

REVIEW ARTICLES

Jan Bergman: Ich bin Isis. Studien zum Memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien.

Das Vorwort des Buches enthält erstens eine Übersicht über das Quellenmaterial. Dieses umfasst den »Ich-Hymnus«, der zu Kyme in Kleinasien gefunden ist, und aus dem ersten oder zweiten christlichen Jahrhundert stammt, dann den sogenannten »Andros-Hymnus«, der etwas älter ist, wahrscheinlich aus dem letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert, weiter die beiden Aretalogien bei Diodorus Siculus, die denn notwendigerweise aus derselben Zeit sein müssen, außerdem etwas mehr fragmentarisches und späteres Material, wie den Text des Ios-Steins von ungefähr 200 nach Chr., die Isis-Osiris-Aretologie in der hermetischen Schrift Kore Kosmu und den Karpokrates-Hymnus von Chalkis aus dem 3. Jahrhundert.

Das Vorwort erwähnt weiter, dass die frühere Forschung sich besonders mit der Frage beschäftigt hat, ob der Text, den wir besitzen, und zwar besonders der Kyme-Text, auf eine ägyptisch abgefasste Aretologie zurückgehe. Diese Frage entsteht aus der Tatsache, dass in der Einleitung sowohl des Kyme-Hymnus wie der des Andros-Hymnus gesagt wird, sie seien abgeschrieben nach der Stele, die am Hefaisteion (d.h. dem Ptah-Tempel) in Memphis aufgezeichnet wäre. Richard Harder hat den Versuch gemacht, zu beweisen, dass wir mit einem solchen ägyptischen Original zu rechnen haben. Dies ist indessen abgewiesen worden, u.a. von Festugiere und Nock, und dann nach einer gründlichen sprachlichen Untersuchung von Dieter Müller. Alle diesen Forscher reduzieren beträchtlich den ägyptischen Einfluss.

Bergman (B) kritisiert Müller, nach meiner Meinung mit Recht, weil er mit seinem Ausgangspunkt, dass der Grundtext griechisch

sei, den griechischen Einfluss auf Kosten des ägyptischen Übertritts, in der Absicht, die bedeutende Änderung zu zeigen, die das Isisbild nach seiner Ansicht erfahren habe beim Eindringen ins hellenistische Milieu. Diese Änderung ist laut Müller der entscheidende Beweggrund, eine solche Untersuchung zu unternehmen wie die Seinige. Es kommt jedoch mir ebenso wie B. vor, dass Müller mehr mit der Sprachform der Originalschrift und mit der Verfasserschaft überhaupt beschäftigt ist.

B berichtet zuletzt im Vorwort, was er mit dem Buche absichtigt. Was sein Anliegen ist, drückt er auf Seite 20–21 in folgender Weise aus:

Wir haben aber unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf eine frühere Stufe gelenkt. Während Müller den eventuellen exakten Vorlagen der Einzelaussagen nachgeht, wünschen wir eher den allgemeinen ägyptischen Hintergrund zu zeichnen, d.h. wesentliche ägyptische Grundvorstellungen auszuarbeiten. Dabei wollen wir die Tatsache hervorheben, dass wenn auch in der Folge häufig von »Vorstellungen« und »Ideologien« geredet wird, damit nicht blosses Denken und Spekulationen, sondern ebenso viel Erleben und Erfahrungen gemeint werden. Überhaupt sind wir der Meinung, dass unsere Tradition und ihr Hervorwachsen aus dem kultischen Leben heraus beleuchtet werden müssen. Gerade in dieser Hinsicht ist nämlich die bisherige Behandlung unserer Isistradition besonders ergänzungsdürftig. Man hat m.W. die Frage nach einem kultischen Hintergrund dieser Überlieferung überhaupt nie ernsthaft gestellt, sondern die Aretalogien wurden ohne weiteres als freistehende religiöse Schriftstücke, als »Flugblätter« verstanden oder wenigstens so behandelt. Während z.B. Müller detaillierte Vorlagen sucht, gehen wir von dem allgemeinen ägyptischen religiösen Klima aus. So stehen für uns wesentliche Vorstellungskomplexe, wie die Königsideologie und die Maatideologie im Vordergrund. Wenn überhaupt ein ägyptischer Hintergrund vorliegt, was m.E. nicht angezweifelt werden soll, so haben aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach diese leitende Grundmotive die Überlieferung in nicht geringem Grade bestimmt und gelenkt.

Und etwas weiter unten auf Seite 21:

Unser Hauptanliegen ist, das religiöse und geistige Klima des wahrscheinlichen Entstehungsortes der Isistradition zu schildern und dabei einige mit der Göttin Isis eng verbundene wesentliche Vorstellungskomplexe näher zu behandeln, in denen m.E. die Isisareatalogien ursprünglich wurzeln.

Was bei dieser Zielangabe auffällt, ist, dass sie wenig abgegrenzt ist und von einem allgemeinen Wunsch bestimmt, dem Hintergrund näher zu kommen. Ich glaube, dass wir hier die wichtigste Einwendung berühren, die man bei dieser übrigens so ungewöhnlich gelehrten Arbeit machen kann, nämlich dass eine klar abgegrenzte und gut definierte Zielangabe fehlt, mit ausgangspunkt in den Problemen, die die Aretalogie selbst erhebt. Aus diesem Grunde läuft man die Gefahr, eine Menge von Stoff heranzuziehen, dessen Kenntnis an sich wertvoll ist, der aber in diesem Zusammenhang streng genommen keine Bedeutung hat.

In dieser Hinsicht illustrierend ist es, zu bemerken, dass B schon auf derselben Seite (S. 21 unten) eine gewisse Unsicherheit darüber ausdrückt, was man mitnehmen soll, indem er sagt:

Der erste Abschnitt in der vorliegenden Abhandlung weicht anscheinend von dem soeben angekündigten und in der Unterrubrik enthaltenen Thema ab. Mehrere Gründe können angeführt werden, warum wir dieses Kapitel über Diodorus Siculus und die Stellung der areatalogischen Tradition in seinem Geschichtswerk hier aufgenommen haben. Seitdem wir die Isisareatalogien als Gegenstand unserer Forschungen auserwählten, haben wir uns darum bemüht, dieser Tradition aus verschiedenen Richtungen her nahezukommen. Die besondere Funktion, welche der Tradition innerhalb der Bibliothek Diodors zuteil wird, ist auffällig. Demnach haben wir es geeignet gefunden, die Tradition auch aus diesem ganz anderen Einfallswinkel heraus zu beleuchten. Den ägyptischen Hintergrund, der auch hier in einigen Punkten hindurchleuchtet, haben wir aber für eine bald zu erscheinende Sonderstudie aufgespart. So wird der Leser die areatalogische Tradition zuerst in ihrer oberflächlichsten Anwendung ken-

nenlernen, um danach mit ihren tiefsten ägyptischen Wurzeln bekannt zu werden.

Bemerkenswert ist besonders die Äusserung B's, dass er für eine andere Arbeit erspart hat, was der Diodorus-Text von dem ägyptischen Hintergrund erzählt. Seine Unsicherheit ist wenigstens deutlich. Wir wollen denn später sehen, ob das, was er uns im ersten Kapitel gibt, von Bedeutung ist.

Wie durchführt nun B sein Programm, uns einen Einblick in den allgemeinen ideologischen und kultischen Hintergrund der Aretalogie zu geben? Die Antwort auf diese Frage erhalten wir, wenn wir die Kapitel II, III und I näher betrachten.

Der Ausgangspunkt für das, was B im II. Kapitel, »Das Memphitische Milieu« (S. 44 ff.) schreibt, ist die Bemerkung, die im Kyme-Text steht: »Dieses ist nach der Stele in Memphis abgeschrieben, die bei dem Hesfaisteion steht.« Als Überschrift über dieses Kapitel hat er »Das Memphitische Milieu« gesetzt.

Von dem Kapitel als Ganzem darf ich sagen, dass B hier systematisch und gründlich verfährt und eine ausgezeichnete Darstellung liefert, die zu kritischen Bemerkungen wenig Anlass gibt. Was Memphis betrifft, betont er den Charakter der Stadt als Knotenpunkt zwischen den beiden Reichen und die Tatsache, dass diese Stadt, die im Alten Reiche Hauptstadt war, noch immer eine Sonderstellung behielt, nicht zum wenigsten weil die Ägypter auf diese älteste Zeit als eine Idealzeit zurückschauten. Fremde Mächte, die in das Land eindrangen, wie z.B. die Perser unter Cambyses und die Griechen unter Alexander, hatten ein Gefühl, dass die Herrschaft über Memphis die Voraussetzung eines festen Griffes von Ägypten sei.

Memphis war die Stadt des Schöpfergottes Ptah, wie z.B. Herodot sagt, und wie es aus dem Shabaka-Stein hervorgeht, und aus anderen Urkunden, die sich auf Wiederherstellungen des Ptah-Tempels beziehen. Der Tempel Ptahs war übrigens der Ort, wo die Feier der Reichssammlung ihren natürlichen Platz hatte.

Weiter behandelt er in diesem Kapitel (S. 66 ff.) die memphitische Königsideologie, und dabei, u.a. im Anschluss an Sandmans Untersuchungen, Ptahs Stellung in diesem Komplex (S. 71 ff.), und die Rolle, die Ptah bei dem Sed-fest spielte (S. 79 ff.), weiter den

Zyklus des Königsfestes (S. 86 ff.), um endlich eine Darstellung zu geben von den Urkunden, die von Krönungen zu Memphis in ptolemäischer Zeit handeln (S. 92 ff.), nämlich der Krönung Alexanders laut Pseudo-Kallistenes, der allgemeinen Krönungsbeschreibung bei Nigidius Figulus, der Krönung Ptolemaios des V. nach Rosettana und der Krönung Ptolemaios des XII. laut der Harrisstele.

Die Bemerkungen, die ich zu diesem Abschnitt habe, sind nicht principieller Natur; sie gelten nur einige Einzelheiten. Ich habe nämlich den Eindruck, dass der Verfasser uns eine ausgezeichnete Einführung in diesen Stoff gegeben hat, und eine wertvolle Übersicht über das, was frühere Forscher vor ihm getan haben.

Ich möchte jedoch u.a. bemerken, dass er in seiner Darstellung bisweilen unterlässt zu präzisieren, dass das Quellenmaterial auch bezüglich andere ägyptische Orte als Memphis Gültigkeit hat. Wenn er z.B. auf Seite 53 erklärt, Memphis sei »der rechte Ort der Vereinigung von den beiden Ländern«, weil das *sma*-Motiv infolge dem Shabaka-Stein an der Tempeltür gezeichnet sei, so bedeutet das ja nicht, dass die Vereinigungszeremonie nicht anderswo im Lande stattfinden könnte.

Weiter habe ich eine Bemerkung zur Seite 71: »So kann auch von einem »Königswerden« oder »Königszeugen« bei der Inthronisation gesprochen werden.« Er schliesst hier seine Betrachtungen über die Frage ab, die er erhoben hat, nämlich ob die Krönung nur eine Bestätigung der Göttlichkeit des Königs bedeute, die er als geborener Gott besitze, oder ob die Krönung nicht lieber einen neuen Status für den König bedeute, eine Vergöttlichung. Die beiden Anschauungsweisen ringen, meint er, im Komplexe. Auf Seite 70 heisst es:

»Der Umstand, dass die fünf Titel, die schon im A. R. ihre festen Formen erhielten, in dieser Titulatur von mehr oder minder individualisierten Namen begleitet werden, beleuchtet ausserordentlich, sowohl die Spannung wie die Zusammenschau von dem einzigen, ewigen Gottkönigtum und dem einzelnen, zeitlich beschränkten König.«

Hier müssen wir nach meiner Ansicht zwischen unserer Auffassung und derjenigen der Ägypter scheiden. Für den Ägypter war

das Thronbesteigungsfest nicht blass eine »Auspriegelung urzeitlicher göttlicher Geschehnisse«, wie B auf Seite 70 sagt, sondern sie *war* dieses Geschehnis. *Jetzt*, im Kultus wurde die Welt erschaffen, *jetzt* wurde auch der Urzeitskönig auf den Thron gesetzt. Auch die Geburt des Königs fand *jetzt* statt, gleichzeitig mit seiner Inthronisation. Das Verhältnis war in Ägypten wie sonst im Orient: Geburt und Krönung waren nahe verbunden. So war es z.B. nicht nur in Israel: »Du bist mein Sohn, ich habe dich heute gezeugt« (Psalm 2), sondern auch in Ägypten. Ich kann hier nur auf die Harrisstele verweisen, so wie sie auf Seite 111 zitiert wird, wo Krönung, Sed-Fest und Geburt des Königskindes verbunden sind, oder zu der Tatsache, dass der König anlässlich der Krönung um Macht bittet, weil er der Sohn des Gottes ist (S. 94, Anm. 4).

Die Krönung war eine völlige Präsentifizierung dessen, was in der Urzeit stattfand. Die Frage nach der Zeitstufe ist unsere Schwierigkeit.

Was Ptahs Verhältnis zum Sed-Fest betrifft, wie es auf Seite 79 ff. dargestellt wird, möchte ich sagen, dass dieses zum Besten gehört von allem, was im Buche geschrieben ist. Mit vollem Recht lehnt er die Vermutung Sandmanns ab, es sei ganz zufällig, dass das Sed-Fest öfter mit Ptah als mit andern Göttern verbunden sei. Es ist zwar richtig, dass dieses numerische Verhältnis nicht entscheidend sein kann. Entscheidend sind die vielen Ausdrücke, die erzählen, dass das Sed-Fest in einem besonderen Verhältnis zu Ptah stand, wie z.B. in der Titulatur Ptolemaios des XII., »*Ptah-Tenen*, der Vater der Götter, hat ihm eine Menge Sed-Feste erschaffen« (S. 80), oder die Inschrift in Karnak, an Ramses III gerichtet: »Ich habe dir eine Menge Sed-Feste gegeben wie *das Fest des Tatenen*« (S. 81), oder wie es in Verbindung mit demselben König im Papyrus Harris heisst (S. 82): »Ich begehe für dich die erste Sed-Feier meiner Regierung als ein sehr grosses Sed-Fest des Tatenen.« Die Sed-Feier ist m.a.W. von Anfang an ein Ptah-Fest. Wenn ein anderer Gott die Feier begeht, ist es nach dem Vorbild von Ptah.

In dem Abschnitt vom »Königsfestzyklus« (S. 86 ff.) hat B noch stärker betont, was auch andere Forscher hervorgehoben haben, dass eine nahe ideologische, in der Regel wohl auch eine temporäre Verbindung besteht zwischen den verschiedenen Formen der

Königsfeier: der Neujahrsfeier, dem Geburtstag des Königs, der Krönung und dem Sed-Fest und endlich, was in diesem Zusammenhang nicht am wenigsten wichtig ist, dem täglichen Tempeldienst. Dieses letztere illustriert besser als irgend etwas anderes, wie die Königsideologie das ägyptische religiöse Denken völlig beherrscht. Alles religiöse Beisammensein war für die Ägypter eine Sammlung um den König, den Gott und Gebieter, der sich seinem Volke offenbart.

Es ist der Verdienst Morets, die Bedeutung des täglichen Tempeldienstes ein für allemal bewiesen zu haben. B schliesst sich aber, wie ich verstehe (Anm. 4, S. 89) völlig der Auffassung an, die Moret ausspricht in seinem Artikel »Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypt« (1902) (Musée Guimet).

Was den Abschnitt »Krönungen in Memphis in der Ptolemäerzeit« (S. 92 ff.) betrifft, habe ich was zu bemerken, unter anderm über das, was B auf Seite 95 sagt: »Solium regium kann übertragen die Königsinsignien bezeichnen, könnte aber hier seinen ursprünglichen Sinn »Königsthron« bewahrt haben.« Ist es überhaupt möglich einen Beleg dafür zu finden, dass solium regium Insignien bedeutet? Es steht ja ganz einfach: »wo es gebräuchlich war, die Könige durch den königlichen Thron zu ehren«, welches bedeuten muss: »wo man die Könige auf den Thron zu setzen pflegte.«

Auf der nächsten Seite (96) steht auch etwas, das ich erwähnen möchte: »Der dazu folgende Ritus stellt anscheinend eine merkwürdige Wiedergabe vom »Auslauf des Apis« (mit dem sogenannten Opfertanz des Königs) dar, eine lokale memphitische Zeremonie, die früh mit der Krönungsfeier verbunden worden ist.« Ich glaube nicht, dass es möglich ist, dasjenige das hier steht, mit dem »Auslauf des Apis« zu verbinden, der eine Fruchtbarkeitszeremonie war, auch nicht mit einem Opfertanz, wo der König hervortritt um zu opfern. Was in diesem Texte steht (siehe S. 95), muss tatsächlich in folgender Weise übersetzt werden: »Dann erfolgte der Ritus, dass sie feierlich in tunica gekleidet, das Joch für den Ochsen tragen, den sie Apis nennen (portare jugum tauru usw.), und den die Ägypter für den grössten Gott ansehen, und dasselbe (das Joch) zu einem Dorfe bringen, so dass sie durch diese Anstrengung dafür angesehen werden können, mit

menschlicher Not bekannt zu sein, und davor gewarnt werden, was sie besitzen, auf schonungslose Weise zu verschwenden.« Die Absicht mit der ganzen Zeremonie kommt somit hier am Ende zum Ausdruck. Der werdende König wird gedemütigt, ein Motiv, das wir auch aus andern vornorientalischen Krönungszeremonien kennen, z.B. dem babylonischen.

Im III. Abschnitt, »Isis und die Königsidologie« (S. 121), zeigt B, wie natürlich Isis ins Thronbesteigungskomplex gehört. Sie ist ja Königsmutter und Königsgattin, wie es z.B. in der Esnaproklamation heisst: »Ich bin die Mutter des Königs, Mutter des Horus, Gattin des Königs«. Mit Recht lehnt B die Erklärung ab, dass Isis eine Personifikation des königlichen Throns sei, und hebt hervor, dass wir es mit einem lautlichen Zusammenfall zwischen Namen und Symbol zu tun haben. Isis ist auch Königin, wie es eine Menge ihrer Bezeichnungen erweisen, besonders im reichen, späten Material. Denselben Reichtum erweisen die Quellen betrifft ihrer Bezeichnung als Gebieterin der Welt. Besonders bemerkenswert ist es, dass sie gleichzeitig sowohl himmlische als irdische Königin und Gebieterin ist, ein Gedanke der zweifellos grosse Bedeutung für die Verbreitung der Isis-Religiosität gehabt hat.

Das erste Kapitel des Buches, »Die aretalogische Tradition bei Diodorus Siculus« (S. 23 ff.) gehört auch zum induktiven Teil des Werkes. Diesen Abschnitt behandle ich absichtlich zum Schluss, weil ich hier die wichtigste Einwendung zu machen habe.

Hier finden wir eine Erwähnung von dem ersten Buche des Diodorus, *Aigyptiaka*, und eine Wertung desselben als Quelle. Mit Recht betont B hier, wie schwierig es ist Diodors Text zu benutzen, dieses Kompendium, das auf so vielen wechselnden Quellen ruht.

Etwas Besonderes vermisste ich indessen in B's Darstellung, einen Versuch – wie schwer es auch sein mag – eine vorherrschende Tendenz bei Diodor zu finden. Wenn ein Schriftsteller auf Grund anderer Quellen ein Geschichtswerk herstellt, wird das Ergebnis in allen Fällen ein Ausdruck für die persönliche Auffassung des Verfassers. Auch wenn er mit der Schere schneidet, wird der Stoff, den er auswählt, ein Teil seines eigenen Gedanken-systems. Er hat eben diesen Stoff erwählt, weil er es annahm und anerkannte. Dabei wird aber die Frage nach seinen Quellen nicht

länger die wichtigste. Was den Historiker am meisten interessiert, ist die Frage, wie der Kompilator, das übernommene Material anwendet, welches Ziel er hat, was er meint mit dem, was er schreibt. Kennen wir dies, dann verstehen wir auch, warum er bisweilen das Übernommene ändert. Erst dann können wir auch seine Darstellung völlig schätzen. B's Bemerkung Seite 24 f., »Zur Rechtfertigung Diodors muss jedoch festgehalten werden, dass er, wie es scheint, nie beabsichtigt hat, als ein selbständiger Geschichtsschreiber aufzutreten«, macht uns die Frage stellen: »Was hat er denne eigentlich sein wollen? Er muss doch eine Meinung gehabt haben mit dem, was er schrieb. Kann er irgend anderes beabsichtigt haben, als seinen Zeitgenossen eine Darstellung der Geschichte zu geben, so wie er sie sah, zur Information und zur Unterhaltung?«. Nach meiner Ansicht muss man jedenfalls, wenn man Diodor als Historiker besprechen will, damit anfangen, die Tendenzfrage zu erörtern und sich dann in zweiter Reihe mit der Quellenfrage und der Besprechung der Quellen beschäftigen.

Wenn B auch nicht die Frage nach der Haupttendenz im Werke Diodors aufnimmt, scheint er dennoch diese Frage zu berühren, wo er die Texte in D.S. I 27, 3–6 bespricht. Er zeigt nämlich darauf hin, dass gewisse Änderungen in Diodors Text durch den euhemerischen Gesichtspunkt des Verfassers bedingt sein können. Dies ist natürlich an sich wertvoll, wenn ich auch nicht glaube, dass B mit seiner Behauptung Recht behält, Diodors Text könne in diesem Falle auf die erwähnte Weise erklärt werden. Meine Anklage gegen B, er habe kein Interesse für die Tendenz Diodors, bedarf vielleicht somit eine kleine Modifikation. Das Euhemerische bei Diodor kann aber nicht seine Haupttendenz gewesen sein. Man kann nur von einer Nebentendenz sprechen, einer Nebentendenz, die B in Verhältnis zu seiner etwaigen Haupttendenz hätte würdigen sollen.

Wenn wir jetzt auf B's Untersuchung zurückblicken, so wie sie im ersten Kapitel vorliegt, und uns die Frage stellt, welches Resultat erreicht worden ist, möchte ich B selbst die Antwort überlassen, mit dem, was auf Seite 41 steht:

»Der Passus DS I 27, 3–6 dient vor allem dazu, das schematisierte und oberflächliche Verfahren der euhemerisieren-

den Geschichtsschreiber zu beleuchten, wenn auch zur selben Zeit die innenwohnende Lebenskraft der Tradition das erdichtete Rahmenwerk hindurchleuchtet.«

Ich erlaube mir zu unterstreichen, dass dies kaum als ein Resultat bezeichnet werden kann, das unmittelbar zur Lösung der Aufgabe dient, die sich B gesetzt hat. Ich glaube, es wäre der Abhandlung von Vorteil gewesen, wenn dieses Kapitel fortgelassen wäre. Es ist eine nicht unwichtige Kunst, all das Material auszuschalten, das äusserst wenig oder vielleicht gar nichts dazu beiträgt, das Problem zu beleuchten, mit dem man arbeitet. Ich kann mich des Eindrucks nicht ganz erwehren, dass B, der eine Menge von Stoff über die Texte Diodors zu besitzen scheint, sich nicht hat überwinden können, diesen Stoff beiseite zu schieben.

Die Abschnitte IV und V bilden den deduktiven Teil des Buches. IV trägt den Titel »Die Isisaretalologie als Ausdruck der ägyptischen Königsideologie«. Hier revidiert B Müllers Kommentar zur Aretalogie und zeigt, dass mehrere aretai, die im Hymnus erwähnt werden, ägyptischen Ursprungs sind. Dadurch dass die Maat-Ideologie eingeführt wird, die nahe Verbindung zwischen dem Gott Maat und dem König, lassen sich eine Reihe von den Problemen der Aretalogie auf einfache Weise erklären. Wenn Müller z.B. leugnet, dass die Aussage: »Ich habe zum Gesetz erhoben, dass das Wahre für schön gehalten wird«, ägyptischen Hintergrund haben kann, weist B darauf hin, dass die Kennzeichnung »schön« oft in Verbindung mit Maat vorkommt. Und wenn er die Aussagen: »Ich habe mit meinen Bruder Osiris zusammen die Menschenfresserei zum Aufhören gebracht« und »Ich habe Mord zum Aufhören gebracht« als typisch unägyptisch charakterisiert, behauptet B mit Recht, dass diese Aussagen sich aus dem kultischen Erlebnis erklären lassen, dass das Böse in Verbindung mit der Krönung aufhört.

Beim Durchlesen dieses Kapitels kann man vielleicht beobachten, dass manches von dem reichen Stoff, der in den Kapiteln I, II und III herbeigezogen ist, in der Tat nicht zur Anwendung kommt, sondern bis zu einem gewissen Grade überflüssig scheint. Dieses hängt damit zusammen, dass B nicht zuerst die Probleme der Aretalogie stellt, um dann eben dem Material nachzugehen,

das zur Lösung der Probleme nötig ist. Dieselbe Einwendung gilt zum Teil auch Kapitel V, »Isis und Ptah«.

Zur Lösung des Problems, das damit zusammenhängt, dass Ptah nicht in der Aretalogie erwähnt wird, meint B, es würde notwendig sein, eine ausführliche Darstellung von den Vorstellungen über Isis und Ptah zu geben. Damit kann ich nicht einverstanden sein. Es genügt, den funktionellen Gesichtspunkt anzulegen.

Das Werk als ganzes betrachtet ist geradezu ungewöhnlich gelehrt. Es zeigt eine seltene Einsicht ins Quellenmaterial und macht sowohl alten wie neuen Stoff lebendig. Die Einwendungen, die ich ins Feld geführt habe, gelten hauptsächlich die Anlage der Abhandlung und ist nur in geringem Grade gegen das ausgezeichnete Aufspüren des Materials und die Erklärung der Quellen gerichtet, eine Arbeit, die in den meisten Fällen gesund und richtig scheint.

H. Ludin Jansen.

Dominik Josef Wölfel: *Monumenta Linguae Canariae, Die Kanarischen Sprachdenkmäler, eine Studie zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte Weissafrikas* (Graz 1965). – 928 SS.
– 8 Karten.

1) Die lange erwartete Veröffentlichung von Wölfels so mühsam gesammeltem und gesichtetem Material über die verstorbene Sprache der kanarischen Inseln erfolgte endlich 1965, zwei Jahre nach dem Tode des Verfassers. Die Schlusskorrekturen sowie die Ergänzung zahlreicher Hinweise und geplanter Erläuterungen wurden, soweit noch möglich, von seinem Freunde Prof. Alois Closs besorgt.

Es wurde dem Verfasser nicht mehr vergönnt, eine geplante grammatische Skizze sowie eine systematische Darstellung seiner bekannten Ideen von einer steinzeitlichen sprachlichen (und kulturellen) Einheit des eurafrikanischen Mittelmeergebietes fertigzustellen. Nur sein ausführlicher Dispositionsplan für den entsprechenden VI. Teil (SS. 901–906) blieb uns hinterlassen.

So tritt uns das schwere Werk, mehr als es eigentlich vom Autor beabsichtigt war, vor allem als eine Quellensammlung entgegen. Trotz grosser Mühe des Besprechers ist es leider nur

teilweise gelungen, Material herbeizuschaffen, das zur Beurteilung des Werkes eben als Quellenwerk dienen könnte. Ein Vergleich mit früheren Publikationen ergibt jedoch eine ausserordentlich gute Übereinstimmung, was die überlieferten kanarischen Sprachreste nebst spanischen und anderssprachigen Kommentaren angeht.¹

Dazu kommt, dass es bekanntlich Wölfel tief bewusst war, wie entscheidend die Sicherheit der Überlieferung ist. – Wir dürfen daher annehmen, das das Werk in dieser Beziehung zuverlässig und daher von allerhöchstem Werte für die spätere Forschung sein wird.

a) Anders steht es dagegen, aus unbekannten Gründen, mit der Qualität des aus dem Berberischen und anderen Sprachen herangezogenen Vergleichsmaterials. Hier begegnen uns leider auf Schritt und Tritt kleine Ungenauigkeiten, die uns zu beständigem Nachschlagen zwingen, z.B.:

- S. 357. iššad < Cid Kawi ichhadh [iššâd]
- S. 357. a-n-erfroğ < Foucauld Dict. abrégé ānefroγ [ānəfroγ]
- S. 366. ekken < Fouc. ekken [əqqən]
- S. 366. egen < Fouc. égen [egyən]
- S. 369. azgen < Fouc. asgen, pl. ižgan nicht Fouc.
- S. 377. ager lies ager < Fouc. āer
- S. 380. sīger »sc figer« nicht Fouc.

2) Das Werk Wölfels will jedoch mehr als eine Quellensammlung sein, es will auch seinen persönlichen Beitrag zur Auswertung des Materials darbieten. – Nun ist sich Wölfel völlig im Klaren, dass noch eine grosse Vorarbeit aussteht, ehe man zur endgültigen Auswertung des kanarischen Sprachstoffs schreiten kann:

a) Es gibt noch weitere Quellen, die ihm nicht zugänglich waren oder wenigstens von ihm nicht benutzt wurden. Man wundert sich, dass er hier gar nicht die Überlieferungen aus der Antike

¹ Ich denke hier vor allem an Wölfels eigene Veröffentlichung und Übersetzung von Leonardo Torriani's *Descripttione et Historia* (Leonardo Torriani: Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner, Leipzig 1940) – sowie an Werner Vycichl: *La lengua de los antiguos canarios, Introducción al estudio de la lengua y de la historia canarias* (Revista de Historia, Laguna, 1952, Ss. 167–204).

und der arabischen Blütezeit wiederaufnimmt (vgl. seine Ausgabe des Torriani, op. cit., und Vycichl, op. cit.).

Denn für Wölfels Hypothese, dass die kanarische Kultur ein Überrest der steinzeitlichen Mittelmeerkultur sei, muss es doch von entscheidender Bedeutung sein, ob man aus den römischen und arabischen Quellen schliessen darf, dass die Inseln zu ihrer Zeit bewohnt waren oder nicht.

Vycichl kommt bekanntlich zu dem Schlusse, dass die römischen und arabischen Autoren nicht von Eingeborenen, sondern nur von Kolonien (berberischen und arabischen) und von Ruinen reden (op. cit. S. 171 oben und 175 oben), ohne jedoch m. E. die vollen Schlussfolgerungen aus dieser Annahme zu ziehen. Hält Vycichls Annahme Stich, so kann das doch nur bedeuten, dass die »Urbewohner« der kanarischen Inseln ausgestorben waren, und dass im Mittelalter vom Festlande neue Einwohner einwanderten, welche also keinen Überrest einer Steinzeitkultur bilden. Die kanarische »Megalithkultur« würde dann als ein durch die Natur der Inseln bedingten Rückfall zu beurteilen sein. Auch die kanarische Sprache müsste in diesem Falle eine eingeführte Sprache sein, und die nichtnegroiden Rassenzüge der Bewohner geben hier natürlich einen Fingerzeig. – Dieses ganze Problem muss gewiss noch wieder neu überprüft werden.

b) Die Einsammlung der Lehnwörter, besonders der Toponyma, im Inselspanischen ist noch lange nicht zuendegeführt.

c) Die sprachliche Analyse des Inselspanischen, des Mediums der meisten Überlieferungen vom Ende des Mittelalters an, lässt noch viel zu wünschen übrig. Das von Wölfel Teil I, Kap. 3 zusammengestellte führt uns schon einen guten Schritt weiter, und damit auch weiter in der lautlichen Deutung des kanarischen Materials.

d) Hierzu könnte man noch fügen, dass auch das Berberische noch einer gründlichen dialektvergleichenden Analyse harrt, ganz abgesehen davon dass der Wortschatz Dutzender von Mundarten noch höchst unvollkommen erschöpft ist. Es ist offensichtlich, dass der Mangel an einem vergleichenden Wörterbuch stellenweise Wölfel zu recht zufälligem Vergleichsmaterial leitet.

3) Was lässt sich in dieser Lage über Wölfels Deutungsversuche sagen? Es muss hier sofort vorausgeschickt werden, dass sich der

Verfasser völlig im Klaren ist, dass die Heranziehung berberischen und benachbarten Vergleichsmaterials vorerst nur tentativ sein kann (S. 355), weil man eben irgendwo anfangen muss und die geographisch am nächsten liegenden Sprachen hier die Priorität haben müssen. Dazu kommt, dass es wie gesagt dem Verfasser nicht mehr vergönnt war, seine Ergebnisse in eine systematische Form zu bringen, wie es im VI. Teil geplant war. Wir haben es also mit einer unfertigen Theorie zu tun.

a) Dennoch scheint es, dass Wölfel in seinem Kommentar zu den einzelnen Texten und Wörtern es zu sehr für gegeben hält, dass eine berberische Parallelie gesucht werden muss.

Es besteht in der Tat ein gewisser Widerspruch zwischen dieser beharrlichen Suche nach berberischen Anklängen und seiner Hypothese von einer erhaltenen Steinzeitkultur und -Sprache auf den kanarischen Inseln. Ist das Kanarische, wie er meint, ein Überrest einer alten homogenen Sprachschicht des Mittelmeerraumes, so muss der Beweis dafür sich doch in erster Linie durch Vergleiche mit den übrigen Restsprachen dieses Gebietes erbringen lassen, und in zweiter Linie durch Heranziehung der sogenannten alten Wanderwörter, die man als sprachfremdes Gemeingut aus den modernen Sprachen des Gebietes hat ausscheiden wollen.

Das Berberische kann hier schwerlich in Betracht kommen, da es eben keine solche alte Restsprache ausmacht, so wie sich das z.B. vom Baskischen und Etruskischen usw. behaupten lässt. Im Gegenteil scheint es wegen seiner Zuhörigkeit zur hamito-semitischen Sprachenfamilie gerade einer »jüngeren« Schicht von ins Mittelmeergebiet eingewanderten Sprachen auszumachen.

b) Sollte sich deshalb eine besonders nahe Verwandschaft oder gar Identität mit dem Berberischen ergeben, so wäre das also in Wirklichkeit eher ein Beweis dagegen, dass die kanarische Sprache eine steinzeitliche Restsprache sei – eine Annahme die dann wiederum durch eine eventuelle Feststellung einer mittlerweiligen Unbewohntheit der Inseln bestärkt werden könnte (vgl. 2.a).

In demselben Massen aber, wie sich das Kanarische als mit dem Berberischen unverwandt erweisen sollte, wird umgekehrt Wölfels Hypothese, dass das Kanarische eine der steinzeitlichen Restsprachen sei, bestärkt.

c) Diese Problemstellung, dass es höchst unwahrscheinlich ist, dass das Kanarische zugleich eine steinzeitliche Restsprache und mit dem Berberischen eng verwandt sein kann, hat Wölfel, soweit er sie überhaupt erkannt hat, scheinbar dadurch lösen wollen, dass er das Berberische als besonders stark von einem älteren Substratum durchdrungen auffasste, und in der Sprache der alten libyschen Inschriften wohl dieses Substratum selber erkannte. Von diesen Fragen hätten die Kap. 6–10 des VI. Teils handeln sollen.

Derartige Thesen müssten jedoch erst bewiesen werden (sic Closs S. 907), und lassen sich deshalb nicht als Argumente für den »steinzeitlichen Ursprung« des Kanarischen verwenden. Der Fragenkomplex hängt aufs engste zusammen mit dem heiklen und immer noch ungelösten Problem der fehlenden lexikalischen Übereinstimmung der vier herkömmlichen hamito-semitischen Sprachstämme.

d) Es muss schliesslich unterstrichen werden, dass eine eventuelle kulturelle Einheit des steinzeitlichen Mittelmeerraumes keineswegs automatisch auch eine sprachliche Einheit voraussetzt oder umgekehrt. Dazu kommt, dass es bis jetzt nicht möglich war, eine genetische Verwandtschaft der tatsächlichen Restsprachen des Gebietes darzutun.

4) Die brauchbaren Korrespondenzfälle, die sich tatsächlich aus Wölfels Vergleichen ergeben, sind, gleichviel wie er sie nun letzten Endes selber beurteilt hätte, bei weitem zu dürftig um mit einiger Sicherheit den Schluss zu gestatten, dass das Kanarische Berberisch oder mit Berberisch eng verwandt ist.

a) Am imposantesten ist die Übereinstimmung der überliefer-ten Zahlwörter (S. 613–645). Doch ist eine solche Übereinstim-mung nicht an sich beweiskräftig. Man erinnere sich, wie leicht sich die arabischen Zahlwörter im Berberischen eingebürgert haben. In der Tat sieht die Lage des Guanche derjenigen mancher Berberdialekte ausserordentlich ähnlich. Die Hauptmenge lässt sich mit den Zahlwörtern einer anderen Sprache identifizieren, in diesem Falle mit denen des Berberischen, aber daneben gibt es auch einige unike Formen (so wenigstens das Zahlwort für 3), die dadurch als Überreste eines durch Lehnwörter verdrängten

einheimischen Zahlensystems erscheinen. Es mag also eine durch Handelsverkehr hervorgerufene Entlehnung vorliegen. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer solchen Hypothese bestärkt die Tatsache, dass auch arabische Zahlwörter (durch das Berberische entlehnt?) in der Inselsprache bezeugt sind.

b) Darüber hinaus gibt es nur bitter wenig, das wirklich überzeugend aussieht. Vor allem muss hier erwähnt werden, dass die kanarischen Nomina einen dem berberischen Statuspräfix ähnelnden Anlaut zu haben scheinen (*a-*, *i-*, *ta-*, *ti-*).

Auch scheint sicher die Existenz einer Genetivpartikel *n*, en (§ 10) und einer Objektpartikel *i*, *y* (§§ 7 u. 23; indirektes Objekt?).

Ferner scheint es (Demonstrativ)pronomina des Typs *wa-*, *wi-*, *ta-*, *ti-* zu geben, meist mit einem durch *n* eingeleiteten Genetiv verbunden.

c) Sonst sind die von Wölfel (und anderen) dargestellten Vergleiche entweder wenig überzeugend oder höchst wahrscheinliche Lehnwörter. Zur letzteren Kategorie rechne ich z.B.: *tasufre* (§ 272), *tarha*, *ara* (§ 131), *ilfe* (§ 187).

d) Gleichungen wie *tabona* ~ *tōhunt* (§ 274), *ahemon* ~ *āman* (§ 16) halte ich für geniale Einfälle, die wegen ihrer geringen Zahl und der sich daraus ergebenden Unmöglichkeit Lautkorrespondenzen aufzustellen, vorläufig keinerlei Folgerungen gestatten. Man vergleiche noch z.B.:

azuquahe ~ *azəggwāy* (§ 86)

te/ibicna ~ *tābəynust/tib̄mas* oder *gar uššən*, *tuššənt* (sic. nur St. ann.m. wuššən, vgl. Vycichl op. cit. p. 171) (§ 111)

tahatan ~ *tihattīn* (§ 177)

aho = *ahof* ~ *āḥ/āḥhawən*, *ayəv* (Beguinot RRAL XXXIII p. 186

u. Paradisi RSO XXXV p. 168) (§§ 246, 247)

acof ~ *suf*, *āsuf* (§ 439)

5) So können wir nochmals feststellen, dass der Hauptwert des Werkes die Zusammenstellung der Quellenzitate mit ihren spanischen und anderssprachigen Übersetzungen bleibt. Es hätte gewiss daran gewonnen, wenn sich der Verfasser noch mehr auf diese primäre Aufgabe beschränkt hätte und vielleicht noch bessere Register und Kreuzverweise herausgearbeitet hätte.

Es steht schliesslich ausser Zweifel, dass eine eingehendere Analyse des gegebenen Stoffes an sich, unter einstweiligm Verzicht auf jeden Vergleich mit anderen Sprachen, uns wenigstens noch einen kleinen Schritt weiter führen könnte.

Karl-G. Prasse.

Claus Wilcke's DAS LUGALBANDAEPOS. – A Review Article by Samuel Noah Kramer.

The epic tale "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar"¹ is an outstanding example of Sumerian heroic narrative poetry. Its major protagonist, Lugalbanda, is a brave, daring, crafty, loyal, and at times, solitary figure, whose character and virtues must have had a strong attraction for the Sumerian ethos. Its action includes the hero's befriending of Sumer's fabulous Anzu-bird, perilous journeys over far-away mountains and highlands, and magical divine intervention, while in the background one senses the turbulence of war, and the desolation and despair in its wake. The poet makes effective use of all the various literary and artistic devices known to the Sumerian bard: repetition and parallelism, epithet, metaphor, and simile, recurrent formulae, and direct speech.²

Most of the text of "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar" has been known for several decades in copies of cuneiform documents ranging from small fragments to well-preserved multi-column tablets, prepared and published by numerous scholars.³ In addition, over the years, I had identified a number of pieces in the University Museum, the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient, and the "Hilprecht Sammlung" of the Friedrich-Schiller Univer-

¹ The title of the book is, in my opinion, a misnomer; it is based on the dubious assumption that the poem I have designated as "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar", is the second part of a larger composition whose first part is "Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero" (cf. note 9). In this review article, therefore, I shall continue to designate the composition by the title "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar", and not as "das Lugalbandaepos" or "unser Epos", as Wilcke refers to it throughout (cf. especially p. 7 *sub 6*).

² For a detailed analysis of the more important features that characterize Sumerian epic poetry, cf. last "Sumerian Epic Literature" in *La Poesia Epica e la Sua Formazione* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Quaderno no. 139, Roma, 1970).

³ For particulars cf. the list of texts on pp. 86–87 of *Das Lugalbandaepos*.

sity; most of these were copied by Muazzez Giğ, Inez Bernhardt, and myself. Five pieces were excavated in Nippur in 1949, during the third campaign of the joint University Museum-Oriental Institute excavations; these were identified by Thorkild Jacobsen, the prime mover and organizer of that expedition, and myself. As a result of all these identifications of both the published and unpublished material Jacobsen and I hoped to prepare one day a definitive edition of the composition. But as the years passed, and both of us, for one reason or another, became immersed in other scholarly duties, I began to realize that we would not find the time and leisure for this highly detailed and time-consuming task. In the meantime, Claus Wilcke had prepared a study of the poem based on the published texts, for his Heidelberg dissertation, and he sent this on to me together with the not unreasonable request for access to the unpublished material in order to prepare a definitive edition of the composition. The book under review, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, consisting of an eight-chapter introduction, as well as a transliteration, translation, and commentary, together with copies of whatever material had still remained uncopied, is the happy result of this scholarly cooperation; it is an outstanding contribution to Sumerology in general and Sumerian literature in particular: thoughtful, conscientious, illuminating, and full of original translations and interpretations, not a few of which will no doubt be confirmed in the course of time.⁴

The most original, and if correct, the most significant contribution of Wilcke's study, is his reconstruction of the plot of the second half of the composition, which is well-nigh the direct opposite of that presented by me in e.g. *FTS* (pp. 235–236). When I first read the preliminary manuscript which the author was good enough to send me, his interpretation impressed me most favorably, and in the paper "Sumerian Epic Literature" that I read in Rome in 1969,⁵ I accepted his conclusions and

⁴ Among the more important of these is the passage describing the wondrous tree in which the Anzu-bird made his nest (lines 28–39); the debate-like dialogue between Lugalbanda and the Anzu-bird (lines 132–158); Inanna's instructions for Enmerkar's deliverance from his distressing situation (lines 388–406). (The Introduction, it is worth noting, has two misprints: on p. 40, the reference *SEM* 60, 20 should read *STVC* 60 obv. 20; on p. 68, the transliteration of line 194 is omitted).

⁵ Cf. note 2.

sketched the plot of the tale accordingly, with the qualifying comment that "there are still a number of uncertainties in the plot, but on the present evidence Wilcke's interpretation seems closest to the truth".⁶ However, now that I have had occasion to examine the completed book, and to study it carefully, I find that this acceptance may have been hasty, and that my original version of the plot of the second half of the poem, may turn out to be the more correct after all. Since this indecision and vacillation may seem capricious and arbitrary, let me sketch ever so briefly the two differing versions and then analyze the reasons for my "change of heart", so that the interested scholar may be in a position to appreciate and evaluate the uncertainties and ambiguities involved, and perhaps come to some decision of his own.

First, then, the plot of the second half of "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar" as I originally reconstructed it: Lugalbanda, with the help of the Anzu-bird, has found his way back to Erech from the far-distant land of Zabu where he seems to have been lingering against his will. There, in Erech, he finds his lord and liege, Enmerkar, in great distress. For many years past, the Martu had been ranging over Sumer and Akkad, and now they were laying siege to Erech itself. Enmerkar finds that he must get through a call for help to his sister, the goddess Inanna of Aratta. But he can find no one to undertake the dangerous journey to Aratta to deliver his message. Whereupon Lugalbanda steps up to the king, and bravely volunteers for the task. Upon Enmerkar's insistence on secrecy, he swears that he will make the journey alone, unaccompanied by his followers. After receiving from Enmerkar the exact words of his message to Inanna of Aratta, Lugalbanda hastens to his friends and followers, and informs them of his imminent journey. They try to dissuade him, but to no avail. He takes up his weapons, crosses the seven mountains that reach from one end of Anšan to the other, and finally arrives with joyful step to his destination. There, in Aratta, Lugalbanda is given a warm welcome by Inanna. On her asking what brought him all alone from Erech to Aratta, he repeats verbatim Enmerkar's message and call for help. Inanna's answer, which marks the end of the poem, is obscure. It seems to involve a river and

⁶ Cf. note 13 of the Rome paper cited in note 2.

its unusual fish, which Enmerkar is to catch; also certain water-vessels that he is to try to fashion; and finally workers of metal and stone, whom he is to settle in the city. But just how all this will remove the threat of the Martu from Sumer and Akkkad, or lift the siege from Erech, is far from clear.⁷

Wilcke's version of the plot of the second half of the composition, on the other hand, runs as follows: Lugalbanda, with the help of the Anzu-bird, has found his way back to Enmerkar and the Erechite host who had abandoned him in mountainous Zabu, or its immediate vicinity, and had proceeded without him towards Aratta, the city they hoped to conquer and subjugate. With Lugalbanda now in their midst, they reach the outskirts of Aratta and lay siege to it. But the city defends itself bravely. After a siege lasting over a year, Enmerkar and the Erechites are still unable to take it, and the troubled king decides to get through a message to Inanna of Erech-Kullab.⁸ But he can find no one to undertake the perilous journey from Aratta to Erech-Kullab to deliver his message. Whereupon Lugalbanda steps up to his king and volunteers for the mission. After having adjured him to make the journey all alone, Enmerkar imparts to him the message he is to deliver to Inanna, an address that consists largely of reproaches against the goddess for abandoning him and her city Erech-Kullab, although she herself had chosen him, and brought him to the city to be its ruler, but ends in a plea to the goddess to bring him back to Erech-Kullab presumably after he had subjugated Aratta. After receiving the message from Enmerkar on the outskirts of the unyielding Aratta, Lugalbanda proceeds all alone to Erech-Kullab despite the warnings of 'his brothers and friends'. He crosses Anšan and its seven mountains and arrives at Erech-Kullab where he repeats verbatim Enmerkar's message to the welcoming Inanna. In her answer, the goddess promises Enmerkar victory over Aratta, if he fetches the GIŠ.ŠEŠ-fish out of her pure river in a *bugin*-vessel fashioned of a lone-standing tamarisk, and sacrifices it to her *á-ankara* weapon.

⁷ Cf. FTS 235–236, and note there the qualifying statement stressing the obscurity of the text and the uncertainty of the suggested interpretation.

⁸ For this compound name, cf. pp. 29–30 of *Das Lugalbandaepos*; though rather cumbersome, it will be used throughout this paper for the sake of consistency.

As is obvious from the above, the two versions of the plot of the second half of "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar", are well-nigh diametrically opposite. According to the first, Enmerkar is in Erech-Kullab besieged by the Martu, and sends for help to far-distant Aratta where presumably Inanna had her shrine. According to the second, Enmerkar is on the outskirts of the besieged Aratta, and, unable to take it, he sends for help to Inanna in her well-known shrine in Erech-Kullab. Let us therefore proceed to examine the evidence, ambiguous and perplexing as it is, in an effort to determine which is the more justified. And we will start with Wilcke's version, based as it is on the fully reconstructed text of the poem, as well as on the most up-to-date readings and renderings, and thus presumably the more trustworthy.

Crucial to Wilcke's interpretation of the plot, is his assumption that "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar", with its 417 lines of text, is (probably) not a self-contained unit, but the second half of one long "Lugalbandaepon" of about 900 lines, whose first half is the composition I formerly entitled "Lugalbanda and Mt. Hurrum", but which I would now designate "Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero".⁹ The plot of this poem whose action, according to Wilcke, precedes that of "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar", is as follows: Lugalbanda, one of eight troop-leaders accompanying Enmerkar and his Erechite host gathered to attack and conquer far-away Aratta, falls ill on the way. Uncertain whether he is dead or alive, "his brothers and friends" leave with him in the *hur-ru-um-kur-ra*, quantities of food and drink, as well as his battle-axe and dagger, in the event that he recovers; should he die, on the other hand, they plan to pick up his body and carry it back to Erech-Kullab on their return from the campaign against Aratta. After two and one-half days, the unfortunate Lugalbanda utters a prayer to the

⁹ This is the poem designated by Wilcke as "Lugalbanda im Finsterten des Gebirges"; his reasons for so naming it, however (cf. pp. 36-37), do not seem to me cogent. On the other hand, the title "Lugalbanda and Mt. Hurrum" by which I originally designated it, was based on an erroneous translation of *hur-ru-um-kur-ra* (cf. Falkenstein, ZA 58, p. 15, note 28), a phrase whose meaning is still uncertain, but which I am now inclined to render "the cave of the highland". Much of the extant part of the poem concerns Lugalbanda's wandering over the highland steppe—hence the revised tentative designation "Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero".

astral deities Utu, Nanna, and Inanna, and his health is restored. He carries off from the *hur-ru-um-kur-ra*¹⁰ the food left behind by "his brothers and friends", which he uses up presumably to sustain himself, and then wanders over the highland steppe, hunting its wild life and gathering its uncultivated plants. Once, having fallen asleep, he dreams that he is commanded to take up his weapons, hunt and kill a wild ox and offer its fat to the rising sun, as well as to slaughter a young goat and pour out its blood in a ditch and its fat on the steppe. Upon awaking, he carries out all he was bidden to do in his dream, and in addition, seemingly on his own, prepares a banquet for Sumer's leading deities: An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninlursag. What happens next is uncertain since the end of the poem is missing.

So much for the plot of "Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero". Once the assumption is granted that the action of this tale takes place directly before that of "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar", Wilcke's version of the plot of the latter, would indeed seem quite plausible and well-warranted: Lugalbanda, after his recovery from his illness in the *hur-ru-um-kur-ra*, arrives at Zabu, the highland in which it is presumably situated or which is in its immediate vicinity. He is naturally eager to get back to the Erechite host led by Enmerkar who had left him behind on their way to Aratta. But since he had no way of knowing just where they were at the moment, he gets himself into the good graces of the Anzu-bird who leads him to them. Having rejoined Enmerkar and the Erechite host, he proceeds with them to the outskirts of Aratta where they begin their unsuccessful siege. Since Enmerkar is thus with his army at the gates of the besieged Aratta, Lugalbanda's journey to deliver Enmerkar's message to inanna, could only be from Aratta to Erech-Kullab and not *vice versa*. It is however this fundamental assumption, that the action of "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar" follows immediately upon that of "Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero", a surmise that seemed to me rather plausible and convincing on my reading of Wilcke's preliminary manuscript, that now on further study, seems suspect and misleading. And for the following reasons:

1. First and foremost, as Wilcke himself is careful to point out

¹⁰ Cf. preceding note.

(p. 5 *sub 1–2*), *lugal-bàn-da*, the very first word of “Lugalbanda and Enmerkar”, is in all probability listed as the *incipit* of the poem in several of the literary catalogues now identified, and therefore marks the beginning of a self-contained composition, and not one that is but a continuation of a larger composition.¹¹ This is further confirmed by the bilingual *B*¹² which originally contained the first 62 lines of the poem, and bears the subscript *nishu r̄estlā*, indicating that the text which the scribe had before him, began with the same line as our “lugalbanda and Enmerkar”; as well as by *A* and *AA*, tablets originally inscribed with the complete text of our poem, which also begin with our first line.¹³

2. The passage containing the initial address to Lugalbanda by “his brothers and friends” immediately upon his happy return to them from Zabu, reads:

- 227. Come my Lugalbanda, you who in appearance,¹⁴
- 228. Are one who has been abandoned by the troops like a man killed in battle,

¹¹ On p. 8, Wilcke refers to *TuM NF III* 55 as proof that the second tablet of a larger composition could be catalogued with its “Anfangszeile”. The contents of this text, however, are so obscure, that it would be wiser to exclude it altogether from consideration in the present context.

¹² For the letters designating the texts from which “Lugalbanda and Enmerkar” is restored, cf. pp. 86–87.

¹³ To offset this rather decisive evidence disproving the assumption that “Lugalbanda and Enmerkar” is the second part of a larger “Lugalbandepos”, Wilcke offers a number of circumstantial arguments (pp. 5–8) in its support which, to my mind, are circular in reasoning and far from cogent. In two cases, the data he presents as evidence that the two poems, “Lugalbanda and Enmerkar” and “Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero”, belong together, actually prove the opposite, that is, they demonstrate that the two tales are distinct and separate, and that the author of the former was either unaware of, or took no cognizance of, the latter (cf. *sub 2* and *3* below). Nor is this as surprising as it might seem at first glance. Thus, for example, the author of “Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta” (for bibliographical details cf. note 7 of the Rome paper mentioned in note 2) either knew nothing of, or more probably, simply ignored, the epic tale “Lugalbanda and Ensukusiranna (for bibliographical details cf. note 8 of the Rome paper); although both poems end with Enmerkar’s victory over his rival, the two plots are in some respects quite contradictory (for a similar phenomenon in connection with the Dumuzi-Inanna myths, cf. my *The Sacred Marriage Rite* p. 67ff. and p. 127ff.).

¹⁴ Literally “by your being”.

- 229. You have not eaten the good fat of the stall,
- 230. Yoy have not eaten the pure (?) milk of the fold,
- 231. The *hursag-gal* where no one must go alone—
- 232. That man would not return to man—How is it you did go there!

We thus learn that Lugalbanda, as a result of his long and wearisome journey over the *hursag-gal* from Zabu to the spot where the Erechite troops were located at the moment, had become so gaunt and emaciated, especially since he was without such essential foods as fat and milk, that he looked more dead than alive. But this would make little sense if the action of "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar" is assumed to follow directly upon that of "Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero". For in that case, Lugalbanda's journey from Zabu to the Erechite host, would have to take place right after his recovery from his illness following his prayerful invocation to the gods when, according to the poet, he was strong enough to wander over the highland steppe in chase of wild oxen and goats, as well as to prepare a banquet for the gods, and he could hardly have been the emaciated skeleton-like figure described in our passage.¹⁵

3. Even more telling proof that the two poems are separate and not interrelated, is provided by the passage which describes the welcoming reception that Lugalbanda's "brothers and friends" gave him upon his return to their midst: they kiss, embrace, and feed him, with the result that "his sickness leaves him"¹⁶ (lines

¹⁵ Note, too, that upon his recovery from his illness, Lugalbanda had the use of all the food and drink left by "his brothers and friends" in the *jur-ru-um-kur-ra* for just such an eventuality, including "the good fat of the stall", and "the pure(?) milk of the fold" (cf. the passage cited on pp. 54-56), and it would hardly make sense for "his brothers and friends" to say, as they do in the passage cited above: "You have not eaten the good fat of the stall" etc. The evidence provided by this passage for the separateness of the two poems is valid, it should be added, even if Wilcke's rendering of the lines, which differs to some extent from mine, should turn out to be the more correct. In fact, Wilcke himself is troubled by the contradictory comparisons of the abandoned Lugalbanda in the two poems—in the one he is likened to a man killed in battle, but in the other, to an old bull, not yet dead (cf. p. 7, note 19)—but he seems to be unwilling to draw the pertinent conclusion.

¹⁶ Probably so, rather than "they drive his sickness from him" as rendered by Wilcke.

246–250). For on the assumption that the action of "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar" follows immediately upon that of "Lugalbanda and the Wandering Hero", the illness referred to in this passage would have to be identical with that which he suffered in the latter tale. But this is quite impossible, since according to that composition, Lugalbanda had recovered from his illness as a consequence of the intercession of the gods whom he had invoked, and not as a result of the loving care of "his brothers and friends".¹⁷

4. The passage contained in lines 251–269 of our poem, is most crucial for the interpretation of the plot, but is unfortunately full of ambiguities and obscurities.¹⁸ It is reasonably certain, however, that it refers to a city¹⁹ whose environs had been reached by Lugalbanda and the Erechite host that accompanied him. Now the last lines of this passage read as follows:

- 266. No one "knows" to come to the city,
- 267. No one dares to come to Kullab,
- 268. In its midst Enmerkar, the son of Utu,
- 269. Is fearful, troubled, consumed (?) by its turmoil.

Taken at their face value, these lines seem to say that for some reason or other,²⁰ the environs of Kullab (that is Erech-Kullab) had become so desolate and forbidding, that communication with the city was virtually at a standstill; that the city itself was in a state of panic; and that king "in its midst" was in dire distress. If so, it would mean that Enmerkar was in Erech-Kullab and not near Aratta, and that Lugalbanda carried his message from the former to the latter and not *vice versa*.²¹

¹⁷ Wilcke, on the other hand, does seem to identify the two illnesses, in spite of the contradiction involved, and treats this as a further proof that the two poems are closely related (cf. p. 7 *sub e*).

¹⁸ Two of its lines (255 and 258) actually mention Aratta, and would provide decisive evidence in support of the assumption that Enmerkar and his troops are in the outskirts of Aratta, if Wilcke's translation and interpretation of lines 253–263 should turn out to be correct (cf. p. 375 of this article and notes 31 and 32).

¹⁹ Either Erech-Kullab or Aratta, depending on which of the two plot versions is correct.

²⁰ For one possible reason, cf. note 25.

²¹ To avoid this conclusion, Wilcke translates the *ša-ba* of line 268 by "in *their* midst" (rather than "in *its* midst"), and takes the "their" to refer either to those

5. Before dispatching Lugalbanda to deliver his message to Inanna, Enmerkar, the poet informs us, called together an assembly" in the midst of the palace that hugged the earth like a *kur-gal*" (lines 290–291). The "palace" in this passage, it is not unreasonable to surmise, refers to Enmerkar's palace in Erech-Kullab, since he certainly had no palace in Aratta.²²

6. In the message that Enmerkar sends to Inanna (lines 294–320 = 360–386), not a word is said about Aratta and his distressing failure to take it. Instead, Enmerkar speaks of Erech-Kullab, and how with the help of the god Enki he had turned a swampy marsh into an habitable city;²³ of his trouble with the Martu who had been ravaging Sumer and Akkad for fifty years, thus immobilizing the city and putting an end to his *ibili*²⁴ in the land;²⁵ of Inanna's abandonment of Erech-Kullab and her treatment of the city and

who dared not go to Erech (lines 266–267), or to the Erechite host mentioned as far back as line 255.

²² To circumvent this difficulty, Willeke is forced to assume that the word *ē-gal* in this line refers to his "Feldherrenzelt", a conjecture that seems rather less than likely, especially in view of its comparison to a *kur-gal*.

²³ Lines 300–301 are probably to be rendered: "Enki, the king of Eridu, ripped out for me its 'dead' reeds, drained it (literally: put an end to its waters) for me". That is, the poet conceives of the god performing these acts for Enmerkar, rather than Enmerkar himself, just as e.g. it is Ningirsu himself who does battle with Umma (cf. *The Sumerians*, pp. 313–314).

²⁴ That is his "charisma" and the powers that flow from it.

²⁵ The relevant lines are probably to be rendered as follows:

- 302. Up to fifty years had come, up to fifty years had gone,
- 303. In all Sumer and Akkad,
- 304. The Martu who know not grain have risen in attack,
- 305. Have pinned down the walls of Erech like a bird-snare (pins down the bird) in the steppe,
- 306. And so my *ibili* has come to an end through its (Sumer-Akkad's) territory.

Note especially that according to this rendering of line 302 (for *dū* used in connection with a word denoting time, cf. the recurring *u₁a-dū* in the oath of the covenant in the Stele of the Vultures) nothing is said about Enmerkar's building Erech-Kullab. Lines 305–306 point to an effective siege of Erech-Kullab by the Martu, and the consequent loss of Enmerkar's prestige and power throughout the land; this would clarify the meaning of lines 259–260 (the second part of the obscure passage discussed *sub 4* above) if, as I assume, they describe the desolation and isolation of Erech-Kullab and its environs brought about by the Martu attacks.

its king as if she hated both and loved neither.²⁶ But if, in line with Wilcke's version of the plot, it was the unsuccessful siege of Aratta that was the direct cause of Enmerkar's distress and need for Inanna's support, it is hardly likely that he would not have mentioned this in his message in one way or another.

7. A well-nigh clinching proof that Enmerkar and Lugalbanda are in Erech-Kullab and not in Aratta when the latter goes forth with his message, is provided by lines 322–328. According to this passage, Lugalbanda, after receiving the message from Enmerkar, comes out of the "palace", steps up to "his brothers and friends" who are eager to accompany him on his mission, and says to them:

- 326. "Go back to Erech to the *en*,
- 327. To Enmerkar, the son of Utu,
- 328. To Kullab (variant Aratta)²⁷ I will go all alone, No one may go with me."

These lines show clearly that Enmerkar is in Erech-Kullab, and not on the outskirts of Aratta.²⁸

8. Finally, there are two textual variants which, unless taken to be errors on the part of the scribe, prove conclusively that Lugalbanda's mission took him from Erech-Kullab to Aratta and not *vice versa*. One of these is in line 328 cited above *sub 7.*, where the reading *kul-aba^{kt}-ṣe* "to Kullab", chosen by Wilcke as the correct one, is found in only one of the duplicates, while two texts read *aratta^{kt}* instead (cf. note to line 328 on p. 120). The other variant concerns line 344 that reads in one text: *hur-sag-la hur-sag-āš hur-sag-imin im-me-re-bal-bal igi mu-un-il aratta-as^{kt} ba-te* "Five mountains, six mountains, seven mountains he crossed, he lifted his eyes, approached Aratta", while two duplicates omit

²⁶ The meaning and implication of the closing lines of the message are uncertain and obscure, but I can add nothing constructive to Wilcke's attempted rendering and interpretation.

²⁷ For the significance of this variant, cf. *sub 8*, immediately following.

²⁸ To circumvent this difficulty, Wilcke renders line 326 by "Für den Herrn schicke (Leute) nach Uruk", a translation that is rather forced and arbitrary, and assumes moreover that line 327 goes with the line following rather than that preceding, which is most unlikely.

the last half of the line. Now as everyone who has worked with Sumerian literary texts knows, they have at times innumerable variants, and very often it is difficult to decide which of these to choose for the main text and which to treat as a variant. Methodologically, however, it is the unusual and unexpected variant that is often more meaningful and illuminating; it should not be readily ignored or treated as a scribal error, especially if it gives a fuller text, as is the case in line 344.²⁹ If the variants in lines 328 and 344 should turn out to be correct, they would, of course, prove decisively that Lugalbanda's journey was from Erech-Kullab to Aratta, and not the other way around.

To judge from all these arguments,³⁰ it might seem that the evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of the plot version that assumes Erech-Kullab to be the starting point of Lugalbanda's mission, with Aratta as his destination. But there are three items that speak very strongly in favor of the opposite view and may well nullify all the evidence cited above, which is after all largely

²⁹ Wilcke, be it noted, had good and sufficient reason to treat Aratta as an erroneous variant for Kullab in line 328, since in all other cases where Lugalbanda's destination is referred to (lines 270–271, 272–273, 275–276, 278–279, 281–282, 285–286, 287–288, 346), the extant texts have *kul-abakt̄-šē*, and not *arallat̄-kī-aš*. In case of line 344, on the other hand, the explanation he offers for his choice of the shorter reading is rather far-fetched and unconvincing.

³⁰ There are a number of additional considerations, more problematical in character, that favor this conclusion. Thus: (1) In the dialogue between Lugalbanda and the Anzu-bird, it is only Lugalbanda's return from Zabu to Erech-Kullab that is referred to (cf. lines 140, 178, 195); nowhere is there a hint that he would first have to journey to Aratta, which is in the opposite direction. (2) According to line 251, if Wilcke's rendering is correct, the Erechites follow Lugalbanda (upon his return), and "his friends and companions", "as one man"; if, however, the Erechite host was proceeding under the leadership of Enmerkar to attack Aratta, as assumed in Wilcke's version, it would seem rather strange for the poet to say that it was following Lugalbanda and his companions rather than their king. (3) Line 343, a crucial line for our problem, is unfortunately ambiguous; on face value, however, its first complex, *kur-úr-ra*, "the base of the highland", would be more suitable as a description of the western border of the Zagros rather than the eastern, as Wilcke assumes (cf. pp. 34–35), and if so, Lugalbanda's journey is from west to east, that is, from Erech-Kullab to Aratta. (4) Line 356, another crucial line, is also ambiguous; nevertheless it seems less biased to render it "How did you go all alone to Aratta" (for the omission of the postposition *-aš* following *arallat̄-kī*, cf. the variant in line 328), than "How did you come all alone *from* Aratta".

circumstantial un character. The first concerns lines 251–269, the difficult and obscure passage cited above *sub 5*, two of which (lines 254 and 258) mention the city Aratta. Though the context is quite uncertain,³¹ the Aratta of these two lines certainly seems to refer in some way to the *uru* of line 253, the city at whose outskirts the Erechite host, including Lugalbanda, had arrived after crossing the *hursag* (sic! not the *hursag-gal*), and on the face of it, this would place Lugalbanda in Aratta, so that his mission would take him from Aratta to Erech-Kullab.³²

Even more strongly in favor of Wilcke's version is the fact that except for the variant in line 328 (cf. *sub 8* above), all the available texts have *kul-aba^{kī}-ṣē*, “to Kullab”, wherever the destination of the mission is mentioned (for the examples, cf. note 29). Since Kullab, as far as the present textual evidence goes, always refers to a locality in Erech, and since it is Kullab that is Lugalbanda's destination, his starting point must have been Aratta.³³

³¹ Wilcke's translation and interpretation of this passage as a description of the siege of Aratta, are quite dubious. It is rather unlikely, for example, that the *gt-bar-bar-re* (line 256) are ‘Wurfspleise’; or that *im-dug-ge* (lines 257 and 262) are ‘Schleudersteine’; or that *dim-dim-e* (line 254) are ‘Pfählen’ and ‘Graben’. At the moment, however, I can suggest no satisfactory translation of these complexes.

³² To get around this crucial evidence against the assumption that Lugalbanda is in Erech-Kullab rather than Aratta at the start of his mission, it might be suggested that the *uru* of line 253, really refers to Erech-Kullab, not to Aratta, and that the *aratta^{kī}* of lines 254 and 258, is to be rendered as ‘honored’, ‘celebrated’, just as it is e.g. in the phrase *ke^{kī}-aratta^{kī}*, ‘the celebrated Ke^{kī}’ (cf. last Sjöberg and Bergmann, *The Temple Hymns*, p. 60). But admittedly this rendering is rather forced and far-fetched, and highly dubious.

³³ This decisive evidence in favor of Wilcke's interpretation of the plot, might be circumvented on the assumption that there were two Kullab's, one in Aratta, and another in Erech (cf. already Van Dijk in *OLZ* 1965, pp. 28–29), and that in those cases where Kullab is given as the destination of Lugalbanda's mission, it refers to Aratta-Kullab and not Erech-Kullab. But the name Kullab recurs again and again in the Enmerkar-Lugalbanda cycle of compositions, and in all cases it is identifiable as Erech-Kullab, and not Aratta-Kullab; note especially that in ‘Lugalbanda and Enmerkar’, itself, the Kullab of lines 178, 195, and 255, is certainly Erech-Kullab. Nor is it very likely that the *kul-aba^{kī}-ṣē* is a scribal error in all the cases referring to Lugalbanda's destination (cf. note 29). All in all, this seems to be strong textual proof in favor of Wilcke's interpretation; it was one of the main reasons from for my indorsement of it in the Rome paper (cf. note 2).

Finally—and this impressed me particularly when I first read Wilcke's manuscript—the assumption that the action of “Lugalbanda and Enmerkar” follows immediately upon that of “Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero”, provides a fitting and meaningful background for Lugalbanda's presence in Zabu,³⁴ and for his eagerness to return to the Erechite host from whom he had been separated because of his illness. In my original interpretation of the plot, on the other hand, these two circumstances were unaccounted for, and indeed remain so in the modified version that follows.

So much for the pro's and con's of the two contrasting versions of the plot structure of “Lugalbanda and Enmerkar”. Now, as a result of Wileke's fruitful labors, the interested cuneiformist has a complete and reliable text before him, and is in a position to draw his own conclusions and form his own opinion. As for myself, I am now persuaded that my earlier version of the plot is essentially correct, but would now modify it considerably, as follows:

Lugalbanda, having, for reasons unstated in the text, become separated from his fellow Erechites in the course of an expedition to an unnamed distant land to the east,³⁵ made a halt at Zabu, confident that he would find there the answer to his misadventure.³⁶ With the blessing and guidance of the Anzu-bird, whom he had succeeded in making his grateful friend in accordance with a well-laid plan, he finds his way back to the Erechite host, but only after an arduous journey over the *bursag-gal* that well-nigh proved fatal, due to the lack of food and water. Overjoyed at his

³⁴ Zabu is actually mentioned in line 192 of “Lugalbanda, the Wandering Hero”, but in an obscure context.

³⁵ Presumably this land lay somewhere between Sumer and Zabu: to judge from lines 26–27 and 251–252, it was separated from Sumer by one or more *bursag*; to judge from the passage describing Lugalbanda's return from Zabu to his fellow Erechites (lines 219–250), it was separated from Zabu by the *bursag-gal*.

³⁶ Cf. lines 1–2 of the poem which I would render: “Lugalbanda rested (from his search for his fellows) in the *kur*, the far-away place, (because) he put his trust in the *is-Zabu*”. The reason for his stopping at Zabu had to do presumably with his confidence in the success of his cunning plan to make a grateful friend of the Anzu-bird who had his nest in the region, and who could guide him to his fellow Erechites.

return, "his brothers and friends" greet him lovingly and feed him tenderly. He recovers his health, and leads the eager troops across the *hursag*, back home towards Erech-Kullab (line 1–252).

But when only a *danna* distant from the city, they are distressed to find its environs ravaged and desolate, and virtually unapproachable, while within the city, the frightened Enmerkar is pained and distressed by its turmoil and confusion (lines 253–269).³⁷ The king decides therefore that he must get through a call for help to his sister, the goddess Inanna of Aratta,³⁸ but he can find no one to undertake the perilous journey from Erech-Kullab to Aratta (lines 270–283). Whereupon Lugalbanda bravely volunteers to do the bidding of his king, and at Enmerkar's demand, swears he will journey all alone to far-away Aratta to deliver his message to Inanna (lines 284–289).³⁹ Thereupon, having gathered an assembly,⁴⁰ Enmerkar imparts to Lugalbanda his rather challenging message to the goddess (lines 290–321).⁴¹

Leaving the palace after receiving the message, Lugalbanda hurries to "his brothers and friends" who were waiting impatiently outside the city, eager to accompany him. But he orders them to go back to Erech-Kullab and its *en*, for he has promised to go all alone to Aratta (lines 322–328). They try to dissuade him by stressing the mortal perils of crossing the *hursag-gal* all alone

³⁷ The cause of Enmerkar's distress and Erech's desolation is not stated in this part of the text, but that it had to in some way with the ravaging Martu, can be inferred from Enmerkar's plaintive message to Inanna (cf. note 25).

³⁸ For Inanna's close connection with Aratta, cf. pp. 70–72 of the book under review; in fact the impression gained from the Enmerkar-Lugalbanda epic cycle is that Inanna was originally the tutelary deity of Aratta, and that only later, some time during the reign of the First Dynasty of Erech, did she become the favorite deity of Erech as well.

³⁹ The reason for Enmerkar's stipulation that Lugalbanda was to travel all alone to Aratta, unaccompanied by "his brothers and friends", is not stated in the text; perhaps he feared that the arrival of a whole company of warriors might be misunderstood by the people of Aratta a warlike threat.

⁴⁰ Just who constituted this assembly is unfortunately not stated in the text; it may have been an assembly of the more important townspeople or of his close official advisers; cf. the relevant discussion in my "Vox Populi" in *RA LVIII* pp. 149–156.

⁴¹ For an analysis of the contents of the message, cf. pp. 372–373 of this article (*sub* 6), and notes 23–26.

(lines 329–336). But to no avail.⁴² He takes up his weapons, crosses the seven mountains stretching from one end of Anšan to the other,⁴³ and arrives with joyful step at his destination (lines 338–346).⁴⁴ There, in Aratta, Lugalbanda is given a warm welcome by Inanna (lines 347–352). On her asking what brought him to Aratta, Lugalbanda repeats verbatim Enmerkar's message (lines 353–387). Inanna's answer is enigmatic and obscure: Enmerkar is to cut down a lone-standing tamarisk growing by a pure river, and fashion it into a container in which he was to catch and fetch the god-like GIŠ-ŠEŠ-fish, and bring it as an offering to Inanna's *á-ankara*-weapon (lines 388–406). As a result, the answer continues, he will succeed in bringing down the skilled craftsmen of Aratta who had constructed its towering, magnificent walls, to Erech-Kullab, to rebuild its walls, impaired by the raiding Martu, and make them impregnable (lines 407 to end).⁴⁵

⁴² Regrettably, the meaning and implications of the one-line response (line 337) of Lugalbanda in which he rejects the offer of "his brothers and friends" to accompany him, are uncertain and obscure; Wilcke's rendering is quite dubious.

⁴³ The real meaning of line 342, and especially the crucial *ma-du-um-e* is uncertain; so, too, is the interpretation of line 343; much depends on which of the two plot versions turns out to be correct.

⁴⁴ Note that according to all the three texts extant at this point, line 346 states he arrived *slgi-kul-abakl-še*, that is, "at the brickwork Kullab" (not Aratta). Unless, therefore, it is assumed that this is a scribal error, or that there was a "brickwork Kullab" in Aratta as well as Erech (cf. note 33), Wilcke's version of the plot must be correct.

⁴⁵ It cannot be too strongly stressed that this interpretation of these lines, all of which I take to be part of Inanna's answer, is highly problematical. Admittedly it might be more reasonable to assume, with Wilcke, that they contain Inanna's promise for Enmerkar's successful conquest of Aratta. But the meaning of the crucial lines 407–412 is uncertain, and the implications of the context of the entire passage are quite obscure; much of the interpretation depends on which version of the plot is the more correct.

BOOK REVIEW

Muazzez Çığ and Hatice Kızılıyay: Sumer Edebi Tablet ve Parçaları I, Sumerian Literary Tablets and Fragments in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul I, Introduction and Catalogue by Samuel Noah Kramer, Türk Tarih kurumu VI. Seri, Sa. 13.

The present volume, which contains more than 600 literary fragments, most of which have not been published before, carefully copied by M. Çığ and Kızılıyay, is a contribution to Sumerology, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. S. N. Kramer has prepared the catalogue and identified a great number of the fragments as being duplicates to literary compositions already known, and besides a smaller number of fragments have been identified by Åke Sjöberg (p. 57–58). Some few additions can be made: Ni 4598 (p. 108/166) is inscribed with the "Disputation between Tree and Reed", obv. = 7–15 (= TCL 16, 53: 7–15, Ni 4316 (p. 145/87) 1–3), rev. = 19–26 (= TCL 16, 53: 19–26, Ni 9684 (p. 87/29) obv. 3–10, BUM 17/2 fig. 8b obv. 4–12), cf. J. van Dijk, AcOr [1965] 45. Line 12 of this composition reads according to the new duplicate: *gi giš-ra* (var. -e) *t-ga-sig,-ga-gim* *gū-téš-a¹* *bt-ib-si* "The reed agreed with the tree since they were equally beautiful", which is to be preferred to J. van Dijk's reading: *sag téš-ba*.² A further duplicate to this composition is Ni 9676 (p. 85/27).³ — Ni 9776 (p. 183/125) is inscribed with "Inanna's Descent", rev. (!) I = 308–311 and approximately

¹ For the reading of KA-téš-a, cf. CT 15, 11: 19; KA-téš-a sl̄-ga-zu = VS 2, 2 III 40: gú-téš-a sl̄-ga-zu = BA V 633: 26–27: gug-téš-a sl̄-ga-zu, translated *ša sunqu mithariš taškunu*.

² In TCL 16, 53 SAG may well be a miscopy for KA, since the difference between the two signs in this tablet is minimal. The -ba following téš is a misprint for -a.

³ On p. 39 the number 9885 is a misprint for 9676.

322–324, II = 359–368. — Ni 9595 (p. 173/115) is inscribed lines 10–16 of “Dumuzi’s Dream”, and Ni 4550 is inscribed with the same myth, I = 55–58, II = 93–95 (or 106–108). — Ni 4012 (p. 128/70) and Ni 4013 (p. 129/71) are in fact two different copies of the same tablet. — Ni 4205 (p. 137/79) is a fragment of a lamentation which is closely related to the Second Ur Lament (if it should actually turn out to form part of this composition, obv. II must be placed in the break between line 282 (see S. N. Kramer, ANET³ 616) and *290 = UET 6/2 130: 1). For obv. II 4 [ù-*k*u-*mušen* *mušen-šà-sig-ga-ke₄*, cf. “Curse of Agade” 257 and “Inanna and Ebih” 166 (= UET 6/1 17: 15 with dupl.). Line 7–8 should perhaps be restored: *uruduŠEN-kù lú-igi-nu-bar-[re-dam] lú-SU.KI elam₄t lú-ha-lam-[ma igi i-ni-bar]*, cf. the Second Ur Lament 450 (= UET 6/2 133: 26, UET 6/2 134: 4, TMHNF IV 26 obv. 3), “Curse of Agade” 129, and the Second Ur Lament 32 (= UET 6/2 124: 32, UET 6/2 126 rev. III 3, BE 31, 3 rev. 4), where UET 6/2 1J4 clearly has *LU × ganaten₄.SU.KI*.

Bendt Alster.

RECENT BOOK REVIEWS

Tales of Ise, Lyrical Episodes from Tenth-Century Japan.

Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by Helen Craig McGullough, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1968.

We are today in the happy situation that one Japanese classic after another is being translated into English. A literature, which only decades ago was unknown and unattainable for all Westerners except the rare specialist in the field, is opening up, and our cultural perspectives are widening accordingly. We should be grateful when eminent scholars like Helen Craig McGullough undertake the painstaking labour, involving many and long hours of research, to give us such good and accurate translations, together with introductions and annotations.

The *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari*) is one of the earliest Japanese classics, dating from early Heian (794–1185). As its title implies, it consists of tales (143 in number), each of which is an independent short story save for the fact that many of them deal with the same hero, Ariwara no Narihira, a ninth-century poet. It was the product of the exclusive Heian court society, which though it was but "a tiny elite of perhaps a thousand persons" built a culture which was remarkable for its esthetic finesse and refined forms of life. Poetry and amorous adventures were important among this elite, and so were moon-viewing, hunting-parties, religious ceremonies, and many other sophistications. This Heian culture found its full expression in the *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*), which was written some time after the *Ise monogatari*; however, already in the *Ise monogatari* we sense the tenor of the era. Each tale is built on and around one or more poems, which are all 31-syllable *tanka*, and the prose parts are probably only later interpolations to explain and elaborate the

respective poetical situations. The *Ise monogatari* therefore represents a link between the poetry collections and the later prose works, such as the *Genji monogatari*.

One is impressed by the way Mrs. McGullough in the introduction connects the poetic tradition of the *Ise monogatari* with Chinese culture. Better than has been seen before in the literature, she describes how the Six Dynasties poetry had "bequeathed a heritage of traditionalism and sophisticated elegance . . . that determined the basic direction followed by Japanese court poetry for a thousand years." In this way Mrs. McGullough correctly links the *tanka* tradition of Japan, which by the way is longer than a thousand years, to its Chinese source of inspiration. She also makes the presentation complete by introducing the Six Poetic Geniuses—the most important *tanka* poets of ninth-century Japan—and by translating their poetry in the *Kokinshū* anthology.

However, even though the surrounding introduction, appendices, and notes give the translation its necessary frame, it is the translation of the *Ise monogatari* that is of major interest. It is complete, it is excellent, and it is readable. Occasionally some passages are freely rendered, but they still catch the over-all meaning in such faithful fashion that they do full justice to the original. Mrs. McGullough has succeeded so well that even one who is not otherwise acquainted with classical Japanese literature will read the translation with pleasure, and find the tales enjoyable.

Olof G. Lidin.

The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon. Vol. I. Translated and Edited by Ivan Morris. Oxford University Press, London, 1967.

The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon. Vol. II. A Companion Volume by Ivan Morris. Oxford University Press, London, 1967.

Beside the *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*) there is another work that is of prime importance for our understanding of the Heian culture around A.D. 1000. This is the *Makura no sōshi*, "The Pillow Book", by Lady Sei Shōnagon. For the true under-

standing of this culture as it was at its zenith of development the latter is of as much value as the former. For while the former describes the culture in the form of fiction, the latter presents us with a series of remarkable pictures from life at the time. It is a collection of random notes written at random hours about random matters which this Lady Sei Shōnagon witnessed, experienced, or thought about in her service at the Heian court. Thus, here one meets the era eye to eye, while in the *Genji monogatari* one encounters an idealized and romanticized version of the same. Side by side they reveal in amazing detail the equally amazing culture at the time when the Fujiwara clan ruled Japan.

For some decades we have had Arthur Waley's complete translation of the *Genji monogatari*, while we have had only a part, perhaps one quarter, of the *Makura no sōshi*, also by Arthur Waley, in English translation. There is also a French translation from 1934, *Les Notes de chevet de Séi Shōnagon*, by André Beaujard, not easily available today. When we have obtained, with these two volumes by Ivan Morris, a full and annotated English translation of the *Makura no sōshi*, it is indeed a moment of joy for all students of Japanese cultural history. Here we have not only a complete translation of very line of an extremely difficult book, but also a companion volume brimming with notes, appendices, and a comprehensive index-glossary. One believes the author when he says that it took him five years to finish the work. The introduction is short, only nineteen pages long, which can be due to the fact that the author only a few years ago wrote a book, *The World of the Shining Prince* (Oxford University and Knopf, 1964), which can serve as an ideal introduction to the work as well as to the whole Fujiwara culture.

When reading the translation, one is struck by the immediacy of the text. As in the original, so in the translation, it is the breath of a living woman that one encounters. One is enraptured by these impressionistic sketches of real life as it was lived among the elite, a thousand years ago: descriptions of seasons and nature, religious ceremonies, love affairs, conversations, lists of things, pilgrimages, poetry exchanges, and much more. It does not bother the reader that the episodes come in a haphazard manner—rather it adds to their charm. The author admits that he has had to treat

the text quite freely, and anyone who has tried to read the *Makura no sōshi* knows that there is no other way to do it. Beaujard's more literal translation is an example of what the result can be if one follows the original too conscientiously: the translation becomes overly heavy and additions within brackets become necessary. Mr. Morris' free treatment does as much justice to the original and has the extra advantage of making the translation easily readable. One is filled with respect for the fine result.

One is not surprised, having read the *Makura no sōshi* in excellent translation, that the literary genre of "jottings" or "miscellanies" (*zuihitsu*) became popular in Japan and has remained so until this day.

Olof G. Lidin.

The China White Paper, August 1949, originally issued as United States Relations with China, With Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949, Department of State Publication 3573, Far Eastern Series 30, reissued November 20, 1967 by Stanford University Press with the Original Letter of Transmittal to President Truman from Secretary of State Dean Acheson and with a new introduction by Lyman P. van Slyke of Stanford University, California. 1079 pages in two volumes, well-indexed. Cloth, 1 volume: \$ 15.00; Paper, 2 volumes: \$ 5.95 a set.

The twin principles on which the US policy toward China was based during this period were professedly (1) non-involvement in Chinese civil war and (2) preservation of legitimate American rights and interests in that Republic. Neither was maintained. By giving the Nationalists large amount of military aid at the time of mediation, the US was committed and thus involved in Chinese civil war. The fall of the Kuomintang in 1949 deprived America of its legitimate rights and interests in China. The principles could not, therefore, be said to have best served the interests of both the Nationalists and the United States.

The total Communist takeover in the mainland would not have been possible should the US compel the Nationalists to accept, at the early stage of negotiations, the acceptable Communist demands and to make radical reform in the Government (the position of the

US in doing so is revealed on page 258 when Philip Fugh, personal secretary of Ambassador Stuart, being quizzed by Generalissimo Chiang "regarding the background of the Wedemeyer Mission, as to why it was regarded as necessary, and whether it meant that the United States wished to force his retirement or removal") and actively engage itself (politically, if not militarily) at a later stage when the total destruction of the Nationalists was in store for them. It was in this dilemma—to engage but fearing to actively engage and to involve but fearing to be further involved—that the US lost its "traditional friend" in the mainland. The present-day situation in Asia as a result of direct US intervention might not have been the answer to the China theatre for history never repeats itself exactly and no two historical situations are entirely analogous, yet of one thing we are certain: by active engagement, the US has not lost its ally either in Vietnam or Taiwan.

Out of good will the US relinquished in 1943 American extraterritoriality in China. Yet the White Paper makes no mention that it had been in fact practised as late as December 24, 1946, when William Pierson, a corporal, and other marines who raped Shen Chung, a girl student of Peking University, were found "not guilty" and finally set free by the US Navy Department. It was the inadequacies of the US troops (by which the Nationalists took example) in China that partly made the Chinese lose faith in their government.

Despite its contradictions, self-righteousness and complete reliance on the State Department files, the White Paper stands not only as the most important source for the study of the US relations with China for the period from 1945 through 1948, but also as an indispensable document for the study of historical Kuomintang-Chinese Communist relations. It is a must for students in contemporary Chinese affairs.

Robert Tung.

Herbert Franke: Sinologie an deutschen Universitäten, mit einem Anhang über die Mandschustudien. Steiner: Wiesbaden, 1968.

Brief but readable, this 60-page account of Chinese studies in Germany is one of 12 monographs on various branches of litterae

humaniores, 5 of them concerned with Asian studies. Professor Franke does not evade any issues, giving a clear account of the part played by Austrians, for instance, in German Sinology, and paying tribute to the Germans of the Diaspora, whose subsequent labours cannot be included in this small volume, but whose names are recorded for students to remember. With such a large number of previous works on German sinology (see Bibliography, p. 54–55), one could almost write a history of the genre, but there are new trends, and a timely assessment from the point of view of those who laboured to set the “professional standard” is given in the section called *Rückblick und Ausblick*.

Details are always invidious, especially when so much is condensed into a small pamphlet, but the book might have included some of the reviewer's own favourites, for instance, Johannes Nobel, whose translation of the *Suvarna prabhasa*, with its indexes, must surely be of immense importance to students. A list of students' theses would have been welcome, and a much fuller index, containing Sung Project, Geography, and some book titles would have merited the expense of a few extra pages. Hermanns in the index appears to be unwittingly in the genitive case, and one would have been inclined to guess Hsüeh Shen's surname as Hsüeh, and not Shen. According to the inside cover, there is also an edition in English of this monograph series, which will be a challenge to other University bodies to produce a similar record of scholarship of a consistently high standard. The supplement on Manchu studies at the end seems much fuller in proportion than the main work, and should be at hand in every reference library, to complement the other “Anhang” in Walter Fuchs, *Chinesische und Mandjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke, nebst einer Standortliste der sonstigen Mandjurica*, Franz Steiner; Wiesbaden, 1966. The Standortliste is a masterpiece of conciseness, and the short survey of Manchu studies in Germany by Professor Franke takes only four pages. Truly “a pearl in the hand”.

Eric Grinstead.

One Hundred and one Chinese Poems by Shih Shun Liu,
171 pp., Hong Kong: University Press, London: Oxford
University Press, 37/6 d net.

One Hundred and one Chinese Poems, translated by *Shih Shun Liu*, is an anthology containing poems from the third century to the present, the major part being from the T'ang period. Some of the poems have not previously been translated, including *Aphorisms on Running a House* by *Chu Po-lu* and also some poems by *Po Chü-yi*. From the selection one might, however, consider *Po Chü-yi* to be the greatest poet in China in so far as he occupies 24 pages, *Li Po* and *Tu Fu* each occupying only 12.

The translation is unsentimental and objective. This is a characteristic seldom found in translations into European languages, owing to the use of personal pronouns, singular and plural, present and past tense.

The translator follows the original text strictly without being too strict. Sometimes, however, the translation is curious. Lines three and four in poem number 84 by *Ch'iu Wei* read: "I knocked and no one opened the door; / I peeped in, and saw nothing but tables". In my opinion it would be better to say "I peeped in and saw nothing but a table". Furthermore, how does *Shih Shun Liu* get three lines out of the last line in poem number 33 by *Tu Fu*?

The diction is staccato but at times slightly clumsy. In addition the translator often neglects the number of lines in the original, letting the first and the second line in a four-lined poem (e.g. 12 and 97) correspond with four lines in the translation while at the same time lines number three and four of the same poem correspond with only two in the translation. It seems a shame to change the proportions in this way.

On the last pages there are seven translations by *John Cairncross* together with a detailed bibliography.

The layout is pleasing to the eye, and the Chinese text is included. Compared to other translations of Chinese poems this anthology is recommendable also because of the poems not previously translated.

Nina Fønss

Enemies and Friends: The United Front in Chinese Communist History, by Van Slyke; Stanford University Press, 1967; 259 pages, \$ 8.50.

The Chinese Communist theory of constant revolution is based on the paradox that there is always an enemy. To effectively fight it, the Communists should rally all the forces that can be rallied, even those who are opposed to them. If there is more than one enemy, they are to be dealt with one at a time and the blow falls on the major one.

It is not without unusual insights that having admirably presented the simple facts of the matter supported by a wealth of material the author remarks, "Once an enemy has been defeated, a realignment takes place, and a new principal target is marked out . . . When Japan was the enemy, CCP collaboration with the KMT was necessary and justified. With Japan's defeat, the KMT became the primary object of attack. First the landlords, then the rich peasants, were marked for elimination. One should not fight the Japanese and the KMT at the same time, nor attempt to eliminate at one stroke both the landlords and the rich peasant". More recently, the capitalists, the intellectuals and the revisionists who were once friends of the Party have respectively, at different stages, become "enemies of the people".

According to Chinese Communists, the majority (roughly about 65 %) is always for and the minority (5 %) against revolution, the remainder being the wavering intermediate group—the target of the United Front—who being potential friends must be won over at all costs. This the Chinese Communists did with great successs.

There is truth when the author points out that "the success of the CCP was in part the inverse of KMT failures. But loss of faith in the KMT did not mean that that faith would automatically be transferred to the CCP the Communists succeeded in enlisting much positive backing; this success was the result of many policies, a number of which the CCP regarded directly or indirectly as parts of its united front strategy: winning over (or neutralizing) the majority, isolating minority, and defeating enemies one by one".

Impressively objective is the author's assertion (Chapter 5), despite available suggestions to the contrary, that the CCP was not involved in the actual planning of the Sian Incident, which is obvious especially when Chang Hsüeh-liang, who engineered the kidnapping of Chiang, confirms it in his confession circulated in Taiwan streets in 1968 and later withdrawn by order of the authority. According to Chang, it was he who, after the Incident, approached Chou En-lai, not vice versa, when the situation got out of hand. The Sian Incident was nevertheless an expression of the successful united front strategy, as the author rightly points out.

Not without some justification the author gives the reasons "why the Communists should have decided to work for Chiang's release and a peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident: the possibility that they could prevent his release; the risk that an attempt to eliminate Chiang would cause a split in Sian without producing a favourable result in Nanking; the apparent increase in the power of pro-Japanese, anti-Communist elements in Nanking who could be controlled only by Chiang; and Chiang's probable willingness to consider a rapprochement with the CCP if it recognised his leadership". In other words, it was precisely part of its united front strategy that the CCP did not work for the elimination of Chiang. The Communists would not have reached any other conclusion, for not to eliminate Chiang would help in eliminating the major enemy, Japan at that time. Only when one is no longer needed does one cease to be a friend.

Basing himself on one source, the author seems only too hasty to fit all campaigns into the political-social pattern of the united front by claiming (Chapter 10: The United Front from 1949 to 1954) that "The 'three-anti' (san-fan) and 'five-anti' (wu-fan) campaigns were clearly political and social, rather than economic, in purpose". This is somewhat contradictory to what he says later on in the same chapter, "The *most frequent* form of punishment was the imposition of fines . . . The amount of money collected was *considerable* . . . The total may have reached or exceeded \$ 1 billion" (page 233, my italics).

Robert Tung.

J.-J. Waardenburg: L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident. Comment quelques orientalisées occidentaux se sont penchés sur l'Islam et se sont formé une image de cette religion. (Préface de Johannes Pedersen. — Recherches méditerranéennes, Études III. Mouton & Co., Paris-LaHaye 1962, 2. éd. 1963). — xi + 374 pp.; price?

The subject-matter of this book is precisely covered by its title, whereas the title hardly reflects the full intention of the author. As a historian of religions dr. Waardenburg aims at giving a characterization of the contents and essence of Islam, and—in a wider perspective—he rightly advises the reader that the vitality of modern Islam will demand congenial understanding in Europe. His plan is, then, to deduce the description of the nature of Islam through an analysis of the work of five prominent Orientalists of our time. The five selected approaches include Ignaz Goldziher, Chr. Snouck Hurgronje, C. H. Becker, D. B. MacDonald and Louis Massignon, temperamentally and scientifically widely different, but all united by the investigator's sincere will at comprehension, and all research workers of great stature.

Provisionally we can leave open the impression that Dr. Waardenburg evidently does not appreciate equally these five approaches—not even objectively; and in fact, the valuation must prove different when mediated by this process of research. Spontaneously, the reader will keep the impression that the investigator's ability to intuitive familiarization or instinctive identification with his subject-matter fascinates the author more than the sober-minded or rigidly methodical student; Louis Massignon and his penetrating and imaginative comprehension more than the cool—though absolutely not unimaginative—mind of the Prussian *Kulturminister* C. H. Becker; Goldziher's penetration *ab intra* more than the profane historian Wellhausen. Not least Christian Snouck Hurgronje, whose thorough insight was coined into practical function in the Dutch colonial service and combined with emotional engagement, takes it greatly to the heart of Dr. Waardenburg. No wonder, then, that Snouck Hurgronje's appraisal of Islam takes up a central position in the author's systematical exposition of Islamic religion, culture and institutions.

Dr. Waardenburg's concern is, thus, phenomenological rather

than historiographical. In his introduction he states that the five approaches shall not serve as a confrontation of different attitudes, but principally and primarily—after rigorous analysis of their contents—as a means to formulate an "*approche compréhensive*" to the world of Islam, or give him the key to understand existentially the Muslim's soul and his material and intellectual horizons.

On the other hand Dr. Waardenburg's phenomenological achievement hardly quite equals his exalted aims. If he did propose to realize a phenomenological characterization of Islam's concept of God and the Muslim's relations to this concept, he has partially to renounce; he has to conclude that the ultimate results of the five Orientalists' investigation often must remain description more than comprehension and definition of the inmost essence of Islam *per se*. The exception, still, is primarily Louis Massignon, whose intuitive penetration of Islamic mysticism carried him a spit deeper beyond the surface than other investigators, but even in this case with certain limitations. Or differently formulated: Subjectivity does, in fact, nowhere give way to the objective comprehension, which was dr. Waardenburg's ultimate mark.

On several points a historian must harbour methodical and theoretical doubts as to dr. Waardenburg's approach and achievement. Primarily the fundamental principles and ideas of the book give me occasion for a series of critical remarks. The author's clearcut distinction between the phenomenological comprehension, at which he sincerely aims, and the historiographical recognition or description could hardly evoke any question, provided that the historiographical foundations of his work are correct. Without any serious exception the author's data are beyond any criticism, and his registration of the outward honours bestowed upon the five, great orientalists is even meticulous. But even if we dispense from the possibility of misrepresentation in dr. Waardenburg's deliberate regarding and treating each of the five approaches *a priori* as a unity (thus disregarding all possible development or re-appraisal), the reviewer must admit his methodical doubts. Is it, really, possible to conclude from the results of the analysis of these five approaches to the subject itself: the essence and substance of Islam? In my opinion the author ought at least have

reserved himself more expressly than he does as to such conclusions from the evidence to the substance.

Intuitive engagement and historical method are, naturally, not alternatives; indeed each conclusion from the evidence to reality demands both imagination and self-restriction—and strict reserves as to the margin of uncertainty and (unavoidable) subjectivity. Even then the modern historian must question the methodical and theoretical possibilities of arriving at the final and unchallengeable reality behind the evidence, and the five approaches presented by the author are technically evidence in this connection. The personal (and consequently subjective) estimation of the investigator cannot be eliminated; even provided the will of scientific veracity the final achievement must unavoidably pass this process, and in this case the author even has to force his way through this barrier at two different levels. The Danish historian Erik Arup claimed that the historian's imagination would allow him to pass from the evidence of the sources to the historical reality itself; metaphorically he called it to compose on the basis of facts, but even if Arup presupposed that both processes were performed methodically stringently, the modern historian could not share his belief. All this reasoning, however, presuppose more than one reservation, i.a. because dr. Waardenburg's intention and methods are not absolutely identical with those described in outline here; he could naturally not—as Arup—be labelled positivist. All the same the tenability of his results must depend on these general principles.

To the theoretical and methodical reservations the reviewer must add a few topical remarks. Probably it is to let one have it that dr. Waardenburg aims at an objectively real and general characterization of Islam's concept of God and Islamic piety; the author naturally realizes that these are not at all unalterable unities no more than in Western Christianity. Of more importance is to assess whether dr. Waardenburg's five approaches do reflect European research rather than Oriental objectivity, or even European research at the same level. Already the title of the book and the author's division of his subject into two stages would indicate the first solution.

In fact dr. Waardenburg's investigation covers a wide field,

from the start of Goldziher's critical pioneering research in the 1870s until the close of Massignon's great achievement in 1960, or in other words: nearly three generations which scientifically do not only represent immense conquests, but carry also a heavy impression of differentiation. It goes without saying that there must be a very broad span from the positivism of the historicocritical research of the 1870s to the more experimental interest of our time in differentiation, fresh inquiries into our evidence and critical re-assessment or trial of the carrying capacity of our traditional, critical methods. Goldziher's imposing, critical clearing work completely corresponds to the process of historical research in his age, and it must—as here—have proved no less than a revolution. That the methodical criticism is now a commonplace tool does certainly not diminish his achievement, but neither does it exclude that the remaining four orientalists in dr. Waardenburg's presentation each in his way represents important stages in a dynamic process of research. It is hardly an accident that modern investigation has to draw the consequences of Islam's principal identification of state, society and religion; Goldziher's and others' studies established the fact and modern research must necessarily include the social and economic aspects, which have been much too neglected until recent years.

Keeping these points of view in mind it will be of interest to confront them with dr. Waardenburg's characterization of Ignaz Goldziher as representative of the first stage of the great scientific revolution after 1870. Goldziher himself correctly stated in a lecture in 1904 that his generation had arrived at an understanding of Islam much more profound than that of the previous generations. He and his contemporaries had taken up fresh, scientific points of view and used new methods. The changing perspectives Goldziher ascribes partly to the historicocritical methods, partly to the discovery of general ethno-psychological laws concerning the sources and growth of human religious feelings. This is the proud and triumphant fanfare of the nineteenth century achievement.

Dr. Waardenburg correctly states that the Islamic tradition to Goldziher was the principal monument of the intellectual trends of Islam, but also the principal source of his comprehension of Islam. Elsewhere the author has established the contrast between

Goldziher's comprehension of Islam *ab intra* and Wellhausen's and Robertson Smith's "pénétration extérieure". Goldziher's high appraisal of the tradition as a monument over the intellectual currents of Islam was just as well motivated as was his demonstration of the historical unreliability of the late tradition. On the other hand Goldziher's reflections reveal a touch of positivism, which might now be considered *passé*. What precisely are ethno-psychological laws or to which extent can such laws claim validity (if any)? Characteristical is Goldziher's and others' stressing the neurotic or if you like: pathological features of Muhammad's mind, features which were rightly reputed or reduced to reasonable dimensions by Tor Andræ. Correspondingly Goldziher's accentuating the ambiguity of the Quran concerning the human being's personal responsibility and divine providence is naturally quite correct, but he does not at the same time stress—as does Andræ—that both elements are parts of a unity, which demonstrates the scope and tensions in Muhammad's revelation. It was quite natural for Goldziher's temperament that the intensity of Sufism attracted him rather than the more robust or rationalistic currents in Islam, because mysticism left space for spiritual liberation and expansion of religious horizons. But whether his far more cool appreciation of Mu'Tazilism and especially Hanbalism in Islam's cultural pattern was quite motivated might remain doubtful. At least the reviewer should have wanted dr. Waardenburg to have undertaken a confrontation of Goldziher's estimation of these currents as a background of treating his appraisal of al-Ghazzali's syncretism. The elements of the spirit of Goldziher's own days are certainly not lacking.

Both dr. Waardenburg's fundamental principles and his application of his analysis of the five approaches thus give occasion for several reflections and occasionally for doubts. His book is—as pointed out by Johannes Pedersen in his introduction—at the same time an audacious and welcome venture into untilled fields. The concern of the author is deeply serious (as are also the critical remarks). His presentation of his subject and his argument does never decline into an indifferent or trivial level; his book incites contradiction and provokes debate on fundamental points.

E. Ladewig Petersen.

Jan Rypka: History of Iranian Literature. Written in collaboration with Otakar Klíma, Věra Kubíčková, Felix Tauer, Jiří Bečka, Jiří Cejpek, Jan Marek, I. Hrbek and J. T. P. de Bruijn. Edited by Karl Jahn (University of Leyden). D. Reidel Publishing Company. Dordrecht - Holland 1968. Pp. 928, 1 map and 1 plate.

The Czech original of this book, *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury*, appeared in 1956 and was republished in an enlarged shape in 1961 and 1963. A German translation of the 1956 edition (*Iranische Literaturgeschichte*) is volume 4 of the series *Iranische Texte und Hilfsbücher*, edited by Professor, Dr. Heinrich F. J. Junker. The present English version has been enlarged and revised by the authors. It has become *the History of Iranian Literature of our time*, indispensable to anyone interested in the literature of Iran. It is a standard work that only in a few respects can be supplemented by the previous books of that kind, viz. E. G. Browne's monumental *A Literature History of Persia I-IV*, K. F. Geldner's, E. W. West's and Hermann Ethé's contributions in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie II* (where, however, Nöldeke's *Šāhnāme* study is still unsurpassed) and, as for Middle Persian literature, Jehangir C. Tavadia's *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier* (1956). The late Professor Jan Rypka, whose "History of Persian Literature up to the Beginning of the 20th Century" makes up the substantial part of the whole book, has found distinguished collaborators for his opus magnum: Otakar Klíma writes on Avestan, Old Persian, and Middle Iranian literature, Věra Kubíčková on Persian literature of the 20th century, Felix Tauer on Persian learned literature from its beginning up to the end of the 18th century, Jiří Bečka on Tajik literature, Jiří Cejpek on Iranian folk-literature, and Jan Marek on Persian literature in India. In addition Jan Rypka has revised his small, but important outline of Judeo-Persian literature (not in the German edition).

What makes this book so valuable, is the fact that here for the first time Tajik literature and Iranian folk-literature have been rendered full justice. The importance of this innovation for comparative literary studies is evident. The comprehensive bibliography (pp. 753-854!) is simply unrivalled. Jes P. Asmussen.

Propyläen Weltgeschichte. Eine Universalgeschichte. Herausgegeben von Golo Mann und Alfred Heuss. Zweiter Band. Hochkulturen des mittleren und östlichen Asiens. Propyläen Verlag, Berlin – Frankfurt – Wien 1962. 695 pp., 96 Tafeln mit 103 Abbildungen, 20 Farbtafeln, 2 Facsimile, 6 farbige Landkarten und 17 Zeichnungen im Text. Preis bei Abnahme des Gesamtwerkes Halbleder-Ausgabe DM 90,–, Leinen-Ausgabe DM 82,–, bei Abnahme von Einzelbänden bzw. DM 98,– und DM 90,–.

Es ist nicht allen gegeben, die Geschichte eines Landes oder einer Kultur in einer solchen Weise mitzuteilen, dass der voraussetzunglose Leser zusammen mit dem Gefühl, dass er festen Grund unter den Füßen hat, einen richtigen Eindruck des Wesentlichen bekommt. Wird dies als eine Forderung gesetzt, und wird diese Forderung erfüllt, ist das Ergebnis Populärwissenschaft im besten Sinne dieses Wortes. Eine solche Darstellung eines bestimmten Stoffes ist eine der vornehmsten Aufgaben des Gelehrten und zugleich eine der schwierigsten, weil sie im höchsten Grad an seine Verantwortlichkeitsgefühl und seinen Sinn für Präzision in den Einzelheiten appelliert. Er wendet sich an ein Publikum, das ganz und gar von seinem Verhältnis zu dem Stoffe, den er behandelt, abhängig ist. In dem vorliegende Band der Propyläen Weltgeschichte scheinen der Respekt vor dem Material und die Rücksicht auf die Leser zusammengefunden und Geschichtsschreibung hoher Qualität hervorgerufen zu haben, wenn es auch Fälle gibt, wo eine kultur- oder religionsgeschichtliche Erscheinung mit vielleicht ein bisschen grösserer Freimütigkeit und Selbstverständlichkeit dargestellt wird, als eine ganz objektive Analyse gestaltet (z.B. die Zeit Zarathustras p. 146). Der hier erwähnte Band 2 enthält »Der Nahe Osten im Altertum« (von Professor Wolfram Freiherr von Soden), »Das alte Iran« (von Professor Franz Altheim), »Israel« (von Professor Hans-Joachim Kraus), »Indien bis zur Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts« (von Professor Luciano Petech), »China im Altertum« (von Professor A. F. P. Hulsewé), »Der Ursprung der Hochkulturen« (von Professor Herbert Jankuhn), »Erste Beziehungen zwischen West und Ost« (von Professor Franz Altheim) und »Die höheren Religionen« (von Professor Arnold Toynbee).

In seiner geistvollen Einleitung umreisst Alfred Heuss das Problem des bestimmenden Wesenszug der Geschichte und versucht, es vor dem Hintergrund der in den folgende Beiträgen vermittelten Tatsachen zu beantworten.

Nur ein paar Bemerkungen:

- P. 149 und 155: Zarathustra hatte seine bestimmte Auffassung des stofflichen Opfers, aber lehnte es kaum kategorisch ab, cfr. Mary Boyce, *Ātaś-zōhr* and *Āb-zōhr*, JRAS 1966, p. 100 ff.
- P. 154: Ein vorzarathustrischer Mazdā ist allem Anschein undenkbar.
- P. 162: Die von Franz Altheim (Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden p. 86, Note 46) gelieferte Parallelē (Ἴτελεύτησε ιδίω θανάτω) des altpersischen Ausdruckes schliesst Selbstmord als Todesart des Kambyses aus.
- P. 163: Als Magier braucht Gaumāta weder Priester noch Zarathustrier zu sein. Der maguš der Behistun-Inschrift gibt seine Stammeszugehörigkeit an und steht, wie I. M. D'jakonov (Istorija Midii, Moskva 1956, p. 375) richtig bemerkt, mit Bābiruviya, (H)ūvjiya, Pārsa usw. in derselben Inschrift parallel.
- P. 203 ff.: Von grosser Bedeutung für das Verständnis der partischen Religionsgeschichte ist das neue Nisā-Material, besonders Nr. 280, mit einer fast vollständigen Liste der Kalender-Termini (der jungawestische Kalender), cfr. I. M. D'jakonov – V. A. Livshits, Novje naxodki dokumentov v Staroj Nise, Peredneaziatskij sbornik II, Moskva 1966, p. 148 ff. und p. 172.

Jes P. Asmussen.

Pistis Kal Erga. Horae Soederblomianae (Travaux publiés par la Société Nathan Söderblom) VI. 123 pp., 8 plates, 15 sv. kr. C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund 1964.

The contents of this book have been dedicated to Professor Rafael Gyllenberg. Six papers have been collected to express

respect and admiration in a worthy way. Helmer Ringgren has written on "A Law of Stylistic Balance in Hebrew" (about the balancing of two parallel lines and bringing about variation by using different numbers, and—from there—the similar phenomenon of the alternation of tenses), Gösta Lindeskog on "Christianity as Realized Judaism" (Primitive Christian literature as an indispensable source to our understanding of first century Judaism, convincingly demonstrated in several fields), H. Biezaïs on "Das heilige Erntecopfermahl der Letten" (on Pērkons as the central god of fertility, shown by the help of an original analysis of the Daina-texts), Carl-Otto Nordström on "The Temple Miniatures in the Peter Comestor Manuscript at Madrid" (a manuscript, Bibl. Nac., Cod. Res. 199, of the 12th century, Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica, the Temple miniature of which is shown to have been based on a Jewish model, maybe even partly done by a Jewish artist), Carl-Martin Edsman on "Die weisse Jungfer" ("Texte zur Geschichte schwedischer Volksfrömmigkeit und Heilkunde aus dem 18. Jahrhundert" and about Catharina Fagerberg, who "in a strange and superstitious way tried to cure sick people"), and, last not least, Harald Riesenfeld brilliantly on "Pär Lagerkvists Barabbas und das Neue Testament".

Jes P. Asmussen.

Dimitri Baramki: Die Phönizier. Urban-Bücher 85. 147 pp., 8 Tafeln. W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart 1965.

Eine deutsche Übersetzung der im Jahre 1961 im Verlag Khayat, Beirut, unter dem Titel »Phoenicia and the Phoenicians« erschienenen Originalausgabe, die in dieser Zeitschrift von Professor P. J. Riis [AO XXVII, 1963, p. 159ff.] ausführlich behandelt worden ist. Man bemerkt mit besonderem Interesse die auch, aber unabhängig von Baramki, von Sir Leonard Woolley vertretene These über die Phönizier als das neue, starke Volk, das »aus der Vermischung dieser zwei Rassen der protophönizischen, semitischen Kanaaniter und der indoeuropäischen, ägäischen Einwanderer erstand« (p. 19).

Jes P. Asmussen.

Fritz Meier: Die schöne Mahsatī. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers. Band 1. XII, 410 Seiten, brosch. DM 40,-. Veröfftl. der oriental. Komm. der Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit. (VOK), Bd. XV. – Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1963.

Mit dieser grossangelegten und mustergültigen Arbeit sucht Prof. Fritz Meier die geschichtliche Gestalt der persischen Dichterin Mahsatī aus dem 12. Jahrhundert kritisch zu erfassen und alle Gedichte, die unter ihrem Namen gehen, aus den Quellen herauszufinden, zu übersetzen und ausführlich zu kommentieren. Das ist ihm völlig gelungen, aber er hat viel mehr als eine vorbildliche Mahsatī-Ausgabe gegeben. Seine Beschäftigung mit diesem bunten Material führt zu widerholten Malen zu grossen motiv- und kulturgeschichtlichen Exkursen ausserordentlich hoher Qualität. Ich erwähne beispielsweise nur p. 71 ff. über den Schreiber (*dabīr*) (mit Hilfe älterer Quellen die Übersicht von Walter Hinz über die persische Geheimkanzlei im Mittelalter (in den *West-östlichen Abhandlungen*, Festschrift für Rudolf Tschudi, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 342–355) suppliernd), p. 125 f. über *yaldā*, p. 158 f. über die Bedeutungen des Wortes *dās* (gewöhnlicher Weise = Sichel), p. 166 f. über das Eierspiel, p. 218 über Henna, p. 341 ff. über den Taubensport, usw. Ausserdem leistet Fritz Meier mit seinem Buche einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der Form und Herkunft des persischen Vierzeilers, den – in seiner typischen Ausgestaltung – er mit Recht als eine neopersische Erfindung betrachtet (p. 12). Von den Dichtern der ältesten Zeit neopersischer Literatur, die er in seiner Arbeit heranzieht, sind mehrere (Šahīd-i Ballū, Abu'l-'Abbās-i Rabinjānī, Abū Šakūr, Abū Šu'ayb-i Harawī und Daqiqī) inzwischen von Gilbert Lazard (*Les premiers poètes persans I und II*, Bibliothèque Iranienne 13,1 und 13,2, Téhéran – Paris 1964) herausgegeben und übersetzt worden. Von grossem Wert sind ferner – im Abschnitte »Altteste persische Dichterinnen«, p. 27 ff. – die Ausführungen über Rābi'a-i Quzdārī.

Zu *zāy*, p. 133 f., mit »Raben« wiedergegeben, cfr. Acta Orientalia XXVIII, Kopenhagen 1965, p. 233, Anm. 62.

Zu *lālā*, p. 188: Der engere Sinn »Eunuch« wird von Salmān-i

Sāwajī's Šamšīd u Ḥuršīd bestätigt (British Museum MS Add. 27134, fol. 30a, Zeile 10 und fol. 35b, Zeile 15). Aus demselben Werk geht ausserdem hervor, dass, wie Meier p. 194 bemerkt, die Annahme, die ġinn müssten teuflisch sein, unrichtig ist.

Man erwartet mit Spannung die Fortsetzung dieser wichtigen Arbeit, in welcher ein persischer Sängerroman über Mahsatī und Amir Ahmad zur Behandlung kommen wird. Jes P. Asmussen.

A Pair of Nasoraean Commentaries (Two Priestly Document), The Great "First World" and the Lesser "First World". Translated by E. S. Drower. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1963. XI, 90 pp., and two facsimile scrolls in separate cylinder fl. 36.-.

E. S. Drower and R. Macuch: A Mandaic Dictionary. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press 1963. VII, 491 pp. L 12. 12 s. net.

The interregnum in Mandaic studies following after the fundamental works by J. H. Petermann, Th. Nöldeke, M. Lidzbarski and W. Brandt towards the end of the last century and in the beginning of the present has brilliantly been overcome by the studies of especially Lady Drower, but also of Prof. R. Macuch and Kurt Rudolph and by Scandinavian contributions. In her indefatigable and comprising work on Mandaeism Lady Drower has followed a principle that ought to be exemplary to every branch of scholarship: Good text editions as the only really secure bases of any penetrating study of the essence and characteristics of a religion. She has followed this principle with admirable patience and fine scholarship in the numerous editions of texts that for ever will give her a place of honour in the history of research of Mandaeism, in, e.g. *Sfar Mahwāšia* (1949), the Canonical Prayerbook (1959), *Haran Gawaita* (1953), *Šarḥ d-Qabin d-Šišlam Rba* (1950), *Alf Trisar Šuialia* (1960), *Diwan Abatur* (1950), etc., etc., and now *Alma Rišaia Rba* (The Great "First World") and *Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (The Lesser "First World") (= Nrs. 41 (A. H. 1220) and 48 (A. H. 972) of The Drower Collection of Mandaic manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford).

These commentaries contain esoteric doctrine "shown to none but those entering the priesthood". They do not give easy reading, the style being obscure, decadent, and repetitive. It is, however, texts of considerable importance, emphasised for instance by the otherwise rarely occurring description of the sacrifice of the dove (called the *Ba* by the priests, written *bh*) (p. 12f.). The imparter of heavenly knowledge is here Mara-d-Rabuta, who according to name, but not to function, may be compared with the "Father of Greatness" (e.g. Parthian *pydr wzrgyfl*) of the Manichaean texts.

But to Lady Drower it has not been enough to enrich our store of Mandaic literature with one splendid text edition after the other. Together with Prof. Macuch she has now also created the necessary tool for further studies. Besides the very comprehensive collections of the two scholars the collection of the late Mark Lidzbarski has also served as a basis for the dictionary. Of decisive importance is the incorporation of words from unpublished texts. Of course it would have been ideal, if the references to the texts had been fuller, and Mandaic types had been used, but it is quite understandable that reasons of economy have been taken into consideration. As it is, the work marks a milestone in Mandaic research and bestows honour as well as great recognition upon authors and publisher.

The word *šadaruan(a)* (p. 439), occurring in the Diwan Abatur (ed. Lady Drower, Città del Vaticano 1950, p. 9, I.II) has been studied as for meaning by Prof. E. Benveniste in Le sens du mot persan *shân*, pp. 31 ff. in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Téhéran 1963.

Jes P. Asmussen.

J. A. Sanders: The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11 QPs^a). (= Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan IV). Oxford. At the Clarendon Press 1965. 99 pp., XVII plates. 63 s. net.

The Psalms Scroll from Qumrân, beautifully edited by Professor J. A. Sanders, is one of the most interesting texts found, throwing in several ways a surprisingly clear light on a number of cruces in Old Testament studies. The introduction has a thorough de-

scription of the scroll and its contents and of the 4 Psalm fragments found in the same Cave 11, together with detailed palaeographical and orthographical observations. The printed text, arranged in columns, has been supplied with a rich text-critical apparatus.

Especially interesting is the inclusion in the scroll of several apocryphal psalms (Nos. I, II, and III of the five known Syriac non-canonical psalms (cf. p. 53 ff.), a "Plea for Deliverance" (p. 76 ff.), an "Apostrophe to Zion" (p. 85 ff.), and a "Hymn to the Creator" (p. 89 ff.)), a prose text on David's compositions giving new insight in the importance of the David tradition in the time down to and of Christ, and—last not least—the earliest Hebrew text to date of Sirach 51,13–20 and 51,30, here considered Davidic, i.e. originally totally independent of Sirach. All these documents have been studied with admirable care by the editor.

Jes P. Asmussen.

C. Hignett: Xerxes' Invasion of Greece. 496 pp., 8 maps, 63 s. net. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press 1963.

The starting point of this expert treatment of an extraordinarily important historical subject is Herodotus' detailed narrative in the last three books of his History. The author has set as his task to supplement Herodotus by the help of topography and to examine his account in the light of ancient warfare, and by doing so he has been able to produce a sound and highly valuable book, doing Herodotus the justice he deserves. There is no doubt that Herodotus is *the* source, and that later witnesses must be regarded secondary sources. This also holds good of Aeschylus' Persai (cf. the fine remarks p. 222 ff.). The result remains that "the history of Herodotus, based on the reports of eyewitnesses of the events, provides the only sure basis for a modern reconstruction of the Persian War, as no reliance can be placed on the ancient accounts where they differ from his" (p. 39).

The author acknowledges his debt to Whatley and Kromayer (see Bibliography p. 470 and 472), but all who now start tackling this piece of ancient history will acknowledge *their* debt to him. The value of his great work is considerably increased by the XV Appendixes (e.g. An inscription from Troizen), making up pp.

345–468. Regarding the two possibilities of Kambyses' death ("either by his own hand or as the result of an accident", p. 81) there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the latter.

Jes P. Asmussen.

Die Religionen Indiens III: Buddhismus – Jinismus – Primitivvölker. Von André Bareau – Walther Schubring – Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf. (= Die Religionen der Menschheit Band 13). W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart 1964. VI und 302 Seiten. Subskr.-Preis DM 30.–, Einzelpreis DM 34.–.

Mit den Bänden 11 und 12 (Jan Gonda's *Veda und älterer Hinduismus* und *Der jüngere Hinduismus*) und dem vorliegenden 13. ist die Religionsgeschichte Indiens in der von Christel Matthias Schröder herausgegebenen Serie *Die Religionen der Menschheit* in der besten und vornehmsten Weise, die man sich vorstellen kann, behandelt worden. Die Beiträge des letzten Bandes werden kundig und eingehend von André Bareau (Paris), Professor Walther Schubring und Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (London) geliefert. Der indische Buddhismus bekommt mit André Bareau einen hervorragenden und ausserordentlich einsichtsvollen Darsteller, der seinen Stoff in eine sehr übersehbare Weise vorlegt, und zwar so dass kein Detail als unwesentlich abgelehnt wird. Nach der grossartigen Beschreibung des Urbuddhismus, d.h. des ungeteilten Buddhismus bis zum 4. Jahrh. v. Chr. folgt die des Hinayāna, des Mahāyāna und schliesslich der Verfallserscheinungen des Sektenwesens und des Tantrismus zusammen mit – als Kap. VII (pp. 198–204) – einer nützlichen forschungsgeschichtlichen Übersicht (wo man vielleicht ein bisschen mehr von Vilh. Trenckner und dem Pali Dictionary-Projekt hätte erwarten können). Viele Stücke von Bareau's schönen Beitrag sind vorbildlich. Das gilt z.B. der Analyse (p. 54) des Nirvāṇa-begriffs, den Bemerkungen über die Stellung der Asura (p. 100), den ausführlichen Darstellungen von den Lehren Nāgārjuna's und Asanga's (p. 156ff. und 162ff.) und den gelegentlichen (p. 39 und 48) Würdigungen christlicher Kardinalbegriffe vom buddhistischen Gedankengang heraus. Gesunde Urteilstatkraft, souveräne Kenntnis

vom Thema und ruhmwürdiges Mässigen, wenn auch bestrickenden Thesen gegenüber kennzeichnen Bareau's Darstellung von der ersten bis zur letzten Seite. Z.B. stellt er sich – und ohne Zweifel mit Recht – skeptisch in bezug auf den iranischen Ursprung Maitreya's (p. 148) und Amitābha's (p. 151). Nichts scheint zu fehlen innerhalb der Rahmen, die das Thema, der *indische* Buddhismus, absteckt. Es kann deshalb auch keineswegs Bareau zur Last gelegt werden, dass er seine feinen Auseinandersetzungen der Tendenzen des alten Buddhismus, die klar ins Mahāyāna leiten (p. 89–108 und p. 149), nicht weiterführt. Wäre solches hier relevant, hätte eine Untersuchung der *sakischen* Mahāyāna-Literatur zeigen können, wie eine Übergangssymbiose (vor allem von der Mahāsāṅghika zuwegegebracht) in Zentralasien natürlich ins Mahāyāna führte. Bareau's Beitrag ist zugleich eine geistreiche Geschichte des indischen Buddhismus und ein vorzügliches Handbuch, dessen Wert nicht stark genug hervorgehoben werden kann.

Walther Schubring, der Altmeister der europäischen Erforschung des Jinismus, zeigt mit seinem kurzen Beitrag (p. 219–242), wie sich die tiefe Vertrautheit mit einem Stoffe und die ganz einzigartige Einfühlungsfähigkeit vereinigen und in konzentrierter Form alles sagen können.

Dem Religionshistoriker ist Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf's vornehme Abhandlung über die Religionen der indischen Primitivvölker von besonderer Bedeutung. Man bemerkt schon in der Einleitung die klaren prinzipiellen Überlegungen in bezug auf die Erforschung der Religionen dieser schriftlosen Völker und wird bei der fortgesetzten Lesung immer wieder von der entscheidenden Bedeutung dieser Religionen für das Verständnis ganz fundamentaler, allgemein religionsgeschichtlicher Fragen erinnert. In diesem Zusammenhang sei die Aufmerksamkeit besonders auf die Stellung des Hochgottes (Bhagavan der Bhil-Religion z.B., p. 252 ff.) und sein Verhältnis zu den anderen Göttern, auf die Stellung des Saora-Schamanen – ein Phänomen ohne genaue Parallelen in indischen Religionen – und auf die Aspekte eines komplexen Wesens beim Gotte Kittung der Saora (p. 275). In einem ausserordentlich wertvollen Überblick der wichtigsten Seiten dieser Religionen fasst von Fürer-Haimendorf alles zusammen, was sich heute tatsächlich

von den religiösen Vorstellungen und Gebräuchen der untereinander linguistisch wie religionsgeschichtlich sehr verschiedenen Stämme sagen lässt.

Man sagt kaum zu viel, wenn man die drei Beiträge des Buches als religionsgeschichtliche Meisterwerke bezeichnet.

Jes P. Asmussen.

John Macdonald: *The Theology of the Samaritans.* 480 pp., 60 s. net. SCM Press Ltd., London 1964.

With the growing and already widely enlarged knowledge of the religion and literature of the Samaritans it is more than desirable to get a clear and full representation of the stand of research in replacement of J. Montgomery's and M. Gaster's meritorious works from resp. 1907 (*The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect, Philadelphia*) and 1925 (*The Samaritans, Their History, Doctrines and Literature. Schweich Lectures for 1923*). Nobody could be more fitted for this task than Dr. Macdonald from the University of Leeds, who through text editions (the *Yom ha-Kippur Liturgy*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Leeds 1958, and the *Memar Marqah*, *BZAW* 84, 1963) and through a number of very important papers has demonstrated his intimate familiarity with and insight in the religious history of the Samaritans. The present book, however, is not only a stocktaking. In more than one respect it can rightly be called pioneering, as it with its many original contributions includes and impartially values several aspects of Samaritan theology that have hitherto been neglected or only insufficiently examined. Dr. Macdonald's work, a volume of *The New Testament Library*, is based upon genuine, representative material, thus dealing with the problems from within. Many problems that have until now been considered as solved, are hereby put into a new light and submitted to a much needed revaluation. A number of old ideas that have been taken for granted, are shaken, and new perspectives to future studies are opened up, also as regards the general history of religions. It would be of great importance, for instance, if such studies could bring about a closer understanding of the background of Islam (p. 50f.). Important to Macdonald are the relations of the Sama-

ritans to Judaism on one side and to Christianity on the other. In many respects he goes his own ways (cf. e.g. Chap. XXII: Moses and Christ, p. 420 ff.) in his endeavour to show that Samaritan religion is "in a great many respects like a half-way point between Israelite religion and Christianity" (p. 452), is "Northern Israelite religion developed, modified and substantially expanded with the aid of Christianity" (p. 419, cf. p. 456). To me the attempt seems to be highly successful.

After the Introduction (with a most valuable survey of Samaritan literature) the book is divided into 6 parts, on God and the World, Moses, Man, Eschatology, etc. There is a good extensive bibliography and a useful index.

Jes P. Asmussen.

The Mahārāshṭra Purāṇa. An Eighteenth Century Bengali Historical Text. Translated, annotated, and with an introduction by Edward C. Dimock, Jr., and Pratul Chandra Gupta. Published for The Association for Asian Studies. East-West Center Press, Honolulu 1965. 86 pp., 5.— dollars.

This work, by the editors too modestly called "this little book", is the result of the research carried out in 1959–1960. Hereby a text not unimportant for Persian-Indian history has been made accessible to further study. The Mahārāshṭra Purāṇa (or Mahārāshtra Purāṇa) is an eighteenth-century basically secular historical Bengali text, found as late as 1904 (in Mymensingh in East Pakistan, then East Bengal) and dealing with the Maratha invasions of Bengal between 1742 and 1751. The book contains photos of the original manuscript, the text in transliteration together with a translation and notes, an introduction on the historical background of the invasions, Appendices I and II (translation of a part of the Madanamohana-bandanā and extracts from relevant parts of other historical texts on the Maratha invasions), a bibliography and an Index.

The M. P., composed by a certain Gangārām, almost totally unknown, is a unique text in so far as it—seen apart from the historically worthless Sanskrit work the Citracampū (written in 1744 by Vāneśvara Vidyālaṅkāra, the court poet of the Mahārājā

of Burdwan)—is the only *Indian* source of an important period in the hour of death of the Mughal Empire and thus also of Persian-Indian history. The Persian influence is obvious, e.g. regarding fundamental loan-words such as *bādsā* (pādshah), *saradāra* (sardār), *baragi* (bārgir) etc. Because of its peculiarity and exceptional position the Bengali text is a significant historical supplement to the sources that have hitherto alone been at hand, viz. the Persian Chronicles (e.g. Ghulām Hussain Khān's *Siyār-ul-Mutākherīn*, Karam 'Ali's *Muzafṣar Nāme*, Uusuf 'Ali's *Āhwāl-i Mahābat Jang*) and various contemporary English accounts.

With their book the editors have rendered the historical study of Mughal time great help.

Jes P. Asmussen.

The Nasirean Ethics by Nasīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī. Translated from the Persian by G. M. Wickens. Demy 8vo., 336 pp., 45 s. net. George Allen, Unwin, London 1964.

The *Akhlāq-i Nāṣīrī*, Nasīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī's chief contribution to letters, is a book on practical philosophy, the outstanding significance of which is evident, although the reading of it gives only moderate enjoyment, its style being artificial and trying to the modern reader. Its unique position in the cultural history of mediaeval Islām, however, makes it quite natural to incorporate it in the Persian translations collection of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and students of Mediaeval Philosophy, Greek and Oriental, are in a great debt of gratitude to Professor Wickens for his translation, painstakingly carried out, of this difficult or rather notorious text, which, moreover, never before has been translated in extenso into a Western language. The *Akhlāq-i Nāṣīrī*, which belongs to Ṭūsī's period of Ismā'īlī service, is dedicated to the Governor of Quhistān Nāṣīru-d-Dīn and named after him.

Prof. Wickens, in the introduction, in a splendid way deals with the "significance and special quality of the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣīrī*", the life and writings of the author, his style etc. The translation itself has been supplied with a wealth of notes (2330 in all), historical and linguistic, showing his great familiarity with the original text. The meaning "seem like" of *māndan* (note 1002,

p. 286) occurs in the dictionaries, e.g. Steingass ("resemble"), but is, however, in this use thrown totally into the shadow by mānistān (mānidān).

Jes P. Asmussen.

Gilbert Lazard: La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane. Études Linguistiques II. 535 pp. Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris 1963.

This is a fundamental book, clear in its structure, thorough and reliable as regards its treatment of the material, and easy to use because of the elaborate Indices. Prof. Lazard has altogether succeeded in producing a work that thanks to its abundance of material and its author's unique knowledge of the oldest Persian prose texts always will keep its position as one of the most important hand-books of Iranian studies. In the first part of the book Lazard gives a list of the texts the peculiar features of which he then (pp. 137–492) subjects to a minute examination. But the list is not only names and years. With its many observations, classifications and detailed descriptions it is much more a literary history of great importance for the study of the oldest Persian prose from the Tang-i Azoa inscriptions from the 8th century (cf., however, Eugen Ludwig Rapp, The Date of the Judaeo-Persian Inscriptions of Tang-i Azao in Central Afghanistan, *East and West* N.S. Vol. 17, 1967, p. 51ff.) over Abū Manṣūr's Šāhnāme-Preface, the Tārīx-i Tabarī, the Tafsīr-i Tabarī etc. to an Iskandar-nāme manuscript from the 12th cent. Of special interest and value is the description of Jewish-Persian texts (p. 128–134) that excellent exploits the whole material published. This section again shows the necessity of editing these texts to a far greater extent than has until now been the case. H. H. Paper's edition of the Vatican Pentateuch (*Acta Orientalia* XXVIII ff.) is a good beginning in that respect, but much is still left. It does not require much imagination to see, what such a competent scholar as Lazard could get out of e.g. the so-called Joshua Commentary from the British Museum (Or 8659, to which I drew the attention—with only a few examples, but enough for even an amateur of Iranian studies to perceive its characteristics and unique position—in an article in *Acta Orientalia* XXIX).

The second part of Lazard's book is a cornucopia of phonetical, morphological, and syntactical informations.

Jes P. Asmussen.

Henrik Samuel Nyberg: A Manual of Pahlavi. Part I: Texts, Alphabets, Index, Paradigms, Notes and an Introduction. XXVIII, 184 Seiten, broschiert DM 36.-. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1964.

When the first edition of Professor Nyberg's famous book was published, the late W. B. Henning wrote (Göttl. gel. Anz. 1935, Nr. 1) that it from now on would be a pleasure to study Pahlavi. These words still hold good. This manual has been of fundamental importance for the study of Pahlavi and to a wide extent completely guided its course. The new edition, which with Vol. 2 (the glossary) will obtain its total and outstanding value, on several points marks an improvement. The Pahlavi words are, for instance, given now both in transliteration and transcription, but above all the texts have been enlarged, the selections having been made larger (e.g. the Kār-nāmak) and new texts (Ayyātkār-i Zarērān, Artā Virāz-Nāmak, Pahl. Rivāyats, Dēnkart, Dātastān-i dēnīk, Šahristānihā-i Ērān, Vičārišn-i čatrang, the Hājjīābād and Firūzābād inscriptions, 2 Persepolis inscriptions and the Pahlavi Psalm 128) having been added. To the three Kārnāmak editions referred to one might add the apparently rare critical edition by Bahramgore T. Anklesaria (Kār-nāma-î Arjākhshîr-î Pâpakân, Bombay 1935).

One looks forward to the second part of this chief work in Iranian scholarship of this century.

Jes P. Asmussen.

Indo-Iranica. Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire. 195 pp. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1964.

A collection of papers dedicated to Professor Morgenstierne needs no further recommendation. The man who is honoured, answers for quality. Through their versatility the papers are an indication of the range of Professor Morgenstierne's merits in Iranian and Indian studies.

Regarding Iranian studies in most of the languages (Ossetic, Saka, Middle Persian, Parthian, Avestan, Modern Dialects etc.) have been included, but neither religio-historical nor ethnographical contributions are missing. Of great value is the "Bibliographie de G. Morgenstierne" pp. 189–195, compiled by J. Brandrud. The collection has been exemplarily edited by Georges Redard.

Jes P. Asmussen.

John Israel: Student Nationalism in China, 1927–1937.
IX + 253. Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1966.

John Israel attempts to understand the Chinese student movement not only in the context of the past, but for the light it throws on the present.

Slightly more than half a million college and middle school students formed an educated elite among nearly half a billion Chinese. According to the opinion of the author the student movement exerted a disproportionately strong influence on the course of China's history. The educated, sensitive and mobile school population played the part of vox populi.

While the accent from about 1915 through the early 1920's was on liberating the individual from the old order through anti-Confucianism, the family revolution and the literary renaissance, the battleground shifted, through the period recorded by John Israel, from the home to society and the nation.

The history of the Chinese students' movement 1927–1937 is the history of intensification of the outcry against imperialism and warlordism.

The students wanted the government to follow a course of nationalism and anti-imperialism—almost synonymous words when used in reference to the student movement. The Japanese expansion on the Asian continent stimulated the development of Chinese anti-imperialism.

The point of view of the Kuomintang government was that a military confrontation had to be avoided at all costs, because immediate resistance seemed suicidal.

After the Mukden incident—September 1931—the students became bitterly critical of the Nanking regime's policy of compromise toward foreign aggression. The student movement veered steadily to the left. By 1936 the students had become vociferous champions of a united front and an alliance with the communists.

John Israel finds it quite likely that no government—faced with the succession of foreign and domestic crises that plagued the Kuomintang from 1927 to 1949, could have acted to the satisfaction of revolutionary students.

The Chinese Communist Party was fortunate to be out of power during these years. Free to attack the government at its most vulnerable points, alert to the revolutionary potential of the students, and possessing sophisticated techniques for the exploitation of an educated minority, the communists won the allegiance of an impatient generation, of whom five years of education had produced twelve-year-old iconoclasts—another five, rebels of seventeen and five more, revolutionaries of twenty-two.

The subject of students and polities has recently become very important. The book by John Israel may be regarded as a contribution to the investigations made among others by Seymour M. Lipset.

From a Sinological point of view this work is in a more restricted field of research a continuation of Chow Tse-tung's fundamental "The May Fourth Movement—Intellectual revolution in modern China", Cambridge, Mass., 1960.

As a pioneering study it can hardly be overvalued. It is a key-work to the understanding of the Chinese students' organizations, demonstrations, actions and political mentality during this period. Information has been gathered from sources scattered over three continents. The bibliography reveals that published works from both Taiwan and Mainland China have been used by the author.

Personal interviews have been made amongst others with politicians and government officials in Taiwan as a background for the description of events in the chronological record.

We can only complain that there—obviously—has been no chance of carrying out personal interviews with politicians and government officials in the People's Republic of China.

Erik Hansen.

