

# REVIEWS

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## THE ANCIENT WORLD

JEAN BOTTÉRO (with contributions from ANDRÉ FINET, BERTRAND LAFONT and GEORGES ROUX):  
*Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*. (Translated by Antonia Nevill.)  
xii, 276 pp. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001. £45.

This little book is not what its title purports it to be. It is not in any sense a balanced presentation of everyday life in mankind's oldest literate civilization; instead it is a compilation of articles culled from various recent issues of *L'histoire*, a historical magazine published in France. All touch to a greater or lesser extent on that life. They are written for the most part by acknowledged masters of Assyriology and underpinned by decades of scholarly engagement with the enormous and intractable mass of cuneiform texts (the word used is 'dossier') that permit an intimate insight into all aspects of human activity that is unrivalled in the study of ancient civilizations.

Georges Roux begins with two perplexing matters of prehistory, the questions of where the first settlers of Mesopotamia came from (Chapter 1: 'Did the Sumerians emerge from the sea?') and of what actually took place in the extraordinary mass graves ('death-pits') excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley (Chapter 2: 'The great enigma of the cemetery at Ur'). Both questions remain unanswered. Jean Bottéro takes over with two subjects of universal interest, food and love, on both of which he has written extensively over the course of a long and distinguished academic career (Chapter 3: 'The oldest cuisine in the world', Chapter 4: 'The oldest feast', Chapter 6: 'Love and sex in Babylon'). The second of these touches on an important feature of Mesopotamian mythology, that the gods often make decisions when drunk. But the point is not elaborated, though the theological implication is a serious one: that many of the faults in the world can be blamed on a less than sober divine assembly. Sandwiched between cooking, eating and loving is wine, another favourite topic, written up by André Finet (Chapter 5: 'An ancient vintage'). Beer was a staple in ancient Mesopotamia but sophisticated people developed a taste for wine and other imported liquor.

The place and role of women are still fashionable topics. Jean Bottéro's study of feminist issues in a culture where women generally were owned by men (Chapter 7: 'Women's rights') appears in tandem with André Finet's chapter on some very up-market chattels, a royal harem of the early second millennium BC (Chapter 8: 'The women of the palace at Mari'). Appended to these is Georges Roux's investigation of an unusual Mesopotamian queen who, by virtue of wielding real power as her son's regent, became in Graeco-Roman antiquity the vehicle of a fascinating legend (Chapter 9: 'Semiramis: the builder of Babylon').

The rest of the book deals with intellectual topics. Ancient techniques for the treatment of disease and other physical and mental disorders, and the rationales that informed them, practical and theological, are analysed by Jean Bottéro (Chapter 10: 'Magic and medicine'). The same writer next gives an

account of astral divination in a culture where it had a much more serious place than it does today, as well as a more rigorous and sophisticated methodology (Chapter 11: 'The birth of astrology'). We get a glimpse of Mesopotamian legal practice and theory from Bertrand Lafont, who focuses on trial by ordeal, mainly using the evidence from Mari (Chapter 12: 'The ordeal').

The last three chapters are by Bottéro. Two look at the most well-known mythological and epic narratives of the Babylonian scribal tradition, which between them define the nature of humankind and its place in the great scheme of things (Chapter 13: 'The first account of the Flood'; Chapter 14: 'The epic of Gilgamesh'). The last examines the religious doctrine of 'sin', which is viewed as a characteristic legacy of the Semitic peoples of Mesopotamia and Israel (Chapter 15: 'How sin was born'). All three remind us of the large part played by the peoples of ancient Mesopotamia, and the ancient Near East generally, in the early history of literature, philosophy and religion. Their achievements underpin many more modern developments in these quintessential areas of human intellectual and spiritual life.

In general the authors have been well served by their translator, Antonia Nevill. The book reads easily as an English text. Only rarely do 'false friends' intrude. I noted 'royalty' for 'kingship' (p. 11), 'reconstituted' for 'reconstructed' (p. 33, n. 3). The standard of editing is not as high. Not all personal names and terminology have been anglicized: King Shalmaneser appears as 'Salmanasar' (p. 160), the Hurrian language as 'Hurrite' (p. 234). French spellings of Khafaje and Nişir, 'Khafage, Niçir', mar the map of the Near East on p. xii, as does the error 'Kizilirmark' for Kizilirmak. The error-strewn maps of Ur reproduced on pp. 27 and 29 are more seriously misleading. The various captions speak of 'Narna', 'Lassa', 'Gisparu', 'Lugalspada' and 'Meskalandug' instead of Nanna, Larsa, Giparu, Lugalsapada and Meskalamdug. The mansion of the royal priestess En-ningaldi-Nanna is labelled 'Pala bel Shalti Nanna', compounding the haplography with a long-obsolete reading of the lady's name.

There is an advantage to this kind of book. Like any other kind of journalism, academic journalism must necessarily present a fascinating picture; a commercial magazine has no use for articles on the mundane or impossibly abstruse. What this book offers, then, is a series of well-written chapters on a selection of the most absorbing, intriguing or otherwise appealing topics in ancient Mesopotamian history. The result is no textbook for those seeking information on the social and economic life of one of the great ancient civilizations, but the volume is lively and interesting and will be read with profit and enjoyment by undergraduate and general reader alike.

A. R. GEORGE

HANS HIRSCH:

*Gilgamesch-Epos und Erra-Lied: zu einem Aspekt des Verbalsystems.* iv, 257 pp. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2002. €62.

With this book Hirsch continues his enquiry into the use of the Akkadian 'ventive' or 'allative' verbal suffixes in Babylonian poetry. In a preliminary paper 'Die Heimkehr des Gilgamesch' in *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (Fs Bilgiç,

Ankara, 1997) 173–90, Hirsch argued that in the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh epic ventive endings on a selected set of verbs are to be taken seriously, as intentional and meaningful. The new publication widens the field to include all verbs in Gilgamesh and, for comparison, the poem of Erra.

The book opens with a detailed and commendably forthright critical history of philological and linguistic scholarship on the Akkadian ventive, and finds that little progress has been made since Landsberger's pioneering study of 1923. Landsberger's main achievement was to identify the endings in question as expressing a terminative notion, in respect of either the speaker (or writer) or another party, for which he coined the term 'ventive'. But faced with cases of verbs where no motion could be explicit or implicit, he also introduced the idea that in literary language such suffixes might have been used for stylistic or metrical reasons, rather than semantic. It is mainly this proposal that Hirsch is interested in testing.

There follow 232 pages of raw data, beginning with those verbs already treated in Fs Bilgiç and continuing with the remainder. For each verb full quotations are given of contexts from Gilgamesh and Erra, followed by a selection cited from the standard Akkadian dictionaries, chiefly the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and, to a lesser extent, the *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Verbal forms with the ventive endings are described as 'full' (*voll*), those without as 'empty' (*leer*).

In a small minority of instances the assignment of a form to one or other category is not completely assured, usually for one of two reasons. First, in late spelling what appears to be a ventive ending *-a* can be explained alternatively as the infamous 'overhanging vowel', where the sequence of signs CV-CV, ostensibly a bisyllable, actually stands for the monosyllable CVC, especially CVC̄. Accordingly it is not possible to establish beyond all doubt that when a Neo-Assyrian scribe writes for example *uš-ka-na* (p. 238) he intends the ventive *uškanna* rather than plain *uškân*. Second, in the first millennium the ventive ending *-a* was itself sometimes written *-u*, introducing a risk of confusion with subjunctive *-u* and the plural marker *-ū*. Hirsch gives little attention to these problems of analysis. I also missed a real awareness of the potential of the written tradition for contradiction. Where multiple manuscripts exist it is disconcerting sometimes to find that one textual witness advocates a full form, while another hands down an empty form (in Gilg. I, VI and XI, the best-preserved tablets of Gilgamesh, there are sixteen instances of verbs where the extant manuscripts disagree on the presence/absence of the ventive suffix). A question is begged: is this variation in style or in meaning? These are minor irritations, however, for the volume of data Hirsch collects is sufficient to discount as statistically insignificant the uncertainties arising from them.

Essentially these pages of data are notes: they do not construct an argument but present the evidence in the form of a scrapbook of examples interspersed with editorial asides and criticism of both dictionaries' arbitrary treatment of the evidence, particularly their failure rigorously to separate full and empty forms. Occasionally there are more constructive comments, giving an indication of Hirsch's growing conviction that in verbs where no motion is explicit, full forms can be used for emphasis. A single page of conclusion hardens his view and sets out very briefly his conclusions: (a) that with verbs that express motion full forms are never synonymous with empty; and (b) that with verbs where motion is not always a distinguishing feature, a full form can express emphasis, particularly emotional force. The second conclusion rests essentially on subjective understanding and is difficult to prove without a living informant. Hirsch also summarizes here a more general finding:

Gilgamesh and Erra exhibit full vs empty forms of a given verb no differently from other texts cited in the dictionaries, many of which are prose. For Hirsch this pattern of distribution upholds his view that the difference between full and empty is a matter more of meaning than of poetic style.

The present book is a very welcome addition to the literature on the Akkadian ventive. It does not settle the question definitively but it does emphatically remind linguists and philologists that there is a question.

A. R. GEORGE

PIERRE BRIANT:

*From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire.*

xx, 1,196 pp. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002. \$69.50.

This is a superb book that everybody who is seriously interested in Achaemenid Persia will want to own and to have on hand for frequent reference. The author is professor of Achaemenid and Alexander studies at the Collège de France in Paris. He is already well established as the doyen of Achaemenid studies and in addition to writing a number of books on the Persian empire and Alexander he has recently masterminded the creation of a website devoted to Achaemenid studies ([achemenet.com](http://achemenet.com)). This website makes accessible a large number of Achaemenid period objects in museums around the world. He also organized, in November 2003, a major international conference in Paris on the archaeology of the Achaemenid empire, and two further conferences on different aspects of Achaemenid studies are scheduled for 2004 and 2005. The present volume first appeared in French in 1996 under the title *Histoire de l'Empire Perse* (the French edition was reviewed by A.D.H. Bivar in *BSOAS* 60 (1997), pp. 347–9) and the publisher—Eisenbrauns—and the translator—Peter T. Daniels—are to be congratulated on making it available in English. Other histories of the Achaemenid period pale into insignificance when compared with this monumental work which runs to 1,196 pages. The treatment is essentially chronological and traces the history of the Achaemenid period from the accession of Cyrus in 550 BC down to the defeat of Darius III by Alexander in 330 BC. At appropriate places in the narrative there are sections on administration, the Persian economy, the communications network, the army, subject peoples and so on.

The strength of the book lies in Briant's command of the Near Eastern and Classical historical sources. Given Briant's background as a historian, it is entirely appropriate that the volume is described as a 'history' of the Achaemenid empire. However, it is often difficult to distinguish between history and archaeology or material culture, so it is inevitable that a certain amount of archaeological material is also included. On the whole the treatment of this archaeological evidence is good—many of the discussions are particularly valuable, such as those on the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, the unfinished tomb and other buildings at Takht-i Rostam, and the foundation and significance of Persepolis—but there are some gaps. For example, although there is a drawing (unidentified) of an Oxus Treasure gold bracelet in fig. 43 on p. 46, and there are a few references to Oxus Treasure objects (on pp. 215, 254 and 501), there is no discussion in the main text about the Oxus Treasure, arguably the finest hoard of gold and silver objects to have survived from the Achaemenid period. In the research notes (p. 1025), Briant seems to accept without question Pichikiyan's controversial assertion that the

Treasure comes from Takht-i Sangin, as opposed to the nearby site of Takht-i Kavād as suggested by nineteenth-century English and Russian sources (see now, on the provenance of the Oxus Treasure, M. Caygill and J. Cherry (eds), *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*, London, 1997, pp. 230–49). Then, although there are drawings of both the Eshmunazar sarcophagus and the Alexander sarcophagus, and references to them in the text (pp. 209, 490, 503, 608, 912, 952), he nowhere discusses the cemetery now in the suburbs of Sidon from which they come. All he says of the Eshmunazar sarcophagus (p. 952) is ‘on the date and the circumstance of the allocation to Sidon, see Kelly 1987...’. Nor is there any mention of the impressive sanctuary of Eshmun on the outskirts of Sidon, which is one of the best examples of an Achaemenid stone building outside Iran.

On the grounds that such a valuable book will surely be reprinted and updated from time to time, it may be useful (and the author of this review hopes he will be forgiven for doing so) to draw the attention of the author and publisher to a few areas where modifications might be considered. The references or footnotes are presented in 174 pages of ‘Research notes’ at the back of the volume which are gathered in sections following the order of the main text. They are not further linked to the text, which makes them difficult to use. It is also difficult to find out more about the illustrations. For example, the information that the Cypriot-Phoenician bowl illustrated in fig. 50c comes from Praeneste in Italy is buried in the notes on p. 983. The overall quality of the illustrations, which are all in the form of line-drawings, is regrettably poor. This criticism also extends to the maps. The translation on the whole is excellent, although there are a few slips—e.g. gold ‘plate’ for gold ‘plaque’ on p. 501, and Oxus ‘Treasury’ for Oxus ‘Treasure’ throughout (on pp. 215, 254, 501, 954, 1025). These are minor blemishes, however, and do little to detract from what is a magnificent achievement.

JOHN CURTIS

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## THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

STEFAN HEIDEMANN and ANDREA BECKER:

*Raqqa II: die islamische Stadt.*

vii, 318 pp., 60 plates. 3 fold-out maps. Mainz-am-Rhein: Philipp von Zabern for Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 2003.

This second volume, of a projected five, of the report by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, covers the historical evidence relating to the site of al-Raqqa. Situated in Syria on the east bank of the Euphrates, the complex lies close to its confluence with the eastern tributary, the Balikh. Originally the Seleucid foundation of Callinicum, the city maintained importance as a Byzantine frontier stronghold, being restored and briefly renamed Leontopolis under Leo I (AD 457–474) in 465–66. Its history after the Arab conquest is comprehensively surveyed by Heidemann (pp. 9–56). The Arabic name, al-Raqqa ‘The floodplain’ referred not only to this foundation, but also to a smaller settlement further downstream, and possibly, according to Herzfeld and M. Hasūn, on the Euphrates’ west bank, whence, in Umayyad poetry, the designation *al-Raqqatān* ‘The Two Raqqas’. They were distinguished as the ‘White Raqqa’ (*al-Raqqa al-Baiḍa*) for the celebrated city, and the ‘Black Raqqa’ (*al-Raqqa*

*al-Sawdā'*) for the more obscure one. After the battle of Siffin, the fallen from 'Alī's army were brought to Raqqa for burial (pp. 19–20), their graves remaining to the present day a place of Shiite pilgrimage. With the advent of the Abbasids, the site again acquired strategic importance. Even as early as 135/752–53, as governor-in-chief under his brother al-Saffāh, the future Caliph al-Manṣūr, began to build, west of the old city, a new town for the accommodation of his Khurasan soldiery, to be known as al-Rāfiqa 'The companion (city)'. Reportedly, Persian was long spoken by their descendants in the area. After al-Manṣūr's accession to the Caliphate in 136/754 he sent his successor al-Mahdī to Raqqa to supervise the construction. The massive horse-shoe-shaped circumvallations were built on the scale of those at Baghdad, and possibly employing the great teams of architects and builders who had completed most of that project by 149/766. This stronghold was to provide not only a base for the control of restlessness among Umayyad sympathizers in Syria and the Jazīra, but a headquarters for operations on the Byzantine border, already utilized in turn by al-Manṣūr, and again by al-Rashīd as crown prince. In the popular mind, Hārūn al-Rashīd, at the zenith of the Abbasid Caliphate, is inseparably associated with Baghdad. Yet he spent twelve years (180/796–97 to 192/807–08) of his twenty-three year reign (170/786 to 193/809) at al-Rāfiqa, with brief interruptions. It was here that the notorious arrest and execution of the minister Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī took place and where his tomb is reported to have stood, though the attempts of visiting scholars to identify it seem to have been unsuccessful.

Two substantial chapters deal with the inscriptions and the coins found at the site. The single Byzantine Greek epitaph of Nonnos and Raphtha (sixth–seventh century AD) is discussed by Thomas Weber (p. 97), and reflects the Christian heritage of the region. The quite numerous Arabic inscriptions are conscientiously studied, many being the modest, and often broken, gravestones of private individuals, from around the saintly burials outside the city. A tantalizing fragment of superb floriated Kūfī (Insc. no. 27) reads possibly ... *qāmi' al-ku[farā] ...* (rather than *al-kā[farīn]*) 'subjugator of the infidels', from some seventh/thirteenth-century royal protocol. Here (pl. 27.2) as in possibly one or two other cases, there is a numbering discrepancy between the plate caption and the photo—no problem, of course, to the Arabist readers of this material. The most substantial inscription (no. 35; pl. 32) records the restoration of the congregational mosque of al-Rāfiqa by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (541/1146–569/1174). The text, on four rows of squarish terracotta plaques, is illustrated *in situ* and substantially intact from an old photograph, but only five plaques are said to remain at present. Inevitably, quality of reproduction is uneven in these illustrations taken from old sources, as in several other cases where the originals are no longer accessible. It is disappointing, perhaps, that there are no monumental inscriptions from the Abbasid palaces beyond the circumvallations to the north, today largely built-up with modern housing. However, an unglazed pottery bowl from this area (Palace A) bears a simple Kūfī inscription naming 'the Amīr Sulaimān, son of the Commander of the Faithful', and a potter 'Ibrahīm the Christian'. This Sulaimān was a son of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, who besides other governorships was reported by al-Sūlī to have governed al-Raqqa, probably including al-Rāfiqa (pp. 33–4), under al-Rashīd and his successor al-Ma'mūn. Also, unexpectedly in this Arabic-speaking region, there is reported (pp. 110–11) an Ottoman Turkish verse inscription of 1094/1683, mentioning the unfortunate besieger of Vienna, Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha, and one Faḍl Allāh Pasha, provincial governor (*mīr livā*), apparently officials authorizing the (re)construction here of a fort.

The numismatic section of the report is very substantial. A first chapter examines the coinage of al-Raḡqa and al-Rāfiqa in their historical context. There were no confirmed Umayyad issues, and the series for al-Rāfiqa begins with an isolated issue of coppers (*fulūs*) under al-Rashīd, naming the governor Ibrahīm b. Šāliḥ, in 172/788–89. In 180/796–97 al-Rashīd made the twin city his residence, and in the following year a copious copper issue was resumed, both from al-Rāfiqa and al-Raḡqa, naming the Caliph and the executive (*‘alā yaday*) ‘Isa b. Ābān. The latter series are distinguished by the border of annulets on a linear circle. Coinage of precious metals for al-Rāfiqa began in 183/799–800 with an exceptional dirham issue naming the prince al-Ma’mūn, but was only resumed in 188/803–04, with a series distinguished by a dot beneath the reverse legend. From 190/805–06 there begins a new sequence with the character *rā’* beneath the reverse, which the author ascribes to an official connected with these issues. Abbasid gold in this period does not carry any mint-name, but the scarce dinars of 190/805–06 to 192/807–08 displaying this character are consequently ascribed to al-Rāfiqa. Although the character appears sporadically on dirhams of other mints, e.g. al-Baṣra 166 h., Kirmān 165–66 h., and an unidentified Iraq mint in 199 h. (perhaps illustrating other stages of the official’s career), the author maintains that Abbasid gold was issued only at Caliphal residences, so substantiating the attribution. The analysis continues through the complicated period of the ‘fraternal war’ between al-Amīn and al-Ma’mūn, and down to the advent of the Ṭūlūnids in 279/892–93.

A separate chapter is dedicated to the role of copper issues from Kūfa at al-Raḡqa/al-Rāfiqa. Before the opening of the latter mints, these issues seem to have been imported in quantity to the area, to supply the need for currency. The peak of this activity was from 166 h. There is then evidence of local (even semi-official?) counterfeiting of such issues, with hybrid pieces combining Kūfa types with later dies from northern mints, such as Qinnasrīn (161 h.) and Naṣībīn (181 h.). During the palace-building period, much of the small-denomination circulation consisted of such fictitious coinage, which must have played a big role in the local economy. Another interesting feature was the discovery of glass discs (p. 195) resembling in form the Egyptian glass weights, but of inconsistent standards. The puzzling inscription *mubārak walkīl rashīd*, which could be variously divided and interpreted, may be best taken with the editor as a merchant’s seal of quality, meaning simply ‘Mubārak, agent of Rashīd’, the two words being proper names (and without reference to the Caliph), designating suppliers of known reputation.

This impressive volume marks an important stage in the monumental series on Raḡqa, which will make this city among the best documented in the Islamic world.

A. D. H. BIVAR

JEREMY JOHNS:

*Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Diwan.*  
(Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) xviii, 390 pp.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £50.

Jeremy Johns’s book is a meticulous study of the extant Arabic documents produced by the *dīwān*, the Arabic wing of the trilingual Norman royal chancery in Sicily. It is a welcome addition to the limited corpus dealing with the Arabo-Islamic heritage in Sicily and deconstructs the common assumption

that Arabic elements within Norman administrative and courtly life were simple continuations of previous Arabo-Muslim structures. It also presents a corrective to assumptions made about Norman administrative practice extrapolated from England and highlights the particularity of the Sicilian administration. The book also sheds light on the phenomenon of medieval Mediterranean kingship and the symbols shared by rulers, Muslim and Christian, from the Iberian Peninsula to Byzantium and Baghdad.

These quite distinct aspects of the work have the advantage of giving specialists in the divergent realms of Norman and Islamic studies glimpses of their familiar territories from a fresh angle. In fact, one of the strengths of this study is that it traverses boundaries of language and religion which more frequently remain uncrossed, thereby adding immensely to our understanding not just of the Normans in Sicily but also of other complex 'frontier' cultures in the medieval Mediterranean where the Islamic, Byzantine and Latin worlds overlapped.

Johns's raw materials are a variety of administrative documents produced by the Normans from the late eleventh to late twelfth centuries. His focus is upon documents in Arabic or Arabic and Greek or Latin, the other two languages used in the royal administration. The majority of these documents fall into the categories of royal privileges, registers of royal vassals (*jarā'id al-rijāl*) and registers of boundaries (*dafātir al-ḥudūd*). These sources are listed in a preliminary catalogue of *dīwānī* documents in the appendixes. In the first part of the book, Johns traces the fortunes of Arabic within the Norman administration from the post-conquest era onwards through detailed analysis of the content, linguistic style and language combinations found in these documents.

As a result he is able to demonstrate that in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Arabic was used in an *ad hoc* and pragmatic manner, reflecting pre-Norman practices and the fact that a significant portion of the population was Arabic-speaking. It was superseded by Greek and Latin in the second and third decades of the twelfth century and one might have expected that trend to continue. However, in the 1130s, a new royal Arabic *dīwān* began to emerge. It engaged in a flurry of administrative activity in 1144-45 when the king decided to renew a cluster of ecclesiastical and baronial privileges, and continued to produce Arabic documents for several decades.

These documents were significantly different in calligraphic style to their predecessors and shared several characteristics with the products of contemporary Islamic chanceries. This discovery introduces the second part of Johns's book, which looks at the evolution of the Arabic *dīwān*, its personnel, the prototypes upon which it was founded and last, but certainly not least, why the Christian Norman kings should have deliberately imported Islamic models to Sicily.

From the perspective of the historian rather than the palaeographer, this second part is particularly fascinating. It gives intriguing and, from the standpoint of those with only rudimentary knowledge of Muslim and Norman Sicily, unexpected insights into the interactions between the two cultures. Through a close reading of Arabic and Latin sources such as Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Qalaqis, and 'Hugo Falcandus', Johns is able to demonstrate that, despite their political and religious differences, the Normans and the Fatimids of Egypt drew close in the 1130s, and the Fatimid *dīwān* in its widest sense of a style of kingship and administration, became a powerful model for the Normans.

Key to the success of the Fatimid model in Norman Sicily, were a group described by Johns as 'palace Saracens', Arab eunuch servants many of whom



were crypto-Muslims. Through a process of detective work, Johns identifies the crucial mediator in this respect as George of Antioch, an Arab Christian who served the Normans after a period of service in Ifrīqiya and travelled to Cairo as their emissary. It appears likely that George established the Arabic *dīwān* and imported at least a core of scribes to work in Sicily. As Johns points out, the ongoing development of the Sicilian Arabic *dīwān*'s products strongly suggests a transfer of personnel rather than formulae, something which also happened in the artistic sphere. This, of course, is very much in keeping with exchanges of artisans between Byzantium and Umayyad Cordoba, and Castile and Nasrid Granada.

Biographies of other key palace Saracens shed further light on the role of this group within the Norman administration. As in the Islamic world, eunuchs were particularly useful to monarchs who wished to elevate themselves above the aristocracy. They were brought up in the royal household and enjoyed a quasi-familial relationship with its members upon whom they were also utterly dependent for their positions. Intimacy, dependence and the absence of alternative loyalties made the Arab eunuchs loyal familiars. Furthermore, Johns suggests that the use of Arab eunuchs, whom the Normans' subjects believed were Muslim, had the advantage of reassuring Muslim subjects whilst providing useful scapegoats for the wrath of Christian subjects in the case of unpopular royal measures.

The Arabic *dīwān* and its staff thus emerge from the pages of Johns's study as a key element in the mature Norman administration in Sicily. Moreover, he demonstrates that the Norman kings and their ministers deliberately decided to revive the fortunes of Arabic as a royal administrative language and used Fatimid models to do so. This presents a picture of Norman innovation and flexibility which acts as a corrective to previous assumptions that they simply inherited elements of the previous Arabo-Islamic administration. It also sheds light on how the Normans sought to rule a multi-lingual and multi-confessional population and present themselves to the twelfth-century Mediterranean world.

AMIRA K. BENNISON

JANE DAMMEN MCAULIFFE (ed.):

*Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, Volume Two, E–I.

xxiii, 572 pp. Leiden, Boston: E. J. Brill, 2002. €186.

The first volume of the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (*EQ*) has proved to be an invaluable research tool for scholars and students of the Islamic sciences. It has found its way to the reference shelves of many a library, serving as a multi-volume reference resource on Islam's sacred scripture, the Quran. The eagerly awaited second volume of the *EQ* maintains the characteristic authority established by the first. Its entries, comprising articles of varying lengths and extended essays, are written in a lucid, uncomplicated, yet instructive style, and this makes it particularly useful to students and academics being introduced to the Quran and its many sciences. It is also impressive to note that a plurality in 'perspectives and presuppositions' is suitably given prevalence within the text's general format. Moreover, the broad spectrum of subjects with a quranic nexus encompassed by the *EQ* includes cultural, exegetical, historical, linguistic, literary, juristic, philosophical and theological topics. Although classical aspects of quranic scholarship commonly form the core of the entries in this

volume, and indeed within the whole project, issues germane to contemporary approaches to the text of the Quran and its exegesis are given apposite treatment.

The volume under review is the second of five. It comprises the alphabetically-arranged English-language entries for the letters E–I: the first volume dealt with entries for A–D: In the review of the first volume (*BSOAS* 66/1, 2003, 73–5) I mentioned the editors' decision to adopt a system of English-language entries as opposed to the transliterated Arabic lemmata considered the scholarly convention. The editors contended that a greater level of utility and effectiveness is achieved in the specification and designation of defined headings by using a system of English-language entries. There are, however, cases where this convention is overlooked and one finds transliterated terminology for specific entries which are idiomatically distinguished in Arabic: *Fātiḥa*, *Hanīf*, *Iblīs*, *Ifrīt*, *Ilāf*, *Illiyūn* and *Imām* are such examples. This exception extends to entries covering prominent place and tribe names such as *Hijr*, *Hudaybiya*, *Hunayn* and *Irām*. Notable individuals and personalities are, as expected, given alphabetically transliterated entries: *Fāṭima*, *Ḥaḥṣa*, *Hāmān*, *Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib*, *Hārūt and Mārūt*, *Hūd*, *Idrīs*, and *'Imrān*. The *EQ* also includes a number of transliterated terms which have entries as headings only, as in the following instances: *Fitna* (see *Trial*), *Fiṭra* (see *Creation*), *Furqān* (see *Criterion*; *Names of the Qur'ān*), *Ghazāl/Ghāzī* (see *Expeditions and Battles*), *Ḥajj* (see *Pilgrimage*), *Ḥalāl* (see *Lawful and Unlawful; Prohibited Degrees*), *Ḥanafīs* (see *Law and The Qur'ān*), *Ḥanbalīs* (see *Law and the Qur'ān*), *Ḥaram* (see *House, Domestic and Divine; Sanctity and the Sacred*), *Ḥarām* (see *Forbidden; Lawful and Unlawful; Prohibited Degrees*), *Hijra* (see *Emigration*), *Ḥizb Allāh/Shayṭān* (see *Parties and Factions*), *Ḥudūd* (see *Boundaries and Precepts*), *Ibādīs* (see *Khārijīs*), *Ihrām* (see *Pilgrimage*), *I'jāz* (see *Inimitability*), *Īmān* (see *Faith; Belief and Unbelief*) and *Injīl* (see *Gospel*); however, as indicated, an equivalent English-language cross-reference is always provided. The feedback and response to this broad arrangement would suggest that this system of entries is proving particularly useful for non-specialists in Arabic and Islamic studies. Nevertheless, given that the individual volumes do not contain a separate list of all entries (a detailed cumulative indexing of both English and transliterated terminology is planned for the *EQ*'s final volume), the *EQ* fails fully to take advantage of the reference potential within this format. Moreover, individuals who do not purchase the complete set will not have immediate recourse to an index.

As with the first volume, the second has many entries which serve as headings only and have no accompanying definition or body text but rather cross-references to appropriate headings. This is demonstrated by the following select examples: *Earthquake* (see *Eschatology*), *East and West* (see *Geography*), *Ecology* (see *Natural World and the Qur'ān*), *Eden* (see *Paradise; Garden*), *Editions of the Qur'ān* (see *Printing of the Qur'ān; Codices of the Qur'ān; Readings of the Qur'ān*), *Education* (see *Knowledge and Learning*), *Elements (the four)* (see *Natural World and the Qur'ān*), *Elephant* (see *Animal Life*), *Embezzlement* (see *Money; Breaking Trusts and Contracts; Theft; Orphans; Wealth*), *Embryo* (see *Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life; Infanticide; Abortion*), *Exile* (see *Chastisement and Punishment*), *Exorcism* (see *Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Qur'ān*), *Fables* (see *Narratives; Mythic and Legendary Narratives*), *Figurative Language* (see *Rhetoric of the Qur'ān; Similes; Metaphor*), *Filth* (see *Cleanliness and Ablution*), *Firm Handle* (see *Religion*) *Fish* (see *Animal Life; Hunting and Fishing*), *Fishing* (see *Hunting and Fishing*), *Flight* (see *Flying*), *Flood* (see *Noah; Punishment Stories*), *Flora and Fauna* (see *Agriculture and*

*Vegetation*), *Greed* (see *Avarice*), *Greeks* (see *Byzantines*) and *Intercalation* (see *Calendar*). This leads one to conclude that, had there been an inclusive thematic framework for the organization of English-language entries in the *EQ*, the apparent inconvenience created by adopting the present arrangement might have been avoided; moreover, under a thematic scheme, a greater concentration of corresponding and related material is achieved, although at this stage of this project, such a suggestion is academic in the loose sense of the word. We have previously mentioned that the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1974), a text which employs transliterated Arabic entry words, has a practical 'register of subjects' in its index. The register furnishes key terms in English followed by a list of transliterated entries relating to these terms; a revised form of this type of index would have served the individual volumes of the *EQ* well. Nevertheless, this should not detract from the primary importance of this Encyclopedia and its immense contribution to quranic studies in the twenty-first century; it is proving to be an indispensable educational aid to the academic study of this discipline and to the Islamic sciences in general.

One of the many merits of this encyclopedia is its inclusion of a large number of extended essays as specific entries. This would seem to add weight to the editors' argument that the use of English-language entry words allows a more creative exposition of an entry and that this is achieved under a broader heading. Among the in-depth critical studies which I found particularly commendable in this volume are: *Eschatology*, *Ethics and the Qur'ān*, *Everyday Life in the Qur'ān*, *Exegesis of the Qur'ān: Classical and Medieval*, *Exegesis of the Qur'ān: Early Modern and Contemporary*, *Expeditions and Battles*, *Faith*, *Foreign Vocabulary*, *Form and Structure of the Qur'ān*, *Geography*, *God and His Attributes*, *Grammar and the Qur'ān*, *Hadith and the Qur'ān*, *History and the Qur'ān*, *Idolatry and Idolaters* (followed by *Idols and Images*), *Illiteracy*, *Inheritance*, and *Inimitability*. Moreover, the same level of attention to detail and accuracy is discerned in the following extended entries: *Economics*, *Emigrants and Helpers*, *Emigration*, *Faith*, *Fasting*, *Fate*, *Fear*, *Feminism and the Qur'ān*, *Festivals and Commemorative Days*, *Food and Drink*, *Freedom and Predestination*, *Garden*, *Gender*, *Good and Evil*, *Gratitude and Ingratitude*, *Heart*, *Hell and Hellfire*, *Heresy*, *Hidden and the Hidden*, *Hospitality and Courtesy*, *House: Domestic and Divine*, *Hypocrites and Hypocrisy*, *Informants*, *Insolence and Obstinacy*, *Intellect*, *Instruments*, *Intercession*, and *Islam*. These entries are cogent pieces of writing, presenting the latest research findings in the field of quranic studies. Furthermore, the *EQ* comprises two extended essays which are complemented with illustrative plates: the entry on *Epigraphy* includes ten illustrated plates featuring early Islamic coinage and some delightfully decorated quranic inscriptions on stone and architecture; whilst the entry on the opening chapter of the Quran, *Fātiḥa*, features meticulously produced plates showing splendid manuscripts of different Arabic scripts and calligraphic styles.

The *EQ* betrays a remarkable scope and diversity as the following entries confirm: *Ears*, *Earth*, *Egypt*, *Election*, *Elijah*, *Elisha*, *Envy*, *Error*, *Eternity*, *Ethiopia*, *Evening*, *Evil Deeds*, *Exhortations*, *Eyes*, *Ezekiel*, *Ezra*, *Face*, *Face of God*, *Failure*, *Fall of Man*, *Family*, *Family of the Prophet*, *Famine*, *Farewell Pilgrimage*, *Feet*, *Fighting*, *Fire*, *Flogging*, *Flying*, *Foretelling in the Qur'ān*, *Forgery*, *Forgiveness*, *Fosterage*, *Friday Prayer*, *Friends and Friendship*, *Furniture and Furnishings*, *Gabriel*, *Gambling*, *Generations*, *Gift-Giving*, *Glorification of God*, *Glory*, *Gog and Magog*, *Gold*, *Goliath*, *Good Deeds*, *Good News*, *Gospel*, *Gossip*, *Grace*, *Grasses*, *Guardianship*, *Hand(s)*, *Hearing and Deafness*, *Heaven and Sky*, *Heavenly Book*, *Hides and Fleece*, *Holy Spirit*, *Homosexuality*, *Honey*,

*Honor, Hope, Hostages, Hot and Cold, Houris, Humor, Hunting and Fishing, Iconoclasm, Ignorance, Illegitimacy, Illness and Health, Immunity, Impeccability, Impotence, Indifference, Infanticide, Innovation, Inquisition, Insanity, Intention, Intoxicants, Invitation, Israel, Iraq, Isaiah, Ishmael and Isaac.* Ironically, the vast semantic compass and range in the subject matter of these entries illustrate the need for a separate index for each volume. Every entry in this encyclopedia is furnished with detailed bibliographies and cross-references.

Given the general format adopted for entries and its application, it seems that the process of listing headings for undefined entries, transliterated or otherwise, whilst providing a relevant cross-reference, is slightly arbitrary and therefore has its limitations. However, the fact that detailed indexing of both English and transliterated terminology is planned for the final volume will assist in the resolution of this concern. We have referred to the convention in this Encyclopedia whereby transliterated Arabic terms of important concepts, themes, place names, and individuals are either provided with a fully defined entry, if deemed appropriate, as is the case for *Fātiḥa, Ilāf, Imām, Hījr, Hūd, Idrīs*, or a heading with a cross-reference, as in the instances of *Hajj* (see *Pilgrimage*), *Halāl* (see *Lawful and Unlawful; Prohibited Degrees*), *I'jāz* (see *Inimitability*), and *Imān* (see *Faith; Belief and Unbelief*). Yet there are a number of Arabic terms of equal importance which are provided with neither entry nor indeed a heading with a cross-reference, despite their often being mentioned or alluded to in related entries. The term *Harf* is a noteworthy example: it certainly merits a defined entry and at least a cross-reference. The term is technically synonymous with *qirā'a* (reading or *lectio* of the Quran), playing a crucial role in the classical science of readings and its importance extends to the field of grammar. Additionally, the following examples merit headings with an appropriate cross-reference: *Hāfiz/Huffāz, Hījāz, Hikma, Iḥsān, I'jām, Ilhām*, and *'Ilm*. Besides, there are a number of key English terms which also have neither heading nor appropriate cross-reference: *Emotion, Enactment, Enchantment, Endowment, Engagement, Environment, Ethnicity, Evidence, Extinction, Heathen, Hebrew Prophets, Fabrication, Generosity, Gloss(es), Grave, Identity, Immaculate Conception, Immolation, and Injury*. Notwithstanding evident allusions to aspects of these subject-areas in associated entries, a number of these terms clearly warrant separately defined entries if not a heading with a cross-reference. The decision to omit biographical entries for principal luminaries of the quranic sciences is regrettable. Such entries would certainly have enhanced the comprehensiveness and authority of the encyclopedia. Finally, the list of abbreviations of journals provided at the beginning of this volume does not include the *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, although it is cited in a number of the entries' bibliographies. This is a journal devoted to the study of the Quran and a number of contributors to this encyclopedia have published important articles there.

The strength of the *EQ* lies in the methodical and accomplished attention to detail furnished in its entries. These succeed in highlighting not only the fascinating interplay between the Quran and its many themes and concepts, but also the elaborate extent of its classical and modern influence as a text whether the context is theological, cultural, historical, legal, literary, philosophical, political or indeed geographical. Moreover, the diversity and depth of scholarship encouraged by the *EQ* confirm its genuine academic value. Likewise, the successful outcome of this project bodes well for future endeavours and perhaps one can look forward to a similarly focused project, producing an encyclopedia covering *ḥadīth*, law, or indeed theology.

MUSTAFA SHAH

GEORGE LANE:

*Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance.*

(Studies in the History of Iran and Turkey.) xiii, 330 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £55.

The thesis of this well-researched study is that most scholars have unjustly condemned the first decades of Mongol rule in Iran as a prolonged dark age of tyranny, arbitrary violence and trauma. There has been insufficient distinction between the early, stable years of the Ilkhanate (after the fall of Baghdad in 1258), and the catastrophic effects of the original invasions of Iran under Chinggis Khan nearly forty years before. On the other hand, contemporary historians and modern authors alike have painted too strong a contrast between the early reigns and the later Ilkhanid golden age, initiated by Ghazan Khan and his conversion to Islam (in 1294). Taken with the long-running debate about the destruction caused even by the first invasions (not simply fuelled by scepticism at the numbers of casualties quoted; cf. pp. 227–8), we seem to be on track here for smoothing out the peaks and troughs of Mongol rule, and the rehabilitation of the Ilkhanid dynasty as the flag-bearers for Iran's revival.

In its broad outline, there is much to commend this reformulation, and the ground has long been prepared by several scholars, such as David Morgan and Jean Aubin, for mistrusting Rashīd al-Dīn's depiction of previous administrations and the Mongols' own role in them. As for the striking cultural developments of the Ilkhanid period, this was the underlying theme of the recent exhibitions in New York and Los Angeles, entitled (too provocatively for some), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan. Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* (see the catalogue, ed. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, New Haven and London, 2002). However, we have to be careful not to confuse two separate, if related, issues; the nature of early Ilkhanid government and attitudes of the Khans to their responsibilities, on one hand, and on the other, the extent of the cultural revival under Hülegü and Abaqa, and the Mongols' role in this. Furthermore, what exactly is the link between a flourishing intellectual life, political stability and economic well-being? Is evidence of cultural activity proof of the existence of the others? Jean Aubin's acerbic remarks about the so-called 'Timurid renaissance' ('Le mécénat timouride à Chiraz', *Studia Islamica*, 7, 1957, esp. pp. 71–5) should make us nervous about bandying around such terms in connection with regimes that had rather different priorities.

As little or no new information has (or will) come to light, establishing such links depends heavily on how we interpret or select from the sources. As Lane notes (pp. 2–3), they are 'extremely conducive to speculation ... and clever interpretation can rarely be backed up by hard statistical data'. The lack of figures is, of course, crucial, because in the end any reliable or objective measure of the horrors of Mongol rule would require hard demographic or economic data, quantifying population collapse or recovery, agricultural productivity, state revenues and private means: information unimaginable for Iran until the nineteenth century. This is not to say that many of our sources did not have access to some such data, thanks to their positions in the central or regional bureaucracies. Juvainī, Vaṣṣāf, Rashīd al-Dīn and Ḥamd-Allāh Mustaufī must all have had a reasonably clear picture of what was going on;

the question is, is it what they tell us? Here, Lane's otherwise admirable survey of the sources does not really engage with the nature of the Persian court chronicles. However valuable Juvainī is, for example, for the period leading up to the fall of Baghdad, his history is seeking a way to justify and explain the invasions, and hold up a model of justice for the new regime to aim for. No more than Juzjānī, whose history was also completed by 1260, can Juvainī be any use as a source for the early Ilkhanate. Epitomizing both the Persianizing trend of the bureaucrats' propaganda and the dilemmas posed by our sources, Mustaufī's *Zafarnāma*, written at the end of the period (1335), speaks idealistically of Hülegü's glorious arrival in Iran (quoted at p. 255); to read his account of Hülegü's reign, one would not even realize that he was a non-Muslim. By this time, even some of the Mongols may have started to believe in the image invented for them by their advisers. On the other hand, what of Mustaufī's detailed knowledge of the state of the country, revealed in his *Nuzhat al-qulūb*? (Incidentally, why Lane determines to call it the *Nazhat* (pp. 7–8) is unexplained; it is not the only extremely idiosyncratic transliteration on offer: Khaznadārī (pp. 36, 51), Majd al-Malik (p. 108), 'Az al-Dīn (p. 113), Maṣalaḥ Dīn Sa'dī (p. 122), Shaykhs al-Mahaqaqin (p. 133) and Mauffaq al-Daula (p. 216) are among the more startling, but there are dozens of others, not to speak of inconsistencies (Yūsuf/Yusef at will, and so on); the word Eigg (pp. 99, 129 etc. for Ij), probably takes the biscuit, as though we were transported to the Western Isles). I digress. Are we to place more credence on the praises sung by these authors (if not 'servile flattery', at least perhaps wishful thinking and the desire to improve) or on the harsher judgements buried in their work?

Filling the very considerable (and interesting) gap between the works of Juvainī and Rashīd al-Dīn at the centre, are a number of local chronicles, celebrating the achievements of the regional dynasties that had established themselves around the edge of the Iranian plateau on the ruins of the Seljuk hegemony. It is one of the very great merits and values of Lane's book to have looked in detail at the affairs of three of these regions and their relationship with the central government. To some extent, his analysis supports his thesis—Kirman does seem to have enjoyed some stability under the powerful princesses, Qutluḡ Terken and Padshāh Khātūn, if their laudatory local histories are to be believed, but in between the narrative of their antics and intrigues we learn little of the state of the province (see pp. 120–22). If it may be a telling point that the prolonged disorder in Fars under the last Salghurids, and especially Abesh Khātūn, was due to the lack of effective Ilkhanid intervention rather than its excess (p. 260, though cf. p. 131), the reverse is true of Anatolia, where the Mongols' grip was relatively light until the late 1270s, with beneficial results. As for Shams al-Dīn Kart, an adventurer rightly seen as very much at home in the Mongol camp, we are told that his political acumen consisted of crossing Tajik, Turk and Mongol alike (p. 101); hardly a glowing testimonial for the new acceptable face of Ilkhanid rule. The observation that Abaqa, 'despite a reputation for justice and wisdom suffered fearful attacks of alcohol-induced paranoia' (p. 175), is similarly not reassuring. There is little doubt that the new rulers of large tracts of Iran were able to accommodate themselves to the new circumstances, to pursue their interests and their grip on power, by learning to operate the new rules at the *ordu* to their own advantage. Whether this worked to the benefit of their subjects is a different matter.

If Juvainī as an historian has little to tell us of the early Ilkhanate, the actions of the Juvainī brothers speak louder than their words, and the chapter devoted to them (pp. 177–212) is a thorough examination of their

backgrounds, careers, and patronage of men of letters. There is one remarkable omission here, conspicuous also by its absence from other discussions throughout the book, namely the work of Melikian-Chirvānī, and any reference to the development of Takht-i Sulaimān, which implicates the regime, the Sufis, the Juvainīs and a whole web of issues concerned with the Ilkhans' adjustment to Iranian tradition. Lane rightly mentions in general terms the Juvainīs' efforts to rebuild the administration and nudge their new masters in the right direction. Even so, we are not free from the incestuous self-flatteries of the bureaucratic classes, with their networks of mutual dependence and sense of their own importance. Once more we hear very little about what the Juvainīs actually did (briefly documented in Anatolia by another of their protégés, Ibn Bībī). Perhaps it remains axiomatic that if the Ilkhans had servants such as these, things cannot have been too bad. The same spirit underlies the chapters on Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī and the poets and Sufis of the period (many of them operating in the relative safety of Anatolia), full of valuable information and ideas. It is clever to undermine the force of Pur-i Baha's famous 'Mongol ode', by saying it is a sign of the 'tolerance and indulgence of the regime' that he was able to present such a diatribe to senior officials (pp. 238–9). It is unlikely Abaqa would have minded (or understood), and his officials may well have been rather sympathetic ('only carrying out orders'); nevertheless, we needn't imagine that the viziers were above reproach either. A later member of the Faryumadi family was so oppressive in Anatolia that he had to be recalled, and Aubin's seminal work on 'Emirs and vizirs' went a long way towards revealing the readiness of the bureaucrats to participate in the corruption of political life.

Lane argues his case persuasively, although quickly takes his thesis as proved; in my view, he has certainly done enough to make us look again at the available evidence. Hülegü was very probably a remarkable man; he was, after all, Qubilai's brother and doubtless shared many of his statesmanlike talents; had he too lived until 1294, the history of the Ilkhanate may well have been otherwise. As it is, it is convenient for Lane's study that he stops with the death of Abaqa in 1282; what went wrong after that, and why? Does this not force itself on our view of what went before? No doubt if Rashīd al-Dīn had been writing in the reign of Gaikhatu, the history of the earlier period would seem rather different—two questions that tend in diverse directions, but both reflect on the problems of rewriting early Ilkhanid history. No doubt it will be a while before such a comprehensive study of these years of the Ilkhanate is again attempted, not least because Lane has written such a rich and provocative book that brings together much relevant material neglected in standard narrative accounts. It deserves more time than is available here to be dissected and absorbed, warts and all.

CHARLES MELVILLE

JANE HATHAWAY:

*A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen.*

xvi, 295 pp. New York: State University of New York Press, 2003. \$22.95.

Two rival factions, the Faqāriyya and the Qāsimiyya, each composed of military households headed by grandees entitled Beys, dominated the political

scene in Egypt during much of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries until the ascendancy of the Faqāriyya was finally established in 1730. The purpose of Professor Hathaway's book is to investigate the origins of this 'bilateral factionalism', as she styles it, and to describe its distinctive characteristics. Apart from the appearance of this historical phenomenon in the wider world, she notes its existence in other provinces of the seventeenth-century Ottoman empire and concludes (p. 3) that it is 'symptomatic of decentralized empires with populations of disparate backgrounds'. Following this clue, she remarks on the demographic changes in the eastern Ottoman empire beginning with the Celali rebellions in the late sixteenth century. She views factionalism as a formative, indeed an educative process, which created united communities out of military households recruited from demographic flotsam and jetsam. In the stabilization of the factions story-telling was an important agent, and in Egypt the stories ultimately found literary form, e.g. in the military chronicle written by, or ascribed to, Aḥmad al-Damurdāshī, *kāhya* of the 'Azeban.

Distinguishing bilateral factionalism from 'the relatively narrow, short-lived factions of the Mamluk sultanate', she proceeds in chapter 1 to enumerate the key features of Faqārī-Qāsimī opposition. First comes the colour distinction between the Faqārī white and the Qāsimī red. Next are the 'fictive genealogies', i.e. the ancestral origin-myths by which the factions claimed descent from two estranged brothers named Dhu'l-Faqār and Qāsim. Thirdly there are the publicly identifying symbols carried, for instance, in processions.

These points are developed in the later chapters of the book. Chapter 2 deals with binary or bilateral opposition as foreshadowed in the origin-myths and based on a curious string of oppositions listed in the Damurdāshī chronicle. These are linked respectively to the Faqāriyya and Qāsimiyya, and reach back into Islamic and Arab tradition. Chapter 3 investigates one of these oppositions, namely Sa'd and Ḥarām, two tribal blocs which carried the rivalry of the Faqāriyya and Qāsimiyya from the towns to rural Egypt. Chapter 4, starting from the proposition that 'the two tribal blocs may have originated in Yemen', gives a detailed exposition of the possible connection of Yemen with the Egyptian factions, but concludes rather lamely that: 'We would not want to make the mistake of assuming that connections did not exist when, in fact, they may have been so pervasive and natural as hardly to have warranted mention'. The remaining chapters discuss at length some of the other topics already mentioned. In Chapter 6 the 'knob' (*rummāna*) of the Faqārī standard and the 'disc' (*jalba*) of the Qāsimiyya are shown to be respectively an Ottoman *tuğ* and a Mamluk *'alam*. Chapter 7 turns to the myth which retrojects the origin of Faqārī-Qāsimī hostility to the two estranged sons of the Mamluk amir Sūdūn at the time of the Ottoman conquest. Chapter 8 considers the significance of a Mamluk bey's mulberry tree, felled by order of the Ottoman governor in 1714. Chapter 9 examines an alternative origin-myth in which Qāsim Bey builds a great hall, whereas Dhu'l-Faqār prides himself on the foundation of a pious military household. Chapters 10 and 11 seek to discover the true historical origin of the Faqāriyya and Qāsimiyya. Hathaway concludes that the leading figure among the Qāsimiyya was, rather than its founder, the Circassian Riḍwān Bey Abu'l-Shawārib, the subject of a semi-fictional genealogy, and that Dhu'l-Faqār Bey never existed but was a personification of the faction's banner, of a type illustrated on p. 173.

A few points were noted in reading. On p. 14, the writer states that 'al-Damurdāshī's chronicle justifies the work's existence by explaining that members of his regiment had asked him to recount the deeds of Cairo's



grandees and regimental officers. ... In this respect, story-telling helped to cut across rank and class boundaries.' But is al-Damurdāshī's justification anything more than a literary convention? The reference on p. 30 to 'the chariot races staged by the Roman emperors beginning roughly in the second century B.C.E.' is loosely written and antedates the appearance of the Roman emperors. To the account of Islamic coloured banners in Chapter 5 one might add that the army of the Sudanese Mahdia (1881–98) consisted of three divisions under the Black Flag (*al-Rāyya al-Zarqā'*), the Green Flag (*al-Rāyya al-Khaḍrā'*) and the Red Flag (*al-Rāyya al-Ḥamrā'*) respectively. In the account of the *Selimmames* produced in Egypt (p. 127), specific mention might be made of *al-Durr al-muṣān fī sīrāt al-Muẓaffar Salīm Khān*, published by Hans Ernst (? Cairo, 1962). The date of the work's completion, 10 Ṣafar 923/4 March 1517, and the name of its author, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī al-Ishbīlī al-Maghribī al-Dimashqī, indicating the scion of a refugee family, explain his view of Selim as the Defender of the Faith. On p. 152 the writer correctly points out that this reviewer is mistaken in asserting that the fictional genealogy of the Circassians was produced for Riḍwān Bey al-Faqārī but had as its patron Riḍwān Bay Abu'l-Shawārib. In regard to the bibliography, it may be noted that al-Damurdāshī's chronicle, *al-Durr al-muṣāna*, for which the BM MS is cited (p. 254) has been edited by Dr 'Abd al-Raḥīm 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Raḥīm and published by the Institut Français d'Archéologie du Caire (1989). There is also a translation by Daniel Crecelius and 'Abd al-Wahhab Bakr, *Al-Damurdashi's Chronicle of Egypt 1688–1755* (Leiden, 1991). Finally, the first, third and fourth of the publications by the present reviewer listed on p. 266 have also appeared in a revised form in his *Studies in the History of the Near East* (London, 1973).

P. M. HOLT

GABRIEL WARBURG:

*Islam, Sectarianism and Politics in Sudan since the Mahdiyya.*

xvii, 252 pp. London: Hurst & Co., 2003. Cloth £45. Paperback £19.95.

This work is essentially a study of popular Sudanese Islam, a regional Sufism centred around holy men, the possessors and mediators of *baraka*, and of the relationship of this cult to the successive territorial governments, which have sought in various ways association with it. Appropriately therefore the book begins with a survey of Sudanese Sufism and an exposition of the situation under the Turkiyya, i.e. the Turco-Egyptian regime which acquired control over Sudanese territories between 1820 and 1881. During this period the acephalous Sufism of the numerous local holy men was superseded (but not eliminated) by a Sufi *ṭarīqa* originating outside Sudanese territory, the Khatmiyya, the headship of which was hereditary in the Mīrghanī family, Ashrāf of central Asian origin. The Khatmiyya worked in close harmony with the regime until the two were challenged and overthrown by a proto-nationalist revolt led by a charismatic millenarian personality, Muḥammad Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh, who claimed to be the Expected Mahdī of the Last Days. He succeeded in overthrowing the Turkiyya but died in June 1885 shortly after his final victory. Power passed to his deputy, the Khalifa 'Abdallāhi, under

whom the Mahdiyya ceased to be a millenarian movement and became a Sudanese territorial state. Viable in itself, the Mahdist state was obnoxious to the British, the *de facto* rulers of Egypt. Overthrown in 1898, it was succeeded by a nominal Anglo-Egyptian Condominium under effective British control until the declaration of an independent Sudanese republic in 1956.

This, however, was by no means the end of the matter. Although the Mahdist state had ceased to exist, there continued to be a Mahdist 'sect' of hereditary followers of the Mahdī's family. There was thus established a polarity in Sudanese popular Islam between the Khatmiyya, the traditional allies of the government, and the Umma party, the heirs of the Mahdiyya, originally a movement of opposition. Politically the matter was not so simple, and the British Condominium officials devoted much time and energy to holding in balance the leaders of the two groups, Sayyid Sir 'Alī al-Mirghani and Sayyid Sir 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mahdī—the combination of Islamic and British titles is itself significant. After the attainment of independence the mutual incompatibility of Khatmiyya and Umma contributed to the instability of the republic, which alternated between parliamentary government and military rule. In more recent years a new political factor has appeared, that of the Islamists embodied in the National Islamic Front (NIF), formerly the Muslim Brotherhood, under the leadership of Ḥasan al-Turābī, with the aim of setting up an orthodox Islamic state.

This is, in brief, the ground covered in Warburg's book. It is not easy reading, providing as it does so much detail on a complex subject. The bewildering plethora of acronyms in the later pages are mercifully listed and clarified (pp. xiv–xv). A few comments occur on points of detail. To the literature on the Sammāniyya *ṭarīqa* may be added this reviewer's article, 'A Sudanese saint: Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bashīr (1155–1239/1742–1824)' in Rudolf Veselý (ed.), *Threefold Wisdom—Islam, the Arab World and Africa* (Prague, 1993), pp. 107–15. On p. 19 the pioneer of cotton cultivation in the eastern Sudan is designated 'the German-educated Mumtaz', although the German education is regarded as dubious by Richard Hill, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan* (2nd ed., London, 1967), p. 37. On p. 36 the statement that 'Among the *'ulama'* who sent messages of support to the Mahdī was Shaykh Ahmad al-'Awwam' is erroneous: al-'Awwām was neither a shaykh nor an *'ālim* but a clerk in the War Office in Cairo (Hill, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 30). On the financial affairs of the Mahdiyya, the important work by Ahmad Ibrahim Abu Shouk and Anders Bjørkelo, *The Public Treasury of the Muslims* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), is not mentioned. On p. 58 there is a reference to Rudolf von Slatin, who on p. 59 becomes Rudolph von Slatin. Is the writer deliberately reproducing the different forms of the name in *Fire and Sword in the Sudan* (Rudolf) and the German version, *Feuer und Schwert im Sudan* (Rudolph)? With regard to the Sudan Political Service (p. 87), it is important to note that the British officials in the Sudan were not recruited to the colonial service and were not liable to transfer to other countries. Passing their entire careers in the Sudan, they tended to behave as a paternalist squirearchy towards the Sudanese. It must be stated with regret that this book has received inadequate editorial oversight as shown for example by the numerous typographical slips which should have been caught in proof. Such faults of detail could be rectified in a second edition. As it is, Warburg has produced a well informed and comprehensive survey which will be indispensable for all concerned with Sudanese social and political history.

P. M. HOLT

YOUSSEF CHAITANI:

*Dissension among Allies: Ernest Bevin's Palestine Policy between Whitehall and the White House. 1945–47.*

156 pp. London: Saqi Books, 2002. £25.

The policy of Ernest Bevin, foreign secretary in the post-Second World War Labour government in Britain, has been much studied, particularly since it constitutes a key element in the events which led to the foundation of the state of Israel. Youssef Chaitani, in this new study of Bevin's policy, claims that it is generally assumed that Bevin merely executed a predetermined, carefully constructed, pro-Zionist, British foreign policy and goes on to dispute this view and to argue that Bevin was an innovator in policy towards Palestine. Most serious students of the subject will be surprised by this formulation, will deny that such is the general assumption, and will find Chaitani's supposed new interpretation to be not at all unfamiliar, even if they do not agree with all his emphases.

Bevin's policy in Palestine in the years 1945–47 was to find a solution acceptable to Jews and Arabs. The precise form of that solution was a matter of less consequence. Since 1936 the choice had appeared to lie between partition and a unitary state with local autonomies. Bevin inclined to believe that the latter would be found to be the more acceptable. Had only the Arabs and Jews of Palestine been involved he might have been proved correct, but this was not the case. Zionism had always been an international movement and had exerted powerful pressure, most notably after 1945 on the policy of the United States, in favour of the Jews of Palestine. Other Arab states and peoples had, since at least 1936, shown a keen interest in the fate of the Palestinian Arabs. According to one view the British decision in the late 1930s to formalize the involvement of other Arab states became a major obstacle to a settlement of the Palestine problem. Far from attempting to exclude the Arab states, Bevin's view of the Palestine problem as a part of his general Middle Eastern policy tended to involve them more closely.

Bevin's Middle Eastern policy has been described previously: it was to create a military confederacy and a system of economic co-operation involving several Middle Eastern states and led by Britain. Chaitani argues that the Middle East was second only to Europe in Britain's scale of importance, the principal pillar of her great power status. But the truth is that the only parts of the Middle East which really mattered to Britain in 1945 were the Suez Canal and the oil fields and refinery of south-west Iran. Bevin's adoption of the Middle East regional formulation popularized by the Office of the Minister Resident in the Middle East was an error which seriously complicated the problem of Palestine. Palestine, as the chiefs of staff recognized, could never be a substitute for Egypt; Chaitani is too ready to accept at face value arguments which over-emphasize the strategic importance of Palestine to Britain.

There is no disagreement that the rebuilding of Europe, and its defence against the USSR, came first in Britain's priorities and it was agreed that these ends could only be accomplished with the help of the USA. Bevin also wanted to involve the USA as a supporting player in his Middle Eastern policies. To do this appeared to require winning US co-operation over Palestine and he sought to achieve this end partly via a joint Anglo-American committee of inquiry into the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, some of the survivors of the great German massacre, now housed in camps. Other Cabinet members warned him that US co-operation was unlikely and of the dangers of

this policy, but Bevin went ahead with an initiative which turned out badly for his Palestine policy. Chaitani sees Bevin's attempt to involve the USA as over-optimistic and as a key error, because, in response, Chaitani claims, to the exigencies of US domestic politics and the Jewish vote, President Truman threw his weight behind Zionist demands and ruined Bevin's policy. It is a familiar view and fits with those other theories which see the USA as the great wrecker of the British and other empires in Asia and Africa.

Chaitani ends his study with the British decision to refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations in February 1947, implying thereby that this was the end of Bevin's policy. One would have liked to have seen more analysis of what Bevin expected to happen after the referral. It is true that one view sees the act as final, as Britain washing her hands of the problem. But another view emphasizes the general opinion that the United Nations would fail to agree on a solution, would turn back to Britain and that Britain would then be able to gain US co-operation. In February 1947 Bevin's Palestine policy had not yet necessarily run its course nor metamorphosed into its final form, namely to get out of Palestine after ensuring that the blame for the débâcle should be attached in Arab eyes to the USA and not to Britain. It is, however, possible to argue that by November 1946 Bevin already wanted to shed the responsibility for Palestine with the least discredit to Britain; and, indeed, that a more realistic minister would have seen the business to be hopeless and have got out of Palestine via the UN a year earlier.

Chaitani has written a useful account of an unfortunate episode in British foreign policy and planted the blame for failure (if that is what it was) firmly on Harry S. Truman. His account makes some use of British and US documents but also rests heavily on the work of previous writers on the subject, notably Michael Cohen, Richie Ovendale, Roger Louis and even Harold Wilson. One was surprised to observe that no use was made of Martin Jones's excellent *Failure in Palestine*, and still more surprised that Chaitani did not study the third volume of Alan Bullock's *Life of Ernest Bevin*, which covers the period of his foreign secretaryship, although he quotes the first two volumes.

M. E. YAPP

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## SOUTH ASIA

THOMAS OBERLIES:

*A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit.*

(Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 5.) Ivi, 632 pp.

Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003. €148.

It has long been generally recognized that the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* are composed in a form of language that differs from the Pāṇinian norm. Whilst this language is not sufficiently aberrant to be considered something other than Sanskrit, it does contain frequent violations of the usual Sanskrit rules, affecting phonology, morphology and syntax. What is more, these epic (or *ārṣa*) peculiarities are not simply a large set of individual cases: by far the greater part of them can be categorized as belonging to one or another of a relatively small number of types, making them amenable to systematic grammatical study. Many authors have contributed valuable work in this area; Oberlies, while fully acknowledging his debt to his predecessors, attempts in this volume

to compile a more comprehensive and detailed account than any we have seen before.

As to *why* the epics contain so many abnormal forms, Oberlies has no doubts: ‘Decisive for the use of grammatically incorrect forms is—in the overwhelming majority of cases—their position within the *pāda*’ (p. xxxi); on the same page he quotes (actually slightly misquotes) Hopkins: ‘Metre surpasses grammar’. This is a clearly signalled return to the traditional viewpoint, after van Daalen’s very different claim (for the *Rāmāyaṇa*) that ‘Irregularities do not owe their existence to metrical necessity’ (*Vālmiki’s Sanskrit*, Leiden, 1980, p. 118). Perhaps some discussion of these two irreconcilable positions might have been in order; it has to be said that Oberlies’s position seems incomparably the stronger.

Most of this work inevitably consists of lists of epic ‘irregularities’ categorized by type, and the great majority of these are straightforward. Occasionally one can add to the information given: there are further cases of the type of hiatus noted at 1.1.1.2 at MBh 12.83.42 and 12 App.17C.131, and there are further cases of unexpected consonantal finals at MBh 7.80.6, 12.229.21, 14.93.17 and 16.1.5. On p. 51 Oberlies notes four examples from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of words where the expected retroflexion of a medial *-n-* is not found; there are in fact at least eighteen further such cases in the constituted text of the *Mahābhārata*, including the double example at 7.166.24: *vaidharmikāni kurvanti tathā paribhavena ca*. And as my good deed for the day I can give references for two forms which Oberlies was unable to trace: *kārayithāh* (p. 229, n. 5) appears in the Bombay edition of the *Mahābhārata* at 4.50.13 (not 3.50.13), and in the Poona edition at 4.45.12; and *kriyāt* (p. 231, n. 1) appears at MBh 14.35.19.

In many cases more than one explanation is possible for a form, and Oberlies is generally good at flagging the various possibilities. R 6.1672\*.4, for example, runs *kṛtapratikṛtānyonyam babhūvatur abhidrutau*. Oberlies cites *kṛtapratikṛtā* on p. 55 as a nom. pl. n. in *-ā* (instead of *-āni*), but notes that it is sometimes taken as a nom. dual m., and that both here and at R 6.66.25 *kṛtapratikṛtānyonyam* could also be a haplology for *kṛtapratikṛtāny anyonyam*. And on p. 135 he lists MBh 1.94.91 *gacchāvah* as a present used to express an immediate intention, but notes that it might merely be a case of °*vaḥ* in place of °*va*, or even (since *sva*° follows) an orthographic variant before a sibilant ligature.

Inevitably, though, there are cases where one may disagree with Oberlies’s interpretation of an ‘irregular’ form. MBh 5.36.3 contains the form *asmo* (= *asmah*) for *smah*, ‘we are’; Oberlies (p. 182) lists this as an augmented non-preterite form, but it seems simpler to account for the initial *a-* as a discrepant strong stem. On p. 321 he introduces the usage of the instrumental of an abstract noun identifying function (e.g., *dautyenāgatya*, ‘having come as messenger’, MBh 3 App.8.16); but the case *lakṣmaṇena sahāyena vanam gachasva putraka* (R 2 App.15.7) is a simple apposition. On p. 336 it seems excessively complicated to interpret *nānādighbhaḥ* (R 1.54.23) as an unusual ablative usage; it is surely a dative of goal of motion.

Many of the sections on syntax are of interest, though they naturally cannot deal with every single problem case. Oberlies’s comments on the periphrastic future (pp. 157–60), for example, reveal quite subtle patterns of usage.

The book appears to have been very carefully put together, and I have not noticed significant typographic errors. It does have its quirks: the word-processing software that Oberlies used seems unable to divide footnotes

between pages, with the result that there are frequent early page-breaks resulting in incomplete pages. It also seems odd to write the short retroflex vowel as *r* but the long one as *r̄*. I would question the use of so many Latinisms, especially where really unnecessary ('verba dicendi', for example): they will make the book significantly harder to use for Indians—or indeed for anyone else—without knowledge of the language. The Index locorum and Index verborum are both very valuable, but neither is complete, and I was not able to determine the basis of the selection.

*A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* will be extremely useful: it draws together a great deal of material that was previously scattered through a large number of disparate sources, and in some cases had not been noted at all. Oberlies's interpretations, though inevitably sometimes open to argument, are clear and well-referenced. Compiling this book must have been very laborious, and we must all be grateful to Oberlies for his efforts.

JOHN D. SMITH

SONJA FRITZ:

*The Dhivehi Language: Descriptive and Historical Grammar of Maldivian and Its Dialects.*

(Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut, Universität Heidelberg, Band 191.) 2 vols. xv, 270; vii, 280 pp. Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2003. €75.

Although Wilhelm Geiger (1856–1943) and H. C. P. Bell (1851–1937) studied the Maldivian language as far as they were able, in an era when access to the islands was far from easy, the only substantial modern account of the language is by B. D. Cain and J. W. Gair (Munich: Lincom Europa, 2000), and is largely confined to the standard Male language. The present work, which is in total about eight times as long as Cain and Gair, is particularly noteworthy for its substantial coverage of two of the three southern dialects, those of Aḍḍū and Fua'Mulaku atolls (the third southern dialect, that of Huvadū, is occasionally referred to). It is not entirely true that the southern dialects have 'never served as an object of linguistic interest before'; Annagrethe Ottovar made a preliminary study of the language of Fua'Mulaku in 1978 (and incidentally confirms the gender difference of *eu* and *ea* in Fua'Mulaku, which Fritz seems to doubt). Simon Fuller did further work here in 1982. But neither he nor Ottovar seem to have published their results. The present work is therefore invaluable in this connection, and is likely to remain so for some time.

Sonja Fritz's work, like Cain's, is written in a proper transcription (except for the name of the Maldivian language itself, Divehi, which is written, according to the official transcription system, as 'Dhivehi' in both works—and likewise both works refer to the capital island as 'Malé', although the official transcription ought to be 'Maale'). Fritz uses /s/ for the second letter of the Maldivian alphabet, where Cain uses /ṣ/, but both Cain and Fritz agree that it is sometimes sounded without the sibilant feature—which is why both Geiger and Bell transcribed it as a form of /r/. With regard to the transcription of *tā sukun* (vowelless -t), Fritz writes simply /i/ for the standard form, e.g. haidiha '70'. This is misleading; Cain's transcription /hayddiha/ is preferable in that it shows the consonantal gemination which is normally produced. Some features mentioned appear to be more a matter of spelling than of speech. /ai/ and /aa/

are acknowledged variants, especially as absolute terminations; but /aa/ and /au/ seem also to be stylistic variants, and the ending here transcribed as /-oe/, while this certainly accords with the pronunciation (boe, koe, foe, etc.), is normally written as /-oi/.

The text has clearly been very well proofread, and the footnotes are all in their proper place so that they can actually be used. This is particularly laudable at a time when some UK publishers do not send out proofs at all, even for academic works of reference. And the fact that the whole work, which had its original form in German, has been translated into English for publication is much to be commended. A small comment here is that the word 'obviously' would usually be better expressed as 'apparently'.

The second volume contains 'material', i.e. texts, with transcription and English translation, followed by a survey of existing historical documents. It is fortunate that many of the texts given also provide either a photocopy of the newspaper from which they were taken, or a reference to the periodical *Fattūra*, since this enables the reader to correct the printed text in quite a number of places (the reference given for the story 'Nimun', incidentally, seems to be inaccurate).

The greater part of the grammar falls under the heading of 'morphology'. Here the sections devoted to the personal pronouns and to the numerals are especially detailed (though it is misleading to say (p. 124) that in Sinhalese there is no ordinal form derived from ek- 'one', since the Sinhalese numerals 21st, 31st, etc., all show the form -ekveni). The troublesome section concerns the verbal system, which is still not completely understood. It is noteworthy that Fritz accepts (p. 165) that 'many speakers of northern Dhivehi show a gradual loss of their competence in parts of the inherited verbal morphology and try to avoid conjugational forms'. The conjugational forms listed omit the 3 pl. ending -te, which is nowadays purely literary, and the usage of the forms that *are* listed is still not always fully understood. A number of comparisons are made with the closely related language Sinhalese, information about which is mostly taken from the second edition (1983) of Matzel's *Einführung in die singhalesische Sprache* (of which there is also a third edition, described as 'verbesserte' (1987)). On some points here, improved statements might be found in a similar work of reference, this reviewer's *Sinhalese, an Introductory Course* (London: SOAS, second edition 1995), for instance in the section on auxiliary verbs. It is hardly correct to say (p. 284) that *yanavā* 'to go' and *enavā* 'to come' are only rarely used as auxiliaries in Sinhalese, cf. Reynolds, *Sinhalese*, pp. 188–9. With regard to *n*-stem verbs in Sinhalese (p. 172), H. Günther provided useful observations in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (1949), pp. 73–83. On p.173, n. 415, 'Sinh.' should read 'Sindhi'.

A great deal of thought has gone into the question of etymologies. In general, Fritz tends to discount any Dravidian influence ('typologically highly improbable', p. 186), but this is indeed a welcome contrast to Clarence Maloney's frequently absurd sponsoring of Tamil features in the Maldives (*People of the Maldiv Islands*, Orient Longman, 1980). Nevertheless it seems not improbable that, for instance, past tenses in -jje should have Dravidian connections, and even that the obsolete verb \**ev(i)anī* 'to call, name' might, like Sinh. *yana*, show the influence of T. *ena* (Helmer Smith in *Journal Asiatique* 238 (1950), p. 189). The literary suffix -*eve* is not, surely, all that modern. Apart from this, there are some words where the etymology would seem less uncertain than is here stated, e.g. the honorific suffix -*fānu* must be composed of Sinh. *pā* (= *pāda*) + honorific -*fanu* or -*aṇu*; and Geiger did obviously realize the nature of the compounded verb \**fianī* (see Geiger, 1919,

p. 81). Some Sinhalese words which Fritz believes to be non-existent are in fact to be found, such as *danavā* ‘to burn’ (intr.), p. 204.

The final section on syntax is not very long. It seems incorrect to say that ‘in modern standard language *-ā* “and” is used in rare cases only’, unless modern written examples are to be excluded; there are many such examples given in vol. 2. One might expect here mention of certain conjunctions or particles as deserving further attention. Such are *-tī(ve)*, *-tā*, *-sure*, *-mā*, *-as*, *-īs*. *-tī* is found in causal connections (T8, 5 and 77), *-tā* in temporal connections (T8, 6), *-mā* also in temporal connections (and must surely be connected with Sinh. *-(ā)ma*). *tā* is also frequently used in exclamations (T8, 7, 22, 133). *-as* is concessive, whether after nouns or verbs (T8, 148, 184). *-īs* has two separate uses; in negative clauses it means ‘before’ (*iru nōssunīs*, ‘before sunset’) and in conditional apodoses it corresponds to ‘would have’ (*demi-otumuge ālamaś daturek nukurevīs*, ‘would not have died’, T10, 97); in the latter sense it appears in formal writing as *-iheve*. The mysterious *-lek*, which is required after participles in certain contexts, is referred to in a footnote on p. 152, and is also to be found in T8, 110 and 148, T10, 122. Finally, there does seem to be a verbal form ending in *-a*, exemplified in the word *nuvata* ‘or’ (‘if it be not’) and in expressions such as *viyaka nudem*, ‘I do not allow to happen’, *feturuna nudī*, ‘not allowing to spread’; such is probably also the word *kuḷa* in *debai kuḷa ekbai*, ‘one quarter’. Previous comments on M.W.S. de Silva’s views on some of these linguistic phenomena may be found in Cousins *et al.*, *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Homer* (Dordrecht, 1974), pp. 193–8, especially the footnotes, which cover also the use of *-(a)kī* with verbs in negative sentences, as in T8, 116 and T10, 117 (*iniākī*).

There are comprehensive indexes in both volumes: a minor correction is that Lt. Christopher’s colleague in 1841 was Young, not Wilson. Such a detailed, comprehensive and accurate work as this will certainly remain a permanent work of reference for the Divehi language.

CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS

CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS:

*A Maldivian Dictionary.*

xii, 412 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £55.

The book under review is a dictionary of Maldivian (the aboriginal term is Divehi, sometimes also written Dhivehi, where *dh* stands for mere dental, not for an aspirate), an Indo-Aryan language, closely related to Sinhala and spoken by the population of the Republic of Maldives. The author, Christopher Reynolds (R.), who is also a great authority on Sinhala and a connoisseur of the Maldives and Maldivian history and culture, has already published several articles on Maldivian and a comprehensive bibliography of the Maldives (Chr. Reynolds, *Maldives* (Oxford, 1993)), where the reader can find references to the literature on this small island country, on which relatively little information has been available up to now, in spite of the rapid development of tourism over the last three decades. Ironically, the Maldivian language has probably received less scholarly attention than any other official (i.e. used as the official language of a country) language in the world. Fortunately, the turn of the century was marked by a rapid increase in publications on Maldivian. During the last few years, we have obtained a short grammatical sketch by Bruce Cain and James Gair, *Dhivehi (Maldivian)* (Munich, 2000)



and, two years later, a comprehensive description by Sonja Gippert Fritz, dealing with both synchronic and diachronic aspects of the language (*The Dhivehi Language. A Descriptive and Historical Grammar of Maldivian and its Dialects I, II* (Würzburg, 2002)). As far as dictionaries are concerned, apart from some quite out-of-date publications in nineteenth-century Orientalist journals, a few Maldivian lexicons published in the Maldives and inaccessible to the Western reader, as well as word lists in tourist guides, there have been none up to now. The present book aims to fill this gap in the research into Indo-Aryan languages.

The book opens with a short introduction (pp. v–x). The first two sections explain the main rules of transliteration of the Maldivian script, Tāna. R. rightly abandons the standard ('official') system of transliteration adopted by the Maldivian authorities, which is essentially oriented towards English spelling (*ee* for *ī*, *oo* for *ū*, etc.) and has no scientific value. The author also introduces some justifiable modifications to the standard orthography, mainly aiming at the unification of the representation of morphemes. Thus, the stem-final [-n] and *alif* [-p] are written as *-m* and *-k* when corresponding to *-m-* and *-k-* before vocalic endings, not as *-n* and *-h*, as in the official Maldivian orthography.

There are, however, a few features which make R.'s system less scientific and, in my view, less attractive for an Indologist: (1) Rendering the vowel length by writing the corresponding vowel twice (*aa* etc.), instead of using the superscript <sup>ˉ</sup> (though not quite consistently: in the list of letters on pp. v and vii, R. writes *ā*, *ī*, etc.); (2) The use of *ř* for the retroflex fricative (affricate (?) according to R.), apparently following W. Geiger's notation (*ř*, that is, with the non-rounded superscript sign, háček). Although the notation of this phoneme varies much from one author to another (*ś*, *sh*, *š*, *ř*, *rh*), and, in some dialects, it is indeed realized as the retroflex flap or trill (*r*), a more common transcription, *ś* (thus De Silva, Gippert Fritz) or *š* (Cain and Gair), referring to the fricative realization, seems more appropriate; (3) R. apparently avoids using any special sign for the glottal stop (mostly appearing as the realization of some consonants at the end of a word or before consonants), which he merely calls *alif* in text. On several occasions in the introduction, R. adopts quite an unusual transcription (with no explanation), \* (e.g. on p. vi: 'a final written -t is pronounced -y\*'). It seems that a more common notation for this sound, ʔ or ʻ, would be preferable.

The reader may also complain about the lack of a summarizing phonetic table, which would be particularly helpful for a non-Indologist (who may not know, for instance, that *c* and *j* denote palatal affricates, but not dental affricate [ts] and palatal sonant [j/y]).

R. further gives some minimal grammatical information relevant to the presentation of verbs and nouns in the dictionary, and lists the main sources of the dictionary. For compiling the present dictionary, the author used the lexicon *Ran Tari* ('Golden Star'), published in the Maldives in 1957 by Malim Musa Kalegefanu, which has been essentially supplemented from several newspapers and literary works.

The main part of the book, the dictionary proper, contains 5,130 numbered items. Maldivian words are arranged in accordance with the order of letters adopted in most Indic alphabets (vowels—stops and nasals in order of place of articulation, from velars to labials—sonants and sibilants), not with that of Tāna (which partly reflects the historical sources of the letters, beginning with nine letters based on Arabic ciphers from 1 to 9: ۱ (= 1) h, ۲ (= 2) ś/ř, ۳ (= 3) n, etc.). Each entry opens with the Latin transliteration of the Maldivian word (in caps), followed by its Tāna spelling. For nouns R. also gives the indefinite

form in *-ek*, in order to show the final stem consonant or consonant cluster where it is different from that which appears in the base form (e.g., *gas*, *gah-ek* 'tree', *kudi*, *kujj-ek* 'child'). Verbs are listed in the present tense form in *-nī* (*-nīi*). The author further gives the part of speech characteristics (noun, verb, adjective, etc.), English translation, as well as, where necessary, some irregular forms for verbs (past participles, absolutes), verbal nouns and honorific forms. Some entries also contain examples of the uses of the item in question, some fixed collocations and idiomatic expressions. Many entries conclude with some brief etymological information, mostly amounting to the quotation of the Sinhala, Sanskrit and/or Prakrit cognates or sources of loan-words (English, Portuguese, Arabic, Hindi-Urdu, Persian).

As well as free words (lexemes), the dictionary also contains some bound morphemes, viz. suffixes and prefixes, even including some (but not all) inflectional morphemes, such as the indefinite nominal suffix *-ek*. Such a practice appears quite unusual for a standard dictionary. Rather, the author might collect all derivational and inflectional morphemes in a separate chapter, which could partly compensate for the lack of a short grammatical sketch and/or some basic paradigms that would be quite in order in such a dictionary.

The few minor remarks do not of course diminish the importance and value of the book under review. This long-awaited dictionary does not merely fill one of the last lacunae among Indo-Aryan lexicons; it also represents an impressive scholarly achievement, being the outcome of many years of work on Maldivian, one of the least known South Asian languages. The book is highly recommended both for linguists and Indologists; it will also be helpful for non-professional readers who may need some basic knowledge of the Maldivian language. Unfortunately, the author was not given the opportunity to read the proofs, which results in quite numerous misprints and *corrigenda*, not to mention annoying typographical lapses such as underlined brackets or commas. Let us hope that the next edition will correct these irritating blunders in this magnificent opus.

LEONID KULIKOV

TORKEL BREKKE:

*Makers of Modern Indian Religion in the Late Nineteenth Century.* (Oxford Oriental Monographs; New Series, 1.) ix, 179 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £40.

This first book by a Norwegian scholar, based on his doctoral work at Oxford, gives fresh insight into nineteenth-century religious movements in South Asia. The title is more subtle than might at first appear. Part of Brekke's argument is that before religion could play the role that it plays in modern South Asia, as a factor identifying and separating sections of the population, religion in the modern sense had first to be made. That is, there had to be a concept of religion as an object of detached observation and study, and a concept of a religion as something belonging to each individual, and to which each individual belongs. Neither of these concepts, as many scholars have observed, is indigenous in South Asia. In discussing their novelty, Brekke argues that modern religious identity is both ascribed and inclusive. That is, it is inherited at birth rather than acquired through individual commitment or initiation (unlike the status of a monk or a devotee, for instance), and it is open to all

members of society (unlike the status of a brahmin, or membership of a caste-exclusive monastic order). He shows that religious identity of this kind is typical of the modernizing movements he describes, but untypical of South Asia before the late nineteenth century. It is a prerequisite for the development of religious nationalism; however, while twentieth-century political monks and communal conflicts are mentioned in the conclusion of the book, they remain in the background.

The book includes accounts of how Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism were made into discrete religions by British officials, especially those who devised the censuses, and by scholars; but the main focus is on the individual Hindu, Buddhist and Jain thinkers who made their respective traditions into modern religions and presented them to the world, at the same time presenting themselves as representatives, modernizers and revivers of those religions. Three roughly equal parts are devoted to Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, each part beginning with a chapter on how the tradition might be defined, and how it attempted to define itself in the nineteenth century. The processes of definition, representation, modernization and revival were accelerated by the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, and the three narratives converge on this event. However, developments unconnected with it are also examined, and the three traditions are not forced into one mould. On the contrary, Brekke's plan helps to point out differences between them: differences in their internal organization, in the nature of religious identity and authority within them, and in their socio-political situation in the nineteenth century.

A further difference is that while nineteenth-century developments in Hinduism, and to some extent Buddhism, have been fairly well described already, Jainism is less well known. The book brings together some useful material on Jainism, both in the nineteenth century and earlier. But while Vivekānanda and Dharmapāla, who represented Hinduism and Buddhism at Chicago, are examined in depth, little is said about the Jain representative Virchand Gandhi. He appeared as an emissary of a more senior Jain figure, Ātmārāmji, who was too conservative to cross the sea himself. Moreover, unlike Dharmapāla, who found Vivekānanda's inclusivist embrace increasingly irksome, Gandhi seems to have been content to echo Vivekānanda, and to call himself a Hindu as well as a Jain. There is more material on Ātmārāmji, and on the more outward looking Vijaya Dharma Sūri, who mediated between Jain tradition and the scholars of the North Atlantic region (or 'West').

The modernizers of the three religions are shown to have themes in common. They preached ideals of social service, and wished to dissolve, minimize or drastically re-interpret boundaries between the elite and the rest: between brahmin and non-brahmin, or between monk or renouncer and layman. They looked at their traditions in a historical perspective, and kept a watchful eye on North Atlantic scholarly interpretations of them. Brekke argues that it was historicism, and the desire to stake a geographical claim, rather than a traditional sense of the sacred place, which informed Dharmapāla's enthusiasm for Bodh Gayā, or Vijaya Dharma Sūri's attempt to establish a Jain centre of learning at Pāvā where Mahāvira died, or Vijayendra Sūri's concern to identify Mahāvira's birthplace.

This well-written and readable book is a valuable contribution to the history of religion in modern South Asia, and to the discussion of religious identity and the role of North Atlantic scholarship. It is well printed, with real footnotes and few misprints, but there are gaps in the index. There are also some authorial slips. Gayā is not a 'district of Bengal' (p. 155), except in the nineteenth-century British sense of 'Bengal'. A few writers referred to in the

text by surname alone are unidentifiable because they appear neither in the bibliography nor in the index. 'Aurobindu' should be 'Aurobindo', and 'Cantwell-Smith, Wilfred' should be 'Smith, Wilfred Cantwell'.

DERMOT KILLINGLEY

GWILYM BECKERLEGGE:

*The Ramakrishna Mission: The Making of a Modern Hindu Movement.*

xiii, 219 pp. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001. £15.95.

This book presents original research, rather than a comprehensive account, so it presupposes some knowledge of its subject. It brings together eight papers on aspects of the Rāmākṛṣṇa movement, some previously published. A recurrent concern is with continuity or discontinuity between Rāmākṛṣṇa and Vivekānanda, between the latter and the movement which he founded, between the movement and Hinduism, and between outsider and insider understanding. On the whole the author is on the side of continuity: he considers Vivekānanda a genuine follower of his guru, and the movement genuinely Hindu, and he prefers where possible to bridge the gap between academic accounts and the movement's self-perception. But sometimes he contests the latter.

Chapter 1 shows the continuity between the views of Rāmākṛṣṇa presented by Friedrich Max Müller, by Romain Rolland, and by the movement itself. Despite the differences of background and approach between these two authors, each in his way was an enthusiast who envisaged a future world-wide convergence of religion which Rāmākṛṣṇa had facilitated. These sympathizers are contrasted in Chapter 2 with those academic outsiders who have sharply criticized the movement's self-image, especially since the 1960s. Some of these have questioned Vivekānanda's claim that his teachings are based on those of Rāmākṛṣṇa, particularly where they concern *advaita* and service to humanity (*sevā*); others have subjected Rāmākṛṣṇa to psychological examination; others again have tried to recruit Vivekānanda as a socialist, or to show how his efforts to transform society were limited by his idealism. Beckerlegge points out that in their critical discussions of Rāmākṛṣṇa's biography, those seeking to 'drive a wedge between Ramakrishna and Vivekananda' (p. 36) have often relied on Mahendranāth Gupta's *Kathāmṛta* at the expense of Svām Sarādānanda's *Līlāprasāṅga*, as if the former did not share the hagiographical character of the latter. Chapter 3 discusses attempts to categorize the movement as 'neo-Hinduism', 'invented Hinduism', 'reform', 'revitalization', 'sect', 'denomination' and so on, and includes an account of the protracted legal case in 1980–95, in which the Trustees of the Mission argued that the movement was a religious minority consisting not of Hindus but of 'Ramakrishnaites'—a view rejected by many within the movement and eventually by the Supreme Court. This chapter warns us against extending categorizations adopted for legal purposes to other contexts, and also against the judgemental or essentialist implications of many academic categories.

Chapter 4 examines Vivekānanda's commitment to philanthropic work, especially famine relief, which was evident before his journey to Chicago in 1893. It is argued that this was not modelled on Christian missionary work, nor was it directly inspired by Rāmākṛṣṇa so much as by Vivekānanda's experience in his wandering years, and his understanding of the political and

economic causes of modern famine. There is no mention of Vivekānanda's view that efforts at improvement within the world of *māyā* are futile except as moral exercises for those who make them. Yet it is this view, rather than 'stereotyped assumptions of Hindu passivity and fatalism' (p. 31) which makes the ideal of *sevā* so fascinatingly problematic. Continuing the theme of *sevā*, chapter 5 assesses the contribution of the movement to the promotion of human rights. The assessment is tentative, recognizing that while Vivekānanda's ideas can be claimed to have influenced people such as Nehru who did not share his view of the primacy of the spiritual, this view made Vivekānanda himself critical of the idea of individual rights, and is emphasized by recent leaders of the movement.

Chapter 6, illustrated with pictures of Rāmakṛṣṇa, Śaradā Devī and Vivekānanda, shows that the many popular prints of these three are based on a small corpus of photographs. The ubiquity of the pictures in Bengal shows that the movement has a popular as well as an elite aspect, while the inclusion of Kālī in many of them shows popular awareness of the link between Rāmakṛṣṇa and Śāktism, which Vivekānanda played down. This link is accepted by the movement, though not emphasized by it as it is by many outside scholars.

Chapter 7 considers why the movement failed to take root in England while it flourished in the USA: the London centre, of which Vivekānanda had great hopes in 1895–96, was moribund when he revisited England in 1899. As Beckerlegge shows, it had always been smaller and more local than in the States, while Vivekānanda and his colleagues gave it less of their time. The movement, however, tends to follow Vivekānanda in blaming individuals for the decline. The final chapter examines one of these individuals, Henrietta Muller. Though often described as vacillating, she pursued a route of her own which led her, like Annie Besant, from Anglicanism through education and feminism to Theosophy, but did not allow her to settle for long in Vedānta.

Each of these papers is a thorough and valuable piece of research. The work of turning them into chapters and making them into a coherent book has been well done, but there are some lapses. The introduction explains at some length why the volume 'uses the designation "Ramakrishna movement" in place of the more conventional Ramakrishna Math and Mission, or simply Ramakrishna Mission'; yet this last phrase is used in the title of the book, and the second appears frequently within it. Some of the references in the acknowledgements give the wrong chapter numbers, several quotations in chapter 7 are repeated in chapter 8, and the reference 'Beckerlegge, forthcoming' (p. 80) should probably be 'Beckerlegge, 1999'. 'Bharati, 1980' (p. 34) is not in the bibliography, and W. Neevel is misspelt 'Neeval' throughout. There are few misprints, but some atrocious hyphenations (e.g. 'althou-gh' and 'thou-ghts' in successive lines on p. 145).

DERMOT KILLINGLEY

DAVID SMITH:

*Hinduism and Modernity.*

(Religion in the Modern World.) xii, 250 pp. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. £15.99.

David Smith proposes (p. 4) that modernity and Hinduism will each 'cast light on the other'. He contrasts Hinduism with modernity, in particular in relationship to women, goddesses and gods, concepts of the self, and gurus. Smith argues that in all these areas Hinduism appears to diverge radically

from modernity. He argues (p. 164) that although modernity and Hinduism are opposed in many ways ‘they also have features in common’.

Although Smith briefly acknowledges the point that both Hinduism and modernity are complex cultural constructs, he bases his argument on the assumption that there is a basic dichotomy between tradition and modernity and ‘Hinduism is the best, or at least the largest, single instance of traditional culture’ (p. 6). This is clearly an ambitious project and Smith refers to a very wide range of subjects. He touches on such diverse topics as early Hindu texts, the encounter between Islam and Hinduism, Orientalist scholars, the deities of the classic pantheon as well as more obvious areas such as the Hindu Renaissance and Hindu nationalism.

Smith begins with a fairly straightforward account of modernity, which he equates with reason. Modernity is illustrated through brief sketches of a number of seminal figures such as Kant, Marx and Weber. This is clearly a Western conception of modernity and Smith does not really explore the contested nature of modernity. None the less this sets the scene for his thesis that a clear distinction can be made between modernity and tradition. Smith (pp. 22–3) contrasts the modern juggernaut that speeds down the motorways of contemporary Western societies with the slow ponderous Hindu temple cars. This is an imaginative and effective metaphor, but it fails to bring out the many ambiguities of both Hinduism and modernity. Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph (*The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*, Chicago, 1984) have clearly argued that the assumption that a radical distinction can be made between modernity and tradition is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of both concepts.

Hinduism is presented as essentially being a unity. Whilst I would not go so far as Frykenberg’s argument that the concept of Hinduism is so elusive that ‘it brings critical analysis to a halt’ (Robert Frykenberg, ‘The emergence of modern “Hinduism” as a concept and as an institution: a reappraisal with special reference to south India’, in Günther-Dietz Sontheimer and Hermann Kulke (eds), *Hinduism Reconsidered*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2001, p. 87), I do think that a fuller engagement with the diversity that is subsumed under the umbrella term Hinduism would have facilitated a more in-depth discussion of how different sectors of the Hindu community have responded to the processes of modernity in substantially different ways.

J. T. F. Jordens (‘Religious and social reform in British India’, in A. L. Basham (ed.), *A Cultural History of India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 365) begins his essay on Hindu religious and social reform with the assertion that there was a radical transformation of Indian society between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. One would expect that any study of Hinduism and modernity would begin during this period. The great Hindu reformer Rammohun Roy (1772–1833) is frequently referred to as ‘the Father of Modern India’. Swami Vivekānanda (1863–1902) is also often associated with modernization (see, for example, William Radice (ed.), *Swami Vivekānanda and the Modernization of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1998)). Smith is far more ambitious and begins his discussion with the *RgVeda*—he provides a short précis of a number of important Hindu texts. It is not absolutely clear why Smith gives us this overview. A more useful discussion would be to analyse why certain *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavad Gītā*, in particular, came to be the most significant texts of the Hindu Renaissance.

Smith then goes on to describe the encounter between Islam and Hinduism with a brief account of Al-Biruni, the most important Mughals and the

seventeenth-century Maratha leader Shivaji. Although Shivaji has, as Smith (p. 62) indicates, become 'an icon of Hindu fundamentalism', and of course the Mughal rulers have been represented by Hindu nationalists since V. D. Savarkar as a total anathema, it is again unclear why Smith gives us this potted history.

The European encounter with India and in particular the works of the Orientalist scholars is arguably the critical point for the interaction between Hinduism and modernity. Smith gives us an overview of this encounter and provides a good account of the importance of Warren Hastings, the first governor general of British India, and scholars such as William (Oriental) Jones, the first president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Charles Wilkins, who translated the *Bhagavad Gītā* into English in 1785. One of the most useful sections of Smith's book is his criticism of the work of Edward Said and Ronald Inden. Edward Said's thesis on Orientalism is of course familiar to many, however his main focus was on the Middle East. Inden, basing his ideas on Said, critiques Western scholars' representations of India. Inden accuses Orientalist scholars of representing India in terms of imagined essences in order to assert a Western hegemony, in his turn Smith suggests that Inden himself perceives the Orientalist scholars in essentialist terms and argues 'the Orientalist is the other over which he [Inden] seeks hegemony' (p. 100).

The range of topics covered in this publication is impressive and this is both its strength and its weakness. The strength is that this work constitutes an overview of many of the salient issues that arise from the encounter between Hinduism and modernity. At times Smith is deliberately provocative, for example in his discussion of feminism and his critique of Orientalism. He utilizes a wide range of sources and his references to a number of films in particular provide an interesting and useful dimension to many of the arguments. On the other hand the breadth of subjects covered sometimes means that they are treated in a rather cursory way. None the less, this work makes a good foundation in a readily accessible style for anyone interested in this important and complex subject.

STEPHEN JACOBS

ENAMUL HAQUE:

*Studies in Bengal Art Series: No. 4, Chandraketugarh:  
A Treasure-House of Bengal Terracottas.*

416 pp., 678 plates. Dhaka: The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, 2001. US \$50.

Terracotta plaques and figurines discovered in Bengal dating approximately from the second century BC to the second century AD are usually assigned to the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods, even though there is little evidence that these northern Indian dynasties extended as far eastward as Bengal. Many of the terracottas portray maidens with generous breasts, narrow waists and ample hips; they have elaborate hairdos punctuated by clusters of jewelled pins and clips. Others show male figures wearing turbans and often bearing weapons. Such terracottas are commonly described as *yakṣīs* and *yakṣas*, no doubt because of their partial resemblance to stone statues of these nature spirits in Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa art. Yet no corroborating evidence exists to confirm that in Bengal these figures were actually intended to represent these particular spirits;

indeed, it is not at all clear what role these plaques and figurines may have played in the religious cults of the time.

In spite of these uncertainties, the Bengal terracottas under discussion here have long been admired for their animated subject matter and sensuous beauty. In the last few years, a large number have appeared on the art market coming from Chandraketugarh. This site, 20 kilometres north-east of Kolkata (Calcutta), has been familiar to archaeologists from the early twentieth century and excavations were conducted here in the 1950s and 1960s, though no detailed report was ever published. With the profusion of Chandraketugarh terracottas now reaching public and private collections in India, Europe and the USA, the time has come for an assessment of these diverse materials from both an archaeological and art historical perspective. This new book by the former director general of the Bangladesh National Museum in Dhaka fills a much-needed gap.

The chief virtue of the volume under review is its illustrations, for here can be seen almost 700 terracotta pieces arranged carefully according to subject and style. More than half come from a private and largely unpublished collection in a New York gallery known as The Art of the Past. Nor do these 700 pieces represent the entire known corpus of Chandraketugarh terracottas. The author estimates that there exist probably another 300 or so, most of them in Indian collections. Before describing individual examples, the author begins with the site itself, discussing the excavations and analysing the finds. These range in date from the third century BC to the fifth and even sixth centuries AD, but the author is mostly concerned with those from the second century BC to the second century AD, which he confidently assigns a Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa dynastic label. (Another point for the reader to keep in mind here is that most of the pieces discussed in this book lack any proven archaeological context.) Then follows the inventory of figurines and plaques arranged according to a rigorous but convincing typology that is the author's principal contribution to the subject. Beginning with stylized serpents he then turns his attention to what he describes as the *yaksī* type: standing and dancing in different poses, with attendants or a child, playing a musical instrument, holding a lotus flower, with wings, wearing different head-dresses, etc. Among these varied but related figurines are some undisputed masterpieces of early Indian terracotta art. They include small-scale relief panels showing a jewelled maiden standing in a garden filled with fantasy lotuses (C 30), or in an ornate pavilion accompanied by attendants holding feathered fans, a parasol and a fish-shaped standard (C 137), the latter now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Then there are figurines, many of them broken but none the less exquisite, such as the dancing maiden with an elaborate hairdo gathered in a large bun at the back of her neck who gestures enigmatically with a finger to one of her large circular earrings (C 82).

From this catalogue of terracotta female figures from Chandraketugarh, the author moves on to the *yakṣa* type, many of which he identifies as Kubera because of the protruding rounded stomach that characterizes this well-known deity in early Buddhist and Hindu art. One of the most extraordinary male figures portrays a demon wearing Roman martial costume, lifting up a protesting girl (C 267). The author suggests that this might represent Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā, a key episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic, but this identification is tentative at best. Other male figures with ornate turbans, jewelled waistbands, spears and occasionally feathered wings conform to the more conventional guardian type known in northern Indian art. The catalogue ends with a



number of pieces fashioned as parrots, elephants and monkeys, erotic scenes and religious festivals.

Even a cursory glance through the photographs of this dazzling array of terracottas reveals a number of repeated subjects. Sometimes the examples are so similar as to confirm the use of a common mould, with perhaps minor modifications added by hand before the clay dried. The author is helpful in this regard for he groups the examples by type and specifically points out relationships between individual pieces, some of which survive only as fragments. The volume ends with a discussion of the social and cultural context of the Chandraketugarh terracottas. The author concludes that they are the products of an urban taste thriving on agricultural and commercial prosperity. Sadly, little other material evidence is available for this vital but otherwise vanished ancient culture of Bengal.

GEORGE MICHELL

HUGH B. URBAN:

*Songs of Ecstasy: Tantric and Devotional Songs from Colonial Bengal.*

xi, 187 pp. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. £35.

HUGH B. URBAN:

*The Economics of Ecstasy: Tantra, Secrecy and Power in Colonial Bengal.*

xvii, 286 pp. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. £45.

These companion books concern the *kartābhajās* of colonial and modern Bengal. The worshippers (from root *bhaj*) of the *kartā*, the ‘Master’ or ‘Creator’ (who is represented by the human guru of the sect, also known as the *kartā*) are a branch of the *vaiṣṇava sahajīya* tradition. Though rooted in secret tantric practices, this sect grew into a powerful popular devotional movement in the nineteenth century, but attracted widespread ridicule among the ‘respectable’ middle classes of Calcutta by the turn of the twentieth century. This was for two reasons: the notoriety of their reputed esoteric sexual rituals and the scandal aroused by the wealth, power and perceived corruption of their leaders. The latter formed a stark contrast to the humanist and egalitarian ideals which earlier in the century had led some to liken the *kartābhajās* to a lower-class equivalent of the Brahma Samaj.

*Bhāva* is the common theme, which the author, following June McDaniel, translates as ‘“ecstasy” in the sense of extreme religious emotion or divine madness’ (p. 236). *Bhāver gītā* is a collection of mystical songs sung by wandering minstrels, similar and closely related to the *bauls*. The first collection was not published until 1882 (though an earlier manuscript dating from 1828 was found by the author in a library in Calcutta), but many of the songs originated much earlier and reflect the historical, social and economic conditions of the late eighteenth century. This was a crucial transitional period in the history of Bengal as it witnessed the arrival of the East India Company traders and the economic upheavals which accompanied gradual foreign domination of the market. Indeed, one of the most fascinating aspects of these haunting songs is their use of mercantile terminology from this era—especially the ‘Company’ itself, which is transformed into a spiritual ‘Company of the Poor’. Founded

by the wandering ‘madman’ Aulcand—identified by his followers as the reincarnation of Caitanya—the sect’s adherents were drawn mostly from low-class and low-caste groups: the ‘poor rural peasantry and the porters, petty merchants and small traders of Calcutta [who were] most negatively affected by the changing economic context’. On one level these songs provide a fascinating glimpse of the outer world in which these people lived. For example, one song describes the arrival of East India Company ships, with sails billowing in the wind in the Bay of Bengal, bringing rich cargoes of strange foreign goods (n. 17, p. 51). But such descriptions are also metaphor both concealing and revealing esoteric mystical meanings connected to the initiate’s quest for spiritual riches by finding the elusive ‘Man of the Heart’. (A term common to the *kartābhajās* and the *bauls* but which the author believes may have originated with the former.) The wider tantric ‘bodily landscape’ of *cakras*, *nāḍīs* and *kuṇḍalinī* are present in some of the songs, as well as veiled allegorical references to the sexual *sadhana* associated with this orientation to the body. The author does not provide us with a detailed analysis of the esoteric meanings of each song but instead covers key concepts in his introductory outline of the sect in its historical context.

A fuller account is attempted in the second, more theoretical, book, *The Economics of Ecstasy*. This deals mainly with issues of secrecy and esotericism. While not going so far as to agree with those who state that there is no content to an esoteric secret, the author considers that it is more useful, following Bourdieu, to focus on the ‘strategies of secrecy’ whereby possession of esoteric knowledge is translated into ‘symbolic capital’ in the form of prestige and power within an ‘alternative’ social order. In the case of the *kartābhajās* this ‘symbolic’ capital translated all too readily into literal economic power for the sect’s leaders.

The author then goes on to survey a range of theoretical issues concerning the study of esoteric groups, as well as (among other things) Marxian analyses of subaltern groups under colonialism, and the thorny question of the category of ‘Tantra’ itself. Unfortunately, as Urban’s theoretical sweep grows wider, his material base looks thinner. I also felt he was being led rather far from his own stated position: his (to this reviewer admirable) stance against reductionism and in favour of recognizing the ‘“spiritual”, mystical element in “subaltern” religious movements’—is a position he proclaims in both books but which is not elaborated.

Urban’s sources are overwhelmingly written ones, and mostly secondary, drawing on previous scholarship in both English and Bengali on the *kartābhajās* and the wider *sahajīya* tradition. This in itself is not a problem, but Urban does not sufficiently discuss or analyse his sources in his text, nor does he distinguish adequately between primary and secondary ones. It becomes difficult to discern where his argument is coming from. For example, he states that the songs in their historical context have to be read ‘against the grain of the ways in which they are read and used by disciples today’ (*Songs*, p. 3) but gives no examples of the latter. In *The Economics of Ecstasy* we often do not know where the hermeneutics come from unless we examine the endnotes and bibliography—from present-day devotees, from devotees in the later colonial period (none are cited from an earlier period than that), or from secondary studies?

Given his stated intent to study tantric traditions within their ‘lived context’, it is disappointing that Urban makes little use of the personal contacts he frequently mentions. Only two interviews with *kartābhajā* gurus are reported

in any detail; the author probes them about the secret sexual practices of the sect. This is only to illustrate the 'strategies of secrecy' which are the book's most prominent theme. One cannot help but wonder what else the researcher talked to 'insiders' about over a period of three years (1994–97, p. 240). His ethical concerns over penetrating esoteric areas do not seem sufficient reason, since many of the secrets are quite well known in the literature and he has revealed them to us second-hand; and esoteric sexuality is not all that the sect is 'about', as he himself has shown.

Nevertheless, these remain two deeply interesting and useful books which not only open a window onto a fascinating religious tradition, but allow us to watch the transmuting power of metaphor turning daily life in a particular historical period into haunting images of a mysterious inner narrative.

KATHLEEN TAYLOR

SVEN BRETTFELD:

*Das Singhalesische Nationalepos von König Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya: Textkritische Bearbeitung und Übersetzung der Kapitel VII.3–VIII.3 der Rasavāhinī des Vedeha Thera und Vergleich mit den Paralleltexten Sahassavatthupparāṇa und Saddharmālaṅkāraya.* (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie.) cxxviii, 276 pp. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2001. €96.12.

The myth of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya of second-century BCE Sri Lanka features regularly in discussions of the ongoing tensions between the predominantly Buddhist Sinhalese majority and Hindu Tamil separatists in modern Sri Lanka. On the one hand, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is held up by Sinhalese nationalists as a Buddhist hero defending Sri Lanka against non-Buddhist domination, represented by his mythical foe, the vanquished king Eḷāra. On the other, because of this use made of it in political rhetoric, the legend of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī has been subject to much deconstruction in recent decades. The best known textual source for the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī myth is the *Mahāvamsa*, the sixth-century chronicle of the Mahāvihāra monastic lineage. Analysing this alongside inscriptional and alternative textual evidence, scholars have suggested that the war waged by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was not along ethnic grounds, and as such cannot act as authorization for Sinhalese killing of Tamils today. It has been suggested that the myth of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Eḷāra was developed into a story of ethnic opposition and religious conflict retrospectively, perhaps in the wake of the conflicts with south Indian empires such as that of the Coḷas from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, during which Buddhist monasteries and sites were often destroyed. It is the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī myth in texts composed during the period of these hostilities between Sri Lanka and south Indian powers that Bretfeld seeks to explore in this work: the thirteenth-century *Rasavāhinī* and one of its main sources, the *Sahassavatthupparāṇa*. The *Rasavāhinī* in turn became the basis of one of the most important sources of popular Sinhalese understanding of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī myth today, the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*.

The bulk of the book is given over to a presentation of the texts. The main work is a critical edition of the episode in the *Rasavāhinī*, with its *īkā* (pp.1–80), its translation and indications of additional episodes in the fourteenth-century Sinhala retelling, the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* (pp. 83–199).

This is followed by an edition of sections of the *Sahassavattuppakarāṇa* (pp. 207–22, in anticipation of an edition of the entire text by Jacqueline Filliozat, p. 203) and their translation (pp. 223–45).

The discussion of the Duṭṭhagāmanī theme and issues concerning the texts' composition, editorial principles and manuscript sources are found in the lengthy introduction (pp. xvii–cxxvii), where a survey is provided of previous works on the *Rasavāhinī*.

The continued significance of the *Rasavāhinī* is attested by the number of works it inspired. The most important of these is the still popular Sinhala rendition, the *Saddharmālaikāraya*, composed by Devarakṣita Jayabāhu Dharmakīrti in the late fourteenth century. Other works include the *Rasavāhinī's* *ṭikā*, the *Sāratthadīpikā* by Siddhattha (no estimation of date given, nor an indication of the reason for thinking it of Thai composition); the *Rasavāhinī-gāthāsannaya*, a verbatim translation of the verses into Sinhalese (date and author unknown); the *Rasavāhinī-gātapadaya*, a name given to several Sinhala explanations of difficult words, of unknown authorship and date; and the *Madhurasavāhinīvattu*, which is a Burmese rendition of a section of the text by Vajirapabhāsa, date also unknown. All these texts are described with references to both printed editions and manuscripts (pp. lxiv–lxviii).

There are useful observations on Pali syntax, a topic little treated in European language (pp. xlvii–lv and lvii). (To the works listed in p. xlix note 3, which tend to focus on case syntax, we can now add the first in-depth treatment of Pali sentence syntax in a European language: Bodhiprasiddhinand's 2003 Oxford D.Phil. thesis, which also surveys the extensive Thai studies on Pali syntax.) In his examination of the syntax, which is typical of later Pali literature, Bretfeld indicates the simple basic sentence structure in contrast to the relatively complex piling of absolute phrases. Bretfeld points to the influence of the Sinhalese mother tongue of the authors and (late) Sanskrit *kāvya*. He also notes in the *Sahassavattu* the tendency towards absolute lists that change agent within a single sentence. The non-classical use of case endings and concord is also examined, a difficult task when one has to decide between features of the text versus the manuscript transmission, and only really viable, if at all, when undertaking a critical edition on the bases of multiple witnesses, as here.

The discussion of the Duṭṭhagāmanī myth appears in two sections. The first analyses the overall development of the Duṭṭhagāmanī myth in Sri Lankan literature, including the *Rasavāhinī* (xvii–xl). This includes the inconsistencies in the well-known *Dīpavāṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa* renditions, the discrepancies in other accounts, the concretization of the story along Sinhala/Buddhist versus Tamil/anti-Buddhist lines and the increasing vilification of Eḷāra. One of the most interesting variants in relative early literature is the alternative story of the *arhats'* visit to Duṭṭhagāmanī. This is the infamous episode in the *Mahāvāṃsa* in which the victorious Duṭṭhagāmanī is filled with remorse at the number of people he has killed in the war, but is reassured by *arhats* that he in fact only killed one and a half people. The half had taken the refugees in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, while the one had in addition undertaken the five Buddhist precepts for lay people. The rest, holding false beliefs, were no better than animals (Mhv 25, 109–11, translated xxiii). The alternative account is found in the fifth-century commentary to the *Dīghanikāya*. Here, it is Duṭṭhagāmanī's joy at his victory that prevents him sleeping for a month. The *arhats* cure his insomnia by reciting an Abhidhamma text (pp. xxxv–xxxvi). An example of the development of this story into one of holy wars is found in the *Sahassavattuppakarāṇa*, where the Tamils killed are equated not

with animals, but with *asura*, the demons of the mythological fight between the good divinities (*sura*) and the *asura* (p. lxxvii).

The second discussion of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī myth gives a detailed breakdown of the differences between the *Mahāvamsa*, *Rasavāhinī*, *Sahassavatthu* and *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* (pp. lxxvii–xcvi). Curiously, Bretfeld does not discuss the usage of the all-important word ‘Damiḷa’, usually translated as ‘Tamil(s)’, but thought by some to mean ‘enemy’ (although this latter interpretation is far from unproblematic for some uses, e.g. in language lists). Given the influence of Sinhala on the Pali of the texts indicated by Bretfeld, he might be interested by Walters’ observation, ‘The inadequacy of translating the term *damiḷa* as “Tamil” becomes especially manifest in the seventeenth-century Sinhala Vamsa text *Rājāvaliya*, where the equivalent Sinhala term *demala* is applied to enemies as far-flung as the Chinese and the Portuguese’ (2000: 120 note 38, see below.)

Bretfeld’s work, then, makes two contributions. It improves much-needed accessibility to Sri Lankan medieval literature through his editions and translations of the texts under scrutiny, and it demonstrates the further development and hardening of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī–Eḷāra myth towards its modern usage in nationalist rhetoric. However, since most of the book is written very much within the Indological tradition of critical edition with its focus on the minutiae of the form of the texts and search for origins, it would be well worth extracting and further developing the latter contribution to facilitate its uptake in the broader discussion that initially inspired the enquiry. It could build on the important insights offered by Jonathan S. Walters’ discussion of the forces at play in the writing of *vamsa* and related literature, ‘Buddhist history: The Sri Lankan Pāli Vamsas and their commentary’, in Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters and Daud Ali, *Querying the Medieval*, Oxford University Press, 2000: 99–164.

KATE CROSBY

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#### CENTRAL AND INNER ASIA

TOM EVERETT-HEATH (ed.):

*Central Asia: Aspects of Transition*.

ix, 290 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £21.99.

This collection of articles represents an attempt to address the question of Soviet legacy in post-Soviet Central Asia. The writers assess the significance of this with regard to the issues of nation building, religion, development and environment in the region. The first two articles offer historical accounts of the local movements against the establishment of Soviet rule in Central Asia. Alexander Marshall examines the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the *Basmachi* movement. Paul Bergen is interested in a brief attempt by local intellectuals and political activists to establish an independent government in Kokand in 1917–18. Both articles, though not directly addressing the Soviet legacy, provide useful background to subsequent political development in Central Asia.

Some articles in this volume take a theoretical approach similar to that in earlier works on post-Soviet Central Asia by Western scholars. For instance,

Andrew Segars's comparative analysis of language policies in Soviet Uzbekistan and Kemalist Turkey concerning the issue of nation building, Robert Lowe's work on the nation-building process in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, and Tom Everett-Heath on national identity and instability in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan after independence are largely based on the modernist assumptions of nation and state. As a result their observations seem to offer few new insights into this topical question. This does not mean, however, that these articles are not informative. They are, especially for those unfamiliar with the modern history of the region. Segars's comparison in particular reveals some important similarities in the two countries, and Lowe gives a detailed account of semiotics and ethnosymbols in the nation-building process in Kyrgyzstan. None the less they leave much to be desired for specialists on the region. In this sense the work of Aslan Koichiev, the only Central Asian writer in this collection, on the national delimitation in the Ferghana Valley in the 1920s might fill the gap, offering a rare, detailed account of the extremely complicated political haggling between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in the process. Unfortunately it has no references at all, which somehow diminishes its academic value.

With regard to environmental and development issues the contributions are less uniform in approach. On the one hand, Gerard O'Neill's article on land reform in Turkestan under the Tsarist administration and early Soviet rule, and Lars Jalling's analysis of the extent of environmental degradation caused by Soviet policies in the region, trace the origins of these problems back mainly to the Tsarist and Soviet administration. On the other, Alex Stringer's examination of the legacy of Soviet development policies in Central Asia is well balanced, critically assessing earlier and later works by Western scholars on this matter. Above all this article clarifies some widespread misconceptions about water and cotton monoculture. Kai Wegerich's work on the politics of water management in post-Soviet Central Asia, albeit focused on the practical side, is also informative in this sense, underlining the complexity of the issue and revealing that Central Asia today is in fact hardly a water-scarce region.

Henri Fruchet focuses on the Soviet historiography of the rebellion led by Khan Kenesary Kasimov between 1837 and 1847 in Kazakhstan. His analysis aptly demonstrates that the course of the Soviet nationality policy in relation to the question of historiography of non-Slavic peoples altered in accordance with the changes in Moscow's world view, thereby denying the existence of a grand strategic vision in Moscow's nationality policy. For those who also wish to learn about the nature of the rebellion and Kasimov, which Fruchet does not discuss at all, however, the article may appear too general. Petra Steinberger deals with the topical issue of Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia. She notes that, given the profound destruction of Islam by the Soviets, an Islamic revival of sorts was inevitable. Yet she argues that this should not be confused with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, although the socio-economic decline and the political manipulation of Islam by the elite may foster the politicization of Islam in post-Soviet Central Asia. Elise Massicard and Tommaso Trevisani analyse the effort by the post-Soviet Uzbek state to make a traditional neighbourhood institution, *Mahalla*, an instrument of control over society. However, the first part of this article deals with this fascinating issue, while the second is concerned mainly with some theoretical questions of state, with little reference to the first—consequently the two parts do not sit well together.

The editing work of this volume seems to have taken quite a while, and as such some of the articles focusing on recent political developments appear

rather dated. In particular, Steinberger's article does not mention the activities of *Hizb ut-Tahrir* in the region. Moreover, some Central Asian names are not properly edited: for instance one of the *Basmachi* leaders, spelled 'Igrash' in Marshall's article, appears as 'Egrash' in Bergne's, and the Kokand president is spelled in both 'Tinishbay' and 'Teneshbay' in Bergne's article. There are also differences in styles of writing and analyses of events. Most of articles here are basically academic, while Everett-Heath's article, and to a lesser extent Steinberger's, are journalistic. In the final analysis the articles in the volume are inevitably a mixed bag. Most are based on secondary sources from Western scholars, which should not be a problem. Yet, with a few exceptions, many are under-theorized or treat the sources rather uncritically. This, however, is not to detract from the important contribution this book makes to our understanding of the Soviet legacy in Central Asia.

FUMITAKA OKUBO

TADEUSZ SKORUPSKI:

*Kriyāsaṃgraha: Compendium of Buddhist Rituals—An Abridged Version.*

xii, 193 pp. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2002.

The work under consideration is an English rendition of Kuladatta's *Kriyāsaṃgraha* (Compendium of Rituals). Kuladatta composed the original Sanskrit before 1216 CE at the request of his disciples. It was translated into Tibetan by the Kashmiri Kīrticandra and the Tibetan Yar klungs Grags pa rgyal mtshan in Nepal, in either 1280 or 1292 (pp. 3–5).

The rituals contained in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* are those practised during the building of a monastery. The text is destined for the use of the ritual master, who is to ensure that they are carried out properly. The text is divided into eight chapters, and the rituals are arranged in the sequence of tasks carried out before and during the building of a *vihāra*, such as the acquiring and examining of the land, the blessing of the building materials and workers, the construction and the various consecrations performed throughout the building process. As a whole, the rituals are performed with the purpose of creating a sacred circle (*maṇḍala*), within which the Buddha's activity can take place. In the process of creating such a sacred space, the attributes of the buildings come to symbolize various doctrinal categories, incorporating material from early Buddhism, *Mahāyāna* and Tantric Buddhism. Although technically the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* belongs to the Yoga class of Tantric Buddhism, there is no need to narrow it down to that particular category, as it contains elements of all forms of Buddhism practised at Kuladatta's time (p. 9). Moreover, it also incorporates Brahmanical elements, such as the life-cycle rituals (*saṃskāra*; chapter 6, pp. 139–52) and astrological calculations. The overall assumption behind such rituals, which has been current in India since Vedic times, is that if executed correctly, they are bound to yield the desired results. On the other hand, should they be practised improperly, there will be no benefit; indeed, harm might even ensue. Therefore, at various stages throughout the text, the ritual errors are confessed.

The *Kriyāsaṃgraha* contains a wealth of information on rituals, as well as on astrology, initiation and even architecture. The rituals are too numerous to be listed here; however, as an example of the type of rituals encountered in the text, here is an outline of the contents of chapter 2 (pp. 27–38): divination of

the ground, first through a virgin medium, then with a lamp; fierce fire ritual (*homa*); propitiation of the earth goddess; lists of inauspicious and auspicious signs in the ground, such as various types of bones, grains, metal or pebbles found therein; description and worship of 121 peaceful and wrathful deities; another *homa* rite; and, striking the ground with an axe before the digging begins. Of particular import for those interested in mystical initiation will be the description of the Tantric consecrations that are to be bestowed on the disciple by the teacher (pp. 114–24) in Chapter 6. The same chapter also contains a lengthy description of a fire ritual (*homa*) of the enriching variety (pp. 85–92), including the benefits of offering specific substances into the fire and the omens to be observed therein. Chapter 7 contains, besides the arrangement of paintings and various types of gongs, the ceremony of ordination; it is but logical that once the monastery has been duly built and sanctified, those who are to live on its premises should be consecrated as well. The final chapter contains interesting information on the characteristics and symbolism of *stūpas*, as well as rites for the restoration of damaged images. Skorupski, in realizing this English rendition, has based his work on two Sanskrit manuscripts (one a 1965 copy of a manuscript dated 1217 CE, and one dated 1883) and two editions (Peking and Taipei) of the Tibetan translation. He has also used the Sanskrit editions of Chapter 6 by H. Inui (on *devatāyoga*) and M. Sakurai (on Tantric consecrations) and of Chapter 7 by R. Tanemura.

The aim of this publication was not to be a critical edition of the text, but rather to present the basic information contained therein as accurately as possible. Most of the text has been translated, but when the different versions presented alternative readings, the best was selected; some particularly repetitive passages have been paraphrased or summarized. Throughout, the translator frequently refers back to the Sanskrit and Tibetan sources and gives many of the Sanskrit technical terms in parentheses. It is to Skorupski's merit that the translation, while remaining close to and reflecting the style of the original, reads well in English.

In seventeen pages, the introduction conveys some interesting background information about Tantric rituals, particularly giving an outline of the *Kriyāsamgraha's* pantheon, namely the thirty-three deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. There is also an introduction to the three meditative absorptions (*samādhi*) (p. 13), which form the basis of *devatāyoga*, the process whereby the Tantric practitioner unites mystically with the deity.

Each chapter is preceded by a short description of its contents and the publication is enhanced by a select index of Sanskrit terms. In particular, it should be noted that chapter 6, the longest in the *Kriyāsamgraha*, has been divided into eleven sections; these will be of much help in understanding the ritual progression within this chapter, which one might otherwise lose sight of due to its length.

This book does not contain a glossary of technical Sanskrit terms. This is somewhat regrettable, as some terms are used throughout the text yet are not explained until later. For instance, although the term *bali* as a type of offering is used on several occasions (pp. 29, 38, 44, 45, etc.), it is explained only on pages 101–2. A glossary of such terms, particularly technical vocabulary related to Tantric rituals, could have aided an easier reading of the text. However, as generally the meaning of such terms can be deduced from the context, and will be known to those familiar with Tantric rituals this omission is not of major consequence.

The present work is the first to present the entire *Kriyāsamgraha* in English translation; it will be greatly welcomed by anyone interested in Tantra in



particular, and even more generally, by those interested in the ritual side of religion.

DYLAN ESLER

TADEUSZ SKORUPSKI:

*The Buddhist Forum, Volume VI.*

ix, 269 pp. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2001.

The sixth volume of *The Buddhist Forum* includes thirteen unsigned articles relating to aspects of Tantric Buddhism together with a brief preface by the editor. The latter principally concerns publication arrangements (beginning with this issue *The Buddhist Forum* will no longer be published by the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, but by the Institute of Buddhist Studies in Tring) and invites future contributions. No explanation of the content of the issue is offered. A footnote (p. 1) informs us that the first article, 'The historical spectrum of the Bodhisattva ideal', was first published in *The Middle Way* 752 (2000). The remaining dozen contributions do not seem to have been published previously. As the editor's name is given also on the title page, one imagines that this is intended to indicate that the volume is a miscellany of his own shorter studies.

The articles included here concern, for the most part, aspects of Indian (and occasionally Tibetan) Buddhist tantric ritual and devotional practice. Some of these are little more than short notes: 'Offering butter lamps' (pp. 81–2), for instance, offers us a single paragraph introduction followed by a text of four verses translated from the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. But there are some substantial studies as well: 'Three types of evocation (*sādhana*)' (pp. 83–135) considers rituals elaborated in a Tibetan exposition of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*, one of Skorupski's special interests (unfortunately no information is given regarding the authorship or provenance of the work studied here); 'Funeral rites for rebirth in the Sukhāvātī abode' (pp. 136–81) summarizes rituals mostly drawn from the *Gnam chos* cycle of revelations; '*Jyotirmañjarī* of Abhayākara Gupta' (pp. 183–221) considers an influential Indian polymath's manual for the performance of *homa* rituals (another area of sustained interest on the part of the author); and 'The *Samputa-tantra*: Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of chapter two' (pp. 223–69) provides a text edition of the chapter in question (the first chapter having been edited by the author in *The Buddhist Forum*, Volume IV).

The last two chapters, in particular, are welcome additions to the study of later Indian Buddhist tantrism, and scholars of Tantric Buddhism, in accord with their individual inclinations, will no doubt find items of interest scattered throughout this collection of Skorupski's *opera minora*. The material found here, however, is for the most part raw—text editions, translations, and summaries—with no appreciable concern for historical or social contextualization or for theoretically informed analysis.

The organization and production of *The Buddhist Forum, Volume VI* underscores for this reader the value of the academic institutions of relatively impartial review and criticism. Skorupski in any case merits our thanks for sustaining *The Buddhist Forum*, but for the sake of its future well-being let us hope that he soon finds collaborators who share a portion of his dedication, and so relieve him of the burden of being at once author, editor and publisher.

MATTHEW T. KAPSTEIN

ALEX MCKAY (ed.):

*The History of Tibet*. (3 vols.)

xxix, 624 pp., viii, 789 pp., xiv, 737 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £450.

Compared to the pasts of other cultures, our knowledge of the history of Tibet, in particular of its outlying regions of mNa' ris, Khams and Amdo, continues to be sketchy. To be sure, Tibetology has managed to map out the broad historical picture and supplied a good amount of data on key events, important political offices and the policies adopted by the various administrations. Yet, we are still a long way from a satisfactory and comprehensive analysis of Tibetan history, spanning almost 1,500 years. This predicament derives from a combination of factors: first, it is rare for Tibetan historical sources to be readily accessible. The political situation in China, Tibet and (until recently also) Mongolia renders unfettered historical scrutiny virtually impossible. Because of their perceived sensitivity to the status quo, key documents are typically locked away in archival storage, available only to a small group of carefully groomed scholars drawn from within the party cadre. Second, there are a substantial number of important literary sources that were concealed by the ruling elites at different times in order to censor and manipulate political opinion. Some of these documents have come to light only very recently and it will be years before their content has been adequately decoded. Early indications are that many of the current interpretations will have to be reviewed in the light of these 'new' documents. Third, the indigenous accounts that are available today tend to reflect the agenda of powerful political interest groups and are thus neither reliable nor independent. Finally, Tibetology has produced very few scholars equipped with the necessary languages to pursue comprehensive historical research. Because of Tibet's geographical location, solid historical analysis often requires competence in three to four languages, including Chinese, Mongolian and Manchu.

How does *The History of Tibet* tackle these scholarly constraints? To what extent does it further our understanding of the forces that shaped Tibetan history? Its astronomical cover price would lead one to expect a book brimming with new insights derived from hitherto unknown documents. Anyone who opens this book with such expectation is certain to be disappointed. In essence, *The History of Tibet* is a compilation of 126 previously published articles on a wide range of topics written over the past fifty years. None of its three volumes contains any new research. To be fair to RoutledgeCurzon, *The History of Tibet* does not claim to contain new information about the history of Tibet. It is conceived of as a survey publication, taking stock of our current knowledge in the field of Tibetan history, reproducing the most important expositions taken from a wide range of periodicals and books. As an anthology of past research, it certainly has its use since it provides, in a single publication, a fairly comprehensive snapshot of how far our understanding of Tibet's history has matured since the 1950s.

However, its true value is of course not determined by convenience but by the content, quality and scope of the articles selected for inclusion. One sympathizes with the editor when he laments the difficulty in securing universal agreement about the exact composition of such a compilation. Nevertheless, he boldly proclaims that 'collectively, these articles form a relatively cohesive body of contemporary knowledge concerning the history of Tibet, and reflect the state of current scholarship in the field' (p. 2). While I do not wish to

quibble the content of this collection in detail, even a cursory examination reveals that *The History of Tibet* is marred by significant omissions. To begin with, one cannot but notice that the compilation does not contain any German-language contributions. This is truly astonishing, given that German scholarship has produced much seminal research on Tibet's history, in particular during the 1970s and 1980s. Many of its key protagonists are not even mentioned in the introduction, let alone included in the body of the volume (e.g. Dieter Schuh, Peter Schwieger, Helga Uebach, Karl Heinz Everding, Christoph Cüppers and Per Sorenson). For example, I did not find a single reference to Dieter Schuh's *Zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), even though it is universally recognized as the most reliable tool in the conversion and identification of Tibetan dates. The situation is not much better with French and Japanese materials. With a few notable exceptions (the publisher commissioned English translations of two of Stein's articles), the work of Anne Chayet, Anna-Marie Blondeau, Marcelle Lalou, Jacques Bacot, Paul Pelliot and Cristina Scherrer Schaub is completely ignored. Even Takeuchi's studies of Tibetan military documents from Central Asia, easily available in English, are not mentioned. Mindful that such lacunae might be criticized, McKay included an annotated bibliography (serving to draw attention to 'significant studies not available here') at the end of the first volume (pp. 616–24), but even this contains only English-language materials (p. 6). We are told that this bias towards English-language publications 'has been reluctantly imposed, but considerations of time and more particularly cost have made it essential' (p. 4). It is hard to see how a publication that is sold for £450 per copy could possibly seek to explain shortcomings in content on grounds of economy. Even if one were to accept this argument, it is difficult to understand how the inclusion of articles in French and German could have driven up the price. In the age of desktop publishing the printing of a French or German word is surely no more expensive than the printing of an English word.

But rather than mourning these omissions, let us examine what is actually included in this book. Each volume is prefixed with an introduction outlining the key developments that characterize the period covered by the contributions. The first volume contains articles that discuss the early period up to 850 CE. The second volume spans the history of Tibet from 850 to 1895 and the third volume deals with the modern period until 1950. While these narratives are useful in that they set out to summarize our current knowledge about a particular period, they contain a number of surprising statements. For example, on p. 4 we read: 'Within Tibetan studies, contemporary Tibetan intellectuals are at the forefront of setting the agenda for Western scholarship'. Although perhaps a desideratum that may be achieved at some point in the future, Tibetan scholarship has not yet been granted sufficient intellectual independence to lead research into its country's historical role in Asia. I was also taken aback by some of McKay's evaluations of Western research. For example, he singles out Katia Buffetrille's anthropological work as a landmark that made ground-breaking advances in our understanding of Tibetan culture and history (p. 10). On the same page, Hugh Richardson is called 'the leading Western authority on Tibet during the second half of the twentieth century'. While I do not wish to diminish Richardson's seminal contribution to Tibetan studies, few would apply such blanket hyperbole to his work. Several paragraphs below, Tilman Vetter is praised for his role in 'translating and interpreting the ancient records and material objects found in the caves of Dunhuang at the turn of the century'. Vetter has clearly distinguished himself through his

work in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhology, but his contribution to Tibetan studies is less prominent, in particular if cited alongside that of Paul Demiéville, J.W. de Jong, Gene Smith, Rolf Stein and Géza Uray. In the Yarlung context, we read that 'the dominance of the Religious Studies/Buddhology approach to Tibet is particularly apparent in regard to the historiography of the Tibetan empire under the Yarlung dynasty kings. With a few exceptions, most notable Christoph Beckwith, scholars have seriously neglected the study of that empire in favour of religio-cultural issues. The result is a serious historical imbalance' (p. 24). While it is certainly true that our knowledge of the politico-administrative workings of the Tibetan empire is incomplete, to attribute this weakness to a bias towards religio-cultural issues misses the point. First, in addition to Beckwith, Tibetology has produced a number of extremely competent scholars, such as Erik Haarh, Rolf Stein, Tsuguhito Takeuchi, Helga Uebach and Géza Uray who devoted most of their research to the 'secular' aspects of the Yarlung period. Second, the reason why our picture of the functioning of the early Tibetan state is still fragmentary lies chiefly in the paucity of source material. Compared to the vast literary output churned out in later ages, Tibetan historical documents stemming from the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries are relatively few. Moreover, much of what is extant from the early period was found in Buddhist caves near Dunhuang and is thus, almost by definition, religious in nature. In other words, the scope of scholarship is defined by the availability of sources, not by some transnational conspiracy to favour one area of research over another.

At the same time, McKay perpetuates some ideas that are no longer shared in all quarters. For example, he proposes that Tibet lacked a written language until the reign of Srong brtsan sgam po (p. 17). On the other hand, McKay raises a number of interesting questions. For instance, he probes the reasons that delayed Tibet's integration with the neighbouring civilizations of China and India (p. 17) and discusses the rapid transformation of a largely sedentary culture based in the Kongpo area into a highly mobile nation capable of conquering large parts of Central Asia (p. 18). Unfortunately, McKay stops short of exploring these issues to the full. Also, his discussion of the individual articles is somewhat inconclusive. In most cases, he provides only a summary of content, proffering little critical thought. As a result, since they fail to contextualize, the value of his introductions is limited. We do not learn much about the rationale that inspired him to include one article while excluding others, other than their relevance to a particular period. It would have been much more interesting had he attempted to present an over-arching account, dove-tailing the issues discussed in the papers. To be sure, there are traces of such an endeavour in all three introductions, but they might have been developed with greater vigour, in particular in the second volume.

A word about the production of the book. As mentioned above, all of the articles have been reset. In most cases, their content has not been changed at all. Yet the publisher decided to turn all footnotes into endnotes. I must admit that I am at a complete loss here. Surely, it would have been much more reader-friendly had all endnotes been transformed into footnotes. Next, and again without explanation, the publisher decided to remove all diacritical marks from the three introductions while faithfully retaining them in the articles themselves. As a result, most Sanskrit words in the introductions are misspelled.

Let me conclude with some general observations: in spite of its shortcomings, most will agree that this book contains a wealth of important articles featuring much interesting material about the history of Tibet. The

vast majority are written by eminent Tibetologists who shaped our understanding of the field. Some of the papers are very difficult to locate since they were published in obscure periodicals or in books that are now out of print.

The most serious weakness lies in the book's bias towards English-language Tibetology. It not only ignores French, German and Japanese studies, but also fails to do justice to more recent Sino-Tibetan research. Thus, it cannot 'reflect the state of current scholarship in the field', but is more of a guide to Tibetan historiographical studies published in English. McKay's editorial talent is put to best use in the third volume which contains 48 articles covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although perhaps a little long in view of the paucity of solid scholarly work on this period, it represents rather well the historical developments of the pre-modern era. The introduction to this period, featuring a fine account of the political turmoil of those years, raises a number of interesting issues that led to the loss of independence in 1959. The narratives of the other two volumes would have benefited from the active input of scholars actually working in the periods they cover.

Apart from the unusual editorial decisions affecting format and typography, the book is very well produced. A tremendous amount of labour must have gone into the resetting of the articles, be it through typing or scanning. While the result is not entirely free of mistakes, the slips of the pen that escaped detection (mainly in Tibetan-language materials) are no serious taint.

In sum, *The History of Tibet* is a useful publication that brings together historical research about Tibet from five decades authored by over eighty scholars. The introductions to the three volumes provide a rough map to developments that occurred in the periods covered, drawn from the articles themselves. Were it not for the omission of non-English language publications and the somewhat uneven quality of the editor's narration, *The History of Tibet* might have become an important reference work. I suspect that in its present form and priced at £450 there may not be many Tibetologists who will recommend it readily for acquisition to their increasingly impoverished university libraries.

ULRICH PAGEL

URADYN E. BULAG:

*The Mongols at China's Edge: History and the Politics of National Unity.*

vii, 271 pp. Lanham and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.  
£26.95.

The author of this book is a Mongol who grew up in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR). His upbringing, knowledge of the modern Chinese system, ability to read Mongolian and Chinese and a Western academic education all give him a unique perspective on the Chinese state policy of *minzu tuanjie* (national unity and amity among the nations) which is the focus of this study. In a series of case studies Bulag applies contemporary theories of culture, ethnicity, gender, politics and class struggle to scrutinize and analyse the discourse and practice of *minzu tuanjie* among the Mongols of China's border regions. He draws on a wide range of works in Mongolian, Chinese and English, literature and history, social and political documents and the spoken memories of Mongolians caught up in the implementation of *minzu tuanjie* from the founding of the IMAR in 1947 to the present.

The *minzu tuanjie* policy was adopted in 1957. However, it builds on earlier Chinese policies for controlling troublesome border peoples such as the lake ritual of Kōkōnuur (Chinghai) that marked the union of Mongols with China in the Qing period and the marriage relations (*heqin*) between the Han and the pre-Mongol Xiongnu. However, Bulag argues that *minzu tuanjie* goes beyond simply controlling non-Chinese to transforming them from 'barbarians' to national minorities and blood relatives in the modern Chinese nation. The process has been highly complex, involving the creation and manipulation of myth, symbol, and truth and reality to build a multinational socialist Chinese state where, in the end, the interests of the majority Chinese claim overriding importance over those of the minority. This is sharply demonstrated by the handling of the story of the 'little heroic sisters of the grassland' who have become models or exemplars of class friendship and love and *minzu tuanjie*. In the official version of the story the girls' lives are saved by a Chinese worker. Their real Mongol saviour has been transformed into a bad-class man who ignored their plight. He was later rehabilitated by the authorities but the true story was not widely publicized because of the great value of the fiction to promote national harmony. However, the author does not simply present the minority Mongols as the victims of the majority. He also suggests that Mongols, in their engagement with *minzu tuanjie*, have offered 'resistance-within-collaboration'. In kowtowing to the powerful Chinese, he suggests, the less powerful Mongols have managed to create certain expectations of the powerful. One is the right to an autonomous region, the IMAR, which bears the name 'Mongol' even though the majority of its inhabitants are not Mongol but Chinese. Central to this view of resistance is Ulanhu (Ulanfu), the Mongol founder of the IMAR who went on to occupy top party, government and army posts and to become vice-president of China. Bulag discusses China's Mongolian revolution and shows how Ulanhu created a distinct and pastoral socialist Mongol identity and effectively enabled the Mongol nation in China to survive. Then in the final case study of the book the author examines the cult of Ulanhu which emerged after the latter's death in 1988. Again, what matters in the context of *minzu tuanjie* is not so much the true facts of Ulanhu's life but the symbolic meaning of the man. He matters to Mongols for placing their interests at the same level of importance as Chinese interests. For the Chinese it is Ulanhu's loyalty to the Chinese state and 'solving the Mongolian problem' that is important.

As a study of the survival of a minority and its identity and place within the modern Chinese state this book will find audiences both among sinologists and those interested in ethnicity generally and in the theories of the Other in particular. It is also of great value to Mongolists because it brings the Mongols of China into the mainstream of Mongolian studies. The IMAR was closed to foreigners for many years and independent Mongolia has been the main focus of study for Mongolists from the 1950s until recently. On both sides of the Gobi there has been and still is a debate about the nature of 'Mongolness' and who is a Mongol. Bulag's research widens the scope of the debate by inviting us to compare and contrast the Mongols of two states. Mongol experiences of socialism and responses to powerful 'elder brothers', either China or the former USSR (and perhaps even the IMF and other multilateral donors of aid to contemporary Mongolia), would be another area worthy of comparative study. To what extent, for instance, can Mongolia's confrontation with class struggle and enforced collectivization in the 1920s and 1930s compare with similar experiences of the Mongols of China after liberation? Does the complex relationship of Ulanhu help us understand the relationship of independent Mongolia's leaders with the powerful USSR?

This is a challenging book which is more likely to be read by scholars and researchers than undergraduates or the wider reading public because of the complexity of its theoretical arguments and the sheer volume of information it contains. It is likely to remain a major source both on the Mongols of China and the tortuous process of their absorption into the Chinese nation and may well become a model for studies of other national minorities of China.

JUDITH NORDBY

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EAST ASIA

YIP PO-CHING and DON RIMMINGTON:

*Chinese: A Comprehensive Grammar.*

(Comprehensive Grammars.) xviii, 418 pp. London and New York: Routledge, 2004. £29.99.

It is generally agreed that Chinese is one of the most difficult languages to learn. What makes it difficult, again generally agreed, is its script. I happen to agree with this generalization. However, when asked whether Chinese grammar is difficult, learners of Chinese will give you all sorts of answers, ranging from 'not so difficult', to 'totally illogical and incomprehensible'. As Chinese becomes more popular, many native speakers have confidently launched into teaching Chinese, thinking 'What can be easier than for a Chinese to teach Chinese?'. They are, naturally, intolerant to mistakes. When asked by a puzzled learner: 'Why can't I say this?', the usual reply is 'We Chinese just don't say it that way'. This is true, but it is not particularly helpful to the learner. I have heard quite a few times the complaint by those aspirant teachers of Chinese that 'The Chinese language does not have grammar!'

Every language has grammar. Chinese language, of course, is no exception. What sometimes frustrates teachers and learners is that there are many rules in Chinese which seem to have too many exceptions. This is why we, learners and teachers, need good reference books on grammar. Here is a good one: *Chinese: A Comprehensive Grammar* by Yip Po-Ching and Don Rimmington.

Research findings and teachers' experiences suggest that some grammatical features of Chinese, like the notorious *le* 了, for instance, are extremely difficult to explain clearly and, not surprisingly, harder for learners to master. *Chinese: A Comprehensive Grammar* addresses this issue nicely by giving prominent treatment to common but difficult aspects of the language. For example, both the *ba* 把 constructions, and the most complicated usages of *le* 了 are each given a separate chapter and dealt with thoroughly. I also find the inclusion of various grammatical functions of the verb *shi* 是 under different headings, but kept in one chapter, immensely helpful.

The examples in the book are clear and illustrative. More importantly, they are all presented with characters, *pinyin* and English translation, which makes it readily usable for teachers and learners alike.

*Chinese: A Comprehensive Grammar* is, indeed, a comprehensive reference book on Chinese grammar. Although I cannot categorically conclude that nothing that can be considered a grammatical point has been omitted from the book, I can say that general grammatical problems that I have encountered in more than ten years of teaching Chinese at all levels have been discussed. There are many aspects of Chinese language and grammatical points in the

book for which I did not know the proper English terms. This book will definitely be a useful companion for my teaching.

The index at the back is well presented: the English and Chinese references are given together, arranged alphabetically, with the Chinese entries in *pinyin* first and in bold, and followed by characters. However, I personally would find a separate index for Chinese references more convenient. It would also be more helpful for learners of Chinese if the Chinese characters, especially those in tables, were slightly larger.

LIANYI SONG

DANIEL K. GARDNER:

*Zhu Xi's Reading of the Analects: Canon, Commentary and the Classical Tradition.*

xii, 226 pp. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. £13.50 paper, £36.50 cloth.

JOSEPH A. ADLER:

*Introduction to the Study of the Classic of Change (I-hsüeh ch'i-meng).*

xv, 74, + 47 pp. [in Chinese], 32 figures. Provo, Utah: Global Scholarly Publications, 2002.

A generation ago Columbia University Press was widely known in Asian studies as a publisher of readable English translations of the 'Asian Classics' for the education of undergraduates, especially undergraduates who wished to know something of the riches of Asian cultures without particularly wishing to engage in the learning of any Asian language. This was a worthy tradition on which to build, but the time has surely now come when it needs building on, if only because presenting those readable recreations of the plain texts of classics encouraged the illusion that within the cultural traditions concerned sitting down with a similar plain text in the relevant unknown tongue was all that was involved. Far from it: Daniel Gardner's last volume of translations from the *Zhuzi yulei* has already brought out something of just how earnestly the Chinese of the Song period would have addressed the reading of a page from the Confucian classics, and here he returns to his earlier enterprise of showing how the reader was most of the time not given the opportunity to encounter the plain text of a classic at all, but rather only approached it in the company of, or even under the instruction of, a subsequent commentator, or commentators.

In this enterprise he is, of course, no longer alone, as his references in note 1, p. 24, attest: the perennially irresistible *Daode jing*, for example, has already been subjected to much the same treatment he is now extending to the *Analects* of Confucius. Curiously, however, his own approach comes closest not to the formidable work of Rudolph Wagner mentioned there and now available across a spread of three interrelated volumes, but to Alan K. L. Chan, *Two Visions of the Way* (Albany: SUNY, 1991), a study that brings out the different approaches available to commentators by selectively contrasting two very different readings of the same text. Here Gardner achieves much the same effect by contrasting Zhu Xi's reading of Confucius with that given on the basis of various authorities, chiefly his own, by the third century commentator



He Yan, very roughly half way between Confucius and Zhu Xi, and the denizen of an intellectual environment quite unlike that of either of them. This of course makes sound pedagogical sense, and it is also very encouraging to see that Columbia are now prepared to print the full Chinese text of the excerpts discussed as a separate appendix, even if it is only the English, not the Chinese, that keys each excerpt to its original place in the overall text of the *Lunyu*. Students acquiring an education concerning Chinese thought in the medium of English who nevertheless possess some degree of literacy in Chinese characters are, after all, now much more common in North American universities than they were a generation ago. Why, on the other hand, this first volume under review should have endnotes to the introduction and conclusion and footnotes to the main text, when a generation ago the latter sufficed throughout, is something that I cannot find an explanation for, though it may be that there is now a feeling that cursory explanations are no longer sufficient, at least in the parts of the book that draw on a wide range of learning. If, by contrast, it was felt important to keep the footnotes short to provide immediately necessary information but avoid distracting the reader from the flow of the main discussion, then perhaps this policy has driven out the necessary bibliographical source details concerning the opinion of Zhen Dexiu referred to in note 5, p. 125. The missing material may, however, be found in the bibliography, listed under the name of Zhao Shunsun, so no harm is done. All in all, one can only hope for more work in the same vein, so that in due course students will find it easier to grasp how intellectual traditions in the past—and not just Asian ones—could be outwardly conservative and yet original at the same time.

But formal commentary is probably not the only medium that needs to be introduced to make the point. Radical as a Neo-Confucian like Zhu Xi was, he had other ways of being a classicist besides adorning the words of Confucius with his own. The *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng* (*Yixue qimeng*) does quote portions of the underlying Classic of Change, but as the full translation given by Joseph Adler clearly shows, this practical guide to the use of the classic for divination does not offer a sequential explication of the text, since the author had already furnished such a work in another publication. Rather, it is a topical introduction that includes questions and answers, for example, to make its points. Once again we must applaud the publishing initiative that has made the entire work available in English together with the original text in Chinese, accompanied by a substantial introduction, footnotes, and also the original Chinese diagrams that provide yet a further perspective on the author's meaning. In this case the publishers are not building upon an established tradition, but launching on a new venture, one that for the present therefore cannot automatically count on such wide sales among students.

In order to achieve that goal, one might have expected this first publication to attempt at least to win the commendation of teachers. Yet surely a little more could have been done to provide a volume—even a volume of modest size and price—more closely approaching a definitive work, a standard bilingual edition furnishing not only the student but also the interested scholar with all the information about the text likely to be required. There is of course a certain amount of guidance offered on p. xxii, in the notes to the introduction, as to the editions chiefly consulted, but the origin of the Chinese text actually used is not given, nor are any textual variants noted. Perhaps there were none, but even so it would have been worth signalling that Qing dynasty bibliographers were aware of editions much earlier than those consulted, going back to Song times in at least one instance. Nor is any indication given that this little work soon became the object of commentary itself under the Song, and later in

Yuan, Ming and Qing times, even if the editions consulted have allowed some tacit access to this continued tradition of interpretation. Despite the rather complex pagination, too—which must have presented quite a challenge to the printers—the problem of printing the macrons required for the romanization of Japanese has evidently defeated them entirely so far.

But these are early days for an ambitious and wholly admirable new series, dedicated to the provision of bilingual texts presenting important philosophical works from across the world in English translation at a reasonable price. One hopes that notwithstanding the minor shortcomings mentioned, the publishers will be met with a sufficiently encouraging response to press forward with further projects, especially for the part of the series dedicated to China. The gap between classical Chinese and modern English is considerable, and if we are to take due cognizance of the Chinese heritage in education within the English-speaking world in future, works such as those by Gardner and Adler will be every bit as necessary as those of their numerous predecessors who communicated the riches of the European heritage by translating into English from Greek and Latin.

T. H. BARRETT

HAROLD D. ROTH:

*A Companion to Angus C. Graham's Chuang Tzu.*

xi, 243 pp. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003. \$18.

The welcome reappearance in 2000 of A. C. Graham's classic *Chuang Tzu: The Inner Chapters*, first published by George Allen and Unwin in London in 1981, might not have been so welcome for the unfailingly helpful sole and part-time staff member of the SOAS publications office, who but for the timely intervention of Harold Roth would doubtless now be faced with breaking the disappointing news to a whole new generation of readers that the textual notes to the translation, originally designed to be incorporated into the work itself but rejected by the publishers as too tedious for the common reader, though subsequently published separately by the School, sold out many years ago. Should enquiries still arrive at his office, he may now redirect them to the other side of the globe, where Roth has republished not only the full set of textual notes but also four other essays by Graham bearing on his translation, plus an extra essay of his own providing not simply an 'appraisal' of Graham's textual scholarship but also the results of his own not inconsiderable researches into the transmission of the text, and lastly a handy index. A preface by Henry Rosemont, Jr., and an introduction by the editor further explain the circumstances that have prompted the reappearance of Graham's material, which extend beyond the reissue of his translation to the recognition that despite his comparatively modest role as a supervisor of graduate students, Graham's influence on a whole generation of younger researchers has emerged as both profound and enduring. The contrast is, indeed, fifty per cent starker than Roth is aware: of the two scholars named as having completed their doctorates under his supervision on p. 3, only Dan Daor, the translator of Zhuangzi into Hebrew, was formally supervised by Angus; Chris Cullen (as he has kindly confirmed to me himself) was supervised by D. C. Lau, though like many others he too derived the benefit of working in the same institution as our late and very fondly remembered colleague.

As to the academic legacy that is brought together here, one must acknowledge that for all the solutions to textual and philosophical problems bequeathed by his work, we must also recognize—as Roth does in his ‘appraisal’—that he left us with some formidable further problems to contemplate at our leisure. The most startling aspect of his textual approach was his innovation of collecting up snippets of text from later parts of the Zhuangzi corpus and reinserting them in the Inner Chapters that formed the core of his translation, combined with a full identification of the different textual resources brought together in the corpus as a whole. He had, of course, detailed arguments for each and every instance of these transpositions and identifications, as Roth points out, and indeed further supports in some cases thanks to his own subsequent work on the transmission of the text. But this mainly covers the work of identification: for the transpositions much remains to be done, since they have considerable implications for our understanding of the work of Guo Xiang, the editor responsible in c. 300 CE for producing the drastically pruned *textus receptus*. Was it he who was responsible for sending fragments of text hither and yon through the corpus, far from their original homes? Or was this the result of earlier physical damage to the single exemplar through which the ancient text was at some point transmitted onward to Guo’s era? Graham argues persuasively in one case that the insertion of a whole chapter (‘Discourse on swords’) into a block of continuous material was the result of editorial work *after* Guo’s time, thus suggesting that the problems in the transmission of the text, which Roth has mainly followed only into mid-Han times, continued for centuries thereafter. At least the existence of Guo Xiang’s commentary, which propounds a distinctive philosophy of his own, alerts us to the concerns that may have caused him to reshape such material as he had before him, so that a close reading of Graham’s notes in the light of Guo’s work might reveal some method to the editorial madness that at first sight seems to have caused Guo to hack about the ancient text of the classic in such a way as seriously to impede our recognition of its ‘original face’.

This volume, then, is not just a companion but a challenge as well. One day, perhaps, it may deserve reissue in its turn. Should that happen, a number of minor improvements might be suggested. On p. 13, for instance, Graham has given the temple name rather than the personal name of the encyclopedic Buddhist commentator Zhanran (711–782), and also subtracted a year from his lifespan. The bibliography of Graham’s writings given on pp. 221–7, while useful and obviously somewhat fuller than the last such list, published—during his life time and on the basis of information that he supplied—by Rosemont in *Chinese Texts and Philosophical Contexts* (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1991), maintains its policy of excluding book reviews, giving little in the way of exact pagination, and withholding precise information on contributions to larger collective works like *A Sung Bibliography*. In the volume under review, indeed, the fact that one of the essays on Zhuangzi was republished once in an earlier and more broadly conceived collection is somehow omitted, where the list published by Rosemont duly notes this. A definitive bibliography would no doubt have to be the work of a Graham obsessive: most scholars who have fallen under his influence—not only Rosemont and Roth, but a host of others—have felt inspired by his unique combination of philosophical passion and philological precision to take his work further, rather than simply to catalogue it. The corpus of work, therefore, which may be called in some sense ‘his’, extends well beyond the reach of conventional bibliography, and it is good that this excellent publication should remind us of that.

T. H. BARRETT

CHUNG-YING CHENG and NICHOLAS BUNNIN (eds):

*Contemporary Chinese Philosophy.*

xiv, 429 pp. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. £17.99.

This book offers the reader an introduction to the philosophical thinking of sixteen Chinese scholars who were active in Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong during the twentieth century. Diverse as these Chinese philosophers are in their approaches and underlying ideas, most of them were drawn to philosophical enquiry by a common aspiration: to explain or evaluate philosophically the decline of Chinese culture in the face of the Western advance. This philosophical orientation further developed in two dramatically different directions: critically examining Chinese traditions and actively amending or replacing them with those introduced from the West, and painstakingly justifying the modern relevance of the Chinese, and indeed for some, Confucian, Way, while taking various key Western ideas and methods only as necessary ingredients to supplement it.

These two directions, however, are not as divergent as they appear. Through a sensitive interpretation of traditional philosophy and the creative reinterpretation of Western theories they fuse to form a single powerful current that penetrates all aspects of Chinese culture. Since the end of the nineteenth century, mainstream Chinese thinking has been unable to evade the influence of Western ideas and methodologies. Well educated in traditional learning, some of the sixteen philosophers included in the book studied for a longer or shorter period in Europe, North America or Japan, while others cultivated their initial insights into philosophical issues through reading and digesting Western philosophical works. With the advantages of bi-philosophical training, these scholars embarked on a theoretical reconstruction that was syncretic by nature. They followed diverse routes to transform their own traditions, either by selectively introducing crucial ideas of Western philosophy into a fundamentally Chinese philosophical framework, or by critically evaluating them to seek a rational fusion of Western and Chinese doctrines; for example, a primarily Westernized general philosophical structure with more or less traditional aesthetic, social and ethical commitments. Creative and innovative in one way or another, they are marked as a new phase in the history of, and have indeed left a rich legacy to, Chinese philosophy.

In contrast to the fact that Western philosophies have already been well studied, examined and critiqued by a significant number of Chinese philosophers, more recent Chinese philosophies have been much less evaluated and appreciated by intellectuals in the West, primarily due to the lack of resources, language skills and methodological approaches. Among the sixteen philosophers introduced in the book, some, for example Feng Youlan (Fung Yu-lan, 1895–1990) and Hu Shi (Hu Shih, 1891–1962), are comparatively better known to students and scholars in the West, and a few others, for example Jin Yuelin (1895–1984) and Feng Qi (1915–95), are almost unheard of, while the majority, including the most creative ones, stand somewhere in between. Recently there has been a steady rise in interest in contemporary Chinese philosophy, and many students in Western universities are dismayed at the paucity of available materials and systematic evaluation. In this respect, *Contemporary Chinese Philosophy* is a timely publication providing useful information on, and a balanced discussion about, the career and achievements of major twentieth-century Chinese thinkers. The editors of the book are leading figures in the field of Sino-Western philosophical dialogue and Chinese philosophy,

and the authors are mostly Chinese scholars with a good training in Western philosophy currently working in the USA, Hong Kong and Mainland China. They work together to reveal the distinctive approaches and creative ideas of the sixteen philosophers, including their particular ways of dealing with philosophical problems, their sources in Chinese and Western traditions, and their effect on the formation of an overall Chinese philosophical framework. To make up for the comparatively narrow area the book covers, Nicholas Bunnin outlines in the introduction the stages of the development of Chinese philosophy in the twentieth century, while in afterwords Chung-ying Cheng examines more recent trends in Chinese philosophy in China and the West, and tentatively suggests an 'onto-hermeneutic' interpretation of contemporary Chinese philosophies. These features make this book a useful reference work for general readers, but it will be particularly valuable to students and scholars of Chinese philosophy in the English-speaking world.

Presenting and explaining 'alien' understandings in language meaningful to Western readers involves a methodological question concerning the cross-cultural conversion of ideas and compatibility of different philosophical systems. Those who first introduced Western principles and values to China had met a great many cultural (as well as linguistic) barriers, and those who attempted to introduce Western culture to Chinese readers also found it necessary to maintain a delicate balance between what existed in the West and what could be appreciated by the Chinese. In his preface to the *Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries*, for example, Wei Yuan (1794–1856), the first Confucian scholar who attempted a systematic introduction of foreign cultures to the Chinese, had seen the difference between two methods: 'describing the West as it appears to Chinese writers' and 'describing the West as it appears to Westerners'. The same question still haunts today's attempts to introduce Chinese philosophy to the West, and each approach involves different kinds of risks of misinterpretation. It is apparent that the editors and authors of the present book are aware of this problem, and are determined to fit the introduction into the philosophical framework of the West and to reflect on the Chinese thinking in the context of East–West dialogue, although occasionally showing a sign of forcefully filtering original ideas through analytical and hermeneutic lenses.

As its intention is to introduce the most creative Chinese thinkers to the West, this book focuses, in the main, on those who had deep roots in Confucian, and to a much lesser extent Daoist, traditions, while being less concerned with other philosophers, such as those with Buddhist and Marxist origins. Although it is understandable that a line must be drawn to make a book more systematic and consistent, some of the exclusions are regrettable. This is particularly the case for Mao Zedong's political philosophy: Marxism was one of the major Western ways of thinking in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but Mao skilfully twisted it in a Chinese setting to meet the needs of the Chinese Communist Party. Based on a mixture of Marxist principles, traditional values and dynastic experiences, Mao successfully created a modern philosophy that had for good or for worse, a profound, impact on China and beyond. It is apparent that philosophical minds, at least on the Mainland in the second half of the twentieth century, can rarely shun the force of this peculiar theory, so much so that without a full assessment of Mao's version of Marxist philosophy it would be difficult, if not totally impossible, to understand the efforts made by Mainland Chinese philosophers of recent generations.

XINZHONG YAO

HUAICHUAN MOU:

*Rediscovering Wen Tingyun: A Historical Key to a Poetic Labyrinth.* x, 292 pp. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003. \$21.95 paper, \$65.50 cloth.

Chinese poetry is a constant trial for the would-be historian of China. Much of it is occasional, and the long tradition of frequently concealing political commentary behind its allusions to earlier literature offers the promise of yielding historical information not recoverable by other means. Literary scholars in China have therefore spilled oceans of ink in the business of making historical sense of Chinese poets, yet historians in recent times have not always rushed to make use of their results, since the problems encountered, as Huaichuan Mou rightly signals in his subtitle to his own contribution to this genre, are often so labyrinthine as to make the less well informed reader somewhat wary of the solutions offered.

Mou's work on the ninth-century poet Wen Tingyun certainly lacks for nothing in erudition, and the notion that Wen was not, as recent studies by Paul Rouzer and Fusheng Wu have suggested, a somewhat disengaged practitioner of poetry for the sake of poetry, but rather an individual driven to conceal his real meaning by the very unpleasant political atmosphere of his times, is at the very least a hypothesis to be taken seriously. But it is one upon which the cautious reader may feel it best to suspend judgement for the moment. It may be that a certain level of expertise is required to appreciate Mou's arguments—the unexplained allusion to the *Hanfeizi* with which he concludes his introduction on p. 10, which I suppose signals that he fears that his critics will metaphorically chop his feet off without good cause, is perhaps elementary enough even for historians to understand, but does raise the suspicion that we may be missing the finer points of what follows. Also somewhat alarming to the historian is the occasional use of a later source to document an allusion to earlier literature—the story of Song Yun's meeting with Bodhidharma dealt with on p. 65 is referenced to a text compiled one-and-a-half centuries after Wen, even though in fact it can be safely traced back about one-and-a-half centuries before him.

But these are minor points: it is the handling of sources that will cause the wary reader to pause and await further confirmation of Mou's interpretations. For example, on pp. 72–4 we are introduced to some of the materials used to construct an argument that Wen married a geisha. First, a source named the *Tong xin* 'by an unknown Tang author' is introduced, to the effect that Wen was in his younger days whipped by a senior relative, and thereafter changed his name. But the source is actually from the Ming, and the information given appears to derive from two separate mentions of Wen in the tenth-century *Beimeng suoyan*, which is quoted next, but on his beating alone. After this another late Tang work, the *Yuquanzi*, is cited for its information that one Yao Xu whipped him for spending funds donated to him on dissipation. But subsequent argument on p. 79 denies that it was Yao who beat him or that the cause was wasting money: on p. 81 a poem is interpreted to mean that the money was spent on ransoming a wife—though no word for ransom appears to be used. So the poem, despite its obscurity, is used to correct plain statements in another (even if admittedly anecdotal) source. As for the change of name, on p. 162 we return to the *Beimeng suoyan*, but in order to yield the requisite information for Mou's theory on this topic the current text has to be rejected

in favour of the version apparently cited in an eighteenth-century commentary. Even here a slight change in the punctuation, simply bringing the reading of the commentary into line with the punctuation given on p. 27 in the fourth (not—as Mou states—the tenth) fascicle of the 1981 Shanghai edition of the *Beimeng suoyan*, would cause the alleged variant to disappear as well.

None of this of course detracts in the least from the possibility raised by his allusion to the *Hanfeizi* that Mou is right throughout, or even if not from the awkward fact that poetry, especially poetry of the luxuriously decadent type written by Wen, does not lend itself to the demonstrations of those unambiguous meanings required by historians. Certainly anyone reading Wen Tingyun in the future will need to refer to the hypotheses advanced by Mou. But anyone reading the history of the ninth century will probably do better than to adduce Wen's poetry in evidence of such matters as the occurrence of marriages between officials and geishas, at least for the time being. Yet far from wishing to see Mou's extremities chopped off, in the light of the extensive scholarship on display here one looks to further footwork in defence of his views. That way, no doubt, the study of the history and literature of ninth-century China will eventually make some more sure-footed progress.

T. H. BARRETT

BETTINE BIRGE:

*Women, Property, and Confucian Reaction in Sung and Yüan China (960–1368).*

xxi, 345 pp. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £30.

Bettine Birge has written an important and provocative book of interest to all students of Chinese history. Drawing on six decades of contentious research on women's property and remarriage rights in the Song dynasty, she has written a sharply and densely argued account of the property and remarriage rights women acquired in the Song and how they lost them in the Yuan and early Ming dynasties. Her adroit use of thirteenth-century legal case decisions, official rulings and court edicts focuses on the fate of the dowry and the position of widows in the Song. As for the dowry, what had since at least Tang times been expected to be worth half of her brother's betrothal gift became in the Song a half-share of their father's overall estate. In addition, the fiscally pressed Song state imposed legal and fiscal constraints on male-owned estates: this enabled widows and daughters to secure property previously denied them. Song widows were also free to remarry, taking into their next marriage their dowry, children, and at times the husband's own share of his family's property.

Birge argues that these arrangements came under two threats in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. First, in south China the Way of Learning School that promoted the neo-Confucian thought of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi favoured greater legal, moral, and financial support for the male patriline and its property at the expense of women. The principal thirteenth-century proponent of this view, as seen in two of his legal case reviews, was Huang Gan, Zhu Xi's son-in-law and favourite disciple. His rather fundamentalist arguments reportedly influenced the next two generations of neo-Confucian thinkers in the south, ensuring that the interpretation of Zhu

Xi's thought introduced to the north's beleaguered Confucian scholars in the late thirteenth century would primarily be his. Meanwhile, in north China, from the 1270s the Mongol government of the Yuan dynasty threatened the rights that Chinese women had traditionally enjoyed over their own bodies and property. Irregularly from the 1270s and regularly from the early thirteenth century to 1330 it forced all widows, regardless of their ethnic origin, to choose between permanent widow chastity or a levirate marriage; and from 1303 it deprived remarrying widows of their dowry as well. The widow's in-laws thus gained considerable power over her body and property at her expense and thus could greatly determine the rest of her life. Although strong Chinese opposition to the levirate led to a weakening and at times loss of government support, this Mongol custom of the levirate won support from many poorer Chinese who used it to hold on to whatever property their deceased brother's widow had brought into her marriage. Come the start of the Ming dynasty, the new Chinese rulers gave no support for the levirate but assured that a widow's power to retain her dowry, remarry, and name the heir to her husband's estate fell into the hands of his parents and lineage head. They said nothing about the daughter's half-share rights to her own father's estate, which seem to have been lost with all the other changes. Thus, just as the Song saw women's property rights peak in China, so did the Yuan see their collapse into the debased condition that scholars have until recently misunderstood to have been 'traditional' and 'a constant'.

To reconstruct this story, Birge has had to master a large body of complex secondary research as well as piece together diverse, sometimes contradictory, and frequently difficult primary sources, a challenge that has probably deterred other scholars interested in this theme. Yet she deserves high praise for more than work alone. In narrating and explaining these changes with considerable finesse she presents readings and views that will, I am sure, remain central to much future scholarly discussion of Chinese women's rights and Song social history. Her treatment of the Song is particularly persuasive, as she has carefully unravelled broader implications of legal rulings, especially those of the key source, the *Qingming ji*, that experts of Song law and custom have either argued about or in some cases overlooked. Likewise, her dense five-stage progress through the thicket of Yuan fiscal and legal rulings related to women's property and marriage rights from 1270 onward is lucid and comprehensive.

My principal caveat about the book concerns its claim of a direct link between the southern Way of Learning movement (as expressed by the legal rulings of Huang Gan) and the Mongol government's insistence that Chinese widows practise the levirate and, if remarrying, lose their dowry. The evidence presented for this philosophical movement's direct influence is merely circumstantial. The claim that the drafters of the Mongol laws restricting women's property rights, especially the officials in the Ministry of Rites, were influenced by this school's strict commitment to the male patriline is backed up by no certain evidence, other than that Zhu Xi's thought as filtered through the teachings of Huang Gan did attract considerable attention from some Confucian scholars in the north, both inside and outside of the court. This argument's weakness is even more manifest in the assumption that these Mongol laws were as widely effective as the Mongol rulers wished. I personally would prefer to see claims of direct neo-Confucian merging with the aims of these Mongol laws replaced by a focus, for south-east China, on the



widespread concern there over an intense shortage of land. These land pressures helped lead to the establishment of the lineage and other kinship groups based on the very agnatic ties that lost out in the Song's granting of privileges to women. Furthermore, north and south China arguably followed distinctive paths of social change in these matters, as in so many other features of Song and Yuan life. As Birge observes, all the information on the daughter's half-share of the dowry and especially of the father's estate comes from south China, while virtually all that on the levirate comes from north China. Changes to the fate of women's property and remarriage rights in the Yuan would thus largely depend on the fate of their dowry in the south and on remarriage needs in the north. We would then have a two-strand pattern of regional development for women's property and remarriage rights that Ming law would tackle either by silence (in the case of the size of the dowry) or by according her husband's family and lineage head considerable power (e.g. over a widow's property and remarriage). These caveats aside, Birge has given us much to think about and a great deal to be grateful for. In all, a book with an analysis well worth pondering.

JOSEPH P. MCDERMOTT

JOSEPH TSE-HEI LEE:

*The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860–1900.*  
xxxvi, 207 pp. New York and London: Routledge, 2003. £55.

'Political power tolls from the bells of a church' could well be a summary of Joseph Lee's analysis of local social and denominational affiliations in late imperial China. The study focuses on small Chaozhou localities in north-eastern Guangdong, chosen since the complexities of missionary involvement made them representative of the divisions the late Qing empire at large was experiencing. Based on research carried out for his doctoral thesis, the author posits that communal conflicts antedating conversion to Christianity lived on in the guise of denominational differences. Crucially, since the four decades under review constituted a period of marked dynastic weakness, community leaders attempted to gain the support of the foreign powers which supported the missionary outposts. In so doing, Lee not only challenges views on missionary agency but also established interpretations of the relationship between 'native' and 'imperialist'. Far from being victims, local leaders—and provincial mandarins—manipulated the representatives of foreign might into lending support to their own objectives.

The monograph's very structure emphasizes conflict. Much of the first chapter introducing Chaozhou identity is focused on the region's history of calamity and unrest, its remainder commenting on the comparative strength of the prominent lineages. Chapter 2 analyses the role played by the overseas Chinese of the junk trade routes, Thailand in particular, in the early Chaozhou mission. Lee concludes that inter-regional family connections mattered far more than the efforts of the European and American missionaries and, crucially, that certain districts converted with great ease to Christianity while others remained hostile. The third chapter, intent on finding reasons for this phenomenon, examines the Baptist and Presbyterian inland missions during the latter half of the nineteenth century. While the social and political elites opposed the British and American missionaries, especially in Shantou and

other urban centres, anti-foreignism mattered to a lesser degree in rural districts where, with the support of foreign missionaries and consuls, ancient enemies could be held at bay. Two peaks of civil strife, during the 1860s and 1890s, thus ensured that the inhabitants of the Rong and Lian river valleys converted more willingly than those rooted along the Han river. The following two chapters are devoted to a study of the convert base in these 'Christian districts'. Having digested ample amounts of statistical data from local archives, Lee presents a picture of social normality, with Christians not being confined to any particular profession or class. Most inhabitants converted during the second half of their lives, ensuring that their families continued the newly established family tradition. At a supra-local level, Christian communities offered each other assistance in times of crisis, in particular when members of the same lineages were under attack. The sixth chapter continues to explore the relationship between converts and non-Christians during such periods of crisis. The first 'martyrdom' of a Chaozhou Presbyterian (1878, in Zhazi) is thus used to illustrate how intra-village conflicts antedating conversion could be translated into anti-Christian conflict, revealing the foreign missionaries to be ignorant, if benevolent, bystanders. Chapter 7 presents an interesting case of inter-denominational conflict, namely the example of the Li in Kuxi, who split along the lines of rival branches, into Catholics and Protestants. Here too, rivalries between the foreign powers—of France and of America, respectively, and the imperial administration—were successfully exploited. Another case study of intra-lineage conflict in denominational guise is portrayed in the eighth chapter, focusing on two rival branches of the Chen clan in Liugang, who split into Baptist and Presbyterian camps. Lee analyses the intricate diplomatic efforts effected by the representatives of the two Protestant churches, as well as the response by the Qing magistrate and the local elites. The final chapter offers interesting insights into the social fabric of a walled horticultural community. Using the contentious issue of temple donations, the ninth chapter goes to the roots of a long-standing pre-conversion conflict in Caikou village. When convert clans refused to pay for a customary temple festivity during the 1890s, the Caikou Presbyterians faced violence. Once again revealing his gift for meticulous research, Lee examines the links that connected the powerful, non-Christian Zhong clan with the political powerbrokers at all levels, as well as the historical context for the rivalry between the Zhong and the other lineages. The 'anti-Christian' agitation during the outgoing Qing thus emerges as the continuation of much older grievances.

*The Bible and the Gun* offers vivid insight into the colourful culture of the late-Qing Chaozhou region. Impeccable in its use of historical sources, Joseph Lee also employs methods used by social anthropologists by obtaining evidence from the descendants of the Christian clans mentioned. The book itself is copiously illustrated with pictures, charts and statistical information produced by the author. By presenting detailed examples of the missionary enterprise in this well-defined region, it also fits into a well-established tradition of missionary literature. More importantly, Lee's monograph deals with the indigenous factors at work, stripping the conversion process of most 'religious' connotations and highlighting its role in often concealed patterns of communal conflict. Joseph Lee's unique work will appeal to a wide range of the academic public, and should be part of any reading list for modern missionary history.

LARS PETER LAAMANN

YE XIAOQING:

*The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life 1884–1898.*

(Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 98.) viii, 249 pp. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2003. £31.

It is the subtitle rather than the title of this volume which gives the more accurate sense of its contents and interests. Although it uses the *Dianshizhai huabao*, the lithographically illustrated periodical published in Shanghai between 1884 and 1898 by the brothers Frederick and Ernest Major, as its single major source, it is focused less on the journal itself than on the way it can be used to discuss the social life of Shanghai during the fifteen years of its existence. It does so under a number of thematic chapters, which form the main body of the text, after an introductory forty or so pages which tell of the journal's foundation, and discuss its editorship and editorial policies, its readership, and the artists who provided its distinctive illustrations. It then proceeds to three chapters on 'Shanghai: Old city, new city' (covering topics like 'Roads and transportation', 'Water supply and hygiene' and 'Conflicting legal systems'); on 'A new urban culture' (with subsections on e.g. 'Concepts of health and the human body', 'Relations between the sexes' and 'Vagrants and criminals') and 'Religious practices' (variously subdivided into topics like 'Official attitudes', and 'Attitude of the literati'). By the time we reach the brief 'Afterword', the focus has shifted to 'the formation of this [Shanghai] new urban culture', to the extent that the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* appears to have been totally forgotten, and indeed receives not a single mention. It is likely therefore that this book will fail fully to satisfy the demands of either of its two potential audiences. Those whose primary concern is the journal, the birth of a new urban reading public, and particularly the role of illustration in the development of new forms of mass visual culture in the late Qing, may be disappointed that the pictures are never engaged with in their own terms, but are simply adduced as unproblematic evidence of what happened in this extraordinary and distinctive late nineteenth-century urban environment. Their stylistic sources, and in particular the role of contacts between Shanghai and the Japanese periodical press, are never raised as an issue, but are instead taken for granted. It is enough for there to be a picture of an event for that event to have taken place (the editors could scarcely have hoped for better!). The diachronic thematic treatment also means we never get a sense of any single issue of the journal's contents as a whole, where surely it is precisely the juxtaposition of stories on a range of different topics which creates the reading experience. This sense of fragmentation is exacerbated by the rather poor reproduction of the 137 illustrations from the periodical which are included, too small and with too murky a degree of definition to be easily legible. The journal is never discussed as a material object which the reader would experience in tactile and visual terms, and indeed the reader is left in the dark as to even the page sizes of the originals. On the other hand, social historians of Qing Shanghai may be troubled by the book's heavy dependence on one source, as if the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, foreign-owned and edited by local literati with a distinctive social agenda, was a sufficient body of evidence in and of itself, a totally reliable guide to 'what Shanghai was like'. Both audiences are likely to be disappointed by a text which is resolutely descriptive rather than analytical, and which is happy to deploy terms such as 'traditional'

and 'modern', 'Western' and 'Chinese', as if both then and now everyone was entirely clear about what they meant, as if they were pre-existent sets of practices and statements rather than a site of lively contest, in which the Dianshizhai publishing house was not simply a neutral observer, but a central participant. To take an example, the journal clearly records concerns over the extent to which the 'traditional' reverence for paper with text written or printed on it was under extreme pressure in the polyglot commercial environment of Shanghai. Without suggesting that such concerns are an 'invention of tradition' at this time, it would conversely be naïve to see them as having come down smoothly to the late nineteenth century from a timeless and traditional set of beliefs. The extent to which the creation of 'the modern' *also* necessarily involves the creation of something called 'the traditional', is only one of many possible alleys of investigation which are not taken here.

However, within these limitations, the book has a function as (and is likely to be welcomed as), a sort of preliminary finding list for those interested in employing the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* to investigate any one of a number of topics. Given its thematic structure, and a degree of coverage which at least aspires to be comprehensive, it is relatively easy to leaf through it and get a sense of the kinds of material the journal may contain. It thus makes the riches of the periodical, which following its republication is available in a number of libraries, more conveniently accessible to further investigators. (The lack of Chinese characters, except in the bibliography, is conversely inhibiting for researchers.) The book is also potentially of great use in introducing students to this material, since the author's generous quantity of direct translations allows engagement with the Dianshizhai's writers in their own words. These are words which relate the quirkiest of incidents in a deadpan prose which can be enormously engaging, and which will draw both beginners and more advanced students into discussion of late-Qing society and culture from many different angles.

CRAIG CLUNAS

SCOTT SIMON:

*Sweet and Sour: Life-Worlds of Taipei Women Entrepreneurs.* (Asian Voices.) xviii, 246 pp. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003. £19.95.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, Taiwan is full of contradictions and strains between traditional family structures and capitalist free-market practices, and between local interests and global capital—contradictions alluded to in the title of this book, *Sweet and Sour*. Many Taiwanese people, women in particular, have struggled and succeeded in developing a place for themselves, both mentally and physically, in this process of social change. Scott Simon's ethnography, *Sweet and Sour: Life-Worlds of Taipei Women Entrepreneurs*, documents one feature in particular of the changes in contemporary Taiwan—the many women in Taipei who now own and run their own businesses and who have become, in consequence, economic agents. Attempting to render a social process visible, Simon uses life histories to give voice to thirty women who are at the forefront of social change. These voices are conveyed to the reader through Simon's use of extended and extensive quotations. Importantly, he is aware of the symbolic violence that takes place when the

ethnic diversity of Taiwan is represented merely as a part of Chinese Mandarin culture. As such, he romanizes the words his informants use according to the language spoken, be it Taiwanese, Mandarin or other.

The thirty women range in age, status, educational level, occupation, ethnic group and social class, and offer a rich picture of entrepreneurial women speaking about gender and entrepreneurship in Taiwan. They include native Taiwanese, Chinese Mainlanders and aboriginal people. They are single women, lesbians, wives, mothers and divorced women. They sell breakfast, betel-nut or shaven ice, work as hairdressers and hostesses, engage in trades and export, arts and crafts, fashion design, run bars and cafés, and represent a broad spectrum of entrepreneurial activity.

Two research methods form the methodology. Simon first conducted a survey based on a geographical sector of Taipei, in order to gain a sense of the diversity of female entrepreneurs. This was then complemented by in-depth unstructured interviews with thirty selected women about their life histories, as well as follow-up participant research in their businesses and lives.

Simon's position has moved away from that of the first generation of scholarship on Chinese family enterprises that focused on the family as a unit, or the perspective of male household heads. Like the second generation of scholars, he puts women and their voices at the centre of his analysis, but he is not interested in the second generation's main concern, that is, the extent to which women in family businesses are exploited and subordinated to the 'needs' of the patriarchal family and/or the capitalist economy. Instead he addresses questions of female entrepreneurship and gender empowerment, asking what the women gain from operating their own businesses, both individually and collectively. Simon discloses that many women use entrepreneurship to create a social space within which they establish new identities or assert identities as agents of social change, and such that entrepreneurship is adopted by women to avoid or reject marriage or to negotiate with patriarchal power. He asks whether entrepreneurship will become a strategy for women's collective empowerment and discovers that in Taiwanese power structures, gender identity is often overshadowed by other concerns, such as class, ethnicity, and even position in the global economy, and that female entrepreneurship does little to advance the empowerment of women as a collective group.

I agree with Simon's conclusion that on the one hand, capitalist development has weakened the traditional patriarchal structures that suppress women. Women in Taiwan now occupy their own material position in the capitalist market place. Entrepreneurship is not merely another form of the oppression of women in patriarchal systems. Indeed, individual female entrepreneurs do increase their power at the interpersonal and organizational levels. On the other hand, as a group, men still possess greater structural power. The fact that female entrepreneurs tend to run low-skill and low-capital businesses suggests that there are still gender inequalities in contemporary Taiwan. Entrepreneurship as a development strategy meets limited success, only bringing ownership at the level of the individual.

Simon's research on female entrepreneurship is important to the study of the Taiwanese economy, Taiwanese culture and Taiwanese women. Mainstream studies of the Taiwanese economy tend to focus on macro-level data and gender-neutral analyses of economic activity, while this study takes a micro- and gendered analysis of life narratives of women entrepreneurs. Traditional studies of Taiwanese culture have emphasized family and lineage to the exclusion of understanding individual agency, while this research pays

attention to the dimension of women as individuals and agents. The majority of studies of Taiwanese women have examined women's positions in Confucianism and family dynamics, while this book studies women as a dynamic force in capitalist commercial culture acting as the agents of social change.

FANG-LONG SHIH

ENDŌ SHŪSAKU (trans. Teruyo Shimizu):

*Song of Sadness.*

(Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies.) v, 223 pp. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003. \$45.

If literary reputations were based on the number of an author's works to have appeared in translation, then that of the Japanese novelist Endō Shūsaku would be secure. With publication of this translation of Endō's 1977 novel, *Kanashimi no uta*, there are now some thirteen of the author's novels, plus two collections of short stories, available in English translation; in addition, his work has appeared in at least thirty different languages. Endō's reputation as 'one of the giants of modern Japanese literature' (as the dust jacket of this volume would have it) was, of course, secure long before the appearance of this latest translation. In 1994, his name was widely touted as a potential Nobel laureate, and the Order of Cultural Merit award (*Bunka kunshō*) conferred upon him in 1995 was no more than due recognition of some forty years spent in the literary limelight. For all that, this latest translation serves as an invaluable reminder of Endō's literary contribution.

When Endō emerged on the literary scene in 1955 with his Akutagawa Prize-winning novellas, *Shiroi hito* (White Man) and *Kiroi hito* (Yellow Man), he was immediately hailed as representative of a new generation of postwar authors, one for whom literature entailed no more, nor less, than a persistent probing of what he described as 'the deep inside of man'. And by the time his masterpiece, *Silence*, appeared to international acclaim a decade later, the themes, the characters and the scenarios for his entire oeuvre were largely fixed. By this stage, as a devout Catholic, Endō was widely pigeonholed as 'the foremost Japanese Christian author'. But the writer himself made much of his distaste for such an expedient label, preferring, rather, to be seen at the vanguard of literary attempts to depict something of more universal significance regarding the complexity of 'composite human beings'. To some extent, the first successes in this regard are to be measured with *Song of Sadness*, penned after an interlude of several years in which, by his own admission, Endō had sought desperately for novelistic material. This, whilst remaining true to his vision of human nature, would move his creations on from the overtly Christian worlds of *Silence* and his two subsequent novels, *A Life of Jesus* and *Beside the Dead Sea* (both 1973).

In many ways, *Song of Sadness* is classic Endō; aficionados will not have far to look for all the hallmarks of his earlier works. It is not just that the characters are all recasts—although many will recall previous appearances of characters such as Suguro, the ageing doctor, still troubled by memories of his complicity in a wartime incident involving the vivisection of American POWs (cf. *The Sea and Poison*, 1957); Gaston Bonaparte, the awkward, naïve Frenchman who is unable to see anything but altruism in the actions of all

those with whom he comes into contact (cf. *Wonderful Fool*, 1959); and Yamazaki and Hayashi, two college students ‘as empty of ideals as they are of purpose’, whose inability to apply themselves to anything constructive to stave off the boredom of their mundane existences establishes them as near identical twins of Yoshioka, the heartless protagonist of *The Girl I Left Behind* (1964). The scenarios in which these characters find themselves are also somehow familiar—but it is in this regard that the significance of this work is most in evidence as, a reworking of familiar tropes, but also as a precursor of Endō’s subsequent, more mature work. Indeed, the work contains powerful echoes of *Scandal*, the novel that was seen, immediately on publication in 1986, as offering fresh, new insights, based on the author’s extensive study during the ‘barren’ years of the 1970s, into Jungian psychology—into what actually happens when the individual confronts his/her shadow being. In retrospect, however, we can see, in *Song of Sadness*, the model for the depiction of the protagonist of *Scandal*, also named Suguro. The ‘complex’ character in this earlier work is Professor Yano, a vain university professor who leads a humiliating double life. Obsessed with his reputation and his chances of promotion, Yano insists that his daughter visit Dr Suguro for a shady, back-street abortion, rather than allow news of her unwanted pregnancy to leak out amongst his colleagues. The same man, however, thinks nothing of donning a wig and drinking the night away with the younger generation in the less salubrious bars of Shinjuku. And the similarities with *Scandal* do not end there: like Suguro, Yano is uncovered by a crusading young reporter desperate for a scoop to establish his journalistic reputation, and becomes embroiled in a series of ventures designed to protect his reputation, only to find himself increasingly confronted with the realization of the impossibility of divorcing certain aspects of his behaviour from his ‘true self’. The only full-length novel Endō wrote after *Scandal* was *Deep River*—and again, *Song of Sadness* can be seen as a precursor of this later work in several respects, most notably in the manner in which the novel is divided into a series of separate, if carefully interwoven, narratives.

There remains, however, one further significant contribution of this latest translation to our appreciation of Endō’s art. With the success of *Silence* and other works focusing on the Christian missions to Japan in the seventeenth century, Endō’s chances of contributing much to the burgeoning debates on religious plurality may have appeared restricted. With *Song of Sadness*, however, we have moved beyond the largely one-dimensional questioning of whether ‘Western’ Christianity can ever ‘take root’ in the ‘mudswamp’ of Japan; here is the first concerted attempt to consider the issue of religious syncretism, one that at this stage was largely derived from Endō’s determination to bridge what he had earlier portrayed, all too simplistically in works such as *Foreign Studies* (1965), as the unfathomable divide between the ‘monotheistic’ West and the ‘pantheistic’ East, but which would ultimately emerge, in *Deep River*, into a sophisticated exercise in interfaith dialogue, a literary consideration securely rooted in the writings of such eminent theologians as John Hick and William Johnston.

In Japanese discussions of Endō’s oeuvre, *Song of Sadness* has long been discussed alongside the rest of the author’s ‘*junbungaku*’ art (as opposed to his other works of narrative fiction, all too easily dismissed as works of ‘entertainment’). It is a mere accident of translation history that has resulted in this work appearing so much later than the other novels, but this should in no way detract from its significance. We are fortunate in having Teruyo Shimizu as a capable and faithful translator and, although I, for one, would hesitate in

selecting this as *the* representative Endō work to include on the reading list for a survey course of modern Japanese literature, the novel certainly deserves wider consideration in any discussion of Endō's status in the postwar Japanese literary canon.

MARK WILLIAMS

MARCIA YONEMOTO:

*Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868).*

(Asia: Local Studies/Global Themes.) xv, 234 pp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. \$49.95.

Yonemoto has already established a name for herself with a number of articles exploring the history of Japanese maps not so much from the perspective of cartographic progress but from that of conventions of representation and the phenomenology of maps as commercial goods. Here she ranges much more widely and ambitiously, though her focus on the 'history of mapping as an idea' has obvious links with her early work on representation in commercial maps. And the link with maps themselves is sustained by her first chapter on the commercial maps of the Edo period, in which she emphasizes the commodification of maps by commercial publishers, drawing attention to the frequent revisions of maps to bring them up to date, to the extent of iconotexts filling the empty spaces, and to the ways in which the mapmakers envisioned Japan for their readers, most strikingly by not considering Ezo, even the part now known as Hokkaido, as a part of Japan. This makes for a sure-footed and refreshing alternative to conventional cartographic history. There are some obvious pointers to the need for further research: she refers to the 'many uses' to which the commercial maps were put, but these are not so easy to identify, although the consumption of maps in the Tokugawa period reached such high levels, as she emphasizes, that some explanation is called for in terms of patterns of usage. A similar point could be made about the textual as well as visual 'information' conveyed by maps: what purposes does it serve? It is also worth pondering the reification of what in the Tokugawa period were called *ezu* as 'maps'; the term *ezu* after all placed them uneasily between what we think of as maps and as pictorial art, and given that many of them were executed by artists and contained pictorial elements as well as texts, 'map' is clearly not a term that adequately seizes their contemporary functions and meanings.

In the remainder of the book Yonemoto is more concerned with texts than with visual representations, starting in the second chapter with what she calls 'the reinvention of travel writing' in the late seventeenth century. Here she assigns a critically important role to Kaibara Ekiken's travel writings produced for a commercial audience; to be fully convincing this would need a longer perspective and a more sustained attempt to differentiate Ekiken from his predecessors, but her examination of his sense of place and self and her attempts to relate them to his status and his times are valuable. In her fascinating third chapter she turns to 'the writing of cultural difference', starting with the mapmaker Nagakubo Sekisui's account of a journey to Nagasaki and the tensions between China as an intellectual construct and the Chinese men he encounters in Nagasaki. Similar questions over perceptions of Ezo as well as



China are raised by Furukawa Koshōken's travel writings. Yonemoto argues persuasively that these and other texts dealing with what she calls 'Japan's others within', such as Ainu and Chinese, 'chronicled the process by which Japan's actual and metaphorical boundaries were contested and reconstituted' (p. 98).

The third and fourth chapters direct attention at imaginary topographies and journeys, and serve to support Yonemoto's contention that by the late eighteenth century 'spatial knowledge was common sense' (p. 126) for most readers, sufficiently so, at any rate, for it to be played with. In the third chapter she considers the significance of the literary vogue for imaginary journeys overseas at a time when they were of course impossible to realize; Hiraga Gennai's *Fūryū Shidōken den* is an important example, but she draws attention to a number of forgotten works testifying to the popularity of the theme. The fourth chapter traces, in works of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the development of a more Japan-centric, or rather Edo-centric, imagination in the literary and descriptive mapping of the Yoshiwara brothel district, or, to use her term, the 'geographies of pleasure', including numerous parodies and burlesques of the map. Most of the works discussed here have long been neglected, wrongly so I am persuaded, and her argument that they reveal a drastic narrowing of horizons compared with earlier geographic imaginations in the Tokugawa period is striking given the increasing presence of foreign ships, reminders of distant foreign geographies, in Japanese waters in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In her conclusion Yonemoto reminds us that mapping was not a vehicle of hegemonic power in the Tokugawa period, for the commercial maps and travel writings were not the product of a centralized authority with a political agenda to pursue. Given the conditions of production this argument seems unexceptionable, but her claim that as a result they 'did not possess ideology's inclination to deceive' (178) is surely a step too far: it is difficult to look at the material she covers so expertly without the conviction that most of it has ideological underpinnings that need to be teased out. There are a very small number of errors in this book (the title of the sequel to the *Nihon shoki* is read *Shoku nihongi*) and some stray macrons (Nishikawa Joken, whom she refers to frequently, appears as Jōken, and Mino as Minō), but these are trivial flaws in a provocative and original book that takes the reader along some very unfamiliar paths.

P. F. KORNICKI

JILLY TREGANOU:

*The Tōkaidō Road: Traveling and Representation in Edo and Meiji Japan.*

xix, 270 pp. New York and London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. £60.

Japan is a mountainous archipelago, and prone to fall asunder into competing regions. For much of its history, the notion of a 'Japan', as a unitary entity rather than a conglomeration of cultures, would have seemed quite absurd. The islands stretch a couple of thousand kilometres, and winter is long and deep in the north while they grow oranges in the south. It was incumbent on all hegemonic regimes, therefore, to establish communications, which in pre-modern times meant principally, *to road*.

Passable valleys and colls are few, and thus, road-making, over the course of history, went along over the same geographical patternations. Not long after coming to power, in 1600, the Tokugawa family designated five pre-existing transit ribbons as their official highways, and took them into government control. All were fashioned to look rather alike, studded with mile-markers (actually, *ri*-markers, occurring around every 4 km) consisting of a hillock surmounted with a tree (usually a pine), and equipped with post-stations, inns and river-crossing requisites.

Notwithstanding the spread of the lands, the five government highways consolidated only their central core, that is, the region between Edo (modern Tokyo) in the east, and the Osaka/Kyoto conurbation in the west. By the end of the eighteenth century—the period most fully covered by Jilly Treganou—the two poles were inhabited by some 1 million people apiece. Of the most-travelled pair of the five, first was the Nakasendō, sometimes nicknamed the Princesses' Highway (*hime-kaidō*) because it was less used by rough commercial traffic, and might actually be closed off to common users when royalty was on it (archetypically meaning a shogunal daughter going from Edo to marry into the imperial family in Kyoto, or vice-versa). Second was the Tōkaidō, literally the 'eastern sea road' which, as the name suggests, led along the coast (the Nakasendō took the same course but inland).

Treganou has been working on the history of the Tōkaidō for some years, and has already published several articles and created a useful website. This book is her first monograph, and indeed, for all that the culture of travel in Japan has elicited much scholarship from anthropologists, religious, literary and art historians and others, this is the first full discussion in a Western language. (One prior work is an unpublished PhD thesis, which this author cites liberally, but which is hard to obtain; L. Bresler, 'The origins of popular travel and travel literature in Japan', Columbia University, 1975.)

Treganou's contention is that road-user items designed for the Tōkaidō (maps, gazetteers, etc.), 'often contain elements that distort geographical reality, giving priority to the symbolic order' (p. 185); and she then postulates a distinction between the 'geometrical space [of] China or the west' with the 'movement-oriented space' of Japan (p. 186). One does not have to accept this binarism in its totality to agree that there are varying competing modes of spatial conceptualizations. The Tōkaidō documentation is often so loose that it would not much facilitate exploration along the road. Treganou rightly warns that this difference is not the result of 'functionality or ... ignorance', but was in some sense volitional. In short, accurate representations could have been made, but the preference was for them not to be. This is very much the case in 'China or the west', but in other places too most travellers—not to say arm-chair travellers—are able to deal with a range of genres and to move between them without trouble. We do not expect the same content from a heritage guide as we do from an ordnance survey one. East Asian, but also European, literature has plentiful travel poetry that would be disastrous for the wanderer to rely on for navigation; in Europe, as in Japan, there is pilgrimage in the head, whether to religious or cultural heartlands, as well as travel on the land. Moreover, when it comes to the Tōkaidō, there were no branch roads (to leave the highway was to be lost at once in peasants' tracks) and no scope for independent route-planning. The need to offer alternatives to the varying needs of travellers was absent. Treganou might have offered concrete comparative examples here, from elsewhere in Japan, or from further afield.

This book contains three long chapters. The first is on the infrastructure of the Tōkaidō—not its surfaces and bridges, which are not matters that interest

Treganou, but on its cartographic, or experiential, infrastructure. This section is, in effect, a typology of travel writings, and many readers will find its sorting of the several overlapping genres extremely useful. Here, comparative information is well-supplied, with a sophisticated use of contemporary critical theory. The second chapter is an assessment of travelling practices and the literary overlay of the road. In this section, Treganou introduces many of the most famous works of travel literature (*kikō bungaku* in modern Japanese), and it is here that the book hits its first big problem. Treganou is a good writer and her broad and methodological framework is convincing. But she is clearly not a wide reader in Japanese sources. Where she compares the writings of Bashō, Bakin and Kōkan (who span about 1690–1830), it soon becomes clear she has not gone back to the originals, but has resorted to published translations. This might not matter, except that translations out of early-modern Japanese inevitably carry a high degree of gloss with them, and to fail to go behind this, and to tackle the writer's own words, is to engage in a risky process.

The third chapter considers the 'visuality and imagination' of the Tōkaidō. Almost anyone who has encountered Japanese art will know of the celebrated early nineteenth-century prints of the fifty-three stations of the Tōkaidō. There is a wealth of such materials, and Treganou discusses a good deal; this book is very generously illustrated, with over fifty monochrome illustrations and thirty plates. As an art-historian himself, the present reviewer found particular interest in this section. But here too, however, it is regrettable that while much sophisticated analysis is given, too much of the information itself is from secondary English-language sources, which, at best, means a plethora of footnotes that are not really necessary, and do not take the reader back to the root of the contentions being cited; at worst out-dated scholarship is given. The idea that Hokusai studied with Kōkan, for example (p. 165), has long been rejected, and of the claim that Hiroshige's Tōkaidō print series 'is considered the first Japanese artwork that shows a harmonious combination of landscape and figures', one wishes to know who offered this totally invalid 'consideration', for it was surely no informed recent scholar.

A strength of Treganou's volume is that she does not cut off her treatment of the Tōkaidō at the end of the Edo Period (1868), with the arrival of the Meiji regime. The Tōkaidō underwent total change, but it was not erased. The railway line took it over—with some, though because of the topography, actually rather few—deviations. Railways have been much studied (Treganou uses Wolfgang Schivelbusch's excellent *The Railway Journey* to good effect), but the rich yield of earlier scholars has not been applied to Japan before.

What Treganou gives is a compendium of the culture and history of the Tōkaidō in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. It is a helpful work that will encourage serious thinking about the range of issues it covers.

TIMON SCREECH

MATTHEW ALLEN:

*Identity and Resistance in Okinawa.*

(Asian Voices.) x, 265 pp. Lanham, Maryland and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002. £22.95.

It is hard to believe that it will soon be a decade since the rape of a schoolgirl by US servicemen plunged Japan's peripheral prefecture, Okinawa, into

political turmoil and prominence. Though the progressive anti-base movement has since been rendered ineffective by the tactics of the Japanese government and the prefecture is somewhat quieter, the occasionally spectacular events of the time attracted the attention of scholars from a variety of disciplines. Their studies have been coming to fruition over the last few years to create a body of English-language scholarship on Okinawa and its troubled relationship with both Japan and the USA. This book is a valuable addition to that corpus.

Much of the discourse, both popular and academic, on contemporary Okinawa has noted, investigated or promoted the notion of a distinct Okinawan identity as a resource for political mobilization in the anti-base struggle. There is a danger that 'Okinawan' identity, when articulated in relation to the USA or Japan, is assumed to be both unproblematic and unitary. The value of this book is that it goes far deeper and looks at ways in which 'being Okinawan' is not only many layered, but is meaningful in many social and cultural contexts other than the explicitly political. It shows how, at the local level, ordinary Okinawans react to ongoing changes in their social, cultural, political and spiritual environments by continuously renegotiating and reconstructing the boundaries of their multiple and overlapping identities. As Allen is at pains to emphasize, the primary focus of identity for most ordinary people in Okinawa is overwhelmingly local.

While nobody entertains the notion of static, essentialist identities anymore, and it has become academic fashion to consider identity as socially constructed and continually contested and negotiated in everyday life, there is always a need for clear empirically based studies that shed light on these processes and their meaning to real people in the real world. This book does just that. Shifting the focus away from the main island of Okinawa and its base problem, it takes the 'outer island' of Kumejima as the location for a series of case studies. This was an excellent choice, not least because it is refreshing to remember that there are still places in Japan with only a single traffic light, to which groups of local schoolchildren are taken to be taught road safety! Like other areas of rural Japan, though, the downside is limited economic opportunities and consequent outmigration, particularly of the young, to seek better jobs elsewhere.

As a 'periphery within a periphery' Kumejima becomes the location where Allen can disregard homogenizing narratives of 'Japan' or 'Okinawa' and investigate the various spatial-temporal networks within which the islanders live their lives and construct their identities. These range from the intensely local—the individual or family unit—to the regional. Besides the obvious political and geographic boundaries inscribed physically in space—hamlet, municipality, the island itself, Okinawa—Allen looks also at other dimensions and self-other relationships such as memories of the war, dialect, islanders and newcomers, tourism, and the boundary between the 'normal' and the mentally disordered. In a particularly original section, three chapters are devoted to the complex linkages between Okinawan shamanism and mental illness (Okinawa has very high rates within Japan for mental disorder and suicide) and the clash between the local spiritual knowledge and values of the *yuta* shamans and the technologies of modern medical practices associated with 'Japan'. Other chapters show how community identities on the island are learned, articulated and reinforced through separate local histories and festivals, as in the case of the Torishima villagers who settled in Kume after evacuating their own unstable volcanic island in 1903, or through the activation of cultural and linguistic symbols in dialect contests. Another interesting case study looks at the way that the local Boards of Education, as paternalistic representatives of the state,

reach deep into the 'private' lives of ordinary islanders yet manage to subvert the centralizing and assimilative tendencies of Japan's Ministry of Education (as it then was) by promoting 'traditional' Kume/Okinawan local history, cultural forms and values. In the chapter on tourism, Allen notes how the promotion of a new image to sell 'tropical resort' Kumejima as an idealized version of 'Okinawa' to the rest of Japan disregards the considerable cultural diversity within the island itself, let alone between the different islands of Okinawa prefecture.

Although 'resistance' is prominently foregrounded in the title, those seeking an analysis of the anti-base struggle or the 'internal colonialism' of Okinawa will be disappointed. Allen's concern appears instead to be with how resistance to the imposition of new political, economic and socio-cultural institutions and practices underlies the creation of dynamic (and often unstable) new forms of identity, for instance in the way a new island-wide identity is emerging in Kumejima as a result of local administrative changes and the promotion of tourism. Nevertheless, it is precisely this focus on the other, local Okinawa, away from the highly charged and occasionally partisan studies of the anti-base movement, that makes this book timely and interesting.

RICHARD SIDDLER

CHUNG-SHIN PARK:

*Protestantism and Politics in Korea.*

xii, 316 pp. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003. \$50.

In *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, based upon his 1987 doctoral thesis at the University of Washington, Chung-shin Park explores the relationship between Protestant Christians and the changing political scene in Korea. A socio-political history of Korean Protestantism, Park states that he will eschew both the 'in-house' church history approach, and an exclusive focus on theological issues. While not as novel an approach as the author claims, this work brings out clearly the social and political issues surrounding the inception, initial growth, and development of Protestant Christianity over a one-hundred year period from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century.

The book is divided into two large sections, the first being a social history of Korean Protestantism, and the second a history of Korean Protestants' engagement with the political contexts of their day. In the first section, Park considers the historical reasons for the formation of the peculiar theological orientation of the Protestant churches, and looks at the churches as social institutions within Korean culture. In the second section, the author divides the recent political history of the Korean nation into four main periods—the era of early nationalism, 1880–1919; the era of late nationalism under mature Japanese colonialism, 1919–45; and the era of American/Soviet military occupation, 1945–48; and the era of independent states, 1948–1980s. This periodization allows us to see how the author discerns which particular events had a crucial effect on the Protestant Church and its leadership. Rather than making the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 the end of his first period of modern history, Park puts together the final years of the Chosŏn state and the first decade of Japanese colonial rule. He makes the key point that before 1919 Protestantism was a radical force in Korean society precisely because its

criticism of contemporary Korea appealed to the dispossessed members of both the elite and the most oppressed sectors of society. However, after 1919, Park attributes the conservatism of the Korean church's leadership to the institutionalization of the church. Protestantism and its leaders by then were not just tolerated by society, but had become accepted and respectable. Consequently, the leadership instinctively sought to preserve and protect the institutional church bodies and their own newly achieved status of respectability.

Likewise, Park points out that after 1945 Christianity was not only acceptable but had moved into a position of socio-political dominance because the majority of the new political leadership was Protestant. He then argues that that period of close collaboration under Syngman Rhee changed to one of hostility under the regimes of Pak Chŏnghŭi and his successors because of the disappearance of those bonds of religious affiliation.

Clearly there is much food for thought here. Seldom in English-language scholarship will one find this type of socio-political analysis of Korean Protestantism—which is refreshing. Nonetheless, one must make some criticisms of this thought-provoking work. First, as is too often the case, Korean Presbyterianism is unassumingly taken to mean Korean Protestantism. Although the Methodist Church and other denominations are mentioned briefly here and there, this book is essentially about the Presbyterian churches. The book's thesis would have been improved by looking for the critical differences between the denominations at crucial moments of Korean church history. For example Sung-gun Kim, in his 1989 Hull PhD thesis 'Korean Christianity and the Shinto shrine issue' showed just how important the denominational factor is.

In many ways, the most disappointing chapter is on the most recent times. Even granting that the book is based on a 1987 thesis, the story should have been brought up to date, especially since the conclusion ends with a note about the future (after the 1980s) which by now is already known. Revising his thesis well after the 1980s, Park should have considered Hak-kyu Sohn's *Authoritarianism and Opposition in South Korea* (Richmond, 1989) which provides a very detailed sociological study of the Christian opposition movement. Moreover, in the 1990s two leading dissidents from the 1970s and 1980s assumed the presidency. How did that fact change the relationship of Protestants with national politics? Was it the same as under Syngman Rhee? If not, why not? Park should also have considered the work of scholars such as Moo Youl Choi, who in his 1995 University of Wales thesis 'Korean Presbyterianism and social work' demonstrated that the most theologically conservative groups, those which were least likely to be involved politically, had a significantly higher level of involvement in specific social issues than the more politically involved churches. In his discussion of the 1970s and 1980s Park places too great an emphasis on church leaders rather than looking more closely at the laity. Certainly, it has been my impression that during that period the laity was more politically and socially engaged than the formal leadership of any of the Protestant denominations.

Despite these remarks, Park's book makes an important contribution to the social scientific study of religions in Korea, and in particular to the study of the socio-political influence of Korean Protestantism. It is full of provocative ideas and interesting observations making it worthwhile reading for specialists in East Asian history and politics as well as specialists in East Asian religions.

JAMES H. GRAYSON

JOONG-SEOP KIM:

*The Korean Paekjǒng under Japanese Rule: The Quest for Equality and Human Rights.*

xi, 212 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £60.

The work under review is the first book-length study in a Western language to concentrate on the *paekchǒng* (lit. 'white people')—a minority group who, belonging to the base stratum (*ch'ōnmin*) of Korean society, have suffered discrimination and economic deprivation since time immemorial. With their origin unknown, they were despised because of their occupations as butchers and slaughterers and producers of wickerwork, in contrast to the slaves, the largest base group, who were the property of others. Whereas there are numerous studies on the slaves, the *paekchǒng* have hitherto attracted little scholarly attention. Professor Kim, who is professor of sociology and director of the Centre for Reunification, Peace and Human Rights at Gyeongsang National University, must be congratulated for his efforts to trace the history of the *paekchǒng* from their 'origins' through Koryō to Chosōn. Because of their marginal existence, the sources available for studying the *paekchǒng*'s fate during the pre-modern period are scarce. But the documentary situation for reconstructing their liberation activities in the early twentieth century—the main subject of this book—is not much better. The primary information for his study of the Hyōngp'yōngsa (Equity Society), founded in 1923, Professor Kim found in a great number of newspaper reports, articles in periodicals, and official documents and statistics of the Japanese colonial authorities. He supplemented this material with occasional interviews with a few survivors of the Society. The author is fully aware that this is a somewhat uncertain documentary basis upon which to base the main body of his book, but his reconstruction, though at times perhaps too inclined to see the Hyōngp'yōng members as 'revolutionaries', is on the whole coherent and convincing.

After a brief introduction, the second chapter sheds light on the economic and social status of the *paekchǒng*, who conducted their business hereditarily to the end of the Chosōn period. Although the author does not discuss this aspect, it is likely that they had to supplement their income with some agricultural activities since they operated in a society that did not breed animals on a large scale and ate meat only on rare occasions. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, they seem to have been confronted with non-*paekchǒng* competitors—a development Kim thinks is a sign that the meat trade had become profitable. But was this not perhaps also evidence of the *paekchǒng*'s inability to be active in urban environments? Chapter 3 traces the origins of the Equity Society that was formed in 1923 as the first movement to improve the *paekchǒng*'s 'human rights'. Kim uses the latter term without discussing whether or not it was indeed a concept that had currency at that early time (what was its Korean equivalent?), and where it might have come from. As he points out, the Equity Society was only one of a multitude of social movements formed on a variety of ideological platforms. It would have been interesting to learn a bit more about the educational and ideological development of the key personalities—all themselves *paekchǒng*—who were able to launch, as described in chapter 4, an organization that soon claimed some 400,000 (?) members and had branches in almost all parts of the country. Who were these leaders, how and where did they acquire their motivation and their organizational models? Where did they get their ideas of 'equity as the basis of society' and their notions of 'rights' and 'freedom'? The paragraph on the leaders'

views of what a 'modern society' should be remains without footnote, and the remark that they had relations with the Japanese Suiheisha (Leveller Society) is relegated to a footnote and not further pursued. The author, moreover, sees as one of the main motives of the Society's formation the *paekchǒng's* desire to 'regain their community' amidst competition and attacks from 'ordinary people'. What does this mean? Had there been earlier a sense of 'community' that had got lost? The paucity of the sources may have prevented further probing, but here as elsewhere it is clear that Kim is a sociologist rather than a historian. The internal dynamics of the Equity Society between 1924 and 1925 are investigated in chapter 5. It remains unclear why non-*paekchǒng* would have wanted to join the despised *paekchǒng* in one and the same organization and not form their own group. And how, for instance, did some of the leaders of the Chinju faction become 'wealthy and influential'? Again some interesting personal information is relegated to the footnotes, which makes the list of the national executive committee members (p. 80) rather meaningless. Chapter 6, then, describes the 'external trials' between 1923 and 1925, the Kimhae Incident of 1923, the Ipjang Incident one year later, and the Yech'ŏn Incident in 1925, all of which were anti-Hyŏngp'yŏngsa protests motivated by unidentified 'commoners' who harboured the old prejudices. The expansion and stagnation of the movement between 1925 and 1930 is traced in chapter 7. A number of sub-groups emerged, even one for women, and substantial progress was made, at least on paper, on social, educational and economic issues, as evidenced by the agendas of the annual national conferences. In the early 1930s, however, the movement started to decline under the pressure of Japan's war preparations and in the midst of conflicts between young activists and the established leadership. Even the name was changed to Taedongsa (Fusion Society) in 1935, yet by 1940 the movement ended never to re-emerge after the Second World War.

The quality of Professor Kim's writing-style is somewhat dry, and the book lacks a Chinese-character glossary for closer identification of names and terms. Although the McCune-Reischauer system is on the whole followed, it is unexplained why *paekjŏng* was not correctly rendered *paekchǒng*. Some Korean terms like, for instance, *sinbun*, are left untranslated. These squabbles aside, the book is a useful and welcome addition to the growing number of studies on social movements during the Japanese colonial period.

MARTINA DEUHLER

ERIK CORNELL (trans. Rodney Bradbury):

*North Korea under Communism: Report of an Envoy to Paradise.*

vi, 169 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002. £16.99.

The Swedish diplomat Erik Cornell opened the Swedish Embassy in P'yŏngyang in 1977 and represented his country's interests in the North Korean capital for two years. The establishment of an embassy in a country little known to the outside world was a highly risky venture which, as Cornell recalls, was driven purely by the hope to capture an export market for Swedish business. This hope was never fulfilled, however, and Swedish–North Korean relations remained on the backburner. *Report of an Envoy to Paradise* describes Cornell's experiences and impressions he collected during his two-year stay as chargé d'affaires. It is a kind of memoir—as it gives a picture of North



Korea of some thirty years ago—but its basic intention seems to be to explain North Korea to future diplomats and businessmen. Cornell's book does not pretend to be a scholarly work; rather, it is a vivid account of everyday life in the North Korean capital—trips to the countryside were either not permitted or arranged under strict supervision—with its many frustrations and suffering of isolation and boredom. Confronted with the inexplicable behaviour of his neighbours and his counterparts in the Foreign Ministry, Cornell tried to get 'behind the minds' of the North Koreans and find explanations for their different modes of dealing and negotiating with representatives of the outside world. He also contrasts North Korean behaviour towards, and treatment of, foreigners to that of the Chinese, and finds that the latter were decidedly more self-confident and open. One chapter is devoted to the smuggling crisis of 1976 when North Korean diplomats stationed in the Scandinavian capitals were found to be entertaining wide-ranging smuggling activities with tax-exempt alcohol and cigarettes. As the Swedish Embassy was then the only Western embassy in the North Korean capital, Cornell was in charge of resolving the affair with the Foreign Ministry—an experience that gave him ample insights into North Korean thinking. Cornell returned briefly to P'yŏngyang in 1988 on the occasion of the fourth jubilee of the founding of the DPRK and found the general atmosphere slightly more relaxed, even though no fundamental changes had taken place during his absence. The exception was the personality cult around Kim Il Sung that had definitely intensified. In a separate chapter he presents his views on the chances of reunification.

In his effort to analyse and explain what he saw and heard, Cornell discusses ideological issues *in extenso*. Separate chapters are devoted to *juche* (self-reliance) and to the peculiar interaction between Confucianism and Communism in 'an attempt at orientation in North Korean ideology'. The second part of this book comprises a summary of Marxism and Leninism as far as Cornell thought they were relevant to an understanding of North Korea's version of Communism. The last chapter brings the story briefly into the 1990s.

Always intent on being even-handed in his judgements, Cornell offers thoughtful and at times even amusing insights into the life of a Western diplomat in an environment that he was able to spell out only through the 'interpretations' his government-assigned interpreter saw fit to give him. Due to the great dearth of first-hand reports on North Korea, the *Report of an Envoy to Paradise* makes interesting reading, although the reader should keep in mind that this report has itself already become a historical document.

MARTINA DEUCLER

CHONGHO KIM:

*Korean Shamanism: The Cultural Paradox.*

xxii, 248 pp. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

On a questionnaire I distributed in Korea in 1990, I naively asked: 'If you were ill, would you consult a shaman?'. Colleagues told me off, pointing out that almost no Korean would admit to doing such a thing, even though it is generally known that shamanism continues to have a place in contemporary, modern, Korea. They were right: I had to disregard the few, very stilted, answers, I obtained. This, essentially, is the paradox that Kim explores in

*Korean Shamanism*, a paradox he lays out in Zen fashion (on p. 12 and p. 223) from the perspective of the average Korean:

Shamanism is superstition, so it should not be used.

Shamanism is not superstition, because it is actually used.

Again, shamanism is superstition, so, paradoxically, it is used.

By saying this, Kim signals that he is upsetting much of the literature written to date. That literature tends to suggest that Korean shamanism remains widespread, that it is considered part of the Korean psyche, and that it is very much a part of the identity of Korean people. He needs to critique this perspective, though, because he is aware—just as I should have been back in 1990—that few Koreans will talk openly about shamanism or their own recourse to its practitioners. He knows that shamans live typically at the edges of villages, or in isolation, and are shunned in everyday life. Shamanism, he argues, has a smell like that of an open toilet, containing but removing human waste, necessary, but used furtively and situated well away from the other activities of life (p. 181). Shamanism is culturally dangerous, as expressed in the Korean proverb: ‘the hands of the dead are thorny’. Danger comes from the proximity of the spirits, but it also has to do with dirt (he remarks how filthy the house of one of the key shamans he worked with was), and with the idea that if one gets too close to a shaman’s world one is likely to be caught up in it, to be possessed by the spirits.

The volume opens with an introduction that sets out the approach, the initial difficulties encountered in fieldwork that led to this approach, and an account of his two fieldwork sites, one near Seoul and one 150 km further south. A general survey of shamanism and medical pluralism, taking in a literature review as well as brief accounts of rituals, follows. Then comes an extended account of a ritual performed without an audience (apart from Kim himself and, as he later notes, possibly a single spirit), a chapter that builds a theoretical framework out of his fieldwork data, and a chapter full of ethnographic detail. Here, and in a fifth chapter, Kim incorporates rich and full quotations, the accounts of people, telling of their backgrounds, their experience and—as he gets to know them more closely—their ‘stories-never-to-be-told’. The way that Kim here explores the reasons behind a specific ritual reads almost like a replay of Evans-Pritchard’s celebrated Azande/Zande witchcraft interpretation (pp. 121–29 and pp. 136–39). A final chapter takes the paradox to a different place, to the government’s ‘double standard’. Here, he looks at how one specific shaman, Kim Kum-Hwa, has been promoted within a government system to preserve Korean culture, while the government continues to suppress shaman rituals. This last chapter stretches the argument, showing how shamanism has become a traditional performing art rather than a local ritual to bring relief to those suffering from misfortune.

With the exception of this final chapter, Kim’s focus is on ordinary people, their use of shamanism, and their perspective on ritual practice. This forces him to challenge the literature, most potently in a ten-page critique of the highly acclaimed books and several dozen articles on Korean shamanism written by the American anthropologist Laurel Kendall: ‘My real objections to her account are, first, that the kind of [ritual] described ... [is] not really typical of the Korean utilization of shamans and, second, that Kendall describes [rituals] ... very much in the shamans’ language and terms, while giving the impression that the women as a whole share this understanding’ (p. 84). And, ‘her ethnography does not represent the world most Koreans live in, but the world most Koreans reject’ (p. 85). It is true, as he notes, that many

scholars, both foreign and Korean, have sought to work closely with shamans, and thereby are reliant on shamans as primary informants. However, Kim, too, must retain good relations with shamans if in his fieldwork he wishes to work with the clients of these same shamans. Two shamans are therefore key, Kim Kum Hwa and, in his rural fieldsite, Soh Bosal.

The fact that beyond these he works with ordinary people reflects in part his background, and in part his position as an insider to the culture. He has extensive experience in health care, and, at least to this reviewer, he usefully rejects interpretations beloved by medical anthropology. Despite the considerable work that has been done in this field beyond Korea, he notes that shamanism is not about the diagnosis and healing of biological disease, but about controlling and coming to terms with misfortune (one paragraph in the conclusion, though, suggests otherwise; p. 223). The understanding that emerges from this is that shamans are not medical practitioners, that Korean law precludes them practising medicine, and that Koreans routinely visit doctors and take medicine—both Korean and Western—regardless of whether they consult shamans or not. His perspective as an insider allows him to place himself at the centre of the account, considering his own relations with his informants, and his own reactions and behaviour at ritual events. He is, then, one of the ordinary people he studies. He notes that Korean shamanism fails to fit the cross-cultural analytical frameworks of the great scholars on shamanism and ecstatic religion, notably Mircea Eliade and I. M. Lewis; I have regularly argued this same point, and the strict definitions of Eliade are now questioned by many. Certainly, within Korean praxis, ‘spiritual journeys’ are rare, whereas ‘spirit possession’ is common. His argument for retaining the term ‘shaman’ (as opposed to superimposing ‘spirit medium’ or one of any number of local terms) while allowing local difference and distinctiveness is useful.

Kim repeatedly argues that the paradox explains why shamanism has always been persecuted. In this, he is on firm ground from the fourteenth century onwards, but he is forced to reject the common archaeological and historical position that identifies kingship with ritual leadership in earlier times, stating, simply, that the more ancient historical documentation is inadequate (p. 160). By concentrating on persecution, he downplays the notion popularized in the first half of the twentieth century within cultural nationalism, then taken up as a marker of identity by students and scholars in the 1970s and 1980s, that Korea is essentially a shaman culture. A number of scholars will be troubled by Kim’s arguments, partly because he must discard so much of the literature but also because he occasionally interprets Kendall and others too literally. For example, he rejects Kendall’s feminist perspective, but then notes how Kendall has been cited too literally, and in a manner that is uninformed if not nonsensical, by Susan Starr Sered (in her *Priestess, Mother, Sacred Sister: Religions Dominated by Women*, 1994). Kim’s is a book based on a PhD dissertation and, clearly, he caused difficulties for supervisors: his first, Linda Connor, resigned (according to a footnote on p. 69), and his second, Geoffrey Samuel, ‘took so long to recognize the importance of my work’ (p. xv).

It might appear that by concentrating on the contrasts between Kim’s perspectives and those of other writers I am criticizing *Korean Shamanism: The Cultural Paradox*. This is not my intention. Challenging a body of literature is essential if our understanding of a phenomenon, in this case Korean shamanism, is to move forward. Too much of the literature has, as Kim argues, concentrated on work with the ritual practitioners—the shamans—but has failed to account for what is a very real paradox, and in so doing it has created

something of a romantic notion of shamanism that is far from the reality. Put bluntly, there is a very real discrepancy between everyday life and scholarly accounts, since a Korean or foreigner can live for years in today's Korea and never encounter shamanism, yet journalistic and scholarly articles continue to state that Korea has more shamans than doctors. By shifting the focus towards what he calls the 'ordinary world'—people in villages and cities, people talking about shamanism, people attending or refusing to attend rituals, Kim, his landlady, and his family—he zooms in on the paradox. He does so, though, in a bold and challenging way.

KEITH HOWARD

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SHORT NOTICES

KARL FRIEDRICH GELDNER (trans.):

*Der Rig-Veda, aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen.*

(Harvard Oriental Series, v. 63.) vii, xix, 490 pp., iv 435 pp., iv, 404, 21 pp. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University (distributed by Harvard University Press), 2003. £32.95.

Geldner's German translation of the *Rgveda* was first published in 1951 as volumes 33–35 of the Harvard Oriental Series, twenty-two years after the scholar's death. The culmination of a lifetime's study of the Vedic and Avestan texts, Geldner's work remains to this day the standard by which any subsequent translation is judged. Its consistent and carefully chosen renderings of all ten *maṇḍalas*, together with its copious notes and useful orientation to the *pavamāna* hymns, make this an essential tool of indological scholarship. Despite its importance, the text has been out of print for some time. Thus, the decision of the editor of the Harvard Oriental Series to issue a reprint will surely meet with the gratitude of researchers working in Vedic studies and related fields. The publication is bound in a single, soft-cover volume which is both convenient to use and relatively inexpensive.

T. N. PROFERES

SALLY HOVEY WRIGGINS:

*The Silk Road Journey with Xuanzang.*

xviii, 326 pp. Boulder, Colorado and Oxford: Westview Press, 2004. £18.99 paper.

This is a revised and updated version of a hardback book first published under the last word of the current title by the same press in 1996. It lacks the original four-page preface by Frederick W. Mote, but adds a considerable quantity of new material, not only at the end, where new sections to the final chapter are signalled by the table of contents, but also more discreetly throughout. The scholarship laid under contribution is still very much confined to the English language—no mention of Alexander L. Mayer's weighty 1992 German volume

on Xuanzang, for instance—but within that portion of the total published literature the author has managed to get hold of some fairly obscure and often quite useful publications. The updating has also, to judge from the bibliography, been carried on right up to the last possible moment: there is a listing (albeit not under the right portion of the author's name) for Sun Shuyan, *Ten Thousand Miles without a Cloud* (London: Harper Collins, 2003), a work that suggests that enthusiasm for Xuanzang and his travels is beginning to reach a wider readership as tourism in the remoter parts of Asia becomes a more everyday occurrence. For the curious tourist this updated paperback certainly has much to say; doubtless in North America it will also reach undergraduate reading lists too. Whether the teaching of pre-modern Asian history or Chinese Buddhism will become established in this country before another updating of this book becomes necessary seems alas somewhat more doubtful.

T. H. BARRETT

WILLIAM EDWARD SOOTHILL and LEWIS HODOUS:

*A Dictionary of Buddhist Terms, with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit–Pali Index.*

xix, 510 pp. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £25.00 paper.

STEFAN WINTER:

*Zen: Bibliographie nach Sachgebieten.*

Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2003. 265 pp. €28.

Today so much information is available online, if one has the time to look, that old-fashioned reference works that take only a split second to lift off a shelf may seem a little superficial by comparison. In fact the entire contents of the first work reviewed here, now (despite all the editions produced in Taiwan) out of copyright for the first time following its original publication in 1937, is available online as part of the laudable Buddhist dictionary project currently under way in Japan, thanks to the energies of A. Charles Muller—a name I now find familiar to most graduate students of East Asian Buddhism. It is even so gratifying to have it also available in the very form that Soothill spent much of the latter part of his career working towards—turning down in its favour even the opportunity to teach J. K. Fairbank Chinese, according to the autobiography of that frustrated would-be Oxford sinologist. That is not to say that it is particularly worth consulting in any format, for even if no successful rival has yet appeared, it still remains vastly inferior to the desk dictionaries of Buddhist terminology produced in Japanese. Even its meticulously checked Sanskrit equivalences have now been rendered superfluous by the work produced in Japan under the editorship of Hirakawa Akira—though again the world still lacks a Sanskrit–Chinese dictionary based on sound historical principles. One still wonders, moreover, about the provenance of the Sanskrit annotations to the Chinese glossary discovered in the Bodleian that formed the starting point for this aspect of Soothill's work: might it have been due to some as yet unsung Manchu (or Mongol or Tibetan) Buddhologist?

Zen bibliography, too, entered the digital era some time ago, thanks to the pioneering efforts of Urs App, but even for those without a command of German one feels that the compilation of Stefan Winter will have its uses—one may be obliged to pass over the brief history of Zen in Germany at the front, but the organization of the bibliography itself is quite transparent, and the

author index is also reasonably effective. Naturally there is a distinct though not overwhelming bias in favour of publications in the German language: one does not learn, for example, of the original French edition of the writings of Hubert Benoit in 1951, nor yet of their most recent English incarnation of 1995, no more than one is informed that Urs App published a useful mass market English translation of a classic collection of Zen sayings, *Master Yunmen* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1994) as well as the German version published in the same year in Bern, which is moreover only listed here in the index under the name of the author of the sayings and not that of the translator. Yet at the very least this volume has many more entries than its predecessor, James L. Gardner's *Zen Buddhism*, published in Salt Lake City by the Wings of Fire Press in 1991, a work which (as one might guess from its provenance) is distinguished by its excellent though now somewhat dated coverage of publications in small-circulation American Zen periodicals that are just as difficult to find in British academic libraries as works in German. There are, of course, also some minor mishaps, as in any work of this type: entries 1031 and 1032 concern two related publications, of which the 1966 American version is assuredly entitled *Zen Dust*, to judge from my own bookshelf rather than this bibliography entry, whatever its Japanese incarnation was called—somehow two entries seem to have been scrambled here, and somewhere no doubt a Zen master is smiling. For all bibliographies, like all words, are but expedient means towards reaching the truth, though those that produce them must have all the forbearance of bodhisattvas. In return, Stefan Winter has perhaps accumulated some good karma, and certainly deserves the thanks of all those interested in Western studies of the Zen tradition.

T. H. BARRETT