

## REVIEWS

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### THE ANCIENT WORLD

JEAN BOTTÉRO:

*Religion in ancient Mesopotamia.*

(Translated by T. L. Fagan.) x, 246 pp. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001. \$30.00.

Ever since publishing *La religion babylonienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952 (pp. vii–viii)), Jean Bottéro has dedicated himself to developing an ever-increasing understanding of ancient Mesopotamian religious thought. Almost every related field has been touched by his research: divination, hermeneutics, mythology, religious literature; his contribution has been of great significance to future studies. This work is a new synthesis of his experiences as a scholar, and consists of seven chapters, plus one of conclusions: an interesting opportunity to follow the development of one of the most important interpreters of Mesopotamian thought.

After the first chapter (pp. 2–4), in which Bottéro explains religion by comparing it to love (a vertical ‘love’: a very interesting point!), he introduces his reader to the Mesopotamian world. In chapter iv he allows the texts to speak for themselves by providing translations of some remarkable poetic passages addressed to different divinities. From the reverential sentiment and the stereotypic terminology he deduces the concept the Mesopotamians had of the divinity: a being of high ‘ontological density’ (p. 38), which reveals itself through an irradiation of extraordinary and frightening luminosity, a being whom the faithful address without love, only for protection and to obtain success in life. Precursor of the later concept of transcendence, the author develops his interpretation on this ‘sentiment of distance’ (p. 40). Conceived as a projection on heaven of the relationships of human society—a parallel but much more powerful world—Mesopotamian religion is understood through the metaphor of the king, whose behaviours and privileges suitably match the relationship that correlates the gods to men. This metaphor forms the backbone of the author’s interpretation—the true peculiarity of Mesopotamian religious thought. Out of this conception grows the religion of the intellectual élites concerned with speculation and knowledge and completely detached from the down-to-earth attitude of the remaining population. Yet every religion could be seen from this point of view. In today’s Christian world do not women address the Lord—conceived as a most powerful king—to implore the safe return from war of their sons, husbands and brothers, even if their survival means other Christian men will be killed? On a popular ground, that of the daily toil to progress in life, all religions sink into ‘*superstitio*’ (in its late meaning of ‘spoilt, unreasonable religion’), and it is hard to single out meaningful differences between them. This does not facilitate interpretation, but rather hinders it, as we will see below.

Mesopotamian religion is described fully in chapter v. The pantheon was apparently formed by countless divinities whose Sumerian names are epithets explaining functions rather than proper names—this is another of the author’s key concepts: the gods are considered functions rather than characters. The author masterfully outlines the religious context in which such a pantheon

flourished. Another careful and exhaustive description—of the cult—follows in the sixth chapter, examined in all its various aspects. In every topic dealt with in the two last chapters the author tries to distinguish the earlier Sumerian level from the subsequent superimposed Akkadian layer, thus providing a diachronic perspective, the kind of information we seldom come across in general treatises of this kind.

In the seventh chapter, which concludes the exposition, the author considers the influences of Mesopotamian religion—evident in the biblical world—and its survival in the centuries of Late Antiquity, in the ‘astral religion’, spread through all the territories of the Roman Empire and beyond. The pages dedicated to this topic are exemplary for their clarity and accuracy.

I hinted above at the difficulties resulting from the interpretation drawn by means of an ‘anthropomorphic’ key grounded on the ‘metaphor of the king’: the divinity conceived as a sovereign. It does of course explain many of the phenomena, yet it nonetheless leaves relevant doubts open. So, when the father relinquishes his reign to his son—in the correlation of An to Enlil—it can hardly be the projection in heaven of human institutions (p. 51), but it hints rather at the transmission of the divine ‘power’ from the unreachable starry sky down to earth through the intermediate atmospheric element. It assumes the guise of life (the breath of life), and of word (expression of thought), both aerial in their nature and thus characteristic of the god Enlil (Lord Air: p. 46). This transmission—in different ways—is the same as that we come across in the ‘*Marduk-Ea-Typ*’ incantations, when Asalluhi goes to his father Enki to ask him for help in dealing with the demons tormenting the patient; the same that is meant by the journeys of the gods (pp. 133f.); the same made possible by the rite of the *hieros gamos* (pp. 156f). The temple is first shown—according to the ‘metaphor of the king’—as the place where the sovereign can rest peacefully, far from the troubles of everyday life (p. 115), but later as a place that is an essential and primary part of the Universe (p. 118). In fact the temple appears ‘isolated’, because it is dangerous, since it is charged with the *melammu* (p. 38), consistent with the latter interpretation and disagreeing with the former. Again we have to turn to the concept of transmission, which must be mediated, in order to make the divine splendour productive rather than paralysing. The king symbolizes the extreme point from which transmission enters human society: thus his dominant position and, in certain periods, his divinization in life or his divine birth. These conceptions look blurred when we turn to the records on mass religiosity, but are clearly distinguishable in the elaborations of the élites.

If the reader lessens the ‘weight’ of the ‘metaphor of the king’, he will acquire from this book a complete and accurate portrait of the religious thought of the Mesopotamian civilization which other works of the same kind seldom provide.

P. MANDER

ABRAHAM J. SACHS and HERMANN HUNGER:

*Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia, Vol. III, Diaries from 164 B.C. to 61 B.C.*

Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1996.

Palaeography is the poor man in cuneiform studies, especially in comparison with the impressive results of palaeographic studies in other disciplines in

which manuscripts feature prominently. Assyriologists, for instance, appear to be satisfied with general criteria for dating tablets, usually assigning tablets to early or late third millennium dates (e.g. Early Dynastic or Ur III dates), Old or Middle Babylonian dating from the second millennium, and Neo-Babylonian or Late Babylonian for all of the first millennium B.C., with parallel categories of Old Assyrian, Middle Assyrian, Neo-Assyrian, and Late Assyrian. Since each of these categories comprises periods of several centuries, no attempt has been made to refine the techniques of dating cuneiform writing and manuscripts, along the lines so effectively developed by papyrologists and epigraphers in classical studies.

One general obstacle to establishing a more exact palaeography of cuneiform is the lack of any methodology, since general questions have never been addressed. For example, no one has tried to determine whether the same criteria for dating an alphabet would apply to cuneiform signs, such as whether the use of ligatures might be a clue to the dating of a particular manuscript or style of writing. (An example of such ligatures in Greek palaeography occurs in the use of epsilon–iota.) Furthermore, the layout of tablets could be instructive, e.g. whether the manuscript tablet is written in one or more columns. Additionally, the size of the cuneiform writing, or the slant, might indicate a very late script (Seleucid or Arsacid period versus Achaemenid period), although not in every case, and criteria for assessing these data have never been established.

For these reasons, the third volume of Sachs and Hunger's astronomical diaries is not only a welcome addition to the corpus of late texts containing valuable social and historical information about Seleucid Babylonia, but the astronomical diaries offer a unique opportunity to study the palaeography of late cuneiform tablets. The astronomical diaries, first of all, emanate from the same scribal circle in Babylon—probably from the Esagil temple—reflecting observations of the heavens and contemporary events over several hundred years. These texts reflect a unified corpus which was written with a uniform vocabulary and mode of expression. Any changes, therefore, will reflect style rather than content, which makes this corpus ideal for the study of palaeography, and which also reflects periodic changes in style of writing. Second, the dating of these texts is beyond doubt, since they can be dated according to their astronomical observations. The present volume, for instance, contains texts from 164 to 61 B.C., while the previous volumes contain texts from the earliest of the diaries (652 B.C.) to 165 B.C. Third, the tablets were mostly composed by the scribes rather than being copies of earlier compositions. (The earliest examples of astronomical diaries may have been copies, since the word *he-pi* for 'broken' appears, representing a damaged Vorlage, but this is exceptional.) Copies of traditional texts or library copies may be palaeographically misleading, since the scribe might copy the older ductus as well as the contents of his Vorlage, but this situation would not apply to texts which were composed on the day they are written.

The present brief study is an attempt to use the publication of the third volume of astronomical diaries as an opportunity to examine the palaeography of these tablets. It is not intended to represent a comprehensive study of palaeography, but is rather a probe or experiment to see whether such a study would be either feasible or practical. Furthermore, since a fourth volume of undated astronomical diaries, mostly broken fragments, is envisioned, the present survey will also examine a few of the undated diaries to see whether comparisons of scripts might render useful chronological data.

For this reason, the present author has benefited greatly from the advice

Chart A

	BM 32312 (-651)	BM 33478 (-440)	BM 34638 (-382)	BM 41581 (-168)	BM 34108 (-87)	BM 41529 (-90)
tar	𐎠 𐎠			𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠
ulu	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
itu		𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
mah	𐎠		𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠
		𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠
mās	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠
kun	𐎠 𐎠		𐎠	𐎠		𐎠 𐎠
sa	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
ār	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
usan	𐎠 𐎠		𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	
si	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠
si	𐎠		𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	
sag	𐎠 𐎠		𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
dir	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
gu	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
ār	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
nar	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠
ú	𐎠		𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
kai	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠		𐎠 𐎠
ma	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠		𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠
kur	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠
mū	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠
'leph	𐎠 𐎠		𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	
	𐎠 𐎠		𐎠	𐎠		
ge	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠
	𐎠		𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
igi	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	
ki	𐎠	𐎠		𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠
meš	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠		𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠
kin	𐎠			𐎠	𐎠	𐎠
sig	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	
š	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	

of Hermann Hunger, who has recommended a list of signs which might be diagnostic (i.e. signs which are chronologically telling). Furthermore, Hunger also sent me a list of undated astronomical diaries which he plans to publish in the fourth volume of the series, to see if one can get any information about their relative dating. The results of these studies are discussed below, based upon the charts which were made from examining the tablets in the British Museum.

	BM 33648+33649	BM 35105	BM 35009
dir			
ûlu			
sa <sup>4</sup>			
ge <sup>6</sup>			
meš			
sig			
tar			
si			
gin			
kal			
itu			
âr			

**gír-tab:** later forms are ligatures, without separation between signs.

**tar:** -651 has two obliques at the top; -168 has two obliques at top; -87, 90 have horizontal and oblique over vertical.

**ûlu:** earlier form of the sign is less slanted downwards. -440 has bottom two horizontals of equal length, with heads of wedges aligned. -382 has bottom wedge longest. -651/440 have two internal verticals of equal height, while in later forms the left vertical is higher.

**mah:** late form is very cursive; latest forms no longer have three horizontals at the beginning and two verticals at the end.

**ru:** in late forms, the broken vertical is separated into two verticals. See máš and diri.

**na:**

**máš:** early forms show broken vertical, late form separated into two vertical strokes. See diri and ru.

**kun:**

**sa<sup>4</sup>:** -87 and -90, the oblique wedge in HU is outside of the verticals.

**gi:** -650 has the bottom right wedge oriented from left to right. -87 resembles -651 but not -440, since there is no HI sign at the end.

**en:** -651 is composed of a horizontal+šú+šú, but later forms have a double horizontal at the beginning.

**tûr:**

**usan:** -651 has four obliques; -382 has only three obliques; -168 is slanted and cursive in both examples. -87 and -90 have unaligned obliques (LAGAB.KUR.NUN).

**si:** -440 is not indented. -87/90 is not indented and looks square.

**si<sup>4</sup>:** -168 and later forms consist of SI × HI.

**sag:**

**dir:** -651 has indented horizontals. -440 is not indented; -168 and later forms are slanted, with final verticals separated (not broken). In -87/90, there is a prominent left vertical.

**gin:** -650 is similar to older forms; -382 is cursive. -168 looks like AD with no distinctive form of an oblique. -87/90 resemble earlier forms (like -651).

**gu<sup>4</sup>:**

**ár:** -650 consists of two horizontals framed by two obliques above and below. -440 and -382 have two horizontals and two obliques. -168 has four or even five horizontals, with upper and lower indented.

**mar:** -651 has the right horizontal on the lower right; -440 has the right horizontal in the middle.

**ú:** -651 shows no slant. -168 is slanted.

**kal:** -651 shows some slant; -440 shows horizontals slanted downwards; -382 is like the earlier forms (-651).

**ma:** note that in one case the middle horizontal is not indented, but two cases in the same tablet show different shapes.

**kur:**

**múl:**

**aleph:**

**im:**

**ge<sup>6</sup>:** note height of initial oblique.

**utah:**

**igi:**

**ki:**

**meš:** earlier forms show ME + Eš, but later forms show ŠÚ + Éš.

**kin:**

**sig:** later forms are more progressively cursive.

**šá:**

M. J. GELLER

WHEELER M. THACKSTON:

*Introduction to Syriac: an elementary grammar with readings from Syriac literature.*

xvii, 228 pp. Bethesda, MD: IBEX Publishers, 1999. \$30.

This is the second introductory grammar of classical Syriac to be published within a few years (see T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac: a basic grammar with a chrestomathy*, Mainz, 1997) and it is in most respects excellent.

The introduction briefly sets the scene on the significance of Syriac, its distribution, etc. and the method to be employed in what follows. There are also instructions to the learner on what is and is not important. Distracting reference to other literature is deferred to one page near the end of the book (p. 151) (though even beginners should have their attention drawn at an early stage to Nöldeke's grammar and the Payne Smith or Brockelmann dictionaries). The author claims to have tried 'to keep the Semitic structure of the language in the forefront and as clear as possible for those who have no experience with languages of that family' (p. ix). This aspiration is rather baffling, since there is nothing specific in the book which could be said to correspond to it (unless the author was at some stage tempted to *hide* the Semitic nature of the language!). It is certainly not a question of citing comparative material in Hebrew and Arabic, since such comparisons are rare and mostly confined to two 'optional' pages of comparison of Semitic consonants (pp. xxiv–xxvi). This is not a criticism: I think he has made the right choice in minimizing comparative material, given the laudable aspiration of catering for beginners in Semitic.

The writing of introductory grammars is often a thankless task, with reviewers looking for errors and points to criticize. Criticisms normally arise from differences of opinion on how to go about teaching a language, what does and does not work. Much depends on the nature of the audience at

which the grammar is targeted. While I have a few criticisms to draw attention to below, I can in general commend this book for use by students who are at home with normal grammatical terminology.

I would be a little bit worried about using this introductory grammar without presenting my students with a revised version of the section on ‘The sounds of Syriac’ (pp. x–xii) and the reason arises again from the question of the target audience. It took me some time to realize what was happening when the author describes the Syriac *a* as a ‘short *ă*, like the *o* in “dot”’. The vowel in question is articulated like the *o* in the *American* pronunciation of the word ‘dot’. It would have been easy enough to use an example where there was no difference between the American and the British English pronunciation. I think the same thing is going on in the selection of the word ‘bone’ as an example of how to pronounce Syriac *ā* in the Western Syriac dialect: even in British English (certainly in Manchester!) there is an immense variety of articulations of the *o* in ‘bone’, and only one of them resembles the Syriac *ā*. I note in passing the decision not to mark long *u* with a macron on the ground that there is no *short u*. The problem here is that learners will not naturally (on the basis of their knowledge of the orthography of English) render a *u* as *oo* (expecting written form *bun* to represent the word for a ‘brownie’ rather than the word ‘boon’) and would find it easier to pronounce the vowel as *oo* if it were marked in some way. Incidentally, transliterations are provided throughout and the Eastern pronunciation is preferred.

Although the author is right in describing Syriac as structurally simple (p. ix), most problems arise in connection with matters of pronunciation, and it is easy to mislead. P. xii states that ‘only stops occur doubled, never spirants’. While it is correct to say spirants are not doubled, doubling is *not* limited to stops: it can be applied to the emphatics, fricatives, nasals, etc., and is preserved, at least in Eastern Syriac. What the author must mean is that the spirant versions of the *bgdkpt* letters are never doubled (though he appears to repeat the mistake in a slightly different form on p. xxiii, where he links the *quššāyā* with *bgdkpt*). Spirantization and doubling are ignored in his transliterations, as is the *schwa* (which is again in the presentation tied in with *bgdkpt*, perhaps unwisely). One of the exceptions to the *bgdkpt* rules articulated on p. xiv is the claim that the feminine noun-suffix is always *-tā*. This statement is not correct, though the situation is complicated and as a teaching strategy it might be useful to pretend that it is correct! Thus *bīštā* and a whole class of other words have a non-spirantized *t* (cf. Nöldeke section 23 E).

As would be expected, the script is described among the ‘Preliminary matters’. The main font used is *estrangelā* and vowels are not marked, though transliteration is provided everywhere. From lesson twelve onwards unvocalized examples of the *sertā* and the so-called ‘Nestorian’ script are included in the exercises.

The comparisons of Semitic consonants (pp. xxiv–xxvi) are of little use, and the words which introduce them are potentially misleading, since it is not made clear that in determining a correct phonological correspondence between consonants of different languages account has to be taken of an assumed Proto-Semitic root. The reader is left, for example, with the confusing statement that Syriac *t* is equated with Hebrew *t* and *š* and Arabic *t* and *ṭ*.

These quibbles about preliminaries should not, however, detract from the grammar part of this book. There are twenty lessons, each well presented and provided with examples (all transliterated). There are minor queries I would have, but none of great significance. The verb *sleq*, for example, is repeatedly translated ‘go forth’, whereas it virtually always has a connotation of ‘ascent’

(and *'ezal* means 'go forth'). At the end of each lesson there is a vocabulary list and exercises (Syriac to English and *vice versa*). Towards the end the exercises are very substantial and this is one of the best aspects of the book. Paradigms follow, vocalized transliterations only.

Pp. 151–91 contain a chrestomathy ranging from the New Testament to Bar Hebraeus, with a good coverage of the literature including a poem of Ephrem the Syrian. Without translations and without detailed grammatical analysis, these readings will be very hard work for students without a teacher and one has to assume that classroom use is really what is intended. A Syriac-English vocabulary follows and the book is completed by keys to some of the early exercises and an index of grammatical topics.

JOHN F. HEALEY

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#### THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

JANE DAMMEN MCAULIFFE (ed.):

*Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. Volume One A–D.

xxxiii, 557 pp. Leiden, Boston and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 2001. \$221.

This accomplished volume is the fruit of many years of planning and research. It is the first of five such volumes which will ultimately comprise close to 1,000 alphabetically arranged articles and essays focusing on the Quran and the field of quranic studies. Hailed as the first comprehensive dictionary of its kind appearing in a Western language, it was produced with the collaboration of Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. Indeed, it confidently claims to incorporate a plurality of 'perspectives and presuppositions' crucially pitched at what is described as 'rigorous academic' scholarship on the Quran. Jane McAuliffe, the volume's general editor, uses her detailed preface to this edition to make a genuine point that whilst various fields of literary studies have inspired the composition of numerous dictionaries, concordances, and encyclopedias covering at length those respective fields of learning, the number of reference works on the Quran available in European languages is rather small. The *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (*EQ*) therefore represents an admirable attempt to address this issue by developing 'a substantial work of reference in a field that has relatively few such resources'. McAuliffe adds that the associate editors responsible for the *EQ*'s contents and format intended that it should serve not only as a dictionary and reference tool for the study of the Quran, 'capturing' the century's finest achievements in the sphere of quranic studies, but that it should also enterprisingly seek to encourage further research on the Quran. Given that the editors are keen to consider observations from readers and researchers who have reviewed the contents of this work, and who may wish to propose additional themes and subjects for inclusion, this project should prove to be a successful endeavour.

It is intriguing to note that the editors of the *EQ* decided to adopt a system of English-language headings as opposed to the transliterated Arabic lemmata, the convention applied by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (*EI*) and one which is widely considered the 'scholarly norm'. Nevertheless, this encyclopedia is clearly aimed at a broad audience and not just specialists in Arabic and Islamic studies; and it is this consideration that has probably influenced the choice of English-language entry words. It is argued that, although the system of transliterated Arabic lemmata employed in the *EI* permits a greater level



of precision in the identification of individual entries, it does not adequately serve scholars and researchers with no background in Arabic and Islamic studies: it is therefore suggested that whilst entries in the *EI* are both informed and precise, they can often be too complicated to be of use to the non-specialist as locating interrelated material can often be a complicated task for the non-specialist. The use of English-language entry words seemingly allows a more extensive exposition of an entry and this can be achieved under a broader heading, although great accuracy is required in the designation of English-language headings for the different entries. Furthermore, it is also reasonable to add that the adoption of such a scheme for entries distinguishes the *EQ* from its sister publication the *EI*, otherwise there would be a mere duplication of entries between the two works. There are a number of instances in which the transliterated Arabic word has been retained for a heading: *Barzakh* and *Basmala*; and this is the case for Arabic proper names having no clear English cognates (transliteration is used throughout the text of an individual entry).

Given the editors' arguments for adopting English-language entry words, it is difficult to understand why this volume does not contain an index of all its entries. Instead, one is compelled to skim through the main body of texts in search of material relevant to one's particular research needs, a rather laborious task given the broad and seemingly varied nature of the subject headings. This can be illustrated by a random listing of entries between pages 395 and 466: *Conceit, Concubines, Conquest, Consecration of animals, Consolation, Consultation, Contamination, Contemporary critical practices and the Qur'an, Contracts and alliances, Conversion, Coral, Corruption, Cosmology, Courage, Court, and Covenant*, all well-written and excellently researched articles (this volume contains just over 170 entries). This further underlines the significance of our point regarding the designation of these subject headings. It is worth mentioning that the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1974), which employs transliterated Arabic entry words, includes a 'register of subjects'. In this register one finds key terms in English followed by a list of transliterated entries relating to these terms; for purposes of utility a 'register of subjects' is clearly needed for each of the *EQ*'s volumes. This is despite the fact that a thorough indexing of both English and transliterated terminology is planned for the *EQ*'s final volume.

It is rather surprising that the *EQ* will include no biographical entries for principal luminaries of the quranic sciences. Therefore scholars such as al-Farrā', Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and al-Qurṭubī will have no separate entries; of course, reference is made to relevant aspects of these scholars' abstraction wherever this is pertinent to a given entry. This decision will no doubt be controversial if one considers that the biographical detail of certain scholars, along with the nature of their contribution to the quranic sciences and the exegesis of scripture, often provides a suitable context and framework for appreciating the significance of key quranic concepts and themes. This is particularly true of early Arabic linguists as the magnitude of their contribution to scholarship of the Quran is considerable, and this can be suitably expounded upon using biographical entries. There will be articles on Prophets and other distinctive figures mentioned in the Quran together with entries for prominent companions.

It is difficult within the scope of the current review to do the articles and essays in this volume any real justice. In general, the volume contains an impressive array of well-researched, conclusive entries, exploring cultural, exegetical, historical, linguistic, juristic, philosophical and theological issues germane to the contents of the Quran; some of these are extended pieces of

writing, furnishing an authoritative overview of the subjects discussed. Many are fully cross-referenced with a profusion of citations from primary and secondary source material. McAuliffe's informative preface to this volume is of particular value. It meticulously places the Quran within its religious and spiritual setting, presenting a critical survey of approaches to the Quran as well as exploring the development of the exegetical tradition in the Islamic world; it also refers to many of the technical and procedural issues which have shaped the planning of this project. The standard of production is high: the fonts used are larger than those in the *EI* and the illustrative plates are of splendid quality. This text should find its way to the reference shelves of many a library, serving researchers well as a comprehensive reference tool for some time to come.

MUSTAFA SHAH

REGULA FORSTER:

*Methoden mittelalterlicher arabischer Qur'ānexegeese am Beispiel von Q 53, 1–18.*

(Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 238.) 202 pp. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2001.

The study of the history of the interpretation of the Quran (*tafsīr*) has matured significantly in the last few decades. Forster's work, originally a thesis at the University of Zurich, takes the reconstruction of the history of *tafsīr* one step further through its focus on the techniques of interpretation implicit in major works of *tafsīr* from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries. The analysis is sensitive and precise, and overall the work is a model of close attention to hermeneutical nuances. The study builds on the insights of Norman Calder's 'Tafsīr from Tabarī to Ibn Kathīr', in G. R. Hawting and A.-K. Shareef (ed.), *Approaches to the Qur'ān* (London, 1993), 101–40, by paying special attention to his notions of the instrumental, ideological, and polyvalent structures which serve to define the enterprise of *tafsīr*.

Forster selects a section of the Quran which provides a short and provocative basis for her analysis. Q 53: 1–18 is a passage which contains a number of exegetical challenges and thus, when exegetes tackle the verses, they clearly lay out the presuppositions with which Muslims approach the text. Starting with an 'oath' passage, *By the star when it plunges*, the section contains elements which tend to evoke biographical interpretation, as in the next verse, *your comrade is not astray, neither errs, nor speaks out of caprice*. Textually self-referential—*this is only a revelation revealed, taught him by one terrible in power, very strong*, in reference to the Quran's mode of revelation—the section continues with the enigmatic *he stood poised, being on the higher horizon, then drew near and suspended hung, two bows'-length away, or nearer*. Vocabulary reference is uncertain—for example, *the lote tree of the boundary*—and the religious message is strong—as in *he saw one of the greatest signs of his Lord*.

It is certainly true that an analysis of interpretational method will be constrained by the scriptural passage which is selected as the illustrative example. Muslims generally approached the passage in *sūra* 53 with Muḥammad's biography as the grounding assumption, and although such biographical treatments are common in the approach to the Quran as a whole, quite different emphases in interpretational perspective and method could be seen in passages of significant legal or theological content, or in accounts of the prophets of the past. So, Forster's assessment of interpretational method as employed in *sūra* 53 cannot be generalized too far. But this is not

a criticism of the book; such work must progress step by step before a true overview of the genre of *tafsīr* and its approach will be possible. At the same time, the limits of the current study must be recognized.

Forster analyses a series of twelve works of *tafsīr* in order to provide a chronological overview along with some diverse Muslim points of view. The works examined are those by Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 150/767), al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), Hūd ibn Muḥkim (d. end of 3rd/9th century), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Qummī (d. early 4th/10th century), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), al-Bayḍāwī (d. c. 716/1315/6), al-Qāshānī (d. 730/1329 or 736/1335), Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1515). The works examined thus include a variety of Muslim perspectives (Ibadi, Sufi, Shii) and approaches (grammatical, rational, philosophical, traditional). The Arabic texts of the *tafsīrs* are included in the book, reproduced photographically from the printed editions.

This selection of works of *tafsīr* requires some comment. Obviously there are practical limits to how many books can be analysed, and the concern to have as close as possible to one text per century has dictated the limit as well. However, the absence of later Shii works is notable, especially since two such works, al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153), are standard works used in other scholarly constructions of the history of *tafsīr*. Of course, adding these books would ultimately only demonstrate the common hermeneutical processes across classical Islam despite differing perspectives on religious authority. More significant, perhaps, is the absence of the works by al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), especially given the importance of those two books in Calder's analysis. It is also easy to cite many other important works which would be worth adding to the analysis; printed editions of al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983), al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075), and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) are readily available, and manuscripts of al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) and al-Tha'labī (d. 427/1035), are accessible, to cite just a few examples.

Finally, it is also worth noting that, in this analysis, we learn only of a particular aspect of *tafsīr* as a genre; there are still other definitional elements to be confronted, over and above the form and method of the works examined by Forster and Calder. All of the works analysed (with the exception of al-Tustarī) are of considerable bulk. They are works designed for, and written by, scholars. But there exists a whole other range of works, often composed by the same writers, whose intended audience was quite different. These are shorter works, less inclusive, but just as immersed in the Muslim hermeneutical perspective; they were likely directed towards the classroom or preaching setting. Works such as al-Wāḥidī's *al-Wajīz* and, most famously, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and al-Suyūṭī illustrate that there can be totally different ways of approaching the Qur'ān within the genre which is, at least normally, called *tafsīr*. I have explored aspects of this question from the context of the genre of *al-nāsikh wa'l-mansūkh* in my 'The exegetical literature of abrogation: form and content' in G. R. Hawting, J. A. Mojaddedi and A. Samely (ed.), *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern texts and traditions in memory of Norman Calder* (Oxford, 2000), 213–31.

Forster's book provides a structured analysis of the dozen texts she has chosen, examining key elements such as the relationship between the base text and the commentary, the role of history, philology and rhetoric, and the techniques used to produce and clarify meaning, including paraphrase, expansion and identification (with a special attention to pronominal references). Translated extracts from each of the *tafsīrs* are provided to

illustrate the points being made. A short conclusion emphasizes the function of Muḥammad's biography in exegesis, clarifies the techniques of interpretation and provides some extension to, and clarification of, Calder's analysis of the fundamental structures of *tafsīr*.

There is still much work to do within this approach to *tafsīr*. An explanation of why different aspects of the exegetical task receive more attention in one text than another is likely to be found in the social and political context of the writer; those insights still need to be correlated. The dynamics of Muslim society, the pressures of outside forces, the strength of the political powers, the role of the scholarly classes, and the self-confidence of the community all vary within history to produce new readings of the Quran as manifested in *tafsīr*. It is with the person and the era of Ibn Kathīr that such matters become especially clear by their contrast with earlier times, but the point needs a full scholarly exploration in the context of as many exegetes as possible.

A. RIPPIN

ANGELIKA NEUWIRTH, BIRGIT EMBALÓ, SEBASTIAN GÜNTHER and MAHER JARRAR (ed.):

*Myths, historical archetypes and symbolic figures in Arabic literature: towards a new hermeneutic approach (Proceedings of the International Symposium in Beirut, June 25th–June 30th, 1996)*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 64.) xxii, 640 pp. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999.

This is a book of some length, as befits the first concerted attempt to approach the subject of myth in Arabic on a broad front. It is divided into four main sections and eight subsections: Myth-generating experience (I. Dislocation and nostalgia: *al-Ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān*); Myths recollected (II. Sacrifice and *hieros gamos*); Historical archetypes (III. Trial and debate; IV. Transgression and the strife for knowledge and fulfillment; V. Redemptive narrating; VI. Recollection and coherence—re-ensuring memory; VII. The journey towards fulfillment); and, lastly: Symbolic figures (VIII. The city: space of desire and threat). Within these sections, modern and medieval are evenly balanced and literature is taken mainly, though not exclusively, to mean poetry, fiction and *adab*. There are thirty-six articles and an introduction. The editing of the sometimes complex text and notes is immaculate, apart from a few trivial typos, and the producers of this paperback volume have been to considerable trouble to make sure that it is easy to consult and to handle: it has footnotes, not endnotes, there is a fairly detailed index, and the cover has flaps which can be used to mark one's place. (The collage of miniatures on the cover is attractive and appropriate too.)

Despite the subtitle, *Towards a new hermeneutic approach*, some readers—many, perhaps—will want to use the book as a reference work and thematic guide. Some articles were clearly planned with this in mind, e.g. Kathrin Müller's '*Al-Ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān* in early *adab*-literature', Wadad al-Qadi's more loosely structured 'Expressions of alienation in early Arabic literature', and the appendix to Geert Jan van Gelder's 'Dream towns of Islam: geography in Arabic oneirocritical works', a list of towns and what they signify in three books of dream interpretation. (It is a pity the interpretations are given only

in Arabic. Arabic dream-books owe much to Artemidorus, and van Gelder also points to parallels, and possibly continuities, with Assyrian dream-books. Non-Arabists might have welcomed translations and the identification of linguistic tools of dream interpretation such as word play, some of which are referred to in the body of the article.) The attempt to pursue themes across the book's sections and subsections discloses some limitations in its apparatus. For example, while, on the plus side, the index includes both the *Khidr* of popular belief (pp. 499, 503, 504) and al-*Khidr* as a point of reference in 'Abbasid high literature (p. 13), on the minus side, the entries under 'women' do not include a reference to p. 357 where, in Stefan Wild's 'A tale of two redemptions', there is a substantial passage on women in *Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's* autobiographical *oeuvre* and more generally on the theme of European women in modern Arabic fiction (there is no index entry for 'European(s)', either—or for '*ghūl(s)* (female)' or '*ogre(s)* (male/female)', see pp. 439, 448). The lack of either chapter bibliographies or a general bibliography also proves annoying in this connection: finding the source of a motif (such as *Abū Tammām's* use, 'with great ingenuity', of 'the symbol of al-*Khidr* as the eternal wanderer', p. 13) can involve a lengthy hunt through closely packed footnotes.

Myth is a concept notoriously difficult to pin down either as an intuitive notion or as a technical term. This is what makes it, potentially, a useful and hard-working point of reference: it is an idea to argue with—and a powerful one, not a lazy blueprint. But is it apposite to Arabic literature? Not too long ago, many, perhaps most, Arabists would, I suspect, have shied away from the term 'myth' as being a passport to every sort of unverifiable wishful thinking, the more so since the theory of myth does not—surprisingly, given that the idea seems so omnipresent in contemporary Western culture—boast many recent original exponents. In her introduction, however, Angelika Neuwirth takes the need to apply a notion of myth to Arabic literature as a given of experience, dictated by everyday life in Beirut ('every day's inescapable experience that myth in many complexions makes itself felt as a powerful layer of perception evoking horizons of meaning far beyond everyday reality'). The book's starting point is intended to be experimental: 'We are confronted [in Arabic writing] ... with myth in a broken form, with elements of great narratives that lend themselves to the need for a universal expression of particular human conditions. "Myth" is viewed [in this context] in a "late horizon" (*Späthorizont*) of its interpretation, manifesting itself much more as a *process* than as a *product*' (my emphases). There is, nevertheless, despite this advocacy of a dynamic rather than a classificatory understanding of myth, a certain stiffness in the way in which Neuwirth and some of her contributors invoke and use the notion of 'archetype', and a lack of discussion of the relationship between 'mythic elements in literature' and a mythic 'pattern of thinking and thus of narrating'. The latter, we are moreover informed, 'no longer refer[s] to a mythic interaction with superhuman protagonists ... but rather to a pattern of interaction that in view of its universality is familiar to all men from their individual or collective memory' (p. xv). (Where does this leave al-*Khidr*?) Clearly, such phrases as 'collective memory' and 'pattern of interaction', and the rejection of definitions of myth that depend upon superhuman protagonists, beg questions; and the sense in which this shorthand is intended to be understood by the reader, as well as the previous positions that are here being argued against, need to be articulated for the sake of overall clarity, even if they are not intended to underpin the line taken in individual essays. Thus it may not be

very useful to remind readers, somewhat opaquely, that ‘The category of the archetype derived from C. G. Jung’s depth psychology—serving as a mirror of personal rather than cosmico-politically relevant experience—should be distinguished from “myth” in general, although the differentiation is often neglected in research’ (p. xvii), when, indeed, most of the contributors either ignore or fudge such a distinction; without slightly more explanation this is both too little and too much. (The same goes for the handful of ‘highly fruitful general insights into the meaning of myth, namely its linking with ideology’ which Birgit Embaló extracts from ‘the intensive myth debate of the last decades’, pp. 584–5.) But in fact, as the last page of the introduction says, the main aim of the symposium which produced this book was pragmatic: it was to search for one (among others) of the factors in any given piece of writing that contributes to its coherence, namely ‘those mythico-archetypal “subtexts” that frequently underlie classical as well as modern literature but yet often go unnoticed’ (p. xxii).

Not surprisingly, it is contributors writing on modern literature who have embraced the idea of myth most enthusiastically, since a programme of myth is deliberately and self-consciously coded into many of the works they discuss. It is not difficult to argue the entire relevance of mythic reading here. Those dealing with medieval literature have had a harder task, and perhaps it is on them that the burden of shaping a genuinely new hermeneutic approach really falls. How well have they responded? They have not adopted a common goal or outlook. Most of the medieval contributors have in fact simply pursued their own topics or techniques of predilection, not a few disregarding the heading ‘myth’ or using it as a peg on which to hang the kind of approach which they would have employed in any case. Thus Jane Dammen McAuliffe’s ‘“Debate with them in the Better Way”’. The construction of a qur’ānic commonplace’, which is as exemplary for its readability as for its learning, certainly belongs under the subheading ‘Trial and debate’; but it is not clear how this makes its subject, the quranic notion of *jadal* and subsequent attitudes towards it, a ‘Historical archetype’ according to the editors’ classification, or how the persistent tension the notion engendered (p. 187) can properly be said to give it mythic status. In order to lay the grounds for this kind of interpretation, it would have been necessary for the editors to add further concepts, e.g. those of type and antitype, to the framing ideas put forward in the introduction—but had McAuliffe wished to construct her essay as a mythic reading of her sources, she would, I imagine, have used such terms herself.

In contrast, the materials examined in both Walid Saleh’s ‘The woman as locus of apocalyptic anxiety in medieval Sunni Islam’ and James E. Montgomery’s ‘Al-Sindibād and Polyphemus: reflections on the genesis of an archetype’ fall squarely within the parameters of what are usually thought of as mythic elements and mythic narratives. The former essay is polished and zestful, the latter ironic and knotty. But, with the possible exception of Saleh’s, none of the medieval contributions engages critically—technically, intellectually or historically (though some attempt a degree of aesthetic engagement)—with the ready-made vocabulary of myth, symbol, archetype, etc., proposed in the introduction; and only the Devil seems to arouse real conviction as a mythic protagonist (Whitney S. Bodman, ‘Stalking Iblīs: in search of an Islamic theodicy’; Gregor Schoeler, ‘Iblīs in the poems of Abū Nuwās’). Proof that myth is an irrelevant concept in this field, or a sign that something is missing from the debate?

JULIA BRAY

ALEXANDER SAMELY:

*Rabbinic interpretation of scripture in the Mishnah.*

xi, 479 pp. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. £55.

This reviewer of Samely's massive volume is torn between admiration for the author's skill in applying modern linguistics and philosophy of language to the Mishnah and amazement at the inappropriateness of this methodology to the subject in hand. To those of us untrained in linguistic philosophy, it seems odd, to say the least, that an agenda which purports to champion meaning should result in the opposite.

Describing his aim, Samely writes (p. 2): 'I concentrate on passages in the Mishnah where scripture is alluded to or explicitly quoted. In such passages we find largely unexplained, or even undeclared, hermeneutic dependencies between Mishnaic norms or statements on the one hand and scripture's words on the other. Since there is no fully explicit or consistent account of these dependencies in the Mishnah, my explication of them is a matter of reconstruction and of categorization. My descriptions of hermeneutic components thus constitute an *interpretation of rabbinic interpretation*'. (emphasis added). But, surely interpretation of rabbinic interpretation is a very different thing from the rabbinic interpretation of scripture in the title of the book.

Samely pursues his aim with chapters on these 'dependencies' with such convoluted titles, to quote just one or two, as: 'quotes and causes. The imposition of a perspective on scripture'; 'Scripture words, Mishnah's speech'; 'taxonomic and paradigmatic extensions, logical constants'. To each of these formations a special sign is allotted, enabling each to be traced, by means of an index, throughout the whole of the Mishnah. Far from shedding light on Rabbinic interpretation, these often get in the way of understanding. At times, they simply state the obvious in a needlessly complicated manner.

Take the analysis of Mishnah *Peah* 8: 9. Here is stated that if a poor man, entitled to take for himself the portion of the field left unharvested (*Peah*), decided not to avail himself of his right because he trusts in God to provide his needs, God will reward him. In support the Mishnah quotes the verse: 'Blessed is he who trusts in the Lord, whose trust is the Lord alone' (Jeremiah 17: 7) Samely remarks (pp. 7–8): 'There is no mention of the *Peah* in this Jeremiah passage or anywhere near it. Neither does the historical approach provide for the following understanding of the verse: Blessed is the (needy) person trusting in God (as opposed to *Peah*), for God will provide his security [trust]. But this is how the Mishnah understands the verse. The verse is on the one hand linked to the case of a (needy) person who refrains from taking *Peah*. On the other hand, the second half is read as containing God's response to such behaviour. Such are the hermeneutic decisions that need explaining—interpretations which we do not already understand on the basis of our understanding of Scripture'. But the Mishnah is not, in fact, making a hermeneutic decision. It is not *interpreting* at all but applying the notion of trust in God to the needy man. Of course, the verse does not speak of *Peah* and, without the benefit of any hermeneutical principle, the Mishnah and its readers know this. No one, however obtuse, would ever imagine the Mishnah to be saying that Jeremiah is speaking of *Peah* or praising the poor man who, in his trust that God will provide, prefers not to rely on others to support him through charity.

Why Samely should have limited his study to the Mishnah rather than including contemporaneous works, the halakhic Midrashim, is far from clear.

In the matter of *midrash*, in particular, it is in these that the Tannaitic methods of exegesis are employed. It is not as if the Mishnah has a Midrashic approach peculiar to itself. The author might also have considered the extent to which Midrashic-type argumentation is found in Scripture. In his chapter on the *a fortiori* argument, helpful when standing on its own, Samely deals with a hermeneutical principle found everywhere in the Talmudic literature. It is even found in scripture, see my article 'The *qal-va-homer* argument in the Old Testament' in *BSOAS* xxxv 2, 1972.

From the book's title, a prospective reader might conclude that he is being led to a treatment of some of the basic problems of Rabbinic Midrash, such as why there are different Midrashic schools, how they differ and how the very use of Midrash by the Rabbis ties in with the doctrine of the Oral Torah and with that of Halakhah given to Moses at Sinai. And what of the distinction between Halakhic and Aggadic Midrashim? What about the fundamental problem, widely discussed in modern scholarship, of whether, in the case of a given halakhah, the scriptural verse quoted in its support is thought of as the actual derivation of the law or whether the law is known independently and the scriptural support 'discovered' later?

For all that, inadequate though Samely's book is in living up to its title, his introductory warning (pp. 4f.) to historians to live up to theirs by refusing to read their own ideas into ancient texts, is well taken. To the complaint that Samely himself is guilty of this by interpreting the Rabbis through modern linguistics, he will no doubt reply that he is only using this as a tool to understand the words of the Rabbis. Whether the tool is more suitable for a different task, is another matter.

LOUIS JACOBS

ULRICH REBSTOCK (with Tobias Mayer):

*Maurische Literaturgeschichte*. (3 Volumes.)

xlvii, 584 pp., v, 585–1236 pp., v, 1237–1788 pp. Würzburg:

ERGON Verlag, 2001. €148.

When the Islamic Republic of Mauritania attained its independence on 28 November 1960, it was commonly known that a wealth of Classical Arabic, Ḥassāniyya and Zenāga literature might be found in madāris, tented encampments and in Saharan towns, such as Shinqīt, Wādān, Walāta and Boutilimit. French scholars, several of them administrators, had read, collected, or noted, the whereabouts of these documents, some of them of priceless value. Any Arabists or Africanists who were concerned with 'Moorish literature' would have needed to consult the published articles and the lists of manuscripts collected, copied, or translated, by the experts on the Moors: Paul Marty, Théodore Monod, Vincent Monteil, E. Leriche and the well-known scholars who were co-operative with the French, in the south of the country, especially within the family of Shaykh Sīdiyya. Certain texts were translated into French and printed. Ismael Hamēt published his *Chroniques de la Mauritanie Sénégalaise* (Nacer Eddine, Leroux: Paris) in 1911. René Basset published Aḥmad Yūra's little book on the wells of the Trārza, and Mauritania's best-known scholar, Mokhtār ould Hāmidoun, whose few articles and small books up to that point had given little idea of his true encyclopedic knowledge of Moorish literature, published a few learned literary articles in the Nouakchott Arabic Press. Within his flat, or in his camp in the



Trārza, towards Buwayr al-Ṭawras, his *tāsuṣres*—*grands sacs en cuir décoré*—contained a literary treasure-trove, in complete disorder in many cases; Arabic manuscripts, scribbled notes, lists of authors, poems, some of his own, and numerous historical anecdotes. None knew the vast extent of this literature with any precision. Frontiers in the Sahara were meaningless. ‘Moorish literature’ was to be found way beyond Mauritania’s frontiers. The word ‘Moor’ itself had an imprecise and misleading meaning. What was really intended by ‘Maure’ was, in fact, ‘Bīdānī’ literature. Other works and many masterpieces were to be found in Timbuctoo and Azawād, in the major libraries of the Kunta, in parts of the Sahara of Mali and even in parts of Niger.

In the Arab World, Mauritanian literature, for decades, meant one scholar who had lived his life principally in the northerly Adrār and not in the southern Gibla, namely Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī, the author of *al-Wasīṭ fī tarājīm udabā’ Shinqīṭ* (Cairo: 1378/1958), first printed in 1329/1911. To this day, despite the recent publications by Mauritanian scholars and men of letters, its wealth of source material and extensive comment and appraisal of, or upon, the dīwāns of the greatest Saharan Arabic poets of the past is surely second to none.

Following Mauritania’s independence, several Western scholars took an active part in listing and helping to preserve the ‘Moorish’ literary heritage. Among them was Charles C. Stewart, whose publications about the Haroun Ould Cheikh Sidia Library, in Boutilimit, are included in the comprehensive bibliography which is printed here, in Band II, on page 1222. Another landmark in listing and drawing attention to the names of scholars and the titles of some of their works (drawing, in particular, upon the Arabic text of al-Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Siddīq’s, Faṭḥ al-Shakūr) is the comprehensively indexed bibliography which was published by Rainer Oßwald in *Die Handelsstädte der Westsahara* (Berlin, 1986, reviewed in *BSOAS* LI/2, 1988, 338–9). This work foreshadows the three volumes reviewed here in general layout, in comprehensiveness, documentation, accuracy and attention to the finest details. Ulrich Rebstock, Reiner Oßwald and A. Wuld ‘Abdalqādir were to collaborate, subsequently, in a *Katalog der Arabischen Handschriften in Mauretania* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, Band 30, Beirut, 1988), reviewed in *BSOAS* LIV/1, 1991, 138). This included an extensive comment on chosen works, together with Arabic passages, a bonus which is absent here. In London, numerous quranic, quranic related, and works of secular literature by Mauritanian, Kunta and Tuareg scholars (many of the latter having been pupils of the former) were published in catalogues which were prepared, financed and published by al-Furqān in Wimbledon. One of these, *Handlist of manuscripts in Shinqīṭ and Wādān*, was compiled by Aḥmad wuld Muḥammad Yaḥyā, edited by Ulrich Rebstock and printed in London, in 1417/1997 (reviewed in *BSOAS* 61/1, 1998, 207). Old works of Moorish literature are constantly coming to light and contemporary Mauritanian scholars have published articles on literary topics in Mauritanian publications, such as *al-Wasīṭ*, or in Western Orientalist journals, for example, *Arabica*. Moḥamed El Muktār ould Bāh has published an assessment of the poets of his country, from the seventeenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century, in *Arabica*, 18 (1971). On Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī (a major Ḥassāniyya poet as well as a supreme master of Classical Arabic) this same scholar, Ould Bāh, has contributed a book about juridical literature and Malikism in Mauritania. It was published in Tunis in 1981. Only this year, Timothy Cleaveland, in his *Becoming Walāta, a history of Saharan social formation and transformation* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann) has brought to

our notice almost unknown works of local Moorish literature which shed fresh light upon the history, the society and the cultural life of this remote Saharan town.

Rebstock's three volumes are a *tour de force*. As a catalogue of the West Saharan scholastic and literary fraternity it is unlikely to be surpassed in our lifetime. The first two volumes include the names, dates of birth and death, where known, tribal affiliation, scholastic stemmata, known works (in Arabic transcription) of a grand total of some 4,847 Moorish authors, including the leading scholars amongst the far flung Kunta (some in Mali), plus a handful of Tuareg scholars from the Azawād region. The accuracy of the text is astonishing.

One might, however, pose a serious question; The chapter entitled 'Maurische Literaturgeschichte', Band I, pp. xvii–xxi, outlines what the author considers to be 'Moorish literature', and whom he includes. In reality, he offers us a 'Catalogue raisonné' of Western Saharan *littérateurs* and the titles of their known masterworks. History has not allowed us the survival of *Biḍānī* works and poetry (some oral) before the late medieval or early modern era, save for a few which have been copied, recopied, reshaped and which have, by a miracle, survived the ravages of climate, white ant and social upheavals and fires. A further question may also be posed. The final volume planned for John Hunwick's *Arabic literature of Africa* (E. J. Brill) has as its title *The writings of the Western Sahara*. In view of the volumes reviewed here, is such a publication, with an extremely limited readership and the immense labour and time which it will entail, now justified? The answer is surely an affirmative. Not only will this planned volume crown an outstanding survey of African Arabic literature across the Sahelian belt and beyond, but it will also be of reference value and regular use to anglophone students in Africa, the Middle East and also in the United States. The approach, too, differs markedly. Hunwick and O'Fahey's series claims, 'While primarily a work of reference, it will also attempt to provide an outline of the intellectual history of the Muslim societies in the areas it covers: the Nile Valley, East Africa and the Horn of Africa, West Africa, and the Western Sahara, from earliest time to the present'. There are gaps in Rebstock's volumes that need filling.

This said, Rebstock's *Geschichte* is a truly remarkable achievement. One's sole regret is that when Hunwick's volume eventually appears, the 'Moors' alone, in the Sahel, will enjoy the lion's share of this impressive scholastic attention. Sahelian neighbours, whose own literary heritage, in Arabic, is far from negligible, yet almost unknown by comparison, may feel envious and express some bewilderment. They have some justification. The imbalance needs to be corrected.

H. T. NORRIS

CELIA HAWKESWORTH, MURIEL HEPPEL and HARRY NORRIS (ed.):

*Religious quest and national identity in the Balkans.*

(Studies in Russia and East Europe.) xxvi, 242 pp. Basingstoke:

Palgrave, 2001. £47.50.

The present book grew out of a series of seminars held at SSEES, University of London, between January and May 1997 followed by a conference between 30 June and 2 July 1997. It consists of an introduction followed by thirteen

studies divided into four groups: part I: Labels of belief, blurred boundaries (6 articles); part II: Orthodoxy (2 articles); part III: Islam (3 articles); part IV: Religion, politics, national mythologies (3 articles).

The book will be of interest to students of Slavonic studies, history of religion and Islam in the Balkans. The present reviewer will therefore focus on the articles concerning her field of study: popular religion of the Ottoman Empire.

Bernard Hamilton, '*Dualist heresy in the Latin Empire of Constantinople*' (pp. 67–77). The author gives a very clear description of Bogomilism and its relationship to Catharism. While Catharism was eradicated in the thirteenth century in Western Europe, dualistic heretic currents still persisted in the Balkan and Aegean regions where they continued during the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century and had repercussions in events that took place during the early part of the Ottoman period.

The influence of Bogomilism may be found in the revolt of Sheikh Bedreddin and the two riots that took place at the same time: that of Torlak Kemal who was hanged in Manissa, and that of Börklüce Mustafa who was crucified in Ephesus in 1415. When examined more closely, these three events appear dissimilar: the revolt of the 'Ulāma Sheikh Bedreddin looks like a struggle of dogmatic ideas, while the popular uprising of Torlak Kemal was led by an ignorant wandering dervish of the Kalender kind. But the problem is quite different in the case of Börklüce Mustafa whose action took place in the region of Aydin. According to the Byzantine historian Dukas, Börklüce Mustafa was close to groups of dissident Franciscans known as Fraticelli, and who were Cathars. He often went to Samos and Chios where those Fraticellis were located, and visited a hermit who considered himself to be his disciple. The cruel death that sanctioned his uprising, death by crucifixion, was not common in the Ottoman Empire and could only be explained if Börklüce Mustafa was considered a renegade. We might therefore suppose that he may have been a Christian monk who converted to Islam but later rejected that creed and joined Christian heretic groups. The surname 'Börk' could refer to his wearing a cowl.

Muriel Heppel, '*Hesychasm in the Balkans*' (pp. 125–37). This is a very instructive article. However, some interesting historical details may be added to it. The author mentions Turkish pirates raiding the region of Mount Athos and the Thracian coast in 1335 and 1341. During the years 1333–34, the Emir of Aydin, Umur Pasha, had built himself a fleet and raided the Aegean coast. He occupied Philadelphia (Alaşehir) in 1335–36 and had an interview with the Byzantine Emperor Andronik III. A few years later, in 1343, his aid was sought by John Cantacuzene (John VI) in his struggle for the Byzantine throne against the legitimate successor John Paleologue (John V), still an infant. For a few years Umur Pacha and Cantacuzene occupied and devastated the regions of Dimetike and Andrinople (Edirne). In 1345 Umur Pacha was killed during the Crusade which had been preached against him by Pope Clement VI. Cantacuzene was then obliged to look for another ally and turned to the Ottoman Orhan, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage, awakening thus the interest of the Ottomans in the conquest of Constantinople.

Harry Norris, '*Balkan Islam*' (pp. 5–16). The author is a renowned specialist in Islam in general and Balkan Islam in particular. The section referring to

the Albanian poet Naim Frasheri is of great interest. That poet should be better known in Western Europe. The last paragraph of the contribution, in which Norris points out the insufficient attention given to Hurufism and the Pantheistic and Cabalistic currents which originated in Azerbaijan, Persia and other eastern countries, is worthy of greater scholarly consideration.

John Norton, '*The Bektashis in the Balkans*' (pp. 168–200). The author has an excellent knowledge of Bektashism and correctly states that in the Balkans the Bektashis were grouped into Tarikats—centres of cultural development. He is also right to point out that, in the Balkans, the custom of dervishes addicted to celibacy was much more developed than in Anatolia. The Christian environment might have had some influence in this, though groups of dervishes addicted to celibacy were also known in earlier times in different countries of the East. John Norton is, however, wrong as regards the personality of Hadji Bektash; though in general the lives of dervishes are known principally through legends, in the case of Hadji Bektash we are well informed of his historical identity: the earliest mention of him is that of Eflâki, who shows him as a contemporary of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi and one of the principal halifes of Baba Ilyas who led the Baba'i revolt. This is confirmed by the *Menakib-al-Kudsiyye* written in the fourteenth century by Elvan Celebi, the grandson of Baba Ilyas, and later by the fifteenth-century historian Ashik Pashazade, who was also descended from Baba Ilyas. Hadji Bektash came to Anatolia during the 1230s, together with his master Baba Ilyas-i Horasani. During this period, a large number of Kharezmians sought refuge in Anatolia, fleeing the Mongol invasion. These refugees caused a great deal of trouble to the Seldjoukids of Rum as their main way of living was raiding the Christian villages. In this context the Baba'i uprising in which the young Hadji Bektash took an active part started. The riot ended in a general massacre of the Baba'is and their families in the plain of Malya (1239–40). Hadji Bektash lost his brother, then disappeared, to re-emerge in the guise of a holy hermit living among the Cepni tribe in Solucakaraöyük (now Hacibektaş). He did not belong to that tribe as there seems to have been an attempt to get rid of the intender. However, he gained a reputation for sanctity. His death took place around 1270, at the same time as that of Celaleddin Rumi. After his death the Bektashi tarikat was founded by his disciple Abdal Musa. The Janissary corps, which appeared in the fourteenth century, was attached not to the person of Hadji Bektash but to the Tarikat which bore his name.

However, the greatest reproach that can be made to John Norton is his omission to mention the Kizilbash/Alevi. In so doing he was probably seeking to separate Bektashism from the present Alevism and from its links with Safavid and Iranian Shiism, but he also deprived the Bektashi trunk of its limbs. It is impossible to disconnect the two movements. Both refer to Hadji Bektash. They share the same beliefs and the same ceremonies. They sing the same psalms (*nefes*) and revere the same saints. Even in some Balkan regions, such as the Deli Orman in Bulgaria, they call themselves Kizilbash. John Norton is partly right in pointing out the difference between the Bektashis and the Iranian Shiites. Soon after their defeat at Çaldıran in 1514, the Persians tried to remove the alien elements from their Shiite creed, mainly the divinization of Ali and the belief in metempsychosis. Yet the Shiite influence of Bektashism runs very deep: it is the basis of that religious movement and cannot be taken away from it.

IRÈNE MÉLIKOFF

FAROUK MITHA:

*Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis: a debate on reason and authority in medieval Islam.*

(Ismaili Heritage Series, 5.) xxi, 128 pp. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2001. £29.50 hb., £14.99 pb.

This short book concentrates on Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī's polemic against the Ismailis, *Faḍā'ih al-Bāṭiniyya wa faḍā'il al-Mustazhiriyya*, 'The infamies of the Bāṭiniyya and the virtues of the Mustazhiriyya' (ed. A. Badawī, Cairo, 1964), dating from 487–88/1094–95. Commonly known as the *Kitāb al-Mustazhirī*, it consists of a debate between al-Ghazālī and a hypothetical Ismaili opponent written both to attack the Ismailis and to praise the new Caliph al-Mustazhir, in office 487–512/1094–1118, who commissioned its writing (*al-Mustazhirī*, p. 3). Mitha's study is the fifth in the Ismaili Heritage Series, which began in 1996. One reason for including in the series al-Ghazālī's entirely negative treatment of the Ismailis is summed up in the closing paragraph (p. 102). Mitha seeks 'to illustrate, by way of this debate, the influential role played by Ismailis in the history of Islamic thought'.

Mitha outlines the aims of his analysis of *Kitāb al-Mustazhirī* on p. xvi. These are 'to understand the broader historical configuration of ideas and tensions' behind the text, 'to re-evaluate the historical significance of *K. al-Mustazhirī*', to suggest 'new explanations, building on those of other scholars, of al-Ghazālī's motives for writing it' and 'to propose new, relatively unexplored, ways of reading *K. al-Mustazhirī*, and thus, by extension, to raise new questions about our understanding of al-Ghazālī and of the age in which he lived'. These are ambitious goals for a book whose main text runs to 102 pages, and unfortunately they are not achieved.

*Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis* comprises three chapters. Chapter i provides the historical context for al-Ghazālī's composition, reviewing briefly the role of the Seljuqs, the Abbasid Caliphate and the Ismailis. The second chapter, by far the longest (pp. 28–85), offers essentially an extended summary of al-Ghazālī's arguments, while chapter iii offers a proposed 're-reading' of the text. Mitha's discussion draws attention to *Kitāb al-Mustazhirī*, and provides an overview of its contents for those unfamiliar with it. However, a number of shortcomings limit the book's usefulness.

There is very little by way of substantial argument. Much of the book is descriptive, while Mitha's two main arguments are not backed by extended discussion. He contends, first, that al-Ghazālī wrote *Kitāb al-Mustazhirī* as a genuine attempt to rehabilitate the status of the caliphate, 'to the furthest extent possible' (p. 85). Mitha accepts in part Hillebrand's view ('Islamic orthodoxy or Realpolitik? Al-Ghazālī's views on government', *Iran*, xxvi, 1988, p. 86 and *passim*) that al-Ghazālī sought to promote political stability at a turbulent time by stressing that the young caliph should not interfere with the temporal power of the Seljuq Sultanate. Yet Mitha also emphasizes, 'a soft, yet pervasive, ethos of revivalism in al-Ghazālī's treatment of the caliphate' (p. 84), by which Mitha understands a revival not so much of the real as of the perceived importance of the caliphal office. Such 'revivalism' seems unlikely, however, given both al-Ghazālī's grasp of the realities of Seljuq power and his desire for stability.

Mitha's second argument is the claim that 'al-Ghazālī's intellectual

reformation of Sunni Islam was in large part shaped by the ideas and ethos of the Shi'a Ismaili doctrine of *ta'lim*' (p. 101). This *ta'lim* ('teaching') stressed reliance on an authoritative teacher as the path to certain knowledge. While it is true that al-Ghazālī's writings frequently return to the issue of certain knowledge, Mitha overstates the extent to which al-Ghazālī was influenced by his engagement with the Ismaili intellectual challenge. Other influences on al-Ghazālī, notably that of Ibn Sīnā, demand consideration.

Stepping beyond these two particular arguments, Mitha's 're-reading' of the text in his final chapter suggests an elaboration of his aim of expounding, 'new, relatively unexplored, ways of reading' *Kitāb al-Mustazhirī*. These new ways are not readily apparent, however, the chapter consisting of observations often summarizes previous scholarship on the topics of orthodoxy, reason and authority.

A number of other weaknesses obtrude. Why is there only passing reference to other texts by al-Ghazālī when a longer study, exploring some of these connections more fully, would have been desirable? Furthermore, the reference to al-Ghazālī's, 'systematic use of logic in *uṣūl al-fiqh*', is inaccurate, since al-Ghazālī's *al-Mustasfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl* does not in fact extend its engagement with logic beyond the famous introductory discussion of the subject. There are also striking statements about al-Ghazālī and his works which beg questions. Al-Ghazālī's harsh criticisms of the Ismailis, contrasting with his more measured writing, reveal 'a type of intellectual insecurity' (p. 44), while his ability 'to enter into the shoes of his opponents reflects that very modern, almost liberal, side of al-Ghazālī's complex personality' (pp. 55–6). Mitha needs to explain how al-Ghazālī's extant texts 'constitute an integrated fabric' (p. 1), given 'the range of his many different voices' (p. 2).

Less substantial flaws also hinder the reader. Various generalizations contribute little; for example, 'The study of history begins inevitably with retrospection' (p. 3). The prose features conceptual inaccuracies, as on p. 59, when the syllogism is described as a 'personification of reason'. Further editing could have removed grammatical infelicities such as 'realism connotes a Machiavellian persistence toward realpolitik' (p. 76).

In sum, Mitha's discussion is useful more as a survey than as an analysis of the ideas found in *Kitāb al-Mustazhirī*.

MARTIN WHITTINGHAM

JA'FAR B. MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN:

*The Master and the Disciple: an early Islamic spiritual dialogue on conversion. Kitāb al-'Ālim wa'l-ghulām.*

Translated by J. W. Morris. (Ismaili Texts and Translations Series, 3.) I. B. Tauris: London, 2001, xiii, 225 pp. £25.00.

The tenth-century Ismaili writer, Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, composed a number of important works of theology and quranic exegesis, the most famous of which is the *Kitāb al-kashf*, edited by Strothmann half a century ago. The *Kitāb al-'ālim wa'l-ghulām*, edited and translated by Morris in this volume, provides us with a creative account of Ismaili theology presented in the form of a series of dialogues weaved around a central narrative. The text consists of conversations on subjects such as theology, the relationship between formal theology (*kalām*) and gnosis, cosmology and the mystic path, interspersed with narrative commentary. The main characters are the

‘Knower’ (*‘ālim*), the ‘Young Man’ (or pupil, *ghulām*), the Shaykh and Abū Mālik, a theologian (probably Mu‘tazilī). The religious discussions of these characters are presented as elements in the story of how the *ghulām* comes to be an initiate (and later an instructor) in esoteric religious knowledge. The story runs as follows: The *‘ālim*, a teacher in a community of believers, sets out to spread the true message. His discussions outside of the community are generally fruitless until he arrives at a place far from his home. There he meets a group of scholars who, whilst keen, are misguided. He discusses with them and they are impressed, taking on board his teaching. One of them (the *ghulām*) decides to follow him and is eventually introduced to the *‘ālim*’s own spiritual guide (the Shaykh). The Shaykh initiates the *ghulām* into the ways of mystical knowledge. The *‘ālim*, however, remains his mentor and the *ghulām* returns to his hometown, wherein his father and family live. His father is, at first, less than impressed with his son’s conversion, but eventually relents and he too becomes a seeker. The rest of the community are suspicious and question the theologian Abū Mālik about the beliefs of the *ghulām* (now known as Ṣāliḥ) and the father (known as al-Bakhtāra). Abū Mālik does not condemn them but wishes to meet them himself. There follows a prolonged dialogue in which Ṣāliḥ demonstrates the limited, and limiting, nature of theology. Abū Mālik is bewildered by Ṣāliḥ’s argumentative powers and becomes a seeker himself, though it takes the *‘ālim*’s advice to make Ṣāliḥ recognize the authenticity of Abū Mālik’s conversion. The superiority of esoteric over exoteric knowledge is emphasized throughout, as is the privileged character of this knowledge. The hierarchy of the Shaykh, the *‘ālim*, Ṣāliḥ, his father and Abū Mālik is clear and replicates the hierarchy within the mystical order. The ‘true religion’ emerging from the dialogues recounted in the text is one of secret knowledge which is available to those who seek, but ‘the way’ is closed to those who remain wedded to the exoteric elements of religion. Particularly interesting is the dialogue between Ṣāliḥ and Abū Mālik, where the principles of Mu‘tazilī theology and legal theory are discussed, and shown to be contradictory and uninspiring. It is also, I feel, significant that much of the information communicated in the dialogues is sectarian-neutral. Whilst the figure of an imam provides guidance for the world, there is little discussion of themes which are exclusively Ismaili. Without knowledge of the history of Ja‘far b. Manṣūr and his place within Ismaili tradition, there would be little evidence for the reader to place the text specifically within the Ismaili Shīi tradition.

Translating a text such as this requires a thorough grounding in the terminology of esoteric Islam, as well as a detailed understanding of Ismaili theology. Morris has done a fine job, and any difficulty the reader of the translation may have in grasping the meaning merely reflects the inherent ambiguity of the Arabic text itself. There are occasions when I would certainly have used a different form of words. For example, Morris translates Abū Mālik’s plea that he needs to know the different types of ‘seeker’ (*anā ilā ma‘rafat al-thalātha aḥwaju* [? or *aḥūju*] Arabic text, p. 66) as ‘I am in need of coming to know all three of them’ (translation, p. 140); ‘I am in greater need of knowing all three’ (or simply ‘I need to know all three’) would perhaps reflect the Arabic more clearly. The Arabic style is highly reminiscent of the Quran—a feature brought out by Morris’s copious references in the translation. At times, one feels he overplays this element of the work. For example, by using the verb *lajja*, or the verbal known *istikthār*, it is not immediately obvious that the author is deliberately emulating Q23.75 and Q102.1 respectively (Arabic section, p. 18, translation p. 84).

The translation and text are accompanied by an informative introduction, in which Morris explains the background to the text, as well as the general overview of Ismailism, Shiism and Sufism in early Islam. The text itself has a rather broken manuscript history. Whilst being supposedly composed in the tenth century, the earliest manuscript used by Morris is from the early seventeenth century. This leaves seven centuries for accretions and modifications (though Morris is confident this has not happened to any significant extent). The manuscripts themselves, Morris tells us, have easily recognizable section markers (indicating who is speaking), though these, at times, appear as editorial interpretation. Finally, one might expect a text with the great importance and significance described by Morris in the introduction to have a more complete and stable manuscript tradition.

This said, the work is expertly presented and edited, and makes a worthy addition to the already excellent 'Ismaili Texts and Translations' series. Editions of Arabic texts make little economic sense for European publishers, but this work (and the others in the series) are major contributions to the field. They will continue to be useful to scholars and students long after many lighter, introductory works have begun to look dated.

ROBERT GLEAVE

MARIA PERSSON:

*Sentential object complements in Modern Standard Arabic.*

(Studia Orientalia Lundensia, Nova Series, No. 2.) viii, 146 pp.

Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiskell International, 2002.

This is the author's doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Lund in May 2002 (supervised by Bo Holmberg and Karina Vamling). It is a well-executed study of the form and function of sentential object complement constructions in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which Persson is right to point out is new, since most studies related to this topic deal with Classical Arabic (the best being two studies by Wolfdietrich Fischer: '“Dass-Sätze” mit *'an* und *'anna* im Arabischen', *ZDMG*, 1977: 276–7, and 'Dass-Sätze mit *'an* und *'anna*', *ZAL*, 1978: 24–31). According to her definition, 'complement clauses are clauses that serve as arguments of verbs, and by extension also of other categories, such as verbal nouns, participles, etc.' (p. 7).

This work is a corpus-based investigation, and all the examples discussed are taken from Arabic prose literature from between 1948 and 1967. One excellent stroke of good luck was to have had available a forthcoming grammar of MSA by three talented linguists of which she made extensive use in her research (El Said Badawi, Michael G. Carter and Adrian Gully, *Modern written Arabic: a comprehensive grammar*, London: Routledge). These three specialists are quoted as saying, with reference to the particles *'an* and *'anna* 'that', something which is not readily available (to my knowledge) in other grammatical treatises, viz. *qāla* 'to say' may sometimes be followed by *'anna* rather than the obligatory *'inna* 'when the words of the speaker are not related exactly as they were spoken' (p. 2, n. 12). However, they later assert (and she also quotes this) that 'indirect speech after *qāla* in the modern written language is almost invariably introduced by *'inna* (p. 3, n. 12). Thus, it seems the difference in complementizer turns out to be a moot point. Indeed, the aforementioned topic of *qāla 'anna* would make for a fascinating monograph in itself.



The statistics concerning imperfect jussive complements were quite surprising to me (pp. 52–3). As it turns out, only 1.5 per cent of all recorded complements use the jussive, all of which govern the complementizer *'anna*; however, it is noteworthy that the example cited containing the verb *qāla* takes *'inna*. Also quite interesting is the author's conclusion that *lam*+jussive occurs six times more frequently than *mā*+perfect for the negative of perfective complements.

It should be noted that there is no need to present the basics of MSA (pp. 27–43). Readers would, I believe, be at least somewhat familiar with the structure of the language, including the triconsonantal root (pp. 27–8), verbs such as *laisa* 'not to be' (p. 34), etc.

The MSA transcriptions and translations are accurate; however, there is that rare error (e.g. *'anī* for *'annī* 'about me' (p. 23, n. 124)), or that there should be a barred *l* in the name of the famous Polish linguist, Jerzy Kuryłowicz (p. 142 and *passim*). The quality of the English throughout is also quite excellent, yet one notes an occasional stylistic infelicity; e.g. 'Since functional linguistics study (for 'studies') human language in use ...' (p. 22), or 'the most well-spread (for well-known) German/English dictionary' (p. 26).

Let me conclude with a comment on the bibliography (pp. 140–44). Although there are many useful books and articles on the author's topic in both Arabic and general linguistics, mention of Noam Chomsky's classic *Syntactic structures* (The Hague: Mouton, 1957) adds little which is germane to this work (p. 140).

ALAN S. KAYE

JANET C. E. WATSON:

*The phonology and morphology of Arabic.*

(The Phonology and Morphology of the World's Languages.) ix,  
307 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. £60.

This book is another welcome addition to the splendid *The Phonology and Morphology of the World's Languages* series edited by Jacques Durand. The author, a seasoned Arabist renowned for her pioneering work on Yemeni Arabic, has penned a comprehensive treatise. Most of the volumes in this series of about a dozen published volumes (so far) deal exclusively with phonology, whereas Watson has seen fit, wisely in my judgement, to cover both phonology and morphology, since both are intertwined in the Semitic languages, particularly in Arabic (David Odden's *The phonology and morphology of Kimatuumbi* also tackles both areas).

The introduction (pp. 1–12) covers some aspects of comparative Semitics, the conservative nature of Arabic phonology, the spread of Arabic as it came in contact with such languages as Epigraphic South Arabian, Coptic, and Berber, and the much-written about problem of diglossia. Watson uses data from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and a number of Arabic dialects, especially *Ṣan'ānī* (the dialect of the old city of *Ṣan'a=S*), and Cairene (C). She correctly asserts that the former has maintained a slower rate of linguistic change, and many of her observations have rich comparative-historical ramifications.

Chapter ii discusses the phonemic system of MSA, S, and C (pp. 13–23)—information which is available from a variety of published sources, yet conveniently assembled here. Chapter iii covers phonological features

(pp. 24–49). I find a diachronic suggestion concerning the sound change of /q/ > /ʔ/ by Manfred Woidich (p. 45, n. 18) to be worth pursuing. He claims that \*/q/ is pronounced as a glottalized stop in the Kharga Oasis of Egypt, and this could conceivably be the intermediary link in its development to a glottal stop in all the varieties of Arabic which have it. (Of course, we have long known that /q/ is a glottalized velar stop in Ethio-Semitic languages, and most Semitists believe that the Proto-Semitic emphatics were also glottalized stops, not pharyngalized and velarized as in Arabic.) Noting the /q/ variant of the voiced pharyngeal fricative in the word for ‘earth’, let me correct the Aramaic word to read ‘ar’/qā = Arabic ‘ard (p. 45).

Chapter iv deals with syllable structure and syllabification (pp. 50–78). Among the most important topics discussed is epenthesis (pp. 64–70). It has long been problematic to explain why the epenthetic vowel in C *bint[i] laṭīfa* ‘Latifa’s daughter’ is unstressed, whereas the same epenthetic vowel in ‘ult + i + lak ‘I told you m. s.’ receives the major stress. One of the classic essays on this topic is in the author’s fine bibliography (p. 294), viz. T. F. Mitchell’s ‘Prominence and syllabification in Arabic’, *BSOAS* xxiii, 1960, 369–89 (correct from ‘syllabification’, p. 294).

Chapter v is on word stress (pp. 79–121). The author is correct to point out that the Arab grammarians never mentioned stress, and further that Proto-Semitic in all likelihood had free stress (p. 79, n. 1, quoting Robert Hetzron). It is clearly demonstrated that S and C have different stress patterns. Two typical examples are: C *maktāba* and S *máktabih* ‘library’ and C *mudarrissa* vs. S *mudárrisih* ‘teacher, f. sg.’ (p. 99).

Chapter vi covers non-concatenative (non-linear) morphology (pp. 122–74). As proof of the importance of the field of morphophonology in Arabic, the assimilation of the definite article as part of the phonological strategy of this morpheme is cited, whereas /l/ + [coronal obstruent] remain in both C and S: e.g. *malsū* ‘jumpy’ and S *ṣalṣuh* ‘sauce’ (p. 123).

Chapter vii concentrates on concatenative morphology (called two-level morphology) with the notable exception of the two-part negative *mā* + -š (pp. 175–99). One of the author’s major conclusions is that C has a far richer level-two nominal and adjectival morphology than S, partly because it has a richer supply of native adjectival and nominal suffixes, and partly because it has been influenced by the other dialects and languages (p. 175). Another point made is that C and S differ in the *nisba* forms of *faransa* ‘France’; C has *faransāwi* only, she claims, whereas S has that form in addition to *faransi* (p. 199). According to El-Said Badawi and M. Hinds, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1986: 654), C has *faransāwi*, *faransi*, and *firinsi*, however.

Chapter viii, entitled ‘Lexical phonology’ (pp. 200–25), covers presuffixal vowel lengthening (*ma kuntīš* ‘you [f. sg.] were not’, p. 202), *y*-strengthening (*maṣrīyāt* ‘Egyptians f.’, p. 204), and *n*-strengthening (*minnu* ‘from him’, p. 205). Typical characteristics of S include degemination (*mā ḥabš* ‘he didn’t like/love’, p. 210) and *h*-deletion (*manum* ‘who are they m.?’ , p. 211). These types of phonological processes are common to many Arabic dialects.

Chapter ix, ‘Post-lexical phonology’ (pp. 226–67) discusses phonological conditioning, such as C’s long vowel shortening when unstressed, e.g., *mafatīh*. Not so well known are such pronunciations as *maḥḥad* for *ma’had* ‘institute’ (p. 248). In my view, the preceding example is an aspect of rapid speech utterance-final devoicing of plosives, and is documented for *l*, *m*, and *r* in C (*ism* ‘name’, ‘ifl’ ‘lock’, and ‘apr’ ‘grave’), yet this is extremely complicated

and not all speakers devoice these. This phenomenon from a cross-dialectal point of view deserves a lengthy study of its own.

Much ink has been spilled in the final chapter on emphasis (pp. 268–86). In fact, there is a sizeable body of literature on this topic going back to the medieval Arab grammarians. The treatment of the contrast involved is accurate, and the discussion of emphasis spread is comprehensive and thought-provoking. An example is *ma šā 'allā*, all emphatic in C but not so in S, well translated as ‘fantastic!’ (p. 274 and p. 280).

This book has few misprints. Let me note that the correct C rendition of MSA *fā'ūl* is *fa'ūl* (p. 131, n. 3).

In conclusion, a general linguist wishing to know something about the synchronic aspects of Arabic phonology and morphology is well served by this well-researched tome.

ALAN S. KAYE

MERCEDES GARCIA-ARENAL (ed.):

*Mahdisme et millénarisme en Islam.*

(Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée, Série Histoire, 91-92-93-94.) 480 pp. Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 2000. €53.50.

The title refers to these essays collected with an introduction and glossary by Mercedes Garcia-Arenal: Fred M. Donner, ‘La question du messianisme dans l’islam primitif’, 17–27 (argues against Cook and Crone, *Hagarism*, that there is no messianism in the Quran, hence ‘Umar could not have been considered the messiah in his own time); David Cook, ‘Messianism and astronomical events during the first four centuries of Islam’, 29–51 (proposes that comets continually triggered messianic movements); Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, ‘Fin du temps et retour à l’origine (Aspets de l’imamologie duodécimane VI)’, 53–72 (stresses esoteric understandings of the return of the twelfth imam); Pierre Lory, ‘Eschatologie alchimique chez Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân’, 73–91 (the text in question never uses the word *mahdī*, but Jâbir does seem to have drawn some ideas from the Shii tradition); Michael Brett, ‘Le Mahdi dans le Maghreb médiéval’, 93–105 (reviews Mahdism from the Fatimids to ‘Abd al-Qâdir, with stress on a John the Baptist-like herald who continually appears first to point out the *mahdī*); Maribel Fierro, ‘Le mahdi Ibn Tûmart et al-Andalus: l’élaboration de la légitimité almohade’, 107–24 (a wide-ranging survey that addresses questions such as why the Almoravids before had not identified their founder as *mahdī*); Tilman Nagel, ‘Le Mahdisme d’Ibn Tûmart et d’Ibn Qasî: une analyse phénoménologique’, 125–35 (stresses Ibn Tûmart’s Sunnism and particularly Mâlikism); Houari Touati, ‘L’arbre du Prophète: prophétisme, ancestralité et politique au Maghreb’, 137–56 (on Ibn Abî Maḥallî, a holy man who commanded a wide allegiance in Morocco for a few years in the early seventeenth century); Mercedes Garcia-Arenal, ‘Imam et Mahdi: Ibn Abî Maḥallî’, 157–79 (reviews polemics against him as well as his own writings and compares other activist holy men of the time, stressing at the end how far Sufism, Mahdism, and legal learning were characteristic of all orthodox Islam until the twentieth century, the first two not restricted to the country nor the last to the cities); Julia Clancy-Smith, ‘La révolte de Bû

Ziyân en Algérie, 1849', 181–208 (lays special stress on informal propaganda, such as rumours and popular poetry); Thomas Fillitz, 'Uthmân dan Fodio et la question du pouvoir en pays haoussa', 209–20 (reviews the ideological evolution of the preacher, apparently rather opportunistic, and his brother 'Abdullâhi, who largely withdrew from the struggle as it departed from the principles he had originally enunciated); Aharon Layish, 'The Mahdî's legal methodology as a mechanism for adapting the Sharî'a in the Sudan to political and social purposes', 221–37 (his announced sources were Sunnah, Quran, and private inspiration, with express disregard for the traditional Sunni schools of law); Derryl N. MacLean, 'La sociologie de l'engagement politique: le Mahdawîya indien et l'état', 239–56 (on the evolution of the movement across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, arguing mainly against Indian Muslim historians who have discerned a markedly more populist constitution than MacLean); Marc Gaborieau, 'Le mahdî oublié de l'Inde britannique: Sayyid Aḥmad Barelwî (1786–1831), ses disciples, ses adversaires', 257–73 (especially on the theory of what he represented, with *mahdî*, *imâm*, and *khalîfah* largely conflated—unfortunately, it appears, as much by Gaborieau as his sources); Michel Boivin, 'Hiérophanie et sotériologie dans les traditions ismaéliennes du sous-continent indo-pakistanaï', 275–96 (on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries); Hamit Bozarslan, 'Le mahdisme en Turquie: L'«incident de Menemen» en 1930', 297–320 (on a minor riot that provoked savage repression from the secularizing government). This issue of *RMMM* concludes with one more article by Klaus Kreiser, 'Le Paris des Ottomans à la Belle Époque', 333–50, book reviews, 351–456, and a bibliography of recent publications in French relating to the Muslim world.

Unevenness is a leading characteristic of most edited collections of essays, and Garcia-Arenal's is not exceptional: some essays represent original research whereas others summarize previous publications, some are based on primary sources whereas others just review previous studies, and so on. Brett, Fierro, Nagel, Garcia-Arenal, Clancy-Smith, Fillitz (somewhat unsuccessfully, to my mind), and Bozarslan devote the most effort to explaining why anybody paid attention to alleged Mahdis. Touati, Clancy-Smith, and Fillitz, among others, seem uncomfortably apologetic: these rationalistic historians surely correspond more closely to elements among the despised enemies of the mahdists they describe than among the mahdists' armies.

Amir-Moezzi is concerned with the longest term. (Brett's term also is very long, but he does not stress change.) I am uncomfortable with Amir-Moezzi's interpretation: 'the critical analysis of the texts (early as well as late) having to do with messianism show clearly that eschatology is much more complex, difficult to reduce to a single "political" dimension' (p. 69). On the contrary, he believes, it always has an initiatic and mythological/theological character similar to earlier Neoplatonism, Gnosticism, and some varieties of Judaism and Christianity. Well, this character is worth developing, but Amir-Moezzi's argument too often relies on glosses from the eleventh century and later, which I accept as evidence for the eleventh century and later but not for the ninth, the apparent source for most of his raw data (mainly Twelver *ḥadīth*). Some of his earlier writings talked more satisfyingly of changes in Twelver Islam across time, as élite jurists assumed command of it.

My personal favourites are the essays by Fierro, Nagel, Garcia-Arenal, and Clancy-Smith, but every article is recommended to specialists concerned with the time and place discussed.

CHRISTOPHER MELCHERT

HELMA VAN DEN BERG:

*Dargi folktales: oral stories from the Caucasus and an introduction to Dargi grammar.*

324 pp. Leiden: Research School CNWS, 2001. €29.50.

Dargi, also known as Dargwa or Dargin, is a member of the North East Caucasian, or Daghestanian, language family, in which it is most closely linked to Lak. Both these, along with Avar, Lezgi(an) and Tabasaran (plus Chechen and Ingush from the related North Central Caucasian group) were granted literary status during Soviet times, though Dargi remains sadly unique in having been provided to date with no (bilingual) dictionary. In the last Soviet census of 1989 there were some 365,800 Dargis. The various dialects differ so sharply that three (Kubachi, Megeb and Chirag) are often considered distinct languages. Literary Dargi is based on Akusha, with admixtures from other dialects, especially Urakhi, which allows van den Berg to make the (at first sight) odd assertion: 'There are no native speakers of Standard Dargi'; Russian is the principal means of inter-dialectal communication.

The volume's heart is a selection of 32 folk-texts taken from a 1976 collection of pan-Daghestanian humour. These are presented in the original (Cyrillic-based) script, with changes noted in comparison with other published versions; sentential numbers are added for ease of reference. The texts are then provided with transcription, broken down into sentences with morpheme-glosses, translation and, in footnotes, remarks on any alterations deemed necessary by informants. All the vocabulary from the texts is given in the form of a root-/morpheme-lexicon with such information as perfective vs. imperfective stems and relevant case-frames for verbs, and plural formations and deviant oblique stems for nouns. The text section is preceded by a grammatical sketch, the first to appear in English, which is most useful particularly for the information included on syntax, a crucial area of grammar largely ignored by native Caucasian commentators—the 1993, 3-volume 'Dargi Language', for example, by the late Zapir Abdullaev is divided into 1. Phonetics; 2. Morphology; 3. Word-formation. Naturally, van den Berg's 'Studies in the verbal morphology and syntax of Akusha Dargi' is keenly awaited for further insights in this sphere. Illustrative material in the sketch is garnered from the incorporated texts.

If Daghestanian verbs show agreement, this is normally in the form of the class marker appropriate to the intransitive subject (S) or transitive direct object (O; P is preferred in this work). However, Dargi also illustrates person agreement, but the patterning is rather complex, depending on the agentivity of the P: 1st or 2nd person P determines the suffixal agreement (*r-it-i-ri* 'I hit you(Feminine)', where class prefix *r-* and person suffix *-ri* point to the P vs. *r-it-i-ra* 'you hit me(Feminine)', though, with appropriately marked external (pro)nouns, this could also mean 'I *-ra* hit her *r-*', for with 3rd person P it is the transitive subject (A) that determines the person agreement, vs. *r-it-ib-Ø* 'X *-Ø* hit her *r-*'). The Present Progressive and Perfect compound tenses allow further variation: if the neutral pattern gives:

<i>dudesh-li</i>	<i>dzhuž</i>	<i>b-uch'-ul</i>	<i>sa.y</i>
father-Ergative	book.Absolutive	Neuter-read-?	is(Masculine)
'Father reads a/the book'			

where the initial class-marker agrees with the neuter ‘book’, while the copula has masculine person-agreement, one can bring P into focus by marking the copula appropriately:

*dudesh-li*            *dzhuz*            *b-uch'-ul*            *sa-b*  
 ‘As for the book, father reads it’

Note, however, this is to be distinguished from the anti-passive, a construction available to some 60 per cent of Dargi’s transitive verbs:

*dudesh*            *dzhuz-li*            *uch'-ul*            *sa.y*  
 father.Absolute    book-Ergative    (Masculine)read-?    is(Masculine)  
 ‘Father is engaged/spending time in reading a/the book’

The suffix *-ul* on the lexical verb here is glossed by van den Berg as the (Present) Gerund marker— *-(l)i* is the past equivalent. I have used a question mark for the reason that I find use of the designation ‘gerund’ here somewhat awkward. The term in Russian grammar is *deeprichastie*, which the dictionaries translate as ‘verbal adverb’. Considering that such forms can serve as object-complement to the verb ‘see’, as illustrated on p. 130 in sentence 14 of text 13, one might think that a term used for a verbal noun (which is what ‘gerund’ means) might be appropriate, but there is nothing nominal about its employment in example 162 (p. 72), where it serves as a sort of Injunctive (or, in English, past participle) ‘*Having left* pilaf at home . . . , I went to the village’, and its role in these compound tenses also renders the employment of ‘gerund’ rather infelicitous. The form corresponds in terms of its general functions to formations which in North West Caucasian are usually described in English as ‘Absolutes’, and I would recommend introducing such an unloaded term for future descriptions of Dargi (and other Daghestanian languages).

Dargi does have two verbal nouns, an Infinitive and a Masdar, and their interplay looks a promising area for syntactic investigation. Also the use of the Past Absolute of the verb ‘say’ (*?-i-li*) as a speech particle seems to have parallels with other Caucasian speech particles: it is found with the Past Absolute of the lexical verb in sentence 8 of text 1 (p. 82) as complement of the verb ‘rejoice’ (N.B. the speech particle is omitted when this very example is cited as example 134 on p. 68 in the grammatical sketch); it is associated with the Infinitive in sentence 13 of text 1 as a purpose expression, though elsewhere the Infinitive alone, or suffixed with the Absolute ending *-li*, or in conjunction with *bahandan* (also found in the sense of ‘because of’) is used in this function; and it is naturally used to accompany direct quotations.

The sequence *sa.y-ra* can represent the (Masculine) copula ‘is’ + conjunction ‘and’ or a reflexive with conjunction ‘self and’: in sentences 1 and 5 of text 20, and in sentence 7 of the second part of text 27, the sequence is treated as an example of the former, but do not the contexts rather point to the latter?

This is a tasty appetizer to the author’s forthcoming further work on Dargi.

GEORGE HEWITT

### Corrigenda

p.7 1.18up: introduction TO; p.11 1.6up: only AN object; p.12 1.10: there WAS apparently an; p.13 1.3up: *udzi+*; p.15 1.10 & p.52 1.8: *tantUM*; p.22 14 *et passim*: Kopeck; p.23 1.4: *busurman-t-a-*; p.24 1.10: *-la-*; p.27 1.15up: ‘THAT (near the hearer)’; p.28 1.9: italicise *se-lra*; p.30 1.9: *k'.el*; 1.16: eight BIG lards; 1.24: thirtieth; p.31 1.12: *ila* ‘Thither; p.34 1.19: condolences; p.43 ex.49: **arq'-ul-ra-w**; p.48 1.15up & p.148 1.7up: ‘let HIM steal; p.52 1.3up:

‘(s)he WILL MAKE...I SHALL MAKE; p.54 1.8up: embarRass; p.54 1.7up: italicise *l*; 1.2up: rebound; p.59 ex.92a: *il-i-ni*; p.60 Ft.21: fact that; p.61 1.11: to BE marked; p.62 1.10: textS; p.63 ex.110: (Because of you); p.72 1.6: THIS man OF HONOUR; p.111 1.6up: MAY fire; p.115 1.11: lose; p.123: gloss is missing from the last line of text; 1.1up: woolLen; p.155 1.5: buried in the field the fish which she had bought at the market; p.165 1.5 & p.173 1.1up: Kurban’s; p.170 1.19 & 21: catastrophE; p.173 1.1: Jar; p.174 1.4up: his SHEEP; p.184 1.15up: -un-si; p.202 1.9: some time WALKING; p.204 1.10: say “zzz”; p.205 1.8: went OFF FOR A WALK; 1.18: pilaf nor; p.213 1.5: him (said); p.216 1.6up: ‘IF you are neither; p.220 1.15: in order not to have; p.224 1.19: criticiSe; p.231 1.13: villagers SET OFF into; p.233 1.11: THRONE-OBL-SUP; p.235 1.14: there that; 1.22: waves so; p.240 1.13: embarRassed; 1.16: MAKE you return; p.255 1.3: you MEAN to say BY that; 1.10: eyes as I did with my tooth; p.263 1.10: regardless OF whether.

VICTOR A. SHNIRELMAN:

*The value of the past: myths, identity and politics in Transcaucasia.*

(Senri Ethnological Studies, 57.) v, 465 pp. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2001.

The three wars that scarred the Transcaucasus during both the last years of Soviet rule and the early days of flawed independence consequent upon the Soviet Union’s 1991 collapse, and which remain unresolved at the moment of writing (namely those between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabagh, between Georgians and South Ossetians over South Ossetia, and between Georgians and Abkhazians over Abkhazia) are the focus of this work. However, Shnirelman does not aim, as others have, to present descriptive accounts of the conflicts or to discuss them in relation to the interests of the leading regional powers (Russia, Turkey, Iran). He prefers to contrast the generally accepted body of facts about the history of each contested zone with the various arguments advanced over the decades by local writers and/or historians and/or archaeologists about their own side’s past and its relevance to the perceived strengthening of their nation’s claim to the respective territory. The reader is almost left with the impression that, whether motivated by plain naivety, centrally imposed ideology, or, most chillingly, the (frequently perverse) demands of local patriotism, many authors whose ideas are discussed in the present work have effected a weird transformation whereby creative writers have all too often become the drivers of local historiography, whilst some of the best examples of fiction are to be found in the textbooks penned by professional historians. Spot the parallels between the cases!

The linguistic affiliations of the peoples concerned must be borne in mind: Armenian is a branch of the Indo-European family, possibly joined by Thracian and Phrygian, languages too poorly attested for certainty; Ossetian is also Indo-European, belonging with Scythian and Alan, its presumed ancestor, to the northern branch of Iranian; Azeri belongs to the Turkic family, closely related to Turkish; Georgian is a South Caucasian (Kartvelian) language with a demonstrable relationship to only three congeners (Mingrelian, Laz and Svan); Abkhaz is a North West Caucasian language, closely related to Circassian and the extinct Ubykh.

Since Armenian and Georgian literatures go back to around the late

fourth century, nobody seriously doubts that their speakers have occupied roughly their present-day territories for at least two millennia—Armenian territory being much reduced following the notorious events in the relevant Turkish vilayets between 1896 and 1915. However, whilst it is widely assumed that the ancient Anatolian tongues Urartian and Hurrian might have been varieties of North East Caucasian, some Armenian writers have suggested an Armenian link for the natives of Urartu, thereby providing Armenian history with even remoter glory. But Karabagh (part of the one-time Armenian province of Artsakh) is further to the east, and it is the historical ethnicity of its denizens that is the real bone of contention. Since a linguistically Turkic presence in Transcaucasia is generally believed to have arisen only in the eleventh century, the Turkic-speaking Azerbaijanis once argued that linguistic continuity was not as decisive a factor as biological inheritance, claiming that the Azerbaijanis are the descendants of the Caucasian Albanians, the third great Christian power in the Caucasus (along with Armenia and Georgia) in whose domain Karabagh once lay. Whilst little is known of the Caucasian Albanian language, it is thought to have been a form of North East Caucasian—indeed, the neutral assumption is that it was a form of the Lezgian branch and may be continued in Udi (confined today to three villages). This hypothesis implies that the Azerbaijani ancestors must have abandoned their original language in favour of Turkic Azeri. However, the power of the linguistic argument was so compelling (and the need to distance Azerbaijanis from the Turks no longer centrally required) that eventually the proposal was introduced that not only the Albanians but even more absurdly the Iranian-speaking Scythians and Saka people had spoken a Turkic tongue! If Albanians spoke ancestral Azeri and held Karabagh in their sway, are not the Azerbaijanis its true owners, regardless of how long Armenian has been spoken there?

In order to deprive the Abkhazians of any historical right to Abkhazia a number of Georgians have laboured to disseminate another calumny against historical reality, namely that the original ‘Abkhazians’ were a Kartvelian tribe ousted by marauding North West Caucasians who descended from the mountains to take over their territory and name some time between the 15th and 17th centuries. This travesty is very widely believed and, most alarmingly, is reported still to be being taught in Georgian schools.

It seems not to be appreciated by the propounders of such theories that the wilder the speculation, the weaker their case must be judged.

Chauvinistic argumentation can lead to blatant absurdities. Shnirelman illustrates one such, observing of a Georgian commentator’s 1994/95 statements: ‘Finally, [Totadze] went so far as to argue that, “while fighting in Abkhazia, the Georgians are not only defending their own land but are also rescuing Abkhazia and the Abkhazian people from disappearing” ... To put it differently, the abolition of Abkhazian autonomy, the destruction of the Abkhazian cultural and intellectual heritage, and the killing of Abkhazians were represented as good for the Abkhazian people’ (p. 345). Finally, as an example of the sort of outrageous hyperbole often encountered here, Shnirelman notes an assertion of two Ossetian writers about the linguistic affiliation of Christ and his family: ‘[T]wo other authors, Valerii Khamitsev and Alexander Balaev, claim that the Galileans were Iranian-speaking descendants of the ancient Aryans, “the Israeli Scythians”, and that Jesus’ mother was “a Scythian”. It follows from this argument that both Jesus Christ and eleven of the Apostles (not Judas) were in fact close relatives of the Ossetians ...’ (p. 378).



Despite conflicting theories, the truth must lie somewhere, and the Abkhazian and Armenian arguments are the more persuasive to this reviewer. The question of South Ossetia is less clear. However, a linguistic point can be added to Shnirelman's essentially historical perspective. In 1966 the Georgian iranologist, Mzia Andronik'ashvili, wrote a 634-page monograph analysing the numerous Iranian loans in Georgian. Well over 100 of those discussed entered Georgian from Alan-Ossetic and are attested in the oldest Georgian texts, including items like *m-st'ov-ar-i* 'scout' (with Digor root *astəfun : vɛstəft* 'to espy' embedded in the purely Georgian morphological elements *m- -ar-i*). The transmission of such loans surely requires some extended symbiosis between (Alan-)Ossetians and Georgians?

This is a compelling, remarkably well-informed, but unsettling book, demonstrating how fanciful was the (no doubt worthy) idea mooted a few years ago of the EU underwriting a Transcaucasian history to be jointly written by an inter-ethnic group of local scholars! History is clearly a dangerous discipline, and not only in terms of its capacity to stir a nation's emotion—Azerbaijani Academician Ziya Buniatov and the Russian Professor Yuri Voronov, who strongly advocated the Abkhazian case, were both assassinated.

GEORGE HEWITT

#### Main Corrigenda

Only the occasional grammatical or semantic infelicity betrays a foreign hand. p. 209: M. G. Bgazhba was the cousin (not brother) of Kh.S. Bgazhba; p. 210: I. R. Markholia is the same individual as the more frequently mentioned I. R. Marykhuba; p. 213: the 2-day war in 1989 took place in July (not June); p. 214: strictly speaking, Abkhazia did not formally declare independence until autumn 1999; p. 237 et passim: the old Georgian province, now in Turkey, is usually spelled Klarjeti or Klardzheti (not Klargeti); p. 268 l.6: ancestors (not descendants); p. 279: though it is widely asserted, even among the Abkhazians, that their name for their homeland 'Apsny' is related to the root 'soul', thereby making the country's designation etymologically 'place of the soul', Slava Chirikba has demonstrated that this is false, the more likely derivation being from the root 'die', making the self-designation 'Apswa' literally 'mortal' and the country-name 'place of the mortals'; p. 294: Sadz was a dialect of Abkhaz, not an Abkhaz-like language, once spoken around Sochi; p. 311: the 1992 London address by the Georgian Foreign Minister took place at Chatham House (not the UK Parliament); p. 362: Footnote 3 ascribes to Julian Birch the sharing of a particular view which in fact he merely mentions as one of three possible interpretations; p. 388: the Laz speak Laz, not Mingrelian, though the two are extremely close; p. 399: the surname of the Abkhazian president, namely Ardzinba, is derived from the noun *a-ra(d)znə* 'silver'—it does not mean 'gold-worker', which is *a-x<sup>j</sup>ə.j*, source of the surname Khiba.

OLEG GRABAR:

*Mostly miniatures: an introduction to Persian painting.*

vii, 168 pp. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000. £17.95.

Oleg Grabar invites the reader into the 'secret' world of Persian miniature book painting—the 'mostly' of the title refers to a brief introduction in his

first chapter to a different, somewhat earlier, world of larger-scale wall paintings, one which also encompasses images on ceramics that may (or may not) relate to similar subjects in book illustrations. It is a volume worthy of its subject, for it is large scale ( $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$  in.), sewn into its binding, generous both in the number and size of the coloured illustrations and in the spacing of the text, which is in two columns. The original text was in French, and has been translated by Terry Grabar with a considerable number of extra coloured illustrations added to the earlier version. It does not claim to be 'exhaustive'—no introduction can be—but it contains what Grabar himself calls a number of 'sketches' covering the sources, where the images are to be found, historical and cultural framework, major themes, and finally an attempt to formulate an aesthetic of the paintings.

Grabar was for many years the Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Art at Harvard University and has a lifetime of work in the history of Islamic art to inform his comments. His book on the *Formation of Islamic art* occupies a similar position for the new student of Islamic art to Ernst Gombrich's *The story of art* for those starting to study Western art. More recently, and especially in his book on *The mediation of ornament*, Grabar has sought to emulate other such luminaries within the discipline of art history as a whole by asking wider questions on subjects such as perception, the role of art, and aesthetics, seeking to find answers that will speak across the divide between West and East. This book attempts just that jump. While he pleads with the reader not to fall into the trap of comparing Persian painting with Chinese or European art, there is of course a tension in the fact that he was not brought up in an Islamic environment and writes for a Western audience. Moreover, of necessity he separates the images from the text they were designed to illustrate and thus deprives them of an intrinsic part of their meaning. He argues in the closing pages of the book that Persian painting 'coincides with a truly contemporary vision of the arts, for it gives every observer of its masterpieces the right to choose his or her own interpretation and to transform what is discovered into a personal world'. The claim runs counter to his own arguments earlier in the text where he seeks to understand the context and aesthetics of Persian painting in its own terms, and is made against a careful analysis of the evidence (admittedly thin) to be found in the commentaries of painting from writers such as Ja'far Tabrizi, Dost Muhammad and Qadi Ahmad. But it may reassure those for whom the subject is alien that they will not be dealing solely with the usual approach which lists a number of images in chronological order, attempting to trace a linear development between them.

It is not easy for the Western eye to understand Persian miniature painting: it can be perceived as too small, too tight, too theatrical to be considered as 'art' in the modern sense of the word. Someone who is not familiar with the world of Islam will state categorically that 'surely, there is no such thing as Islamic art'. A book like this one refutes this belief graphically by the brilliance of the illustrations—many full-page and all mesmerising in their grace and beauty. But in a sense the uninformed view is true, for Grabar argues convincingly that the art of miniature painting is one specifically for the court and princely patron. It is a private secular art, hidden within the sumptuous covers of a book, never intended for general consumption, and deliberately designed to demonstrate the owner's wealth and power. In the early period, it was only a generously funded workshop that could afford the tools of manufacture—paper, gold, silver, lapis lazuli—and the organization to co-ordinate the skills of the many people involved that it was possible to produce the books at all. Grabar encompasses many fascinating questions to

do with these technical aspects of book production. His book is roughly divided into two parts—the first three chapters, giving the background, take up 73 pages, while his last two chapters on the major themes and aesthetics cover 65, and it is here in the second part that the book springs to life, for it allows his wide, first-hand experience of the paintings to be displayed. Grabar clearly loves his subject; he has written on it for years in many articles (how refreshing that he does not make reference to these by title, but only by inference!) and has thought long and deep on the implications. He touches on the question of a mystical dimension to the paintings, a subject extensively researched by Anne-Marie Schimmel and Christoph J. Bürgel, but remains uneasy because of the lack of knowledge of the circumstances in which the paintings were created. The huge amount of work still to be done on the subject springs off the page so that a student should be inspired to see areas for future research. And this too is wonderfully refreshing—it is only a scholar who truly loves his work who can admit to gaps in his knowledge and point the way forward. The many references within the text to studies by others in the subject read almost like a report on Grabar's ability as a teacher, for most of the new generation he quotes learned their craft at his feet. It must be admitted, as a word of criticism, that the book is not always easy to digest—at times where a survey is made of, say, the manuscripts and collections, someone less familiar with the cited documents can get bogged down in the references. It is hard, however, to see how this could be avoided in such an ambitious and comprehensive book; it is only a word of warning to those who expect the subtitle to indicate a superficial approach. On the contrary, the reader, whether new to the subject or not, will be asked to think long and hard. His text, as Grabar explains is the case in the subject of his book, is the primary concern, and just as essential to allow an understanding of the treasure-trove of images.

SYLVIA AULD

WILLEM VOGELSANG:

*The Afghans.*

(The Peoples of Asia.) x, 382 pp. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

Willem Vogelsang's study of Afghanistan and the Afghans went to press just before the events of September 11 2001, and the subsequent repercussions for Afghanistan are addressed only briefly in the preface. However, this in no way detracts from the value of this book, by an eminent Leiden scholar, as a comprehensive overview of Afghanistan's history and peoples from ancient times to the modern era.

Vogelsang's deep knowledge of and interest in archaeology and ancient 'Iran' are reflected in the chapters he devotes to the Indo-Iranian invasions of the second millennium BCE, the Persian Achaemenids, and the advent of Hellenism in the wake of Alexander the Great. For Vogelsang, Alexander's campaigns in Afghanistan were particularly important in view of the number of 'geographers, botanists, historians, biographers and others [who] collected a wealth of information about the campaign itself and about the terrain and the people the Macedonians encountered' (p. 116). Forty per cent of the book is devoted to pre-Islamic Afghanistan, a period often marginalized in studies of medieval and modern history.

The opening chapters of this book look firstly at the geography and

geology of the Hindu Kush and secondly at the ethnic patchwork that constitutes modern Afghanistan. The term ‘Afghan’ is first unambiguously recorded in the tenth-century Persian work, the *Hudud al-‘Ālam*, and it becomes a common term in the histories and travelogues of the medieval period. It would seem generally to refer to the Pathan tribes, though it sometimes encompasses all tribes inhabiting the Hindu Kush mountain region. Vogelsang commits more space to examining the Pathans than to the other ethnic groups that make up Afghanistan no doubt because the Pathans have always been the dominant group in the area and account for between 40 and 50 per cent of the population. However, space is given to such little-known groups as the Aymaq and Pasha’i speaking Dihgān.

Post-Islamic conquest history and the modern era are covered in nine well footnoted chapters, while the advent of Islam is discussed in one revealing chapter depicting Afghanistan from the mid-seventh century until the mid-ninth century as a battlefield shared by Arabs, Chinese, and Tibetans fighting for control of the ‘Silk Road’ and the passes between east and west. It is often forgotten that Afghanistan is more a Central Asian rather than a Middle Eastern state.

The chapters covering the Islamic period and the modern era are of necessity narrative in style and afford only an outline of events—footnotes are provided for scholars interested in additional research and the ample thirty pages of bibliography supply much food for further scholarly pursuit. However, for what is in many ways an historical account there is a noticeable lack, either listed or cited, of primary source material, much of which is now readily available in edited and translated form.

Willem Vogelsang has written a comprehensive overview of a region now very much in the public eye and the welcome result is a readable, lucid and easily accessible guide to what in many ways is a painfully complex subject.

GEORGE LANE

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## SOUTH ASIA

THOMAS OBERLIES:

*Pāli: a grammar of the language of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka, with a concordance to Pischel’s Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen.*

(Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 3.) 385 pp. Berlin:

Walter de Gruyter, 2001. €128.

Since the early 1990s, indological research has produced a number of signal reference works pertaining to Pali and Middle Indo-Aryan philology and literature. In some cases, these publications were revised, edited and updated reprints of earlier achievements, such as Oskar von Hinüber’s *Das ältere Mittellindisch im Überblick* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil-Hist Klasse, 467, 2001, first published in 1985) or K. R. Norman’s emended version of Batakriśhna Ghosh’s English translation of Wilhelm Geiger’s *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1916) produced for the Pali Text Society (Oxford, 1994) under the title *A Pāli grammar*. Other works contain expositions of important new research. Two notable publications of this category are Oskar von Hinüber’s *A handbook of*

*Pāli literature* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996) and Margaret Cone's *A dictionary of Pāli: Part I, A–Kh* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001). Both constitute solid pieces of scholarship that will be of use for many years to come. Last, but not least, there are of course the fascicles of the *Critical Pāli dictionary* (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters) which, under the magisterial stewardship of Oskar von Hinüber, continue to present outstanding lexicographical research. Oberlies's grammar of Pali is the most recent addition to this growing corpus of Middle Indo-Aryan reference works. Like other contemporary scholars working in this field, Oberlies had the good fortune to be able to draw on a long-established tradition of Pali research for his work.

For this particular book, he is indebted to Wilhelm Geiger's outstanding contribution to Pali language and literature, which he rightly considers a *monumentum aere perennius*. In his own words: 'This publication should ... not be regarded as a new Pāli grammar' but 'as a complement to Geiger'. For 'a new "Geiger" comprising all stages of Pāli, registering all forms with their references and giving an up-to-date description of the Pāli syntax', he concedes appropriately, 'has yet to be written' (p. ix). In his opinion, the grammar's main contribution is that it adds 'meanings to all words and references if such cannot be found with the help of the *CPD* or *PED*, and [that he] ... has appended concordances of the present grammar to Geiger and von Hinüber (*Überblick*) and to Richard Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*' (pp. ix–x).

Although Oberlies's humility is commendable (in particular in the light of remarks made in a previous publication (*Die Religion des R̥gveda*, Vienna, 1998) which included an overly optimistic assessment of the calibre of his scholarship), it does not really do justice to the tremendous amount of research that must have gone into the preparation of this grammar. While it is true that Oberlies's description of Pali grammar fails to break significant new ground (his analysis follows closely the format and descriptive model adopted by Geiger and is largely based on the texts of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka, excluding—except for the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa* and *Milindapañha*—non-canonical material from its purview), his book contains several valuable features that render it a welcome addition to extant reference works. To begin with, Oberlies conceived his work in the wider context of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics. Rather than restricting his observations to Pali forms, he develops the investigation against the background of what is known about Vedic and Prakrit grammar. Particularly useful in this respect is a paragraph concordance to Pischel and von Hinüber. Another worthwhile feature is Oberlies's carefully referenced inclusion of a broad range of Pali grammatical scholarship. Many of the descriptions reflect not only his personal views but also take into account research carried out by colleagues, past and present. As a result, his book contains the single most comprehensive survey of research published to date in the field of Pali grammar. Equally impressive is the wealth of examples Oberlies supplies to illustrate his grammatical descriptions. While not all of these are new but have, on occasion, been borrowed from other scholars, they nevertheless constitute an impressive array of attestations. Finally, novices to Pali in particular will appreciate Oberlies's steps to reorganize the material included in Geiger. Although still strongly influenced by the presentation of his distinguished predecessor, he manages to arrange the various grammatical categories in a more systematic and coherent fashion.

While it is an improvement in this respect, it is unfortunate that Oberlies

did not remedy other shortcomings in Geiger's presentation. For example, just like Geiger before him, Oberlies provides a wealth of quotations which, although useful to Pali philologists, tend to compromise the clarity of the exposition. In his aspiration for thoroughness, coupled with the linguistic detail of his analysis, Oberlies appears on more than one occasion to have lost sight of the primary purpose of a grammar, that is to provide a systematic and lucid description of a language. While attestations of particular forms in literature are an integral part of any good grammatical work, they are no substitute for a carefully formulated and clearly structured analysis. Unfortunately, many of his explanations lack such transparency and even when impeccably phrased, still tend to be skeletal and in want of context. Particularly frustrating is Oberlies's negligence in reiterating the points of reference that govern his descriptions. For example, on page 61 we find the following explanation: 'In (7) word final position it corresponds (often due to *u/v* *o*-dissimilation) to *-o* < *-ah*' (see §4.2), in (8) medial position due to *o* *u*-dissimilation to *-o*. And it goes back to (9) *a*, followed by a geminate (consonant one of which is a) palatal (inc. *l* and *y*) or to (10) *i* before *-j/-y-* (secondary *-yy-*) and (MIA) *-l-*'. The point of reference to this explanation—itsself rather convoluted and unnecessarily complicated—is of course the vowel *e*. However, reference to the *e* vowel appears in this context last at the top of page 59, two pages prior to the statement just quoted.

It is clear from the specialist terminology confidently used throughout the book that the author presupposes not only familiarity with Pali and a good knowledge of Sanskrit and/or Prakrit, but assumes also a solid background in indology. Even the introduction (spanning no more than four pages of text) is replete with technical jargon drawn from linguistics, Indian history and Sanskrit. Although the book is written in English, one suspects that it is primarily designed for students of indology trained in the German school who will normally have been exposed for several years to Sanskrit before taking up Pali. Norman's revised (and abridged) English translation of Geiger, in contrast, although it deliberately sheds linguistic minutiae and supplies fewer attestations, is a more balanced work and better suited for prospective Pali students with little or no background in Sanskrit. However, to be fair to the author, Oberlies does not propose at any point that he designed his grammar primarily for students. As it stands, it is an impressive work of reference for Pali scholars, bristling with a wealth of astute linguistic observations and philological insights, that will be appreciated in many quarters for its scope and learning.

ULRICH PAGEL

M. A. DHAKY (ed.):

*Encyclopaedia of Indian temple architecture—North India: beginnings of medieval idiom c. A.D. 900–1000.*

2 volumes. I: 426 pp. II: 913 plates. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1998. Rs. 5,000.

This is the third pair of volumes dedicated to north Indian temple architecture to appear over the last twenty years in the ambitious encyclopedia series sponsored by the American Institute of Indian Studies. While the earlier volumes for north India each covered several centuries, these volumes

concentrate on a relatively narrow chronological range of about one hundred years. This limited period may be taken to represent the first climactic moment in the evolution of the Nāgara architectural style that extended across north India from Rajasthan and Gujarat in the west to Bengal and Orissa in the east. While some readers will be familiar with the temples from this period at Khajuraho and Bhubaneshwar, a host of magnificent monuments at lesser known sites in the remoter parts of north India also exist, but these have hardly been published before. Admittedly, some examples survive only in an incomplete and damaged condition, or have in part been rebuilt in later times; but these circumstances in no way diminish their artistic merit. It is to the credit of Dhaky, editor of the volumes and indeed of the entire encyclopedia series, as well as author of fourteen of the chapters, and the late Krishna Deva, author of the other seven chapters, that the textual and visual data for these monuments could be assembled here for the first time. As in earlier volumes of the encyclopedia, the text is complemented by genealogical charts, regional maps and architectural plans and details, not to mention the unusually generous number of photographs.

North Indian temples in the tenth century often conform to a paradigm representing a particular moment in the evolution of the mature Nāgara style, here characterized as the 'beginnings of medieval idiom'. Elevated on plinths (*janghā*) reached by access steps, the temples are approached through porches or *mandapas* (halls) with windows or balconies admitting light and ventilation, and spacious interiors roofed with domes constructed of rings of corbelled blocks. The porches and *mandapas* lead directly to *garbhagrhas* (sanctuaries), above which rise curving *śikharas* (towers) covered with *gavākṣas* (horseshoe-shaped arched motifs) and topped with *āmalakas* (circular ribbed elements) and *kalaśas* (pot-shaped finials). The outer walls of the *garbhagrhas* are adorned with niches containing sculpted images, and headed by pediments of complex designs composed of interlocking *gavākṣas*. An idea of the simplest expression of this model made by hand from the minor shrines surrounding the Lakṣmaṇa temple built in A.D. 954 by Yaśovarmā, one of the Candēlla kings of Khajuraho (Madhya Pradesh). Here the *śikhara* is divided into curving bands that rhythmically project outwards so as to emphasize visually the upward thrust. The tower over the main temple of the same complex presents a more complicated scheme, the *śikhara* being surrounded by reduced versions of itself emerging in relief from the sides of the central shaft. They create a clustered effect that is one of the key attributes of Nāgara architecture in this period. The nearby but later Viśvanātha temple at Khajuraho erected by Dhaṅga in c. A.D. 999 has a greater number of lesser towered elements clustering around the main shaft of the *śikhara*.

Comparable stylistic features are observed in many of the monuments described here, but are much less well known. Consider the Nīlakaṅṭhēśvara temple at Kekind (Rajasthan) erected by the Cāhamanas of Śākambharī in c. A.D. 930–50, with its porch columns carved with luxuriant pot-and-foilage motifs and *mandapa* ceiling adorned with deeply incised petals, stalks and half-lotuses, or the Śiva temple at Koṭāi (Gujarat) associated with the Samā kings of Kutch in c. A.D. 950, with its damaged but nevertheless splendid carvings on the wall niches and clear articulation of its miniature *śikhara* elements on the clustered tower. Then there is the Muktēśvara temple at Bhubaneshwar (Orissa) dating from the Sōmavamśi period in c. A.D. 960, which may be considered the first great masterpiece of the Orissa style. In addition to these standard Nāgara models are several regional variants, such as the square sanctuary approached through porches on four sides in the Jain

temple at Bānpur (Madhya Pradesh) erected in c. A.D. 900–25 by the Pratīhāra kings of Kanauj, or the circular sanctuary of the Shiva temple at Candrehe (Madhya Pradesh) of c. 950, the work of the Kalacuri rulers of Tripurī.

In accordance with the other encyclopedia volumes, the temples are arranged in chapters according to dynastic affiliation. However, the historical data are often sketchy and it is only occasionally possible to learn about the patron, royal or otherwise, and date of construction. Nor is it certain that stylistic variations necessarily accord with dynasty; indeed, it is possible to argue for a more geographical approach that would emphasize regional rather than dynastic stylistic differences. These difficulties are to a certain extent mitigated by the chapter introductions that deal with the political and cultural background to each dynasty before reviewing the common architectural features. While this reviewer would have appreciated having the precise epigraphic references for all the dated inscriptions referred to in the text, short but relevant bibliographies are provided at the end of each chapter. Thankfully, unlike in earlier volumes of the encyclopedia, the text is not overburdened with Sanskrit architectural terms; in any case there is a glossary and a complete index of sites and monuments.

In the end, an indispensable reference to all researchers and students of Indian temple architecture.

GEORGE MICHELL

GEORGE MICHELL (ed.):

*Encyclopaedia of Indian temple architecture—South India: Drāvidādēśa, later phase c. A.D. 1289–1798.*

2 volumes. I: xxvi, 382 pp. II: 570 plates. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 2001. Rs. 5,500.

Since 1983, the American Institute of Indian Studies has been publishing a valuable series of volumes documenting the temple architecture of India. This is the fourth part of a projected series of six volumes covering south India. The previous three have covered the temple architecture of Karnataka, Andhra, Kerala and Tamilnadu from c. A.D. 550–1326. These two volumes of text and plates continue the project to cover the period from 1289 to 1798 in Karnataka, Andhra, Kerala and, to a lesser extent, Tamilnadu.

The period coincides with the Vijayanagara Empire and its successors from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, an era substantially neglected by earlier scholars. George Michell has been conducting extensive research, fieldwork and publication in this field for more than twenty years, especially at Hampi, the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire. An overview of the art and architecture of this period was presented in his earlier publication *Architecture and art of southern India: Vijayanagara and the successor states* (Cambridge, 1995). The breadth and depth of his knowledge is clearly evident throughout the volume under discussion. The material is presented according to four geographical zones: Karnāṭa and Āndhra in the Deccan heartland, Kānaḍā and Malnāḍ in western Karnāṭa, the Tamiḷ country and Kēraḷa (p. xiii). The three chapters on the temple architecture of Kerala are the work of Jayaram Poduval. In accordance with the editorial policy of the *Encyclopaedia of Indian temple architecture* as a whole, temples are grouped by dynasty, however awkward this can be. Each chapter starts with a historical outline, followed by a very useful summary of the architectural features of the period and then a description of each site, many with accompanying original plans and elevations.



The architecture at the capital of the Vijayanagara empire is much better known as a result of the many publications by Michell and the other members of the Vijayanagara Research Project over the last twenty years. This volume brings together much of this research, but very helpfully places it in the context of the many other temples built under the successive Vijayanagara dynasties, the Saṅgamas, Sāluvas and Tuḷuvas, elsewhere in the Deccan up to the middle of the sixteenth century. Some of these sites are familiar, such as Tāḍpatri, Lepākṣi and Ahōbalam, but many are described and illustrated for the first time. Most of the temple architecture described is Hindu, but the chapter (57) on the temple architecture of Kānaḍā and Malnād in the period of Vijayanagara domination *c.* 1340–1565 includes many of the fine Jain monuments in Tuḷunāḍu, such as at Mūḍabidri. The geographical separation of the coastal region of Karnataka from the Deccan inland over the western ghats means that the architecture of this region has more in common with that of Kerala further south.

The problems of grouping temples solely by dynasty is particularly acute at some of the sites mentioned when the evidence for patronage is scanty, or indeed there were multiple patrons over a long period. The extensive temple architecture created under the rule of the Nayakas of Vellore, Gingee, Tanjavur and Madurai in the Tamil country is excluded from this volume, and will be addressed in the next volume of the series covering Tamilnadu from 1360 to 1762. But this decision creates particular problems of what structures to include when discussing the contemporary temple architecture of the Āraviḍu period from 1570 to 1669 in the border area of present-day Tamilnadu and Andhra in chapter 56. Should the structures that are discussed be the ones with known Āraviḍu patronage, or those produced in the area of Āraviḍu rule? Thus the fine *kalyāṇamaṇḍapa* of the Varadarāja Perumāḷ temple at Kancipuram is included as an Āraviḍu-period project, despite the absence of clear evidence for its patronage. But the similar and contemporary structure at the Jalakantēśvara temple at Vellore is excluded, presumably because the Nayakas of Vellore, whose architecture will feature in the next volume, built it. Similarly the well-known and oft-illustrated Śeṣarāya Maṇḍapa at Śrīraṅgam is included as a partially Āraviḍu-period structure without any clear evidence cited. Examining temple architecture through the lens of dynastic patronage is not then always meaningful, and certainly does not lead to a greater understanding of architectural forms and their development.

This publication is an immensely useful resource for scholars of later temple architecture in south India. The 123 plans and elevations, the extensive bibliographic references to the history of the period, earlier discussions of the architecture and notes of the inscriptions found on the temples, and indeed the high quality of the 570 plates in a separate volume, are all a very valuable resource. The extensive use of technical terminology in the descriptions of individual temples makes the *Encyclopaedia* as a whole a difficult read for many users, even with the reference glossary appendix. Michell's lucid style is welcome here. This difficulty will hopefully be substantially overcome by the final, sixth, publication in the south Indian series of the temple encyclopedias, *South Indian: an annotated and illustrated glossary of architectural terms*.

Overall, George Michell and Jayaram Poduval are to be congratulated. The Hindu and Jain architecture of India after the twelfth century is relatively neglected in comparison with the earlier periods. This publication is welcome therefore for drawing attention to the richness of southern India's architectural heritage and highlights the amount of research and fieldwork still to be done

in this area, identifying further sites and most importantly critically assessing all the material presented here.

CRISPIN BRANFOOT

M. A. DHAKY and U. S. MOORTI (ed.):

*The temples in Kumbhāriyā.*

186 pp. 244 plates. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies; Ahmedabad: Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, 2001.

Most students of Indian temple architecture are familiar with the Jain monuments located at the sacred spot of Delvādā on Mount Abu in the southernmost part of Rajasthan. Dating from the 11th- to 13th-century Solānkī period, the Delvādā temples are generally considered to represent the climax of the western Indian architectural style that had been under development since the 7th–8th centuries, and which was to continue with occasional interruptions down to the 15th and 16th centuries. Built entirely from the purest white marble, the Delvādā temples are famous for their intricate carvings which invade all parts of the interior, from the columns, brackets and lintels to the magnificent dome-like ceilings. Unlike most Hindu and Jain monuments in this part of India, the Delvādā temples somehow miraculously escaped serious destruction and survive complete with virtually all of their meticulous details intact. This artistic perfection combined with the natural beauty of the hilltop setting guarantees a steady flow of pilgrims and visitors to Mount Abu.

Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the quintet of Jain temples at Kumbhāriyā, tucked away in the wooded hills just within the Gujarat border some 35 kilometres south-east of Mount Abu. Even though the Kumbhāriyā monuments are of almost equal artistic interest to those of the Delvādā group, they are much less well known to visitors and scholars, no doubt due to their distance from major rail and road links. Yet in Solānkī times Kumbhāriyā must have been an important place, since here was located one of the quarries for the white marble out of which the temples were fashioned. This is indicated by the ancient name of the site, Ārasānākara or Ārasāṇa, which means ‘marble’ in Gujarati. When the current name of the site, Kumbhāriyā, came into use is not known.

Like their counterparts at Abu, the Kumbhāriyā temples are also assigned to the Solānkī period, the earliest, originally dedicated to Ādinātha, being founded in or before 1031, one year before the first temple at Mount Abu. Both owe their existence to the sponsorship of Vimala, a Jain minister of Bhīmadeva I (reigned 1022–66). Unfortunately, little is left of Vimala’s Kumbhāriyā project, other than a portion of a doorway and several image-pedestal inscriptions incorporated into a later structure. The other Kumbhāriyā temples span the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and were the work of local governors under the later Solānkī kings, especially Kumārapāla (1144–74) and Bhīmadeva II (1175–1235). The temples appear to have remained in use throughout later times and were renovated on several occasions, most recently in the 1920s. Today they are under the management of the Śeṭh Āṇandjī Kalyāṅjī, a local religious institution.

That the volume under review here does ample justice to the Kumbhāriyā monuments is hardly surprising considering that one of the two authors is the undisputed authority on western Indian temple architecture and the

leading editorial spirit behind the American Institute's majestic, multi-volume *Encyclopaedia of Indian temple architecture*. The monograph opens with an extensive review of the development of Jainism in Gujarat beginning with Mahāvīra in the fifth century B.C., but concentrating on the Solāṅkī period which is of greatest relevance to the Kumbhāriyā temples. Chapter ii reviews the modern notices of Kumbhāriyā, most of which are brief articles in Gujarati, showing that up to now the temples here have lacked detailed attention. In the third chapter the authors take a closer look at the religious and historical context of Kumbhāriyā by examining the inscriptional evidence of the site. A complete survey of this epigraphical data, together with full original texts, is given in a later chapter. These materials offer plentiful and fascinating details about those involved in the religious life of the temples, from the pontiffs, friars and monks to the rulers and local high officials, not to mention the members of various castes and communities.

Having dealt with the extensive historical data, the authors then proceed to a description of the temples themselves. Chapter iv outlines the essential components of the monuments, all of which are laid out in similar fashion, with a central sanctuary (mūlaprāsāda) approached through a sequence of open and closed columned halls (gūḍhamaṇḍapa, mukhamaṇḍapa and raṅgamaṇḍapa). The sanctuaries stand in the middle of rectangular courtyards, the walls of which are lined with subshrines (*devakulikās*). Armed with the basic vocabulary of temple architecture, readers can then follow the detailed accounts of each monument given in the next chapter, which forms the core of this monograph. The text here is complemented by architectural plans and a generous selection of photographs showing all aspects of the buildings, particularly their richly adorned interiors. A glossary of art and architecture terms is given at the end of the volume. As is obvious from this verbal and visual treatment, the Kumbhāriyā temples are to be grouped together with those at Mount Abu for their evolved stylistic assurance, illustrating the western Indian architectural style at its most complex and assured.

Many readers will be struck by the exquisite treatment of the sinuous lintels that appear to float between the column brackets, as well as the magnificent ceilings, many of which are composed of corbelled rings of petalled motifs culminating in pendant flowers at the centre. Detailed notes on the plates help identify the different sculptural subjects, but there is no attempt at any overall iconographic analysis. Chapter vi mentions the principal images for worship within the temples, many of which have been altered over the centuries and are now of lesser artistic interest.

Such a comprehensive treatment of the Kumbhāriyā temples and their sculptures means that these monuments need no longer be overshadowed by those at Mount Abu and can be appreciated in their own right. For this accomplishment, scholars and visitors should be truly grateful to the authors and their publishers.

GEORGE MICHELL

THOMAS BLOM HANSEN:

*Wages of violence: naming and identity in postcolonial Bombay.*

x, 269 pp. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002.

£13.95.

In 1995 the city of Bombay was renamed Mumbai. To outsiders it seemed insignificant, merely the 'Indianization' of a British name, whereas to insiders

it marked a fundamental change: from cosmopolis to the heartland of a new plebeian political culture espoused by the Shiv Sena. Using this as his point of departure, Hansen's absorbing book examines the wider implications of the vernacularization of public culture and Indian modernity, sounding deeply pessimistic about its violent possibilities, arguing that Hindu nationalism is intrinsic to the process he describes. As he traces the rise of the Shiv Sena, he debunks the myth of Bombay as a secular, peaceful city, revealing that its violence and xenophobia are not recent phenomena but deep-rooted in Maharashtrian culture and society. Hansen also dissects other commonly held views, lucidly demonstrating the instability of categories and identities, notably that of the Maratha, drawing on Lacanian notions of subjectivities, and the role these play in the Sena's politics of self-esteem in reaction to its Others, notably Muslims and Brahmins.

The book begins with a historical contextualizing of the Shiv Sena in society and politics, from the imagining of the Maratha empire as a dynamic opposition between Marathas and the Brahminical élite, to the creation of a Maharashtrian nationalism centred on language and xenophobia. Hansen then presents clear, detailed modern-day case studies based on fieldwork in areas of Bombay well selected for contrast. He traces organizational change in the Shiv Sena in the industrial suburb of Thane, where it has been powerful since its early days in the 1960s; he then looks at the riots in 1992/93, which shook the city to its roots, locating them in the history of communal violence in Bombay; then he turns to notions of Muslim identities in Bombay and how they have been reshaped in response to Hindu nationalism. Hansen also examines the ruling coalition that included the Shiv Sena to show how the party performed when in office in Bombay and Maharashtra (1995–99) compared to its years in opposition. Hansen's unique skill is in the way he analyses morality and psychology of this politics of violence in a compelling narrative.

The book draws on a rich range of original sources and a wide and thorough reading of secondary literature. Hansen writes up many of his fieldwork conversations, which are informative, but one sometimes feels the editing gives a Naipaulean authorial tone, distancing the original speakers. Hansen's examination of the cult of masculinity in the Sena is fascinating, as is his analysis of its charismatic leader Thackeray. Hansen has also collected important material about the police force in his masterly study of dadaism or the cult of the hooligan. It seems churlish to chide an author with such wide and useful sources for not using more, but there is a notable absence of Marathi material. Hansen mentions several times the Shiv Sena newspaper, *Saamna*, and the printed media, whose importance has always been recognized by Thackeray, who was once a cartoonist and now uses the newspaper, now run by his nephew and supposed heir apparent, for disseminating his views. Other Marathi media that are barely mentioned are television, which expanded so rapidly during the 1990s in India, and cinema. Hansen refers to Hindi cinema, but does not discuss how the representations of masculine anger and criminality have changed since the 1970s. The relationship between Marathi and Hindi as languages and in the media is also deserving of exploration as part of the expansion of the Shiv Sena's base beyond its traditional Marathi supporters. While there are references to Indian English literature about Bombay by Rushdie and others, Vikram Chandra's explorations of the underworld and modernity are not mentioned and there is little about imaginative and fictional texts in Marathi which has an active popular theatre and press. The book, in particular the glossary, would have profited from

editing by a linguist; it needs a proper index and a decent map of the city to show the areas discussed, rather than the twin lines of the suburban railway.

This is a remarkable and important book. Hansen writes about a subject he clearly loathes with dispassion and distance, clearly stating his sympathies for the Muslims whom he regards as ‘victims of Hindu majoritarianism’. *Wages of violence* is a masterpiece of self-confident academic elegance, fluently written, well structured and lucid at all times. It is essential reading not only for those interested in the city of Mumbai or in Indian politics but also for anyone interested in grappling with complex problems of urban modernity.

RACHEL DWYER

TRACY PINTCHMAN (ed.):

*Seeking Mahādevī: constructing the identities of the Hindu Great Goddess.*

xiii, 254 pp. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001. \$21.95.

One of my very few criticisms of this book is its subtitle, which refers to sociological theories about the social construction of reality, in particular the work of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman in the 1960s. As Jeffrey Kripal points out in his contribution to the volume, the language of ‘construction’ suggests ‘a mechanistic and reductionist understanding of human beings’ (pp. 179–80) that is, in fact, far removed from the tone of this book. Of the ten contributions, two focus on the textual background to the theology of the Hindu Goddess (those of C. Mackenzie Brown and Tracy Pintchman), while Thomas Cockburn has provided some thoughtful and challenging theoretical reflections in the concluding chapter. The remaining contributions concern particular ‘lived contexts’ through which devotees encounter, experience and interpret the Goddess in one or other of her multiple forms. These ‘consistent efforts to understand ... Goddess devotees on their own terms’ (p. 215) make for fascinating and informative reading.

‘Construction’ is a dialectical or, perhaps it would be better to say, reciprocal process. The book opens with Mackenzie Brown’s analysis of the well-known story in the *Devī mātmya* where the Goddess emerges from the concentrated anger (or, in another version, concentrated devotion) of the gods. Having defeated a series of demons for them, she then commands worship as the supreme divinity. Cockburn, in his concluding chapter, treats this myth about the gods as a parable for the process of ‘construction’ by human devotees: ‘... it is from the congealed splendour (*tejas*) of their anger that the Great Goddess arises or, we might say, is constructed ... But, as important, thus constructed, she then continues to be an ongoing, active, consequential presence in their lives.’ (p. 221).

For Pintchman, in her editor’s introduction, ‘construction’ signals ‘the constitutive role of [devotees’] interpretation in shaping portrayals of Mahādevī’s identity ... In diverse contexts’ (p. 4). These contexts range widely, both geographically and socially, and through the various ‘media’ by which devotees interact with the Goddess. These include possessions and healing, ritual performance, devotional songs and texts (both Sanskrit and local languages). The approach lends itself to sensitive listening to devotees: not only to their experiences, but also to their hermeneutics, or one could say, implicit theology, which sociological or psychological ‘explanations’ are not

allowed to obscure. The notion of ‘construction’ itself is, as Pintchman puts it, ‘not an ontological claim’ but a ‘hermeneutical framework’ (p. 5).

Thus Kathleen Erndl, discussing whether the Goddess is One or many, shows how this is less of a problem for devotees themselves than for some commentators. ‘I have become aware of how utterly irrelevant scholarly debates on goddesses and the Goddess are ... to the understandings of ordinary Hindu devotees, who move with apparent ease between universality and particularity in their ritual and devotional lives.’ She illuminates this through interviews from fieldwork in north-west India with individuals who become ‘possessed’ by the Devī and thus act as mediators and healers. She shows how one of these interlocutors ‘has shifted without missing a beat from an abstract, general philosophical discussion of the nature of the Goddess to her own concrete, personal *experience* ...’ (pp. 206–07). Erndl is, in my opinion, too timid in presenting her ‘experiential approach’ as an alternative to the various historical, political and psychoanalytic explanations put forward by other scholars (pp. 200–02). Similarly, Mark Edwin Rohe, in his essay on Vaiṣṇo Devī, illustrates the interrelationship between the universal Goddess, ‘abstract and subtle’ in her oneness, and her particular manifestation in three stones (*pinḍis*) in a cave on a mountain. Both ‘ambiguous and definitive’, her identity is fixed in a certain place, yet ambiguous in that both Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas can claim her. Is she Vaiṣṇavī (the female form of Viṣṇu) or is she Śeraṇvalī, a form of Durga, on her lion? Even devotees themselves could be confused. In one fascinating insight, Rohe reveals how it was not until questioned by the scholar that two particular pilgrims to her shrine realized that they had completely different ideas about who Vaiṣṇo Devī was! (p. 64).

Usha Menon tackles another of the great debates about the Goddess: that of benevolence versus ferocity. She too shows how the categories created by the scholar do not necessarily correspond with those of devotees. Through interviews carried out in the temple town of Bhubhaneshwar in Orissa, she discusses the meanings which the icon of Kālī standing upon Śiva have for ‘ordinary Oriya Hindu householders and their wives’. Sarah Caldwell studies four textual traditions concerning the Goddess in Kerala, showing how they reveal ‘four faces of Bhagavatī, four aspects of her divinity as seen by particular communities of worshippers’ (p. 111), including high caste (priestly and warrior), forest dwellers and, finally, women. In the ‘Songs of the Brahmin women’ (*Brāhmaṇi pāṭṭu*) the Goddess becomes ‘My Bhagavatī’, closely connected to the intimacies of family life. Shree Padma traces the process known to scholars as Sanskritization in the transition from rural to urban culture in Andhra Pradesh. She shows how local goddesses have been transformed as their home villages became incorporated into the city of Vizakhapatnam. By the same process, they also became identified with the one Great Goddess, through their common function of protection.

Elaine Craddock and Jeffrey Kripal tell the story of how a human woman becomes the Goddess. In Craddock’s essay it is a mythical woman, the transformation of Renuka into the goddess Bavāṇiyammaṇ in Tamilnadu, through violence and sacrifice—the cutting off and restitution of her head. Jeffrey Kripal writes about a known, historical woman, Sarada Devi, widow of the Bengali saint Ramakrishna. Without having any obvious spiritual gifts or experiences of her own, Sarada nevertheless enters into her role as ‘the Mother’ for the bereaved disciples of the saint after his death. Far from seeming reductionist, Kripal’s sensitive analysis of the process of her apotheosis tells a moving story of how the divine is found within the human. This leaves us still, as Cockburn points out, with the great ‘ontological questions’

unanswered as to whether there is something *more* than social projection involved, but this book, in my opinion wisely, leaves them unanswered.

KATHLEEN TAYLOR

KATHLEEN TAYLOR:

*Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra and Bengal: 'An Indian soul in a European body'?*

(SOAS London Studies on South Asia.) xvi, 319 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £45.

As regards his posthumous academic reputation, the worst mistake made by Sir John Woodroffe (1865–1936), High Court Judge in Calcutta, co-author of *The Law of Evidence applicable to British India* (1898), scholar extraordinary of Śākta and Tantra, was his choice of pseudonym. 'Arthur Avalon', the name used for the majority of his books and articles, immediately locates him in a world that he did not really wish to inhabit: that of 'Western occultism', theosophy, Celtic twilight, Yeats's Order of the Golden Dawn, and all the rest. In her excellent, painstaking biography and appraisal of Woodroffe—the first to have been written—Kathleen Taylor carefully considers the resonance of the name, and Woodroffe's reasons for choosing it. He may have been influenced merely by a favourite painting: Burne-Jones's *Arthur's sleep in Avalon* (based on Tennyson). To his Indian friends, collaborators and readers, it would have had no special significance. But to Westerners both then and now, 'the name ... helped to promote his own legend: that of the western adept who had gained arcane knowledge through initiation in a mysterious oriental cult ... an image, as it turns out, not so far from the truth'. This was fine for theosophists, whose interest may have helped to sell his books; fine too for modern new agers. But it's enough now to make most academic orientalists run a mile.

Taylor has no desire to shirk Woodroffe's fishier aspects. Indeed, much of her book is devoted to establishing the truth behind the legend: whether there was deliberate deceit in his use of the pseudonym and in his unacknowledged dependence on Bengali collaborators, how well he knew Sanskrit, whether he actually participated in tantric rituals or not. But her book is a rehabilitation, not a demolition. She persuasively invites us to harbour no illusions about Woodroffe/Avalon, but nevertheless to respect him for what he achieved. She also presents him as a corrective to the notion that indologists of his era were merely out to project, idealize and appropriate. Instead, 'the story that unfolds in this book is mainly one of Indian agency'. 'Arthur Avalon' was not just a cover for interests and activities that might not have been thought appropriate for a High Court Judge, but a way of drawing Western prestige to traditions, ideas and scholarship that were genuinely Indian. It was not simply because he and his wife were initiated into Tantra Śāstra by the famous guru Sivadandra Vidyarnava that Woodroffe was felt by his Indian friends to be 'an Indian soul in a European Body'. It was also because his works, in their method, translations and textual analysis, very largely *were* Indian.

In human terms, one thing that one misses in Taylor's account (not through any failing on her part, but through lack of surviving evidence) is a detailed impression of the warm and close friendships he undoubtedly had with Indians. In their heyday, he and his concert-pianist wife Ellen hosted one of Calcutta's most glittering salons, at which leading members of the

Bengali élite such as the Tagores, distinguished foreign visitors such as the Japanese pan-Asianist Kakuzo Okakura, and Indian art enthusiasts such as Ernest Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy, were all welcome. But Woodroffe's personal religious life and contacts went deeper than that. When Sivacandra Vidyarnava died in March 1914 and a condolence meeting was held in Calcutta, Vasanta Kumar Pal, a fellow disciple of the guru and author of a book on him that is an important source of information on Woodroffe the tantric, recalled that 'When Sir John Woodroffe stood up ... to speak ... he was so overcome with grief ... that he was speechless; he could not utter a single word and tears were streaming from his eyes all the time'.

The introversion and depression that Taylor rightly detects in photos of Woodroffe taken after he returned to England may not be wholly attributable to unhappiness in his marriage, the illness and death of his daughter, and incipient Parkinson's Disease. He must also have suffered intense homesickness for the country that had become his home, and where he had his dearest friends.

Yet one of the most puzzling elements in the Woodroffe story was the way in which his intimate working relationship with scholarly Indian collaborators, especially Atal Bihari Ghose, was cloaked in reserve. Letters from Woodroffe to Ghose, unearthed for Taylor by Ghose's grandchildren in their family home and reproduced (partially) in an appendix to her book, are courteous, sometimes kind, but more what one would expect from the High Court Judge than from the tantric adept. Taylor speaks at times of 'a split personality': she shows how, as a Judge, Woodroffe sometimes sided heavily with the establishment (notoriously in the Midnapore Appeal case of 1912, when he rejected an appeal that had been won against a terrorism charge), despite his nationalist and religious sympathies. Could this formal and correct man also have been the religious enthusiast whose books such as *The serpent power* (1918), *Shakti and shākta* (1918) and *Garland of letters* (1922), together with 21 volumes of edited *Tantrik texts* (1913), must have required almost daily discussion with Ghose and others?

For his dependence on collaborators is proved by Taylor to have extended even to help with reading the Devanagari script! No wonder the philologist Suniti Kumar Chatterji, recruited when he was a student by Atal Bihari Ghose to teach Sanskrit to Woodroffe and his wife Ellen, recalled scathingly in a radio interview in the 1960s that 'Woodroffe did not know Sanskrit'. Although it was Ghose, more than Woodroffe himself, who insisted on the use of the pseudonym and wanted to preserve his own anonymity, it is nevertheless hard to dismiss the imputation that Woodroffe's scholarly output was based on an almighty fraud.

Taylor's subtle way of resisting that conclusion is to argue that Woodroffe's very dependence on Ghose (and on P. N. Mukhopadhyay, as well as numerous secondary sources Indian and Western) led to work that had unique value precisely because it left so much of the terminology of Tantra—particularly as used in Kashmir Shaivism—intact and unappropriated: free of the syncretist impulse that lay behind theosophy or Vivekananda's neo-Vedanta. He was therefore largely successful in his two main aims: (a) to show that Tantra was far more central to Hinduism generally than Western orientalist—repelled by the secretive, antinomian and sexualized reputation of the *pañcatattva* rite—had assumed; and (b) to present, through his books, 'an "incarnational" theology linked to affirmation of the life of the senses, of "this world", of matter, in opposition to the values of the renouncer and ascetic.' By placing *śakti*—power, energy—at the heart of everything, dualities such as 'spirit/matter, religion/science, superconscious experience/ordinary experience,



renunciation/sexuality, timelessness/change' could be reconciled in a way that has become more appealing since Woodroffe's day, not less.

Fraudulent or not, Woodroffe's work was, in Kathleen Taylor's convincing estimation, 'a very impressive performance', and 'Arthur Avalon was a greater figure than either Woodroffe or Ghose alone could hope to be'. If that was so, maybe the choice of pseudonym was not such a bad mistake after all.

WILLIAM RADICE

LUDO ROCHER (ed.):

*Jīmūtavāhana's Dāyabhāga. The Hindu law of inheritance in Bengal.* (South Asia Research.) xii, 426 pp. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. £60.

Ludo Rocher, a leading scholar of indology and legal history, has published a new translation of Jīmūtavāhana's *Dāyabhāga*, long awaited by many scholars. As Rocher states in his preface, this new translation and edition is no longer primarily aimed at practising lawyers. The goal is purely academic, namely 'to present, not only to Sanskritists and Indologists but also to legal historians, a translation and a text of a Sanskrit book that, for about one century and a half, has regulated all questions of partition and inheritance for Hindus living in Bengal' (p. vii).

Henry Thomas Colebrooke's translation of the *Dāyabhāga* and *Mitākṣarā* (1810) played a significant role in modern Indian legal history because it established a model of codified legal structure that paved the way for later modernist interventions through further codification and secularizing law reforms. In 1772 Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal, had laid down that in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste and other religious usage and institutions, the laws of the Quran with respect to Muslims and those of the Śāstra with respect to the Hindus should be adhered to. This particular policy approach made it necessary for British administrators to learn more about Hindu law, and thus promoted a process of 'finding' Hindu law, which was supposed to be located in the ancient texts. However, since the British worked with the help of pandits from the eighteenth century onwards, and those experts referred principally to the *Dāyabhāga* and the *Mitākṣarā*, these two texts gradually gained importance at the expense of older Śāstras.

The *Dāyabhāga* and the *Mitākṣarā* were then virtually canonized as the source of Hindu property and family law in India by Colebrooke's original English translation. Having abandoned attempts to construct Hindu law through collecting authoritative statements from a large number of pandits, Colebrooke thought it more practical to rely on the two prominent texts to which many pandits were referring. By selecting the *Dāyabhāga* and the *Mitākṣarā* in this way, the British administrators elevated them to an inflated level of practical importance. Colebrooke's intervention was evidently crucial in establishing these two texts as legal authorities. This is clearly evidenced by the fact that at least ten reprints of Colebrooke's translation were published, eight of them in the eighteenth century. No further English translations of the *Dāyabhāga* were published for about 200 years—until Rocher's new attempt.

Recent research about the text and its author is reflected in Rocher's

comprehensive introduction (pp. 1–50). Rocher debates the question of how and when the *Dāyabhāga* was composed and demonstrates that the authors of the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Dāyabhāga* were contemporaries or near contemporaries working in different regions of India at the beginning of the twelfth century. Based on philosophical analysis of commentaries and digests, P. V. Kane (1975) had suggested a date for the *Mitākṣarā* of between 1100 and 1120. Rocher agrees with this, but also accepts the view of J. D. M. Derrett (1952) that the *Mitākṣarā* may be dated to 1120–25 (p. 24).

Furthermore, Rocher criticizes the opinion that Jimūtavāhana was the founder of the Bengal school and questions whether legal principles that have become traits of the Bengal school of inheritance were typically Bengali before Colebrooke's rendition into English of the original text. This serves to strengthen further the claim that Colebrooke and his translation became instrumental in steering Hindu law under British rule, and later even in independent India, towards a new direction, now embodied in the Hindu Succession Act of 1956.

This process of formalization and increased domination of law by the state problematizes the 'law' as a realm of bargaining in colonial India. Whatever view Colebrooke may have taken of Hindu law, he clearly treated it as a subject that could be codified through texts and then applied as legal authorities in the emerging Anglo-Indian courts. Rocher gently questions that approach, but does not abandon it completely. This is demonstrated by Rocher's assumption that 'what is understood as "law" in the West is expressed in Sanskrit by the terms *vivāda* and *vyavahāra*, the former corresponding to substantive law, the latter to legal procedure' (p. 4). However, it appears necessary to give more careful consideration to distinguishing the Western term and understanding of 'law' from equivalent indigenous concepts. This criticism does not diminish the important contribution of Rocher's edition and translation. The question whether Hindu law can be totally encapsulated in codified form remains open, and Rocher's translation provides useful evidence for a deeper analysis.

Rocher's main emphasis falls on the reconstruction of Jimūtavāhana's original text and its unadulterated meaning. In this context, he draws attention to the influence of the *mīmāṃsā* school, which is based on the theory that Vedic rituals are of supreme authority, rather than deliberations of the *nyāya* school. Rocher regards *mīmāṃsā* as an integral part of the *Dāyabhāga* and his analysis emphasizes its link to the Vedic order. A comparison of Colebrooke's and Rocher's translations highlights the need to convey the original meaning of an old text, rather than its subsequent interpretations. Colebrooke's translation had been frequently criticized for being obscure, muddled by later commentaries, and too focused on legal practice. Rocher's attempt to provide a more precise literal translation results in drawing a fairly clear line between later commentaries and what the original text seems to say, rendering the end result more readable.

Rocher's solid, scholarly approach makes this edition and translation a most valuable contribution. Rocher modestly states that preparing a truly critical edition of the text is no longer possible, given the multitude of manuscripts and their highly conflated nature. He describes the resulting edition as 'purely eclectic' (p. 50), although he collated a total of forty-four manuscripts, held in a variety of places, prominently the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta Sanskrit College, Varanasi University and the India Office Library. Rocher's abundant knowledge of ancient literature and the new

translation format employed in his work help the reader to place the discussion of the *Dāyabhāga* into a proper historical perspective.

KYOSUKE ADACHI

STUART BLACKBURN:

*Moral fictions: Tamil folktales in oral tradition.*

(FF Communications, 278.) 338 pp. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia/Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2001.

This account of oral storytelling in contemporary India gives us an extensive collection of one-hundred Tamil stories by forty-one mainly low-caste tellers, selected from the 326 tales Stuart Blackburn recorded in Tamil Nadu in 1995–96 and framed by a provocative analysis arguing that the core of the tales lies in a moral vision by which wrongdoing is punished. As a substantial work by an experienced analyst of south Indian cultural performances and only the second full-length study of Indian oral tales it will clearly be of direct interest to Indianists, while Blackburn's more general commentary will also feed into debates within the wider study of performed oral art.

The tales are presented in translation, the focus being on their cultural role and comparative dimensions (all are assigned to international tale-types) rather than on their linguistic features as such. Performed narrations often translate poorly into writing, but these are readable indeed, a tribute to the translator's skill as well as to the stories themselves, and should attract a readership well beyond the confines of specialist scholars. We can all be engaged by both 'the impress of local culture' (p. 20) and the often-familiar themes of suffering heroines, speaking animals, ogres, magical talents, wondrous journeys across forests, rajas seeking children or heirs, violent family tensions, trickery, and the rewards of virtue.

General readers and scholars alike will relish Blackburn's honest account of his interactions with the tellers, both women and men, and the settings in which the tales were actually delivered. Personally I regret that the tellers' names do not figure more prominently tale by tale, but there are attractive word-pictures of a few of them and a full list in an appendix. Blackburn's descriptions of the recording and, in places, of the discussions around and within the tellings add to the sense of immediacy, further reinforced by his wonderful photographs of some narrators. We can be confident that these are not sanitized or generalized products nostalgically projected onto an imagined past but tales told in actual situations by living tellers in the 1990s.

Blackburn's own analysis mainly comes in the short introduction, the opening comments to each chapter and, especially, his valuable 'Afterword' (pp. 266–308). He is sensitive to the dangers of substituting plausible-sounding pontifications for the multiplicities of actual practice, and clearly knowledgeable not only about the specific idiosyncrasies of Tamil storytelling but also the wider comparative literature. The final chapter is notable for its judicious assessments of issues that may initially have seemed oversimplified. The apparently simplistic concept of 'oral tradition' in the subtitle is qualified (if not fully settled) by the discussion of interactions between oral, written and printed forms, and there is an insightful exploration of the knotty question of the potentially multiple (unlimited?) meanings that different members of a tale's audience might draw from a narration.

Blackburn enhances our appreciation of the stories by revealing recurrent

themes and figures: the innocent persecuted heroine (many tales are female-centred), the practical witty hero or heroine, cruel in-laws, lazy but successful fools, and the virtues of loyalty, wit, generosity and gratitude. More far-reaching is his central argument, that Tamil oral tales (and, by implication, others too) are dominated by morality, 'an impulse to strike back at those who cause cruelty' (p. 308). As he points out—and as we can read for ourselves in this lively collection—many of the stories are indeed shot through with crime and punishment, shockingly full of killing, mutilating, child abandonment, female jealousy, and deception. The righteous are (mostly) rewarded—taking over the kingdom, marrying, living happily—while the villains are humiliated or burnt in a lime-kiln. 'Tamil tales are best understood through their moral dramas', Blackburn argues, 'not an implicit morality, hidden in deep symbolism, but a message explicitly expressed in the patterns of crime and punishment that constitute the narrative itself' (p. 307).

Blackburn's exposition of the 'cry against cruelty [that] runs through these Tamil tales' (p. 308) is moving as well as illuminating. In theoretical terms, however, he perhaps oversells his own position and overrates his opposition. He focuses his attack on what he regards as the scholarly consensus that fairy tales are defined by their fantasy element and have little to do with morality (p. 16, 303 ff.). Certainly this has been one thread in the literature, but it has been counterbalanced by other interests such as those in performance, narrativity, textualization and audience co-creativity, not to speak of the huge spectrum of literary-theory approaches to which so-called 'folktales', not just 'written' literature, are surely open. Blackburn seems to close the door on the narrations' multidimensional potential when he asserts 'the prominence of morality over fantasy' (p. 306) as if these are necessarily alternatives (and the only ones). Some tellers seem to use both, working together, and while his particular interpretation goes well with many tales he accepts that it fits others less easily (like many tales of cunning or humour). That individual tellers or listeners have the capacity to emphasize different dimensions also comes through in the local discussions which Blackburn occasionally quotes, where some participants try to push a moral message, others reject this to stress the entertainment side (as on pp. 72–3—would that there were more such individuals' comments).

But we should certainly take Blackburn's thoughtful analysis seriously, rooted as it is in expert first-hand fieldwork combined with the scholar's comparative perspective. One of the virtues of this book is precisely its stimulation in raising these more general controversies, while at the same time remaining so engagingly accessible to the general reader in its appealing translations.

RUTH FINNEGAN

SUVIR KAUL (ed.):

*The partitions of memory: the afterlife of the division of India.*

x, 301 pp. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001. £28.95.

ATUL KOHLI (ed.):

*The success of India's democracy.*

(Contemporary South Asia.) xiv, 298 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. £14.95.

Partition, both as an integral part of and a factor in decolonization, is gradually increasing in academic significance—though several existing studies

have centred on estimating the tragic human cost and resultant interstate conflicts. The territorial demarcations or partitions imposed by receding empires have for the most part remained in place, and the national regimes have frequently used them for purposes of specific nationalist engineering. While many Indians view partition as the bifurcation of an otherwise united India, for Pakistanis it is the reassertion of their separate nationhood. Historically, partitions have also played a major role in community formation by providing territoriality to several ethno-national groups. Five decades later, even in India, very few people would wish to undo the vital decisions of 1947. While both states have remained critical of the boundary awards, their inability to resolve bilateral conflicts has precluded any comprehensive study of the multiple human dimensions of Partition itself and the emphasis has more often focused on acrimonious accusations. It was not only the state in South Asia, both colonial and national, which used partition(s) as a way of achieving their own ends, the various communities also prioritized certain trajectories and strategies, often refusing to operate merely as mute sufferers. Instead, in the cases of India, Pakistan and even Bangladesh, significant and recurrent policies have reflected the torment, anger and ambitions of many of these émigré élite, who even after so many decades, still pre-empt any mutual effort to dig up the common strands or divergent experiences. Other than mutual fears and derision on all sides, studies of the partition have usually been sacrificed at the altar of High History, or have been confined to mere literary narratives. Macro and micro studies—not necessarily of the Subaltern kind—comparative analyses (for instance, Bengal versus Punjab, or issues of caste and class) and studies of an interdisciplinary nature have yet to emerge fully. Kaul's volume reveals a deep concern about the general 'silence' on the subject on the part of both the states, though, as evidenced by Urvashi Butalia and Gyan Pandey, the reality may go beyond simple narratives of human perpetration and counter-accusations. Kaul's book raises significant issues with reference to non-violence, architecture, text books, gender, masculinity and children, which, despite being a laudable remit, becomes problematic since it lacks a common thread. One wonders about the rationale behind adding a dissertation-based and fairly lengthy piece on the Red Shirts, which, instead of dwelling on oral history, might have focused more on the ramifications of the partition on the frontier itself. Among the pertinent issues that the chapter fails to address are how far the NWFP has been different from or similar to other provinces in encountering partition; who engaged in violence against whom and why; how did religion, gender and class fare in the imbroglio, and what could have been the alternative to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's vision of a Pushtoonistan *vis-à-vis* another plural Afghanistan or a plural Frontier itself (though one could understand his discomfort with a Punjabi-dominated Pakistan). Simply recounting a self-avowed righteousness does not help to explain the phenomenal support for a Muslim state, or the outbreak of communal riots at places like Bannu. One can understand the reason for using a case study from Pakistan but it does not fall in line, since no Bangladeshi or Pakistani views have been incorporated as such, which could have benefited from the mobility accruing to South Asian scholars in diaspora. Butalia's chapter, on the other hand, shows the limitations of partition with reference to humanness as revealed through a complex familial solidarity despite being divided into two hostile nations. The 'notion of rights' is another complex but effective dimension of partition to gain privileges by claiming sacrifice for the new country. Similarly, the chapters on Basant in Lahore and the Qutb Minar in Delhi further highlight the processes

of continuity within a cross-cultural synthesis, though the textbooks offer only limited and tailored information on the respective religions, still showing the pervasive role of ideological partitions within pluralist societies. It is an interesting case of the official view versus the perceived traditional opinion. Hindu children in Pakistan and their Muslim counterparts in India are compelled to share public and private interpretations of history, which may simply exacerbate their own confusion. In addition, partition did not simply affect Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs—it equally affected the Christians with their visible presence in Punjab. Hopefully, *The partitions of memory* will offer incentives for further studies on the lesser-known realms of the subject.

The very integrity of India, its growing intra-regional dependence despite severe communal cleavages and, the most of all, an unbroken though sometimes painful march on a democratic path, are undoubtedly no minor achievements for a country of this size and diversity. The various hypotheses base their explanations for India's unity and democracy on several factors and forces: a wide-ranging consensus amongst the nationalist élite; formulation of a constitution embodying that consensus, and capable and tolerant leadership in the early decades in particular. In addition, conducive factors such as India's size, its pluralism and its location outside the main arenas of the Cold War are also postulated as contributory forces. Certainly, one cannot ignore the vitality of India's own toiling masses—away from the planners in Delhi—whose trust in their own efforts and destiny has never let the country down. Other than the institutional framework, these are India's millions whose labour and idealism have kept the country on a right course. Despite cumbersome centralization and other manipulative roadblocks, India's grassroots, such as the Dalits and the ethno-regional minorities, have benefited from political stability and growing self-confidence.

Kohli's volume, without claiming to be a celebratory effort, aims to investigate the numerous vistas of India's polity with reference to historical inheritance, multiculturalism, centre-state relationships, local government and the mediatory institutions allowed under the constitution. It also explores important societal themes such as caste mobility, the rising tide of Hindutva, and recent changes in economic planning. Kohli's own introduction dilates on the managerial role of the élite and institutions, which were able to transform their colonial nomenclature and portents into a fully-fledged nationalist ethos. Sumit Sarkar traces continuity in the colonial and national experiences where, even without a claimed consensus, different strands found a common ground for future policies. Dasgupta's contribution reviews federal prerogatives, sometimes in league and occasionally in conflict with the regional, local and plural imperatives. Manor's differentiation between the early secessionism of the 1950s and that of recent decades, and India's ability to tackle it through bold initiatives such as reorganization, offers greater hope, although the threats from regions such as Kashmir and the Northeast (or earlier on from Punjab) mean that the situation remains volatile. However, a cross-regional and inter-caste consensus on India's territorial integrity, along with relatively effective institutional arrangements, seriously limits sympathy for separatism.

It is not just politico-administrative changes that have characterized the Indian experience since partition; powerful socio-economic trajectories, including the fundamentalist threat posed by so-called majoritarian nationalism, as Basu puts it, have also been transforming. The regional and plural realities of India have, according to Basu, compelled the BJP to make several U-turns on a number of issues, and this, to many India-watchers, might

appear to be a more optimistic overview, especially after the anti-Muslim backlash in Gujarat and a continuing demand for a pound of flesh from Pakistan. The growth and popularity of communalist parties, such as the BJP, VHP and Shiv Sena, puzzle many scholars and friends of India; such parties have been successful in stirring up a majoritarian fear complex directed against minorities. In India, rationally, Hindus should not feel threatened by Muslims, Christians or Sikhs, in the way they do in Pakistan or Bangladesh; the Muslim majority does not have to be apprehensive of beleaguered minorities. How far regional and caste/community based political organizations may be able to temper this major onslaught in India will be worth watching. Weiner was aware of benefits slowly accruing to the underprivileged through a number of participatory policies but also detected newer contestations among them, away from the age-old inter-caste cleavages. While critics may see temporary phases of superimposed stability, where the cleavages may persist and thus claim their toll on the underprivileged, Mitra's dilation on the gradual emergence of local politics as a positive indicator offers an interesting perspective. In the same manner, within the context of President Narayanan's critique of India failing its own constitution, as echoed in the piece by the Randolphs, a challenging agenda for the Indian leadership is unfolding. Offered as a retrospective overview, the volume would have benefited from a prognosis in the form of a conclusion delineating the challenges to come. In the same manner, rather than isolating the study from a regional context, India's often uneasy relationship with its neighbours and its impact for its own career and inter-communal relationship could have offered new insights into the impact of non-Indians. The common verdict, despite an unstated and unassumed triumphalism, is that the march goes on and India, in the aura of increased self-confidence, should settle for a more tolerant, plural and co-operative future, rather than seeking scapegoats in its own minorities or smaller neighbours. Such a substantive mood may augur well for the whole of South Asia, with India reaping maximum benefits.

IFTIKHAR H. MALIK

SUKESHI KAMRA:

*Bearing witness: partition, independence, end of the Raj.*  
v, 414 pp. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002.

This work forms part of the growing 'history from beneath' approach to the Indian subcontinent's independence and partition, in that its self-declared aim is to bring into the discourse 'ignored' if not exactly 'suppressed' voices (p. 20). It utilizes a range of sources, including personal testimonies and memoirs, novels and cartoons, to examine popular responses to the end of empire and to give voice to the silences surrounding the 1947 partition event. The latter goal is heavily inspired by Urvashi Butalia's work *The other side of silence: voices from the partition of India* (New Delhi, 1998). The study is also situated in the literature concerning 'traumatic memory' arising from holocaust studies and Eric Leed's examination of the psychological impact of the First World War on combatants, *No man's land: combat and identity in World War I* (Cambridge, 1979). The inadequacy of a Eurocentric post-traumatic stress disorder discourse to explain recovery from the partition experience forms the centrepiece to the book's third and most impressive chapter, entitled 'Narratives of pain'.

The book ambitiously examines British as well as Indian responses to the momentous events of 1947. Public speeches, newspaper editorials and cartoons, memoirs, diaries, and autobiographical accounts are again deployed. The reader is made aware of the absence of a monolithic British voice and, that for some Anglo-Indians, issues of identity were as confused and torn by the end of empire as they were for those much larger numbers of Indians caught up in the dislocating experience of partition. The author cleverly makes much of a limited range of sources for this part of the study. It is a pity that she does not appear to have had access to the oral history archives at SOAS, the British Library and at the Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, as material from these would have increased the authority of her analysis. Undoubtedly the addition of a further chapter on British responses would dispel the impression some readers may be given that this is a 'filler' rather than part of the central focus of the book.

Sukeshi Kamra seems most at home when she approaches her subject matter from the standpoint of theories of culture and psychology and postcolonial literary criticism, rather than from a historical perspective. She hints at the historical uses of partition for the politics of identity and nation building, but is handicapped by being unable to draw on Gyanendra Pandey's recent work, *Remembering partition: violence, nationalism and history in India* (Cambridge, 2001). Her awareness of the 'new history' of partition is heavily dependent on Butalia and this reviewer's work, *Freedom's cry: the popular dimension in the Pakistan Movement and partition experience in north-west India* (Karachi, 1996). The Punjab and Delhi experience of partition is privileged over that of Bengal, although useful comparative studies of these regions have begun to appear in recent years. Reference could have been made to the following volumes: D. A. Low and H. Brasted (ed.), *Freedom, trauma, continuities: northern India and independence* (New Delhi, 1998) and I. Talbot and G. Singh, *Region and partition: Bengal, Punjab and the partition of the subcontinent* (Karachi, 1999). The work would have also benefited from being able to draw on the volume by Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya, *The aftermath of partition in South Asia* (London and New York, 2000). This provides the important insight that the human dimension of partition is best explored in the context of the locality.

The other main criticism of the work is that it lacks a real 'feel' for the Punjab region that was at the epicentre of the partition-related massacres and migrations. Reference is made in passing to its rich cultural and Sufi traditions, which cut across narrowly defined religious communities, but the reader lacks insight into the sustainability of its composite culture, or the circumstances in which this broke down. Moreover, the variety of cultural settings and the evolving political economies of communalism within the region remain largely unexplored. While Kamra carefully delineates community differentiation, there is much less awareness of regional variations, or of the elements of both continuity and change arising from the impress of colonial rule. The author's recourse to an appendix on Punjab history, which draws on just a handful of works, increases rather than diminishes concerns about the book's historical depth. These are intensified by the basic error (p. 310) that cites Sikander Hayat as the successor to Khizr Tiwana as the Unionist Party Prime Minister of undivided Punjab. This in itself may be regarded as a minor quibble, but the overall lack of a firm historical and locality based setting for an analysis of the 1947 violence undermines the attempt to move from textually based elite representations to a truly 'history from beneath' viewpoint.

The book's flaws and historical omissions mean that it is by no means a



definitive work on independence and partition. Sukeshi Kamra has, nevertheless, provided an insightful interpretation especially of the emotional and psychological traumas which accompanied partition. The book's other strength lies in its good use of newspaper comment and the largely unexplored source of cartoons to reflect on the élite political discourse in the climacteric period of British rule. Despite its drawbacks, *Bearing witness* deserves a place in the emerging corpus of works on the human dimension of partition.

IAN TALBOT

ALLEN KEITH JONES:

*Politics in Sindh 1907–1940: Muslim identity and the demand for Pakistan.*

xxii, 214 pp. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002. £7.99.

Jones's study of pre-partition Sindh undoubtedly helps to fill gaps in our appreciation of the political events taking place before 1947 in one important part of what was to become Pakistan. The research that underpins it dates from the 1970s when Jones completed the Ph.D. on which it is based. His interest in exploring developments in a Muslim-majority region that was not automatically or immediately associated with the Pakistan movement reflected an emerging trend among historians to trace the political shifts that were occurring among Muslims other than those of the well-researched Muslim-minority provinces such as UP. Others such as David Gilmartin and Ian Talbot, for instance, have pursued similarly motivated investigations into the factors that determined the political responses of Muslims living in Sindh's northern neighbour, the Punjab. Jones works from the premise that Sindhi Muslims in fact contributed a great deal to the Muslim League's ultimate 'success', particularly the Sindhi League's claim to fame that it passed the first resolution calling for the creation of Pakistan as early as 1938. He scrutinizes the emergence of the League in the province, the difficulties that it encountered in establishing itself in a province where the rhythms of political life, especially its degree of factionalism, seemed to mitigate against its successful implantation. As Jones highlights, a great deal of this disunity stemmed from the competition for personal power. But Jones also emphasizes the extent to which different priorities hampered Sindhi Muslim involvement in all-India political issues. It was not until the early 1940s that the outlook of Sindhi Muslim leaders swung sufficiently away from provincial issues to encompass greater concern for subcontinental developments. While factionalism remained endemic, Jones demonstrates how far Sindhi Muslim politicians were able to integrate local needs with national demands, and hence make their contribution to the eventual creation of Pakistan.

*Politics in Sindh*, therefore, traces the growing integration of Muslim political activities in a relatively marginal province of British India. Its focus throughout remains firmly fixed on events there: from 'The early politicization of Sindhi Muslim leadership, 1885–1935' (chapter 1), through 'The formation of Muslim political parties' (chapter 2), 'The elections of 1937' (chapter 3), 'The first two ministries in Sindh' (chapter 4), to 'The Sindhi Provincial Muslim League Conference, 1938' (chapter 5), 'The *Manzilgah* affair' (chapter 6) and, finally, 'The League experiments with power' (chapter 7). In terms of 'setting the record straight', Jones has performed a valuable task,

unearthing and constructing a political overview of the period from a Sindhi Muslim point of view.

There are a number of weaknesses associated with *Politics in Sindh*, however. One derives from the fact that this is a study published some twenty-five years after its completion as a Ph.D. thesis. There is little evidence that it has been updated to take account of developments within relevant scholarship since then. As a result, it retains a somewhat 'dated' feel—clearly related to the context in which it was put together, that is the first half of the 1970s when the PPP and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were in power nationally, and Sindhis themselves were starting to struggle in a more concerted fashion to re-establish their provincial sense of identity and rights after the ending of One-Unit. The author's apparent desire to plead the Sindhi case is also reflected in what appears a rather optimistic assessment of the League's position in Sindh by 1947. In Jones's words, the League became 'the dominant political force in Sindh until the creation of Pakistan in 1947' (p. xviii), its leaders, 'by achieving unity and a balanced outlook in terms of province-centre relations ... prepared the ground for the firm implantation of the League in Sindh' and 'learned to accommodate conflicting loyalties' (p. 186). The impression he creates is one of a solid platform on which post-1947 politics could rest. But any survey of the realities of political life after independence quickly undermines such a conclusion. Indeed, politics in Sindh quickly reverted to type with factionalism and difficulties in centre-province relations dominating the late 1940s and beyond. Certainly, as Jones outlines, the League did make significant strides in Sindh in the decade before partition, but the difficulties that it encountered then continued to plague the years after 1947, and reveal useful insights into why the pattern failed to change very markedly in the longer run. More than anything else, and perhaps inadvertently, Jones's study highlights the continuities at work in twentieth-century Sindhi political life.

SARAH ANSARI

TEJ K. BHATIA and ASHOK KOUL:

*Colloquial Urdu: the complete course for beginners.*

x, 358 pp., two 60 minute cassettes. London and New York:

Routledge, 2000. £27.76.

Language textbooks in the late twentieth century became part of a cultural landscape which celebrated the diversity of globalization and multilingual societies. In the twenty-first century, they have, through their attractive bite-sized learning approaches coupled with exotic picturesque locations, repackaged language learning as hip, trendy and instant rather than long and laborious. Thus it is no surprise that language textbook publishers have these days as much of an aversion to the 'dreaded' grammar as the fresh undergraduate in her/his first year of language learning.

Language textbooks which appeal to a universal readership are the raw material of the Routledge 'Colloquials' series, which covers a broad range of languages from Afrikaans to Welsh. The Colloquial Urdu complete course for beginners is part of this series, and in the small world of Urdu textbooks which promise a swift and painless learning experience, it competes directly with the rival Hodder and Stoughton *Teach yourself Urdu*, by David Matthews and Mohamed Kasim Dalvi (1999).

In their introduction to *Colloquial Urdu*, the authors identify the two types

of learners targeted: '(1) those who want to learn the language through the Urdu (Perso-Arabic) script; and (2) those who wish to learn the spoken language in a relatively short period of time without the aid of the Urdu script' (p. 3). It is in fact the latter learner whose needs dominate the organization of the book. There are ten chapters in total, the titles of which indicate their indebtedness to the time-honoured paradigm of the Urdu-speaking stereotype who begins by greeting you and progresses to asking you a series of questions about your location, your likes, your hobbies, your holiday plans, what you did yesterday and, surprisingly, after six chapters wonders if you can indeed speak Urdu? Once that has been ascertained the learner can be trusted to shift to the more mundane travelling tasks such as cashing travellers' cheques and learning the modern parable of two friends who went for a meal in a Chinese restaurant and what happened when their fortune cookies came around. This contemporary fable is balanced in an earlier chapter with an ancient folk tale which tells us the parable: 'To build castles in the air'. The final chapter, with its focus on religious festivals, returns to the theme of cultural specificity and gives us an insightful glimpse of Muslim life.

Despite the rather traditional image of Urdu, the driving force behind this book is modern and there are innovative exercises to accompany each lesson. There are interactive tasks such as guessing the missing words, which have been swallowed up by the computer, and which requires the assistance of the language learner in order to make the meaning comprehensible, as well as crossword puzzles in roman transliteration. I must admit that I failed rather miserably at the crossword because I was unable to memorize yet another model of roman transliteration. My failure should not, however, mask the authors' efforts in designing a simple transliteration table relying mostly on lower-case letters and keeping diacritical marks to a minimum: though it was disappointing not to have matching exercises in the Urdu script which would be beneficial to those learners wishing to practise their Urdu literacy skills. Having said that I do not wish to detract from the freshness of Bhatia and Koul's imaginative testing measures, which endeavour to create an entertaining learning environment for their readers.

There is a steady progression of grammatical difficulty through this book beginning with simple pronouns and ending with the relative pronoun. In between it covers the simple present, past and future tenses, the subjunctive mood, and nouns, adjectives and adverbs as well as associative derivations. The explanations are, like the dialogues, quite short and pitched at the beginner's level. The chapters are preceded by six or seven bullet-point aims and objectives, placed in a rectangular box and accompanied by suitable identity markers such as the Pakistani flag, peacocks, the Taj Mahal, and so on. On the theme of presentation, the accompanying tapes are slightly disappointing as Tasneem Mohammad, Ambreen Naqvi, Nisar Naqvi, Surjit Singh and James Folan deliver the dialogues in a boring monotone and enunciate poorly. There are also a few discrepancies between the tapes and the text.

It is perhaps inevitable that there will be disagreements about the gender of certain items; an example being *shalvar*, which is awarded the masculine gender on pages 58–9. Another point of differentiation arises in Dialogue 3, chapter vi, entitled 'Buying handicrafts' when John reacts to the beauty of a Kashmiri carpet by stating: 'kyā cīz hē' (p. 116) a colloquial phrase often reserved for starlets. Perhaps this is a colloquialism gone wrong. In the course of the book references are made to Standard, Eastern and Southern Urdu;

variances which by chapter vii begin to confuse rather than to clarify, particularly in the absence of clearly marked descriptions.

Finally we turn our attention to the 'Script unit' which appears at the end of the volume. This is quite an untidy unit with numerous errors in some of the given initial, medial and final shapes of the Urdu letters. This includes too much detail for a beginners' introduction to the Urdu script, so while the letter mapping is a useful feature, the diacritical superscript is not. The 'Syllables, stress and intonation' section is again a good idea but something which cannot really work without the accompanying tapes. Another problem with the Perso-Arabic transcriptions is the size of the text, which is very small, and in which the accompanying vowel superscripts could lead to strained eyesight. The authors have included a reference grammar, an index and a key to the exercises in the final sections which will no doubt ease the task of first time learners. *Colloquial Urdu* is not suited to a language-learning classroom and is probably designed for independent learners wishing for a language 'quickie', but if the authors have an opportunity to produce a revised edition I would request that some of the sections towards the end of the book be shifted to the beginning.

AMINA YAQIN

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#### EAST ASIA

ROEL STERCKX:

*The animal and the daemon in early China.*

(SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) ix, 375 pp.

Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002. \$34.95.

Ancient China is certainly turning out to be a much more interesting place than the great monuments of early sinological scholarship once tended to suggest, largely because recent scholarship has at last started to break away from the ethical and political agenda offered most obviously by our sources as preserved by the tradition to pick up other themes. Sanctioned violence, for example, brilliantly explored by Mark Edward Lewis, is certainly there in both transmitted and more recently retrieved materials, but was not a topic that later tradition cared to recall and discuss. Now one of his former students, Roel Sterckx, takes on a similar topic, that of the place of animals in the early Chinese scheme of things, and again manages thereby to illuminate aspects of the human realm that have also been neglected until now. It is a real pleasure to read a book about animals in China that breaks away from banal concerns about what they might symbolize to ask some deeper questions about how they fitted into a world that never produced an Aristotle yet consistently showed a strong interest in animal life.

But it is not just the conception of this book that is refreshing: the level of scholarship throughout shows an enviable maturity for a first book, not simply in terms of its command of sinological detail but also in the carefully considered scope and arrangement of the work as a whole, with chapters devoted to key topics such as animals and territory or the moral transformation of animals, rather than a species by species census of early Chinese attitudes. The decision to take a single entity termed 'Early China' as setting the limits to the study is sensibly defended as the only practical option, and by and

large would seem to work. There are some borderline cases: the *Liezi*, for example, is cited as exemplifying this early China, and not without reason in every case, since it is clear in each instance that it preserves early materials. But the text of the *Liezi* as a whole does have quite a bit to say about animals in a way that suggests that somehow they had perhaps been pushed up the agenda, possibly as a result of an awareness of Buddhism and its conception of animal life as a path that could relate to past or future human lives. At the same time the overall picture shown in this study of the rather flexible boundaries between the human and animal worlds might also offer an explanation as to why Buddhism was able to make itself at home in the Chinese world.

Now of course no one would dispute the fact that attitudes towards animals, and towards topics such as animal welfare, did change significantly after the introduction of Buddhism: no one today (I hope) takes early China as a matrix from which the development of later China may be deduced. In fact the occasional forays by Sterckx into later materials only serves to underline the way in which distinctively Buddhist ideas built upon yet subtly modified the foundations that he lays bare. Thus in discussing the important question of metamorphosis and change in animals, he cites (p. 298, n. 22) the sixteenth century *Bencao gangmu* as classifying insects as oviparous, born from water (or moisture), or by transformation, not apparently realizing that these categories form together with viviparous animals the four categories of animal used by Buddhist schemes of classification, and that in this case 'transformation' is a category at least partially of Indian origin. Indeed, if we should choose to follow Victor Mair in his theories about 'transformation texts', this Indian concept was to have a profound influence on China. My intention in pointing out this very minor slip is not, however, to suggest that experts on early China should stick to their own home territory, but simply to emphasize that if early China was an interesting place, it became even more interesting as time went by.

In the same way, the standards of typographical accuracy in this volume would appear to be generally very good. Yet in a way I hope that any future edition does not correct the assertion in n. 88, p. 316 that a bear running wild in a Han emperor's palace was obstructed by an 'imperial combine', rather than (as the source cited alas reads) 'concubine', since it conjures up a gratifyingly surreal picture of Han imperial life. But having conceded that Han China was an interesting place, one must also admit that there were limits to this, and that we do in fact always fail to find the jumbled, topsyturvy world of European fantasies there. It is precisely because, in the hands of an expert like Sterckx, China at the time is revealed as a society recognizably akin to others of the ancient world, yet subtly different, that books such as this deserve to be known not simply to other experts in the field but also to all who are interested in the story of human civilization.

T. H. BARRETT

EDWARD HACKER, STEVE MOORE and LORRAINE PATSCO:

*I Ching: an annotated bibliography.*

xvii, 336 pp. New York and London: Routledge, 2002. £55.

Over a quarter century has passed since in 1975 Helmut Wilhelm published the only other independent bibliography of Western studies of the I Ching,

*The Book of Changes in the Western tradition: a selective bibliography*, as the second in the University of Washington series modestly entitled *Parerga*—a word which is in the volume under review, on p. 145, mistaken as part of the volume title, though such slips would appear to be relatively rare. Wilhelm's slim volume of only 29 pages is not entirely superseded by this much more extensive and up-to-date work, since he covered some of the major European languages apart from English, the sole language under consideration in the new work, and even for entries in that language his annotations are worth consulting. But there is no doubt but that this new bibliography marks a major advance, and one that will be particularly welcomed by teachers whose students insist that they want to know more on the topic.

Especially useful in this regard is the editorial policy of quoting, often extensively, from the works listed, sometimes by the editors' own admission at a length out of all proportion to their perceived value of the work itself, so that unpromising entries may readily be discarded from further consideration. The bibliography is divided between books (and contributions to books), periodical articles, and 'Devices and equipment', a category covering such things as such as card packs, to name but the least wonderful of these inventions. Following the main work, a short but by no means useless subject index is added, of which the two pages (pp. 334, 335) listing book reviews are certainly quite valuable. Since over a thousand items are listed in the body of the work, however, one should not expect too much from the mere six pages of subject listings here.

The coverage is broad, ranging from items culled from lists of completed dissertations through academic periodicals such as the *Bulletin* on to publications probably less familiar to our own readers, such as *Sagewoman Magazine* [sic]. This reviewer could not quite see why a 1988 restaurant review should have been included just because the proprietors had chosen to call their establishment 'I Ching' (p. 161), while entirely tangential references to other people using the I Ching by persons not particularly interested in it, such as the mountaineer Chris Bonington (pp. 10–11), likewise seem a little beside the point, though it was doubtless good to aim to be comprehensive. Mercifully, however, there is not too much on incidental references to the I Ching in the burgeoning popular literature on feng shui, though this policy of self-restraint is only stated in the index (p. 332) rather than the introduction (p. xi), even if the latter very usefully does give a website address for updates, and for the notification of missing items.

Some changes will certainly need to be made in respect of the institutional affiliations listed for authors—Benjamin Schwartz (p. 121), for example, alas teaches no more at Harvard. Each section is arranged alphabetically by author, a system conventional enough, but one that does mean that the initial growth of knowledge of the I Ching in the West is more readily traced through the chronological arrangement of Wilhelm's bibliography. Most readers will be able to think of something that has been left out, especially interesting aspects of I Ching studies buried in books on other topics, but equally most readers will encounter something that is both new and useful, and those who find Western appropriations of Chinese culture a topic of interest will in all likelihood end up sitting down and reading the whole volume from cover to cover—frequently no doubt with wide-eyed amazement at the voracious appetite of English readers for what is in the original language one of the most dense and difficult books in the entire Confucian canon.

T. H. BARRETT

DAVID A. GRAFF:

*Medieval Chinese warfare, 300–900.*

(Warfare and History.) x, 288 pp. London and New York:

Routledge, 2002. £16.99.

As the introduction to this thoroughly useful and readable history makes clear, the history of warfare in China, save for early China and modern times, has been neglected for reasons as much related to the predominant civil values of Chinese culture as to anything else. It is impossible to receive a classical education in the West without picking up some notion of exactly what happened at Thermopylae or Zama, but though early writers like Sima Qian do include fair amounts of similar material, no canonical work of literature like the *Iliad* and its derivatives was to be found in China to sanction in the longer run the importance of the military way of life. As a result, little even of the existing corpus of writings on military affairs became part of the curriculum inherited by Western sinology, and hence by the Western research agenda on China. It is to be hoped that Graff's work will help to change that, at least for the period he covers, for large portions of which China (to use the term approximately) was in such disorder that a military history like this one provides as good a narrative as one will get.

That is not to suggest that the coverage of this first, ground-breaking venture is entirely even: there is no mistaking the under-girding of doctoral research that informs the lively descriptions of the battles of the early Tang, and one of the main lessons that may be drawn from a reading of this work is that much remains to be done on a number of important topics tangential to the overall theme. First, though Graff has in another piece of research taken a first look at the anomalous last century and a half of his allotted time span, when persistent militarism did shift somewhat the normal cultural balance outlined in his introduction, there is surely room here for research into purely literary sources to fill out the picture of a China in which for a while reading matter somewhat more blood-tinged than was otherwise the case did get written. The early eighth century *Chaoye qianzai* of Zhang Zhuo (4, p. 95 in the *Zhonghua shuju* edition of 1979) is able to ridicule the general Quan Longxiang for his incompetent pretensions to poetic ability, and much later under the Song he is duly ensconced in the penultimate fascicle of the *Tang shi jishi* of Ji Yougong as the worst poet of the Tang, but in the intervening period we find fiction apparently aimed at much more martial tastes, notably the famous tale of the Curly-bearded Stranger, with its harking back to the bloody origins of the dynasty, and the tales of Nie Yinniang and Red Thread. This phenomenon does demand some study against the background of warfare sketched in here, even if the period concerned turns out to be relatively brief. For though the rude, licentious soldiery may also be detected hovering in the background of earlier stories like that of Yingying, it is only relatively late in the dynasty that they take centre stage, and even then they scarcely drive out other characters. Ultimately, as Graff's conclusions show, rulership never became militarized in China in the same way that it did in contemporary Byzantium, whose monarchs, one might add, still ruled in the shadow of the old Roman title of 'imperator', with its clear military origins.

A second point that emerges from a reading of this survey, though perhaps not so overtly, is the need for a reliable account of the climatic and environmental history of China throughout the period. References to flood and famine are frequent enough to show their importance to military history

as much as to more peaceable developments, but so far we possess no coherent account in English of the main fluctuations in the natural conditions against which Chinese history unfolded. But even so, such technical literature as we do possess—I have in mind the historical portions of James N. Galloway and Jerry M. Melillo (ed.), *Asian change in the context of global climate change* (Cambridge: CUP, for International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme, 1998)—suggests that it is dangerous (though, given our ignorance, not necessarily wrong) to judge the rainfall pattern around what is now Shenyang in Sui times by reference to contemporary weather patterns, as is done in n. 36 on p. 157. It may be that greeting a new publication by opening up vistas of research yet remaining to be done is no way to encourage an author. But if, as it would seem, Graff's aim has been to stimulate us to look at Chinese history afresh, then I hope that he will take it as a compliment if it turns out to be possible to use the occasion of his work's appearance to urge a degree of rethinking that is perhaps even more radical than that he suggests himself.

T. H. BARRETT

PAUL ROUZER:

*Articulated ladies: gender and the male community in early Chinese texts.*

(Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, 53.), xiii, 424 pp.  
Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001.  
£30.95.

I was misled by the title of Rouzer's book. The work analyses representations of gender and desire in male-authored texts from the Qin to the beginning of the Song, a span of 1,200 years. Rouzer examines the concerns and situation of males as seen in a range of texts where the female voice is appropriated. We are treated to an exquisitely detailed study of that particular gendered voice, the male who adopts a female persona or who leaves ambiguous the gender of his characters. In each of his seven essays Rouzer takes well-known texts and re-reads them as male social constructs in the light of post-Foucauldian gender studies. The selection straddles history, literature and gender boundaries, with chapters focusing on Han goddesses; literati-ruler relationships; sensual court poetry; historical Xiongnu texts; Tang male competitive poetry and Tang courtesan poetry.

The overarching thesis of Rouzer's work is that utilizing the female voice is a political act, by which (élite) male authors defined themselves socially and in the political sphere. Relationships, romance and desire may variously be a plea for power, a cry of anguish or an expression of dissent or confusion. Texts describing women are taken and read as male power struggles or male bonding writings: the early female voice is seemingly only and always a power tool. Real women and female poets occupy chapter ends, as comparators and adjuncts. What surprises in Rouzer's tome is the peripheral nature of women. These are not articulated ladies in the sense of speaking for, or of, women, but only of speaking through women: the subtitle is all. Rouzer's concern is with the borrowed female voice, and his work throws no forward glances to the studies of Ko, Widmer or Ropp on Chinese women; Chang and Saussy's anthology *Women writers of traditional China* is not even listed in the bibliography. Recent gender theory is likewise muted.

Throughout the work literary criticism is spliced well with gender critiques:



the book could be read as a chronological literary history and much insight gained. There are so few general works on early Chinese literature that this volume could be welcomed for this contribution alone. The question of whether one is learning about classical literature through a gender angle or deepening gender study through Chinese literature is never resolved: a non-specialist might find the literary terms and debates too abstruse, though this is perhaps inevitable in a volume which leaps between centuries and narrative styles. An analysis of the court and imperial power system in chapter four, for example, is too brief for a new reader to gain a grasp of the situation, yet too complex to follow easily. The background histories given each time are very interesting but in this collection of essays, some, such as chapter three, can seem a long way from the titular theme.

In post-Han texts, debate centres around the meanings read into the female voice, but in earlier works the voice itself is often of ambiguous gender. The multiplicity and shifts of gender in texts and subsequent readings is amply demonstrated in chapter one, where Rouzer begins by dissecting readings of Ode 64, 'Quince'. The indeterminate voice of giver and recipient has allowed for heterosexual readings as courtship poetry; 'public homosocial' ones as a political text and a more 'private homosocial' reading of friendship ties.

Competition as the mainstay of the male social community infuses the book, and forms the theme of chapter three. Literary and debating skills complement the physical attraction of men and are assessed by females. Through their capacity as judges and arbiters women reinforce the cultural codes of the literati. Women are facilitators of male games, 'non-participants in male competitive strategies but familiar with the rules' (p. 100). The women's own gains in going along with these rankings and snobbery are not questioned, just as the notion of the woman poet writing from her own perspective or in her own voice is laid aside. The premise that 'we must recognize that the high literary language *is* male' (p. 8) is itself an interesting starting point for a discussion of gender. Women enter the masculine world either as men writing as females or through mastering the language which articulates male political concerns, 'by writing as literati writing as women'. Language manipulation is a male choice (p. 68), with females remaining outside of language, but gaining a certain power from that distance.

By the time of the Jian'an poets the poetic voice is more explicitly gendered, with less ambiguity, but there remain many different ways of reading a given female voice. In court poetry the trope of allegorizing one's position in court (real or desired) through a woman's voice is played out. The court lady has privileged access to the Emperor, and in desiring her the poet desires to replace other desiring poets and prove his superiority, but he also desires to *be* her, with access to her techniques of dance, song and political lament since 'becoming a woman allows the poet either to seduce or petition the patron' (p. 145). Real women poets of the period appear in the last few paragraphs of the chapter, 'but their poetry does not grandly reconfigure the male games of competition'. The real court lady 'can "cross-gender" herself as a man simply by writing as a woman'; by arrogating the male right of speaking as a woman she can break out of female restraints. This seems to make the situation unnecessarily complex. Perhaps the women poets of the Jade Terrace 'seldom exploit this move in interesting directions' because they do not feel the need to do so. For Rouzer, the female voice is employed where men can identify with it or use it; written women are only ever ventriloquists. The situation shifts in the Tang, when a much more complex representation

of women is seen. In Rouzer's socio-political world, the pre-eminent explanation for this is new motivation for writing on the part of the male.

In *Articulated ladies* Paul Rouzer has given us an immensely exciting study. His close commentaries on texts are full of interesting and insightful detail, and his marshalling of critical readings impressive. However convincing the evidence he displays though, the desire to contest this reading of the echoes of women stubbornly remains. I look forward to a volume which challenges him.

CHLOË STARR

DOROTHY KO:

*Every step a lotus: shoes for bound feet.*

162 pp. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001. £29.95 (cloth), £17.95 (paper).

In this engaging book, Dorothy Ko expands the new discourse on the Chinese practice of footbinding she began in her earlier publications 'The body as attire: the shifting meanings of footbinding in seventeenth-century China', *Journal of Women's History* 8/4, 1997, 8–27, and 'Bondage in time: footbinding and fashion theory', *Fashion Theory* 1/1, 1997, 3–27. Using evidence from collections of shoes and texts written by and about women, Ko aims to overturn the oversimplified view that footbinding was merely to do with female beauty or male fetishism, a view epitomized by Howard S. Levy in *Chinese footbinding: the history of a curious erotic custom* (Taipei: Southern Materials Centre, 1984). Her findings show that upper-class women from the eighteenth century onward constructed identities for themselves through their bound feet and the painstaking creation of the shoes that covered them.

In the first chapter, 'Origins', Ko argues that footbinding developed over many years. From the Tang dynasty onwards, literary attention was often focused on female feet and shoes; by way of illustration Ko includes intriguing textual evidence such as the 9th-century Chinese equivalent of the Cinderella story. But it was probably not until later that textual images of tiny, lotus-tripping feet were literally acted out in the delicate footwork of dancers. By the Southern Song, material evidence begins to suggest that gentry women too were wrapping their feet in cloth to alter their shape. Footbinding was being transformed from a literary ideal to actual practice and, although born of male fantasy, it is clear that women invested footbinding with their own meanings.

In chapter 2 'The ties that bind' the author examines the way in which multiple meanings were attached to bound feet by families, female communities and women individually. She is right to point out that although footbinding was often connected with sexuality, bound feet were more frequently a physical symbol of modesty, morality and diligence. As well as a ritualistic physical process that marked initiation into the world of women, the spiritual side to the practice was also significant as women dedicated prayers and offerings to goddesses and immortals. Furthermore, the time a woman lavished on shoes, both for herself and as gifts, formed the material aspect of her understanding of her role in the family and her relationship with others.

Chapter 3 'Bodies of work' links shoe-making with the traditional female

occupation of textile production. Ko argues that the increase in homemade textiles ‘fostered a cult of domesticity for women in the eighteenth-century’ thus facilitating the spread of footbinding among women who could then work indoors (pp. 80–81). However the reasons why gentry women, who rarely worked in the fields, were also influenced by a move from fieldwork to homemade textile production are not clearly articulated. Ko’s analysis would benefit from a clearer definition of practices along class lines. She concludes that the art of embroidery formed a ‘conduit for a female culture that one generation of gentry women passed on to the next along with their emotions and dreams’ (p. 87), but were embroidered patterns as meaningful to peasant women as to their gentry counterparts?

In chapter 4 ‘The speaking shoe’, we see how the tiny shoes became invested with public meanings. Their physical appearance manipulated the perception of the viewer as high heels and pointed toes could give the illusion of a considerably smaller foot, whilst the good luck symbols and puns embroidered on the shoes linked into the rest of Chinese culture. Regional cultures, climatic, ecological and economic factors, subjective tastes and local artistic traditions, too, all played a part in the development of variations in shoe styles and show how these shoes could be an important cultural and/or fashion statement.

Towards the end of the nineteenth-century, ‘the exposure and scrutiny of the naked feet spelled the end of footbinding as we know it, a practice that thrived on the mystique of concealment and the spectacle of shoes’ (p. 132), argues Ko in the final chapter ‘A new world’. The end of footbinding among gentry women may also have been hastened by increased imitation from women of lower classes. Yet despite the work of missionaries and Chinese reformers who attacked the values of female domesticity and handicraft, many women refused to give up footbinding until 1950s due to the personal meanings attached to the practice. It is worth pointing out here that Laurel Bossen in her recent book *Chinese women and rural development: sixty years of change in Lu Village, Yunnan* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002, pp. 37–85), suggests that Ko generally overlooks the important role footbinding played for women of the lower classes too and that the late decline in footbinding among them was intimately linked to a concomitant decline in home textile production.

To conclude, this book is as much about the fashioning of female identity as it is about the shoes and bound feet themselves, contributing to our knowledge of the production, development and perpetuation of women’s culture. Those already acquainted with Ko’s work will miss her usual dense annotations and footnotes. However, it must be recognized that this book is based on an exhibition curated by Ko (‘Every Step a Lotus: Shoes in the Lives of Women in Late Imperial China’ at The Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto) and is intended to appeal to a wider audience. And appeal it does, with its attractive photographs, illustrations and explanatory subtexts.

By way of comparison, attention should also be drawn to an equally colourful work—*Splendid Slippers: a thousand years of an erotic tradition* (Berkeley: 10 Speed Press, 1997) by Beverley Jackson. This book covers many of same areas, but Jackson’s lack of objectivity and sinological background contrasts with the way in which Ko uses her extensive knowledge of women’s culture from the 17th century onwards to bear light upon a practice that touched many aspects of their lives, physically, materially and spiritually.

SARAH DAUNCEY

PANG-YUAN CHI and DAVID DER-WEI WANG (ed.):  
*Chinese literature in the second half of a modern century: a critical survey.*  
xliii, 332 pp. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000. £26.95.

The field of scholarship on China is slowly moving away from the weary paradigms of the previous century, whereby the May Fourth era is the pivotal reference point for the discussion of Chinese modernity and 1949 marks the 'great divide' in Chinese cultural development. This volume begins with this moment to explore the intersecting discourses which shaped Chinese modernity thenceforth: politics, theory, culture, creativity. In a further break with older paradigms, and reflecting changing attitudes, Chinese modernity itself is not considered as a monolithic unity defined by political antagonisms but as multiple, intersecting and cross-fertilizing across communities in mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and beyond. This collection of essays breaks new ground by bringing together contributions from prominent scholars from these communities, each offering a different entry point into this complex agenda.

The aims of this volume, as set out by David Wang in his 'Introduction', are ambitious: to introduce figures, works, movements, and debates which have shaped Chinese literature since 1949; to depict influential examples of literary theory, experimentation and practice and to observe the historical factors affecting the interplay of Chinese modernities (p. xiii). It intends both to map scholarly paths already trodden and to anticipate the future scope of critical inquiry. Unfortunately the uneven quality of the essays and their range of approaches mean that these grandiose aims can only be fulfilled in part.

The volume begins with essays by three eminent scholars, each treating one realm of Chinese literary modernity in their own way. Zaifu Liu considers *fin de siècle* critical and creative resistance to the dogmatism of socialist realism, recognizing the polyphony of responses post-1989, but warning of the danger of a slavish adherence to a new tyranny of Western aesthetics. Pang-yuan Chi provides an informative survey of literary trends in Taiwan since 1945. William Tay considers the marginal position of literary publishing in Hong Kong and its manipulation in the context of colonial and Cold War politics. There then follow two contributions which treat the politics of writing in the 1950s and 1960s. A lacklustre and brief meditation on the logic of socialist realism is preceded by a disproportionately long but nonetheless compelling essay by David Wang. This proposes a narrative typology of 'the scarred' (p. 56) through which to analyse the uneasy negotiations between writing and nation building on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, showing how each mirrors the other in presenting graphic violence and the resulting scars. Further, these redundant and exaggerated narratives only serve to exhaust the patience of readers. 'A ritual account of the most repugnant crime can degenerate into a most boring pastime and ultimately trivialise the crime itself' (p. 61).

The remaining ten contributions to this volume treat specific strategies employed by writers and poets in their pursuit of modernity. Ko Ch'ing-ming's uninspiring narrative, which does not do justice to its subject, chronicles Taiwanese modernist writing of the 1960s; Yang Chao describes the range of experiments in realism in Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s, in particular nativist and magic realism, the essay unfortunately descending into a less than

inspiring catalogue of names and dates. Li Qingxi offers a perceptive discussion of the root-seeking movement in 1980s China in terms of an anti-cultural quest which metamorphoses into an anti-cultural return; Wu Liang chronicles the development of an avant-garde aesthetics out of the trauma of the Cultural Revolution during the 1980s; Li Tuo explores the ways in which 1980s literature has offered a literary basis for a critique of modernity and how Chinese criticism engages with the dual problematic of modernization in the West *vis-à-vis* its Chinese counterpart; Chung Ling offers a survey of feminist themes in Taiwanese women's writing; Jingyuan Zhang does the same for Chinese women's writing, noting the trend towards the commodification of women's writing in China. The collection builds to a crescendo with excellent essays by Stephen Chan, Xiaobin Yang and Michelle Yeh. Chan explores the discursive strategies in three novels by Xi Xi which offer a postmodern vision of urban existence in Hong Kong, juxtaposing the real and the surreal, the quotidian with the larger questions of history, existence and identity. Yang attempts to delineate and define Chinese postmodernism in the post-Mao-Deng era and Yeh offers a comparative meditation on the actual and symbolic death of poets in China and Taiwan. Alienation and suicide among mainland poets unable to reach their own poetic ambitions is contrasted with the apathy, pessimism and scepticism revealed among a new generation of Taiwanese poets critiquing the despair of affluent urban cultural life. The final contribution to the volume is an appendix by Jeffrey Kinkley, comprising a wide-ranging review of Chinese literary studies in English, and including an extensive bibliography which should prove invaluable both to teachers of the undergraduate curriculum and to librarians.

While this volume lacks a unified methodological thrust, this was never the intention of its editors. The strength of the volume is its deliberate focus on post-1949 modernities across the domains of Chinese cultural practice. For this reason alone it will indubitably become an undergraduate course text. The summary essays also provide an excellent source of reference and contextualization for teaching. At the same time the quality of a number of the essays sustains the interest of the specialist.

HILARY CHUNG

DAVID E. POLLARD:

*The true story of Lu Xun.*

xxx, 242 pp. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002.

LU XUN:

*The true story of Ah Q.*

xxxv, 119 pp. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002.

A comprehensive and reliable biography of Lu Xun in English has long been notable by its absence. Biographies, memoirs and recollections about Lu Xun in Chinese have flourished since the end of the Cultural Revolution, becoming less reticent and more candid by the year. Rather little of this output is presented in an academic format: supposition is freely mixed with factual data, imaginary conversations and thoughts are interspersed, and sources are rarely identified or verified. We must be grateful to David E. Pollard for sorting through a huge mass of this material, as recounted in his survey 'The life of Lu Xun as told in China', in Christina Neder *et al.* (ed.), *China in seinen biographischen Dimensionen: Gedenkschrift für Helmut Martin*,

(Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), pp. 239–44. *The true story of Lu Xun* is the longer result.

Pollard starts with the subject's family and childhood and continues to his death. Teachers and students will find especially helpful the outline chronology that precedes the main text, and a series of 'thumbnail sketches' of Lu Xun's main collections and a translation of one short essay included in an appendix. The main narrative unfolds at a leisurely pace, with ample digressions for explanations of old customs such as pigtailed [queues], arranged marriages and footbinding. Researchers will be disappointed by the absence of Chinese characters, notes and index, but there is a helpful endnote on sources, and the survey mentioned above provides some of the detail.

For a literary biography, Leo Ou-fan Lee's authoritative *Voices from the Iron House: a study of Lu Xun* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987) remains the leading authority in English, but Pollard gives more space to Lu Xun's private life, about which much more is now in the public realm. He is especially informative about Lu Xun's wife, Zhu An, and Zhou Zuoren's wife, Hata Nobuko. (In this book, Pollard adopts the reading Habuto for Nobuko's family name, as once favoured by Japanese sinologists; however, Nobuko's brother Shigehisa explained to Kiyama Hideo in the 1970s that the family's pronunciation conformed to the standard reading. I am grateful to Professor Fujii Shozo for this information.)

Pollard is also less respectful about Lu Xun's literary and political achievements than are most of his biographers, and his opinions add a great deal to this book's readability. Occasionally his judgements are inclined to be rash, as in his throwaway remark that Lu Xun had no particular interest in poetry (p. 15), and in his interpretation of the famous poem written by Lu Xun around 1903: evidence against both can be found in Jon Kowallis's *The lyrical Lu Xun* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), which is not cited. One question that Pollard touches on indirectly is why Lu Xun wrote no original fiction after 1925; he notes that Lu Xun aborted plans for writing a novel at least twice and suggests that full-length fiction was not his genre. Other strongly held views that add greatly to the book's appeal include Pollard's incisive dismissal of the anti-Zhu An lobby. As a concise and lively account of Lu Xun's life, *The true story of Lu Xun* will be indispensable.

Pollard's habitual irony is best expressed in his title for this book, an echo of Lu Xun's 'A Q zheng zhuan' (translated by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang as 'The true story of Ah Q' and by Pollard as 'The authentic biography of Ah Q'; see p. 213); the Chinese characters for *Lu Xun zheng zhuan* adorn the cover. It is therefore fittingly accompanied by a Chinese–English bilingual edition of *A Q zheng zhuan*, also published by the Chinese University Press. The translation is by the Yangs, with an introduction by Pollard (in English and Chinese). This volume is part of a welcome new series on modern Chinese literature by the Chinese University Press. An additional feature that would greatly enhance the series' value to teachers and students would be a short list of recommended readings in English of critical and background studies for each title.

BONNIE S. MCDOUGALL

JIANPING WANG:

*Glossary of Chinese Islamic terms.*

xxii, 196 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £45.

There is a tricky problem lying in wait for any reader approaching for the first time a classical or modern Chinese text on Islam in China or on the

history of the regions of China which have significant Muslim communities. Clusters of characters which appear to have no obvious meaning prove to be transliterations of Arabic or Persian words and are found so frequently in some texts that it is impossible even to guess at the content without deciphering them. Few of these words can be found in standard Chinese dictionaries; they have been rendered into Chinese at different times and in different places over the centuries; there is no consistency in the characters that have been used to represent the original sounds, and it is not always clear, even to the reader familiar with Arabic and Persian, which term is being translated. This problem is not of course restricted to the representation of Middle Eastern loanwords in Chinese. The translation and transliteration of Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Chinese have preoccupied scholars for centuries and have spawned a substantial body of critical and etymological scholarship.

English-language studies of Islam in China are relatively recent and began with the work of Marshall Broomhall and Claude Picken in the early part of the twentieth century. Raphael Israeli and others who followed them began to grasp the nettle of Chinese Islamic terms, as has the distinguished French scholar, Françoise Aubin, and there have been a small number of partial glossaries attached to books such as Dru C. Gladney's *Muslim Chinese*. Chinese language dictionaries of Hui and Islamic studies such as *Huizu zhishi cidian* (Urumqi, 1994) and *Zhongguo Huizu da cidian* (Nanjing, 1992) include these imported terms among many others.

Jianping Wang's glossary is the first single-volume attempt to make these terms more accessible to the English-speaking world. Wang provides a brief introduction to the history of Islam in China and the current distribution of Muslim communities. There is a select bibliography of Chinese sources which is a useful resource in itself, and both Arabic and Chinese indexes are provided, the latter according to the *Hanyu pinyin* romanization (the current standard in the People's Republic) of the head character of the word.

The main body of the glossary lists the terms in order of the *pinyin* romanization of the whole word. This is followed by the Chinese characters, the original word in Arabic script, an English translation or translations and an indication of whether the word was originally of Arabic or Persian origin. There are commentaries on the translation where appropriate and lists of variant forms in Chinese characters, although the romanization is not given for these.

Jianping Wang, who now works at the Institute of World Religions in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, is exceptionally well-qualified to produce a glossary of this nature. A Han Chinese who was sent to Yunnan Province during the Cultural Revolution for 're-education', his life's work has been the study of Islam and in particular the Muslim Hui communities of south-western China. He studied for his Ph.D. at the University of Lund in Sweden and his doctoral dissertation was published in 1996 as *Concord and conflict: the Hui communities of Yunnan society in a historical perspective* and is a mine of information on the history of the Yunnan Hui and their social structure and religious practices. He was also one of the authors of *Yisilanjiao shi (History of Islam)* published by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press in 1990 (which also contains a rudimentary glossary of Islamic terms) and was responsible for the sections on Islam in Iran. He has studied the Arabic and Persian languages and this makes his glossary far more reliable than any of the existing lists for English speakers.

Most of the terms and topics that one might expect to find are here, although it is disappointing to discover that there is so little information on

the origin of *menhuan*, the term generally adapted by Sufi orders in China to refer to their organization and its lineage. Granted that this is a word of Chinese origin rather than Arabic or Persian, it is nevertheless of such central importance in understanding the religio-social structures of the Hui people that a little more detail would have been desirable. Some of the entries are less complete than others, largely because etymologies and derivations are frequently conjectural, but in general the Chinese terms are well matched with their Arabic or Persian counterparts and the context in which they are used is explained clearly.

Students of Islam in China will be grateful to Jianping Wang for this labour of love which will make reading the sources so much easier and should help to introduce more researchers to this fascinating subject of study where the Chinese and Islamic worlds overlap.

MICHAEL DILLON

SHIYI YU:

*Reading the Chuang-tzu in the T'ang dynasty: the commentary of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (fl. 631–652).*

(Asian Thought and Culture, Volume 39.) xiv, pp. 209. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. £35.

Although we now know enough to take Tang Taoism seriously as an intellectual force that flourished in a particularly favourable political climate, many details of the different strands in Taoist thought of the era, and particularly those that responded creatively to the stimulus of Buddhist philosophy in its Chinese guise, remain as yet, for all the preservation of the relevant materials, very little studied. This holds true even for such a prominent figure as Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, who was long ago identified by Kamata Shigeo in his first pioneering monograph on the intellectual history of the age as a Taoist who attracted the explicit opprobrium of later Buddhist writers for his subtle polemical blending of Buddhist and Taoist ideas into an attractive intellectual synthesis. (Kamata Shigeo, *Chôgoku Kegon shisôshi no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, 1968), pp. 274–5, and cf. p. 603.) These later ramifications of Ch'eng's impact form no part of Shiyi Yu's work, which is primarily concerned with Ch'eng's place in the history of commentary on the *Chuang-tzu*, but even in that regard it soon becomes evident to the reader that Yu's study is less than definitive.

It would, after all, have taken no more than a glance at Michael Loewe's convenient edited volume on early Chinese texts to have discovered what are the best textual sources for the study of Ch'eng's work in this area. Yet though in sticking to the *Chuang-tzu chi shih* of Kuo Ch'ing-fan the author has clearly selected the most convenient text to cite, especially in view of the punctuation in the Chung-hua shu-chü printing of Kuo's work, surely, as H. D. Roth's remarks in Loewe's handbook make clear, for much of the text Japanese materials unknown to Kuo are of much greater significance. (Michael Loewe (ed.), *Early Chinese text: a bibliographical guide* (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), p. 62.) Other equally strange absences, however, soon make themselves felt, for example in the second chapter, a biographical study of Ch'eng that follows on a brief introduction to the commentarial tradition before his time. Of course we do not know much about his life, but surely his involvement in the translation of the *Tao-te ching*



into Sanskrit, an episode studied in some detail by Paul Pelliot and later mentioned by Arthur Waley, could have been treated at greater length, while Ch'eng's role in the investigation of an apparently subversive copy of the *San-huang wen*, again an event well remarked in earlier scholarship, is passed over in complete silence. (Note e.g. Ch'en Kuo-fu, *Tao-tsang yüan-liu k'ao* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963), pp. 77–8.)

The core of the work, however, is devoted to Ch'eng's encounter with Buddhist thought as seen in his commentary, an area in which the initial investigations of Kamata have at length been followed up not simply by Japanese scholars but more recently by others, such as Robert H. Sharf, whose *Coming to terms with Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002) unfortunately appeared too late for Yu to use. Sharf's dissertation, however, which was completed at Michigan in 1991 and so has been available for some time, already raised questions as to several aspects of earlier Japanese work, such as its doubtful construction of a distinct school devoted to the key concept found in Ch'eng's work of the 'double mystery'. No such issues are considered at all here, but it must be said that Yu's use of Japanese scholarship is sometimes a little troubling, in that it seems to miss the point of what is said, whether right or wrong.

One clear example of this may be found on pp. 76–7, where we find a paragraph based on Japanese research, which, minus the references and Chinese characters, I otherwise reproduce here in full. 'Suspicion of Buddhist elements in the thought of the "double mystery" has induced the Japanese scholar Sunayama Minoru to split out from Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's definition of the "double mystery" some Buddhist factors that do not completely belong to medieval Taoism. Sunayama believes that the first part of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's definition, that is to say, "profound and far", has a dubious connection with Hsüan-i's "Chen-cheng lun", a polemical treatise popular in the seventh century, in which Hsüan-i interprets the "double mystery" not only as profound and far, but also obscure and ambiguous. This interpretation, in Sunayama's words, is "apparently a misinterpretation, and comes from the fractional prejudice of Buddhists"'. A footnote concerning the 'Chen-cheng lun' makes it clear that Yu construes Sunayama as suggesting it as a source for Ch'eng's definition, though it is (as Yu correctly states) a later work.

But Sunayama is suggesting nothing of the sort; rather, at the end of a long section tracing the origins of various elements in the definition of the 'double mystery' in Taoist texts such as the *Pen-chi ching*, to which Yu pays no attention, he reverts to Hsüan-i, whom he has earlier identified as picking up part of Ch'eng's definition of the term in the course of his anti-Taoist polemics, since by this stage it has become clear that Ch'eng's definition is more complex than Hsüan-i allows, incorporating an element from the Taoist texts Sunayama has just cited. What his remarks then mean is that Hsüan-i's partial, incomplete and partisan account of Ch'eng's interpretation 'is clearly a distortion, the outcome of a factional Buddhist view'. (Sunayama Minoru, *Zui-tō Dōkyō shisōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Hidakawa shuppansha, 1990), p. 203.)

It is not, however, simply Japanese scholarship that on occasion seems to be misrepresented here, since there are signs that sometimes the original Chinese terminology has not been understood either. On pp. 146–7 we are introduced to another point at issue between Buddhists and Taoists which Ch'eng also confronts in his commentary, namely the 'so-called theory of the Three Periods', which are glossed, in themselves correctly, as past, present and future. Yu then goes on to say 'This criticism must have been very detrimental to Taoism when it was becoming a religion aiming at transcendence

and salvation. Or more practically, without the future, a third position that forever presides in necessary absence, it was almost impossible for Taoism to come out winning in many other debates'. Whatever the force of this sentence, it would have been kinder to the reader to point out that what is at issue here is the working of karma across past, present and future lives, a Buddhist doctrine which the Taoists were obliged to find justified by their own early texts. Yu correctly identifies an earlier discussion of the Three Periods in an account of the early Taoist polemicist Lu Hsiu-ching, but rather disguises the point of the episode by translating Lu's supposed proof text in the *Chuang-tzu* in accordance with the understanding of A. C. Graham's translation, which is of course aimed at uncovering the original sense of the text, not Lu's distortion of its meaning. Stephan Peter Bumbacher has recently published a much better English version of the source concerned, which duly adjusts Graham's translation to reflect the point that Lu wishes to make, thus rendering the point at issue much more clear. (Stephan Peter Bumbacher, *The fragments of the Daoxue zhuan* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 214.)

It would be quite wrong to give the impression that the many hours spent here in producing a doctorate and revising it for publication have been entirely wasted, for there are many useful gleanings that may be found in Yu's study. But the great names of the past both demand and deserve much of us, and sadly one feels after reading the work under review that Ch'eng Hsüan-ying still has not received his due. This is to be regretted, for given the very low number of researchers prepared to investigate T'ang Taoist thought when it involves both commentary on the Chinese philosophical heritage and reactions to Chinese Buddhism in its mature form, it may be some time before anyone else ventures a more solidly grounded account of his achievements.

T. H. BARRETT

NATHALIE KOUAMÉ:

*Pèlerinage et société dans le Japon des Tokugawa: le pèlerinage de Shikoku entre 1598 et 1868.*

(Monographies, 188.) Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient, 2001. 317 pp. €38.

After a how-to-read *komonjo* manual based on source material from her research on the famous early modern pilgrimage circuit in Shikoku, Nathalie Kouamé has published her second volume on the topic, namely her doctoral dissertation submitted to the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations in Paris in 1998. Like her first volume on the Shikoku pilgrimage, her highly original *Pèlerinage et société dans le Japon des Tokugawa: le pèlerinage de Shikoku entre 1598 et 1868* presents an important contribution to the study of Japanese history, of Japanese religion, and of Japanese pilgrimage. Unlike other works on the pilgrimage in Western languages, which tend to be anthropological or ethnographic and mostly focus on the contemporary period, Kouamé's study explores the formative period of the pilgrimage: the early modern period. Although Japanese scholars have researched that period in the development of the Shikoku pilgrimage, this historical focus is unique among Western scholars. Even among the works of Japanese scholars, Kouamé's research can hold its own because of her reliance on untouched source material and frequent critical re-evaluation of the sources of her Japanese colleagues. She succeeds in questioning the negative image of the

pilgrimage as overly restricted by the authorities and of the pilgrims as poor and sick, and hence a considerable burden on the local population. Her own research leads her to take a more positive view: the pilgrimage presented a valuable asset for Shikoku, a peripheral, underdeveloped region with few other economic resources during the period.

To reach this conclusion, Kouamé's study does not focus on what she calls the 'religious aspects' (p. 305) of the pilgrimage (the spiritual quest of the pilgrim, the rituals associated with the pilgrimage, or its religious institutions) but on its sociological aspects, in particular the pilgrims' relationships with the local authorities and the local residents of Shikoku. It is possible to take issue with this division between religious and sociological aspects: Kouamé is after all dealing with religious pilgrimage and occasionally discusses religious issues such as the cult of Kōbō Daishi (pp. 178–80, 232–4). Moreover, one could argue that Kouamé ought to have devoted more space to the temples that constitute the Shikoku circuit. After all, not only did these temples play a crucial role in the development of the pilgrimage but early modern local Buddhist temples were also usually staffed by the second, third or fourth sons of local peasants and hence ought to be considered part of the local population of the island. Nevertheless, her study provides solid research into the sociological background of the pilgrims, the place of Shikoku in early modern Japan, the attitudes of the local authorities and the local population towards the pilgrims as seen respectively in extant legislation and the practice of *settai* 接待 (the giving of alms and free services to pilgrims), and the economic and cultural impact of the pilgrimage on the region.

Methodologically, Kouamé's study is nearly impeccable. Presented in clear, readable prose, her skilful and meticulous reading of her sources is authoritative and highly transparent, leaving no doubt for speculation as to how she reached her conclusions. It proves highly instructive both for students of Japanese history and religions learning how to handle primary sources and specialists seeking to study the issues at hand more deeply. Even though Kouamé's study occasionally displays some of the common drawbacks of regional and local history, namely of being overly detailed and trying to explain local/regional developments solely from a local/regional context rather than seeking a wider, trans-regional perspective, Kouamé's analysis is usually convincing and refreshing. One might also defend Kouamé's approach as appropriate for a study on the Tokugawa period, whose culture was highly regionalized. Furthermore, Kouamé provides trans-regional perspectives at several crucial points such as in her comparison of *bakufu* legislation regarding major highways in Japan and that of domainal authorities in Shikoku regarding the pilgrimage circuit (pp. 116–99), specifically the Shikoku pilgrimage's financial burden on the local population by comparing it to data from villages along a major highway in Bizen Province (pp. 224–6) or by contrasting the Shikoku pilgrimage with the pilgrimage to Ise (pp. 258–9).

At other points in her study, her analysis could have benefited from a similarly comparative perspective when local/regional source material did not yield answers to the questions raised by her innovative research. For example, Kouamé tries to explain the development of collective *settai* (alms organized by local communities) from the practice of individual *settai* (alms donated by individuals) (pp. 141–86). Her explanation is limited to context of Shikoku (pp. 178–83) but might have profited from exploring the similarities with the organization of confraternities (*kō* 講). While Kouamé mentions the connection between *kō* and collective *settai* (e.g. pp. 163–4, 241–7), a comparison with the development of *kō*, especially pilgrimage confraternities elsewhere in

Japan, might have helped her explain the late-Tokugawa-period development of collective *settai* exactly at the time when confraternities appeared with greater frequency in connection with other pilgrimages. Their organization in rural areas often paralleled the organization of collective *settai* in being village-based, led by village officials, and contributions being differentiated depending on the economic ability of their members. The late development of collective *settai* on Shikoku might also be linked to the comparative scarcity of evidence on pilgrimage confraternities if not confraternities themselves, a fact noted by Kouamé herself (pp. 241–2) combined with the peripheral location of Shikoku, which often led to a lag in cultural and economic developments. Moreover, the relative absence of safety nets such as confraternities, as well as organized ties between villages of pilgrims and innkeepers such as existed at many pilgrimage centres throughout Japan may have also contributed to the development of organized *settai* as well as the legislation of the authorities to take care of such problems as invalid or deceased pilgrims. It should also be noted that despite Kouamé's point that the Shikoku pilgrimage was the pilgrimage of solitary travellers, who travelled alone or in small groups of two to four (p. 247), data from shorter pilgrimages based primarily on confraternities, such as the pilgrimage to *Ōyama* in Sagami Province, yields similar travel patterns. Hence, in the Tokugawa period it may simply have been more convenient to travel in small groups than large ones rather than being a distinctive element of the Shikoku pilgrimage.

Overall, however, Kouamé's award-winning study deserves highest praise. It not only deepens our understanding of travel and pilgrimage in the Tokugawa period but also greatly broadens our knowledge about the social history of Shikoku as a peripheral region and its regional identity.

BARBARA AMBROS

HARRY HAROOTUNIAN:

*Overcome by modernity: history, culture, and community in interwar Japan.*

xxxii, 440 pp. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

It will surprise nobody familiar with Harootunian's work to learn that *Overcome by modernity* is a hugely ambitious book and, in many ways, it is very impressive. It represents an attempt to wrestle with some of the most important intellectual questions of the interwar period in Japan: how did Japanese society make sense of its experience of modernity; what were the connections between modernity and fascism in the Japanese context? The monograph explores some of the intellectual pathways forged by prominent interwar thinkers such as Tosaka Jun, Miki Kiyoshi, Watsuji Tetsurō and Yanagita Kunio, but its broad intellectual sweep also brings Heidegger, Hegel and other European thinkers into view. Clearly, such a vast menu requires extensive preparations, and *Overcome by modernity* is a suitably lengthy testament to Harootunian's wide erudition.

The text is divided into six (long) chapters. The first is an evocative and neatly rendered representation of the politico-economic conditions of early twentieth-century Japan, as society struggled to comprehend the changes wrought by 'modernization'. In many ways, this chapter forms the foundations of the intellectual gymnasium that appears over the next 400 pages. Chapter 1 is a fine piece of historical storytelling which successfully captures the 'spirit

of the times'. In particular, Harootunian effectively establishes the utility and meaning of his central theoretical term, 'unevenness', which he sees in the myriad social, political and economic contradictions and inequalities produced by the process of 'modernization'.

For Harootunian, the unevenness of everyday life (*nichijōsei*, to borrow the term from Tosaka Jun) in early twentieth-century Japan created a kind of *anomie*, which produced a 'sensitivity that oscillated furiously between recognizing the peril of being overcome by modernity and the impossible imperative of overcoming it' (p. x). Leaving aside, for the moment, the question of why Harootunian believes that 'overcoming modernity' was impossible, the author makes a persuasive case for the connections between this anomic everyday life and the attempts of contemporaneous thinkers to step outside the experience of everyday life, 'to recover a lost unity' (p. 215) in human existence. Without naming it, Harootunian provides a neat derivation of the popularity of *hongaku shisō* (original enlightenment thought) in the 1930s, thanks in part to the work of Nishida Kitarō and the Kyoto School. Harootunian puts the case well with reference to Nishitani Keiji's belief that 'people lived in the flux of change but were able to get out of its vortex. Nishitani was referring to his own conception of the subjective nothing embedded in religious sentiment that he believed was capable of supplying people the means with which to live in history at anytime yet remain removed from it' (p. 85). Later, Harootunian persuasively connects this theme to Watsuji Tetsurō's notion of the dual-layered nature of human existence (*jūsōsei*) and to Miki Kiyoshi's communal body (*kyōdōtai*).

Whilst Harootunian is right to suggest that the agendas of Watsuji or Yanagita Kunio were romantic in nature (i.e. the aspect of man's dual nature which remains 'removed' from history was related to an ancient and lost 'Japan' of the past), it is far from clear to me that he is right to say the same of Nishitani or Miki. Whilst these philosophers did refer to an eternal truth *prior* to the everyday life of modernity, the priority of which they spoke was ontological rather than historical: they were not looking for a golden Japan, but for a standpoint from which to witness true reality. It is probably true that this was a distinction overlooked by the ultra-nationalist regime of the 1930s, but it is the responsibility of the intellectual historian to recognize the complexity of the social discourse.

'Overcoming modernity', a translation of the title of the infamous 1942 symposium *kindai no chōkoku*, is the title of the second chapter. Herein, Harootunian discusses the 'profoundly meaningful' (p. 47) wartime symposia hosted by *Bungakkai* (*kindai no chōkoku*) and *Chūōkōron* (a series of three *zadankai* (round-tables) usually collected under the title *sekaishiteki tachiba to nihon*) between November 1941 and November 1942. Unfortunately, Harootunian appears to confuse the symposia, and he seems to attribute them all to July 1942. Of course, everyone makes mistakes, and a small chronological error may have very little significance. However, Harootunian's error seems to be indicative of a general dismissiveness of these symposia, which he claims to find so profoundly important. Indeed, this chapter contains a number of errors and a series of contradictions—some small (such as the repeated misnaming of Kōyama Iwao as Kōyama Ikuo (pp. 57, 85)), but some more significant (such as the assertion that Nishitani Keiji's conception of 'true subjectivity' is defined by the imperative to avoid ownership (85)—being authentic seems identical with being a bum), and some are simply odd (such as the claim that the *historian* Suzuki Shigetaka 'more or less represented the Kyoto School of Philosophy at the symposium' (p. 38), when the philosopher,

student of Nishida, and eventual heir to Nishida's chair in Kyoto, Nishitani Keiji was certainly his representative).

This chapter raises some serious questions about historiographic method. Harootunian hoists his colours explicitly when he dismisses the influential attempts of Takeuchi Yoshimi and Hiromatsu Wataru to recover the respectability of these symposia because, he claims, they reduce the content of the discussions to a state of being 'trite and empty' (p. 47) when they emphasize the location of these discussions within the broader context of the intellectual climate of the time. For Harootunian, quite rightly, these debates were not merely a 'passing blip' (p. 47), but were of profound importance. Harootunian is obviously correct to argue that the content of the symposia should not be overlooked just because historians and philosophers also have access to more substantial (and unproblematic) texts by the thinkers involved, such as Nishitani, Kamei Katsuichirō, or Kobayashi Hideo. However, I would suggest that recognition of the 'profound meaning' of these *zadankai* necessitates that we place the (often brief) statements made during the roundtables themselves within the context of the wider speech-acts of the intellectuals involved. Otherwise we run the risk of simply misunderstanding the content of the talks, even if we acknowledge their importance—context and meaning are intricately (albeit not simply) connected. Harootunian's bizarre quip about Nishitani's 'true subjectivity' is an example of this danger. The symposia were undoubtedly important historical events, but surely it is the responsibility of the intellectual historian to recognize that they were not hermetically sealed incidents.

I might suggest that part of the problem in this chapter is that Harootunian does not want to make a charitable interpretation of the symposia. Echoing his earlier essay, *The revolt against the West*, co-written with Najita Tetsuo in the *Cambridge history of Japan* (which was savaged so mercilessly by Graham Parkes for, what he called, 'poor and irresponsible' scholarship), Harootunian suggests that these talks were 'an elaborate justification of the war in Hegelian philosophic language' (p. 43). Elsewhere he seems slightly less convinced, claiming merely that the 'symposium on modernity intimated a complicity with fascism' (p. 44). Of course, these claims are not exactly contradictory, and the hint of indecisiveness locates an arena for exciting future research—but Harootunian does not permit himself to be derailed by the threat of nuance at this time.

Fascism is everywhere in Harootunian's depiction of interwar Japan, and he is occasionally a little cavalier with those who have attempted to sustain the opposite—for example, he calls the attempt to differentiate between German fascism and Japanese militarism 'easy and completely indefensible' (xxviii). To his credit, Harootunian has identified one of the most troubling aspects of interwar Japanese history—the emphatic and (almost) universal right-shift made by intellectuals. Indeed, in many ways, *Overcome by modernity* is the first full-length monograph to grapple directly with this phenomenon and to seek an explanation in the nexus between socio-economic 'unevenness' and cultural production. However, it is far from clear that the left-right paradigm can be unproblematically transplanted into interwar Japan, and this should at least temper assertions that a right-shift is identical with fascism in that context. Indeed, Harootunian himself crisply observes this problem in his analysis of Miki Kiyoshi in chapter vi, where he ponders the difficulties of uniting Miki's dual commitments to both Marxism and fascism (p. 359).

Harootunian manages to sustain his vision of Total Fascism in Japan through the application of Slovo Zizek's influential definition of fascism as

the ‘self-negation of capitalism’. In practice, this means that fascism is any ideology which ‘subordinates the economy to the ideological-political domain’ (p. xxix). In other words, fascism is any system of thought that privileges the ideational over the material. Given the preference exhibited by Japanese intellectuals for ‘philosophical’ explanations of modernity over ‘sociological’ or ‘empirical’ explanations, which Harootunian documents most persuasively, it should be no surprise that Harootunian finds most Japanese thinkers from the interwar period at least complicit. As he rightly states: ‘while cultural and communitarian theorists in Japan were not always committed or card-carrying fascists, or even jack-booted militarists, all fascists need not wear brown shirts’ (xxix). Whilst I remain unconvinced that being a cultural or communitarian theorist was identical with being a fascist, I can concede that their emphasis on ideational factors produced a ‘self-negation of capitalism’ and that, therefore, in Harootunian’s terms, they were fascist by definition.

Thankfully, Harootunian does find at least one Japanese thinker of whom he approves: the Marxist philosopher (and former student of Nishida Kitarō) Tosaka Jun. Chapter iii, the longest in the book (at over 100 pages), is primarily ‘an attempt to retrieve Tosaka’s powerful critique of fascism and how its ideological appeal to culture and community was sanctioned by liberal endowment’ (p. xxx). In my opinion, this chapter contains a most valuable contribution to Japanese intellectual history—it represents a serious and insightful treatment of an under-appreciated and understudied figure. That said, I would have liked to have seen Harootunian tie his analysis more closely to Tosaka’s texts, which make scant appearances. Tosaka Jun was an important and vocal critic of both ‘culturalism’ and ‘liberalism’ in the interwar period, particularly as he saw them in the work of his former teacher, Nishida Kitarō, and in the wider Kyoto School. For Tosaka, liberalism, fascism, Japanism, and ultra-nationalism could all be grouped together as bourgeois and dangerous; liberalism (which was traditionally grouped with Marxism in Japan as a ‘Western import’) actually lay the foundations for Japanism and fascism by permitting (and positively evaluating) the free expression of nationalist ideas. Tosaka, like Harootunian and Žižek, argued that any system of thought which prioritized ideas over material reality was essentially (and morally) flawed. By throwing his hat into the ring with Tosaka, Harootunian finally lays bear his Marxist agenda.

Harootunian’s ostensibly Marxist approach to modernity renders a useful analytic. As I have already mentioned, it permits Harootunian to draw some exciting connections between material unevenness and cultural/intellectual production. On the other hand, this undeclared agenda sets up a tension in the treatment of this monograph’s central concern—modernity itself. The tension is expressed in the space between Harootunian’s claim to utilize an essentially postcolonial conception of modernity and his actual use of a Marxist teleology. Hence, whilst Harootunian sounds culturally sensitive when he dismisses the term ‘alternative modernity’ to describe Japan (or any other non-Western nation) because of its undertones of cultural superiority, and he embraces the phrase ‘co-eval modernity’ which ‘simply calls attention to the experience of sharing the same temporality’ (p. xvi), the fixation on the adjectival disguises the problem of the noun itself. No matter how many different, alternative, or co-eval forms Harootunian recognizes, he still maintains that modernity is characterized by industrial production and capitalist economics (indeed, he occasionally utilizes the compound ‘capitalist modernization’ (xi)). As I have already mentioned, Harootunian describes the imperative to overcome this materialist modernity as an impossible dream

(p. x)—thus, he finally fails to take the idea of cultural difference seriously. In the final analysis, Harootunian locates the origins of Japanese fascism in the reluctance of Japanese intellectuals to become materialists or Marxists in the interwar period, as though such a reluctance was an aberrant attempt to ‘flee history’ itself (p. xxi).

In conclusion this is an ambitious and provocative book which deserves to be read and re-read. However, it is marred by an occasionally cavalier lack of attention to detail (Shinran was not alive in the fifteenth century, Watsuji Tetsurō should not be introduced as a ‘student of Heidegger’). There are a number of lengthy quotations that appear without any form of reference. In connection with this, it is surprising to note that a 440-page book could include fewer than 15 pages of notes, with no separate bibliography. That said, this is an important book which demonstrates an impressive (if slightly idiosyncratic) historical vision.

CHRISTOPHER S. JONES

JONATHAN M. REYNOLDS:

*Maekawa Kunio and the emergence of Japanese modernist architecture.*

xviii, 319 pp. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2001. £40.

The history of Japanese modernist art often unfolded in the hands of the people who may be labelled the ‘non-mainstream [*hishuryū*]’ rather than the ‘anti-mainstream [*hanshuryū*]’. Dissidents came, in many cases, from within the mainstream circle itself rather than from a completely marginalized group, and these dissidents would maintain close ties with the mainstream as they challenged its authority.

Maekawa Kunio (1905–86), who is known today for designing such landmarks as the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975) and the Tokyo Metropolitan Festival Hall (1957–61), was precisely the case in point. *Maekawa Kunio and the emergence of Japanese modernist architecture* by Jonathan M. Reynolds portrays this architect as someone who carved out a niche for himself somewhere between the non-mainstream and the mainstream in his struggle to establish modernism in Japanese architecture.

Reynolds elucidates and balances both the aesthetic characteristics and the underlying political significance of Maekawa’s architectural practices. He carefully traces the chronological development of Maekawa’s work from his early formative years at the Tokyo Imperial University and at Le Corbusier’s office in Paris to major post-war commissions that immortalized his name in the history of Japanese architecture.

In the introduction, the author states that this book is ‘not a conventional biography’ of Maekawa. His goal, rather, is to ‘concretize the mechanisms through which specific relationships and institutional connections shaped modernist identity and advanced the modernist cause’ by focusing on Maekawa (p. 2). Indeed, Reynolds successfully brings into sharper focus the political and ideological position of modernism in Japan. In so doing, he also uncovers the *leitmotifs* in Maekawa’s career that characterized his modernist ideals: apoliticality, ambivalence towards the application of Japanese architectural tradition, and the struggle to balance technology and humanitarianism.

One of the intriguing qualities about Maekawa the author brings out in



this book is his consistent non-involvement in politics. This was in striking contrast to his mentor, Le Corbusier, and many of his fellow architects in Japan. As Reynolds points out, Maekawa was convinced that architectural practices and politics had to remain separated, and he was faithful to this principle throughout his career. While this attitude may well have been due to strictly personal reasons, the author also suggests that it could have been partly strategic. He observes that, in general, modernists had to walk the political tightrope, since modernism was attacked by both the right and the left as inhuman and anti-nationalist (p. 68). As Reynolds correctly argues, Maekawa's political neutrality contributed to the advancement of the modernist cause because it effectively shielded him from criticism and helped him stay on good terms with the academy and the authorities (p. 80).

Reynolds also spotlights Maekawa's profound aversion to the eclectic approach that some of his contemporaries eagerly adopted during the pre-war era. A style known as academic historicism, which abundantly featured Japanese traditional ornamental motifs, was much in demand at the time. Maekawa, however, refused such opportunistic appropriations of traditional architecture and continued to submit modernist designs to the competitions for nationalistic monumental architecture. The architect was convinced that his designs were just as patriotic as academic historicism since they closely reflected the contemporary lifestyle of the Japanese people (pp. 122, 126). Nonetheless, as the author points out, Maekawa did not deny Japanese traditional architecture entirely, nor could he remain completely immune to the demands of the times. Some of his designs, such as the Japan-Thailand Cultural Center (1943) and the Japanese Pavilion for the Universal and International Exposition in Brussels (1956–58), featured Japanese motifs for a variety of reasons. The author's discussions of Maekawa's explicitly modernist designs and more eclectic designs offer an invaluable view into the architect's ambivalent feelings towards incorporating the Japanese architectural motifs into his work.

The last chapters of the book touch on Maekawa's growing unease with technology and Western civilization, in which he had unflinching faith before and during the war. One of his consistent goals, as demonstrated in a series of designs for prefabricated housing, was the use of technology for improving quality of life. Nevertheless, his remark from 1965 reveals that the ageing architect became increasingly disillusioned with the negative consequences of modern technology after the war:

Architecture has with the passage of time been forced to betray the expectations lodged in it by humanity. However, we cannot turn back. Progress means a great degree of freedom; on the one hand, it also means greater stability. We may say that contemporary man, who has now begun to think of the possibility of the total destruction of mankind, has won unprecedented freedom, unprecedented anxiety, and unprecedented progress (p. 253).

Though the author explains that Maekawa never completely lost his faith in modernist ideals, it is indeed ironic that someone who remained so fervently committed to these ideas throughout his career came to harbour such a sober view of modernity in the later stages of his life (p. 229). Maekawa's disillusionment with the dehumanizing aspects of technology and modern life is evocative of the subsequent decline of modernism in the later decades of the century and seems to foreshadow the more critical approaches to modernism adopted by succeeding generations of Japanese architects.

It is also in the final chapters that the other important strength of the book, Reynolds' sophisticated historical perspective, shines through. He argues against the tendency in Japanese modernist discourses to perpetuate the pre-war image of Maekawa as the crusade of modernism—a view that the young architect himself liked to stress. Such a concept exaggerates the rift between the mainstream and modernism, which in fact interpenetrated each other. Reynolds describes this relative proximity, both institutional and interpersonal, between the mainstream and the non-mainstream in the Japanese architectural world as follows:

Modernists had a vested interest in the survival of many of the influential institutions in their profession. With few exceptions, these architects should be viewed as insiders making claim to their place in the existing order, not as outsiders aiming to tear down the walls and replace them with something entirely new (p. 250).

As this book amply illustrates, Maekawa was precisely one such modernist—he belonged to the non-mainstream rather than the anti-mainstream and sought to legitimize modernist architecture in Japan. The insightful analysis of Japanese modernism which Reynolds presents in this book makes it an extremely important addition to the growing scholarship on modern Japanese art.

MIKIKO HIRAYAMA

YOKOMITSU RIICHI:

*Shanghai: a novel by Yokomitsu Riichi. (Translated with a postscript by Dennis Washburn.)*

(Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, 33.) v, 241 pp.  
Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2001. £12.50.

Thanks largely to Dennis Keene's work, many readers of Japanese literature in English translation would equate the name 'Yokomitsu Riichi' with the title 'Modernist'. The foregrounding of the short story *Kikai* (The machine, 1930) in many discussions of Yokomitsu's work gives the impression that his 'Modernism', developed largely from European naturalism, looked to a mechanised, anti-human, future, where people are ruled by base chemical and animal instincts and individualism has become a rampant force in society. Yokomitsu Riichi is also equated with the literary group called the *Shinkankaku-ha*, or New Sensation School, whose complex manifesto on the relation between subject, object and observation in literature has confused generations of readers. *Shanghai* may be no better known in Japan or the West than 'The machine', but it certainly gives a more rounded view of Yokomitsu's 'Modernism'; furthermore, Dennis Washburn's postscript to this book is the first treatment of the *Shinkankaku-ha* and its manifesto read by this reviewer that makes sense. For these two reasons I would say that this book is a riveting read for anyone interested in Japanese Modernism and the development of the 'subject' in the Japanese novel.

Yokomitsu's experiences in Shanghai shows us not only a Japanese writer's view of the city and its particular blend of 'Asia' and 'Europe' in the 1920s, but also a literary moment in time where European Modernism, mediated through Shanghai rather than flowing directly to Tokyo, impacted on Japanese

literature. *Shanghai* is a *tour de force* of naturalistic writing, its terse prose involving all five senses to plunge the reader into the world of the novel. Washburn's translation is to such a high standard that a cinematic feel to the story results. The most vivid parts of the book, for which Yokomitsu is justly famous, are the mob scenes of riots in the factories and streets, where fear and tension are palpable. The English text does not feel like a translation, except in places where the reader imagines the writing would drag in the original Japanese—notably the long political speeches on Marxism.

The novel, serialized in 1929, deals with the strikes and riots of Shanghai in the spring of 1925. The politics of the period run throughout the novel in Japanese feelings of pride and patriotism, arguments for Pro-Asianism, and the strength of the opposing Chinese Marxist movement. As Washburn points out, this book is the only Japanese novel to have been set wholly within mainland Asia, and unlike the travel vignettes of Natsume Sōseki, Nagai Kafū and Yosano Akiko, it deals directly and explicitly with political nations and the relationships between them. Market forces are shown to power Shanghai and the region; markets from Bombay to Liverpool, dealing in everything from cotton to opium, gold to stocks, keep the world running, with Shanghai at the centre. The hapless protagonist is left to blunder about through the darkness of Shanghai's streets, dancehalls and bath-houses, holding out for an impossible love yet yearning at the same time for the beautiful and dangerous Chinese woman who is deeply involved in organizing the riots. It is testimony to Yokomitsu's strength as a novelist that our sympathies and fears are engaged with the characters even as they are depicted against a backdrop of massive national and economic forces beyond their control.

In terms of the structure of the book, it is good to see the analysis given as postscript rather than introduction: the novel is allowed to stand on its own merits as literature, a book to be read and enjoyed. The postscript itself is marvellously succinct. Washburn situates Taisho culture (and therefore its literature) as one struggling with the inheritance of Meiji—its national and imperial discourse, its love of the West, and the creation of a timeless 'unique' Japan. Washburn addresses Yokomitsu's 'modern historical consciousness' in this Taisho context, depicting Yokomitsu as a wide-ranging thinker on the scale of Kobayashi Hideo. Yokomitsu was concerned with the positions of subject and object in history, the paradoxical role of Japan as colonialist as well as liberator in Asia, and the ultimate powerlessness of the individual in an individualism which had proved to be a mere construct, built on a discourse of Meiji modern consciousness. Yokomitsu was opposed to Kuki Shūzō and the like who depended on traditional Japanese aesthetics to find a 'genuine Japan': he was grappling with the way the world was at the time, trying to find realistic ways of thinking and writing about it. Washburn's focus on the 'modern consciousness' and the limits of ideology shows the depth of Yokomitsu's thought and also the great variety of Japanese thinking in the 1920s and 30s—with the recent focus on Kuki Shūzō and other aestheticists this work brings some much-needed balance into the equation.

Finally, Washburn shows Yokomitsu not as someone whose *Shinkankaku* ideas merely 'failed' but as someone who was actually trying to achieve something with literature. Washburn deftly explicates the *Shinkankaku* ideal as the representation of perception through surface signs, but more than this, he makes sense of Yokomitsu's literary motives and methods and shows us how the *Shinkankaku* ethic is put to work in the novel. Washburn argues that the 'imagistic aesthetics' of the novel have political implications in themselves,

as Shanghai is depicted not only as a historical site but also as an imagined place whereupon the characters project their desires: in the protagonist's case, for the Chinese exotic Other. In the light of Washburn's analysis, Yokomitsu's 'Modernist' manifesto on subjectivity and objectivity attains clarity and context, which for this reviewer—above and beyond the fact that *Shanghai* is a good read in itself—makes this the best translation of a Japanese novel to be seen in years.

RACHAEL HUTCHINSON

KENNETH J. RUOFF:

*The people's emperor: democracy and the Japanese monarchy, 1945–1995.*

(Harvard East Asian Monographs, 211.) xiv, 331 pp. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001. £30.95.

The modern Japanese monarchy has arguably attracted more than its fair share of attention from Western historians, and another book might not be expected to make a significant addition to the literature. Any doubts about the value of *The people's emperor*, however, would be misplaced. In part this is because the author is concerned with the relatively neglected post-1945 period, but the main reason is that his treatment of his subject is exceptionally wide-ranging, detailed, perceptive and, whatever his personal feelings about his subject, scrupulous. Although most aspects of the post-war monarchy on which it focuses have been touched on in previous studies in English, none of them have been examined in such depth and so convincingly.

Ruoff's basic argument is that there is more continuity between the post-war 'symbolic monarchy' (his preferred translation of *schōchō tennōsei*) and the imperial institution in the 1868–1945 period than has generally been assumed. He also, however, asserts that in important respects it has been reinvented since 1945 and 'transformed into something with no precedent in the imperial house's long history'. In doing so he challenges the claim of Japanese conservatives that the constitutional changes of 1946–47 actually restored the monarchy to the traditional position which it had held before 1868, and that the essence of the *kokutai* was thus not destroyed by the American occupation. Part of his case for a break with tradition lies in the examples he cites of the conscious use of the British monarchy as a model, but his main emphasis is on the variety of ways in which the imperial family, while still adhering to some traditions, was made more approachable and easier to identify with, and thus brought more into line with the egalitarian post-war value system. 'By selling itself as a symbol of democracy', Ruoff concludes, 'the post-war monarchy followed the strategy most likely to ensure its survival'.

In examining the transformation of the imperial institution into a 'monarchy of the masses' Ruoff offers many perceptive insights. He emphasizes, for instance, the fact that there was criticism from the far right of the throne's perceived loss of dignity in its pursuit of a new image; and he particularly notes the irony that old-fashioned nationalists who nominally revered the throne objected when emperor Akihito apologized for the wartime sufferings of Chinese and Koreans at Japanese hands. The disappointments of at least some on the right are also featured in the author's accounts of the unsuccessful efforts in the 1950s and 1960s to push through a constitutional

revision which would again elevate the emperor's status, and of the failures to secure official status for the Yasukuni Shrine or to pass a law establishing the offence of *lèse-majesté*. He does not, however, play down the capacity of the right to achieve its aims when these did not run counter to the constitution and when popular support could be mobilized, and he provides an illuminating investigation of the successful campaigns—and particularly the role in them played by organizations such as the Association of Shinto Shrines—to re-establish National Foundation Day and to restore the legal basis for choosing a reign name for each emperor.

The restoration of National Foundation Day and the reign-name system both lend support to Ruoff's argument about pre-war/post-war continuity, but his case rests mainly on his exploration of constitutional and political ideas and practices. In a closely argued analysis which particularly emphasizes the ambiguities which resulted from the use of the term 'symbol' to denote a person rather than an inanimate object, he shows how the idea that the emperor should not have a political role was undermined because those acts which he was allowed to carry out as symbol of the Japanese state—such as domestic tours and meetings with representatives of other countries—could not but have political significance. In consequence, the tendency to regard the emperor as head of state became widely accepted, despite the initial opinion of mainstream constitutional lawyers that it was the prime minister who should be so termed. More significantly, Ruoff also demonstrates that the Showa emperor clung to the pre-war tradition that he should be directly informed about current issues by the responsible ministers, and that many (though not all) of them were willing to comply with this wish. In addition, substantial evidence is produced to indicate that the emperor offered advice to political leaders more frequently than has generally been assumed, especially on the perceived threat from Communism.

An outline of the main arguments of this book does not do justice to the richness of its detail and the light which it throws on the diversity of political attitudes in post-war Japan. Care is taken, for example, to differentiate the position of centre-rightists such as Nakasone Yasuhiro from the attitudes of the far right and extreme right. Moreover, although the author does not purport to deal in depth with the pre-1945 period, his account of the celebrations in 1940 of the supposed 2,600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Japanese state is illuminating. Another of the book's merits is the attention it pays to evidence of local thinking and activity. In this, and indeed in some other respects, it can be compared with the notable study by Carol Gluck (whose guidance Ruoff acknowledges) of the earlier formation of the 'emperor system'; and one of the characteristics which it shares with her *Japan's modern myths* is an appreciation that ideological and institutional change need to be explained in terms not just of official or establishment manipulation but also of broader social attitudes (as well as, in the post-war case, the interests and involvement of the mass media).

*The people's emperor* is, inevitably, open to some criticisms. Not all historians will agree fully with its acceptance of the Showa emperor's war responsibility; and the assertion that General MacArthur was under instructions from Washington to preserve the monarchy is highly questionable. More generally, and surprisingly in view of the book's title, Ruoff makes only limited use of opinion polls to assess and track popular attitudes towards the monarchy. Nor does he deal with the regular television programmes about the imperial family's activities or the treatment of the monarchy in manuals for teachers. Moreover, although he does treat some critics of the imperial

institution in depth, he arguably does not convey a full awareness of the extent of hostility towards the 'emperor system', especially among intellectuals in the first two post-war decades. Nevertheless, this is an impressive work. It is well organized and lucidly written, and it will make rewarding reading not only for those interested in the Japanese emperor but also for students of Japanese nationalism and Japanese society.

R. L. SIMS

CHO DONG-IL and DANIEL BOUCHEZ:

*Histoire de la littérature coréenne des origines à 1919.*

423 pp. Paris: Fayard, 2002. €35.

Those in Europe who have been engaged in the study of Korean literature over the last thirty years will need no further guarantee of the merits of this work than the names of its co-authors. Those who may now be entering the field, perhaps from another discipline in Korean studies, or from an interest in other East Asian literatures, can be assured of its reliability. Cho took his first degree in French literature and turned to Korean literature for his postgraduate work. His monumental 'History of Korean literature' (*Han'guk munhak t'ongsa*, 1982) marked an epoch in these studies, and he holds one of the premier academic posts in the subject in Korea. Bouchez, schooled in traditional European studies, acquired, during twenty years of teaching and administration in Seoul, a widely acknowledged mastery of the Korean language and sensitivity to Korean feelings on their cultural history. Since the 1970s, he has been engaged in the study and teaching of Korea's language, literature and history at the CNRS and other institutions in Paris, and has shown, particularly in his studies of the seventeenth-century writer Kim Man-jung, how the methods of European classical scholarship can advance understanding even in a field in which Korean scholarship must always be predominant.

This result of their collaboration is essentially a review of the major cultural developments and social changes through the 1,500 years of recorded Korean history, illustrated by a balanced critical catalogue of the most significant works of literature written by Koreans during that time, up to the first two decades of the twentieth century. Such an encyclopedic work obviously covers many areas of which the honest reviewer must admit only a secondhand, superficial knowledge, or, all too often, total ignorance. One can only say that those areas on which one has research-based knowledge oneself are covered with a meticulous consideration and a careful presentation of the most dependable current views.

First, though, a short chapter i offers thoughtful answers to questions which general readers in Europe should ask. One of the most obvious of these is when and how writings in Chinese by Koreans came to be regarded as Korean literature, another why poetry in Korean from at least the fifteenth century to the nineteenth should be so restricted in metre and form.

The next one-third of this book, chapters ii to vi, starts with a three page summary of what one could describe as the lost prehistoric literature of Korea, but leads to an appreciation of the numerous extant works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, all in Chinese except for the handful of poems which can be deciphered with confidence as in Korean.

The remaining two-thirds of the book, in three chapters, covers—besides

the continuance of writings in Chinese—the main corpus of pre-modern literature in Korean. Chapter vii covers the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, viii the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, and ix from there to the early years of the twentieth century. Thus, they take the reader from the devising in 1443 of an alphabet, perhaps needed originally by the literati as a guide to the pronunciation of the rhymes of Chinese, but immediately adapted for writing the Korean language, and show how, over the next 450 years, this led to block printing and moveable type printing of literary works in Korean, aimed at promoting a wide readership and meeting the demands of a national mass market for books. Cho and Bouchez treat the problems of dating and attribution in this period with a conscientiousness which should significantly advance studies in this field.

One reflects that this publication misses by just one year the centenary of the publication of the final volume of Courant's *Bibliographie coréenne*. Bouchez has elsewhere documented the failure of European scholars, their views coloured by political events in East Asia for another half century, to build, on the foundations which Courant had laid, a satisfactory structure for the study of writings within Korean cultural history. In the second half of the twentieth century the outside world's view of Korean culture began to open. Respectful study and accurate description of the documents of Korean history could give back to Koreans some of their national pride, of which they have often felt robbed, and one could hope that they will in turn contribute to a sense of the unity of East Asian culture.

It would be fitting if a revisionist history of Korean literature were now beginning in Paris. It could begin in the library of the INALCO (Courant's 'LOV') with the reading of the actual books, so well preserved here, which Koreans had been reading up to the 1890s, rather than the secondhand opinions which pass for survey histories of Korean literature at present.

W. E. SKILLEND

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#### GENERAL

PAUL NEWMAN and MARTHA RATLIFF (ed.):

*Linguistic fieldwork*.

xii, 288 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. £15.95.

The book under review, which contains twelve articles on linguistic fieldwork, is indeed timely. Linguistic fieldwork has become central to linguistic research over the last decade or so, as has descriptive linguistics more generally. This renewed interest results in part from growing concern about language endangerment and the concrete threat to linguistic diversity, the response to which has been a significant increase in funding for work on endangered languages (for example, the programme of the Volkswagen-Stiftung ([www.volkswagen-stiftung.de/foerderung/index.html](http://www.volkswagen-stiftung.de/foerderung/index.html)) or the Endangered Language Description Programme administered at SOAS ([www.eldp.soas.ac.uk](http://www.eldp.soas.ac.uk))). In view of this situation, one would expect in the near future more fieldwork, more fieldworkers, and more fieldwork training, and for this last aspect in particular the present book provides a useful tool.

The overall approach of the book is a mixture of anecdotal narrative, practical advice, and more serious reflections on the nature of linguistic

fieldwork. The authors cover almost all relevant fieldwork regions, although with the exception of one African, all contributors are from the First World. The authors describe their experiences in the field, and touch on topics such as preparation, contacts with informants and local communities, the nature of interesting data and how to find them, and the relationship between fieldwork and broader linguistic research.

Following the editors' introductory chapter, summarizing the papers and drawing attention to key topics raised, the first paper is Larry Hyman's 'Fieldwork as a state of mind', based on the author's experience in Nigeria and Cameroon where he was working on Bamileke. After proposing, discussing, and ultimately rejecting 'objective' criteria for defining a 'fieldworker', Hyman contends that fieldwork is a state of mind; a passion for data, the excitement, the shining in the eyes when discovering new suspected, or indeed unsuspected, facts. In this sense, fieldwork does not necessarily require the field, but can be carried out wherever speakers are found. Hyman also argues that familiarity with the language group or family to which the field language belongs can be a great advantage, for example, his own long-standing relation with Bantu languages, which with around 400 related languages provide an ideal situation for the investigation of linguistic micro-variation.

Marianne Mithun's 'Who shapes the record: the speaker and the linguist' is based on her fieldwork on the North American Indian language Central Pomo and on comparative data from Yup'ik and Mohawk. She discusses three areas of data which played an important role in her fieldwork; the collection of paradigms; the domains of switch-reference; and evidentiality. The two latter topics are especially relevant because they are not well described in general, and it is the fieldworker's particular responsibility to provide an accurate and reliable description of such matters as they will be crucial for future linguists in addressing theoretical and further descriptive questions.

Gerrit Dimmendaal, in 'Places and people: field sites and informants' emphasizes practical and social aspects and difficulties encountered in fieldwork. He states that in addition to the intellectual work of gathering and analysing data, fieldwork generally involves a different level of personal commitment to working at home. For example, housing or transport may be very different from what the researcher is used to, as may be the cultural and social systems and networks which she encounters, and within which she has to operate without undue discomfort for herself and the community. Dimmendaal illustrates these points with examples drawn from his own experience in Kenya and Ethiopia, where he has worked with speakers of Turkana and Baale.

Ken Hale's account of 'Ulwa (Southern Sumu): the beginning of a language research project' describes a fieldwork project instigated by the speech community, rather than by a researcher. It began when Ulwa speakers on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua approached Hale to assist them in setting up a language project to produce a spelling system, as well as a dictionary and readers. Hale describes the project and how his role became that of a consultant, partly because of time constraints, and partly because descriptive work could be carried out by a local language body set up as part of the project. Yet, by presenting excerpts from his field notes, Hale shows how he initially approached the description and analysis of the language, and how novel data resulted from the interaction of his own research plan with research directions initiated by informants.

David Gil, in 'Escaping Eurocentrism: fieldwork as a process of



unlearning', describes his fieldwork in South East Asia, presenting examples from Hokkien, Tagalog, Riau Indonesian, and Malay. His main argument is that working on new languages—'new' in the sense of 'new to the researcher', and in the sense of 'non-Western'—can provide a serious check on preconceived ideas about linguistic structure, and that it is a process of (un)learning that different languages may require analyses radically different from familiar patterns. One example is that seemingly complex, but unmarked, clause structures (e.g. subject-verb phrase structures) in Tagalog and Riau Indonesian are in fact, Gil argues, structures involving one or more phrases of 'sentence' type structure, which is in fact the only syntactic constituent found in these languages. This means that categories (or parts of speech) like verbs and nouns are not universal, and neither are corresponding phrases such as NPs and VPs. On the other hand Gil maintains that—in my reading at least—semantically, predicate-argument structures *are* universal, although he does not discuss this in detail.

Nancy Dorian's contribution, 'Surprises in Sutherland: linguistic variability amidst social uniformity', is the only account set in Europe; the author worked on varieties of Scottish Gaelic. Thematically, the paper addresses the diversity in linguistic variation, not only between different social and regional groups, but also between speakers. This variation is at its most prominent when doing fieldwork and can be rather scary in that situation. While some variation may later turn out to be attributable to others factors, and then subject to analysis, Dorian draws attention to the fact that this is not always possible, and that cases where no analysis in terms of dialectal or social variation presents itself pose a highly relevant challenge to theories of language use, and indeed to theories of linguistics knowledge.

Shobhana Chelliah's fieldwork experience comes from working on Meithei in north-east India. She addresses 'The role of text collection and elicitation in linguistic fieldwork', and shows that only a combination of elicitation and text collection ensures an adequate representation of the linguistic facts. While elicitation is important at the initial stage of the fieldwork project for the construction of word-lists, and subsequently for example for work on paradigms, or to establish negative evidence, text collection is important for ensuring that unsuspected aspects of the language are not missed, and to have properly contextualized and natural data. At later stages of the fieldwork, the two methods can be combined and various forms of co-operation with informants can be explored, for example using a specific text as the base for further elicitation.

Daniel Everett takes as his background his continuing fieldwork in the Amazon, specifically his work on Pirahã. Everett's paper is an extended argument for 'Monolingual field research'; he lists the advantages of learning the language to be described, among them much closer integration into the speech community, the ability to understand speakers' conversations, the development of intuitions about which data to request, and the avoidance of a contact language whose influences have to be filtered out in analysing the data. The only apparent disadvantage is that the period in the field is longer than it is when a contact language is used. This last caveat, however, is important, as Everett rightly points out, in relation to the institutional situation of the researcher. Yet, in sum, Everett argues that a full description of a language requires communicative competence on the part of the analyst.

Fiona McLaughlin and Thierno Seydou Sall's 'The give and take of fieldwork: noun classes and other concerns in Fatick, Senegal' is the only co-authored paper in the collection. Linguist (McLaughlin) and informant

(Sall) describe their work on Pulaar, Wolof, and Seereer, each from their own perspective. Given the importance of the relationship between linguist and informant, and their mutual expectations, this topic is raised in most papers. To have information from both sides, reflecting a common experience, however, makes the discussion lively and direct, and this paper is among my favourites in the volume. McLaughlin writes the opening section, describing the personal and research background which led to her stay in Fatick to work on noun classification in Senegambian Atlantic languages. She relates the personal and technical problems she encountered when living in a small Senegalese community, and how she approached them. One of McLaughlin's academic conclusions is to question the notion of 'native speaker' in view of a culture of multilingualism and complex patterns of language use—a question also raised in other papers (e.g. Evans). Sall describes how a pair of Europeans arrived in the village and how one of them was interested in languages, an interest which he shared. After some time he came to work as McLaughlin's teacher and he recalls how her understanding of language and society progressed during her stay. It is left to the reader to take these two parts together and to see how fieldwork is a process of mutual convergence, and its results a process of extended collaboration.

Ian Maddieson's paper 'Phonetic fieldwork' is the most technical, and reflects the slightly different concerns of phonetic fieldwork, which entails more technical support than non-phonetic fieldwork, but often involves a less complex relationship between researcher and informant. Maddieson discusses the state of the art of hardware and software for phonetic research, which has supplemented the traditional approach of ear-training and transcription, and its usefulness for fieldwork, by comparing the advantages and disadvantages of different recording options in the field. He illustrates his own experience from his work on Bagwalal and Archi, two North-East Caucasian languages, and the Niger-Congo language Avatime.

Keren Rice, in 'Learning as one goes', offers a detailed discussion of several puzzles of her work on Slave, an Athapaskan language spoken in north-west Canada. She emphasizes the necessity of both a theoretically motivated research agenda, and flexibility and openness in the field, as it is the interplay of developing research hypotheses informed by current discussions in theoretical linguistics with the surprises and unexpected turns when working with speakers which results in significant new data. A nice feature of Rice's article is that she illustrates her points with examples from her work, so the reader can follow, in miniature scale, the growing complexity of the data, and how a more coherent picture develops through patient consultation, checking and re-checking.

The final paper is 'The last speaker is dead—long live the last speaker!' by Nicholas Evans. Evans describes several field situations in north-west Australia from his work on endangered languages. He shows that seemingly simple parameters such as 'being the last speaker of language X', or 'being a native speaker of X' are in fact difficult to ascertain, as these, and language proficiency more generally, depend on the complex socio-cultural backgrounds of speakers and speech communities. Of particular importance in the Australian context is the notion of owning a language X, which relates not only to a speaker's linguistic identity, but also to his or her geographical and ethnic identity, as opposed to linguistic competence. In carrying out fieldwork these facts have to be taken into account, but they may lead to theoretically important results for our understanding of what it means to speak (or know) a language.

The papers in the volume thus provide a lively and diverse picture of current linguistic fieldwork. In their introduction Newman and Ratliff raise a number of topics relevant to many, if not all, papers in the collection. One of these is the relationship between linguist and informant. With the possible exception of phonetic fieldwork, the general view emerging from the contributions is that fieldwork is collaborative, and that the working relation between the two (or within the group, when several people participate) is the most fundamental aspect of a successful fieldtrip. This is partly because the progression of research is normally determined by both linguist and informant, but also because informants are often the closest persons of contact to the new speech community for the researcher. A related point is the tension between following the research plan prepared in advance and the need for spontaneity and flexibility when something new (often ideas from the informant) comes up. Here, it seems that most authors have found it best to devise a research plan as detailed as possible (and indeed one which includes comparative evidence and is theoretically motivated), while once in the field the most important general rule appears to be to accommodate any situation which may arise, in particular to take note of information volunteered by the informant. A third point is the advisability of learning the language under study. This is most strongly argued in Everett's paper, but it is also implied by a number of other authors. To speak the language is particularly useful for understanding how linguistic structures are used in context, and how they contribute to organize all kinds of discourse. Two remaining recurrent themes are the impact of fieldwork on the personal life of the linguist (the technical, logistical, personal, social, psychological, financial and academic frustrations and rewards), and the ethics of fieldwork, including questions such as who 'owns' data and how to ensure maximum benefit to both communities and researchers, but also questions related to the personal and professional role and proper conduct of researchers coming to a new community. For the former point, Hale's paper provides a good case study, while the latter is most transparently discussed by McLaughlin and Sall.

I would like to draw out some issues related to more general concerns of linguistics practice and theory which occurred to me while reading this book. Fieldwork is again becoming central to linguistics; against this background, there are two questions which I think are important, and which are touched upon at several points in the book. The first is: who does fieldwork? Two North American contributors (Hyman and Everett) note the increasingly common practice in the US to include 'fieldwork' in one's CV, even if the fieldwork might be better described as 'informant work', since it involved no travel to the field. I believe, in agreement with Hyman, that one should not be too strict about what counts as *real* fieldwork (as opposed to 'fake' fieldwork?). On the other hand, it is important to recognize that, for many graduate students, travelling to the area where the relevant language is spoken is a difficult undertaking. In contrast to previous generations of linguists—for whom an extended fieldtrip was part of graduate study—students today are often actively engaged in conferences, publishing, and career planning, and a period of twelve months away from one's institution is something of a luxury. It is my impression (and I think indeed Everett's) that today—at least in the UK—it is much more the security of a tenured position which provides the personal background to undertake fieldwork. Thus in order to attract and enable students to undertake (pre-tenure) fieldwork, it is important that we provide as much institutional, financial, and organizational support as possible, as well as making fieldwork attractive for students with a more

theoretical background. This brings me to the second question: the current interest in field linguistics is to some extent motivated by increased interest in the documentation of endangered languages. However, linguistic description and endangered language documentation are, though related, in some ways independent. In addition to documentation, one strong motivation for fieldwork is its relevance to theoretical linguistics; the general spirit of this book is that theory and description are closely interwoven and inform each other. Hyman, for example, writes: ‘In reality, it is hard to see how the two [theory- and languages-driven linguists] can exist without each other’ (p. 21). While theoretical ideas are not the focus of the present volume, they do shine through. What, for example, is theory to make of Gil’s contention that languages do not universally reflect predicate-argument structure in their grammar? Or how can we explain the micro-variation encountered by Dorian in Scotland? Finally, when talking about knowledge of language in Australia, Evans remarks: ‘Here we need to suspend certain assumptions about “critical periods” in language acquisition that have become dogma in psycholinguistics without being tested in small, multilingual, non-literate speech communities—and which are at variance with the belief and practice in many North Australian communities, where people keep learning new languages right through life ...’ (p. 265). And of course this observation has significant implications for our theories of language acquisition and the cognitive representation of linguistic knowledge. On the other hand, this remark would lose much of its interest if we did not have theories of language acquisition too.

The present volume provides a good overview of the state of the art in fieldwork, and covers a range of topics from the perspectives of different researchers with wide-ranging academic backgrounds and geographical expertise. The combination of practical, academic, and anecdotal topics makes this book approachable, especially if it is not tackled in one go. It will make useful complementary reading in field methods classes. Above all, it provides a visible signal that linguistic fieldwork is important for the field, and an academically and personally worthwhile and enjoyable undertaking.

LUTZ MARTEN

WERNER F. MENSKI:

*Comparative law in a global context: the legal systems of Asia and Africa.*

vi, 590 pp. London: Platinum Publishing Ltd., 2000.

The existence of cultural pluralism, multiple cultural normative orders, the growing force of globalization, the convergence of Western legal cultures, and the increasing importance of universal ‘human rights’ cannot be ignored. However, there remain many questions with no easy answers: should cultural pluralism be translated into legal pluralism and, if so, how? What is the importance of localism, and the relationship of localized globalism to globalized localism? Such questions need to be tackled by legal theory and comparative law. Comparative law has remained until recently rather aloof, hiding behind a Western bias. It has not addressed global concerns and the issues raised by ‘others’ and from a non-Western perspective. Yet these ‘others’ are growing in importance and need to be studied by lawyers who ‘want to remain competitive in a global legal environment’.

Menski’s book provides a welcome marriage of wide-angled comparative

legal studies and legal theory, especially in chapter ii, which should be compulsory reading for all law students; its aim is to equip the lawyers of tomorrow to make better sense of the 'emerging pluralist globalisation patterns'. Though the book is written specifically for students at SOAS, it will be a valuable addition to all comparative law reading lists since it will enable students to view the world in an enlightened and realistic way, even if they are not specifically interested in the legal systems of Asia and Africa. For such students the introduction, chapters i and ii and the concluding analysis would prove invaluable as an awareness-raising exercise.

The book provides extensive references and a full bibliography. There are many direct quotations from varied sources, yet this abundance of quotations is a strength rather than a weakness as the reader gains an insight into the views of important contributors to various of the debates covered in this work.

One may not agree with the suggestion that territoriality of law does not or should not pertain anymore, but one must admit that the future problems such as sustainable diversity in law and the emerging pluralized globalization patterns exposed in this work are of increasing importance. The interdisciplinary analysis offered indicates that in the legal traditions of Asia and Africa the three interacting elements of religion and worldviews, society and its normative orders, and the state and its laws must somehow work together to achieve a balanced and sustainable legal order. The conflict between these elements cannot be resolved by the dominance of more and more state law, but rather by giving credence to social and other extra-legal norms. It is also claimed that a globalized, Western-dominated world law cannot deliver fairness and justice to the people of Asia and Africa, and that there is limited scope for transplants. It may not be true that there is a reverse process of legal reception taking place, but it has to be accepted that only then would there be a true cross-fertilization.

By probing the problems of comparative law, chapter i looks at the difficulties faced by those providing a global legal education. The author approaches comparative law from a global perspective and presents various models with a critical evaluation of the place of the current 'world-history approach' for a globally focused legal education.

Chapter ii is concerned with reflections on law, bringing a legal theory and comparative jurisprudence angle. It is of necessity more Eurocentric than other chapters. The author suggests that today legal pluralism and not just diversity of legal rules should be treated as central to global legal studies. In this context a number of theories of law are expounded, in order to give a basic grounding in different approaches and concepts.

The following four chapters focus on major Asian and African legal systems and jurisdictions, emphasizing their unique features.

Chapter iii demonstrates how the term 'Hindu law', though making claims to be global, hides a large variety of differences and that state law is virtually absent in the face of traditional orders. This chapter introduces the study of a long neglected subject, by concentrating on modern Hindu law on its own terms as well as on the rich conceptual characteristics of this tradition.

Muslim law is the subject of chapter iv. Again the reader is introduced to a legal family with immense internal diversity. These belief systems are also analysed in relation to the secularization efforts of the globalizing forces of the modern conception of democracy. The two examples examined and contrasted are Turkey and Pakistan.

Chapter v looks at African law. This is presented as a large family with no centralizing political or religious forces. The author states that the study

of this family is the most challenging, as there are no African universals. The African tradition is largely oral but has been driven into hiding by the colonial agenda and Christian and Muslim infiltration. It is also noted that there is need for further research on all aspects of African laws.

Chinese law is the subject of chapter vi: this must be understood as 'a historically grown and immensely complex amalgam of many different legal systems over time and space'. Though classical Chinese law appears to display rigid uniformity, the state law has covered customary laws thinly. Menski claims that there are parallels with classical Hindu law, traditional African law and Muslim laws; the shared element of all traditional legal systems being the existence of a superior but remote state legal system. We are reminded that the emphasis of modern studies of Chinese law is business-driven and centres on commercial legal developments, good governance and human rights rather than how China has borrowed and adapted legal concepts over a long period of time. Competing diversities deserve more attention than is presently given.

Finally there is an illuminating concluding analysis. Here again, the idea of 'one global law, a world law that would apply to all' is challenged and opposed, since all legal systems are culturally specific and plurally constructed. Menski criticizes conventional comparative law methodology for failing to address these issues and advocates regional specialism. We cannot be satisfied with an unidirectional focus or with studying state-law alone.

Menski notes that further legal systems, such as those of Japan and the Central Asian republics, could have been examined and that these may be added in future editions of the work. This reviewer believes that what has been achieved thus far is remarkable and ambitious. Readers who get the flair of such diverse traditions and systems as presented here, will undoubtedly look further themselves.

ESIN ÖRÜCÜ

S. SUGIYAMA and LINDA GROVE (ed.):

*Commercial networks in modern Asia.*

xiii, 270 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £50.

The title of this collection of essays is rather misleading. The definition of Asia is curiously skewed towards the continent's eastern rim, for the focus is squarely on the China Sea, possibly reflecting the fact that most of the authors are Japanese or work in Japan. Moreover, the term 'modern' means the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There is also a slightly dated feel to the essays, as the research mainly dates back to the early 1990s. Although laudable efforts have been made to bring the material up to date, the editors' reference to explaining the 'secrets of Asian success' rings hollow in the aftermath of the 1997 South East Asian crisis and the bursting of the Japanese bubble. The maps are generally good, but more detail would have been helpful on Korea and Taiwan. The index is skimpy and there is no consolidated bibliography.

Despite these drawbacks, this is a volume which makes a real contribution to a developing debate. In examining trading firms and networks, the editors distinguish between formal and informal circuits. Although the distinction is easier to make in theory than in practice, it serves a clear heuristic purpose. Informal networks were personal or familial, transient, and private. However,

Sugiyama and Grove seem unaware that many Western networks were of this nature, even when they masqueraded under the institutional form of the joint-stock company. Formal networks, including new transport technologies and financial institutions, were impersonal, long lasting and open to collective use. They were largely created by the West, or in imitation of the West, and yet they came to serve Asian merchants as much as they did Western ones. From this perspective, the collection follows the pioneering lines traced by Sugihara, Hamashita, Akita and their circle. However, the editors seem unable to decide whether the relation between Western and Asian merchants was primarily competitive or co-operative. This appears to be a false problem, deriving from some residue of dependency theory. More interesting would be to question whether firms with influence over the state were noticeably more inefficient than those without.

While the essays differ greatly in scope and focus, some common themes are worthy of notice. The emphasis on internal trade is especially welcome. The spotlight moves from import-export firms to wholesale and retail ones in essays by Tanimoto on Japan, Kimura on Korea, Grove on north China, and Miki on Bengal. Kagotani's concern with Japanese commercial strategies for importing raw cotton from India begins to fill a black hole in the analysis of commodity chains. The stress on north Chinese diasporas, as in Furuta's chapter on Korea, helps to right the balance with the much better known south Chinese groups. A number of ideas also appear in an as yet undeveloped form, hopefully pointing the way to further research. Post's essay could serve to stimulate more work on Western traders as diasporas, although some of his most interesting information is tucked away in one of the most gargantuan end notes this reviewer has ever encountered. It would be worth extending the exploration of the correlation between trade and the growth or decline of manufacturing, notable in chapters by Sugiyama on sugar, Cochran on medicines, and Sakamoto on silk. Cochran's emphasis on the precocious role of advertising for pharmaceutical products would also be worth following up. More could have been made of the adaptation of premodern transport systems to steam technology, though Grove has a nice vignette of camel caravans reaching Tianjin, Lin notes the interplay between steamers and junks in Taiwan, and Sakamoto charts the evolution of camel and mule caravans from Iran to the Black Sea. Hamashita suggests that China was more commercially exploitative of Korea than the West or Japan prior to 1895, but fails to follow this up with a more general, and long overdue, critique of Chinese imperialism. Fok notes that Chandler's definitions do not fit Chinese firms, while holding back from a full frontal attack. Perhaps some of these notions will germinate in future workshops and conferences organized by the productive Japanese school of intra-Asian trade.

W. G. CLARENCE-SMITH

ÉTIENNE DE LA VAISSIÈRE:

*Histoire des marchands Sogdiens.*

(Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises,

Vol. XXXII.) 413 pp. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2002.

When the *Cambridge history of early Inner Asia* appeared in 1990, despite its mention of individual Sogdians such as Maniakh, ambassador on behalf of

his Turkish masters to Byzantium, no attempt was made to give a concerted account of Sogdian activities across the transcontinental trade routes of Asia, since its essays had been written at a time when scholarship on the Sogdian presence was not yet plentiful enough for a reasonable synthesis. Thanks not only to the further work of historians studying the areas such as China, where Sogdian traders had a considerable cultural impact, but also to the continuing efforts of scholars such as Nicholas Sims-Williams and Yoshida Yutaka working with surviving Sogdian materials, these so far unsung heroes of early Asian economic life have at last found their due in the work under review, a monograph which, while not seeking to compile all the information we now have about the Sogdians in history, still provides an account of their trading networks that will become essential reading for future researchers in any number of different fields.

The ample bibliography, however, attests that this synthesis has not lightly been achieved: sources and studies in a good number of Asian and European languages only go to show how far the ramifications of the Sogdian trading network can take the researcher. Not that the author finds it to be a network of any great antiquity: the fact that the Sogdian Letters, first securely dated by W. B. Henning in this *Bulletin* in 1948, appear to refer to Changan by the name of its predecessor, Xianyang, only shows in his view that, like the name for China itself, later visitors picked up terminology first put into non-Chinese currency by the Xiongnu some five centuries earlier—and, one might add, in the case of the word ‘China’ we do have evidence from the intervening period, but for Xianyang in the guise of Khumdan (the name for Changan in the Letters) there is no other evidence at all for the entire half millennium. There is, however, evidence for Sogdian activity older than the Letters, though confusingly enough it points to maritime trade through India and South East Asia, which brought the early Sogdian Buddhist missionary Kang Senghui to China in the third century C.E. Since that maritime trade seems to have involved the export of Inner Asian horses, it is mildly surprising that the author did not call upon R. Chakravarti’s note in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 422, 1999, pp. 194–211, which helpfully locates the early evidence within current research into its later manifestations.

Such omissions would, however, seem to be rare, with the balance of this section giving a particularly thorough treatment of the context of the Letters, before the story of Sogdian activity before, during and after the early Turkish empires is described in further parts of the monograph. The final part covers the break-up of the network towards the end of the first millennium C.E., as the division of Inner Asia between an Islamic and non-Islamic zone for a while caused a reorientation of the Sogdians in each half towards the locally dominant culture. The pattern of assimilation would seem to be of a piece with that observed by Chinese scholars of the Indo-Scythians (Yuezhi), whom Chinese genealogical sources show to have been absorbed into their surroundings at the same point, to judge from *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu jikan* 3, 1986, pp. 144–60. In the longer term, however, the old trading links may well have been reasserted within a new cultural situation: at any rate, some of the Muslim merchants of Zaytun on the thirteenth-century China coast hailed originally not from such likely places as Basra, but from Bukhara, once an important Sogdian base. Indeed, the author makes a good point on p. 9 in suggesting that a persistent cosmopolitanism in the region encouraged the appearance in what is now to us a rather remote part of the world of major thinkers, such as Avicenna, to mention but the best known of them.

And though his aside is somewhat unusual in a work primarily devoted to



the description of long-term economic structures, one might well think that the most lasting contributions made by the Sogdians lay not in economic but in religious life—even if the two are, of course, always closely intertwined. The importance of the network studied to the spread of Nestorianism and Manichaeism is already well known, but the successes of those faiths turned out to be relatively ephemeral. By contrast, it is not just that at the height of the international age of Buddhism many great figures in East Asia turn out to be at least partly Sogdian—not only Amoghavajra, as noted here, but also Fazang (643–712) and, if the author is right, *contra* A. Forte, in suspecting that claims to Parthian descent via An Shigao, founding father of Chinese Buddhism, cannot always be taken at face value, then maybe Jizang (549–623) too. Yet more astonishingly, a purely Sogdian monk from Kushaniyya took up residence in the late seventh century at Sizhou, a nodal point on the Chinese transport system, and became the posthumous focus of a cult that in its heyday achieved international fame in East Asia, surviving even the inundation of the cult centre in the seventeenth century, so that the ‘Great Sage of Sizhou’ was certainly still worshipped in the twentieth century and may, for all I know, still be worshipped today.

So this study, equipped as it is with four separate indexes and some very helpful maps, is bound to be widely welcomed. At a time when China, for one, is achieving unprecedented levels of integration into world trade, it is worth remembering that international trade in the past often brought with it great cultural enrichment, and that the type of xenophobia touched upon in the final part of the work was no more than the temporary by-product of the dislocation of a transcontinental trading network of remarkable resilience and sophistication. Today we should certainly remember the Sogdians, and support all those who seek to reveal their achievements in the way that the volume under review has done.

T. H. BARRETT

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#### SHORT NOTICES

THOMAS F. MADDEN (ed.):

*The Crusades: the essential readings.*

(Blackwell Essential Readings in History.) xii, 276 pp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2002. £16.99.

Students will find this book of value in two respects. Dr Madden, who is Associate Professor of History at St Louis University, has assembled twelve contributions by leading contemporary historians of the subject, including such names as those of Jonathan Riley-Smith, Norman Housley and Nikita Elisséeff. These articles, which are all in English, are grouped under three headings: ‘What were the Crusades?’, ‘Who were the Crusaders?’; and ‘Impact of the Crusades on the East’. They are drawn from collaborative works and learned journals, which may not be generally or easily accessible. One of particular interest to this reviewer is Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘The subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant’, which gathers its scattered data from a wide range of sources, and presents a comprehensive, if inevitably patchy, survey of its subject. These articles are preceded by the editor’s introduction, which offers an up-to-date overview of changing perspectives on

the Crusades and developments in the field from the 1960s, summarizing the work covered in each of the three aspects treated in the articles. There is a scattering of misprints in the book, which should be caught in a second printing. In Kedar's article, for example, readers may be puzzled by a certain Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ḥammūd (*sic.*, p. 252), whose patronymic should read b. Ḥammūd. This is perhaps carping criticism of a welcome and useful volume.

P. M. HOLT

RAYMOND CHANG and MARGARET SCROGIN CHANG:

*Speaking of Chinese: a cultural history of the Chinese language.*

ix, 197 pp. New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2001. £9.95.

This little paperback is a revised reissue of a volume first published almost a quarter of a century ago, in 1978. One can see why there is still a need for it: my own copy of the first edition disappeared long ago, lent to a composer who wanted a singer to know something about the type of language represented by some Chinese poetry he had set to music. I doubt, too, that in an age when international awareness of the importance of Chinese has increased markedly this new edition will remain in my hands for long. While it has been in my possession, however, I have had the chance to remind myself that for all its utility this was never an entirely perfect source for someone seeking rapid, readily palatable information on what in the past was seen as a somewhat recondite topic. Quite apart from the simplifying statements that are inevitable in a work of this nature, a worrying number of misprints obtrude: *gingsuan* for *qingsuan* (p. 73), *muqing* for *muqin* (p. 84), 'Chilin' for 'Jilin' (p. 90), and *Gingming* for *Qingming* (p. 103) all leap to the eye. The historical section sketching the background to Chinese in the age of computing that now forms a rewritten chapter vi also exhibits some unfortunate errors: Yasin Ashuri has shown in a number of publications, for example, that medieval Uighur typography was not, contrary to what is said on p. 123, based on whole word units, while a little rewriting on p. 124 would have eliminated the suggestion that printing presses were reintroduced to China from the West, when the authors are clearly aware that the use of a press for printing was originally unknown in China. They are also probably a little too gloomy over the impact of word processing on calligraphic standards—Ye Mengde (1077–1148) was scathing about the impact of printing on the handwriting of young persons formerly forced to submit to the discipline of long hours copying out books properly, yet somehow China survived. One hopes, in any case, that the next edition of this handy and largely reliable work, whether it takes decades to appear or not, will be prepared with more of an eye to catching palpable printing errors, even if in the mean time the authors' fears over the decline in the quality of Chinese handwriting are substantiated.

T. H. BARRETT

TADEUSZ SKORUPSKI:

*The Six Perfections.*

(Buddhica Britannica, Series Continua IX.) xxi, 145 pp. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2002.

One cannot but admire a publication that quite consciously has no truck with the demands of any research assessment exercise, and implicitly does little to

accommodate the alternative demands of the textbook market either. For on the very first page of the preface (p. vii), the author makes it clear that his work is simply an abridgement in English of part of E. Lamotte's massive but still incomplete French translation of the Chinese *Da Zhidu lun*, itself (as it would seem) the translation of a massive Sanskrit work of exegesis on the Wisdom literature of Mahayana Buddhism. At the same time, though the origin of this abridgement in the needs of teaching is also made clear on the same page, no effort has been made to target this work at a mass market, despite its obvious utility. What is contained between these covers is, after all, an authoritative or at least deeply learned statement from an authentic source of the Mahayana position on the goals of the religious life in this world, the perfection of six spiritual qualities, here rendered as generosity, morality, patience, energy, absorption and wisdom. Thus students are enabled to move beyond the few pages on this topic that may be found in general surveys on Buddhism, yet they are not obliged, even if they read French, to try to tackle the strong meat of the doctrine contained in Lamotte's scholarly study, which piles upon the frequently discursive erudition of the original author the benefits of his own wide reading in the relevant surviving sources. After the excision of the more discursive passages reflecting the idiosyncrasies of the original, a certain amount of Lamotte's annotation is preserved, but primarily that which is illustrative of the relationship of Mahayana thought to earlier forms of Buddhism—again, no doubt, an editorial decision governed by pedagogical considerations. Thus a considerable degree of editorial judgement has been involved, and something more than that in the seven pages of the 'Introduction', which summarize rather than abridge the relevant earlier portions of the *Da Zhidu lun*, the contents of which form a necessary background for understanding the main translated passages. Other signs of 'value added' may also be discovered, despite the author's modesty: p. 52, n. 8, for example, appears to give a cross-reference to a portion of Lamotte's translation that was only published later, so that it cannot in fact render verbatim the Belgian scholar's original footnote, while the presence of an eleven page index—an aid to study that users of Lamotte's original would have greatly appreciated—at least means that students should be able to find their way rapidly round this abridgement. Since the author apparently has translated most of Lamotte's work on this source in an abridged form, we can only hope that sales of this little work will justify the publication of further selections. If, however, I could make one plea, it would be that since it is primarily students from East Asia rather than Europe who find French entirely impenetrable, Lamotte's practice of adding marginal cross-references to the Chinese text be maintained—after all, for those who have some inkling of the wording of the original underlying Lamotte's French, it may be useful to check on what has in effect become a double translation of a text, especially when its lost initial language has ended up at three linguistic removes from what is published in the work under review.

T. H. BARRETT

EDWIN G. PULLEYBLANK:

*Central Asia and non-Chinese peoples of ancient China.*

(Variorum Collected Studies Series CS731.) xii, 312 pp. Aldershot:

Ashgate, 2002. £57.50.

This companion volume to the earlier collection of articles in the same series on Tang and pre-Tang China from one of our School's most distinguished

alumni in sinology ranges yet more widely, from the earliest times on to about a millennium ago, though the emphasis here is more strongly on matters of language than on history. The mention of Central Asia in the title, as explained on the first page of the preface (p. vii), does reflect one of the author's abiding concerns since his SOAS days, but there is plenty on other linguistic phenomena around the periphery of China, most notably in the remarkable *tour d'horizon* that constitutes the third essay included here, and in the more recent and very challenging elaboration of some of its suggested reasons for seeing Austroasiatic languages as originally extending far up the eastern seaboard of China that now appears as the sixth essay. Nor should the adjective 'Ancient' be taken to indicate a restriction of content in such pieces to the era now generally indicated by the label 'Early China', since in the fifth essay, for example, there is much that may be learned about the linguistic and ethnic background of a well known figure from the later, Buddhist, period of Chinese history, the famous monk and miracle worker Liu Sahe. As ever in the Variorum project, an index provides a helpful additional key to almost fifty years of detailed and wide ranging scholarship, and while there is doubtless much more to come, perhaps the synthesis of a large amount of the author's work on the Chinese language itself within the series of monographs that he has already published from British Columbia and elsewhere over the past couple of decades will mean that his periodical articles on these topics may not be collected in the same way. If so, then the last sentence of the final essay here forms a fitting conclusion to this phase in the consolidation of his remarkable contributions to research so far: 'There is no doubt that the political exigencies of the present are more immediate and pressing for those caught up in them but it is to be hoped that scholars of all backgrounds can take a longer and more dispassionate view and realize that as human beings we are a single, very recent species in the evolution of life on the planet even though we are divided by superficial differences of race, language and belief systems and that we have a common interest in understanding our past as fully and dispassionately as possible'. And surely these words, written with the authority of such a long and distinguished career behind them, may serve too as an introduction for new generations to the many riches that may be found in the rigorous, judicious, painstaking yet profoundly humanistic writings of Edwin G. Pulleyblank.

T. H. BARRETT