

## REVIEWS

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### THE ANCIENT WORLD

JOHN DAVID HAWKINS:

*Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions: Volume I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age.*

(Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft, 8.1.) xxx, 639 pp; 333 plates; 1 map. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2000. €998.

The publication of the first volume of the *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions* fills a serious gap and is therefore very welcome. It is part of an even larger project: Volume II, published by Halet Çambel, contains the photographs of the KARATEPE-ASLANTA<sup>a</sup> inscriptions and the edition with commentary of the Phoenician text of the bilingual. The plan for Volume III, as announced by the author (p. 23), is to provide coverage of the Empire period inscriptions and to add to the edition a glossary, a signary, further indexes and perhaps a sketch of the grammar of Hieroglyphic Luwian.

The present three-part volume contains an introduction, the main section presenting the texts and finally the indexes. The introduction (pp. 1–37) begins with general remarks, followed by a useful account of the discovery, publication and the long process of decipherment of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. The corpus is then defined and the rationales for the arrangement of the inscriptions (according to epigraphic centres) and their presentation are explained. This is followed by the principles of transliteration and several appendixes, two of which are on the problematic signs \*448 and \*462. In the main part (pp. 38–591 plus the plates in Part 3) the author supplies photographs for each inscription (in most cases taken by himself); a copy drawn either from the original or from a squeeze or photograph; information about location, object, discovery, prior publications, editions in transliteration, translations, and excerpts; a summary of the content; and information about the date. The author gives the text in his own transliteration and translation with a detailed commentary on both. Finally, various lists, concordances and an index of words are added. The latter is particularly useful, referring as it does to many valuable discussions of lexical and grammatical issues incorporated in the commentary.

From the description just given it is already possible to infer the most impressive characteristic of the *Corpus*: its completeness. The project has been in preparation for a very considerable length of time, starting in the 1960s with numerous journeys to Turkey, Syria and various museums in Europe and the USA. After constant work on the inscriptions over a period of more than twenty-five years, the author produced a draft of the *Corpus* in 1990. Further corrections were submitted up until 1998, including new material, e.g. the inscription TELL AHMAR 5. The author has undertaken the whole process of dealing with a given text—from taking the photographs to writing the commentary, which itself not infrequently includes aspects of historical or linguistic interpretation. Since these various stages of work on the texts necessarily interact, the *Corpus* profited immensely from the fact that it was

produced as a unified whole by a single scholar. This has led to a remarkably fine piece of scholarly achievement and, for that matter, of book printing by the publisher de Gruyter.

In theory, one might have felt slightly uncomfortable about the very fact that the entirety of this heterogeneous task was in a single man's hands. But since the author's policy is to make the evidence available and to indicate specifically what remains doubtful, it is now up to future scholarship to check and, if necessary, to correct the judgements put forward here. To be sure, it is only very rarely that the reader is not informed of differing opinions or the reasons that have led the author to the decisions he has made.

Thanks to the *Corpus*, material that has until recently been published only incompletely and disparately, very often in out-of-date editions, has now been made available to scholars of Near Eastern studies and comparative philology with their diverse historical and linguistic interests. This is all the more important, since the texts contain information, to mention just a couple of points, about the transitional stage in the history of North Syria and the south and west of Asia Minor after the fall of the Hittite Empire around 1200 B.C., and about the geography of that area—which, in turn, touches upon the vexed problem of Troy. In the fields of comparative philology and, more specifically, of Anatolian historical linguistics, the evidence of other 'minor' Anatolian languages has become increasingly well known and important in the past two decades. With the *Corpus* we have now the prerequisite for the same development in the case of Hieroglyphic Luwian. The material of this language, which has—to the detriment of the field—been more or less ignored so far, can now be used to refine our understanding of the history of the Anatolian language family. While the value of the *Corpus* for the study of Hieroglyphic Luwian itself cannot be overestimated, neighbouring fields will also profit substantially from this new resource.

If forced, as a reviewer, to criticize the work, one could perhaps point to some examples of problematic linguistic remarks: p. 229, §6 (<“>FLAMMAE(?).SOLwa/i-tú-la-si-pa-wa/i is analysed as *want* + *-ul(i)-* (<\*wal(i)-) + *-asi-*. It is preferable, however, to take this as *want* + *-wa-* + *-al(i)-* or *-alla/i-* + *-assa/i-*, cf. Frank Starke, *Untersuchungen zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 271, 583; p. 468, §§5–7: the suggested etymological connection of *arha lara-* (<lata-) 'flourish, prosper' with Hittite *lazziya-* 'set straight, (midd.) be good' is difficult, inasmuch as the rhotacism presupposes a voiced dental, which would not be reflected as /z/ in Hittite. The different ablaut grades and diverse stem formations that have to be assumed obviously call for comment. P. 450, §6: the evidence for the suggested development ('weakening') of Luwian *k > h* is decidedly slim. In fact, the author himself, together with Anna Morpurgo Davies, diminished it by elucidation of the earlier confusion of the different signs subsumed under \*329: REL (or *kwi/a*) and *hwi/a*, which are now to be distinguished. The other examples of word pairs with allegedly interchanging *k* and *h* have been rejected, and the items attributed to different roots (H. Craig Melchert, 'PIE velars in Luvian', in: C. Watkins (ed.), *Studies in memory of Warren Cowgill (1929–1985)*. Berlin and New York, 1987, p. 187). The same should probably be done with *sargiya-/sarku-* and *sarhiya-/sarhunt-*. Hittite *sarku-* 'mighty' can be an epithet of various gods and is by no means restricted to the god Ea. The basis for the equation with *sarhunt-*, which is perhaps another name of Ea in ÇYFTLYK §6, is thus further weakened.

It should be noted, however, that the author has never claimed to be a historical linguist, and that his synchronic linguistic analyses are precise and

well-founded. In fact, one of the outstanding and commendable characteristics of the author's work in general is his preference for the combinatory method over the etymological, which lends his results their notable reliability.

To sum up, one can only congratulate author and publisher on this masterpiece.

ELISABETH RIEKEN

SALLY M. FREEDMAN:

*If a city is set on a height: the Akkadian omen series Šumma Alu ina melê sak.*

(Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 17.)  
viii, 361 pp. Philadelphia, PA: The Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, The University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1998.

The publication of the text of this important omen series is a welcome event, since the text is of interest to Assyriologists as well as to scholars working on omen literature in other cultures. The material has pertinent counterparts in the Classical world as well as in the Babylonian Talmud, and a modern edition and translation of these omens will encourage future work in this area. The texts reveal important aspects of Mesopotamian psychology and world view, as well as a type of pseudo-scientific thinking which provides a type of 'database' of phenomena which relate to events in everyday life. Although to us the logic employed may seem fallacious, i.e. *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, these omens do nevertheless represent an attempt to systematize and categorize observation and interpret phenomena, and this process eventually expresses itself in more traditional scientific thinking (in modern terms).

The edition is not, however, flawless, since there are no copies of any of the ancient sources, in order to check readings, nor is there a philological commentary. The present reviewer has not collated any of the sources or verified readings, since other reviews will be doing so. The attempt here is to draw attention to related material which could be useful for future studies of Šumma Alu.

The copy of the tablet edited below is a fragment of Šumma Alu from a part of the series which remains to be edited, dealing with omens derived from human behaviour. The bulk of the tablet (K 6759) was copied by R. Campbell Thompson in *Assyrian medical texts* (Oxford, 1923), No. 66, 2, as a possible medical text, but the text turns out to be an exemplar of Šumma Alu and was partially edited by A. L. Oppenheim and F. Köcher in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18 (1957/58), 74. Another fragment (K 14548) was subsequently joined, and a fresh examination of the tablets by the present reviewer shows that the joined tablet (K 6759 + 14548) belongs to the reverse of K 4134, another fragment of Šumma Alu (cf. AfO 18 74).

K K 6759 + 14548 [(+) K 4134 = AMT 65, 4]

1' diš mí *i-na* ki.n[ú] .....

diš nita *u* mí *i-na* ki.[nú] .....] ṛx x *nap* [...

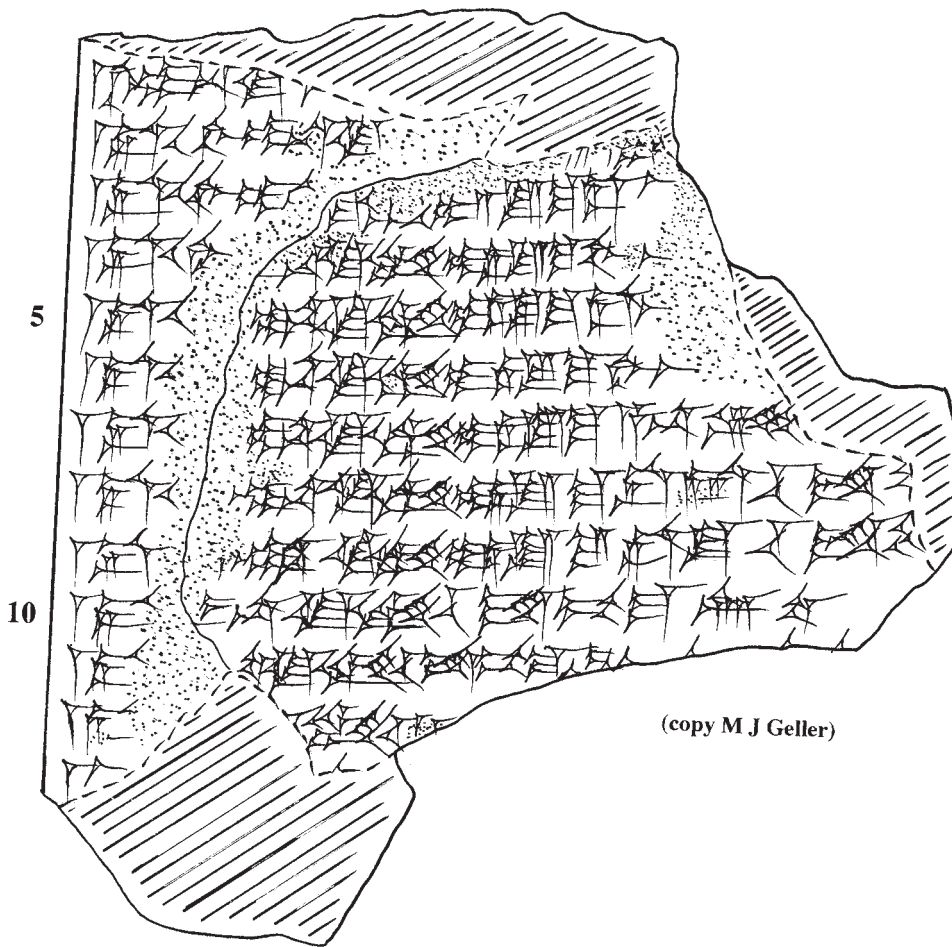
diš nita *u* mí *i-na* ki.nú *i-ni-lu-ma* nita *ina* [...

diš nita *u* mí ṛ*i-na* ki.nú *i-ni-lu-ma* mí *ina* [...

5 diš nita *u* mí *i-na* ki.nú *i-ni-lu-ma* nita *ina* [...

diš nita *u* mí *i-na* ki.nú *i-ni-lu-ma* mí *ina* [...

**K 6759 + 14548 [(+) K4134]**



(copy M J Geller)

- diš nita u mí *i-na* ki.nú *i-ni-lu-ma a-na gil-[la-ti i-pu-šu (?)* ....  
 diš nita u mí *i-na* ki.nú *i-ni-lu-ma nita kaš-šú it-b[u-uk* ....  
 diš nita u mí *i-na* ki.nú *i-ni-lu-ma nita šè-šú it-t[e-ez-zi* ....  
 10 diš nita u mí *i-na* ki.nú-šú *it-bi-ma ru-tú [i-ret* ....  
 diš nita *i-na* ki.nú-šú *it-bi-ma* x x x [.....  
 diš ni[ta *i-n*]a ki.nú-šú x [.....  
 diš n[ita *i-na* ki.n]ú [.....
- 1 If a woman [...] in bed [.....  
 If a man and woman [lie] in bed ....[.....  
 If a man and woman lie in bed and the man .. [.....  
 If a man and woman lie in bed and the woman .. [.....
  - 5 If a man and woman lie in bed and the man..[.....  
 If a man and woman lie in bed and the woman ..[.....  
 If a man and woman lie in bed and [committed] a sin (?) [.....  
 If a man and woman lie in bed and the man dribbles urine [.....  
 If a man and woman lie in bed and the man voids excrement [.....

- 10 If a man or woman has sex in bed and [spits out] spittle, [to the right or left ...  
 If a man has sex in bed ... [.....  
 If a man [...] in bed [.....  
 If a man [..... in] bed [.....

## Notes:

- 3 Oppenheim and Köcher read the verb here as *i-šal-lu-ma* (AfO 18 74 n. 32), although the better reading (from a root \**nīl*) is found in CAD N/1 204.  
 8 The restoration *it-b[u-uk]* (see AfO 18 74 n. 32) is substantiated by a late Uruk commentary to Šumma Alu, E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* (Berlin, 1983), II No. 36: 16, which reads *ina ugu lú kàš-šú it-bu-uk*.  
 9 The restoration of the verbal form is supported by a passage from the same section of Šumma Alu, which reads *diš ki.min (=na ina šalālišu) šè-šú iz-zi*, ‘if a man in his sleep voids excrement’; see K 8821: 10’, AfO 18 74. The form of *itezzi* occurs in the same Uruk commentary cited above, *i-te-ez-zi = šá ze-e id-dip*, ‘void=it blows out, referring to excrement’, see von Weiher, SBTU II No. 36: 19.  
 10 *ru-tú [... i-ret]*; see CAD R 300. The obverse of our tablet, K 4134 reads: *diš na ina ša-la-li-šú ru-’-ta-šú ana zag [i-ret...]*, *diš na ina ša-la-li-šú ru-’-ta-šú ana gùb [i-ret ...]*, ‘if a man, when lying down, spits out spittle to the right [...], ‘if a man, when lying down, spits out spittle to the left [...].’

In addition to the above text, the present edition of Šumma Alu can be profitably used for comparative purposes, when looking for similar types of omen literature in other sources, such as in the Babylonian Talmud. One can find similar types of omens in Hebrew in the Babylonian Talmud, which probably indicates the widespread use of such omens in Palestine before being brought back to Babylonia in a late form.

Our Rabbis taught: A soothsayer is one who says: One’s bread has fallen out of his hand; his staff has fallen out of his hand; his son calls to him from behind; a raven calls out to him, a deer has stopped in his path; a serpent is on his right side; a fox is on his left side. b. Sanh. 65b:

These omens are cited in the Babylonian Talmud as originating in Palestine, and hence they appear in Hebrew. These omens relate to certain types of Šumma Alu omens from animal behaviour which were widely disseminated in Akkadian sources, even being quoted in official letters, see Freedman, 9ff. The omens in the Talmud, in Hebrew rather than Aramaic, may indicate that omen literature was widely known in late antiquity, both in Mesopotamia proper and further west.

A second group of Talmud omens refer to different postures of the corpse at the time of death, which related to Tablet 21 of Šumma Alu (see Freedman, 307–19). The Hebrew text cited in b. Ket. 103b lists various portentous situations at death: if when a man dies, his face is turned upwards or downwards, facing the public or a wall, is green or red, dies on the Sabbath or on Yom Kippur, or dies of diarrhoea—all these signs are listed as either good or bad omens. This literature probably originated in Akkadian, as Šumma Alu-type omens, spread to the West and returned to Babylonia centuries later in the form of wisdom literature from Palestine.

Despite the flaws, the scholarly world is most grateful to the author for producing an edition of Šumma Alu omens and we look forward to future publications of the remainder of this very important series of omen literature.

M. J. GELLER

CHRISTOPHER WALKER and MICHAEL DICK:

*The induction of the cult image in ancient Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamian Mīs Pī ritual.*

(State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts, 1.) vii, 267 pp., CD.

Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki, 2001. \$75.

*The induction of the cult image in ancient Mesopotamia* opens a new sub-series of the highly successful State Archives of Assyria series published by the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project in Helsinki. The aim of this sub-series is to provide scholars with critical text editions that present central pieces of Mesopotamian cuneiform literature.

One of these central literary texts is the present ritual order and incantation handbook whose publication has been long awaited by Assyriologists, and which has been now made available by Christopher Walker and Michael Dick. The surviving texts document the making, consecration and inauguration of the divine statue in Assyria and Babylonia. They form, thus, one of our most important sources for the human creation of the divine image—a Mesopotamian concept that has become the object of one of the most profound mockeries and derisions of Judaism towards the neighbouring Assyrian and Babylonian civilizations.

The main body of the book under review consists of transliteration and translation of those cuneiform texts pertaining to the so-called ‘mouth-washing ritual’. The translation is accompanied throughout by commentaries of a primarily philological nature. The cuneiform texts are presented on a CD-ROM in photographic form. Most of the reproductions are of good quality, only few are difficult to read. An introduction comprising information about the contextual setting and development of the ritual order precedes the philological commentaries.

The Mesopotamian ritual which, in antiquity was known by several titles, is usually referred to as *Mīs pī*, ‘washing of the mouth’. In its basic form it involved washing the statue’s mouth which took place on the first day. Since the divine image had previously been manufactured by skilled workmen these rites aimed to purify the cult image from any human contamination. The mouth-washing rites were followed on the second day by the so-called ‘opening of the mouth’ ritual, Akkadian *Pīt pī*. The performance of these rites was believed to enable the statue to function as a deity. Thus, the mouth-opening would define and reaffirm the full extent of the cosmic community of the divine image.

Ritual proceedings, as well as the underlying concept of a cult image as divine manifestation, have recently been the focus of several studies (see, e.g., A. Berlejung’s *Die Theologie der Bilder* (Fribourg, 1998) or P. J. Boden’s *The Mesopotamian washing of the mouth (Mī Pī) ritual*, (PhD dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1998) and is discussed by the present authors in their work ‘The induction of the cult image in Ancient Mesopotamia’, published in M. B. Dick (ed.), *Born in heaven, made on earth* (Winona Lake, IN, 1999), 55–121.

The present book offers all available sources for reconstructing the liturgical order of the ritual as well as the wording of the incantations belonging to the lateit cult. Most of the incantations are bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian while a few are unilingual Sumerian, which speaks, as the authors point out (p. 18), for the antiquity of the ritual. Although the date of the rites is uncertain, it is reasonable to suppose that some part of the

texts may go back to incantations dating to the third millennium B.C.E. The texts treated in the present volume have been unearthed at Nineveh, Assur, Sultantepe, Hama, Babylon, Sippar, Nimrud, and Uruk. They date from the eighth century B.C.E. to the second century B.C.E.

The authors offer first a treatment of the two so-called ritual tablets from Nineveh and Babylon, which give the order of spells quoted by their incipit. These incantations are accompanied by short instructions for their recitation. Secondly, we find the edition of the incantation handbook giving the full wording of the spells. Here, the authors note that there have been several versions circulating in Babylonia and in Nineveh differing in size as well as in content. In Babylonia there seems to have been a handbook of at least five chapters in use, whereas at Nineveh we find two compendia of six and eight chapters, respectively.

It should be noted that none of the incantation tablets preserves the order stipulated by either ritual order tablet, nor do the ritual order tablets quote all the incantations spelled out in the handbooks. As the authors argue (p. 17), it seems that the ritual was in a state of continuous development since a canonical order had not been settled.

It may also be possible to assume that some logically necessary or deliberate variation is due to the performers. Furthermore, as far as the single rites of mouth-washing and mouth-opening are concerned, three professionals were able to perform the ritual: the *āšipu*, expert in magical lore, would celebrate the ritual when the cult statue was first manufactured; the *kalû*, expert in cultic lore, would perform it when the divine image was restituted; and, finally, the *bārû*, expert in operational divinatory practices, when the ability for oracles had to be confirmed (cf. pp. 15–6).

Speaking about ancient Mesopotamian rituals we must also consider one of the constitutive features of ritual, the act of performance. It may seem absurd to stress this aspect but since there is often an inflation of the term ‘ritual’ it seems necessary to insist on paying heed to its usage. The Babylonian and Assyrian ‘rituals’ have come down to us in the form of descriptions of rituals or instructions for performing them. They are liturgical orders being inscribed on what in Assyriology are called ritual tablets, but such records do not themselves represent rituals. Only by performing liturgical orders would a ritual be realized and enlivened. The manner of speaking, of gesturing, and of doing is intrinsic to what is being performed. Accordingly, the term ‘liturgical order’ or ‘ritual record’ seems to be preferable.

But this general critique on terminology cannot deter us from our appreciation of the present work. *The induction of the cult image in ancient Mesopotamia* is an excellent book which will prove a valuable resource for any scholar interested in the literary legacy of ancient Mesopotamia, and for this the authors deserve our sincere thanks.

BARBARA BÖCK

BARBARA BÖCK:

*Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie.*

(Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 27.) vii, 348 pp., 32 pls. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2000.

This volume is a revised and expanded version of an award-winning dissertation submitted to the Free University of Berlin in 1996. It seeks to

bring together between the covers of one book the principal sources for the Babylonian practice of observing a person's physiognomy, body shape and behavioural peculiarities in order to determine his character and prospects. In form these texts comprise long lists of protases and apodoses, the conventional Babylonian format for compendia of omens. The texts in question essentially provide an organized treatise on divination by appearance. The corpus has conventionally been known as the 'physiognomic omen texts', but Böck points out that, as a term particular to the face, physiognomy is not the whole subject. She prefers the coinage 'morphoscopic', though conceding that even this does not cover the behavioural omens. But it matches the ancient name of the corpus, which was *Alamdimmû*, a Sumerian loanword into Akkadian meaning something like 'bodily form, physical build'.

The sequence of omen tablets put together three thousand years ago as the series *Alamdimmû* was part of the professional handbook of the ancient Mesopotamian exorcist, and is a typical product of the Babylonian scribal tradition. This tradition, comprising poetic narratives such as the epic of Gilgamesh as well as scholarly and professional literature, is one of the two great literatures of ancient Mesopotamia (the other is Sumerian), that were completely unknown a century and a half ago but are now being recovered for posterity. Like other texts of the Babylonian scribal tradition, *Alamdimmû* is slowly being reconstructed from the shattered remains of ancient libraries. As more and more fragments of cuneiform tablets are sorted and identified in existing museum collections and others come to light in new archaeological excavations in Iraq and neighbouring countries, so new pieces of this and other texts of the tradition steadily accrue. A consequence of the relentless accumulation of new evidence is that editorial work done once needs to be repeated periodically to take account of it. Few texts of the tradition are already complete and it is safe to judge that, if the numbers of active scholars and trained students remain at current levels, the field of Assyriology will remain in this pioneering stage of its development for several centuries to come. The work of these pioneers, however, will eventually come to be recognized as one of the great humanistic achievements of the age.

The corpus of texts here at issue is one that is particularly associated with the late F. R. Kraus, who did much to reconstruct the skeletal remains of *Alamdimmû* and related texts in the 1930s and 40s. Böck takes the process of recovery forward. Published for the first time in her book are some thirty sources, some of them substantial. Among them Late Babylonian pieces outnumber Neo-Assyrian by about two to one, chiefly because of an enormous leap forward in our knowledge of the Late Babylonian collections of the British Museum generated by the publication in the 1980s of Erle Leichty's three invaluable volumes of catalogue. In addition, seven previously unpublished fragments, mostly from Nineveh, have been joined to previously available pieces. Several sources previously available only in cuneiform are treated to their *editio princeps*.

Böck begins her book with five chapters of analysis (Teil I: Studie), starting with a brief introduction (I. Einführung). Apart from explaining the term 'morphoscopic', giving a history of previous scholarship and setting out her aims, this chapter places the corpus against the background of general divination and identifies its place more exactly among those texts that the exorcist used in decoding the signs and warnings hidden by the gods in the environment he lived in. The book continues with a description of the sources as currently extant, a study of the development of the textual tradition in the second millennium B.C., a brief overview of how the series is reconstructed



with the aid of an ancient catalogue and the sources' colophons, and a discussion of how other, similar texts are related to the series proper (II. Quellen).

Considerations of content come next, with the third chapter devoted to a detailed introduction to the different sections of the treatise (III. Inhalt). Here the first concern is the protases of the omens, that is, the observed features of face, body and mannerism, starting with the head and working down to the toes. The protases of related texts dealing with women and marks on the skin are also examined. Attention is then turned to the apodoses, that is, the judgements of character and predictions that attach to each observation. These are listed in tabular form, according to theme. Unlike the predictions for king and state that characterize much other ancient Mesopotamian divination, the protases of the physiognomic omens relate to only private individuals. In addition to reporting a wide range of human characteristics, they give a fascinating insight into the lives and times of ordinary Babylonians, their life-expectancy, prospects of sickness and death, hopes of favour from gods and king, and aspirations for progeny and prosperity.

The chapter continues with brief discussions first of the conceptual connections between protasis and apodosis and then of the behavioural omens and the affinity they exhibit with moralizing literature of the Babylonian 'wisdom' tradition. Remarks on language and spelling conclude the chapter. Chapter 4 deals with the anatomical terminology (IV. Die Nomenklatur der menschlichen Anatomie nach dem morphoskopischen Omenwerk). It is followed by a study of the corpus's function and use (V. Funktionale Analyse). The Babylonians considered facial features, body shape, marks on the skin and behavioural mannerisms to reveal the destiny that the gods had allocated each individual. Böck's thesis is that the physiognomic omens as we know them from the series compiled as *Alamdimmû* were not of interest to the individuals under observation but an essential tool used by court exorcists in determining the suitability of candidates to join the king's entourage. Royal servants had to be free from taint of bad character and favoured with a good destiny if they were not to impair the relations between mortal and divine rulers that in the ideology of the day were a condition of the state's success and well-being. There is no conclusive evidence for Böck's theory, but it fits in with what we know about the superstitions of the neo-Assyrian court, and the role played there by the learned men who, by monopolizing communication with the divine, controlled its activities with a strict protocol.

It does not follow, however, that the older physiognomic compendia served such a narrow function, nor that this was the *raison d'être* of the corpus as a whole, nor its only purpose. Böck raises the question of whether these texts might have played a role in appointing clergy, a body of men in a position as crucial as courtiers to the prospects of divine favour in the public domain, only to dismiss the idea for lack of evidence. When it comes to omens about women, however, she is less demanding. In these the apodoses are much concerned with childbearing and housekeeping, as well as character. Böck sees the context of this part of the corpus as matchmaking. Prospective brides were scrutinized for defects. There is no evidence for this, beyond the contents of the texts themselves, but she is surely right.

The last introductory chapter comprises a brief survey of physiognomic lore in classical, Jewish, eastern Christian and Arabic writers, as well as an all-too-brief discussion of the legacy of Mesopotamia to these later traditions (VI. Ein Blick auf nicht-keilschriftliche morphoskopische Abhandlungen). Here Böck quotes the Syriac scholar Bar-Hebraeus as commenting that the

study of physiognomy is just as useful in choosing a wife as in buying a slave or hiring a servant (p. 68). His remark points to the heart of the matter in my view. One can well imagine well-to-do Babylonians having recourse to the exorcist's special understanding of physiognomy in embarking on countless different undertakings where their well-being and security were entrusted to others. But the corpus surely had a much wider application even than this. Physical characteristics and peculiarities belong with the large mass of unprovoked omens, by which means the Babylonians thought that gods communicated warnings to men. The significance of physiognomic omens as divine communications must have been as great for the individual (as well as his employers) as we know portents of monstrous births, eclipses, earthquakes, etc., were for public life. The difference is that being matters of private concern, the response of the individual to these cryptic communications went undocumented.

Part two of the book is much longer. It presents the sources in transliterated text (Teil II: Textedition). First come the extant sections of the series *Alamdimmû*: the sub-series of the same name containing physiognomic omens, the fragments of behavioural omens, including *Nigdimmû* and *Kataduggû*, the compilation of omens about women's physiognomy, and omens deriving from moles, birthmarks and other blemishes on the skin. There follows the related material: tablets of ancient commentary, supplementary physiognomic omens, tablets of excerpted omens, Old Babylonian antecedents and miscellaneous fragments as yet unplaced in the main series.

The texts are edited in highly economical fashion. Logograms are left in Sumerian; philological notes and critical analysis are relegated to laconic footnotes. Nevertheless, the editions still occupy 251 large-format pages, a testament to the considerable volume of primary sources extant in this field of Babylonian scholarship, as in others. Failure to convert logograms into Akkadian 'normalized' text as a matter of routine is a commonplace economy in editing scientific texts but it can lead to a neglect of grammatical analysis. Two instances of this drawback struck me. The incipit of the sub-series *Šumma liptu* is given in the edition as [DIŠ *liptu*] *ina* SAG.DU LÚ BAR-*ma* GAR [...], and the protasis translated '[Wenn sich ein *liptu*-Fleck] in der Mitte des Kopfes eines Mannes befindet' (pp. 174–5). It is clear from what follows that Böck's translation successfully conveys the meaning of the protasis. However, when the incipit is given as normalized text in the introductory chapters, it is rendered *Šumma liptu ina qaqqad amēli mišlimma šakin* (p. 17). In the absence of any preposition *mišlimma* can hardly be the correct decipherment of BAR-*ma*. One might posit an adverbial accusative *mišla(m)*, but the addition of the enclitic -*ma* cries out for a verb in hendiadys with *šakin*. The likely candidate is *uštamšil-ma*, which occurs in other divinatory protases regarding location of ominous features, notably with *izziz*, where the whole phrase means 'to be present at the halfway point' (cf. *CAD* M/1, 357–8, *šutamšulu*: 'to be equidistant(?)'). The phrase *uštamšil-ma šakin* will mean the mark 'is located in a central position' on a man's face, neither left nor right. The continuation deals with marks on left and right, feature by feature.

A similar problem occurs in the incipit of one of the excerpt tablets, previously published as TBP 25. It reads as follows (p. 288): DIŠ ŠU<sup>d</sup>*iš<sub>8</sub>-tár* šá NÍG.TUKU *ú-šam-ṭa* NA RA ŠU.SI.MEŠ šá ŠU.MIN-šú *bi-ri-tu-ši-na* UZU DIRI-*ma pit-ru ia'-[nu]*, which Böck translates without comment (p. 289), 'Wenn die Hand der Ištar, die Reichtum verringert, einen Menschen schlägt: Die Finger seiner Hände sind in den Zwischenräumen fleischig und

... ist nicht vorhanden'. The second part of the line obviously refers to webbing between the fingers, for it can be rendered literally, 'the fingers of his hands, the gaps between them are filled with flesh and there is no division (*pitru*)'. Even so, this is still a perplexing line, for as it stands there seems to be no apodosis telling us the significance of the webbed fingers. At the same time (even though Böck is in good company here, e.g. *CAD* M/1, 434, *šumtû*) it is unlikely on a tablet from Kuyunjik that *šá NÍG.TUKU ú-šam-ta* (normalized on p. 19: *ša mašrâ ušamta*) can mean 'that diminishes riches', for the verb is not marked by the subjunctive affix required in a relative clause. There are other clues that something is wrong. Mention of the 'hand of Ištar', which signifies an affliction, is strange in a protasis; as a diagnosis it belongs rather in an apodosis. My solution is to suppose that the line is corrupt, with protasis and apodoses (there are two of them) exchanged. Read instead, 'If the gaps between the fingers of his hands are filled with tissue so they are joined together, it is the Hand of Ištar: it will impoverish one who has grown rich (*ša išrû ušamta*), it will afflict a man'.

The book is concluded with useful indexes of logograms and Akkadian words, concordances of sources, a bibliography, and thirty-two plates of splendidly legible cuneiform texts in neat and elegant copies. Böck's book becomes the standard presentation of the corpus of Babylonian physiognomic omens and will assuredly remain so for many years. Assyriology is indebted to her, as too are the humanities generally.

A. R. GEORGE

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#### THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

ALEXANDRA MERLE (ed.):

*Voyage au Levant: les observations de Pierre Belon du Mans de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables, trouvées en Grèce, Turquie, Judée, Égypte, Arabie et autres pays étrangers (1553)*. 607 pp. Paris: Éditions Chandeigne, 2001. €37.50.

This attractively printed, well illustrated and copiously noted text provides a rare insight into the Ottoman world in the mid-sixteenth century. The author was an acute observer of life and customs in the entire region of the Levant which, in this instance, included Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria and Lebanon, the fringes of Arabia and Egypt. However, the sharp eye of Pierre Belon du Mans was not only turned in the direction of human society but also embraced other fields of interest to François Ier.

Pierre Belon was, by inclination, a naturalist. The book under review includes a number of black-and-white prints from the original edition of 1553, showing animals, reptiles, fish, trees and plants. Pierre Belon was also interested in the defence systems of towns and ports, in military prowess and in the attire of cavalry and of footmen of war. On page 297, a bourgeois Cairene is portrayed mounted on horseback with a spear in his hand, whilst his wife accompanies him, heavily veiled, on an ass. On page 389, an Arab from the Holy Land is shown to be heavily armed with a dagger, a sword, a shield and a Tartar-like bow and quiver. The skills of archery and the marked difference in the weaponry and the tactics of bowmen amongst the Orientals

was of much interest to the author, who was well informed in the military skills of each of the nations he describes. On page 398, an Egyptian Circassian Mamluk grandee is shown on horseback looking down on the world and very conscious of his superior status. These, and other illustrations showing Oriental female attire, enhance the text and contrast with the highly detailed and crowd-filled scenes from Thevet's *Cosmographie Universelle*, dated 1575, prints which seem to lack something of the spontaneity of Pierre Belon's detailed impressions of the common people amongst the Oriental societies with whom he came into contact during the course of his journeying.

All the major cities and most of the major Classical, Christian and Muslim sights, shrines and places of pilgrimage are to be found in the pages of books 1 and 2, which are devoted, respectively, to the Greek islands and coasts of the Aegean and Asia Minor, Egypt and the Holy Land, Syria and Lebanon and parts of Anatolia. During the course of this huge itinerary a number of localities are singled out for special notice and the reader is presented with a wealth of detail which can hardly be found in other sources. One recalls the approach which can be found, centuries later, in the writings of F. W. Hasluck, for example, in his *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929). The author's account of the monastic life on Mount Athos during the sixteenth century will come as something of a revelation (pp. 132–54). An ascetic, yet extremely active and vigorous, community of monks numbering five to six thousand, is in sharp contrast to the life which is to be found there today. The monks and the multi-church Orthodox community exerted an enormous influence throughout the Ottoman domains and beyond. The plants on Mount Athos are described in detail. The picturesque appearance of the terrain and the island community at that time is conveyed in a print of Thevet (1575) on page 548.

The passages of text which are concerned with Egypt, Cairo in particular, are very detailed, and the most famous monuments of Egypt are amply discussed. The pyramids, which are mentioned, are not only those at Gizah. The author points out that they are also located in other districts. Pierre Belon was well versed in the classical sources which referred to these monuments. He was impressed by Cairo under the Mamluks and was attracted by the Egyptians, their customs and their character. Another locality of a major religious significance to him was Mount Sinai and its surroundings, including the Monastery of St Catherine. A drawing of the mountain itself, the monastery and the routes leading to its summit is to be found between pages 343 and 345.

Hidden, like nuggets, throughout the narrative are the author's enquiries into legends and legendary sites which came to his ears and to his notice during the course of his travels. Examples of these are: The Golden Fleece, the whereabouts of Prester John and his kingdom and the River of Sambation, which ceased to flow on the Sabbath, a story which has associations with the Alexander Romance. On page 164, he remarks; 'Il est certain que les hommes ont de tout temps cherché l'or, le mieux à propos qu'il leur a été possible. Aussi, l'expérience leur ayant appris que celui qui est mêlé avec le sablon de rivières, étant plus pesant et en si menus grains et délié, va au plus profond et donne peine à le séparer, parquoi s'étant imaginé une industrieuse manière de le trier, l'ont recueilli avec des peaux de moutons à tout la laine'.

There are references to Prester John in three places. On page 167, Pierre Belon includes the domain of Prester John within 'les îles orientales de l'Inde'. He describes the Latin correspondence between him and the King of Portugal who promised him 'un million de dragmes' in order to make war

against the Turks. A subsequent letter, sent five years later, requested the help of skilled goldsmiths from the world of the Christians. On page 379, there is a mention of the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem who are described as 'Indiens', sent from Prester John's kingdom 'et sont forts noirs, appelés Abycini. Et pource qu'ils sont baptisés en feu, ils portent trois brûlures, une entre les deux yeux au-dessus du nez, les deux autres sont près des tempes, et ne sont pas si noirs que les Éthiopiens'. On page 492, the subjects of Prester John are described as Coptic Christians. They are circumcized, including the women, 'car étant la loi telle que les femmes doivent recevoir quelque impression de circoncision, ils leur coupent les parties appelées en grec *hymenea*, en latin *alae*, car ils les trouvent correspondantes au prépuce viril'.

It is curious how legendary stories which occur in north-west Africa in Arabic sources, especially those which occur also in Pseudo-Callisthenes, are sometimes located in sundry places in the Holy Land. Thus, the 'City of Brass' in the deserts of the Furthest Sus of Morocco, is sometimes located near Jericho in a part of the Jordan valley. A similar legend is that of the river of sand, Sambation, which is transported to the region of the Saqiya al-Hamra', but which, in Pierre Belon's narrative, is placed beyond Hebron in the region of the Negev. On page 384, he reports that 'Les Juifs nous voulaient donner à entendre qu'il y a un pays par-delà Hébron, habité de Juifs, dont ils ont nouvelles quand ils veulent, non par les Juifs, mais par autres gens, car il y a un fleuve qui court toujours, hormis que le samedi il se tarit totalement en son lit; mais pource qu'iceux, qui n'osent aller le jour de Samedi, ne peuvent partir de là, et aussi que ledit fleuve n'est navigable, par cel leur convient demeurer et ne se peuvent voir l'un l'autre. Or il est manifeste que cela est mensonge, et qui n'est pas nouveau, car Plinè a écrit chose semblable au chapitre premier du XXXIe livre, disant qu'il y a un ruisseau en Judée qui se tarit tous les jours du Samedi. Mais nous étant en Judée avons su que c'est chose fausse, comme ainsi est ce que plusieurs pensent que les Juifs perdent de leur sang le Vendredi saint. Et nous étant avec eux au Vendredi saint, n'avons onc aperçu qu'ils perdissent sang non plus qu'ès autres jours de la Semaine'.

Book 3, which contains a detailed description of Turkey and the Turks, is the heart of the work. It contains the most substantial record of the author. It is within this part of the voyage that the claims of the Islamic faith, its five pillars and the *Shari'a*, as it is applied in practice, are presented and commented upon. The life of the Prophet is described, in the main objectively. The Christian and the Jewish subjects are not overlooked. The author admired the Turks, especially their tolerance, and this surprised him. He did not overlook their vices, however, for example their addiction to opium. He portrayed the confined life of the Turkish women and the cruelty which was suffered by the categories of slaves. As one might expect, Pierre Belon has much to say about the military skill of the Turks and the beauty and the rich variety of plants and flowers in their gardens. He also admired their arts and craftsmanship. It all adds up to a comprehensive contemporary description of the Ottoman empire at its peak by a sensitive and most observant Frenchman. Yet, compared with the accounts of several of his predecessors and contemporaries there are gaps which are difficult to explain.

Unlike the work of Theodoro Spandugino on the Turks (Florence, 1551) and the fellow Italian Giovan Antonino Genovese da Vultri Menavino (Florence, 1548), and, above all, *Les navigations, pègrinations et voyages, faits en la Turquie*, by Nicolas de Nicolay Daulphinoys, Seigneur d'Arfeuille, Anver, 1576, published over twenty years later than Pierre Belon's journeys,

the latter is remarkably subdued with regard to the activities of the Sufi brotherhoods, more especially the bizarre attire, the self mutilation, the begging and the grotesque appearance of many of the dervishes (see the grotesque reproductions of the plates, in Ahmet T. Karamustafa's *God's unruly friends*, Salt Lake City, 1994, (Reviewed in *BSOAS* 59/1, 1996, 152–3).

Pierre Belon visited Konya (pp. 434–5), yet has nothing to say about Sufism whatsoever. In regard to the dervishes, his remarks are an expression of curiosity rather than shock:

Les Turcs ont quelque manière de gens entre eux nommés dervis, qu'ils estiment du tout innocents et pour religieux, lesquels ils nomment d'un nom qui approche bien près des druids, c'est a savoir les anciens philosophes grecs qui étaient es colonies des Atheniens qui se partirent de Phoecea pour se venir tenir à Marseille, laquelle ils édifièrent. Ces dervis sone communément tout nus tant en hiver comme en été, et ont les bras et la poitrine pleins de cicatrices obliques et de travers, qu'ils se font avec leurs couteaux. Mais ont égard en se coupant de faire la plaie plus souvent en long qu'en travers, car les muscles en sont moins offensés. Ils ne vivent sinon des aumônes que les Turcs leur donnent.

Pierre Belon then adds that the views which were held in regard to the motives behind their conduct and their asceticism hark back to the ancients, men such as Plato and Socrates, who attributed the cause of this to 'mania', arising out of ecstasies which was believed to have been inspired by some divinity or Sybil.

Speaking personally, he then remarks: 'Je ne sais quelle fureur prophetique ou espèce de maine fait qu'ils se découpent ainsi la peau et se brûlent les tempes. Quant a moi, j'estime qu'ils ne sont pas sages'.

This integral edition of the Renaissance text has been attractively printed, well provided with a bibliography, glossary and indexes. Pierre Belon de Mans produced a record which looked forward to the discoveries of Carsten Niebuhr, whose expedition, even though it be ill-fated, to South Arabia (and Egypt and elsewhere in the East), between 1733 and 1815, is characterized by its all-embracing interest in geography, in humanity, in the monuments of the ancients, in natural history and in fauna, all of which enlighten the mind and delight the eye of the curious. In these respects, this volume is an artistic triumph and deserves great success.

H. T. NORRIS

WILLIAM M. BRINNER (translator and annotator):

*'Arā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* or *'Lives of the Prophets'* as recounted by *Abū Ishāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tha'labī*. (Studies in Arabic Literature, Supplements to the Journal of Arabic Literature edited by Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, XXIV.) xxxiii, 772 pp. Leiden, Boston and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 2002. €176.

By far the most popular work of its genre, *'Arā'is al-majālis* ('The Brides of Sessions') of al-Tha'labī (d. 427/1035) has been excerpted in translation on many occasions but has never before been treated to a full-scale translation into a European language. The sheer bulk of the book and the complexity of some of the stories have perhaps discouraged some previous attempts. The lack of a proper scholarly edition of the Arabic text has surely also been a

factor. The immense popularity of the book in the Muslim world has led to its being issued in numerous, very inexpensive formats. Each of these 'editions' appears to base itself on previous printings, often multiplying the textual errors and rendering the text incomprehensible in places (not the least of which is potentially the order of the presentation of the figures treated). Brinner declares that he has dealt with such matters in this translation by comparing available printed versions of the text and parallels in the works of other Arabic writers. The need for a critical study of the Arabic text of al-Tha'labī's work is still pressing.

The forty-three 'sessions' of the work are led off by attention to the creation of the world and they then turn to many biblical figures (certainly not all of whom are mentioned by name in the Quran) as well as a few others such as St. George and Bulūqiyā (a Jewish youth who sets out in search of Muḥammad centuries before the coming of the prophet). The conclusion of the work includes the stories of the martyrs of Najrān and the people of the Elephant just prior to the coming of Muḥammad. The reader of this book will feel confident in the hands of the translator, William Brinner, whose handiwork with similar material in the early volumes of al-Ṭabarī's *History* (volume 2, *Prophets and patriarchs* (Albany, 1987), and volume 3, *The Children of Israel* (Albany, 1991)) has already been well received and justly praised. The text reads fluidly and lucidly. The annotations are surprisingly few, reflecting, I suspect, a decision based upon the economics of publishing rather than the need of the material for explication. The footnotes which are provided display no consistent purpose: sometimes they provide parallel passages in other sources, sometimes the source of ideas in ancient texts, sometimes the identification of names, places and scriptural allusions, sometimes textual emendations. The intention of the translation is clearly to make this material available to the general reader, to the student of comparative religion and mythology, and to those of us who appreciate having someone else's rendering of the text to compare to our own understandings of difficult passages. This work, in combination with the first four translated volumes of al-Ṭabarī's *History* and the translation of the later *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* work of al-Kisā'ī, provides a compelling view of the Near Eastern story teller's imagination and the moral and intellectual milieu of medieval Islamic society for those who need access to the source material in translation.

The appearance of this translation comes at a time of a flourishing of interest in al-Tha'labī and his works. Most significant is the publication of al-Tha'labī's *tafsīr*, *al-Kashf wa'l-bayān ('an tafsīr al-Qur'ān)*, edited by Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Ashūr and published in ten volumes by Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī in Beirut in 2002. The value of this edition is diminished significantly by its reliance on only one manuscript for a majority of the text. This is a frustrating situation for scholarly work and the publication of the edition undermines the economic viability of bringing out a properly edited version (especially given the size of the work). The study by Walid Saleh of the University of Toronto, *The Qur'ān commentary of al-Tha'labī (d. 427/1035). The rise of the classical tafsīr tradition*, which will appear from Brill in 2004, documents a good proportion of the manuscripts which are available for the work (Saleh counts about 120 individual volumes of the *tafsīr* in existence around the world) and subjects the work to careful methodological and historical analysis. Another work of al-Tha'labī, treated in one chapter of Saleh's book and in Navid Kermani's *Gott ist schön: das ästhetische Erleben des Koran* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1999), is also the subject of a monograph.

Beate Wiesmüller, *Die vom Koran Getöteten: At-Ta'labīs Qatlā l-Qur'ān nach der Istanbuler und den Leidener Handschriften. Edition und Kommentar* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2002) treats a unique work (and provides a critical edition and translation of the text) recounting the heroic stories of some twenty people 'slain by the Qur'ān', as the result of either recitation or audition of the text. A much better sense of al-Tha'labī as a religious scholar and preacher emerges as a result of all this attention, as does an overall picture of Islamic popular piety in the early 5th/11th century. The availability of his *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* work in translation will help further this development by encouraging those with broad perspectives to incorporate Islamic material into their studies. Brinner has provided a valuable service and many hours of enjoyable reading for everyone through his labours. The reasonably detailed indexes which finish off the work will prove useful to the general reader and the scholar alike.

A. RIPPIN

YASIR SULEIMAN:

*The Arabic language and national identity.*

viii, 280 pp. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003. £17.99.

Who is an Arab? Certainly a legitimate question, but one fraught with prodigious intricacies. Neither religion, country, skin/hair colour, clothes, cuisine, music nor ideology can adequately define an Arab. One is, therefore, free to opine, for simplicity's sake at least, that an Arab is someone who speaks Arabic natively or is a fluent or semi-fluent speaker of it as a heritage language (see below). Of course, I leave room for possible exceptions to my definition, since some might claim to be Arabs without fluency in the language. In other words, Arabs and Arabic go together as has always been the case, and this relationship is one of the major themes explored in the present work. The author puts it this way, in fact: 'What makes an Arab Arab in this nationalism is his or her membership in an Arabic-speaking community that is as much defined by its attitude of reverence towards the language as it is by actual linguistic behaviour' (p. 225). This book concerns itself with language and national identity from a variety of perspectives, and one can easily recognize the influence of Joshua A. Fishman's classic *Language and nationalism* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1972), which the author readily acknowledges (p. 2).

The veneration of Arabic by the Arab and Muslim in general is a topic Suleiman explores thoroughly, with the sanctioning and sanctifying of the language by the highest or most praiseworthy of all available sources, the Quran. Suleiman backs up his impressions by quoting from Surah 12:2: '*innā 'anzalnāhu qur'ānan 'arabiyyan*' 'We have sent down an Arabic Qur'an' (p. 43). The author also brings to bear other verses of the Quran which further substantiate the exalted place given to Arabic and its privileged native speakers; e.g., Surah 41:44: 'Had we sent this as a Qur'an [in a language] other than Arabic, they would have said: "Why are its verses not explained in detail? What! A foreign (tongue) and an Arab Messenger?"' (*ibid.*). The words I wish to emphasize are '*ajamiyyan*' 'a language other than Arabic' and '*a'jamiyyun*' 'a foreign tongue' (*[sic]* quoted in context from that Surah for '*a'jamiyyun*' (*ibid.*)). Suleiman goes on to explain that through the opposition of the two terms '*ajamī*' 'foreign' and '*arabī*' 'Arab', the Quran actually



elevates Arabic as the favoured vehicle in which to expatiate God's universal truths (*ibid.*). Furthermore, the author discusses a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet states: 'Love the Arabs for three reasons: because I am an Arab, the Qur'an is [revealed in] Arabic and the speech of the people of Heaven is Arabic' (p. 44). I concur with the author's overall assessment of the situation: 'The fact that the Qur'an was revealed in Arabic is treated in the literature as proof to the Arabs of its divine origin, in addition to its being an argument against their attempts to deny that Muhammad was God's true Messenger' (*ibid.*). Suleiman strengthens his case by quoting from many Arab authors who constantly make reference to the superiority of Arabic; e.g., al-Tha'labi (1038/39) who submits that it is 'the best of all languages and tongues' (*ibid.*).

Suleiman excels in providing the requisite background to understanding the differences between the '*ajam*' (non-Arabs, sometimes referring to Iranians in particular) and the '*arab*' Arabs' (pp. 55–63). Marking the Arab in-group, the phoneme /d/, e.g., signalled exclusive membership. Thus, Arabic became widely known as *luḡat al-ḏād* 'the language of the *ḏād*', and Arabs as *al-mutakallimūn* or *al-nāṭiqūn bi-l-ḏād* 'speakers with the *ḏād*' (also in *luḡat muḏar* 'the language of *Muḏar*' or 'Arabic'). This 'authenticity emblem' (p. 59) is further investigated in chapter 4, entitled *lisānu al-ḏādi yajma'ūnā* 'the Arabic language unites us' (pp. 69–112; note two errors in the Arabic of the aforementioned sentence, p. 69).

Studying this volume, one comes to appreciate the author's sifting through so many Arabic sources selecting the real gems which deal with the themes chosen. For instance, the Egyptian Aḥmad Shawqī (1868–1932) refers to Arabic as the 'homeland' (*al-waṭan*, p. 113), and the Lebanese linguist, al-Shaykh 'Abdalla al-'Alayli (b. 1914), is famous for proclaiming 'I think in Arabic, therefore I am an Arab' (p. 121), as well as for his views on territorial nationalism (p. 122–6). However, it is the very fine exposition of the views of Sāṭi' al-Ḥuṣrī (1880–1968), probably the major proponent of Arabic linguistic nationalism in the twentieth century, which makes this tome particularly noteworthy (pp. 126–46). Al-Ḥuṣrī, born in Ṣan'a to parents from Aleppo, was a native Turkish speaker who learned Arabic rather late and consequently spoke it with a Turkish accent. Although he was not a promulgator of Arab nationalism until the demise of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, probably out of fear of retribution, he became an avid Arab nationalist and joined Fayṣal ibn Ḥuṣayn's regime in Syria as Minister of Education, and later moved to Iraq when Faiṣal was installed in 1921 as king there by the British. For the next twenty years he promoted Arab nationalism in a variety of positions. Suleiman correctly emphasizes that 'when al-Ḥuṣrī made the shift to Arabism as a cause and an ideology, he espoused it completely ...' (p. 129). Al-Ḥuṣrī writes in *al-'Urūba 'awwalan* (p. 133): 'Every individual who belongs to the Arab countries and speaks Arabic is an Arab'. And in '*Ārā' wa 'ahādīth fī al-qawmiyya al-'arabiyya*' he affirms: 'But under no circumstances should we say: "He is not an Arab as long as he does not wish to be one, does not accept his Arabness or is disdainful of it." He is an Arab whether he wishes to be one or not ...' (*ibid.*). Al-Ḥuṣrī championed the use of Modern Standard Arabic throughout the Arab world, since he believed the Arabs need a *luḡa muwahḥada wa-muwahḥida* 'a unified and unifying language' (p. 143).

Joshua A. Fishman's remarks about this tome on the back cover are worthy of repetition here: 'Masterfully combines his profound familiarity with the Arabic literature, the endless literature on nationalist ideology, and the very substantial sociolinguistic literature on language and ethnic identity'.

Let me conclude with my hope that the author continue his research with

a sequel delving deeply into ‘state-oriented national identity formulations’ (p. 229). He has already touched on this subject in the present treatise, which investigates the views of the Egyptian Luwis ‘Awad (pp. 197–204), the Lebanese ‘Abdalla Lahhud (pp. 207–10) and Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥajj (pp. 210–19).

Although the work has been carefully edited and proofread, the following errors should be corrected: p. 52: *al-'umam* ‘the nations’ is correct for *al-'unam*; p. 114: *ḥurrīya* is correct for *ḥuriya* ‘freedom’; p. 145: *dyāl* is correct for *dhyāl* ‘possessive particle’ in Moroccan Arabic.

ALAN S. KAYE

DIONISIUS A. AGIUS:

*In the wake of the Dhow.*

xx, 253 pp. Reading: Ithaca Press, 2002.

This book is the result of the author’s pioneering fieldwork in the Arabian Gulf countries in addition to traditional research based on primary historical documents and secondary sources in a variety of languages. To quote Agius: ‘... this is a study of what the mariners had to say about their knowledge of dhows and nautical terms, rather than a study relying on written sources’ (p. xx). The work focuses on Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman, and the author wisely decided to conclude his fieldwork at the borders of Dhofar and Hadramaut, since the dhows (<Arabic *dāw* ‘a lateen-rigged ship’) of East Africa and Yemen have a distinctive typology all of their own, and can thus be the subject of a possible sequel to this work. The major aim of this study is an investigation of dhow types and parts thereof ‘with the aim of establishing an historical and linguistic link from the medieval Islamic period to the present time’ (p. 1). Agius has painstakingly studied most available sources concerning dhows both in Arabic and in Western languages, and has also wisely decided to interview the Arabian Gulf seafarers themselves using the methods of the oral historian, about which he has this to say (a point of view with which I am in firm agreement): ‘Of course there are always doubts about the legitimacy of oral history, the reliability of memory, and whether a person’s account is representative of a period or community’ (p. 2). It is this fieldwork over a period of many years which has yielded a rich harvest indeed, making this now the definitive work on the subject.

One of Agius’s most important conclusions is that the evidence supports a long shipbuilding tradition. According to the author, dhow types are based on ‘hull shape’ (p. 3). He elaborates: ‘The findings in this book show that the study of the nomenclature of types of dhow and technical terms for parts of a dhow, is a discipline that underpins the identity and language of a people ...’ (p. 7). However, it is important to keep in mind that European influence in the sixteenth century began to change the notions of the weight, speed and general seaworthiness of dhows. Another of Agius’ significant contributions is not to take ‘a too Arabocentric view’ of ships in the Gulf (*ibid.*). I concur with his perspective that the dhow in the Arabian/Persian Gulf may be seen as part of the larger ‘Indian Ocean civilization which in the days of sail, trading under the seasonal Monsoon winds, formed a natural unity’ (*ibid.*).

Let me now turn to one of the book’s most outstanding features, the photographs. Indeed, they add considerably to our knowledge, since without them even detailed descriptions would be less than satisfactory. One can only

imagine the particulars of a *migdāh* ‘bow drill’ and a *juddūm* ‘adze’, but seeing the shipbuilders using them offers a far more vivid picture (p. 142). Other first-class photographs are the tassel of cowrie shells (*zanzūr*, but given in the glossary as *zanzīr* (p. 223)) wrapped around the stern of a dhow in Kumzar, Musandam Peninsula, Oman (p. 110), the *kīt* ‘dug-out canoe’ used by a pearl merchant, Kuwait (p. 116), the *šāšāt* or *šūš* (*šāša*, sg.) from Oman ‘beach palm tree-fibre, operated with oars’ (p. 124), and the *sarēd ān* ‘a moveable wooden box used for cooking’ (p. 173).

I will now address the specialized and, in many ways, unusual vocabulary found in the glossary (pp. 199–233). The word *dāw*, Swahili *dau*, pl. *madau*, occurs in four names of East African boats (pp. 203–04). There is also a variant mentioned, *daww* (p. 60), for which Agius cites the Persian etymology *dawh* proposed by Adriaan H. J. Prins (p. 61) and further by the Arabic lexicographer al-Azharī (d. 981) (p. 34). However, the author also discusses the term *zaww* recorded by al-Ṭabarī, and there is good reason to believe that all of the aforementioned terms, including Arabic *dāw*, may ultimately be derived from Chinese *ts’ao* (pp. 60–61, n. 20).

To comment now on some fascinating dhow terms in the glossary, the word *ṣagrāb* ‘crosshead (an internal knee—piece of wood—which fastens the stem and stern posts)’ is called this presumably because of its resemblance to a scorpion, its literal meaning (p. 199). The word *bōt*, pl. *bawāti* ‘an early nineteenth-century Hindi term for a sailing vessel’ seems to be an English loanword < ‘boat’ (p. 201). The word *mīdāf*, pl. *emyādīf* ‘A Dhofari term for “oar”’ (p. 214) is the dialectal manifestation of the *yīm* reflex of the *jīm*, as in Kuwaiti Arabic. Note the terms *mīgdāf*, pl. *magādīf*, and *miqdāf*, pl. *makādīf* in the northern Gulf (*ibid.*) as well as Syriac *gādūpā* ‘oar’ (p. 206). The word *zarrāb*, pl. *zarrābīn* ‘carpenter’, in all probability, appears to be related to the root *daraba* ‘to hit; strike (wood)’, which is tantamount to ‘carpentry’ (p. 223). The /d/ in the Gulf region is pronounced as a voiced emphatic interdental fricative, so the phonology of the /z/ fits perfectly with this scheme of things.

The word *ramāθ* ‘Soqotri catamaran’ (p. 217), pl. *ṣarmāθ*, *rimāθ*, or *rawāmiθ*, is traced back to a cognate in Demotic, with further cognates cited in Somali and Ethiopic (p. 130). The Arabic could conceivably be a loanword or a descendant from Proto-Afroasiatic, either of which contentions would be difficult to prove.

The term *hūrī*, pl. *hawāri* (photograph, p. 120) ‘Malabarian dug-out canoe’ (p. 209) is a Hindi loanword < *hōrī* < Sanskrit *hoḍa* (p. 121), and also occurs in Arabic as *hūrīyya* (fem.) and a diminutive *huwayriyya* (also *hwāriyya*) (p. 127).

This book has been carefully edited and proofread, and only one error came to my attention: the Amharic language is erroneously spelled with a double r (p. 85).

ALAN S. KAYE

BENNY MORRIS:

*The road to Jerusalem: Glubb Pasha, Palestine and the Jews.*

x, 297 pp. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002. £27.50.

The subject of this book is the career of Lieut. General John Glubb in Transjordan, with special reference to the period 1947–48, when he played an

important role in the events which led to the acquisition by Transjordan of part of the territory designated by the United Nations to form Arab Palestine, together with the old city of Jerusalem. Glubb wrote his own account of this period in *A soldier among the Arabs*, a valuable work but one in which he allowed a politic reticence to cast a shadow over some episodes and, indeed, to exclude others altogether from his story. Since the opening of a substantial part of the official British papers and of some Zionist and Israeli documents covering this period several books have appeared which have shed additional light on various aspects of the story, including Avi Shlaim's *Collusion across the Jordan*, Trevor Royle's biography of Glubb Pasha and, of course, the important writings of Benny Morris himself. It is not easy to find something new to say about the period, at least until the papers of the Arab states involved are available. Nevertheless, Morris has made a careful study of the British and Israeli papers and of the books and memoirs and has made some useful contributions at various points without changing materially the recently established outlines of the history of the subject. He does, however, challenge the older Zionist account which depicted Glubb as an agent of British imperialism, strongly attached to the Arab cause and hostile to Zionism even to the point of anti-Semitism. In several older Zionist accounts Glubb appears as something of an ogre intent upon the destruction or severe limitation of the size of the state of Israel. Morris shows that this version is inaccurate.

Morris begins with an account of Glubb's early career and of his general outlook. Glubb was an English Christian gentleman and a professional soldier from a family of professional soldiers. He served bravely on the Western Front in the Great War and was thrice wounded, the third time so severely as to leave him permanently disfigured. His career was spent soldiering and it is curious that in 1946 Lieut. General Sir Evelyn Baker, GOC Palestine and Transjordan, should have remarked that Glubb was not a soldier and was more interested in politics. The statement is a measure of the extent to which leadership of the Arab Legion had drawn Glubb inexorably into politics. Opinions which might have been of little consequence if held by a plain soldier became, therefore, much more significant. Glubb, claims Morris, was anti-Zionist, tipping over at times into anti-Semitism, and produced several statements in support of this view. It is certainly true that Glubb shared the common fashion of his youth of attributing general importance to racial characteristics as a guide to behaviour and of ascribing certain characteristics to Jews in general and especially those of Palestine. It is not at all clear, however, that such opinions had any influence in shaping the military or political advice which he offered freely and frequently either to the British government or to his employers, the government of Transjordan. Nor do his broader politico-strategic observations have any special originality: on Palestine he followed the tide of fashion, swinging towards partition, then turning in favour of a unitary state before moving back towards partition again. In 1946 he did not question the commonplace, but dubious, opinion that in Palestine 'it is the safety of the British Empire which is primarily at stake' (quoted p. 80) and in 1943, looking towards the post-war world, he was content to repeat the increasingly questionable assumption that Britain's main interest in the Middle East was the safety of communications to India, Australia and the Far East.

As previous writers have pointed out Glubb's loyalties were tested when the views of his employer, King Abdallah, and of the British government, moved apart. Like others confronted by a similar dilemma Glubb assured himself that no real conflict of interest existed: the interests of Britain were

identical with those of Transjordan. A major test of this conviction came over the issue of the future of Palestine. Abdallah, as far as we can determine, wanted to annex the Arab share of partitioned Palestine and, if possible, Jerusalem as well. British support for this ambition would inevitably lead to a disturbance in British relations with other Arab states and with the United States and, under certain circumstances, could lead to war with Israel. Glubb, like Kirkbride and Pirie-Gordon, the British diplomatic representatives in Transjordan, argued in favour of Abdallah: the British Foreign Office gave some cautious secret verbal encouragement but professed neutrality. The greatest help that could have been given to Transjordan was money and arms for the Arab Legion and Glubb argued strenuously for such assistance but with only limited success. In the end he had to make do with too little to enable him to execute all of Abdallah's ambitious plans and he was accused of favouring British over Jordanian policy. Morris makes out a good case for the proposition that Glubb was loyal to his employer, that the decisions which he took were all defensible on military grounds when one took into consideration the paucity of his means, and that the results of his labours were to preserve parts of Palestine for Jordanian Arab rule when they might otherwise have passed under Israeli rule in 1948 as they were to do in 1967, long after Glubb's own departure from the scene. It was, concludes Morris, 'undoubtedly a major military achievement' (p. 151). But whether Glubb was quite as significant a figure as Morris claims, or whether Transjordan was as important as he suggests, or indeed whether Palestine mattered to Britain as much as he thinks is another matter.

M. E. YAPP

TUDOR PARFITT and EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI:

*Judaising movements: studies in the margins of Judaism.*

(SOAS Centre for Near and Middle East Studies.) xv, 159 pp.

London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002. £45.

The subject of Judaizing movements, with a few notable exceptions, has received relatively scant attention in both Judaic and religious studies generally. *The encyclopedia of religion* (New York and London, 1987), under the editorship of the doyen of modern *Religionswissenschaft*, Mircea Eliade, has no entry whatsoever on the subject, and *sub verbo* 'Judaizers' simply refers the reader to the article 'Marranos'. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971) does have an entry of several columns in length that deals primarily with pre-modern movements and a few brief entries on specific Judaizing groups past and present. Tudor Parfitt and Emanuela Trevisan Semi's *Judaising movements* is a welcome and substantial addition to this neglected area of study. Their brief, but pithy, book surveys a variegated mosaic of Judaizing groups scattered across the globe—in Europe, East Asia, Africa, and the United States. The authors have each written individual books and articles about such marginal groups and have previously collaborated on an edited volume of studies on the Beta Israel or Falasha Jews of Ethiopia; however, this seems to be the monograph that treats the subject in a broader phenomenological fashion. Some of the movements discussed by Parfitt and Trevisan Semi eventually led their followers to convert officially to 'some kind of normative Judaism' while others resulted in 'a process of ethnic

identification with the people of Israel' (p. xi) which has not ended in formal conversion.

The book is divided into six chapters, the first three written by Parfitt and the last three by Trevisan Semi. In chapter 1, 'Judaising movements and colonial discourse', Parfitt, following the lines of analysis of contemporary cultural studies, argues that European explorers, travellers, and missionaries since the beginning of the Age of Discovery have frequently tried to make sense of unfamiliar, exotic peoples, by comparing them with a more familiar other, namely the biblical Israelites and the post-biblical Jews. Indeed, they often went even further, interpreting seeming parallels of custom, ritual, or supposed physical or character traits, as evidence of Hebraic ancestry or influence. These attributions of Jewishness to far-flung groups resulted from two factors—an age-old fascination with the myth of the ten lost tribes of Israel which fired Jewish and Christian imaginations from the Middle Ages to modern times, and an imperialist mentality which sought out and favoured special minority groups which were considered to possess superior qualities among colonized peoples as part of a classical policy of *diviser pour regner*. In Parfitt's view, it was these very attributions which in turn frequently influenced and were internalized by these groups and eventually resulted in claims of a Jewish identity and in the adoption of Judaizing practices.

The theme of the colonial discourse and its influence upon Judaizers is continued in chapters 2 and 3. The former, entitled 'Israel in China: a judaising discourse in the Far East', actually deals with a far wider area than the title suggests. In addition to the Chi'ang of China, it includes the Karen of Burma and the Shinlung of India. In the third chapter, Parfitt takes up the case of the Lemba tribe of southern Africa, a subject which he first explored a decade ago in his book *Journey to the vanished city: the search for a Lost Tribe of Israel* (London, 1992). In recent years, he has received considerable international attention and acclaim for his highly innovative collaboration with geneticists; this has shown the Lemba traditions that their ancestors came from outside Africa, and that some of them were *kohanim*, or members of the Jewish priestly caste, are not totally mythical. Parfitt, with admirable academic reserve, summarizes his highly suggestive data—published in a number of scholarly articles and given even wider general diffusion through documentary television films as follows: 'The fact that the Lemba share markers found in other Jewish populations could indicate that in the past Jews—or descendants of Jews—emigrated to the shores of Africa' (p. 50). He also posits that these DNA discoveries among the Lemba may serve not only to 'have an impact upon the Lemba's sense of their own origins', but 'upon world Jewry's sense of the claims of the Lemba' (*ibid.*).

In chapter 4 Trevisan Semi, who is professor of Modern Jewish and Hebrew Studies at the University of Venice, chronicles the activities of Zionist seekers of *nidhei Yisra'el* (the Lost Tribes) both in pre-state days and in the early years of the independence of Israel. These include three Orientalists, the intrepid traveller Nahum Slouschz, Jacques Faitlovitch, a scholar of Ethiopian languages and culture who championed the cause of the Falashas, the Arabist Israel Ben Zeev, and the pioneer Labor Zionist and second president of the State of Israel, Yitzhak Ben Zvi, after whom is named one of the most distinguished research institutes for the study of Sephardi and Oriental Jewry. These and other individuals shared a utopian and quasi-messianic vision of 'The Ingathering of the Exiles' that went far beyond the normative Zionist goal of bringing Jews to their ancestral homeland.

In the succeeding chapters, Trevisan Semi discusses two very different

Judaizing groups—the converts of San Nicandro in southern Italy and the Black Jews of Harlem. The former were village peasants who were led by a visionary charismatic who had probably been influenced by fundamentalist Protestant missionaries. The members of the sect eventually came to see themselves as the descendants of Spanish conversos. Some of the group eventually underwent halakhic conversion and emigrated to Israel in the first years of statehood. Trevisan Semi shows that those who made *aliyah* were fully accepted as Italian Jewish immigrants and assimilated into Israeli life, whereas of those who remained behind, the men for the most part abandoned the practice altogether, not even circumcizing their sons, while only the women maintained some form of Judaism, albeit with certain cultish aspects.

The final chapter reconstructs the history of the Black Jews of Harlem and documents how knowledge of Faitlovitch's championing the cause of the Beta Israel led to what Trevisan Semi dubs 'the Falashisation' of their movement. Trevisan Semi points out that for the most part the Black Judaizers did not find comparable interest and encouragement from the mainstream Jewish community as some other Judaizing movements around the world due in part to the dynamics of race in American society. But given the known history of the Afro-American in the United States and the existence alongside of a large, well-educated American Jewish community, it was not difficult to disprove the Black Jews' Falasha origins or descent from any other 'Lost Tribe'. According to Trevisan Semi, who is perhaps being a little too melodramatic, this task of debunking the Black Jews' myth of origins was conducted 'with ruthless brutality' (p. 106).

This fascinating and copiously annotated study of the dialectics of cross-cultural encounters and influences, assumptions of identity, and the invention of traditions will be of interest to scholars in a wide spectrum of fields beyond Judaic studies. While each of the authors speaks in his or her own voice—Parfitt's style is particularly elegant—there is a solid sense of unity both in theme and methodology.

NORMAN A. STILLMAN

TUDOR PARFITT:

*The Lost Tribes of Israel: the history of a myth.*

ix, 227 pp. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002. £18.99.

Probably no more improbable, yet pervasive, a legend continues to tease the imagination than that of the ten lost tribes of Israel.

As recently as 2001 a delegation of four sober, respected rabbis representing the Chief Rabbinate of Israel (Ashkenazic) undertook a mission to Mizoram to investigate the claim of tribals there to be a remnant of the biblical tribe of Manasseh. Despite the fact that anthropologists and other scholars have been unanimous in dismissing this belief as a by-product of Christian missionizing, the rabbis upheld the tribals' claim.

How is it that a story with virtually no objective corroboration continues to shape the thinking of otherwise well-informed people? While the Holy Grail and the Ark of the Covenant have receded into cinema clichés, the lost tribes theme endures.

SOAS scholar Tudor Parfitt has given us a lucidly written, thoroughly researched book that traces the history of the myth of the ten tribes. At times it is amusing, and at other times simply baffling, how Israelite lineage has

been imposed upon such disparate groups as the Maoris, the British, the Japanese, Native Americans and Tibetans, as well as today's Mizos. Christians and Jews alike have affirmed and conferred this ascription, albeit for differing reasons, onto nearly every 'other' they encountered as they explored what was once a vast and mysterious planet. Now that our earth is no longer so vast, what remains mysterious is how so many continue to employ interpretive categories from the past, such as the legend of the lost tribes.

What evidence has been offered to support belief in this imposed identity? Linguistic grounds are most often cited, and almost comically such languages as Tibetan, Gaelic and Native American dialects were found to be so similar to Hebrew as to 'prove' that Tibetans, Irish and Indians are descended from the sons of Patriarch Jacob. Geography is also cited: it has been maintained that India's Ganges is really the biblical river Gozen, that Tokyo derives its name from the Hebrew *tekia gedolah*, 'the great [*shofar*] blast [of victory]' because 'the city was undoubtedly founded after some great victory', and that the biblical port of Ophir was located in India, Turkey, Africa, and, according to Christopher Columbus, the Caribbean island of Española. 'Racial' features counted as well. For instance, William Penn, after whom Pennsylvania is named, found native people there to so resemble Jews that he imagined residing in his Philadelphia to be like living in the Jewish quarter of London.

Parfitt does an outstanding job of tracing 'the history of a myth'—the subtitle of the book—with chapters about how the image of the lost tribes mediated the European encounter with the native peoples of the Americas, the Chi'ang of western China, Indians, Indo-Burmese tribal groups, the Maoris, the Japanese, and many African groups. The myth also provided some Britons and Americans with an identity for themselves in the phenomenon of 'British Israelitism', which has been reincarnated in the American neo-Nazi subcultures of the 'Aryan Nation' and 'Christian Identity' movements.

But how are we to understand the workings of such an evidently outlandish set of beliefs? Parfitt is correct to look to theology for part of the answer, to investigate Christianity's ancient self understanding as a 'new Israel', as well as Jewish messianic longing embodied in fantasies about numerous, powerful co-religionists lost somewhere beyond a mystical river. But the power and tenacity of this myth, the central theme of the book, is never really satisfactorily explained. In part, this may be due to a somewhat simplistic understanding of 'myth' in the first place, which for Parfitt means a story that is not true. Perhaps stronger theoretical underpinnings drawn from religious studies or cultural anthropology, or even depth psychology, would have led to a more elegant explanation of why people believe something for which they have so little evidence.

This criticism aside, Parfitt's tale is an engrossing one, as he traces the 'lost/found Jews' from biblical through contemporary times. He weaves cultural layer upon layer, helping the reader to understand the connections between the colonial experience in the Americas, several Judaizing movements among peoples of African descent, including Rastafarianism and the 'Yahweh cult' of Miami, to varieties of white supremacist militancy in the United States, to the Mormons and Irish republican movements.

Parfitt is quite correct in holding that 'This myth has been used in the Western world as a device for understanding the "other"—often the savage "other" that is the imagined opposite of ourselves' (p. 20). But it is equally



true that in some cases, the same legend has helped groups, such as the Mormons, to construct a 'self'.

A very few oversights faintly blemish this admirable book. On page 125, Parfitt relates the story of a king of Afghanistan who claimed to be of the tribe of Benjamin. This tale has been repeated in many quarters, but it has never been attributed. It would be significant if it could be confirmed. On page 109, Parfitt writes that merchant-diarist Shlomo Reinman was in 1852 the first Jew to reside in Burma, but there were Jews living there a century before.

And there is one other, more complex, issue. The same Tudor Parfitt has pioneered using DNA in appraising the claims to Jewish identity among a number of Judaizing movements, as well as the Lemba of southern Africa and the Bene Israel of western India. In the latter two cases, he reports that DNA test results tend to confirm their traditional historical narratives. In this book, Parfitt views all claims to a 'lost tribe' identity as, essentially, poppycock. But in other works, the same author provided scientific findings that are already being used in support of just such claims.

Parfitt's own work, then, is in some respects as amusing and baffling as the subjects that he studies. Such is the pleasure of scholarship, and this book certainly is a pleasure, albeit an amusing and baffling pleasure.

NATHAN KATZ

COLIN HEYWOOD:

*Writing Ottoman history: documents and interpretations.*

(Variorum Collected Studies Series.) xiv, 356 pp. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate-Variorum, 2002. £59.50.

In the first article in this collection, a pioneering consideration of the problem of the frontier in Ottoman history, Colin Heywood asks why it is still necessary to adopt a historiographical rather than a historical approach in order to understand the phenomenon of Ottoman expansion. The three, related, pieces which form the core of this volume of sixteen papers seek to provide an answer—for they concern the highly influential formulations of Paul Wittek regarding the early Ottoman state. As a one-time student of Wittek, it fell to Heywood to reveal the intellectual origins of the theory which explains Ottoman success first and foremost as the victory of divinely-inspired frontier warriors—the *ghazis*—which has beguiled historians for so long.

What might, for Heywood, have been merely an exercise in exorcizing a powerful pedagogical influence turned out to be an excursion into a milieu which serendipitously impinged upon matters from which it would ordinarily have remained quite separate. Heywood traces Wittek's intellectual development against the background of his service as a wartime officer in the Austrian army posted to the Ottoman empire, and his subsequent career as a journalist in the new Turkish Republic of the ultimate, albeit secular, *ghazi*, Mustafa Kemal, where he continued to nurture the obsession for Islamic and particularly Turkish and Ottoman history in which he had been trained and which eventually brought him employment in the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul. The rise of the Nazis saw Wittek move to Brussels from where he came in 1937 to London to deliver his three seminal lectures on 'The rise of the Ottoman empire' before, in 1949, becoming the first

incumbent of the newly-created Chair of Turkish at the University of London. Heywood's analysis of Wittek's life leads him to posit that rather than a source-based interpretation of early Ottoman history, it was primarily Wittek's devotion to the neo-Romantic poetry of the German poet and thinker Stefan George which shaped his writing and led him to raise his full-blown theory of the *ghazi* origins of the Ottoman state upon the foundations laid by his fellow orientalist Theodore Menzel.

Further forensic investigation offers support for the centrality of the George-Kreis ethos to Wittek's thinking and permits Heywood to offer a startling verdict on Wittek's portrait of Sultan Mehmed II as a 'super-*ghazi*', to wit, that it closely paralleled that of Ernst Kantorowicz's view of Frederick II in a contemporaneous study which has been shown by David Abulafia to be inspired by the romanticism of the Stefan George circle of which Kantorowicz was an aficionado. Heywood asks why it was that the attacks of European medievalists ensured that Kantorowicz's career as a historian came to an end with the publication of his *Friedrich II* while Wittek's, despite the scathing criticism levelled at his sole monograph, *Das Fürstentum Mentеше*, by Fr. Giese, flourished. He concludes that the under-developed state of Ottoman historical studies as well as the continuing respectability, or at least toleration, in the British academic establishment as compared with the German, of what Giese termed 'fantasy' as opposed to serious scholarship—to which he adds Wittek's ability to terrorize his critics—militated against the speedy despatch of the Wittekian view of history. Whether one agrees with these conclusions or not, in his 'Wittek pieces' Heywood amply demonstrates the vital importance of historiography as a precondition for historical understanding and a necessary dimension of the vexed struggle over the origins and character of the early Ottoman state in which Ottomanists still find themselves locked and which he illuminatingly addresses in his article on the Ottoman frontier, referred to above.

One further paper is historiographical in character and concerns the nature of history itself and how our understanding of the Ottoman world has changed since Ottoman studies emerged as a discrete discipline. In this thought-provoking article, Heywood asks whether the concepts and methodologies which have developed to frame our research truly enable us to approach Ottoman 'realities' more closely. In illustration, he refers to a register from the crucial period when the Byzantine land regime gave way to the Ottoman and shows how meticulous scholarship can give the lie to previously accepted truths, in this case, the idea that the fiscal demands of the state in the latter part of Mehmed II's reign led to a worsening of the economic position of the subject population. Subsequent re-dating of the relevant *defters* belied this hypothesis for the area in question and provided an object lesson for all who work with such evidence and attempt to make historically valid statements. Looking at the apparently 'hard evidence' of Ottoman *defters*, Heywood argues for a fuller understanding of what these apparently value-free texts reveal—or, perhaps, conceal.

The remaining papers reflect some of Heywood's varied scholarly interests. Two on Ottoman cannon production were forerunners in an area which now commands more ample scholarly attention and provides a bridge between Ottomanists and non-Ottomanist military historians studying an activity which brought the Ottomans and their neighbours into close contact. The most recent of three papers on the *menzilhane* system in Rumeli concerns the reforms initiated by Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who achieved significant institutional change across Ottoman government and administration during

his two short years as grand vizier. In keeping with his aim of saving money during an intense period of warfare, the system ceased to be run by the state and came to be subjected to the pressures of 'marketisation and privatisation'. Three further papers on the minutiae of defterology are models of their kind. One of these concerns a hitherto unpublished example of a rare genre, a sixteenth-century accounting manual which presents the 'correct' way to draw up various types of financial *defters*. Heywood gives facsimile and transliteration of these fragmentary model *defters* and adds an English translation which was not included when the article originally appeared. Further material prepared especially for this volume is a regest of the Turkish and Arabic documents in the papers of Sir William Trumbull, English ambassador to the Ottoman court for four crucial years from 1687, which is appended to a study of a letter in that collection.

The Trumbull Papers provided a wealth of material for Heywood's doctoral thesis which concerned the long drawn-out efforts of British and Dutch negotiators, Trumbull among them, to bring peace in the Ottoman–Sacra Liga war of 1683–99. Yet despite the interval of years, William of Orange's 'Ostpolitik' remains little known and Heywood is currently preparing a monograph to fill the void: the article in the present volume is a summary of Ottoman–English diplomatic relations in the years leading up to the treaty of Carlowitz. Diplomacy is also the subject matter of a biographical study of Paul Rycout, written at a time when his life and career were far less well known to scholars than is the case today.

The relevance of an understanding of historical 'realities' to today's world and the value of the contribution that Ottoman historians can make is nowhere better demonstrated than in regard to the former Ottoman frontier provinces of Bosna and Hersek, which were recently and tragically the theatre of a vicious war of egregious national self-assertion that the aggressor considered to have remained incomplete in earlier times. The pervasive disinformation and ignorance of the nature of Ottoman rule in the region prompted the publication of a volume on the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina aimed at the non-specialist market to which Heywood contributed a chapter which is reproduced here. By contrast with most popular writing on the history of Bosnia, it is based on contemporary Ottoman, rather than Serbian or western European, sources. Heywood considers both the ways in which Bosnia was typical of other Ottoman frontier provinces and how it was different and sets these features—notably Islamization and the linked process of urbanization, and Ottomanization—firmly in historical context. Heywood's essay on Ottoman Bosnia is a further example of his versatility and of the thoughtful and careful scholarship in both its conceptual and practical aspects which is exemplified in this Variorum collection. Moreover, unlike much Ottoman scholarship, Heywood's prose is always a pleasure to read.

CAROLINE FINKEL

BENJAMIN C. FORTNA:

*Imperial classroom. Islam, the state, and education in the late Ottoman Empire.*

xvii, 280 pp. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. £48.

This is a multi-layered, perceptive and carefully crafted study of the development of public education in the late Ottoman empire during the period

of the rule of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid (1876–1909). It is primarily concerned with the expansion of the secondary school system (*idadi*) as the centre stage of the educational efforts undertaken by the Ottoman state just before the Young Turk Revolution. Fortna takes a number of novel approaches to the topic, and draws parallels with synchronic developments in Europe and outside, particularly in France, Russia and Japan. *Imperial classroom* shows theoretical and conceptual sophistication, a clear methodological framework and relies on extensive research in the Ottoman archives. The author adopts a qualitative and contextual analysis of educational processes by addressing systemic, institutional and pedagogical aspects of Ottoman schooling, and the political and cultural contexts which fostered their development.

Like the recent work of Selim Deringil, this book conveys an understanding of Islam as a new source of morality and state legitimation in the Hamidian period, and investigates the ways in which religious ideology shaped pedagogical, ideological and organizational aspects of the Ottoman educational effort. The importance of the new Islamic tradition and the redrawing of boundaries between Western and indigenous elements in the Ottoman classroom takes up much of this study and makes the central argument of the book. Yet, contrary to what is suggested by the word order in the subtitle of the volume (*Islam, the state and education in the late Ottoman empire*) it is the field of education, rather than Islam *per se*, which informs the author's reinterpretation of major themes in the late Ottoman history. Among these are the impact of the West on Ottoman society, the role of the state in enforcing new monopolies on the ideological, material and human resources of the Empire and, last but not least, the apparent incongruity between the secularizing trends of the Tanzimat era and the Islamic resurgence of the Hamidian period.

Fortna lays out his framework in chapter 1, 'Education and agency'. He engages in current debates on education and modernization, and correctly refutes earlier notions of passive indigenous adaptation to organizational and pedagogical models coming from Europe, particularly from France. By restoring the agency of the Ottoman state in the field of education, he sets out to consider the development of modern schools as the byproduct of a constructive synthesis which responded to the social, institutional and political contingencies of Hamidian rule. Particularly refreshing is the emphasis on the shortcomings of much Turkish historiography, which has retrospectively judged the achievements of the Hamidian period in the light of the failure of the late Ottoman Empire as a modern political project.

Chapter 2, 'Hope against fear', illustrates the Ottoman quest for modern education as an integral part of the ongoing struggle against Western competition. Fortna samples indigenous perceptions of missionary and *millet* schools, and of the new educational establishments which mushroomed in the former European provinces of the Empire. He provides new perspectives on the foreign and denominational schools which offered to contemporary Ottoman observers a constructive model of education which was 'fresh and quasi-magical, implying the ability to right all of society's wrongs' (p. 85).

Chapter 3, 'Fighting back', explores the role played by religious propaganda in articulating state responses to perceived Western threats. The case study of the *Mekteb-i Sultanî* in Istanbul (Galatasaray Lycée) enables the author to explore the transition between the Tanzimat and Hamidian-style schooling. The organization and funding of the new network of *idadi* schools throughout the Empire is also considered in the context of the French-inspired

Education Regulation of 1869 and of the educational fund which was created in 1884.

In chapter 4, 'Building and discipline', schools are analysed as architectural and living spaces, and as venues for the display of a distinctive Ottoman style of education. Although the author does not highlight convincingly the continuities with the Ottoman *madrassa* tradition, his emphasis on Islamic influences in ornament, communal spaces and ceremony makes a fascinating portrayal of the Hamidian educational establishments. Two disciplinary cases from Istanbul and Manastir provide anecdotal evidence on the role of individual pupils as responsive forces to educational change. These examples support Fortna's critical stance *vis-à-vis* a postmodernist approach to the study of the history of modern education which posits the all-encompassing and hegemonic role of the state among the classroom population.

Chapter 5, 'Maps', deals with Ottoman cartography as a pedagogical device and as an instrument of political legitimation. The author shows how a new imperial style of mapping strived to enforce proto-modern political loyalties upon the young of the Empire. He presents the new classroom map of the Hamidian period, and the process of redrawing it for teaching purposes, as the chief instrument of the state's discursive strategy engendered by geography.

The final chapter, 'Morals', considers the imposition of a new Islamic morality through changes in the school curriculum, the vetting of textbooks and the close monitoring of teachers, pupils and lessons. Fortna's commentary on Ali İrfan's *Guide to morals* is instructive as an example of the synthesis between Western tradition and Islamic discourse, and illustrates the new public meaning which morals and knowledge acquired in the Hamidian period as a counterpoint to the secular educational jargon of the Tanzimat reformers.

This is an important book which reconciles the various tensions between 'traditional' and 'modern', and 'Islamic' and 'secular' from within, by focusing on the historical agency of both individuals and state. Despite some repetition, Fortna's eloquent style is enriched by the multiple narratives of pupils, teachers, officials and statesmen whose individual voices intersected the educational landscape of the Empire. By portraying schools, educational committees and ministerial offices primarily as human institutions, *Imperial classroom* shares a vision of historical change which should dominate the study of the modern Middle East. Furthermore, its comparative and theoretical focus will certainly help to make the region more accessible to students and scholars interested in the history of education and modernity, while widening the horizons of area specialists.

NELIDA FUCCARO

MEHMET ÇETİN:

*Tanzimattan günümüze Türk şiiri antolojisi.*

4 Volumes, 2064 pp. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2002. £20.

British readers may not be aware that they have access to an anthology of modern Turkish poetry whose objectivity and scope has only too rarely been seen in Turkey. Feyyaz Karacan Fergar's *Modern Turkish poetry* (Ware, 1992) has offered an extended and eclectic selection of poems that constitute a well-balanced introduction to the still relatively unknown shores of modern Turkish verse. One of the particularities of this short work is to bridge the ideological

divide and include poems by left-wingers, right-wingers and Islamists alike, something inconceivable in the ideological minefield of Turkish literature until recently. Anthologies edited by standard bearers of the literary left such as Memet Fuat's *Çağdaş Türk Şiiri Antolojisi* (Istanbul, 1985) or İlhami Soysal's *Yirminci Yüzyıl Türk Şiiri Antolojisi* (Ankara, 1973) did not include works by more conservative-minded poets. They did not, however, go so far as to ignore the works of groundbreaking Islamic poets such as Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (1905–83), Sezai Karakoç (b. 1933) or the late Cahit Zarifoğlu (1940–87), who helped shape literary modernism in Turkey and could not be decently overlooked. Right-wing anthologists were more radical and did not even mention the works of Nazım Hikmet Ran (1902–63), the socialist poet whose synthesis of folk, *divân* and modernist elements transformed traditional discourses on poetry.

When Mehmet Çetin published the first edition of *Tanzimattan Günümüze Türk Şiiri Antolojisi* in 1990, he broke many taboos by introducing the diversity and richness of approaches in modern Turkish poetry from 1839 to the present day, without trying to paint an ideologically correct picture. This happened at a time when a dialogue was established between left-wing and Islamist intellectuals in literary publications such as *Defter*, *Üç Çiçek* and *Şiir Atı*. The new edition of Çetin's anthology confirms this openness and critical stand towards every form of sectarianism. The anthology has been extended from two to four volumes in order to incorporate the latest developments in the Turkish literary scene. The fourth volume includes only poets born after 1958, who have published at least one collection, and thus gives the reader a fairly comprehensive overview of the state of contemporary Turkish poetry.

In his foreword, Mehmet Çetin explains that he did not base his selection on purely literary criteria but that he aimed to map the poetic landscape of Turkey since 1839 and reflect its various aspects. He states that in order to give the widest possible picture of his subject, he abstained from organizing the anthology according to the major trends and movements that shaped Turkish poetry during the last two centuries, and chose instead to present the poets in chronological order, according to their date of birth. This is a common-sense approach since several influential poets—such as Asaf Halet Çelebi (1907–58), Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca (b. 1914) and Behçet Necatigil (1916–79)—kept their distance from main literary groupings. Nonetheless an anthology cannot be just an accumulation of names and verses and has an important role to play as an introduction and guide for the dilettantes. The introductory essay and the informative notices preceding the works of the selected poets thus have a key role.

Regarding Turkish poetry, the anthologist cannot ignore Memet Fuat's 37-page introduction to his anthology, a standard history and analysis of its subject. Mehmet Çetin is well aware of this, and in an interview published in the November 2002 issue of the literary journal *Hece*, he criticizes Fuat's overemphasis on the place of Nazım Hikmet. Hence Çetin might have produced an alternative history of Turkish poetry of similar scholarship and scope, but his 16-page historical overview of Turkish poetry is far from a challenge to Fuat's analysis.

Çetin constructs a critique of the concept of literary modernity and defines 1839, the year of the westernizing Tanzimat reform, as the beginning of the rupture between the intellectual élite and the Muslim majority, a claim which in recent years has become a major theme of Islamic cultural criticism in Turkey. Çetin, regrettably, does not deepen any of those themes and, as a whole, produces a predominantly conservative overview of the period,

occasionally highlighting a lesser-known name such as Ercüment Behzat Lav (1903–84), the father of Turkish futurism, or Arif Nihat Asya (1904–75), a mystical poet.

Published twelve years after its first edition, one might have expected the biographical notices to have been updated, but this is not the case. Hence the reader is misled to believe that *Core*, a short-lived literary magazine published in London which focused on Turkish poetry, still exists, which is unfortunately not true; or that the poet Ataol Behramoğlu (b. 1942), currently a lecturer in the department of Russian Language and Literature at the University of Istanbul, is still living in exile in Paris.

Even though Mehmet Çetin has established the corpus of his anthology not only on literary but also on historical and sociological grounds, he has not included any poets from non-Muslim minorities, except the London-based Roni Margulies (b. 1955). This is representative of most anthologies currently available in Turkey. Jews, Greeks and Armenians started to publish in Turkish with the Ottoman script towards the end of the nineteenth century. The adoption of the Ottoman alphabet indicated a new sense of belonging, maybe even an awareness of Ottoman national identity. Hence poems by Hristaki, Isak Ferera Efendi (1883–1933) or Garbis Fikri have the characteristic dual identity of the literary texts of the era. They are both literary works and important documents that indicate the changes taking place in Ottoman society in the second half of the nineteenth century, thus making their absence from anthologies and literary histories not defensible on academic grounds.

It is certain that there is room for improvement in later editions but for the time being *Tanzimattan Günümüze Türk Şiiri Antolojisi* is without doubt the best introduction to modern Turkish poetry, thanks to the eclecticism, objectivity and also the courage shown by the editor in selecting the works.

LAURENT MIGNON

GEOFFREY KHAN:

*The neo-Aramaic dialect of Qaraqosh.*

(Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, XXXVI.) xxiv, 750 pp. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002. €179.

During the last three or four years Professor Geoffrey Khan published at least three other volumes of about equal size on the grammar of another neo-Aramaic dialect and on early Karaite traditions. He and Simon Hopkins (the latter is Professor of Arabic in the University of Jerusalem) are both alumni of SOAS and must be reckoned to be among the most outstanding comparative Semitic philologists (I am using this ‘old-fashioned’ term deliberately) anywhere. While both were undergraduate students of mine, I can claim no credit for their achievements, for they arrived with a mind and with gifts of intellectual excellence that needed little encouragement. Geoffrey Khan is now Professor of Comparative Semitic Philology in the University of Cambridge and probably the only remaining practitioner of this field in post in the United Kingdom.

Neo-Aramaic has become fashionable in recent years, and not long ago a sixtieth birthday *Festschrift* appeared with no fewer than sixty contributions on this subject. Khan on a social visit not long ago discovered a group of neo-Aramaic speakers at Toronto of all places and at once started to record some of their speech (cf. *The Times*, 11 October 2002). When I accepted this

volume for review I knew next to nothing about the neo-Aramaic dialect of Qaraqosh, and I began by reading some of the texts with the help of the translation and the extensive grammar provided.

Qaraqosh is situated in the Mosul plain at the southern edge of the Aramaic-speaking area. Other neo-Aramaic dialects are still spoken in northern Iraq and surrounding regions. All of them show many differences from the classical written forms of Aramaic. In Khan's view this is due not only to many centuries of independent development, but also because they are 'not direct descendants from them, though closely related'. I am not quite clear how a close relationship can be envisaged without a considerable measure of directly inherited features. Arabic influence is particularly advanced in the town of Qaraqosh.

There is no literary tradition in any of the neo-Aramaic dialects, and texts are written down in transcription. It is, however, noteworthy that I was recently sent some texts of unknown provenance which are written in a script which bears a fair resemblance to Syriac writing, yet is far from being readily legible. It appears to be part of Matthew's gospel in something close to Urmia Aramaic. Sebastian Brock, Geoffrey Khan and myself think the writing may be a form of modern Syriac adapted to the purposes of neo-Aramaic, but these are merely preliminary ideas which require further study.

Khan's work is a most detailed exposition of the language, and the list of contents alone contains no fewer than fifteen pages. The phonology, though obviously Semitic, has features and aspects which need to be contemplated minutely to recognize their original provenance. The morphology, usually the part of grammar that is most resistant to foreign influences, exhibits also in this case its plainly Semitic structure, most pronounced, of course, in the verbal system. Nouns of Aramaic stock show the endings inherited from the classical language. While there are a goodly number of loanwords, the main part of the vocabulary is Semitic. Some examples may show the character of transformation many have undergone, such as *əbra* 'son', *dəḏwa* 'fly', *dəhwa* 'gold', *kəxwa* 'star', etc. Plural endings are manifold and have to be studied individually. The numerals are easily recognized as those common in most Semitic languages. The syntax occupies the major part of the work, and this attention to a frequently neglected aspect of Semitic grammars deserves very particular praise. This is not the place, within the permitted limits of a review, to go into detail, but Khan's sovereign command of the material invites unrestricted admiration.

Despite Khan's reservations about incomplete research of the lexicon across neo-Aramaic dialects, his exposition of the Qaraqosh vocabulary is done with characteristic aplomb. While many lexical items in Qaraqosh exhibit a semantic range that corresponds to their cognates in the literary Aramaic of the past, others however show semantic divergences from meaning levels of earlier Aramaic. Thus the cognate of Syriac *sa'rā* 'hair' is *sə'ra*, but the dialect word is limited to 'goat's hair'. The Qaraqosh verb *smx* is cognate to Syriac *smak*, but while the former means 'stand, stop', the latter connotes 'support'. These are developments which can be explained as aspects of long evolution.

Arabic as a language of the environment has naturally exerted a considerable influence and frequently takes the place of a missing or forgotten Qaraqosh word. Khan offers us highly illuminating lists of a number of semantic fields of the Qaraqosh lexicon—from the human body to materials and clothing.

I have already referred to the final part of the book which gives us texts



and translations, but I must reiterate that even with this help the texts present difficulties which, while not insurmountable, are considerable.

Khan tells us that the legend of the conversion of the Qaraqosh to Christianity by John of Daylam derives from a monophysite source. Catholicism was brought to them in the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of the Qaraqosh work in agriculture and usually possess some land. The introduction to this work offers us a most helpful survey of the lives of the Qaraqosh and their language.

The present book—even without taking into account the others written by Khan over recent years—is a massive achievement, and I look upon his study of the Qaraqosh dialect with genuine awe. I cannot readily think of anyone else who has produced so much in so little time to such magnificent effect. Geoffrey Khan can now well afford to rest on his laurels for quite a while.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF

NADIA EBOO JAMAL:

*Surviving the Mongols: Nizārī Quhistānī and the continuity of Ismaili tradition in Persia.*

(The Institute of Ismaili Studies, Ismaili Heritage Series, 8.) xvi, 190 pp. London: I. B. Tauris, 2002. £25.

The fate of the Persian Ismailis after their uprooting and devastation by Hülegü Khan in the thirteenth century is a subject deserving of further research and attention. Even though a well regarded Ismaili poet lived and worked during this tumultuous period, before Nadia Eboo Jamal's book few detailed studies on this subject have been published in English. Her book therefore sheds a welcome light on the Il-Khanate in general, and the Persian Ismailis and Nizārī Quhistānī (1247–1320) in particular. Nizārī's poems have not previously appeared in English translation, and very little on his life and background has been published in the West. *Surviving the Mongols* contains many translated quotations from Nizārī's work and recounts the main details of his life, placing them in the political and social context of his time. Nizārī's life and work are considered in relation to his Ismaili beliefs, his links with the Ismaili community and Sufism and also the reaction of his patrons and friends to these so often despised beliefs.

The Nizārī Ismailis of Persia developed a distinct identity and tradition during the Alamut period in Iran, from 1090 until their near-extinction in 1256. Their leaders and imams, from Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ to Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, cultivated a courtly environment of pious erudition, science and discourse and the Ismaili mountain retreats became known as havens of knowledge and learning. Not all who sought sanctuary in their isolated strongholds were true believers but, rather, were drawn to the secretive sect by the reputation of the Ismaili libraries and scholars. The Ismaili imam resided in the seemingly impregnable fortress of Alamut, high in the Elborz Mountains north of Qazvin. The poet Nizārī was born in Birjand in the region of Quhistan, today the border district of eastern Iran and western Afghanistan. The province of Quhistan held a number of Ismaili fortresses and Birjand was a commercial city with a large Ismaili population. In 1253–54 Quhistan was hit by the first wave of Mongol assaults against its Ismaili residents; Nizārī's family survived with their lives—possibly because they lived outside the city—though not with their lands. Forced to seek employment

away from his family, Nizārī worked first for the Mongol governor of Quhistan but eventually ended up in Herat working for the Kart administration as a tax collector, a role which involved a certain amount of travel. In 1280 he travelled extensively in the Caucasus and Azerbaijan in the retinue of the *Ṣāhib Dīwān*, Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, though it is difficult to ascertain in what capacity Nizārī was included in the party. After his travels, which appear to have been a cover for him to visit the scattered Persian Ismaili community, the poet resigned his post in Herat and returned to Birjand to write poetry. During this period he was employed as a court poet for a local ruler, the Mihrabānid Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh.

Nizārī Quhistānī lived during turbulent times and his life and work could shed light on many aspects of this period that are still obscure and unclear. For this reason alone Eboo Jamal’s book must be welcomed. However, she has failed fully to explore the implications of the events of his life by accepting too readily now outdated views and interpretations of the early Mongol period. It has now been generally recognized that Iran’s experience of the Mongols falls into two distinct phases, and that the Il-Khanid years cannot be equated with the chaos which existed after the initial invasions of c. 1222. Unfortunately Eboo Jamal employs the same tired clichés and rounds up the usual suspect quotes to describe both periods. Ibn al-Athir is quoted to encapsulate the ‘cataclysmic events’ with Hülegü seen as just another Mongol conqueror continuing the mayhem of his grandfather (p. 69). With such a wealth of new material to work with it is regrettable that this book has not adopted a more recent scholarly backdrop against which to set the life, thoughts and work of Nizārī Quhistānī.

This shortcoming is compounded by an over-reliance on secondary sources, surprising given the abundance of available primary source material from the Il-Khanid period. Howorth, Hodgson, Bosworth, Boyle, Petrushevsky, Ivanhow, and of course Daftary are all called upon and relied upon not only for their interpretations and worthy insights but sometimes even for citations, quotations and facts readily available from more contemporary sources (pp. 71–3). Petrushevsky is even cited for anecdotes related by Nizārī himself. Two Central Asian scholars, Chengiz Baiburdi and Chingiz Baradin, not only provide Eboo Jamal with much of her factual information on Nizārī but also with citations and references to Nizārī’s written material (pp. 62, 65) though the author does acknowledge this debt to Baiburdi. A result possibly of this reliance on secondary sources are factual errors. The historian and statesman ‘Aṭā’ Malik Juwaynī died, vindicated and of natural causes, in 1283. He was not executed in 1280 as stated on p. 136. Though the Shirazi poet Ḥāfiẓ played ambiguously with images of wine and lovers, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī did not (p. 128). Shams-i Tabrīzī, Rūmī’s spiritual mentor, was a scholar of high standing and not just a ‘wandering *darwīsh*’ (p. 132), he died in 1247 not 1257 (p. 134) and the erroneous claim that he was born into an Ismaili family is not substantiated or referenced (p. 133).

One of Eboo Jamal’s stated aims in *Surviving the Mongols* is the exploration of links and influences between Nizārī and Sufism. The shrouding of Ismailism under the cloak of Sufism was a convenient method of *taqiyya*. The language of Sufism was also pervasive in most Persian poetry of the time and Sufi imagery, combined with Shia ideological references, provided an obvious format and possible disguise for Ismaili propoganda. Eboo Jamal clearly demonstrates how this link developed at this time rather than later as has been commonly assumed. Her treatment of Nizārī’s *Safa-nāma* as an account of the author’s secret visit to the sites of Ismaili activity in Mongol

Iran is convincing. However, the reasons for the extreme antipathy towards the Ismailis at this time are not explored and the author's sympathy for the Ismaili cause is sometimes too apparent.

Though Nadia Eboo Jamal's book is a most welcome contribution to the study of the earlier Il-Khanate, it raises more questions than it answers. Some answers must remain conjecture at this point due to the evasive and secretive nature of the source material, a point readily conceded by Nadia Eboo Jamal, but it must be hoped that this book will inspire further research into this period in general and into the shrouded activities of the Ismailis during the Mongol decades in particular.

GEORGE LANE

MICHAEL E. STONE, DICKRAN KOUYMJIAN and HENNING LEHMANN:

*Album of Armenian paleography.*

554 pp. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002. £126.75.

The publication of this sumptuous volume is a major event in Armenian studies. This is the first book on Armenian palaeography written in any Western language, and the collection of nearly 200 full colour plates of dated Armenian manuscripts from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries is unlikely ever to be surpassed. The album provides an excellent overview of all the different forms of the Armenian script, and the use of computer scanning and imaging has enabled the creation of tables of comparative letter forms, which allow the reader to trace developments in the script over the last 1600 years.

The saint Mesrop Maštoc' (to whose memory this book is dedicated) is reputed to have invented the Armenian alphabet at the beginning of the fifth century, and it has been a source of national pride and a symbol of Armenian identity ever since. The Armenians' reverence for the written script may account for the fact that they continued to commission manuscript versions of texts long after the invention of the printing press and the publication of the first Armenian books. The album includes plates of fine illuminated manuscripts from as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Armenian scribes and patrons were also reluctant to depart from the traditional appearance of the script, with the result that it is not easy to date a text accurately from palaeographical information alone. The primary aim of the album is consequently to gather together representative dated manuscripts in order to assist scholars to recognize the subtle changes in the script from generation to generation, and to provide comparanda for other undated manuscripts. The manuscripts reproduced in the album come principally from the large collections in Yerevan, Jerusalem and Venice, but a number of texts from smaller collections are included, some of which would otherwise be difficult to access (note the two plates devoted to copies of the Gospels kept in Curlut' Village, Axalc'a, Georgia, numbers 8 and 9). Accompanying each plate there is a description of the manuscript, and information on its scribe, provenance and the patron who commissioned the text (where known), and a computer scan of every single letter. There is also a transcription of a representative sample of each manuscript. The transcription is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the volume, since the editors have sometimes missed off indications of supralinear strokes or accent-marks and punctuation, and have not reproduced the word spaces used in the original (this is sometimes of considerable interest, note for example the Gospel texts 108 and 133 which

write words out syllable-by-syllable with breaks in between). Sometimes, the transcription actually confuses letters (e.g. on p. 164 the transcription should read *Matt'eosi* for *Matt'êosi*).

The album also contains (pp. 11–75) a ‘History of Armenian paleography’ by Dickran Kouymjian, which includes a survey of all previous accounts of the development of Armenian script. This is very welcome, since it gives a summary of many articles and books published in Armenian and often inaccessible to Western scholars. It also includes plates of most of the Armenian undated manuscripts from before the tenth century and previously unpublished photographs of the now destroyed Tekor church inscription, which is reckoned to be over 300 years earlier than the earliest dated Armenian manuscript (black-and-white plates and transcriptions of four other early inscriptions are given on pp. 112–15). In its lucidity and coverage, Kouymjian’s account is unlikely to be bettered, and he is to be applauded for setting the development of the Armenian script in the context of parallel developments in Syriac and Greek and Latin book-hands. He also highlights the importance of the single (undated) papyrus fragment with Armenian script, probably written between the fifth and seventh centuries, which represents our only early example of informal writing (pp. 59–63). It is unfortunate, however, that the early undated manuscripts and inscriptions discussed by Kouymjian do not appear in descriptions of the individual letter forms that follow nor in the comparative tables of letters included at the end of the volume.

This luxurious provision of plates makes the album of considerable interest to art historians. Since many of them reproduce title pages of manuscripts, it offers a very good overview of changing styles of ornamentation, and the use of illustration and text layout over the centuries. Particularly unusual is document 168—a paper text with prayers written in different directions about illustrated roundels. One can also find fine examples of the hand and marginal illustrations of the celebrated miniature painter T’oros Rōslin (plates 75, 76, 78 and 79). For such a well illustrated and finely produced book the price is not as extravagant as it may first appear, and the editors and Aarhus University Press are to be congratulated for a worthy commemoration of 1600 years of the Armenian script.

JAMES CLACKSON

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#### SOUTH ASIA

RAMENDRA NATH NANDI:

*Aryans revisited*.

xiv, 142 pp. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2001.

Rs. 350.

Although the title may lead some to jump to the conclusion that *Aryans revisited* is yet another in the long line of recent publications addressing the issue of the ethnic and geographical origins of South Asian culture, the aspirations of its author in fact lie elsewhere. Nandi sets out to define the parameters of the geography and internal chronology of the culture (or cultures) represented in the verse compositions of the *Ṛksaṃhitā* as a part of his proposed examination of the social, political and historical dimensions of the period during which these compositions were produced. Ultimately, Nandi

seeks to clarify the patterns of social organization and means of subsistence, define Ṛgvedic concepts of ethnicity and the relation of ethnicity to language and ritual, trace the process of early state formation, and extract historical data from the myths and legends with which the Vedic poems present us.

It must be said that Nandi consistently identifies legitimate and interesting issues for investigation. Just as consistently, however, he fails to examine them in an organized way. For example, it is true that the social groupings denoted in the Ṛgveda by the terms *viś* and *jāna* have yet to be precisely defined (p. 11). However, Nandi's discussion is unlikely to persuade the reader that the two terms refer to distinct forms of social organization representing different stages of development, with *jāna* referring to an endogamous nomadic group and *viś* referring to settlements of endogamous nuclear families (p. 14). Nor is the reasoning behind Nandi's assertion that the *viś* is an endogamous unit any more convincing (p. 15). No argument at all is provided to justify the claim that in 'the mating behaviour of the Ṛgvedic Aryan ... the earlier stage is marked by incest, polyandry, and levirate. The second stage is marked by the induction of *dāsa* women and growth of polygyny (pp. 19–20)'. Another instance in which Nandi recognizes a potentially lucrative research topic but fails to capitalize on it is his treatment of class distinction in the Ṛgveda. According to Nandi, the horizontal differentiation of segments of early Ṛgvedic society, such as that between the 'sacrificing householders and the bardic singers', is progressively transformed into a vertical hierarchy by the later text RV 10.90, and the beginning of the process is marked by 'the induction of non-kin *dāsa* members into the *viś* or *jāna* (pp. 24–5)'. No convincing substantiation is offered for this claim.

Nandi's handling of the question of the stratification of Ṛgvedic compositions results in similar dissatisfaction. He rightly warns against approaching the Ṛgveda as a monolithic text, pointing out that its contents derive from disparate groups distributed over a relatively extensive region, and from at least several generations of composers (p. 7). Nevertheless, his suggestion that 'the sixth book [of the Ṛgveda] marked the passage from egalitarian folkdom to elective chiefdom whereas the seventh book marked the transition from elective chiefdom to hereditary monarchy (p. 22)' rings hollow for lack of evidence.

Given the title of the work, it is odd that Nandi avoids dealing with the much-debated question of an Aryan homeland. After expressing the opinion that the problem is 'unlikely to be resolved in near future', he proceeds with a survey of the geographic distribution of the various portions of the Ṛgveda (p. 84). This survey fails to add anything to what has already been said on the subject by Oldenberg in the first appendix to his *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (1882) and by Witzel ('Ṛgvedic history: poets, chieftains and politics' in *The Indo-Aryans of ancient South Asia* (1995)), yet neither of these works is cited by Nandi.

This neglect of relevant secondary literature is also notable in his treatment of the term *ārya*. It is not only that he overlooks Thieme's classic work, *Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda* (1938). Neither does he mention Kuiper's *The Aryans in the Ṛgveda* (1991) nor Erdosy's contribution to the volume *The Indo-Aryans of ancient South Asia: language, material culture and ethnicity* (1995). This is unfortunate, seeing that both works foretell Nandi's conclusion that the term *ārya* 'did not signify any ethnic entity' but rather an 'ideology' (pp. 60–61). Or, as Erdosy had it in 1995, the term *ārya* 'denoted a multitude of ethnic groups subscribing to a newly emerging ideology'.

To his credit, Nandi has recognized that a proper examination of the

complex issues which he proposes to treat require an integration of the results of textual analysis and archaeology. Yet such omissions do not inspire confidence in his command of either of these fields. Distrust mounts already when, in a brief preliminary section (pp. 8–9) that is meant to introduce the reader to the basic reference materials available to a scholar of the Ṛgveda, no mention is made of Grassmann's Ṛgvedic dictionary, Mayrhofer's etymological dictionaries, Oldenberg's *Prolegomena* and *Noten*, nor of the standard translation of the Ṛgveda by Geldner. Nandi's bibliography better reflects the burgeoning research in early South Asian archaeology, although he is reticent when it comes to attribution by means of footnote. Furthermore, he seems unaware of a number of recent works important for his area of interest, such as the volume edited by Bronkhorst and Deshpande for the Harvard Oriental Series Opera Minora Volume 3, *Aryan and non-Aryan in South Asia: evidence, interpretation and ideology* (1999), and the volume of essays edited by F. R. Allchin entitled *The archaeology of early historic South Asia: the emergence of cities and states* (1995).

It is true that a listing such as this of an author's bibliographic omissions sometimes constitutes mere pedantry, without relevance to an appraisal of the author's arguments. In the case at hand, however, it provides a fair indication either of Nandi's insufficient engagement with the previous research that has been carried out in the fields to which he aspires to make a contribution, or of his wilful neglect of it.

THEODORE PROFERES

RODERICK CAVALIERO:

*Strangers in the land: the rise and decline of the British Indian Empire.*

xvi, 280 pp. London: I. B. Tauris, 2002. £25.

After decades of near-drought, the last few years have seen a veritable flood of new histories of India—some memorable, others not. Like a number of others, Roderick Cavaliero's history focuses on the British in India, from the founding of the East India Company in 1600 through to independence in 1947. The book, which draws its title from a comment made by Lord Bentinck as Governor of Madras in 1807, eschews elaborate arguments and intrusive pronouncements about the rights and wrongs of empire, relying instead upon the vigour and incisiveness of its prose and the strength of its narrative writing. But the underlying presumption, which surfaces most clearly in the preface and concluding chapter, is that although 'Years of apologising for the Raj have encouraged Britons to want to forget the whole experience', the story of how the British came to win (and eventually lose) their Indian empire remains a remarkable, even 'astounding', one. In a work in which European rather than Asian parallels prevail, the tale of the British in India is deemed historically worthy of comparison with the achievements of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar and accordingly deserving of sympathetic retelling to an apparently unheeding new age.

Without much of a theme to lend coherence, the opening chapters, crammed with hectic detail, mirror what the author calls 'the roving chaos of Indian life' before the establishment of British orderliness. Only on reaching the more stable ground of the late eighteenth century does he settle into a more even stride and effective turn of phrase. But, given his reliance upon

secondary works, the account of British India that follows inevitably treads a well-worn path, all the more so since Cavaliero builds his narrative around the main political and military events of the period. Warfare and its supposedly determining role in the course of events, from the mid-eighteenth-century skirmishes with the French and the Nawabs of Bengal and the Carnatic through to the bloody engagements of the Anglo-Sikh Wars and the Indian Mutiny, constitute a more significant part of the story than with many modern academic histories and occupy a substantial part of the first two-thirds of the book. This supports a wider impression of British rule as in essence a soldierly Raj, founded on military force, to a large part sustained by it, and further upheld by the eternally divided nature of opposing Indian forces. This is, too, a history of 'great men', the soldiers, statesmen and pro-consuls who made British India, from Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley to John and Henry Lawrence and Lord Curzon, but leavened by the views of those equally familiar outsiders, sceptics and critics who, like William Carey and James Mill, attacked the orientalist and un-Christian nature of early British rule in India, or who, like E. M. Forster and George Orwell, observed the waning empire with a sceptical eye. The momentum of Cavaliero's narrative begins, however, to falter after the Mutiny as he turns to the political and administrative changes of the late nineteenth century. There are no more battles to survey, no more dashing generals, nor even, after Curzon, any particularly farsighted or foolhardy viceroys to commend. In the last third of the book, Cavaliero's political narrative becomes much sketchier. We see more of British social life in India but the multiple senses in which the British remained 'strangers in the land', or the ways in which they tried to rationalize or counter their own alienation, are barely explored. We are also given, for no very good reason except perhaps to show British attitudes to a colourful section of the Indian elite and Albion's perfidy in abandoning them to popularism in 1947, an insight into the lives of the Indian princes.

The rest of India is more awkwardly and summarily dealt with. The entire independence movement between the First World War and 1947 is dispatched in a single, brief chapter which acknowledges British bewilderment over Gandhi but finds little popular support for the Indian National Congress. Unlike Gibbon's Rome, the reasons for the 'rise' of this empire appear much easier to explain, and more interesting to narrate, than the causes for its 'decline'. It is suggested that the main fault lay in the racial arrogance of the British, their failure to extend the friendship Indians craved, and an aloofness compounded by nostalgia and ennui. Cavaliero thus concludes that the British surrendered India after the Second World War rather than having it wrested from them. And yet in focusing so insistently upon the British, India and Indians remain little more than shadows, and so it is unsurprising that the demise of the empire is so hard to explain. But then if, between the eighteenth century and the Second World War, famine were one of the main indictments of British indifference and exploitation, a reader would hardly know it from this book (the famine of 1770 is noted as costing Bengal a third of its population but this is put down to natural causes and receives scarcely a line of comment; the famine of 1943 slips by without even that acknowledgement). And while racial arrogance is conceded as a fatal flaw, it would seem in Cavaliero's concluding assessment to be at least partly compensated for by the legacy of the English language Britain left to post-independence India. This is a book that is, in the main, well and even engagingly written. As a source of factual information, it is generally reliable. But it is an epitaph for

an empire that deserves to be remembered for more reasons that its author allows.

DAVID ARNOLD

CORINNA WESSELS-MEVISSSEN:

*The gods of the directions in ancient India: origin and early development in art and literature (until c. 1000 A.D.).*

xxi, 233 pp. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2001.

It was E. Washburn Hopkins who, in his important volume, *Epic mythology* (Strasbourg, 1915), first dealt with the Eight Great Devas mentioned in the two Great Epics of India, viz. the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata (pp. 83ff.). These Eight Great Devas are the sun-god (Sūrya), the moon-god (Candra or Soma), the wind-god (Vāyu), the fire-god (Agni), Yama, Varuṇa, Indra and Kubera. And in the chapter called 'The world-protectors', Hopkins (pp. 149–52) says: 'The eight gods discussed above (§38–§90) are grouped in later literature as guardians of the four chief and four subsidiary directions: the Sun-god of the south-west, the Moon-god of the north-east, and for cardinal points, Yama of the South, Varuṇa of the West, Kubera of the North and Indra of the East'. The term used for the world-protectors is Lokapāla. Hopkins further states that Manu 5, 96 mentions the eight Lokapālas, but without indication of the directions. In a later period, it is not known exactly when, Nirṛti (not Nairṛta), a demon or lord of the demons, appears as the guardian of the south-west, instead of the sun; and Śiva Īśāna as the guardian of the north-east, instead of the moon-god. However, four was the regular number of world-protectors in the epics as is evidenced in *Mbh.* 3, 281, 14, where Rāvaṇa calls himself the 'fifth of the world-protectors' (*pañcama lokapālā-nam iti me prathitam yaśah*). The term *lokapāla* is common in the epics; *dikpāla* does not occur, although the designation *diśāmpāla* is mentioned. It would not be out of place to mention that in early epigraphical records only the four Lokapālas are mentioned, viz. *catuṣṇam lokapālānām yama-varuṇa-kubera-vāsava-nam namo* (cf. the Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscription of Nāgamnikā, first century B.C. or A.D.), and *dhanada-varuṇ-endr-āntaka-saṃasya* (cf. the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, fourth century A.D.).

In his standard volume, *Elements of Hindu iconography* (Madras, 1914), T. A. Gopinath Rao mentioned and discussed the eight Dikpālakas (Vol. II, part 2, pp. 515–38) as Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛuti (vernacular!), Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera and Īśāna. It is surprising that Rao did not use the term Lokapāla in this chapter, although he refers to yama in the next chapter (pp. 542–3), as one of the Lokapālas, guarding the southern quarter of the universe. On pp. 251–66 Rao calls them *dikpālāḥ* and gives descriptions from both south and north Indian iconographic texts. These are Indra, Vahni, Vaivasvata, Nirṛuti (correctly Nirṛti), Varuṇa, Vāyu, Dhanada and Īśa. This fact shows that art historians were rather confused about the terms *lokapāla* and *dikpāla*, and used both for the same set of personages.

Another well-known scholar, Jitendra Nath Banerjea, who wrote a standard volume entitled *The development of Hindu iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), referred to the Aṣṭadikpālas, calling them Dikpālas or Lokapālas (pp. 519–29), 'guardians of the Quarters of the World'; they are Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Agni and Nirṛti (correctly Nirṛti). Banerjea quotes the important verse of Manusmṛiti, v. 96 (p. 520) where they are called Lokapālas



and named as Soma, Agni, Arka, Anila, Indra, Vittapati, Appati (Apapati by Banerjea) and Yama. In the *Gobhila Grhyasūtra* (quoted by Banerjea, p. 521), already regents of the ten regions (*diśas*) are mentioned as Indra (E), Vāyu (SE), Yama (S), Pitaras (SW), Varuṇa (W), Mahārāja (NW), Soma (N), Mahendra (NE), Vāsuki (downwards), and Brahmā (upwards towards the sky). It appears that in this list Pitaras is mentioned instead of Nirṛti, Mahārāja appears for Kubera (with an incorrect direction), Agni and Īśāna are missing, and Indra appears with Mahendra, same as Indra. Hence the list of the *Gobhila Grhyasūtra* is quite confusing.

The present reviewer published an article called ‘A solitary illustration of eight Lokapālas from south Bihar’ (*South Asian Studies*, 3, 1987, pp. 63–70) to show how a stone relief from south Bihar (MIK I 672) faithfully illustrates the eight Lokapālas mentioned in the *Manusmṛti*, v. 96 referred to above.

But besides the above-mentioned short essays no detailed discussion on this important iconographic topic has taken place until now. It was therefore timely that Corinna Wessels-Mevissen wrote her PhD thesis at the Free University of Berlin on this topic, published here in a slightly revised form under the title, *The gods of the directions in ancient India: origin and early development in art and literature (until c. 1000 A.D.)* in the series *Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie*. Professor Marianne Yaldiz, director of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, deserves our thanks for bringing this volume to publication on behalf of the Ernst Waldschmidt endowment. The printed book’s 233 pages, with many attractive black-and-white photographs of the guardian deities, show the nature of objective study and the hard work undertaken by the scholar. This is a volume of iconographic study, hence the large number of illustrations of objects is essential to comprehending the variety of iconographic features of different images. Art objects from all over India have been collected for this study. Some illustrations are taken from museums, while many were taken by the author herself. The conclusion gives a German summary of the text, an exhaustive bibliography, abbreviations and a general index, followed by the figures. In the introduction Wessels-Mevissen deals with early literary evidence and refers to the important work of F. B. J. Kuiper. She then turns to more relevant sources, viz. the Epics and the Purāṇas; for the Epics, however, E. W. Hopkin’s work is standard. I am glad that she has consulted an early epigraph, the Nānāghaṭ inscription of the Sātavāhana queen Nāgamnikā (Nāyanikā), where the four Lokapālas (Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava) are mentioned, but she might also have referred to the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta, where the king is compared to the four Lokapālas, Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka. The author has referred to almost all the important *Purāṇas* relevant to her topic; *Agni-*, *Bhāgavata-*, *Liṅga-*, *Matsya-*, *Skanda-*, *Varāha-*, and *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*. In the early and well-known iconographic text, *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Book III, ch. 50) the four early Lokapālas, Śakra, Kīnāśa (i.e. Yama), Varuṇa and Dhanada, are mentioned. In ch. 55, the four other Lokapālas, viz. Śiva (also called Īśāna), Vahni, Nirṛti (this is the earlier term, and not Nairṛta) and Vāyu are mentioned. The author offers no explanation as to why she prefers the term Nairṛta to Nirṛti though she acknowledges that the term Nirṛti is both masculine and feminine. Nairṛta generally designates the south-western direction. Wessels-Mevissen has illustrated images of Indra, Vāyu, Agni and Candra from the Somapura vihāra, Naogaon District, Bangladesh. These are, no doubt, connected with a Buddhist monument but she should have referred

to the Buddhist text, Niṣpannayogāvalī, to explain the presence of the Hindu deities in a Buddhist context.

The eleven textual tables she gives on the Directional Guardians and *dikpālas* are useful for study, especially Table X from the *Purāṇas*. Her real study, however, as an objective art-student, starts with the chapter ‘The images’ (pp. 18ff.) in which she describes the Guardians of Directions as illustrated by Indian sculptors. She also presents eleven tables on the iconography of individual *dikpālas*—indeed a laborious and careful task.

The author is to be commended for her meticulousness in using diacritical marks with Sanskrit terms, but to use diacritical marks for well-known modern place names, such as Mathura, Nalanda, Bodhgaya, etc. should rather be avoided. Perhaps, an alternative title, ‘The *guardians* of the directions in Ancient India’, would have been more suitable, because Nirṛti-/Nairṛta is a demon. Corinna Wessels-Mevissen is to be congratulated for her scholarly volume, which will be of great value to students of Indian art and iconography. The printing is excellent, the plates are good and the colour and the general presentation are of a high standard.

GOURISWAR BHATTACHARYA

PETER SKILLING and SANTI PAKDEEKHAM:

*Pāli literature transmitted in central Siam: a catalogue based on the Sap Songkhro*, Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka, Volume 1. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002, 361 pp.

The book under review constitutes a trilingual catalogue of 528 Pali texts transmitted in central Siam as described in Thai language catalogue(s) produced in Bangkok during the 1920s. Its principal source is the first part of the *Muat Tham of Sap Songkhro*, published by Mahā Kim Hongladarom in 1925. The *Sap Songkhro* is an inventory of the collection of Khom-script manuscripts kept in the National Library, Bangkok. The Khom script, which is a cognate of the Khmer script, was employed to record Pali texts in the central region of Siam from (at least) the fourteenth century until the age of print. It is supplemented by information drawn from the first part of the National Library catalogue (Bangkok, 1921), entitled: *Banchi khamphi phasa bali lae phasa sansakrit an mi chabap nai ho phra samut watchirayan samrap phra nakhon mua pi wok p.s. 2463 (Catalogue of texts in Pali and Sanskrit in the collection of the Vajirañāna Library in the Monkey Year BE 2463)*. The texts themselves are arranged by genre, in Vinaya (§§1.1–54), Sutta (§§2.1–255), Abhidhamma (§§3.1–87) and Treatises on Language (§§4.1–132). The catalogue entries are given in the original Thai text as found in the *Sap Songkhro*, accompanied by a partial English translation of their description, and the transliterated Pali titles. While many of the works are well known from the Pāli Tipiṭaka in its various editions and translations, the present catalogue also contains a large number of works that have never been printed, let alone studied. In fact, many are known to Western scholarship only by their titles and have not been transmitted in either Burma or Sri Lanka. This applies in particular to the Treatises on Languages, but also holds true for some of the texts included in the Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma sections. In a sense, therefore, this catalogue opens up an entirely new field of research, giving access to a whole range of materials which to date eluded modern research.

While its compilers are keenly aware of this limitation, they go to some lengths to integrate the content of the catalogue into the current state of Pali scholarship. For example, in cases where we do not parallel versions, they direct the reader to Oskar von Hinüber's magistral *Handbook of Pāli literature* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996) and other, usually earlier, reference works, such as Mabel Bode's *Pali literature of Burma* (London, 1909, reprinted 1966). Much useful information is found in the detailed and competent introduction (pp. iv–xcvii). Here, the compilers introduce not only the critical apparatus of the catalogue and discuss the sources on which its content is based, but also provide a biographical sketch of Mahā Kim Hongladarom, recounting his education and professional career. Finally, the introduction contains a series of tables, outlining the structures of the source catalogues and other related reference works, as well as a comprehensive bibliography of Pali literature catalogues. In order to enhance the usefulness of this publication to scholars from Thailand, the authors produced a parallel version of the introduction and the index in Thai. There can be no doubt that this is a well-conceived and ably crafted catalogue. Since it gives access to a new, largely unknown, body of Pali works, it paves the way for a new phase in the exploration of Pali literature from Siam.

ULRICH PAGEL

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CENTRAL ASIA

CHRISTOPH BAUMER:

*Bön: Tibet's ancient religion.*

200 pp. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2002.

This book sets out to provide an overview of the key features and development of the Bon religion from its origins in prehistoric Tibet up to modern times. Although aimed at a general readership, much of its content is drawn from scholarly publications and attempts to tackle a broad range of controversial issues. In spite of the difficulties inherent in such an enterprise, Baumer succeeds in giving an account of Bon that is both largely accurate and accessible. Divided into eleven chapters, his treatment covers the following topics: Bon cosmogony, Bon mythology, Bon in prehistorical Tibet, Shenrab Miwoche and the origins of Bon, Bon during the Yarlung dynasty, Bon and Buddhism from the 11th to the 13th century, the Bon pantheon and Bon in the 20th century. In several chapters, the religious and historical discussions are supplemented by extracts from Baumer's personal journal that he kept while travelling to Bonpo holy sites and monasteries in the late 1990s. The text itself is accompanied by beautiful colour photographs serving to illustrate selected aspects of Bon culture. From a scholarly perspective, the most useful part of this publication is probably the bibliography (pp. 190–96), which contains a comprehensive list of Bon research.

Publications of this type are often best assessed against what they set out to accomplish. Baumer's monograph was propelled by three principal aspirations (pp. 10–11). To provide (1) a chronological presentation of the myths and history of Tibet from the Bon point of view as well as a critical treatment of the Bon religion on the basis of the Bonpos' own view of themselves; (2) a presentation of the confrontation between Bon and early

Buddhism during the Pugyel dynasty as well as of the mutual influence of the Yungdrung Bon and the various Tibetan Buddhist schools and; (3) a systematic photographic documentation of the most important Bon monasteries.

Although Baumer possesses no Tibetological training, through the judicious use of secondary sources he manages to put together a reasonably reliable account of the myths and history of Bon. While he tends to gloss over some of the more contentious issues, most of what he says reflects current research. This also holds true for his discussion of the relationship between Buddhists and Bonpos, even if it is very sketchy and tends to oversimplify what must have been a very complex web of interactions. Moreover, in several places I noted contradictory evaluations of historical events (see, for example, Baumer's appraisal of the roles of Glang-dar-ma (pp. 16, 124) and Thomni sambhota (pp. 27, 107) to Tibetan history and culture). The most interesting section appears towards the end (pp. 149–157) where Baumer discusses the reputed Bon association of the Naxi, Moso and Pumi of Yunnan. Although again largely based on the work of other scholars, it is rarely included in publications on Bon. Ironically, the photographs are the greatest disappointment. While they purport to focus on Bon culture and religion, many have no Bon content at all. Baumer's 'documentation' of Bon monasteries is superficial and rarely offers more than scenic snapshots of their locations. It is certainly not 'systematic' (p. 10). On the contrary, the book is replete with portraits of monks, nomads, women and children, landscapes and well-known cultural monuments most of which have no obvious connection with Bon. One suspects that they were included to enhance the marketability of this book, even though they distract from its very purpose.

In short, Baumer's publication is a useful introductory contribution that will help to dispel the myth that Tibetan culture is entirely Buddhist. Even though his book contains little new, it is generally well-researched and constitutes an intelligent, albeit insufficiently referenced and sporadically unbalanced, discussion of the Bon religion. Since it is the first publication on Bon of its kind, bringing critical scholarship to an ever inquiring public captivated by Tibet, it is a welcome contribution that will hopefully lead to a more balanced understanding of Tibetan culture in the West.

ULRICH PAGEL

GYURME DORJE:

*Tibetan elemental divination paintings: illuminated manuscripts from The White Beryl of Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho with the Moonbeams treatise of Lo-chen Dharmasrī.*

432 pp. London: John Eskenazi in association with Sam Fogg, 2001.

The book under review represents a detailed study of the so-called Chinese elemental divination practices (*nag rtsis* or '*byun rtsis*') as developed in Tibet. The term '*byun rtsis*' refers to the calculation (*rtsis*) of the five elements ('*byun*') and other determining factors used in divination practices. Tradition maintains that this form of divination was brought to Tibet from China during the reigns of the Tibetan kings gNam-ri (d. 627) and Srong-brtsan-sgam-po (d. 649/50) by the Chinese princesses Wencheng and Jicheng. Although Chinese elemental divination is connected to an astrological/astronomical tradition (*skar rtsis*) developed in India and introduced into Tibet in 1026,

largely derived from the computations found in the Kālacakra tantra (*dkar rtsis*), it is not an astrological science *per se*. Moreover, its calculations are not based on a purely Chinese system but employ a modified form of the Indian *skar rtsis* calendar. While it is certainly true that Chinese elemental divination is widely practised among Tibetans (divinations are commissioned, for example, at births, marriages and deaths, as well as in agriculture and business ventures), its treatment in Tibetan scholarly literature is limited—in particular if compared with astrology and astronomy. The two most important works pertaining to divination practice, already identified by Dieter Schuh in his landmark publication *Zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), are the *Phug lugs rtsis kyi legs bsad mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan vaidūrya dkar po'i do sal dpyod ldan sñiñ nor*, compiled between 1683 and 1685 by sDe-srid Sañs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653–1705), and Dharmasri's (1654–1717) *'Byuñ rtsis man ñag zla ba'i 'od zer* composed in 1684. While the latter is a relatively short text, consisting of no more than eighteen folios (Lhasa print, 1927), but entirely devoted to *nag rtsis*, the former (*vaidūrya dkar po*) is a monumental treatise dealing with a range of calendar calculations. The first nineteen chapters of the *vaidūrya dkar po* (spanning 128 folios in the Lhasa edition) are concerned predominantly with astrological considerations (*skar rtsis*) following the Kālacakra tantra, while the remaining sixteen chapters deal with *nag rtsis* and, in part, *dbyañs 'char* astrology. The Tibetan tradition is careful to distinguish *dbyañs 'char* astrology, also known by its Sanskrit name as *Svarodaya* astrology, from the Kālacakra system, although it too is held to stem from India. The topics included in the *nag rtsis* sections (chapters 20 to 35) of the *vaidūrya dkar po* cover virtually the whole spectrum of divination, including natal horoscopes, marital astrology, predictions of misfortune and illness, omens, funerary astrology, geomancy and personal astrology.

There is little doubt that the two successive manuscripts included in *Tibetan elemental divination paintings* were originally prepared to serve as illustrations for the intricate tabular computations of divinations described in the *vaidūrya dkar po* (p. 18). Both are based directly on the words and contents of this treatise, following the *vaidūrya dkar po*'s account illustration by illustration. After a relatively short introduction and a truly splendid reproduction of the 94 illuminated folios, Dorje proceeds to list and explain the various aspects of elemental divination (*'byuñ rtsis*) as they appear in the *vaidūrya dkar po* and the affiliated manuscript illustrations. Great care is taken throughout to match the content of the text with the depictions displayed on the 94 folios. Following the order in the *vaidūrya dkar po*, Dorje discusses the origins and transmission of elemental divination (pp. 44–59), the hidden points of the turtle divination chart (pp. 60–117), geomancy (pp. 118–37), divination of natal horoscopes (pp. 138–91), marital divination (pp. 192–223), the impact of the hour of divination (pp. 260–93), divination of ill-health (pp. 294–306) and death (pp. 307–57), the thirty Chinese and Tibetan computational charts (pp. 358–87) and the thirteen charts of the Bal mo lding skor (pp. 388–98). Dorje draws above all on the *vaidūrya dkar po* but, judging by the bibliography, also included in the purview of his study a range of other Tibetan sources containing information relevant to divination practices. He pays particular attention to Dharmasri's *'Byuñ rtsis man ñag zla ba'i 'od zer* whose summary of *nag rtsis* principles is translated in full in the book. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which he used the other Tibetan texts cited in the bibliography since, with the exception of the *Bai dkar bu yig*

*gsin rtsis khra ma'i dper brjod gnad bsdus*, they are hardly referred to in either the main body of the text or in the notes.

Dorje's commentary to, and explanations of, the illustrations are generally well-informed and attest to his intimate knowledge of Tibetan culture. Page after page he provides fascinating detail about divination practices, replete with case studies and examples. While his work falls short of being a manual, it offers a very good insight into the manifold dimensions of the divination process. However, perhaps because it is the first major study of its kind, the book suffers from an overly narrow frame of reference, providing little information that is not given in the *vaidūrya dkar po* itself. Even the end-notes are relatively bare, focusing mainly on textual emendations and alternative readings. Dorje's referencing system is equally disappointing; in many instances it is unclear whether his descriptions of divination practices constitute a translation, a paraphrase or a summary, or simply represent his own interpretation. To be fair, most of his elucidations are accompanied by page references to the *vaidūrya dkar po*, but all too often they appear disproportionately short (or long) if set against the folio numbers of the Tibetan (e.g. p. 248). Similar negligence is found in some of Dorje's bibliographic entries. References to articles are given without page numbers, reprints are sometimes indicated, sometimes not, and even book titles are incorrectly listed (rDo rje gcod pa, p. 422). Thankfully, most of these mistakes appear in European-language publications and are thus easily spotted. References to Tibetan-language materials received closer attention and are generally accurate. It appears that Dorje is less well-acquainted with modern research on Tibetan divination practices than he is with Tibetan sources. Specifically, I would like to proffer the following publications for inclusion in the bibliography: A. Berzin, 'An introduction to Tibetan astronomy and astrology', *Tibet Journal*, 12/1, 1987, 17–28; A. M. Blondeau, 'Les religions du Tibet', *Histoire des Religions*, 3, *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade*, 40, ed. H. C. Puech, Paris, 1976, 233–329, esp. 302–05; A. M. Blondeau, 'Religions tibétaines', *Annuaire (Résumé des conférences et travaux, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve section, Sciences religieuses)*, 86–96, Paris, 1977–1988; G. Childs and M. Walters, 'Tibetan natal horoscopes', *Tibet Journal*, 25/1, 2000, 51–62; R. B. Ekvall, 'Some aspects of divination in Tibetan society', *Ethnology*, 2/1, 1963, 31–9; Jiacao Jiangbian, 'An investigation on Gesar's arrow divination (Gesar mDav-mo)', *Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Fagernes, 1992, Oslo, 1994, 403–07; Norbu Chopel, 'The mirror of Tibetan omens and superstitions by Karma Chagmed', *Tibet Journal*, 7/4, 1982, 86–93; G. Orofino, 'Divinations with mirrors: observations on a simile found in the Kālacakra literature', *Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, Fagernes, 1992, Oslo, 1994, 612–28; F. Ricca, *Il Tempio Oracolare di Gnas chuñ: Gli dei del Tibet più magico e segreto*, Torino: Edizioni dell' Orso, 1999, esp. pp. 11–28. While not all of these publications are exclusively concerned with Tibetan divination practice, each contains material relevant to the topic at hand.

One also wonders why the author chose to include Bechert's obsolete article 'The date of the Buddha reconsidered', *IT*, 1982 when we now have more reliable materials brought together in *The dating of the historical Buddha* (Die Datierung des historischen Buddha), ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen: Van Den Hoeck & Ruprecht, AAWG, 1991, 1992.

While such bibliographic omissions are perhaps of minor import in light of Dorje's distinguished mastery of the Tibetan materials, they distract a little

from the achievements of his study and may, to some, cast doubt on the reliability of its content. Having gone through the book in detail, I have found no grounds for such scepticism. The depth of his analysis, probably aided by the counsel he received from the Tibetan scholars working at the sMan rtsis khaṅg (Lhasa) with whom he co-operated on this project (p. 12), establishes beyond doubt Dorje's outstanding grasp of Tibetan divination and the cultural context in which it flourishes. To communicate his knowledge, Dorje went to great lengths to make the book accessible to experts and non-experts alike. Technical terms are routinely provided in Tibetan as well as in Sanskrit. On occasion, however, the author's aspiration to cater to two types of reader backfires. I have noted several places where the same (or similar) ground is covered twice (e.g. pp. 11, 16; 342, 344) or where the reader is overwhelmed with a wealth of examples. Rather than elucidating his analysis, these tend to distract from the core principles at the heart of a particular divinatory practice and render the presentation a little unwieldy. Finally, and somewhat inexplicably, Dorje chose to ignore Dieter Schuh's ten-page descriptive catalogue entry of the *vaidūrya dkar po* (*Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, 11/5, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Wiesbaden, 1973, no. 299, pp. 266–77). Surely, this pioneering contribution would have deserved to be acknowledged beyond a plain (but misspelled) entry in the bibliography.

Dorje's explanations are complemented by hundreds of diagrams and detail reproductions from the two illuminated manuscripts. The illustrations of the first set in particular, obviously prepared by an artist of great talent, are a pleasure to behold. The quality of the reproductions is truly superb, vibrant in colour and design. Virtually every page of the book boasts exquisite photographic reproductions, carefully referenced and analysed in the main body of the text. The descriptions and illustrations themselves are complemented by dozens of charts, tabulating the various divinatory combinations. The layout, juxtapositioning illustrations, diagrams and text passage side by side without ever losing the link between the three components, is a great achievement. From a technical and aesthetic point of view, this book is certain to rank among the most accomplished publications in Tibetan studies. While I would hesitate to extend such unqualified praise to its scholarly content, mainly because of its narrow focus and Dorje's disregard of past research on the topic, let us recall that *Tibetan elemental divination paintings* is virtually the first detailed study of its kind and, in spite of its flaws, one cannot but congratulate the author and publisher for their inroads into what has hitherto been largely uncharted territory.

ULRICH PAGEL

GRAHAM THURGOOD and RANDY J. LAPOLLA (ed.):

*The Sino-Tibetan languages.*

(Routledge Language Family Series.) xxii, 727 pp. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. £125.

The very title of this most recent addition to the Routledge Language Family Series begs the question of the identity of the language family under consideration. The volume is a collection of papers on Tibeto-Burman languages, but this new and expensive book still propagates the Indo-Chinese or 'Sino-Tibetan' conception of language relationships. The original Tibeto-

Burman language family model, which includes Sinitic as another constituent branch, continues to represent the phylogenetic view that is paradoxically both more agnostic and more well-informed. The antique Sino-Tibetan view survives doggedly in the literature as a ‘truth by assertion’. The more state-of-the-art title would have been *The Tibeto-Burman languages*.

The book consists of 43 contributions, beginning with three ‘overview chapters’. In the first chapter, on subgrouping, volume editor Graham Thurgood professes the ‘Sino-Tibetan’ article of faith, which holds that the language family divides into two main trunks, one Sinitic and the other Tibeto-Burman minus Sinitic. No evidence has ever been adduced to support the hypothesis that truncated ‘Tibeto-Burman’ (i.e. Tibeto-Burman minus Sinitic) shares common innovations that would define it as a coherent branch vs. Sinitic. Sinitic is a valid subgroup, but truncated ‘Tibeto-Burman’ is not. Because I am acquainted with most of the contributors, I can state with confidence that many do not subscribe to the antiquated Indo-Chinese model espoused by the editors.

The second ‘overview chapter’ is a synopsis of Tibeto-Burman derivational morphology, which lists a number of affixes that have largely been known for over half a century. Volume editor LaPolla ignores the large body of relevant work on Tibeto-Burman flexional morphology and instead uses the book as a platform to refer to his earlier egregious ruminations on conjugational morphology. The one interesting and novel idea is a totally revamped version of Thurgood’s Rung hypothesis, whereby rGyal-rongic, Nungish, Kiranti, Magaric and West Himalayish are stuck into the same supergroup. Yet this is a poorly veiled attempt on the part of LaPolla to relegate to a single branch all languages showing verbal agreement morphology and so bolster his *idée fixe* that shared morphological retentions are shared innovations.

A third overview chapter, by Dryer, corroborates what we already knew about word order typology: observed variation is readily accounted for as resulting from contact. Two treasure troves are the brilliant phylogenetic discussions by Jackson Sun on Tani and by Robbins Burling on the numerous Tibeto-Burman languages of north-eastern India. The volume also offers a short discussion of Kiranti by Ebert.

Most of the book, i.e. 33 out of 43 contributions, consists of brief grammatical sketches of individual Tibeto-Burman languages, which were assigned by the editors to the contributors. These accounts are too abbreviated to do justice to the languages in question, notwithstanding the excellent quality of the individual contributions. The serious student will consult the detailed reference grammars produced by many of the same authors rather than these superficial accounts. Yet in a few cases, these sketches are sadly the most complete accounts of the Tibeto-Burman languages in question, which is a telling statement about the state of the art in Tibeto-Burman linguistics.

The current state of our knowledge enables us conservatively to identify at least 37 branches of Tibeto-Burman by my reckoning. The sketches in the volume cover only 18 branches, i.e. Bodish, Tshangla, Tamangic, Kiranti, Newaric, Magaric, Lepcha, rGyal-rongic, Bái, Sinitic, Lolo-Burmese, Qiāngic, Kachinic, Brahmaputran, Meithei, Karenic, Kukish and Nungish. Some of the internally most diverse branches are represented by just a single sketch, e.g. Garo for Brahmaputran. The sketches in the volume leave 19 primary branches or most of the phylogenetic diversity of the language family uncovered, i.e. West Himalayish, Raji-Raute, Dura, Chepangic, the Kho-Bwa cluster, Gongduk, Hrusish, Tani, Digarish, Midzuish, Karbí, Zeme, Lhokpu,



Tangkhol, Angami-Pochuri, Ao, Pyu, Mru and Tüjĭā. This is a reflection of the state of the art, no shortcoming of the editors.

Three sketches deal with extinct Tibeto-Burman languages, i.e. late Zhōu Chinese, Classical Tibetan and the extinct Tangut language. The languages of Sikkim and Bhutan are represented by grammatical sketches of Lepcha and Tshangla. One Magaric language of western Nepal is included in the form of a sketch of Kham. Three sketches are provided of Kiranti languages of eastern Nepal, i.e. the Belhara dialect of Athpahariya, Chamling (consistently misspelt 'Camling') and Hayu. The Tamangic branch is represented by sketches of Tamang, Chantyal and Nar-Phu. The Newaric branch is represented by an account of Dolakhā Newar and Kathmandu Newar, with the indigenous name of the language incorrectly transliterated as 'Nepāl Bhāśā' [*recte* Bhāśā]. Two sketches of Karenic languages are included, i.e. Eastern Kayah Li and Pwo Karen, and four sketches of Lolo-Burmese languages, i.e. Burmese, Lisu, Lahu and Akha. Accounts are provided of the rGyal-rongic languages of lCog-rtse and Caodeng. Sketches from the north-eastern corner of the Indian subcontinent are presented for Garo, Hakha Lai and Meithei. Languages of Tibet, Yúnnán and Sīchuān are represented by sketches of Bái, Trung (which the author sinicizes to 'Dulong'), Lhasa Tibetan, Prinmi, one Northern Qiāng dialect and the Jinghpaw dialect of Yíngjiāng county (*Jīngpō* is Mandarin for Jinghpaw, and the authors half-sinicize the language name to 'Jingpo'). Sinitic is represented by sketches of Shanghai Chinese and Cantonese.

The Sinocentric slant of the volume is not only evinced by the antiquated phylogenetic conception advertised in the title and editorial contributions. In addition to the sketches of Zhōu Chinese, Shanghai Chinese and Cantonese, the volume also contains four discussions dealing specifically with only the Sinitic branch, viz. comparative Chinese phonology, comparative Chinese syntax, characteristics of Mandarin dialects and the Chinese writing system.

The book is an amalgam of gems and chaff. I wager that in the long run it will be safer to place our bets on the subgrouping insights of Sun and Burling than on those of the editors.

GEORGE VAN DRIEM

THE SOCIETY OF CENTRAL EURASIAN STUDIES:

*Studies on the Inner Asian Languages, XVII: Papers in honour of Professor Masahiro Shogaito on his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday.*

iv, 249 pp., 7 plates. Osaka: The Society for Central Eurasian Studies, 2002.

This particularly substantial issue of a consistently excellent periodical celebrates both twenty years of its existence and the work of one of its founders, who is accorded both a helpful introductory note by Y. Yoshida and a six-page bibliography of his work at the end. As a result of his primary interest (after initial training in Mongolian) in the language of the Uighurs and of their later descendants, the contents (as the Japanese subtitle indicates) are in this issue devoted entirely to the Turkic languages and, apart from excursions into Dolgan by S. Fujishiro and Turkish by K. Röhrborn, chiefly the language of medieval Uighur textual materials at that. Given that the main holdings of these materials now lie in Germany, Japanese is less prominent in this issue than has usually been the case in the past amongst the

languages in which this publication's contributions are written: three essays only, as against four in German and two in English.

All scholars with an interest in the Uighur materials concerned will naturally wish to familiarize themselves with the studies brought together here which, though they tend to focus on Buddhist texts, also cover some secular topics too, such as a new study of a contractual document, in this case preserved in Russia, by H. Umemura. It would also be a shame if this collection were to be overlooked by sinologists, since given the close cultural relations between the Chinese and the Uighurs even at the time of their first empire, there is much here that reflects also upon the language, religion and history of China. Both D. Maue, writing on an almanac, and M. Ölmez, writing on Chinese loanwords in the well-known Uighur translation of Xuanzang's biography, provide lists of words reflecting Chinese phonology at the time of composition of the sources involved, a topic which is also marginally involved in a broader essay by M. Erdal on Old Turkic phonology. P. Zieme, with the help of useful doctoral work recently completed at Columbia University, identifies some fragmentary translations from the corpus of Chinese poetry devoted to the great pilgrimage centre of Wutaishan, illustrating the persisting influence of that centre in Inner Asia even long after Tang times. But most significantly for all historians of Tang China, T. Moriyasu contributes a substantial essay on the famous rebellion of An Lushan from the Uighur's viewpoint, building on the suggestions of earlier scholars in attempting to integrate the simultaneous development of Inner Asian and Chinese history. This argument, one notices, extends to a citation of the *Newsletter of the Circle of Inner Asian Art*, produced at SOAS, another publication that this *Bulletin* is also happy to commend. One notes, too, on p. 162 of this piece, that Moriyasu concurs in the recent view that Manichaean influence on the Uighurs must antedate the events of the year 762 that were long ago pointed out by Chavannes and Pelliot, and this of course may have some bearing on the changing treatment of Mani in Taoist materials noted elsewhere in the *Bulletin*. There is, in short, if not something for everyone in this volume, then certainly much more than will simply appeal to those who already possess a good working knowledge of the language of Uighur documents. Libraries that have not hitherto found it necessary to subscribe to this journal may, on the basis of its developing importance, wish to reconsider the matter.

T. H. BARRETT

ALASTAIR LAMB:

*Bhutan and Tibet: the travels of George Bogle and Alexander Hamilton 1774–1777; Vol. 1: Letters, journals and memoranda.* 479 pp. Hertingfordbury, UK: Roxford Books, 2002. £50.00.

In 1774, a young Scotsman, George Bogle, was dispatched by the Governor General of India, Warren Hastings, on a diplomatic mission to Bhutan and Tibet. Bogle was accompanied on his journey by a doctor, and fellow Scot, Alexander Hamilton. They succeeded in reaching Shigatse, the court of the Panchen Lama, who was then (in the absence of a ruling Dalai Lama), the highest incarnation in Tibet. The Lama was an intelligent and outgoing individual with a keen interest in the outside world, and his encounter with Bogle, the emissary of a civilization then almost entirely unknown to the

Tibetans, was an extraordinary, and in many ways warm and fruitful one, apparently enhanced by Bogle's marriage to a close relative of the Panchen.

The Lama had earlier initiated correspondence with Warren Hastings, offering to mediate after a clash between Bhutanese and British forces, and Hastings, in search of trade and knowledge, took the opportunity to open communications with the Tibetan state. A few decades prior to this, Tibet had been taken firmly under Chinese authority, but such was the nature of its government in that era, that the Panchen Lama retained considerable power and prestige and was, to an extent, able to conduct his own foreign policy without regard to either Lhasa or Peking.

In the long term, Bogle's visit failed to lay the groundwork for political or trading relations between Tibet and the East India Company. The main players were soon removed from the scene, the Panchen Lama died in 1780 and Bogle the following year, while Hastings returned to his trials in Britain. One further British mission to Shigatse was undertaken by Samuel Turner in 1783, but Tibet subsequently adopted a policy of isolation from British India that was only to be ended by the Younghusband mission of 1903–04. Bogle's visit, however, remained in British memory not only as a historical curiosity but as an example of genuine cultural exchange.

Bogle not only gathered all the information he could about the history and culture of Tibet, he responded fully to the Panchen Lama's desire to know the outside world. In addition to composing what became the standard Tibetan account of Europe (translated into Tibetan via Hindi, the two men's only common language), Bogle even wrote a play as a means to demonstrate British theatrical culture.

It is unfortunate that Bogle was not apparently attracted to writing. Despite encouragement, the only record he left of his journey is contained in his reports and correspondence, while his attempt at drama is apparently so dull that it finds no place in this volume, which brings together his letters, journals and associated memoranda.

At least two versions of Bogle's narrative are known to have existed, one of which was published by the geographer Clements Markham in 1876 (and reprinted in India in 1971) at a time of optimism for the renewal of ties between British India and Tibet. That work, on which scholars have relied for over a century, was, however, neither properly sourced nor more than representative of Bogle's writings. Alastair Lamb, the leading authority on the diplomatic history of the Indo-Tibetan border, has long maintained an interest in Bogle's mission and has now, after 'almost fifty years of intermittent effort', edited Bogle's accounts into a coherent narrative. A second volume will shortly appear in which the mission will be located in its wider historical context, and maps, bibliography and index appended.

Bogle's writings provide the interested reader with a wealth of detail on the economy and culture of the eastern Himalayas at the dawn of the colonial period. The immediate political context is the growing power of the newly emergent Nepalese state and an aggressive Bhutan, against the decline of the Assamese and Mughal dynasties. One consequence of these movements was the expulsion into Bengal of large numbers of rambunctious *sannyasis* from their comfortable billets in Tibet and Nepal, strengthening the ranks of those that then challenged the emergent power of the East India Company.

But among those *sannyasis* was Purangir, an ascetic who became the most prominent of the early indigenous intermediaries, whose role was crucial to the expansion of British interests. Like his successors, however, Purangir's loyalties were not necessarily with the British. He had brought the Panchen

Lama's letter to Warren Hastings, and while he accompanied both Bogle and Turner to Shigatse, and was an intermediary between the EIC and Tibet for about fifteen years, he also accompanied the Panchen Lama to Peking in 1879–80 and was presented to the Chinese Emperor.

One notable feature of this work is the extent to which Bogle's view of Tibet was entirely secular. He rarely discusses Tibetan religion, and there is a complete absence of the 'Tibet as Shangri-La' mythology, which in the British imagination largely postdates this period. Nor was Tibet, or at least Shigatse, then isolated and hostile to European visitors. The Panchen Lama was welcoming and completely open to discussion. By contrast, it was the Bhutanese who were isolationist, difficult of access, 'dominated by priests', and hostile to foreign merchants!

This work will, with the essential addition of the second volume, become the standard work on the Bogle mission, and will be of interest to any scholar of the region, or of early European exploration and contact. There are observations on a wide variety of aspects of Himalayan culture, history, law, economics and ethnography, and one comment of Bogle's suggests he might have made a good critical scholar himself. 'Mankind', he wrote, 'are neither so good nor so bad as they are generally represented. Human life is a stream formed and impelled by a variety of passions, and its actions seldom flow from single and unmixed sources'.

A. C. MCKAY

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#### SOUTH-EAST ASIA

JONATHAN NEALE:

*The American War in Vietnam 1960–1975.*

xv, 235 pp. London, Chicago and Sydney: Bookmarks Press, 2001.

At the height of what the Vietnamese call 'The American War', there were around 500,000 Americans in Vietnam, facing an estimated 250–300,000 Viet Cong guerrillas. Although only one-sixth of Americans served in combat units, their casualties were high, including an estimated 15–20 per cent that were a result of 'friendly-fire' incidents.

In the USA, the war became increasingly unpopular. Around 206,000 men refused the draft, while 93,000 deserted from the army—triple the usual desertion rate. In addition, there were other means of resistance to military authority; the author of this work states that 'the best guess is that over 1,000 officers and NCOs were killed by their own men'; deliberately killed that is, by 'fragging', rather than accidentally by 'friendly fire'. Fragging was, it seems, the ordinary soldiers' 'way of disciplining officers, forcing them to negotiate', a premise based on the men's understanding that their officers were prepared to shoot them for refusing orders.

There have been many histories of this conflict, and few have been free of explicit agendas. This work, by an American who was a conscientious objector to the war, makes no pretence at balance. Published by a socialist outlet, it is 'unabashedly sympathetic to Vietnamese guerrillas and American activists', and its wider context is the premise that American elites used anti-communism to justify a power struggle with Russia, and to provide a rationale for

supporting the rich in the developing world while, in America, persecuting trade unionists and political radicals who threatened its agenda.

However one views this perspective, the author makes a coherent and well-argued case for his thesis; this is no mere polemic. Nor does it engage with the Tim Page/*Apocalypse Now* mythology; works of that kind are entirely absent from the bibliography. The author is more concerned to 'take seriously the connections between the war and race relations in the United States, and the class struggle within and between America and Vietnam'.

Central to his thesis is the claim that for the Vietnamese it was more a war about land rather than national independence, and in its concern with the wider context of national and class struggle, this work strays from the subject and period indicated by its title, and rarely attempts to fulfil the claim to being 'a history from both sides, and from the ground up ... [to tell] ... what Vietnamese peasants, American soldiers and American protesters did and how they felt'. Less than half of the book in fact concerns the war itself in the immediate sense of the period 1960–75, and the wider perspective often results in an absence of supporting data. More attention might, for example, have been given to proving the interesting claim that American opposition to the war was greatest among the working class rather than among middle-class liberals, and when we are informed that 80 per cent of US combat soldiers were from 'blue-collar' families, we need to know what percentage of the US population is being classified as 'blue collar' if we are to accept that as class exploitation.

Such reservations apart, this work is of value as a presentation of the wider contexts of the war from a socialist perspective. It does challenge Vietnam mythologies that are becoming history, and, if absolute power does corrupt absolutely, the author may be justified in concluding that the 'Vietnam syndrome' and other limits on American power are good not only for the world, but for ordinary Americans.

A. C. MCKAY

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#### EAST ASIA

DAVID SCHABERG:

*A patterned past: form and thought in Chinese historiography.*

(Harvard East Asian Monographs, 205.) xviii, 503 pp. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001.

Throughout the twentieth century, most scholarship on the *Zuozhuan* focused on a narrow and sterile set of questions: Is the work forged or genuine? If the former, who is the culprit? And if the latter, what is the text's value as a historical source for the Springs and Autumns period? The terms of this ongoing dispute are too rigid (the work should be recognized as neither 'forged' nor 'genuine'), and the political commitments of late Qing and Republican studies too burdensome, for this approach to have produced anything but disappointing results.

In *A patterned past* David Schaberg avoids this Serbonian bog by proceeding from the assumption that 'the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* cannot truly serve as sources for the history of the Spring and Autumn period until they are understood as intellectual and literary productions of the Warring States

period' (p. 11; cf. also p. 271). This conviction frees the author to examine the structure, rhetoric, and ethic of the text itself, all of which have been neglected by the scholarly paradigm of 'genuine-or-forged' (*zhenwei* in Chinese). Patient readers are treated in *A patterned past* to a painstaking five-hundred-page investigation, organized around close readings of dozens of illustrative passages, and buttressed by a wealth of references to primary and secondary sources. (The book is furnished, incidentally, with an invaluable Index Locorum, 487–90.)

Schaberg covers several crucial themes in the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* not previously discussed with comparable rigour. The first two chapters deal with the art of well wrought speech, including the rhetorical conventions displayed in the discourses, and the general conception of *wen* that they advance. The theme of the next two chapters is order in the world, both perceived and imposed: the intermingling Heaven and Earth revealed through natural prodigies and astronomical phenomena; the cosmic rhythms of the Five Phases and *yin* and *yang*; communication with the spirit world; and interstate relations, both among ethnic Chinese states, and between cultural China and surrounding non-Chinese polities. The entire second half of the book is devoted to narrative and its uses in relating didactic historiography. Schaberg elucidates these techniques by considering narrative sequences such as the life of King Ling of Chu (193 ff.), whose successes and failures are presented in this retelling as predetermined by his headstrong and unschooled character. The book concludes with the *Zuozhuan*'s own self-image as a work compiled during an epoch of universally acknowledged decline. The venerable principles of ritual and loyalty that defined the classical period have become relics of the past, and after Confucius's death in 479 B.C. a new literary culture must emerge to match the new exigencies of the age.

In the face of such an enormous and masterly book, it may seem captious for a reviewer to suggest subjects meriting further consideration. But one issue that Schaberg might have explored more deeply is the extent to which the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* differ. Despite some thoughts in this connection on p. 171, he treats the two sources by and large as glorious manifestations of the same general discourse (which he labels 'historiography'), and indiscriminately refers to episodes in both. Readers familiar with the two works, however, will probably have the sense that their emphases are slightly distinct. War, for example, is a favourite topic of the *Zuozhuan*, but represents a much less significant concern in the *Guoyu*. Certain figures, similarly, appear with more regularity in one text than in the other—a notable example being Lord Huan of Qi (along with his famed minister, Guan Zhong), who is more prominent in the *Guoyu*. Finally, the manner of citing canonical texts in the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu* is not identical. Quotations from the *Odes*, for example, are routinely preceded in the *Zuozhuan* with a formulaic *Shi yue* or *Shi yun* ('It is said in the *Odes*'). Although this form is attested also in the *Guoyu*, there is a marked degree of variation: sometimes the text goes so far as to identify the section of the *Odes* in which the quote is found; but elsewhere quotes are introduced merely as 'the words of the ancients', apparent only to the learned as the words of the canon itself. (Schaberg also notes, correctly, that 'the *Guoyu* generally makes much less use of *Shi* poems' than the *Zuozhuan*, p. 413, n. 65). The outline of the relations between the two texts that is offered in the appendix (pp. 315–24) might have been enriched by taking such differences into account.

These ruminations are not intended to detract from Schaberg's achievement. In view of the cultural eminence of the *Zuozhuan* and *Guoyu*, it is no

exaggeration to say that every student of traditional China ought to know this book. Fifty years from now, when scholars review the great burgeoning currently taking place in the field of early China, *A patterned past* will have to be one of the accomplishments that they remember.

PAUL R. GOLDIN

BENT NIELSEN:

*A comparison to Yi jing numerology and cosmology: Chinese studies of images and numbers from Han 漢 (202 BCE–220 CE) to Song 宋 (960–1279 CE).*

xix, 391 pp. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

Though one can understand the commercial reasons that have perhaps dictated the choice of the main title of this book, one fears that it may cause those with strictly sinological interests not to bother to find out more about it. This would be unfortunate, for the contents are in fact more accurately summarized by the subtitle. The technical terminology of *Yijing* studies is covered, as indeed are Western studies in a brief ‘Introduction’, but Chinese characters are thankfully scattered most liberally throughout, and the bulk of the book consists of useful bibliographical information on *Yijing* scholarship in China before the Mongol period, keyed to a good range of standard Chinese sources. These include the textual reconstitutions of Qing scholars like Ma Guohan, all of whose reconstructions of *Yijing* literature are helpfully listed in a convenient chart (pp. 174–5). Entries are by author rather than title, but there is a good title index to author entries on the last eighteen pages of the work. Though it might certainly be possible to quibble about the suitability of some of the editions cited in the list of Chinese sources, there is a very helpful bibliography of modern scholarship in Chinese and Western languages, even if there is nothing in Japanese. Bibliography and title index are separated by a half dozen pages, besides, of ‘Common English Translations of the Hexagram Names’, something that teachers of monolingual students will undoubtedly find useful in deciphering their young thoughts on the great classic.

As with all good reference works—that is, all reference works treating topics complex enough for their assistance to be of real value—it is possible to point to occasional minor errors. There are, for instance, a couple of cross-references to author entries that are not there: Xing Shu, the Tang sub-commentator on a famous essay by Wang Bi, is mentioned twice on p. 141 in such a fashion, as is the Zhuangzi commentator Guo Xiang on p. 282. The *Zhouyi Cantongqi* and the problems surrounding it receive comparatively little attention—evidently Fabrizio Pregadio, *Zhouyi cantongqi: Dal Libro dei Mutamenti all'Elixir d'Oro* (Venezia: Cafoscarina, 1996) was in a language not covered by Nielsen. Occasionally some judgements seem slightly unsafe—just because Guo Jing (p. 96) is not listed as an author on the *Yijing* in the Tang standard histories does not mean that his work must be a later forgery, as a perusal of the evidence presented, for example, in Piet van der Loon, *Taoist books in the libraries of the Sung period* (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), would show. In fact a man named Guo Jing was a *jinshi* examination graduate of 842, according to one Tang source. This is not to assert, however, that the common assumption from Song times towards—namely that Guo’s claim to have culled interesting textual variants from an ancient manuscript going back

to Wang Bi was simply false—is likely in any way to be incorrect, so Nielsen's note of doubt is not fundamentally misplaced. As for Cui Jing (p. 35), a prominent figure in the list of early authorities cited by the eighth-century Li Dingzuo (as the table on pp. 146–7 shows), I have myself suggested a possible identification for him in *Li Ao: Buddhist, Taoist, or Neo-Confucian* (Oxford: OUP, 1992), p. 105, n. 84, but here again it would be wrong to be categorical.

One cannot help noticing with a certain degree of envy that the cover of this handy volume describes Bent Nielsen as a Research Professor in Copenhagen. It is quite evident, for all the entirely trivial matters that I have so far mentioned, that a great deal of conscientious work has gone into the creation of the volume under review, so Nielsen is plainly not abusing the privileges that have been accorded to him. Indeed, one hopes that he will be sufficiently heartened by the reception of this volume to continue it to cover some if not all of the later period of Chinese scholarship, or if this task does not appeal, then perhaps to produce some other handy guide to the great riches of Chinese learning in classical sources that otherwise students must work through a number of bibliographies and other reference works in order to find out about the hard way. Let us especially hope that the number of Western *Yijing* enthusiasts who feel moved to purchase this volume is sufficiently large to recompense him, and his publisher, for all the labour involved in producing it.

T. H. BARRETT

CHARLES HOLCOMBE:

*The Genesis of East Asia, 221 B.C.–A.D. 907.*

(Asian Interactions and Comparisons.) xii, 332 pp. Honolulu:

University of Hawaii Press, 2001. \$24.95.

Though it is possible that some geographical designations for constituents of the human world are more self-evident than others—there is not much room for quibbling, for example, over the limits of Iceland, or Australia—terms as vague as Europe or Asia are quite plainly the product of the human imagination, and so despite the well-known temptations to reduce them to simpler, supposedly static realities, the only way to explain what they might mean is to trace the working of the human imagination throughout their evolving histories up to the present. Yet to do so in the case of East Asia, an area of some cultural coherence but considerable sub-regional complexity, is a challenge on the heroic scale, requiring erudition in at least three languages to round up the minimal amount of secondary scholarship desirable, plus a command of the primary sources allowing one to select from them the key details that help bring the bigger picture into a sharper focus. One cannot blame Charles Holcombe, therefore, for taking his survey no further than the beginning of the first millennium of the Common Era, at which point nearly all the primary materials needed to resort to such details were still written in Classical Chinese throughout the whole region. Indeed, the mind boggles somewhat at the erudition required to fulfil the series editor's wish (p.[vii]) for someone to add a second volume taking the story a millennium further forward. The combination of a broad outlook and a sense of the particular on display in the volume under review would, it seem, represent already the limits of the possible in English-language scholarship.

Indeed, it is only the editor's simultaneous suggestion that this overview



of the formation of East Asia as a coherent cultural area might serve as a convenient textbook that prompts one to point to the minor blemishes in its narrative at all, conscious as one must be of the amount of intellectual effort needed to fill out the canvas covered in a creative and critical way. But if Holcombe's work is destined to be reprinted from time to time, then there are certainly some improvements that are possible. These range from even better proof reading (eliminating 'degree' for 'decree' on p. 137) to adding in more appropriate secondary scholarship where available. On p. 130, for example, it is already possible to point to a summary of archaeological investigations of the origins of the Tuoba to complement (and also to an extent confirm) the historical report cited. (In Adam T. Kessler (ed.), *Empires beyond the Great Wall: the heritage of Genghis Khan* (Los Angeles: Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, 1993), 69–79.) At a more general level one would imagine that some readers would like to see more emphasis on the Buddhist cultural links that came to unite the area, since it is arguable that they played as much of a part in the diffusion of the Classical Chinese language as the promotion of the Confucian heritage, besides giving a sense of a wider world visited by East Asian travellers to India that was to remain important in the area for centuries after direct contacts with Indian Buddhism were completely severed. Certainly it will not do, as on p. 27, to quote the Fifth Patriarch from a text written half a dozen centuries later.

And if some opportunity for broader rewriting were to present itself, I wonder about one aspect of the laudable attempt at getting away from a sinocentric account of East Asia to detail the range of accommodations to other cultures around the periphery that deserves correction, but is not easy to reconcile with the structure of any survey volume. The view of East Asia given here, which simultaneously takes in its further flung component parts as well as its Chinese core, copes admirably with the problem of describing the vast geographical space of the total cultural zone, but runs into a problem of time associated with the slow diffusion and long persistence of cultural forms disseminated from the centre. For in the latter part of the era covered, much of East Asia was actually participating in a literary culture defined during the Southern Liang dynasty in the early sixth century, via works such as the *Wenxuan*, and the series of encyclopaedias stretching back through early Tang examples like the *Yiwen leiju* to the lost *Hualin lue*. Yet since the Southern Liang was not during its existence directly involved to any great extent with the areas on the periphery that are covered in detail here, it tends to get somewhat short shrift in Holcombe's narrative. Only in the longer term were its cultural products of significance over the wider area. Likewise, any successor volume will have to cope with the fact that much of East Asia during the Song era in China generally owed a great deal more to Tang culture than did the Song itself.

What is more worrying, however, is the thought that this excellent survey might not be used as a textbook at all. Anyone looking to it for a potted version of East Asian history that will allow several disparate national histories to be crammed into a short period of teaching will, I fear, be disappointed, since it raises far too many issues (including contemporary issues) that cannot be readily reduced to the level of simplicity currently considered necessary for introductory courses. If, however, teachers of such courses think that they may be able to get away with assigning reading that is both demanding and forces students to think without losing their jobs, then this is assuredly the book for them.

T. H. BARRETT

ROBERT HYMES:

*Way and byway: Taoism, local religion, and models of divinity in Sung and modern China.*

xvii, 364 pp. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002. £17.95.

That historians have much to learn from anthropologists, especially when they are interested in aspects of socio-cultural life such as religion, has been widely accepted for a long time. Much less commonly accepted is the reverse. With this study, however, Robert Hymes makes a convincing case for anthropologists of China not just to take note of his research on Song religion, but to adjust their understanding of present day religious life accordingly. Hymes' argument takes issue with the well-established idea, initially promulgated by anthropologists like Arthur Wolf and Stephan Feuchtwang, that Chinese gods are a metaphor for the state. Instead, Hymes argues, we should recognize at least two distinct models: a bureaucratic model, and a personal model. Hymes' central question, 'What were the Chinese gods?' (1), cannot be answered adequately, he suggests, without considering who the god is, who is doing the praying, or sacrificing, or talking about the god, and in what context. His abundant evidence shows that Chinese gods were not only heavenly officials whose powers mirror those held by representatives of the state on earth, but also personal protectors. This book will make it impossible for anyone to suggest that Chinese gods are a metaphor for the state and never anything else.

Hymes makes his case carefully and meticulously. The bulk of his evidence comes from two religious traditions, both originating in the Song, that regard Huagai Mountain in Fuzhou (in present day Jiangxi Province) as their birthplace. Hymes begins with the ritual texts of Celestial Heart (*tianxin*) Daoism. Here, the bureaucratic model reigns supreme: society is governed by a complex hierarchy of divine bureaucrats, who delegate their authority to religious professionals. These professionals, who are ranked higher than deities revered in local worship, are not limited to Huagai or Fuzhou, but ply their trade nationally, wielding the authority bestowed on them wherever they go. The contrast with the cult that forms the subject of the next three chapters is sharp: here we encounter the Three Perfected Lords Fuqiu, Wang and Guo of Huagai, subjects of a local cult that originated on the mountain, but spread rapidly throughout Fuzhou and towards the south-west into Jizhou Prefecture the during Southern Song. The miracle stories that depict the extraordinary powers of the Three feature none of the characteristics of the bureaucratic model. The power of these gods has as its permanent basis their connection to Huagai Mountain, and is not delegated from above, but inherent in themselves. Humans interact with the Three directly, without the mediation of professional practitioners.

The explanation of the Southern Song rise of this cult in Fuzhou takes the story briefly down a byway. Chapter 5 argues that the Fuzhou élite, who encountered the Three in part because of the central government's enfeoffments of the Three in 1075 and 1100, were particularly drawn to the cult 'because the Three embodied a sort of authority the local elite was coming more and more to see as its own' (p. 130). This is, of course, why this byway is so important. Here, Hymes establishes the link between this work and his *Statesmen and gentlemen* (Cambridge, 1986); the growth of the Huagai cult gives 'religious expression' (p. 2) to the élite shift from a national outlook

during the Northern Song to a concern with the local from the Southern Song onward as work by Hymes and others has suggested.

Chapter 6 complicates the picture of the bureaucratic and the personal model, thus far shown to exist in two separate religious traditions. Professional Daoists themselves also distinguish between the two models, and in specific contexts use a non-bureaucratic, personal model to describe the transmission of knowledge from divinities to practitioners or relations between themselves. This leads Hymes to make a fascinating proposal, one that lies somewhere 'between speculation and hypothesis' (p. 172): the reason why the bureaucratic model continued to be used, particularly during the Song dynasty, was that it helped professional Daoists sell their services. In the increasingly commercialized world of Song China, a wide range of methods was available to anyone wishing to avail themselves of divine aid. If there were local gods to be prayed to directly, and village spirit mediums to be used for communications with gods, then why employ a Daoist professional? As Hymes convincingly suggests, the bureaucratic model worked as a 'conceptual language' (p. 204), to clarify the Daoist's status as an outsider, representing multi-level powers bestowed from above, and wielding a translocal authority. To see all relations between humans and divine in terms of the bureaucratic model is simply to buy the Daoist's marketing ploy wholesale, without recognizing the very significant appeal of the competition.

The arguments presented here will change our understanding of the religious culture of the Song dynasty, but may well also lead to a reconsideration of a great deal of anthropological scholarship on Chinese religion. The book is exhaustively researched, and its narrative constantly draws the reader's attention to its importance. Of course it raises further questions. What exactly happened between Song and modern China? The Yuan and Ming dynasties feature occasionally (each, according to the index, on three pages), but Hymes never states explicitly how he sees the link between Song and modern China. And what about the local dimension? Hymes' Song evidence comes largely from one prefecture in Jiangxi; his discussion of recent ethnographic studies is entirely based on non-Jiangxi materials. One longs to know more about worship in Fuzhou today. The book's long gestation period explains the absence of important recent studies by scholars like Kenneth Dean, Michael Szonyi, Edward Davis, Paul Katz and others, but one would like to know Hymes' views on their views of Chinese religion. This is an extraordinary and important book, and hopefully the answers to these questions will appear in the many works it will no doubt inspire.

ANNE GERRITSEN

PASCALE GIRARD:

*Les religieux occidentaux en Chine à l'époque moderne: essai d'analyse textuelle comparée.*

(Collection Publications du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.)

619 pp. Lisbon and Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Commission Nationale pour les Commémorations des Découvertes Portugaises, 2000.

Against the background of a time-honoured, yet all too easily sclerotic tradition of research into the history of Christian missions in China, any

attempt to shake up outdated conventions has to be warmly welcomed. Faced with the overwhelming range of studies on the Jesuit missions, Pascale Girard's avowed aim was to 'drive the Westerners out onto their own territory' (p. 14), i.e. to open up a new analysis of China's missionary history to include the whole range of missionary orders. The efforts of the mendicant orders—Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans—had to be recognized, and our historical perspective liberated from Jesuit domination. So far the theory. During the course of Girard's study, however, the true complexity of such a task became evident, eventually resulting in complete surrender: the Jesuits were, after all, a breed set apart from the mendicants by a number of factors, most importantly their preoccupation with the text as a missionary tool.

The author arrives at this conclusion after systematically comparing the literary heritage left behind by each major player. The emphasis is always fixed firmly on the significance of *textual* differences, both in origination and in translation. In Girard's work, therefore, we behold a historiographical achievement rather than a genuine 'history' of Western missions—but it was never the author's intention to do anything else. Factors shaping the course of the early modern European missions, notably the Rites Controversy, are dealt with selectively. The author is well aware of other methodological approaches—missionary geography (Joseph Dehergne) and the twin forces of inculturation and cultural conflict (Jacques Gernet) serving as her principal examples, yet decides to steer clear of any debate beyond the immediate textual task. This singular devotion is simultaneously a source of strength in Girard's monograph as much as a limit to the scope of her work.

The analytical discipline is evident in the book's very structure: the analytical first half consists of five parts, neatly divided into four chapters, except for parts 3 and 5. In part 1, the history of European missions is summarized in four brief subdivisions, dealing with crucial historical, historiographical and biographical aspects. Even at this point, the author's familiarity with the Portuguese missions becomes evident, and Girard clearly illustrates the tension which existed between the concept of a global mission and the nascent national self-interest which shaped the course of early modern history, at least in Western Europe. It is also at this juncture that the significance, not the course, of the Rites Controversy is discussed. In part 2 the author reverts to the main aim of the monograph, namely to dissect the nature and function of the chronicles produced by the individual orders. The textual analysis is continued in part 4, where the role of texts as tools in catechesis and proselytization is discussed. Again the emphasis is on texts, since non-textual means were purportedly less important than in other missionary terrains. This is preceded by the short, yet challenging, part 3, which attempts to establish the importance of statistics and geography: why were the Jesuits seemingly in a better position to 'market' their presence in China as a missionary success, while other orders had to struggle not to be forgotten? And how would the Chinese population react to the missions, realizing that only a tiny handful of their compatriots could be persuaded to convert? Mastery of the literary Chinese medium as well as the advantage of being represented at court certainly helped their cause.

The second half of the book is dominated by a concrete textual study, i.e. by the *Chu hui wen da* ('Questions and answers for a first meeting'), a standard apologetic text by the Franciscan Pedro de la Piñuela, first composed in Guangzhou in around 1680. The text is presented as a reproduction of the original woodblock print along with Girard's translation (into French). The translation demonstrates a familiarity with the nuances of the Ming–Qing

philosophical discourse, and also an inveterate feeling for the text. Together with the examples chosen for the appendix, the reader is left with a lasting impression of the textual sophistication attained by the Christian missions of the seventeenth century.

The author's strength in conveying the power of the printed Chinese character alleviates any disappointment with Girard's decision to focus exclusively on the role of European religious authors in the analytical first half of her book. To a considerable extent, this is also the case for the lack of references to non-textual elements of Chinese Christianity, such as liturgical ritual, symbols and customs, although pictures and statues are covered in the context of their relative absence (part 4, chapter 1). This would have corrected the impression that seventeenth-century Christianity was shaped by the writings of European scholar-priests, and opened up the debate to embrace aspects of inculturation. Readers whose expectations are fixed on the textual, however, will certainly not be disappointed. Pascale Girard's textual analysis is a valuable contribution to the study of missionary history in China and of the exegesis of religious texts in general.

LARS PETER LAAMANN

MARK C. ELLIOTT:

*The Manchu way: the eight banners and ethnic identity in Late Imperial China.*

xxii, 580 pp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001. \$29.95.

In *The Manchu way: the eight banners and ethnic identity in Late Imperial China* Mark Elliott examines the unique Manchu military institution known as the eight banners, focusing on its relationship to ethnic identity during the Qing dynasty (1636–1911). Masterfully researched and artfully written, this work elucidates one of the most important institutions of the period, conveying both the significance of the physical presence of the banner garrisons in China and their centrality to Qing rule. The author strikes a balance between adhering to his focus and weaving in supporting evidence on a variety of topics that form original contributions to Qing scholarship in and of themselves, including aspects of the lives of Manchu women, shamanism, Manchu naming practices, and slavery within the banners. Well-chosen illustrations and maps lend additional interest and evidence to his arguments. The book constitutes a significant contribution to the field of Qing history.

Elliott argues that, from the inception of the dynasty, Manchu ethnicity was crucial to the self-definition and success of Qing rule. Making use of Manchu as well as Chinese language primary sources he successfully demonstrates imperial preoccupation with Manchu ethnicity and the role of the banners. Concerns centred on avoiding the acculturation of the banner population, the maintenance of language and martial skills associated with the homeland, and eventually an emphasis on Manchu descent. From the evidence Elliott provides, it is quite clear that neither descent nor Manchu skills alone were sufficient in the imperial eyes. A combination of both was essential. Presumably this is because the loyalty of an ethnic Chinese with Manchu skills could not be relied on, and a Manchu without skills was useless, and evidently not very committed to the imperial enterprise.

On a theoretical level Elliott's greatest contribution is to explore ethnicity as process. By examining the question of Manchu ethnic identity in relation to the eight banners over time, he uncovers a history of identity formation and transformation. What it meant to be Manchu continued to shift, and to be contested among Manchus themselves, especially vis-à-vis the court. Policy issues addressed at court included where bannermen should retire, where they should be buried, and whether widows should stay with extended family in provincial garrisons or return to Beijing. Because acculturation was to be avoided, assignments to provincial garrisons were theoretically temporary, hence initially burial was to take place in the capital. By the eighteenth century fiscal concerns forced reconsideration of some banner policies and required major reforms to the system. Using Manchu descent as a criterion, the court shrank enrolment in the banners. Genealogies were carefully checked, only Manchus were eligible for adoption into banner families, and Han bannermen were made free (let go) to pursue forms of livelihood outside the garrisons. Elliott argues that the eventual decreased facility of Manchus with the Manchu language and diminishment of martial skills associated with the Manchu homeland did not constitute a loss of ethnic identity. Rather, membership in the banners—with its concomitant privileges (a salary from the state) and restrictions (on where one could live and what one could do for a livelihood)—had itself gradually become synonymous with being Manchu. By arguing that Manchu ethnic identity was not lost along with language and martial skills, Elliott attempts to move the field beyond the debates over sinicization and the oversimplified dichotomy between 'Manchu' and 'Chinese' that sinicization theory perpetuates.

But what does Elliott's argument imply about imperial preoccupation with the decline of Manchu martial skills and Manchu language? Was it misplaced? Should we dismiss Qing concerns about assimilation? He does not suggest that we should. Rather, like the Qing emperors he cites, he believes that ethnic identification and differentiation were crucial to the survival of the dynasty. He uses the importance the court placed on both ethnic markers and the perpetuation of the banner system to support a thesis on the importance of 'ethnic sovereignty'—the idea that the Qing relied on ethnic separation to perpetuate its own power. While Manchu ethnicity, its invention and perpetuation, was certainly central to Qing rule, to state that 'the court absolutely had to find a way to sustain the banners or it would indeed have faced delegitimation and collapse' (p. 502, n. 4) is not actually proven. Evidence that the banner system itself was highly valued is plentiful, but in the mind of the Qianlong emperor it did not replace other aspects of Manchu ethnicity. The ethnic markers that the emperor valued, which Elliott draws on to demonstrate the importance of ethnicity during the Qing, were somewhat different to the banner identity that Elliott argues is what really came to matter in being a Manchu. Ultimately, therefore, the author is more successful at demonstrating the imperial *belief* that the perpetuation of Manchu ethnicity was essential to its survival than at showing that either the maintenance of ethnic difference or the preservation of the banners was indeed crucial in this way.

In summary, this is an excellent book that enhances our knowledge of the Qing period significantly. The information and ideas so cogently presented in this volume will influence the shape of the field for years to come, enriching both our understanding of and teaching on the period.

LAURA HOSTETLER

DAVID A. GRAFF and ROBIN HIGHAM (ed.):

*A military history of China.*

xi, 316 pp. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002. £21.99.

The most widely accepted convention on Chinese history has been the Confucian one, that the literary world has always dominated the military, that the pen has always been mightier than the sword, that the military is somehow alien to Chinese culture. There are very few officially recognized military heroes in elevated Chinese culture, and even fewer accounts of martial glory. This convention originated with the Chinese literati, and has been accepted by most Western sinologists from the time of the Jesuit interpreters of China (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). The convention has been reinforced in recent Western sinology both by the abiding concern with politics and ideology and by the new predilection for postmodern approaches which ignore warfare and the military.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the convention that the military has been insignificant in Chinese history. The Chinese empire was established by war over two thousand years ago; every major Chinese dynasty since has come to power through war and fallen either through war or through mutiny of its own soldiers. The last dynasty fell in 1911 when its armies turned against it. The convention no longer has any currency in China. On the mainland and in Taiwan the military and warfare are major topics of research.

David Graff and Robin Higham have performed a great service to those who are interested in China, and to those who teach her history, by bringing together a group of writers who show very clearly quite how important the military has been from the earliest times to the present. The book begins with a lucid and concise introduction to the subject—exactly what is required of a text which throws light on such an important aspect of Chinese history. Given the importance of the military it might seem tempting to fall into the hoary practice of talking of ‘unchanging China’, the state in which continuity was everything and change almost inconceivable. The next five chapters cover general themes (‘Continuity and change’, Edward Dreyer; ‘State making and state breaking’, David Graff; ‘The Northern Frontier’, David Wright; ‘Water forces and naval operations’, Peter Lorge; and ‘Military writings’, Ralph Sawyer). These chapters show that there were continuities, but that the forms of military activity and their outcomes covered a wide range of patterns.

More detailed chapters explore modern history, some focusing on military organization, and covering most of the major armies and conflicts from the eighteenth century to the present (‘The Qing empire’, Paul Lococo; ‘The transformation of the Chinese military 1950–1911’, Richard Horowitz; ‘The national army from Whampao to 1949’, Chang Jui-te; ‘Mao and the Red Army’, William Wei; ‘The PLA from 1949 to 1989’, Dennis Blasko; ‘China’s foreign conflicts from 1949’, Larry Wortzel; and ‘Recent developments in the Chinese military’, June Dreyer). Other authors show how overwhelming and devastating warfare has been for China, from the Taiping rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century (Yu Maochen), to Warlordism in early Republican China (Edward McCord) and the Sino–Japanese conflict (Stephen MacKinnon).

The book is conceived and organized in a way that makes it useful not just as a self-contained text but also as a guide to future work. Each chapter

comes with suggestions for further reading and research, exactly what is needed in a field which is in development.

It is possible to make some cavils about topics which might have been included—I would have liked, for example, to have seen a chapter on Qianlong's Ten Great Campaigns in the eighteenth century, which pushed the Chinese state out to the boundaries it occupies today. I would also have liked to see something on the rare military heroes in Chinese culture, Zhuge Liang and Yue Fei, and something on the greatest of all Chinese popular novels, *The romance of the Three Kingdoms*, which deals with the war which followed the fall of the Han Dynasty. But these are minor cavils that are a reflection more of the vastness of the topic than of oversights on the part of the editors.

DIANA LARY

JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN (ed.):

*The Jews of China. Volume 2. A sourcebook and research guide.*

xiii, 203 pp. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000.

The history of Jews in the Middle Kingdom from the Northern Song period to the establishment of the People's Republic of China has in recent years attracted unprecedented attention in academic circles as well as among the wider public. This interest is not petering out and, in the near future, we should expect more articles, more books and more documentaries on this peripheral subject in the annals of Chinese history. From a strictly academic viewpoint the quality of published and unpublished research varies from amateurial to innovative: we therefore have to be extremely discerning when using materials related to the Jewish experience in China.

This volume, like its predecessor, represents the outcome of a conference on Jews in China organized by Jonathan Goldstein, the editor of both volumes, at Harvard University in August 1992. The book is divided in four sections (traditional Chinese awareness of Jews, memoirs, research guides and bibliography) and consists of fourteen articles. The first section starts with an article by Xu Xin, a professor of Nanjing University who has played a significant role in promoting Jewish studies in China. In his article Xu presents a condensed overview of Chinese sources on Jews in the Middle Kingdom, which might be of some use to students taking their first steps in Sino-Judaic studies. Wei Qianzhi's article (translated by Roger Des Forges) focuses on the disputed date of the arrival of Jews in the city of Kaifeng, the imperial capital of the Northern Song dynasty and nowadays a dusty city in Henan province. Wei first examines a number of possible dates for the establishment of the community and then posits that Jews most probably moved to the city during the Northern Song dynasty, in the year 998. The late Wang Yisha (in his contribution translated by Albert Dien) enumerates documents he retrieved from Jewish descendants as well as the location of commercial sites and graves of Kaifeng Jews. In my view, the genealogical trees (*jiapu*) of Jewish families Wang has collected represent the most sensitive sources since these documents might be employed to substantiate claims by Kaifeng Jewish descendants to be recognized as a Jewish *minzu*, a Jewish nationality. Xiao Xian discusses Chinese attitudes towards Jews and Judaism between the mid-nineteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries. Xiao explains how the Chinese became acquainted with Jewish history and Judaism and notes that in the 1920s the Chinese developed a deeper awareness of themes related to Jews, especially Zionism.



The article ends with the question: ‘Did anti-semitism exist in China’? The author’s answer is that anti-semitism made its way to China in the early twentieth century but was not absorbed by the Chinese. A clear shortcoming in the article is that Xiao seems to be unaware of Zhou Xun’s work on Chinese perception of the Jews.

The second section of the volume consists of a collection of reminiscences of former Jewish residents in Harbin, Tianjin and Shanghai. Illo L. Heppner recalls her experience as a young refugee from Nazi persecution from the moment of her arrival in Shanghai in 1940 to her departure to the United States in 1947. The central part of the article vividly describes the daily miseries faced by central European Jews who were interned by the Japanese in the Honkew (Honkou) ghetto in February 1943. Quite clearly, the only happy note of her forced residence in Honkew was her early marriage to another young refugee. Ernest G. Heppner, her husband, discusses the enormous challenges and responsibilities faced by those in charge of bringing aid to European Jewish refugees in Shanghai. The article points out the often insufficient help received by needy Jews and, at the same time, stresses the internal divisions among Jews in the city. Alexander Menquez, a pseudonym used by an American academic born in Balystok (Poland), draws an accurate description of the Jewish community in Harbin by presenting colourful sketches of his life in the city from 1928 to 1941. At the end of his contribution Menquez ponders the centrality of his Jewish identity during the years he spent in Harbin. Israel Epstein, a Chinese citizen and member of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, is one of a handful of Western Jews who chose the People’s Republic of China as their permanent home in the aftermath of the Communist revolution. Epstein draws from his unique experience to explain his life as a Jew in China and paints a poignant picture of the Russian Jewish community of Tianjin, the city where he grew up between 1920 and 1937. Yosef Tekoah (1925–91), a leading Israeli diplomat, recalls his life in Shanghai in an interview recorded in Beijing in 1989 by Steve Hochstadt, an academic heavily involved in the Shanghai Jewish Community Oral History Project at Bates College. Tekoah describes his privileged upbringing as a son of a leading Russian Jewish trader in the cosmopolitan setting of the Shanghai foreign settlements. Significantly, he ascribes the origins of his life-long interest in ‘international life, in the world at large, in international relations...’ to his early life in China when he came into contact with young people of many origins. Heinz Dawid, a lawyer, presents a detailed account of his escape from Nazi Germany to China in 1939 in an article edited by Hochstadt. Notwithstanding the enormous difficulties he faced on his arrival in China, Dawid managed to practise law in Tianjin until the fall of the city to the Communists in January 1949.

The third section opens with a brief contribution by Phyllis Horal who describes some graves belonging to the descendants of Kaifeng Jews. Irene Eber discusses the potential for research on Jewish communities in China and suggests a number of topics which deserve academic attention. She also provides an overview of the materials on Jewish communities in China held at the Hebrew University and in other institutions in Israel. Marcia Ristaino presents an account of European Jewish refugees of various origins by using the Shanghai Municipal Police Files held in the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington D.C. Her analysis highlights the complexities of the Jewish refugees’ status in Shanghai and offers fascinating insights on the *modus operandi* of Jewish organizations in the city. Jonathan Goldstein, the editor of the volume, reports on his fruitful research trip to

Shanghai in 1993 where he visited the Polish and Russian consulates in search of fresh documentation on European Jewish refugees.

The final part of the volume consists of a selected bibliography on Jews in China put together with superb accuracy by Frank Joseph Shulman. The bibliography is a timely contribution since it imposes some order on the voluminous literature on Jews in China. To conclude, the volume adds fresh knowledge to our understanding of Jewish communities in China though the quality of the articles is uneven.

CHIARA BETTA

TINA LU:

*Persons, roles, and minds: identity in Peony pavilion and Peach blossom fan.*

x, 358 pp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001. £17.95.

This is an original and thought-provoking study on personal identity in Tang Xianzu's *Peony pavilion* of the late Ming period and Kong Shangren's *Peach blossom fan* of the early Qing period; it will make readers think afresh about the nature of problems addressed in numerous comedies of mistaken identity in traditional Chinese drama. It focuses on two problems that both plays address: 'First, what makes someone human (and not for example, a ghost or a representation or someone who cannot be regarded as a moral being)? And, second, once a person's humanity has been established, what makes an individual a specific human with a unique position in the human community (and not an imposter or even a double)?' (p. 5). The six main chapters (three devoted to each play) present a fascinating close reading of the central problem of the basis for adjudicating identities, both for characters in the plays and for the reader.

In *Peony pavilion*, Du Liniang's self portrait 'undermines notions of representational priority, so that relatively simple questions like who the model is for the portrait become virtually impossible to answer,' (p. 73), and with the subsequent split of her identity between the corpse, the ghost and the figure in the painting, questions arise as to whether these separate identities add up, or whether they resist reassembly, and whether multiple versions of Du Liniang, the corpse, the ghost and the figure in the painting are the same. The separate dreams of Liu Mengmei and Du Liniang are also discussed, and the author makes a strong argument for the dream world not being secondary to the waking world, which then challenges assumptions we have about identities. Problems about the adjudication of identities throughout the play build up to the final scenes when an interesting argument emerges. Are people to identify themselves through the identity of their fathers or of their spouses? If it is through the latter, then 'identity becomes far less fixed and predetermined and far more a matter of choice' (p. 126). *Peony pavilion* agrees with this reordering of the family relations by the late Ming thinker Li Zhi, where the resurrected girl is a human and not a ghost only because she is Liu Mengmei's wife, and only after this relationship is confirmed can she lay claim to being Du Bao's daughter. The final declaration of Du Liniang's humanity by the emperor leads to a happy but uneasy reunion, especially in the minds of Du Bao and some readers, who will perhaps be forever haunted by the prospect that the resurrected 'Du Liniang' is not his beloved daughter but a ghost.

In *Peony pavilion*, the emperor is not seen but is represented by an offstage voice. In *Peach blossom fan*, the emperor is brought onstage and played by an actor among many others. The problem then becomes the following. When the emperor in *Peony pavilion* sorts out all problems and assigns each person to his or her proper place, what happens to the identities of all people portrayed in *Peach blossom fan* when even that of the Emperor is uncertain, since at least six other men had strong claims to the throne during the last days of the Ming? The argument then, is that where Du Liniang and Liu Mengmei follow their own nature and choose and forge their own social ties, this vision of human identity, where people are defined first and foremost not as members of a hierarchy, but as free-floating individuals, is not allowed to prevail in *Peach blossom fan*. Hou Fangyu finally realizes that his desire to run away from the chaos and simply follow his natural desires and marry Li Xiangjun is fundamentally not too different from the vision of the villains Ma Shiyong and Ruan Dacheng, who think they can stage enthronement scenes at will and make any man emperor. In the world portrayed in *Peach blossom fan*, peopled by characters that assume and divest themselves of roles at whim, where the world of the demi-monde and the imperial court parallel each other, this theatrical mode of identity, where who one is becomes a matter of choice and an act of mind, proves to have a fatally corrosive effect on the polity and eventually dooms the community (p. 246).

The above is but a brief introduction and does not do justice to the rich layers of ideas presented. Writing from a range of perspectives, including literary criticism, philosophy, jurisprudence and art history, it is a finely wrought study that teases out the ironic implications of the fundamental human relationships in Chinese culture, and reappraises two masterworks of traditional Chinese drama. I am in complete agreement with Stephen H. West's comment on the back cover of the book that 'it is perhaps the most significant book in English on Chinese dramatic literature'.

ANDREW LO

MARCIA REYNDERS RISTAINO:

*Port of last resort: the diaspora communities of Shanghai.*

xxi, 369 pp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Marcia Ristaino's book on 'victim diasporas' in Shanghai, which focuses on Slavic and Jewish refugees from central and eastern Europe, is an impressive work and represents a welcome contribution to the expanding field of Shanghai studies. The first chapters concentrate on the discussion of the painful experiences of the sizeable Russian community—formed by Jews and White Russians—that swiftly developed in Shanghai in the wake of the 1917 Revolution. Ristaino also skilfully touches upon smaller communities of Slavs, mainly Poles and Ukrainians, and makes stimulating references to the existence of a Georgian community in China, thus introducing the overlooked topic of non-Slavic Orthodox Christians in Shanghai. The second section of the book brings into play the tragic circumstances of central and eastern European Jews who found a safe haven in the open port of Shanghai after fleeing the brutalities of the Nazis in the late 1930s. The history of modern Shanghai provides the unifying framework to the book and Ristaino masterfully deals with the ambiguities of the treaty port system and the intricacies of wartime Shanghai (1937–45). Though Shanghai is at the centre of the narrative the

book also provides deep insights into the catastrophic events which unfolded in Europe's short twentieth century, events that still haunt the continent at the beginning of the third millennium.

Ristaino delineates in awesome detail the birth and development of Russian life in Shanghai, basing her account on an impressive combination of sources. She explains that Orthodox Christian Russians firstly sojourned in Shanghai as tea traders around 1860 and that their presence in the city remained negligible until the 1917 Revolution. As for the first wave of Russian Jews—mostly survivors of vicious pogroms—they became engaged in petty entrepreneurial activities around the turn of the twentieth century. The collapse of anti-Bolshevik resistance in Russia's Far East at the beginning of the 1920s dramatically altered the size and composition of the Russian community in Shanghai as thousands of desperate and starving White Russians sought haven in the city. Ristaino's powerful and moving narrative conveys the utter desperation of defeated White Russian military forces and their families who had precipitously left Russia's Far East aboard overcrowded rusty vessels. Her description of the 2,000 mile journey from Xinjiang to Shanghai undertaken by 300 Russians, mostly Jews, reminds us that Jews represented a sizeable minority among Russian refugees. By the mid-1930s over 30,000 Russians resided in Shanghai, 6,000 of whom were Jews.

From Ristaino's account we infer that Russian Jews had, in comparison to White Russians, the advantage of receiving assistance from an organized and wealthy Jewish community, until the early 1920s formed mostly by Sephardi Jews of Baghdadi extraction. In contrast, White Russians were forced to rely solely on themselves to fight for survival in the challenging environment of the Shanghai foreign settlements. Steady jobs were hard to find and countless Russian women were forced into prostitution to make ends meet. White Russians and Russian Jews led, on the whole, separate existences, even if both groups were members of the all-inclusive Russian Emigrants Committee formed in 1926 to represent officially stateless Russians in Shanghai. Not surprisingly, White Russians introduced pernicious anti-Semitic harangue in Shanghai, which was sometimes vented in the local Russian press and found its promoter in the Russian Fascist Party. Nevertheless, relations between White Russians and Russian Jews were, in the cosmopolitan milieu of Shanghai, peaceful and certainly less strained than in the Manchurian city of Harbin.

The second 'victim diaspora' Ristaino analyses consisted of 18,000 Jews, mostly from Germany, Austria, and Poland, who fled Nazi persecution and reached Shanghai between 1938 and 1941. Many of the refugees were German-speaking middle-class professionals, a small minority were students and rabbis of Yeshivas from Poland and Lithuania. Having lost all their possessions, Jewish refugees were forced to confront alien surroundings in a period of great domestic turmoil in China. Starting afresh was extremely challenging for the newcomers, who displayed nevertheless extreme resilience and ingenuity in coping with adverse circumstances. In this respect, Ristaino points out that 'one woman ran a "tie clinic," repairing and restoring old or damaged ties' (p. 131). Jewish refugees were assisted by a number of local relief associations as well by international organizations such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC) which, however, stopped temporarily after Pearl Harbor and the subsequent Japanese occupation of the International Settlement on 8 December, 1941.

Some of the freshest ground is broken in Ristaino's deft examination of the relations between the Japanese and White Russians as well as the

ambivalent attitudes the Japanese displayed towards Jews in Shanghai. The proclamation issued by the Japanese on 18 February, 1943, which ordered moving stateless refugees to a 'designated area' (*shitei chiku*) represented a turning point for European Jewish refugees in Shanghai. Significantly, the proclamation did not include refugees who had arrived in Shanghai before 1937 and therefore neither Russian Jews nor White Russians were interned by the Japanese. Life in the *shitei chiku*, known as the Honkou ghetto, was extremely hard: food was scarce, illnesses abounded and interned Jews were subjected to innumerable restrictions, which hindered their negligible possibilities of finding employment. Nevertheless, the vast majority of Jews survived and, after the Second World War, migrated to a number of destinations, especially the United States, a complicated bureaucratic process based on strict immigration quotas. Civil war in China and prospects of the country being ruled by a Communist regime prompted Russian Jews to leave Shanghai and seek a fresh start, particularly in the newly founded state of Israel, though a few hundred were still living in the People's Republic of China in the 1950s. As for White Russians, a minority took the bold step to move to the Soviet Union rather than to face Communist rule in China. As many as 5,000 had to spend two long years in jungle-like conditions in a remote part of the Philippines before migrating to the United States. Others migrated to countries such as Argentina.

To conclude, Ristaino combines a solid grasp of modern Shanghai with the wider picture of Europe in the twentieth century and in doing so produces an outstanding study which can be recommended for scholars interested in modern China, Russian studies, the Holocaust and twentieth-century history.

CHIARA BETTA

YE WEILI:

*Seeking modernity in China's name: Chinese students in the United States, 1900–1927.*

xii, 330 pp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001. £35.

Some of the most riveting pages in Jerome Ch'en's pioneering *China and the West* (1979) were dedicated to an analysis of the social life of Chinese students abroad: many were silent wanderers who found little common ground with their foreign colleagues. Intellectually bewildered and socially isolated, sexually frustrated and racially prejudiced, they reserved their equanimity abroad with thoughts of the glorious future that awaited them upon return to the Motherland. Based on travelogues, memoirs and magazines, Ch'en's deeply incisive analysis of alienation among students abroad has been begging to be taken further by a gifted student. Ye Weili is not this person, and her book on Chinese students in the United States is a wasted opportunity to explore the emotional tensions, cultural ambivalences and social attitudes of two generations of gifted scholars who found themselves exposed to a totally alien yet immensely challenging world outside China. The author ignores the existing field which was established by, among others, Ch'en, David Arkush (*Land without ghosts*, 1989) and Tu Wei-ming ('Chinese perceptions of America', 1978), instead making a dubious claim to absolute originality in the introduction. On the other hand, while she misreads a number of works in English singled out for criticism, her book is heavily derivative of secondary

literature and based on few original sources. The major source for Ye Weili's study is the *Chinese Students' Monthly*: the result is a fairly pedestrian overview of the usual suspects, including Hu Shi, Pan Guangdan, Wen Yiduo, Jiang Menglin and other Ivy League luminaries.

The book is divided into several topical chapters. The first looks at the role of national identity among Chinese students in the United States, and focuses on the Chinese Students' Alliance and student fraternities. The next examines the professional life of the students, highlighting that many acquired a scientific and technical approach to solving what they perceived to be China's problems. In chapter 3, the author examines the 'question of race', showing rather predictably that students did not reject racial hierarchy but sought to improve China's position within it. The next chapter focuses on female students, while chapter 5 probes the emotional and sexual tensions of male students who found it difficult to adjust to foreign mores. Recreational activities are discussed in the final chapter, including participation in sports and theatre.

While these topics neatly retrace the steps taken by Jerome Ch'en over twenty years before, Ye Weili adds precious little to his conclusions. Moreover, a considerable body of work has appeared since 1979 on 'race', gender, sex, recreation and sports, and much of the book merely repeats what have by now become familiar themes in the cultural history of modern China. This is all the more true as she restricts her analysis to a small number of well-known intellectual figures. Lack of familiarity with primary sources further compounds the problem. Where Jerome Ch'en was able to tease information on students' sexuality from a multitude of original sources, the author's heavy reliance on one student magazine leads her to conclude that 'the Chinese students were curiously silent on the subject of sexuality', a lame statement considering the fact that she devotes an entire chapter to the topic. Her discussion of 'inter-racial' marriage is confined to one example, based again on a fairly pedestrian source. Although the book does not generate new knowledge or original insights, it is not without merit. The chapter on the formation of professional identities is invaluable, as the author shows how the students she analyses promoted a vision of an industrial China in which science and technology reigned supreme. Even in this chapter, however, relatively few concrete examples are given, as the author all too often falls back on secondary sources to circumvent her lack of familiarity with primary material. Readers interested in Chinese students abroad should go straight back to *China and the West*.

FRANK DIKÖTTER

GREGORY B. LEE:

*Chinas unlimited: making the imaginaries of China and Chineseness.* (Chinese Worlds.) xi, 121 pp. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £55.

This latest volume from Gregory Lee takes him yet one step further from his doctoral studies of modernist Chinese poetry, and lands him (as he reveals already on p. 3) right back where he started, as the grandson of a prominent member of Liverpool's once thriving pre-war Chinese community. The collection of four essays published or republished here sets off from familiar territory with the analysis of a story written as a result of his stay in Britain by the Chinese poet Duo Duo. This piece is, however, followed by an essay on British stereotypes of Chineseness in popular culture. In this chapter Lee

concentrates on opium, the supposed primitiveness of the Chinese language, and on the original association of the Chinese in Britain (an association prolonged to a somewhat later period in North America) with the laundry industry. The first two topics are effectively summarized, even though others have explored them in more detail elsewhere, but in the case of the third we are treated to an analysis of the lyrics of George Formby that both carries true Lancastrian authority, noting the recycling of his caricature of Chineseness even in a recent staging of the pantomime *Aladdin*, and that also goes some way to address the lack of attention to China as understood in popular culture already deplored by Robert Bickers in his path-breaking study, *Britain in China* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 59.

The third essay turns to a slightly different topic, namely the construction of Chineseness on Chinese television today, again with a good eye to popular culture. But thought provoking though these early chapters may be, it is clearly the fourth and final essay that is the most poignant, covering as it does not simply what he has been able to piece together of his grandfather's life and times, but also his own personal reminiscences. Finding documentary evidence that can be correlated with his memories has evidently not been easy, and occasionally some details concerning the old man do not entirely seem to tally with the memories of others. On p. 105 we learn that 'It is said he expected a consulate to open in Liverpool after World War Two, and he looked forward to being named the honorary consul'. Yet there was indeed such a consulate during the war, and Kenneth Lo was detailed to leave his fire-watching job in Cambridge and take up the post, though his daughter Dr. Vivienne Lo recalls that he remarked that he was not paid that often, on account of the Chinese government of the day being chiefly preoccupied with other matters, and so perhaps even this phase of the consulate's existence could be construed as having been largely honorary.

The author's intention, however, has not been so much to engage in micro-history as to raise the questions of identity contained in the title of his collection, and here he has certainly succeeded. Some of the discussion may perhaps point in slightly misleading directions. On pp. 82–83, for example, he talks of his own experience on the basis of his knowledge of the African American notion of 'passing' as a white person, though this to my mind at least would seem to introduce the language of a quite specific cultural situation into a somewhat more multivalent context. One of my student contemporaries, for example, now a prominent academic in North America, came from an overseas Chinese family but happened to have a Scottish grandfather; I doubt that she then considered or even after her move to America considers herself now a Scottish lass passing as Chinese, though one can never be sure. Equally, I do not feel that I am merely passing as British on account of my grandmother who was a native of an Asian country; though it may be that as such matters become more widely discussed I shall be persuaded to change my mind. Gregory Lee has at any rate by making this slim volume a very personal statement gone far to show that the ramifications of British imperialism have left a still largely unacknowledged pattern of mixed (or to use the term he favours 'hybrid') cultural inheritance even in its former metropolitan areas, with, one might add, the prospect too of the weaving of yet more complex strands in future. In an age in which Chineseness is perhaps destined to become a more stridently articulated experience, he has voiced a number of concerns that will even so deserve to be heard.

T. H. BARRETT

FABIO RAMBELLI:

*Vegetal Buddhas: ideological effects of Japanese Buddhist doctrines on the salvation of inanimate beings.*

(Occasional Papers, 9.) v, 119 pp. Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 2001.

Does the environment have Buddha-nature? The Mahāyāna principle of non-dualism might suggest that the answer has to be yes, and that one might even go so far as to define the non-sentient as that which has already achieved full enlightenment and which therefore has no need for consciousness: pure consciousness being the same as non-consciousness. But do we conclude from this that at some stage the non-sentient had been conscious and was able to arouse within itself *bodhicitta*, the desire for enlightenment? And if so, can this be said of the totality of non-sentient materiality or must we limit the scope to, say, plants?

As Schmithausen has shown, this kind of argument does not seem to have exercised the minds of Indian Buddhists, who, by and large, limited the possibility of enlightenment to the sentient. But it certainly was a matter of serious debate in Chinese Tiantai and both Japanese Tendai and Shingon. Rambelli's discussion of the arguments in the first part of this essay relies heavily on Japanese secondary sources and, covers the subject well. That said, however, one does find here and there some surprising lacunae in the bibliography: the claim, for example, that Annen's *Kantei sōmoku jōbutsu shiki* remains unpublished is puzzling when it can be found in Sueki's *Heian shoki bukkyō shisō no kenkyū* of 1995.

Of the Chinese scholars, Zhanran probably came closest to arguing that the non-sentient partook of enlightenment, but his emphasis is still firmly on the ubiquity of Buddha-nature and the impossibility of making final distinctions between sentient and non-sentient (Rambelli might have made profitable use here of Penkower's 1993 PhD thesis, which has a full translation of the *Jinggangbei*). It was only Japanese Tendai monks who took the matter further and presumed that individual objects in nature might have an aspiration towards enlightenment. Rambelli does not discuss the early Heian 'Tōketsu' correspondence between Japanese and Chinese monks, but it is here that the differences are brought into sharpest relief. In one particular exchange it becomes clear that when Enchō comes close to personifying the non-sentient, his puzzled respondent Guangxiu deflects the question by staying at the higher level of non-dualism. There is not much meeting of minds.

In the second section Rambelli deals with what he calls 'ecopietas', which really means how a similarly respectful attitude to natural phenomena is revealed in much of Japanese literature, folklore and actual practice. The idea that plants and trees have (or are) spirits is ubiquitous, fundamental to many Nō plays and much of Muromachi fiction; and the habit of holding rituals designed to pacify the spirit of something one has harmed or perhaps just used in the normal course of gaining a livelihood is widespread, and a habit that persists today in such ceremonies as *hari kuyō* or when university scientists gather for a ritual in honour of the animals they have used in experiments.

But this essay is much more than a catalogue of examples; it is highly polemical, underscored by an ideological programme at every turn. Rambelli is worried about the continued strength of the myth that the Japanese have a special love of nature, a myth that should puzzle all those who go to Japan



and see what they have done to their rivers. It is common practice to explain the existence of *sōmoku jōbutsu* ideology in Japan as ‘the manifestation in Buddhist terms of an ahistorically understood Shinto animism’ (p. 2). In other words, to see it as part and parcel of the Japanization of Buddhism. By emphasizing the Buddhist roots of the concept, Rambelli tries to reverse this perspective. He then proceeds to overturn another appellation: reversing the primacy of doctrine over practice, he argues that Buddhism stressed the sacrality of trees (to take just one example) for largely political and economic reasons. Doctrine not as the base but as the handmaid of institutional growth. Trees are first and foremost capital and only secondarily sacred. It is refreshing to read a blunt argument that strictures on the cutting down of trees were the result not of an inborn love of nature but exactly the contrary—a response to the unfettered destruction of the environment. In the end it came down to who owned the environment. Many of the stories that Rambelli discusses show that the doctrine of the sacred nature of trees could be used as an extremely effective tool by Buddhist institutions to gain power and influence. A tree cut down to build a temple was a very different matter to a tree cut down by a peasant to sell. And in the end, he argues, the Buddhist insistence that the whole environment was sacred could be used to justify a rhetoric whereby Buddhist institutions could claim domination over the whole of Japan.

There is much about Rambelli’s crusade that is both interesting and persuasive. Just occasionally, however, one feels there is a danger of going too far and crediting Buddhism with everything. After all, the fact remains that it was Japanese monks, not Chinese, who felt the need to argue for active enlightenment in the non-sentient. This drive must have come from somewhere. Like all good scholarship, this essay raises as many questions as it answers.

RICHARD BOWRING

ANTONETTA LUCIA BRUNO:

*The gate of words: language in the rituals of Korean shamans.*

(CNWS Publications, 117.) ix, 208 pp. Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, Leiden University, 2002. €25.

This volume is the result of considerable research, begun with fieldwork in the late 1980s, and continued during four years’ research with Korean shamans during the mid-1990s. It is, essentially, a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Leiden, and it explores the use of speech in Korean shaman rituals, taking as its theoretical framework speech act theory and linguistic anthropology. It offers a text that is often dense, full of analysis and excerpts of rituals (rendered in a mix of translated and Korean versions), using pseudonyms and abbreviations to signify actors, and highlighting texts in bold, underlined, or italicized print for emphasis and distinction. The large amount of documentation behind the volume is referenced in an appendix.

*The gate of words* does not make for easy reading. Bruno marshals her considerable evidence, taking multiple perspectives that at times analyse the language of the ritualist, at times translate and document discussions, comments, responses and the activities of the audience, and at times are based on personal observations. In some ways, she follows the approach of Stanley Tambiah (others such as Edward Schieffelin could also be mentioned), but she gives greater emphasis to textual analysis, in a way that has echoes of

Boudewijn Walraven's *Songs of the shaman: the ritual chants of the Korean Mudang* (London, 1994). There is, of course, a considerable body of material written on Korean shaman texts, both in European languages and in Korean, but nothing has previously sought to explore communicative action—the interaction between shamans, assistants, clients and audiences. A brief survey of what others have written, together with the observation that despite contemporary globalization shamans still play an active role in the life of Koreans, and a brief exploration of what shamanism actually comprises in Korea, form an introduction. The literature survey continues into chapter 1, where the emphasis shifts to a lengthy rehearsal of theoretical models.

Bruno then focuses on the three contexts in which ritual speech occurs, the chants known as *muga* that are sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments (she calls these 'songs'), *kongsa* and *chöm*. *Kongsa* is often glossed simply as 'oracles', but here, through references to other commentators and to the experiences of Bruno and her informants, we hear of its various forms. The accounts cited suggest considerable difference in approach and material, and call out for more critique, but this is sidestepped as Bruno explores the mix between inspiration and learning, through which *kongsa* forms an intermediary language between ritual and ordinary speech. This analysis is both new and exemplary. *Chöm* might be defined as 'divination', but Bruno shows, instead, that it is best characterized as ordinary language used primarily in initial meetings between shamans and clients to deduce information. The language, she notes, is often ambiguous, hence when a shaman asks whether the client had an uncle who died prematurely the client assumes she has received an indication of this from the spirit world, whereas she may be merely gathering information for future use.

Next, Bruno discusses 'switching': changing modes of communication, speech and actions that produce affects or strengthen requests or commands. Her analysis of specific events reveals, usefully, that 'supernatural entities do talk through the [shaman], but their "presence" does not equal the length of the time of the sequence dedicated to them, nor is it necessarily identical to one single speech event within such a sequence' (p. 35). She looks at how 'switching' occurs in sentence endings, in the use of personal pronouns, speech levels, and weeping, by translating segments of text, and through six photographs she illustrates 'switching' in physical actions. Two further chapters take the analysis forward, exploring relations between formal and informal ritual parts, and the way that 'rules' are broken. Things get complex here: Bruno gives a long passage of Korean without translation (pp. 67–8), refers to episodes within rituals with letter codes, A–M (the appendix gives information on these), and marks speech direction with letters signifying participants (p. 50, for example: F > E. E < > A. F > A, A > E. E > A. A > F; F > A).

On page 91 we reach a description and transliteration of a ritual; this is superbly detailed and continues for 56 heavily footnoted pages. Chöng Hakpong conducts this ritual, and her speech is analysed in a further chapter as the author dissects formulaic and non-formulaic elements, bringing in additional evidence from published sources. A comparison is made with the utterances of a second shaman, 'CST', Chöng Sundök, who becomes the subject of the final chapter. 'CST', we read, taps into and transforms emotion, particularly through the manipulation of verb endings.

Taken as a whole, and ignoring occasional grammatical glitches and an inconsistent approach to italicizing Korean terms, *The gate of words* moves our understanding of Korean shaman rituals to a new level. We are shown

how texts are continuously transformed and elaborated, and how speech is dialogic but ambiguous, allowing the shaman to create a powerful assemblage of the familiar and the unfamiliar. Strategies of 'switching', breaking 'rules', and transforming emotion allow diagnosis and resolution. The three forms of ritual speech, the decontextualizing and entextualizing *chöm*, the embedded *muga*, and the recontextualizing *kongsa*, overlap in a multiplicity of meanings, and the dynamics of ritual are created as the speech and actions of shamans reflect and respond to the reactions of clients. To demonstrate how social interaction creates rituals that work, then, Bruno shows us how important it is to engage in the detailed analysis of speech.

KEITH HOWARD

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GENERAL

LEILA TARAZI FAWAZ and C. A. BAYLY (ed.):

*Modernity and culture: from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.*  
xvi, 410 pp. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. \$49.50  
(cloth), \$22.50 (paper).

This book can be regarded as a landmark achievement in expanding the scope of historical studies. First of all, it connects two regions which were hitherto regarded as quite separate entities. In addition, the Indian Ocean has only quite recently come to be recognized as an area or rather an 'inter-regional arena', as Sugata Bose suggests in his perceptive concluding chapter on 'Space and time on the Indian Ocean rim' (p. 366). Even if the focus is on predominantly Muslim regions, thus excluding southern Europe, and if it basically excludes the East African coast and the eastern Indian Ocean, this considerably broadens the historians' views, which are normally limited by the context of their respective regional studies. Such a shift allows us to see connections and to understand phenomena such as the rise of local polities at the expense of the great Muslim Empires at a time during which Europe deepened its influence in the Muslim world.

This approach also helps to connect two quite distinct scholarly historical traditions: one dealing with the Middle East and the other with India. Their different approaches, notably in the field of urban studies, are explored in the editors' introduction. Clearly, the intensive discussions during the workshops which preceded the publication of this collection have enriched the questions of historians from both traditions with regard to matters of urban studies as well as identity formation. Thus, the volume helps to break down borders in more than one sense, quite in line with recent calls for a new understanding of the constructed nature of boundaries.

The seventeen articles which follow the introduction provide a good mix of local case studies, focusing mostly on merchant cities (often ports, considered nodal points by Kenneth McPherson) and various questions of representation and Muslim identity formation in different periods, and comparative overviews. Of particular interest are three studies by Michel Tuscherer, André Raymond and Colette Dubois on a hitherto rather neglected subregion, the Red Sea. They demonstrate the extent to which the area constituted an interface between the two maritime systems as well as a barrier, covering between them the period between 1500 and 1914. They show how

political as well as infrastructural conditions shaped the ups and downs in the fortune of certain cities such as Jeddah and Aden and contributed to the emergence of new ones like Djibouti, in the 1880s still merely 'a place known by a few fishermen and sailors looking for water' (Dubois, p. 70).

Changing infrastructure also characterized the development of the Muslim pilgrimage from the Ottoman centre, which was increasingly undertaken by steamboat and railway rather than by camel (Abdul-Karim Rafeq). These two means of transport also shaped the rapid emergence of Haifa as a Mediterranean port in the nineteenth century (May Seikaly). The cosmopolitan and multicultural world sketched in these contributions, as well as in that by Peter Sluglett on Aleppo, unravelled in some parts with the replacement of empires by nation-states. A particularly dramatic case is that of Izmir, sensitively discussed by Reşat Kasaba. It is a clear desideratum for further research to complement these penetrating studies with comparative ones of Indian Ocean cities such as Bombay, Mombasa, Penang or Singapore. A more systematic comparison of what the global changes meant for cities at the heart of the Western empires, notably France and Britain, would also be more than desirable.

While the articles on social and economic history cover the whole period from about 1600, albeit with a clear focus on the late Ottoman Empire (c.f. Engin Akarli's article), those on cultural production and imagination are limited to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the period during which the public sphere expanded dramatically with the expansion of printing and publishing (contributions by Juan Cole and Elisabeth Kendall). At the same time, the crucial transition to nation-states took place. The resulting tension between a cosmopolitan port with its transnational outlook and its hinterland within national frontiers is imaginatively captured by the artists described in Robin Ostle's discussion of Alexandria. Interestingly, a similar tension is evident in the writings of Islamic scholars and notables from Basra (Hala Fattah).

One cannot consider the development of new ideas and identities in this period without discussing the colonial divisions. Just as it was only in the nineteenth century that the term *millet* assumed a more or less standardized administrative meaning in the Ottoman Empire and thus served to formalize relations between the Porte and its non-Muslim minorities (Kasaba), so the religious and racial distinctions made by British and French colonial administrators contributed to the shaping of local understandings (Chris and Susan Bayly). Susan Bayly's analysis of the racialization of the orientalist discourse in colonial times through a reading of the *Revue du Monde Musulman* is particularly interesting because it also unsettles all-too-easy notions of the linearity of orientalist discourse, overlooking its complicated interaction with 'oriental' intellectuals as well as the often differentiated character of its writings.

Overall, this book should become widely used by both academics and students of Middle Eastern, Indian, Indian Ocean and general history. It will provide a most valuable starting point for a new type of comparative studies.

ULRIKE FREITAG

STANLEY J. TAMBIAH:

*Edmund Leach: an anthropological life.*

xvii, 517 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002. £20.95.

Stanley Tambiah has taken on a formidable task in this long and complex book. Edmund Leach was born in 1910 and died in 1989. For roughly half a

century he actively engaged in an astonishingly wide range of anthropological research and writing, and for much of this time he enjoyed well-deserved international star status. In the earlier years of his career, British social anthropologists, like many of the villagers they studied, were still a small and close-knit, if not wholly unified community, who knew each other 'in the round'. Few members of the generation of students and colleagues who knew Leach from his earliest days at LSE are left. However, numerous others, like Professor Tambiah—who first met him in Sri Lanka—and myself, still recall falling under his spell during his early days in Cambridge, and many later students and scholars similarly came to know and find themselves enchanted with him, often both as teacher and as a friend to whom they could turn for help and advice throughout his life. For considerable numbers of more recent entrants into anthropology, especially in centres where his former students teach, he remains a figure of mythical stature as one of the ancestral giants of the subject. For yet others, and perhaps for most contemporary readers of his works, he stands less personally as the author of a major corpus of imaginative if, at times, contentious books and papers which have achieved a classic status.

This may give some inkling of the different constituencies which the author of a book on this important anthropologist may wish to address. Tambiah has allowed himself the space to offer something meaty to most if not all of them, and few others could so effectively cover such varied terrain. He provides biographical material, detailed commentaries on most of the major monographs and papers, and considerable material on Leach's contributions to the work of academic institutions such as King's College, Cambridge and the Royal Anthropological Institute. He places the man and his work in the context of some of his contemporaries, such as Fortes. Also, like some others before him, he catches well the complexity of a scholar with an (omni)voracious curiosity who loved sharp dialectic encounters and exchanges, and yet contained within himself many of the unresolved and perhaps irresolvable opposing arguments and paradoxes which lie at the heart of all serious social anthropology.

Even in a book of this length, however, choices have to be made and issues curtailed or omitted. Many of those who knew Leach in Cambridge but outside of King's College might also welcome rather more discussion of his important administrative contributions within a departmental and faculty setting and in the wider university, for example on the General Board and as the chairman of the powerful Needs Committee. Some readers will inevitably wish that more space had been devoted to some works such as perhaps the book on *Custom, law and terrorist violence* with its penetrating discussion of the contemporarily highly relevant relationship between linguistic diversity and classification and human propensities to lethal violence.

In his commentaries, Tambiah is in general keen to present a sympathetic rather than a critical account of Leach's work, and not everyone will agree with him on every point. Perhaps most noticeable is his somewhat dismissive stance on Fortes with regard to the latter's critique of Pul Eliya. I should add at once that Tambiah's long survey of Leach's treatment of the ethnographic data is itself extremely valuable, given his own expert knowledge of the region, but he can scarcely complain if Fortes responded somewhat in kind to extremely critical and ultimately untenable statements on his ideas about kinship in the book. He also seems willing here to buy Leach's misstatement of Durkheim's position on 'statistical facts'. For Durkheim it is surely not their regularity so much as their ultimate derivation from the influence of

'normative' factors that gives them their social character. Here too, and occasionally elsewhere, one feels that Tambiah is slightly less generous to Leach's opponents than he was himself. For example, in his 1960 paper on 'Pul Eliya' village in Murdock's *Social structure in South East Asia*, Leach himself acknowledges the major stimulus of Fortes' more truly Durkheimian piece on 'Time and social structure in Ashanti'. Again, despite his personal and theoretical antipathy to Radcliffe-Brown, Leach did sometimes express an admiration for his theoretical insights as a 'structuralist manqué' both in print, as in his paper on the Andamanese category of *kimil*, and also in conversation.

The text contains a small number of typographical and other errors of detail, which are worth noting here. Hutton, not Haddon, made the appointments that the author refers to on p. 49 and Ethel Lindgren is accidentally called 'him' on the same page. There is some apparent confusion (pp. 53–4) over the dates of essays contained in *Rethinking anthropology*. The anthropologist reported on p. 64 as back from Canada was Dunning (not Cunning), and Swat is misrendered as Surat on the same page. On p. 484 Bartlett is mistyped as Barlett. On p. 463, the University Proctors are described as the 'Proctors of the relevant colleges'.

It would be wrong to end on such a 'carping' note. This is a book of impressive scope and depth. Leach, with his intense curiosity, contradictions and major contributions to the study of kinship, politics, economics, linguistics, mythology and religion was a hard act even to document. Tambiah is to be thanked for doing so. Of course, some of the arguments he reviews, such as those on filiation, seem less interesting to many people today than they did forty years ago, and some of the differences between Leach and his opponents seem less sharp now than they did then. Yet interest in such less fashionable debates may well also revive, as contemporary scholars explore connected issues of personal identity and relatedness in new contexts such as modern reproductive technology. Moreover, even if not everyone will want to read the book from cover to cover, all anthropologists, whether budding or established, should find the detailed commentaries and discussions of particular works and topics extremely stimulating. So too should many other readers who may like to contemplate the problems of perceiving and interpreting order in society and culture.

RAY ABRAHAMS

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#### SHORT NOTICES

ANNPING CHIN:

*Four sisters of Hofei.*

xxi, 311 pp. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003. £16.99.

In the wake of the remarkable success of *Wild swans* and the flock of subsequent biographical and autobiographical memoirs concerning twentieth-century China that tried to emulate Jung Chang's best seller, an author has

to provide something special to intrigue the wider public and achieve a popular success with any account of the Chinese experience of modern times as refracted through the experience of individuals. This collective portrait of four sisters certainly deserves to do that, for whatever the public response, it contains an exceptional wealth of information of immediate historical value about the lives of the descendants of an imperial scholar-official as they moved from the turbulent but intelligible world of the late Qing into the completely unforeseeable vicissitudes of a China without emperors. Only a practised historian of China, and probably only one based at Yale at that, could have woven together this absorbing study of the family of a colleague all too often overlooked as the result of the much more prominent publication record in English of her husband, Hans Frankel. There is no doubt an agreeable irony in the fact that though his considerable achievements have now been celebrated in a special issue of the periodical most closely connected with his field, *T'ang Studies* 13 (1995), Hans Frankel is here assigned a very minor part in what will doubtless be the much more widely read story of his wife, Chang Ch'ung-ho, and her three sisters.

It is not simply that the Chang sisters, descendants of an associate of Li Hongzhang, included more than one long-lived and diligent diarist, nor yet that one of them happened to be married to one of China's best-known twentieth-century authors, Shen Congwen, that makes this volume such a mine of information. Students of modern Chinese literature will certainly find much of interest in the picture of Shen's marriage presented here, but there are plenty of other snippets of revealing detail here too for students of *kunqu* drama, of women's education in the Republican period, and of modern Chinese Buddhism, to give just a few examples. Many other topics, such as for instance private publishing in traditional times, are also touched on in passing, whilst the overall picture of how one family—admittedly an unusually well-resourced and resourceful one—managed to sustain a commitment to traditional scholarship whilst adjusting to the demands of the modern world explains much that is passed over more briefly in most other memoirs. Though more ordinary Chinese appear in the fond recollections of family servants, there is naturally something of a gap in the coverage of the way in which the twentieth century affected the less articulate majority of the Changs' fellow-citizens, but then this study does not pretend to give a comprehensive account of what it was like to live through the twentieth century in China.

Once, however, due note is taken of the word 'exceptional', which appears more than once on the cover of this book, it can be safely recommended to anyone interested in trying to grasp not how the upheavals of the period variously affected different generations and different social strata, but how a single generation of articulate and educated sisters between them experienced and recorded much of the joy and sorrow that their lives had to offer from the time of the fall of the Manchus up to the present. It is greatly to Anping Chin's credit that she has been able simultaneously to play the roles of historian and friend, and so to compose such a rich account of persons well known to her whilst keeping her own reactions to their story well within bounds, allowing her readers to discover for themselves the many delights that the Changs' story has to offer. Her husband, whose books on Chinese history are widely and justly admired, should beware—Hans Frankel may prove not to be the only eminent scholar at Yale to see his fame eclipsed by that of his wife.

T. H. BARRETT

WILLIAM H. NIENHAUSER, JR (ed.), WEIGUO CAO, SCOTT W. GALER, WILLIAM H. NEINHAUSER, JR and DAVID W. PANKENIER (trans.): *The Grand Scribe's records: Volume II. The basic annals of Han China*. lxx, 347 pp. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2002.

This further instalment of the University of Wisconsin-based annotated translation of the *Shi ji* carries the work of providing an annotated version of the basic annals section forward from the founding of the Han dynasty to the end of the reign of Wudi, over a century later. The high standards set in the first two volumes to be published, which appeared in 1994, are plainly still very much in evidence here, and one notes that the translators have now taken the added precaution of consulting the chief reviewers of those volumes before committing themselves to print this time, namely Michael Loewe and Rafe de Crespigny; the latter's concise introduction to the merits of the entire venture may be found in *BSOAS* 59/3 (1996), pp. 596–8. But once again, there is much more to this volume even than copiously annotated translation.

Besides a bibliographical update on *Shi ji* studies since 1993 (pp. 307–15) the work under review also includes, between pp. 261 and 305, a listing of the main commentators cited; two of their biographies; a glossary; a translation of the preface to Pei Yin's commentary, and translations of the entries on the *Shi ji* and Pei Yin's commentary from the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*. The Pei Yin translation nowhere has the name of its original author attached, whilst the overall index only gives a wrong reference under his name to the Introduction (it should be to p. xl) and does not cross-refer to the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* piece. But in a work of such complexity such shortcomings are perhaps inevitable, and doubtless the editor felt that by this stage the reader should be able to associate Pei Yin's name with that of his commentary without being reminded.

That this series is aimed not at the casual reader but the serious student is in fact amply demonstrated from the start in the Introduction, which provides an exhaustive study by the editor of the nineteenth-century scholar responsible for the preparation of the edition of the text underlying that produced by the *Zhonghua shuju* and here as before taken as standard. The revelations in this piece, moreover, which has been published elsewhere but only in a collection that will not be on every reader's shelf, are sufficient to make the consultation of this volume compulsory for anyone desiring more than a nodding acquaintance with Sima Qian's great history in the original language. We look forward to the appearance of future instalments of this project with eager anticipation.

T. H. BARRETT

JUSTUS DOOLITTLE:

*Social life of the Chinese: daily life in China*.

xxxii, 633 pp. London, New York: Kegan Paul, 2002. \$127.50.

Now that religious practice, along with many other aspects of Chinese life once deemed to have been swept away by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has returned to the coastal provinces of South China, the American missionary scholar Rev. Justus Doolittle (1824–80) is experiencing



a belated surge in his citation count. For his observations of the culture of northern Fujian were remarkably detailed, and still provide much of interest to anthropologists today. True, he is normally cited from his first, two-volume edition of his variously titled *magnum opus*, which appeared in New York in 1865, and which thanks to a Taiwan edition of 1966 entered the personal libraries of a number of the pioneering Western students of Hokkien society in the late twentieth century. This reprint, by contrast, derives from the condensed one-volume edition produced in London in 1868 by Rev. Paxton Hood (1820–85), a version that by the account of its editor (reproduced in full here, but without any indication of his name) preserved all the materials in the two-volume edition whilst eliminating the prolixity and repetition caused by the composition of the original work out of a series of independent articles. The price and the production quality of this reprint suggest that it is destined for institutional libraries rather than personal collections, though removing any reference to the original publication details and substituting a one page introduction of no scholarly value does not strike one as the best way to commend this reprint to any potential purchaser. Even so, there is probably a case to be made for wealthy institutions lacking a copy of the 1868 edition to acquire it, and certainly the other titles announced in the same series by Robert Fortune and Arthur Smith should be in print again. A cheap reprint of the 1865 edition of Doolittle by a publishing concern better distributed in the English language speaking world than its 1966 Taiwan publisher would no doubt find a certain market as well.

T. H. BARRETT