

## **Book reviews**

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- 115 **Birgitta Ryberg**, Yūsuf Idrīs (1927-1991). Identitätskrise und Gesellschaftlicher Umbruch. Beirut 1992. (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila)
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- 117 'Abdalqādir ibn 'Umar al-Baġdādī, Glossen zu Ibn Hishāms Kommentar zu dem Gedicht Bānat Su'ād. Teil 2, I-II. Hrsg. **Nazif Hoca**, überarbeitet und mit Indices versehen von **Muḥammad al-Ḥuġairī**. 1990. (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila)
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- 118 *Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmid*. Hrsg., übersetzt und erläutert von **Bernd Radtke**. Erster Teil: Die Arabischen Texte. Beirut 1992. (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila)
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- 136 **Hermann Berger** (ed.), Mythology in modern Indian literature. Stuttgart 1992. (Rev. by Asko Parpola)
- 137 **Cecil Bendall**, Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge. Stuttgart 1992. (Rev. by Klaus Karttunen)
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- 139 **A. A. Vigasin** (ed.), Istorija i kul'tura Drevnej Indii. Teksty. Moskva 1990. (Rev. by Klaus Karttunen)
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- 141 *Mahabharata*. Kniga vos'maja o Karne (Karnaparva). Perevod s sanskrita, predislovie i kommentarij **Ja. V. Vasil'kova** i **S. L. Nevelevoj**. Moskva 1990. (Rev. by Klaus Karttunen)
- 142 **Folker E. Reichert**, Begegnungen mit China. Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter. Sigmaringen 1992. (Rev. by Klaus Karttunen)
- 143 Die "Geschichte der höchst bemerkenswerten Dinge und Sitten im chinesischen Königreich" des Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Ming-zeitlichen China. Hrsg. von **Margareta Griebler**. Sigmaringen 1992. (Rev. by Kaj Öhrnberg)
- 145 **Florian C. Reiter**, Grundelemente und Tendenzen des religiösen Taoismus: das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yüan- und frühen Ming-Zeit. Stuttgart 1988. (Rev. by Kaj Öhrnberg)
- 147 **Margareta Griebler**, Das letzte dynastische Begängnis: chinesisches Trauerzeremoniell zum Tod der Kaiserwitwe Cixi; eine Studie. Stuttgart 1991. (Rev. by Kaj Öhrnberg)

Das Pyramidenbuch des Abū Ġaʿfar al-Idrīsī (st. 649/1251). Eingeleitet und kritisch herausgegeben von **Ulrich Haarmann**. (*Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Bd. 38.)

Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1991. 94+283 pp. (Arabic text). The opinion put forward by Patricia Crone and Michael Cook in their controversial book *Hagarism* (1977) that in Islam Egypt was not so much a nation or even a country as simply a place is, of course, a moot question already contested in 1980 by the editor of the study now under review Professor Ulrich Haarmann.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, where the Iranians succeeded in translating *their* pre-Islamic past into *their* accepted history (and not only theirs but universally within the Islamic world), the Egyptians did not; the pyramids the Egyptians had to offer were, to say the least, at best an ambiguous asset. Another problem with Egypt is that Egyptian national sentiment remained low-key and subtle with no scholarly Egyptian Firdausī, as Professor Haarmann himself has noted, to eulogize and legitimize his country's pagan past in the old surviving language.<sup>2</sup> The reasons for this discrepancy between these two countries included in the Arab empire in the seventh century are various and complex; for one, in Iran the glorious national pre-Islamic past was still in living memory while in Egypt the coming of Christianity some centuries earlier had all too effectively wiped out the reminiscences of a memorable history. The main reason, however, is to be found in the utmost negative image given of the Egyptian Pharaoh in the Koran and in Islamic tradition.

If we accept Paul Fussell's tripartition that "before tourism there was travel, and before travel there was exploration",<sup>3</sup> then we could also say that the general indifference or even outright hostility of the Muslim Egyptians towards their pre-Islamic past and its monuments ended only with the coming of tourism. Tourism began to compete with travel in the mid-nineteenth century, when Thomas Cook began to ship sightseeing groups from the British Isles to the Continent and soon even further around the coasts of the Mediterranean. Georg August Wallin (1811-1852), the Finnish traveler and Arabist, experienced and described in his letters and diary the negative attitudes of the Egyptians towards the pyramids during his sojourn in Egypt in the pre-tourism days of the 1840s. Wallin or ʿAbd al-Wālī as he called himself, posing as a Muslim from Central Asia or the Caucasus, always met with disapproval when he displayed even the slightest interest in the pre-Islamic remains of Egypt, and the orthodoxy of his Islam was questioned when he wanted to visit the pyramids.

A turning-point in the writing of history in Egypt as well as a turning-point in the Egyptians' self-awareness of themselves as a nation occurred in 1868 (contemporary with the coming of tourism), when Rifāʿa Bey al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801-1873) published his *Anwār taufīq al-jalīl fī akhbār Miṣr wa-tauthīq banī Ismāʿīl*. It was the first part of a broadly-planned history of Egypt. The book covered the period of the ancient Egyptians (the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies), the Romans and the Byzantines, and it ended

<sup>1</sup> "Regional sentiment in medieval Islamic Egypt", *BSOAS* XLIII(1980)55-66.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Abroad: British literary traveling between the wars*, Oxford 1980, p. 38.



where Egyptian history written by Arabs in Arabic under Muslim rule had usually begun—the Arab conquest. But it was no easy task to reconcile the religion of modern Egypt and Egyptology; al-Ṭaḥṭāwī had some problems in harmonizing the findings of Western-style Egyptology with the traditional sombre Muslim picture of pre-Islamic Egypt but he, nevertheless, managed to create a dichotomy in the Egyptian psyche between Pharaonic Egypt and Islamic Egypt, a dichotomy only accentuated with the passing of time since the publication of the book.

Many Muslims in Egypt think that their society has *Orientalized* their Orient by taking extensive care of their Pharaonic antiquities and neglecting the Islamic ones, an opinion not quite unjustified. The revivalists of Egypt might be sending signals to their own government with their attacks on tourists in the 1990s; the outcome might well, however, be a return to pre-tourism days. The attitude towards the country's pre-Islamic past seems to be worsening with threats not dissimilar from those uttered by the Umayyad caliph Yazīd II that he would demolish all the relics of paganism in Egypt. The American Egyptologist William Murnane had an experience in the late 1980s that underscored this. He shared a local taxi with a bearded and turbaned *qāḍī* who, on learning Murnane's profession told him sternly: "The pharaohs are all in the fire now, you know..."<sup>4</sup>

While it is safe to say that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was among the first, if not the first to be influenced by—as we now name it—Pharaonism, he had, of course, some predecessors who wrote about the pyramids. It was as part and parcel of the *‘ajā’ib*-literature that the pyramids gained respectability; and the author who introduced the pyramids both as the supreme *u‘jūba* and as the unique symbol of Egypt is Abū Ja‘far al-Idrīsī (1173-1251) with his book *Anwār ‘ulwiyy al-ajrām fī kashf ‘an asrār al-ahrām*.

The book and its subject must have enjoyed some popularity through the centuries, judging from the dozen or so manuscripts the editor had at his disposal; it is "eine sorgfältig durchkomponierte Monographie mit einem fest umrissenen und abgegrenzten Thema, nämlich der Darbietung alles Wissenswerten über die Pyramiden Ägyptens" (p.42), divided into seven chapters. al-Idrīsī was, as far as we can tell, the first Muslim author to study *Pharaonica* systematically and comprehensively.

It is interesting to note that some of the themes cultivated by Egyptian historians since the ninth century seem to have been already obsolete in al-Idrīsī's time. Earlier historians, beginning with the doyen of Arabic Egyptian historiography—Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, tried in many ways to bridge the chasm felt to exist between *jāhilī*-Egypt and Islam. One way of doing this was to circulate traditions in which the special bonds linking Islam, its Prophet and the Prophets in general with Egypt were stressed. In al-Idrīsī's book one looks vainly for traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad exhorting the conquering Arabs to treat the Egyptians well, for they can claim the protection of and kinship with the Arabs. This kinship was originally explained to mean that Hagar, the mother of Ismā‘īl, was an Egyptian. Later on the traditionists introduced a concubine named Māriya (a gift from al-Muḥauqis, the ruler of Egypt in Arab opinion)

<sup>4</sup> N. A. Silberman, *Between past and present: archaeology, ideology, and nationalism in the modern Middle East*, New York 1989, p. 160.

into the household of the Prophet to further strengthen the ties between Egypt and Islam.<sup>5</sup>

al-Idrīsī's chosen way of rehabilitating the pyramids and even of, in a way, Islamicizing them, is to associate them with the immaculateness of the *ṣaḥāba*, the Companions of the Prophet. Already Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam had listed every member of the Companions who, according to Islamic lore, is credibly declared to have set foot in Egypt; he came up with fifty-two Companions. al-Idrīsī argues that the Companions did not mind living, dying, and even being buried in the shadow of the pyramids. Their presence sanctified the pyramids for the Muslims. Even in this connection it is of interest to note that Ibn Jabr (or alternatively Jabr ibn ʿAbdallāh), a Copt allegedly sent by al-Muḥaqqis with Māriya to Medina, and according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Ḥajar, one of the Companions, is not mentioned. Could this, perhaps, be taken as a deliberate act by al-Idrīsī to discredit a certainly unsound tradition? Anyhow, the problems a historian in the thirteenth century had to face were deŹnitely not those of earlier centuries.

al-Idrīsī pays much attention to the issue as to whether the pyramids were built before or after the Flood. Of the twenty-two authorities consulted by him on this matter, four favoured a post-diluvian date while al-Idrīsī himself as well as eighteen other authorities considered the pyramids to have been erected before the Deluge. The explanation given to Georg August Wallin in May 1844 seems to place his informant among the minority opinion: "He told me about the construction of the pyramids; the stones had been carried to the place simply by the magic of the Pharaoh, just with his voice and *ḥikma*."<sup>6</sup>

The editing is impeccable and really exemplary of how to edit Arabic texts. In the "Einleitung" both *Text* and *Verfasser und Werk* are presented with an astounding amount of information culled from, as it seems, all the relevant literature. A *fihrist* also to the "Einleitung" would have been helpful. There are a few peccadilloes in the Bibliography and Indices:

- p. 253 The author of *Futūḥ Miṣr* is, of course, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam.
- p. 281 Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy ought to be found under Silvestre.
- p. 281 Soucek, Priscilla P.

We are indebted to Professor Haarmann for finally providing an excellent edition of this fascinating work.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

**Fritz Meier**, Bausteine I-III. I-II hrsg. von **Erika Glassen** und **Gudrun Schubert**, III (Indices) herausgegeben von **Gudrun Schubert** und **Renate Würsch**. (*Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Bd. 53a-c.) Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1992. XXVI + 1195 (I-II) + 166 pp. (indices).

<sup>5</sup> On these matters see the reviewer's "*Māriya al-qibṭiyya* unveiled", *Studia Orientalia* 55(1984)297-303, and his article "Al-Muḥaqqis" in the *ET*.

<sup>6</sup> *Georg August Wallins reseanteckningar från Orienten åren 1843-1849 I*, Helsingfors 1864, p. 370.

Seldom has a collection of selected articles been more appropriately named than Fritz Meier's *Bausteine*. Not only are the contributions chosen important milestones (the tentative title was *Wegspuren*) in Islamic studies but they demonstrate, in this reviewer's opinion, the academic tradition in the German-speaking world at its best, where the *ṭabaqāt* of scholars form the edifice of scholarship. The *isnād* from Fritz Meier through Rudolf Tschudi and Hellmut Ritter to Adam Mez, Georg Jacob, C. H. Becker and the *Altmeister* Theodor Nöldeke is impeccable and as *ṣaḥīḥ* as they come. Fritz Meier's words of greeting to his teacher Rudolf Tschudi in the *Festschrift* in Tschudi's honour entitled *Westöstliche Abhandlungen* can without hesitation be used to describe Meier's own contribution to this edifice: "Im Zentrum Ihres Interesses stand und steht die Geschichte des islamischen Mittelalters, die Sie stets im Kraftfeld der Antike und in ihren Beziehungen zum Abenland und dem fernerer Osten sahen."

*Bausteine* was published in honour of the 80th birthday of Fritz Meier (June 10, 1992); his output over the last fifty years stretches geographically from the utmost West of *dār al-islām* deep into Central Asia, and chronologically from the Prophet to our times. The contents of the volumes are as follows: Vol. I begins with a bibliography of Meier's publications from 1937 to the present day (pp. XVII-XXVI). One monograph, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya*, is *in Vorbereitung*; one of the two articles waiting for publication when *Bausteine* went to press, "Der 'Urknall'. Eine Idee des Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī", has since appeared in *Oriens* 33(1992)1-21. Volume I is further divided into three parts: A. **Nachrufe**: Rudolf Tschudi (†1960) and Hellmut Ritter (†1971) (pp. 3-19); B. **Sufik**. Fritz Meier's first published book was *Vom Wesen der islamischen Mystik* (1943), so it is quite natural that Sufism has been a life-long interest with him. Twelve studies published on this subject between 1943 and 1989 are reprinted here (pp. 23-493); C. **Volkskunde** with four articles published between 1964 and 1981 (pp. 497-631). Volume II is divided into two parts with the pagination continuing from vol. I: D. **Religiöse Fragen und Parteien** contains ten articles published between 1954 and 1991 (pp. 635-968); E. **Literatur und Sprache** with six articles published between 1958 and 1991 (pp. 971-1195). Volume III consists of **Indices**.

One could ask the question how to celebrate the birthdays of scholars. Should they be given a *Festschrift* of essays written by their colleagues and students or honoured with a collection of their own contributions, as in this case? Without committing oneself, there is much to say for an enterprise such as *Bausteine*, more especially when carried out with such devotion and care as is displayed here. And for this our thanks go to both the author and the three editors. Professor Meier has updated all his articles with a *Nachträge und Verbesserungen des Verfassers*. In the article "Die *ṣumādiyya*, ein zweigorden der *qādiriyya* in Damaskus", when discussing the celebration of the Prophet's birthday, Professor Meier seems to have overlooked Niko Kaptein's important Ph.D. thesis *Het geboortefeest van de profheet Mohammed: oorsprong en verspreiding in het Nabije Oosten tot het begin van de 7e/13e eeuw; invoering en geschiedenis in de Maghrib en al-Andalus tot aan de dood van al-Wanšarīsī (914/1508)* (Leiden 1989; the English translation published by E. J. Brill in

1993 is entitled *Muḥammad's birthday festival*). The editors deserve our gratitude for the truly exemplary way in which they have prepared the detailed indices. My only criticism is that nowhere can one read about the principles guiding the choice of Professor Meier's articles for *Bausteine*. But all in all, a worthy homage to a great scholar!

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

**Jacqueline Sublet**, *Les trois vies du sultan Baïbars*. (Imprimerie Nationale Éditions) Paris 1992. 256 pp. + Ill.

What a feast! It is hard to imagine a book more handsomely produced than this one. The binding, the wrapper, the paper, the illustrations, the Arabic calligraphy, all and everything a real feast for the eye and something to hold and handle. And the content, the idea behind it all, a perfect match.

Baïbars al-Bunduqdārī, fifth Mamlūk ruler of the Baḥrīd dynasty<sup>7</sup> under the name al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, can be considered the true founder of the Mamlūk state. Neither our sources nor scholars have reached agreement as to the date of Baïbars' birth; he is said to have been born into a Qipčāq tribe in the Russian steppe north-east of the Black Sea, but the date given varies from 617/1220 to 625/1228. In 658/1260 Baïbars became sultan and he ruled for seventeen years until his death in 676/1277.

The *bonne idée* of Dr. Jacqueline Sublet was to present Baïbars' life by extracting it from three different types of source: his rise to power from the contemporary account made by the Sultan's head of chancery Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (620/1223-692/1293) while he himself was still alive; his reign from a history related a century and half after his death by the well-known Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (766/1364-845/1442); and his legend from an extensive Arabic folk-tale put into writing in Syria at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The path to power, taken from Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *al-Rauḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, covers the years from the death of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ in 647/1249 to Baïbars' gaining of power in 658/1260. It must be considered an official biography because the author read the written instalments to the Sultan himself; Peter Thorau has called it "almost a ghosted autobiography".<sup>8</sup> The work is extant in two manuscripts, both imperfect: the more fragmentary in the British Library was published with an English translation in 1956; the much more complete one in Istanbul in the library of al-Fātiḥ was edited in 1976. Dr. Sublet insists (p. 14, 212) that the Istanbul MS. is complete, but, according to its editor Dr. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwāiṭir there are several folios missing from the beginning, in the body and from the end of the manuscript.<sup>9</sup> Dr. Sublet's translation (pages 45 to 68 of the 1976 edition) is the first into French.

<sup>7</sup> Concerning the terminology see D. Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks—inadequate names for the two reigns of the Mamlūk sultanate", *Tārīkh* I(1990)3-53.

<sup>8</sup> *The lion of Egypt*, London and New York 1992, p. 270.

<sup>9</sup> *Baïbars the First: his endeavours and achievements*, London 1978, p. 149.

Baibars' seventeen years in power are extracted from al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*. The work was edited in Cairo in four volumes (12 parts) between 1934-1973 (on p. 16 Dr. Sublet gives 1957 and nine volumes, on p. 212, 1941-1974 and ten volumes). The portion dealing with the Mamlūks was translated into French by Étienne Quatremère as *Histoire des sultans mamlouks* in 1837-1845. It is this translation that has been used here. Considering, however, that Quatremère made his translation from an unique manuscript in Paris, it was a good decision of Dr. Sublet to review his translation though keeping its diction. Additional useful information taken from Ibn Wāṣil, al-Nuwairī, al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il and Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir has been inserted to clarify certain events.

Then we have the legend of Baibars as elaborated in various versions of *Sīrat Baibars*. Many of the people as well as the events are historical in this folk-tale, but its overall character is fictitious. The first literary mention of *Sīrat Baibars* and the earliest manuscripts date from the 10th/16th century, and its popularity in the Arabic-speaking world is attested throughout the 19th century. Some of the life-stories have been published, some are preserved in manuscripts. The one chosen by Dr. Sublet, the Syrian version, is the longest one and it is being presently translated into French by Georges Bohas and Jean-Patrick Guillaume. The work of translation commenced in 1985; so far (1992) we have 8 volumes published, and in 2015 all 60(!) volumes should be available in French.

The only blemish in this work of art is that there are some inaccuracies and inconsistencies. But, then, where do we find total perfection? Some of these should, however, be rectified:

- the *laqab* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir is Muḥyī al-dīn (*passim*).
- al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ died in 647/November 1249 (p. 12).
- al-Maqrīzī was born in 766 A.H. (p. 15).
- the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan is not in "le vieux Caire" (= Miṣr al-ʿatīqa; p. 22, 247).
- the MS. in the library of al-Fātiḥ is no. 4367 (p. 212).
- the name of the scholar in question is Kazhdan (p. 215).
- Dr. Sublet voices an erroneous opinion when she claims that the mother of Baibars' son Berke (Baraka) Khān was the daughter of the chief of the Golden Horde, Berke Khān ibn Jushī ibn Jīngis Khān. This is an error repeatedly made although already all the Mamlūk historians were quite clear with respect to the correct identity of the grandfather in question: *amīr* Ḥusām al-dīn Berke Khān al-Khwārizmī.
- al-Nuwairī's *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* is missing from the bibliography although quoted.

Titles that would have made the good bibliography even better:

- Götz Schregle, *Die Sultanin von Ägypten*. Wiesbaden 1961.
- Peter Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I. von Ägypten*. Wiesbaden 1987; English translation as *The lion of Egypt. Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the thirteenth century*. London and New York 1992.

• P.M. Holt, "Three biographies of al-Zāhir Baybars", in D. O. Morgan (ed.), *Medieval historical writing in the Christian and Islamic worlds*. London 1982, pp. 19-29.

It could be mentioned that there is a translation of *Sīrat Baibars* into Russian in one volume made by V. Kirpichenko in 1975.

No! Don't even ask to borrow this book from me. It is a treasure!

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

**M. Fuad Köprülü**, *The origins of the Ottoman Empire*. Translated and edited by **Gary Leiser**. (*SUNY series in the social and economic history of the Middle East*.) State University of New York Press, Albany 1992. xxviii+155 pp.

For those of us who despair that *Turcica non leguntur* Gary Leiser has made himself indispensable. 1988 saw the publication of his translation and edition of İbrahim Kafesoğlu's study of the Seljuks, originally published in the Turkish version of *EI, İslâm Ansiklopedisi* in 1964 and 1965. Kafesoğlu's study is a fascinating contribution to enhancing our understanding of the history of the Seljuks; the translation, notes, and appendices containing the controversy that followed the original publication are an accomplishment; and the *book* published by Southern Illinois University Press is an exemplary achievement. Truly a book to be treasured!

This time Dr. Leiser has ventured towards a phase of earlier scholarship in Turkey (1930s), though concerning more recent history—the origins of the Ottoman Empire—by translating a study by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (1890-1966), a study not as renowned and controversial as that previously translated but still of great interest. The book was originally a series of lectures delivered at the Sorbonne, and first published in Paris in 1935 as *Les origines de l'empire Ottoman*. Dr. Leiser made his translation not from the French but from the Turkish edition first published in 1959 under the title *Osmanlı devleti'nin kuruluşu* ("The founding of the Ottoman state"; repr. 1984); it was also published in 1972 under the slightly different title *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun kuruluşu*. The Turkish and French texts are not the same; the Turkish text is more detailed and nuanced. It is obvious that the study was originally written in Turkish and then translated into French for the lectures.

The *raison d'être* of Köprülü's lectures and published study was his criticism of the views presented in 1916 by H.A. Gibbons in a book entitled *The foundation of the Ottoman empire*. It was on the question of the founding of the Ottoman Empire and the ways it should be studied that Köprülü took Gibbons to task; the resulting study is for this reason somewhat polemical. However, this is not the place to rehearse either Gibbons' or Köprülü's views, or to supplement them with those of the contemporary Paul Wittek in his influential *The rise of the Ottoman Empire* (1938). If only Wittek's book had been published before Köprülü's lectures in Paris!<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Concerning Wittek's "image of Ottoman history which was larger than life, idealising and transcendentalising the early history of the state, and as a result rendering a rational and down-to-earth re-



Some words need to be said about Dr. Leiser's translation and its *raison d'être*. The English translation compares favourably with the French; it is smooth and readable with a not unreasonable amount of new annotation to bring it up to date. Printer's errors and missing diacritics are infrequent.

On page 17, when discussing the important fourteenth century chronicle *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, written in Persian by Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Aqsarāyī on behalf of the Ilkhānid governor of Anatolia, Demirtash ibn Emīr Choban (written in 723/1323 not 1223), Köprülü mentions that it did attract the attention of Professor W. Barthold. Dr. Leiser, in his note 26 (p. 122) and in the bibliography, admits that the title of this article has remained unidentified by him. In fact, Barthold's contribution here was not so much an article as a survey of manuscripts to be found in Constantinople and Cairo entitled "О некоторых восточных рукописях в библиотеках Константинополя и Каира". This survey can be read in both *Записки Восточного Отделения Императорского Русского Археологического Общества XVIII* (1908) 115-154 and in Barthold's *Сочинения* vol. VIII, Moscow 1973, pp. 220-253.

Köprülü's study, whether in French, Turkish or English, will secure an abiding place in the history of learning in Turkish studies, that is certain. It is in its *raison d'être*, at least as seen from the 1990s, that its vulnerability lies. As an Arabist the present reviewer cannot help but compare Köprülü in the 1930s with the present post-Saidian situation with Arab scholars criticizing long forgotten scholars and their views as if they were still of some consequence. To quote a Yoruba proverb: "It is easy to cut a dead elephant to pieces."

All in all, the appearance of the translation of Köprülü's study did not have the same effect as the previous translation of Kafesoğlu's controversial research. Albeit Dr. Leiser's enthusiastic justification for the translation here under review there remain some uncertainties as to its real usefulness. In the American classroom an English translation might be sorely needed but from an European point of view we already had a readable translation in the French one, which could have been reprinted. This should, needless to say, in no respect be understood as a criticism of Dr. Leiser's excellent translation but, perhaps, of his choice of task when employing his abilities.<sup>11</sup>

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

**Dick Davis**, *Epic and Sediton. The Case of Ferdowsi's Shāhnāmeḥ*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville 1992. 222 pp. USD 30,-

Dr. Davis' monograph is a welcome contribution to the field of the study of Classical evaluation of early Ottoman history extraordinarily difficult, if not impossible, to achieve", see the fascinating article "Boundless dreams of the Levant: Paul Wittek, the George-Kreis, and the writing of Ottoman history" by Colin Heywood in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1989, pp. 32-50; the quotation is on page 45. We are promised an expanded monographic version in due course.

<sup>11</sup> We have now a new addition to these translations: Köprülü's *Anadolu Selçukluları tarihi'nin yerli kaynakları* (1943) translated as *The Seljuks of Anatolia. Their history and culture according to local Muslim sources* (University of Utah Press).

Iranian literature. It is an insightful analysis of the *Shāhnāme*; Dr. Davis considers the central theme of the epic to be the everlasting conflict between the King/Father and the Subject/Son which always leads to the unsolvable conflict between loyalty and justice in the mind of the Subject/Son; faced with a choice between open rebellion or destruction, the heroes of the epic find themselves in an intolerable and tragic situation. As the epic advances, the answer to this problem changes, and we can discern a decrease in loyalty on the part of the Subject/Son which goes hand in hand with an increase in injustice on the part of the King/Father, and finally leads to the dissolution of the Iranian empire, which had been based on balance between justice and loyalty.

This deterioration in the situation can be seen in the successive reactions of Sām, Zāl, Rostam, and the son of Rostam in the face of this conflict; Sām's response is an unswerving loyalty, Zāl's that of a loyalty flavoured by contrary advice given to the Shāh, Rostam's that of a reluctant loyalty which all but borders on rebellion, and his son's that of open rebellion.

What makes the *Shāhnāme* a tragic epic and lends it epic grandeur, is the untenable position in which the Subject/Son—who is always the real hero of the story—finds himself; the work is neither a Book of *Kings* only (in which case one could expect the Subject to yield and be destroyed) nor a Book of Subjects (in which case a successful rebellion would be the answer to the problem), but an epic about Iran, where loyalty to the God given Shāh goes side by side with the tragedy of individual destinies.

Dr. Davis' book is a keen analysis of the subject, and also makes enjoyable reading because of the author's fluent style. It is the pleasurable duty of the reviewer to thank Dr. Davis for his book which is a new and valuable contribution of the American school on studies of Islamic literatures.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Ph. Gignoux** (éd.), Recurrent patterns in Iranian religions from Mazdaism to Sufism. Proceedings of the round table held in Bamberg, 30th September—4th October 1991. (*Studia Iranica*, cahier 11.) Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, Paris 1992. 173 pp. + III pl. BEF 1200,-

The volume under review contains 10 of the 13 papers read at the "round table" during the Second Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea, and is yet another welcome sign of the activity of this new Society.

The articles give a many faceted picture of the religions of Iran. C. Colpe gives a short note (pp. 9-12) on the Iranian background of the Islamic *al-insān al-kāmil*, while T. Lawson gives a more detailed study (pp. 81-99) of it in the early writings of the Bāb, an important contribution to understanding the genesis and early development of Bābism. B. Radtke, now the foremost authority on "*corpus Tirmidhīanum*", studies (pp. 135-142) the theme of *Psychomachia* in Sufi literature, mainly in at-Tirmidhī's



writings, and Ph. Gignoux studies (pp. 13-27) the *Imago Dei* theme in Nestorian writings.

A. Hultgård's article (pp. 37-56) discusses the Zarathustrian cosmogonical myths focusing on the legend of the pact of Ahriman and Ohrmazd and the 9000/12000 year world history. Ph. Kreyenbroek studies traces of the pre-Zarathustrian cosmogonical myths in his article (pp. 57-79) which is one of the best and most fascinating contributions in the book, and promises (pp. 57-58, note 1) a more substantial publication in the future. Besides Old Iranian and Indian evidence, Kreyenbroek draws on the myths of the Yezidis and the Ahl-e Ḥaqq; one waits impatiently to see the study in its more detailed version. R. Hamzeh'ee's article (pp. 29-35) concentrates also on the Kurdish religions.

The art historian A. S. Melikian-Chirvani is the only author to focus on literature (The wine-bull and the Magian master, pp. 101-134 and pl. I-III) in this volume. His keen analysis of the material and literary evidence for "wine-bulls" (in previous studies usually, but incorrectly, designated as "aquamaniles") is impressive, and the theory about the origin and meaning of "Magian master" in Persian literature is interesting, although it remains hypothetical as the evidence adduced by Melikian-Chirvani cannot be taken as definitive. The identification of the metaphor "wine = blood" in Arabic and Persian poetry as deriving from Zarathustrian use of wine in rituals instead of bull's blood is enticing, albeit that one feels slightly uneasy when thinking of the ample evidence from other literatures for similar metaphors. In the "light" and "blood" metaphors for wine, one should take the Arabic pre-Islamic as well as early Islamic evidence into account; it is hard to believe that certain well-known themes in ḡāhili poetry could be wholly Iranian.

S. Shaked's article (pp. 143-158) on "Some Iranian themes in Islamic literature" deals with religious aspects only, discussing among others the etymology of yawmu l-ḡum'a and the basmala. The last article (pp. 159-173) is W. Sundermann's "Die Jungfrau der guten Taten" where he follows the Zarathustrian, Manichaean and, to a lesser extent, Islamic legends of a beautiful maid which represents (or is) the good deeds of the deceased and meets him after death. In addition to his other conclusions, Sundermann is able to show that the reverse of this legend, that of an ugly old hag representative of the bad deeds, has developed only much later.

Considered as a whole, the book is a most welcome contribution to several, most variegated fields of studies on Iranian religions, and is a pleasure to read.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Birgitta Ryberg**, Yūsuf Idrīs (1927-1991). *Identitätskrise und Gesellschaftlicher Umbruch. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, Bd. 41.)* In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, Beirut 1992. 226 pp.

B. Ryberg's study on Yūsuf Idrīs is based on her Freiburg dissertation dating from 1987. It contains a fine analysis of the "Leitmotifs" in the writings of Yūsuf Idrīs;

relations between the sexes, relations with the West and the cleft between village and city being the most important. Dr. Ryberg's work is a well balanced and unprejudiced study of one of the most important modern Arab writers, on whom one had only a few monographs earlier (especially those by Kurpershoek and Somekh).

In the different chapters of the book, Ryberg follows the main themes in the writings of Idrīs one at a time, beginning with his (and his characters') relations with Mother and Father figures. Here the heavy emphasis on Freudian theories may sometimes disturb the reader, but since Idrīs himself was aware of and interested in these theories it is but natural to see the problematics of some of his stories in this light.

The best part of the monograph is the study of how Idrīs saw Egypt and Egyptian society in his works. Dr. Ryberg has here laid bare the underlying tension in the works of Idrīs who was a middle-class, academic writer who saw himself, at least in his youth, as a spokesman of the illiterate masses. In several cases, Dr. Ryberg acutely shows how this situation is mirrored in the works of the author and how his personal situation is transposed to his works.

The monograph ends with a detailed bibliography of Yūsuf Idrīs' works in which the dates and places of the original publication of the individual short stories are given, thus rendering the bibliography an important tool for later research on this Egyptian author. Dr. Ryberg's study is and will remain an important contribution to the study of Modern Arabic literature.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

*Die Chronik des Ibn Iyās*. Bearbeitet und versehen mit Einleitung und Indices von **Mohamed Mostafa**. Indices. Vierter Teil. Glossar 1-2. (*Bibliotheca Islamica* 511-2.) Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner Stuttgart, Beirut 1992. 989 pp. DEM 320,-

With the two volumes now under review (together almost 1000 pages) the indices of Ibn Iyās' chronicle overrun the main text in length. It is naturally laudable to provide text editions with detailed indices, especially in such rich and important works as Ibn Iyās' chronicle. Still, one cannot help wondering whether in this case less detailed indices would have been preferable. The price of the two volumes exceeds DEM 300, thus almost excluding others than institutions from purchasing the books.

The rich indices also include much useless material; the volumes contain 16 pages of occurrences of *akhla' a 'alayhi* (pp. 15b-30a), four pages of *iḍṭaraba* (pp. 55a-58a), five pages of *an'ama* (pp. 82b-86b), etc. As many of these words are attested on almost every page of the text, it is difficult to see what use the faithful listing of occurrences offers. In many cases, a simple "passim" would have done quite well, which would have enabled a considerable reduction in the size of the books, thus also making their price more reasonable.

Be that as it may, the indices are a valuable tool for many kinds of research and they enable one to quickly find the words and terms one may be interested in without

having to peruse the whole chronicle. Thus one remains grateful to the late Professor Mostafa for the tremendous amount of work which must have been put into compiling these and the previous volumes of indices. His unselfish labour has saved the rest of us from a lot of trouble.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

‘Abdalqādir ibn ‘Umar al-Baġdādī, Glossen zu Ibn Hishāms Kommentar zu dem Gedicht Bānat Su‘ād. Teil 2, I-II. Hrsg. von **Nazif Hoca**, überarbeitet und mit Indices versehen von **Muḥammad al-Ḥuġairī**. (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, 27b.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1990. 743, 444 pp.

With the two volumes now under review the edition has, ten years after the first volume, been completed. Both the editor, N. Hoca, and Muḥammad al-Ḥuġairī have earned our most sincere thanks for editing this important work of ‘Abdalqādir.

‘Abdalqādir’s Ḥāshiya on Bānat Su‘ād is a welcome addition to his writings available in print. Although Khizānat al-adab is naturally the magnum opus of the author, his Ḥāshiya is also very important in many ways. For example it contains more information on the personal library of ‘Abdalqādir, the leading philologist of his time, than all his other works together; according to my count, it names 103 works which, as he explicitly states, were in his possession. Moreover, ‘Abdalqādir sometimes gives detailed information on the manuscripts both of these and other works used by him.

As all his philological works, the Ḥāshiya is an enormous compilation of older literature. Its importance lies in two things. Firstly, some of the works still extant at the time of ‘Abdalqādir, have later disappeared—or he has had at his disposal older or better manuscripts than are available to us—and ‘Abdalqādir’s great accuracy in quoting (he, e.g., informs us when he has abbreviated his source) enables us to use the quotations as direct descendants of the manuscripts used by him. Thus, every editor of philological works, especially of those works for which we have no good manuscripts at our disposal, should give their attention to Ḥāshiya (as well as to Khizāna, al-Muzhir, and other major compilations).

Secondly, it gives a good insight into late, pre-Modern Arab scholarship. To take but one example, we may statistically analyze his use of dictionaries which will provide us with a good deal of information about the popularity of the different lexica in the 17th and 18th centuries. A count of explicit quotations from the dictionaries gives us the following list of the "top five" (note that the count is *not* based on the somewhat inaccurate indices):

	quotes in vol. I	quotes in vol. IIa-b	total
aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ	104	119	223
al-Miṣbāḥ	97	87	184
al-Qāmūs <sup>12</sup>	33	128	161
al-‘Ubāb	51	48	99
at-Tahdhīb	12	68	80

<sup>12</sup> Of these 33 quotes only 8 appear in the first 500 pages of vol. I.

At the bottom of the list one finds *Lisān al-ʿarab* with only three quotes and, e.g. *Ġamharat al-lughā* (31 quotes).

The more than 300 pages of Indices in vol. Iib (or Teil 2, II) are invaluable and the amount of work put into their compilation must have been enormous. But it is a pity that they have not been compiled with more care. Inaccuracies are easily spotted; works and names mentioned in the text are sometimes missing from the Indices (e.g. ash-shaykh Khālīd [i.e. al-Azhārī] and his work mentioned in II:139; the commentaries to *Lāmīyat al-ʿarab* listed in II:494 l. 12-15, of which only those of Ibn ash-Shaḡarī and at-Tibrīzī are to be found in the Index), and only some references are given (e.g. had one based the above table on the information given in the Index, the total number of quotes of the five most used dictionaries would have been 100, 130, 129, 69, 44, respectively). As *Hāshiyā*'s importance lies, at least partly, in its compilatory character, the greatest accuracy in the Indices would have been very important and would have saved a lot of other scholars work. As they now stand, the Indices cannot be fully trusted.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTILA

*Adab al-mulūk*. Ein Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik aus dem 4./10. Jahrhundert.

Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von **Bernd Radtke**. (*Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Bd. 37.) In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, Beirut 1991. 34+145 pp. (Arabic text).

*Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmīdī*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von **Bernd Radtke**. Erster Teil: Die Arabischen Texte. (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, Bd. 35a.) In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, Beirut 1992. 78+295 pp. (Arabic text).

With these two important text editions Dr. Radtke continues to establish himself as one of the foremost authorities in the field of Sufism. The three texts of at-Tirmīdī published here are his *K. Sīrat al-awliyā'*, and his *Rasā'il* to the questions sent to him from Sarakhs and Rayy. Quotations of *K. Sīrat al-awliyā'* excerpted from other literature are given in the Appendix (pp. 41-78).

In addition to its subject matter, *Sīrat al-awliyā'* is interesting for its literary form. It is written as a dialogue, not unlike those of Plato, where the anonymous student asks his spiritual master questions about the Sufi Way. The dialogue form is used competently, the questions following each other in a natural way, and the language of the text is beautiful Classical Arabic. It is interesting to compare the natural succession of this series of fictional questions with the more abrupt series of the questions sent to at-Tirmīdī from Sarakhs and Rayy; one cannot fail to see that the one is a premeditated whole, the other a collection of rather disconnected passages.

The other book under review here is the anonymous "Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik", *Adab al-mulūk*. The language of the book is described by the editor as follows: "Unser Autor schreibt im allgemeinen ein klares Arabisch, geschult an der

klassischen Prosa". For the present reviewer this description seems a little odd, especially when comparing Adab al-mulūk with the more refined works of at-Tirmidī. The text is written in a clear Arabic, that is true, but it is far from the ideals of "correct Arabic".

In his Preface Dr. Radtke briefly discusses the identity of the author, and ends up by provisionally and very cautiously proposing as-Sīrawānī as the possible author, even though he admits that there is little direct evidence for the attribution. In his discussion Dr. Radtke has overlooked one tiny piece of evidence found in the Adab al-mulūk itself; in p. 68 l. 14 the author speaks about his monograph on samā' (wa-li's-samā' i lanā kitābun mufrad); it might be worth while checking the extant samā' monographs, contemporaneous with Adab al-mulūk, and search for similarities of style and subject matter.

The task of editing has been carefully carried out by Dr. Radtke, and both books are also relatively free of printers' errors. Adab al-mulūk contains about a dozen such errors. One is perhaps worth correcting, viz p. 4 l. 23 bi-mā lā yu'īnuhu (read: ya'nīhi); that this is the correct reading is also shown by the rhythmical structure of the passage which is disturbed by the reading yu'īnuhu.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam & Dietmar Rothermund** (Hrsg.), Nationalstaat und Sprachkonflikte in Süd- und Südostasien. (*Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung*, Südasiens-Institut Universität Heidelberg, Bd. 149.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992. xiii+228 pp. 3 maps.

This volume consists of 7 articles that are based on contributions from the section "Nationalstaat und Sprachenkonflikte in Süd- und Südostasien" of the 38. Deutschen Historikertage in Bochum 1990.

In the introduction (pp. 1-24) the editors give a clear overview of the issues, theories and case studies involved. The case studies show a number of quite different developments in regard to the relation between national identity and language policy. Although some general conclusions are already available, it is stressed that further comparison should be made with other colonised countries in Asia and Africa and possibly also Europe if we want to understand language conflict and nationalism as world-wide phenomena. The introduction is summarized in English, as are all the other contributions written in German.

Sudipta Kaviraj's contribution, "Writing, speaking, being: language and the historical formation of identities in India" (pp. 25-68) focuses on the Bengali speech community. It is also an insightful analysis of the language situation in India in general throughout time. The ambivalent Indian attitude toward writing is explained in terms of a functional distribution between speaking and writing. Literacy was guarded with jealousy by the elite caste(s) so that there was always "a strong seller's market in literacy". This also supported a special kind of bilingualism: esoteric language (Sanskrit, then

Persian and English) / vernacular (often with diglossia: spoken vs. written variety). This, on the other hand, led to a situation where conservatism and reaction could be subcontinental in spread, but dissent was condemned to be mostly local (p. 31). It was only with colonialism and missionary activities that linguistic identities started to grow. For all its sophistication, Kaviraj's contribution is a trifle laboured and prolix in style. It is the only contribution written in English, and hence followed by a summary in German.

The second contribution "Die Bengali-Sprachbewegung und die Geburt Bangladeshs" (pp. 69-100) is by Satya Bhowmik. In the case of Pakistan, religious solidarity was, curiously, abandoned in favour of linguistic solidarity. Being written in a Devanagari-related script and relying heavily on Sanskrit loans, Bengali was considered in West Pakistan to be linked with the religion, culture and languages of India rather than Pakistan. The painful birth of Bangladesh can be traced to the tyrannical attempts to declare Urdu the only national language of Pakistan and Urduize and suppress the Bengali language and culture. Bangladesh celebrates its language martyrs as national heroes on the Shahid-Dibash 'Martyr Day' (February 29, 1956). Although Bengali was finally accepted as a national language along with Urdu and English, the strife for cultural and national identity continued until the independence of East Pakistan in 1971.

The third and fourth articles are concerned with the linguistic and ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka. Thomas Prinz writes about Sinhalese ("Der Sinhalesische Sprachnationalismus", pp. 101-126) and Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam about Tamil(s) ("Tamilen, Tamilsprache und Tamilidentität = Tamilnationalismus?", pp. 127-156).

The uniqueness of the majority culture and language of Sri Lanka is apparent, when we read D. S. Senanayake's statement from 1939: "Wir sind ein Blut, eine Nation. Wir sind das auserwählte Volk. Buddha sagte, dass seine Religion 5500 Jahre erleuchten werde. Das heisst, dass wir als Wächter und Schützer dieser Religion ebensolange werden." (p. 111). Sinhalese nationalists have favoured racist theories, stressing the Aryan origin of their language as against the non-Aryan, primitive nature of Tamil. Yet English is still highly regarded in Sri Lanka. The Tamils of Sri Lanka and India have always been more conscious and proud of their language, but at the same time also more multilingual. It is rightly stressed that the conflict has actually no longer anything to do with language: Tamil is accepted as a national language along with Sinhalese. The demands for independence are now made on purely political and religious cultural grounds.

With the two final contributions we move outside the sphere of South Asia to the Southeast Asian island states of Indonesia and The Philippines. In these countries, language conflicts have been minimal.

Holk Dengel presents an excellent account of the development of Bahasa Indonesia and the language situation in Indonesia ("Entwicklung der Bahasa Indonesia und ihr Verhältnis zu den Regionalsprachen Indonesiens", pp. 157-183). Although based on a tiny regional language called Riau-Malay, Bahasa Indonesia has won the heart of all Indonesians and is now the third largest mother tongue in the country. Another form of

this language, Old Malay, was already in use as a *lingua franca* in the seventh century. The spread of Malay was helped by Islam, but Dutch colonialists and missionaries wanted to introduce Dutch in its place. But when it was feared that the spread of a knowledge of Dutch would lead to too great an influx of natives in influential positions, its teaching was restricted and Malay was favoured. The real breakthrough of Malay came only with the Japanese occupation in 1942. The Japanese did not allow any foreign language to be used in Indonesia and hence they gave support to the spread and development of Bahasa Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia has become a symbol of Indonesian unity, but has not caused the loss of regional languages. One could now compare the position of Bahasa Indonesia with that of Urdu in Pakistan. Both are minority languages, but as *lingua francas* they have nation-wide use. The difference is that Urdu was known only in one half of the bipartite state.

The situation in the Philippines has been aptly described by Reinhard Wendt (pp. 185-220). Here the situation was more difficult than in Indonesia, because no native language had the status of a pan-Philippinian *lingua franca*. In fact, English is more widespread than Tagalog, the basis for the modern national language Filipino.

The book also contains an index of names and concepts (pp. 221-228) and language maps of Sri Lanka, Indonesia and The Philippines.

BERTIL TIKKANEN

**Per K. Sørensen**, A Provisional List of Tibetological Research-Papers and Articles Published in the People's Republic of China and Tibet. (*Nepal Research Centre Publications* No. 17.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden/Kathmandu 1991. 101 pp.

One cannot help feeling somewhat suspicious when dealing with this kind of register, which reveals the ill-hidden Chinese attempt to pretend to some kind of "research" in the culture they have so unscrupulously stamped out from the surface of Earth. This prejudice is to some extent justified noting the compiler's warning: "Section II.1 will probably only interest a limited number of scholars and readers, as it contains essays and articles with stereotype odes and lyrics replete with empty political rhetoric, and these papers only interest us for linguistic, lexicographical, and philological reasons." However, according to a further note by the compiler: "Inasmuch as the quality, and in particular the scholastic quality of research carried out on Tibetological material is steadily increasing among Chinese and Tibetan scholars, it has been deemed worthwhile to generate this list."

The provisional character of this bibliography is due to the well understandable incompleteness of the acquired information. As the title does not define the fact that only works in the Tibetan language have been included, the reader might wonder what possibly has been published in Chinese and Mongolian on the same topic. The time-span, as given in the Compiler's Note, covers the last ten years [1982-91]. That is mainly true, but one can find works further back in time, e.g. on p. 53 two works printed in the fateful year of 1959.



Although there is a list of contents in the book, it only repeats the title of the work and refers to the Appendix without any specification of the existing systematically arranged chapters. Anyway, a survey of them is necessary here.

#### TIBETAN SOURCES

##### Section I. Historical, Cultural, Medical & Religious Studies and Research Papers

I.1 Historical, Cultural & Religious Books and Research Papers (pp. 1-32)

I.2 Medical-Herbal & Astrological Studies and Research Papers (pp. 32-34)

##### Section II. Tibetan (Folk) Songs & Contemporary and Traditional Poetry

II.1 Contemporary Tibetan Collections of Songs, Literary Poetry & Popular Lyrics<sup>13</sup> (pp. 35-68)

II.2 Tibetan Collections of Proverbs and Maxims (pp. 68-70)

II.3 Tibetan Operatic & Theatrical Material (pp. 70-72)

II.4 Gesar Epic Material & Studies (pp. 72-74)

II.5 Tibetan Research Papers & Studies on Literary, Musicological, Linguistic-Grammatical and Philological Criticism (pp. 74-86)

#### APPENDIX

A survey of Institutes and Research Centres of Tibetology in The People's Republic of China and Tibet (pp. 89-101)

The appendix tries to describe the structure and list the staff members of the relevant institutions in Beijing (12), Xi'an (2), Xianyang (2), Lanzhou (4 + bLa-brang and Gannan monasteries), Xining (3), Chengdu (6), Chongqing (2), Kangding (1), Kunming (2), Diqing (1), and Lhasa (5). The "Tibet University" in Lhasa was established in 1985, as the famous centuries-old monastery universities were sacked by the Chinese and the activities of the faculties with thousands of disciples came to an end.

The majority of the enumerated authors are Tibetans. The names of Chinese scholars are additionally given in parentheses in their normal Pinyin transcription, but not always, e.g. Le Yi'u-dbyi, Ci-'un gren, Tin Phu'u-men and other seemingly Chinese names are without this key—quite naturally, if the appropriate Chinese characters were not provided in the publications in question.

The compiler has systematically culled the contents of all relevant Tibetan-language journals, e.g. *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug* ("Tibetan Studies"), *Bod-ljongs nang-bstan* ("Tibetan Buddhism"), and *Krung-go'i Bod kyi shes-rig* ("China's Tibetology"). A major problem with the material described is inevitably its availability. How many western libraries possess even a single one of the major periodicals? Although monographs are not listed, some of the »research papers» comprise more than 700 pages. These types of text editions or collective works are published in Lhasa by the Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, "The Tibetan People's Publishing House".

This bibliography certainly deserves attention as it x-rays the present situation of Tibetological research in the Tibetan language. As such it is enlightening as state-of-the-art and would be still more, if for the general reader translations of the titles would have been added following the model of, e.g., the *Bibliography of Central Asian*

<sup>13</sup> The reader is helped by providing each entry with a code indicating its genre: CLP Contemporary Love Poetry, CLS Contemporary Love Songs, CPL Contemporary Poetry & Lyrics, CPP Contemporary Political Poetry, CRP Classical or Contemporary Religious Poetry, CSP Contemporary Social Poetry, CTFS Contemporary/Traditional Folksongs, MPS Modern Political Songs, TPP Traditional Political Poetry.



*Studies in Japan 1879—March 1987* (Tokyo 1988).

The work is now begun; a promise of a continuation may lie in the term "provisional".

HARRY HALÉN

**Arash Bormanshinov**, *The Lamas of the Kalmyk People: The Don Kalmyk Lamas.*

(*Papers on Inner Asia* No. 18.) Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Bloomington, Indiana 1991. 52 pp. + 8 ill.

This publication is a completely revised and considerably augmented version of a preliminary work entitled *Lama Arkad Chubanov, His Predecessors and Successors: A Study of the History of the Kalmyk Lamaist Church in the Don Cossack Region of Russia* (Birchbark Press, Maryland 1980). It has appeared just at a time when the hidden archives of the former Soviet Union are becoming accessible to outsiders, so there is hope that a third edition in the form of a fully fledged monograph could be produced in due course.

Due to the lack of essential first-hand archive material, the author has had to refer to a considerable mass of secondary sources and background information — the bibliography lists 108 entries. Although the sequence and picture of the Don Kalmyk (Greater Dörböd) Grand Lamas (*ik<sup>o</sup> dörw<sup>ö</sup>dīn bakši*) still remains somewhat incomplete in many respects, the present state of our knowledge is due to the diligence of Arash Bormanshinov. This small volume is the fruit of an admirable effort, written under circumstances resembling the plot of a detective story.

Below a name list of the known or alleged Grand Lamas is resumed:

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1-2. Yeshe (Yishe) and Djölen     | (? — ?)                         |
| 3. Dzhangar Gabunov               | (? — ca 1843)                   |
| 4. Djimba <sup>14</sup> Gandjinov | (ca 1843-1869)                  |
| 5. Koti Badjuginov                | (1869-1872)                     |
| 6. Arkad Chubanov                 | (1873-1894)                     |
| 7. Djimba Mikulinov               | (1894-1897)                     |
| 8. Boka Kuliushov                 | (acting <i>baqši</i> 1897-1903) |
| 9. Mönke Djirgal Bormanzhinov     | (1903-1919)                     |
| 10. Shurguchi Nimgirov            | (1919-1920)                     |
| 11. Gavang Arash                  | (1920-1926)                     |

The life work and fate of many of these personalities present still numerous unsolved problems, touched upon in the present volume. The report of Lama Koti Badjuginov's alleged excessive drinking as the possible cause of his premature death (chs. XI-XII) reminds one of the sad story about Lidji Narmaev,<sup>15</sup> instructor of Kalmyk language at the Kazan Spiritual Academy and an ardent Buddhist, whose life

<sup>14</sup> Djampa (*Byams-pa*)? Djinpa (*sByin-pa*)? Djombl (Djampal, 'Jam-dpal)?

<sup>15</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, Lidji. *Kansan Kalenteri* 1916 (Helsinki), pp. 96-107. The drinking and other habits of the 8th Jetsündamba Khutuktu of Urga are described by Ramstedt in his article *Mongolien nykyinen paavi* ["The Present Pope of the Mongols"]. *Länmetär*, uusi jakso I (Helsinki 1908), pp. 69-76.

was virtually destroyed by a similar deeply shocking experience. Arriving to receive a blessing from His Holiness the Darki (Dara ekhe) Gegen from Urga, who had reserved room for his retinue in a hotel in Tsaritsyn, it was revealed to him that the holy father spent his time with women accompanied by plenty of brandy and other kinds of liquor. When G. J. Ramstedt visited the Gegen in search of his friend Narmaev, the drunken Lama boasted to be a man holding the second rank in all Urga and ordered his guest out.

In March, 1903, on his second trip to the Kalmyk region, Ramstedt arrived at Dundu khurul, Oroin-buluk, south of the Aksai village 40 *versts* from the Gnilo-Aksaisk railway station, the residence of his old friend the helpful Malodörböd "Bāza-Bakši" Badma Menkedzhiev (Menkedzhenov). The Bakši was bedridden, but could sometimes give an audience. In May the Bakši's health deteriorated further. A visit to him was paid alternatively by a Russian physician, an old Tibetan called Zonchik, and Dordji Setenov, the senior Bakši of all the khuruls of the Ikedörböd. Bormanshinov's note 64 says that his title really was—according to the Russian nomenclature—"staršij bakša" (senior *baqši*), but on his visiting card, preserved in the Ramstedt Collection, Helsinki University Library, he gives himself as "*Zavedyvajuščij Bakša Bolšederbetovskago ulusa Dordže Setenov*" (leading *baqši* of the Greater Dörböd *ulus*).

Note 87 refers to works concerning the Christianisation of Kalmyks. It might be of some interest to know that at least two Kalmyk soldiers, serving in the Russian troops stationed in the Grand Duchy of Finland during the 19th century, are mentioned on the confirmation list of the Tornio Orthodox Encampment Church in the far north of our country, namely Piotr Buchugunov (40 years of age) and Shungur Rubakunov (33 years of age). They are defined to be of "Kalmyk confession", i.e. Buddhists, and being listed this way might mean that they were converts to Christianity.

The lack of even some secondary sources cannot be easily overcome. In note 101 newspapers of the Don region are enumerated as possibly containing information about a remarkable trial in 1897. The author states: »It goes without saying that none of these newspapers is available in the West.« So true! In the Slavic Library of the University of Helsinki three of the four mentioned newspapers are available, but only for the years 1891/92-95. For some unexplicable reason all of them ceased to arrive after 1895 in spite of the Helsinki Alexander University's privilege to receive one copy of everything published in the Russian Empire. The *Donskija eparxial'nyja vedomosti* is only represented through two scattered issues from 1914. Lacking also from our holdings are lots of rare prints from Novoчеркассk and Rostov-na-Donu listed in the bibliography.

The volume offers very interesting and entertaining reading. It is to be hoped that it challenges other scholars to fill in more portions of this difficult puzzle for the benefit of a still fuller picture of the whole.

Some proof-reading remarks: ch. V twice *biciq* for *bičiq*. The term "Dhyāni-Buddhas" (ch. XIII), widely used in secondary literature but artificial and incorrectly constructed, should be replaced by "transcendental Buddhas", p. 17 5th line from

bottom Bol'shederbotovskii for -derbetovskii, p. 24 note 32 *Sanskriin* for *Sansarin*, p. 30 note 91 *do sid* for *doŷid*, p. 32 note 108 Pavolovskij for Pavlovskij. An administrative map of the relevant area and an index of personal names would greatly help the reader.

HARRY HALÉN

**Ute Franke-Vogt**, *Die Glyptik aus Mohenjo-Daro. Uniformität und Variabilität in der Induskultur: Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Ikonographie und räumlichen Verteilung.* (*Baghdader Forschungen*, Bd. 13.) Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1991 [appeared 1992]. Folio. [Teil 1:] Text, Tabellen. xlix+227 S., mit 121 Tabellen, 2 Abbildungen und 27 Diagrammen. [Teil 2:] Appendices, Tafeln. iv+229-569 S., 57 Tafeln. Leinen DEM 250,-

Dr Ute Franke-Vogt has studied ancient Near Eastern archaeology, history, and classical and Iranian philology at the universities of Göttingen, Munich and Berlin, and taken part in excavations in Iran, Iraq, Pakistan (Mohenjo-Daro) and the United Arab Emirates (Ra's al-Khaimah). She has already published several articles relating to Mohenjo-Daro since 1984, and other papers, mainly on this site, are forthcoming. Her doctoral dissertation, presented to the Free University of Berlin in 1990, is published here in a slightly revised and expanded form (the most important additions have been made in the concluding chapter). The book deals with the glyptics of the Indus (or Harappan) Civilization, including not only seals and seal impressions but also small engraved or moulded tablets and other inscribed objects.

So far, the study of these objects has concentrated heavily on their inscriptions in the enigmatic Indus script, which continues to be a major challenge to scholarship. Such subject matter lies beyond the scope of this thesis, but as the information collected and processed concerns the contexts of the inscriptions, it is of fundamental value also to students of the Indus script.

The basic problems and aims of the work are discussed on the first pages of the work (pp. 3-4), starting from the following assumptions: The inscribed objects played a central role in the exchange and control of information in the Indus Civilization. This function they have, of course, mainly fulfilled through their written messages. Beyond the script, however, these objects also conveyed symbolic messages through their varied iconographic motifs, including composition and depicted details. The form is also relevant, particularly in seals which functioned as means of identification. The mode of production, too, involving such things as quality of material and workmanship, conveys indirect messages about the owner or purpose; in addition, it raises questions about craft centres. Through systematic and methodological study of their symbolism, it may be possible to draw conclusions about the ideas, conventions, values and norms entertained in the culture that produced these artefacts. These assumptions are backed up in an excursus (pp. 4-6) discussing the concepts 'style', 'symbolism' and 'iconography'.

Moreover, as 'formal' attributes of a society, the inscribed objects can be expected

to mirror the dynamics of their socio-cultural context: its temporal changes and spatial differentiations. They constitute also an artefact group that is large and multifaceted enough to serve as the basis of a detailed examination of temporal and spatial variation.

Ute Franke-Vogt's ultimate motivation for undertaking such a detailed study has been the wish to test the general theories of interpretation relating to the Indus Civilization, especially assertions concerning its homogeneity and variation in space and time. She emphasizes that generalizations must be confronted with detailed information and vice versa, the discovery of patterns being an analytic process.

A critical review of the archaeological discovery of the Indus Civilization (with special reference to the inscribed objects) and the shifting conceptual frameworks that have governed its study (pp. 7-10) spells out the evolution of the interpretatory generalizations that are going to be tested, especially those of homogeneity and variation. Special attention is paid in this survey of previous research to recent artefact analyses, especially that between Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro by Marcia Fentress (1976); Ute Franke-Vogt is not prepared to accept her conclusions that back up the traditional thesis of homogeneity, but sketches other possible reasons for the lack of variation, such as insufficiently fine determination of the criteria for differentiation, and the methodologically inappropriate omission of material from the 'Intermediate Period' at Mohenjo-Daro (p.10).

Ute Franke-Vogt has chosen to restrict herself to Mohenjo-Daro, the source of most of the inscribed objects and a large site for which detailed documentation is, relatively speaking, fairly abundant; this restriction seems reasonable enough, as her detailed analysis of this material alone has demanded more than 600 folio-sized pages. As the temporal and spatial variation of the objects within Mohenjo-Daro is the main subject of the dissertation, it requires a detailed assessment of the various excavations and surveys of the site and their methodology. The way of locating the finds in space and time in the excavations led by Marshall and Mackay is explained at length, as are the problems relating to this system and the stratigraphy of the site. We are also given a summary description of the different parts of the city and their principal structures, with plans in the second volume containing illustrations (pp. 11-26; II, Tafel iii-v, xlv-lvii).

The material of study, 2927 objects, is catalogued as fully as possible in appendix 1 (II, pp. 235-434), with a concordance to various reference numbers in appendix 6 (II, pp. 541-559). The sources for this catalogue are recorded and critically evaluated in part I (pp. 27-29): the field registers from 1924-1938 and a diary of M. S. Vats, discovered at the Mohenjo-Daro Museum by Michael Jansen in 1979, so far mostly unpublished (with two samples concerning the VS and DKI areas illustrated in part II, Tafel vi); the Sind volumes of the photo archive of the Archaeological Survey of India (now in Delhi and in Karachi); the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India; the excavation reports edited by Marshall (1931) and Mackay (1937-38); the concordances to the Indus inscriptions by Mahadevan (1977) and by Finnish teams (1973, 1979-1982); the photographic *Corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions* (I, 1987;

the author could not utilize the 2nd volume that came out in 1991); and original objects in the principal museums in India, Pakistan and elsewhere studied in 1984. The preparation of such a catalogue is a laborious process. The objects are not always easy to identify, for the registration numbers of the objects are often defective, false or missing in the various sources. Dr Franke-Vogt's catalogue, in which she has been able to give a good number of rectifications, will be an important source for a similar listing that is to appear in CISI 3.

Tables 73 (p. 194) and 68 (p. 192) summarize this material basis, detailing its types and provenances as well as the numbers of objects that had to be excluded from all or some analyses and the reasons why (p. 29).

The classification of objects is one of the most important parts of the work. After first briefly explaining the schemes adopted by previous researchers, the author takes a stand in regard to the recent theories concerning archaeological typology and defines her terminology. The selected criteria of classification and the overall scheme are then made explicit, with codes (used in the catalogue and the text of the dissertation) and references to other current classifications. It is clear that Ute Franke-Vogt's methodical and systematic work means a considerable step forwards in organizing this field (pp. 31-40).

There follows a detailed descriptive-analytic study of object types (pp. 43-57), with illustrations (II, Tafel vii-xxi) and a list of the seals sorted according to their form types (appendix 3 in II, pp. 466-493), while the other objects are secondarily sorted according to their types in another list (appendix 2.2 in II, pp. 460-466). This section is illustrated with many kinds of useful diagrams and statistical tables (pp. 171 ff.), often being the first of their kind to be published. Thus, for the most frequent object type, the seal, we have, among other things, the frequencies of different kinds of materials used in making the seals, the number of engraved faces on the seals, the number, direction and arrangement of lines of writing on square seals, the frequencies of different types of seals, the distribution of the different iconographic motifs on different types of seals, counts correlating the iconographic motifs with the different sizes in the square seals, and so forth. These tables are also discussed and interpreted. Parallels from other Harappan sites and from other cultural spheres are taken into consideration throughout this section.

Next, the iconographic motifs are gone through in detail (pp. 59-110; illustrations: II, Tafel xxii-xli; statistical tables: I, p. 172 ff.; a list of the objects sorted according to the motif: appendix 2 in II, pp. 435-466). Summarizing Erwin Panofsky's differentiation between formal analysis, iconography and iconology, the author expresses her scepticism in regard to the possibilities of transcending the formal analysis in a case where the interpretation is dependent on the material remains alone. Faithful to this stand, Ute Franke-Vogt summarizes and criticizes only briefly the more 'iconographic' interpretations that have been proposed above all on the basis of later Indian art and religion. Generally she restricts herself to discussing the 'natural interpretation', which is by no means without its problems, such as the biological identification of the animals and plants depicted. A very valuable addition is a fairly comprehensive and up-

to-date consideration, in each case, of the internal Harappan parallels and of the external parallels from the Near East including the Gulf and Iran as well as Central Asia. The result is a clear and healthy foundation that must be respected by any scholar attempting to go further.

The 'unicorn' bull constitutes the by far most frequent iconographic motif, being found on 58% of the seals from Mohenjo-Daro. This large number of examples exhibits also considerable variation in the details of the motif, especially in the upper part of the body (neck, head and horn), the 'cover' over the back of the animal, and the two parts of the cultic object placed in front of the bull. This variation is studied in depth in a separate section, which goes far beyond the similar recent study by Paul Rissman (1989) that has served as the basis of arranging the material in CISI 1-2 and that has been taken into account here. A considerably more detailed classification of the distinctive stylistic criteria is established and their internal correlations are counted (summarized in numerous tables on pp. 182-187), revealing certain tendencies (pp. 111-117; II, Tafel xlii-xliv; list of the 'unicorn' seals sorted according to stylistic groups: appendix 4 in II, pp. 495-504). The iconographic groups of the 'unicorn' seals are then related to their other variables, including the quality of workmanship and size of the seal and the body proportions of the bull depicted (pp. 117-118; 187-188). Next, the data concerning the 'unicorn' seals are compared with some other motifs (pp. 119-121; 188-189). Finally there is an interregional comparison between Mohenjo-Daro and other sites, discussing Rissman's proposal that the three main groups of 'unicorn' seals each stem from a specific locally bound 'regional school'. Franke-Vogt argues convincingly for a considerably modified view (pp. 123-124).

Could the stylistic variations within the 'unicorn' seals, some specific iconographic motifs, some object types, or other variables reflect chronological differences? Or could they reflect some social groups residing in different parts of the city? Questions like these can be researched only in the way it has been done in the last major section of the work, which examines the horizontal and vertical distribution of the objects within the major areas of Mohenjo-Daro (pp. 125-147) as well as within smaller units like houses etc. (pp. 149-156) (with numerous tabulations on pp. 190-227; distributional charts in II, Tafel xlv-lvii; and a list of the objects sorted according to their find places: appendix 5 in II, pp. 505-540).

The excavation level assigned to each object of course does not have the same significance all over Mohenjo-Daro, as is implied by the arrangement of the inscribed objects in Mackay's excavation report, based on this variable: the differences in topography and in excavation or recording technique requires the treatment of each area as a separate entity, as has been done by Ute Franke-Vogt. In some areas the finds concentrate in certain levels, but whether these concentrations reflect layers of utilization or result from methodological procedures can be solved only through a comprehensive analysis of the totality of finds in their relation to the structural remains.

In the absence of a real stratigraphy, the vertical examination can be only rather summary: Ute Franke-Vogt distinguishes between two layers, the upper comprising the



'Late' Period and the lower comprising the 'Intermediate' and 'Early' Periods. She considers variation as chronologically significant only if it is between material from the lower levels of the southern part of the DKG area (the only place where the 'Early' period is represented) and all the other material, because no clear line can be drawn between the 'Intermediate' and 'Late' Periods anywhere; taking into consideration the strong erosion, it is by no means excluded that material similar to the lower levels of southern DKG but found elsewhere could also be 'Early'.

Inscribed copper tools and weapons come exclusively from the lowest levels of DKG (but mostly from hoards); other such objects not found from the upper layers elsewhere are moulded tablets with square, round and prismatic form. (p. 135.) The motif of the goat is found exclusively, and the buffalo, zebu and bison and composite animals overproportionally frequently, in the lower levels of the DKG area. Also the 'unicorn' seals whose cult object has a rounded upper part occur either exclusively or predominantly in the 'Early' levels. The swastika and other geometric motifs, on the other hand, appear predominantly in the upper layers. However, none of the object types or iconographic motifs can be clearly assigned to any single layer or period, all being already present in the lower levels of DKG. (Pp. 137-141, 162).

Neither did the spatial distribution of object types and iconographic motifs reveal any clear-cut and mutually exclusive differences. Some concentrations could be noted, however. The actual volume of inscribed objects discovered from each area has been compared to the amount expected on the basis of the size of the area and the total volume of artefacts recovered from its various 'periods'. This examination revealed exceptionally high concentrations of inscribed objects in the areas DKG, DKI and DKB. These concentrations do not appear to be due to differences in excavation techniques or in the recording of the finds. (Pp. 127-129.) On the other hand, it is surprising that a proportionally rather small number of inscribed objects comes from the citadel area, especially as it is expected to be the administrative and religious centre of the city. A similar scarcity is evidenced for the terracotta statuettes and metal objects, while the total number of artefacts found in the citadel is proportionally higher than in DKG and DKI (pp. 146, 160).

Ute Franke-Vogt establishes a dichotomy between the northern and southern halves of the lower city. Thus the terracotta 'cakes' with seal impressions occur almost exclusively, and moulded tablets in overproportionally large numbers, in the northern areas (DKG and DKE, in significantly high numbers also in DKB and DKC). The copper tablets and the 'Indus goblets' with seal impressions, on the other hand, are found in unexpectedly large numbers in the southern DKI area, and also in the citadel. The inscribed bangles occur in high proportions in DKC and in the citadel area, the inscribed ivory sticks in DKC. Objects that in Franke-Vogt's opinion possibly reflect higher social status and religious ideology come mainly from the northern part of the lower city, partly also from the citadel.

This conclusion is supported also by the distribution of the iconographic motifs: the zebu is found mainly in the northern part of the lower city, but is absent from its southern part (excepting VS), and the buffaloes come mainly from the citadel area and

DKG (but also in the southern HR area); the rhinoceros and the swastika, on the other hand, are exceptionally frequent in the southern areas DKI and HR. Most of the complex ideographic scenes, too, come from DKG, which is also the only find place of the 'exotic' cylinder seals. (Pp. 133, 137f., 145.)

Dr Franke-Vogt's hypothesis must, however, be tempered by noting in this connection that the proportion of seals with an excellent or good quality of manufacture (suggesting a high social status for their owners) is greatest in the HR area. In addition to the quality, also the size and the orientation of the animals are subjected to a horizontal and vertical analysis. The abnormal orientation (to the left) is highest in the DKG and L areas and in the lowest levels, agreeing with the 'Early' motifs (buffalo, goat). (Pp. 143-144.)

The last section studies, through some selected examples, the horizontal distribution of the inscribed objects within the separate areas, with single rooms in houses as the minimal unit. (Pp. 149-156.) A comprehensive study of the find contexts of the inscribed objects including all the associated artefacts could not be included in the present study. Detailed studies of this kind, which may provide clues about the possible function of the objects or the occupation of their owners (though Mackay and now also Franke-Vogt [p. 155 n. 50] have expressed their pessimism in this regard), will be the subject of the various area monographs prepared by the research project Mohenjo-Daro at the Technical University of Aachen. Nevertheless, some particularly interesting cases are mentioned here and there, and the author notes also some of her hunches awaiting confirmation, like the impression that seals seem to occur in association with weights especially in the VS and DKG areas (p. 151 n. 22).

In regard to the citadel area, the most noteworthy fact is the overproportionally high concentration of copper tablets in the Great Bath and in Block C of the L area (p. 149f.). In the lower city, Dr Franke-Vogt notes, among other things, concentrations of finds in certain houses, and studies their internal distribution. In some houses such finds are in transit rooms near the streets, in other areas in end rooms far from the streets. Strikingly many moulded tablets come from the area HR-A; here the house 1, I, has been assumed to possibly have had a cultic function on account of its inventory, which includes statuettes. Dr Franke-Vogt notes the exceptional density of inscribed objects found in this house, 15 pieces, out of which 12 are seals. Another surprising feature is that only one of the seals (HR 1400) is in any way unusual. Similarly, the house HR-B, 2, V yielded 18 'ring stones' and 20 seals. (P. 151.)

One general conclusion is that it is not possible to locate any object type or motif within a clearly demarcated area, but only tendencies of differentiation could be noted between and within the areas of the lower city. This speaks on the one hand against the existence of 'enclaves' or 'ghettos', but on the other hand also against the assumption of a wholly unstructured society. The factors that have led to the differentiation that is in evidence could in Franke-Vogt's opinion be economic, socio-political, ideological or even ethnic, but in her opinion it is difficult to make further inferences as long as the function of the object types remains uncertain and the symbolism of the



iconography unknown. Yet she is prepared to assign an economic and/or political function to the seals: their presence or absence would then imply differences in rank and status. If the copper tablets had an ideological or cultic significance, their spatial concentrations imply either that more people possessing them lived in certain areas rather than in others or that few people (or institutions?) possessed many tablets. Temporally, the distributions indicate an increase in their importance towards the later periods. (P. 155.)

In the concluding chapter (pp. 157-167), besides summarizing her main results, Ute Franke-Vogt discusses in detail the temporal distribution of the Indus seals and inscriptions (particularly those found abroad) in relation to the chronology of the Indus Civilization (which she dates c. 2500-2000 B.C.), finding a span of about 350 years for the so far exposed structures of Mohenjo-Daro ("Early, Intermediate and Late Period") quite reasonable. She further notes that the Indus script and the iconographic repertory of the Indus seals are among those variables that are not yet present in the preceding Early Harappan cultures. Since she cites me as seeing a precursor to the Indus script in the Early Harappan graffiti (p. 164, n. 48), I would like to note that I do so only in a limited sense: the use of graffiti has prepared people to handle graphic marks. I now think that the Indus script was most likely created by the Harappans only when they started sailing to the Near East and saw writing being used there.

One final problem relating to the question of uniformity and variability is taken up here, namely that concerning the organization of the craftsmen. The seal cutters, who mastered not only the techniques of their demanding craft but also the conventions of the script and iconography, must have operated in cooperation with the political system. Yet nothing points to the existence of a single large workshop of these specialists at Mohenjo-daro; as in the case of other crafts, we may rather assume that the production was decentralized. (P. 165.)

The main object of Franke-Vogt's work was to study the problem of cultural 'uniformity' and 'variability' of the Indus Civilization by means of a detailed analysis of the glyptics from Mohenjo-daro. "The purpose was however not to add a new model to the old ones. Rather, I wished to create a basis for evaluating statements in this regard" (p. 159). This plan is in my opinion well conceived and has been carried out logically, methodically and with great attention to detail. The chapters unfold in an order that enables even readers not well acquainted with the subject to follow the argument easily. The theoretical background is never forgotten. Throughout the work, Dr Franke-Vogt also takes a critical stand to views expressed by other scholars, but never attacks them in a negative way. The evidence is presented fully and synoptically, and conclusions are drawn with caution, always considering possibilities of alternative explanations. The discussion and the extensive bibliography (pp. xix-xlix) are also quite up to date. Having commented upon a nearly final version of this dissertation, I seldom find myself in disagreement with the author.<sup>16</sup> As far as I can judge, this is,

<sup>16</sup> This does not, of course, mean that the book is free from mistakes. Minor slips in fact occur quite often. For example, checking carefully the references to Near Eastern Indus seals given on pp. 64-65, I noticed the following mistakes. Page 64a, line 26, read Ilbaba for U-baba. Page 65b, line 16 refers to

on the whole, a very reliable survey of a complex and previously largely uncharted field. It marks an important advance in the understanding of the Indus Civilization, especially its inscribed objects: in the foregoing summary, I have been able to hint at only some of its principal new results.

ASKO PARPOLA

**Thomas Lehmann & Thomas Malten**, A word index of Old Tamil Caṅkam literature. (*Beiträge zur Südasienforschung*, Bd. 147.). Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992. xi+425 pp. Pb DEM 98,-

A comprehensive and reliable word index to the Old Tamil literature is a most important working tool. The compilation of such a tool has been undertaken and carried out by two young German scholars, Thomas Lehmann and Thomas Malten; Lehmann has recently written an excellent grammar of modern standard Tamil.<sup>17</sup> As the authors point out, there already exists a work very similar to theirs, published by the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry in 1967-1970, and compiled by a team directed by Tiru N. Kandaswamy Pillai of Tanjavur.<sup>18</sup> The new work is justified by referring to the fact that the previous work does not make explicit either the text editions used or the principles followed in its compilation. This crucial information left out from the French index is provided clearly and succinctly in the introduction to the present work, which fills just five pages. But even Lehmann and Malten leave something unexplained: if they utilized a computer in compiling their index, we are not told this. The French index is based on more than 300,000 cards containing each occurrence of each word, together with its context and the meaning either as given by the commentator or as inferred from the context; each reference was verified during the lengthy process of publication.<sup>19</sup>

Both indexes claim to be comprehensive. The work of the French Institute is defined as "l'index alphabétique de tous les mots de la littérature tamoule ancienne dans toutes leur occurrences, avec les références à tous les passages où ils se rencon-

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Amiet 1973, Nr. 303: the title [Amiet, Pierre, 1973. Quelques aspects peu connus de l'art iranien. A propos des dons de M. Mohsène Foroughi. *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 23 (4-5): 215-224] is not to be found in the bibliography, and the correct reference is p. 222-3, figs. 23a & 23b. Page 65b, line 27: Delaporte 1920 for 1923; the reference to Delaporte 1920 two lines later is correct. Page 65b, lines 31-33 (also p. 7, n. 5, lines 1-2): the seal of Ward 1910: no. 803 [mentioned only as a parallel by Scheil 1916: 22] is wrongly identified with the one published by Scheil 1916: 22 = Amiet, GS 1972: no. 1643 = Amiet 1986, fig. 94 (and [p. 7, n. 5] = Hunter 1934 pl. [*sic* for p.] 9: no. 11); moreover, there is no factual basis of dating this seal to the "Akkad-Zeit" (Amiet 1972: I, 192, while discussing this seal, only says that Susa, like Mesopotamia, must have had trade relations with the Indus Civilization since Akkadian times). But such inaccuracies, inevitable in a work of this magnitude, are negligible in view of the book's general comprehensiveness.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Lehmann, A grammar of modern Tamil. (Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture Publication, 1.) Pondicherry: Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, 1989. xxi, 387 p., 17 tables.

<sup>18</sup> *Index des mots de la littérature tamoule ancienne*, I-III. (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, 37.) Pondichéry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1967-1968-1970. vii, 414, viii; iv, 415-823, ii; iv, 825-1491, i p.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Jean Filliozat's one-page introduction in vol. I, p. v.

trent."<sup>20</sup> Similarly Lehmann and Malten: "The present index of the *caṅkam* anthologies is based on the 1981 reprint of the Rajam edition. It comprises all the words occurring in the texts of *eṭṭuttokai* and *pattuppāṭṭu*" (p. vii).

I wanted to verify the accuracy of these statements by comparing the information given in the two works in a few random cases; I shall recount here only one. For the word *ceṃmīṇ* the Pondicherry index (II, p. 655) gives the following references: Patir̥u. 31-28; Puṇam. 60-2. In the new index we find only one of these references under the entry *ceṃmīṇ* (p. 199): pati 31-28. Checking the Rajam edition of Puṇanāṇūru (1981 ed., p. 37), we can ascertain that line 60-2 indeed contains this word: *ceṃmīṇ*. Why is this word missing in the new index? Perhaps the authors have decided to list the two elements of this compound separately. For they write in the introduction:

With respect to orthography, the Rajam edition is not always consistent. For example, the compound noun *naṭunāḷ* 'midnight' is sometimes written together as in *naṭunāḷ* (*akanāṇūru* 72-2) and sometimes written as two words (*akanāṇūru* 22-11)... (p. vii)

• Compound noun contractions, as understood in traditional Tamil grammar, are listed as two separate words unless both elements of the compound noun construction form one lexical unit. For example, when the two elements *ciṅu* 'small' and *puṇam* 'part' constitute a compound noun construction, as in *akanāṇūru* 167-12, they do not express their respective lexical meaning, which would be 'small part', but form the new and single lexical unit 'nape'. Thus, they are listed as the single word form *ciṅupuṇam*. On the other hand, a compound noun construction in which both elements have their respective lexical meaning, as in the case of the modifier - head type of compound nouns, which can alternatively also be analyzed as noun phrases, is listed as two separate words. For instance, the construction *peru viṇal* (*Puṇanāṇūru* 242-5) 'great strength', which is given as one word *peruvir-al* in the Rajam edition, is indexed as two words *peru* and *viṇal* since each element has its separate lexical meaning in this construction. (p. viii-ix.)

I have quoted this passage at length, because it shows that the authors have gone to a lot of trouble in sorting out the meaning of each and every word. Unfortunately for the reader, they have decided to withhold this information for the time being, obviously because they have not wanted to fix any unsecure meanings. In this they follow the practice adopted in the Pondicherry index.<sup>21</sup> Provisional meanings have been given, however, by the authors of the numerous separate indexes to Old Tamil texts published between 1962 and 1977;<sup>22</sup> apart from these meanings and the grammatical descrip-

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*. Professor Filliozat indicates that he conceived the idea of this index together with Mr. Kārāvēlane and Mr. N. Kandaswamy Pillai.

<sup>21</sup> Jean Filliozat, in his introduction to the Pondicherry index (I, 1967, p. v), considered it premature to place at the disposal of the readers semantic determinations that need first being checked, pointing out that the meanings assigned to the words by the commentators, in spite of their being adopted in the dictionaries both ancient and modern, do not always correspond to those prevalent at the time when the Old Tamil poems were composed.

<sup>22</sup> V.I. Subramoniam, *Index of Puranaanuuru*. Trivandrum: Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, 1962. xii, 628, vii p.

S.V. Subramanian, *Descriptive grammar of Cilappatikaaram*. Tirunelveli [1965]. 14, vi, 308, 8 p. (This book is not mentioned by Lehmann and Malten in their list of these indexes (p. vi n. 4), which I have in some cases corrected here, adding also the pagination.)

S.V. Subramanian, *Grammar of akanānuRu with index*. Trivandrum: Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, 1972. viii, 359 p.

S. R. Krishnambal, *Grammar of kuRuntokai, with index*. Trivandrum: Department of Tamil, University

tions of the respective works, these books of course remain useful checks on the accuracy of the two main indexes discussed here.<sup>23</sup>

The compound *cemmīṅ* consists of two words, *ce* 'red' and *mīṅ*, which has two meanings: (1) 'fish' (2) 'star'. The many references for the former are listed by Lehmann and Malten on pp. 197-198, and they do comprise "puṛa 60-2", as do the references for *mīṅ* on pp. 365-366.

Why has the compound been split into two here but not in *Paṭiṛuppattu* 31-28? Probably because its exact meaning in *Puṛam* 60-2 is debated: according to the *Tamil Lexicon* (III, 1928, p. 1598a), *cem-mīṅ* has four meanings: (1) The star Arundhati (e.g. in *Paṭiṛuppattu* 31-28); (2) Mars (e.g. in *Puṛam* 60-2); (3) The 6th nakṣatra, *tiruvātirai* (e.g., comm. on *Puṛam* 60-2); and (4) Sperm whale, *Euphysetes macrocephalus*. By splitting the compound the compilers assign to it the meaning 'red star', suggesting that it does not here refer to any specific star. This is one way out, though not necessarily the correct solution.

One useful reference work, in spite of its odd transcription and other shortcomings, could have been mentioned by Lehmann and Malten in their introduction. I refer to N. Subrahmanian's *Pre-Pallavan Tamil index*,<sup>24</sup> which gives the following information under *śemṁin* (p. 383):

(1) Arundadi; Alcor of the Great Bear; typical of the chaste woman; she is depicted as a fixed star; also *Tiruvādirai*, the 6th nakṣatra. *Paṭiṛu*: IV: 1: 28; IX: 9: 19,20; *Perumbāṅ*: 302-4.

(2) Mars; the red planet; (here *Mīn* which usually means a star, stands for a planet). But as it is said to twinkle, perhaps it does not refer to a planet but only to a star — here *Tiru Adirai*. *Puṛam*: 60.

of Kerala, 1974. x, 79, 242 p.

M. Elayaperumal, *Grammar of Aigkurunuuru with index*. Trivandrum: Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, 1975. x, 160, 3 p.

S. Agesthalingom, *A grammar of Old Tamil with special reference to Paṭiṛuppattu (phonology & verb morphology)*. (Department of Linguistics, Annamalai University, Publications, 50.) Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1977 [actually 1979]. xxv, 240, 158 p. [the last 158 p. = index of *Paṭiṛuppattu*].

Three further indexes have been prepared at the Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, but these have remained unpublished (cf. S.V. Subrahmanian 1972: iii): A. Kamatchinathan, *Grammar of naRRiNai*; Rm. Sundaram, *Grammar of PattuppaTTu*; and Andiappan, *Grammar of Kalittokai*.

<sup>23</sup> "During the period of Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, all the Sangam anthologies were indexed in this Department [i.e. the Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, Trivandrum]" (S.V. Subrahmanian 1972: iii); all the individual indexes listed in the preceding note are based on this original index, though they as a rule have improved upon it (cf. the preface of Agesthalingom 1977). This information, noted by Lehmann and Malten (p. vi), is practically withheld by V.I. Subramoniam, Vaiyapuri Pillai's able successor, in his preface to the *Puṛaṅṅūṟu* index, from which one gets the impression that the entire scheme was initiated by him: "Soon after I took charge as Honorary Professor of Tamil under the Alagappa Chettiar Endowment in October 1954, a project for preparing indexes and a grammatical outline for all the nine Sangam classics of Tamil was approved by the then Travancore University. The preparation of the index was taken up first and *Puranaanuuru* was selected as the first book for indexing (p. i)... I should like to acknowledge here the help and guidance of S. Vaiyapuri Pillai...(p. vi)". On the achievements and life of Vaiyapuri Pillai, see K. Sivathamby's introduction to the 2nd ed. of Vaiyapuri Pillai's *History of Tamil language and literature (from the beginning to 1000 A.D.)*, Madras: New Century Book House, 1988. According to Sivathamby (p. xlili), S. Vaiyapuri Pillai occupied the Tamil Chair at the University of Travancore for three years, from 1951 to 1954.

<sup>24</sup> N. Subrahmanian, *Pre-Pallavan Tamil index (Index of historical material in Pre-Pallavan Tamil literature)*. (Madras University Historical Series, 23.) Madras: University of Madras, 1966. xxi, 823, ii p.

The additional references given by Subrahmanian here, Patirruppattu 89-19 to 20 (*mīnoṭu puraiyūṁ karpiṅ / vāḷ nutal arivaiyoṭu kāṅvarap polintē*) and Perumpāṅṅruppaṭai 302-3 (*peru nal vāṅattu vaṭavayiṅ viḷaṅkum / cirumīṅ puraiyūṁ karpiṅ, naṅu nutal*) turn out to refer to synonymous expressions for the star Arundhatī, not to occurrences of the compound *cemmīṅ*. One purpose of citing these two references here is to illustrate the recurrence of set phrases in the Caṅkam texts: in addition to a plain index to their vocabulary, we would like to have a concordance from which we could see at a glance the contexts in which each word occurs. But such a concordance may have to be published in a microfiche rather than book form. While looking forward to such further tools, we thank the authors for their new index, which passed this minitest quite well.

ASKO PARPOLA

**K. Parameswara Aithal** (comp.), *Veda-lakṣaṇa, Vedic ancillary literature: A descriptive bibliography.* (*Beiträge zur Südasienforschung*, Bd. 143.). Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1991. iii+725 pp.

In this painstaking compilation, the author has attempted to provide an exhaustive listing of all works belonging to a much neglected branch of Sanskrit literature. With a few exceptions such as the Prātiśākhya and some other works by late Vedic authors like Kātyāyana, these texts are post-Vedic. According to Aithal's broad classification (p. 4), they can be divided into four groups: (1) Prātiśākhya, Śikṣā and other works on Vedic phonetics, phonology and some aspects of grammar, dealing for instance with the alphabet, organs of articulation, correct pronunciation, euphonic combination, proper accentuation, etc. (2) Anukramaṇīs and other indices of seers, deities, poetic metres, etc., including many Baiṭhs, which are composed in a code language and have their own system of metarules. (3) Lists of words with specific characteristics occurring in Vedic texts. (4) Works dealing with the modified forms of Vedic recitation.

In the introduction, the author explains the importance of these lakṣaṇa texts especially for the proper understanding of Vedic recitation, on which he gives much interesting information. These scholastic and often highly technical treatises largely remain unpublished and misunderstood. In the present work, Dr Aithal has collected the available information on the existing manuscripts and printed editions of each text, along with details concerning the author, the nature of the text, its extent and commentaries, and so forth, so that interested researchers have all the necessary information served on a plate. Describers of uncatalogued manuscripts will be grateful for the quotation of the initial and final words, and for the verse index of the metrical passages occurring in these portions. The arrangement is alphabetical. (An alternative arrangement could have been a division between the different Vedas and schools, each with an alphabetic order of its own.) The introduction and especially the list of manuscript catalogues and libraries will be found most useful also by editors of other Sanskrit texts. Many thanks for this handy new tool.

ASKO PARPOLA

**Klaus-Werner Müller**, Das brahmanische Totenritual nach der Antyeṣṭipaddhati des Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. (*Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung*, Bd. 151.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992. xiii, 238 S. Kart. DEM 82,-

This book, carefully prepared under the able guidance of Dr K. P. Aithal, fills a notable lacuna in the literature concerning Indian rituals in a most satisfactory way. While there are several good descriptions of Vedic funerary practices and ancestor worship, most of them by Willem Caland, an easily accessible, authoritative description of the corresponding rituals in modern Hinduism has been lacking. Dr Müller's book is an annotated translation of one of the most important handbooks of death rituals; Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Antyeṣṭipaddhati is a good choice, because this extensive and detailed treatise is the basis of many currently used manuals and enjoys particular prestige in Vārāṇasī, the most important Hindu place of pilgrimage in India, where many people go to die or to perform the rites for the dead. A comprehensive and up-to-date introduction and bibliography<sup>25</sup> and good indices complete this excellent and most welcome contribution.

ASKO PARPOLA

**Hermann Berger** (ed.), Mythology in modern Indian literature. (*South Asian Digest of Regional Writing*, 12.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992. vi+102 pp. Pb DEM 38,-

This interesting booklet results from a seminar on 'mythology in modern Indian literature' held at the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg in 1987. In his contribution on 'The Rāmāyaṇa in Kannada literature' (pp. 1-12), Parameswara Aithal surveys the surprisingly great number of variant versions in which the Rāma epic has been available to Kannada speakers.<sup>26</sup> Pratibha Bhattacharya in 'Mṛtyunjaya-Karṇa, the man' (pp. 13-25), analyses the Marathi author Shivājī Sāvant's book *Mṛtyunjaya* (1986), which psychologically explores the personality of Karṇa, the tragic hero of the Mahābhārata, in an autobiographical form. 'The metamorphoses of a Goddess—A mythological design of the maṅgal-kāvya's' (pp. 26-35) by Alokaranjan Dasgupta discusses the Bengali maṅgal-kāvya, especially the Caṇḍī-maṅgal of Kavikankan Mukundarām Cakravarti (1568 A.D.).<sup>27</sup> Ayyadurai Dhamotharan in 'Akalyā

<sup>25</sup> Naturally, many books on death and ancestor rituals not found in the bibliography could be added. For example, a widely used anthropological textbook focusing on Southeast Asian death rituals is Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington, *Celebrations of death: The anthropology of mortuary ritual*, 2nd ed., revised, and with a new introduction by Peter Metcalf, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. The field of Indian death rituals, however, is well covered. One missing item is Vimal Shah, Ramesh Shroff and Haku Shah (eds.), *Samūha śrāddha — Community ancestor worship*, Ahmadabad: Gujarat Vidyapeeth, 1966, which describes a collective performance of the śrāddha by Gujarati tribal communities at two to five or even fifty years intervals.

<sup>26</sup> W. L. Smith, *Rāmāyaṇa traditions in eastern India: Assam, Bengal, Orissa* (Stockholm studies in Indian languages and culture, 2), Stockholm: Department of Indology, University of Stockholm, 1988, 207 pp., may be mentioned as an example of another regional survey on a larger scale, giving further bibliography.

<sup>27</sup> One of the maṅgal poems has been thoroughly analysed by William L. Smith, *The one-eyed goddess: A study of the Manasā maṅgal* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Oriental



—an immortal example' (pp. 36-52) briefly outlines variants of the Ahalyā<sup>28</sup> myth as it is found in early Sanskrit (Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa) and Tamil literature (Kampa-Rāmāyaṇa, and brief references in Paripāṭal and Tirukkūṭal); he then translates one example of a modern Tamil version of this myth, Jayakāntaṅ's novel Akkiṇi-p piravēcam (1966). V. D. Kulkarni's 'Folk myths and transcreative literature' (pp. 53-64), a paper not presented at the seminar, examines how folk myths use the myths of the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas. It deals with the myth of king Ḍāṅgavī fighting with Kṛṣṇa for the nymph Urvaśī, who had been cursed to become a mare; Abhimanyu's marriage with Vatsalā, the daughter of Balarāma and Revatī; and the intermingling of Nātha and Jaina legends with epic myths in the *ovīs* sung by Maharashtra women. Lothar Lutze's topic is 'Kṛṣṇa's death: Variations on a Mahābhārata episode in contemporary Indian poetry, with an introduction' (pp. 65-80). Finally, Imtraut Stellrecht gives a general survey of the principal trends in 'Interpretation of myths' (pp. 81-102), taking into consideration a number of disciplines, especially folkloristics, philology, social anthropology and psychology. Thus a great deal of information on a number of fascinating themes has been squeezed between two covers; an index would have been helpful in its retrieval.

ASKO PARPOLA

**Cecil Bendall**, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*. (VOHD, Supplementband 33.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992. XII+liv+225 pp.

The Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, with its impressive archive of microfilmed manuscripts, kept in Kathmandu and Berlin, has now published a second volume of reprints of a catalogue of Nepalese manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> In the foreword, by Professor Wezler, we are told that these reprints are published as preliminaries to the list of the microfilmed manuscripts presently under preparation. In the first phase it will be just a list, and therefore the additional information, including detailed descriptions of manuscripts (often with colophons), given in the present volume will again become valuable. Of course, Bendall's catalogue, originally published in Cambridge as early as in 1883, only covers the manuscripts which had been collected at that time in the Cambridge library, and the real treasures of the microfilm collection remain secret. But in many libraries the old volume is missing, and certainly it still contains much material not easily found elsewhere. Cecil Bendall (1856–1906), who is not often remembered nowadays,<sup>30</sup> is here seen as a competent and precise scholar, who assiduously com-

Studies, 12), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1980, 208 pp. For the metamorphoses in the Durgā myth, see also my paper on 'The metamorphoses of Mahiṣa Asura and Prajāpati', pp. 275-308 in: A.W. van den Hoek, D.H.A. Kolff and M.S. Oort (eds.), *Ritual, state and history in South Asia: Essays in honour of J.C. Heesterman* (Memoirs of the Kern Institute, 5), Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Dharmotharan uses throughout the Tamil form Akalyā (with spirantic -k-), even when speaking of Sanskrit texts.

<sup>29</sup> The first, Hara Prasad Shastri's *Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper MSS. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, appeared in 1989 as VOHD Supplementband 31.

pleted the laborious task of describing these manuscripts. The catalogue is preceded by historical and palaeographical introductions, which, important at that time, are now antiquated, and the importance lies now in the catalogue itself. It is perhaps fitting to conclude with the man, by whose pains the Cambridge collection was achieved. He was Daniel Wright, a physician and brother of the famous Arabic scholar William Wright, who resided at the British Residency in Kathmandu, and thus was a kind of successor to B. H. Hodgson.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

**Emil Sieg**, *Kleine Schriften*. Herausgegeben von Klaus Ludwig Janert. (*Glasesapp-Stiftung*, Bd. 31.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1991. 10+459 pp.

Emil Sieg (1866–1951) was a pupil of Weber and Geldner. As the present collection clearly shows, his early interest was Vedic research, and because of his *Itihāsa-tradition* (1902, here republished in pages 89–243) his name is still well remembered in this field. However, the new and important manuscript finds in Central Asia soon carried away the man, who held the chair of Sanskrit or Indology at Kiel and Göttingen, and he soon became a pioneer of Tocharian studies. The present volume shows that his work in Indology is by no means negligible either. The collection begins with his doctoral dissertation on the Bharadvājaśikṣā, which, in 1891, was still written in Latin. A third of the book is taken up by the work mentioned above, which was the revised first part of his otherwise unpublished *Habilitationsschrift* in Berlin in 1896. From the rest we see that he was still interested in Vedic questions in the 1920s, but the last part of his life was devoted to Tocharian only. Since 1931, only one review and one obituary notice could be included. Before long the Glasesapp-Stiftung will inevitably face a shortage of important German indologists either deceased or in an advanced age,<sup>31</sup> but this time, still, the choice has been a felicitous one.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

**Moriz Winternitz**, *Kleine Schriften*. 1–2. Herausgegeben von **Horst Brinkhaus**.

(*Glasesapp-Stiftung*, Bd 30.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1991. xxvi+968 pp.

There still remained one great name for the Glasesapp-Stiftung to take up. After Otto Stein we now also have the man who was his teacher in Vienna and colleague in Prague. There is no need to present Moriz Winternitz (1863-1937), his history of Indian literature, and his Vedic and epic studies are known to every Indologist. These

<sup>30</sup> He edited the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* for the Bibliotheca Buddhica (1, 1902, a translation was finished by W. H. D. Rouse and published in 1922) and catalogued Indian books and manuscripts for the British Museum, but his name is only mentioned in passing by Windisch. After a career in the British Museum he went to Cambridge and for a few years was the Professor of Sanskrit there. See Rapson's obituary in *JRAS* 1903, 527ff.

<sup>31</sup> Among the old, Jolly, Leumann, Meyer, Negelein and R. Schmidt are still missing.



two volumes of *Kleine Schriften* clearly show the versatility and great productivity of this scholar. In a space of nearly one thousand pages we have nearly 80 articles and reviews, and this is still but a specimen of his full bibliography, which is given, as usual, in the introduction. After early works on Vedic ritual, Winternitz's main projects were his literary history and the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, soon interrupted in Europe by World War I, and then completed in Poona. But we also find several articles on Buddhism and on the history of Indian religions, on the *Arthaśāstra*, and on ancient Indian theatre. A few obituary and bibliographical notices about teachers and colleagues (Max Müller, Bühler, Weber, Ludwig), and an index conclude the volumes.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

*Un demi-siècle de recherches āyurvédiques. Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier.*

Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne. Documents réunis et présentés par **Arion Roşu**. (*Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne*, série in-8°, fascicule 8.) Collège de France, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Paris 1989. cxxi+615 pp.

It is not common knowledge in the history of Indology that there has been a nearly continuous tradition of Āyurvedic studies in France since the middle of the 19th century. Gustave Liétard (1833–1904) and his pupil and friend Palmyr Cordier (1871–1914) were succeeded by Jean Filliozat (1906–1982), and the tradition is now continuing by, among others, the present editor. The first two, Liétard and Cordier, were physicians interested in the Āyurveda, and this bulky volume contains reprints of all their independent works and articles dealing with the Āyurveda.<sup>32</sup> To some extent their interest is now only historical (Liétard's dissertation was published in 1858), but it is very interesting history. The editor has contributed a bibliography of both scholars and an introduction of c. 80 pages on the history of Āyurvedic studies in the West and on the place Liétard and Cordier in it. An English summary (pp. CXV–CXXI) briefly presents the works and papers reprinted here. Some letters, autographical notes, title pages of books, and of course photos of Liétard and Cordier are given as illustrations. It would also be interesting to have Liétard's correspondence in printed form. It is now preserved at the Wellcome Institute for the history of medicine in London, and contains, in addition to many letters by Cordier, several letters by contemporary Indologists.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

**A. A. Vigasin** (ed.), *Istorija i kul'tura Drevnej Indii. Teksty*. Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, Moskva 1990. 352 pp., 32 pl.

This book has perhaps a slightly misleading title. With "The History and Culture of

<sup>32</sup> There are altogether 12 pieces from Liétard, and 14 from Cordier, including the doctoral dissertations of both, and also an obituary on Liétard by Cordier.

Ancient India" one would expect a collection of articles, but what we have is a collection of translations of ancient Indian literature and of foreign (Greek and Chinese) literature related to India. Several well-known Russian scholars have contributed to the nine sections contained in the book. Every section is preceded by a brief introduction, and the translations are accompanied with a few notes. The whole is edited by A. A. Vigasin, who is also responsible for many translations.

The first section, "Vedic Civilization", is opened by 16 hymns from the *Rigveda* and two from the *Atharvaveda* translated by T. Ja. Elizarenkova, who has recently published the first volume of a complete translation of the *Rigveda*, these are followed by a few extracts from the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* by A. Ja. Syrkin. The second section, "Domestic customs", consists of a translation of the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* by Vigasin and Beljaeva. "The Art of Politics" by Vigasin comes from the fifth book of the *Arthaśāstra*. After this there are specimens of epic literature and Buddhist sūtras, and a small collection of Indian inscriptions. "The science of love" concludes the Indian part of the book. From western sources the *Indica* of Arrianus and a few fragments on Indian religion are included, and from Chinese, the pilgrimage of Faxian. The illustrations would be interesting, but their technical quality is extremely modest.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

**Julia Leslie** (ed.), *Roles and Rituals for Hindu Women*. Pinter Publishers, London 1991. xviii+267 pp.

This collection of ten essays, most of them originally presented at a seminar in Oxford in 1987, discusses the position of Hindu woman both in history (according to textual evidence) and from a contemporary perspective. Many of the contributions are based on doctoral dissertations—in a few cases still unfinished—and derive their information from field studies conducted in India mostly during the 1980s.

What clearly emerges from the widely differing viewpoints of individual authors, is, as stated by Leslie in her Introduction, that it is too easy just to see Indian society as a kind of caricature of patriarchy, where women are no more than enslaved victims. What the texts present is just one (the male) side of the truth, and important parts of existence remained outside it. For women, too, life in traditional Indian society had meaning. At the same time even the male religion gave much significance to female energy, and different methods were invented to cope with it. This is clearly seen in the first two essays discussing the Vedic śrauta ritual (F. M. Smith) and marriage rituals (W. F. Menski), while the next two (votive rites by M. McGee and mothering rituals by H. Stork) turn to the religiosity of women themselves.

According to the ideal designed and stated by men, a woman's sole religion should be her marriage, with the husband as the god. This is the starting point for the two essays written by the editor. The first deals with the only two cults allowed for a woman by an orthodox male author of the 18th century (Tryambakayajvan):<sup>33</sup> those

of Śrī and Jyeṣṭhā. Among other conclusions she is able to present interesting parallelism between the divine Jyeṣṭhā and human *jyeṣṭhā*, the elder wife in a polygynous family. The second essay is a painstaking attempt to discover the mechanism behind the tragic culmination of orthodox husband worship, the fate of a sati.

It was never possible to confine half of the society entirely to the home. The other essays study the (admittedly narrow) doors leading to the outside world. In some cases it was possible to have a divine god in place of the human one. The devadāsīs married the god or an aspect of him, and belonged to the temple. The remains of their tradition (the institution became illegal in 1947) form the subject of S. C. Kersenboom's essay, while A.-M. Gaston deals with their modern counterpart, the Braratanāṭyam and its religious aspects. The female saints of Indian history are the subject of S. Gupta's brief essay. Her main conclusion is that religious emancipation has been much easier in a Śaiva context, where the divine Śakti is accepted as an independent power, than among Vaiṣṇavas, for whom the goddess herself was just an archetype of the devoted wife. This sheds an interesting sidelight on the last essay. L. T. Denton has interviewed a great number of modern female ascetics in Varanasi, and now presents some parts of her unfinished dissertation.

In a collection of articles it is impossible to avoid a certain degree of divergence and lack of unity, but this time we can congratulate the editor for having produced a volume which can be read more or less as a single story. There is no need to dwell on occasional minor defects—one would, e.g. like to see a little more philological exactness in Stork's essay—when the whole is so interesting and full of fresh views and interpretations.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

*Mahabharata*. Kniga vos'maja o Karne (Karnaparva). Perevod s sanskrita, predislovie i komentarij **Ja. V. Vasil'kova** i **S. L. Nevelevoj**. (Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka XCI.) "Nauka", Glavnaja redakcija vostočnoj literatury, Moskva 1990. 325 pp., 32 pl.

The full Russian translation of the *Mahābhārata* was started in the 1950s by Kal'janov, and now the work has been continued in St. Petersburg. The Āraṇyaka-parva appeared in 1987, and now we also have the Karṇaparva translated by the same two scholars. The volume contains a brief introduction, the translation itself on pages 13–236, notes (pp. 237–272), two glossaries (of names and of Indian terms), a list of references, three indices, and an English summary (pp. 323–325). We can only hope that the English translation, too, begun by Van Buitenen, will some day be continued by as competent hands as this.

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. J. Leslie, *The Perfect Wife: The Orthodox Hindu Woman according to the Strīdharmapaddhati of Tryambakayajvan*. Delhi 1989.

**Folker E. Reichert**, *Begegnungen mit China. Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter. (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, Bd. 15.)* Jan Thorbecke Verlag, Sigmaringen 1992. 336 pp., 30 ill.

There is an ever-increasing amount of literature on the Western conception of China. The present volume, which is also a *Habilitationschrift* of Heidelberg University, is an addition to this list. However, the author has rightly noted that a comprehensive work concentrating on the medieval period was still missing. There are many studies on various medieval authors like William Rubruk, Marco Polo and Odorico di Pordenone, but attempts at a general view are mostly given only as introductions, when the emphasis was on the later Jesuit mission.

An introductory chapter on the classical heritage sketches the intellectual background according to which travellers and their audience interpreted new information. The importance of the classical image of India is rightly emphasized, during the Middle Ages many elements of the ancient conception of India were transferred to the Far East. In following chapters the Western accounts of China written during the 13th and 14th centuries are discussed. Instead of taking them one by one, the author attempts to deal with all of them together and so achieve a comprehensive picture of his subject. The second chapter thus deals with the travels and travellers, the third with their books and methods of description, and the fourth with the reception and influence they had. To this is added a short chapter on the position of the old and new knowledge in the age of Columbus, and a short conclusion.

In the beginning this kind of treatment seems not entirely felicitous. Together with the rather difficult style of the author, it renders the second chapter rather confusing. But in the third everything goes rather smoothly, and the author has given a very handy compact account of the textual history. He has not just accepted printed editions and established opinions, but also examined most of the relevant manuscripts himself (see the list on p. 318ff.). And a manuscript can give us much more than just a series of *variae lectiones*. Particular attention is paid to the full contents of collective manuscripts and to the marginal glosses, and interesting conclusions are thus drawn on the reception of these texts. To take an example, the fact that the itinerary of Odorico di Pordenone is mostly transmitted together with religious texts, while Marco Polo is often found in connection of *mirabilia* and Alexander legend, tells much about their respective readers.

In the fourth chapter an impressive amount of references to late mediaeval literature (often *inedita*) is made in order to see, when and why the accounts on the Far East were used. It is interesting to note, for instance, that historians seem to have had much more interest in them than geographers. The section on art deals both with real oriental types (Mongols) met in Western art and with those conjured up by the western imagination and used in illustrated manuscripts about the East. The illustrations give a good idea of what is stated in the text.

The book is such a mine of information that it is not difficult to correct some details or hold a different opinion on a particular issue. I shall give just a few examples.

When such old acquaintances as Vincent of Beauvais and Poggio Bracciolini are formally introduced, I found it somewhat irritating to have to check elsewhere on who Jean de Joinville is. This latter is mentioned in passing three times as somebody entirely familiar. A text of Empedocles was scarcely used in the 15th century (p. 183). On p. 130 it is stated that the Franciscans gave an idealized picture of the Great Khan—a reference to the Jesuits and Kangxi would have been in place—but seven pages later the author denies any propagandist intention in their accounts.

As an appendix a useful list of no less than 126 known Western travellers to the Far East between 1242 and 1448 is given. The list of references contains twenty closely printed pages. It could have been twice as long, had the author included also all references quoted only once in the footnotes. The index is divided into four parts: the manuscripts, the names of persons, toponyms, and ethnonyms.

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*Die "Geschichte der höchst bemerkenswerten Dinge und Sitten im chinesischnen Königreich" des Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza.* Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Ming-zeitlichen China. Hrsg. von **Margareta Griebler**. Jan Thorbecke Verlag GmbH & Co., Sigmaringen 1992. 129 pp., 53 ill.

Few books written by Europeans about China have had the impact of Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China* etc. etc., published in 1585 and forging for a long time to come the European view of China. The China of Leibniz and Voltaire was mainly delineated by this work.

Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1545-1618) was seventeen years of age when he left Spain for Mexico where, in 1564, he entered the Augustinian Order. In about 1570 Mendoza became involved in the sending of a new Spanish mission to China from the Philippines, the first one in June-October 1575 having failed to establish religious and commercial relations. In 1580 Philip II nominated Mendoza to participate in a mission to China; changing political conditions led, however, to the suspension of this mission. Frustrated in his hopes of reaching China, Mendoza went to Rome in 1583, where at the command of Pope Gregory XIII he collected the materials he used to compose the *Historia* in Castilian two years later.

In spite of the fact that Mendoza never visited China, he had written a real best-seller of its day that was almost immediately translated into seven different European languages (a.o. Italian, French, English, Latin, German and Dutch). The most recent edition of Mendoza's work in Spanish was issued in 1944, bringing the total number of printings to sixty-three.<sup>34</sup>

Mendoza's book as it was published in Rome consisted of 440 pages in octavo; it was divided in two parts: Part I contains his composite description of China, in

<sup>34</sup> Concerning the various editions and translations of Mendoza's work see C. Sanz, *Primitivas relaciones de España con Asia y Oceanía*, Madrid 1958, pp. 63, 67-76, 385-397.

preparation of which he used both available written records and personal interviews, and it is a synthesis of what was known in Europe about China at the end of the sixteenth century; Part II containing accounts by three Spanish friars who had sought on separate occasions to establish missions in China—Martin de Rada (1575), Pedro de Alfaro (1579), and Martin Ignatius de Loyola (1582). The present translation covers Part I, that is, about 150 pages of the total 440 pages.

Dr. Margareta Griebler has produced a readable and fluent translation adding much useful information in her copious notes to the translation. Most of the quibbles this reviewer could think of pertain not so much to the translation itself as to the "Einleitung", or, better still, what he in vain sought there.

To begin with the choice of edition used for the translation. It never becomes clear why the translator chose the Latin translation of 1655 instead of the original Spanish of 1585. We are told in the "Vorwort" that the translator did compare these two editions without finding any greater differences between them; so why the Latin? Concerning the earliest translation into German made from the Italian by Johann Kellner in 1589, we are informed that it is of no use; but then again, what about the earliest translation made directly from Spanish by Matthäus Dresser in 1598? (Dr. Griebler gives 1597 but the "Preface" is dated 1597 and the book printed in Leipzig 1598.)

We are told on pages 8 and 21 how correct and trustworthy is the picture drawn by Mendoza of Ming dynasty China. As this is one of the points stressed by Dr. Griebler—she has given her translation the subtitle *Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Ming-zeitlichen China*—, one would have hoped for a treatment and evaluation of Mendoza's sources. In 1965 Donald F. Lach wrote in his superb study that "[n]o one has so far troubled to identify Mendoza's sources, to evaluate his use of them, or to test his information by systematic comparison with the Chinese sources. Such an enterprise, time-consuming as it might be, would help to establish whether or not Mendoza's book is a reliable, or semi-reliable, description of Ming China."<sup>35</sup> We still, unfortunately, await such an enterprise.

On page 20 Dr. Griebler claims, as do most writers, that Mendoza's work was the first book printed in Europe containing Chinese characters—albeit hardly decipherable. It is more likely that the honour should go to Balthasar Gago, who in 1555 sent to Europe a letter with six characters in their Chinese and Hiragana forms; they were then reproduced in the *Cartas que os Padres e Iramaos da Companhia de Jesus, que andão nos Reynos de lapão escreverão* etc. etc., published in Coimbra in 1570. A good second is Bernardino de Escalante's *Discurso de la navegacion que los Portugueses hazen a los reynos y provincias del Oriente*, etc. etc., published in Seville in 1577. Escalante shares with Mendoza the fate that neither of them ever visited China. Escalante's book includes a set of three sample characters and in the following decade these were copied by the Portuguese cartographer Luis Jorge de Barbuda in his map of China published in Antwerp in 1584 by Abraham Ortelius in his *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, and in the following year by Mendoza.

There is, however, one disturbing element in some of Dr. Griebler's annotations.

<sup>35</sup> *Asia in the making of Europe* I, Chicago and London 1965, p. 745.



All too often one senses that she has settled for the easy solution. What is meant by this is that the most recent studies and literature on specific subjects are not used, perhaps not even known. To give some examples:

- It is astonishing that undertaking a venture like translating Mendoza can be even considered without consulting Lach's *Asia in the making of Europe*, where we have about sixty pages dedicated to the *Historia*.<sup>36</sup>

- Joseph Needham's *Science and civilisation in China* could and should have been consulted on several aspects; concerning, e.g., woodblock printing vol. V:1 *Paper and printing* by Tsien Tsuen-Hsuei (1985) would have improved note 130.

- *Cosas de Arabia* is clearly unfamiliar to the translator. Concerning the Arab geographers' knowledge of China there are more recent and certainly more appropriate studies than Reinaud's *Relation* (1845) and Yule's *Cathay* (1866); the Arabic title of *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* is *Aḥbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa l-Hind*.

These remarks notwithstanding, Dr. Griebler has produced both a useful and learned translation of Mendoza's influential work, the value of which is still enhanced by the almost contemporary illustrations chosen from *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* by Wang Ch'i (compiled in 1607 rather than 1609?).

The publisher Jan Thorbecke Verlag deserves to be congratulated for producing a most handsome book at a reasonable price (DEM 48.00). The only blemish is—*horribile visu*—that the author's name on the wrapper is misspelt.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

**Florian C. Reiter**, *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des religiösen Taoismus: das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yüan- und frühen Ming-Zeit. (Münchener ostasiatische Studien, Bd. 48.)* Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1988. 173 pp.

How to name the nameless? It used to be so easy to differentiate between philosophical Taoism and religious Taoism while deploring the fact that two so separate phenomena were coerced into sharing a common denominator. Now when scholars no longer consider this differentiation valid one solution is to declare that the distinction between (and naming of) philosophical and religious Taoism is made simply for the sake of descriptive convenience.

In 1979 M. Strickmann proposed using the word *Taoist* only when referring to those who recognize the historical position of (the semi-historical) Chang Tao-ling (fl. second century A.D.), the alleged founder of *t'ien-shih tao* or the Way of the Celestial Master(s), and restricting the term to the organizations that grew out of it.<sup>37</sup> In Dr. Reiter's study now under review the expression "religious Taoism" is used to denote this same *t'ien-shih (cheng-i)* Taoism. This movement became something of an established Taoist church and all subsequent Taoist groups look back to Chang Tao-

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* I, pp. 742-794; II:2, Chicago 1977, pp. 188f.

<sup>37</sup> "On the alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching", in H. Welch & A. Seidel (edd.), *Facets of Taoism*, New Haven—London 1979, p. 165.



ling, with his hereditary title Celestial Master, granted in 424 by imperial decree, as their founder. The only one of these groups to survive to the present day is the *ch'üan-chen* school founded in 1163 by Wang Ch'ung-yang (1112-1170). The current Celestial Master, the 64th, lives in Taiwan.

This study is the author's *Habilitationsschrift* at the University of Würzburg (1986). It is an important opening to the study of religious Taoism during the Chin, Yüan and early Ming dynasties (approx. three centuries between 1150-1450). Scholars working in this particular field of study have usually concentrated their efforts on earlier phases of religious Taoism, viz. the North-South period (265-581) and the T'ang dynasty.

The treatment of the "*individualisierende und integrierende Tendenzen*" in religious Taoism between 1150-1450 is divided into five chapters. "Die taoistischen Quellen aus dieser Zeit, [...], haben mich angeregt nachzuforschen, wie die taoistische Geschichte von ihren Akteuren selbst gesehen und verstanden wurde, und zwar vor allem eben im Hinblick auf die Vielfalt der Gruppierungen und Schulen, die den religiösen Taoismus an sich so schwer überschaubar macht." (p. 3)

Part A describes the vision of the history of Taoism held by the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'u (1361-1410). He initially supervised the compiling of what became the *Tao-tsang* or Taoist Canon/"Bibliotheca Taoica", printed in 1444-1445); Part B deals with two differing groups of religious Taoism—*ch'ing-wei* and *ch'üan-chen*—and presents the life of Wang Ch'u-i (1142-1217) as an *imitatio*-life-style; Part C gives us an example of the syncretic tendencies during Mongol rule as manifested in the life of Ch'en Chih-hsü (early 14th century); Part D presents us with an example of local Taoist cults in Chiang-hsi province (Hua-kai mountain); and Part E throws light upon the often problematic relations between religious Taoism and Buddhism, especially under the Mongol period when the alien rulers had to accept the rôle of umpires, and upon the integration of these religions into the structure of administration. All the parts consist of an introduction and German translation of the relevant sources. The study is concluded with an impressive bibliography (Chinese sources; secondary literature in Chinese, Japanese and European languages); a list of Chinese characters; and an index of names and terms.

Dr. Reiter seems to subscribe to the view voiced in Turkish universities that Russian should not be considered an European language. In his otherwise quite "lückenlose" bibliography one searches in vain for contributions in Russian. In the 1920s Iulian K. Shchutskii made Taoism his chosen field of study and although he became a non-person in the purges when he was arrested in 1937, the tradition of Taoist studies remained. At least the volume *Дао и Даоизм в Китае* (1982), where, a.o., E. B. Porshneva wrote about the Taoist tradition in popular religious movements, ought to have found its way into the bibliography.

Dr. Reiter's study is an important contribution to the expanding field of religious (both historical and contemporary) Taoist studies; by bridging the gap between the "founding fathers" and the practices of today we will some day be in a better position

to name the nameless, even if only for the sake of descriptive convenience.

Now when ecological catastrophes occur all over the globe, the Taoist view of the unity of nature and humanity will hopefully be all the more attractive. One can only concur with Chad Hansen that "the emerging ecological consciousness surely will find Daoism a more congenial home than the Christian transcendent scorn for *this world*."<sup>38</sup>

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**Margareta Griebler**, *Das letzte dynastische Begängnis: chinesisches Trauerzeremoniell zum Tod der Kaiserwitwe Cixi; eine Studie. (Münchener ostasiatische Studien, Bd. 57.)* Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1991. 172 pp.

We have here Dr. Margareta Griebler's dissertation at the University of Vienna, originally submitted in 1989. The subject of this study is the imperial death ritual at the Ch'ing court as exemplified upon the demise of the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi (Cixi).

Born in 1835, the later Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi was selected as imperial concubine in 1851; as the mother of the heir apparent her position at court was strengthened, and she exercised a strong influence on state affairs even before the death of her husband, the Emperor Hsien-feng, in 1861 (not 1862 as given on p. 7; correctly on p. 129). After the death of Hsien-feng, Tz'u-hsi took over the regency during the minority of her son, the Emperor T'ung-chih, who died in 1875. Tz'u-hsi acquired then her taste for power and she upheld her authority to continue to interfere in state affairs during the following regency of her nephew, the Emperor Kuang-hsü (1875-1908), in fact, until her death.

Tz'u-hsi died on November 15, 1908, less than one day after the demise of Kuang-hsü. She had appointed the three-year-old P'u-yi (Puyi) heir to the throne. In Confucian state ideology the death ritual was an elaboration of filiality, the central Confucian virtue within family relations. The new ruler had to perform the death ritual in filial respect for his predecessor. In practice, as P'u-yi or the Emperor Hsüan-t'ung during his minority was emperor in name only, the Board of Rites proposed the mourning regulations completely in accordance with both precedence and precedent, corresponding to the rites observed in the case of preceding empress dowagers. But very soon these regulations were altered, statutes established through the centuries were broken, and Tz'u-hsi was explicitly honoured as a late emperor. Dr. Griebler has pointed out (p. 127) the symbolic message unprecedented in Chinese history of a stone relief at the tomb of Tz'u-hsi: a phoenix above a dragon, signifying the might and power exercised by an empress dowager over an emperor.

Tz'u-hsi's coffin remained within the palace walls for a full year until the funeral procession with the catafalque left the Forbidden City on November 9, 1909 on its way to its final placement in the Eastern Necropolis, where it was entombed on November 16. The ritual sequence between the death and entombment of Tz'u-hsi is

<sup>38</sup> *A Daoist theory of Chinese thought*, New York—Oxford 1992, p. 23.

the main subject of Dr. Griebler's study; an interesting bypath takes us to problems connected with the participation of the diplomatic body in the mourning ceremonies. These problems commenced with the offering of condolence and continued up to the very last rituals in front of the coffin and the escorting of the catafalque out of the Forbidden City. For these events Dr. Griebler could rely upon the documents of the Austria-Hungarian embassy preserved in the Österreichische Staatsarchiv of Vienna. The value of these documents is enhanced by the fact that the minister of Austria-Hungary, Eugen Ritter von Kuczynski, was doyen of the diplomatic body in November 1909.

Dr. Griebler's dissertation will, without doubt, remain the definitive study on this subject. There are, nevertheless, some details open for discussion. In Imperial China four rites were classed as family rituals, one of them being funerals. The funeral-rites were considered to be Confucian rituals, so their authoritative sources were the Confucian ritual classics. From the 13th century onwards, however, the compilation *Chia li* ("Family rituals") by Chu Hsi (1130-1200) was used as a handbook. It is now available in an excellent English translation by Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's family rituals*, Princeton 1991. It is true, as Dr. Griebler mentions, that the statutes of Ming and Ch'ing follow *Chia li* but still one would have appreciated it, if this authoritative text and not the statutes of later dynasties had been given preference as comparative background material.

Then we have the picture of the Empress Dowager as portrayed by Dr. Griebler. The spirit of treatment can best be summarized from the abstract of her dissertation published in *Oriens Extremus*: "...the superiority of a fascinating woman at the Qing court".<sup>39</sup> Risking being labelled as a misogynist this reviewer would rather describe Tz'u-hsi by the adjective "formidable"; but then his opinion has been influenced by what R. H. van Gulik wrote about this lady when reviewing the reprint of J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*: "[I]n 1910 it was, [...], impossible to judge correctly and dispassionately the historical importance of the Empress Dowager; it can be understood that Bland and Backhouse, captivated by the local Peking atmosphere, saw in her a great ruler, and notwithstanding her many shortcomings, a blessing to her country. But in 1939 I think the general opinion among Chinese and foreign scholars on looking back upon that period is that the rule of the Empress Dowager was a curse to her country: she was the great obstacle to its progress and modernization, retarding these for several decades in a time when political events moved so quickly that even a delay of one year might have proved fatal to the fortunes of a state."<sup>40</sup>

We have another fascinating/formidable woman in power in China, and Tz'u-hsi has repeatedly been compared to her by both Chinese and foreign scholars, that is, Empress Wu Tse-t'ien (624-705), who during the T'ang dynasty tried to establish her own Chou dynasty (690-705). She played a leading role for about forty years in

<sup>39</sup> "The last dynastic funeral. Ritual sequence at the demise of the Empress Dowager Cixi", *Oriens Extremus* 34(1991)7.

<sup>40</sup> *Monumenta Serica* 5(1940)487.

Chinese politics and was, according to the Imperial history, cruel and vindictive, a real match for the Empress Dowager. It is symptomatic that both Dr. Griebler and Marina Warner in her book *The dragon Empress. Life and times of Tz'u-hsi 1835-1908 Empress Dowager of China* (1972) contemplate a future comparison of these two charming ladies in power. If they do their way is well paved by the thorough Ph. D. thesis *The life and times of the Empress Wu Tset'ien of the T'ang dynasty* (Oxford 1975) by R. W. L. Guisso. The person, by the way, who thwarted Empress Wu Tset'ien's ambitions was *kuo-lao* Ti Jen-chieh (630-700), who was immortalized by R. H. van Gulik as Judge Dee.

After the death of Tz'u-hsi, the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty was inevitable. The "décadence mandchoue" (in E. Backhouse's wording) can well be presented by the following anecdote related by D. Varé concerning the Empress Dowager's funeral: "Li Lien-ying, old and weary, preceded the Imperial bier to the region of the tombs, carrying the Empress' favourite dog, Moo-tan (peony), a yellow and white pekingese with a white spot on its forehead. Thus was observed a precedent set nine hundred years before, for on the death of the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the Sung dynasty, his little dog, T'ao Hua (peach flower), had followed the Son of Heaven to his last resting-place and had died of grief at the portal of the Imperial tomb. [...] Tz'u-hsi's dog is also supposed to have died of grief, but some say that Moo-tan was smuggled away during the interment and sold by one of the eunuchs."<sup>41</sup>

In the summer of 1928 Tz'u-hsi's mausoleum was desecrated, the catafalque was forced open and the treasures which had been buried with her were plundered. She was reburied immediately afterwards. Since 1979 the tomb has been restored and opened to tourists.

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<sup>41</sup> *The last of the Empresses and the passing from old China to the new.* London 1936, pp. 234f.

