

BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN/COMPTES RENDUES

NALINI BALBIR: *Āvaśyaka-Studien, Introduction générale et Traductions*. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 45,1. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993.

THOMAS OBERLIES: *Āvaśyaka-Studien, Glossar ausgewählter Wörter zu E. Leumanns "Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen"*. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 45,2. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993.

E. Leumann's booklet *Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* (AKM Band 10 - Nr. 2, Leipzig. 1897) has never received much attention. The reasons for this neglect seem fairly obvious. To begin with, there is the jumble of typographic devices which were introduced in order to combine the different versions of a story into one text. Secondly, no information is given concerning the specific setting and function of a story. Leumann's *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*, which appeared posthumously in 1934, did not make good this omission. Thirdly, the stories were edited without a glossary explaining at least the most obscure Prākṛit words and passages.

Professor Balbir has taken it upon herself to retrieve the Āvaśyaka stories from oblivion and to make them accessible to a wider public. In the first part of *Āvaśyaka-Studien* she describes the literary corpus to which the stories belong, while in the second part Leumann's text is presented, translated and annotated. Dr. Oberlies prepared a glossary of the more difficult and rare Prākṛit words occurring in the stories. This glossary was published in a separate volume.

Among other things, Balbir has gone through Leumann's Nachlass in search of papers relevant to the subject at hand. It is somewhat sad to have to comment on the neglect of *Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen*, seeing, from the conspectus on pp.26-30 and from the extracts published throughout the book, how much work had already been done by Leumann himself.

In the first part of the book (§§1-6) the reader is expertly guided through the highly complex, multi-layered Āvaśyaka corpus. This corpus has previously been described by Leumann (*Übersicht*, 1934) and by Bruhn ("Āvaśyaka Studies I", *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus (Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf)*, 1981, pp.11-49). In the case of Leumann the description had been based entirely on manuscripts. At present, for most of the texts concerned printed editions are available, admittedly of uneven quality, through which Leumann's material could be complemented. Even while the overall picture has changed only in detail, one

cannot but welcome this new survey by Balbir as Leumann's *Übersicht* is highly technical and is aimed at, if only by its presentation, only the most perseverant among the specialists. Bruhn's exposé, on the other hand, is for a considerable part taken up by methodological considerations.

Balbir's survey is lucid and highly informative, and, though in itself the situation of the Āvaśyaka corpus is not unique in Jaina literature, takes little for granted. Its clarity may also in part be due to the fact that the survey is not an end in itself, but was undertaken for the specific purpose of describing the setting of the narrative material it contains.

At the heart of the Āvaśyaka corpus lies the Nirvyukti (ĀvN.), in which the stories are referred to for the first time through key-words. The summary provided by the author (pp.64-75) clearly shows that the ĀvN. is not merely a commentary on the sūtras but an independent, composite text in its own right. As the text of the ĀvN. has so far not been published separately — for convenience sake the version contained in Haribhadra's Ṭikā is treated as the vulgate — the author deserves our gratitude for her thorough study of it, including the presentation, by way of example, of a critical edition of the verses 128-139. Other issues raised in connection with the Nirvyukti are, among other things, the manuscript tradition (in this connection two mss from Berlin and one from Paris are excerpted), the stratification of the ĀvN. (including a brief comparison between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara versions), examples of amplifications in the text, its metre and its exegetical procedures.

The full texts of the stories and legend are found in the various commentaries on the Nijjutti, some of which comment upon the underlying sūtra text as well. As far as the narrative material is concerned, however, the main distinction seems to be between a versified stream, represented by the ViśeṣaĀvaśyakaBhāṣya and its commentaries (Jinabhadra/Koṭyārya, Koṭyācārya (Leumann's Śil[āṅka]) and Hemacandra Maladhārin), and a prose stream, represented by the Cūrṇi, Haribhadra's Ṭikā and Malayagiri's Vṛtti respectively. The versified tradition generally manifests a lesser interest in narratives than the prose tradition.

These commentaries do not form the limit of the Āvaśyaka corpus, but are followed, directly or indirectly, by still later commentaries. From among these the author has singled out Tilakācārya's Laghuvṛtti (thirteenth century) for its fresh and concise handling in Sanskrit of the original Prākṛit stories, including an edition of a relevant selection of the stories from this commentary at the very end of the book.

From §7 onwards the book is more directly concerned with the stories. While the author's aim is in the first place to make accessible the

stories published earlier by Leumann, Balbir's study clearly anticipates a larger project, namely the publication and translation of *all* Āvaśyaka stories. This becomes clear from Annexe 3 (pp.126-195/7), which provides a complete inventory of the narrative material found in this corpus, including such preliminary work as identifying parallel versions.

Before that the author has pointed out the exceptional status of the Āvaśyaka corpus within Jaina literature as far as the number of stories and legends is concerned. The popularity of this particular corpus is shown by the many references elsewhere to it as a whole (*jahā Āvassae*) or to specific chapters (*jahā Sāmāie*), and by the existence of collections of stories borrowed from this corpus (pp.118-124). At the same time the reader is prepared for the laconic, rapid style of the stories. The author also discusses the differences between the treatment of those stories which are known from earlier, canonical, sources: the Cūrṇi "repeats mechanically", resulting in the inclusion of passages in AMg. showing the heavy hieratical prose style; Haribhadra's Ṭikā "modernizes", i.e. removes passages in the pseudo-canonical style; and Malayagiri's Vṛtti presents a mixture of the archaic style and the simple style known from Haribhadra. The ViśādvBh. stands apart as the text is in verse. Among other things, the author also draws attention to indications in the texts which show that the stories were meant to be recited orally by a teacher to a live audience. The terms *vibhāsā* and *carcā* invite the teacher, if he or his listeners so wish, to expand the story with (standard) descriptions.

Part 2 is devoted to the translation of the stories edited earlier by Leumann, except for the texts found on pp.46-8, which are part of the so-called Universal History, and which are anyhow incomplete, breaking off in the middle of a sentence. Leumann's edition, with all its problems of presentation, has been taken as the basis simply because there is no real, more economic alternative. Below Leumann's text are found the variants and other additional text material Balbir has culled from the printed editions which have become available after Leumann. In order not to overburden the variant readings she has refrained from doing so for the BṛhatKalpaBhāṣyaCūrṇi and -Ṭikā.

The translations are introduced by an indication of the point the particular stories is meant to illustrate with reference to the key-words in the Niryukti. (However, not all stories are anticipated in this way.) Next, the texts of the different versions in Leumann's edition are identified (e.g. L 26. 24-33, i.e. p.26, lines 24-33) as well as the corresponding texts in the modern editions. This is followed by bibliographical references (studies, other translations, where available, etc.). The different versions (eg.

Haribhadra and ViśĀvBh.) are translated separately. The translations are faithful, and reference to the Pkt text is easy. The translation is followed by a survey of parallels of the stories, which include written as well as oral (Kota) sources.

The combined efforts of Professor Balbir and Dr. Oberlies have admirably succeeded in opening up the story material originally edited by Leumann. The result is a pioneering work in the field of Jaina narrative literature. Moreover, Balbir has managed to level the difference in style and presentation which has evolved in Jaina studies between studies of scholastic aspects (e.g. Nikṣepa) and those of the "softer" subjects. Her study of the Āvaśyaka corpus could well come to serve as a general introduction to the intricate ways in which exegetical literature absorbs and encapsulates the texts it explains. The usefulness of Oberlies's Glossar is clearly not restricted to the Leumann stories and may be used profitably in connection with other Pkt texts as well.

My previous attempts to go through Leumann's *Erzählungen* have all for various reasons and at various stages run aground. When, below, an interpretation of Balbir or Oberlies of a passage or a word is questioned it is because for the first time I have managed, ably guided, to read on and because for the first time there are interpretations to challenge.

Text and translation

p.268.

Balbir translates *rannā vi viviha-cintaṇa-nāṇ'āsaṅkāe bhīya-hiyaenaṇṇ / pūy'atth'āmalae cciya avarāho se kao dhaṇiyaṇṇ //* (L 13. 18-19) as follows: "Le roi, que toutes sortes de soucis et de doutes inquiétaient, le punit sévèrement: s'était comme du myrobolan utilisé pour un culte". She admits, however, that the expression *pūy'atth'āmalae* is problematic (see n.109). Moreover, the dénouement of this version of the story would be completely opposite to that of the other ones, in which the king is satisfied by the work done by his minister and honours him accordingly (*parituṭṭheṇa saṁvaḍḍhaṇā kayā*, p.266, L 11. 27) . As far as I see, however, the version under consideration can be made to toe the line if we start by translating the word *avarāho* literally, i.e. as "offence". After this the interpretation of the compound cannot be a problem: "The king [realized that] by his suspicions etc. he had seriously offended the minister (*avarāho se kao dhaṇiyaṇṇ*), who in actual fact was as pure as gold (*amalaka*) in matters of honour (*pūjā*) and money (*artha*)."

p.272.

Balbir translates *so ya varise varise cittijjai* (L 14. 12) as "Chaque année, on peignait *son portrait* (my italics)". The version quoted on p.288 *majjio jakkho ... ugghuṭṭho ... dhavalio* (L 13. 40-42) suggests instead that we have to do here with the repainting, yearly, of the idol of the yakṣa (see also Leumann: "Ein Idol des jakkha Surappiya bei Sāeya musste alljährlich frisch bemalt werden", quoted on p.291). The remark on p.289 (n.156), that in the versions of the Cūrṇi and Haribhadra it is not the idol which is bathed but the painter who took a bath, seems a matter of interpretation. It is quite well possible to supply a word for idol to serve as the object to *ṇhāṇettā* in L 14. 33-34 (p.274).

p.276.

Before *khareṇaṃ*, as in *esa khareṇaṃ na sakkai* (L 16. 5), "[Mais] elle ne pouvait [se gagner] Pradyota *par la force*" (see also n.130), is entered once and for all into the dictionaries, we should be absolutely certain that the possibilities of the regular meanings of *khara-* have indeed been exhausted. I doubt if this is the case. For instance: "(The queen, however, [realized that]) he (i.e. Pradyota) is not to be "conquered" by *sharp words* (which would only further upbraid him)". Instead, she starts working on his feelings and dispatches a messenger who is to inform Pradyota about her anxieties concerning the fate of her little son when she is no longer there to take care of him.

p.288.

Balbir translates *tao so te cittagare kharāṇettā* (L 14. 5) as "(Somadeva) fit la leçon au (autres) peintres". Considering that *kharāṇṭei* means "to scold" (see Glossar, p.62, s.v.; related to *kharāḍai* "to smear, dirty"?, CDIAL 3663), Balbir realizes that her translation is ambiguous. In n.160 she queries the possibility that Somadeva is actually instructing the other painters on how in the future to deal with the yakṣa. The following incidents in Somadeva's career, in which, after having been expelled, he shows himself a vicious troublemaker, rather suggest we turn into the opposite direction: arrogant about his own success Somadeva is telling the other painters how stupid they are.

p.318.

Balbir admits that she is quite embarrassed by the term *siṅgiya* in the phrase *baillā siṅgiyā* (L 22. 13-14), which she translates with "Les boeufs ont été sélectionnés". The idea would be that the buffaloes had been marked for sale by placing something between their horns (*siṅgiya* = *śr ṅgita*). In support of this interpretation she refers, in n.187, to the text

on p.370: *teṇa tīse siṅge khapūlao baddho ... vikkiṇāmi tti* (L 33. 24), which passages, in its turn, would correspond to *teṇa sā taṇassa ṭha-veūṇaṃ go-saṅghāe pae ceva uvaṭṭhaviyā*, quoted on p.368 (L 33. 39-40). However, a closer look at the last two passages shows that they have nothing to do with the situation described in the first one. The situation in the last two passages is quite clear: a man tries to sell a cow which is no longer of any use to him as it has become too weak to stand up (*avikala* referred to on p.369, n.205, is simply *a-vikala* "not crippled"). If it does not stand, he cannot sell it. He nevertheless manages to make it stand up by tying fodder (*khapūlao*) between the horns. In its attempt to eat the animal will raise itself on its feet. The text of the version quoted on p.368 is highly elliptical, but clearly has to be understood in the same way: "He made it stand up [with the help] of grass, and brought it, while it walked on its own feet (*pae ceva*, rather than "the next morning"), to a *go-saṅgha*.

It will be clear that for the meaning of *siṅgiya* we are thrown back entirely on the first passage (p.318, L 22. 13-14) and the parallel versions (p.320, L 22. 27-28: *esa baille siṅgei ... kaham ee siṅgesi na tṭhāsinti*, and L 22. 38: *halā ajja mama ime baillā addha-siṅgiyā āsi*).

The only possibility I can conceive for the moment is to connect this verb with the word *siṅga* mentioned in *Deśn̄*. VIII 28 as a synonym of *kr̥śa* "weak, meagre" (see CDIAL 13387. I am not certain if *siṅgaya* mentioned in *Deśn̄*. VIII 31 "*taruṇa*" is ultimately related as well). The fact that the "buffaloes are exhausted" (*baillā siṅgiyā*, p.318, L 22. 13-14) seems anticipated by the reply the deaf man had given earlier to the travellers asking him which way to go: *ghara-jāyagā majjha ee baillā*, "These buffaloes are my slaves (*gṛha-jāta*-, 'with which I may therefore do what I want')". Malayagiri's versions, transcribed on p.318, is to be understood similarly.

The first part of the story as transmitted in BKBhC and -Ṭ, and Koṭ (p.320) seems to take a completely different turn, which would go back to a misunderstanding of the meaning of *ghara-jāyaga*. The deaf man leaves with his buffaloes to plough the fields. However, the animals are already completely exhausted when they arrive there: *mama ime baillā addha-siṅgiyā āsi* (L 22. 38), "My buffaloes here were already exhausted from the road (*adhvan*)" (*āsi*, "were"; he reports this to his wife much later, after the incident with the wayfarer). It is not made clear how the farmer dealt with this problem; the text is elliptical on this point. (Did he draw the plough himself?) When he is subsequently addressed by a wayfarer asking for directions, he thinks this person is telling him to drive the animals harder: "He thinks: this man wishes (me) to exhaust the buffaloes. There-

upon he says: scoundrel, these buffaloes are *mama ghare jāyagā* (have been born in my own house and are like children to me), how can you wish (me) to exhaust them, they will not even be able to stand properly" (*iyaro cintei: esa baille siṅgei, tāhe bhaṇai: are mama ghare jāyagā baillā, kaham ee siṅgesi? na ṭṭhāsinti*).

p.324.

The phrase *ūsam* (v.1. *khāro*) *ca/ya paḍau* (L 23. 23 and 24. 2 (*ūso*); see also *khāro paḍau*, p.330, L 25. 27) has been translated as "Puisse la potasse faire effet!" In the first occurrence "Till Eulenspiegel" is advised what to say when he again happens to meet washermen, but, true to his role, he mindlessly repeats his lesson to farmers who are sowing. This stupidity earns him a sound beating.

For information concerning the specific meaning assigned to *paḍau* here we look in vain in the Glossar, p.105, s.v. *paḍau* to which we are referred (n.192). We clearly have a problem here, as the range of meanings of *patati* and its derivatives is actually very small. All meanings are directly related to the concrete meaning "to fall". "To fall to one's share" and "to fall from one's caste" are basically context-determined translations. In fact, in the second occurrence one would have expected to find a locative *ūse*: "May the seed fall on alkaline soil!" The effect of this is proverbial; see e.g. Rām. 2, 17, 31d: *sunisphalam bḥam ivoptam ūṣare*, and MBh. 13, 90, 37 *yathoṣare bḥam uptam na rohet* (Brockington, IT VII, 1, 1979, p.142). In the first occurrence this *ūse* would function as a nominative (AMg., ending in -e): "May potash fall (to your share easily)". Note in this connection that *ūsa* is apparently not found easily but has to be brought to the surface: *ūsakhaṇḍam nāma yattha kassako kismici padese naṅgalena bhūmiṃ cattāro pañca vāre kasanto atigambhīraṃ karoti tato ūsam uppajjati* (PS I 154, 20-22, quoted in CPD II, pp.572, s.v. *ūsa*).

p.332.

Following the printed editions Balbir suggests to emend *gula-* in *gayaṇ'aṅgaṇe gula-visāle* (L 26. 2) into *guṇa-* (see n.196), and translates "au firmament excellent". However, *gula-* would stand here for *guḍa-* "globe, ball", which here refers to the globular, egg-shaped form of the sky.

p.332.

sāhu-purisehi saddhiṃ nigghaṭṭaṃ kīramāṇaṃ (L 26. 8) has been translated as "(Il vit qu') un rapprochement se faisait grâce à l'entremise de gens bien intentionnés". This translation involves the ad hoc meaning "rapprochement" ("close connection", Glossar, p.96, s.v.) for the otherwise rare word

nigghaṭṭa. The word has been tentatively connected with *nirghaṭa*, "dicht-gefüllter Marktplatz". By way of alternative I venture to suggest a connection with the verb *ghaṭṭayati*, as found in *Bālacarita* I 4 cd, *ahaṃ hi vedādhyayanāntareṣu tantrīś ca vairāṇi ca ghaṭṭayāmi*. (The passage and its relationship to HV 46, 30 cd: *ghaṭayāno* [v.l. *ghaṭṭayāno*] *narendrāṇāṃ tantrīvairāṇi caiva ha*, are discussed by A. Couture in BEI 10 1992 (1994), p.117). For *nigghaṭṭa* this suggests a meaning "[a state] in which all situations which might lead (again) to hostilities have been removed". In this connection I would also like to draw attention to the variant reading *kīramāṇiṃ* found in Koṭyācārya's commentary (Tatia and Ratlam). This variant seems to reflect an original reading *saṃdhiṃ* (for fem. *saṃdhi*, see, e.g., Jacobi *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p.39, l. 34): "(He saw that) a peace treaty was being made ... by [the intervention of] good men". *nigghaṭṭaṃ*, then, functions as an adjective to *saṃdhiṃ* and stresses the thoroughness of the efforts to establish peace. All these efforts, however, are wasted the very moment that the blunderer Till Eulenspiegel enters upon the scene!

p.340.

appasāriyaṃ in *gharaṃ appasāriyam* (v.l. *appasāgariyam*) *atī* (L 27. 45, cf. p.342), "Il pénètre discrètement chez lui", is almost certainly a syncope form of *appasāgāriyaṃ* (see Glossar, pp.21-2, s.v.; see also p.52, n.72, where Balbir mentions an instance of this syncope in progress). While the meaning of *sāgāriya* (from *svāgāra*) has been fairly well established ("the duties of the householder" see, e.g., R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, p 210, W. Schübring, *Ācārāṅga*, Glossar, p.106, s.v. "*mehuṇa*", showing that the duties are of a sexual nature), the word *appasā(gā)riya* has produced considerable embarrassment. This embarrassment is mainly caused by the current interpretation of *appa*, which is equated with Skt *alpa*. This, incidentally, led to the isolation of a word *sāgāriya* meaning "(männliches oder weibliches) Wesen" (see n.17 on p.21 of the Glossar), which has obviously been extrapolated from *appasāgāriya* taken as referring to a place in which such beings are few (*alpa*) in number. It is this latter meaning which has been assigned to our word *appasāriyaṃ*: "privately, secretly" (see Glossar, where the word is derived from a non-existent *a-prasārika*). As far as I see, however, *appa* in *appasā(gā)riya* has nothing to do with *alpa* but represents *ātma*. *appasā(gā)riya* would mean "a place where one may stay as if it is one's own house". The compound may be compared with *sattāgāra*, which is usually translated as "lodgings", in which *sva* and *ātma* (*atta*) have changed places.

Unfortunately, I am unable to check this meaning as most of the texts in which the instances quoted by Oberlies were found are not available to me. One exception is DaśavC. 50-1. The passage concerned describes three tests to which Śreṇika is subjected by a god who questioned the praise Indra showered on this king. In the second test the god assumed the form of a *pāhaḍitīyāsamjātī* and in this form appeared before Śreṇika. Not all words in the text are clear and this applies in particular to *pāhaḍitīyā*. The editor glosses the word with *garbhiṇī* "pregnant", but this is clearly merely a guess; cf. his gloss for *ṇikketiḍḍamī* (from *niṣketa*), "*prasuvatyā*"! The text proceeds as follows: *taṁ ovvarae paveseūṇaṁ ṇikketiḍḍamī appasāgāriyanimittam sayam ceṭṭhati*, "He allowed her to enter his harem (*ovvarae*, cf. Skt *urvarī* and Pāli *ubbarī*) and in this way he personally provided that woman, who was without a house, with a place where she could stay as if it were her own house". Returning to the passage under consideration, *gharaṁ appasāriyam atṭi*, we should remember that the subject of the sentence is a thief coming home: "he sneaked into his house, [not, as the sneaking, might suggest, another man's house but] his very own".

p.334.

It is not clear to me why *tāe sā(b)hinnāṇaṁ pattiyaṁ* (L 26. 30), "Sa femme lui redonna confiance en portant à sa connaissance [la vérité]", has not been translated regularly as "She convinced him by showing tokens of recognition" (teethmarks etc., proving to him that she was the same woman as the one he had made love to the night before)?

p.404.

puṭṭhā vi ṇa duddha-yā vajjhā (Viśesh. I 1457), "Même si elle est bien nourrie, une vache stérile ne donne pas de lait". Balbir derives *puṭṭha* from *puṣṭa*, not from *sprṣṭa*, as is done in the commentaries (see n.279). Though this is not explicitly said, the argument will have been that *sprṣṭa* would regularly have become *phuṭṭha* (see WZKS 31, 1987, p.201). However, the reality is different: as far as the canon is concerned, the regular form is *puṭṭha* (e.g. *Ācārāṅga* [Schübring], p.4. 10).

p.424.

Balbir translates *maṇḍī* in *maṇḍīe duddham* (L 42. 20 and 43. 5) as "pot": "[Soit] du lait qu'on a mis dans un pot" (see also Glossar, p.130, s.v.). The cat turns over the pot with its paw and most of the milk is spilled in the attempt to drink it. The hedgehog, however, drinks carefully from the sides (*pāsāṇi samlihai*) and not a drop is wasted. While *maṇḍī* is not found in Skt, there is, given the situation in NIA described in CDIAL 9735, no

compelling reason to regard it as anything else than a synonym of *maṇḍa*. It would appear that *maṇḍa* could denote the cream of the milk as well as the watery part (cf. *dadhi-maṇḍa*) or the foam or froth floating on top of the milk. *maṇḍe duddham* could by way of alternative be translated with "milk floating in whey" or with "milk in the midst of/covered with froth". The latter interpretation, "milk covered with froth", explains why the method of the hedgehog is so successful: it starts drinking from the side where the froth is thin and the milk is easily reached. Drinkers of beer will immediately understand what is meant. The cat starts in the middle, trying to remove the froth with its paw, as a result of which the milk becomes dirty and a lot of it is spilled. *tatth'eva* in *tatth'eva na pibai* (L 42. 20) would consequently not mean "in there, i.e. in the pot" but "under these circumstances" or "there and then".

p.436.

kuṭṭei in *mā evaṃ kuṭṭehi* (L 45. 4) and ... *ālavae ... annahā kuṭṭento* (L 45. 25) has been derived from *kīrtayati* (see Glossar, p.57, s.v.) and translated with "to recite". It is not clear to me why the possibilities of the verb *kuṭṭayati* "to crush, to cut into small pieces, etc." have not been further explored here, especially as elsewhere we come accross *evaṃ jo sīso ālāvagaṃ viccāmelento* ("making a mess of it") *āyariehiṃ bhaṇio* (L 44. 24-25).

Glossar

The glossary contains a selection of only the more difficult and rarer words occurring in the stories. This involves an obvious risk as probably every reader would require his or her own dictionary. Thus, I have been unable to trace *cunniya* "nose ring" (p.336) and *saṃpāṇa* "liquid" (p.414, L 41. 46). What is more, the glossary is restricted to the text of Leumann's edition and does not include the passages of texts and the variants supplied in addition by Balbir. This explains why, for instance, *cunniya* is not included. The same fate was suffered by *vaccāmelei* referred to below. However, this is only a slight inconvenience and it is amply compensated by the wealth of information provided with each item which is included. This information covers derivations, references to the relevant secondary literature and references to occurrences of the words in other texts. Below a few remarks mainly concerning technical points.

The reader who reads the stories from beginning to end would benefit from a separate item *niddhāḍei* (p.248, L 9. 37) beside *dhāḍei* which occurs only on p.258 (L 12. 19). The same applies to *vaccāmelei* (p.434,

additional text edited for the first time by Balbir) beside *viccāmelei* which occurs only on p.438 (L. 44. 25). As already noted in the case of *paḍau* the connection between the translation and the glossary is not always perfect. Sometimes it is a matter of different interpretations. A case in point concerns the phrase *ṭhāiūṇaṃ vibhāe* (p.332, L 26. 15), which Balbir translates with "en aparté ... *en se couvrant* [la bouche]" (i.e. *ṭhāiūṇaṃ* from *sthaḡayati*), while Oberlies derives *ṭhāiūṇaṃ* from *sthā/ṭhāi* (see p.81, s.v. *ṭhāi*): *ṭhāiūṇaṃ vibhāe* [vgl. skt. *vibhāgena* "abgesondert"] "an [jmds] Seite stehend". More problematic is the case of *paḍiṇiyayāe* (p.338, L 27. 37 and p.342), which word Oberlies derives from *prati-anīka* "hostile" (p.105), but which Balbir translates, without any explanation as to its derivation, with "sollicité". At *vara-dinna(ga)* (p.144) a reference to *saṃgāra-dinnaya* (p.156) might have been helpful. Note 180 on p.162, in which it has been suggested to derive *sāravei* from *sāramaya* had better be deleted as the supposed development of *-m-* to *-v-* is generally conditioned by the presence of another nasal (see O. von Hinüber, *Übersicht* §§210-1 and in particular Brough GDhP §36 quoted there).

Herman Ticken

WALTER BISANG: *Das Verb im Chinesischen, Hmong, Vietnamesischen, Thai und Khmer. Vergleichende Grammatik im Rahmen der Verbserialisierung, der Grammatikalisierung und der Attraktorpositionen*. Language Universals Series. Edited by Hansjakob Seiler. Volume 7. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992. x, 524 pp.

Linguistic research in East Asian languages is still a neglected field in German speaking countries, the scarcity of comparative studies on them is even more obvious. Against this background the voluminous work under discussion promises to be recognized sooner or later not only as a landmark for research in this area, but also as an important international contribution to better understanding of the structure and historical development of a wide range of languages in East Asia, more or less related to the five languages analyzed here. This work might also promote the discussion of language universals in connection with verb serialization. In any case it is worthwhile and necessary to introduce it to a wider interested public within and also outside Europe, especially since it is written in German as it was accepted as a doctoral thesis at the University of Zürich in 1990/91.

The author has chosen these five languages because he has had the chance during his academic career to study and partly practise them and, at

the same time, to do intensive research on their historical development. The wide range of specialized references found in the bibliography and in the relevant chapters is indeed impressive. It gives evidence of the author's unremitting ability to collect, analyze and select almost all essential data over years. He proves himself not only to have been thoroughly acquainted with the present structures and usages of these five languages, but also with the earlier stages and the main connections and tendencies during the evolution of certain phenomena in each one of them. As an expert in comparative linguistics, he does not hesitate to present his own hypothesis and frank speculation on how lexico-grammatical and functional relations might have developed in earlier history. In this way and considering the overall view this tremendous work has adopted and in spite of the very detailed analysis and exemplification in all important cases, it conveys an impression which contrasts refreshingly with the narrowly viewed and laboured works typically found in the tradition of each single philology.

The reason for choosing this object of research is, in the author's own words, his discovery of "the ease and frequency by which verbs or verbal phrases in languages like Chinese, Hmong, Vietnamese, Thai and Khmer can be positioned next to each other" (p. 1). The verb serialization is described as an essential part of the typology of these languages which in fact are distributed among the three different language groups of Sino-Tibetan (Chinese), Austro-Tai (Thai and Hmong, - Nevertheless, there is some doubt to be cast on the classification of Hmong which belongs to the Miao-Yao languages) and Austro-Asiatic (Vietnamese and Khmer, belonging to the Mon-Khmer branch). The surprising fact that these five languages all display similar structural functions is explained by their cultural and linguistic contact with each other over many centuries. According to their individual characteristics the author distinguishes a northern group, represented by Chinese, and a southern group represented by Vietnamese, Thai and Khmer. Hmong takes up a position in between, according to its geographic distribution.

The main part of the book presents a great variety of verb serialization in surface structure considered separately in each language in order to work out the main types of verb sequences and to discover the linguistic forces by which they are built up as well as their mutual relationships, and, finally, to track down the motivation and communicative value of verb serialization. This last aspect is the strong point of the study, the author has succeeded in working out the general functional relationships rather than purely listing typological patterns. Especially in Chinese where enough written material is available since the early stages of the language, the

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