). It is generally assumed that the division of the Türk Empire into two halves followed immediately the death of Bumin, and that Muhan ruled over the eastern part and Ishtemi over the western regions. This neat picture is in need of considerable alterations.

Chinese sources clearly show the existence of four major administrative units within the Türk Empire, namely the Central, Eastern, Western, and Western Frontier Regions. Masao Mori had pointed out the important difference between the "kaghan residing in the West" and the "kaghan of the Western frontier". This quadripartite division of the Türk Empire is clearly confirmed by Byzantine sources, namely by the Protector Menander who recorded the information provided in 568 by the Türk ambassador Maniakh. Although well known, this evidence is usually overlooked.

Maniakh was the ambassador of the Türk ruler Silziboulos who is generally believed to be none other than Ishtemi, an opinion without a shred of supporting evidence. No adequate explanation has been given for the name Silziboulos and none of the Chinese transcriptions



of the names of the Türk rulers can be identified with it. No amount of phonetic juggling can bring together Silziboulos and Ishtemi, whose name — it should be remembered — does appear in Greek sources in the approximately correct transcription *Stembis*.

Silziboulos died in 576 and was succeeded by his son called Turxath in Greek sources. According to Menander, Turxath was one of *eight* chiefs who shared rule over the Türks, Arsilas being the name of the most prominent among them. Turxath was thus only a minor potentate — and since he inherited his father's dignity — the same must be true also for Silziboulos. Turxath's overlord was Tardu, son of Ishtemi and kaghan of the Western Frontier Region (*hsi mien ko-han*). We know for certain that Tardu was *not* present at Silziboulos' funeral, a fact which clearly shows that he was not the son of the deceased.

If Silziboulos and Ishtemi were two different persons — and there is plenty of evidence to show that this indeed was the case — we can no longer accept 576 as the date of the latter's death which is nowhere reported by the Chinese sources. The great rift between eastern and western Türks — usually thought of as having taken place during the reigns of Bumin and Ishtemi occurred under Nivar kaghan (581-587) whose name, formerly known only in Chinese transcription, appears in the Bugut inscription.

KOZO ITANI

#### *Political Aspect of the Revolt of Bābā Ishāq*

As for the revolt of Bābā Ishāq, which broke out in Eastern Anatolia and was suppressed just before the Mongol invasion, M.F. Köprülü, V.A. Girdlevskij, Claude Cahen, Ernst Werner, Osman Turan and A.Y. Ocak published their views, emphasizing its religious aspect. Some of them gave special attentions to the relation between the revolt of Bābā and another Bābā movement headed by Bābā Ilyās and the Bektash order of *darwīshes*. Among the contemporary historical sources concerning the revolt, the statement of Ibn Bībī is doubtless of primary value. Ibn Bībī's *Kitāb al-Awāmīr al-'Alā'īya fī al-Umūr al-'Alā'īya* whose Persian unique manuscript is preserved in Aya Sofya Library in Istanbul was published in facsimile by A.S. Erzi in 1956. In this paper I would like to re-examine the part concerned of Ibn Bībī's work and throw light on the political aspect of this revolt.

According to Ibn Bībī, Bābā Ishāq Khārījī first appeared as a juggler or a magician who used *sha'badha* and *nīranjāt* in the district of Kafarsūd near the western bank of Euphrates. He was engaged in mission work (*da'wa*) to the groups of Turks or Turkmāns who had little intercourse with city dwellers and believed in what they heard from "foolish *faqīh* and deceitful *mufī*". After his disappearance from Kafarsūd for a while, Bābā showed himself as an ascetic who practiced *tawarru'*, *tazahhud* and *tanassuk* in Amāsiya. There he played mediator among the inhabitants and became popular writing amulets (*ta'wīdh*) for those who came to him to complain of any trouble. In the course of time he built a hermitage (*ṣawmā'a*) on a hill and lived there with a limited number of *murīds*, practicing ascetical life. His *murīds* were sent to every direction where they could find any sign of a group of Turkmāns. They also used jugglery like their master and confirmed the support of the people.

Bābā blamed Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II for the latter's corrupt way of life and incited his followers to rise against Sulṭān both in the direction of Kafarsūd and Mar'ash. Thus the revolt began in 1240, of which date other sources such as Simon de Saint-Quentin,

Bar Hebraeus and Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī agree with one another, though Ibn Bībī makes no mention. The rebels (*khawārij*, *mukhālifān*) seemed to be more attracted by the promise of booty acquired than Bābā's political propaganda. The rebel army defeated the Sulṭān's soldiers three times near Malaṭīya and Sīwās, then marched towards Amāsiya, the center of the revolt in high spirits. Mubārīz al-Dīn Hajjī Armaghānshāh, who was the *atābeg* of Sulṭān's eldest son 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II, was appointed commander of the soldiers and he also marched to Amāsiya and arrested Bābā with his *murīds* to hang them from the tower of the fortress. Although their leader was executed, the rebels did not believe his death and fought severely with Sulṭān's soldiers near Amāsiya, finally killed Armaghānshāh. They said that Bābā's position is higher than that stage on which any mankind could hold him. According to Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī and Bar Hebraeus, Bābā demanded his followers to say "Lā ilāha illā Allāh wa-(al-)Bābā Rasūl (or Walī) Allāh" in place of the Prophet Muḥammad. This is an evident denial of Muḥammad's prophethood. It was because of this anti-islamic doctrine that Bābā is called *shayṭān*, *ahriman* and *dajjār* in Ibn Bībī. He also calls the rebels *madābīr* (ones who are turned back by Allāh), *makhādhil* (abandoned), *ashrār* (wicked), *ashqiyā'* (wretches), *fajara* (shamelesses), *jahala* (ignorants) and even *kafara* (infidels) in Arabic terms. They must be exterminated for a Sulṭān of Saljūq dynasty in Rūm (Asia Minor) who was the protector of the orthodox Sunnī doctrine. At last the rebels collided with the choice of Sulṭān's soldiers who were called back from Arzan al-Rūm by the urgent request of Sulṭān in the desert of Mālīya near Qīrshahr and thoroughly annihilated by Frankish soldiers who were in the service of Sulṭāns of Rūm.

From the political point of view this last tragic annihilation of the rebels should be emphasized in the history of Turks in Asia Minor. Unlike the revolt of Turkmāns which broke out some thirty years later, Muḥammad Beg ibn Qarāmān as their leader, almost all the participants in Bābā's revolt did not escape from their collective annihilation because of their religious enthusiasm. Immediate successors of the revolt of Bābā were not recorded at all at least in the contemporary sources, so that the extraordinary religious aspects of the revolt attracted attentions of scholars down to our era. But on my investigation of historical sources I would like to conclude that the historical significance of the revolt of Bābā consists in the collective annihilation of Turkmāns in Asia Minor just before the Mongol invasion.

MASAMI ARAI

#### *Nationalist Periodicals in the Young Turk Era: Genç Kalemler, Türk Derneği and Türk Yurdu*

I will analyze, in the course of the present paper, three nationalist periodicals issued in the Young Turk era, making a comparison between the thoughts of two groups: Ottoman Turks and immigrants from Russia. The periodicals analyzed are *Genç Kalemler*, the first focal point of Turkish nationalism among Ottomans; *Türk Derneği*, the journal of the first nationalist organization in the Young Turk era; and *Türk Yurdu*, the most prominent periodical issued by both of the groups mentioned.

The *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) stood for linguistic nationalism, or simplification and purification of Ottoman Turkish. The purpose of simplification was, however, to maintain the unity of the Ottoman state. It was regarded as a more urgent problem than national integration of the Turks including the Turkic peoples under Russian rule. (For this periodical, see my



"The *Genç Kalemler* and the Young Turks: A Study in Nationalism," *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, XII/3-4, 1985.)

Towards the end of the year 1908, the *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association) was established in Istanbul owing to the initiative of Yusuf Akçura who migrated from Russia in November of the same year. The organization must not be ignored, not only as the first nationalist organ in the Young Turk era, but also as a joint organization of Ottomans and immigrants from Russia; among the members of the association are such famous Tatar writers as Ismail Gasprinski and Ayaz Ishaki.

I classify all the articles and poems in the journal of this association, which bears the same name as the association itself, by subject: past events relating to the Ottoman territory (Type A); the present situation of the Ottoman country (Type B); past events relating to Turkestan (Type C); the present situation of Turkestan (Type D). Those classified in Type A occupy a high level when regarded purely as Turcology. Most of the items in Type B treat the subject of the Turkish language; the greater part of them discuss the simplification of Ottoman Turkish. The simplification was, however, for maintaining the unity of the Ottoman state.

Articles in Type C discuss the history of the Turkic peoples. All the items in Type D, except for those double-listed in Type B, treat the unity of Turkic peoples. Most of the authors of Type C and D were from, or in Russia; they emphatically asserted the unity of Turkic peoples, although the number of their contributions was small. They seem not to have yet actively diffused their ideas in the Ottoman Empire. In the *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), at long last, they began to have more influence along with Ottomans.

Yusuf Akçura's articles in the *Türk Yurdu* show that he regarded the Ottoman state as a means of preserving advantages of the Turkic peoples, while Ottomans like Ziya Gökalp and Fuat Köprülü gave importance to maintaining the unity of the state. They regarded even Turanism as an aid for the Ottoman state. (For the *Türk Yurdu*, see my forthcoming article.)

TOORU HAYASHI

#### On Turkish Demonstratives

It is unquestionable that demonstratives play an immensely important role in deictic phenomena of language. Especially place deixis and time deixis depend on demonstratives to a great extent. Furthermore, in Turkish, demonstratives are also indispensable for person deixis, because the slot of third person is filled with demonstratives.

In spite of this central role that they play in linguistic communication, the study of demonstratives cannot be said to have been sufficiently developed. However, concerning Turkish, the situation is not so pessimistic, because Dr. Jaqueline Bastuji in 1976 wrote a work exclusively concerning the place deixis of Turkish and presented a more convincing classification of the demonstratives than those found in the previous grammars:



This classification is relatively free from the ambiguity caused by the criteria like proximity and visibility, to which most of the previous grammars refer in the description of the demonstratives.

However, there is another characteristic of *şu*, which separates it from the other two demonstratives: the object once mentioned in the discourse can be referred to with demonstrative *bu* or *o*, but not with *şu*. To the contrary, if the referent has not been noticed by the hearer, then only *şu* is acceptable, as follows:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} *BU \\ *O \\ Şu \end{array} \right\} \text{ suratının haline bak. Ne hale gelmiş! }$$

'Look at yourself. What's the matter with your face!'

In this example, the speaker mentions the unusual state of the hearer's face, which the hearer does not notice because he cannot see his own face in a normal situation.

According to the phenomena mentioned above, it is reasonable to say that *şu* can be used in case the speaker supposes that the referent is not introduced into discourse, while *bu* and *o* occur when the referent is already introduced. As shown in Bastuji (1976), *o* can be distinguished from *bu* and *şu* by the criterion of whether the referent is within the space of communication or not. From these two criteria, Turkish demonstratives should be classified, as follows:

|                                                 | şu | bu | o |
|-------------------------------------------------|----|----|---|
| referents are already introduced into discourse | -  | +  | + |
| referents are within the space of communication | +  | +  | - |

Reference: Bastuji, Jaqueline: Les relations spatiales en turc contemporain. Étude sémantique. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1976.

B.O. ORUZBAYEVA

#### Current State and Prospects of Development of Turcology in Kirghizia / Linguistic Aspects

Before the Great October Socialistic Revolution the Kirghiz language existed only in an oral form. It was only after the Revolution and establishment of the Soviet government in Kirghizia that the systematic study of the Kirghiz language started. To introduce into practice the state's policy on the nationalities problem in the linguistic sphere it was necessary to create a national written language. This task was already completed by the time when Kirghizia had achieved its national and administrative autonomy. The Kirghizes initially created their written language on the basis of reformed Arab graphics (1924-1928), and later Latin graphics (1928-1940), and in the 1940 they adopted the Cyrillic writing.



In the half a century since the Kirghiz national language appeared and its orthography was developed, the basis was created for the normalization of the literary language and for the constant improvement of the quality of the teaching materials and the principles for the development of speech culture were elaborated. The increasing importance of the social function of the national language demanded the improvement of its alphabet and terminology, creation of practical manuals and dictionaries. There was an urgent need to study stylistic problems in a special way. The practical linguistic experience was closely related to the appearance and development of works in lexicography.

After the second world war the Kirghiz linguistics has been developing rapidly and comprehensively. The lexics was further summarized in the form of bilingual, orthographic, terminological and explanatory dictionaries, the grammar of the language was profoundly studied. The Kirghiz dialectology emerged; by now Kirghiz dialects were fully described. We have accumulated sufficient data characterizing the linguistic situation in general, characteristic features and the scope of functioning of the main dialectological units, their distinctions and interrelationship. The comparative-historical studies of the Kirghiz language, which were started in the middle of the 20th century, are continued today, their main aim is to find out the principles of interaction of colloquial and literary languages and reasons for the existence of areal features at different levels of the language, to learn the history of general development of the Kirghiz language, to study ethnogenic processes and to create historical grammar.

Nowadays in the Kirghiz republic we witness rapid development of such branches of linguistics as the experimental phonetics, the methods of instruction in the native tongue, scientific and practical aspects of terminology, practical stylistics and lexicography, bilingualism and language interaction.

K.M. MUSAEV

*On the Contacts of the Turkic Languages with the Other Languages of the World*

The Turkic languages spoken in the middle of the Eurasian continent had in the past and now have had contacts with many languages which surround them on all sides. Their geographical position towards other languages did not change considerably during the last millenium.

The system approach to the investigation of the Turkic languages contacts can give a wide field for study of the history of Turkic languages in general and each Turkic language in particular and for study of the neighbouring languages history, for the history of formation, development and movement of ethnic groups.

One can distinguish between the old and later contacts of the Turkic languages: 1) the oldest contacts in time before the penetration of Islam; 2) the contacts of the period of Islam penetration and the Mongol conquests; 3) the contacts of the period of the formation of the Turkic speaking nationalities (peoples); 4) the contacts of the Modern period (XIX-XX centuries).

Each of the Modern Turkic languages has its peculiarities of contacts with other languages of the world. One can make a classification of the Turkic languages based on the character of the contacts with the non-Turkic languages. There are the following groups in it: 1) the

Altaic-Siberian and eastern Turkestan languages which came into contacts with the Mongol, Tungus-Manchurian, Paleoasian, Eniseyan, Chinese, Tibetan and in the remote past probably with the Korean and Japanese languages directly or by means of the Mongol, Tungus-Manchurian languages; 2) the Central Asiatic languages which came into contact with the Iranian, Indo-Iranian and Arabic languages; 3) the Caucasian and Crimean languages which came into contact with the Ibero-Caucasian, Armenian, Iranian, Slavic and other Indo-European languages; 4) the Volga-Ural languages which came into contact with the Finno-Ugric and the Russian languages; 5) the languages of the Minor Asia and the Balkans which came into contact with the Greek, Arabic, Iranian, Slavic and other Indo-European languages; 6) the Central which came into contact mainly with the kindred Turkic languages and later — the Russian language; 7) the isolated group which came into contact with the Indo-European languages in different regions in the course of the last centuries.

During the last 250 years all the languages neighbouring to the Turkic were considered to be their kinsfolk, only the Chinese-Tibetan and Paleoasiatic languages are not included in the kinsfolk of the Turkic languages. The degree of the hypothesis spreading is directly proportional to the length and intensity of contacts of the Turkic languages with the languages attributed to the hypothetical families.

The recent archeological discoveries and historical investigations reveal deep connections in the antiquity between the peoples who lived extremely far from each other, between the peoples of Siberia, the Urals, Scandinavia, modern territory of Spain and France in particular. Contacts had been constant, not only skill and ability had been transmitted but the ideas and opinions as well.

Now the specialists in Indo-European, Caucasian, Chinese, Finno-Ugric, Dravidian and other languages received an opportunity of direct contact study of the Turkic languages with the other languages of the world because the results of many general and specific studies were published recently.

REINHARD F. HAHN

*The Planning of a Modern Uighur Writing System in Multilingual China*

Since 1949, it has been the long-term goal of the Chinese government to create for China's national languages standardized written forms wherever deemed desirable and feasible. Whereas before the most recent change of political leadership script planning had been dominated by anti-traditional attitudes and the ambition of speedily facilitating literacy and interethnic communication in a nationally consistent manner, the latest changes reflect the toleration of a degree of cultural pluralism and traditionalism to ensure contentment and to generate cooperation in national "modernization" programs.

In the case of the language of the Hân majority, further simplification of the ideographically-based script and its eventual replacement by the *Pinyin* Romanization have been shelved, if not abandoned, despite remaining obstacles in the way of promoting Standard Chinese as a national lingua franca.

Similarly, the Arabic-script-based *Kona Yeziq* ('old script') for the Turkic Uighur language was officially reinstated in 1984, while for some twenty years previously the Roman-script-



based *Yerji Yeziq* ('new script') had been used officially. Whereas the *Pinyin*-based *Yerji Yeziq* was used both for Uighur, the official lingua franca of Xinjiang (Sinkiang), and Kazakh, the language of the Autonomous Region's second-largest non-Hàn group, there is no one uniform Arabic-script-based system for these and other Turkic languages of China, language-specific devices potentially impeding interlingual conversion.

Unusual diacritic devices render both Uighur writing systems awkward *vis-à-vis* international typesetting purposes. Both systems were designed to be largely "phonetic," i.e. to represent certain allophonic shifts, such as coda stop devoicing (e.g. Arabic *kitāb* > Uighur /kitāb+/ *kitap* 'book' [/(s)l +/ → *kitawi* 'his book']) and vowel raising (e.g. /at +// + (s)l +/ → *eti* 'his horse', /bala +// + 1AR +// + (s)l +/ → *baliliri* 'his children'); yet, the two systems distinguish neither phonemic or phonetic vowel length (e.g. *bala* [bAlA] 'child,' *bala* [bAlA:] 'calamity') nor the back- and front-high unrounded vowels. Soon after its reinstatement, two additional *waw*-diacritics ensured sufficient labial vowel distinction in the *Kona Yeziq* on a par with that of the *Yerji Yeziq*. The unique, redundant feature of the *hamza* preceding word-initial vowels hitherto has been retained in the *Kona Yeziq*.

Lately it has been prescribed that certain devoiced coda stops be represented phonemically (e.g. *kitab* replacing *kitap*). It remains to be seen whether this will be implemented consistently (e.g. in the case of converbial /-b/ [now -(i)p, but e.g. /sat-/-b/( ≠ )al-/ *setiwal*- 'to purchase']).

In the *Yerji Yeziq*, recent Hàn-Chinese loanwords were rendered prescriptively and largely nationally consistently based upon the *Pinyin* system. In the *Kona Yeziq*, such lexical items are rendered descriptively like other kinds of loanwords. The latter, language-specific, system produces homographic forms due mainly to the lack of distinction between the Hàn-Chinese retroflex and palatal onset series and their accompanying nuclear allophones (e.g. *šu* < Chinese [ʃu] ~ [ʃou] ~ [ʃiou]). Consistent representation of Chinese [c<sup>h</sup>-] as *ts-*, of the palatal onset marker as *-y-* and of the sequence [-ou] as *-ow* would ensure all necessary differentiations should these be necessary or desirable in the wake of closer phonetic adaptation resulting from progressing proficiency in Standard Chinese among native and second-language speakers of Uighur.

ALBERTINE GAUR

*The History of Writing*

Most works dealing with the history and development of writing look upon writing mainly as a means of reproducing language with the aid of graphic symbols. This attitude automatically imposes a hierarchical structure. If the aim of writing is the reproduction of language, then the most satisfactory, and by implication the most advanced form of writing, is the one which reproduces language most accurately, in the most economical manner. Taking this attitude to its logical conclusion writing can then be divided into three groups: 'proper' writing, where a small number of codified graphic symbols reproduce, most accurately, the sounds of a particular language; 'forerunners' of writing, where the sound element is still absent and symbols (or perhaps objects) reproduce whole ideas; and 'transitional' forms of writing where sound elements start to emerge. Such an approach can quickly foster two further assumptions, namely: that phonetic writing in the full sense is the result of a definite unique invention, made perhaps only once, by perhaps just one person, at a particular historically assessable time; and that the alphabet is the most advanced and perfect form of writing, a kind of Platonic idea, towards which all forms of (proper) writing must by necessity progress.

Until quite recently such an attitude must have appeared perfectly justifiable. Not only was the alphabet the mode of writing employed by the economic and political dominant group(s), but industrialization and Western colonial expansion had taken it to all corners of the globe, calling it an instrument of progress and a sure way to material success. Throughout the 18th and for most parts of the 20th century most works dealing with the history of writing dealt indeed more often than not with the history of the alphabet. But during the last few decades, far reaching changes have taken place. As we advance further and further into the age of information technology, the storage, preservation and ultimately the dissemination of knowledge, depend no longer exclusively on the actual process of writing. Computers store information in an electronic brain by means of positive and negative impulses the way information was once (during the age of oral traditions) stored in the human brain. With everything around us changing it is perhaps time to re-examine this concept of writing and look at it, not from the point of how effective it can store languages, but how effective it can store information.

The basic questions we have to ask ourselves are: *what exactly is writing; what is the purpose of writing; and who needs it?*

Writing, all writing, is information storage and as such equal value. Each society stores the information essential to its survival, the information which enables it to function effectively. There is in fact no essential difference between prehistoric rock paintings, memory aids, tallies, pictographs, syllabic or consonantal scripts, or the alphabet. There are no primitive scripts, no forerunners of writing, no transitional scripts as such, but only societies at a particular level of economic and social development using certain forms of information storage. If a particular form of information storage fulfils its purpose, as far as a particular society is concerned, then it is (for this particular society) 'proper' writing. What type of information storage a society evolves or chooses depends largely on the type of society it is. Oral traditions have for long been adequate for the transmission of religious or secular literature. Hunters, food-gatherers (and a modern motorist) can manage perfectly well with



simple picture signs. The need for a systematic form of writing is in many ways closely connected with the idea of property, its protection (state), exchange (trade) and administration (government). *Trade and administration, economic and social necessities, rather than religion and literature, or the single inventive genius guided by what is often barely concealed divine inspiration, seem to have been the foster parents of what we now call literacy.*

FELICITY M. SHAW

*Library Development in Modern Bhutan*

In the 1950's Bhutan embarked upon a program designed to develop a self-sufficient economy and to modernize a feudal way of life which had been preserved, virtually unchanged, for several centuries. Library development effectively began with the establishment in 1969 of the National Library of Bhutan, to collect and preserve ancient Bhutanese and Tibetan works relating to the religion, culture, history and traditions of the country. In recent years activities have been extended to include publication, research, and acquisition of materials in the areas covered by the original brief. Since moving into permanent premises in 1984 the Library has been able to offer a full range of reader services to scholars and other researchers. An ambitious microfilming project now under way will establish a microfilm record of all ancient texts held within the country.

Since 1962 substantial progress has been made towards the provision of free and universal primary education. This has led to a great upsurge in literacy and a growing interest in books. Bhutan's first public lending library was established in Thimphu in 1978, to cater to the needs of the newly emergent literate class. Both the book stock and library membership have grown rapidly in recent years, but present funding allows for little more than basic maintenance of the most popular sections of stock. This is a matter of some concern to the librarian, who considers that in order to continue to attract new members it is essential to upgrade and extend the scope of the collection.

Library education in schools is now being stressed. Many schools already had established libraries and were providing library instruction, and those schools which were without libraries are being helped to set them up. The Department of Education stocks the libraries as best it can, but must to a large extent rely on books donated through various government-to-government aid and clearing house schemes. School librarians are generally teachers who have volunteered for the job in addition to their regular duties. Although interested in books and keen to convey their enthusiasm to the children, few of these teacher-librarians have had prior library experience.

The major problem areas for library development in Bhutan are funding, shortage of appropriately qualified staff to set up and run the libraries, and the lack of an established retail book trade within the country. The now well-established National Library continues to be adequately funded, since development of its collection is regarded as a national priority. In other areas financial constraints slow progress. Improvement of school library facilities thus has to take place in the context of the present refurbishing and strengthening of education facilities as a whole.

It is encouraging that Bhutan's economic development program made early provision for the establishment of library services. Further growth in line with Bhutan's increasingly urgent

needs now depends upon funds made available for the expansion (rather than mere maintenance) of the infrastructure already in place.

WILLIAM SHEH WONG

*What's Ahead for the East Asian Collections in the U.S.  
Issues and Problems in the 1990s*

On-going changes in studies and research programs in the East Asian field coupled with technological developments in academic libraries are leading to new trends in library administrative/organizational structures, collection management/preservation programs, reader-oriented services, faculty/librarian/community relationships, and exchange and cooperative projects with libraries in East Asia. The difficult problems the East Asian collections will face are the limited financial resources, increased uses of rare and specialized materials, and a lack of competent specialists in the field of historical bibliography, archival studies, and automation. The paper concluded with proposed projects including East Asia-related courses in library schools; joint research projects on libraries and librarianship in the East Asian field; U.S.-Chinese/Japanese conferences or workshops on librarianship; reference service centers to serve patrons in East Asian countries; RLIN and OCLC East Asian languages terminals in East Asia; coordinated serial acquisition projects; and U.S. agencies/professional organizations acquisition offices in China.

GEORGE BAUMANN

*The Oriental Collection at the University Library, Tuebingen*

One of the most remarkable programmes for literature collecting during this century in Germany has been the special subject and special area collections sponsored and for the greater part financially supported by the German Research Association (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) and its predecessor the Emergency Association of German Research (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft). This programme, originally initiated in 1920, was meant to help German academic libraries to purchase foreign academic literature in a difficult period of German history. After an interruption during the Second World War the programme was reinstated in 1949.

Today most major academic libraries in the Federal Republic of Germany are participating in this acquisition programme. Besides the Oriental collections in Tuebingen there are special Oriental collections for East Asian and Southeast Asian studies at the State Library of Prussian Culture in West Berlin, for Egyptology at the University Library in Heidelberg, for non-conventional, i.e. literature not available through conventional channels, from East Asia at the Library of the Institute of Asian Affairs in Hamburg and finally for such literature from the Near and Far East at the Library of the Orient-Institute in Hamburg. Altaic literature is collected at the University Library in Goettingen.

Among these libraries the University Library in Tuebingen has been entrusted with collecting research literature in three different fields of Oriental studies. There has been a long tradition of Oriental studies in Tuebingen and as in most other European countries these Oriental studies grew out of the theologian's interest in Oriental languages connected with biblical



studies. Tuebingen, as opposed to most other German universities, has both a seminary for Protestant as well as Catholic theology. Therefore numerous Tuebingen alumni, who during the 19th century became missionaries in Asiatic countries, contributed many Oriental manuscripts to our library. During the first three hundred years of its more than five-hundred-year-old history, the University Library collected mainly Hebrew literature. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, acquisitions expanded to include Ethiopian, Amharic, Tigré and Aramaic literature.

During the nineteenth century our collection was also supplemented by Arabic and Sanskrit manuscripts. During the first half of that century Heinrich Ewald (1803-1875), who is considered to have reactivated Oriental studies in Tuebingen, started preparations for a catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts. In 1854 Rudolf v. Roth (1821-1895) became professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Religion and at the same time assumed the duties of University Librarian. He held these posts for the next forty years allowing for continuity in the acquisition of Oriental literature. The groundwork was laid for concerted efforts to increase our Oriental holdings. Growth was no longer as haphazard as it had appeared to be up to that point. Also during Roth's tenure of office many gifts of Oriental books from all over the world reached Tuebingen. His own awareness as an Orientalist of relevant publications also accounts for many more acquisitions. He mentions in one report that much Sanskrit literature had been received from India 'which would not otherwise have come to Europe'. He published the first catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the University Library in 1865 and purchased a substantial number of Arabic manuscripts, including the well-known Wetzstein collection. Among the missionaries who have donated Oriental manuscripts to the University Library during the last century one might mention Johann Haebelin (1808-1849), who donated Sanskrit manuscripts; John Arnold Muehleisen, who presented Arabic manuscripts; Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881), who gifted the Library with monographs from East Africa; the Oriental Society of London presented a large number of monographs in Persian and Sanskrit in 1842. Hermann Guntert (1814-1893) left numerous early monographs and manuscripts in South Indian Dravidian languages to the University Library. Turkish manuscripts were received from Peter Fjellstedt (1802-1881). The first catalogue of Arabic manuscripts was prepared by Christian Seybold (1859-1921). Many more donations of manuscripts and monographs have to remain unmentioned, but because these donations were so numerous and because an Orientalist headed the University Library for the last half of the nineteenth century there was every reason for the Emergency Association of German Research to request this library to continue building its Oriental collection with their financial help. In 1904 a collection of 109 Armenian manuscripts was bought which had been collected privately in the Caucasian area. At that time there were already more than 100 works available in the library in Old Persian, Zend and Pahlavi. At present we have more than 1,500 Oriental manuscripts in our Library collection.

During the present century the accent in collecting has shifted to contemporary publications. However, besides the normal funding for current publications, the German Research Association also provides separate funds for the antiquaria and microform-publications. Therefore it has always been possible to fill in certain gaps in the older collection and to acquire special types of literature like dissertations and archival material, which today are often available only in microform. However the price of antiquaria and the unusual expansion of microform offers does create problems and we are not able to acquire all we feel is necessary.

Our annual acquisitions in all three special area collections exceed more than 10,000 volumes presently.

The special area collections in Tuebingen can be divided into the following categories:

- I. *The Ancient Near East (Cuneiform studies)*. Geographically this region lies within the larger special area collection for the Near and Middle East and Islamic studies. Still it has traditionally been a separate collection. Relevant publications are limited in number and as a rule they are fairly expensive. The literature concerned is on Mesopotamia, Elam, Assyria, early Syria, early Palestine, early Cyprus and the Hittite Empire. Excluded, as I mentioned previously, is Egyptology, which is collected at the University Library in Heidelberg.

Most of these publications are in the more commonly used European languages and can therefore be located in the national bibliographies and publishers' lists which reach us daily. Publications from any part of the world are bought. Because of the predominant use of European languages these publications also do not create cataloguing problems. In 1985 our library was subscribing to about 50 periodicals in this special area collection. During the same year 176 monographs, including antiquaria, exchange items and microfilm material were acquired. Our present total holdings in this collection can be estimated at about 10,000 volumes.

- II. *Islamic, Iranian, Turkish and Caucasian studies (Near and Middle East, North Africa)*. This special area collection has developed over the years into a vast collection covering all the Islamic nations of North and Central Africa, the Near and Middle East up to Afghanistan and Central Asia. Works on Islam published outside of this region are also collected if they are written in a language we are able to work with.

Geographically this special area includes the Islamic nations. However, within this collection there are certain subunits which deserve to be explained in more detail.

Firstly, Islamic studies form the core of this special area collection and today we collect literature on all aspects of this region. Furthermore literature on purely Islamic themes from the remaining parts of the world in languages and scripts we can process are acquired. Material on modern religious movements stemming from Islam are also collected. Material on and in Semitic languages and their literatures, including those of Ethiopia, as a rule, are acquired in Tuebingen. Whereas Tuebingen collects biblical Hebrew and commentary literature of the Middle Ages, modern Hebrew belongs to the special area collection for Jewish Studies at the University Library in Frankfurt.

The majority of the literature bought in this special area collection is published in Arabic and the collection can be estimated at about 140,000 volumes.

Until a few years ago we had the services of very efficient book-sellers in Beirut for much of the literature we bought from the Near East. The political situation there, however, has led to a deterioration in our relationship. For a period of two years we participated in the acquisition programme of the Library of Congress in Cairo, but this did not meet up to our expectations and we have now withdrawn from this programme. We have been able to find reliable suppliers in Cairo since. North Africa remains a problematical area and as a rule regular buying trips are the most efficient way to meet our needs there. The war in Iraq and Iran has made matters very difficult there,



although some exchange items reach us.

*Secondly*, Turkish and the Turkic languages and peoples of Central Asia also form a very substantial part of this special area collection. Book production in Turkey is quite high and in a city like Istanbul there are many opportunities to purchase antiquaria to fill in gaps in our collection. Almost 300 periodicals are being subscribed to and last year our acquisition of monographs, antiquaria and microform material amounted to about 1,700 items. The total collection is more than 20,000 items.

*Thirdly*, there is a collection for Iran and Iranic languages. World-wide almost 100 periodicals are being subscribed to and in 1985 over 1,200 monographs, antiquaria, microform material and gifts were acquired. A few years ago we were fortunate to be able to buy a large private collection of so-called underground literature on and from Iran. At present the entire Iranian collection can be estimated at about 30,000 volumes. Since the revolution in Iran it has become exceedingly difficult to obtain regular shipments of literature, but our accession figures show that our efforts are succeeding.

*Fourthly*, Armenian and the Caucasian languages like Georgian, Cherkess, Chechen, Lezghian, etc. are also part of this special area collection. To a large extent we receive this literature through an exchange programme of the German Research Association with the Soviet Union. To a lesser extent it is bought from an efficient importer of such literature in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1985 323 monographs were acquired and at present there are about 50 subscriptions to relevant periodicals. Our total holdings most likely exceed 7,000 volumes.

III. *Indology / South Asian studies*. This former subject collection has expanded during the past 15 years to become a special area collection covering the countries of the Indian subcontinent, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, Sri Lanka and the Maldives Islands. The original concept was of a collection on classical indological studies only. The collection began so, but it now includes academic literature on all phases of the humanities and social science in the countries named above. Modern natural sciences and medicine are excluded. Literature on Hinduism in its Indian and Nepalese forms and Buddhism in its Indian and Tibetan forms naturally belong to this collection also.

As opposed to the special area collection on the Near and Middle East literature not available through normal book-selling channels is collected on and from South Asia.

This special area collection also has certain sub-divisions which deserve special mention.

*Firstly*, Indo-Aryan languages and literatures form a large part of this collection and reflect the multilingual situation on the subcontinent. We collect literature in and on all the official languages of India like Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Panjabi, Nepali, Singhalese, Urdu, etc. However, there is also considerable material in dialects like Maithili, Rajasthani, Dogri, etc. The classical languages of India, Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits, form a very compact and important part of this collection. There is a particularly large collection of belletristic literature in modern Indo-Aryan languages, numbering more than 10,000 volumes. Publications, particularly on classical studies, originating from the nineteenth century, are well represented and,

together with numerous serials of classical studies, make this collection very valuable.

*Secondly*, Dravidian languages and literatures of South India and Sri Lanka and Pakistan are by no means neglected in this collection. Our patternwork of regional booksellers on the subcontinent exists also in South India and these booksellers guarantee us a regular supply of literature in and on Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu and Brahui. Literature is also available in our collection in and on Dravidian dialects like Tulu, Kurukh, etc.

Various collections of manuscripts, particularly from Hermann Guntert, contain much Dravidian material.

*Thirdly*, Austro-asiatic languages and literatures form a small group within this collection but we attempt to collect systematically. There is some material in and on Santali, Mundari, and Ho and the material in and on Khasi, amounting to about 500 titles, is probably unique in Europe.

*Fourthly*, Sino-Tibetan languages and literatures are concentrated in Northeast India, in Nepal and Tibet. Our collection of Tibetan literature is particularly extensive and contains many wood-block prints. At present we have about 10,000 volumes in Tibetan. Other languages and literatures of this group are Bodo, Garo, Lushai, Manipuri and Newari.

*Fifthly*, literature on the Indus and Harappa civilizations belong to this collection also. The same goes for the isolated languages of the subcontinent like Burushaski and the languages of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

In India we maintain relations with a regional network of book suppliers for we feel that such book-sellers are best informed about the local book market in their local language. A blanket-order agreement for English-language material has been in process for the past ten years with a national book-seller in New Delhi. With the same book-seller we also have a blanket-order agreement for Sanskrit literature during the past three years. In general we have no problems in acquiring any kind of literature from India.

Acquiring publications from *Sri Lanka* does prove to be difficult as the book industry there is not well organized. In many cases titles are out of print or no thorough search is made to locate a copy. Regular buying trips to this country is one answer to this problem.

A fairly efficient book-seller in *Bangladesh* has been able to acquire literature from all parts of the country. The literature is mostly in English or in Bengali.

*Nepal's* book production is fairly much concentrated in the Kathmandu Valley and we are able to acquire most of the relevant literature without too much trouble. Even periodical issues are delivered regularly.

Islamic material concerning *Pakistan* is purchased for the special area collection on Islam. All other relevant academic literature, be it linguistic, in the humanities or in social science, is purchased for this special collection on South Asia. There is room for some improvement in our relationship with Pakistani book-sellers in order to increase our holdings.



Literature from *Bhutan* is bought at present through our book-seller in New Delhi as there is no competent book-seller in that country. Occasional buying trips to this region alleviate the matter.

Our *Tibetan* literature is mainly purchased from sources in India, Europe and North America.

Our annual acquisitions of monographs, antiquaria, gifts, microform material, etc. in the South Asian collection number about 6,000 volumes. At present we subscribe to approximately 600 current periodicals. There are at least as many deceased periodicals in our collection also. The entire collection can be now estimated at about 75,000 volumes.

*Information activities.* For the past twenty-five years the Oriental Department of the University Library in Tuebingen has been publishing *accession* lists and sending these to interested persons and institutions. Since 1977 the original accession list has been divided into two separate lists. We now publish a list for material collected on the Ancient Near East, the Near and Middle East and another one for the material collected on South Asia. The former list is published monthly and includes a special issue in 1983 on the underground Iranian literature. The list for South Asia is published seven times a year and in addition there is an annual author-index which was cumulated for five years (1977-1981). There are about 350 subscribers to both lists at present.

A two-volume alphabetical author-catalogue of our South Asian acquisitions between the years of 1961 and 1976 was published in 1977. It contains approximately 18,000 entries.

In 1983 the first edition of our Oriental periodical holdings was issued. About 2,700 Oriental periodicals, serials and newspapers, of which about 1,100 are current titles, have been listed. The first supplement will be published at the end of this year and it will contain more than 800 new titles. As far as time permits we answer all reasonable written requests for bibliographical information.

*Inter-library loan.* All the Oriental literature in our collection is available nationally and internationally through inter-library loan. These loans have reached to more than 6,000 annually. We are able to supply almost 80% of the requested titles.

Copies of periodical articles are provided and in the case of rare or sensitive books we provide film copies. Requests for specific titles however should not be made directly to us, but rather through a library in the vicinity of the prospective borrower which participates in the inter-library loan system.

*Conclusion.* The special Oriental collections of the University Library in Tuebingen can historically be traced back to the middle of the nineteenth century and the total holdings today in the three special area collections of the Ancient Near East, the Near and Middle East with Islam and South Asia can be estimated at about 275,000 volumes. We attempt to serve academic Oriental research mainly in the Federal Republic of Germany, but if approached by interested persons outside of the country, particularly in other parts of Europe, we try to be of help to them also. We hope that the very successful acquisition programme of the German Research Association will continue unabated in its present form, allowing us to improve and enlarge our unusually good Oriental holdings in Tuebingen year by year.

WARREN TSUNEISHI

*East Asian Collections in North American Libraries: Some Recent Developments in Cooperation*

It is the objective of this paper to trace two major developments — in resource sharing and in national bibliographic controls — that reflect a new willingness of librarians working with East Asian collections in North American libraries to undertake cooperative projects offering rational and cost-effective solutions to everyday problems.

*Resource sharing.* The latest available survey of 1979/1980 reported 92 collections of library materials in the languages of China, Japan, and Korea consisting of over 7.8 million volumes in toto. The breakdown reveals 4.7 million volumes in Chinese, 2.8 million volumes in Japanese; 277,000 volumes in Korean; and 46,000 volumes in Manchu, Mongol, Tibetan, and other East Asian languages.

The largest collection, reported by the Library of Congress, was in excess of 1 million volumes. Seventeen libraries held between 100,000-500,000 volumes; 47 held between 10,000-100,000 volumes, while 27 held only 1,000 to 10,000 volumes.

There is a geographic maldistribution of these libraries, however, with scholars in universities on the East and West coasts and in the Midwest being well served, but their colleagues in other parts of the U.S. lacking proper library resources for research. A major effort is underway to improve interinstitutional cooperation in the development and sharing of available collections through the Research Libraries Group/Association of Research Libraries Conspectus program. This is an attempt to assess the strengths and weaknesses of individual library collections, coupled with the assignment of primary collecting responsibilities to individual libraries, so that national weaknesses will be repaired and the scholarly public will be able to gain access to needed resources wherever found.

*Bibliographic controls.* For East Asian collections, the most important recent development has been the incorporation of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean cataloging records into mainstream automated systems. The financial and technical problems of incorporating East Asian bibliographic data, especially data involving Chinese characters, in a single unified system have been solved by the Research Libraries Group working in cooperation with the Library of Congress and research libraries community. Cataloging online into the RLG Research Libraries Information Network by RLG member libraries and the Library of Congress began on an experimental basis in 1983. Today, 22 East Asian collections in the U.S. are contributing or deriving cataloging records from RLIN.

It is apparent that technological improvements in telecommunications and computer networks are bringing the goal of library cooperation closer and closer to realization. Economizing forces in American research libraries are mandating changes which are moving them away from being strictly autonomous organizations to becoming interdependent entities.



O.F. AKIMUSHKIN

*Collections of Eastern Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR  
Academy of Sciences and Their Research*

The first Oriental study centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences — the Asian Museum (Musée Asiatique) — was instituted on November 23, 1818. Its immediately formulated basic research function was to collect, systematize, take stock of, and catalogue written monuments of the peoples of Asia, Northern and partly Eastern Africa.

In our time the holdings of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (formed on the basis of the Asian Museum in 1930) are the biggest in the USSR and among the most considerable holdings embracing first-class manuscript source materials for the study of socio-economic, political and spiritual history of the East as a whole. The study of these monuments makes possible a correct scholarly comprehension and evaluation of the East's contribution to the treasury of world civilization. At present, the Institute holds 77,816 storage items — manuscripts and their fragments (40,117 units including 20 papyri), xylographs (32,877), lithographs (2,679) and documents (2,143). All these monuments and materials are brought together into the following collections; manuscripts (22), xylographs (8), lithographs (2), official documents and letters (2).

Manuscripts: 1) Chinese from Tun-huang: slightly over 12,500. 2) Arabographic (Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Pashto and Kurdish): 9,825. 3) Serindica (Uighur, Sanskrit, Saka, Kucha, Tocharian etc.): 4,977. 4) Tangut: 4,600. 5) Mongolian: 4,067. 6) Hebrew: 1,170 (including 24 scrolls). 7) Indian (Sanskrit, Pali, Hindi, Tamili, etc.): 642. 8) Georgian: 558. 9) Chinese: 379. 10) Armenian: 378. 11) Manchu: 296. 12) Chinese from Hara-hoto: 139. 13) Ethiopian: 117. 14) Japanese: 113. 15) Sogdian from Mt. Mugh: 82. 16) Tibetan from Hara-hoto: 70. 17) Korean: 56. 18) Yudaica-Persica: 44. 19) Syriac: 39. 20) Samaritan: 33. 21) Egyptian (1) and Coptic (19) papyri: 20. 22) Malay: 7.

Xylographs: 1) Tibetan: 20,133 (including 3,143 duplicates). 2) Mongolian: 3,825. 3) Tangut: 3,761. 4) Chinese: 3,643. 5) Japanese: 616. 6) Manchu: 558. 7) Chinese from Hara-hoto: 206. 8) Korean: 135.

Lithographs: 1) Persian and Tajik: 1,856. 2) Turkic: 823.

Documents: 1) Arabographic (Persian, Turkish, Arabic and Turkic): 1,732. 2) Chinese from Tun-huang: 411.

A distinguishing feature of the Institute holdings is their many entirely unique collections — monuments of Tangut writing (8,361), Sogdian documents (77), monuments in Old Uighur (4,000), Chinese manuscripts from Tun-huang, ancient Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Saka, and an exceedingly rich collection of Tibetan xylographs. The holdings also exhibit a great linguistic variety represented by over 63 languages. Properly speaking, from this point of view all the materials fall into large groups. One is formed by manuscripts, documents and incunabula in living languages — collections in Iranian, Turkic, Arabic, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Japanese, Manchu, Indian and other languages. The other group is made up of written monuments in dead languages — Egyptian and Coptic papyri, Syriac, Samaritan, Sogdian, Sanskrit, Saka, Uighur, Tangut, etc. manuscripts and Tangut xylographs.

BEVERLEY HONG-FINCHER

NING CHUNYAN

*On Selecting and Featurizing Chinese Compounds for Computer Database*

Compounds are generally defined as syntactically unanalyzable constituents which consist of more than one lexical component. Roughly speaking, the most salient characteristic of a compound is manifested in the boundness among its components. In all languages compounds constitute an indispensable part of the lexicon and compounding is an inevitable lexical or morphological device either in terms of language acquisition or in terms of linguistic theoreticalization, though they are not necessarily the main body of the lexicon. Modern Chinese, however, employs a lexicon containing an extremely high percentage of compounds. And the compounding boundness appears to be much greater than that in other languages in such a way that they behave like mono-items in syntactic process and are deprived of their potential creativities just like the linguistic mono-entities established prior to acquisition and beyond creation. This idiosyncratic aspect of the language makes the study of Chinese compounds a project of both theoretical necessity and practical importance. But since Chinese is one of the least inflectional languages, a language without lexical morphology and with a rather impoverished syntacto-morphology, the study of its compounds will come up against problems unlikely to be encountered in the study of other languages like English.

One of the problems is that the distinction between a compound and a phrase has always been controversial and subtly implicit, thus blurring the modularity of lexicon in distinction from syntax and vice versa. It seems universally acknowledged that no satisfactory theory either descriptive or explanatory can be obtained until the distinction between a compound and a phrase is made with consistency. As for the much pursued enterprise of linguistic computerization, no feasible computer project related to the language can be successful until such a distinction can be made because what is to be stored as data and what is to be manipulated as operation will be otherwise indistinguishable.

The present study is a computer aided project attempting to provide an over-all characterization of Chinese compounds, including their recognition and all other desired descriptions such as their phonetic (tonic) patterns, their syntactic properties and distributions and their intrinsic properties as far as our linguistic intuition can possibly reach. 20,000 compounds have been selected for observation according to the algorithms stipulated in Section 1. A tonic description and some observations in terms of phonetic properties of the compounds selected by the algorithms appears in Section 2. Section 3 gives an account of the intrinsic properties of those compounds with a full typology for their classifications. Section 4 through section 12 will provide a detailed description of their intrinsic properties in terms of semantics and their corresponding classifications. For each class or type, a statistical result is given in percentage. Appendix 1 enumerates all the possible candidates for each class or type. Appendix 2 gives a descending frequency of the commonly-used han-zi (characters) occurring in compounds.

The database for the project includes a computer dictionary consisting of 30,000 featurized Chinese compounds. The programme was written in Fortran and built into the Coombs Computer system (DEC-10) at the Australian National University. The programme involved in the project is the Oxford Concordance Program, Version 4.

Since most of the Chinese compounds are bisyllabic, compounds with four syllables, that is,



idioms are not within the coverage of the present project and are left to be dealt with elsewhere. Trisyllabic compounds will be studied separately in the final section.

The paper is divided into the following sections:

0. The idiosyncratic aspects of Chinese constitute some serious problems in the construction of its computer database. These problems can be ultimately attributed to the following characteristics:

- (1)
  - (i) implicitness in sentential segmentation
  - (ii) implicitness in lexical segmentation
  - (iii) irregular distribution of empty or deleted elements.

Among these linguistic idiosyncracies, the first two are mingled together, thus blurring the modularity of syntax as distinct from lexicon, i.e. the distinction between data and operation. No English-competitive computer project can be realized until such distinction is explicitly made. To solve these problems we concentrate on the behaviour of Chinese compounds, which we find to be one of the major causes for (i) and (ii) with its arbitrary selections and featurizations. As a preliminary work, we have built up a dictionary of 20,000 compounds into the computer system (DEK 10) at the Australian National University. The programme is based on the selectional and featurizing principles which we shall address in this paper.

1. The Selection of compounds. The selection principle subsumes the exclusions in (2) and the algorithms in (3):
  - (2) *a* is not a compound if it is
    - (i) a proper noun
    - (ii) a technical term
  - (3) Algorithms:  
Given a bisyllabic string *ab*, *ab* is a compound if
    - (i) the occurrence of *ab* is exhaustively restricted to the occurrence of *a'b'* in *aba'b'* or *a'b'ab*, where *a'b'* is another bisyllabic string:
 and
    - (ii) the candidates for *a/b* in the occurrence of *ab* is analogically enumerable.
2. Each selected compound is featurized in terms of its syntactic properties and its intrinsic properties. Assuming that syntax is a modular process consisting of two interactive components, of which one is called *inherent component* responsible for a deriving syntactic representation and the other is called *derivational component* derived from the former, the syntactic property of a compound is determined by its distribution in the inherent component while its intrinsic features are specified as far as human intuition can reach and natural language understanding requires in terms of syntax, semantics and pragmatics if possible.
3. In case a compound exhibits more than one syntactic property, we choose one and only one as effective syntactic property at the same time and leave the rest to be specified as features.
4. The featurization is general-purposed. Since the compounding elements in a compound

contribute to the meaning of the whole sentence where they are embedded, featurizations are represented in semantic relations among themselves and related to other potential constituents.

5. Ambiguous compounds are treated as different mono-refential compounds.

REINHARD WONNEBERGER

### *TEX for Philological Typesetting*

TEX is a document processing program providing professional typesetting quality as well as source and result exchangeability on a variety of computers from personal to mainframe [1,4]. LaTeX is a macro package allowing logical markup of documents and document support functions [2,3,14]. All relevant information is covered by a Newsletter of the worldwide TEX Users Group (TUG) [5]; for free initial information apply to: TEX Users Group, P.O. Box 9506, Providence, RI 02940, USA.

Though TEX was mainly developed to typeset mathematics, there is a growing interest in philological applications [9 and other articles in TUGboat [5]]. The typesetting process of a theological book containing also Greek and Hebrew [6] is described in [7,8,10], and TEX's use for a new edition of Biblia Hebraica is discussed in [13]. In [11], the method of Normaltext [12], developed specifically for philological research on ancient texts, is implemented using LaTeX and TEX.

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[2] LESLIE LAMPORT: LATEX. A Document Preparation System. Reading, Massachusetts usw.: Addison-Wesley 1986, ISBN 0-201-15790-X

[3] LATEX. Local Guide.

[4] NORBERT SCHWARZ: Einführung in TEX. Bonn usw.: Addison-Wesley 1987. ISBN 3-925118-25-X

[5] TUGboat. The TEX Users Group Newsletter. Providence, Rhode Island Bd. 1ff 1980ff.

[6] REINHARD WONNEBERGER / HANS PETER HECHT: Verheißung und Versprechen. Eine theologische und sprachanalytische Klärung. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1986.

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[11] R.W.: Typesetting 'Normaltext' TUGboat 8 (1987/1) 63-72.

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KAI-UWE GÜNTHER  
WOLFRAM W. LATSCH

#### *Transcription Program for Writing and Printing Ethiopic Script*

This program was devised on a Sinclair QL computer (385 kBytes RAM, 68008 proc.) for text processing of Amharic and Ethiopic texts.

The main idea was to keep the costs as low as possible and also to find the easiest way of programming. This was found to be done by using Basic, it being the best known language and thus making it possible for the user to modify the program for individual use.

The hardware required (Sinclair QL, Pinwriter, monitor/TV-set) does not exceed \$ 600.

At the present stage the program already incorporates the main text processing features needed for laying out Ethiopic texts, either in roman or Ethiopic letters.

Originally, the program was developed for a blind person who was hitherto not able to write anything but Braille script, and the program was equipped with various sound features in order to make orientation on the screen possible. The input is controlled and mistakes in key combination are acoustically indicated.

Ethiopic, being a syllabic script, is put in by a combination of consonants and vowels. Exceptions from this dual system were made necessary when using labiovelars (e.g. hwe or hwa) or when specifying different letters with the same phonetic value, which is done by prepositioning a number.

The intricate Ethiopic number system has been incorporated in the program.

A speech synthesizer is in preparation as an additional possibility for the blind user to control the input. The Ethiopic language is made up of phonetically more or less isolated syllables, a feature which makes it possible to agglutinise these entities acoustically without completely obscuring the meaning to the listener, as would be the problem with English. It is planned to be made available this addition at a cost of about \$ 70.

Compatibility with a VERSA-BRAILLE computer is desirable and is near to completion.

The basic structure of our program makes it possible to transcribe roman into any syllabic script after minor alterations.

DONALD A. BECKER

#### *The Use of Microcomputers and Dot Matrix Printers in Printing South Asian Texts*

Two approaches to the production of camera-ready manuscripts in South Asian writing systems were outlined in this presentation. The first approach utilizes an IBM PC to drive a Toshiba dot matrix printer. Specially constructed printer driver software transforms ASCII files of Romanized Hindi, Sanskrit, Telugu, Urdu etc. into printouts in the appropriate script. Using a Romanization for input purposes has several advantages, the most important of which are increased typing ease and the possibility of printing the same text file in totally different writing systems. The second approach employs an Apple Macintosh computer and Apple ImageWriter printer. The chief advantages of the Macintosh approach are its emphasis on the WYSIWYG principle ("What you see is what you get") and its ability to manipulate the size and appearance of individual fonts.

Print specimens of several different South Asian scripts produced with each of the two hardware configurations were presented. The construction of printer driver programs for the IBM PC was summarized and the use of Macintosh font editors was outlined. A simple strategy for the construction of alphabetizing utilities for non-Roman scripts was presented and some glossary-constructing programs based upon this strategy were illustrated. The presentation concluded with a discussion of keyboard-customizing software for the Macintosh and of a means of simplifying the process of data entry in Macintosh fonts for the complex writing systems of South Asia.

KLAUS BOEKELS

#### *Using a Personal Computer for Wordprocessing and Database Management of Oriental Languages*

Working with the personal computer opens up a new horizon for scientific work. Every area of research in Oriental languages with a personal computer is connected with different specific problems. One of the main problems is the editing of texts in Oriental languages and their analysis in a database. There are three basic problems to be mentioned:

1. An enhanced set of characters, which is not accessible in the normal mode of editing.
2. Different writing direction in the area of Semitic languages and the problem of many ligatures in Sanskrit and other languages.
3. Different order of the alphabet.

There exist different solutions to these problems.

One way to overcome these problems, is to work with a text programme which provides many different character sets by working in graphic mode.

Another way to overcome them is to transliterate the texts.

Yet another way is to use a board which allows the downloading of user-defined fonts.

What is essential is the interchangeability of text and database. For linguistic research the text is a database and the database is a text. It must be possible to analyze texts by importing them



word by word into a database, and then to read in the formatted results into a text programme, where a glossary or a list may be prepared out of this material for a final outprint. When interchangeability is not assured, it is impossible to retrieve and analyze texts after their input.

Accordingly, working with a text programme which allows the use of characters in graphic mode is no solution for linguistic work with Oriental languages, because the data cannot be exported into a database without great problems.

The method of transliterating texts using the characters provided by the character ROM results in text that can be read only with difficulty.

The best way of dealing with the multiple characters in Oriental languages is that of using a graphic board which allows the modification of characters by using a RAM font. In this Ramfont you can define the characters used in the international transcription of the Oriental language to be used. This input can then be read into a database and for the final output be converted into the original script. In this way the difficult problem of different writing directions and different characters in different positions is easily solved. The data are put in and retrieved in the transcription of the specific language and in the final output the original script is converted out of the transcription. So you have a transcription easy to handle, which optionally can be transformed into the original script. I wrote a programme, which converts Arabic and Persian in transcription into the original script with the combined letters as vowels and shadda, which in the normal mode of typing are not accessible. In the same way it will be possible to provide solutions of this kind for other Oriental languages.

#### URS APP

##### *Scholarly Use of a Japanese Microcomputer System*

Multilingual word- and dataprocessing which involves European languages as well as Japanese and Chinese is needed by scholars and institutions, but no comprehensive and satisfactory solution has been found so far. The system presented by the speaker is not ideal either, but it functions well within certain limits, and it necessitates only moderate investment in hard- and software.

#### *Hardware:*

- NEC 9801 VM2 or similar model with inbuilt kanji chips, 384K memory, V30 processor 8/10 Mhz, two 1.2 MB drives, 640x400 display, and a 2 MB RAM board to facilitate multitask work)
- EPSON VP 80K or similar model with kanji chips (JIS level 1+2), italics, and the possibility of loading user-defined characters

#### *Software:*

- Japanese MS-DOS v. 2.11 (includes utilities to create new characters) which accepts Chinese/Japanese characters on system level
- VJE device driver (VACS Corp. Tokyo) for convenient kanji input
- MXI-PLUS RAM-disk driver (Megasoft) for faster work

- WORDSTAR 2000 J (Twinstar) v. 2 (MicroPro Japan) for multilingual wordprocessing (windows, footnotes, etc.)
- dBase II or III (Ashton-Tate), whose Japanese versions also accept Chinese and Japanese characters
- ConCur 98 (VACS Corp., Tokyo) for multitask operation (for instance running Twinstar and dBase 2 concurrently)

#### *Advantages:*

- With this basic setup, it is possible to write multilingual articles and create databases which consist of or include Chinese and Japanese characters. Top text search speed on RAM is well over 10000 Chinese characters per second. Multitask capability allows database or text search work while writing.
- The flexible VJE system assures easy Japanese text input (from roman letters). Enlargement of the basic dictionary (partly by the speaker) allows speedy input of Chinese or pre-war Japanese characters using the four-corner system, pinyin with and without tone, and radical number with stroke count.
- Specialized dictionaries can be merged or substracted from existing ones.
- The use of internal standardized character codes (JIS; Japanese Industrial Standard) assures easy transfer of data between different systems (incl. PCs and mainframes) and stability in the future.
- The NEC 9801 series dominates the Japanese PC market; thus continuity in the future can be expected.
- In the present absence of scanners that handle this kind of text, a mass of book manuscripts, catalogues, bibliographies, Chinese texts etc. which are today input on wordprocessors in Japan can be made available as data for databases.
- Easy creation of up to 188 additional characters is possible on the system level. The impact of the limited number of characters can be softened considerably if much used but lacking characters are thus created.

#### *Disadvantages:*

- The gravest disadvantage is the limited number of available characters: only 6350 Chinese characters. For Sinological work, this is never sufficient, and in some cases Japanese post-war simplifications must be used. In this way, ordinary classical Chinese texts can be written without much trouble; if the most frequent 188 additional characters for any one text are created, a great number of texts can be input completely.
- While Russian and Greek letters can be used, it is still somewhat awkward (though possible) to write French, German etc. Sorting which includes such characters may produce incorrect alphabetical order.
- Machine memory is limited to 640 KB; with the size of these programs, it is for instance not possible to use Twinstar and dBase III concurrently, but Twinstar and dBase II work well.



- Hardware service for NEC products, though available in the West, is possibly not stronger than sales figures.

UWE GLESSMER

*Greek, Hebrew and Other Fonts in Theological Texts*

The lecture is divided into three main sections (followed by the demonstration of a programme):

1. Short description of the famous old programme *WordStar* with its possibilities of text processing: editing and correction of manuscripts, planning of layout with different latin character sets and pitches, underlining, bolding and italicisation as well as indenting, headers and footers etc.
2. To use Wordstar for scientific text processing page-orientated footnotes and different *non-latin character sets* are a desideratum. An enlargement to integrate both into this system is possible by using a dot-matrix printer with a special driver programme (*DRUCKE*). Such a programme in combination with a dot-matrix printer with graphic capabilities is able to print every desired character in graphic mode. A special pattern in an 8\*8-grid must be designed for each new foreign letter and conventions for application in WordStar must be defined. In this way e.g. Hebrew (with automatic retroversion from right to left) and Greek as well as other fonts of scientific symbols can be integrated into this "normal" text processing system.
3. The third step concerns the preparation of similar character sets for a high quality printer (such as a laser-printer) when they are not available on the market for Oriental studies. Here a single letter is also defined as a small picture in a grid of points. But the resolution is extremely high: 300 dots per inch. So the definition of an appropriate bitmap is hardly done by hand because 1500 single pixels for each character must be defined in a matrix of 50\*30 dots. To avoid this laborious manual work a much easier *procedure of scanning* (i.e. digitization or electronic photograph) of printed prototypes can be chosen. Printed pages can serve as models to develop laser-printer fonts for "exotic characters". The way to manipulate such scanned data and to isolate single character bit-maps of a whole scanned page is shown by a *sample programme*. The source code (written in Turbo Pascal) is put into the public domain and available on the "*Hamburg-Souvenir-Diskette*" which we prepared as a gift to each participant of the section "personal computers and Oriental studies" (available through the author or R.E. Emmerick).

HANS-PETER VIETZE

*Ein Beispiel des Nutzens rechnergestützter Lexikographie*

Das "Wörterbuch Deutsch-Mongolisch" (H.-P. VIETZE, Z. DAMDINSÜREN, G. LUWSAN, G. NAGY, Wörterbuch Deutsch-Mongolisch, Verlag Enzyklopädie Leipzig, 1981) mit ca. 80 000 Wortstellen wurde mit Hilfe eines Computers "umgedreht", so daß die deutschen und die mongolischen Eintragungen ihre Plätze vertauschten und die mongolischen

Stichwörter, aber auch alle nachgeordneten Ableitungen, Phraseologismen und Anwendungsbeispiele, nach dem mongolischen Alphabet sortiert an die linke Seite der Wortlisten rückten.

Natürlich lag mit den ausgedruckten Listen nicht ein komplettes neues mongolisch-deutsches Wörterbuch vor. Diesen Idealfall gäbe es nicht einmal bei der Umkehrung eines Wörterbuches zu nahe verwandten Sprachen. Wegen der unausbleiblichen nichtidiomatischen Übersetzung deutscher Idiome, der Tatsache, daß Anwendungsbeispiele zu deutschen Stichwörtern meistens nicht gleichzeitig optimal zu den mongolischen Äquivalenten passen, sich häufig akkumulierender Belege und der auf Grund Tausender Neu- und Erstübersetzungen mit z.T. aufwendigen Paraphrasen (z.B. *bašildach* 'die dreifache Fußfesselung des Pferdes durch einen zusätzlichen Riemen zwischen den Vorderbeinen verstärken' u.ä.) waren nur ca. 50% des ausgedruckten Materials direkt verwendbar. Die restlichen 50% der Listen bedurften einer umfangreichen Nachredaktion.

Der Nutzen einer derartigen Computerarbeit wird zunächst durch die Potenzen von Textverarbeitungs- und relationalen Datenbankprogrammen selbst erreicht. Diese Programme sind für die lexikographische Arbeit bei möglichst geringer Belastung des RAM-Speichers in geeigneter Form zu kombinieren, da die Datenbankprogramme in der Regel über keinen guten Editor verfügen.

Alle Vorzüge der rechnergestützten Textverarbeitung wie Fehlerkorrektur auf dem Bildschirm, Löschen, Ersetzen und Einfügen von Buchstaben, Wörtern, linearen Textteilen und Spalten, Layout-Gestaltung, Schriftartenwechsel, Ersetzen von kürzeren Textstellen mit verschiedenen Optionen und vieles mehr, kommen bereits bei der Arbeit am Rohmanuskript voll zur Geltung. Die Datenbankprogramme bieten mit mächtigen Befehlen wie z.B. "replace all ... with ... for ..." Möglichkeiten, die für die lexikographische Arbeit geradezu maßgeschneidert sind. Die Ursache hierfür liegt in der praktisch immer wieder erwiesenen und selbst bei bester konzeptioneller Vorarbeit nicht vermeidbaren permanenten Notwendigkeit der Revision, was dazu führt, daß jedes Wörterbuch bis zu Dutzenden von Malen wieder von vorn durchgearbeitet werden muß.

Den Hauptvorteil der Computerarbeiten sehen wir jedoch nicht in den editorischen Lösungen, sondern in der problemlosen Nachnutzung der in das "Wörterbuch Deutsch-Mongolisch" investierten Forschungsarbeit für das "Wörterbuch Mongolisch-Deutsch". Diese Forschungen bezogen sich im wesentlichen auf die Valenzangaben und auf die Klärung spezieller grammatischer Probleme. Ohne die Hilfe eines Computers hätten die neu erarbeiteten Valenzangaben zu ca. 6000 Wörtern manuell gesondert aufgelistet bzw. verzettelt und dann an verschiedenen Stellen der Kartei zum neuen Wörterbuch eingefügt werden müssen.

Wie die grammatischen Angaben, so blieben auch die Sachgebietshinweise (Lit, Zool, Phys usw.) bei der "Umkehrung" des "Wörterbuches Deutsch-Mongolisch" erhalten. Dadurch ergibt sich die Möglichkeit, kleinere Spezialwörterbücher zu jedem beliebigen Sachgebiet automatisch zu erstellen.

Schließlich sei darauf verwiesen, daß das einmal auf Datenträger gespeicherte Wörterbuchmaterial mit Hilfe eines Computers nach vielen anderen Gesichtspunkten, auch nach anderen Programmen weiterverarbeitet, d.h. ausgewählt, ausgezählt, kollationiert und sortiert werden kann. Sofort möglich werden Distributionsuntersuchungen von Graphemen, Morphemen, Wörtern und Syntagmen, die Extraktion von Beispielkomplexen zu vielen morphologischen Arbeiten, sprachstatistische Untersuchungen, die automatisierte Herstellung rückläufiger



Wörterbücher, die Ermittlung grammatischer, semantischer oder phonetischer Gesetzmäßigkeiten bei feststellbaren Häufungen entsprechender Phänomene u.a.m.

*Schlußfolgerung:* Bei der jetzt zur Verfügung stehenden leistungsfähigen Datenverarbeitungstechnik und den benutzerfreundlichen relationalen Datenbankprogrammen sollte die Verwendung eines Computers bei jeder lexikographischen Arbeit zumindest geprüft werden.

BORIS OGUIBENINE

*First Results of Vedic Grammar Processing by Computer*

The incentive for the computer treatment of Vedic grammar has been the compilation of an index of mythological motifs in the R̥gveda hymns. An utterance with two slots filled by a noun and a verb respectively is considered as the linguistic implementation of a mythological motif; this bipolar structure comprehensively reproduces the content of the minimal mythological information provided in the hymns.

In terms of computer processing the recognition of the data can be made by distinguishing two language categories: the verb forms and the noun forms.

Distinguishing the categories signalled in the occurring words is tantamount to discovering their changing features carrying the grammatical meaning and to leaving aside the features which also change, but which have only the lexical meaning. In the language of the hymns the categories are signalled by the cumulative morphs, i.e. by the sets of the language signs which carry simultaneously several grammatical meanings. In Vedic the cumulative morphs occur most frequently at the end of the words. This means that using graphic representation of the Aufrecht edition of the hymns the scope is to analyze the words proceeding from right to left and to disclose the minimal adequate information about the category status of each Vedic word.

The main question is thus: how long must the final graphemic/phonemic sequences be to enable the definition of the categorical attribution of the respective words? Examples are shown in the paper.

Some of the specific problems of Vedic and of general linguistics are worth mentioning:

(1) There are striking analogies between the proposed technique and the technique of the Ancient Indian grammarians (Vedic Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini's system). They need of course further investigation.

(2) The sequences enabling identification belong to the so-called sub-morphic level although actually linguists do not have much faith in the interrelations between the smallest fragments of the grammatical *signifiant* and their *signifié*. In a full-fledged description of a language the analyst must take into consideration the cases in which a part of the morph, an individual phoneme (and respectively an individual grapheme) becomes a meaning carrier. In my analysis the sub-grammatical sequences are the parts of the morphs which do not belong to either morph at the juncture of the two morphs; they comprise morphs preceded by a unit belonging to another morph so that the morph boundaries overlap.

(3) The study of the subgrammatical sequences is of prime importance for the analysis of the Vedic poetic language.

(4) The problem of what is traditionally called the transfer stems in Vedic needs serious reconsideration. Solutions for individual cases are suggested.

The contribution is not meant to enrich the computer science, but to show that the use of computers furthers new approaches to the traditional linguistic and philological problems.



G.A. ODDIE

*Christian Conversion Movements in India: Some Recent Interpretations*

Conversion movements involving changes in religious affiliation, whereby individuals or groups opt out of one community and join another, have long been evident in India. In recent years a number of scholars, including R.L. Hardgrave, and more recently still, R.M. Eaton and F.S. Downs, have attempted to explore and explain these movements.<sup>1</sup>

One possibility which is beginning to emerge from this and other research is that there may be important differences between what has happened among Hindus converting to Christianity within the caste system and movements which have taken place in the more loosely structured and less oppressive tribal societies. It is well known, for example, that a high proportion of Hindu converts to Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were drawn from among the depressed classes, and Hardgrave, referring to the *nadars*, one of the more marginal groups in Hindu society, argues that the missionaries offered them not only the gospel of a new religion "but also the possibility of secular salvation in release from the fetters of the tradition which had for centuries burdened them with social disabilities and economic dependence". In focussing their attention on the hill peoples of north-eastern India, however, Eaton and Downs were exploring Christian movements among those who, in Eaton's words, had "never experienced pariah status either internally or in relation to outsiders" and the emphasis of these historians has correspondingly been much less on exploitation and social disabilities as a factor in conversion. They both stress the importance of changes and disruption in tribal societies and argue that these circumstances greatly stimulated the search for a more satisfactory and meaningful world view including the acceptance of Christianity.

While these somewhat different interpretations of conversion movements seem to reflect differences in the social conditions which affected responses to Christianity, it would be a mistake (as Eaton and Downs imply) to ignore the complex of other factors involved. The existence of an hierarchical and oppressive social system may, for example, have created a predisposition among those at the bottom of the social scale to search for a way out, but it does not explain why some members of the same caste converted and others (apparently equally affected by social disabilities) did not. Clearly other factors, such as family considerations, the effects of travel or education, economic ties and the ability to respond (without encountering crippling opposition), the attractiveness or otherwise of the local Christian community, and local traditions and views of religion, have to be weighed up and considered in any satisfactory interpretation.

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<sup>1</sup> Hardgrave, R.L., *The Nadars of Tamilnad. The Political Culture of a Community in Change*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, esp. ch. 2; Eaton, R. M., "Conversion to Christianity among the Nagas, 1867-71", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, January-March, 1984, 1984, pp. 1-44; Downs, F. S., *Christianity in North East India. Historical Perspectives*. Delhi 1983.



R.G. TIEDEMANN

*The Socio-Political Context of Anti-Christian Agitation in China, 1860-1900*

The 'unequal treaties' of 1858-60 and associated agreements created the legal framework that was conducive to the significant expansion of the Christian missionary enterprise in China. Under the toleration articles of the treaties, missionaries were permitted to reside and propagate their religious faith in the Chinese interior. The growth of Christianity did, however, elicit widespread opposition from all sections of the non-Christian population. The causes of the so-called 'religious cases' (*jiaonan*) were many, but in this paper the emphasis has been placed on elite responses to the disruptive effects of missionary intrusion on the traditional socio-political fabric of Chinese society during the late nineteenth century.

As a result of the missionaries' extraterritorial status and the self-proclaimed and exclusive French protectorate over all Catholic missions, Catholic missionaries, in particular, posed a challenge to the socio-political status quo. They had arrogated to themselves official rank and insisted on dealing with the authorities as social equals. By their frequent intervention in legal proceedings on behalf of converts or potential converts, missionaries removed Chinese Christians from the jurisdiction of Chinese laws. Their interference and ostentatious manners undermined the political authority of Chinese government officials and provoked the antagonism of China's ruling class.

At the same time, the missionaries undermined the rural socio-political order by challenging the status and power of local notables. Through effective intervention in local affairs, foreign evangelists were in a position to provide alternative sources of authority at village level. They were, therefore, perceived as powerful outsider competitors by the local powerholders.

Missionary interference in local politics was particularly successful in those parts of China where violent competition over scarce resources had long been endemic. The privileged status of the missionaries, the power associated with the Christian Church, its elaborate politico-ecclesiastical infrastructure and complex supra-regional hierarchical networks, and ultimately the coercive power of foreign governments provided the basis for the foreign priests' successful intervention in local disputes on behalf of one of the contending parties. These political incentives were thus a crucial element in the attractiveness of Christianity, for it gave converts preferential access to resources that were in short supply.

The expansion of Christianity could severely undermine village cohesion, as converts withdrew from local socio-religious practices and refused to contribute toward temple-based community activities. It would seem, however, that in areas with a high level of traditional collective violence, many communities were already suffering from internal tensions. Often mass conversions were themselves a symptom of social disintegration. Nevertheless, local powerholders reacted to unwanted missionary intrusion by organizing supra-village resistance. The culmination of such concerted opposition was the massive antifeign Boxer Uprising of 1900.

JORDAN PAPER

*The Normative East Asian Understanding of Christian Scriptures: Hung Hsiu-ch'üan and Moon Sun-myung*

A comparison of the understanding of the Christian scriptures by the nineteenth century founder of the T'ai-p'ing Movement, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, with a contemporary Chinese understanding, indicates virtually identical interpretations. The similarity of these interpretations with a modern Korean interpretation, that of Moon Sun-myung, the founder of the Unification Church, indicates a normative East Asian understanding of Christian scriptures, one that is quite different from the usual Western theological interpretations.

In comparing the two Chinese interpretations one finds considerable correspondence -- the three major themes of Hung's commentary corresponded to the primary foci of the modern interpretation. In both cases, there was difficulty in assimilating the combination of monotheism and a triune deity found in Christianity; instead there was substituted a concept of related deities as a divine patriarchal family. Salvation was understood as for all people in this world, and this life is given priority over a potential but uncertain next life. Finally, Jesus's functional behavior was interpreted as that of a Taoist priest and/or medium. In sum, between the two interpretations, separated by more than a century, a common Chinese predilection for interpreting the scriptures can be ascertained. This commonality is further strengthened in that the modern interpretation unknowingly reflected values and terminology found in the earliest critiques of Christianity written in the sixteenth century.

Given that Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's interpretation of the New Testament coincides with an independent late twentieth century one, we cannot consider his understanding exceptional. Hung understood the New Testament from a parallel perspective, that of the *T'ai-p'ing ching*, that is at least as old as Christianity. He received from his interpretation an impetus to create a millenarian state that in a short period of time covered more than half of China proper. His movement failed in part because a positive understanding of the Christian scriptures from a Chinese perspective supported behavioral patterns (mediumism) of which the educated elite disapproved. Obviously, a Chinese understanding of Christian scriptures was also unacceptable to normative nineteenth century Christianity. With the Chinese elite and the Western powers ranged on the side of the declining Manchu dynasty, the T'ai-p'ing Kingdom was doomed to failure.

Moon Sun-myung is from a culture but partially linked to that of China, yet his understanding of Christianity in large part is similar to the two Chinese commentaries. As Korean "shamanism" is similar in many regards to Chinese "mediumism", we find an identical ideological and behavioral foundation. Although we do not find the Chinese predilection for a complete divine family, the Trinity is understood as two divine parents and the union between them. However, identical with Hung's understanding is the concept of the true messiah as a married couple. Moon and his wife are the True Parents, and Hung and his wife were, respectively, T'ai-yang (Emperor, sun) and T'ai-yin (Empress, moon). As with the Chinese perspective, the Kingdom of Heaven is of this world. In the Unification Kingdom, all will be united in one divine family.

Hence, it is clear that in at least two East Asian cultures, the cultures predispose a particular interpretation of Christian scriptures. First, understanding is primarily experiential, either mediumistic or shamanistic, rather than analytical (theological). Knowledge gained from



trance visions is true; the Scriptures are used to explicate the visions. Second, deity is not understood as monotheistic, neither culture having such a background. Rather, monotheism is understood as the deities being combined in either a divine family or as divine parents. Both cultures understand the Second Coming to have actually taken place, and this is the impetus for the spread of the respective movements. Finally, the Kingdom of Heaven is commonly understood to be a new socio-political order in this world. In the case of the T'ai-p'ing movement, it was actually achieved for a short period of time. The Unification Church has spread in Japan, and although effecting but a tiny minority of the populations of Western countries, has achieved a notoriety far beyond its numbers.

KATHLEEN M. DUGAN

*The Christian Monk in Asia: Interface of Worlds*

The twentieth century has witnessed an increasing convergence of religions and cultures. The Christian religion and the religions of Asia have rethought anew the necessity of interreligious dialogue in the conviction that religions should be in the forefront of the work of worldwide reconciliation and unity. Thus the Madras conference of 1987, assembling representatives of East and West, suggested that its work might be carried out through the formation of groups formed to carry on dialogue. In India, Swami Chidananda has poured his efforts into the formation of a monastic community that has as its work the advancement of interreligious understanding. Once the task of missionaries, religious encounter between East and West, in Asia has assumed a special place in the work of those called to monasticism. Delineation of the unique qualifications of the monk has been expressed by many Christian theologians (among them Raimundo Panikkar) and by the Vatican Secretariat for Non-Christian Religions. Their conviction is that monastic life has the capacity to nurture the requisite qualities of mind and heart in at least some of its members, and thus can contribute partners for dialogue. Among those qualities depth-penetration of one's own spiritual tradition, compassion, and personal authenticity rank high. Yet another challenge is implicit: that of being able to encounter with sensitivity not just another religion, but another culture. Thus the monk has the potential to bridge religions and their cultural contexts.

This paper discussed the challenge of interreligious dialogue in our century through the life and achievements of Jules Monchanin, Henri Le Saux, and Bede Griffiths. The lives of these Christian monks manifest a spiritual odyssey in which the search for mutual understanding drew them into the heart of their own tradition, and to that of Hinduism. Monchanin was led to found an ashram as an integral part of his call to follow the path of the sannyasin. In so doing, he moved dramatically from the role of missionary to that of partner in dialogue. In close contact with the people of India, he sought to discover the common ground of his own faith and theirs. Le Saux, following in his path, sought even more thoroughly to probe the two traditions and find their point of convergence. His own way involved tremendous struggle and tension to the point where he finally achieved the advaitic experience. Bede Griffiths emerged from a remarkable journey of conversion to Christianity to a monastic vocation that led to India, where he continues the work of his predecessors. His experience, in particular, convinced him of the narrowness of Western myths, symbols, and beliefs, and the need to broaden Christianity to embrace the spiritual riches of Hinduism.

The success of these ventures can be seen in the Hindu acceptance of their presence in the

recognized role of the holy seeker, and the response of the sannyasins and the people of India. These have recognized an authentic spiritual presence and the rightness of their project, for it has strong resonance with the best of Indian traditions. These monks have made significant contributions to dialogue, and thus filled a major need in our time. For the issue is not simply that the religious traditions speak to one another, but that they interact in facing the major questions that exercise the conscience of all attentive people today. This paper, then, sees the Christian monk as a mediator in one of the most essential processes of modern time.

TEOTONIO R. DE SOUZA, S.J.

*"Behold the Handmaid of the Lord"  
A Re-assessment of the Portuguese Crown Patronage*

The title seeks to recall a social scandal that threatened to mar the birth of Jesus and of Christianity. The young woman of Nazareth had surrendered herself and her reputation to become an instrument of God's offer of salvation to mankind. The Christianity that began with such a proclamation of surrender to God alone, has surrendered in the course of its history to more worldly and political interests. The European expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries initiated a major link-up of Christianity with the western, metropolitan, political, economic and cultural domination of the "periphery". With the Portuguese expansion the African and the Asian peoples were drawn into this periphery. We need an analysis that takes into account the views of those who were the victims of the Portuguese imperial expansion and their understanding of the "good news". The *Padroado* or crown patronage was a counterpart of the political-administrative patronage, which was one big reason why Asia/Africa was valuable to the Portuguese crown.

The geographic and structural expansion of the Church in Portuguese Asia accompanied their military and commercial expansion in a factory-fort-friar pattern. St. Francis Xavier himself seems to have been convinced that it was hard to establish Christianity among the orientals, and even harder to preserve it, except in the coastal areas which came within the reach of the gunboats. Right enough, Christianity has not yet succeeded in covering more than 3% of the Asian population.

In the prevailing mercantilist views and policies the Church served to legitimize the economic interests of the Portuguese crown. In reality it was Church patronage of the Portuguese crown. Imperial historians of the Church have never raised questions such as, who paid the costs of the expansion of Christianity and the maintenance of cult in the Portuguese empire? The obvious answer is to be found in the impoverishment of the Christian natives. It is this line of analysis that the historians of the Church in the Third World have initiated, and it is hoped that the history of the Church in the Third World will be re-written, freed from missionary triumphalism and western colonial biases.



M. D. DAVID

*Cultural Patterns and Christianity in Asia*

Nowhere did Christianity encounter such rugged and persistent resistance as it did in Asia. This is because Asia had highly developed cultures like Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic and Confucian. The Hindu cultural traits are predominant in Asian Cultural fabric. Christianity and Hinduism have separate world-views, very different from each other.

The Asian cultures are essentially religious cultures and the Hindu culture has influenced them in a subtle manner for centuries. Even Buddhist culture, which is prominent in South-East Asia is itself a product of Hindu culture. One of the main characteristics of Hindu culture is its all inclusiveness and its ability to absorb even that which is not conducive to its practice. Islamic and Christian cultures which migrated to Asia subsequently have not succeeded in replacing the predominance of Hindu cultural traits in Asia.

Another important cultural tradition in Asia is that of China which has remained subordinate to that of India. The Chinese culture basically Confucian, lacks the necessary zeal to proselytise, and the ancient folk religion of China being peculiar could not survive in foreign lands. The Confucian elites being haughty agnostics, considered that religion was meant to satisfy the illiterates in the society and the women who (according to them) were intellectually inferior. The Chinese merchants were the ones who mostly travelled abroad. Since they had a low status in the Chinese society as a class, they showed little interest in exporting their religion. The Chinese religion and culture did not go beyond the neighbouring Vietnam, Korea and Japan because the Chinese language and script are the most difficult to master or learn. Christianity could not make progress in China.

Christianity, however, has made great gains in weak or less developed cultures like the tribal cultures that prevail in India and Asia. In certain regions of India, especially in the North-East which are classified as tribal areas like Mizoram and Nagaland, Christianity has gained a strong foot-hold. Tribal cultural world-view is characteristically simple and lacks scientific, philosophical and intellectual trappings. With the spread of education among them they develop a felt need for superior religious cultures. Since the Christian missionaries were the pioneers in the spread of Western education in tribal cultures of Asia Christianity has made inroads within the tribal areas.

Christianity though an Asian religion made its home in Europe. After the fall of the Roman empire because of certain historical forces the nascent Judaeo-Christian religion became the religion of Europe. But it had to absorb many Graeco-Roman cultural traits. The amalgam of this gave rise to the Church culture of mediaeval Europe.

It was the Humanism of the Renaissance and Reformation that revolutionised the Church culture and gave birth to the modern dynamic, scientific and secular culture. Europe, as a result, scored a march over the Asian and African societies and began to dominate them. Europe not only established economic and political control over Asia but she also claimed superiority over the Asian cultures.

Christianity came to Asia in the 19th century along with the European imperialist baggage. Asia succumbed to Europe politically and economically but resisted the spread of Christianity. Christianity with its hierarchical religious structure found it difficult to establish rapport with the Hindu and Buddhist religious cultures that had no such hierarchy. The Reformation

gradually helped to separate religion from political and economic activity in Europe. But in Asia social, political and religious activities were not separated in watertight compartments.

The preoccupation of the Indians and their cultural clients in Asia with the theological rather than secular concerns, the idea of *Maya* or that the world is an illusion and God alone is real and the combination of *Mayavada* with the doctrine of *Karma* and the Buddhist idea of *Dukkha* have contributed to their *other-worldliness* and the idea of the futility of this world.

The confrontation between the two cultures led to the growth of self-defence and self-protection movements in the form of religious and cultural revivalism in Asia.

Since European imperialism was unacceptable it was difficult for Christianity that came as its companion to be accepted in Asia. The efforts of Christian missionaries, if anything, fostered a subtle antagonism to Christianity and promoted revivalist movements among local religious cultures. These reform and revivalist movements in Asia not only hindered the growth of Christianity but they also gave rise to nationalist and anti-imperialist movements.

Despite the vast missionary efforts in terms of men and money the success of Christianity in Asia was miserably poor. It is evident from the fact that only two percent of the Asians are Christians.

JIANG ZHU

*The Historical Remains of Islamic Culture in Yangzhou*

1. The date when Islamic culture was spread to the Far East was a little earlier than that of Mohammed founded Islam in Mecca. As recorded in the "Min Shu.Fang Yu Zhi" written by He Qiao-Yuan in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), China, during the Wude Year of the Tang Dynasty in China (618-626 A.D.), four disciples of Mohammed the Sage came to China. The eldest disciple did missionary work in Guangzhou, the third and fourth in Quanzhou, and the second in Yangzhou. This was the very period when Mohammed went to Medina to set up mosques and propagate Islam.

According to legend, the cultural traces of the four disciples of Mohammed when they did missionary work in China were as follows: The Temple Cherishing the Memory of the Sages in Guangzhou and The Holy Grave on Mt. Ling in Quanzhou. Although the historical traces of the second disciple were not yet found out in Yangzhou up to now, a remaining Moslem grave in the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) was found out in Yangzhou in 1980, in which a celedon shallow kettle with river behind decorated with Arabian characters was excavated. The characters and decorative patterns on the kettle were written and painted in green. The poetic quality of Arabian was "Allah is the greatest". It can thus be proved that it was quite possible that since the early seventh century, Islam and its culture had already been propagated in Yangzhou. This was further proved in later history. Till 1980s, in Yangzhou city and its nearby regions, so far there still preserved the mosque set up by Phadin, the descendant of Mohammed XVI, when he came to Yangzhou in 1275 A.D., and the tomb of Phadin buried in Yangzhou. Furthermore, let's see from the gravestones written in Arabic and Persian in the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 A.D.) and the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), which were left over to the days, the Islamic missionaries who came to China in the Yuan Dynasty, such as Huarger·Ballard·Briwanley·Gus (1310 A.D.), Janthdin·Laschfula·Ballager



(1324 A.D.), Arladin (1302 A.D.), Arisa Hartung and Irmil Latondin (1324 A.D.), Huar-ger-Schasiddin. Lahemann (1308 A.D.), and those in the Ming Dynasty, such as Mirihazer (1407 A.D.), Mahamod (1464 A.D.), Zanzmalodin (1469 A.D.) and Fana (1498 A.D.), all came to Yangzhou successively; afterwards, they died and were buried there. Since this century their traces had been found out outside the southern gate of Yangzhou, on the mounds opposite the river of Dong Shu Guan in Yangzhou, there retained the graveyards of Islamic sages. These historical remains were always the places boundlessly respected and admired by the Moslems of Yangzhou; and simultaneously, they were historical witness of friendly intercourse between the Islam and the Chinese people. They had already been legally protected by the People's Government.

The reason why Yangzhou had handed down the cultural traces of Islam as long as more than thirteen centuries in the history of China and of the world Islamism was mainly because Yangzhou in the earlier stage of medieval century was not only a hub of communication between the north and the south of China, but a famous big trading harbor at the east end of the Silk Road across the seas which linked up the Two-River Valley Bazla; besides, it had a big canal which was joined by the capitals of the dynasties of past ages, so it became China's important gateway to the overseas traffic. In the Tang Dynasty period, there were always thousands of Arabs and Persians coming to Yangzhou. Therefore, Yangzhou became the earliest city of historical culture from where Islamic culture was spread to China.

2. According to the historical and geographical position and from the timetable when Islam was spread, Multan's circumstances were comparatively similar to Yangzhou.

Because Multan, situated in the middle part of Pakistan, was located in the centre of the intersecting zone of Indus, Chenab and Sutlej, it was once historically a Caravan's district which went along Gomal Pass, got to Indus Valley and went forward to Gangetic Plain. It brought under control the passageway of trade contacts between the Indian subcontinent and Caravan of western countries. Moreover, the entire Pakistan territory was located in the middle region of the two big international passageways between the Silk Road on land and the Silk Road across the sea. Therefore, from the Arabian Sea in the south, you can go along the mouth of Indus, and go northward to Multan; and from the mouth of Mt. Karakorum or Mt. Khyber, you can go along Peshawar, Rawalpindi and go southward to Multan. As we know, in the period of medieval century, the trade passageway from West Asia to East Asia, because navigation was limited by monsoon, travelling by land and navigation were always carried on alternately or stage by stage. Thus it can be seen that Multan, which was located in the middle part of Pakistan, was not only the passageway which led to Gangetic from Gomal Pass, but it was also the passageway Pakistan linked up the sea traffic. Therefore, it was not a bit exaggerative that Multan was named "the First City".

So, the possibility that ancient culture of Bronze era and the historical remains of Islamism that the Arabian imperialist army marched eastward to the Indus Valley in earlier than 711 A.D. existed in Multan and its nearby regions must have been necessarily the logical, historical conclusion.

MARK K. CHANG S.J.

*Matteo Ricci's Chinese Writings and their Influences*

The Western admirers of Chinese culture have been numerous ever since the days of Marco Polo (1254-1324). As is well known, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and other Jesuits were the first group of Westerners to conduct a systematic examination of Chinese culture. From the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits became the major transmitters of cultures between China and the West. To China, besides Christianity, Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits exported Western sciences and some technological inventions; to the West, they introduced Chinese culture through their publications of Chinese classics.

A very important feature of Matteo Ricci's apostolate strategy was his writing or literary activity. He had often called attention to the fact that in China, more than in any other country, the pen was the most potent of weapons.

Among the apologetical and spiritual books that Matteo Ricci wrote was e.g., his *Twenty-five Sayings from Epictetus* (1604), *Ten Discourses by A Paradoxical Man* (1608), and *On Friendship* (1595), but the one which aroused more true interest than any of his other books, the one which in the end proved of most lasting value, was the early work the *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (1603). His hope was that Chinese culture could be revived by its own vigor, and by a new vital energy instilled into it by the Gospel of Christ.

In any case, the aim for Matteo Ricci in all his astronomical writings, such as *A Treatise on the Stereographic Projection of the Celestial Sphere* (1607) and *An Explication of the Nature of Heaven and Earth* (1605) was to involve the Chinese in his astronomical achievements, as they would prove more receptive to Christianity.

Matteo Ricci's World Map, such as *The Great Map of Ten Thousand Countries* (1602), which included China, and for the first time represented it correctly, helped more than any other ever made to reveal China to the world, and the world to China.

By his mathematical knowledge, especially through his works of *Euclid's Elements of Geometry* (1607), and *A Translation of Clavius' Practical Arithmetic* (1614), Matteo Ricci hoped to convince the Chinese scholars that the theoretical background to their methodology was still unsound. History is a confirmation that through the influence of Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits, the atmosphere and methodology of research and study changed into more scientific approach, both in fields of science and Sinology, during the period of Early Ching dynasty.

By impressing the Chinese with his memory skills, in his book entitled *The Methodology of Mnemonic Art of Western Countries* (1595), Matteo Ricci hoped to interest them in his culture, and thus he hoped to draw them to an interest in his God.

Ricci's *Latin or Roman Phoneticization of Chinese Characters*, seen in his book entitled *Wonderful Traces of Western Characters* (1605), used Latin letters as phonetic symbols, in analyzing phonetic elements, in order that later scholars in their study of phonology could grasp essential points and eliminate obscurities. Now if we want to reconstruct the phonetic value of the Mandarin language of the Ming dynasty, Ricci's transcriptions are the best materials to be considered.

Furthermore, since the time of Matteo Ricci who used Latin letters in transcribing Chinese



sounds, a new way has opened to the study of Phonology in China.

Matteo Ricci shared with his Chinese friends a love of writing and printing. His tact, learning, and virtues attracted adherents to Christianity, who formed an elite who were able with his help to see that it was possible to remain Chinese when one had entered the Mystical Body of Christ. At his death in 1610, the number of his converts stood at 2,000.

Matteo Ricci was the prototype of the great Jesuit missionaries to China. His greatest distinction is that he was the leader of a company of missionaries who established the first permanent Christian work in China.

LYNETTE E.L. THISTLETHWAYTE

*Missionary Attitudes and the Teaching of Science in Christian Colleges in Nineteenth Century India*

Early missionaries in India were basically "orientalist" in policy, but by the time Alexander Duff arrived in 1829 the emphasis had changed to a largely "anglicist" ideas among Protestant missionaries. This coincided with government policy. As missionary higher education expanded, however, other ideas gradually began to surface, until the whole value of higher education as an agent of mission came into question.

By the 1870's and 80's it had become apparent that western learning and western science were not automatically going to lead to the demise of Hinduism, so the missionaries began to reappraise their aims and methods. Conversions were hard won, and Hinduism showed itself capable of adjusting and fighting back. This called for the cessation of mere denunciation of Hinduism (and other religions) and the attempt to find common ground with people of other religions. Christianity was now to be presented as the fulfilment of other religions, and it was hoped that Christian influence would percolate down through society via those educated in Christian colleges.

At the 1910 Edinburgh Conference, missionaries subscribed to these new ideas, and stated that missionary higher education was a worthwhile enterprise because of the influence that percolated through it into society in general. St. Stephen's College, Delhi, which had opened B.A. classes in 1881, seemed to be an embodiment of this idea. By the early twentieth century it was setting an example of this new missionary attitude in several ways, not least of which was being under the direction of an Indian Christian from 1907.

Western science was part of the educational package brought to India by the British. In order to keep up with what the other colleges were offering, the missionary colleges had to offer science syllabuses in line with university regulations, in spite of the expenses incurred in doing so. However, many missionaries still felt that science was a worthwhile study. Wilson had encouraged the study of science at his college, not only because with Duff he believed that it would undermine Hinduism, but also because he believed that in studying science, man was studying the handiwork of God.

Although at St. John's College the staff were anxious about the possibility of science being taught by non-Christians if the government should set up a separate Science Institute to be shared by both themselves and Agra College, science was felt to be an indispensable part of

the curriculum. Without it, the college would lose many prospective students and thus impair its effectiveness. One way and another, science was found to be a necessary part of missionary higher education. Missionary science teachers did not find science and faith incompatible, though science teaching did disappoint their hopes of undermining Hinduism. Instead Hinduism found itself able to adapt to the new ideas, and a new Hinduism grew up. Missionary colleges had shown how to combine a secular and religious education, a lesson that both Hindus and Muslims were ready to learn. In a sense, this showed the accuracy of Miller's ideas concerning the effects of Christian colleges.

HELEN BALLHATCHET

*Christianity and the Idea of Evolution in Late Nineteenth-Century Japan*

My aim in this paper was to examine the intellectual implications of the close relationship between Christianity and Western civilization, by focussing on early Meiji Japan (1868-1912) and the different responses to the theory of evolution of Japanese opposed to Christianity, missionaries, and Japanese Christians.

The basic goal of Japan in the early Meiji period was to strengthen and 'civilise' in order to preserve national independence and gain recognition from the West. The problem was how this should be done, and it was against this background that the theory of evolution was understood, as a tool for planning the development of a strong and independent Japan.

The anti-Christian implications of the theory were known from the first and were exploited, in order to argue, for example, that Buddhism, with concepts such as the law of cause and effect, was more appropriate to the Western scientific world view than Christianity. However, this attack was not accompanied by any attempt either to explain why the scientific world view which Buddhism supported had developed in the Christian West rather than in Buddhist Japan, or to reconcile traditional Buddhist views of the cosmos with modern Western explanations.

Both missionaries and Japanese Christians were convinced that Christianity was essential to any successful 'borrowing' of Western civilization. The theory of evolution therefore presented a threat to their activities. Japanese Christians were in the more vulnerable position, since the scientific argument for Christianity as the basis of Western civilization had played an important part in their conversion itself and in justifying this conversion, both to themselves and to the outside world. Accordingly they responded more actively to the challenge. Of the missionaries, some rejected evolution entirely but the few who were prepared to argue the issue in public took the moderate line that evolution was only a hypothesis, and not necessarily incompatible with Christianity.

Although all Japanese Christians were concerned to reconcile Christians with evolution, differences existed according to the relative emphasis which they gave to faith and rationality. In general, however, they were more sophisticated in their understanding of evolution and its implications than either foreign Christians or non-Christian Japanese. They were able to overcome the challenge of the theory, and use it to support their conviction that Christianity was essential to further Japanese development.

Missionaries and Japanese Christians were, of course, united in their refusal to accept that



evolution might disprove Christianity. But there is an interesting similarity between missionaries and non-Christian Japanese in the ability of both to draw barriers between the possible implications of evolution and their own world outlook, with its secure cultural base. Whether Christian or non-Christian, however, Meiji Japanese were much more positive in their response to the idea of evolution than the missionaries. Evolution provided a framework against which they could understand the changes which Japan was undergoing and link the past with the future, salving cultural pride. Japan, they could claim, was not so much copying the West as taking part in the evolutionary development of the world, towards a stage beyond that of the contemporary West.

PAUL D. BUELL

*From Tribe to State or State to Tribe: The Case of the 12th Century Mongols*

One key question of steppe history is what gave rise to the sudden amalgamations of steppe energies under Mao-tuns and Cinggis-qans now and again, and what it was that directed these energies outward, toward expansion and state formation. There is also the associated problem of how, before or during expansion, steppe societies organized themselves for confrontations with more developed societies of the sedentary world.

Various answers to these questions have been proposed. Most often they have been formulated in terms of uncontrollable factors such as abrupt climatic change, or from the point of view a "great man" interpretation of steppe history which sees the origins of the Mongolian empire, for example, and its expansion largely if not exclusively in terms of the influence of the personality of the chieftain Temüjin. None of the interpretations so far advanced, however, can explain events as a whole and all changes which can be observed in steppe societies prior to and during the emergence of steppe empires.

The present study considers the possibility that the emergence of ancient and medieval steppe empires was more due to natural internal evolutions in the steppe societies producing them themselves than they were of any sudden climatic deterioration or appearance of some great steppe personality. More specifically, the author sees the rise of steppe empires, in particular the 13th century Mongol empire, as a response to foreign pressures and influences occasioning an organizational shift from a loose, kinship dominated political structure to a compact, tribal one, centralized under a supreme chieftain (part of a regular cycle).

In the case of the Mongols, the foreign pressures and influences which occasioned a "tribalization" of Mongolian society and its restructuring for foreign conquest and rule, was the result of the connections of leading Mongols — including Temüjin — with the frontier system established by the Chinese Chin dynasty to protect its heartland and serve as a base for meddling in the steppe. Through their service to Chin agents and frontier commanders, the amorphous followings of Temüjin and other Mongol chieftains quickly became consolidated, tribal units (*gure'en*) of a new sort better able, at first, to serve the Chin regime, and later to battle with other components of Mongolian society for dominion. These other components, in turn, had no choice but restructure themselves in the new "tribal" manner if they were to compete and survive. The great restructuring of 1206, after the victory of Temüjin over his many rivals, when all social and political units of the Mongolian world were reformulated as *mingan*, "thousands," marked the ultimate restructuring of Mongolia as a whole in the new, "tribal" mold. The system now became the basis for Mongolian expansion and soon spread throughout Eurasia.



VALERY STOYANOW

*Die Entwicklung des Bulgaren-Ethnonyms  
Grundlagen einer Hypothese*

Bei den bisherigen Deutungsversuchen wurde der bulgarische Volksname als eine Singularform betrachtet, obwohl er auch die Bedeutung des Plurals enthalten soll. Heute kann der Name — je nach den einzelnen Sprachen — unterschiedliche Pluralformen besitzen: "Bulgar-en", "bulgar-s", "bulgar-lar"... Wie die Lage damals war, als sich das protobulgarische Volk herausbildete, wissen wir nicht. Es könnte aber rein theoretisch das uns überlieferte Ethnonym eine der vielen ähnlichen älteren Plurale darstellen.

Als Pluralanzeiger des bulgarischen Volksnamens ist das Endteilchen *-ar* /bzw. *-r* mit vorlaufendem schwankenden Vokal/ zu betrachten, dem das alte altaische Pluralsuffix *-/\*r* entspricht. Außer der Benennung "Bulgar" /bolhar, balkar, burgar.../ trifft man im Zusammenhang mit den Protobulgaren auch die Formen "burġan", "bulgan" und "balkan", die eine andere Endsilbe besitzen, ein vermutliches Pluralsuffix *-/\*a/n*, das aber sowohl altaischen als auch iranischen Ursprungs sein kann. Obwohl indirekt ist mit dem bulgarischen Volksnamen ferner das Wort "bulgak" zu verbinden, wobei zu dem Wortstamm *\*bālk* ein Formant *-/\*a/k* zugefügt worden ist, das in den ural-altaischen Sprachen unter anderem auch die Funktion eines Kollektivsuffixes für Herausbildung von Dual und Plural besaß. Daher ist der bulgarische Name in zwei Teile zu gliedern: in einem Wortstamm "bulg" /auch "bolg, balh, balk", also: *\*bālk* ~ *\*bār*/ und in einem Pluralsuffix *-/\*a/r*, *-/\*a/n* oder *-/\*a/k*, d.h. würde das Wort soviel wie "Bulgen, Balgen" bedeuten. Und so sind die Protobulgaren manchmal auch in den armenischen Quellen genannt: "das Bulh-Volk".

Unter den dem bulgarischen Ethnonym nah stehenden Wörtern finden sich als ein semantisches Äquivalent von "bulgak" auch die Formen "bulgar", "bultar" und "bultan". Hier überrascht das Vorhandensein von *-t* anstelle der üblichen *-k* /-g, -h/-Laute. Die Wortpaare "bultar — bulgar" und "bultan — bulgan /burġan/" könnten aus Doppelstämmen oder aus zwei Ableitungsformen einer und derselben älteren Wurzel herkommen. Dies würde bedeuten, daß außer *\*bālk* auch eine Variante *\*bālt* mit derselben oder ähnlichen ursprünglichen Semantik existierte /vgl. "balta — balga", "Bäländär — Bälängär"/.

Die Wortstämme *\*bālk* und *\*bālt* sind als Zusammensetzungen aus einer Wurzel *\*bāl* und den zugefügten Morphemen *-k/-g* oder *-t/-d* anzusehen, die auch die Funktion von Pluralformanten besaßen. Die Ableitungsformen *\*bāl-k* und *\*bāl-t* könnten aber mit der Zeit ihre Pluralbedeutung verlieren und in quantitativ ganz neue Bezeichnungen untrennbarer Begriffe übergehen. Sie würden dann als Singularformen verstanden und später neue Pluralsuffixe bekommen. Auf diese Weise entstanden vielleicht die Spielarten *\*bālk-ar*, *\*bālk-an*, *\*bālt-ar*, *\*bālt-an* ...

Die Wurzel *\*bāl* / ~ *\*bar* ~ *\*baz* ~ *\*baš* ~ *\*pal* ~ *\*pan* ~ *\*mar* ~ *\*mal* ~ *\*man* .../ ist eine uralte euro-asiatische Lexeme, die man in verschiedenen geographischen und ethnischen Benennungen findet. Ihre Abarten besitzen sehr oft die Hauptbedeutung "Wesen, Mensch, Mann". Die Pluralformen davon könnten nicht nur als Kollektivbezeichnungen irgendeiner Zahl von Männern /"Menschen, Leute"/, sondern auch als Singularstämme eines neuen Wortes /"Klann, Sippe, Volk"/ betrachtet werden. Solche Formen sind die ältesten Selbstbenennungen jedes Volkes und hierher gehört auch der Vorläufer des protobulgarischen Namens — "Bulg, Bolk, Balh" /*\*bālk*/, der eben "Menschen, Leute; Sippe, Volk" bedeuten soll.

Es ist durchaus möglich, daß sich der ganze Prozeß wiederholt und die jeweilige Pluralform /"Mensch-en" > "Sippe"/ wieder ein Formant bekommt, womit sich eine umfangreichere Kollektivbezeichnung /"Sippe-n" > "Volk"/ herausbildet. So ist auch die neue Pluralbezeichnung entstanden, die sich auf alle verwandte und fremde Stämme der protobulgarischen Gemeinschaft bezog. Als eine Kollektivbenennung bekam diese Form ferner die Bedeutung eines Ethnonyms: "Bulgar, Bolgar, Balkar, Burgar, Burgan, Burġan" usw.

Die wahre Bedeutung des Namens könnte sehr früh vergessen worden sein, vielleicht schon zur Zeit der Formierung des protobulgarischen Volkes. Doch blieb die Erinnerung an die frühere Form in der alten Volksetymologie enthalten, die den Namen mit unterschiedlichen Eponymen verbindet: mit "Bulgar, Bolgar" ..., aber auch mit "Bolk, der Sohn Königs Kol" bzw. "Bolg, der Sohn Koleda's".



ROBERT HEUSER

*The Introduction of Modern Commercial Law to China*

In this paper I will deal with China's first effort to legislate in the field of commercial law in an attempt to strengthen her economy and stabilize her foreign relations. Law reform in 20th century China always has been an expression of China's opening towards the outside world, a fact which is also obvious today. Thus modernizing of law in China assumed always an inside and an outside perspective. It aims towards modernizing and reform of traditional ways of thought, behaviour and organization as well as towards providing certainty through a legal system in order to encourage international economic contacts. Both perspectives have been — and are — closely interrelated: Modernizing of law assumes a particular active form when contact to the technology exporting outside world is conceived as conducive or at least as unavoidable. This also can be seen from the present legislation programs in the Peoples' Republic of China, where economic law, including the law of commerce, is regarded to be of supreme importance. Law of economic transactions, law of industrial property, company law and even legislation concerning antitrust and bankruptcy have come into force or are being discussed in legislative organs and academic circles. Whereas success or failure of the present modernization efforts as a whole is still an open question, the first attempt to introduce modern commercial law into China proved abortive, as far as concrete application of the new rules were concerned. It is nevertheless worthwhile to be studied because it concerns an important element of the first decision of the Chinese government to apply legal concepts emerged in Europe to a Chinese environment, efforts which are being continued until the present. The study of the late Qing law reform in the very beginning of the 20th century is meaningful because of the fact that Chinese modernizers for the first time experimented with western law, a process which was refined during the following decades and is still going on today.

JYH-PIN FA

*The Introduction of Modern Constitutional Law to China and the Judicial Review System in the Republic of China*

The terms "constitution" or "constitutional law" can be found in ancient Chinese texts. But it would be misleading to conclude that China pioneered the establishment of constitutional government, because these terms do not bear their modern meaning and significance. In ancient texts the term "constitution" only designated various laws and ordinances promulgated by the Imperial Court.

Until the beginning of this century, the Chinese were totally unfamiliar with constitutional rules. This situation began to change at the beginning of the twentieth century when the last monarchy in Chinese history, the Ch'ing dynasty, was forced by the unceasing revolutionary movement and the world-wide trend toward constitutionalism to overhaul its political system. Because the people were dissatisfied with the delay and the slowness of this political reform, a large-scale revolution erupted in 1911 and overthrew the Ch'ing dynasty. Even after the establishment of the first republic in Asia, the subsequent political developments did not pave the way for the establishment of a constitutional government in China. The existing conservative politicians and military simply did not believe in constitutional rule. They fought



each other in every part of the country in order to seize as much power as possible.

Less than ten years after the unification of the whole nation under the leadership of the Nationalist Party in 1928, the short period of peace was shattered by the Japanese. Only after World War II did China, along with other newly-independent nations, have its first "legitimate" Constitution, which was made and promulgated by the National Assembly on December 25, 1946 and became effective on January 1, 1947. The process of drawing up this constitution was not a simple one and will be described in full in the paper.

The power of judicial review was explicitly recognized and entrusted to a special organ, the Council of Grand Justices. The Council did not, however, function until the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan three years later. Compared to the American experience, it is no exaggeration to say that judicial review in China is in its infancy.

After tracing the historical development of the making of the Chinese Constitution, I shall examine the organization and function of the constitutional framework in which the Council of Grand Justices, ordinary courts, and also the administrative courts operate. To be brief, in this paper I shall not only examine the Chinese constitutional development and the system of judicial review, but also analyze problems that they encountered and the responses they have proposed for settlement.

WERNER PFENNIG

*Criminal Justice Reform in the People's Republic of China (PRC)*

Since in the PRC "law is policy and policy is law" it seems advisable to broaden the subject and deal with at least five main aspects:

- A new attitude towards law and a legal system.
- Criminal Law and Law of Criminal Procedure.
- Close relationship between "socialist legal system" and the "four modernizations."
- Relationship between Communist Party and legal system.
- Institutionalization of power and historical parallels.

In the PRC, laws for a long time were regarded as disturbing and retarding elements, as hindrances to progressive development. This attitude has changed remarkably. The revival of China's legal system in the late 1970s has been described as a necessary element of the programme of "Four Modernizations" and as being constitutive for efforts to bring "great order across the land."

Law codes and the legal system are expected to serve in at least three areas:

- Correction and encouragement. To build up trust at home and abroad.
- Control. To ensure order and fight against crime (economic crimes, juvenile delinquency, etc.).
- Improvement (better organization of the State and the economy accompanied by administrative simplification and the infusion of professionalism.)

The population and the majority of legal experts expect from the legal system stability, regularity and predictability. Professor Leng Shao-chuan has summarized this into one sentence:

"In the interest of restoring order and morals and attracting domestic support and external assistance for a modernization program, the current Chinese leadership has made vigorous efforts to revitalize and strengthen China's legal system so as to provide a secure, orderly environment for economic development."

There is no genuine judicial independence in the PRC. In the relevant documents one can read, "judicial independence as is appropriate." It is to be understood in a more technical sense, that is, in their work the institutions enjoy independence and should not suffer interference from other state organizations.

With regard to the relationship Party-Legal System subordination and this kind of independence are stressed: Judicial institutions stress the leadership of the Party. The Party emphasizes the importance of a socialist legal system. As far as the judicial system is concerned, this function of the Communist Party has two important components, leadership and protection. The more the role of the Party is stressed, the more is the Party responsible for judicial work. This subordination on the side of the judiciary was a wise tactic, esp. in the formative years 1978/79. If things would go wrong, the Party was the one to be blamed. She had the leading role, she was responsible.

Many Chinese legal scholars in the PRC hope for political stability and think that power, the exercise of power must be institutionalized. There must be a decentralization and more manageable and competent institutions should be created (reform of the National People's Congress, for example).

Without constructing undue parallels to Nazi-Germany it is perhaps worthwhile to ask with Ernst Fraenkel whether the Chinese leadership wants to establish gradually a "Normative State" without giving away components of the "Prerogative State" it regards as vital for the legitimization and execution of its rule.

Compared with the past, especially with the "Cultural Revolution", criminal justice reform and the reform of the legal system in general have brought about drastic changes. More are bound to come. The whole political and socio-economic system will be affected. We are observing a fascinating development, which is of great interest, not only for the People's Republic.

In the PRC today there is not yet *rule of law*, but increasingly *rule by law*, which is already a progress in itself.

JEAN-PIERRE CABESTAN

*Communist Party Discipline and the Law in the People's Republic of China*

Although China has a long and specific tradition of administrative control (the imperial censorate), the Chinese communists in 1949 set up a State and Party control apparatus heavily influenced by the Soviet theory and practice.

But as soon as 1957-58, the establishment of permanent legal rules and procedures was questioned by the Maoists who preferred to rely on the so-called "control of the masses" and especially the State Security organs. These forms of control were particularly emphasized during the Cultural Revolution. And it was not until Mao's death and the return of Deng



Xiaoping to power (1977) that party control organs — the discipline inspection commissions (DIC) — were restored.

At the third plenum of the 11th Party Congress (December 1978), Deng and his allies decided to reform substantially the economic and political system. This program included the rebuilding of a socialist legal system and a thorough reform of the administration. The establishment of a Central Discipline Inspection Commission (CDIC), headed by Chen Yun, at this plenum was part of this plan. In 1979, the CDIC outlined its key aims: these were (1) to limit bureaucrats' scope of power (2) to rehabilitate victims of the Cultural Revolution and (3) to exclude or marginalize party members recruited during this period (approximately one-third of the CCP membership).

Nevertheless, this last point became rapidly the main objective of the control organs. This emphasis on the political and ideological control, the wavering of the principles of DICs organization and the growing conflict between the Reformists (Deng et al.) and the Conservatives (Chen Yun et al.) who were in charge of most of the DICs prevented the party control apparatus to play an effective role in the restoration of the rule of law in the communist bureaucracy.

Thus, the Reformers took charge themselves in January 1986, through the powerful Central Committee Political and Legal Commission, of the struggle against corrupted and undisciplined civil servants. This new step may favor the legalization and the institutionalization of the Chinese Revolution but the battle against corruption in underdeveloped — and socialist — countries is a protracted war.

Finally, China has not, so far, succeeded to establish an independent control apparatus of the administration. Although the Audit Administration has managed to enforce some financial control, no State cadres Inspection organ has yet been set up. Anyway, in China as in other socialist countries, it seems to be particularly difficult to build up a parallel hierarchy able to limit the scope of power of Party committees.

SHAO-CHUAN LENG

#### *Legal Development in Deng's China*

Since 1978 the PRC has taken steps to institute law reform and to develop "socialist legality with Chinese characteristics." The move is closely linked to the commitment of the Post-Mao leadership to the four modernizations. For one thing, China needs a regular legal order to insure stability and an orderly and secure environment essential to the successful development of its economy. For another, it expects a growing demand for economic legislation to regulate production processes and relationships with the progress of its modernization program. Moreover, a formal legal system is a prerequisite for the PRC to expand external trade, import advanced technology, and attract foreign investments.

Among the steps taken was the adoption of the current constitution in 1982 to provide a more "liberal" foundation, upon which the legal system is built. Other measures include the reorganization and expansion of the court structure, restoration of the procuracy, revival of the Ministry of Justice, and the resurrection of the lawyer system. In its legislative activity, Deng's China through the National People's Congress has enacted 58 important laws and 52

decisions since 1979; the State Council has issued 400 administrative statutes and regulations and the provincial authorities have also adopted over 800 local decrees. As for legal education, there are in the PRC 35 departments of Universities, one political-legal university, and four political-legal institutes, with a total enrollment over 25,000. In addition, a good number of judicial schools, political-legal cadre schools, and other ad hoc short-term institutes for judicial personnel have been established. Mass propaganda campaigns have also been used by the PRC to educate the public about socialist legality.

Despite considerable progress in the development of a new, stable legal order in Deng's China, much remains to be done in the implementation of the reform measures. First of all, there is still an acute shortage of trained personnel in the legal field. China has trained in recent years almost 250,000 judicial personnel and plans to double this figure by 1990. The number of lawyers is now over 20,000 and expected to reach 50,000 by 1990. For a country of over one billion population, the above numbers even fall short of the minimum figure of one million trained legal personnel set by Deng Xiaoping. Second, both the populace and bureaucracy tend to have an indifferent and sceptical attitude toward law. Harassment of lawyers, illegal arrests and detentions, and other official abuses of power have continued to occur. Finally, the fundamental problem confronting the PRC's current legal reform remains to be the relationship between the Party and the legal system. Too often, Party officials let political consideration prevail over legal requirements.

Persistent problems and difficulties notwithstanding, we can view China's legal development with qualified optimism. One sign of hope for the future is that the various problems facing the law reform are publicly discussed in the PRC. Furthermore, Chinese leaders appear to be aware of them and are making conscientious efforts to alleviate the situation. Lately in Chinese legal circles, even classic legal concepts of Marx have been openly challenged. More importantly, Deng's program of reforms appears to command a broad mass support of the Chinese people and has a built-in momentum of its own. If carried out successfully, the overall reforms would further strengthen the legal system and vice versa. While one cannot expect the rule of law to take roots in China in the foreseeable future, it appears possible to see the emergence of a regularized socialist legal system with sufficient functional autonomy and professional competency to help institutionalize the fruits of the reforms and to provide the Chinese with a stable, orderly, and secure environment.

HUNGDAH CHIU

#### *The Modernization of Chinese Law in the Twentieth Century An Overview*

The traditional Chinese law was part of the government administration; its role was to serve the interests of the state and of society, rather than those of the individuals. Therefore, no independent judiciary, defense lawyer, and separation of procuracy and police were developed. With the defeat of China by the British in the 1839-42 Opium War, the system of extraterritoriality was imposed on China, which ironically initiated the process of modernization of Chinese law.

Early in the twentieth century, the imperial Ch'ing government decided to modernize the Chinese legal system on a Western model. This process was continued by the various



Republican governments between 1912 and 1949. During this period, Chinese law and judicial system were basically modernized in accordance with civil law system developed in Germany and France. However, the rise of the Maoist Communist regime in 1949 stopped this process except in Taiwan, where the Republican government continued to rule.

Between 1949 and 1977, the Chinese Communist Party under Mao's leadership attempted to operate a unique legal system, with neither lawyers nor any substantive or procedural criminal and civil laws. Judges were not required to have had legal training, nor were they required or expected to cite legal provisions in rendering judgment. After the death of Mao, the new leadership under Teng Hsiao-p'ing denounced the Maoist legal system and renewed the process of modernization of Chinese law which was virtually terminated in 1949. Teng and his associates appear to understand that the legal system must be perfected so as to provide an orderly, predictable environment for the national modernization program. However, they still insist that the legal system must operate within the "Four Basic Principles," i.e., keeping to the socialist road, upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat, supporting Party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

CHI-YUN CHEN

*The Taoist "Scripture of Ultimate Equilibrium" (T'ai-p'ing Ching)*  
A Content Analysis

The *T'ai-p'ing ching* (TPC) is one of the largest as well as one of the most controversial collections of documents in the Taoist Repository (*Tao-tsang*). The collection has been variously ascribed to the revolutionary writing of the T'ai-p'ing Tao movement and the Yellow Turbans uprising of the 2nd century, the conservative work of the T'ien-shih Tao of 3rd-4th centuries, the scriptures fabricated by the followers of the Mao-shan Taoist, or the patchwork of some irresponsible Taoists in early T'ang (7th century).

So far, research on the TPC has been mainly of the "context analysis" type. A schematic reading of the TPC reveals that:

- (1) There is considerable discrepancy between the ascribed titles of the TPC scriptures and the actual contents of these scriptures. Sometimes, a continuous text is arbitrary divided into two or three scriptures with different titles (TPC 98:156 and 157; 111:180, 181, and 182). Oftentimes, the title ascribes a magic power to the scripture but the actual text makes no mention or claim of such power. It appears that those who manufactured the titles of these scriptures had a poor knowledge of these texts, and that the text material had come from an untitled or differently titled corpus-writ in existence long (probably 100-200 years) before such titles were added to it.
- (2) There is a sizable amount of duplicating material around several major themes. Two of these themes deserve our special attention:
  - (i) The theme developing the concern about *cheng-fu* (C), a wellknown karma-like concept;
  - (ii) The theme elaborating the concern over the excessive bulk of existing scriptural writings, *wen-fan* or *wen-shu i-to* (W), and the urgency of testing the efficacy of these writings and eliminating the spurious ones.

Theme-C and Theme-W are intertwined. Theme-W is expressed clearly in 24 scriptures and opaquely in 17 more (some 30% of the total number of TPC scriptures), and Theme-C is figured conspicuously in 9 scriptures, in 6 of which Theme-W is also figured, and less conspicuously but still remarkably in 34 other scriptures, in 18 of which Theme-W is also figured. All in all, the intertwined C/W-themes appear in 59 scriptures, forming a C/W group of TPC scriptures.

The developmental nature of the C/W-themes indicates that the C/W group of texts cannot be produced by one person nor in a short time; nor can it be gathered from totally disparate sources. It must be derived from a coherent, cumulative corpus-writ of an evolving movement or devolving tradition lasting over a long period of time (200-300 years). Examining the development of the C/W-themes, one may distinguish the earlier, the middle, and the latter layers and the relative dates of the C/W group of TPC texts.



MARGARET J. PEARSON

*Biography and Historiography:**Fan Yeh's Assessment of Wang Fu (FL AD 150) as a Source*

When Fan Yeh compiled the standard *History of the Later Han Dynasty (Hou-Han shu)*, he included a biography (chuan) of Wang Fu. In it, he quoted at length from Wang Fu's *Ch'ien-fu lun* and justified this inclusion with the remark that Wang Fu's work was "sufficient to provide a view of the customs and government of that time." However, this 'biography' contains very little about Wang Fu's life.

We know that he never held office, that he lived on the north-west frontier, and that he had four eminent friends: the scientist and poet Chang Heng (78-139), the exegete and teacher Ma Jung (89-166), the father of Emperor Shun's favorite Honorable Lady, Tou Chang (d. 144), and the calligrapher and prefect Ts'ui Yuan (77-142). Beyond this, we know little: There is only one anecdote. In it Wang Fu barely appears: he said nothing. We do not know his father's name, how he supported himself, or whether he had a family. Nor are we given substantiation for two key assertions by Fan Yeh: the high assessment of his worth as an historical source and that the reason for his political failure was his 'uncompromising integrity,' which made him refuse his friends' assistance in attaining office.

However, Fan Yeh did provide references linking Wang Fu's biography to other portions of the *Hou-Han shu*. I have used data gleaned from these related biographies in an effort to make what I hope are educated guesses about Wang Fu's life and the insights he may have gained through his friends' experiences in and out of government. In the process, I have found substantiation for Fan Yeh's assertions above.

Tou Chang held high offices in the central government throughout the reign of Emperor Shun (126-144), who favored his daughter. After her death, Tou Chang lost one position to Liang Shang, but continued in other offices, and was promoted even after the death of Liang Shang. From these positions, he could appoint officials; he helped Ts'ui Yuan in this way. Chang Heng, the greatest scientist of his age, was made Prefect Grand Astrologer three times. He became so close to Emperor Shun that envious eunuchs forced him into a difficult (and distant) Chancellorship, which he held for three years. Ma Jung, scion of a consort clan, was an official for thirty-eight years, and served as Grand Administrator in at least two commanderies. His criticism of members of powerful factions forced him into a life of scholarship and teaching. In his first post, Ts'ui Yuan was tried for malfeasance and convicted, because of factionalism. He refused many appointments, but was an effective prefect for seven years.

These men could have given Wang Fu information about the politics of commanderies, prefectures, central government, and of the harem. Although we do not know how long these friendships lasted, the information in their biographies supports Fan Yeh's assertion that Wang Fu could have received an appointment through his friends and provides partial substantiation of his high evaluation of the *Ch'ien-fu lun* as an historical source, by revealing the diverse careers of these men.

RAFE DE CRÉSPIGNY

*History, Anecdote and Fiction in the Records of the End of Han*

Two of the standard histories of China, the *Hou Han shu* of Fan ye and *Sanguo zhi*, provide the bulk of our information for the period of the fall of Han and the establishment of the states known traditionally as the Three Kingdoms. As is generally known, the main text of *Sanguo zhi*, compiled by Chen Shou in the third century, is vastly supplemented by the commentary of Pei Songzhi of the early fifth century, which quoted frequently and extensively from general, local and family histories and other documents compiled in the previous two centuries.

Later understanding of the history of that time, however, has been seriously affected by the distortions of later story-cycles, dramas, and the celebrated novel *Sanguo yanyi*, "Romance of the Three Kingdoms", which emphasize the achievements of Liu Bei, ruler of Shu-Han, and his associates, notably Zhuge Liang, contrasting those heroes with the fascinating wickedness and ambition of Cao Cao, founder of Wei.

On the other hand, in the stories preserved by *Sanguo zhi* and its commentary, there can also be discerned traces of whole cycles of romance and local legends. These items need to be read with great care, and with constant questioning as to how each may be fitted to the real events of the time — or whether, perhaps, the story as told in the history is no more than an imaginative reconstruction or perhaps deliberate fiction.

There are numerous examples which may be cited, but I can refer in this summary to only a few of them.

With regard to *Sanguo yanyi* and the later romantic tradition, it may be interesting to observe that the celebrated ruse of the "empty city", which according to the novel was played by Zhuge Liang against Sima Yi of Wei, is recorded in the earlier history as a tactic used against Sun Quan of Wu by the Wei officer, Wen Ping. And the trick of "borrowing arrows with straw-covered boats", ascribed by the novel to Zhuge Liang at the time of the Red Cliffs campaign, may well be related to an anecdote concerning Sun Quan on another campaign along the Yangtze.

Again, the novel, and the third-century work *Xiandi chunqiu* quoted in the commentary to *Sanguo zhi*, describe a campaign launched by Sun Quan against the region of Sichuan. By both accounts, the expedition was forced to turn back through the opposition of Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang, and in the novel this appears as the culminating incident in the rivalry between Zhuge Liang and the Wu general Zhou Yu. It is my interpretation, however, that the campaign never in fact took place, and both the early source and the later fiction have sought to give reality to a plan or scenario which was considered and then abandoned as impracticable.

As final example, I cite the celebrated campaign of the Red Cliffs in 208, and I argue that the actual events which took place have been grossly exaggerated by later writers. At the time, Cao Cao probably intended no more than a swift probing attack to see if he could divide his newly-allied enemies and take further advantage of his recent string of successes. The setback he received was later exaggerated, partly for propaganda purposes, and partly as its significance was realised; but this "decisive" battle was perhaps not so complex or so bloody, nor did it necessarily appear so important at the time.



In conclusion, I argue that the records must be studied in most careful details, with particular attention to the context of the events in the real world which they purport to describe. In many respects, however, the difficulties of analysis are more than matched by the delight of discovering *Sanguo zhi* and the commentary of Pei Songzhi as repositories for notable material of literary romance.

A.N. BALSLEV

*A Philosophical Appraisal of I-Consciousness  
in the Context of the No-Self Doctrine of Buddhism*

The issue of I-consciousness as one of the most challenging tasks for any systematic enquiry of man had drawn the attention of the ancient Indian thinkers already at an early date. The philosophical treatment of this many-faceted issue gave rise to distinct conceptual models in the history of Indian thought.

This paper focuses on the diversity of views regarding this question in the different phases of Indian Buddhism. To begin with, reference will be made to the scholarly disputes centering around the question of anātma-vāda as the ultimate import of the Buddha's teachings. Different interpretations of Anattā-lakkhaṇa sutta and Brahma-jāla sutta will be alluded to. The question of I-consciousness will be shown to acquire a novel dimension as the Buddhist thinkers deal with the subject, beginning with the Nikāya literature. The different versions of the accounts of I-consciousness will be noted in the analysis of the ideas of citta and vijñāna, the doctrine of pañca-skandha, the pudgala-vāda of the Vātsīputriyas, the mano-vijñāna of the Vijñāna-vādins etc. The development of the Buddhist ideas will be evaluated in the context of Indian thought in general. An attempt will also be made to situate the conceptual models in an inter-cultural framework.

ROBERT ROBBINS

*The Concept of Anattā in Early Buddhism*

Since earliest times, the mainstream of Indian philosophico-religious thought has been directed toward separating the essential from the non-essential, the self from the not-self. As set forth in the Pali *Nikāyas*, early Buddhism provided its own interpretation of this imperative launching a revolution in our thinking about ourselves and our place in the universe.

One of the most unique features of early Buddhism is the no-self (anattā) doctrine. Despite its centrality, however, a comprehensive and consistent analysis has yet to be forthcoming. Scholars have tended to take sides — generalizing upon particular applications. Despite the rather straightforward style of these texts, closer inspection reveals stratification in a number of ways, i.e. (1) as a chronicle, they span almost half a century of Gotama Buddha's life; (2) by variations in style, syntax and formulation of doctrine; and (3) anattā is itself a multifaceted concept operative on more than one level of discourse carrying epistemological, ontological, psycho-ethical and soteriological import.

In early Buddhism, the concepts of self, not-self, self-reference and personality are intertwined. In the *Nikāyas*, these two concepts interrelate in various ways. At times, they are identical, contradictory and asymmetrical. While attā has currency in both conventional and philosophical discourse, anattā has currency only in the latter. There are two aspects to the attā concept: (1) the conventional self — which Buddhism does not deny; and (2) the metaphysical self — to which the meaningful ascription of a referent is not possible — at times, either because unverifiable or else unintelligible.



The body of the paper is divided into 4 parts:

- (1) "Historical Backdrop": Anattā emerges against the backdrop of attā. The concept of anattā seems to have been more a reaction to prevailing tendencies than to any specific view of attā. It is just as true to say that Buddha never categorically denies the existence of attā, as it is to say that the existence of an animating principle is always regarded as plausible. Buddhism holds anattā up against the speculative excesses of earlier Brahmanical thought, not to replace one with the other, but to show both as transparent.
- (2) "The Concept of Personality as a Function of Dependent Origination": An analysis of the cognitive relation vis-à-vis the models of the citta-vīthi, dvādaśaṅgabhavacakka and pañcakhandhas.
- (3) "The Linguistic Turn": 'I' as an indexical term, the use of nītattha and neyyattha forms of discourse, indeterminability, and the reification of suññatā.
- (4) "Meditation and the Soteriological Imperative": anattā is both the awareness of the emptiness (suññatā) of being and the presence of emptiness.

Anattā can be viewed in various ways depending upon the context. It can be: (1) a fiction, metaphysical abstraction, or null class — a name to which nothing corresponds; (2) a name denoting the absence of being in things; (3) following the middle path — that which is neither existent nor non-existent; (4) an object of meditation, negatively considered, that which is empty (suññata); positively considered, anattā is the lawful flow of events and processes (paṭiccasamupāda); (5) a necessary moral postulate; and (6) a heuristic device with a therapeutic orientation exorcised to dispel certain ideas.

YOSHITOMO TAKAHASHI

*Symbolism and Locality in Japanese Suicide: Mt. Fuji's Black Forest*

There are a number of places throughout the world where many people commit suicide, such as the Golden Gate Bridge, Niagara Falls and the Eiffel Tower (Fuse, 1985). Mt. Fuji has been a symbol of faith for centuries in Japan and is associated with many myths, folktales and religious ascetic practices. Aokigahara-jukai (Jukai), a dense forest at the foot of Mt. Fuji, is known to be the leading suicide location in Japan, about 30 people committing suicide there every year (Takahashi, 1986). It is believed that, if a person once entered Jukai, it would be impossible to find a way out.

A short history of Jukai as the suicide site, cases of suicide and attempted suicide in Jukai and several cases of psychogenic amnesia after failing to commit suicide there were reported in the presentation.

The meanings of death in Jukai are interpreted as follows: 1) Mt. Fuji still has certain symbolic value to Japanese people these days. 2) Since suicidal ideation and sympathy towards other suicides subconsciously exist among people who are at high risk of suicide, reports of suicide in Jukai may trigger others. 3) People tried to purify and beautify their death by committing suicide in Jukai. 4) They felt as if Jukai were a sanctuary where they were accepted, their suicide was allowed, and they could easily kill themselves. 5) They travelled from far-away places to Jukai and they repeatedly reconfirmed their will to take their own lives on the long way to Jukai. 6) Although suicide itself is a purely individual act, they wished to share the same place with others and to belong to the same group by choosing Jukai as their suicide site. 7) They wished to disappear without being noticed or disturbed in Mt. Fuji's dense forest.

Jukai represents a "closed" and wide space where a suicide's body might never be discovered and where one could literally disappear, as opposed to other well-known spots that are "open" and limited in their extent, where one's body would be relatively easily discovered and which would allow one to show hatred or aggression toward others through death. Suicide in Jukai, in general, is a form of death in which people express less hatred toward others, but rather wish to die quietly without being noticed or disturbed.

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SHI-QING ZHAO

*Primary Research into Some Problems of Prevention from Suicide in China*

Great changes have taken place in the subjective and objective causes of suicide since the establishment of New China. The problems of suicide are related to applied sociology and have just started to be studied. At present the death rate of main diseases in China has reached the one of developed countries. The place of accident death rate is going ahead. It occupied the 4-5th place of all the rates in towns and the country.

It is reported in 1984 that among all of the number of suicide in a certain city women, workers, staff members, the young and youngsters and the suicide taking poison are in the majority. The sex ratio of successful suicide reported is relatively near. The main causes of suicide according to their sequence are as follows: family stress and trouble in love affairs, conflicting interpersonal problems and mental or character disorders, etc.

Prevention from suicide is to improve the social environment and to raise psychological quality of society members. Suicide prevention organizations have not been set up yet in accordance with the concrete situation in China.

Primary prevention — to eliminate the causes and actions leading to suicide: peace and unity situation of a society, sound democracy and legal system are required to promote society progress and prospect, improve general mood and settle interpersonal troubles, therefore some good society conditions would be provided for prevention from suicide. For instance, the mediating net-works are formed to strengthen the force of mediation among people and to prevent from intensifying of conflicts. "Moral courts" are organized to perform non-coerce control over persons diverging from social standards, and "Regulations of protection of young and youngsters" are being drawn up. Public opinion control — reporting of prevention of suicide cases in the press to prevent from repeating of similar dramatic events, to launch a propaganda of mental hygiene for increasing the ability to face with various reverts.

Secondary prevention — prevention measures for groups with high suicide rate and in areas with suicide rate — psycho-consultation in hospital could prevent from suicide. Special visits of teachers to students failed in exam could take precautions against suicide. Attempt of suicide could be eliminated by watching organizations set up in tourist attraction areas with the help of monks and priests of temples. Writing to redaction board of the press and prompt answering to readers could help the persons suffering from psycho-crisis. Strict control of drugs is carried out in hospitals and stores. The suspected suicides could be found buying hypnotics or tranquilizers in stores. In the light of improvement of social atmosphere and rising of moral mood there are a lot of successful cases of prevention from suicide everywhere.

Suicide actions are restricted by five main elements in accordance with opinion of the author: personal characteristics (c), induced stimulation (s), time of minus-psycho-stimulus (ts), live will ( $\bar{w}$ ) and support from family and society (sf.s). If Sd and Si express deliberate and impulsive suicide actions respectively

$$Sd = f \frac{c+s+Ts}{\bar{w}+sf.s} ; Si = f \frac{c.s}{\bar{w}+sf.s} \cdot \frac{1}{Ts}$$

The c and s in the equation might be used respectively for mental test and test of life events

to choose the high risk group for taking measures and raising suicide region value.

Emergency treatment of suicides is not only confined to biological escape of death but also contains following observation of suicide's mental motive power and his unbalanced social environment to eliminate repeated suicide action.

Prevention from suicide hasn't been included in scientific-controlled system yet in China with its unbalanced development in various districts. It is needed to obtain useful knowledge from abroad for reference. There are good social conditions in China and we are sure to reduce suicide rate happening in the process of society advance to minimum.

M.R. GELRA

*Sallekhana is not Suicide*

Some of the Asian cultures and religions not only permit but resolutely recommend voluntary religious death. Jain religion is one of them. According to Jain scriptures, Sallekhana means to weaken the strength of body and passions, to putting an end to the bodily existence without consciously coveting death by fasting. It is undertaken when one is faced with an unavoidable natural calamity, severe drought, old age or an incurable disease. Sallekhana in a sense is a voluntary death but the Jains do not consider it as equivalent to committing suicide. The Jains distinguish between a fool's (bala) way of self-killing and a wise man's (Panditya) manner of liberation. He who kills himself by drowning or by means of fire, poison or lethal weapons being actuated and overpowered by strong passions is certainly guilty of suicide. But a fast-unto-death for shaking with abstinence off the bondage of the material karmas is regarded as a wise man's (Pandit) liberation. It is then not suicide. The entire ethical code of Jainism is directed towards the attainment of complete liberation of soul from the karmas (Pudgal) through penance (tapa) so that the cycle of rebirth comes to an end or at least gets minimised. Dr. Hermann Jacobi who has correctly assessed this aspect of the Jains cult has stated; "Among austerities, fasting is the most conspicuous the Jains have developed it to a kind of art and reached a remarkable proficiency in it. The basic concept underlying the vow of Sallekhana is that a man who is the master of his own destiny should resolve himself to follow the best method of leaving the body. A Jain resolving to undergo Sallekhana knows it well that he has eaten a lot of food to sustain his body during this life. Now, when the body does not co-operate to help living meaningfully any more, the person should resolve for Sallekhana.

It is true that the Jains preach for Ahimsa by saying, "All Jivas want to live and hence one should not kill any living creature." But thinking deeply, Ahimsa is basically meant for one's own liberation. If one resolves not to kill or harm any living creature, then one's own anger, pride, greed and attachment will automatically subside and become free from worldly sins. Sallekhana is basically conceived and practised on the principles of Ahimsa, as one does not desire for death and does not harm consciously even the Sukhsma Jivas (very tiny living creatures) of the earth, water and fire. It is remarkable to note that if the vow of Sallekhana is taken with the ulterior motives or with a desire for material gains (Niyana) in the next life, then it is regarded as sinful and considered as suicide. In undertaking Sallekhana, the intentions are mainly spiritual-cum-situational and the sole aim of the action is the purity of soul. Hence Sallekhana is in no way against the basic principles of Ahimsa. The Acaraga Sutra has explained three forms of Sallekhana (sakama maran).



- (i) Bhaktapratyakhyana maran
- (ii) Ingita maran
- (iii) Padapopagaman maran

The numerous instances of Sallekhana collected from the Jain inscriptions cover a period of about two thousand years. The inscriptions at Sravan Belgola provide a very important source material which prove the existence of the continuous tradition of Sallekhana in the south of India. The inscriptions reveal that the period of fast varied from three days to one month. Out of the eighty epitaphs at Sravan Belgola sixty-four commemorate the death of men, mostly monks, and sixteen of women, mostly nuns. Tirthankar Parsva and Aristanemi undertook the vow of Sallekhana and realised 'Nirvana' after a month long period of abstinence. There is a frequent mention of Santhara or Sallekhana in the Agams when the end came to the vower after a month long fasting and abstinence. The fact that Sallekhana was undertaken by the monks-khandaga, Dharma, Megh, Tisak and Five Pandays Anirudh Kumar, eight queens of Lord Krishna, and Nanda (the queen of king Srainik) who became nuns is being recorded in the Agams.

The names of 'Shravaka' (householders) like Ananda and various others are being mentioned in the Uvasagadasao. It is therefore Sallekhana has been approved by the Jains on moral and ethical grounds, while suicide has never been authorised and sanctioned by the Jain scriptures and 'Guru'. Instead, it has been strongly condemned and disapproved as a religious means of putting an end to one's life.

BHAGCHANDRA JAIN BHASKAR

#### *Nature of Spiritual Suicide (Sallekhanā) in Jainism*

The comprehension of philosophy of interaction between spirit or soul and death is the sole object of spirituality which causes disturbed with materialistic perspectives. Religion is to curve the very tendencies and curdle the mind from wordly affairs to scraping or emaciating of the Kaṣāyas (anger, conceit, intrigue, and greeds). To conquer over the natural fear of death is itself a great art which is called in Jaina Scripture the Mṛtyu-mahotsava.

Sallekhanā, the spiritual death in Jaina tradition, is the third stage of a house-holder which is very close to an ascetic where the subjugation of senses is conducive to the removal of passions. It is making the physical body and the internal passions emaciated by abandoning their sources gradually at the approach of death with pleasure and not by force (*Samyakkāya-kaṣāyalekhanā sallekhanā. Kāyasya bāhyābhyantarāṇām ca kaṣāyāṇām tatkāraṇahāyana-krameṇa samyaglekhanā sallekhanā., Sarvārthasiddhi, 7.22.*).

Ācārya Kundakunda included Sallekhanā into the Śikṣāvratas as the fourth one (*Sāmaiyam ca padhamam vidiyam ca taheva posaham bhaṇīyam. Vaiyam atihipujam cauttha sallekhanā ante. Cāritra Pāhuḍa, Gāthā 26.*). He is followed by Śivārya, Devasena, Jinasena, Vasunandi etc. But Ācārya Umāswāmi followed by Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka, Vidyānandī, Somadeva, Amitagati, Kārtikeya etc., who do not accept the view on the ground that the Śikṣāvratas require the practice whereas th Sallekhanā is to be accepted immediately at the eve of the death.

Various reasons may decide a person to perform Sallekhanā. According to the Bhagawatī

Ārādhana, the old age, physical weakness, famine, incurable disease, calamities etc. are such reasons which render the performance of Āvaśyakas impossible (*Bhagawatī Ārādhana, 271-74, Upasarge durbhikṣe jarasi rujāyām ca niṣpratikāre. Dharmaya tanuvimocanamahuh sallekhanāmārṣah. Ratnakarandasravakacara, 122.*). It should be performed at the Jaina temple or one's own house or in the jungle at the eve of the death, so that one could achieve better prospects in the next birth (*Bhagawatī Ārādhana, 1922-24; Sagaradharmamṛta, 8.16.*).

The Śvetāmbara traditional Scripture does not deal much the Sallekhanā. The Commentaries over the Thāṇāṅga and Nāyādhammakahāo explains of course the nature of Vrata (*Thananga Vṛtti, 2; Kasayasārīraksatayam, Naya. Vṛtti, 1.1.*). The Pravacanasāroddhāra (*Pravavacana-sāroddhāra, 135*) refers to it as the procedure of Anaśnavrata and the Niśīthacūrṇi (*Brhadvṛtti; Mularadhana, 3.108*) accepts it as the means of getting rid of Kaṣāyas.

The death is of two types, viz. Bālamaraṇa and Paṇḍitmaraṇa. The Bhagawatīsūtra (2.1) enumerates the Bālamaraṇa with twelve kinds, viz. Valaya, Vasaṭṭa, Attosalla, Tabbhava, Giripadāna, Tarupadāna, Jalappavesa, Jalaṇappavesa, Visabhakkhaṇa, Satthovadāna, Vehanāsa and Giddhapitṭha. The person who is full of sensual desires and Kaṣāyas gets the Bālamaraṇa. The other one, Paṇḍitmaraṇa is of two types, Pāvovagamana and Bhattapaccakkhāna. The 17 types of Maraṇas are also referred to in the Samavāyāṅga, viz. Avicimaraṇa, Avadhi-maraṇa, Ātyantikamaraṇa, Valayamarāṇa, Vasartamarāṇa, Antaḥśālyamarāṇa, Tadbhava-maraṇa, Bālamaraṇa, Paṇḍitamarāṇa, Bālapaṇḍitamarāṇa, Chadmasthamaraṇa, Kevalimaraṇa, Vaihayasamarāṇa, Graddhapṛṣṭhamaraṇa, Bhaktapratyakhyānamaraṇa, Ingīnimaraṇa, and Padapopagamanamarāṇa (*Samva. 17.9; Uta. 212-3*).

The Paṇḍitamarāṇa in the Bhagawatīsūtra (2.1) is divided into two kinds, viz. Pāvovagamana and Bhattapaccakkhāna. The Bhagawatī Ārādhana explains its three kinds, viz. i) Bhaktapratyakhāna (to renounce food gradually), ii) Ingīnimaraṇa (death at the decided place with renouncing food and services of others, and iii) the Prāyopagamana, the death which does not allow the services of oneself and others (*Bhagawatī Aradhana, 155; Dhavala, 1.1.1.23*). The Śvetāmbara tradition refers to the Prāyopagamana as the Pādapopagamanamarāṇa (*Bhagawatī. 2.1; Samva. 17; Uttarā. Nir. Gāthā, 225; Anupapa. Vṛtti, 71p.*), which is further divided into two, Nirhārī and Anirhārī and Savicārī and Avicārī with their different connotations in both the traditions. The Uttarādhyānasūtra also describes the death with its two kinds, Sakāmamarāṇa and Akāmamarāṇa. Akāmamarāṇa means the death without comprehension and Sakāmamarāṇa means the death with comprehension and conduct. Sakāmamarāṇa is further divided into two, Paṇḍitamarāṇa and Bālapaṇḍitamarāṇa (*Uttarā. 5.3-4*).

Sallekhanā and Samādhimaraṇa are synonmatic words. The utmost, middle and lower period of Sallekhanā is 12 years, one year and six months respectively (*Vyavahārabhāṣya, 203*). It should be observed through āyambila tapa, internal and external tapas, renunciation of worldly affairs, forgiveness, Alocanā, Pratikramaṇa, Dhyāna (*Pravacanasā. 982-3*) etc. with the view to attain purification of mind.

There are the five transgressions of Sallekhanā, viz. i) desire for a long life, ii) desire for speedy death in order to escape from pain and suffering, iii) recollection of affection for friends, iv) recollection of pleasures enjoyed in former times, and v) constant longing for enjoyment (*Tattvārthasūtra, 7.37*).

This is an important and interesting feature of the Jaina householder and spiritual aspirant's



vows. Some scholars are of opinion that Sallekhanā is a sort of suicide, since there is voluntary severance of life etc. But this is not correct, as there is no passion. A person who kills himself by means of passion, weapon etc. swayed by attachment aversion or infatuation, commits suicide. But he who practises holy death is free from desire, anger, and delusion. Hence it is not suicide. This is called Sallekhanā in Jain terminology which means to make the body and the passion thin.

In modern days it is named "Euthanasia" or "Right to die". This has come into limelight the world over and became a subject of debate because of the revolutionary changes in medical knowledge and life-support systems which could prolong human life even after the brain stopped functioning. The practice has been accepted in countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. Even the Vatican has accepted it in one case. The Karnataka advocate General Santosh Hegde from India has supported the view by referring to all these instances and said Āchārya Vinoba Bhave had reportedly been allowed to refuse food and medicines during the last few days of his life so that he could die a quick death. The Mahābhārata (Adiparva) refers to five types of Marāṇa (Kalaprapta, Anicchita, Pramada, Icchita, and Vidhi) and the Japanese Buddhism approves it as Harakiri.

TOYOMASA FUSÉ

#### *Trends and Patterns of Suicide in Japan Today*

Derived from Latin words "sui" and "caedere", SUICIDE refers to voluntary, self-inflicted death. As such it has been observed in all human cultures and societies. It has been a source of poignant tragedy as well as the source of drama in novels, plays and poems.

Japan has gained a worldwide "notoriety" for suicide on account of such suicide acts as "harakiri" and "kamikaze", yet in fact the rate of suicide in Japan has been lower than in most European countries (except back in 1957). The following aspects of suicide in Japan stand out as characteristics: the etymology of "suicide" in Japanese indicates that the Japanese language is rich in descriptive words on the manner and motives of suicide but is devoid of moral-evaluative categories, quite unlike in European languages in which "suicide" connotes "self-murder". Secondly, Japan's suicide rate, though lower than some European countries, is still the highest in Asia, hinting at an interrelationship between suicide and modernization. Thirdly, Japan's demographic pattern of suicide has long been characterized by bimodality with two highest rates of suicide concentrated in two age groups — the young (15-25) and the aged (over 60); yet in recent years there has been a significant decrease in the suicide rate of youths and the converse increase in the rate of the middle-aged. Over the years the suicide rate of the latter (the middle-aged) has been always much lower than other groups. Now the demographic pattern of Japan's suicide rate resembles that of most European countries. Fourthly, Japan's female suicide rate, though still lower than that of the male, is much higher than that of the female in Euro-American countries. Fifthly, the suicide pact and its frequency still characterizes Japan's suicide behaviour. Data suggest that suicide is more common among the unemployed and employees of small shops and businesses, indicating that Japan is a tough society for those who are not in the mainstream of society. Sixthly, Japan's suicide prevention programme officially started with Inochi-no-Denwa (Lifeline), October 1, 1971, and the phone has been ringing since then. Today Japan's first Crisis Intervention Centre was set up at Nippon University Hospital in 1985.

MARIÁN GÁLIK

#### *Interliterariness in East-West Interplay*

Interliterariness is understood here as a substantial characteristic of literature in its international relations. As a process it is oriented towards more or less geoliterary development and it is usually an expression of the human mission implicitly included in the outstanding works of the East and West.

Its history starts in the oral forms of the mythical stories of the most ancient Orient. In ancient epics we find the possible relationships and affinities in the *Gilgamesh*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Another remarkable period during which interliterariness could operate was the Hellenistic era especially the last three centuries B.C. Whereas the previous impulses were reaching West from the East their direction became now an opposite one. During the Middle Ages the direction of literary stimuli had again reversed. Attacks of the "barbarians" on the Greek-Roman civilization resulted in an almost complete destruction of the World of Antiquity. As an individual work the most salient was the Sanskrit collection of stories *Pañcatantra* which became one of the most widely spread books in the world after the *Bible*. The West had found itself again during the Renaissance. The Europeans proved to be quite flexible in adopting cultural and literary achievements of the East, using often the method of literary exoticism, but not always, see Goethe's *West-östlicher Diwan* or Flaubert's *Salammbô*. Later on, mostly in the second half of the 19th century, the countries of Asia and North Africa started to respond to the cultural impact of the West. Major works which could be characterized as the valuable outcome of the new East-West synthesis did not emerge until the next phase of development in the efforts by Futabatei Shimei [Japan], Rabīndranāth Tagore [India], Lu Xun [China], Kateb Yacine [Algeria], Sādeq Hedāyat [Iran] and others. East-West synthesis takes place, in a parallel manner, also in Western literatures, although to a lesser extent: Th. Mann, B. Brecht, H. Hesse, just to mention those from the German speaking world.

ANDREW T. TSUBAKI

#### *Japanese Traditional Theatre and Shakespearean Plays*

It was back in 1916 when W.B. Yeats wrote *At the Hawk's Well* after being introduced indirectly to a theatre form of Nō by a young Japanese dancer, Michio Ito. Yeats' creation epitomizes how such an influence can be an enriching experience to a sensitive artist.

After World War II, as Japanese traditional theatre forms became better known, Westerners' interest in them grew. A number of productions of Kabuki, Nō and Kyōgen took place, particularly in United States universities and colleges, where a serious study of theatre has developed and provided not only a fine base for nurturing theatre artists but also an ideal environment for experimenting with a variety of production methods which have frequently resulted in revitalizing the interest in classical works by exploring different ways of presenting them.

A parallel trend has also been observed among professionals. Most recently, a Theatre du Soleil production of *Twelfth Night*, directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, caught particular attention in the U.S.A. for its sensational and Kabukish performance style, when presented



in Los Angeles in conjunction with the 1984 Olympics.

Among the Japanese traditional theatre forms, Kabuki is most well known, due to its spectacular acting styles, colorful costumes, makeup and wigs. Its use of inflection in the dialogue is quite unique and powerful in its own way. The stylized acting gives a variety of possibilities to strengthen the directorial concept and seems to bring extra life to performances such as Shakespearean and Greek plays, when and if they are done properly and wisely.

Centering on the experience of directing *King Lear* at the University of Kansas, the author will discuss the pros and cons of introducing Kabuki elements into Shakespearean productions. The presentation is supplemented by slides, films and audio-tapes.

PETER T. SUZUKI

*Classical Japanese Poetry Forms in the  
Wartime Internment Camps for Japanese Americans*

During World War II, when some 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans were placed in internment camps, many among them wrote and created a "new" literary genre, owing to the unusual circumstances surrounding their lives. One such genre developed around classical Japanese poetry, namely, *tanka* (*waka*), *haiku*, and *senryu*. *Tanka*, which came into being in the 8th century, are poems of 31 syllables of a pattern that is divided into 5-7-5-7-7 syllable "lines."

|                                                                                                                 |                             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A <sup>1</sup> i <sup>2</sup> tsu <sup>3</sup> gi <sup>4</sup> te <sup>5</sup>                                  | In rapid succession         |
| To <sup>1</sup> mo <sup>2</sup> ra <sup>3</sup> ko <sup>4</sup> ko <sup>5</sup> yo <sup>6</sup> ri <sup>7</sup> | One after the other         |
| I <sup>1</sup> de <sup>2</sup> yu <sup>3</sup> ke <sup>4</sup> ba <sup>5</sup>                                  | friends depart,             |
| Ko <sup>1</sup> ko <sup>2</sup> ro <sup>3</sup> o <sup>4</sup> no <sup>5</sup> zu <sup>6</sup> to <sup>7</sup>  | I feel the involuntary      |
| Shi <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> ru <sup>3</sup> o <sup>4</sup> o <sup>5</sup> bo <sup>6</sup> yo <sup>7</sup>  | tugging of the heartstrings |

The above *tanka* deals with the policy in the permanent camps of having people move voluntarily out of them, a policy which often led to the break-up of families, however.

*Haiku* emerged in the 16th century; they have the same structure as *tanka* except that *haiku* are made of 17 syllables. Also, traditionally, they dealt with nature. *Senryu* are structurally the same as *haiku* but are satirical poems.

Examples of the three types of poetry composed in the camps are analyzed first on the basis of linguistic structure. In the use of English words in Japanese, strict rules can be discerned as seen in such structural principles as the canonical form (CVCV, etc.), the insertion of anaptyctic vowels and paragogs, rhoticization of *l*'s, etc. Likewise, these principles are followed in the camp poems (e.g., in one *tanka*, tree > turī; in a *senryu*, sage brush > seiji burashi, etc.).

A thematic analysis of the poems show that, as in traditional *tanka* and *haiku*, the camp analogues, too, dealt with nature, but, with, e.g., the focus on the flora and fauna of the surroundings where the camps were situated. Furthermore, a favorite theme in traditional *tanka* is war; but the camp *tanka* dealt almost exclusively with how the lives of these people were affected through the War Relocation Authority (WRA) policies, the all-Nisei regimental combat team (The 442nd), and the like. Camp *senryu*, on the other hand, were often

bittersweet expressions commenting on life behind barbed wire.

The phenomenal outpourings of these internees through poetry should help put to rest the prevalent notion that the camps were solely arenas of political activity and unrest where the humanities hardly flourished.

The poems cited in this paper are heretofore unpublished works which I found in the WRA files in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., where I have done extensive research over a number of years in an effort to throw light (through publications) on little-known aspects, including the humanities, of the wartime camps for Japanese Americans.

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RAMA D. DATTA

*Hume and Buddhism: An East-West Dialogue*

Both Hume and the Buddha initiate an ontology of momentary particulars rather than eternal universals and a philosophy of mental states rather than substances. The Buddha denied the existence of a self or soul and reduced the Upaniṣadic concept of substantive ego to a phenomenal aggregate of five interdependent elements (*khandas* in Pali and *skandhas* in Sanskrit). For the Buddha, there is feeling, perceiving and willing, but there is no one to feel, to perceive or to will. David Hume seems to be making a point much like the Buddha when he says:

".....when I enter into what I call myself, I always stumble on some particular perception or other ... I never can catch myself at any time without a perception ....".  
(Treatise, p. 252).

This seems to be a revolt against the Aristotelian concept of soul substance. In Humean terminology, a word is meaningful only when it refers to an idea. An idea, in its turn, can only be derived from a preceding impression. Thus the term 'self' is not meaningful unless there is an idea annexed to it along with a preceding impression. Unfortunately, Hume couldn't find any idea or impression of a simple and individual self. Hence he concludes that the essence of a thinking being consists in the relation of perceptions. Our commonsense belief in the continued existence of perceptions cannot be justified and is neither derived from reason nor from the senses. Just as Hume's view of self is a corollary of his view of identity in general, so the Buddha's discussion of pseudo-identity of physical objects is followed by the question of a person. As there is no substance, only dharmas exist and they exist momentarily; they are like moments in a continuum.

Thus in the Humean as well as the Buddhist map, the self is nothing but a bundle of



sensations. The problem is with the missing string which could really make it a bundle. Both Hume and the Buddha try to supply the missing link by appealing to the so-called notion of causation. The associative connections of resemblance and causation help us to ignore the reality of succession and facilitate transition of the mind from one perception to another. This associative connection does not constitute any real bond among the perceptions; but they do help to overlook the numerical distinctness of the perceptions.

The similarity between the two theories becomes more clear when we consider the question of denial of self in the context of the problem of causation. It is almost impossible to deal with the Humean theory of bundle of perceptions and the Buddhist doctrine of skandhas without digging into the question of causation. It is the serial view of causation as expounded by the Sautrantika Buddhists which seems to provide the closest Buddhist counterpart to Hume's view.

PHYLLIS GRANOFF

*Jain Biographies of Nāgārjuna*  
Or: Notes on the Writing of a Biography in Medieval India

Jain sources preserve a distinct account of the life of the Buddhist Nāgārjuna, who is regarded as a convert to Jainism and an alchemical wizard. Nāgārjuna's life is told in all the major biographical collections of the Śvetāmbara Jains, the *prabandhas* that date mostly from the 13th and 14th centuries, and a 14th century pilgrimage text, the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhāsūri. The *Prabandhakośa* of Rājasekharasūri (1349 A.D.) is typical of these sources.

Nāgārjuna is depicted as the son of a human princess and the snake king Vāsuki, and his birthplace is Mt. Śatruñjaya, the most important pilgrimage site of the period. From his father he learns the essence of herbs and potions, but in order to learn to fly he betakes himself to the Jain teacher and wonder-worker, Pādaliptācārya. Failing to learn the secret by subterfuge, he becomes Pādalipta's proper student, and in other accounts a pious Jain as well. Eventually Nāgārjuna desires to make the elixir of immortality as a prelude to perfecting the virtue of charity. Again unsuccessful, he must bring a magical image of the Jina Pārśvanātha and the Śatavāhana Queen herself to his place of operations, which will become another famous Jain holy site, Stambhana Tīrtha. With this Nāgārjuna succeeds, only to be killed by the queens's greedy sons who cut off his head with a blade of grass. The elixir is removed from its hiding place on Mt. Śatruñjaya by two Gods to prevent it from disturbing the balance of the universe.

In its main features this Jain biography of Nāgārjuna accords well with the legendary accounts of the Buddhists in which Nāgārjuna is likewise linked with snakes, alchemy, and a holy mountain, is known for his charitableness, and dies an unnatural death. The life history is localized in the Jain tradition by several careful connections. Through his association with snakes and alchemy, Nāgārjuna is linked to Pādaliptācārya, the famous Jain wizard who was himself said to have been born as a boon from the snake Goddess. He is then tied to two pilgrimage sites, Mt. Śatruñjaya, which was famous for its wells and streams yielding immortality, and Stambhana with its magical image of the Jina Pārśvanātha, who was always associated with snakes. This last connection explains why the biography is told in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* as well as in the *prabandhas*.

Finally this paper suggests that the connection between biography and pilgrimage account, between holy man and holy site, explored here and known elsewhere in Jainism, may have been a crucial one in the composition and dissemination of legends about holy men in medieval India. Verification must await future research.

KOICHI SHINOHARA

*Inscriptional Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies*

Chinese Buddhist biographies found in the normative collections, "Biographies of Eminent Monks" by Hui-chao (519), "Further Biographies of Eminent Monks" by Tao-hsüan (645 and expanded later), and "Sung Biographies of Eminent Monks" by Tsan-ning, are for the most part based on *stupa* (ie., tomb) inscriptions. This paper examined the relationship between



the biographies and the inscriptions they are based on from several points of view. The relationship was first examined most concretely by comparing the 22 cases from Tsan-ning's Sung collection where the inscriptions, some specifically mentioned in the biography and some not, are still preserved. The comparison revealed that the compiler generally reproduced the parts of the inscriptions giving the historical facts of the subjects faithfully, though with occasional modifications, but that the introductory rhetorical passages and the verse at the end (*tsan*) are generally omitted in the biography.

The second step in the examination of the relationship between the biographies and the inscriptions focused on the references to the authors of *stupa* inscriptions that are given in the biographies themselves. The first point to be noted here is that generally speaking, the authors of the inscriptions were not monks but widely known secular officials/writers. Chinese biographies of monks were, therefore, complex documents: they were short summaries of the lives of monks, first written in most cases as *stupa* inscriptions by secular/lay writers and later edited by compilers of the normative collections who were themselves monks. The authors of these inscriptions would have written these inscriptions only when they felt that the deceased monks were sufficiently important, and the compilers of the biographical collections mentioned only the most important men who authored inscriptions. A systematic examination of these references in the three collections should throw some light on the secular, that is lay, Buddhist community's view of Buddhism during the period covered by each of the three collections. References appear to be concentrated in the category of "exegetes" in Hui-chao's collection, in the categories of "exegetes", "meditation masters", and "vinaya masters" in Tao-hsüan's collections, and in the category of "meditation masters" in Tsan-ning's collections. Furthermore, the list of authors mentioned suggested that a relatively small number of writers were known as writers of *stupa* inscriptions for monks.

The third step in the examination of the relationship between the biographies and the inscriptions focused on the descriptions of the death and funerals of the subjects. This examination showed that not all biographies were based on *stupa* inscriptions. The three collections contained biographies of monks who were still alive at the time of compilation and also most notably a number of biographies that state explicitly that the circumstances of the monk's death are unknown. Since *stupa* inscriptions usually describe these circumstances in some detail, these biographies could not have been based on *stupa* inscriptions. A systematic examination of the number of biographies which state explicitly that the circumstances of the monk's death are unknown revealed that such statements were concentrated in several categories of biographies. Most notably, the biographies ending with this statement were concentrated in the category of "miracle workers" in all three collections. This suggests that miracle stories, which in China appear often to have been written in the form of biographies constituted an important source of Buddhist biographies in the three normative collections. Finally, the process through which a miracle story, written as an inscription, becomes the basis of a biography in the "miracle workers" section of Tsan-ning's collection was studied concretely using the case of Yüan-kui (*chüan* 19).

JULIAN BALDICK

*The Legend of Rābi'a of Baṣra*

Rābi'a of Baṣra, the most famous woman of Islamic mysticism, is presented as having lived in the eighth century AD by texts from the ninth century onwards, which speak of her witty repartee. A narrative of about 1200 says that before repenting, with the help of a preacher, and becoming an ascetic, she 'fell into minstrelsy'. This usually meant prostitution. A life of the mystic Rūmī (d. 1273) alleges that when he called out 'Rābi'a!' a prostitute repented 'in the manner of Rābi'a'. The story resembles that of Jesus and the woman who 'was a sinner' in Luke 7:37-50. From the late twelfth century we hear of the veneration of Rābi'a at the shrine of the legendary Christian penitent courtesan, Pelagia.

Another Rābi'a, of Syria, placed in the early ninth century by texts from the tenth century onwards, is portrayed as not having intercourse with her pious husband. Thus, behind the two contrasting Rābi'as, we can discern pairs of contrasting Marys. Rābi'a of Syria corresponds to Mary the mother of Jesus, and also to Mary, the sexually abstinent wife of Theophilus of Antioch. Rābi'a of Baṣra, on the other hand, corresponds to the anonymous sinner of Luke (identified with Mary Magdalen in Iraq around 850), and also to the promiscuous, then repentant Mary of Egypt.

The sixteenth-century *Tadhkira-yi Bughrā-Khānī*, by Aḥmad Uzganī of Turkestan, contains biographies of evidently imaginary women mystics. The first entirely resembles Mary the mother of Jesus. The second is forced to marry: she prays for deliverance, and her husband is struck dead. She makes a withered tree turn green, just as God does for Mary in Islamic tradition. A third has a fine voice and is forced into prostitution (like the legendary Christian penitent Thais). She repents, with the help of a pious figure, and is buried very much in the manner of Mary of Egypt. A fourth is a singer, who is given to a tyrannical king: he is struck dead at her prayer. She repents and marries an impotent mystic.

In India we note that miniatures depicting Rābi'a of Baṣra show the influence of paintings of the European Renaissance, portraying the 'Magdalen in the Wilderness'. In Algeria we find a sort of she-demon, Lalla Imma Tifellūt, who repents to become an ascetic. We can compare her to a North Moroccan she-demon, Ā'isha Qandisha, whose surname has been seen as perpetuating the ancient Near Eastern term *qedēshā*, meaning a sacred prostitute. Thus we are enabled to see a contrast delineated by Jacques Lacarrière in a study of Christian hagiography, that between the ancient alternatives of sacred prostitution and sexual abstinence. We observe the presentation of women in the Gospels: Mary the mother of Jesus, standing against the scandalously nomadic Mary Magdalen; and the domestic Martha, standing against her shocking sister Mary. The study of Islamic hagiography can lead to a better appreciation of the New Testament, Christian hagiography and Goethe's *Faust*.



HARUMICHI ISHIZUKA

*Devices for Reading Chinese Texts Among the Neighbouring Peoples*

1. 訓讀 "Xun-du" — reading and 翻譯 "translation". The main subject of our panel is the *xun-du*-reading of Classical Chinese Texts (CCT). *Xun-du* is similar to the translation of a text in that it is a device for understanding CCT in any mother tongue, but it differs from the translation in that the original written form of a text is preserved. *Xun-du* is a specific and ingenious linguistic device. It existed as early as in the 7th century but its extent differed in each language. In some languages only the word order was changed and the words were read in Chinese, in others the word order was changed along with reading the words in the native language.

Example: 文字亦同華夏。兼用胡書。有毛詩・論語・孝經。置學官弟子以相教授。雖習讀之。而皆爲胡語。・・・北史・高昌傳

2. *The aim of the panel.* The aim of our panel is to explain, on the basis of the linguistic material from each language the origins of reading classical Chinese by means of *xun-du*, the development of the method, and the influence of the *xun-du*-reading on each language.

Our panelists are specialists in Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese, but we welcome also any remark from specialists in other languages present.

As it is considered that *xun-du*-reading of classical Chinese developed to the greatest extent, and that the largest quantity of available material survived in the Japanese language, let me open our discussion with a report on the Japanese reading of CCT.

3. *The state of the Japanese material related to the CCT.* The existence of the Japanese data related to *xun-du* goes back to the end of the 8th century.

(Phot. 1 — 大東急記念文庫藏 (華嚴判定記) 延暦二年 (783)・七年 (788) 點 — punctuations and 返點 *kaeriten* in red ink).

In the case of the early CCT in the Japanese *xun-du*-reading, their basic character and the shape of the diacritical marks provided in order to achieve the accurate understanding of the original text, was the same as in the case of the Chinese material. However, in the case of Japanese, the problem is posed by *kaeriten*. In the beginning, their major aim was to show the word order, and the function of 'returning' of a Chinese character was not necessarily fulfilled. In that respect, contrary to the Japanese usage, in Korean and Uighur data from 12-13 centuries, the *kaeriten* were used as the 'returning' marks. However it seems that their shape is the same in material from any language. (cf. ISHIZUKA 1970, 1977, NAM 1976, 1981, SHOGAITO 1982).

Furthermore, *kata-kana* originated in the time of the *xun-du*-reading, and was used originally only in the *xun-du*-reading of CCT (on the other hand *hira-gana* was used in any field of private writing). *Kata-kana* may be regarded as a special Japanese device added to CCT and being a sort of commentary. *Kata-kana*, which originated as simplification of *manyo-gana*, may be thought of as a natural Japanese device for reading CCT. The *manyo-gana* usage had been already present in the Korean material. (It existed also in Vietnamese).

However, up till now mutual relations between the *kukyōl* which originated as a result of such a simplification and the Japanese *kata-kana* have not been pointed out. Moreover, the shapes



of *kata-kana* and *kukyōl* are much alike, but their functions are different. Rather it may be said that from the point of view of the functions (expression of a class of particles making up for the typological difference), Japanese *wokoto-ten* and Korean *kukyōl* are alike. *Wokoto-ten* are special marks in the Japanese *xun-du*-reading (ISHIZUKA 1977, photo. 2).

The quantity of the existing Japanese *xun-du* material is as follows:

|                     |                                                 |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| — end of the 8th c. | 7-8 items                                       |
| — 9th c.            | about 150 items                                 |
| — 10th c.           | 170-180 items                                   |
| — 11th c.           | 500-600 items                                   |
| — 12th c.           | over 2000 items (According to Prof. Tsukishima) |

Many of them are Buddhistic texts, and Chinese classics count only 20. From the 13th century on, the quantity of the material increases, but among them, there are many items which have not been investigated and thus not counted yet.

4. *Influence of xun-du-reading of CCT on the Japanese language.* Firstly, it is the fundamental in Japanese usage of 'kanji-kana-majiri-bun' (independent words are written by means of Chinese characters, and particles are written in *kana*) which originated from the *xun-du*-reading of CCT.

Secondly, the *xun-du*-reading stimulated the separation of the spoken and the written language. Even in the present-day Japanese, the written language style and many 'stiff' expressions come from *xun-du*-reading. Moreover, from the point of views of the grammar, many features not existing before originated from *xun-du*. For example adverbs: *kiwamete*, *hatashite* etc. came from *xun-du*-reading of expressions like 極... 而..., 果... 而...

Besides that, *xun-du* influenced greatly the Japanese language, especially in the field of the 'scholarly' expressions.

The research of the Japanese devices for reading CCT started at the beginning of the 20th century with Oya Toru, and after World War II, this field of study developed remarkably and contributed greatly to the historical investigations on the Japanese language.

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#### On the Development of *Kukyōl* in Korea

*Kukyōl* (口訣) is a way of reading Chinese texts in Korea, devised to facilitate the learning of classical Chinese that served as the literary language until the 19th century. There are two kinds of *kukyōl*: translation *kukyōl*, which is to read the Chinese text in its Korean translation, and phonetic *kukyōl*, which is to read it in its pronunciation with some Korean functional morphemes. The morpheme or any other mark added to the original text is called *t'o* (吐), which is mostly represented in *č'ača*, a borrowed letter from Chinese.

In translation *kukyōl*, *t'os* are added to every constituent unit of the Chinese sentence, indicating the reordering of the Chinese words into Korean word order in translational reading. For instance, in case of the *Kumārajīva*-translated *Inwang-kyōng* (舊譯仁王經) of the 12th century, the oldest and the most representative among the existant materials, *t'os* are written on both the right and the left sides of the original line unlike the case of phonetic *kukyōl*. The reader should first read the unit with *t'o* on the right and then, if he meets a dot '·', should go back to the preceding unit having *t'o* on the left and read it. In case that unit also has a dot, he should again go upward and read the unit preceding it with *t'o* on the left. If the unit with *t'o* on the left has no dot, the reader returns to the one with *t'o* on the right and reads progressively. Since the 15th century, the order of reading is also indicated by the signs such as '—, =, ≡, ≡'. Thus, the fifth in the order of reading may be represented as '≡'.

Phonetic *kukyōl* has three kinds of letters representing *t'o*: *hangül*, *č'ača* and the abbreviated form of *č'ača*. The *t'os* in *hangül* are inserted in accordance with the punctuation of the Chinese text. The reader reads the Chinese characters in Korean sounds and the *t'os* successively. In some cases, *č'ačas* are employed as *t'os* in full forms for the purpose of printing. But they are used mostly in abbreviated forms for personal reading, not for publication. Simple characters are readily employed as *t'os* in full forms (ex. '門, 乙, 士' etc.), but complicated ones are usually abbreviated into simpler forms (ex. '驢 → 駟'). In abbreviation, some *č'ačas* are taken from the first parts of the original characters (ex. '丿, 厶, 一' ← '乎, 矣, 也'), and others are taken from the last parts (ex. '乚, 匕' ← '是, 尼'). The pronunciations of these are determined by the sounds of the original letters or their Korean glosses.

In comparison, the abbreviated forms of *č'ača* in translation and phonetic *kukyōls* are derived from the Chinese characters by the same principle, and the *t'os* represent mostly the functional morphemes of Korean in both cases. But there is no dot in phonetic *kukyōl*, a sign for backward reading. The differences of translation *kukyōl* are that *t'os* sometimes represent the glosses of Chinese characters and that both initial and final sound additions can be found unlike in phonetic *kukyōl*. Translation *kukyōl* closely resembles Japanese *kondoku* (訓讀) in many respects, and the formation of abbreviated *č'ačas* is much comparable to Japanese *katakana* (片仮名). However, phonetic *kukyōl* is distinctly and uniquely Korean.

Historically, *kukyōl* seems to have begun to evolve shortly after the introduction of classical Chinese into Korea, and translation *kukyōl* has an earlier tradition than phonetic *kukyōl*. Allegedly, the former was formed when Sölč'ong (薛聰), who was a confucian scholar in the late 7th and the early 8th century, read and taught the Nine Chinese Classics in Korean. It was firmly established in *hyangč'al* texts of the 8th century. Phonetic *kukyōl* dates back to



the 15th century, when it was used together with translation *kukyŏl*. In this case, phonetic *kukyŏl* was recorded on the right side of the line of the text, and translation *kukyŏl* on the left until its decline in the 16th century. Phonetic *kukyŏl* survives later on and contributes greatly to the improvement of retentive power and command of classical Chinese in Korea.

LAI FONG LEUNG

*Three Modes of Representation in Zhiqing Fiction*

The "Up to the mountain and down to the countryside" movement from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s which involved the rustication of nearly twenty million Chinese urban educated youths (Zhiqing) has no doubt become the most important source of literary creation for contemporary young writers. From the Cultural Revolution to the post-Mao era, the same experience of rusticated life, however, has received different literary treatment under different political circumstances. Evidently, Zhiqing Fiction has gone from the highly controlled superheroic mode of propagandistic pseudo-literature to the denunciatory mode of mimetic literature and then to the symbolic mode of modernistic literature.

I have chosen three works to illustrate these three modes of expression in Zhiqing Fiction. All of them were written by former rusticated youths who are now well-known writers in China. The first is Zhang Kangkang's *The Demarcation* (Fenjie xian) published in 1975, the second is Zhu Lin's *The Path of Life* (Shenghuo de lu) published in late 1979 and the third is Kong Jiesheng's *The Big Jungle* (Da linmang) published in late 1984. Coincidentally, these works are almost five years apart in their dates of publication, and hence they can represent the three stages of development in Zhiqing Fiction.

*The Demarcation* exemplifies the highly politicized works from the Cultural Revolution in which rustication is presented as a revolutionary movement. The protagonist is portrayed as a superhuman hero who leads other enthusiastic youths overcoming nature and struggling against "class enemies" and "bourgeois thought" under the "guidance" of the Party. *The Path of Life* represents works from the literary "thaw" of 1979 and 1980 in which the negative side of rusticated life is exposed. The "politically backward" youths who need to be punished and reeducated in Cultural Revolution fiction have become chief characters; and the villains are no longer "spies", "class enemies" or "revisionists", but local cadres. One dominant theme is the chief character's struggle for freedom in the oppressive milieu. *The Big Jungle* represents those works from the mid-1980s in which the rustication theme is brought to a higher artistic dimension through the use of symbolisms and more varied characterization and structure. There are no obvious heroes and villains, and nature is not merely presented to be overcome in order to show Party victory but carries many levels of meaning. The treatment of rusticated life is not a simple eulogy or denunciation, but a synthesis of both. It is depicted metaphorically as ashes out of which a phoenix is reborn.

YUAN-HUANG TSAI

*Narrative Self-Referentiality in Contemporary Chinese Fiction on Taiwan*

For half a century or so readers and writers on Taiwan prefer to consider literature representational, aimed at an imitation of the reality *out there*. Social realism has been a predominant literary expression since the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and unseemly perpetuated the destitute novelistic form based on traditional narrative techniques. Recently writers like Ch'i-teng-sheng 七等生, Huang Fan 黃凡, and Chang Ta-ch'un 張大春 begin to experiment successfully with a new fiction that embodies authorial self-consciousness. This new fiction represents attempts at a rejuvenation of the novelistic form and a philosophical investigation into the concept of "reality" against the limitations of mimetic theory.



The faith in the potency of language to represent the external world has led writers to assume the role as champions of social reformations. Likewise, the common readers are so inveterate in their belief in the power of language to offer in simulation a picture of the external world that they expect writers to mimic social reality. There is nothing wrong to ask a writer to be the mirror of social conscience for the general public; nevertheless writing as an art is degraded and becomes of no concern by and by.

In mid-1970s the cult of the "Back to Soil"-literature (*hsiang-t'u wen-hsueh* 鄉土文學) reduced narrative art to stark rigidity. As a result, the authorial-I was often confused with the narrator-I. Fiction that could merge with reportage was estimated over any novelistic renovation: formalist experiments were denounced at the expense of social content. This one-sided view of the linguistic construct in fiction was so engrained in the frame of reference shared by both the reader and the writer that new dimensions of narrative feat (an unreliable narrative, for instance) were literally alien to their mentality. The aesthetic of a razzle-dazzle narrative tour de force (e.g., Ford's *The Good Soldier*, Nabokov's *Pale Fire*, Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman*) and the Borgesian magical realism (or that of García Márquez) was unheard of.

Over the last three years, however, bold new experiments have begun to appear. In *The Letters of T'an the Beloved* (*T'an-lang tê shu-hsin* 譚郎的書信), Ch'i-teng-sheng employs the time-honored form of epistolary fiction to record his struggle as novelist. Through his narrator-protagonist T'an the Beloved, the author seeks an emancipation of the novelistic form from classical realism. Disguised as T'an's billets-doux addressed to his girl friend, each part of the narrative takes the form of a diary entry and thus helps unfold the lover's personal crisis.

Chang Ta-ch'un, on the other hand, explores the retellability of history. In a short story entitled "The Walker" (*Tsou lu jên* 走路人) and a novel in progress *To Stab a Horse* (*Ts'ü ma* 刺馬), he renders out of some deadened facts a subjective fiction that invites critical scrutiny. A more radical trial is made by Huang Fan, who substantiates the idea that writing is to create a *Spielraum*, a parodic lexical playground that awaits the reader's participation to secure a meaningful configuration.

These writers provide an alternative to the threadbare realistic mode of expression. Although a just estimation of their contribution remains to be made, the consolation they offer to the young intelligentsia in this island nation is too significant to be overlooked.

J.S. LIN

*Rise Above the Ashes: "Nu Ts'ai" and "Jen Tao Chung-nian"*

This paper explores two outstanding contemporary Chinese stories, "Nu T'sai," and "Jen Tao Chung-nian," which deal with two morally upright but socially innocent protagonists for whom the authors, Tung-fang Po and Ch'en Jung, created a gallery of homodiegetic narrators who are artistically designed to bravely voice the authorial concern over the deplorable characters' tragic suffering. The philosophical positions assumed and narrative modes invoked in these works continue the traditional Chinese literary pragmatism.

Formalistically speaking, after a few very brief opening remarks, the heterodiegetic narrator

in "Nu Ts'ai" immediately retreats to the far background and becomes, along with his fellow Chinese exchange students, an audience, leaving a second character at the same scene to take over the narration in the autodiegetic mode. The formal realism created in the story projects a sense of historicity which is reminiscent of the traditional Chinese Ch'uan-chi tales.

The autodiegetic physiologist-narrator continues the story with a six-line paragraph specifically devoted to expound Pavlov's "Theory of Conditioned Reflex," and to attribute the slave-protagonist's tragic suffering to the notorious bygone feudal order which has conditioned him in his earlier years. The ideological stance revealed herein should be interpreted not so much as the physiologist-narrator's oversimplification of human affairs (as often criticized in the fictional world, i.e., Wang Wen-hsing's "Ming-yun ti Chi-hsien") as his staunch opposition to unquestioned acceptance by any human being of a sin uncommitted hitherto, namely, inborn slavery.

Phraseologically, the Chinese word "Nu-tsai" has an inherent derisive connotation. The author powerfully enriched the story, however, by turning the protagonist into a sympathetic character through delineating his steadfast struggle to redeem his human dignity which is deprived even before he is born. The respect and love incurred appropriately override any negative mannerism traditionally possessed by the slave-type protagonist, i.e., Ah Q. The irony achieved is remarkably powerful.

"Jen Tao Chung-nian" is primarily narrated by a sympathetic soft voice in the heterodiegetic mode with Dr. Lu Wen-ting, the ophthalmologist-protagonist as the focalizer, through whose consciousness or semiconsciousness the narrative is filtered. The narration is particularly characterized by a narrative mode which smoothly merges the voice of the heterodiegetic narrator and the mental process of the protagonist into a single perspective which is realized often as an involuntary outburst of sigh that generates effects of poignant immediacy and quickly arrest the reader's empathy.

Like Chiao Ta and Liu Hsiang-lian in the "Dream of Red Chambers," Ch'en Jung created a group of memorable homodiegetic narrators in her "Jen Tao Chung-nian," among them the chief internist, the Director of the hospital, the Chief Ophthalmologist, the wife of the Vice-Minister, the patients, and Dr. Lu's good friend-colleagues, Drs. Liu Hsueh-yao and Chiang Ya-fen.

Indeed, it is through Liu Hsueh-yao, who, acting like the drunk Chiao Ta in "Hung-lou Meng," speaks up honestly in intoxication and in ironic as well as sarcastic tone on behalf of the middle-aged intellectuals to voice their strong criticism of the bleak social milieu in Mainland China.

While Ch'en Jung's supple style of narration is at its best in depicting the gentle-hearted ophthalmologist's simplistic inner life, it imparts a tinge of meekness and serenity in her characterization of the said ophthalmologist-protagonist, and imbues the narrative with an immense tragic relief in symbolic terms. Its invocation of an agelong concern over man's struggle in a rigid, socio-political order is extremely effective.

Both Tung-fang Po and Ch'en Jung seem to draw literary inspirations from the similar wealth of resources in terms of philosophical persuasions and narrative modes: through their homodiegetic narrators, the implied authors honestly speak from the traditional Chinese intellectual's conscience. If there is any hope of improvement for mankind, their works seem



to imply we ought to learn from the tragic sufferings inflicted upon the innocent victims, illiterate or literate alike. Only by so doing, could we rise above the ashes and cherish the hope of arriving at the eventual harmony.

MAMORU CHISHÔ NAMAI

*On Śāntarakṣita's Refutation of <Ahetuvāda>  
Śāntarakṣita on Jātakamālā XXIII. 27*

Āryaśūra (4 C.), a well known Buddhist poet, refuted an <ahetuvādin>, i.e. those who do not admit any cause of things, in *Jātakamālā* XXIII. The new point of issue brought by him into the Buddhist tradition is this: the refutation was made from a logical point of view, and it conveys some problems of logic which introduced new arguments on the meaning of "hetu". Āryaśūra criticized, "One who denies the causes by reasoning, does he not demolish his own tenet? Or, if he uses reasoning, what could he do with his tenet not supported by any reason?" (v. 27). Śāntarakṣita (8 C.), with later advanced Buddhist logic, investigated this criticism again in *Tattvasaṃgraha* IV, answering to an <ahetuvādin> who argued against Āryaśūra. Kamalaśīla (8 C.) quoted this objection in *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* as follows: "Even when one asserts with reason that there is no cause, why should he demolish his own tenet? Because what he asserts is an indicative reason (jñāpakahetu), while what he denies is the productive cause (kārahetu)." This counter charge could be expected by Buddhists, because they already knew about these problems concerned with the difference of <vyāñjanahetu> and <kārahetu> in the tradition of Buddhist logic.

Śāntarakṣita's criticism of <ahetuvāda> is not only answer to the objection, but also explains both the <hetu-sādhya> relationship and <hetu-kārya> relationship, supported by Dharmakīrti's (7 C.) criticism as found in *Pramāṇavārttika* II.179ff. The theory of <anupalabdhi> is also mentioned as opposed to the opponent who states <nonexistence of a thing> by mere <nonperception of the thing>.

When we analyse the process of reasoning, there should be found the rule of causality. Āryaśūra pointed out that <ahetuvādin> could not infer by a reason that <all things have no cause>. In this case, the assertion (pratijñā) of the opponent is <there is no cause>, however this knowledge of <having no cause> (sādhya) is actually derived from the reason (sādhana). Āryaśūra criticized that <ahetuvādin> could not deduce the assertion by the reason of <nonperception of cause>. In this case also, the new knowledge of <not having cause> is derived from the knowledge of non-perception of cause. So in these two cases the deduced knowledge depends upon each of the causes. The first is argued in *Jātakamālā* XXIII.27, and the second is mentioned in *Jātakamālā* XXIII.29, and treated by Dharmakīrti in *Pramāṇaviniścaya* I.2, when he opposed Bārhaspatya's <pratyakṣāikapramāṇavāda>. Śāntarakṣita seems to have tried to integrate these traditions of argument.

The argumentation was formulated by Kamalaśīla as follows (transl. by G. Jha):

Those things whose production is restricted to occasions when certain other things are there must be regarded as <having cause>. For instance, one's own cognition of the probandum which appears only when the probans is there.

The same is the case with the lotus and other things.

(Hence they must be regarded as <having cause>).

This is based upon the reason of the nature (svabhāvahetu).

In the light of the advent of Śāntarakṣita, Āryaśūra's argument comes to be significant in its true meaning. Following after this criticism of Śāntarakṣita, some commentators interpreted the Āryaśūra verses.



(More details will be given in "On Śāntarakṣita's Refutation of <ahetuvāda>" *Journal of Koyasan University*, Koyasan March 1987.)

BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI

*The Role of Samavāya (Inherence) as Foundation of Causality in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*

The theory of causation is the pivot of all the systems of Indian philosophy, which is absolutely necessary for explaining logically the phenomena of the world. In fact, the theory of causation has been formulated as an answer to the fundamental question of how the objects are brought into being. Thus causality is one of the ontological problems, and an important aspect of discussion in Indian philosophy. Though the theory of causality, as upheld by the different schools of philosophy, differs widely, all of them accept some kind of causation.

To common sense causation means change i.e. an object under a given circumstance changes into another form. The former is cause and the latter is effect, which implies the essence stuff of effect exists in the cause. The Sāṃkhya holds similar view and states that in reality there is no difference between the cause and effect, and that the cause is the earlier stage of existence which when it transforms under certain circumstances as effect is the latter stage of existence, or its manifestation.

Modifying this proposition, if it can be so called, the Śāṃkara school of Vedānta states that cause alone is permanent or real, all effects as such, are unreal i.e. illusory.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika being true to their theory of pluralism and of reality holds that effect is a totally different entity from its cause, which originates a-new in the cause, and not out of the cause. Effect is a completely new entity and totally different from its cause. Both cause and effect exist side by side as in the case of yarns and cloth. As cause is presumed to exist intact it does not transfer its quality to effect. Thus cause is merely a precedent condition of its effect. This position appears analogous to the Buddhist theory of *pratītya-samutpāda*. One may say that the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of causation has been modified in the Buddhist theory. This apparent resemblance has provoked Śāṃkara to denounce the Vaiśeṣika theory as half-nihilist (*araddha-vaināśika*).

According to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of causation cause and effect are two entities and reside side by side, however, the two occupy the same space. How it is possible that two entities occupy the same space? The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika says that the two are intimately related by the relation of *samavāya* (inherence).

Kaṇāda means by *samavāya* the relation between cause and effect (vii 2.26), which conveys the sense "this is being here." In *Kaṇāda-sūtra samavāya* is accepted as a category and as a relation also. Praśastapāda not only enlarges the scope of operation of *samavāya* but also adds new concepts of inseparable relation to the definition of *samavāya*. The inseparably related entities such as substance and quality are stand related through *samavāya*. Finally, Viśwanātha defines *samavāya* as existing between substance and quality, whole and part, motion and object in motion, individual and general (universal), cause and effect.

It is evident that the concept of part and whole is nothing but another form of cause and effect. According to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika a whole emerges in the parts and resides on them.

The Sāṃkhya and the Advaita Vedāntin do not accept this position. The Pūrvamīmāṃsā school of Kumārila though it accepts individual and universal refuses to admit operation of *samavāya* for relating the two. The Buddhist is strongest opponent of the concept of *samavāya*, and of any relation between cause and effect, because every entity is *svalakṣaṇa* and of evanescent nature, and there cannot be entities to be related by any relation. He refuses the concept of part and whole etc.

The Prabhākara school of Pūrvamīmāṃsā, however, accepts a kind of *samavāya*, which is different from that conceived by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. According to this school *samavāya* is many and perishes with the destruction of the entity (one or both) it relates, while the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika holds that *samavāya* is one and permanent.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika admits three kinds of cause, namely, *samavāyi-kāraṇa* (inherent cause), material cause to Sāṃkhya, *a-samavāyikāraṇa* (non-inherent cause), and *nimittakāraṇa* (efficient cause). The nomenclature of the first two causes is according to the theory of causation of the combined school of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. It is to be noted that the concept of *asamavāyi-kāraṇa* is added to it by Praśastapāda, which has been expounded by Śrīdhara and others. This cause is inseparably associated with the conception of *samavāyikāraṇa*.

In short, without admitting an internal relation like *samavāya* the theory of causation, and for that matter the emergence of the objective and real world from the subtle and discrete atoms, cannot be explained logically. The entire edifice of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika stands on the concept of *samavāya*.

MASANOBU NOZAWA

*Praśastapāda's Theory of Fallacious Reasons*

Praśastapāda's theory of fallacious reasons (*anapadeśa*) would be an ingenious theory set up for coping with Dignāga's criticism and the truest theory of fallacious reasons to the three canons of reasons (*trairūpya*).

Dignāga attacked the Vaiśeṣika view of *anapadeśa*. The most crucial point of his criticism was that *sandigdha* of the Vaiśeṣika was lacking in *asādhāraṇa*, which forced the Vaiśeṣika to make a difficult choice of altering either theory of doubt or of *anapadeśa*, for they held, at that time, an axiom that doubt could not arise from the perception of peculiarity (*viśeṣa* or *asādhāraṇa*) and, at the same time, held the three *anapadeśa* theory. Adoption of *asādhāraṇa* as another variety of doubtful reason (*sandigdha*) would never fail to incur a contradiction to the axiom of doubt, while disregard of *asādhāraṇa* would leave their theory of fallacious reasons defective from the viewpoint of *trairūpya*. Praśastapāda preferred to retain the axiom of doubt, and set up *asādhāraṇa* as the fourth *anapadeśa* instead of placing it under *sandigdha*, and renamed it as "*anadhyavasita*" in accordance with his theory of *anadhyavasāya*, and defined it as *anyatarāśiddha* (not determining either the thesis nor the antithesis). His logical basis of this alteration seems to be a scheme composed of four members which would be comparable with Dignāga's nine-membered scheme so called *hetucakra*. This scheme is inferred from his omission of the phrase "*ekadeśe*" in the definition of *viruddha* (PDhS p.238.118, cp. p.201.19 & *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti* (Peking ed.) K 131b6, V 49a6), since this implies that he, when considering *anapadeśa*, used only two relations of *hetu* with *sapakṣa* and *vipakṣa*, i.e. *vṛtti* and *avṛtti* in the later terms, instead of the three which were



the basis of Dignāga's *hetucakra*. It would be probable that Praśastapāda felt it unnecessary to mention the scheme because it was nothing but a natural consequence of *trairūpya*. His theory would, therefore, deserve to be called the truest theory of fallacious reasons to the canons of *trairūpya*. His alteration, however, seems to have caused a strong antipathy among conservatives of the school. We find in PDhS a completely different view of *anapadeśa* from his, which is a three *anapadeśa* theory based on *trairūpya* and is ascribed to Kāśyapa. It would seem that this view represents the traditional theory of the school before Praśastapāda, since the references to *asat* or its example by Vātsyāyana (NBh on NS 2-2-35) and Vasubandhu (Taisho 1633, p.36a) show that *asat* had been identified with *asiddha* by their times, which means that the *trairūpya* had been adopted by the Vaiśeṣika before that time, for *asiddha* necessarily presupposes *trairūpya*. And a strange *avagraha* after the word "*anumeye*" in the definition of *viruddha* would be also an interpolation to harmonize his interpretation of the example of *asat* with this tradition. It might be probable that these interpolations were made by Praśastapāda himself.

ERNST PRETS

*Notes on the Anadhyavasitahetvābhāsa*

As far as we know from the sources on the subject of the Nyāya tradition, the Naiyāyikas supported — relying on their famous Sūtras — five fallacies of the logical reason (*hetvābhāsaḥ*). Only one singular author of the Nyāya school, Bhāsarvajña, extended the number of *hetvābhāsa*s to six by including one more fallacy called *anadhyavasita* (the unascertained). In later times, the idea of this special kind of fallacy as propounded by Bhāsarvajña seems to have had some adherents in other schools than Nyāya, too, so for instance in Madhva logic or in the logical reflections of the Viśiṣṭādvaitin Parāśarabhaṭṭa and his successors. We are led back to Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmaśaṃgrahaḥ*, where, for all we know, the term "*anadhyavasita*", denoting a kind of fallacy of the logical reason (*anapadeśaḥ*), is mentioned for the first time. Praśastapāda, adapting Dignāga's system of fallacious reasons, specified Dignāga's sixfold inconclusive (*anaikāntikaḥ*) reason by subdividing it into (1) the doubtful (*saṃdigdhaḥ*), which covers the general inconclusive (*sādhāraṇānaikāntikaḥ*), and (2) the unascertained (*anadhyavasitaḥ*), which covers the special inconclusive (*asādhāraṇānaikāntikaḥ*) and, at least formally, the contradictory non-deviating (*viruddhāvyabhicārī*). As far as one could interpret Praśastapāda's motives here, it seems that it was not the question of logic that led him to use a new terminology, but the question of epistemology, for the cognition of an occurrence of the reason in either of the similar and the dissimilar instances in the case of the general inconclusive (*sādhāraṇānaikāntikaḥ*) corresponds epistemologically to Praśastapāda's definition of the doubtful cognition (*saṃśayaḥ*). On the other hand, the cognition of a reason occurring in neither the similar nor the dissimilar instances, as in the case of the specific inconclusive (*asādhāraṇānaikāntikaḥ*), is epistemologically unascertainment (*anadhyavasāyaḥ*). The definition of the *anadhyavasita* fallacy given in the *Padārthadharmaśaṃgraha* runs thus: "That which is present in the subject of inference (*anumeyaḥ*), but is absent in [objects] homogeneous as well as heterogeneous with the [subject] — that is, unproven in either of the two — is, because it is reason for unascertainment, [called] an unascertained [reason]." Bhāsarvajña covers three possible faulty cases of the logical reason by his *anadhyavasita*: (1) Dignāga's so-called special inconclusive (*asādhāraṇaḥ*) reason, having similar and dissimilar instances, but not occurring in either of the two, (2) a reason not having dissimilar instances

(*asadvipakṣaḥ*), not occurring in possible similar instances, and ultimately (3) the so-called non-exclusive reason (*anupasaṃhārī*) that has neither similar nor dissimilar instances, which implies that one couldn't talk about its occurrence or non-occurrence in these at all. He defines the *anadhyavasita* reason as follows: "The unascertained is [a reason] occurring in the subject of inference alone, without proving that which has to be proved (*sādhyaśādhakaḥ*)."

As regards the *Vyomavatī* of the *Nyāyakandalī*, the authors of these commentaries to the *Padārthadharmaśaṃgraha* don't produce anything substantially new but interpret Praśastapāda in the light of their actual terminological background. Śivāditya uses exactly the same definition as Bhāsarvajña. Udayana in his *Kiraṇāvalī* in rendering the idea of *anadhyavasita* comes possibly, either partly in dependence on Bhāsarvajña, or on a common source of both, to the result already indicated in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, that the unascertained reason covers (1) the special inconclusive (*asādhāraṇaḥ*), of which Bhāsarvajña distinguishes the case having no dissimilar instances (*asadvipakṣaḥ*) and (2) the non-exclusive reason (*anupasaṃhārī*) having neither *sapakṣa* nor *vipakṣa*.

BIMAL KRISHNA MATILAL

*Pramāṇa as Evidence*

Scholars have sometimes debated whether there is anything called 'Philosophy' in India, specifically in the way the term is understood in modern west. Etymologically 'philosophy' means love of wisdom. But at technical level, the term is understood to mean a discipline that is "characteristically argumentative and essentially directed towards the determination of what logical relations do and do not obtain". (A. Flew, *A Dictionary of Philosophy*)

Paradoxically, Sanskrit has a better term for 'philosophy' in the second sense. This term is "*Ānvīkṣikī*". This was used by Kauṭilya to refer to a similar discipline. This was one of the four *vidyāsthānas*, main branches of learning. Kauṭilya defined *ānvīkṣikī* in a way that was openly accepted by later writers such as Vātsyāyana and Manu. The contention of Vātsyāyana was that this discipline is to be distinguished from other disciplines, specially from the 'spiritual' texts or the books of wisdom such as the Upaniṣads by virtue of its being characterized by a study of the *pramāṇas* etc. Vātsyāyana and later on Uddyotakara elaborated the point and developed a general theory of *pramāṇa*. In a non-parochial light, this theory would be the common property of at least six different schools of *ānvīkṣikī*, called *ṣaṭ-tarkī* at the time of Jayanta. These six schools were, Sāṃkhya, Bauddha, Jaina, Cārvāka or Lokāyata, Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya. Haribhadra, who probably predated Jayanta, included all these six schools in his *Ṣaḍdarśana-Samuccaya*, but also added Mīmāṃsā and reached the number "six" by combining Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika into one.

Yājñavalkya listed fourteen subjects for study but omitted *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti* (two of the four in Kauṭilya's list). Jayanta answers this puzzle by saying that this list of fourteen is of the learnable subjects all of which teach us about *all* the four goals of human life (*puruṣārtha*) including *mokṣa*. The two, *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti*, are squarely within the scope of observable results and purposes. Kauṭilya was concerned with the three goals only, not with *mokṣa*.

Gaṅgeśa mentioned *ānvīkṣikī* among a list of eighteen *vidyāsthānas*, which included all the fourteen of the Yājñavalkya list and added: Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharva-vidyā and Arthaśāstra.



In India soteriology depends upon one's *seeing* the world properly and acting according to its value. All systems share this proposition. *Action* is conditioned by the *Seeing*. And *pramāṇas* are instrumental (Kāraka = Pradarśaka) in this SEEING as well as "persuader" (pravartaka) in so SEEING. In this second role, *pramāṇa* is evidence.

ELI FRANCO

*Valid Reason, True Sign*

One of the obvious things about Dignāga's theory of *trairūpya* is that a valid inferential sign can never be known. For in order to know that a sign (*liṅga*) occurs only in similar and never in dissimilar instances, one has to know all dissimilar instances in the world (present, past, and future); in other words, one has to be omniscient. The paper attempts to explain this curious feature of the theory of *trairūpya* by bearing on the historical development of inference and dialectics in general, and of the *trairūpya* theory in particular.

As is well known, the oldest manuals of debate, such as the *Nyāyasūtra* (books 1 and 5), *Upāyahṛdaya*, *Tarkaśāstra* etc., treat inference (*anumāna*) and proof of debate (*sādhana* or similar terms) as different categories, and apparently no one before Vasubandhu thought it necessary or desirable to bring the two together.

Vasubandhu seems to have dropped the theory of *trairūpya*, and substituted it with a relation of concomitance (*avinābhāva*, *nāntarīyakatva*), probably because he saw that what was adequate for debate was not appropriate for inference. However, Dignāga revived and modified the *trairūpya* theory in the *Nyāyamukha*, possibly in order to account for the relation of concomitance which was not further analysed by Vasubandhu.

The historical evidence indicates that the theory of *trairūpya* was originally developed in the context of debate, and was later on adopted or transplanted into inference. This transition can explain some of the difficulties involved in the *trairūpya* theory, for the *trairūpya* is appropriate for debate, but not for inference. For the purpose of a debate is to win the argument, while the purpose of inference is to discover truth. Thus, in a debate the duty of adducing the refuting example lies with the opponent (*prativādin*), and if he fails to do so he loses the argument. But this does not mean that he is necessarily wrong.

Dignāga, who was probably the first to have introduced the *trairūpya* into inference, does not seem to be aware of the problem that a valid inferential sign can never be known. First signs of trying to come to grips with this problem are found in the logic of Īśvarasena, who recognized three means of knowledge, and four, or perhaps even six, characteristics of a valid reason.

Dharmakīrti rejected Īśvarasena's modifications of Dignāga's theory. Probably out of deference to Dignāga he retained the traditional number of three characteristics, but in fact the *trairūpya* theory ended its career with Dharmakīrti. For according to Dharmakīrti and all the posterior Buddhist logicians the invariable concomitance cannot be determined by observing co-presence and co-absence of two things, but only through the necessary relation of causality or identity.

PAUL KENT ANDERSEN

*Written and Oral Means of Transmitting the Rock Edicts of Aśoka*

One of our primary aims in the study of the Aśokan inscriptions is to reconstruct the train of transmission from Aśoka to the respective stone sites. In order to perform this task we will need to analyze the textual variants found in the versions of the inscriptions. Assuming that these variations represent deviations from an original text and hence are instances of "scribal error" in a wider sense, an in-depth investigation based upon a detailed classification of these "errors" will enable us to draw numerous conclusions regarding the train of transmission for the single versions as well as the relationship which holds among the versions of a specific series. So, for example, if we were to find instances of "scribal error" due to the incorrect reproduction of an optic signal (i.e. confusions of "letters" or "slips of the pen"), these will indicate a written means of transformation. If, on the other hand, we were to find instances of "scribal error" due to the incorrect reproduction of an acoustic signal (i.e. confusion of "sounds"), we can conclude an oral means of transmission. There are, of course, numerous other types of "scribal error" indicative of either a written or an oral means of transmission. "Scribal errors" can furthermore be classified into unintentional errors such as confusion of "letters" and "sounds", repetition and under certain circumstances omission, and intentional errors such as corrections, replacements, additions, interpretations, and under certain circumstances omission. For the most part, "scribal errors" introduced during a written means of transmission will corrupt the text resulting in an alteration of the original content/meaning of the text. "Scribal errors" introduced during an oral means of transmission, however, will tend to preserve the original content while altering the grammatical means of expression: here we find such variations as active vs. passive, personal (e.g. imperative) vs. impersonal construction (e.g. gerund), direct vs. indirect speech, etc. Intentional scribal errors will furthermore indicate a specific editorial phase during the train of transmission: I do not think that a scribe, whose job it was to merely copy a text by hand, would take it upon himself to alter or correct a royal decree; a high official, such as an Aryaputra or Kumara, on the other hand, who would be responsible for the distribution and publication of the inscriptions, would do so. An investigation carried out on the Rock Edicts (RES) and the Minor Rock Edicts (MRES) reveals that for the most part there was a written means of transmission for the RES but an oral means for the MRES.

NOBORU KARASHIMA

*Change in Vijayanagar Rule in the Lower Kaveri Valley During the 15th and 16th Centuries as Seen in the Srirangam Inscriptions*

Through examination of 256 Vijayanagar inscriptions which remain in the Srirangam temple in South India, we can clarify the change which occurred in Vijayanagar rule over the lower Kaveri valley at the turn of the 16th century.

First, the inscriptions as a whole reveal the following three facts: 1) village/land grants made to the Srirangam temple by the kings or ministers, which are noticeable through the 14th and 15th centuries, almost disappeared in the 16th century, 2) *nayakkattanams*, clear cut territories bestowed by the king on *nayakas* for their own management, appear in the inscriptions only from the beginning of the 16th century, and 3) there emerged in the 16th



century locally influential families whose donative activities are recorded in inscriptions over two or three generations, while donative activities in the 15th century inscriptions never extend over one generation. All the facts, combined together, seem to indicate decentralization of the Vijayanagar government, though the kings remained as powerful as before or rather increased their power during the first half of the 16th century.

Second, the above tendency is further ascertained through analysis of characteristics of the rule over the region by two groups of Vijayanagar administrators, one in the 15th century and the other in the 16th century. While the three administrators who ruled over the region in the 15th century show characteristics of high ranking officials who worked for the state, members of a Brahmana family who ruled the same area in the 16th century over three generations seem to have been deeply involved in local affairs for their own interest, though they remained submissive to the king, who legitimized their rule.

This change in the Vijayanagar rule in the 16th century is noticed also in the region north of the lower Kaveri valley, and if we see it together with the efforts made by *nayakas* to control local production in their own territories in the 16th century and after, we may be able to suggest the emergence of a feudal social formation in the middle part of Tamilnadu in South India during the 16th century.

The following two papers by the author, which deal with the *nayaka* rule in the region north of the lower Kaveri valley during the 15th and 16th centuries, are closely related to this study. 1) "Nayaka Rule in North and South Arcot Districts in South India during the Sixteenth Century," *Acta Asiatica* 48 (Japanese Studies in Later Medieval Indian Society), Tokyo, 1985, and 2) "Vijayanagar Rule and Nattavars in Vellar Valley in Tamilnadu during the 15th and 16th Centuries," *The Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture, The University of Tokyo*, No. 101, 1986.

RICHARD SALOMON

### *Translation and Interpretation of the Senavarma Inscription*

The Buddhist relic dedication inscription of a hitherto unknown King Senavarma of Oḍi, written in Kharoṣṭhī script and "Gāndhārī" or northwest Prakrit on a gold leaf found inside a miniature *stūpa* of uncertain provenance (but probably from Swat) has been previously published by Bailey (JRAS 1980) and Fussman (BEFEO 71, 1982). The present paper offers some further suggestions for re-interpreting this difficult and important document. In particular, the value of comparisons with related documents is stressed: (1) Buddhist canonical texts; (2) other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions; and (3) other non-epigraphical Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī documents, i.e. (a) the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* and (b) the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Central Asia. Examples:

- (1) The phrase *matapita dukaracara* in line 8d of the new inscription can be clarified by stock expressions in the Buddhist canon such as *duṣkarakāraṇau hi bhikṣavaḥ putrasya mātāpitarau* (*Divyāvadāna* 51.20).
- (2) The word *avyamahānīrea/-nīraa* (lines 10d, 13c), previously interpreted as *avi ya mahānīrea* = *api ca mahānīraya* can be shown by comparison with other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (Wardak vase, line 3, *aviyanarag(r)aparyata*) and canonical texts (e.g.

*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* 354.8, *yāvad avīciṃ mahānīrayaṃ*) to be equivalent to Sanskrit *avīcimahānīraya*.

- (3a) *Savasamgharaṇa kṣaye* in line 6c is clarified by *Dharmapada* 10c, *sagharāṇa kṣayaṃ natva* = *saṃskārāṇāṃ kṣayaṃ jñātvā*.
- (3b) The previously unclear verb form *hakṣati* (line 12c) is clarified by the common *haṁhāti* of the Central Asian documents as a future/quasi-optative alternating with *siyati* (= *syāt*) and *bhaviṣyati*.

In this way, many (though by no means all) of the problems in interpreting the Senavarma inscription can be clarified, and further research along these lines should continue to clarify the obscurities of this and similar epigraphic documents.

(The complete version of this paper has been published in *III* 26, 261–293.)

OSKAR VON HINUBER

### *Recent Epigraphical Discoveries in North Pakistan*

An enlarged version of this short survey is to be published by the Academy at Heidelberg. For Bibliographical reference see the abstract of "Thalpan: A Buddhist Site in North Pakistan", p 163 in this volume.

SADDHAMANGALA KARUNARATNE

### *The Earliest Script of Sri Lanka*

The earliest inscriptions of Sri Lanka are written in what is known as the Brāhmī script. This script was also used by Emperor Asoka of India in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. in most of his inscriptions. Emperor Asoka sent a team of Buddhist monks to Sri Lanka to introduce Buddhism to this country. The earliest inscriptions of Sri Lanka record dedication of caves to Buddhist monks as places of shelter. They were inscribed after the introduction of Buddhism. Therefore the obvious conclusion was that the Buddhist missionaries brought their script to Sri Lanka. This view had been widely accepted and gained currency during the period in which the inscriptions were studied.

Now let us look at the Asokan Brāhmī or Mauryan Brāhmī script:

५ ॥ ८ ८ ८  
 + १ १ १  
 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८



The earliest Brāhmī script of Sri Lanka is as follows:



If we examine the two scripts closely, we can see that although they are similar, there are also significant differences. In the vowel system Asokan Brāhmī has ∴ while Sri Lankan Brāhmī has .|. This is found in the Brāhmī inscriptions of South India as well. But in the later inscriptions of Sri Lanka of about the 1st century A.D. .| goes out of vogue and an evolved form of ∴ takes its place. This shows that the Asokan Brāhmī has influenced the Sri Lankan script in due course and ousted the earlier form.

A feature peculiar to the Sri Lankan Brāhmī is the absence of the form for ja and the use of the aspirate P for both aspirate and unaspirate. This is unique in the Sri Lankan script and is not known in any other script of India. In about the first century B.C. E form is introduced and we have the regular use of ja and jha.

The earliest Sri Lankan Brāhmī also has the exclusive use of palatal śa ʌ and no other sibilants are found. The sa ʊ is introduced in the 1st century B.C. as the Mauryan variety gains ground.

A form of la ʌ found in the South Indian Brāhmī is also used in the earliest script of Sri Lanka. Another significant feature is that the direction of writing in some of the earliest inscriptions is from right to left. In most of these inscriptions the letters are also reversed.

The conclusion which can be drawn from these instances is that Sri Lankan Brāhmī is not identical with any other known Brāhmī script of India. It had been used in Sri Lanka long before the missionaries came in the 3rd century B.C. Perhaps the original Brāhmī script was introduced to Sri Lanka by the Aryan settlers who came to this Island in the 6th century B.C.

OMAR FAROUK SHAEIK AHMAD BAJUNID

*The Political Integration of the Muslims in Burma and Thailand  
A Cross-National Analysis*

Historically, geographically and culturally Burma shares some of Thailand's peculiar traits, however, in the more recent times, the impact of colonial rule in Burma on the one hand, and Thailand's continued political independence on the other, and their consequential adoption of different political methods and strategies in meeting the challenges of the tasks of nation-building in the post-Second World War period have contributed to make these states economically, ideologically and politically distinctive from each other. Both Burma and Thailand, as modern nation-states are multi-ethnic in character although this seems much more so in the case of the former. Both countries are Buddhist and have attempted at one point of time or other to use Buddhism as a unifying religio-cultural force but Buddhism has almost invariably been overshadowed by political and ideological considerations in these two states. In Burma, Buddhism has been used to legitimize the Marxist-Leninist ideology with the conceptualization of the Burmese Way to Socialism. In Thailand, the development of constitutional politics has ushered in an unresolved tussle between the proponents of liberal democracy on the one hand and the advocates of bureaucratic and in particular military hegemony on the other. Both these states have a substantial and significant Muslim minority population which has had to grapple with difficult problems of readjustments following the abovementioned developments.

This paper seeks to depict the role of the Muslims in the modern polities of Burma and Thailand within a comparative framework. The current status of the Muslims in present-day Burma is first described and the heterogeneity of the Muslim community highlighted. The evolution of the community from the traditional period through to the post-colonial era in the case of Burma and from the traditional through to the constitutional period in the context of Thailand is assessed. It is argued that in the traditional period the Muslims co-existed harmoniously with their Buddhist counterparts in Burma and Thailand, for the most part. Colonial rule in Burma created gulfs between the Muslims and the Burmans in particular. In the case of Thailand, the modernization of its polity as a consequence of the impact of colonialism in the region began to sow the seeds of political trouble. The role of external variables both in Burma and Thailand has threatened to internationalize the political problems of the Muslim minorities in both these states much to their chagrin.

The dislocation of liberal democracy in Burma affected the Muslims severely. The isolationist measures undertaken by the military leaders of Burma and the espousal of socialist goals translated in Buddhist terms became unnerving for the majority of the Muslims, particularly those who cherished a strong Indian identity and conservative Islamic way of life. But for those who had envisioned the need for greater rapport with Burmese national aspirations having recognized the irreversibility of their membership in the new Burmese polity, the process of readjustments was attempted. Inevitably the inward-looking Muslims became threatened by this new development and intra-communal schisms began to develop making the Muslim minority within Burma a dynamic group in its own right.

Unlike Burma, Thailand's political evolution in the constitutional era has been more gradual and consistent. In view of the absence of the colonial experience, the attempt to introduce liberal democracy has had to contend with the inner forces of Thai political culture which



survived royal absolutism. Hence although a form of democracy has evolved within Thailand particularly in the more recent years, this model of democracy is invariably conceived and implemented in the Thai mould of thoughts. The need to demonstrate one's Thainess first is probably far more compelling than any other factor. For the Muslims of Thailand who are already part and parcel of the wider Thai culture, the Thai democratic model becomes immediately comprehensible. For others, especially the Malay-Muslims who have been struggling to preserve their ethnic identity, adjustments to the present realities will not be all that easy.

RUŽICA ČIČAK-CHAND

*South Asia — Migrations as a Factor of Inter-State Relations*

The principal characteristic of population movements — immigrants and refugees — in South Asia is that they are largely unwanted by receiving countries and, therefore, tend to generate frequent and usually large-scale conflicts between the states concerned, involving "high" politics and interventions from heads of the respective states.

The major sources of tension and conflict, resulting from interregional movements, can be mainly traced back to colonial rule: firstly, owing to the specific pattern of colonial migration politics a large number of Indians moved to the neighbouring countries of Burma and Sri Lanka. The presence and, in some cases, dominance of these migrants did not pose any political problem under colonial rule. With the advent of independence, however, as political power passed into the hands of the indigenous population, the economic dominance of the Indian communities in relation to the indigenous population lost its political backing and resulted, in Burma, in massive emigration of Indians. In Sri Lanka inter-ethnic conflicts between the Indian and the Sri Lankan Tamil and the Sinhalese communities have remained the main source of social tension in the country and impaired bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka.

Secondly, the partition of the subcontinent and the creation of a disjointed Pakistan led to the "exchange" of population. The resettling of a vast multitude of people (over 12 million) and the recovery of claims made by the refugees from both countries resulted in considerable misunderstanding and mutual hostility between India and Pakistan for many years to come. The second partition of the subcontinent and the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 brought almost ten million refugees into India's northeastern states; India's decision to invade Pakistan was in large part due to the massive influx of East Bengali refugees.

Thirdly, India's position of primacy in South Asia in terms of size and strength and the presence of Indian communities in three of the region's countries and the fear of India's possible intervention on their account have aggravated the atmosphere of mistrust and conflict in the region.

Another important dimension, in fact the most prominent feature of South Asian contemporary reality, is the huge demographic pressure together with the very slow pace of economic growth and development. That, by itself, in any major population movement from one South Asian country to another is bound to create conflicting inter-ethnic relations and subsequently conflicting inter-state relations. For instance, a continual influx of the former East Pakistani refugees, today's Bangladeshi migrants to India aggravates the otherwise tense conditions in

the North-East of India. It is also a permanent hindrance to interstate co-operation between the two neighbouring countries. Also, an open Indo-Nepal border has partly prevented the economic domination of Indian migrants in Nepal from becoming an acute problem, but their free movement into the Kingdom is increasingly viewed by the Nepali government as creating social and economic difficulties in the country.

In the context of South Asian countries which have been experiencing major social and political changes, migration processes and interethnic disputes are often caused by religious and political conflicts and traditional heritage even though their causes are, above all, of an economic nature.

M. BASHEER AHMED KHAN

*Conflicts in a Plural Society — The Problem of Religious Minorities in India*

From Kanyakumari to Kashmir and from Kutch to Tamu, India is one with a single nationhood, nation being understood as the largest effective political agency. This, however, does not conceal the fact that in sociological terms, within the single nation, a large number of societies exist, thereby giving the country the status of a plural society. Judging from the outstanding and closely interwoven fundamentals that compose a society, like the groups, uniformities, standards, and institutions, the existence of a plural society in India becomes all the more clear.

The Indian society is composed of all sorts of secondary groups besides the primary groups and the religious groups being more important parts of the social life of the country. The religious groups have set uniformities and standards to spread their culture and achievements so that their benefits and responsibilities are felt by all their members in definite degrees. They have also established institutions that govern the complete realm of social life. The plural nature of the society is not only de facto, but also de jure and the Indian Constitution has made official recognition of this fact. Articles 14, 15, 16, 17, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30 implicitly and explicitly accepted the plurality of the Indian society.

History is full of evidences for the conflicts in a plural society. Rapid changes in groups break up population into classes and while some adapt to new situations quickly while others do not, conflicts result. There are groups that maneuver to achieve positions of greater influence and control in the changing social order which create conflict in the process. The Indian independence and the pre-partition violent conflicts were thought to be a closed chapter and the Indian Republic that emerged was expected to be a land of peace. However, the plural society that existed in India even after partition and independence was realistically and ideologically accepted by the national leaders and constitution makers. The failure on the part of many groups in politics, administration and religion from the different societies of the country to act according to the requirements of a plural society has belied this expectation and the conflicts that continue are the part of this behavioural pattern of some groups who maneuver to achieve dominance not only in politics, but in religion, too.

India with many minority religious and linguistic groups is facing the problem of the continued conflicts even manifesting their violent nature also. In the maneuvering tactics of some groups to wield dominance and control, mistrust has been created among the various



religious communities and the minority religious groups are struggling to maintain their identity, which is further construed as separatist strategy. This in the existing socio-political conundrum has posed as the major problem of the religious minorities perpetuating a conflict in the pluralistic Indian society.

All groups are aware that separatism is not in the interest of any one. Hence, the picturisation of the identity struggle of minorities as separatism is sad for the nation. A social and educational process in lines of integrating the various groups in the interest of the nation and removing the misconception propagated about the separatism and implementation of constitutional provisions in right spirit and strict discipline could only be the solutions to the problem in the Indian context.

FRIDRIK THORDARSON

*The Ossetic Bākh Fāldisyn Funeral Rites*

*Bākh Fāldisyn* ("Horse Dedication", German "Roßweihe") is the name of a funeral rite which was practised by the Ossetes at the burial of chieftains until recent times. Similar rites were common among neighbouring Caucasian peoples. These ceremonies have been referred to by various scholars since the early 19th century; the first text was published by A. Schiefner in 1863, but since then other text variants have appeared in print.

*Bākh Fāldisyn* is a nominal compound, consisting of *bākh* "horse" and *fāldisyn* "to consecrate, esp. to a dead person or the realm of the dead; to create" (< Ir. \**pari-* + *dais-* "to show", cf. Skt. *pari-diśāti* "to announce").

At the ceremony a horse is dedicated to the use of the soul on its way to the netherworld. Great importance is attached to the qualities of the horse. It is not sacrificed, but after the funeral it is subject to certain taboos. In the same way the widow is dedicated to the needs of her dead husband; human sacrifices are not recorded in modern times. Simultaneously a sermon of some length is declaimed. The language is in part archaic and characterized by conventional phrases which recur with little variation from sermon to sermon. No doubt we have to do with an oral tradition that has been handed down, with gradual modifications, during the centuries. The reciter — the *Bākh Fāldisakh* — is not a professional priest, but the phraseology and the length of the sermon presuppose some kind of schooling.

The sermon gives a description of the journey of the soul to the land of the dead, *Dzānāt* ("Paradise"). There is some variation regarding the visions met by the soul, but in all essentials both the visions and the eschatological notions they reflect are identical. The journey consists of three stages:

- 1) The dead man crosses a bridge, which is a dangerous enterprise. In some texts he here meets a gate-keeper, *Aminon*, who asks questions about his behaviour while alive. In other texts these questions are put by some other mythological figure after the bridge has been crossed. The answer is intended to exemplify the ideal of aurea mediocritas. Sometimes the bridge is placed after the visions of stage two; but it is evident that it is an indispensable part of the journey.
- 2) On his further journey the dead man meets a number of people who suffer punishment or receive reward for their actions while alive, a kind of moral paradeigmata. As to the actions, the texts may vary, but it is always a question of social duties which have been kept or neglected. The visions are explained by an interpreter in a dialogue with the soul. On the whole, dialogues play a considerable role in the texts.
- 3) The soul arrives in *Dzānāt* where it is usually received by *Barastyr*, the Lord of the Dead. Sometimes it joins one or more of the heroes of the Nart epos. Occasionally, Christ is met at this place.

Sermons of this kind seem to have been alien to the funeral rites of the neighbouring peoples; at least, they have not been recorded.

The parade of rewards and punishments has its counterpart in the legends of the journey of *Soslan*, the Nart hero, to the netherworld, where he seeks the help of his dead wife to remarry. On his way he meets the same visions of reward and punishment as are found in the



funeral sermons. These are explained to him by his wife in a phraseology which is mostly identical with that of the Bakh Faldisyn interpreter. It is tempting to believe that both Soslan's "Katabasis" and the funeral sermon reflect the same oral visionary traditions, and that both are related to old shamanistic practices. The visions described by the Bakh Faldisag would thus be derived from shamanistic rites where the shaman accompanied the soul on its journey to the land of the dead, in a way that is well-known all over the Eurasian steppes, and that seems to be reflected by Herodotus' account of the sweating bath as a part of the Scythian funeral customs (IV, 71 ff.). Both Herodotus and archaeological excavations in the Ponto-Caspian area attest to the role of horses in the funeral rites of antiquity. The replacement of the sanguinary sacrifices of ancient times by a symbolic consecration may be ascribed to Christian (and Islamic?) influence in the Middle Ages.

ESTHER JACOBSON

*From Mythic Symbol to Narrative Structure  
Landscape Representation in the Art of Scytho-Siberians*

This paper considers the evolution of Scytho-Siberian artistic references to landscape and their underlying concepts. The assumption here is that the natural world was a primary sphere of reference for the early nomads, but that its character evolved in form and meaning.

Within early Scytho-Siberian burials (eighth to fifth centuries B.C.) are included images of leaves, plant parts and individual animals. By the late fifth to early fourth centuries B.C., there began to appear a fuller representation of plants and trees as indicators of a coherent landscape setting, as well as animals joined in psychological relationships. By the fourth century B.C., there emerged coherent framed settings for human and animal interaction. Finally, in the Issyk headdress and its presumed analogues, one finds the fully articulated mountainous landscape setting. These changes suggest a transition away from concern with mythic symbols existing in absolute space (that is, from a mythopoeic universe) to narrative structures lodged within constrained and qualified space.

A similar transformation may be documented in petroglyphic remains from Siberia in the first millennium B.C. There one detects a sequential pattern: from the juxtaposition of individual unrelated images to the creation of narrative scenes including animals and humans. Although these petroglyphs almost never contain reference to trees or to the character of landforms, their increasing reference to psychological interaction indicates a developing concern with *significant space*.

One is thus led to hypothesize that the mythopoeic universe of the early nomads was gradually replaced by a universe in which space had limitation and distinction, in which the principle actor assumed a human form, and in which relationships between animals and humans were charged by the psychological tension characteristic of narrative. This hypothesis is tentatively confirmed by an examination of the archaic Siberian epic (Mongol *uliger* and Yakut *olangkho*). Here one finds the gradual transformation of the heroic figure from shaman, to hunter, to warrior; of helping spirits from zoomorphic to anthropomorphic form; and of the shamanic journey through vast space to the heroic journey, earth-bound and accomplished on steed. Within this transformation of the archaic epic, believed to have occurred during the later first millennium B.C., the character of space emerged as constrained,

and as marked by signifying trees, plants, or other elements. In other words, the archaic epic, like the archeological record of the early nomadic period, documents the appearance of narrative structures and narrative space out of an earlier mythopoeic universe.

It is apparent that the early nomadic conception and representation of landscape was bound to a changing order of society. The gradual constraining and marking of spatial order, the emergence of psychological interaction and narrative structures imply an increasing understanding of significant space as earth-bound. Similarly, the emergence of narrative centered on the human actor may well reflect the replacement of shamanic power by tribal leadership buttressed by new patterns of lineal descent and political patronage.

HANS-WILHELM HAUSSIG

*Die ältesten Namen der Seide und die Wanderungen iranischer Stämme  
aus Mittelasien nach Südrussland*

Einen Zusammenhang der Namen für Seide mit denen von Völkern in Zentralasien gibt es nur dort, wo sich auch eine Ableitung des Namens nachweisen läßt. Das ist bei den Namen *Serikon* und *Seres* der Fall. Von Ptolemaios wurde das Tarimbecken wegen der dort wohnenden *Seres Serike* genannt. Zu den östlichen Nachbarn von *Serike* gehörten nach ihm die *Sinoi*, die nach seiner Angabe auf einem anderen Kartenblatt mit den Chinesen identisch sein müssen.

Untergruppen der *Seres* waren nach Strabo die *Tocharoi* und die *Frounoi*. Nach Ptolemaios gehörten auch die erst von Alkman und dann von Herodot genannten *Issedonen* zu ihnen. Über die *Tocharoi* ist durch Strabo weiter bekannt, daß sie und die *Pasiano* im Jahre 129 v. Chr. zusammen mit den *Asioi* und *Sakarauoi* den *Jaxartes* überschritten. Von ihnen ließen sich die *Tocharoi* zwischen *Hindukusch* und *Amu darya* nieder, wo ihr Name noch in islamischer Zeit dieses Gebiet bezeichnet.

Der Name *Frounoi* läßt sich im Grenzgebiet von Pamir- und Karakorumgebirge auf einer Münze in der Form *From* nachweisen. *From* wird in einer köktürkischen Inschrift mit *Pur(i)m* wiedergegeben. Es ist das gleiche Wort, das bei den Chinesen in der Umschreibung *Fu-lin* das oströmische Reich bezeichnet.

Über die *Issedonen*, das dritte der zu den *Serern* gehörenden Völker, ist bekannt, daß sie östlich der *Argypaioi* wohnten, die Herodot als in Jurten wohnende Nomaden schildert. Sie waren jenes Volk, das die Skythen nach Mittelasien zur Auswanderung zwang, von wo aus sie weiter nach Südrussland zogen. Demnach wird man ein Gebiet im Norden des Tarimbeckens als ihre Heimat annehmen müssen.

Wenn Ptolemaios das Tarimbecken als *Serike* bezeichnet, gibt er damit den Hinweis auf die Herkunft der Seide, die Strabo als *Serika dermati* kennt. Wie Pelliot gezeigt hat, läßt sich *Seres* nicht mit dem chinesischen Wort für Seide, das in altchinesischer Aussprache *Sy* (*Sseu*) lautet, in Verbindung bringen. Das hier fehlende chinesische Wort für Seide ist in *Issedon*, einer Verbindung aus *Sy* und *Thauna*, enthalten. Hier ist also, ebenso wie bei *Sindon*, das sich aus *Sin*, der durch Ptolemaios bekannten Bezeichnung für China, und dem sakischen Wort für Kleidung/Tuch, *Thauna*, zusammensetzt, einem "chinesischen Tuch" die Rede. Anders als bei *Serikon*, das einen Handelsartikel der *Serer* bezeichnet, ist hier also zwischen



einem "chinesischen Tuch" und einem "Seidentuch" zu unterscheiden. (Der Vokal im Anlaut des Wortes in der griechischen Überlieferung erklärt sich wahrscheinlich aus der Doppelkonsonanz, die man nur durch Vorsetzen eines Vokals aussprechen konnte.) Herodots Beschreibung der Schädelbestattung der Issedonen wird durch die Auffindung entsprechender Gräber mit chinesischer Seide indirekt bestätigt.

Von den schon erwähnten Tocharoi ist nach Ptolemaios bekannt, daß ein Teil von ihnen im Osten von Droana (Tun-huang) wohnte. Ihr Name wurde dort *Taguroi* ausgesprochen. Dort lagen wohl auch die ältesten Wohnsitze jener Tourkoi, die wegen ihrer Kunst der Eisenbearbeitung von den Juan-Juan in den Altai geholt wurden, von wo aus sie nach der Vernichtung der Juan-Juan ein eigenes Reich gründeten. Sie hatten mit den Serern nicht nur den Verkauf der Seide, sondern auch die Herstellung hochwertiger Eisenwaren gemeinsam. Wenn also der Herrscher der Türken den aus *Seres* und *Yabgu* zusammengesetzten Titel *Silgibu* trägt, kann man vermuten, daß das köktürkische Wort für Seide, *Torqu*, wie *Serikon* aus *Seres* auf den Volksnamen *Tourkoi* zurückgeht und das gleiche Volk, die Serer, bezeichnet, wobei die Verwendung von *Sil* statt *Sir* durch eine auch in Fluß- und Landesnamen nachzuweisende parthische Aussprache zu erklären ist.

R.E.EMMERICK

#### *The Crosby Collection*

My search for the Crosby collection began in 1968 when Mrs Joanna Williams drew my attention to the possibility that Khotanese manuscripts may have been among the manuscripts from Khotan deposited by Oscar Terry Crosby in the Library of Congress as recorded in his book *Tibet and Turkestan* published in New York and London in 1905, pp. 60 ff. Crosby wrote: 'I have placed these in the Congressional Library, with request that they be made available, as far as possible, to any inquiring paleographer.'

On the plate opposite page 130 of his book Crosby reproduced photographically two of the fragments, both written in Sanskrit. The large fragment shown completely with ten lines broken on the right is a *Prajñāpāramitā* text. The same plate shows the right hand side of another fragment of Buddhist Sanskrit. A further plate is found opposite page 136, also reproducing part of the manuscript collection. The piece partly showing at the bottom right is the left hand portion of the same Buddhist Sanskrit fragment as that whose right hand portion was shown on the plate opposite page 130. Above it is shown the left hand part of folio 3 from the same manuscript. The large piece on the left with four lines is also Sanskrit. It is one of several fragments belonging to a manuscript containing many Buddha names.

In the hope that it would encourage scholars to look out for any clue to the whereabouts of the Crosby collection I published an account of my search (pp.175 ff.) in an article entitled 'The historical importance of the Khotanese manuscripts', pp.167-177 in *Prolegomena to the sources on the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia*, ed. J.Harmatta, Budapest 1979.

Essentially the matter rested there until I discussed the problem with Gene Smith in Kyoto in 1983. He was of the opinion that the material must be still somewhere in the Library of Congress and said that he would look into the matter when he visited the United States. This he duly did and I received from him a letter dated 27.6.1984, from which I quote: 'the "Crosby deposit" surfaced on the 22nd of June. ...Susan Meinheit, the secretary of the South

Asian Section of the Asian Division who is very interested in Tibet, noticed the packet on the shelf in a caged area of the Asian Division. She had a file which I had given her on the problem including your article and remembered your interests.'

In 1985 I received from the Library of Congress a microfilm of all the manuscript fragments belonging to the Crosby collection. The microfilm carries the note: 'Acquired in Khotan, Central Asia by Oscar Terry Crosby in 1903 and deposited in the Library of Congress in 1904. There are in the neighborhood of 150 fragments. They appear roughly in order of size, from smaller to larger. The two sides of each fragment are copied one immediately after the other.'

It was decided to exhibit some of the fragments of the Crosby collection in the Library of Congress exhibition 'Discovering India' that was held from 20 June to 6 October 1985, and in this connection I sent to Mr. A.W.Thrasher, reference librarian in the Southern Asia Section of the Asian Division, a preliminary description of the contents of the collection after a brief examination of it. In particular, he had inquired about two items (278 and 279) that are written in non-brahmi script. After careful consideration of the two pages concerned I wrote to him that I considered them to be forgeries. He replied on 1.10.1985 that 'the LC Conservation Office ran a test on a microscopic scale for the water solubility of the ink on the fragments numbered 278 and 279 on the microfilm, the ones in the odd script. The ink turned out not to be soluble in water. As you know, Stein wrote that the writing on yellow paper in "cabalistic scripts" that he determined to be fraudulent washed out in water. Despite this lack of confirmation of my opinion that the fragments are forgeries, I think it may merely prove that the forgeries came from a different workshop from the one tracked down by Stein.

Apart from the two pages that I consider to be forgeries there are fifty-six fragments in Khotanese and the remainder are probably all in Sanskrit although in the case of some of the very small fragments it is difficult to be sure whether the language is Sanskrit or Khotanese.

Four fragments I have been able to identify as fragments of a translation of the *Saṅghāṣūtra*: 164+165, 218+219, 248+249, 256+257. They are in fact all part of a single folio of the *Saṅghāṣūtra* representing *Saṅghāṣūtra* §§ 62-65.

Four other fragments in the same script and evidently belonging to the same manuscript are parts of an omen text and have similar terms to the two previously known omen texts: Hedin 17 KT 4.31-32 and Kha vi.4.1 KT 3.130 (translated KT 4.114). The four fragments each have six lines on each side. The fragments are: 106+107, 110+111, 186+187, 246+247. Two of them bear folio numbers in the left margin. 187 is folio 1 and 246 is folio 7. Both these folios begin with the word 'siddham', which is commonly used at the beginning of a text or of a chapter.

Another group of four fragments is of some interest: 78+79, 104+105, 184+185, and 190+191. These fragments are also all written in the same script and have six lines on each side of the folio. They are part of a medical text and most of them mention needles and cauterisation.

One of the Khotanese fragments (272+273) is part of a document written in cursive script in Late Khotanese. It is dated in the rat year of the seventeenth regnal year of an unnamed king.

As for the Sanskrit texts in the Crosby collection, they are all written in Buddhist Hybrid



Sanskrit. The texts are Mahayanist, but so far I have been able to identify only one specific Sanskrit text. Many of the Sanskrit fragments belong to the Prajñāpāramitā literature, which is very extensive and very repetitive so that it is extremely difficult to identify fragments. In fact very few such fragments have been identified because we have no complete text of a Central Asian recension of a Prajñāpāramitā work.

On the 18.5.1985 I was able to identify fragment 228+229 as being a fragment of a Sanskrit manuscript of the Sumukha-dhāraṇī. I published a short article concerning this fragment in *Deyadharma: Studies in memory of Dr. D. C. Sircar*, ed. G. Bhattacharya, Delhi 1986, 165-167 + plates 1-2. This fragment is of particular interest because it overlaps with folio 6 of the Leningrad manuscript, which was studied by G.M. Bongard-Levin, M.I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya, and E.N. Tyomkin in their article 'A fragment of the Sanskrit Sumukhadhāraṇī', published in *IJ*, X.2/3, 1967, 150-159. The Crosby fragment is there shown to have superior readings.

DOUGLAS A. HITCH

#### Old Khotanese Synchronic Umlaut

A major feature of Old Khotanese morphophonology is the umlaut of particular noun and verb morphemes when certain endings are added. The details at first glance appear complex: e.g., for past stem infinitives there is vowel umlaut in *hvīte* < *hvata-* 'to speak', consonant umlaut in *gište* < *gista-* 'to help' but no umlaut in *yuḍe* < *yuḍa-* 'to make, do', etc. Until now no attempt has been made to formulate a single rule covering all instances of this process. A new approach to the subject has become feasible largely as a result of E.G. Pulleyblank's work on Chinese in Late Khotanese script. Pulleyblank suggests that Late Khotanese had cerebrality and aspiration as distinctive features rather than secondary palatalization of dentals and voiceless fricativity as argued by R.E. Emmerick (*The Consonant Phonemes of Khotanese*, *Acta Iranica* 21, 1981, 185-209). The Late Khotanese values are probably valid for Old Khotanese also and they permit the composition of a single, simple and coherent rule outlining the regular synchronic process of umlaut.

**Synchronic Umlaut Formula:** When an umlaut triggering suffix is attached to a morpheme, the potential for palatalization is drawn backwards through that morpheme towards the stressed vowel. As it encounters each segment, three kinds of behaviour are possible: (1) the potential may be realized by the palatalization of an *umlautable* segment, or (2) it may be neutralized by reception into an *absorbing* segment, or (3) it may be allowed to pass further into the morpheme by a *transparent* segment. The potential never moves farther back than the stressed vowel.

The chart below organizes the Old Khotanese phonological segments according to behaviour with respect to umlaut. Column 1) contains umlautable consonants and vowels. Column 2) shows those that absorb the palatalization potential. The same segments are also produced by umlaut and so lines are drawn between columns 1) and 2) connecting umlautable segments with their umlauted correspondents. Column 3) shows the transparent segments. Each phonemic representation in slanted brackets (/ /) is accompanied by the usual transliterations of the graphs denoting it.

#### Umlaut Scheme

| 1)<br>Umlautable | 2)<br>Absorbing or<br>Umlauted | 3)<br>Transparent                 |
|------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| /k/ k            |                                | /t/ tt, t, ʈ                      |
| /g/ gg, g        |                                | /d/ t, d, ḍ                       |
| /kʰ/ kh          |                                | /tʰ/ th                           |
| /tʰ/ tʰ          | /č/ c, ky                      | /t/ ʈ                             |
| /dʰ/ js          | /j/ j, gy                      | /d/ ḍ                             |
| /tʰʰ/ ts         | /čʰ/ ch                        | /tʰ/ th, ʈh                       |
|                  | (umlaut only)                  |                                   |
| /s/ s            | /š/ šš, ś                      | /s/ šš, ś                         |
| /z/ ys           | /ž/ ž                          | /z/ ž                             |
| /n/ n, ṇ         | /ñ/ ñ                          | /nd/ nd                           |
|                  | /y/ y                          | /r/ rr, r                         |
|                  | (absorption only)              |                                   |
|                  | (all vowels stressed)          |                                   |
| /a/ a            | /ī/ ī                          | /i/ i                             |
| /ā/ ā            | /ē/ e                          | /e/ ā                             |
| /aʷ/ au, o       | /wē/ ve, vai, e                | /o/ o, au                         |
| /ū/ ū            | /wī/ vī, uī                    | /u/ u                             |
|                  |                                | (/a/ unstressed, only in -āmātā-) |

(The behaviour of the segments written *d*, *b*, *g*, *p*, *ph*, *hv*, *ai* and *ei* has not been noticed.) The author's handout contains a suffix list showing, with examples, all the grammatical categories featuring umlaut. There are also examples illustrating the behaviour of each segment with respect to umlaut.

ANNA BUTLER

#### On the Nart Hero Acāmāz

The Nart hero Acāmāz is a unique figure in the Ossetic Nart Epos. He belongs to the Acātā family, about which very little else is known. There are two traditions concerning Acāmāz which are strikingly different in style and content.

The main points of the first tradition can be summarised as follows: while still a baby, Acāmāz takes his dead father's miraculous horse and goes to join the army which has been mustered to take vengeance on the giant who murdered Acāmāz's father, Acā. Acāmāz, with the assistance of his horse, fights the giant in single combat. Each night the giant returns home to an enchantress wife who can heal his wounds. Acāmāz, however, becomes weaker and weaker and eventually falls in the battle. His enemy drags him home half dead but the enchantress wife takes pity on Acāmāz and cures him. While the giant sleeps, Acāmāz slays him and returns to the Narts with his wife and much booty.

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Dumézil felt that this story was somewhat different in style and content from the stories of the great Narts. This is not so, however. All the main motifs and episodes in this tale can be encountered in other Nart cycles. The baby hero is reminiscent of the hero of the siege of the fortress of Gori in the Soslan cycle. The marvellous horse and the theme of the child hero avenging his father are well known features in the cycle of Batraz. The enchantress wife is also found in the story of Subālci.

One short Digoron account concerning the division of booty after the siege of the fortress of Gori involves Acāmāz and Sirdon. The story is more like an anecdote than a true Nart legend. Acāmāz probably enters the tale because of confusion with the other child hero at the siege of the fortress of Gori.

The second tradition is the one which sets Acāmāz apart from the other Narts. In contrast to the violence of the first, typically Nart tradition, it is a poetic account of how Acāmāz seduces the inaccessible Agunda by playing his marvellous flute. When he plays, all nature is moved by his music: glaciers melt, rivers overflow, animals and birds dance.

Dumézil recorded no variants of this legend in his 1930 book, *Légendes sur les Nartes*, because he had no access to the 1911 Tuganov collection of Digoron texts in which the best variant appears. This variant was published again by Abaev in 1939. However, the short poem no. 47 of the Digoron Pamjatniki 2 collection of 1927 is a very short account of this lovely story. The Digoron stories which tell of Acāmāz's successful wooing of the maiden Wadzäftawā may also belong with this tradition, although we are not told why Acāmāz was preferred to any of the other Narts.

The motif of the marvellous musician with power to enthrall nature is widespread in world mythology. Abaev interprets the legend of Acāmāz the musician as a solar myth, indicating the awakening of nature after the sleep of winter.

An alternative suggestion would be to see Acāmāz as a shamanic figure with power over nature. Such a suggestion has been made in the case of the Greek Orpheus who may have entered Greek mythology through Scythia and Thrace. If Acāmāz were such a figure, this might account for his unusual status and obscure family background among the Narts. The problem is to reconcile the two different traditions about him. It is impossible to say for certain which is older but it seems unlikely that the two traditions originally belonged to the same hero. It would seem that at some point the minor Nart hero of the first tradition took on the characteristics of the marvellous musician figure, which is clearly an old motif in world mythology.

### Considerations

- The 28th International Congress of Orientalists in Canberra (1971) accepted, in a unanimously accepted resolution, the need of cataloguing all Arabic manuscripts and the need of stimulating all efforts and programs in this field.
- The participants to the ICANAS, the direct successor to the Congress in Canberra, are asked to evaluate the developments in this respect, which have taken place since 1971.
- Manuscripts in other Middle Eastern languages, both Islamic and non-Islamic, are equally worth our attention. What has been done with these in the past years?
- After cataloguing come the questions of preservation and availability. It is deemed necessary to create an atmosphere in which international cooperation is possible.
- Preservation is possible with the availability of sound techniques only. The establishment of a micro-archive, which operates outside the sphere of commercial interests, is a complement to preservation policies.
- Availability is of primordial importance. All Middle Eastern literatures are still mainly available in the form of manuscripts. The survival of these literatures depends on the use of its manuscript treasures.
- Participants are requested to make an inventory of difficulties encountered and solutions proposed. They may do so in their capacity of curators, responsible for the use of manuscript collections, or as scholarly readers, who are concerned with the unhampered study of such collections.
- In view of the numerous and manifold difficulties, which will without doubt be presented by the participants, would it be possible for the ICANAS as whole, or its participants as private persons, to initiate the necessary activities?

At the end of the session of the panel the text of a new resolution on this subject, to be accepted in the Plenary Session of the ICANAS, will be proposed.



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