

drawn from Indian and Greek sources and may bring us back to the Graeco-Aryan stratum but hardly beyond that. West's disclaimer in dealing with skulls of enemies used as drinking cups in the section on 'Vindictive victory' is applicable to a number of other examples in this chapter: "The evidence does not allow us to treat this as a distinctive or originally Indo-European practice".¹³¹ There is a brief return to the subject of similes which was dealt with extensively in Chapter 2 in order to add some examples in warfare from Sanskrit and Greek epic in the battle context before an interesting survey of hero's funerals from a wide range of sources. Nothing here, as West admits, "takes us back before the Late Bronze Age, and we simply cannot project it back to the proto-Indo-European era". He thinks it unlikely that the Indo-Europeans practised cremation, whereas archaeological discoveries trace burial back to the fourth millennium BCE. The last word goes appropriately enough to funeral rites and dirges. There is plenty of evidence, possible though not conclusive for Indo-European, of the suicide of a wife concomitant with that of her husband. Perhaps the best known case of this is the Indian suttee (from Sanskrit *sati* 'good woman'), although this is not strictly speaking an example of suicide since the Vedic evidence seems to show that the wife, having lain down with her husband on the pyre, descended before it was ignited.¹³² As a parting *jeu d'esprit* West gives us his own 'Elegy on an Indo-European Hero' cleverly incorporating only names and motifs which have credibility for the earliest period.

So why call this book *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* rather than *Elements in the Poetry and Myth of Indo-European Peoples which may be attributed to a Common Origin*? The latter title, though unwieldy, is without question an accurate description of its contents. The former implies that solutions have been found to the problem of recognising incontrovertible examples of Indo-European poetry and mythology. The answer perhaps is that we should not judge a book by its cover or, in this case, by its title. There are no extravagant claims for solutions here and, although he has not given us the last word on the subject, West has provided us with more than the 'vista' he promised at the outset. It is, in fact, a virtual compendium of the most relevant material distilled by one of the finest minds to venture into this field.¹³³ This book will remain a tool of immense value to scholars.

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CASTLES OF GOD: FORTIFIED RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS OF THE WORLD. By PETER HARRISON. pp. iv, 304. Woodbridge, Boydell, 2004 (reprinted in paperback, 2007).

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At different times, and in many regions of the world, religious communities have felt the need to fortify their places of worship. The results are, as might be expected, conditioned by such factors as: the local construction materials and indigenous building traditions; the monetary resources available to the patrons; and the nature of the (real or imagined) external threat. Some monuments were built with

¹³¹ West 2007, p. 493.

¹³² Atharvaveda 18.3.1.

¹³³ Writing about handling the complexity of Greek mythology in its relation to the over-all Indo-European picture, Jaan Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology* (Baltimore, 1987) p. 143 says, "This is a task requiring thorough familiarity with both the immense store of Greek myth and the vast secondary literature as well as the external comparands, a combination rarely possible by either specialists in classical studies or generalists in mythology". To judge by this book West is a *rara avis* possessing these qualifications in ample measure.

their fortifications incorporated into the design, while many others had defensive walls, machicolations, and arrow or gun loops added decades, or even centuries after the initial construction phase. In most cases, these additions were designed to provide shelter in times of emergency or, at least, a feeling of security to an embattled congregation or priest, though this cannot explain all such fortifications. Indeed, the monks of Lindisfarne – subjected to repeated raids by Vikings, Scots, and others since the time of the founding of the mission in 634 – even unsuccessfully lobbied the fourteenth-century king Richard II to have the substantial defences of their church and monastic complex removed (p. 77). Perhaps the inhabitants of this vulnerable island feared the imposition of these royal defences meant a loss of autonomy, and they may even have felt that the presence of fortifications invited rather than deterred future attacks. Whatever the case, it is clear that the motives behind the fortifying of religious buildings were many and varied.

Peter Harrison's book surveys everything from the most monumental structures such as the conventual castles of the Hospitallers and Teutonic knights and the great monastic complexes erected by Buddhist and Orthodox Christian monks to humble parish churches and the rather nightmarish warrens of defensive tunnels and chambers (*souterrains*) dug beneath churchyards in France. Inevitably, the question of defining what constitutes a fortified religious building presents difficulties. Just as the term 'castle' might be applied to a continuum of structures from those which suit our immediate mental template to those that seem to fit more comfortably into other architectural categories, so it proves with the present study. Harrison decides to limit himself "to include only buildings where the religious role had at least equal prominence with any other function, especially the military use, and where, architecturally, the ecclesiastical edifice is subservient to the military" (p. 4). On the same page he notes the basic typological distinctions within the extensive assemblage of buildings surveyed in the book. First, are those unfortified religious buildings that are enclosed within a larger defensive *enceinte*. The second grouping comprises religious monuments that were themselves equipped with fortifications some time after their initial construction, while his third group is defined, somewhat nebulously, as those buildings that combined elements of both of the former types of fortification.

Although one might have wished for a more fully reasoned discussion of the methodology employed in the selection process and subsequent architectural analysis, there is no denying that the author has identified a significant phenomenon that appears to have been widespread among the Christian communities of Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Chapters 4–10), the Caucasus (Chapter 12), and Ethiopia (Chapter 13), as well as the Crusader states of the Middle East (Chapter 3) and the European colonies of the Americas and the Philippines (Chapter 11). Similar considerations also affected the Buddhist monks of the Himalayas in the construction of their monasteries (Chapter 17), and, to a lesser extent, Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, and the Middle East (Chapters 14–16). The scope of the fieldwork conducted by Harrison is truly impressive ranging across four continents, the author having visited most of the buildings discussed in the book. The author is evidently at ease writing brief, lucid descriptions of the architectural components making up each building, and he gives much useful historical context. While some of the monuments are also served by photographs or visually pleasing line drawings, the book would have been made easier to use had the author included figure and plate numbers in the main text.

Harrison identifies the possible origins of religious fortification in the early history of monasticism in the Middle East (Chapter 1). Although his focus is on the growth of eremitic Christian communities, particularly after the Roman persecutions of the late third century, he also draws interesting comparisons with the ancient settlement of the Essenes at Qumran in Israel. This introductory section leads on to a discussion of fortified Christian architecture in different regions of the world. Since these aspects of the book have been appreciatively reviewed by others, there is little reason to repeat these assessments.

Certainly, Harrison builds a persuasive case that this should become a separate category in the history of Medieval and Early Modern Christian architecture.

In the remainder of this review I will consider the arguments advanced to support the contention that Islam also made use of fortifications in religious architecture. Before moving on to these substantive issues, however, some points of detail should be noted. The great early twentieth-century scholar of Islamic architecture is Creswell and not, as stated, Cresswell (pp. 215, 216). I am unclear on what authority Harrison makes the claim that the eighth-century Iraqi palace of Ukhaidir, largely unknown in Europe before the late nineteenth century, “had a profound influence on both Eastern and Western ecclesiastical fortifications” (p. 237). While in chapters 14–16 he writes of the architecture and history of Islam and the Muslims, elsewhere in the book one occasionally finds the author employing the outmoded term, Saracens. Harrison also repeatedly labels Shia groups as ‘heretical’ and ‘fanatic’ though surely these are matters of perspective rather than objective standpoints. More importantly, the author betrays unfamiliarity with the political and religious titulature of the Islamic world in his erroneous employment of the title caliph to refer to the rulers of several Medieval Islamic dynasties. Considerable misunderstanding of basic concepts of Islamic history is also apparent in his claim that the Saljuqs came to power “after they had overcome the Shiite Abbasid dynasty in that part of the Islamic Empire that is present day Iran and Iraq” (p. 239). The reprinting of this book (published first in hardback in 2004) should have been an opportunity to eradicate these, and other mistakes.

In the three chapters devoted to Islamic architecture Harrison seeks to identify building types and specific monuments that conform to his definition of religious fortification. His first example, the *ribat*, is the most persuasive in that it consisted of a fortified structure located in frontier territory housing garrisons of men (*murabitun*) who had temporarily forsaken their everyday lives in order to fight the *jihād* (Chapter 14). Best preserved are the ninth-century complexes at Sousse and Monastir in Tunisia, both of which adopt a plan ultimately derived from the Roman *castrum*. While such institutions appear from textual sources and toponyms to have been very common across the Medieval Islamic world they have left a rather minimal trace in the architectural record. Their study is further complicated by the likelihood that there was never a standard building form for the *ribat*.

The second part (Chapter 15) addresses a more diverse group of structures including mosques, citadels, sufi convents (*khanqahs*), and pilgrimage forts. Allowing for mosques like those of Mahdiyya in Tunisia that are incorporated into town or harbour walls, Harrison’s failure to provide primary source material describing places of worship taking on quasi-military roles leads one to question the validity of simply identifying architectural features (such as minarets) that have the appearance of being fortified. At what point also does the presence of religious buildings within a site – Harrison includes the citadels of Cairo and Aleppo and the Ottoman-period city walls of Jerusalem – bring it into the category of religious fortifications? Chapter 16 is devoted to the Ismaili castles of Iran and Syria built between the eleventh and the thirteenth century. Drawing extensively upon the published fieldwork conducted by Peter Willey, Harrison does not provide a sound rationale for the inclusion of these castles into his book. The implicit argument appears to be that the followers of Hasan-i Sabah, and the other charismatic leaders of the Nizari sect were, in their fanaticism, more religiously motivated than the Muslim occupants of other castles in the Islamic world. While this may be the case, it is striking that the author does not devote any attention to specifically religious architecture that must once have stood within these castles. It is unclear how the extensive discussion of the hydraulic engineering in Alamut, for instance, contributes to its status as a religious fortification.

If this general assessment of Harrison’s approach to Islamic architecture is rather negative, this does not mean that the questions posed in these chapters are without interest. The intertwining of military and religious concerns is apparent throughout Islamic history. To cite one example, the imposing, fortress-like mausoleum complex erected in fourteenth-century Cairo by sultan al-Nasir

Hasan became a refuge for Mamluk factions during times of civil strife. Collaboration between textual historians and students of Islamic architecture could, in future, allow the fortified religious architecture of the Islamic world to be studied in greater depth.

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SĀBŪR IBN SAHL'S DISPENSATORY IN THE RECENSION OF THE 'AḌUDĪ HOSPITAL. (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, 78). By OLIVER KAHL. pp. ix, 265. Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2009.
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Following his 1994 edition¹ and 2003 translation² of Sābūr b. Sahl's Small Dispensatory (*al-Aqrābādihīn al-ṣaḡhūr*), Oliver Kahl now presents us with an edition and translation of the epitome of Sābūr's dispensatory as used in the 'Aḏudī Hospital in Baghdad, based on MS Munich Staatsbibliothek arab 808/2, copied in 741/1341. One might think that this is too much of a good thing. However, our understanding of the development of pharmacology and pharmacopoeias in the Islamic world is neither broad nor deep enough yet to do without this valuable addition.

As is his wont, Kahl begins by introducing the author, Sābūr b. Sahl (d. 255/869), a Nestorian physician and pharmacologist, who worked first in Jundishāpūr and then moved to Baghdad, where he became one of the physicians of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861). The introduction continues with a discussion of the rather confusing manuscript tradition of the *Aqrābādihīn*, which includes at least two separate surviving versions, a small and a large one. The text before us is a revised, rearranged and abridged edition prepared by the physicians of the 'Aḏudī hospital in Baghdad – but it is uncertain whether they used the small, the (now lost?) middle or the large dispensatory as their source text. This version of the *Aqrābādihīn* includes material unattested in other manuscripts, and has a very different arrangement of the chapters. On the assumption that the hospital recension included mainly recipes of actual practical use, it is very interesting that the final chapter (no. 16), on the uses and occult properties of animal and human parts, which does not appear in the small version of the *Aqrābādihīn*, was retained here. The introduction continues with a description of the manuscript and the structure of the text, and concludes with useful glossaries of metrological units, pharmacological apparatus and applicative categories.

The Arabic text is followed by an English translation, amply annotated with philological notes and identifications of persons mentioned. Where the text contains cross-references to other recipes, Kahl has identified the recipes referred to and indicates them to the reader in the translation. Most helpfully, the notes also refer the reader to equivalent recipes in another formulary used at the 'Aḏudī hospital, the *Aqrābādihīn* of Ibn al-Tilmīdh, also edited and translated by Kahl.³ Where references are made to other authorities, these passages are identified, and in the case of Greek authors, the original Greek quoted. In general, the notes to the translation include an abundance of quotations from French (Dozy),⁴

¹Sābūr ibn Sahl, *Dispensatorium parvum (al-Aqrābādihīn al-ṣaḡhūr)*, analysed, edited and annotated by O. Kahl (Leiden, 1994).

²Sābūr ibn Sahl, *The Small Dispensatory*, trans. O. Kahl (Leiden, 2003).

³O. Kahl, *The Dispensatory of Ibn al-Tilmīdh: Arabic Text, English Translation, Study and Glossaries* (Leiden, 2007).

⁴R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1881).