

## REVIEWS

### THE ANCIENT WORLD

N. M. SWERDLOW (ed.): *Ancient astronomy and celestial divination*. (Dibner Institute Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) x, 378 pp. Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2000. £33.50.

This book contains twelve papers, most of which are concerned with the technical aspects of cuneiform astronomical texts. Two deal with Greek astronomy, one with astronomical papyri, and one with celestial divination. The conference at which these papers were first delivered took place in May 1994 at the Dibner Institute. *Ancient astronomy and celestial divination* (*AACD*) is not, however, merely the record of the proceedings of that conference, published some six years after the fact. During the last few years most of the contributors to the conference have published books and/or articles bearing directly on the papers therein. These include Brack-Bernsen's *Zur Entstehung der Babylonischen Mondtheorie* (Stuttgart, 1997), Rochberg's *Babylonian horoscopes* (Philadelphia, 1998), Swerdlow's *Babylonian planetary theory* (Princeton, 1998), Reiner's *Babylonian planetary omens part 3* (Groningen, 1998), Hunger and Pingree's *Astral sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden, 1999), all of which I have reviewed, and Jones's *Astronomical papyri from Oxyrhynchus* (Philadelphia, 1999). Walker edited *Astronomy before the telescope* (London, 1996), to which he and Britton contributed the important article 'Astronomy and astrology in Mesopotamia'. Tihon published the fourth book of Theon's grand commentary on Ptolemy in 1999. These many books and articles do not, however, render the contributions in *AACD* redundant, mainly because the papers have in large part been brought up to date. Indeed, the papers reflect the more mature considerations of those who have submitted their work to the trials and tribulations of publication in book form, and the long delay in publishing the 'proceedings' of this conference may actually have benefited the field overall by ensuring that it was not 'work in progress' that hit the streets first. The editor's paper, for example, incorporates work derived from a 1999 article, which itself refined the theory expounded in his 1997 book.

Examples like this ensure that *AACD* represents a major contribution to the field, despite being so long awaited, and we must thank the editor, publishers and contributors for their careful work. It is a beautifully presented volume, introduced (pp. 1–19) by the editor with a brief outline of the history of the study of ancient astronomy-astrology, and a summary of the book itself.

Reiner's 'Babylonian celestial divination' (pp. 21–37) briefly summarizes what is known of celestial divination in cuneiform, and discusses some of its relationships with other

divinatory forms and apotropaic rituals. She translates text K.35, now in BPO 3.

Rochberg's 'Babylonian Horoscopy' (pp. 39–59), stressing the horoscopes' relationship to the so-called Almanacs, is largely superseded by her 1997 book on the same.

Walker (pp. 62–76) publishes the earliest known accurate record of planetary phases in his article, pushing back the date of this endeavour to the NA period. I make much of this important text in my own *Mesopotamian planetary astronomy-astrology* (Groningen, 2000) p. 191.

Hunger attempts to quantify the 'non-mathematical astronomical texts and their relationships' on pp. 77–96. His conclusions are now also in his and Pingree's book (ch. ii B 2ff) but here he provides useful translations of a Goal Year Text and an Almanac.

Grasshof's extensive statistical analysis (pp. 97–147) tries to pin down the meaning of technical terms used in the Diaries. He determines the length of the astronomical 'cubit', and believes an ecliptic co-ordinate system was used by the compilers of the Diaries.

Brack-Bernsen's wonderful paper (pp. 149–77) elucidates the relationship between luni-solar intervals and their sums separated by 18 and 18½ years, respectively, explaining the purpose of some such observations recorded in the Goal Year Texts. These discoveries were first presented in 1994, but publication was first achieved in her own 1997 monograph, rather spoiling the potential publishing coup for the MIT press.

Aaboe publishes (pp. 179–86) an unusual mathematical multiplication table, probably from the 'astronomical archive' in Babylon, and compares it with U.91 and ACT 1017. The full astronomical significance of these texts is not yet apparent.

Britton's paper represents a major synthesis of work, some of it his own, undertaken over the last half century in an effort to try and understand the basis of the schemes employed in the mathematical astronomical texts to model the variation in the moon's velocity. In this long (pp. 187–254) piece, the author outlines what observations were necessary for the development of these models, and the history of their evolution. Any future study of the interface between observation and theory in ancient science will have to consider the conclusions drawn in this paper.

Swerdlow's attempts to show how observations recorded in the Diaries of the times of various planetary 'events' such as heliacal rising, and of their locations within a zodiacal sign, led to the particular predictive schemes employed in the mathematical astronomical texts.

Jones's 'A classification of astronomical tables on papyrus' (pp. 299–340) complements his new publication of the Oxyrhynchus material, and both have set the standard for all subsequent research into the distinct astronomical-astrological tradition of Greco-Egyptian

astronomy. This tradition draws first on Mesopotamian techniques, and later on the kinematic methods of Ptolemy.

Goldstein and Bowen consider the role of observations in Ptolemy's first and second lunar theories on pp. 341–56, arguing that both were reliant on the great astronomers' own observations. At the very least this casts doubt on the generally held view that the first lunar theory was known to Hipparchus.

Anne Tihon's paper (pp. 357–69) attempts to exonerate Theon from the claim that he altered Ptolemy's *Handy tables*, also showing that he had little to work from except the *Almagest* and the *Handy tables* themselves. From the point of view of the historicity of the history of the exact sciences, this is a fascinating result.

*AACD* collects together papers reflecting a mature stage in research into ancient astronomy from the Near East. Although the period of text publication and decipherment is by no means over, it has become possible at last to determine the relationships between the various text types known, and consider the purpose lying behind accurate prediction at that time. It is answers to these last two problems that are repeatedly sought in these papers.

DAVID BROWN

CHARLES KEITH MAISELS: *Early civilizations of the old world: the formative histories of Egypt, the Levant, Mesopotamia, India and China*. xvi, 479 pp. London and New York: Routledge, 1999. £40.

The author of this book states in the introduction that 'to comprehend the world and our place in it we need to have an integrated mental map situating us in time and space'. Using his formidable range of knowledge he sets out to achieve this by laying out the early development of four different civilizations: those of Egypt, the Levant and Mesopotamia, the Indus valley and China.

Each of these areas is surveyed in a chapter dedicated to it which conveys a mass of information on topics ranging from the environment to the emergence of the first states. A comparative structure is provided by using Gordon Childe's famous criteria for the identification of urban societies as a framework, though these are slightly modified from the original ten to twelve. Interesting contrasts emerge between these pristine states and it is suggested that the Indus valley can be seen as the only stateless civilization; Maisels claims it was an egalitarian, lineage-based society with a lack of formal state structures and an economy characterized by balanced reciprocity between specialist producers. He claims that 'The organic division of labour was itself structuring'. This view of a non-hierarchical society will not be universally accepted; other scholars argue that archaeological evidence is

now emerging for élite artefacts and a more stratified civilization. Maisels' picture of an egalitarian society also seems to underestimate the organizational needs of specialist producers, especially where mass production of goods is involved. Structures are surely necessary to facilitate the supply of raw materials to craftsmen, to ensure co-operation between the different specialists involved in the production of complex artefacts and, finally, to organize the distribution of the finished items and the collection of rewards. The well-known uniformity of weights and seals across the Indus region also suggests some form of overarching organization. Even more controversial is his claim that 'the lineages and sub-castes which still exist in India today emerged from these ancient lineage groups'.

The publisher claims that this book is the ideal introduction to the birth of civilization from the Mediterranean to the Far East. In practice, however, it is likely to be of more value to those readers who already have some knowledge of at least one of the regions discussed and are familiar with some of the theoretical issues. Students without such a background will find the book difficult; the choice of data is somewhat idiosyncratic and there are notable gaps which are acknowledged by frequent references to the author's earlier works where information can be found to fill them. In the section on Mesopotamia, for example, the area with which this reviewer is most familiar, the poorly published proto-Hassuna sites of Kultepe and Tell Sotto get four pages, (although their possible relationship with the special purpose site of Umm Dabaghiyah is not discussed), while the important Hassuna period is dismissed in two paragraphs. Even more surprising is the lack of any discussion of relevant sites in Anatolia, especially when much important new information is coming to light at sites like Nevalı Çori on the early development of ritual behaviour.

Perhaps more serious from a student's perspective is the author's tendency to project controversial ideas as accepted fact. The Uruk colonies, for example, are now more usually thought to date to the late rather than the middle Uruk period and the building at Jemdat Nasr is thought to be an administrative agricultural centre rather than a 'giparu'.

Because external trade is not of significance in ancient China Maisels claims that trade had no part to play in the emergence of stratified societies which he sees as the result of control over basic subsistence resources. This has a large measure of truth in it, though I would prefer to substitute 'unequal access' for 'control', but neglects the role of trade in providing élite goods with which the emerging élites could consolidate and enhance their position.

There is much that is stimulating and controversial in this book and it is an impressive achievement in its range of material, but the author seems unwilling to accept the essentially 'fuzzy', complex nature of human beings and the impossibility of tidying them and their works into tidy flow charts or neat boxes!

HARRIET CRAWFORD

## THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

ANDREW J. NEWMAN: *The formative period of Twelver Shī'ism: ḥadīth as discourse between Qum and Baghdad*. (Culture and Civilization in the Middle East Series.) xxviii, 222 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000. £45.

The book under review examines three early collections of Imami ḥadīth: Barqī's *al-Maḥāsīn*, Ṣaffār's *Basā'ir al-Darajāt*, and Kulīnī's *al-Kāfī*. It contends that there are differences between them (and especially between *al-Basā'ir* and *al-Kāfī*) in both 'style and substance' which can be related to the particular historical circumstances and the varied environments (Qum and Baghdad) in which each was compiled. But Newman is also interested in what these sources have in common and tries to show that they attest to the existence in the early *ghayba* period of a conflict between Imami 'rationalists' and 'traditionists', a topic he also explored in his thesis on the Uṣūlī-Akhbārī debate in Imamism.

The occultation of the imam, the spiritual challenges posed by Zaydis and Ismailis, and the ongoing military and political pressures exerted by Baghdad on Qum—pressures due to disputes over fiscal measures—are cited as factors which made the Imamis of Qum (especially its Ash'arī leadership) realize the necessity of delineating Imami doctrine and practice, of highlighting the special position of the imams, and of enjoining recourse to their teachings. This is how the Qummis became involved in the collection and narration of ḥadīth. The process is deemed to have begun with Barqī. The fact that his authorities were not Qummis, whereas a large proportion of the authorities of Ṣaffār and Kulīnī were, is taken as proof that until then the Imamis of Qum had not been involved in the transmission of ḥadīth.

Another factor that is held to have informed the narration and collection of traditions by Qummis and our three scholars was opposition to the Imamis of Baghdad, among whom the Banū Nawbakht were the most influential scholars. These Baghdadi Imamis are characterized by Newman as rationalists who 'relied on *aql* (reason) as an independent analytical tool for the derivation of doctrine and practice', resorted to 'Mutazili-style theological musings on the imamate and the occultation', and were 'sceptical of traditionism' or 'setting aside the revealed texts of the faith in favour of rationalist and Sunni forms of analysis and interpretation'. They were also accommodationists who sought to encourage co-operation with the ruling authorities and to revive earlier political and doctrinal alliances (presumed by Newman to have existed in the time of Ma'mūn) between the Shia, the Mutazila and the court, their aim being to safeguard the interests of the community. Moreover, these rationalists are said to have sought to organize the community and its practices along hierarchical lines and to lay down the foundations for the assumption of

authority by scholars who were versed in rationalist methods (pp. 20, 98, 156, 160).

The Qummis and Kulīnī, according to Newman, were opposed to all these tendencies among the Baghdadis and this opposition is detectable in all three of the collections examined, though it is most obvious in *al-Kāfī*, whose composition served 'mainly' and 'explicitly' as a comprehensive challenge to the Imami rationalists, its challenging of Sunni rationalism and traditionism being also 'implicit' (pp. 96, 196, 197).

*Al-Basā'ir* of Ṣaffār, a work devoted to showing that the imams were endowed with special knowledge and unique abilities, and completed a generation earlier than *al-Kāfī*, is said to have served mainly as 'encouragement' in its faith for the 'beleaguered' Qummi community. Newman also attempts to demonstrate that there was a difference between Ṣaffār and Kulīnī in the way these two scholars handled traditions dealing with the nature of the imams. Kulīnī, it is argued, exhibits a more moderate position than Ṣaffār and a conscious attempt to tone down the image of the imams. This is explained on the basis that Kulīnī had to take account of the anti-extremism of the Baghdadis, and that the challenges from rationalist Mutazilism and Sunni traditionism, which faced Kulīnī and the Imami community in Baghdad for whom he composed his work, were different from those that Ṣaffār and the community in Qum had faced.

Let us consider this last argument first. The fact that Kulīnī tends not to include as many traditions as Ṣaffār in the parallel sections of his work is not significant: there is no essential difference in their portrayal of the imams. And the fact that some of those traditions do not appear in the *kitāb al-ḥujja* (the chapter on the imamate) but elsewhere in *al-Kāfī* is not necessarily indicative of a conscious attempt to disperse them or to lessen their impact. Because Kulīnī covers many more topics than Ṣaffār, and some of the traditions available to him on the status and nature of the imams happened to be also relevant to other legal or theological topics, one can see why he placed some of them in other parts of *al-Kāfī*. For example, traditions on the pre-existence and creation of the imams and their followers appear also in the chapter entitled *al-īmān wa'l-kufr* because there they serve to show that belief and unbelief are predestined (*al-Kāfī*, ed. 'A. A. Ghaffārī (Beirut, 1980), II, 2–12).

As for the picture drawn by Newman of Imamism in Baghdad in the latter part of the third century, and his proposed conflict between it and the Imamism promoted in Qum, there are several question marks about his assumptions, his interpretation of the evidence, and his method. To begin with, this whole question of the 'rationalism' of the Banū Nawbakht and other Imami theologians, which Newman takes for granted, needs to be clarified. Briefly, from the few references we have to their theological views we may infer that they used rational arguments to support Imami beliefs

(e.g. about the imamate) and that they adopted certain doctrines of Mutazili theology (see for example M. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd* (Beirut, 1978)). There is no evidence, however, that they regarded reason (and not revelation) as the primary source in theology or that they disregarded the traditions of the imams. Furthermore, the idea that their adoption of Mutazili doctrines and methods was opposed by Imami traditionists can no longer be accepted. Paul Sander (*Zwischen Charisma und Ratio* (Berlin, 1994), a work not listed by Newman) has demonstrated that traditionist Imami theology, as found in the works of Barqī and Kulīnī, is already heavily imbued with Mutazili concepts, formulations, and reasoning, which appear, as one would expect, in the form of *hadīths* of the imams, though one also finds *hadīths* which approve of the use of *kalām* by disciples.

Given that the views of the Banū Nawbakht are so crucial to the argument of this book it is puzzling that Newman does not try to find out more about them from al-Hasan al-Nawbakhtī's *Firaq al-shi'a* (ed. Ritter (Istanbul, 1931)). This work contains much that contradicts his assumptions about the rationalism and anti-traditionism of the Baghdadis and shows that 'traditionism' was still very much part of the Imami self definition. For example, when dealing with the occultation of the twelfth imam and defending the position of the 'true *shī'a imāmiyya*' Nawbakhtī tells us that he bases all his statements on transmission (*ma'thūr*) from the truthful ones (i.e. reports from the imams) and he actually cites a number of such reports (Nawbakhtī, 90–93). Moreover, his work attests to the fact that although Imamis disagreed about the ultimate sources of the imams' knowledge, they were agreed that *all* religious knowledge is found with the imams, a position which is perfectly compatible with the view that advocates adherence to the imams' traditions (see my thesis *The Imāmī Shī'ī conception of the knowledge of the imām and the sources of religious doctrine in the formative period* (London, 1996), ch. iii).

Also problematic are Newman's claims about a 'hierarchical discourse' taking place in Baghdad in the circles of rationalists who wanted to see the imam's authority devolve to like-minded Imamis. Firstly, the fact that the traditions examined by Newman do not address questions concerning the exercise of authority in the absence of the imam (e.g. leading the *jihād*, dividing the booty, leading the Friday prayer, receiving and distributing the religious taxes, etc.), whereas such questions were addressed by later Uṣūlīs, does not in any way support the existence of a conflict between traditionists and rationalists in this period over such questions; it may well be (indeed it is likely, given that much of the authority of the imams had always been purely theoretical) that such questions had not yet arisen. And if, as Newman argues, the traditionists disavowed any 'hierarchical structures' because they believed that the *ghayba* was going to come to an end soon and the imamate would resume the exercise of its authority, what theoretical justification is he proposing the Banū Nawbakht would have had for engaging in such a discourse (for which, incidentally, no

evidence is supplied) for they too are known to have believed that the *ghayba* was going to be temporary?

Newman maintains that the Qummi leadership and Kulīnī were wary of and rejected attempts by Baghdadis to control the financial organization (*wikāla*) and to project themselves as leaders during the occultation. However, the fact that *al-Kāfī* does not mention the two men who are known to have claimed to be sole agents of the imam and who were (later) recognized as the third and fourth *safirs* can hardly be taken as evidence of such an attitude. As for the Qummi report which describes how a believer travelled to Baghdad and Sāmarrā' in order to ascertain whether the *khums* monies were reaching the imam, it does not really reflect a suspicious attitude towards the leadership in Baghdad; like a number of other reports (not cited by Newman), it serves to assure the community that the existing network of *wikāla* was genuine and that the hidden imam was in full control of it (*al-Kāfī*, 1, 517–25, esp. nos. 4, 5, 7, 13, 30). But the most striking example of the liberties that Newman takes with his evidence is when he cites the tradition known as the *maqūla* of Ibn Hanzala (ibid., 1, 67f, no. 10) to support his point about a Qummi opposition to attempts by rationalists to assume authority. Although Newman is aware of the anti-Sunni tenor of the tradition (pp. 107–9), here he suggests that it reflects the Qummi view that no such authority had been delegated to Imami rationalists (p. 152). The tradition (which probably originated as two separate reports) urges believers not to submit their disputes to the Sunni authorities (*sultān* and *quḍāt*) but to consult Imami scholars (the narrators of our (the imams') traditions, who have examined our *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* and know our *ahkām*) and, in the event of *ikhtilāf* in the *hadīths* that they narrate from the imams, to consider 'opposition to the rulings of Sunnis' as one of the criteria for determining their authenticity. There is not the slightest hint in it that Kulīnī or his narrators had Imami rationalists in mind or that their aim was to undermine a claim by rationalists in Baghdad that authority had been delegated to them. In this and numerous other examples of forced interpretation of the evidence, as well as in its failure to take account of relevant material, this is a work that fails to convince. It is nevertheless tremendously informative and there is much in it that is thought provoking.

TAMIMA BAYHOM-DAOUD

FARHAD DAFTARY: *A short history of the Ismailis: traditions of a Muslim community*. (Islamic Surveys.) viii, 248 pp. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998. £14.95, £40.

I had my first introduction to Ismaili studies in 1977 in Cairo, at the American Research Center in Egypt, at the feet of Abbas Hamdani. Despite a budding interest in Twelver Shi'ism, references to Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, for example, completely passed me by. Abbas would have been saved much trouble had this excellent



volume been available then. Daftary, whose contributions to the field of Ismaili studies are already, and justifiably, well-known, has provided a masterful and much-needed addition to the Islamic Surveys series which will easily stand the test of time.

The volume is organized into five succinct chapters. The first surveys the key phases of Ismaili history, provides a brief description of the field of Ismaili studies to date and sources on the Ismailis including, in particular, the anti-Ismaili polemics of other Muslims, medieval-Western writings and more recent scholarship. The chapter ends with 'the last word' on the rise of 'the Assassin' legends.

Chapter ii discusses the appearance of different Shi'i groups during and after the imamate of the sixth Imam, including those who maintained the imamate of al-Šādiq's eldest son and original heir-designate Ismā'īl, half brother of Mūsā al-Kāzīm; one of the latter groups believed the imamate had passed to Ismā'īl's son Muḥammad (d. after 795). Daftary charts the rise of the Ismaili *da'wa* (outreach, mission) and the schism which arose among the faithful with the appearance of the Qarāmīta in southern Iraq and the official establishment of the mission in Khurasan in the early tenth century: the former continued to await the return of Ismā'īl's son Muḥammad while the bulk of the faithful eventually transferred their allegiance to the rising Fatimid movement in the western Islamic lands. The chapter includes a concise discussion of the evolving notions of the cyclical history of time and Ismaili gnostic cosmology, both of which had their roots in the ninth century. Daftary's careful attention to early Ismaili discourse reminds us that key terms associated with Twelver Shi'ism—including *ghayba* (occultation), *ḥujja* (the proof, i.e. the Imam), *taqiyya* (dissimulation) and *qā'im/qiyāma* (he who arises, i.e. the Imam, and the rising, i.e. the Imam's return)—circulated earlier among the Ismailis.

Chapter iii covers the foundation of the Fatimid state in North Africa in 909, where the Ismailis depended upon Berber support and, especially, its achievements following the Fatimid conquest of Egypt in 969. Daftary also carefully elucidates the development of a distinctive body of legal precepts in this period, especially at the hands of Qāḍī Nu'mān (d. 974) who lent legitimacy to Ismaili universalist claims (p. 77) and reconciled Twelver and Zaydi tendencies with North African Mālikism and basic Ismaili doctrines. Daftary charts the evolution of Ismaili philosophical doctrine and discusses the organization of the *da'wa*. A separate section traces the conflict over the succession at the death of al-Mustansir in 487/1094. In the East, Hasan Šabbāh, who supported the claims of Nizār—al-Mustansir's defeated son—emerged as leader of the Iranian *da'wa*. Hasan cut his ties with the Cairo organization. The split became permanent. The Fatimids survived another eight decades, through the Crusades, but the imams lost effective control to viziers and the military, and the community itself experienced further splits. Tayyibī Ismailism emerged in these decades, spreading to Yaman and the sub-continent where its followers are known as Bohras.

Chapter iv is devoted to the Nizārī Ismailis and their fortress at Alamūt. The Nizārī position in Iran was more precarious than that of their Egyptian brethren. Although Nizārī writings have not survived they clearly retained their unity and sense of mission, owing in part to the successful reformulation of the doctrine of *ta'lim* (the authoritative teaching of the imam) to legitimize the independence of their discourse. In 1164 the fourth ruler even proclaimed the *qiyāma*. The sixth, however, attempted a reconciliation with the outside world by adopting the Sunni *shar'ī'a*. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (1201–74) spent his most productive years in association with the Nizārī 'state' and his elaborations on the doctrines of *satr* (concealment), *taqiyya* and the *qiyāma* provided the theological underpinnings for the twists and turns promulgated by the different imams. The Nizārīs were the first Muslim community to adopt Persian as the language of religious expression. Their surrender to the Mongols in 1256 and the Mongol destruction of the Alamūt fortress ended this period of Nizārī history.

The final chapter addresses developments between 1256 and the 1990s. Alamūt's survivors migrated to Daylam and Anjudān, near Qum, as well as to Central Asia, Afghanistan and India, practising *taqiyya* where necessary, and surviving by associating with the Sufi orders whose emergence was a feature of the Il-khanid and Timurid periods. Ismaili–Sufi collaboration, evident in such works as *Gulshān-i Rāz* of Mahmūd Shabistārī (d. after 1339), was well-established by the fifteenth century. In the Safavid period (1501–1722) Iran's Nizārī Ismailis survived by adapting Sufi terminology. The Sufi connection also marked the Ismaili sojourn in the sub-continent in the same period, even as such variants as the Imām-shāhis and Satpanth—a reconciliation of the faith with aspects of Hinduism facilitated by *taqiyya*—emerged and allowed the Khojas to flourish. Tayyibī Ismailism also spread in India and Yaman. A closing subsection addresses developments within the Nizārī community to the modern day, and covers the Agha Khans.

This volume both covers Ismailism in such a comprehensive fashion as to be sufficient in itself and also whets the appetite for further study of aspects of Ismaili history, doctrine and practice.

ANDREW J. NEWMAN

AL-ŠĪRĀZĪ, ABŪ ISHĀQ IBRĀHĪM (476/1083): *Kitāb al-Luma' fī uṣūl al-fiqh; le Livre des Rais illuminant les fondements de la compréhension de la loi: traité de théorie légale musulmane*. Translated by Eric Chaumont. (Studies in Comparative Legal History.) Berkeley: Robbins Collection, 1999.

Eric Chaumont has done Islamic studies a notable service first by providing us with a scholarly edition of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's *Kitāb al-Luma'*, (al-Shīrāzī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm

b. 'Alī (476/1083). *al-Luma' fī usūl al-fiqh*, ed. Eric Chaumont, Vol. 53, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*. Beirut: Dar al-Machreq 1993–94; the edition is based on a MS. dated to 462/1070, collated with three other early MSS, and compared with a further nine MSS) and he has now given us a translation of that edition.

Al-Shīrāzī's *Luma'* is a good choice to edit and translate for a number of reasons. First, it is a short text, somewhat longer than a *matn*, but not even medium length as *usūl* works go. Second, the text and Shīrāzī himself have received considerable attention. Marie Bernand ('La profession de foi d'Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī: édition et présentation par Marie Bernand', IFAO, 'Supplément aux Annales Islamologiques', cahier 11, pp. 17–48; 63–72) and Chaumont ('Encore au sujet de l'Ash'arisme d'Abū Ishāq Ash-Shīrāzī', *Studia Islamica* 74 (1991), 167–77) have published articles on Shīrāzī's work, and Turkī has published a commentary on the *Luma'* that frequently illuminates his arguments (*Sharḥ al-Luma'* ed. 'Abdalmajīd Turkī. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1408/1988). The text itself is of considerable interest, but reading the text, the translation, and the commentary is a better introduction to *usūl al-fiqh* than anything we have had in print heretofore.

Abū Ishāq was a Shīrāzī-Baghdādī Shāfi'ī who wrote at the crucial moment when the theological apparatus of the Ash'arī was becoming a normative part of the theoretical discourse around the law and legal hermeneutic. Chaumont has argued indeed that al-Shīrāzī straddled the theological-legal fence: that he was a Shāfi'ī in *furū'*, an Ash'arī on purely religious questions, but an anti-Ash'arī on questions of hermeneutics, that is, in the domain of *usūl*. The text itself is clear and efficiently traces many of the controversies of the field as it had evolved by the fifth Islamic century. Both the terminology of his *usūl* and the perspective of the text are those of the Shāfi'ī legists, but he does not incorporate the logical and other philosophical-speculative jargon that is clearly being wrestled with in al-Juwaynī's *Burhān*, and that is fully incorporated into al-Ghazālī's late masterwork, *al-Mustasfā*.

In addition to the value of the text, Chaumont's introduction is among the more interesting overviews of *usūl al-fiqh* we have. Rather than simply rehearsing the controversies and analyses of the field—which is what has passed for introductions to the field in many previous works—he tries to make sense of what is going on in such texts. There is, he believes, evidence in the text of a struggle between jurists and theologians, or at least between their two disciplines. The theologians tried to separate *usūl al-fiqh* from law; the jurists, to ground *usūl* firmly in the *fiqh* enterprise; they were unconcerned with the consequences of their *usūl* method outside their particular domain. For al-Shīrāzī, according to Chaumont, the goal and purpose of *usūl al-fiqh* was the *dalīl*, which he translates as *preuve légale*. He proposes that Shīrāzī had a unique theory, and he lays it out at some length, the first extensive analytic discussion of the *dalīl* that I know of in a Western language. 'Law' is for al-Shīrāzī, (and for Chaumont) a dis-

course, one founded in and modelled by Revelation (p. 20). The law, then, is a discourse of hierarchies in which the task of the jurist is a holism relating the Quran to the *ḥadīth*, and these to extra-Revelational sources such as consensus and intellectual intuitions. The discourse of the law may be technical, but it is generally comprehensible to those who know 'the legal language' (p. 23). Like al-Shāfi'ī, however, Shīrāzī believes language is not just understood analytically—that is, by parsing sentences. Rather, the totality of the legal discourse must be assembled before any particular utterance can be understood. It is in this way that contradiction or confusion—aspects of ordinary discourse—are eliminated from the legal discourse of the Law-Giver. Chaumont then asserts that *usūl al-fiqh* is 'the grammar of legal discourse'. That is, it is the making self-conscious of what is or was intuitively clear to those present in the Prophet's time. It is only by inquiry (*nazar*) that the jurist understands how the language of legislation fits the acts of humankind (p. 24). As with grammar (in the Ash'arī understanding), the correspondence between the legal indicant (*dalīl*) and that to which it points (*madlūl*) is 'natural', not conventional. Thus, he says, language and law for the *usūlī* are isomorphic in several senses: language models law, and law proceeds by recreating linguistic discourse.

As for the translation, there is not a great deal to say. The translator has opted for a medium between a strict representation of the very concise Arabic and the verbosity that would be necessary to convey all the ramifications and implications of the original. A spot check suggests that the translation is generally two-thirds to three-fifths longer than the Arabic, and with the translator's generous notes and cross-references, the translation comes to 365 pages, as opposed to 194 pages in the Arabic edition. It reads clearly to anyone acquainted with *usūl* texts, but is easily comprehensible to any reader acquainted with legal discourses as well, although of course parts, for example those on *qiyās*, are quite technical.

Though it would certainly not be the translator's intention, it is reasonable to fear that because of the satisfying package with which Chaumont and Turkī have provided us, this text will become disproportionately influential. I hope this does not happen. Al-Shīrāzī is most interesting in part because he is a transitional figure, from the inchoate grapplings with the disparate techniques of the law and scriptural interpretation, to the satisfying holism of classical Shāfi'ī *usūl al-fiqh*. None the less, because many of the most important issues and techniques of *usūl* are only anticipated in the *Luma'*, it should be read as only one among the attempts to create a synthesis of Shāfi'ī hermeneutics and methodology in the light of Ash'arī speculation. It is also a text even less representative of the Mālikī and particularly Hanafī schools and their distinct approaches. The poverty of edited but, above all, translated texts must keep us from generalizing prematurely from this one author, however interesting. The magnitude of the temptation, however, demonstrates how very much we are now in the debt of the editor and translator.

A. KEVIN REINHART

CAROLE HILLENBRAND: *The Crusades: Islamic perspectives*. lvi, 649 pp. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999. £29.95 (paper).

'This book has deliberately presented a one-sided view of the Crusades, a view from the Muslim side alone. Clearly, such an approach is as biased and incomplete as one which studies the Crusades from an exclusively European standpoint. Yet it has to be said that the overpowering weight of Crusading historiography and secondary literature over the past century has tended towards the latter approach, with a perfunctory nod at some Muslim sources. It seemed high time to attempt to redress the balance a little.' With these words (p. 613) Professor Hillenbrand sums up her purpose in writing. The 'perfunctory nod at some Muslim sources' to which she alludes has indeed been characteristic of European historiography of the Crusades, and in presenting a fuller picture to a wider readership, Hillenbrand has produced this extensively ranging and lavishly illustrated book. It is not a chronological history of the Crusades written on the basis of Muslim instead of European sources, but rather a series of studies of Muslim attitudes in regard to political, military and social aspects of the Crusades and the Crusader states. It abounds in details, particularly those drawn from primary Arabic sources. The presentation is, however, safeguarded against diffuseness by passages in which the author summarizes and reflects upon the materials she has assembled.

In the first chapter (pp. 1–30), Hillenbrand considers the nature of the medieval Muslim sources, which were overwhelmingly produced by men trained as '*ulamā*', and thus resemble their counterparts, the writings of Christian clerics, in presenting events and assessing persons from an a priori theological standpoint. She comments on recent secondary literature in the field; the meagre contributions in Arabic and some major works in English. Two French-language studies only are mentioned, and nothing is said here about the important book by Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1991), although there is some discussion of it later (pp. 248–50). The second half of this chapter is devoted to a short historical overview of the Crusades, making various points which are picked up in subsequent chapters.

Chapter ii (pp. 31–88) deals with the First Crusade, the Near East on which it made its impact, its course, and the Muslim reaction as shown in contemporary and later sources. From the first, Muslim writers linked the First Crusade with other Christian expansion into Dār al-Islām in the same period in Spain, Sicily and North Africa. The failure of the Seljuks to intervene effectively against the Franks is contrasted (p. 81) with Alp Arslan's victorious confrontation of Romanus IV Diogenes at Manzikert, but the contrast is more superficial than real. The sultan's successful operation against the emperor was a diversion from his original purpose aimed against Fatimid Syria. Commenting on the later Crusades, Hillenbrand remarks that 'they did not result

in major territorial gains nor in the establishment of new Frankish states' (p. 83). One might indeed say that they were completely different in nature from the First Crusade; they sought essentially to regain lost territory (the Second and Third Crusades) or to safeguard existing holdings by action against the regional Muslim great power (the Egyptian Crusades). The transiently successful 'Crusade' of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (cf. p. 26) was an exercise in summit diplomacy rather than a military enterprise.

The theme of chapters iii and iv (pp. 89–255) is 'the evolution of the Islamic concept of *jihād* (Holy War) during the Crusading period and ... the role which religious propaganda ... played in the conflict' (p. 89). From the abundant '*ulamā*'-originated sources on the period, this aspect can be very fully documented. After an exposition of *jihād* in Islamic theology and law, and a summary of its emergence in Muslim history, the presentation follows broadly the pattern delineated by Emanuel Sivan in *L'Islam et la Croisade* (Paris, 1968), i.e. the revival of the *jihād* after the establishment of the Frankish states with the appearance of three successive champions of Islam—Zengī, Nūr al-Dīn, and finally Saladin. The sources' presentation, especially of Saladin's career, is critically reviewed by Hillenbrand, as is the generally more relaxed relationship between the restored Latin Kingdom and the Ayyubids. The second revival of the *jihād* under the early Mamluk sultans, especially Baybars, is surveyed. Once again, the authors are '*ulamā*', belonging, like the biographers of Saladin, to court circles. Towards the end of chapter iv the 'much more complex web of relationships' examined by Köhler is discussed.

In chapter v (pp. 257–327) on the Muslim view of the Franks, Hillenbrand draws largely on two contemporary sources, Usāma b. Munqidh (d. 584/1188) and Ibn Jubayr. She points out the limitations of each. Usāma's book was primarily a work of *adab*, teaching morality by examples which may be literary stereotypes or veiled satire rather than genuine autobiographical anecdotes. As a Muslim from Spain, Ibn Jubayr gives an outsider's view of the Latin Kingdom, but his personal knowledge of it was gained during some seven weeks of 1184. What emerges from the picture drawn by these and other sources is largely a mirror-image of the Frankish view of the Muslims. In religion the dogmatic assumption is that Christians are wrong and Muslims are right. The Franks are deplorably lax in sexual matters. They habitually pervert Muslim mosques and shrines to Christian usage, and they obstruct and endanger Muslim pilgrims. On a point of detail, the 'large idol' in the citadel of Šafad which was called Abū Jurj was not 'George's father' (p. 308) but St. George; cf. Jonathan Riley-Smith's note, 'The Templars had a particular devotion to St. George', in *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, (Cambridge, 1971), 2, at p. 220.

Chapter vi (pp. 329–429) deals with aspects of life in the Levant in the Crusading period. As the Arabic sources show no particular interest in the Franks as an element in the Near Eastern social community, this is bound to be

a somewhat miscellaneous assemblage of data. An interesting section on Muslim views of Frankish leaders musters the sparse and rather superficial views of Christian rulers given in the chronicles. This might have been augmented by the few notices in biographical dictionaries, e.g. al-Safadi's very brief remarks on Baldwin I and Bohemond VI (*Wāfi*, x, 177, 368), and his longer account of the arch-villain Reynald of Châtillon, *Ibrins al-Karak Arnāt*. (*Wāfi*, vi, 182–84). On p. 364 a passage is cited from Broadhurst's translation of Ibn Jubayr, stating that the cultivation (*'imāla*) of the valley below Banyas 'is divided between the Franks and the Muslims, and in it there is a boundary known as "the Boundary of Dividing". They apportion the crops equally ...'. Broadhurst's 'Boundary of Dividing' (*hadd al-muqāsama*) is better rendered 'règlement de partage' by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les voyages d'Ibn Jubayr* (Paris, 1953), 3, 351; and he notes that *muqāsama* is a contract for the sharing of products. One might suggest that *'imāla* is neither 'cultivation' nor 'exploitation' (G–D), but the technical term for the function of an *'āmil*, i.e. here 'fiscal administration'. This boundary-territory was a typical condominium (*munāṣafa*).

In chapters vii and viii (pp. 431–587) a return is made to the Muslim military response to the Crusades. The first chapter provides well illustrated details of the weaponry, and especially of the citadels and fortresses of the region, while the second, on the conduct of war, deals with strategy and tactics as well as siege-warfare, which is particularly fully covered. Sieges were more important than pitched battles, which were avoided by both sides. Other aspects studied include the use of spies, the treatment of prisoners of war and the maritime inferiority of the Muslim states. Chapter ix (pp. 589–616) forms an epilogue on the heritage of the Crusades, and deals with the lasting (or revived) significance of the episode in Muslim–Christian relations. The statement that the first Muslim work on the Crusades was written by the Egyptian Sayyid 'Alī al-Harīrī in 1899 (derived from Sivan) needs correction. It was preceded in 926/1520 by *al-I'lām wa'l-tabyīn fī khurūj al-Firanj al-malā'in 'alā diyār al-Muslimīn* of Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Harīrī, extant in a Paris MS, and now published under that title by Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus, 1401/1981. The book has a very full bibliography of primary and secondary sources, dynastic tables and other useful ancillary matter. Professor Hillenbrand has performed a valuable service in this book to all concerned with the historiography of the Crusades.

P. M. HOLT

A. D. H. BIVAR (comp.): *The travels of Ibn Battūta, A.D. 1325–1354, Index. Vol. V.* 153 pp. London: The Hakluyt Society, 2000. £25.

The blurb for this publication, which has been compiled by A. D. H. Bivar, rightly points out that 'almost everything that is known of the life and personality of Ibn Battūta is derived

from his own narrative of his travels'. Thus wrote Professor Sir Hamilton Gibb, in his Foreword, in 1957, at the commencement of this mammoth Hakluyt Society project.

Professor Gibb was to die a little before the publication of the third volume, in 1971. Professor Charles Beckingham took over the translation for the fourth volume, with annotations. He achieved the task in 1994, not long before he died. Now, Professor David Bivar has completed the extensive Index for all four volumes. Gibb's dream, in 1922, of completing the translation has been achieved. It owes a great debt to the Hakluyt Society and to members of the School, particularly to Professor Beckingham and, now, Professor Bivar.

The Index opens with a dedication to Professor Beckingham, and this is followed by two pages of introductory notes which explain how the Index should be used, especially in the identification of personal names, toponyms and honorific titles. The Index contains over three thousand entries covering all four volumes, which were printed in 1958, 1962, 1971 and 1994, a series which spans almost half a century of research. It should be close at hand beside every scholar, or student, who wishes to consult the *Rihla*. It is particularly valuable and useful now that we have the Arabic text of the *Rihla* available, and edited, by 'Abd al-Hādī al-Tāzī. This was printed, in Rabat, in 1417/1997. It, likewise, contains a comprehensive index.

As is the case in all Hakluyt Society publications, the presentation and layout of this Index is of a very high standard. However, as with all publications, where the Arabic language is transcribed, there are some problems and solecisms which need to be noted.

There are a few minor mistakes in the transcription throughout the Index. An example is *Iwālātān*, on p. 66, and *Iwālātān*, in *Volume IV*, p. 947. Such errors are hardly likely to mislead. However, less happy examples ought to be noted. On page 67, Gibraltar is rendered as *Jabal Fath*, which should be *Jabal al-Fath*, 'the Mount of Conquest'. *Amīr al-Hājj*, on page 18 should surely be *Amīr al-Hājj*.

Elsewhere, there are entries which could have been updated in the light of more recent research. These include:

- a) page 10:- 'Abū 'Omar 'Othmān b. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Tanālafū (perhaps Tan al-Ruftū, Tan al-Zuftū or even Tanazruftū). *Tan* is almost certainly the Berber, *Ti-n*, *tanulāft*, in *Temajeq*, having the meaning of *femme repudiée et dans sa période de retraite* (Alojaly). That this scholar could have any *nisba* associating him with the Tanezrouft desert is unlikely in the extreme. The *Guide Bleu* to the Sahara, page 341, refers to this Algerian desert as being 'Desert des Deserts', le *Tanezrouft*, d'une désespérante monotonie, n'a d'autre lyrisme que l'évocation des premières explorations.
- b) page 72:- 'al-Junaid, 'Abū'l-Qāsim, founder of Qādarīya Order.' Qādarīya should read, *al-Qādarīyya* (not to be confused with *al-Qadariyya*). The founder of the *Qādarīyya* brotherhood is claimed to be 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī or Gilānī (1077–1166), as Gibb



himself wrote in his chapter on the Sufi orders in *Mohammedanism, an historical survey*, Oxford, 1949, page 155.

At this point, Sufism might be mentioned. This was an important interest throughout the entire *Rihla* and Ibn Baṭṭūta himself was not only a frequent visitor to Sufis during his journeys but deeply drawn to their way of life and committed to their cause. Those who study him are likely to include a number for whom Sufism is a special reason for consulting him. Yet, only three page entries are furnished on page 136, despite numerous entries on brotherhoods, founders of brotherhoods, masters of lodges and *Shaykhs* with whom he received hospitality. The lack of any kind of cross-referencing is distressing here and would have been helpful. In contrast, 'Sudāq, city in the Crimea' (p. 136) is cross-referenced to Sughdāk (p. 137) and Surdāq (p. 138). Though these are not the only errors, taking over the large-scale work of scholars of an older generation is no easy task, and the blemishes that inevitably creep in to such projects should not be seen as any reflection on the scholarship of Bivar himself.

Bivar's approach is to embrace topics of the widest possible context within the Index, and, in this respect, it is very successful and most commendable. The Latin name for plants is furnished alongside titles in sundry Oriental and African languages. Toponyms are well chosen and the list of proper names extremely comprehensive. Geographers, anthropologists, historians and college students in many disciplines, will find it of immense help. It is in the historical tradition of the Hakluyt series of publications. Eminently practical, it is a worthy conclusion to Sir Hamilton Gibb's great dream.

H. T. NORRIS

PAULINA B. LEWICKA: *Šāfi' Ibn 'Alī's biography of the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn*. (Orienta Polonia 2.) 444 pp. Warsaw: Academic Publishing House DIALOG, 2000.

This work is an important contribution to the study of the Mamluk sultanate. It consists of two parts, of which the first (to p. 186), provides the prolegomena to the second part (pp. 187–444), the annotated text of a previously unpublished contemporary biography of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (reigned 678–89/1279–90) entitled *al-Faḍl al-ma'thūr min sirat al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Sulṭān al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn Abī'l-Faḥ Qalāwūn*, which was prepared for the royal library. The prolegomena as well as the notes show the author's command of a copious range of primary and secondary sources in Arabic and modern European languages (predominantly English), which are specified in the bibliography (pp. 148–50).

*Al-Faḍl* is extant in a unique copy, now MS Marsh 424 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It was an item in the bequest of manuscripts by Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713), who spent the later part of his career in Ireland, and became archbishop of Armagh. Marsh never visited the

East, but his mathematical interests led him to collect Arabic manuscripts. These were supplied by Robert Huntington, chaplain to the English merchants in Aleppo from 1670–1681, who made purchases for himself and his correspondents.

In Part I of the work, the most relevant portions are Section II (pp. 37–86), which provides a useful and detailed survey of Qalāwūn's life and reign, and Section III (pp. 87–105), which gives an account of the biographer, Shāfi' b. 'Alī al-'Asqalānī (649–730/1252–1330), and the biography. Shāfi' belonged to a distinguished family of clerks in the royal chancery headed by his maternal uncle, Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, who was also in effect the court historian, and wrote biographies of Baybars and Qalāwūn. Although Shāfi' never attained the senior status of his uncle and his cousin, Faḥ al-Dīn, he draws attention to himself in his writings as a valued and shrewd adviser. Dr Lewicka, confirming incidentally the opinion of the present reviewer, believes that the text of *al-Faḍl* does not give the impression of a biography produced as a single piece of writing at one time. The presentation is not always strictly chronological, the treatment of topics is selective and unbalanced, e.g. a disproportionate amount of space is allotted to Qalāwūn's early career and his service under Baybars, and in her words, '*Faḍl* is then a compilation of biographical pieces which includes not only relations written at different times but also various state documents' (p. 97). She then enters into a critical examination of the work, asserting that the biographer's main aim was 'portraying his hero as perfection incarnate among Muslim rulers', and as overshadowing Baybars. One might add that this presentation replicates that of *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's biography of Baybars, who is there displayed as a second and superior Saladin. Next Dr Lewicka examines (pp. 98–103) three instances in which Shāfi' makes statements about Qalāwūn significantly different from those in other sources. The first, in her words, 'a presentation of untrue data', concerns Qalāwūn's first owner. While the consensus is that this was an amir, 'Alā' al-Dīn Aqsunqur al-Kāmilī, on whose death Qalāwūn passed into the possession of al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb, the Ayyubid sultan, Shāfi' asserts that he was the sultan's *mamlūk* from the outset. The second instance, 'an omission of important information', concerns Qalāwūn's career between the death of al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb in 647/1249 and the accession of Baybars in 658/1260. Shāfi' indicates that Qalāwūn was treated with respect and given precedence by the first Mamluk rulers, but totally fails to mention that he, like Baybars and others, spent six years as a fugitive and soldier of fortune in Ayyubid Syria. The third instance 'requires the formulation of a hypothesis' since Shāfi' may have given false information. During the short and troubled reign of al-Sa'īd Baraka Khān (676–8/1277–9), Baybars's son and successor, Qalāwūn was the joint leader of an expedition into Cilician Armenia. According to Shāfi', this was proposed by Qalāwūn himself, while Ibn al-Furāt (735–807/1334–1405), a later chronicler, says that the enterprise was instigated by Baraka Khān's personal Mamluk household

with the intention of waylaying the veterans as they returned. Dr Lewicka suggests that if Shāfi' is veracious, Qalāwūn may have master-minded the project in order to build up his power outside Egypt. One may wonder if this hypothesis is really necessary, given her alternative suggestion that Shāfi' wished to stress Qalāwūn's position and virtues. The theme of the worthless heir and the worthy Mamluk, his destined successor, had a precedent in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's account of the fatal confrontation of al-Mu'azzam Tūrān-Shāh, al-Sāliḥ Ayyūb's son, and the amir Baybars with his comrades (*al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, ed. al-Khuwayṭir, al-Riyāḍ, 1396/1976, p. 50). Ibn al-Furāt here too gives an interesting variant account which does not mention Baybars. It is possible that in both cases the later chronicler transmits a more veracious account than the tendentious contemporary biographer. Much of the examination of this incident on pp. 102–3 repeats verbatim the relevant passage in the survey of Qalāwūn's life on pp. 48–9. Of the rest of Part I, Section I (pp. 19–36) deals with the early history and organization of the Mamluk state, and Section IV (pp. 107–32) discusses other Arabic sources for Qalāwūn's life and reign. There is a glossary of Mamluk terms and a very full bibliography, in which it should be noted that Dr L. S. Northrup (not Northrop) has now published her thesis on Qalāwūn under the title *From slave to sultan* (Stuttgart, 1998). Four maps conclude this part of the book.

Dr Lewicka's edition of the text of the biography in Part 2 is a model of its kind. The original MS, though apparently clear and legible, is, as anyone who has used it knows, not without difficulties, arising chiefly from haphazard and defective pointing. In the notes she draws attention to her emendations and corrections of the text, as well as to confirmatory or supplementary textual material found especially in Shāfi's other writings. There are also substantial notes on persons, places and other matters mentioned in the text. All in all, Dr Lewicka has made available a source of valuable data for Mamluk studies and, it may be hoped, paved the way for a future translation of *al-Faḍl al-ma'thūr*.

P. M. HOLT

THABIT A. J. ABDULLAH: *Merchants, Mamluks and murder: the political economy of trade in eighteenth-century Basra*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) xviii, 180 pp. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2001.

This book opens in dramatic style with the discovery of the body of a Jewish merchant near a rubbish dump on the outskirts of Basra. To explain how and why the body got there Abdullah launches into an extended account of Basra and particularly of its trade during the eighteenth century, when Basra was the leading commercial port in the Persian Gulf. This section, which is based largely on East India

Company records, requires close attention from the reader. The author claims that Basra was at the centre of a network of international trade including the trade with India, a river trade with Baghdad and a caravan trade with Aleppo. The commerce of Basra flourished until 1775 when it went into steep decline (from which it did not recover until well into the nineteenth century). The causes of this decline were plague, international problems and widespread insecurity on all the trade routes, as well as competition from other Gulf ports.

A major problem is to establish the extent of the Basra trade. Statistical series can be compiled only for the India trade and these statistics are incomplete because they do not include small vessels, which, Abdullah admits, probably carried more goods than did the larger vessels. The statistics that exist show large fluctuations in the number of ships visiting Basra, making it difficult to discern trends. Abdullah sets out the results of his collection of statistics in a diagram (p. 48) which appears to show that sea trade was falling gently throughout the eighteenth century (the peaks are progressively lower and the troughs deeper) with the exception of the trade boom which occurred during the years 1768 and 1775. On the basis of this interpretation of the diagram Abdullah's subsequent analysis of the trade seems deficient. But a considerable uncertainty arises from our not knowing the size of the vessels.

Another question concerns the character of the trade. Abdullah believes that the international trade was dominant at Basra but he has no information about local trade. He observes that in 1729 the British agents reported that the Basra market was overstocked with [imported] goods. How could this be if Basra was indeed an entrepôt? Abdullah argues that English shipping replaced Indian and became dominant in the Indian trade during the second half of the eighteenth century. This begs the question of what is 'English shipping'. The ships were certainly country built and manned. Are we talking about ownership or registration (in Bombay, of course, and not in England)? Abdullah seems to have a picture of the India-Gulf trade as one run by the East India Company under the protection of the British Crown. Of course it was nothing of the sort and was entirely in the hands of private merchants. Moreover, one should understand that, important as the India trade may have been from the viewpoint of Basra, it was small beer in India where it was only a minor part of the country trade, far less important than the Indian coastal trade or the trade with China.

Abdullah also discusses the question of who the merchants were. In practice almost anyone could be a merchant but Abdullah reserves the term *tujjar* for big international merchants, who, he claims, amassed large fortunes. He cites a 1766 list of the property of one Hajji Yusuf ibn Hajji Muhammad which, the author writes, indicates that merchants invested little in productive economic wealth. But the list does not purport to do more than record Hajji Yusuf's real property and excludes working capital which would presumably have been tied up in cargoes. If one accepted the list as complete then one would be left to conclude

that merchants invested only in land and not in trade, a proposition which seems absurd.

At the end Abdullah returns to the dead Jewish merchant, whose demise he links to rivalry between Jewish and Armenian merchants in Basra and their efforts to enlist political support from the Georgian Mamluk rulers of Baghdad and from the British, represented by the Resident, Samuel Manesty, who supported the Armenians. Abdullah also links the dispute to separatist ambitions in Basra, supported by the British, versus the desire of the Jews, supported by Sulayman, the Pasah of Baghdad, to preserve the unity of Iraq. After some time Manesty won, returned to Basra in triumph and ten Jewish leaders were handed over to him, Abdullah claims, stating that their subsequent fate is unknown. In fact there were twenty-two Jewish merchants and Manesty, after keeping them in ignorance of their fate for twenty-four hours, released them. In Abdullah's account the whole affair is put in terms of political and commercial interests and rivalries: it is arguable, however, that he has exaggerated the British interest in the region and failed to understand that, in most of this sorry affair, Manesty was acting on his own in defence of his private trading interests. Also there is a good case for supposing that Manesty was not wholly sane.

There are a number of minor errors: Harvard for Harford Jones throughout, Kepple for Keppel (p. 127), Vatan for Vartan (p. 150), J. C. for C. J. Rich (pp. 153–4), J. A. for J. H. Stocqueler (p. 44). Abdullah would have profited from reading Abdul Amir Amin, *British interests in the Persian Gulf*, Leiden, 1967. And (but this is a personal view) he might have benefited from giving less time to fitting his work into world systems theory.

M. E. YAPP

TUDOR PARFITT (ed.): *Israel and Ishmael: studies in Muslim-Jewish relations*. xii, 249 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000. £45.

This is a collection of conference papers, and has the usual features, good and bad, associated with such collections. It contains fifteen papers, by contributors working in the USA, Israel, Holland, the UK and Germany (though the original conference itself was apparently jointly organized by SOAS and Tel Aviv University). The articles included deal with both medieval and modern topics.

The first paper, by Norman Stillman, looks, not for the first time, at the vagaries of historiographical fashion and political correctness in the writing of the history of the Jews of Muslim lands. He suggests, *inter alia*, that the initial Judaeo-Muslim encounter 'ended rather badly for the Jewish inhabitants of Western Arabia'. There are other ways of assessing what happened. Stillman's late wife, Yedida Kalfon Stillman, to whose memory the volume is dedicated, offers an illuminating (and interestingly illustrated) study of veiling by Jewish women in Islamic countries. Tova Cohen, in a study of 'poetry as woman' in

Andalusian Hebrew poetry, also takes up the theme of veiling; and Yosef Tobi takes the study of Hebrew poetry in the Islamic world further, looking at the significance of Sa'adya Gaon as a *paytan*. Not all will agree with Tobi's use of the term *shu'ubiyya* in the context of Rabbanite attitudes towards Jewish sects—the term seems more useful when applied in the context of opposition to groups outside one's own, rather than to splitters from within. But, as Tobi suggests, Sa'adya's actions do seem to have an element of the *shu'ubi* about them when viewed in a broader context.

The bulk of the papers deal with modern topics—the Jews of Lebanon, in a paper by Kirsten Schulze, appear to have dwelt in a veritable paradise of inter-faith tolerance as one minority among many in that country (though it is not altogether obvious why it should be 'offensively patronising' to suggest that the facts that children are in school, grandmother is too old to move, 'our situation isn't bad' and 'it's always been our home', are a 'familiar litany' of reasons for staying in the diaspora. And there might well be some who would find greater offence in the patronizing tone of the writer's use of the word Levantineness, surrounded by inverted commas, a couple of pages later). Haim Saadoun suggests that the Palestinian issue was a major factor influencing the relations, hitherto excellent, between Jews and Muslims in Tunisia in the inter-war period, leading to a change for the worse in the overall position of the Jews there: his argument seems also to cast the Palestinian national movement (curiously capitalized here) in this context simply as an inversion of Zionism. Michel Abitbol, by contrast, in a broader look at colonial North Africa, suggests a more cautious and nuanced analysis. Tudor Parfitt looks at the dangers and attractions for Jews in the twin possibilities of *dhimma*-protection and foreign consular protection (occasionally just diplomatic intervention) in Morocco. Things were not so good either way, his argument implies. Aviva Klein-Franke's descriptive analysis of the collection of *jizya* in Yemen offers a picture of an aspect of Jewish status and life in the Islamic world which has been curiously lacking until now. Unfortunately, it is not always wholly clear, e.g. in the description of the sums due as *jizya* (pp. 179, 182), and it would have been helpful to have a translation of the three lines of (inconsistently transliterated) Arabic on p. 186. Further, the figures given here, especially at p. 188, suggest that the real hardship caused by the size of the *jizya* cannot have been all that great.

In an interesting second contribution to this volume, Tudor Parfitt looks at the Jewish image of the imam of Yemen and asks whether it suggests paradox or paradigm. He shows that it is more paradox, given the contrast between the actions of the imam, which show him to have been none too friendly towards the Jews, and the extremely favourable image of him as benign ruler which survives among his former subjects. The study is a little disappointing in its failure to offer a real explanation for this or to attempt more detailed analysis. The topic is very striking, and it is tempting to try to locate it in the framework of emigrants' construction

of ideal pasts, but one suspects a more complex background.

The most substantial contribution to the volume, however, is undoubtedly the one which has the least to do with the volume's title. This is Zeev Rubin's study of Judaism and Rahmanite monotheism in the Himyarite kingdom in the fifth century. There are no Muslims here, and Ishmael was probably absent from any southern Arabian consciousness then too. In this learned and lavishly documented study, Rubin looks at the vexed question of the Jewishness of the fifth-century rulers of this area, and argues strongly for seeing these rulers as Jews. This is a solid and persuasive piece of work.

Readers and authors have been ill-served by the editor and/or publisher. There are mistakes or typos in English, French, German, Italian, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic, Greek and Sabaean (where three words have been omitted in the translation offered on p. 37); 'ayn and hamza (or alif) are frequently confused. Names are mangled in English, French (even Marshal Lyautey), Spanish, German, Polish, Arabic, Persian and Norwegian. The Keren Kayemet is the Jewish National, not the Jewish Foundation, Fund (p. 111). Transliteration from Russian is inconsistent within a single article. The *Encyclopaedia* (spelled thus) *Judaica* has more than one volume, and numbers columns, not pages. Semitic is a linguistic, not a racial or ethnic categorization (p. 103, n63). And, in a piece by the editor, 400 must be 4,000 (p. 162). But all is forgiven when we find the idea that a ruler might 'reign' in hotheads (p. 218), and from sheer delight at the new coinage of schadenfraude (p. 172).

DAVID J. WASSERSTEIN

ABRAHAM OF EREVAN: *History of the Wars (1721–1738)* (Abraham Erewants'i's, *Patmut'iwn Paterazmats'n*). Annotated translation from the original eighteenth-century texts, with introductory notes by George A. Bournoutian. (Armenian Studies Series, 3.) 111 pp. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1999.

The Armenian text translated in this volume is a narrative of events connected with the Afghan occupation of Iran (1721–29), the Ottoman invasion (1723 onwards) and Nadir Shah's expulsion of the Ottomans and Afghans from a number of Iranian cities. The principal episodes narrated in detail are the Ottoman attack on Erevan, at first bravely resisted by the Armenian inhabitants (1724); the Ottoman march on and sack of Tabriz and Hamadan (1725); Nadir's appointment as commander-in-chief of the Persian forces (1728) and his subsequent recapture from the Afghans of Isfahan and of Hamadan and Tabriz from the Ottomans; his kidnap of the Safavid Shah, Tahmasp II, and installation of himself as ruler

(1732); and his protracted but ultimately unsuccessful attempt at capturing Baghdad (1733).

Bournoutian translates from Abraham of Erevan's original manuscript, composed soon after the events in question (MS A). The first version to be published (in Soviet Armenia, 1938), however, was that made by a Mkhitarist priest, Father Karakashean, not more than 30 years after the final composition of the original. Karakashean's version (MS B) omitted many sentences, and made other alterations, in the interest of clarity and of high literary and moral tone. But MS B's chapter headings are preserved in Bournoutian's translation, and serve the text well.

As in the case of the katholikos Abraham of Crete's memoirs (see my review of *Abraham of Crete*, pp. 413–414), the status of the information purveyed to us in the text deserves serious thought. Abraham, an otherwise unknown author, claims (p. 84) that he was witness to some of the episodes. But Abraham gives as his other source 'what I recall' (ibid.). Bournoutian interprets this to mean the 'oral accounts' of soldiers and merchants (p. 7). Both these claims look too modest. Nothing is precisely provable, of course. But how, for example, would Abraham, an Armenian of the Safavid Empire, know (p. 65) that the Ottoman grand vizier was denounced on the basis of a letter of his instructing the Ottoman governors in the field to surrender; and (p. 66) that a *fermān* was subsequently sent to the pasha of Baghdad, borne by three or four couriers, ordering the pasha to attack Iran; that the Ottoman army sent against Hamadan was composed of 6,000 janissaries, 5,000 Arabs, and other precisely numbered contingents? How would Abraham know all the stages of this army's march to Hamadan? Considering that this information all pertains to the same campaign, it comes across more as the content of official Ottoman correspondence and field diaries rather than merely of oral testimony. Abraham might have had indirect access via informants, perhaps Armenians, within the Ottoman army.

The question of the intended audience is similarly problematic. Clearly the writer's stance is anti-Nadir, anti-Afghan and pro-Safavid. Given that Abraham had contacts inside the Ottoman empire, or at least in the Ottoman army, is it possible that the intended audience is Armenians in the Ottoman as well as in the Safavid empire?

Despite the odd infelicity, Bournoutian's translation reads well and reflects the simple, soldierly mind of the author. In his footnotes Bournoutian signals every deviation of MS B from MS A, which will be of great convenience to students of both manuscripts. Place names in Iran are at least explained in terms of rough location, though without references. However those in the Ottoman empire are not explained at all (pp. 50, 57, 93). In the footnotes, where, of course, matters other than place names are elucidated or commented on, there is generally a frustrating paucity of references, whether to primary or to secondary sources, in any case. Quotation of sources in the footnotes to a translation cannot always be demanded. However, an assertion (e.g. p. 84, n3) that Persian sources disagree with a specific point



in Abraham's text surely requires a chapter-and-verse reference to those sources? Sometimes the explanation is inadequate, as when (p. 79) the value of the Persian silver *marchil* is explained in terms of the rouble, but no help is given with the mid-eighteenth century value of the *rouble*.

The non-Armenian names, titles and technical terms in the text are transliterated according to different systems, depending on language of origin. While such a policy clearly has certain merits, it results in strange mixtures such as 'jārī bāšī' [sic] (p. 32) and 'Köprülü Oğli 'Abdullah Pasha' (p. 92) without helping anybody but the scholar who knows *all* the relevant languages. It might have been preferable to simplify, on the one hand, the system used in the text so that, with a certain loss of accuracy, a given sound was rendered as far as possible by the same letter or letters each time; and, on the other hand, in the index and, perhaps, in a glossary, to represent the names and words in question according to more rigorous systems. Even within a given language, the transliteration is not entirely consistent: for example the place name 'Karsu-Yaka' ('Opposite Bank') in the text is explained as Turkish 'qarsu (karsu) ... yaqa (yaka)' (p. 77).

These, of course, are minor criticisms. Abraham of Erevan's narrative contains much valuable information. Some of his information on the composition of the armies and on the role of the Armenians is unique. Both of Bournoutian's translations make accessible to a diverse audience two highly interesting and informative sources and will surely stimulate interest in the period, place and peoples in question.

TOM SINCLAIR

*The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete* (Patmut'iwn of *Kat'oghikos Abraham Kretats'i*). Annotated translation from the Critical Text with Introduction and Commentary by George A. Bournoutian. (Armenian Studies Series, 1.) 190 pp. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1999.

The Chronicle, written in 1736–37 by an Armenian katholikos of the Echmiadzin see, centres on the acceptance and coronation ceremony of Nadir Shah at a *quriltay* on the Mughan steppe in February and March 1736. Abraham, while a bishop, had journeyed to Echmiadzin in 1734 from his diocese of Rodosto (Tekirdağ) in Thrace, but on the katholikos' death was obliged (so Abraham avers) to accept the katholikosate in November 1734.

The Chronicle's main episodes are as follows. After Abraham's journey from Thrace to Echmiadzin, the katholikos dies and Abraham is appointed. Nadir Shah pays a visit to Echmiadzin, following which the shah beats the Ottomans at the battle of Eghvard, north of Echmiadzin, in June 1735. As a result of the battle the Ottomans are forced to abandon

Erevan and all the territory west of that city up to the Akhurean or Arpa Çay river. Abraham then travels to the Mughan steppe and is present at the gathering (February 1736) where Nadir induces the notables to request that he be elected shah, and to promise, among other things, that they will not support a member of the Safavid dynasty. In the text there follows a description, taken from another witness, of the accession ceremony (March 1736). This Abraham did not attend, because he was already on his way back to Echmiadzin. After his return he visits Tabriz in order to be introduced to Ibrahim Khan, governor of the city and brother of Nadir Shah. Then follows the *kondak* or bull written by Abraham on 20 February 1736 while still at the *quriltay*, just before he left for Echmiadzin. The *kondak* is written to the bishops of western Asia Minor, and narrates chiefly the acceptance ceremony.

A critical edition of the text, accompanied by a Russian translation, was published by H. Papazyan in 1973. This was based on a manuscript, kept in Erevan, thought to have been written under Abraham's supervision, on another which seems to be a draft by Abraham himself of certain chapters, and on several later manuscripts kept in Erevan, Jerusalem and Vienna. Bournoutian translates from the critical edition, incorporating its textual apparatus as well as the notes on toponyms which accompanied the Russian translation. Bournoutian also includes the notes on dates provided by Brosset in his mid-nineteenth-century French translation.

The translation is followed by Bournoutian's 'commentary', which in reality is not arranged according to the order of material in Abraham's text, and which instead discusses generally that text's historical value. Bournoutian focuses on the manner in which Abraham complements and is complemented by the two Persian sources on the same political events, the *Jahāngushā-yi Nādirī* of Mirza Muhammad Astarabadi and the *Ālām-āra-yi Nādirī* by Muhammad Kazim. Abraham's chief contribution in the field of political history is the great detail with which the description of the *quriltay* is crowded, in particular concerning the personnel present at the *quriltay* and the stages of the ceremonial.

The translator speculates (p. 149) that this rather unusual text was written in order to record the privileges granted to Echmiadzin by Nadir's administration. Given that Erevan and Echmiadzin might be recaptured by the Ottomans, the *kondak* was sent to church leaders in the Ottoman Empire, Bournoutian (*ibid.*) suggests, in order to show that the Persian authorities respected the Holy See. Other reasons, not necessarily contradicting the above, may be suggested. Two years previously Abraham had left Thrace; he now sends a *kondak* to inform his erstwhile equals in western Asia Minor of his influence with the shah. He needs to explain his decision to leave Thrace and travel to Echmiadzin. Why abandon one's diocese in April, arrive in Echmiadzin in August (p. 13), and happen to be present in November when the katholikos dies, happening also to be judged the best man to replace the dead katholikos?

This apart, there are questions as to the

status of certain parts and aspects of the text. Abraham was not present at the accession ceremony, so for this he relies on the account of T'ovmay, archpriest of Akulis (pp. 111–16). The account of the prayers recited when the shah enters the divan and of the discipline imposed on his bodyguards (pp. 116–18) must equally come from other witnesses. The description of the course of the river Aras (pp. 75–6) reads as if lifted from a geographical work. But these points raise the question, to what extent could Abraham have observed for himself the ranks and functions of those present at the *quriltay* and, perhaps, all the stages of the acceptance ceremony itself?

Bournoutian translates felicitously, with few exceptions (e.g. p. 104, 'give it to him in a fashion that neither the treasury suffers a loss, nor he experiences difficulties'). He copes well with the non-Armenian terminology, as much in the text as in the glossary—though in the latter the language of origin of each word should have been given. It is of great help to the reader that in translating passages in Azeri, Bournoutian gives in a footnote both the Azeri and a version in the Turkish of modern Turkey. The transliteration is at least consistent (but not, for example, 'Karaçorli' and 'Karaçorli', both on p. 166); but the lack of bibliographical references in the annotations on toponymy is frustrating.

TOM SINCLAIR

BOŠKO I. BOJOVIĆ: *Raguse et l'empire ottoman (1430–1520). Les actes impériaux en vieux-Serbe de Murad II à Selim Ier.* (Textes, Documents, Études sur le Monde Byzantin, Héléniqne et Balkanique, 3.) lii, 420 pp. Paris: Editions de l'Association Pierre Belon, 1998.

The aim of this book, according to its author, is to study a period of Ragusan history which still remains obscure and to bring to the attention of scholars documents which have until now been largely ignored by the academic community (p. 1). Bojović is indeed justified in his insistence on the importance of the Dubrovnik archives as a very rich, and surprisingly little used, source. As many of the documents issued by the Ottomans in their dealings with Dubrovnik were written in old Serbian, they have remained largely inaccessible to many Ottomanists (p. 4).

Bojović gives translations of 129 documents from the State Archives of Dubrovnik, issued by Murad II, Mehmed II, Bayezid I and Selim I. The majority of the documents date from the reigns of Mehmed II and Bayezid II. Including the ten *firmans* issued by Süleyman I, which form part of the collection of documents in the Dubrovnik Archives but which are not published in this collection, Bojović divides the documents according to the addressees. One hundred and eighteen were addressed to the *knez* and the *vlastela* of Ragusa, while twenty-one were addressed to various high officials of state and dealt with

regulating commerce. Bojović also classifies the documents according to content: capitulations, documents connected with clauses of treaties, payment of tribute, trade and export of salt, and those documents dealing with various juridical, territorial and political matters (pp. 168–9). The importance of the publication here of these documents in French translation is obvious.

Bojović also gives a lengthy historical outline covering the various phases of the Ragusan-Ottoman relationship and detailing Ragusan commerce.

While the book contains extensive references to published secondary material from Eastern Europe, it contains, oddly for a book on the Ottoman empire, very little reference to any secondary Turkish source in the footnotes, or to Turkish periodicals. The 38-page bibliography contains only six references: volume III of Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (1973) (sic, and again thus in note 390, p. 322 for Mimarisinde), Barkan's 1964 article on the 894 *cizye* accounts, the 1971 article by Gökbiçgin on Ottoman documents in the Venetian archives, Pakalın's *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Pere, *Osmanlılarda madeni paralar* (1968) and Şahin Anıl, *Osmanlılar'da kadılık* (1993). There is one reference to Suha Umur, *Osmanlı padişah tuğraları* [sic] (1980) in note 2, p. 183, and to İnalçık's 1954 article, 'Fatih dönemi üzerinde tetikler ve vesikalar' (sic, for Faith devri üzerinde) in note 106, p. 212. *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1914*, edited by Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert, does not appear, even though it contains a section on Dubrovnik and the Balkans, and a large appendix on money written by Şevket Pamuk.

For Bojović, Ottoman arrival in the Balkans meant economic collapse (p. 94) and 'régession irréversible' (p. 98). 'La lourdeur de cet aspect statique de l'économie ottomane se traduit dans le Sud-Est européen par la déliquescence de l'agriculture, de l'industrie minière, par un protectionisme économique et une crise monétaire et financière qui n'allaient pas tarder à devenir chroniques et irréversibles' (p. 3). This approach is in line with that adopted by some Greek historians writing on the history of Crete in the seventeenth century, whose approach has recently been convincingly attacked by Molly Greene in her book *A shared world. Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton, 2000). Greene quotes (p. 119) from the work of Yolanda Triandafyllidou Baladie, who argues that after the Ottomans took Crete the economy nose-dived, the olive tree taking over from the vine because it was more suitable for a backward economy, and from Theocharis Detorakes, who also considers that after the arrival of the Ottomans, Cretan agriculture reverted to a more primitive form. Greene's research, however, does not lead to the same conclusions. For her, the automatic axiom Ottoman arrival–economic decline does not work. Perhaps its application to the Balkan territories in the earlier period should be re-examined.

Bojović seems also attached to another given truth of Ottoman history: its military

essence and commercial disinterest. The Ottoman empire had a 'nature conquérante' (p. 95) and in consequence the Ottomans 'et leurs dirigeants n'étaient pas à leur aise dans les affaires de négoce' (p. 121). This too is a vision of the Ottomans which has come under considerable criticism, and while Bojović may not be in agreement with the more recent trends in evaluating the Ottomans as something more than a military enterprise, he should perhaps here have acknowledged this argument in his own presentation of the nature of the Ottoman state.

Bojović further appears unimpressed with the Ottoman economy, referring to the 'faiblesses du système économique turc' (p. 21). He blames in large part 'l'inaptitude du système monétaire et économique turc à l'économie d'un âge nouveau' for the lack of money in circulation in the Ottoman empire, at Ragusa and in the whole of the Mediterranean basin as well as in Western Europe in the sixteenth century (p. 129) but makes no attempt to analyse this economic system or account for its failings. He does not apparently refer to the works of modern historians on the Ottoman economy, nor to those working more generally on the late medieval economy. One might have expected, for instance, to find references to Ashtor, Barkan, Faroqui, Inalcik, Pamuk or Sahillioğlu.

The bureaucracy too of this 'autocratie militaire et théocratique' was not something to be admired, for Ragusan merchants, using their 'ingéniosité proverbiale', were forced to struggle constantly with the 'les méandres de sa bureaucratie administrative toujours plus corrompue, cupide et jalouse de ses richesses et de ses privilèges' (p. 12).

This book is without doubt of great value as a collection of translations of documents from old Serbian which are thus made accessible to Ottomanists. It is, however, a matter of some surprise that the author has used so little modern Turkish scholarship and that, while following a somewhat traditional approach to 'l'occupation ottomane' of the Balkans (pp. 97–8), he has not discussed other trends in academic thought on the Ottoman presence.

KATE FLEET

TIMOTHY GABASHVILI: *Pilgrimage to Mount Athos, Constantinople and Jerusalem 1755–1759*. (Translated and annotated by Mzia Ebanoidze and John Wilkinson). 224 pp. Richmond: Curzon Press (Caucasus World), 2001. £45.

The text used here was established by the former director of the Georgian Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, Elene Met'reveli, in her critical edition of 1956, based on four main manuscripts, of which three are in Timothy's hand, whilst the fourth is annotated by him. The author styled his work 'Courtyard' (*ezo*), whilst Met'reveli named it 'Travel(s)' (*mimosyla*); here it has become 'Pilgrimage'. The Georgian bishop set out to acquaint

himself with especially those sites in Jerusalem that had a Georgian connection, though, as noted in the editors' introduction, there is a certain exaggeration of Georgia's role. Apart from the description of Jerusalem itself, the work contains useful additional observations on Constantinople and Athos, where we are taken on a tour of the main monasteries—at times these seem to be virtual charnel-houses for the numerous body-parts gathered there as relics. A series of maps and illustrations, placed throughout the work, adds extra value.

The translation is preceded by: an introduction on the travels; a section on Timothy's life (N. B. Proclus' work is 'The Elements [of Theology]', not 'Units'); a brief history to put Timothy's life in context; and notes on both the original texts (penned by Lia K'ik'nadze) and their language. Following the translation one finds: a page on the transliteration scheme employed here; six illustrations; a 'gazetteer' (or place-name index); notes to the chapters, including (annoyingly) references, which more conveniently might have been slotted into the text; bibliography; and person index.

Since the Georgian original is not available to me, I am unable to comment on the quality of the translation. Given the involvement of a native English editor (the precise division of labour between the editors is unexplained), the work reads well, though (perhaps under the influence of Timothy's forms) some words are rendered rather idiosyncratically even outside the translation proper: Kurapalat (for K/Curopolates), Tornikios (for Tornik'e)—this latter also exemplifies the puzzling editorial decision not to differentiate between Georgian's ejective and aspirated consonants, which introduces needless ambiguity. At two points in the Athos section there is a fascinating mention of a confusion 'Georgians/Spaniards'; or 'Georgian/Spanish': as the editors say, this is a reference to the fact that the classical world referred to both Spain/Portugal and (eastern) Georgia as 'Iberia', but the editors do not offer any explanation of how this came about (the naive account in the text is incorrect), nor do they offer a corrective to the common misconception that the term 'Georgia' derives from the representation of the country's patron saint, St George, on its flag.

Issue must be taken with some of the historical 'facts' presented in the explanatory sections of the volume. Classical Colchis was never coterminous with today's western Georgia (p. 48). I know of no evidence for the statement that the semi-legendary fifth century king of Iberia (viz. E. Georgia), Vakht'ang Gorgasali, united all the lands of the medieval unified Georgian kingdom that only came into being in 975 (*ibid.*). Queen Tamar was David The Builder's *great* grand-daughter (p. 50). The fragmentation of the unified kingdom that occurred after almost two centuries of Mongol depredations produced the three kingdoms of Kartli (in the centre), K'akheti(a) (in the east), though one monarch occasionally united the two, and Imerti(a) (in the west); in addition there were the sovereign princedoms of Samtskhe-Saat'abago (in the south-west), Guria and Mingrelia (in the west), and Abkhazia (in the north-west). In 1801 only the regions of Kartli and K'akheti(a) (and not, as is usually

stated, 'Georgia') were annexed by Russia (p. 52), Mingrelia being absorbed in 1803, Imereti(a) in 1804; Abkhazia followed in 1810. How, then, can one justify the representation in Figure 12 (p. 53) that depicts Imereti(a) incorporating not only the Kartvelian-speaking provinces of Guria and Mingrelia but even the North-West Caucasian speaking area of Abkhazia in the eighteenth century? I leave it to others to query the incorporation of the Erevan Khanate (viz. Armenia) in Kartli! A more accurate portrayal of the N.W. Transcaucasian geo-political relations at the time is found in the account given of his travels across the whole Caucasus in 1770–73 by Johannes Anton Guldenstädt. He states: 'Die imeretische Herrschaft schränkt sich auf die georgische Provinz Imereti ein', which borders, ... in S.W. Guria, im W. Mingrelia ...'. Of Mingrelia itself he then observes: 'Die georgische Provinz Mingrelia und die Distrikte Odischi und Letschkum machen den vierten Staat Georgiens aus und haben unter dem Titul Dadians einen eigenen, unabhängigen Beherrscher ... In S. begränzt es der Rion mit Guria, in O. der Fluss Ts'cheni-ts'chali [Tskenis-ts'q'ali] mit Imereti, ... in NW. liegt ihm der mingrelische Distrikt Odischi, (der sich längst dem schwarzen Meere an dem westl. Fusse des Gebürges bis zum Enguri erstreckt, durch den es von Abchaseti geschieden), gegen Swaneti' (quotations from the 1962 German-Georgian edition, published in Tbilisi). Even Timothy's text (p. 141) distinguishes Imereti from Guria. Finally, when the translators give us 'King of the Georgians and K[']akhetians' (p. 87), are we meant to interpret as 'King of the Karts and K'akhetians'?

If it is Curzon's intention to make available in English translation further items from the more recondite canon of Georgian literature, this is to be welcomed, but steps must be taken to weed out misrepresentations of Georgian history which (?just accidentally) happen to fit the nationalist agenda of widening Georgia's frontiers at this or that moment in history.

GEORGE HEWITT

**TIM POTIER:** *Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia. A legal appraisal.* xvi, 314 pp. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2001. €102.

This book is essentially the author's 1998 doctoral thesis with additionally a short 'Since submission' finale to cover the period 1 September 1998 to 30 April 2000 and a one-page preface. The latter informs us that the main text has only been altered 'to improve its syntax/grammar'. Some might wish that more time had been spent on this exercise to purge the work of: the numerous colloquial 'don't'-s and 'doesn't'-s, which should have no place in scholarly writings; excessive use of quotation marks for often unclear rhetorical purposes; idiosyncratic placement of commas; and an alarming propensity to, quite often at times, split infinitives! Also, the bibliography should have been designed according to the more usual

chronological principle. But readers are advised to strive to overcome initial reservations regarding style, for the content deserves attention.

Just enough history of the relevant conflicts is presented for the uninitiated to put them in context, with supplements on the various attempts at resolution. Since self-determination has been a strong rallying-cry both within and beyond the (Trans)Caucasus in recent years, the significance and usefulness of this concept in such documents as the UN Charter is examined, as is the relevance to the cases in question of various constitutional arrangements that have been devised for other problem areas around the world (e.g. Aland Islands, Bosnia, Andorra, San Marino). Convinced that no constitutional arrangement thus far tried is the right answer for 'The Three' (sc. conflicts here investigated) and that the present state of negotiations between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, on the one hand, and Abkhazia or South Ossetia and Georgia, on the other, is likely to remain deadlocked, Potier offers his own detailed and carefully considered suggestions to alter the constitutional frameworks of Azerbaijan and Georgia, which he hopes would satisfy the needs of the three territories currently in dispute with these internationally recognized post-Soviet states. Chapter viii, which consists of the two Potier constitutions, and chapter ix, which reflects on these ideas, thus represent the main focus of the book.

Potier is the first to admit that his views will obviously not find universal acceptance on any of the relevant sides, but reasonably observes that, in such post-war situations, everyone has to be ready at least to consider compromise. He advocates self-government (but not outright independence) for Nagorno-Karabakh, whereas a (con)federal restructuring is his recommendation for Georgia. Within the 'United Republic of Georgia' there would be: the Republic of Abkhazia, the Republic of Ajaria, the Republic of Georgia, the Republic of South Ossetia, plus Regions A and B (being those areas predominantly settled by Armenians and Azerbaijanis, respectively). He feels that the southernmost district of Abkhazia, Gal, which prior to the war of 1992–93 was overwhelmingly populated by Kartvelians (specifically, Mingrelians), should be split from it and reassigned to his new 'Republic of Georgia'. The Abkhazians would manifestly have trouble accepting this northward transfer of the immediate target for terrorist activity from Gal to Ochamchira, when they did, after all, effectively win the war that was inflicted upon them. They would, however, welcome the fact that their (and South Ossetia's) relationship with Tbilisi 'would assume, predominantly, a confederal nature' (p. 175).

However, this is not the place to examine in detail the pros and cons of each individual suggestion, and, in the final analysis, only the players themselves can do this. All I would say is that, if Georgia can be persuaded of the advantages to all concerned of restructuring itself along federal lines, why not take an even more radical step and include as one of the separate regions the western province of Mingrelia? Potier does not consider this, but I would deem it essential (a) to head off potential problems for Tbilisi that have threatened to



raise their heads here more than once over recent years; (b) to help preserve the Mingrelian language; and (c) to give Abkhazia that extra confidence which a revival of the role of buffer-zone historically played by Mingrelia would surely provide.

Despite the above-mentioned omission, Potier does make many extremely pertinent observations on his chosen conflicts and how they have been handled by a largely poorly informed international community. The merit of the book is that it brings fresh ideas for negotiations that are in severe danger of losing momentum. In considering the ideas proposed, interested parties might also like to take account of somewhat parallel views expressed in another new publication devoted exclusively to the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, namely *Federal practice* (edited by Bruno Coppieters, David Darchiashvili and Natella Akaba, 2000).

GEORGE HEWITT

BRUNO COPPIETERS, DAVID DARCHIASHVILI and NATELLA AKABA (ed.): *Federal practice: exploring alternatives for Georgia and Abkhazia*. 281 pp. Brussels: VUB University Press, 2000. £19.70.

Belgian historian Bruno Coppieters has for some time taken a keen interest in the disputes that have scarred the Caucasus since the end of the 1980s and is currently preparing a booklet on them for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He edited *Contested borders in the Caucasus* (1996), which concentrated on the role of the major powers in the region. In June 1997 the European Commission funded a Brussels conference that enabled him to bring together scholars from the two sides. The papers were subsequently edited by Coppieters, the Kartvelian Gia Nodia, and the Abkhazian Yuri Anchabadze for publication in both Russian and English editions (*Georgians and Abkhazians: the search for a peace settlement*). The present volume, published in a Russian version in 1999, contains the papers from the follow-up gathering in November 1997.

Apart from the introduction, the book is divided into six sections:

1. International Perspectives, which consists only of Coppieters' own survey of 'Western security policies and the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict'. I have already had occasion to criticize the use of one particular phrase by Coppieters and must do so again—this is his reference to ethnic cleansing when he here asserts: 'The Abkhaz side could only consolidate its military victory by changing the demographic balance in the republic through ethnic cleansing' (p. 25). Since there is ample evidence to demonstrate that the vast majority of those Kartvelians who fled from Abkhazia after their forces' defeat in September 1993 did so prior to the arrival of any of the Abkhazian or allied fighters, what justification can there be for continuing unjustifiably to use this emotive expression?

2. European Experiences, under which heading the other editors present a Georgian and an

Abkhazian perspective on Switzerland's federal arrangements. Darchiashvili feels the model is useful, but that it is too early to attempt applying it, whilst Akaba's view is that imperialism can masquerade under federalism's cloak, so that re-establishing ties between Abkhazia and Georgia must be predicated on the prior construction of a worthy civil society and true democracy in the region. Alexei Zverev muses on the lessons Abkhazia and Georgia might draw from Moscow's treaty with Tatarstan, whilst Nikolay Petrov looks at cases of 'Shared sovereignty Russian style' ['stule' in the running-header!], though the glaring example of Chechnya, especially in light of Putin's cynical rekindling of this human catastrophe for electoral purposes, hardly suggests that Russia, a significant proportion of whose population holds distinctly racist views about the denizens of the Caucasus, has a great deal to teach indigenous Caucasians about ordering their relations.

3. Foreign Policies of Federated Entities, wherein Uwe Leonardi considers some concrete cases, and Gocha Lordkipanidze makes a suggestion for a federal Georgian-Abkhazian state.

4. Federalism, Confederalism and Consociationalism, for which Xiaokun Song offers 'Confederalism. A review of recent literature' and Tinatin Khidasheli a short piece entitled 'Federalism and consociationalism. Prospects for Georgian state reform'.

5. The Principles of Territoriality and Personality. Ivlian Haindrava [Khaindrava, surely?] of Georgia's Republican Party proposes to divide Abkhazia into predominantly Abkhazian and Kartvelian regions, roughly north-west and south-east of Sukhum, respectively. The problem, of course, is the fact that 39,000 Abkhazians out of their pre-war total of 93,000 would be left in the Kartvelian sector. Knowing that it was part of the nationalists' plan, as advocated by the then-leading lights, Merab K'ost'ava and Zviad Gamsakhurdia, both now dead, to divide Abkhazia along the river Gumista (north of Sukhum) when their agitation made Sukhum and Ochamchira the scenes of fatal ethnic clashes in July 1989, the Abkhazians are unlikely to have any truck with such retouched dividing lines today. In direct contrast, Maarten Theo Jans ponders the viability for Abkhazia of the Belgian combination of regional government working in tandem with ethnically proportioned local (community-)councils—a complex structure, but then Abkhazia is a complex case.

6. Constitutional Models, a section devoted entirely to Viacheslav Chirikba's thoughtful proposals, which combine federal and confederal characteristics, for constitutional arrangements between Abkhazia and the centre (in Tbilisi) of some future Common State, which he leaves so designated. He recognizes that special provisions will also have to be made for Ajaria and South Ossetia but naturally does not address these when speaking to a forum concerned only with Abkhazia. Exclusively Abkhazian competences and those for the Common State are clearly set out and justified. Chirikba was aware of the scheme put forward by Tim Potier (*Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia. A legal appraisal*,

The Hague, 2001), and it is constructive to compare the two sets of proposals. Chirikba, a native Abkhazian now resident in Holland, does not go as far as Potier in advocating any redrawing of Abkhazia's south-eastern border with Mingrelia, and yet even this offering was not universally well received in Abkhazia, which indicates just how difficult resolving this knotty issue is going to be. A further complication is that Abkhazia finally declared independence on 12 October 1999, which places any discussion on (con)federation with/in Georgia under an even larger question mark.

Elsewhere in his chapter Chirikba rightly stresses that, contrary to how the Georgian-Abkhazian war is often portrayed either in deliberately misleading statements from Tbilisi or in ignorant western pronouncements, this was never a war of secession—Abkhazia

responded to armed aggression and won a *de facto* independence. Echoing an observation in the introduction when Coppeters asks why those Westerners who have concerned themselves for Georgia's (and usually not Abkhazia's) fate have displayed, often despite relevant experiences at home, no apparent interest in urging the sides to come to some sort of federative *modus vivendi*, Chirikba alludes to the role that could usefully be played by 'non-partisan international mediators and guarantors'—the difficulty lies in the distinct pro-Georgian (?pro-Shevardnadze) bias displayed by most of the international players, who are largely new to the area and have little understanding of the subtleties of the situation on the ground, not only in this conflict but across the Caucasus as a whole.

GEORGE HEWITT

## SOUTH ASIA

RICHARD SALOMON: *A Gāndhārī version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5B. With a contribution by Andrew Glass.* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 1.) xvii, 234 pp., 8 pl. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2000.

The earliest South Asian literary manuscripts, dating from about the first century A.D., have been preserved in eastern Afghanistan, thanks to a local practice of interring them in jars when well past their prime. The Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project of the British Library and University of Washington (Seattle) has undertaken the task of unrolling, reconstructing, and deciphering some of these congealed birch-bark scrolls in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gandhārī Prakrit orthography. Following closely upon his preliminary description of the British Library collection in *Ancient Buddhist scrolls from Gandhāra* (1999), Richard Salomon has now provided, together with excellent facsimiles, an edition of one of the best preserved texts, a set of verses corresponding to *Khaggavisānasutta*, the 'Rhinoceros Sūtra' of Khuddakānikāya. Studies of fragments corresponding to texts from Ekottarāgama, Dharmapada, Avadāna, and Abhidharma are currently being prepared by other participants in the project.

The survival of much of an Uddāna index of verses, and the use of fibre-optic light to reveal a few obscured syllables, have made possible a painstaking reconstruction of this Gandhārī '*Khargaviṣāna*' text, remarkably instructive in spite of the disintegration of the third pāda of most verses (where textual variation is particularly prevalent). It differs strikingly from the Pālī in its readings. These tend to be in agreement with Sanskrit versions, and seem to pose no very serious threat to the authenticity of the Pālī tradition in this respect.

The very different arrangement of its verses may be another matter. Salomon notes that,

by comparison with the Pālī, the Gandhārī may well attest an early stage in the process of 'standardization and canonization' (p. 48), but his impression of homogeneity (p. 41, end) and his objection to the reconstruction of an *Urtext*, at least in the present state of knowledge, make him disinclined to pursue this aspect of the matter.

He takes the opportunity to survey, comprehensively and critically, the secondary literature bearing on the text's antiquity and importance. Its modest size has made it possible to compile complete dossiers of the physical disintegration of the manuscript (before and after interment); its orthography, phonology, and grammar; and the 'patterns of variation' that are discernible in the wording of the text. Andrew Glass has contributed a pioneering study of its penmanship, as a basis for the identification of damaged letters and for confirmation of its dating. This includes a valuable table depicting all the attested syllables.

Salomon rightly urges the rendering 'Rhinoceros' for '*Khargaviṣāna*', in preference to 'Rhinoceros Horn'. He is willing to concede a fundamentally punning intent (p. 13), although this would obscure both the image of the solitary grazing rhinoceros and (if it occurs at all outside the imagination of later compilers and commentators) that of the uniqueness of the Indian rhinoceros's horn. The later commentators have, however, somewhat unnecessarily made nonsense of the Niddesa (Nidd II E° 129) by correlating its phrase 'like it' with 'horn' rather than 'rhinoceros': 'As the rhinoceros has (*khaggassa hoti*) one single horn (*visānam*), so like it (*tassadiṣo*) one should conduct oneself (*loke car-*) alone rid-of-encumbrances (*muttabandhano*)'.

The Niddesa can be attempting here to combine the text's rational meaning with an explanation of *khaggaviṣāna* 'rhinoceros' as 'one-horned *khagga*', hence in effect 'one should be minimally encumbered like the one-horned rhinoceros'. The explanation agrees with the opening verses of both Pālī and Gandhārī, which proscribe not the society of

one companion, but that of a plurality of companions. Nevertheless, the phrase *eko care* shows that the idea of solitary perambulation is paramount.

Its postulation of a neuter *viṣāna* is as suspect as the imputed sense 'one single horn'. Feminine *viṣānā*, possibly also *viṣānakā* (Whitney-Lanman, at AV 6.44.3), was used to denote 'hardshorn' as a medicinal substance (AV 3.7.1), with explicit etymological reference to the fact that the antlers are regularly shed (AV 6.121.1). The evidence (*EWA*, I, 443f) suggests that there was an indigenous word for 'rhinoceros', of which NPers. *karg*, *kargadan* (Steingass), *karkadān* (*EWA*), Greek *kar[<sup>\*</sup>k]a-zōnos* (or read *kar[<sup>\*</sup>g]a-* for attested *κάρτα-*?), Gandhari *khargavis[ā]ṇa* and Skt. *khāḍga*, *khāḍgaviṣāna* are all adaptations. This tends to imply that *viṣānā* was introduced into the animal's name by analogy with antler mythology; and Gandhari (with its voiced sibilants) would be the likely source of the extended forms in Persian and Greek. The word would then be on a par with Skt. *mrganābhi* and Mh. Pkt. *migapuccha* (*BSOAS*, 62/3, 1999, 533f.), which signify either the musk-deer or musk itself. Salomon's insistence that the attested Gandhari *kharga-* is an artificial spelling (p. 77, etc), as compared with Pali *khagga*, needs to be modified.

He infers a 'pattern of interrelationship and influence' (p. 18) between the Gandhari text and the Dhammapada and Sn *Aṭṭhakavagga*, and he shows that these have probably influenced the Gandhari reading in several cases. Where it is a question of the arrangement of the verses, however, it may be the Pali version that is at fault. It is suggested (p. 17) that Pa. 31 and 23 have become contiguous in Ga. 12–13 in acknowledgement of the fact that Sn 774ab shares phrases with both; but it seems equally possible that the more original sequence is preserved in Gandhari and in *Aṭṭhakavagga*. The contiguity of similar phrases in Dhp 331bc and Ga. 34f contrasts with their arbitrary dispersal in Pa. 8 and 40.

Despite the doubts expressed on p. 47, the fact that the Gandhari text is marginally shorter than the Pali may also tell in favour of the authenticity of its structure. Salomon has shown (p. 197f.) that it had 40 verses, presented as four sets of ten; and it is able to support its structure with an Uddāna index of 40 verse-openings. The Pali text in Sn has 41 verses; and the later Apadāna compilation offers 42 verses, by including both the Sn and Gandhari versions of the initial verse.

The Sanskritized text in *Mahāvastu* makes out of the same initial verse a complete framework, with the Gandhari reading represented in its verses 2–3, and the Sn reading duplicated in its concluding verses 11–12. It has been understood to attest 500 verses, but seems rather to offer a demonstration that any given verse of the original may be multiplied with slight variations in order to provide individual enlightenment for 500 'Pratyekabuddhas' (*sarvā khāḍgaviṣānagāthā vistareṇa kartavyā ...*).

The volume includes both the Pali and 'Sanskrit' versions of the 'Rhinceros Sūtra', with full critical apparatus, and a Gandhari word index. An associated Kharoshti fragment

bearing a dozen or so words from some other unidentified manuscript is edited in an appendix. Two misprints may be noted, if only for their extreme scarcity value in an important and immaculate publication: p. 38, line 8 from end, refers to Appendix 3 in lieu of Appendix 2; and p. 152, line 8, has F 12 for F 13.

The remarkable success of the rescue and conservation by British Library staff, and of the decipherment and reconstruction by the team in Seattle, holds a promise of yet more revolutionary insights into the construction and meaning of the earliest Buddhist texts, with opportunities to identify more certainly, and to appreciate more directly, the intentions and the skills of the poets.

J. C. WRIGHT

RONALD INDEN, JONATHAN WALTERS and DAUD ALI (ed.): *Querying the medieval: texts and the history of practices in South Asia*. 235 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. £32.50.

This book contains three substantial essays dealing with the history and texts of South Asia between the sixth and twelfth centuries. As the title indicates, the authors have attempted to re-think these centuries in significant ways and to write new histories of the post-Gupta period. The result is stimulating, challenging and, in the final analysis, important. However much we may take issue with specific points or the handling of certain themes, this is a book which historians of medieval India will find difficult to ignore.

The book focuses on different geographical areas, dynasties, texts and religious dispensations, but forms a coherent whole. This is due to the fact that the contributors share a methodological and theoretical position, the most important aspects of which are: (1) that texts in South Asia are not static descriptions of external historical realities but were part of a 'scale of texts', that is, they were composed and re-worked in response to other texts and a variety of surrounding historical events; (2) that texts not only articulated and responded to particular circumstances but were part of the process by which situations were constituted, that is, texts were seen as having a power to create new social, religious and historical realities; (3) that texts were not composed by single individuals in the modernist sense but were produced by 'complex authors', that is, a tangle of sages, scholars, scribes, readers and listeners, all of whom, directly or indirectly, helped shape the texts that are preserved for us to study. To support this theoretical framework, the authors cite Collingwood, Vološinov, Barthes, Foucault and others. In addition to these shared theoretical principles, the present volume is held together by the idea of 'imperial formation', an historical model developed by Inden to explain the political constitution of India from the Gupta period to the rise of the Sultanate.

Within this framework Inden, in the first essay 'Imperial Purāṇas: Kashmir as Vaiṣṇava

center of the world', argues that the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāna* (*VDhP*) was a key text of the Pāñcarātrins who developed this massive compilation to achieve a number of ends, principally to absorb and surpass Vedic forms of ritual, to assert the supremacy of the Pāñcarātra 'disciplinary order', to forge a special relationship with the Kārkoṭa Nāga dynasty of Kashmir and, through all this, to establish a new vision of the world in which a huge temple of Vaikuṅtha, the special form of Viṣṇu venerated by the Pāñcarātrins, would stand at the centre of a Kārkoṭa imperial formation embracing all of India. In cultural, historical and religious terms, the Pāñcarātrin's was no small achievement and Inden's description of it is likewise. His arguments about how the *VDhP* construed its relationship to a 'scale of texts', that is, the orthodox traditions that the 'complex author' of the *VDhP* felt obliged variously to accommodate, critique or ignore, are themselves complex and carefully constructed. The implications of Inden's work for the study of medieval India are many. One interesting point to emerge is that the Pāñcarātra campaign to establish temple building and image worship as the central concern of Indian society was a salient cultural marker of the seventh and eighth centuries and one which particularly distinguishes this period from that of the Guptas.

The second chapter in this book, by Walters, is entitled 'Buddhist history: the Sri Lankan Pāli Vāṃsas and their commentary'. In this stimulating essay, Walters attempts to situate the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa* and *Vāṃsatthappakāsinī* (*VAP*) in their political, social and religious milieu. Here the idea of a 'scale of texts', beginning with the earliest canon but more particularly with the *Buddhavaṃsa*, shows itself to be an especially effective analytical tool. Walters demonstrates, convincingly in my view, that the *Vāṃsa* texts articulated specific phases in the long conflict between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagīrivihāra at Anurādhapura, a conflict which the 'complex authors' of the *Vāṃsa* texts were able to turn into a struggle for the control of history. The *Vāṃsa* texts could be described as being concerned with the politics of authenticity, because the question of which school or 'disciplinary order' was the authentic heir of the first Buddha *saṅgha* ultimately determined which order was worthy of royal protection and patronage. The triumph of the Mahāvihāra turned not just on historical matters but also on the way in which the 'complex author' used the *VAP* to articulate the imperial ambitions of the Okkāka dynasty. Here there seems to be a parallel to what the Pāñcarātrins were attempting in Kashmir, a parallel not explored in this volume but one which suggests that this was part of a significant change in the ideology of South Asian kingship. As with Inden's essay, the arguments in this chapter are nuanced and intricate; the digressions and footnotes are a mine of interesting references and information.

The ambitions of the Okkākas brought them into alliance and conflict with the dynasties of south India, their most notable encounter being with the Cōlas. This takes us to the final chapter, by Daud Ali, 'Royal eulogy as world history: rethinking copper-plate inscriptions in

Cōla India'. This essay deals with an astonishing set of thirty-one sheets of copper, weighing nearly two-hundred pounds and engraved with 816 lines of writing. This is the largest set of copper-plates ever found and one of the most extraordinary documents relating to medieval India. Ali persuasively argues, however, that this is much more than a simple 'document'. By restricting themselves to the documentary aspect of this and other inscriptions, historians have, in Ali's view, missed much of what they have to offer. In addition to recording a complicated property transaction, the plates give information about the composition, distribution and use of texts; more interestingly the plates also provide an imperial history which articulates the Cōla's understanding of their place in the world. The 'scale of texts' Ali explores begins with the Purānas and ends with inscriptional eulogies (*praśasti*), the link between the two being made by genealogies which traced the Solar descent of the Cōlas and the Lunar descent of their rivals. The case for reading inscriptions as texts or inscriptions with texts is not, I think, something with which anyone would take issue, yet indologists have had to struggle to bridge the epigraphic-textual divide. Some effort to address this problem has been made recently, notably by G. Schopen and K. Trainor in their analysis of Buddhist material. Ali's essay is a landmark in this regard, for it takes us into a period in which there are a substantial number of inscriptional texts with which to work.

MICHAEL WILLIS

LEONARD C. D. C. PRIESTLEY:  
*Pudgalavāda Buddhism: the reality of the indeterminate self*. 225 pp.  
Toronto: Centre for South Asian Studies, 1999.

This work explores the interpretations and meaning of the doctrine of the *pudgala* 'self' as maintained by those Buddhist schools subsumed under the name of Pudgalavādins. Given the almost universal acceptance by other Buddhist schools of the doctrine of *anātma* it is interesting to see how the Pudgalavādin doctrine of the *pudgala* found a place within Buddhism. From as early as the third century B.C.E., up to the twelfth century C.E., the Pudgalavādin schools flourished in India. They were by no means a minor group, forming perhaps as many as a quarter of all monks in India during the seventh century C.E., according to the Chinese monk and historian Hsuan-tsang.

The author begins with a definition of the doctrine of *anātma* 'non-self', using the Pāli nikāyas to elaborate the concept of *ātman* in early Buddhism. He then considers the origin of the Pudgalavādins and their possible founder. The different kinds of specialists, such as the *vinaya-dhara*, *sutta-dhara* and *vipassanā-dhara* traditions, who would have had their own perspectives on what was important in the Buddha's teaching, are shown to be examples of the inherent diversity of approach in the Buddhist tradition. The author points to the



problem of the absence of any central authority in Buddhism and proposes that this may have led to the emergence of divergent views. The term Pudgalavādin is shown to be an appellation applied to a group of five schools that stem from the Sthaviras. The Vātsīputriyas, perhaps founded by the teacher Vatsīputra, was the first of these schools that came to be classed as Pudgalavādins.

The basic doctrine of the Vātsīputriya school, which distinguishes it from the other Buddhist schools, concerns the concept of the *pudgala*. For the other Buddhist schools this concept is considered to be a conventional usage of the term that has no ultimate referent or significance, it is merely a conventional way of referring to the five *skandhas* 'aggregates' as a group of *dharmas* collectively. For the Vātsīputriyas, however, the *pudgala* is an ultimately existent entity that is indeterminate, that is to say it is neither the same as nor different from the five *skandhas*. The author points out the difficulty for the modern scholar of dealing with these historical and doctrinal issues when he says (p. 41): 'We have a natural tendency to regard the views of the Pudgalavāda as anomalous'. Our contemporary understanding of the Pudgalavādin doctrines is based on historical accidents in the textual transmission of the texts of the Buddhist schools.

The textual sources for the study fall under three headings. First, the three surviving Pudgalavādin treatises in Chinese translation: the *Sāmmītiya-nikāya-śāstra*, *Tridharmakhandaka*, and the *Vinayadvāvimśatīvyakti*. Second, the summary of the Pudgalavādin doctrines contained in the different accounts of the formation of the schools, the *Samaya-bheda-uparacanacakra* that survives in Chinese and Tibetan, and the *Nikāya-bheda-vibhanga-vyākhyāna* and the *Samaya-bheda-uparacanacakra nikāya-bhedopadarśanasamgraha* also surviving only in Tibetan translation. The third class of source texts are the polemical works, the *Vijñānakāya* in Chinese, and the *Kathavatthu* in Pali being the earliest of these. Ten later *śāstra* and commentarial works surviving in Chinese, Tibetan or Sanskrit have been utilized in his study. The author discusses the problems of the three types of source text, concluding that the first group lacks any full or coherent presentation of the *pudgala* doctrine; the second group consists of particular interpretations of the Pudgalavādin doctrines by other schools; and the works of the third group are for the most part overtly polemical treatises.

Priestley's discussion of the concept of the *pudgala* in Buddhist thought examines exactly how the *pudgala* was presented and defined by the Pudgalavādins, and by other schools and commentators, over a long period of Buddhist history. The essential role of the *pudgala* for the Pudgalavādins is as sufferer of *karma* and subject of rebirth. This is how the Pudgalavādins solve the problems—of retribution of actions and continuity between lives—that they perceived in Buddhist philosophy. The Pudgalavādins postulated the *pudgala* as a self that was inexpressible, in that it cannot be said to be the same as, nor different from, the five *skandhas*. This was anathema to the other Buddhist schools, and extracts from their

texts show where they disagreed with the Pudgalavādins. The author admits that some of the key Chinese source texts are difficult to interpret in many sections, and that there is consequently considerable doubt as to the precise meaning of many passages. He does, however, offer some interesting hypotheses by way of an attempt to determine the different understandings of the various usages of the terms in the texts.

The philosophical status of the *pudgala* is discussed by focusing on the way in which the Pudgalavādins considered the *pudgala* to exist. The Pudgalavādins are shown to have defined the *pudgala* as being true and ultimate, substantial, conceptual and indeterminate. The author proposes (p. 87) a three-stage development of the Pudgalavādin concept of *pudgala*: first, that they began with a *pudgala* that was true and ultimate; second, that they underwent a change where it was considered neither conceptual nor substantial; and third, concluded that it was substantial but indeterminate. The overall conclusion drawn here presents a novel solution to the question of how exactly the *pudgala* was viewed by the Pudgalavādins at different points in their history.

The author's intention is not to give a full survey of the history and doctrines of the Pudgalavādins, but to focus on their conception of *pudgala*. This study represents a valid attempt to reconstruct and interpret the doctrine of the *pudgala*, perhaps the most contentious in the history of Indian Buddhism. He has been at pains to give as accurate a representation of the Pudgalavādin school doctrines as possible. The result is an interesting survey of the source materials dealing with the central doctrines of that school which will have relevance until such time as other texts are discovered that shed more light on this lost Buddhist school. What also comes to light in his study are the ways in which the teachings were understood by a range of different schools over a considerable period of time. The author is fully aware of the sectarian, fragmentary and polemical nature of the texts that form the basis of this study, and is careful to distinguish between the various approaches to the Pudgalavādins.

SEAN GAFFNEY

ROGER MARCAURELLE: *Freedom through inner renunciation: Śaṅkara's philosophy in a new light.* 269 pp. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000.

The book under review, by Roger Marcaurelle, is indeed a welcome addition to the ongoing *Advaita Vedānta* scholarship. Considering the vast number of books available on the subject, one may very well ask 'Do we need another book on *Advaita Vedānta* like the one under review here?' My answer is a resounding 'Yes'. This book deals with a basic issue in *Advaita Vedānta*, i.e. whether or not physical renunciation (PR) or *saṁnyāsa* is a *sine qua non* for liberation. The author focuses on this topic in

each of his chapters and comes to the conclusion that ‘inner renunciation’ or renunciation of doership is what leads to self-realization and not just PR. He first lays out the controversy in chapter i and through chapters ii to viii leads us through a step-by-step study of PR in different contexts in *Advaita Vedānta*.

Chapter ii first mentions the four possible ways in which renunciation is understood in *Advaita Vedānta* (p. 15). These are: PR, which is the popular understanding of the seeker being a *saṃnyāsīn* or monk; renunciation of rewards of action; meditative renunciation; and renunciation of doership which is also sometimes known as ‘renunciation of the sense of ego’. Marcaurelle is perceptive when he draws a distinction between ‘renunciation of doership’ being a state of the self-knower and its not being ‘an action of renunciation’ (p. 19).

Chapter iii situates PR in five different contexts; the first three are: (1) immediate self-knowledge is the only direct means to liberation; (2) brahmins alone are qualified for *saṃnyāsa*; (3) the enlightened person is beyond scriptural injunctions. These are associated with Śaṅkara in the tradition. The author adds two further points and argues that: (4) in Śaṅkara’s view all persons, irrespective of their mode of living, are eligible for self-knowledge; and (5) that Śaṅkara was not emphatic about liberation being available only to a physical renunciant (p. 21). Śaṅkara’s view that direct knowledge of the self is the sole cause of liberation is very well argued in this section and is supported by Upaniṣadic texts and the *Brahmasūtra* (pp. 23–8). But is PR a necessary indirect means for everyone or not (p. 29)? The author points out, on the basis of many readings, that PR is not a necessary indirect means for liberation in all cases. He uses examples of ancient kings like Janaka, cited also by Śaṅkara, to underline the fact that one need not be a *saṃnyāsīn* in order to gain self-knowledge. However, the fact that Śaṅkara proposes two explanations for Janaka’s enlightenment in *Bhagavadgītā* (Gītā) 3.20 (p. 40) does undermine the absolute claim of self-knowledge being accessible while not being a physical renunciant.

The next question is whether brahmins alone are eligible for PR, as we find in Śaṅkara’s comment on *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (Br.Up) (p. 41), and in the *Upadeśasāhasī* (p. 32). Does this preclude the possibility of PR for others? Śaṅkara gives no clear-cut answer to this question (pp. 33–4). The author presents a wealth of material to arrive at the conclusion that Śaṅkara is not consistent in his prescription of PR only for brahmins and also as a means to self-realization (pp. 34–5). It is important to note, however, that it is not the consistency but the presence of some of these explicit prescriptions by Śaṅkara, even if only a few of them, which have led to the later confusion of the restriction of liberation only to those of the monastic order. Trying to reconcile those utterances with his perception, the author states that Śaṅkara understood his teaching to be accessible to all castes, but for different reasons ‘he may have taught mainly to brahmins, who were probably most qualified to understand the subtle argumentation of his revival ... and most competent to spread it throughout society once

converted to his doctrine’ (p. 39). It would help to bear in mind that Śaṅkara has a difficult task in balancing his convictions with what he finds in the ‘*prasthānastrayī* texts’ as well as the customs prevalent in society. His own example of becoming a PR and then pursuing the path of knowledge makes one inclined to believe that society at his time believed in PR as a prerequisite for liberation. As Śaṅkara was only commenting on situations already given as *faits accomplis* such as the Uddālaka Aruṇi episode in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (Chānd.Up) (3.11.40) or Chānd.Up (5.11.1) where brahmin householders approach a king as teacher who is himself already liberated, he only had limited freedom to introduce his own conviction in them. We could perhaps distinguish two Śaṅkaras here: one who has his conviction exemplified in his own life and the other who is a liberal interpreter of the *prasthānastrayī* texts. There are a number of occasions on which Śaṅkara emerges as a liberal interpreter and the author ably points these out in chapters iii to viii.

Chapters v to viii (pp. 55–161) subject PR to rigorous examination in different contexts. The author tries to elucidate the meanings of crucial words associated with PR like *adhikāra* (pp. 41–4), *niṣṭhā*, or steadiness in connection with action as opposed to steadiness in knowledge (pp. 83–104), *parivrāt* (p. 136), *saṃnyāsa*, *sarvakarmasaṃnyāsa*, *saṃnyāsīn*, *yati* (p. 148), etc. and establishes that Śaṅkara himself is in part responsible for the confusion of combining PR with the emergence of self-knowledge as a prerequisite (p. 161). In each chapter, the author is able to make the case, based on evidence from many textual sources, that Śaṅkara understood ‘renunciation of doership’ and not just PR, when he spoke of renunciation.

Chapter ix, on post-Śaṅkara *Advaita Vedānta*, takes us through the works of the major writers who, in the way they understood or misunderstood Śaṅkara, were primarily responsible for the understanding of PR being a *sine qua non* for self-realization. The author briefly examines the *prakāraṇagranthas* (secondary texts) attributed to Śaṅkara as well as the works of Śaṅkara’s four main disciples, and also the later commentators in the tradition. This chapter succinctly summarizes the topic of PR *vis-à-vis* self-knowledge, and also points out that not all the commentators have been faithful to the spirit of Śaṅkara’s approach to PR. His remark that the opposition between action and direct self-knowledge in Śaṅkara slowly changed into an opposition ‘between a *yoga* of action (*karmayoga*) with hardly any proximate means of knowledge for householders, and a *yoga* of knowledge (*jñāna yoga*) with its reserved discipline of knowledge and liberation for monks alone’ (p. 213) is insightful.

As for the methodology for understanding PR, the author ‘first considered a typology of renunciation’ (p. 209) and was able to arrive at the concept of ‘renunciation of doership’ as the one that best fits Śaṅkara’s understanding of the means to liberation (p. 209). This new interpretation opens up a different way of living in the world in accordance with *Advaita Vedānta*. For too long the tradition of associating PR with *Advaita Vedānta* has frightened

the common person who, though inclined spiritually towards *karmayoga* as spelt out in the *Gītā* was, however, put out by the popular perception that only a PR can attain liberation. This has special significance for women and for those who do not come within the purview of the three *varnas*. This work has thus been able to free the stranglehold of PR as a *sine qua non* for liberation in *Advaita Vedānta* and is a refreshing approach to the topic. This conclusion is not arbitrary but has been arrived at after a close examination of relevant texts and also through an 'intra-textual analysis' (p. 209) of Śaṅkara's commentaries. It therefore carries the weight of evidence behind it.

The style and methodology the author adopts for presenting his thesis is highly commendable. There is no ambiguity in what he wants to say and he says it very well with a profusion of textual evidence. The method of starting each chapter with a summary of its intentions and then concluding with relevant findings is indeed helpful for anyone who has had a taste of how difficult traversing Sanskrit commentarial works can be. Sometimes the discussion is also kept in focus by providing tables of contents. The aim throughout is to see whether the understanding of renunciation as 'renunciation of doership' was Śaṅkara's intended meaning for renunciation.

This book deals with a knotty problem which, in some cases, cannot be uniformly interpreted. Some passages like Chānd.Up. 2.23.1, Br.Up. 1.4.17, 4.4.22, Mūṇḍaka Upaniṣad 1.2.11, and *Gītā* verses 3.3, 5.5, 18.49 as well as Śaṅkara's own lengthy introduction to chapter five of the *Gītā* cannot be easily resolved one way or the other. But as Gadamer would say 'one understands differently when one understands at all' (*Philosophical Hermeneutics*, xxv). Thus this new understanding is perhaps closest to *Advaita Vedānta*, a philosophy of 'non-dualism'.

The copious notes for every chapter, the exhaustive bibliography and the index make this book indeed a valuable addition to the field of Hindu thought and I would strongly recommend it to every student and scholar of *Advaita Vedānta*.

TRICHUR RUKMANI

TAPAN RAYCHAUDHURI: *Perceptions, emotions, sensibilities: essays on India's colonial and post-colonial sensibilities*. xiv, 245 pp. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999. £20.

The essays and papers in this collection have for the most part been published in anthologies or presented as papers during the 1990s at various universities or research organizations in India, the UK and the USA. It is nevertheless possible to isolate significant similarities between them. The author argues that, at least for Western educated colonial subjects of 'India', contact with the West and with the colonial experience was a catalytic adventure that did far more than initiate a simple process

of Westernization or even a more complex cultural assimilation and synthesis. Rather, this interaction introduced changes which acquired a striking autonomy, resulting in new ways of thinking and emoting, all of which were fundamentally different from both the affects and sensibilities of the 'indigenous' tradition as well as from those that ordered Western civilization.

Almost all of the essays in this book deal with those colonial subjects who encountered Western civilization through their education in the new centres of higher learning. They framed their numerous, often essentialist, opinions on Western culture and politics through their interactions with the British and British institutions of rule, and through their increasingly common travels to Europe. Raychaudhuri demonstrates how this colonial élite, in its tireless striving for a better understanding of Western culture, learnt to acknowledge the importance of rational logic in European attitudes to knowledge, the centrality of the nation state in Western political culture, and to recognize that the pursuit of material pleasure permitted a greater fulfilment of individual potential. But, building on Orientalist constructions of the values embedded in Asian civilizations, came their simultaneous denigration of Western vices which, they believed, would invariably lead to cultural decay, an anomistic hedonism and insuperable social inequalities.

Nestling amid these varied responses was, most significantly, the curious ambivalence with which this Indian élite turned upon its own traditions and customs. 'The fact of defeat' which, according to the author, was part of the colonized élite's daily experience, conflicted with the need for cultural self-assertion and a genuine affection and regard for the inherited values and systems which informed the lives of this section of the population. These tensions are illustrated in a wide array of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literary productions by Harinarayan Apte, Keshub Chandra Sen and Rabindranath Tagore. The changing sensibilities associated with family life saw the very structures of the joint family come under deep introspection. While politics do not usually inform people's 'love lives', the colonial context produced a new emotionalism, one that caused educated Bengalis to believe they would triumph over 'the humiliations of political subjection in the serene and transcendent experience of their love life' (p. 89). The intellectual turmoil over Christianity and the ongoing threat of conversion, an exploration of the treatment of women, the deep yearning for romantic love, and changes in attitudes towards marriage, sex and in understandings of the relationships between husbands and their wives were just a few of the developments and changes in perspective generated by the sentimental and intellectual revolutions of this period.

With time, the nineteenth-century conviction that reason and rationality were the panacea for all 'indigenous' social and cultural problems was replaced by a new emotionalism, one which informed both the mounting religious interrogation as exemplified by Rammohan Roy, and the confidence in Indian

nationhood as depicted in the works of Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay. The resulting expression of Indian political consciousness reflected the selective agenda of Bengal and western India's literary élite, a conflicting and sometimes contradictory assertion which may be best explained in the context of the increased emotionalism and sensitivity of the time. Raychaudhuri is keen to emphasize the ultimate independence of these impassioned developments. For instance he argues that though the emotional expression of Gandhian Satyagraha can be seen to be Christian in its formulation, its unprecedented attempt to bring political action within the fold of spiritual and ethical quests illustrates the creation of a unique agenda that was specifically different from political models in both India and the West.

The other essays in this book are more varied. Focusing on the vast areas of agreement in the political and social opinions of Tagore and Gandhi, Raychaudhuri argues that these similarities stem from their common need to comprehend—ethically and intellectually—the humiliation of the colonial experience. Arguing in another essay that the fascist doctrine of Hindutva politics and the Hindu state have seeped into the place vacated by the composite nationalism of an earlier secular and rationally oriented state, the author hints at the connection between the religious politics forged in a period of heightened emotionalism and its conflictual place in a modern nation state. The essay encapsulating the historiography of India from 1858 to 1937 boldly accuses earlier traditions for failing to pay attention to non-rational factors like 'frustration, a pervasive feeling of humiliation and the need for cultural self assertion' (p. 176), all of which were fundamental in shaping the subjectivity of Europe's colonized élite. Learning to sympathize with the 'mind' of the colonized élite is, according to the author, a valuable purpose for new forms of history.

Raychaudhuri emphasizes the sharp discontinuities between the perceptions and sensibilities in this period of affective ferment and those of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But it is curious that he can so easily extend the sense of inferiority that informed the mental turmoil of his subjects to 'India'. Rejecting a theory of hegemony for this idea of catalytic and ultimately independent cultural change, the author refrains from explaining how perceptions of humiliation can spread amongst a population so severely stratified by the very modes of contact that spawned these transformative experiences. believing that 'our forefathers' (p. 97) were the emotional victims of colonialism renders the masculine and élitist ancestry of the postcolonial subject remarkably irrelevant. Finally, the theory of 'Indian' responses to 'European' or Western civilization remains inadequate without some recognition of the manner in which so-called European ideas were themselves transformed by this interaction. Instead of reifying terms like East and West, studies of the colonial encounter should provide us with a new vocabulary for recognizing that apparently Eastern, marginal or colonized societies actually provided the most fertile ground for the realization of

sensibilities and affects that rapidly became universal.

SHEFALI CHANDRA

K. SIVARAMAKRISHNAN: *Modern forests: statemaking and environmental change in colonial Eastern India*. xxx, 341 pp. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. £49.50.

In *Modern forests: statemaking and environmental change in colonial Eastern India*, Sivaramakrishnan provides a wonderfully detailed and locally grounded account of forest management in northern Bengal. Situating his account of Bengal's colonial forest policy within a wider theoretical discourse on statemaking, Sivaramakrishnan seeks to challenge theories that 'locate Europe as the metropolis and grant it an astonishing capacity to disrupt and colonize peripheral societies and ecologies' (p. 14). Instead he emphasizes the influence of local culture, environments and social conflict on colonial forest management, arguing that 'through conflict and cooperation between a differentiated society and a heterogeneous colonial state in the making, rural social relations and colonial power were mutually transformed in Bengal' (pp. 4–5). At the same time, he questions received wisdom about the uniform application of 'scientific forestry' techniques throughout India, highlighting instead the role that struggles over scientific knowledge played in statemaking.

A major emphasis of the book is the importance of a strong regional perspective which allows attention to be drawn to distinct geographies and processes of social organization. Focusing specifically on Bengal, Sivaramakrishnan seeks to examine and question the effectiveness of colonial forest policy in three main spheres. Firstly, he examines it as a set of 'material technologies' for managing trees, grasses and wild animals, and argues that a satisfactory management strategy for Bengal's most valuable tree species was never produced. Secondly, he examines forest policy as a 'legal regime' aimed at appropriating and monopolizing the commercial value of forests, but points out that forest laws were neither uniformly nor rigidly applied. Consequently, regulations on forest use were often successfully contested by local people and relaxed by forest officers. Thirdly, he looks at forest management as a 'system of rational knowledge', but illustrates how its 'scientific pedigree' was often questioned and the 'scientifically desirable' became entangled in arguments between bureaucrats over the most effective system of governance.

*Statemaking and environmental change in colonial Eastern India* is divided into two main parts. In part one, Sivaramakrishnan identifies the ways in which the East India Company set about documenting and controlling India politically, focusing especially on the first ninety years of 'Company raj' when systems of governance were established in woodland Bengal. In particular, the process of statemaking is documented through the stabilization of colonial government in this region, the



initiation of woodland management and the development of paternalistic policies aimed at both protecting and civilizing local tribal populations. He goes on to explore the attempts made by the East India Company both to consolidate its rule and to enhance its revenue in the political frontier of woodland Bengal.

In part two, Sivaramakrishnan concentrates on the period between 1860 and 1947, and focuses on the changes that occurred after the introduction of a formal system of 'scientific' forest management (focused on conservation as well as commercial timber production) coupled with a stronger and more centralizing state. This part offers two major critiques of existing debates on 'forest management and colonialism in Asia'. The first concerns the failure of many historical accounts of forestry in South Asia to acknowledge regional variations in forest management and policy: a situation that produced generalized conclusions about deforestation and 'blanket prescriptions for conservation and restoration of forest health' (p. 23). The second focuses on the way in which scientific forestry has come to be regarded as a rather narrowly defined and static 'received doctrine' with strong roots in both Western science and colonial exploitation: a situation that has often concealed the strong (and changeable) linkages between knowledge and power as well as the many challenges that scientific forest management has received in the face of diverse local populations and ecologies.

More specifically, Sivaramakrishnan illustrates how instead of being implemented uniformly, Bengal's forest policy developed strong regional variations as a result of its attempts to adapt to local socio-cultural and political regimes. He examines the strong but often conflicting and contested linkages between forestry and agriculture and uses examples of fire management and silvicultural working plans to illustrate the emergence of scientific forestry as a regime of both governance and development. He also tracks the continual reinvention of 'development' as a concept and highlights its importance to the process of statemaking in woodland Bengal.

In dealing with the evolution of colonial governance and forest policy in Bengal in such detail, *Statemaking and environmental change in colonial Eastern India* successfully challenges the assumed hegemony and uniformity of 'scientific forestry' in India. The depth with which Sivaramakrishnan has carried out his historical research is admirable and identifies him as a true scholar in the field of colonial policy making in woodland Bengal. Given the complexity and regional specificity of the subject material, however, it is not the easiest book to digest and is likely to be hard going for readers without a strong existing knowledge of India's colonial forest policy. In places, the sheer volume of detail has a tendency to obscure some of the minor arguments.

Nevertheless, Sivaramakrishnan's central critique of the way in which scholars 'frequently conflate policy intent with practical outcome' (p. 243) is clearly articulated and serves as an important lesson for both contemporary and historical research on forest-related as well as wider 'development' policy making. He is persuasive in arguing that forest conservancy

in Bengal had more to do with specific regional and historic experiences than with 'imported European models' (p. 146) and clearly illustrates how scientific forestry remained 'a discourse continually under production' (p. 264). The sections on grazing and the use of fire in sal forests are particularly effective in demonstrating how forest management practices were adapted to take account of local economies and ecologies as well as the needs and knowledges of forest-dependent populations.

SARAH JEWITT

B. G. KARLSSON: *Contested belonging: an indigenous people's struggle for forest and identity in sub-Himalayan Bengal*. xx, 310 pp. Richmond: Curzon, 2000. £40.

This book deals with the changing nature of forest management in northern West Bengal (Duars), India, and the impacts of this on the livelihoods and self-perception of the tribal Rabha community. Karlsson's prime focus is on subaltern resistance and the construction of Rabha identities in response to their 'every day experiences and daily struggles to cope with the mundane necessities of life' (p. 21).

Although the British first set up 'forest villages' within Reserved Forests to house forest labourers, it is only 'agreement holders' (who have inherited the legal right to inhabit these villages) who are permitted to cultivate small amounts of forest land. The others (*faltus*) have no rights in the forest and depend heavily on agreement holders for their subsistence. Since the late 1970s, deforestation in Duars, coupled with a reduction in forest employment and the Forest Department's failure to promote village development, has created major problems for the Rabha. Their livelihoods were further threatened when Duars was classified as an area of 'globally significant biodiversity' and the World Bank established a \$67 million project to promote wildlife (notably tiger) and biodiversity conservation. Indeed, Karlsson argues that the Forest Department would prefer to relocate all forest villagers outside the Reserved Forest, but has been unable to do so for political reasons.

The book is divided into four parts, part one, 'Openings', is largely introductory and provides background material on the Rabha community (notably their supposed transition from matrilinearity to patrilinearity), Karlsson's fieldwork amongst them, and the historical evolution of India's tribal policies. Particular attention is given to the ways in which Rabhas work the system 'to a minimum disadvantage' (J. C. Scott. *Weapons of the weak. Everyday forms of peasant resistance*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1985.)

Part two, 'Tiger, trees and tribals', examines shifting power relations within the forest, and the increasing marginalization of the Rabhas. Starting with an environmental history of the Duars region, Karlsson examines how the British imposition of 'scientific forestry' gradually forced the Rabha to abandon shifting cultivation and become permanent forest

labourers: a situation that changed little until 1971 when the Socialist Forward Bloc introduced a minimum daily wage of 2.5 Rs. a day for forest villagers. In spite of this, he argues that most Rabhas preferred the British colonial government to the present *Bangla sahib* (Bengali Government) as they encountered less corruption and always had enough food. Nowadays, the Rabha complain that they are treated like criminals and have few facilities compared to non-forest villagers. Significantly, the Forest Department's most recent development initiatives (including loans to purchase livestock and undertake weaving) have been largely unsuccessful as the Rabha find it much easier to make money from selling fuelwood.

Karlsson turns next to the severe deforestation that has taken place in Duars since the late 1970s, and the recent efforts that have been made to combat this by emphasizing wildlife and habitat conservation. Although the Forest Department initiated ecodevelopment projects (such as beekeeping) in exchange for forest protection inside the nearby Buxa Tiger Reserve and 'Joint Forest Management' outside it, it has shown little enthusiasm for consulting and sharing power with Rabha villagers. According to Karlsson, this reflects Forest Department perceptions of the Rabha as criminals: a view promoted in the 1980s to draw attention from the deforestation carried out by timber contractors in alliance with corrupt forest officers and politicians. He goes on to suggest that it may be useful for the Rabha to re-define themselves as 'indigenous greens' and environmental custodians as a means of maintaining their forest-based livelihoods.

In part three, 'Interrogating identity' and part four 'Imaginary centres made real' the book deals primarily with issues of identity. Viewing Duars Rabha conversions to Christianity as part of a 'cultural strategy' to assert a new ethnic identity, Karlsson contrasts their lack of political organization with that of the Assam Rabhas (who are calling for a separate Rabha nation) and roots their identity formation in a 'struggle for survival in the forest ... directed against the power of the *sarkar* and the dominant Bengali community at large' (p. 15). He then turns to wider issues of representation, unequal power relations and resistance to outside domination, paying particular attention to the ways in which different social groups act as conscious producers (or inventors) of cultural identity. The last chapter provides a summary of the main arguments and concludes on the topic of ethnic mobilization.

The book's ethnographic depth and clever interweaving of theory with empirical data make it an interesting and stimulating read, although the abundance of typographic errors is a drawback. Given the strong position of women in Rabha society, Karlsson misses an opportunity to examine gender environmental relations and how (if at all) these have changed in response to deforestation, Rabha identity construction and the increasing marginalization of women. A more in-depth investigation of the 'indigenous knowledge' and 'participatory development' literature would also have provided a useful springboard for an exploration

of Rabha attitudes towards environmental stewardship and joint resource management.

Nevertheless, Karlsson makes a convincing case for the existence of Rabha identity construction outside the 'domain of "elite" nationalist discourse' (p. 22) and in response to their daily struggles for subsistence. He also provides a refreshing antidote to the current dominance of romanticized populist discourse about tribals practising sound environmental management and living in harmony with nature. The book's greatest strength, however, is its solid empirical grounding which makes it an excellent reference point for researchers with theoretical (as well as practical) interests in issues of identity construction or the interaction of tribal livelihoods and commercial forest management.

SARAH JEWITT

JEAN DELOCHE: *Senji (Gingi): ville fortifiée du pays tamoul*. iv, 388 pp. (10 pp. English summary.) 1 map fold. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient (Mémoires archéologiques 25), and Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry (Publications hors série 1.) 2000.

Undeniably the largest and most spectacular fortified site in Tamil Nadu, Gingee (spelt variously in the literature) comprises a trio of formidable mountain citadels linked together by ramparts to create a well-defended triangular area extending more than 1.5 km. from north to south. The site also preserves numerous examples of military and civic structures, several comparatively well-preserved temples and mosques, and the remnants of an elaborate hydraulic system. These architectural vestiges testify to the strategic importance of Gingee in the history of Tamil Nadu for over four-hundred years, spanning the periods of the Vijayanagara, Nayaka, Sultantate, Maratha and French occupations. While the significance of Gingee has long been recognized by historians, knowledge about the site has suffered from a lack of professional publications; until recently, there was not even a proper map available! Students and scholars concerned with the archaeology and history of southern India will be grateful to Jean Deloche and his expert team from the Institut Français in Pondicherry for this well-produced, generously illustrated volume.

Jean Deloche begins his survey of Gingee with an overview of the natural setting of the fortifications and the distribution of the principal monument, aided by a key plan provided by the Archaeological Survey of India. This is followed by a brief survey of available literary sources, including the Tamil ballad *Tecinku Rājan*, and a nineteenth-century chronicle by Narayanan Pillai. Deloche then presents a summary typology of the fortifications, drawing attention to the successive enlargements of the protected area, the different methods of masonry construction, including various kinds of crenellations, and the additions of bastions and gateways. Supplied with such essential

background information, readers should then be able to follow the author's considered analysis of the growth of Gingee under successive occupants. This is much clarified by a series of site maps, colour coded to explain the different phases of expansion. The author's succinct verbal accounts are complemented by architectural drawings and photographs, most of which are published here for the first time.

Under the Vijayanagara governors in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, two of the mountain citadels, Rajagiri and Chandrayandurgam, were girdled with protective walls, and there was some attempt to lay out a royal area in between. The site was much extended under the Nayakas during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These rulers transformed what had been a provincial military outpost into a capital of an independent kingdom. The introduction of gun powder in southern India coincided with the rule of the Nayakas, who developed the city by fortifying the Krishnagiri mountain to the north and linking this to the two earlier mountain citadels. These rulers were the first in southern India to employ circular bastions for walls and protective barbicans for gateways. Under their direction, Gingee was furnished with a palace zone supplied by granaries with pointed masonry vaults, a multi-storeyed arcaded tower known somewhat misleadingly as the Kalyanamahal, and rows of back-to-back arcaded cells. Deloche does not spend time identifying the purpose of this last feature, which is here summarily dismissed as 'logements' (Fig. 12 and p. 70), but whether for troops or animals is not clear. The foundation of two important temple complexes dedicated to Venkataramana and Pattabhiraman may also be assigned to the Nayaka era, but they are only briefly reported here.

Gingee was further strengthened under the governors of Bijapur who controlled the citadel from 1849 to 1877, followed by the Marathas, whose occupation lasted until 1898. The Marathas were responsible for doubling the

ramparts of the east side of the citadel and adding the Vellore Gate with its characteristic curving outworks. Under the Nawabs of Arcot, representatives of the Mughals in the Gingee region up until 1750, the site continued to serve as an important military centre, but there were few significant additions, other than the construction of a mosque by Sa'dat-ullah Khan. The French briefly occupied the site for eleven years, but nevertheless managed to add a number of European styled polygonal bastions and crenellations. Of the town, or *pētṭai*, that flourished at this time, as recorded in contemporary maps, almost nothing can now be seen. With the expulsion of the French by the British in 1761, Gingee began to decline; by the beginning of the 19th century it was abandoned and overgrown.

The second part of the volume concentrates on the hydraulic works of the city, which exploited natural springs, known locally as *cūnai*, as well as artificially created reservoirs, or *kulam*s, both inside and outside the fortified zone. Transport of water was facilitated by terracotta pipes, lines of which were discovered in the palace area. Associated with these water structures was a series of stores for paddy and other grain, as well as pits for oil and gun powder. While the author admits that the technology of storage is still not well understood, the wealth of data that he presents should stimulate further research in this still little explored area of economic history.

The French text is supplemented by a complete bibliography and a detailed index that also serves as a glossary. Readers in India will appreciate the ten-page English summary.

With this publication, the French have once again demonstrated the benefits of co-ordinated fieldwork with institutional support. If only other, similar, sites of India, including the much visited and familiar palace forts in Rajasthan, could be served by researchers capable of producing valuable monographs such as the one under review here!

GEORGE MICHELL

## EAST ASIA

POUL ANDERSEN: *The demon chained under Turtle Mountain: the history and mythology of the Chinese River Spirit Wuzhiqi*. viii, 96 pp. Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2001. DM 52.

Students of Taoism will already be aware that the publications of Poul Andersen are always worthy of close attention, though this new venture into the iconography of popular religion may come as something of a surprise. For this impeccably illustrated but slim volume stems not from the textual studies for which he is already known (though there is ample evidence of erudition of this type throughout the work under review) but from the examination of an iron statue, 40.5 cm. high, in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Berlin, the city in which he has recently been teaching. Though no inscription appears on this figure,

Andersen has found irrefutable evidence linking it to the river spirit named in the title of his study, a spirit best known for its links with the early evolution of the story of the Monkey King, and textually associated with a Tang source preserved in the *Taiping guangji*, 467— and reproduced here in full on pp. 85–7.

Andersen's researches would appear to have been quite exhaustive, involving even a visit to the site of the cult on the River Huai, which has yielded some excellent photographs. Beyond the ostensible topic of the book, which is well covered, there is plenty to be found here concerning the larger mythological background that should win it a broader readership than those interested in river spirits alone. Only one source appears to have been missed, and this is the *P'yo-hae rok* of Ch'oe Pu, the Korean traveller who passed this site in 1488 and heard a condensed version of the Tang story from a Chinese travelling companion. His account has

been rendered into English by John Meskill, *Ch'oe Pu's diary: a record of drifting across the sea* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1965), p. 101, and the original may be found in Makita Tairyō, *Sakugen nyū-Min ki no kenkyū* II (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1954), p. 294. It adds the interesting detail that apotropaic pictures of the god were also produced at that time, and also shows that the cult of the 'Water-mother', touched upon by Andersen (e.g. p. 57), was then located at a separate site (p. 106, p. 299, respectively in translation and text).

On p. 60 Andersen refers to the *Jinsuo liuzhu yin*, 'a huge compendium of Taoist methods of walking, which would seem to date from around the end of the Tang dynasty'. In discussing the date of this text in an earlier issue of the *Bulletin* (LIII.2, 1990, pp. 292–94), I was primarily concerned to show that its references to Tibetans (*fan*) and other details ruled out a date as early as that of the author to whom it is ascribed, an early seventh century figure, since some scholars seemed to support that notion at that time. My more tentative suggestion that the text equally was unlikely to date from much later than the collapse of the Tibetan empire is unfortunately not so safe, since *fan* came to be used as a Chinese term for the Tanguts, though this is not to say that the date indicated by Andersen on the basis of his much more profound acquaintance with the contents of this work is in any sense not likely to be correct. Though he has already touched upon the matter elsewhere, I do hope that he will return to it once more to offer a more comprehensive account of the origins of this very important source. For now, he should be congratulated on clearing up an iconographic mystery in exemplary fashion and presenting his results in a highly attractive monograph that is bound to be appreciated by students of Chinese religion and art alike.

T. H. BARRETT

GLEN DUDBRIDGE: *Lost books of Medieval China*. (The Panizzi Lectures, 1999.) vi, 79 pp. London: The British Library, 2000. £16.00.

Since Glen Dudbridge turned his talents to elucidating Tang materials almost a quarter of a century ago, he has developed formidable sinological expertise in the retrieval of fragmentary information on texts of the period. The techniques involved in such work he now shares with us in a volume whose slimness will not fool for a moment those accustomed to the weight of scholarship his research always displays, and whose carefully didactic purpose will presumably enlighten even those reviewers who found his last work on the reconstruction of the world of the lost *Guangyi ji* too subtle. The message contained in his opening chapter is that late tenth-century China outstripped even contemporary Byzantium, with its encyclopedic repository of existing knowledge, the *Suda*, by producing two separate and vast storehouses of textual materials, the *Taiping guangji* and the *Taiping yulan*. The uses of the former resource he has already demonstrated

to great advantage in his earlier work, but now he shows that the *Taiping yulan*, already well known to those involved in the reconstruction of ancient Chinese texts, also holds a considerable value for students of Tang sources.

The second chapter then introduces us to one such source, the *Sanguo dianlue*, of which he has already published a reconstructed edition in Chinese. This is a chronological history, composed c. 700, of the calamitous events of the sixth century, which saw China divided for a while between one southern and two northern powers. Most obviously its text, once retrieved, can be used to add crucial details to the historical record passed over in silence by existing histories—though whether for ideological reasons or because they were based on evidence unknown to us and deemed unreliable is always of course a matter of fine judgement. But he is right to point also to what might be called its formal features, such as its inbuilt conception of what had constituted the legitimate line of succession amongst competing dynasties, for the *Sanguo dianlue* on this score supplements interestingly the existing materials discussed in Rao Zongyi's *Zhongguo shixueshang zhi zhengtong lun* (Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1977). Similarly, the insertion of biographical material in its chronology under the date of death confirms not only the practice of the somewhat comparable *Jiankang shilu* but also that of official Tang historiographers as deduced from the later *Shunzong shilu* and other materials.

The final chapter then turns to what might be called a piece of historical fiction, the *Liang sigong ji*, though the essence of the argument here (beyond showing expertly how the text can be retrieved not simply from the great collections mentioned but also from a scattering of other later works) is precisely that the gap between later classification and the unknowable authorial intentions behind the surviving fragments challenges our existing knowledge in fundamental ways. Once again the work concerned must be a product of the late seventh or eighth century and concerns the sixth, but the authorship and even the original structure of the text are much less clear. The content concerns four of those annoying polymaths whom Chinese readers of such historical fictions so delighted to see enlightening emperors, like Dongfang Shuo at the court of Han Wudi, or Zhang Hua under the Western Jin, though here the object of humiliation on the part of these know-alls is Emperor Wu of the Liang.

Now, with all due regard to the caution expressed in the volume under review, it should perhaps be pointed out that it is precisely in the early eighth century that we first find the very famous story of Bodhidharma's encounter with Emperor Wu of the Liang, which leaves the great Buddhist ruler exposed to the charge of not understanding the true nature of the religion at all. To me this story has always spoken thunderously of the silent but furious backpedalling that Chinese Buddhists were forced to carry out at this point after having become very conspicuously involved in the usurpation of the Empress Wu in 690. Might not the covert anti-clericalism of the *Liang sigong ji* represent a slightly earlier use by non-Buddhists of the Liang emperor in order to



comment on more recent, perhaps even contemporary, events involving his female namesake?

The lecture closes after a brief consideration in the text (p. 70), and also in note 49, of the influence on the literature of later imperial China of the fragments of the *Liang sigong ji* now to be found in our late tenth-century compilations. Perhaps, had time allowed, it would have been possible to go on to consider the way in which the exotic vocabulary of this historical fiction may have stimulated later concise quotation in works of lexicography also. One such quotation, drawn more probably directly or indirectly from *Taiping yulan* 845.6b–7a than *Taiping guangji* 81, p. 519, survives today in the third fascicle of the *Jōdō sambukyō ongi shū* (p. 418b in the edition of the *Taishō Canon*, vol. 57), a work compiled in Japan in 1236. It may well be that other brief references of this sort are to be found elsewhere, though verifying their existence is obviously a task of much less significance than the matters selected for discussion in the lectures themselves.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the very high standards embodied in this publication, as indeed befits a prestigious lecture series sponsored by a national institution. But while conscious of the rashness of challenging a Professor of Chinese on a matter of translation, I do find the description of the golden toad of p. 45, which ‘moved in and out of the water’ a slightly suspicious account of batrachian behaviour. Surely it ‘no sooner appeared from the water than it was gone again’? Either way, or even some third way, this short work will be a delight to all connoisseurs of reconstructive scholarship, and an indispensable education to all those venturing into the study of the Tang period.

T. H. BARRETT

ZHOU XUN: *Chinese perceptions of the ‘Jews’ and Judaism: a history of the Youtai*. v, 202 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £40.

Zhou Xun’s *Chinese perceptions of the ‘Jews’ and Judaism: a history of the Youtai* fits comfortably within the so-called ‘New Ethnic Studies’ movement that has begun to have a deep influence on Jewish and Asian studies alike. Unlike traditional works in both the broad and specific fields, which look inward and are community-study oriented, Dr Zhou has produced a fascinating examination of Chinese notions of race and culture by examining how Jews are imagined in China. Yet what makes this book so interesting is that it does not stop at the descriptive: rather, Dr Zhou tries to understand how images of Jews and Judaism became an underpinning for negotiations about the ways in which the Chinese nation was structured from the top down.

*Chinese perceptions of the ‘Jews’ and Judaism* focuses on how Chinese intellectuals reformulated European notions of the ‘Jewish race’ so that they became useful for state and national culture building. By showing how imagined Jews became a trope against which various Chinese actors positioned themselves, Dr Zhou makes clear that imagined others are

often more critical to national identity formation than are real ones. At the same time, *Chinese perceptions of the ‘Jews’ and Judaism* provides yet more evidence for the malleable nature of stereotypes by showing how virtually any image of otherness can be deconstructed and reconstructed to suit multiple purposes simultaneously. In the Chinese case, traditional European and North American stereotypes of Jews, which in general were glossed as negative, were often turned into the positive.

The book is as much an intellectual history as one about national identity. While the first part of *Chinese perceptions of the ‘Jews’ and Judaism* is organized chronologically, the majority of the book focuses on the period between the establishment of the republic in 1915 and the People’s Republic of China in 1949. This section, which includes three chapters, examines a series of critical topics in ethnic studies: language, spirituality, eugenics, and ethnic nationalism. With this analysis come numerous twists. For example, the *haskalah* (Jewish enlightenment) insistence on Yiddish as a language of inspiration and nationalism became an important part of the discourse of literary reform in China in the early twentieth century. Yet, with a nod to the way in which internal division can be viewed externally as cohesion, Chinese intellectuals also saw the Hebraist movement, most noticeably in the work of the poet Bialik, as an inspiration towards modernity. It is this kind of analysis, in which Dr Zhou takes readers from the real conflicts between Hebraism and Yiddishism into a world in which both movements were imagined to be the same, that makes *Chinese perceptions of the ‘Jews’ and Judaism* such an interesting work.

This book is nuanced, and a chapter on ‘racial science’, for example, neatly shows how images of Jews as both ‘superior’ and ‘diseased’ existed simultaneously in China. Dr Zhou thus explains how the representation of Jews as oppressed was an important part of anti-Japanese discourse in China in the 1930s, even as European and North American notions of Jewish ‘blackness’ were reformulated in China so that Jews became ‘white’. Such shifting and multiple attitudes were replicated in Chinese perceptions of Zionism prior to the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. It is exactly this kind of non-static discourse that allowed notions of race to remain a strong part of Chinese intellectual discussion after 1949 when racial discourse was officially banished by the Communist Party. With the reformulation of China as protector of ‘coloured’ peoples, Jews, as historical whites, were now configured as enemies. Yet new political configurations did not make long-term positive stereotypes disappear. As *Chinese perceptions of the ‘Jews’ and Judaism* shows, the end of the Mao Zedong period led to a rapid renewal of positive images of Jews, especially as China entered into the global market economy. This book, then, helps us to understand how complex, and convoluted, the recent establishment of the city of Kaifeng as a ‘Jewish economic zone’ really is.

*Chinese perceptions of the ‘Jews’ and Judaism* is a fine piece of scholarship and it is a shame that the volume is published only in

hardback since a paperback volume could be used in classes in numerous disciplines. It is well written, analyses new information in exciting ways, and opens up important discussions about race and national identity for numerous disciplines.

JEFFREY LESSER

MARIS BOYD GILLETTE: *Between Mecca and Beijing: modernization and consumption among urban Chinese Muslims*. xii, 279 pp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000. \$45.

Maris Boyd Gillette's study of the ideologies of modernization among Xi'an Muslims, a revised version of a Ph.D. thesis, is a solid piece of ethnographic writing and a useful addition to the literature on ethnic minorities in China. The study joins a growing body of anthropological and historical studies of the Hui (Dru C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: ethnic nationalism in the People's Republic*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1991; Jonathan Lipman, *Familiar strangers: a Muslim history in China*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997) and reflects the recent interest amongst anthropologists in consumption in China (cf. Kevin Latham and Stuart Thompson (ed.), *Consuming China: approaches to cultural change in contemporary China*, Richmond: Curzon, 2001). The writing and arguments are eminently clear, and Boyd Gillette lucidly traces links between the history of Muslims in China, wider trends in Islam, Chinese state policies, and the local experience.

The question of food, the focus of much of the Western literature on Chinese Muslims, and of course most relevant to the issue of 'consumption', is given interesting treatment here. Boyd Gillette describes local attitudes and practices, fears of pollution and the equation of Han Chinese with pigs. She shows how dietary difference, that most sensitive of boundaries between Han and Hui, is being broken down through children's consumption (in both senses) of mass-produced snacks and sweets, with the complicity of adults, and related to their aspirations to modernity and Westernization. She notes that official strategies to control the use of *qingzhen* (pure and true), through the designation of *qingzhen* factories and restaurants, are based solely on ethnic grounds, rather than religious dietary standards. Ironically perhaps, official action may serve to strengthen ethnic boundaries, a point concerning Chinese minority policies also made by Gladney.

Boyd Gillette presents an original and interesting discussion of the trend of 'Arabization' which has grown amongst Chinese Muslims over the last twenty years: the adoption of Near Eastern models of an Islam that is deemed both more 'authentic' and more 'modern' than local religious traditions. This trend, she argues, represents the development of an alternative ideological scale and model of development in China which is exclusive to Muslims. She suggests that this represents a subtle threat to the CCP, contesting

its role as the sole guide to modernization in China. By way of illustration she describes the formation of a local anti-alcohol committee: a grassroots campaign which formed what was ostensibly a happy confluence of Islamic and state ideologies, with its emphasis on the promotion of 'civilized behaviour' through a ban on alcohol. However, the committee was eventually labelled by local officials as an illegal organization, discredited, and the anti-alcohol campaign lost impetus. Boyd Gillette suggests that officials reacted with hostility to the alternative reading of 'civilized' espoused by the anti-alcohol committee, which situated the Hui as morally superior to the Han. Boyd Gillette's account recalls the lead-up to the Ghulja rioting in Xinjiang in 1997, where similar official intolerance towards grass-roots attempts to organize had far more explosive consequences (Sean Roberts, 'Negotiating locality, Islam, and national culture in a changing borderlands: the revival of the *Māshrāp* ritual among young Uighur men in the Ili valley', *Central Asian Survey* 17/4, 1999, 672–700).

RACHEL HARRIS

MATTHEW H. SOMMER: *Sex, law, and society in late imperial China*. xvi, 413 pp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000. £35, \$55.

In this important book Matthew Sommer argues that fundamental changes in imperial law marked the eighteenth century, as the emphasis in the regulation of sexuality shifted away from status to gender. Whereas duties and privileges traditionally depended on family position and status level, ranging from official and commoner to outcast group, a new regime of gender, according to the author, mandated a uniform standard of criminal liability and sexual behaviour across social boundaries. Status performance, in short, was replaced by gender performance, in which all people were expected to conform to gender roles defined in terms of marriage. This 'new paradigm' was initiated under the Yongzheng reign (1723–35) and consolidated by a flow of legislation in the following decades, affecting mainly six areas related to sexuality: as (1) prostitution was prohibited; (2) the sexual use of servile women was curtailed; (3) consensual but illicit sexual intercourse was severely penalized; (4) harsh penalties were imposed on a variety of rape cases; (5) homosexual rape was severely prohibited; and (6) the imperial cult of chastity was expanded. With this paradigmatic shift emphasizing rigid marital roles for all commoners, a new cast of dubious figures appeared in legal discourse, including the 'rootless rascal' (*guanggūn*), the rogue male, the homosexual rapist and the pimp. The chaste wife of humble family and the adolescent male, on the contrary, became objects of protection in a new age of prosperity and anxiety: increasing alarm at the presumed breakdown of moral and social order in a context of rapidly changing socio-economic realities led to a heightened concern with women as the moral guardians of the family's fragile boundaries. Rogue males in particular

became the object of judicial constructs, and poor single males figured disproportionately in the criminal caseload.

The author goes a bold step further by claiming that poor people really did pimp their wives, share women or threaten the chaste daughters of respectable households, which explains why they became the target of judicial practices. Rather than examining the diverse judicial processes by which vulnerable categories of people were singled out and socially marginalized, Sommer sees official case records as a reliable ethnographic source for uncovering the 'unorthodox practices' of the poor. As judicial systems often fulfil their own prophecies by arresting those who are defined as bad in the first place, it is not entirely surprising that Sommer finds a strong correlation in these official cases between judicial norms and popular sexual practices. The reader may wonder, however, how the legal focus on poor single men in late imperial China was any different from the situation in countries like England and France during the same period: criminals in Victorian England were overwhelmingly poor men, not because of a 'paradigmatic shift' in gender roles, but because the law was predominantly used against paupers who did not have the social or economic means to avoid formal legal procedures. Illiterate classes, in England, France or China, were quite literally dangerous classes in the eyes of the élites, and danger was defined in gendered terms of the male criminal underclass. As in several other books on late imperial China, moreover, the local cases come mainly from a single county, namely the Ba County Archives in Sichuan province: even if the author presents local cases from this remote place as an unproblematic reflection of actual sexual practices which were allegedly widespread in an entire subcontinent, a page or two on the local context of Ba County might have been useful. Local cases are complemented by a number of 'central case records' which were examined by the Board of Punishments. Here too, however, the author is only marginally interested in the administrative culture which produced these records, although he entices the reader by mentioning once (p. 21) that a memorial would even record that a beggar's dirty socks stolen by his murderer had been returned to his family: the level of detail in these cases fulfilled no practical purpose, as memorials were didactic rituals demonstrating judicial efficacy and benevolent justice. The language of central cases, in short, carried a cultural and symbolic meaning which had little to do with actual local practices. Sommer also examines many legal commentaries, as long discussions which trace judicial concepts are used in addition to case records, again pointing to the uneasy tension in the book between a history of judicial constructs and an attempt to recover the 'voice' of the illiterate. The use of the vague category of 'the West' weakens the few comparative insights offered and produces some misleading comments; for instance the statement that masturbation figures in the 'Western legal tradition' (p. 115), which is general enough to be neither wrong nor true. Despite these reservations, the author presents a fascinating cast of judicial figures, legal concepts and individual stories, bringing into

sharp focus, in the wake of Philip Kuhn, some of the neglected social practices of excluded people. *Sex, law and society in late imperial China* is a richly textured book. An important addition to a growing body of work on the history of sex in China, it succeeds admirably in uncovering profound and far-reaching changes in law in the late imperial period.

FRANK DIKÖTTER

CHRISTOPHER BO BRAMSEN: *Open doors: Vilhelm Meyer and the establishment of General Electric in China*. xvi, 320 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies), 2001. £45.

The dust jacket of this handsomely produced book bravely proclaims that 'On one level, this volume is an intriguing account of the life and times of a Danish couple prominent in Shanghai's International settlement between 1902 and 1935, on another, it charts the introduction and growth of new Western technologies in China, and with them the establishment of the General Electric Company there'. The first part of the statement is certainly credible. The author—currently the Danish ambassador to China—has painstakingly chronicled the attainments of his maternal grandfather Vilhelm Meyer and his wife Kirsten, and through their eyes offers a picture of a narrow, largely Danish, and occasionally beguiling segment of élite expatriate society in the greatest of the treaty ports. The latter half of the assertion is perplexing. Serious readers seeking some penetrating analysis of a prominent branch of Western business operations in early twentieth-century China will probably be disappointed by Christopher Bramsen's folksy, reverential family narrative.

In fairness to Bramsen, he declares at the outset that surviving corporate data did not facilitate a rigorous reconstruction of the business history of Andersen, Meyer & Company. The firm's diversified economic influence as an importer of capital goods and other Western products, and one of the leading engineering and construction firms in China by the early 1930s, is discontinuously sketched rather than extensively delineated throughout the book. Vilhelm Meyer's earliest business coup actually occurred in 1915 on New York's Wall Street rather than Shanghai's Bund. At that time he reinvented his ten-year-old fledgling firm as an American corporation, forging firm links with American exporters such as the General Electric Company, Saco-Lowell Shops (a noted producer of complete cotton mills), and the Baldwin Locomotive Works. By 1925 Andersen, Meyer & Company was officially registered in the American corporate haven of Delaware with \$11.5 million in share capital—a far cry from the thousand taels risked in the firm by a Chinese money lender in 1905.

The author avers that the firm's 'pinnacle of success' came in 1930–31, when its commercial and industrial network spanned the modernizing urban fringe of Nationalist China. By then the company had 1,200 employees (only a

hundred of whom were foreigners), nine branches encompassing much of the country, and nine sales departments marketing goods and associated services that included textile and power plant machinery, electrical products, building construction and supplies, agricultural machinery, and drugs and chemicals. While Andersen, Meyer & Company operated along the fixed hierarchical lines of a Western-controlled business, Vilhelm Meyer both encouraged and rewarded the evident competence of his Chinese employees and staff:

Provided that when young Chinese are taken into the firm, proper assistance and guidance are given them so that they might develop into useful members of a firm, they are entirely capable of doing so ... Young engineers from technical schools have developed into extremely useful men in the firm ... For all electrical work, book-keeping etc. they rise right up to the top as they have done in Andersen, Meyer & Co. (p. 237)

Indications such as this about the day-to-day operations of the company surface all too rarely, before Bramsen ends his account with Vilhelm Meyer's illness and untimely death in 1935.

Much of the book is taken up with the personal histories of Vilhelm and Kirsten Meyer (née Bramsen) before and after they married and settled in Shanghai, accompanied by numerous high-quality illustrations. While related with considerable charm and obvious affection, extended recitals of the usual events of family life—births, marriages, social occasions, child-raising, and bereavements—loom excessively large throughout Bramsen's text. The attention given to Shanghai's Danish community over the first three decades of the century is more appropriate, as it documents the business, social and cultural activities of a significant minority in the city's polyglot population. Perhaps the surest indication that this book was a labour of love, essentially written for non-specialist readers, are the frequent lengthy passages which document very familiar episodes in early twentieth-century Chinese history, including the 1911 Revolution, the Northern Expedition and Guomindang-Communist split, and the onset of war with Japan in the 1930s. With a little perseverance, however, non-Danish readers unrelated to the author's family may still profit from Christopher Bramsen's dedicated, idiosyncratic investigation of his own dynastic annals.

ROBERT GARDELLA

ATSUKO CEUGNIET: *L'Office des Études Supérieures au Japon du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle et les Dissertations de Fin d'Études*, (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, IV<sup>e</sup> Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, II, Hautes Études Orientales, 33.) xiv, 450 pp. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2000.

One of the best-known clichés concerning the civilization of the Heian nobility is that only

the women wrote brilliant novels because the men were far too busy studying how to compose Chinese forms of literature. Whether that is true or not, it has always been much harder to convey to the Western reader exactly what these male pursuits were, and the degree of erudition they required, than to render even the complex and subtle language of Heian narrative into a European language. True, Robert Borgen's study of Sugawara no Michizane (a source not cited in the work under review) affords a very useful degree of insight into the world of Heian sinology, but no close analysis of the erudition that preoccupied his hero is attempted. Any reader of Atsuko Ceugniet's formidable monograph, however, need no longer have any doubts as to what was involved, not simply because she provides in its first half a thorough study of the institutional history of Heian higher learning but especially because the second half provides a close reading of four 'examination answers' or 'dissertations', as she understandably translates them, which constituted the highest test within that system. The effort that has gone into the decoding of these four pieces, allusion by allusion, is all too evident in the copious footnotes explaining each phrase in relation to its background in Chinese literature, but though it prompts the thought that if her Heian sisters were anything like the author of this monograph, then the male nobles were lucky to be able to exclude women from competition with them, it does also demonstrate exactly why sinology was such a time-consuming occupation in Japan at this point.

And this observation holds good even if, as is made clear at the outset (p. xiii), we make due allowance for the fact that in many cases the sinological erudition on display was culled not from the vast range of original sources identified, but from literary encyclopedias which had absorbed these sources already and arranged quotations from them under convenient thematic headings. The author expresses a judicious agnosticism as to the extent to which these convenient aids were used by her examination candidates in their preparation, but one cannot help noticing that two of the topics set, on the clepsydra and on surnames, correspond to entries in the *Liutie* of Bai Juyi, a literary encyclopedia which certainly exerted an influence in Heian Japan, as for example on the arrangement of the *Kokin waka rikujō*. Bai's work is not systematically exploited in the volume under review as a possible source, since despite the observations already mentioned on its p. xiii, its aim is primarily to translate the materials studied into French, not to trace the path whereby the allusions deployed may have become part of Heian erudition. Even so, Ceugniet's diligence does provide sufficient information to illuminate aspects of that problem.

This is particularly the case in the dissertation of 869 by Miyako no Kotomichi on the 'Immortals', *shinsen/shenxian*, a resource that has some bearing on the vexed question of the state of Japanese knowledge of the Taoist religion in Nara and Heian times. One cannot help noticing the number of occasions when in order to decode the text recourse is had in the annotation to the Taoist encyclopedia *Yunji*



*qiqian*, a compilation which was not put together even in China until well over a century later, let alone exported to Japan. Can the phrases concerned have derived directly from the works on which the *Yunji qiqian* itself drew? For the most part this seems unlikely: the 'Taoism' in this dissertation is of a type that was, as it were, in the 'public domain' of medical works, poetry and literary encyclopedias, rather than in the scriptures of the religion itself. Even so, the pattern formed by the allusions seems at times anomalous. Once one has eliminated the usual encyclopedic sources, such as the *Chuxue ji*, then there is insufficient in the *Liutie* or even Bai's poetry to account for the remainder, given that the type of Tang poetry most replete with Taoist allusions—that is, the type of poetry studied by the E. H. Schafer—seems not to have been read in Japan.

So how was it that Miyako no Kotomichi still knew, for example, of the 'seventy-two sites' (p. 204) of terrestrial good fortune, a formulation of sacred geography first drawn up, so far as we know, in the early eighth century by the famous Taoist priest Sima Chengzhen? Could it be that the massive Japanese literary encyclopedia *Hifuryaku* of 831 in one thousand fascicles, of which only two survive today, incorporated more recent materials on Taoism from sources consulted at first hand into a basic database which (again, as far as we are able to tell) went back to earlier Chinese compilations of the seventh century? Or, as seems more likely, did knowledge of this particular concept reach Heian Japan via some Chinese geographical compilation? At present we have no means of knowing, but if Heian sinology continues to be researched with the assiduity shown in the volume under review, then gradually it should become possible not only to understand what these long-forgotten *savants* were writing about, but also how knowledge from the continent was disseminated in their society. Granted that the pace of progress in this field may well be slow, in view of the quite natural preference of both men and women of this more degenerate age for reading a Heian novel, if they read anything from this time and place at all, we should be all the more grateful to Atsuko Ceugniet for at least having made a start, and wish her well with her future studies.

T. H. BARRETT

JOHN BREEN and MARK TEEUWEN (ed.):  
*Shinto in history: ways of the kami*.  
xii, 369 pp. Richmond, Surrey:  
Curzon, 2000. £14.99.

At last, Shinto has become part of, rather than parallel to, the study of history. The sixteen essays in *Shinto in history: ways of the kami* elucidate changes within cults of the kami, shrines, and related systems of thought from earliest times to 1945. More importantly, they illustrate how different individuals and interest groups could deploy these 'ways' for a variety of purposes simultaneously.

In bringing these essays together in a single

volume, editors John Breen and Mark Teeuwen have issued an important call for the study of symbolic, institutional and intellectual continuities in kami worship across the pre-modern/modern divide. They have done so in a way that highlights not some dubious Japanese essence, but the many political and spiritual agendas in whose service a purportedly unified 'way of the kami' has been developed and deployed. The essays in *Shinto in history* strongly support Breen and Teeuwen's central proposition: that there have been 'a multiplicity of "Ways of the Kami," each grown out of different historical and social circumstances, and each with its own ritual and theological agenda' (p. 8).

In their introduction, the editors suggest that 'Shinto' may best be conceived as a self-conscious intellectual construct imposed for specific purposes upon a wide variety of beliefs and practices. Proposing a modified usage of the term, Breen and Teeuwen 'argue that it is vital to distinguish between shrine cults—the reality of those multifarious activities and beliefs that are manifest in shrines both local and central—and "Shinto"—the ideological agenda of the establishment, rooted especially though certainly not uniquely, in reverence for, or at least identification with, the imperial institution' (p. 3). The essays that follow, while not necessarily adhering to this terminological usage, nevertheless clarify the agendas of successive innovators of rituals, institutions, and thought in relation to kami, shrines and the central state.

Such agendas were as much political as theological, informed more by the necessities of survival (what Allan Grapard points to as part of the 'economics of ritual power') than by internal philosophical logic. Innovations therefore drew from a constant cross-fertilization of practices and theories. The volume's first three essays—Tim Barrett's careful examination of Chinese State Taoism as a model for Japanese ideas of an 'emperor', Sonoda Minoru's provocative location of shrines at important watersheds, and Nelly Naumann's description of state kami institutions—together illustrate the mixture of Chinese thought, environmental administrative concerns, and state-building efforts that shaped early Yamato ritual and worship. Teeuwen, in an elegant essay on the esoteric re-evaluation of kami from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, shows how these changes occurred at the nexus of imperial ritual, popular cults, and personal ambition. Bernhard Scheid further argues that it was the nature of esoteric logic itself that facilitated innovation. Later essays—Nitta Hitoshi's examination of the role of Pure Land Buddhists in defining modern Shinto as areligious, and Isomae Jun'ichi's startling revelation that pre-war Shinto studies developed out of the National Morality movement instead of the longer intellectual tradition of nativist studies, for instance—repeatedly emphasize the wider intellectual and ritual worlds within which the many ways of the kami developed.

While the pre-modern essays inspire through their explicitly political analyses of changing ways of the kami—as vividly demonstrated in Brian Bocking's reading of the shifting meanings of a popular scroll from the

thirteenth to the twentieth centuries—several of the modern essays provoke by their departure from the heretofore political focus of studies of Shinto and the modern nation-state. W. J. Boot, Kamata Tōji, and Anne Walthall re-interpret the deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the writings of Hirata Atsutane, and the activities of Hirata's posthumous followers, respectively, not as self-consciously political actions but as personal, religious quests. Yet, such emphases avoid addressing the broader political implications of ideas and actions related to the kami—implications evident as much in the geographical structuring of worship communities (Nicola Liscutin) as in the pronouncements and policies of the central government (Sakamoto Koremaru). How, then, can scholars reconcile the political and personal meanings of Shinto? Breen proposes a focus on people and their motivations: his identification of the differing agendas of Shinto ideologues and government bureaucrats suggests a promising explanation for the inconsistencies of early Meiji religious policy.

*Shinto in history* is not an introductory text: most of the essays presuppose at least a basic familiarity with the history and religions of Japan. While the authors' arguments vary in clarity and breadth, each of the articles contributes significantly to either the methodological or substantive advancement of Shinto studies, turning scholarly attention to the role of individuals and their ambitions in bringing about religious change. Through its emphasis on the political, ritual and institutional contexts of successive ways of the kami, *Shinto in history* points the way towards a richer, more critical study of the Japanese past. In this pathbreaking collection, Breen, Teeuwen and the other contributors have demonstrated that religion, ritual and the kami are not mere accompaniments to history, but integral to the shifting political, social and economic relations that characterize both the past and the present.

SARAH THAL

KAREN E. SANDNESS: *The evolution of the Japanese past and perfective suffixes*. viii, 264 pp. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1999. \$32.95.

As stated in the preface, the book under review is a revision of Sandness's in many ways pioneering 1982 Yale University Ph.D. dissertation. The structure is essentially unchanged: chapter i determines the meanings of the past and perfective suffixes (*-ri*, *-tari*, *-nu*, *-tu*, *-ki* and *-keri*) in the Nara to (pre-Insei) Heian periods (pp. 9–93); chapters ii–iv chart changes in the meanings of these suffixes from the Insei period to the beginning of the Edo period (pp. 94–193); and chapter v surveys their cognates in the modern dialects (pp. 194–226). Developments from the Insei period onwards are still not well researched, and the present version commands interest, if nothing else, as the first historical account in English of Classical Japanese tense and aspect categories.

At the same time, it must be said that there is disappointingly little evidence that recent insights in relevant areas of linguistics, such as semantic classification of verbs, or more nuanced analyses of the denotations of tense and aspect categories and how they develop, have been brought to bear on the issues.

It is obvious that in order to evaluate the developments from the Insei period onwards, which is Sandness's main aim, the understanding of the correct usage in the previous period(s) should if possible be beyond reproach. As I see it, the historical account is distorted by Sandness's decision to reckon with *one* correct monolithic colloquial 'Classical Japanese standard' inferred exclusively from usage in the dialogue/discourse passages in specified Heian core texts (e.g. p. 6), against which the usage of the suffixes in later texts is measured and deemed 'correct' or 'mistaken'. The underlying assumption seems to be that in a 'truly colloquial text' (cf. pp. 96f, 99, 122), the dialogue and the narrative passages must be at one, and that in the absence of an obvious text, it is preferable to concentrate on dialogue passages to the exclusion of all narrative descriptive passages (*ji no bun*). This simplistic view ignores evidence that the analysis of the CJ tense and aspect categories is becoming more nuanced, and that it looks increasingly likely that referential, stylistic, narrative and pragmatic meanings of for instance *-nu* and *-tu* can be brought together in a coherent comprehensive account. As it is, Sandness's analysis of (pre-Insei) Japanese remains as incomplete as many previous studies, the only difference being that priority has been given to dialogue. Furthermore, since Sandness surveys a wider range of passages in some Insei and later texts, phenomena which actually are attested before the Insei period become interpreted as innovations of a later period. To give an example, the occurrence of *-nu* and *-tu* inside narrative passages in pre-Insei texts, which traditionally has been interpreted by many earlier (and later) researchers as determined by the semantic features of the verb (give or take an amount of semantic and pragmatic specificity), become interpreted as developments belonging to a later period, e.g. in *Shasekishū*, where the referential meanings of *-nu* and *-tu* inside sequential narration are defined as 'perfective for intransitives' and 'transitives', respectively (p. 144). Or the 'episode closing' narrative meaning is acknowledged for pre-Insei *-tu* (p. 90f), while the same meaning for *-nu* is mentioned in the account of the Insei text *Konjaku monogatari* (p. 104). This is not to say that Sandness is not alert to the fact that certain meanings may represent secondary developments of contextual meaning, e.g. the iterative-representative (= Modern Japanese *-tari*) denotation of *-tu* and *-nu* (p. 133) might be derived from the highlighting narrative meaning of these suffixes (p. 117).

Sandness has a keen eye for other researchers' inconsistent opinions, and chapter i contains a relentlessly thorough treatment, probably the most detailed in existence, of related research in Japanese and English. Regrettably two out of three book-length studies on Classical Japanese tense-aspect published since 1982 (Charles J. Quinn, *A functional*

grammar of predication in *Classical Japanese*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1987, and Suzuki Tai (*not Yasushi*), *Kodai Nihongo dōshi no tensu-asupekuto: Genji monogatari no bunseki*, Hitsuji shobō 1992 (rev. ed. 1998)) are not mentioned. Had they been taken into account, a clearer picture of what seems now generally agreed, and of the major new questions appearing on the scholarly horizon, might have emerged. For instance, there has been a remarkable consensus among researchers since the late 1970s (Sandness's contribution included (p. 76ff)) to define the temporal referential denotations of *-tu* inside discourse (speech or cognition passages (as less widely acknowledged inside embedded clauses generally)) in Heian texts as recent past, as distinct from remote past *-ki*. Also largely uncontroversial is the definition of the denotation of *-nu* (on its own or in combination with *-ki* (and *-keri* and *-mu*)) as punctuality, either attainment or inception (p. 75) or, put differently, indicating the attainment of an actional turning-point.

The attention given to functional decline of CJ verbal suffixes does not further any coherent account of interaction with innovating constructions. It does, however, suggest another question, which although not often posed, is nevertheless central in strong literary traditions with powerful classical or archaizing linguistic ideals such as Premodern Japanese. How or to what extent were the suffixes in question redefined, reinvented, or maintained after they had fallen into disuse in the vernacular? A cursory survey of *Oku no hosomichi*, which represents the perhaps most conscious stylistic (re)creation of the seventeenth century, suggests a clever exploitation of the suffixes no longer found in the vernacular language, which Sandness suggests had been absent in the vernacular for centuries, and which were indeed unexplained in Rodríguez's description of 1604 (p. 183): *-nu* usually a paragraph-final perfective aspect expression (used mostly when the referent of subject is or includes Bashō); a distinction between *-ri* and *-tari* maintained after *yodan*-verbs, *-ri* denoting resultative state on the main story line, while *-tari* denotes a resultative state relating to the past; *-si* (rather than *-ki*) referring the event of the verb to the past in relation to the main story line; and lastly, thrown in for good measure, two playful occurrences of *-keri* (in description of the visit to Kehi jingū), one of *-si* in the sequence *hasira ni nokosi faberisi*, preceding the description of the visit to Sesshōseki 'the deadly stone', and one of *-tu* inside a clause alluding to the famous poem by Saigyō that ends *sibasi tote koso tati tomariture* 'I meant to stand here just a moment, but ...' (*Shinkokinshū* 262).—Was Bashō exceptional?

Chapter v gives a broad survey of reflexes of the CJ suffixes and related morphology in the modern dialects with interesting observations pertaining to *-ri* (p. 196ff), *-nu* (p. 199ff) and *-ki/-si/-keri* (p. 203ff) in particular. It is abundantly clear, as Sandness herself notes, that the field of dialect studies has much to offer Japanese historical linguistics.

LONE TAKEUCHI

SHARON KINSELLA: *Adult manga: culture and power in contemporary Japanese society*. (ConsumAsiaN.) xii, 228 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000. £35.00, £12.99 (paper).

The discipline of cultural studies has long had interested sociologists and, more recently, anthropologists dabbling at its margins. The key question for both these groups of social scientists has been: what can we bring to cultural studies that a humanities scholar might not? The dominant trend has been to read culture as a text, with some concessions to theories of globalization; and the recent studies of Japanese mass culture are full of social scientists (among others) doing just this. There is nothing inherently wrong with understanding cultural manifestations as texts, but for social scientists this tack is not really any different from what cultural studies experts do already. What a pleasure it is, then, to read a book which is a real sociology of a mass medium: this is precisely what Sharon Kinsella has written.

Of course this is not what a reader might expect of a book entitled *Adult manga*, for no other area of Japanese culture lends itself more to orientalist analyses than *manga* (comics). There have been studies of *manga* which have focused on: their oddity; their obsession with often violent sex; particular types of femininity and masculinity; and, occasionally, pessimistic attitudes about the future or nostalgic feelings about the militaristic past. Most of these analyses miss the most important point of all: that much of *manga* had a political edge, produced by talented, often working-class, artists who commented ironically on Japan. Kinsella documents the early manifestation of *manga* after the war and notes that it was the cheap entertainment of the commuters, pawns in re-industrializing Japan, who found something for every taste in these inexpensive book-length comics.

Kinsella's book also documents how the larger publishing houses took over these successful ventures into politics and satire and, over a period of fifty years, elevated *manga* to the level of national culture. In doing so, she notes, control over 'unruly' artists was a first priority, then, eventually in response to women's groups and political pressure, control over content became an issue. This study is not just a historical overview of how a particular arena of cultural production has fared over time, but an excellent sociological and, occasionally, ethnographic look at the process. Kinsella interviewed many artists and editors; observed the *manga* production cycle; and was in Japan in the 1990s when the movements against sex and violence in *manga* began. Thus this study offers added value in translations of the voices of editors and artists and provides an insider's view of a production cycle. In short, Kinsella's book looks at the economic infrastructure which underpins the cultural flowering of *manga* production, as well as the mainstream's negative reaction to some forms of *manga* artistic expression. While not overtly Marxist in tone, there is a subtext here about how resistance in a highly conformist society

can be articulated and then taken over by the very forces it would appear to oppose.

Worrying as this might be to those of us who like to explain to students that there *is* resistance, conflict and heterogeneity in Japan, Kinsella also makes clear that the artists themselves are concerned with these issues. One response has been the move of some *manga*, deemed too sexual for the mainstream, to smaller publishing houses. A more interesting trend has been for some artists to try and recapture the spirit of earlier eras like the 1960s by making those times the subject of their *manga*: an attempt to re-energize and, perhaps, re-politicize the Japanese youth that is a completely postmodern trend. Going 'international' within publishing houses seems to be another mainstream attempt at revitalizing the content of *manga*: foreign artists and editors have been brought into this once so very Japanese terrain.

There is very much to admire and praise in this terrific book, yet there are also gaps. One of the most obvious is that while outlining some of the concerns of women's and feminist groups about the depictions of sex in *manga*, we are not given any insight into the artists' reasons for these often violent portrayals of sex. Is it because it would open a whole can of worms about how some Japanese men really think and feel about women? It might have been interesting to explore both issues of class, and the historical antecedents for representing the act of sex as one way of escaping an Ian Buruma-like analysis (*A Japanese mirror: heroes and villains of Japanese culture*, London, 1985). It would also have been worth noting that the better educated and more cultured editors of the big publishing houses did nothing about these illustrations until forced to do so: the money was just too good. While this is a small gap, there is a further issue that has cropped up throughout the ConsumAsiaN series: the lack of careful copyediting. For example, while on some pages the plural and singular 'media' and 'medium' are correct, on the very next page they might well be incorrectly used. There are innumerable missing commas; the possessive apostrophe is often missing or misplaced; and the past tense of 'pay' is 'paid' not 'payed'. This is an important book, one to recommend to students and to colleagues outside the field of Japanese studies, but it is a shame that it is so poorly presented. Yet this remains a very readable book: clear, coherent and passionately written; so I will continue to recommend it to students, with the plea that they do not take the use of grammar and punctuation as a model for their own work.

D. P. MARTINEZ

PAUL H. KRATOSKA: *The Japanese occupation of Malaya, 1941–1945*. xxi, 404 pp. London: C. Hurst & Co., 1998. £35.

The character of the Japanese wartime empire and its impact on the populations of South-East Asia for a long time attracted less attention from historians than the military operations that led to its rapid establishment and to its more gradual

demise. Over the last two or three decades this situation has gradually changed with the appearance of major studies on the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Indochina and Thailand, but no comparable examination of Japanese rule in Malaya has been available until now. Paul Kratoska's commendably systematic and lucid survey makes good that deficiency. Drawing upon a wide range of Malayan sources, including local records, memoirs, and oral history, as well as Allied intelligence reports, post-war investigations, and relevant volumes of the extensive series of war histories compiled by Japanese army officers after 1945, he has largely overcome the disadvantages resulting from the wholesale destruction of documents by the Japanese at the end of the war and has produced a detailed and comprehensive survey of the occupation. Beginning with a succinct review of the pre-war background and the military campaign which culminated in the surrender of Singapore, he then examines the system of control established by the conquerors, their policies towards the several ethnic communities, the nature and impact of their educational and propaganda efforts and their economic and financial strategies, and their attempts to deal with the persistent problem of food shortages. After rounding this off with an account of the end of the occupation, the author puts the 1941–45 period into longer perspective by discussing the awkward problems which were left for the post-war British Military Administration to tackle. Throughout the book he is concerned not only with official policies themselves but also with how the population responded to them and to what extent the policies worked in practice; and here his use of personal recollections by (mainly) Malaysians and Chinese adds a valuable extra dimension to the picture produced by official statistics.

If this book benefits from not depending on one main kind of source material, it also gains from being balanced in another way. Although the author clearly sympathizes with the people of Malaya and does not minimize the hardships and suffering which they endured in the war, he does not demonize the Japanese. In his introduction he notes that some of them were brutal and some kind, some clever and some fatuous, and that there were men who fervently believed in Japan's self-described mission, and men who cynically exploited Japan's momentary supremacy. Even in the notorious case of the lawless murder of large numbers of Chinese in early 1942 he does not assume that this was authorized from above. Similarly, while not denying that the military police had a justified reputation for torture and ruthlessness, he is inclined to accept that it was ordinary soliders who were mostly guilty of the all too common acts of routine brutality which marred the image of brotherhood that the Japanese authorities sought to project. Moreover, without overlooking the fact that the Japanese exploited Malaya's material resources as far as they were able and extorted as much money from the Chinese community as they could, the picture which he mostly presents is one of generally inadequate and sometimes misconceived Japanese attempts to cope with the basically intractable problems of a Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere which could not work under war conditions (when, as Kratoska



confirms, the market for tin and rubber collapsed and Malaya's inability to feed or clothe itself meant that the wartime aim of local self-sufficiency made poor sense).

In dealing with the Malayan side of the occupation Kratoska also provides useful correctives to some common assumptions. He objects to the idea that the Chinese were hostile to the Japanese while the Malays collaborated and the Indians were won over by the promise of support for Indian independence. Instead he provides abundant evidence for the less simplified view that 'most Chinese cooperated with the Japanese, even if reluctantly; Malays tended to be neutral and came to dislike Japanese rule, while many Indians saw Japanese backing for the independence movement as detrimental to their cause'. More generally he suggests that the occupation may not have been as important a watershed in Malayan history as is often supposed, and he points, in particular, to the fact that because there was not, in Malaya, a military campaign to expel the Japanese, radical elements failed to secure a substantial political voice in the post-war period.

For the most part, however, Kratoska is less concerned with broad interpretative issues and more with the immediate effects of the occupation. Because he deals as much with pedestrian everyday reality as with the dramatic events, his book does not always make lively reading. A more valid criticism may be the lack of a comparative dimension. Many features of Japanese rule in Malaya can be paralleled in other parts of the Japanese empire, but in significant ways, notably the absence of any thought of granting independence, it was also distinctive. Some consideration of how such differences may have affected the character of occupation policy could have been informative. It would also have been interesting to examine how much of the apparatus of control was adopted from the methods employed earlier in Manchukuo and China and, indeed, in Japan itself, where new approaches to propaganda and popular mobilization introduced in the 1930s and early 1940s bear resemblance to those applied in Malaya. This is only a minor limitation, however, which does not significantly detract from the value of an important new book.

R. L. SIMS

WILLIAM W. FITZHUGH and CHISATO O. DUBREUIL (ed.): *Ainu, spirit of a northern people*. 415 pp. Washington, D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999.

HONDA KATSUICHI (translated by KYOKO SELDEN HARAKUR): *An Ainu woman's tale*. (Voices from Asia, 11.) 350 pp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. £31.50, £12.50 (paper).

Taken together these two books provide very different but complementary accounts of Ainu culture.

*Ainu, spirit of a northern people* is a useful summary of current knowledge of the Ainu. Compiled in association with an exhibition of the same title organized by the Arctic Studies Center at the Smithsonian Institution, it has fifty-five articles written by fifty-two different authors and divided into six sections entitled: (i) Theories of Ainu origins; (ii) Historic period; (iii) Ainu 'discovery': collections, museums and the public; (iv) Ainu *Mosir*, Land Spirits and culture; (v) Even without a word for art; (vi) Ainu present and future (with an introduction by William Fitzhugh), Ainu Ethnicity, A History. Unfortunately this format leads to a certain amount of repetition and appears to be all-inclusive even though eminent researchers such as Kirsten Refsing and Deriha Koji, whilst mentioned, are not represented. Most welcome are articles by prominent Ainu and Japanese contributors, which are particularly important to researchers who are unable to read Japanese. The combination of scholarly essays, including those by well-known American, Japanese and European researchers, with articles from the Ainu community itself, gives this publication breadth and substance. It is lavishly illustrated from the collections from American museums and informed by cultural archives.

Honda's, in contrast is mainly a work of fiction based on extensive research. Written by one of Japan's leading journalists and a controversial writer, Honda Katsuchi, it is in two parts. The first, *Ainu Moshir*, summarizes the origins of Ainu culture, the Ainu relationship with the Japanese, and research into aspects of the Ainu way of life several hundred years ago. Honda discusses his sources as 'the oral traditions such as *uwepeker* (folktales) and *upashkuma* (factual stories or precepts)' and 'the knowledge held by present-day Ainu elders' (p. 61). He also refers to historical reports and contemporary archaeological and anthropological research. He notes the difficulties and contradictions he encountered but nevertheless it is this research that informs the second part, *Harakur*.

*Harakur*, an Ainu woman, is the heroine of the fictional story told in the last two thirds of the book. Her story is undoubtedly a subjective view of Ainu life. Ainu culture is represented as being unchanging and isolated from surrounding cultures. Told from the viewpoint of a woman it takes the reader to the heart of the Ainu community, and avoids stereotyping the Ainu as hunters. It also provides a scheme whereby Honda is able to restrict the story to the domestic arena, where he can use ethnographic sources on child rearing, midwifery, courtship and marriage, and allows him to ignore the significant position the Ainu held as traders. In his excellent foreword, David Howell recognizes that by focusing on an idealized presentation of the Ainu as being in harmony with their surroundings, Honda achieves his aim. Honda's 'implicit critique' is not only of contemporary Japanese society and government but also of the reality 'that modern development has been achieved only through violence to the environment and to indigenous cultures'. 'As a writer dedicated to battling injustice, Honda's first concern is to undermine his readers' prejudice' (pp. xii-xiii).

For a broader view we return to *Ainu, spirit of a northern people*. The range of subjects covered in this volume is admirable and includes aspects which have been little examined in previous works in English, such as basketry, food, children's play, contemporary Ainu art and the more difficult political and historical issues. The virtues and disappointments of *Shinpo*, the new Ainu law are discussed by Tsunemoto and Sasamura. Informative articles by Siddle and Howell trace the Ainu relationship with, and resistance to, the Japanese state. It is gratifying to see Dubreuil discredit the myth of animal symbolism in Ainu art and to read Graburn's useful survey of Ainu basketry in the context of types found on the Pacific Rim. Throughout this volume the Ainu are considered in the wider context of the Pacific Rim and the Amur River region where they were important traders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their language was the *lingua franca* of this area and their material culture exhibits cross influences indicating a former, much wider, base for their culture and language. Akino and Ohnuki-Tierney explain Ainu beliefs underlying husbandry of the land in two excellent articles dealing with spirit sending ceremonies and social organization. Recent archaeological research is included in Kohara's most interesting article on 'Foods of choice'. In the interest of looking at new research perhaps it was unnecessary to include Watanabe's article, 'The Ainu ecosystem', which was published in full in English in 1973.

To conclude, *An Ainu woman's tale* is an engaging story backed up by extensive research and written in the first person to make us face up to Ainu culture as a living entity. Having become absorbed in Ainu ethnicity the reader can turn to *Ainu, spirit of a northern people* as a welcome and most informative introduction to Ainu culture. This scholarly yet accessible collection of essays provides a very useful reference work for Ainu studies. Both books will appeal to those already interested in the Ainu and to the general reader.

JANE WILKINSON

DENNIS HIROTA (ed.): *Toward a contemporary understanding of Pure Land Buddhism: creating a Shin Buddhist theology in a religiously plural world*. (SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies.) ix, 257 pp. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000. \$21.95.

Jōdoshinshū, the large school of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, accumulated over the more than 700 years of its history a powerful and highly developed tradition. Its exponents believe that potentially this resource offers something of value to world religious thought unparalleled elsewhere.

Since the Meiji period, however, it has proved difficult to make the classical Shin language communicate well to modern audiences, even in Japan. On one hand an 'opaque' school has dug in, favoured by conservatives in Japan who seem to think that maintaining

the official classical material (and rendering it over-literally into a foreign language) is sufficient. On the other hand reformist volleys have been fired by a variety of modernists who experiment in various ways with 'translation', using concepts and terms (especially Western and Christian) favoured by history of religions and academic philosophers.

Since so far no approach has been particularly successful in opening up the Shin resources widely in the contemporary world, continued exploration is the object of this ambitious book, which is a new attempt at creative reinterpretation and reinvention of the Shin Buddhist language. It reflects over a decade of thought originally stimulated by the encounters of Gordon Kaufman (the theologian of imagination) with Shin scholars. Although it is produced in English, the effort at innovative 'dharmology' seems to be aimed at both Western and Japanese audiences.

Following an introduction by Dennis Hirota, the eminent scholar and translator, the text consists of three sections: three essays by Buddhist scholars making proposals for reworking the language and conceptualization of Shin (these scholars include Hirota, John Yokota, and Musashi Tachikawa (an Indian-oriented Buddhologist)); two responses by American scholars of religion who are Christian but who have long taken a particular interest in Shin (Kaufman and John Cobb, Jr. (the process theologian and Yokota's teacher)); three follow-up counter-responses by the Buddhist writers; and a concluding summary by Hirota. The sophisticated and intricate essays focus on abstract religious studies concepts, and the arguments are presented and then expounded via give-and-take among the writers.

Hirota's broad goal is to reappropriate and revise Western religious studies language (especially certain terms associated originally with Kaufman) so that it can be employed for an authentic and accurate discussion of Shin teaching. Yokota wants to bring the language of (Christian) process theology into interaction with Shin language; he is concerned with the 'pathos of Amida' and with the demythologization of certain literalist Pure Land understandings. Tachikawa, the Indianist, is interested in large-scale conceptions of religious action and compares Pure Land practice to mandala practice in esoteric Buddhist traditions. Kaufman and Cobb both respond in detail and with creativity and open-mindedness to the Buddhist writers.

The book is a splendid example of high-level inter-religious dialogue. For those unfamiliar with the Japanese-language literature, it reveals how Shin is hardly a simple system but rather a complex and contestable field of discourse like other religious traditions. As illustrated by the authors, efforts to achieve translation of even basic terms reveal a range of opinion and attack. The essays are all rooted in standard Shin doctrine but otherwise offer neither consensus nor resolution but instead a rich spectrum of possibilities (these are summarized succinctly by Hirota in an afterword, pp. 241–7).

Together with this accomplishment, the

book leaves open basic questions about its strategy and assumptions.

Exploring the Christian connection remains ambiguous if the goal is to persuade new audiences to pay attention to Shin. Even where Shin exponents are trying to get beyond and to revise Christian (or Western post-Christian) theological-style language, they tend to remain in the orbit created by that language. This presents a contradiction: there are indeed points of (at least superficial) discursive connection between Shin language and Christian language, and these serve as a powerful legitimation of Shin's importance and status within Japan (as noted by Hirota on p. 25). On the other hand, for many non-Japanese moderns these relations are often counter-productive, because for non-Christians they are more of a 'turn-off' than they are an attraction, and even for Christians they dilute the impression that Shin offers anything of particular interest. Pure Land thus persistently finds itself in a no-man's land between liberal (quasi)-Christian religious talk and meditation-oriented or self-help-oriented Buddhist talk.

A discrepancy also perhaps exists between the goal of reforming the Shin social perspective and the notion that progress can be made via theology. Hirota states that a motivation for the dialogue in the book is to discover such activism (pp. 4–5, 16) but the essays themselves have to do almost entirely with conceptual theorizing.

Finally, the modern cultural context may actually be the core problem in communicating Shin. Reformist modernists in Shin tend to assign blame to the Shin tradition itself, whether to problems from the past (Tokugawa-period doctrinal disputes, or the acute separation of religion and state in Japan since the Meiji period) or to a late twentieth-century institutional conservatism and lack of effort (Hirota discusses these excellently in his introduction). But even though such critics are not wrong, they may not be interrogating the prime suspect. The principal reason why Shin's egalitarian, social approach to Buddhism does not transmit well to the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries may not involve its received language or history but rather the nature of high-tech consumer society. Recent new religions suggest that what works religiously in such a society is (for example) theistic supernaturalism, or therapeutic egocentrism, or personal shamanism. What does not seem to work well is religion with the characteristics of Shin: deep austerity (especially of the imagination), personal humility, and service-oriented communalism.

No amount of tweaking of Shin language will be able to affect this larger civilizational predicament. However, thanks to the efforts of the thinkers in this book, it may be conceivable that Shin ideas will in the near future have substantially more impact than has heretofore been the case.

GALEN AMSTUTZ

## SOUTH-EAST ASIA

G. L. KOSTER: *Roaming through seductive gardens. Readings in Malay narrative*. viii, 273 pp. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997.

The last decades of the twentieth century saw the long overdue process of theoretical realization of traditional Malay literature. The pioneer works on the oral principle in Malay literature by Amin Sweeney, theoretical studies of its different genres by Dutch and Australian scholars, the writings of the present reviewer on the role of Islam in Malay literature self-awareness and practice and the first theoretical works of Malaysian and Indonesian scholars—all this, we can hope, has put an end to the idea of traditional Malay literature as a 'Cinderella' of sorts, naïve and not particularly sophisticated.

The book by G. L. Koster under review occupies quite an important place among the above-mentioned theoretical studies. Well-versed in modern literary theories and having a good command of research methods, Koster shows a preference for the structuralist approach to his material and chooses Malay narrative poems (*syair*) as the principal object of his study. The second section of his book, 'Readings in heroic epic, Panji romance and parodies' contains deep and stimulating (though sometimes, it seems, too 'hair-splitting') analyses of five such poems. The first of

them—the famous 'Poem of Ken Tambuhan'—is a romantic epic and, at the same time, a 'drama of signification', its plot mediating 'between remembrance and forgetfulness, the law and desire, identity and interpretation' (p. 8). Koster's interpretation of the romantic epic is followed by his reading of a heroic-historical epic, the 'Poem of Macassar War', and by that of the 'Poem of Siak War'—a tragedy of sorts, and simultaneously 'a cautionary story' and the epic of the manifestation of God's Will. Finally he scrutinizes the satirical 'Poem of the Terubuk-fish' and the 'Poem of the Fruits'—a kind of parody on both a love romance and the conventions of traditional Malay literature itself, according to Koster.

Koster's readings of these poems undoubtedly deserve a more detailed discussion. However, particularly interesting in this book are the theoretical conclusions of a more general nature. Although presented in the first section 'Conventions of Malay narrative' these conclusions are based primarily on the multi-levelled interpretation of the semantics of the above-mentioned poems; peculiar and, at the same time, typical of the Malay tradition. The study of these poems within the framework of their intertextual connections has allowed Koster to step beyond the limits of verse epics and come closer to formulating a general theory of Malay narrative literature.

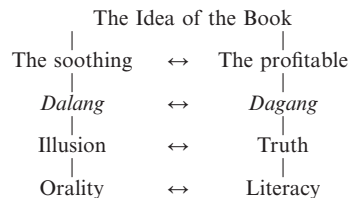
To outline at least a draft of such a multi-sided theory is undoubtedly a vital task for

Malay literary studies. This theory should take into account the ideal concept of Malay literature (its self-awareness) and the real literary practice; the role of Islam in Malay literature and the role of its pre-Islamic oral substratum and the milieu in which it functioned; the court and religious contexts in which traditional Malay writers worked; the written method of 'literary production' and the oral manner of 'literary consumption' (Sweeney's terms); the formulaic expression and schematic composition of oral literature, and their peculiar manifestations in written literature.

Koster's book might be regarded as a rather successful attempt at combining the oral and written components of Malay literature—or rather of different groups of its narrative genres—within the framework of one structural model.

Koster singles out two mutually opposed functions of narrative genres: 'soothing', i.e. designed to entertain the reader, leading him away from the troubles of life to a mysterious and beautiful world of fiction, and 'profitable', designed to instruct the reader in correct (from the Islamic point of view) behaviour in the real world. Each function is related to a definite type—or rather mask—of the author, whom Koster calls *dalang* ('puppeteer') and *dagang* ('stranger/trader far from home'). The former personifies the 'soothing' function of literature (typical of *wayang* stories, Panji romances, etc.) and its 'force of orality', while the latter represents the 'profitable' function of literature and its 'force of literacy'. Both *dalang* and *dagang*, although in opposite ways, reflect the commemorative nature of traditional Malay literature, i.e. the fact that it is to remind the reader/listener that in all his actions he must follow wisdom and God's guidance. *Dagang* is associated with remembrance (*mengingatkan*) of God and action in conformity with reality (*mengadakan*), i.e. with the religiously and culturally sanctioned order of things. *Dalang*, on the other hand, is associated with memories of the former religion (*mengenangkan*) and with the soothing by means of seductive beauty that brings the reader to losing oneself in the world of fantasies and illusions which only mimic reality (*mengada-ada*).

The opposing forces of orality and literacy, related respectively to the 'soothing' and the 'profitable', and to *dalang* and *dagang*, are brought to unity by 'The Idea of the Book', i.e. by the concept of the production of meaning which, if it is supposed to be valid, must obviously point back and be authorized by a codified unassailable Truth, or Source. Thus, the model proposed by Koster is as follows (| = interrelation, ↔ = opposition):



The introduction of the orality↔literacy opposition into the model of Malay literature

and the differentiation between two types of traditional authors/narrators are the most valuable components of Koster's study. As for the rest, it is rather close to that model which, as early as 1983, was proposed by this reviewer in the Russian edition of his *History of Malay literature from the 7th to the 19th century*. The differences pertain mainly to the terminology applied to the same phenomena and to the lack of the third literary function—that of 'spiritual perfection' (*kamal*)—in Koster's strictly dichotomic model. The main disadvantage of the latter is that it fails to take into account the hierarchy of literary functions which existed in Malay literary self-awareness. The supreme position in the literary system, was occupied by the function of 'spiritual perfection' inherent in religio-mystical works and Sufi allegories. It was followed, on the lowest level, by the function of 'soothing'. If the hierarchical principle (fundamental in any medieval-type literature, including Malay) had been duly considered, Koster's model could have described Malay literature as a real unity, preserving at the same time all its advantages. In its present form, notwithstanding the 'Idea of the Book' integrating the oral and written components of literature, this model remains somewhat ambiguous, reflecting insufficiently the unity of both components of Malay literature.

Be that as it may, it will be possible to solve the problem of interaction between the oral and written principles in traditional Malay literature only when old 'stemmatic' philology—so eloquently, though not without polemical extremes, criticized by Amin Sweeney—gives way to a new philology or, at least, to serious efforts at creating the latter, because it is precisely this absence of a sound philological basis that is the major obstacle in the study of Malay literature. This new philology should become a science of the history of the text, rather than a mere manual on its edition. It will have to regard traditional Malay writings not as grotesque half-written and half-oral hybrids, but as integral phenomena, creative variations within these texts and their types of authorship being specific for a definite stage in literary evolution. This stage—the early epoch of manuscripts—will reveal a continuous and strong influence of the oral indigenous tradition, on the one hand, and of the more mature Arab-Persian written tradition, on the other.

VLADIMIR I. BRAGINSKY

TEUKU ISKANDAR: *Catalogue of Malay, Minangkabau, and South Sumatran manuscripts in the Netherlands*. 2 vols., xiv, 1095 pp. Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, 1999.

The long-awaited publication of new catalogues of Malay manuscripts (MSS) in Dutch collections, particularly of the richest collection, which is kept in the Leiden University Library (LUB), has become one of the most long-awaited events in Malay philology in recent



years. A growing need to replace the old LUB catalogues (that by Juynboll (1899)) and its supplement by Van Ronkel (1921)), caused by both their inadequacy *vis-à-vis* modern requirements and the considerable growth of the collection, had been felt for a long time. Eventually, this resulted in a new catalogue project being set up within the framework of Cultural Co-operation Indonesia-Netherlands in 1976. However, it took more than 20 years before the project—quite unexpectedly—resulted in the publication of not one but two catalogues: the *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other collections in the Netherlands*, compiled by E. P. Wieringa and edited by J. de Lijster-Streef and J. J. Witkam (1998), and the catalogue by Teuku Iskandar reviewed here.

It is hardly appropriate to discuss here the long and somewhat controversial history of the compilation and publication of the catalogues, especially since this history has already been expounded, from two different viewpoints, in their respective prefaces. Suffice it to say that the catalogues differ considerably in the number of MSS described (Wieringa's embraces about one-sixth of MSS covered by Iskandar), in the degree of descriptive detail and in discussion of the MSS (particularly letters), in the method of their presentation (Wieringa's catalogue is generously provided with facsimile illustrations, whereas that by Iskandar contains no illustrations at all), and in the number of bibliographical references. Nevertheless, my comparison of the catalogues and the elaborate review of Wieringa's work by Russell Jones, published in this journal (*BSOAS* 63/3, 2000, 452–5), clearly reveal that they represent two branches, as it were, growing from one and the same stem—the initial project begun and substantially advanced by Iskandar.

The catalogue under review is at least the third big project of T. Iskandar, two others being *Kamus Dewan* (in the 1970 edition) and *Kesusasteraan klasik Melayu sepanjang abad* (1995), a kind of history of traditional Malay literature. Although much in these two projects is open to criticism, it is difficult to deny that the first of them constitutes the basis of the best dictionary of contemporary Malay, while the second is the only attempt so far to describe traditional Malay literature in terms of the history of its local schools (those of Pasai, Malacca, Aceh, Palembang, Riau, etc.). Finally, the third project—this catalogue—represents the only currently available, concise, yet comprehensive, description of all Malay, Minangkabau, and South Sumatran MSS in Dutch collections, practical and—being written in English—easily accessible to specialists in the field.

Iskandar's catalogue includes all known minor collections, some of which have never been described before (those of the Museum Nusantara in Delft, the Volkenkundig Museum in Breda, Nijmeegs Volkenkundig Museum, Koninklijk Huisarchief, a.o.). Older descriptions of MSS in major collections are supplemented with both the entries lacking in his predecessors' catalogues and the entries purchased and donated after their catalogues had been published (see, for instance, MSS

of LUB: Cod.Or. 7397-12.027, 12.272-12.326, 12.605-17.992, i.e. 324 entries on the collections of Snouck Hurgronje, Damste, Rinkes, Van Ronkel, Ophuijsen, a.o.; or MSS of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde: Nos 50, 198-564, 1198, i.e. 71 entries). Alongside materials known from the earlier catalogues, Iskandar's work comprises: descriptions of all collections of letters—compact, though providing basic information on senders and addressees; complete (not selective as before) descriptions of multi-lingual MSS containing writings not only in Malay, but also in Acehnese, Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese, a.o. languages—which are extremely important for the understanding of the role played by Malay language in the insular world; descriptions of MSS in Réncong and Lampung scripts composed in South Sumatran literary idiom, Malay in its essence; finally, descriptions of European MSS (mostly those by European scholars) with materials, notes and comments related to Malay subjects.

Compared with the older catalogues, descriptions of individual entries in Iskandar's catalogue have been further elaborated, added and frequently corrected (for instance, wrong numbers in Minangkabau MSS in Van Ronkel's catalogue, see pp. 260–80). The physical description of MSS in particular has been amplified, so that now every entry includes notes on paper, on style and on peculiarities of handwriting, and on watermarks if they are present (descriptions of the latter have been verified by a prominent expert in this field, Russell Jones). Not infrequently, Iskandar establishes, for the first time, the correct number of individual works in composite manuscripts (especially those with religious and mystical content); this was sometimes defined wrongly in Van Ronkel's catalogue. This provides us with true knowledge not only of how many and which Islamic works are kept in Dutch collections, but also of the genuine share of such works in the overall composition of traditional Malay literature. One cannot but mention that it is precisely the description of Islamic writings that constitutes the strongest side of Iskandar's catalogue.

No less valuable are the additions pertaining to names of authors, copyists and former owners of MSS, quite numerous in Iskandar's work. One example is sufficient to show how useful such additions can sometimes be. Unlike Van Ronkel, Iskandar informs the reader that MSS Cod.Or. 5592-5634, 5636-5738bis (28 entries in all, including many composite MSS), which LUB received from Snouck Hurgronje, had originally belonged to the library of a certain Banten sheikh. Remarkably, along with a number of religio-mystical treatises and works on magic, divination and law, this library includes Batavian fantastic adventure and wayang tales (*Hikayat Sukma Lelana*, *Hikayat Jaya Lenggara*, *Hikayat Pandawa*), as well as symbolic love poems (*Syair Bunga Air Mawar* and *Syair Burung Pungguk*). Akin in this respect to the more modest collection of another religious teacher, Safirin b. Usman b. Fadli (see H. Chambert Loir, 'Malay literature in the 19th century. The Fadli connection', in: J. J. Ras and S. O. Robson (ed.): *Variation, transformation and meaning*. Leiden, 1991,

89–90, 113), the library of the Banten sheikh provides important data for the study of the role of clerics in the creation and dissemination of Malay belletristic works. Moreover, considering both the Sufi background of this library's owner and the verses on the mystic of *wayang* which are held there (Cod.Or. 5738bis A), it also corroborates the assumption that some belletristic works may have been interpreted as Sufi allegories (see V. Braginsky, 'Hikayat Shah Mardan as a Sufi allegory', *Archipel* 40: 107–35).

To sum up: the catalogue by Iskandar, markedly surpassing its predecessors in both scope and detail, permits scholars to appreciate in full measure the importance of Dutch collections of Malay MSS (as well as Malay writings themselves) as invaluable sources of information not only on the literature, history, religion and mythology of the Malays, but also on their ethnology, law, language, epistolography, medicine, astrology and other traditional sciences (see, for instance, a curious treatise about horses, their merits and their treatment in MS K1.62). Once again this catalogue confirms how fruitful is the late P. de Josselin de Jong's idea of 'textual anthropology' which can greatly augment and refine the data collected by field anthropologists in their interviews with contemporary informants. All the more so since the latter are usually less well versed in traditional lore than were their predecessors, whose 'interviews' are recorded in these MSS.

Needless to say, as with virtually every project so broad in scope, Iskandar's catalogue is not free of imperfections and inaccuracies. For instance, the cataloguer does not refer to the previous numbers of MSS from Snouck Hurgronje's collection, whereas in his descriptions of MSS from Ophuijsen's collection such numbers are quoted, which facilitates the use of older catalogues. Throughout the catalogue, Shelabear's recension of *Sejarah Melayu* is mistakenly called the 'long recension', while it is according to Roolvink's classification the 'hybrid recension'. The book also reveals a sprinkling of misprints ('adiutor' instead of 'auditor', p. i; '19082' instead of '1908a', p. 779; 'UB' instead of 'LUB', p. 789; 'rmpai' instead of 'rampai', p. 965, etc.). All these are, however, only minor slips.

More disappointing is the fact that the catalogue does not include an explicit list of features that form the descriptions of MSS. Although these descriptions are sufficiently unified and their principles are, by and large, self-evident, such a list (like that in the Preface by Witkam to Wieringa's catalogue, p. 10), would serve only to benefit the catalogue. It would explain, for example, in which cases the cataloguer found it necessary to summarize the writings contained in particular MSS and in which cases he did not include an abstract in the respective entry. This remains especially unclear in regard to MSS of narrative works in prose and verse (*hikayat, syair*) and historical writings. It seems likely that Iskandar normally quotes the abstracts of lesser-known pieces (see, for instance, long summaries of historical works from Jambi, pp. 759–63). However, exceptions to this rule are almost as numerous as examples of adherence to it. Why, for

instance, does Iskandar summarize *Sejarah Bangka* (pp. 754–8) published by Wieringa in 1988, or *Hikayat Negeri Deli* (p. 857) already outlined on many pages with copious quotations by A. C. Milner in his *Kerajaan* (1982)? Why does he provide his catalogue with an abstract of the well-known Minangkabau *Kaba Cindue Mato* (p. 305) but does he not say a word about the content of the no less popular *Kaba nan Tingga* and *Kaba Malim Demani*? Why are some Panji-romances summarized (see, for instance, p. 369), while others are not? Such questions cross the reader's mind more than once or twice.

Researchers (particularly those who are not experts in philology or literature), who are interested in the content of MSS of major Malay writings, can find a way out of sorts by reading Iskandar's catalogue alongside his above-mentioned history of Malay literature, since the latter contains the abstracts they need. However, such efforts would be hampered by the absence of regular references to this work in the catalogue. Unfortunately it is not just these references, but also references to summaries and editions of Malay writings in general, which leave much to be desired, although they would seem to be essential in any brief practical catalogue of the type published by Iskandar. Indeed, Iskandar systematically refers to the Leiden catalogue by Juynboll and Van Ronkel's (1909) Batavian catalogue, rich in abstracts of narrative writings (which are, incidentally, not always precise), as well as to Van Ronkel's Leiden catalogue, which is of only limited help in this respect. However, their Dutch abstracts are not particularly useful to the English-speaking (or rather English-reading) Malayists for whom Iskandar's catalogue is intended. With this in mind, it would not be inappropriate to augment these references with regular references to, firstly, the Jakarta catalogue by Sutaarga *et al.* (1972), which is based on Van Ronkel's publication and quotes essentially the same abstracts but in Indonesian and, secondly, to histories of Malay literature by R. O. Winstedt, Liaw Yock Fang (1991–93) and Iskandar himself, with their extensive summaries in English and Indonesian. Besides, when describing MSS of religio-mystical works, the cataloguer could have referred to their detailed abstracts composed by Shaghir Abdullah (see his *Khazanah karya pusaka Asia Tenggara*, 1991).

Judging by the catalogues of both Iskandar and Wieringa, the problem of unified summaries seems to be a stumbling-block in the description of Malay MSS generally. The best solution to this problem would probably be a dictionary of Malay narrative, historical and religio-mystical writings, providing abstracts as well as information on their main recensions, MSS and editions. The compilation of such a dictionary, which is quite possible at present, would allow elaboration on the best format of the abstract and supply prospective cataloguers with a reliable reference book; at the same time, it would stimulate considerably the examination of Malay literature and related fields of Malay studies.

References to text editions in Iskandar's catalogue are also far from complete. Here are just a few random examples. In the descriptions

of MSS of *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (pp. 9, 74, 154, 158, etc.) and *Sejarah Melayu* (pp. 11, 16, 24, 24, etc.) we find no references to their editions by A. Samad Ahmad (1979, 1987); in the description of MSS of *Surat al-Anbiya* (pp. 435, 438, 481)—the reference to its Malaysian edition by Hamdan Hassan (1990). In the descriptions of MSS of *Hikayat Syah Mardan* (pp. 23, 47, 81, 99, 108, 150, 712, 750) and *Hikayat Langlang Buana* (pp. 709, 711) references to both their old Dutch editions of 1913 and 1916 and their new Malaysian editions (Anonymous, 1996 and Mohd. Yusof Md. Nor, 1991) are lacking. In the description of MSS of *Hikayat Maraskalek* (pp. 20, 96, 288) and narratives on the Prophet Muhammad there are no references to their editions by, respectively, M. Zaini-Lajoubert (1987) and Jumsari Jusuf *et al.* (1984). This list continues. Numerous editions from the Malaysian publishing houses *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* and *Fajar Bakti*, as well as those of the *Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah* proved to be particularly 'unlucky'. Strangely enough, such publications are sometimes mentioned in the catalogue's 'Bibliography' but references to them are lacking in the respective entries. For instance, we find no references to Jamilah Haji Ahmad's edition of *Syair Bidasari* (1989) in any description of MSS of this work, although this edition appears on p. 968 of the 'Bibliography'; Aliudin Mahyudin's edition of *Hikayat Syaikh Muhammad Samman* (1989) is similarly not referred to in any description of MSS of this narrative, although it is mentioned on p. 958 of the 'Bibliography', etc.

It goes without saying that a cataloguer is much freer in his selection of publications containing abstracts or text editions than in the physical description of MSS, moreover many of the above-mentioned editions are rather imperfect and, more often than not, are not based directly on the MSS described in the catalogue. Nonetheless, a greater completeness in references coupled with a greater clarity concerning the reasons for the selection of the editions referred to would undoubtedly increase the value of Iskandar's catalogue.

The catalogue is concluded by nine indexes: 'Index of titles', 'Index of authors', 'Index of convicts', 'Index of previous owners and collectors', 'Index of commentators, transliterators and translators', 'Index of personal names in letters', 'Index of other personal names', 'Index of geographical names' and 'Index of watermarks'. Most useful generally, these indexes, particularly those of personal names, show a certain confusion of the entries included. For instance, M. A. Jaspan is mentioned on p. 865 as a collector of Rejang proverbs, therefore a sudden appearance of his name in 'Index of authors' with the reference to that page cannot but evoke puzzlement. T. G. T. Pigeaud's note about the dates of several MSS, mentioned on p. 851 allows us to include his name in the 'Index of commentators ...', not in 'Index of authors', etc. It would be more correct, if the rather ambiguous 'Index of commentators, transliterators and translators' (the names of scholars whose notes are found in MSS themselves are confused in it with the names of those whose commentaries,

transliterations and translations were published as separate works) were combined with 'Index of other personal names' and amplified. Besides, Iskandar's catalogue, just like that by Wieringa, is obviously in need of an 'Index of genres', moreover, contrary to the former catalogues, both of them are arranged according to collections, not according to genres of writings contained in MSS.

Be that as it may, all the critical comments and suggestions mentioned above are mostly no more than expressions of that *appetit* which, as we know, *vient en mangeant*. No doubt, the comprehensive catalogue by T. Iskandar will remain an indispensable guide to Dutch collections of Malay, Minangkabau and South Sumatran MSS for a long time.

VLADIMIR I. BRAGINSKY

JOHN OKELL and ANNA ALLOTT:  
*Burmese/Myanmar dictionary of grammatical forms*. xvii, 312 pp.  
Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001. £50  
hardback, £16.99 paperback.

For second-language readers and learners of Burmese, Okell and Allott's *Dictionary of grammatical forms* is pure luxury. It provides, in essence, everything that is routinely absent from many of the dictionaries in standard use for Asian languages with isolating grammars, namely genuinely useful guidance in the parsing and interpretation of grammatical particles and other forms.

A reader wishing to make sense of a grammatical form in such a language normally has to turn to a descriptive or reference grammar, where he or she is likely to be confronted with a technical linguist's analysis which may be of little practical help. For the student of Burmese, few sources other than the grammar sections of language coursebooks have hitherto been available, and these cover only the most frequent functions of the most frequent grammatical forms.

The body of the dictionary is a list of more than 750 Burmese grammatical forms, at the head of each of which the user finds the grammatical form in Burmese, the syntactic context in which the form is found and an English translation of the form. This is followed by essential supplementary information on syntactic category, stylistic register, pronunciation, provenance, common collocation, etc., after which are given several—at least two and in many cases up to a dozen or so—example Burmese sentences containing the form with English translations.

Two innovative aspects of the design for the dictionary entries are of crucial value, and set it clearly apart from other comprehensive Burmese-foreign language dictionaries, for example the *Myanmar-English dictionary* (Myanmar Language Commission, 1993), the *Burmese-Russian dictionary* (G. F. Minina and U Kyaw Zaw. Moscow: Russian Language Press, 1976) and the *Burmese-Chinese dictionary* (Burmese Language Teaching and Research Office, Department of Eastern languages

and Literatures, Beijing University, Beijing: Commercial Press, 1990).

First is the systematic attention paid to the syntactic environment in which forms occur. Different functions of a single Burmese grammatical form may frequently be distinguished from one another according to the type of syntactic structure to which they are bound, and whether they precede or follow that structure. For example, the entries under the form *hmá* (to which the dictionary devotes six pages) are each designated noun-, verb- or phrase-suffixes, or else a pattern is given in which *hmá* is likely to occur, to help the reader isolate the function which best matches the function of *hmá* he or she may be puzzling over.

Second is the care taken to highlight equivalences and differences between the Colloquial and Formal styles of Burmese (CB and FB, respectively), which are typically an area of confusion for the learner of Burmese at post-beginner level. For instance, the form *hma* has a common meaning as a postposition meaning 'in' in both CB and FB, with several alternatives available in FB but not CB; additionally, *hma* functions as a topic marker in FB but not (or only rarely) in CB, though further alternative topicalizers are available in both FB and CB; *hma* also features as a future tense verb phrase nominalizer in CB but not in FB, which uses a different form to do this. All such information is stated concisely and consistently between the head and the examples in each entry. To compare the forms associated with CB and FB it is necessary to look up several entries in the body of the dictionary; CB/FB equivalences and differences are not included in the category lists at the end of the book.

This work is a pioneering step in Burmese corpus linguistics, in that the examples are sampled from a stock of diverse 'real' sources, in contrast to the untranslated Burmese

examples in the *Myanmar-English dictionary*, the clipped, *ad hoc* examples of the *Burmese-Russian dictionary* and the examples of the *Burmese-Chinese dictionary* with their inimitable political slant. The examples in the present dictionary are not attributed to their sources, nor is a reference list of the sources provided, though this information would have reinforced the reader's understanding of the differences between the Colloquial and Formal styles. It is understood that this omission may in some cases serve to conceal or protect the identity of those who contributed material.

The failure of the otherwise indispensable *Myanmar-English*, *Burmese-Russian* and *Burmese-Chinese* dictionaries to give adequate treatment to grammatical forms may be attributable in part to the fact that their intended audiences include both Burmese speakers wishing to express themselves in another language and speakers of other languages wishing to understand Burmese, with the result that entries for grammatical forms in these dictionaries are bound to fail in the attempt to please all. The primary (though not sole) target readership of Okell and Allott's dictionary is non-native learners of Burmese, with the result that the information they provide is carefully tailored.

It is difficult to find fault with the work of Okell and Allott, my own teachers, who make a clear and modest statement on p. *viii* in the Introduction of the limits of their dictionary's scope. There is a niggling problem with the English font, in which every 'g' has a chink missing from the descender, though in Burmese the presentation is impeccable, as one might expect with the *Avalaser* Burmese computer font (for Macintosh) in the hands of its creator, John Okell.

Readers can look forward to allowing the dictionary to solve their Burmese grammar problems one by one.

JUSTIN WATKINS

## AFRICA

THOMAS LEIPER KANE: *Tigrinya-English dictionary*. xix, 2743 pp. 2 vols. Kensington, MD: Dunwoody Press (McNeil Technologies, Inc.), 2000. \$350.

The author (compiler would be a wholly inadequate description) of this mighty dictionary of the second most important neo-Ethiopian language died of leukaemia on 24 September 2000, less than a month after taking delivery of copies of the completed work. Thomas Kane had started on this mammoth undertaking in two stout volumes in 1992, within months of publication of his even somewhat larger Amharic-English dictionary. Throughout the period of his Tigrinya labours he was suffering from that dreadful illness, and this knowledge can only add to our admiration for a virtually unique accomplishment. In this reviewer's opinion the 5,000 pages of these two lexicons represent the most detailed as well as

the most original and complex contribution to neo-Semitic lexicography over, arguably, the best part of a century.

As far as I know, Kane never held a university appointment. He had worked for a while under Wolf Leslau's aegis, but when he died, aged 74, he was largely an autodidact working in seclusion, though with indigenous informants whenever possible and necessary. Among *éthiopiants* all over the world he was well known and renowned for the profundity of his knowledge of Amharic in particular.

A proper review of Kane's Tigrinya dictionary would require a prolonged period of use, immersion and experience of its minutiae. Such advantage was, alas, precluded, for, although the work has been in my possession for some six months, this time coincided with a severe illness which made any scholarly endeavour impossible. It seemed to me important, however, that this pioneering dictionary should be introduced and made known to the world of learning even within these confined limits.



Any of the following observations are never criticisms of Kane's knowledge and industry *sans pareil*, but they are always by way of questions (some of which had been put to T.L.K. in response to enquiries on his part) and merely relate to matters of judgement in general and occasionally to reflections as to what belongs to the direct concerns of a manageable dictionary and what would be the sphere of a work of a different kind altogether. Yet if the intellectual and historical status of Tigrinya were to be compared with English, then Kane has probably assembled relatively more than the equivalent of the famous *Oxford English Dictionary*. At times one might feel that Kane has entered a little too much which may occasionally render searches unduly difficult, but this remains (as I say) a matter of judgement.

There are also a few piffling corrections: thus Tigrinya would not in 1991 'soon become a national language' (p. i), for it had always been that in the Tigre province and in that part of the Red Sea province of the Bahr Negash which was called Eritrea by the Italian colonization since 1889. And if Kane refers to official and legal status, then he himself mentions such official recognition since the 1952 federation with Ethiopia (p. ii).

I am deeply conscious of *de mortuis* ..., but even that sentiment of piety towards my late friend Thomas Kane cannot reconcile me to his somewhat curt reference (p. ii) to the Tigrinya *Eritrean Weekly News* which was and remains, in fact, the largest coherent body of Tigrinya writing from 1942 throughout the 'classical' period in that language's brief history. While I was its nominal editor, the real creator (often referred to as the 'father of Tigrinya') was the (alas only later) much celebrated Waldeab Waldemariam. In testimony to the crucial status of the *Eritrean Weekly News* in the development of Tigrinya one ought to mention Ghirmay Negash's *A history of Tigrinya literature* (Leiden, 1999—reviewed in a forthcoming issue of *JSS*) in which he refers to that newspaper's 'part of the process of laying down gradually the foundations for the evolution of more extended forms of literary expression, and especially that of the novel during the period ca. 1942–1975' (pp. 120–21).

This classical period (partially covered in the texts and glossary of my *Tigrinya Chrestomathy*) is somewhat neglected, for Kane's informants appear to have been largely, and probably inevitably, drawn from men of the revolutionary period of post-1974. This heavy revolutionary angle may be witnessed in the extensive collections of such terms on pp. xiii–xv and in the limited bibliography on pp. xvii–xix where one may have expected to find more of the principal works of genuine Tigrinya language and literature—away from the ephemeral creations and jargons of the ideologues of 1974–1991—and, perhaps, beyond. A glance at Ghirmay Negash's *History of Tigrinya literature*, especially pp. 114ff., would confirm my impression.

I realize, of course, that it is difficult to find in the more limited literary reflections of Tigrinya (in contrast to Amharic) the desirable proof texts and idiomatic expressions in recorded texts (and the ample exemplification

of lemmata is one of Kane's greatest strengths) rather than in *ad hoc* sentences created by informants. Thus instances to illustrate *hamot* 'bile, courage' (p. 179) produce long and complex examples (which without Kane's sagacious translation would be barely comprehensible) such as 'It's not that those sixty men executed by the Dergue last week didn't have children and relatives, they didn't sire (offspring) with courage, i.e. they failed to have children who would avenge them'. I find such sentences not only daunting in themselves, but I have difficulty in relating them either to the original Tigrinya version or indeed to a genuine and desirable explanation of *hamot*, not in itself a complicated concept. Very similar considerations apply to the political statements on pp. 1067, etc.

The phonetic renderings *hä, hä, hä* (p. vii) must be taken as an instance of *Systemzwang* in a general outline of the Tigrinya alphabet, for in reality such pronunciations with laryngals do not exist—as indeed K. recognizes in his remarks on orthography (p. vi).

I am sorry that in his very full vocabulary entry under *läkkämä* K. makes no reference to the difficulty in rendering *läkkämo* (*Tigrinya Chrestomathy*, p. 158) about which we corresponded in the 1980s and on which H. J. Polotsky had made such important lexical observations in *JSS*, 32/1, 1987, pp. 239–40. See also *Aethiopistische Forschungen*, vol. 26, p. 201.

On p. 539 the specific comparison with Arabic is a little odd, for *rwh/ruh* is a general Semitic word. I am also not clear why in the example quoted on p. 630 from da Bassano's *Vocabolario*, col. 167, K. accepts that dictionary's example but changes its Tigrinya orthography. On p. 190 I must disagree with K. in applying the *harbäña* 'patriot warrior' of the resistance to Italian colonization also to the much later fight of the Eritreans against (Mangestu's) Ethiopians. Certainly the dates of that guerilla war can only properly cover the years 1975 to 1991 (not 1960–1991).

There are also some surprises: is it really the case that the Eritreans of late have changed the traditional dates of the Ethiopian months to coincide with Western months? Thus *Hamlä* is now said to be = July in Eritrea instead of 7 July to 6 August in Ethiopia (pp. 170, 503, etc.).

I must not continue with questions which in relation to Kane's monumental achievement pale into insignificance. One instance of the first importance (p. i) is the astonishing initiative and incredible labour by K. to start as early as 1960 'to put together the vocabularies of da Bassano (Italian), Coulbeaux-Schreiber (French), and Abba Yohannes Gäbrä-Egziabäher (Tigrinya-Amharic) after translating them into English'. The combination of those dictionaries (even without a translation) sounds a formidable burden and may not have been to the taste of any other scholar.

For the moment I can only commend this great work by our late colleague to the world of neo-Semitic linguistic scholarship in the warmest possible terms and with awe and some emotion as well as gratitude that by his strength and single-minded endeavour he succeeded in completing his task with only a few days to spare. Of him it may be justly said: 'Si monumentum requiris, circumspice'.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

PAUL NEWMAN: *The Hausa language: an encyclopedic reference grammar*. xl, 760 pp. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000. £52.50.

In the *longue durée* of linguistic enquiry, particular landmarks emerge as 'turning points' or as culminations of a generation of scholarship—the former can be the briefest of pieces that induces a so-called 'paradigm shift', but the latter is usually a summative study of greater size and comprehensiveness. In the field of African linguistics, Joseph Greenberg's classification of African languages, *The languages of Africa* (Bloomington, 1963) constituted a paradigm shift of major proportions, while comprehensive, in-depth studies of particular languages have remained few and far between, at least to the depth that say English or French have been described. Hausa has long been fortunate that the single most comprehensive and sizeable dictionary of any African language had been published as early as 1934 by G. P. Bargery, *A Hausa-English dictionary and English-Hausa vocabulary* (London, 1934), working with a team of Hausa scholars in the ancient Sahelian city of Kano. That landmark for Hausa studies, and for African language studies more generally, has now been matched by a grammar the like of which is hard to find anywhere on the African continent. The culmination of a lifetime of study by one of the leading linguists of Africa, this book is a model of scholarship, clarity, comprehensiveness, and attention to the systematic nature of language.

When, some twenty years ago, Paul Newman published a paper on the principles that underlay the gender system of Hausa nominals, 'Explaining Hausa feminines', *Studies in African Linguistics* 10: 197–226, it became clear that what had previously been the standard, but somewhat haphazard and leaky, explanation with many exceptions, was in fact a misunderstanding, based upon purely synchronic evidence, of an elegant and simple system. Newman's clarification derived from a close synchronic study of the evidence undertaken with prior knowledge of the functioning of other related Chadic languages, and therefore of something of the history of Hausa and Chadic. Ever since, Newman's keen eye for the elegant and subtle patterns of Hausa and other Chadic languages has produced insightful and sometimes radically new interpretations of grammatical behaviour. Above all, his work has remained firmly rooted in the observable patterns of a real language, and it is the accumulated expertise on such a real language which makes this book a work which will remain a landmark when debates about particular theories have long since moved on.

On picking up a 'reference grammar' the expectations of this reader, at least, are that the discussion will fall into the usual categories of orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and, perhaps, some more sociolinguistic issues. It was therefore with some surprise that I found this book on first encounter to be of a very different kind. As an

'encyclopedic' reference grammar it is organized alphabetically by topic. Instead of expecting, and finding, all the issues relating to 'syntax' bundled up into one section, issues of syntactic behaviour are interpellated among issues of morphology, phonology and semantics as they constitute features of the behaviour of particular grammatical constituents. Surely a recipe for confusion, I first thought. Not a bit of it. Among the eighty chapters in this grammar, some bring together information on more general linguistic behaviour (so there are sections on 'phonology', 'tone and intonation', 'tense/aspect/mood', 'negation') but there are also sections on specifically Hausa constituents ('linker', 'MAI and MARAS', modal particles). So the question arises as to how a non-Hausa specialist will navigate around this framework. In addition to providing essential and extensive cross-referencing, Newman has thought his way into how best to guide the reader into subject areas. He thus provides, for example, a short introductory overview chapter (ch. 50) on 'noun derivation' before a longer chapter on 'noun phrase: structure and word order' which allows the reader interested in nominal form and behaviour to see quickly what are the other relevant chapters that might not be immediately apparent to the non-Hausaist, i.e. the reader is cross-referred to 'abstract nouns, languages/attributes, agent/location/instrument, ethnonyms, abstract nouns of sensory quality, mutuality, sounds and movement, systems/eras, associated characteristics, and games and activities'. The more one delves into the book the more one realizes both the advantages of its structure and the care and forethought that have gone into its construction in order to cater for the specialist linguist on the trail of Hausa manifestations of particular linguistic processes, and for the more general reader looking for an explanation of an observed feature and further exemplification.

A further strength of the book is the extensive nature of the exemplification. Each feature is amply illustrated and often it is through this comprehensive exemplification that new insights have emerged into the systematic nature of the language. Newman's sense of rigour and his unerring clarity of thought never allow him to throw in a couple of supporting examples and then gloss over the fact that there may be many 'exceptions'. Time and again he has clearly analysed the behaviour of many, many examples and has then sorted out the way they all work, and in so doing has illuminated features which have hitherto been little described, if at all—and so, to one more-or-less familiar with the received view of how the language works, this book is full of interesting surprises, in particular the notion of an infinitive form of the verb and the analysis of the working through of reduplication and infixing in the multiplicity of plural forms in Hausa.

The clarity of the presentation is further reinforced by the way in which Newman has adopted a technique in presenting his grammar that separates out his main presentation of the synchronic picture of language behaviour from further comments that relate either to the history of the language or the facts of dialect variation. Such extra comments, fascinating as

they often are, appear not as footnotes but as separate in-text notes placed in an appropriate place in the discussion. This allows the reader easily to skip such notes and remain focused upon the main text, or to digress for a moment. This format of using in-text notes is also deployed in overcoming the bugbear of the language student, namely the analytical digression in which an author justifies his or her analysis as compared with that of other scholars. Newman presents his own analysis, drawing upon his own earlier work and the many insights of others who have written on Hausa (and perhaps his greatest intellectual debt is to that pioneering Hausa scholar of the modern era, F. W. Parsons), but does not clog up his main presentation with meandering justification, rather he deploys sparingly the 'analytical note' to acknowledge alternatives that require comment.

Inevitably, there will be, in a work of this magnitude, the occasional error. Camera-ready copy may be a boon to publishers but it remains the bane of authors. In this case, there are very few infelicities. Should there be a second edition then a small number of citations in the final chapter (Mijingini 1987, Furniss 1991b, Gregersen 1977, Yahaya 1982) would need to be picked up in the references, and this reader would prefer to see a further small change to help with the crucial system of cross-referencing. The section symbol § is used both to refer to earlier sections within the same chapter and to refer to other chapters. Elsewhere reference to other chapters is made by using a bracketed abbreviation as in (chap. 68). While the convention is explained in the list of symbols and abbreviations at the beginning, this unobservant reader occasionally found himself hunting frustratedly in the wrong place because he had forgotten the double meaning of §. A separation of the one usage for section and the other for chapter would perhaps have helped.

Newman's grammar is a major achievement and a monument to the best qualities of scholarship, a contribution to our knowledge of African languages, and of language itself, whose value will be acknowledged for years to come.

GRAHAM FURNISS

ALEX BORAINÉ: *A country unmasked: inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. xviii, 466 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. £20.

DOROTHY SHEA: *The South African Truth Commission: the politics of reconciliation*. (Perspectives Series.) xiv, 107 pp. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000. \$8, £6.50.

One of the most striking features about the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is the acclaim it has received outside South Africa, particularly in

the USA, when seen in conjunction with the wide-ranging and often severe criticism directed at it from within South Africa. These two books speak to this tension. Dorothy Shea, a career foreign service officer for the US government and former guest scholar to the United States Institute of Peace, speaks as an outsider, while Alex Boraine, as a driving force behind its creation and the deputy chairperson of the TRC, is almost uniquely well placed to provide an insider's account of the Commission. Both books have at their core a narrative about evaluation and lessons learned.

Shea focuses on the politics of the TRC, although strangely at no point does she define what she means by politics. Born of political compromise, operating in a politically charged and changing atmosphere, and given a politically loaded mandate, Shea describes the TRC, in common with all Truth Commissions, as 'an inherently political body' (p. 7), 'a profoundly political undertaking' (p. 23). This categorization is important as Truth Commissions are often described as human rights institutions—indeed this is Boraine's claim—whereas they are correctly seen as political institutions with contradictory human rights implications.

Shea examines illustrative examples of the way the TRC process was informed by, and in turn informed, politics, with the aim of better understanding the dynamics of politicization. Examples include the selection of commissioners and the paralysis and tensions that arose from seeking representivity; the politics of amnesty, from aspects of the process such as whether hearings should be public or behind closed doors, to the intrusion of racial and party political tensions and controversy surrounding particular amnesty decisions; the legal challenges and political manoeuvring that accompanied the release of the TRC's final report and contested its findings; and the non-payment of reparations by the government and the danger that possible prosecutions will be overtaken by renewed talk of a blanket or collective amnesty.

Both Shea and Boraine refer to unique dimensions of the Commission, such as the individualized amnesty provision and the holding in tension of amnesty, truth-telling, and reparation, the democracy of its process and public hearings, strong powers of search, seizure and subpoena, and a contextualized approach to establishing the truth about the past, beyond individual victims and perpetrators, through the holding of thematic and institutional hearings. Taking its place on a global learning curve, the South African TRC in turn provides lessons for elsewhere. By way of preliminary evaluation, Shea outlines a six-point 'report card', with the caveats that any assessment exercise must extend beyond the TRC itself and address both process and product. The criteria are as follows: public ownership; a 'strong but flexible' mandate; independence and impartiality; end products that make a lasting, positive difference; administration, resource and management issues; and safeguards of various kinds in relation to victims, witnesses and perpetrators. While coming down on the side of a generally positive assessment of the TRC, Shea delivers an insightful discussion of the TRC's strengths and weaknesses in

relation to these criteria. She thereby contributes usefully to the hitherto rather thin and superficial debates about the need for and criteria informing Truth Commission evaluation.

Boraine fulfils his claims to provide an insider account in the initial chapters of *A country unmasked* which focus on the genesis of the TRC. Among the crucial inputs were: the idea, first promulgated by the ANC; domestic and international consultation about alternative options for dealing with the past; two seminal conferences in 1994 (which resulted in edited volumes co-edited by Boraine); the work of his NGO 'Justice in Transition'; the public debate and drafting of the founding Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act; the appointment of commissioners; and the setting up and initial activities of the Commission itself.

On what Shea describes as an imperfection of the TRC's Final Report, the absence of a detailed account of the Commission's 'operations and decision-making process' (p. 57), Boraine is unfortunately less strong. Much of his discussion of the internal dynamics of the TRC is personality-dominated, and the report card he provides on the commissioners in chapter iii of the book is particularly unfortunate. It drew sharp reaction from some of those most harshly criticized (Mapule Ramashala, Hlengiwe Mkhize), and did little to alleviate the reputation for racial tension that surrounds the Commission. Although there is interesting personal reflection, including admissions of mistakes, this omission is also disappointing given the more general need to understand both the everyday life of the Commission and management of crises.

The central chapters of the book examine the political party and institutional hearings (a chapter which should have been more closely linked to a later one on the politics surrounding the publication and reception of the report and the issue of reparations), and two prominent personalities, former President P. W. Botha and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, 'as case studies of the madness and tragedy of apartheid' (p. 189). Although less coherent than their historical and narrative counterparts, the most important chapters in *A country unmasked* are those that deal with conceptual issues—truth, amnesty, reconciliation and their inter-relationships—and seem to speak most directly to the tension outlined at the beginning of the review: internal criticism and external adulation.

In spite of some qualifications, there is little doubt that Boraine is an evangelist for Truth Commissions and indeed for the South African 'model'. In his enthusiasm for a particular approach, Boraine is inclined to exaggerate the successes of the TRC and therefore the potential of such Commissions, and to dismiss or misrepresent alternatives. There are, for example, some hugely sweeping statements and strong claims—'South Africa is a good example of a country which has come to terms with the past' (p. 432) and 'The Commission ... in large measure achieved its goals' (p. 442). While he is right that prosecutions on their own are inadequate to deal with the legacy of gross human rights abuses—he sees the human rights

line on prosecutions as overly dogmatic (p. 280) but often underplays its strengths, for example underestimating the restorative and healing power of justice—he writes naively about the capability of Truth Commissions to provide a shared truth and reconciliation. He also insists that the TRC provided a form of acknowledgment, accountability and justice, and it therefore, in conjunction with its recommendations, played a part in constructing a human rights culture and the rule of law. In reality, Truth Commissions are highly ambiguous in human rights terms. Boraine depicts truth commissions and trials as encapsulating restorative and retributive justice respectively, and claims that the TRC 'provided the only justice available' and was 'not an abdication of justice' (p. 427). But the TRC did little to change public perceptions about justice, which remain dominated by retribution, nor does it inform the current debate and policy on crime. Truth is not justice and Boraine over-extends the vocabulary of human rights and justice rather than developing a much-needed political and moral vocabulary addressing the particularity of Truth Commissions.

As Shea states, Truth Commissions are 'in vogue' and the South African TRC was 'one of the best-conceived, best-funded, and well-staffed mechanisms of its kind' (p. 5). Both authors cite a range of favourable conditions including core political support and civil society oversight, an independent media, a functioning judicial system and a strong basis for the rule of law, and the interest, advice and support of the international community. Given these conditions, the mixed record, notably but not exclusively in relation to its innovations, and the internal-external split in perceptions, is troubling. What lessons does the TRC provide for elsewhere?

Crucially, the moral balance at the heart of the TRC, what Boraine describes as the decision to 'hold in tension truth-telling, limited amnesty, and reparation' (p. 7), is under threat. For the amnesty provision to retain credibility, there need to be at least some prosecutions of those who either did not apply for or were not granted amnesty. If South Africa now implements a general or collective amnesty it will penalize those who used the TRC amnesty mechanism, make a nonsense of the provision despite its contribution to 'inclusive truth-telling' (Boraine, p. 291), and infuriate victims. South Africa will have arrived at the same place as many other countries—impunity—via a much more messy and politically damaging route. Whether this would undermine other countries seeking to adopt this amnesty model depends on what dominates calculations, the precedent set here or domestic circumstances. The moral balance is further endangered by challenges to the TRC's victim-centred approach. Amnesties have already been granted, further amnesties are on the cards, and victims have not yet and may never receive individual reparations. These developments highlight one of the problems of a political institution in that everything, at every stage, can be seen as negotiable. These moral imbalances may in time dominate evaluation of the TRC.

This would be a shame, because these



failures are at least as much the government's as the TRC's and because the Commission had many positive features which deserve to serve as lessons for future Commissions. For example, the open, public process, the attempt to be victim-centred, strong powers and the thematic and institutional hearings all warrant consideration as examples of good practice.

Both books contain much of interest but are marred in places by structural failings, particularly repetition. They are also, ultimately, marked by a failure of nerve. While Shea critiques the TRC and admits that Truth Commissions may be a passing fashion, she does not consider alternatives or ever really question their moral, political and legal merit. Boraine defends the TRC but often on indefensible terms (justice, human rights), rather than engaging with the more difficult task of establishing a distinctive political and moral vocabulary for these institutions. The major disappointment with Boraine's account, however, is that although it contains interesting personal reflections and commentary on the power play of prominent individuals and public drama, it fails to provide the promised insider's account, a window on the TRC's institutional processes and decision making. A chapter on reconciliation, for example, contains nothing on internal deliberations on the subject.

The debate on evaluation and lessons learned has begun but has a long way to go.

PAUL GREADY

DERYCK SCARR: *Seychelles since 1770: history of a slave and post-slavery society*. xiv, 232 pp. London: Hurst & Co., 2000. £16.50 (paper).

Given the paucity of historical research on the Seychelles, this is a useful book. Despite curiously enigmatic chapter titles, Scarr provides an old-fashioned chronological survey, which repeatedly attacks the current national myth of historically rooted racial harmony. Distinct and overlapping lines of fracture emerged early among a small population, numbering only 54,000 in 1970. Uninhabited until the French colonized them as a rival to the Dutch spice islands in 1770, the Seychelles acquired a Créole-speaking mass of ex-slaves with little land, a French-speaking landed class, and a scattering of English-speaking officials and intellectuals, following the transfer of the islands to Britain during the French Wars. This linguistic and economic cleavage only partly coincided with the racial one, as a number of landowners were 'people of colour', who strongly resented their social exclusion by the 'Grands Blancs'. The Catholic Church and its teaching orders were unable to create unity, as the Anglican Church sought to recruit disaffected 'people of colour', and anti-clerical progressives opposed both churches. Persian, South Asian and Chinese traders filled many economic niches and added to social complexity. The question of whether to accept Mauritian tutelage—which came with subsidies—divided islanders, although the fiscal situation was usually dire. The Seychelles went through

typical primary commodity cycles, as spices gave way to cotton, and then to copra. The Colonial Office rejected tourism as the way to prosperity, leaving the islands to adopt this strategy after independence. However, Marxist posturing under Albert René, following the *coup d'état* of 1977, dented tourist revenues until the regime was reformed in 1991.

While broadly satisfactory in outline, and solidly based on masses of archival records, there are notable weaknesses. The author underestimates French resentment, depicting 'Grands Blancs' as cynically adopting an identity of 'Frenchmen suffering under colonial rule'. He fails adequately to explore the lived realities of this sentiment, as well as links to other groups in a similar position, for example in Mauritius or Québec. Albert René's ability to mobilize poor Créoles around a pro-French policy thus remains a mystery to Scarr. Another gap is emigration to East Africa, mentioned casually but not properly analysed as a sensible economic strategy for small islands. This neglect is all the more curious, as Scarr sees the ending of emigration, due to East African independence, as a major factor leading to political turmoil in the 1970s. Conversely, the reasons for Persian traders coming to the islands are not explored, and the communal origins of their Indian and Chinese rivals are rarely mentioned. Much of the book is anecdotal in nature, and Scarr's sardonic witticisms, while generally amusing, at times obscure the thrust of his analysis. He stops abruptly in 1993, without a proper conclusion. Nevertheless, as a bibliographer said of a work on another tiny African island state, 'this has the merit of existing'. Indeed, a companion volume on the Chagos Archipelago would be very welcome, adding to the author's already impressive publications on small tropical islands.

W. G. CLARENCE-SMITH

ALICE MOORE-HARELL: *Gordon in the Sudan: prologue to the Mahdiyya 1877–1880*. xvi, 286 pp. London: Frank Cass, 2001. £39.50.

The similarity of the title of this book to Bernard W. Allen's standard work, *Gordon and the Sudan* (London, 1931), conceals a very real difference of range and substance. As her title indicates, Moore-Harell's book is limited to the years 1877–80, i.e. Gordon's first period as governor-general of the Sudan. It surveys in little over a page Gordon's earlier career including his tour of duty as governor of the Equatorial Province (1874–76), and only mentions his second governor-generalship from 1884 to 1885, which ended in his death as Khartoum fell to the Mahdist forces. Thus avoiding Allen's wide biographical range, Moore-Harell, in her first chapter, sets Gordon's first governor-generalship in the context of Egyptian history in this period, specifically in the undermining of the Khedive Ismā'il's ambitious schemes for empire in Africa by the collapse of his finances, and the growing intervention of the European powers culminating in his deposition. In the seventy years which

have passed since Allen studied Gordon's career, a vast amount of private and official documentary and archival material has become accessible. This has been extensively and meticulously researched by Moore-Harell, as is testified by the formidable array of source-notes at the end of each chapter. Her bibliography also lists a wide range of primary and secondary published sources.

Whereas Allen dealt with Gordon's first governor-generalship chronologically, Moore-Harell adopts a thematic presentation, chapters ii to v dealing respectively with the administration, the economy, social policy, and finally civil unrest and local revolts. Chapter ii (pp. 45–88) provides in effect, if incidentally, a chronological backbone to the whole. A few points may be made on matters of detail in this chapter. The deficiencies in the Turco-Egyptian officials reflected in Gordon's 'unstable relations' with them (p. 55) resulted in part from the fact that the acquisition of empire in the Sudan was concurrent with a long period of modernization in Egypt itself, where the better men tended to be retained. It is not literally true that Gordon 'showed the Sudanese that it was possible to complain against corruption and tyranny' (p. 60). Complaint was always possible, remedy did not necessarily ensue. Gordon's appointment of Ilyās Umm Birayr as governor of Kordofan in 1878 (p. 65) had important local political overtones and consequences lasting into the Mahdia, inasmuch as it stirred up rivalry between two factional leaders (cf. Holt, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan* (Oxford, 1970), p. 49). The conflict between Yohannes (John) IV of Ethiopia (*ci-devant* Abyssinia) was a recurrent feature of border history. Earlier episodes included a semi-legendary Abyssinian invasion in 1157/1744 (cf. Holt, *The Sudan of the three Niles* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 15–16). The study of the economy in Chapter iii (pp. 89–152) is detailed and useful in its coverage of such aspects as agriculture and trade, and travel and communications. The statistical analysis of Gordon's balance sheets is necessarily speculative, since, as the author says (p. 95), 'these should be approached with caution' as resting on doubtful data. As a result of the thematic organization of the chapters, the treatment of the slave trade here (pp. 126–43) is divorced from its natural and historical corollary, the institution of slavery,

which is relegated to chapter iv at pp. 168–77. In view of the signal importance of both to Gordon himself, to the governments of both Egypt and Great Britain, and to public opinion in all three countries, their combination in a single chapter would surely have been justified. Chapter iv (pp. 153–80) also deals with religion and law, education, and health. With regard to Sudanese students at al-Azhar, the author implies, perhaps unintentionally, that their hostel, *riwāq al-Simmāriyya*, was established in the reign of Khedive Ismā'il; it was actually founded by Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha (Heyworth-Dunne, *An introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt* (London, n.d.), p. 25, n. 2). In Chapter v (pp. 181–229) the account of the revolt of Sabahī (*sic pro* Ṣubāhī) usefully amplifies from documentary sources the brief notice in Shuqayr's *Tā'rikh* cited at p. 223, n. 29. The place-name given as Adawa is correctly al-Udayya. The 'Shadow Sultans' who headed revolts in Darfur (p. 194) were genuine members of the former ruling dynasty: Hārūn was a grandson of Sultan Muḥammad Faḍl (regn. 1800/1–1838/9). He was not killed on 21 July 1879, as wrongly reported to (and by) Gordon (p. 206); his final and fatal defeat by al-Nūr 'Anqara was in March 1880 (Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan* (London, 1896), pp. 84–5). In her conclusion (pp. 230–45), the author considers the legacy of Gordon's first governor-generalship, which she sees as a period of continuity and transition in the Sudan. She stresses his entire loyalty to the khedive, without regard to British or European interests, and his attitude towards the country as if it were his own estate. The theme of continuity through successive regimes from the early Turco-Egyptian settlement to the present-day republic is worthy of reflection, while a comparison of Gordon's attitude towards the Sudan with that of British officials during the condominium might yield some interesting analogies. The book is rounded off with three appendices, one providing short biographies of some notable persons of the period.

All in all this is an important contribution to Sudanese history. One regrets that it is marred by an excessive scatter of typographical errors, including some personal names. The lack of diacritics in the transliteration of Arabic is justified on the grounds of 'easier reading' (p. xiii).

P. M. HOLT

## GENERAL

DAVID SNELGROVE: *Asian commitment: travels and studies in the Indian sub-continent and South-East Asia*. 587 pp. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2000. £39, £29 (paper).

As the first Tibetan specialist to hold a regular academic post in the United Kingdom (at the School of Oriental and African Studies) Professor David Snellgrove is perhaps best known for the impetus which he gave to the

study of Tibet's Bön faith. In addition to his ground-breaking presentation of extracts from the *gZhi-brjid* (in his *The Nine Ways of Bon*, Oxford, 1967), Snellgrove was largely responsible for bringing to Europe a group of young Bön-po which included Samten Karmay, now a leading Bön scholar in Paris, and Sāngye Tenzin, who became the first abbot at Dolanji, the leading Bön monastery in exile. Our current understanding of the Bön-po as inheritors of an early form of Central Asian Buddhism, rather than as a 'primitive animist-shamanist' belief system, derives from Snellgrove's work.

Snellgrove has lived an academic life of the kind that is no longer possible, one spent not only in lecturing and administering, or in the study of dusty texts, but in regular lengthy travels through Nepal and the Indian Himalayas. His findings have emerged not only in academic tomes, but in scholarly travel accounts, such as his *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford, 1957) and *Himalayan pilgrimage* (Oxford, 1961).

The profusely well-illustrated *Asian commitment* is difficult to classify. In part it is an autobiography, but it is also a travelogue and a learned treatise on Asian Buddhist civilization, moving, with the author's interests, from the Himalayas to Indonesia. Each of these aspects has its strengths and weaknesses. As an autobiography it provides the necessary dates and circumstances, but is increasingly reticent as to motives. As a travelogue, it is often enjoyable, although it necessarily covers some ground described in the author's earlier works, while as learned treatise the later sections on South-East Asia lack the fluency and innate cultural familiarity of the earlier sections on the Himalayas. In short, there is something for everyone here, but not everything for anyone.

Snellgrove's 'commitment' to Asia began with his wartime posting to India in 1943. As a young army officer he was unusual in immediately taking a keen interest in his cultural surroundings, and in the Himalayas he found a focus for his interest. He began learning Tibetan, and was initially accepted into the Indian Civil Service with the aim of entering the Political Department. That was then the gateway to imperial service in Tibet, where the British Indian government maintained four diplomatic positions. But his hopes of following his mentor, Sir Basil Gould, then Political Officer Sikkim responsible for the British positions in Tibet, were dashed by the ending of recruitment for the imperial services.

Imperialism's loss was scholarship's gain. Snellgrove turned to the academic study of Tibet, finding his 'guru' in the great Italian Tibetologist, Professor Giuseppe Tucci, with whom he spent a year after beginning his studies at Cambridge. SOAS followed, as Snellgrove mastered Chinese and Tibetan in order to follow Tucci's path of language as the basis for the study of Tibetan history, culture and, in particular, religion.

Much of the early part of this work is drawn from Snellgrove's letters home, which are of particular value in reproducing contemporary understandings. Thus we read of the 'pathetic affair' of the Indian National Army, whose members are described as 'treacherous fellows who were responsible for the vilest barbarities against their own fellow Indians who refused to join their ranks'. But we are left to wonder if his opinions on such matters later changed.

By the time of his second journey to the sub-continent, Snellgrove had undertaken his doctoral thesis on the important Hevajra Tantra, from a manuscript gifted him by Tucci. On this, and later Indian journeys, the book is at its strongest. We read of the familiar—stays at the ubiquitous Himalayan Hotel in Kalimpong—and of pioneering adventures, such as a winter snowed in in Dolpo.

On this journey Snellgrove found his most trusted companion, Pasang Khambache Sherpa, who accompanied him on his most prominent journeys through the Himalayan cultural worlds, reaching as far west as Bamiyan in Afghanistan. There is, in the light of recent events, a particularly poignant description of the great Buddha statues there. Their recent destruction by the Taliban is a tragedy felt especially strongly by those who witnessed their majesty.

Snellgrove's last major visit to the Indian sub-continent came in 1982, the year in which he took early retirement and ended his thirty-year connection with SOAS. His focus then turned east, following the threads of Indic civilization that had spread through South-East Asia, and such was his conversion to this region that he now lives in Cambodia in retirement. But the latter sections of the book, devoted largely to Indonesia and Cambodia, take on more of the style of a learned lecture, with lengthy descriptions of temples and the like, and far less of the human dimension. Much, perhaps, was lost in his conversion, yet the willingness to embrace a new dimension was typical of the restless spirit that underlies the narrative.

At times the reader is left to wonder about Snellgrove's personal journey. There is little or no spiritual or metaphysical speculation here, yet a letter from 1972 reveals his belief that 'It has always seemed to me that without some religious convictions ultimately nothing is worthwhile', and it was in Catholicism that he eventually found his spiritual place. Perhaps that faith influenced his description of the aim of the Buddhist Tantras that he did so much to bring to prominence. The Tantrics' self-identification with their chosen deity is described here as 'a form of self-negation', yet in seeking to take on the powers of that deity, the practitioner is surely engaged in the ultimate act of self-aggrandizement.

There is also a determined reticence about his growing disillusionment with India and Nepal, first noted in 1967. Certainly his determined, and influential, efforts on behalf of the Tibetan refugee community were made despite a strong awareness of the factionalism within that community. Nor did he find a Shangri-la in Bhutan, and he was not blind to the likely parallels between the functioning of aristocratic rule there and within pre-1950 Tibetan society.

For all his innate sympathy with the Bön-po and with the peoples of the remotest corners of the Himalayas, Snellgrove's overriding interest was in the great flow of civilizations, and his academic concerns centred on 'high' rather than 'popular' culture. Thus there is little of ethnography or of ritual, and much of monasteries and dynasties. Food is another prominent concern, as it always is in the mind of the traveller, while there is considerable detail concerning routes and logistical arrangements. Some of this material might have been better omitted, yet much of the fascination of this work lies in such details. Like one of Snellgrove's long journeys, the narrative proceeds at a gentle pace.

Though theoretical introspection is absent, one senses that Snellgrove would be far from happy in the market-orientated academic world

of today. The loss is academia's. Yet his publications and his role in the development of the field of Tibetan studies are a significant and lasting monument to his efforts. Bön studies, now at the forefront of enquiry into Tibet, are in particular a monument to his work.

The 'insider' will enjoy *Asian commitment* more than the casual reader, and many an academic will wish for the freedom to write such an account, or perhaps just for the chance to live such a life with only a handful of dedicated students to supervise. The future of Orchid Press, which has published a series of lives of unique characters involved in Asia, may now be in doubt following the death of its founder, Hallvard Kuløy, but this is a publication to be welcomed; to be enjoyed, perhaps, on a long-awaited sabbatical.

A. C. MCKAY

ANDREW SIMPSON: *Wh-movement and the theory of feature-checking*. xi, 244 pp. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000. \$83.

In this book, Andrew Simpson argues against the Checking Uniformity Hypothesis, according to which feature checking is achieved via a strict Spec-Head or Head adjoined configuration. The author provides detailed and powerful arguments for the idea that 'checking at a distance' is not only possible, but quite probably the only alternative for licensing WH phrases in situ across languages.

In chapter i Simpson advances his basic hypothesis that WH phrases occurring in situ at PF/Spell-Out do not undergo any covert raising (whether phrasal or featural) to C at LF. On this view, WH phrases in situ are interpreted and licensed in their base position. This hypothesis implies a radical departure from the government and Binding framework of the 1980s and its associated view of overt and covert movement process (C.-T. J. Huang, *Logical relations in Chinese and the theory of grammar* (Cambridge, MA, 1982)). One of the main problems for the covert movement view of WH phrases in situ is that, contrary to their moved counterpart, WH phrases in situ do not always exhibit island effects (for example, if a WH phrase is external to the island, as in multiple WH questions, then no island effect ensues). Since the advent of minimalism (N. Chomsky, *The minimalist program* (Cambridge, MA, 1995)), it has been commonly assumed that overt and covert movement should behave identically with regard to locality. In the minimalist program, the derivation from the Numeration to LF is uniform, so one does not expect a lack of parallelism between overt and covert movement. The stipulation that LF is less constrained than overt movement (C.-T. J. Huang, *Logical relations*) is thus no longer tenable. Besides, it is simply not true that LF processes are unconstrained. There is, for example, empirical evidence that subadjacency does hold at LF: comparatives and other elliptic constructions yield subadjacency effects, the associate—the nominal expression—moving up to the conjunction (T. Reinhart,

*Interface strategies* (Utrecht, 1995)). As Simpson shows, ACDs are also subject to well-formedness conditions at LF. Since WH phrases in situ are not subject to island constraints, the conclusions must be that they do not move at LF.

Chapter ii examines why it is that overt raising of WH phrases is nevertheless found to take place in various languages, despite the expectation that the interpretation and licensing of such elements should also be possible in situ in non-C positions without the need for any movement. To answer this question, Simpson proposes that WH movement takes place for two reasons: (a) in some circumstances to identify or activate an underspecified licensing head, and (b) elsewhere in order that the WH element occurs in the licensing/checking domain of a [+WH]/[+Q]C.

Chapter iii deals with partial WH movement. First, Simpson reviews the direct dependency views of partial WH movement according to which the non-substantive (i.e. the scope marker) is directly linked to the substantive WH phrase in the intermediate Spec-CP position. On this view, the scope marker is the A'-equivalent of the A expletive *there* as in *there arrived three men*. Many problems for the direct approach are discussed, one of which being that in Hungarian the case and agreement that appear on the scope marker are different from (and even incompatible with) the case and agreement features of the substantive WH phrase in the intermediate Spec-CP position. This suggests that the scope marker is independently generated from the substantive WH phrase (J. Horvath, 'The status of "WH expletives" and the partial WH-movement construction of Hungarian', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 15, 1997, 509–72). Simpson also discusses the indirect dependency approach according to which, as its name suggests, the scope marker is not directly linked to the substantive WH phrase, but indirectly via linking to the embedded clause. The scope marker is thus more the equivalent of the A expletive *it* as in *it is thought that it will rain* than the A expletive *there*. One significant problem with the indirect approach is the extra assumption that the whole clause moves at LF as a kind of expletive replacement so that the WH feature of matrix C is checked. Simpson shows that postulating clausal pied-piping is problematic on minimalist grounds, since one assumes that the strict minimum amount of structure should move for convergence. In the third part of chapter three, Simpson argues that partial WH movement takes place so that a substantive WH phrase becomes 'visible' to a higher [+WH]/[Q]C checking head at the edge of a lower tensed CP. This idea goes against the view that the substantive phrase moves to the intermediate Spec-CP position to check a focus feature (M. Brody, *Lexico-logical form: a radically minimalist theory* (Cambridge, MA, 1995)), or a D feature (G. Fanselow and A. Mahajan, 'Partial movement and successive cyclicity', *Papers on wh-scope marking, Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereichs*, 340, edited by U. Lutz and G. Müller, 1996, 131–61, University of Stuttgart and University of Tübingen). One principal feature of Simpson's analysis is the distinction between



WH features and WH operators. He argues that both the substantive and the non-substantive WH elements bear a WH feature, but only the substantive WH phrase bears a Q feature. This feature is checked against the Q feature of matrix C.

Simpson's ideas are reminiscent of those proposed by Chomsky in his most recent work (N. Chomsky, 'Minimalist inquiries: the framework', *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 15, 1998; and N. Chomsky, 'Derivation by phase', *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 18, 1999). For example, checking at a distance resembles Agree, the latter operation having replaced feature movement of earlier versions of the minimalist program. Simpson's insights date back to his 1995 doctoral dissertation, on which the book is based. Although the presentation has changed and some parts have been re-worked, the core idea of checking at a distance can also be found there. *Wh-movement and the theory of feature-checking* is a very valuable contribution to our current understanding of the principles behind WH movement and WH in situ. The book is well-written and the argumentation sharp and well-paced. It covers a wealth of data from many different languages including Bahasa Indonesian, Basque, Chinese, English, German, Hindi, Hungarian, and Iraqi Arabic. I recommend it highly.

ERIC MATHIEU

KEVIN WARD and BRIAN STANLEY (ed.): *The Church Mission Society and world Christianity, 1799–1999*. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) xviii, 382 pp. Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.; Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000. £40.

Missionary milestones have been occupying historians of the world-wide Church of England recently, as it is three centuries since the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), while the more evangelical Church Missionary Society (CMS) celebrated its bicentenary in 1999. Both have produced scholarly volumes to mark the occasion; the focus here on the CMS book cannot avoid a brief opening comparison with Daniel O'Connor *et al.*, *Three centuries of mission: the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701–2000* (London and New York, 2000). SPG undoubtedly has the advantage of a handsome volume at half the price, in paperback, with more twentieth-century photographs (some in colour, including the splendid cover painting of the African Christ from Zimbabwe's Cyrene chapel), and more non-British authors. More substantively, O'Connor opted to devote half his text to an outline history of SPG, before a range of fourteen short 'Perspectives' provided by others. The CMS volume, by contrast, has twelve much weightier chapters—

most of them very good indeed, and a valuable scholarly resource—plus a succinct, insightful Afterword by Brian Stanley, but it has no historical overview of the society's work as a whole. This regrettable gap seems unlikely to be remedied by pointing to the earlier work (for the general reader) by Jocelyn Murray, *Proclaim the Good News: a short history of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1985). Kevin Ward provides, instead, an interesting comparison of the much longer histories of the society produced by Stock and then Hewitt, tangentially offering glimpses of the spread, strengths and shortcomings of CMS in its evangelistic mission. Rather than a history of a mission institution, the book aims to provide historical insights into the meaning of Christian mission and the appropriation of Christianity in some varied contexts—because the Gospel was not the possession of the missionaries, nor could they dictate how it might be received and understood (p. 3).

Scholars of Asia and Africa would be misguided to skip the chapters focusing on notable CMS secretaries. Peter Williams makes a spirited case for the radicalism of Henry Venn's vision of self-supporting, self-governing, self-extending mission communities abroad. Venn's convictions that culture and context matter and that paternalism is the enemy of the effective church, though over-riden and under-valued by his shallower, more unimaginative and arrogant late Victorian successors, are admired today as the 'most significant missiological heritage' of CMS (p. 172). In more recent times, Max Warren's private correspondence and published writings wrestled with the urgent issue of Christian relations with other faiths; comparisons with his successor as CMS secretary, John Taylor, who had longer African experience on which to draw, make for a more theological chapter by Graham Kings, who argues that both men displayed an implicit universalism focused on Christ.

In Part I, 'The CMS: historical and theological themes', both Paul Jenkins and Jocelyn Murray make authoritative, detailed use of nineteenth-century candidates' records to bring fascinating, hitherto neglected aspects of missionary recruitment to the fore. First of all, until European nationalism began to undermine the Protestant pietist 'International' while revived fervour in Britain boosted offers, some of the longest serving key missionaries with CMS came from Wurttemberg via training in Basel. Secondly, CMS employed women missionaries earlier and then in far greater numbers than, for instance, the London Missionary Society, which had sent 136 women overseas by 1895 as compared to the CMS total of 743, representing 13 and 26 per cent of the male totals respectively (pp. 88–9). Murray skilfully traces early family networks of missionary sisters, wives, widows and daughters. Now we need to know more about twentieth-century CMS women—though, sadly (unlike SPG), candidates' records were lost in wartime bombing. The other very welcome piece giving long-overdue attention to female missionaries—by Guli Francis-Dehqani—at least takes us into the modern era, though with an unusual focus—on Persia, where for some decades *single* women were a more prominent part of

the mission venture than all men. Of the seventy-eight spinsters who went there between 1891 and 1934, sixteen stayed over thirty years, playing a major part—however ‘incomprehensible’ their approach on occasion—in forming an indigenous church in Iran (p. 94). Like Murray, Francis-Dehqani also highlights the contribution of wives, who sacrificed pay, professional status and public recognition on becoming ‘just a little *m*’; (the letter after the male missionary’s name indicating he was married) (p. 102). After exploring how derogatory missionary generalizations about Islam co-existed with more positive and sensitive responses to known individuals, her resounding conclusion certainly found an echo with this reviewer: Dehqani denounces the patronizing postcolonial tendency to assume all Christianization was coercive, for it ‘refuses to concede the right of non-Western individuals to choose Christianity for themselves’ (p. 117). I would have welcomed more historical specificity in Kenneth Cragg’s elegant if rather elliptical musings on the challenge of the Muslim world which then follow.

Geoffrey Oddie’s trio of contrasting Indian conversion case-studies provides the undoubted highlight of Part 2, ‘Mission and the indigenous church’, and should prompt reflections on Africa (and a search for similar, or at any rate, equally carefully charted, examples). John Karanja’s comparison of Kikuyu and Bagandan Christianity makes a helpful start, with its attention to developing a self-consciously African Anglicanism in Kenya, whereas Lamin Sanneh’s readable chapter on the radical Christianity of ex-slaves like Bishop Crowther, ultimately disappoints in its heavy dependence on Ajayi to the exclusion of more recent research on Nigeria. For New Zealand, Allan Davidson illustrates the early Maori impact on, for instance, church architecture, despite which the racially divided church resulting from the settler presence served with time to stifle native culture and clergy.

In the final section, on ‘Changing perspectives on mission in Britain’, John Clark offers an innovative analysis of mission’s cultural impact on Britain itself and of how after 1980 Britain also became an object of mission—receiving thirty-three long-term ‘mission partners’ from Asia and Africa. Instead of being an exporter of missionaries, the CMS had become a commodity broker in people, finance and ideas across the world. Though many of the black British ended up happier in churches of their own—frequently not having been made welcome in metropolitan ‘mission’ congregations—as Stanley points out finally, the juxtaposition of predominantly black or brown faces with episcopal purple at the 1998 Lambeth Conference triumphantly underlined that Anglicanism no longer equalled ‘Englishness’.

Not least because—as Ward notes—CMS records are such a prime source for the history of Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya, Africanists particularly need to take note of this book, but those who work on Iran and India, as well as on religion and gender more broadly, would also benefit from dipping into it. The new series it is helping to inaugurate promises to put the historical study of the impact of Christian

missions on an altogether firmer international academic footing.

DEBORAH GAITSKELL

DAURIL ALDEN, assisted by JAMES M. CUMMINS and MICHAEL COOPER: *Charles R. Boxer: an uncommon life*. 616 pp. Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2001.

A scholar who himself produced over a third of a thousand significant publications, not counting reviews (including many for this journal), and who lived through all but four years of the twentieth century undoubtedly deserved more than the substantial but conventionally circumscribed obituaries that appeared in 2000 at the time of his passing. Convention has certainly been well put in its place here, for Charles Boxer’s rich life turns out to have been richly documented through surviving correspondence and other materials, with the result that tables appear charting even such matters as the nationalities of those who corresponded with him, by percentage, in the 1950s, compared with 1965 (p. 403), or a comparative annual record of his income against that of his wife, Emily Hahn (p. 410). This approach may faithfully represent a particular historiographical tradition, but it certainly multiplies the opportunities for misprints and other minor errors to arise. The former are usually obvious, but one should be wary of more insidious slips: Warmwell Church (p. 525) is in Dorset, but not in Dorchester, from which it is well separated by another village, Broadmayne; the Boxer family home lay in between Broadmayne and Warmwell, unambiguously in the countryside.

And, while Boxer’s brief career at SOAS is allotted somewhat less than one might have expected *pro rata* (two pages, 318–9, for two years of his life, seems a bit low against over five hundred pages of main text, though I have not calculated the percentage), even within that limited space the luminaries who appointed him to the Chair of the History of the Far East are somewhat misleadingly described. Homer Dubs (1892–1969) was Professor of Chinese at Oxford; Sir John Pratt, brother of the actor Billy Pratt (better known as Boris Karloff), was a retired diplomat who wrote on China; Sir Ralph Turner was not just a ‘philologist’, but a professor of Sanskrit then serving as Director of the School.

On the other hand, the reasons given for Boxer’s resignation in his letter—that his command of colloquial Japanese gave him an inadequate linguistic background to supervise research students from East Asia using historical sources in Chinese and Japanese—are precisely those he repeated in retrospect to well-wishers on the occasion mentioned in n. 100, p. 517, almost half a century later. If, however, his biographer suspects ‘less interesting colleagues’ as one of the reasons for his return to his former post, then it should be admitted that oral tradition here suggests that a Senior Common Room then dominated by the retired clergymen who held a virtual

monopoly over British knowledge of the living languages of Asia and Africa found the presence of a more military, decidedly colourful, figure somewhat disturbing.

At the same time there is some evidence buried deep in the volume under review that does suggest that at least one amongst the contemporary band of historians who did command both Chinese and Japanese had the very highest regard for his work, if n. 105 on p. 479 of this biography is right in attributing the composition (in part, at any rate) of the highly laudatory envoi he received from his department on his retirement from Yale to Arthur Wright (1913–1976), the historian of Buddhist China. Arthur Wright, however, shared with Charles Boxer not only a fondness for good drink and good conversation but also the experience of wartime internment in East Asia, and could tell a man who had lived through some of the rougher bits of recent history from a mere cloistered academic.

Otherwise, on the broader historiographical matters which might be presumed worthy of comment in response to the publication of this

biography, a journal dedicated to spreading a knowledge of Asia and Africa as such may be the wrong forum for any appropriate assessment, since Boxer's wide but well-defined interest made him both somewhat less and much more than a historian of these regions at once. Besides, this reviewer only met Charles Boxer two or three times, even if on each occasion he said something memorable—for example, that he had had worse malnutrition after leaving his public school than after leaving his Japanese prisoner of war camp. The volume under review appears to confirm (p. 264) the reasonably good state of his health after the latter ordeal, but concentrates more on the good discipline and high principles inculcated by his earlier education rather than its alimentary shortcomings, which by this account were surely sufficient to explain why he never darkened his school's doors again (p. 85). Even so, for anyone who feels starved of information concerning this truly remarkable man, Dauril Alden's work should provide something more than a feast.

T. H. BARRETT