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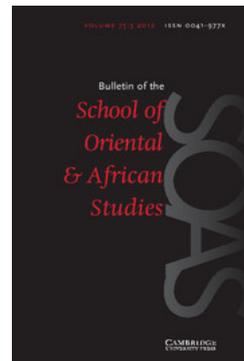
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DWIGHT F. REYNOLDS (ed.): Interpreting the self: autobiography in the Arabic literary tradition. ix, 336 pp. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2001. £36.50.

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REVIEWS

THE ANCIENT WORLD

PHILIPPE GIGNOUX:

Ressembler au monde: nouveaux documents sur la théorie du macro-microcosme dans l'antiquité orientale.

(Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Section des Sciences Religieuses, 106.) 194 pp. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1999. €36.

This book brings together five contributions on the theory of micro-macrocosm in different Oriental sources. By far the lengthiest contribution is Gignoux's edition of the hitherto unedited poem on man's microcosm by Guiwarguis Warda, to which I shall return following a summary of the rest of the book. All of the papers are in French.

Following a brief introduction by Gignoux (pp. 7–9), the first chapter is by Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat (pp. 11–40): 'Homologies du monde, de la parole et de l'homme dans les religions de l'Inde (des Veda aux Tantra)'. Filliozat gives a transliteration and translation of the hymn Ṛgveda X 90, an orally transmitted liturgical text that discusses the theme of micro-macrocosm. There is a good level of analysis and it is noteworthy that the contribution of Indian sources, an often neglected aspect in collaborations of this nature, is taken into account.

In the next chapter, 'L'imitation du monde selon Marcion d'après les auteurs orientaux', by Michel Tardieu (pp. 41–53), the author analyses five short extracts—two from Bar Hebraeus and one each from Theodoret, Agapius of Hierapolis and Michael the Syrian—clearly presenting the Greek, Syriac and Arabic texts along with translations. Each of these five Oriental Christian sources discusses the origin of the world and mankind's formation as an imitation of the world. In each translation, the same six elements are isolated and presented in a way that allows easy comparisons between the various excerpts. Following the text section is a commentary in which Tardieu provides an analysis of these six elements. The platonic tripartite cosmology of the Marcionites is contrasted with the Stoic bipartite anthropology. Gignoux's claim that this article 'complète l'œuvre de Harnack et les travaux sur le marcionisme qui l'ont suivie' (p. 8) may be somewhat exaggerated, as the introduction and commentary are too brief to allow for anything other than a concise discussion. Despite this it is an interesting contribution.

The third chapter 'Le chant entre terre et ciel—corps et membres dans les Odes de Salomonis', is by Marie-Joseph Pierre (pp. 55–78). Pierre analyses the use and meaning of anthropological and cosmological terminology in the Odes of Solomon. There is, however, no new primary material in this paper and, in contrast to the first two papers, the text is discussed by means of a French translation.

The penultimate chapter, 'Microcosme et macrocosme dans le psaume manichéen du Béma 241', is by Jean-Daniel Dubois (pp. 79–93). Dubois presents a translation of a Manichaean Psalm, based upon the text edition of Wurst, *Corpus fontium manichaeorum* (Turnhout, 1996). As with the previous

paper there is very little discussion of the text in its original language, and the subsequent analysis is based on the French translation. The analysis is well-organized, if not a little brief, dividing the Psalm into seven sections and discussing each in turn: Hymn of beings of the pantheon, the descent of the Saviour, Mani's passion, the grief of the Manichaeans, the confession of sins, Mani as doctor and, finally, a doxology.

The final chapter is by Philippe Gignoux (pp. 95–189): 'Un poème inédit sur l'homme-microcosme de Guiwarguis Warda (13ème siècle)'. After a brief discussion of the text, its modern discovery and extant manuscripts (pp. 95–9), the main part of the article is a wonderfully clear presentation of the Syriac text of the poem, with critical notes and translation (pp. 100–177). There then follows a disappointingly brief commentary (pp. 178–88) and bibliography (p. 189). We are promised more analysis in a forthcoming book and article (p. 9), but this does not allay the sense of disappointment. Gignoux evidently feels that his commentary is sufficient to grasp all that is necessary from this text ('un commentaire assez large permet néanmoins d'en saisir tout le sens', p. 9), and this could be, in part, due to his belief that the text has little literary value in itself but is rather only of value in that it strongly reflects the earlier work of Aḥūdemmeḥ ('les qualités littéraires du texte de Wardā sont évidemment minces, mais on reconnaîtra, sous plusieurs aspects, la forte dépendance de celui-ci par rapport à Aḥūdemmeḥ', p. 98). One feels, however, that this poem merits a serious treatment in its own right. The book ends with an index (pp. 191–4).

This work under review contains a broad range of contributions, but the level of analysis is often disappointing. This is especially true of Gignoux's edition of Guiwarguis Warda's poem, and one wonders whether this should have been published as a monograph with a much expanded commentary, a greater depth of analysis, and possibly even in English to maximize the potential readership. It is a shame, but Warda's poem merits much wider recognition than it will probably receive in this volume. Nevertheless, this volume is a worthy acquisition if only for the Guiwarguis Warda text edition.

SIAM BHAYRO

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA:

A sketch of Neo-Assyrian grammar.

(State Archives of Assyria Studies Vol. XIII.) 173 pp. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian text Corpus Project, 2000.

The word 'sketch' in the title is an adequate description of this volume. Although relatively brief, the volume is informative, consisting of descriptions of the basic features of morphology and syntax, with paradigms and reasonably good indices. The book is intended to be used by readers who are somewhat accustomed to the technical language of grammar, and it assumes some prior knowledge of the rudiments of Akkadian. Many of the Neo-Assyrian forms discussed appear in the reference grammars of Akkadian, such as W. von Soden's *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome, 1995³), and the author has drawn much of his material from articles by Karlheinz Deller and Simo Parpola (cited in the bibliography, pp. 135 ff.). The volume covers the major aspects of Neo-Assyrian morphology and syntax, based upon the extensive letter corpus from Neo-Assyrian archives. The author states in his foreword that the present work is far from being a definitive grammar of

Neo-Assyrian, and this statement admits to a major shortcoming of this book. There is a need for a comprehensive grammar of Neo-Assyrian, with reference to comparative grammars of other Semitic languages and other dialects of Akkadian, and it would be a pity if the present book was considered by scholars to be an adequate treatment of Neo-Assyrian. Having said that, this review commends the author for his industry in collecting the basic data and for the clarity of his presentation.

To an Assyriologist used to working in other periods or dialects, such as Late Babylonian, there are some surprising features to be found in Neo-Assyrian grammar. There are many elements of Neo-Assyrian which are immediately recognizable, but numerous others that are surprisingly different. One only has to glance at the paradigms to see these differences: simple features of Akkadian, such as the use of enclitic *-ma* as a conjunction, are not used in Neo-Assyrian. The phonological rules show many differences between Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian, as noted by the author (pp. 9–39). A good modern analogy would be comparisons between German and Dutch, which are structurally similar and often mutually intelligible in written form, but largely incomprehensible as spoken languages. Is Neo-Assyrian a dialect of Akkadian, or a separate language? This may not be as interesting a question as whether speakers of ‘Neo-Assyrian’ and ‘Neo-Babylonian’ would find each other mutually intelligible.

Aramaic was probably already widely spoken in Assyria at the time the Neo-Assyrian letters were being written. It would not be surprising, therefore, for certain features of Neo-Assyrian to have been influenced by Aramaic, or vice-versa. The author has pointed out a few parallels in the grammar, but there is much more to be said on the subject. I suggest here a few relevant points for consideration.

1. The discussion of epenthetic vowels (no. 2.4.9) states that ‘epenthetic vowels may be ultrashort, as in many other languages, but there is no way to prove this on the basis of orthography’, with examples such as *li-qi-bi*, *ba-ti-qi-tú*, and *a-pa-ta-lâh* (p. 35). More light would be shed on this problem by comparisons with similar forms in Aramaic, and particularly the use of *shewa*.

2. The author notes the occasional use of the preposition *ana* (‘to, for’) to indicate the accusative (p. 77), and this usage of *ana* with the accusative at the beginning of a sentence can indicate topicalization or emphasis (p. 119). One distinctive feature of Aramaic is the use of proclitic *lamed* to indicate either the dative (‘to, for’) or the accusative, and these respective usages merit further comparisons. Von Soden’s *Grundriss* notes this use of *ana* as an ‘Aramaismus’ in Neo-Assyrian but only rarely in Neo- and Late Babylonian (§114e and 144c).

3. In Neo-Assyrian, ‘indefiniteness’ can be marked by the numeral ‘one’, e.g. *1-en LÚ.ma-ki-su*, ‘a tax-collector’. In Aramaic, enclitic aleph marking the determined state became so common that the numeral ‘one’ (*hd*) became commonly used for the indefinite state, even with enclitic aleph of determination (e.g. *hd mlk*, ‘a king’).

4. There is a limited use of the Niphal for passive in Neo-Assyrian, in favour of a more common passive periphrasis form, e.g. *lēpušu* (3. m. pl. with unspecified subject) instead of *linnēpiš*; see p. 88. This feature of Neo-Assyrian ought to be considered in the light of the complete lack of Niphal in Aramaic (see S. Moscati, *An introduction to the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages*, Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 126f.

5. The author notes that the precative can be used as a polite form of the imperative, when addressing a superior, e.g. *bēli lišpura*, ‘let my lord write to

me' (p. 112). A similar use of the *l-* prefix form for a polite imperative occurs in Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, cf. b. Git. 68a, in which the Exilarch's servants address the distinguished Rabbi Sheshet by saying, *lyty mr lynh* 'come, Master, (and) lie down'. It is irrelevant whether this form in Aramaic should be analysed as a precative, since the Aramaic and Akkadian forms look identical.

Finally, an area of disagreement with the author's discussion of Neo-Assyrian and Aramaic needs to be raised. The author states that the 'Akkadian aspect system has developed into a system of tenses' in Neo-Assyrian, and he partly ascribes such changes to Aramaic influence (pp. 110f.). This statement is contentious and fails to grasp important distinctions between aspect and tense.

Aramaic was unique among the Semitic languages in having developed a tense system, having altered its aspectual verbal structure—probably under the Persian influence—in the Achaemenid period. This means that Old Aramaic employed a verbal system similar to Akkadian (and Neo-Assyrian), consisting of 'perfect' or 'punctive' forms indicating actions occurring in a fixed point in time, and 'imperfect' or 'durative' verbal forms indicating continuing or ongoing action. The 'perfect' are loosely associated with past time, while the imperfects are loosely associated with present-future time, as in Akkadian. In the Persian period, however, the verbal system changed dramatically, as can be seen in Elephantine documents as well as in Biblical Aramaic; see T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden, 1998), p. 205. Not only did the participle become a narrative form corresponding to a present tense (i.e. the primary verbal form in a sentence), but the copula *hwy* came to be used as an auxiliary verbal form, used with the participle, again as a present tense form. For example, Aramaic would show the following pattern: *ketab*, '(he) wrote', (*hawey*) *kātēb*, 'he is writing', and *yiktub* 'he will write'. This use of the copula plus participle is a typical feature of a tense rather than an aspect system, such as in Indo-European languages, and is completely exceptional among Semitic languages. There are no such comparable forms in Neo-Assyrian.

The author is to be commended for a concise grammar, in an easily usable form, as an intermediate step towards a comprehensive grammar of Neo-Assyrian.

M. J. GELLER

GUY DEUTSCHER:

Syntactic change in Akkadian: the evolution of sentential complementation.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. £40.

The combination of linguistic and Assyriology has never been easy, because the rather old-fashioned philology which characterizes discussions of Akkadian grammar does not readily give way to the new terminology and approaches of linguistics. Erica Reiner's *A linguistic analysis of Akkadian* (The Hague, 1966) was a bold attempt at a new approach to Akkadian grammar, but the book has had relatively little impact, and G. Buccellati's *Structural grammar of Akkadian* (Wiesbaden, 1996) was a more recent attempt to move away from traditional Assyriological approaches to grammar. However, the recent revision of W. von Soden's *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome,

1995³) has probably attracted more attention and readers than any of the more modern linguistic discussions of Akkadian grammar.

With this situation in mind, the present book is a pleasant surprise. It is arguably the most successful attempt (at least from the perspective of this reviewer) at combining linguistics and Assyriology, and the work combines clarity of argumentation with new thinking about Akkadian grammar. One is not overly burdened by linguistic terminology, which is the usual problem for the Assyriologist, and in any case the glossary of linguistic terms helps.

The clarity of the presentation does not disguise the complexity of the argument, since the author describes the historical changes in meaning and usage of Akkadian terms, such as *kīma*, *ki* and *umma*. It soon becomes obvious that there are distinct advantages for the student of Akkadian in understanding the historical development of these terms and how they were used. One of the successes of the book is the use of linguistic descriptions of sentences and clauses, in which each element of a clause is labelled separately before it is translated, with the result that the reader knows how and why the author translates a phrase in the way he does.

As for the historical development of the Akkadian terms, the author shows the various permutations of clauses and sentences and the role that these terms play as complementary particles. The distinction is made, for instance, between clauses simply combined by 'and' (parataxis) and ones in which an independent clause is combined with a subordinate clause. The book also includes a theoretical discussion regarding the effects of writing on language, on comparing the relative complexity of languages which used writing and those which did not, and the general pattern of historical developments of Akkadian syntax, and why certain changes occur. He discusses the question, for instance, of whether more complex societies required more complex patterns of communication.

Deutscher's main argument can be summarized as follows. He uses the useful term 'semantic bleaching' to explain how the adverb *kīma* ('because') came to be used as a 'complementizer' through the weakening of its original meaning, so that *kīma* ('that') introduces a subordinate clause (see pp. 41 ff.). A similar phenomenon can be observed in clauses introducing direct speech, in which the term *umma* evolved from an independent expression meaning 'this is what ... said'; through semantic bleaching, *umma* eventually becomes a complementizer following a verb, 'to speak', introducing the spoken quotation (pp. 84 ff.). A similar process occurs with the complementizer *kī*, which follows words of perception (pp. 109 ff.). In the latter case, however, in Neo-Babylonian letters *kī* is replaced by *ša*, a change ascribed to Aramaic influence (pp. 110 and 63).

There is room for some constructive criticism, however. The author focuses on the large letter corpus in Akkadian, extending as it does from the third to the first millennium B.C., and the author justifies his choice by explaining that letters come close to capturing the spoken language, which is probably a fair assumption. However, when the author makes comparisons with Biblical Hebrew or Sumerian, he tends to rely upon literary genres other than letters, although he could have compared the syntax of letters in both Sumerian and Aramaic as well, imposing the same restrictions on his comparisons, to maintain his argument. One wonders, therefore, how valid or relevant his general comparisons with other languages turn out to be. Although Deutscher compared developments in Dyrbal, Tok-Pisin, Sumerian and Biblical Hebrew, as well as in Indo-European in general (pp. 151–63), he nevertheless pays insufficient attention to the important corpus of Aramaic letters

(J. M. Lindenberger: *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew letters*, Atlanta, 1994), many of which are relevant to his theme, as we will see below. Furthermore, the considerable remainder of the Akkadian literary corpus remains to be analysed, and the reader is unsure whether Deutscher's observations apply to the language in general, or only to letters and, by extension, the spoken language.

As an experiment, it may be interesting to compare complementation in both Sumerian and Aramaic letters, being the two languages which demonstrably exercised the strongest influences upon Akkadian. According to Deutscher (p. 156), complementation in Sumerian is based upon 'nominalization', indicated by the morpheme /-a/, which contrasts with complementation in Akkadian, which is characterized by the use of adverbial clauses (e.g. *kīma* and *umma*). The following example, from an Ur III period Sumerian letter (c. 2200 B.C.), shows otherwise:

- (1) PN ù-na-a-du₁₁ 0.3.0 še PN hé-an-ši-dab₅ en-na ensi-ra
 PN₁ tell. IMP. 180 litres grain PN₂ seize. PRECATIVE until. CONJ. ensi. DAT.
 i-na-ab-bé dub-ba-ni hé-ma-an-tùm
 speaks + DAT. + .IMPERF. tablet-his bring. PRECATIVE

'Tell PN₁ that PN₂ should take possession of 180 litres of grain (and) until he will speak to the Ensi he should bring me his tablet.' (P. Michalowski: *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, Atlanta, 1993, 95.)

The point here is that en-na 'until' introduces a subordinate clause in which the finite verb appears in the imperfect (i-na-ab-bé), while the verb in the independent clause is in the precative (hé-ma-an-tùm). In the initial clause, however, the imperative verb (ù-na-a-du₁₁) is complemented by a subordinated result-clause with a precative verbal form (hé-an-ši-dab₅), lit. 'in order that he should grasp to himself'. (See M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian language*, Copenhagen, 1984, 203 no. 526.) This pattern from Sumerian letters shows that complementation in Sumerian letters is more complex than Deutscher assumes, although he is correct in arguing that direct syntactic borrowing from Sumerian into Akkadian can be detected (pp. 155 f.).

With Aramaic letters, the matter is somewhat more complex. Deutscher does make some isolated comparisons with Aramaic (pp. 63–4), arguing that the Aramaic complementizer *kī* is known, but the usual complementizer is the relative pronoun *zī* or *dī*. Although Deutscher's observation is true for Aramaic narrative it does not hold true for early Aramaic letters, in which the usual complementizer is in fact *kī*, which corresponds semantically with Akkadian *kīma*. Compare the following examples from the Aramaic letter corpus from Assyrian ostraca, and hence contemporary with Akkadian letters:

- (2) *ky z' 'mr ly mr'y mlk' l'mr*
 COMP this spoke to me lord-my king QUOT
 because my lord the king said this to me (Ashur ostracon, 650 B.C.)
 (Lindenberger, *Letters*, 18: 8. Deutscher also cites another letter with a similar construction (p. 63 no. 94 = Lindenberger), which reads *pr'h yd k 'bdk*, 'Pharaoh know that (complementizer) your servant ...')

Not only is there the use of *kī* here as a complementizer, but *l'mr* is used corresponding to Akkadian *umma*, as again in the same letter, in the following example:

- (3) [*'hdt 'grt*] PN *y'mr l'mr*
 I.seized letter PN.POSS it.says QUOT
 [I seized a letter] of PN which says (ibid., 18: 9–10, and see also 1. 17.)

Other letters use paratyxis as a common mode of expression which, according to Deutscher, was common in Akkadian letters in much earlier periods:

(4) *wk't šlhy 7 PN wtwšr lkḫ 'mr*

CONJ. write. IMP to PN and send-she to you wool

write to PN so that she sends you wool (*ibid.*, 30: 6–7, and see also 1. 10.

The letter, from Hermopolis, dates from the late 6th or early 5th century B.C.).

We see in these Aramaic letters some of the very same patterns described by Deutscher for Akkadian, although these letters are from the earliest periods of Aramaic epistles. It would have been useful to have Deutscher's analysis of these passages.

We look forward to more examples of linguistic research applied to Akkadian from the author's pen.

M. J. GELLER

PAUL V. MANKOWSKI:

Akkadian loanwords in Biblical Hebrew.

(Harvard Semitic Studies, 47.) xviii, 232 pp. Winona Lake, IN:

Eisenbrauns, 2000. \$29.95.

The thesis out of which this book has emerged was submitted at Harvard in March 1997 and approved by Huehnergard, Steinkeller and Machinist. By adopting a narrow definition of 'loanword' only eighty items are formally listed. This is a remarkably small list compared with the one compiled by Zimmern in his pioneering thesis submitted at Leipzig in 1917. But he was writing in an age in which the influence of Babylonian language and culture on the world of the Bible was being exaggerated.

Words that Mankowski excludes are those like the names of specific tools, flora, fauna and minerals, which are fixed in the culture of contiguous though linguistically distinct societies (Kulturwörter), and names which refer specifically to Mesopotamian institutions (Fremdwörter). Altogether 106 words are discussed, but twenty-six are rejected as not really being loanwords according to the criteria stipulated, and of the rest seven are the names of months, which deserve special consideration.

The title of the book has been slightly changed from that of the thesis, 'Akkadian and trans-Akkadian loanwords in Biblical Hebrew' (see the University Microfilms International Dissertation Services facsimile); however, a special point has been made for including the 'trans-Akkadian loans' (see p. 9), words which may have entered Hebrew and/or Akkadian from a third—possibly a Western Semitic—source.

Many of these words can ultimately be derived from Sumerian. They include relatively common religious and commercial terms like: *hēkāl*, temple; *n'kāsīm*, property; *kōr*, dry measure; *m^ehūr*, price; *mallāḥ*, sailor; more rarely: *'āšap*, exorcist; *'ēd*, *ēdō*, mist; *'iškār*, payment; *mekes/miksāh* tax; *'ikkār* ploughman; and words that occur just once like *'āmān* craftsman (SS); *zekūkīt* glass (Job); also more general vocabulary like *miskēn* pauper; *miskēnut* poverty; and *'agām* swamp. Words that are not derived from Sumerian but from some other non-Semitic source include *šāb* wagon (from Elamite); *kīyyôr* basin (from Urartian).

From the Akkadian Semitic substratum come: *bīrāh*, citadel; *šōtēr*, official; *segen*, prefect; *sārīs*, eunuch; *sammūm*, incense; *tīt*, mud; *ḥazūr*, pig; rarer words

like *šēd*, demon; *sûq*, street; *segôr*, neckstock; *zeman*, time; and several words attested in only one book, like *bîtân*, palace; *pûr*, lot; and *šarbaṭ* staff (Esther); *pelek*, district (Nehemiah); others occur only once, like *kōper*, pitch (Genesis); *nedannim*, dowry (Ezekiel); *leḥēn*, sacristan (Zechariah); *kenāt*, associate (Ezra); *middāh*, tribute (Nehemiah).

It can be of little surprise to note that all the words cited above are also attested in Aramaic, for the interrelationship of Biblical Hebrew with Aramaic is as close as, if not closer than, that of Sumerian with Akkadian. However, some words are not attested in Aramaic: *šebô*, a gemstone (precise identification uncertain) in the high-priest's breastplate; *'ittîm*, ghost; *ketem*, gold (it is here proposed that this word is borrowed from Egyptian rather than Sumerian); others occur neither in Sumerian nor Aramaic: *šîr*, messenger; *šāšar*, paste; *tartān*, soldier; *ṭapsār*, soldier; *kawān*, cultic cake; *māneh*, mina; *miskenôt*, storehouses; *šîr*, messenger; *rab-šāqēh*, official; and several such words occur only once or in one passage: *šalmônim*, bribe; *'asôp*, architectural technical term; *kîyyôn*, Saturn; *kîr*, furnace; *māhōz*, harbour; *nekôt*, treasury; *sāk*, shrine; *talmîd*, pupil.

Several words that have previously been taken as loans from Akkadian are rejected as such. Among words considered as Common Semitic are: *sēper*, document; *ṭa'am*, decree; *se'āh*, measure; *nōkēd*, herdsman; those coming from North-west Semitic are: *'ôren*, type of tree; *'ašyāh*, tower; and from Proto-Semitic, independently of Akkadian, the numeral *'istē*, one; to this group also belong two verbs which seem to be denominative from Akkadian nouns: *h-b-l*, to take as pledge < *ḥabālu* and *kiššēp*, to practise < *kašāp*, sorcerer.

Semantic incompatibility prevents the architectural terms *'eden* (pedestal) from having any connection with *adattu* (thicket), and *m^ezûzāh* (doorpost) with *mazzāzu* (emplacement) (despite both connections being listed in HALAT). The exclamation uttered in front of Joseph, *'abrēk*, is considered more likely to have been a touch of Egyptian colour added to the narrative than the official title of an important Babylonian civil servant. Less convincingly, strictly on phonetic grounds, *berôš* (juniper) is rejected as a borrowing from Assyrian *burāšu*, and *sullām* (Jacob's ladder) as a borrowing from *simmiltu* (stairway). Whether, when so snug a semantic fit has been established, phonetic rules should be strictly applied to the Massoretic text, especially when dealing with borrowed words, must remain questionable.

Not all examples are straightforward borrowings: *mazzālāh* (constellation) is shown to have a later specialized meaning of the Akkadian reflex *manzaltu* 'position' (generally it has a wider meaning); the anomalous form *'išôṭ* (wives) is not repointed to make a normal singular, but is taken (with Driver) as pejorative rhetoric by Ezekiel for a pair of Assyrianized whores; *šegal* (lady of the palace) is confidently taken as a transliteration of **sēgali* < **issi ekalli*; the phrase *m-l-h libbāh*, to become wrathful, which occurs also in Ahiqar, is supposed to have come directly from Akkadian into both Aramaic and Hebrew. But conversely *peḥāh* (governor) and *'iggēret* (letter) are taken as indirect loans from Akkadian through Aramaic; *qerāb* (battle) is excluded because it seems clear that *qarābu* was borrowed into Akkadian from Aramaic, as an alternative to the real Akkadian word for battle, *taḥāzi*. Similarly excluded are the names of the months in BH, which are taken as coming from Aramaic, though clearly cognate with the Akkadian names. Then there are the so-called 'culture words', which often lack clear etymologies; these include the minerals: *sāgûr*, gold; *'anāk*, tin; *barzel*, iron; apparel like *'argawān*, purple; *sādîn*, tunic; *šērāh*, bracelet; *'ašpāh*, quiver; and terms of more general

significance like *kissē*, throne; *kēlāp*, axe; *kūs*, cup; *'ēbūs*, manger; *'agān*, basin; *mazlēg*, fork; and *tannūr*, oven.

All these words are discussed in alphabetical order in the body of the book (ch. ii, pp. 15–152), but they need to be analysed typologically (as Zimmern was careful to do with his list in his thesis of 1917), which is why the details above have been provided here. Mankowski does not seem to have made any major changes to the text of the thesis as it was and as it is, though in the bibliography items were added (not all of which were published recently), and the relisting of Dutch surnames with *van* under the index letter following *van* has been done inconsistently (and once incorrectly).

M. E. J. RICHARDSON

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

PATRICK FRANKE:

Begegnung mit Khidr: Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam.

(Beiruter Texte und Studien, 79.) xv, 620 pp. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000. €89.

The legend of Khidr, ‘the Green one’, has been of abiding interest for both Muslim and Western scholars over the centuries. Although Khidr, an imaginary figure, can be encountered in the practices and traditions of Muslim societies around the world, no comprehensive survey of this phenomenon has been undertaken. Patrick Franke’s *Begegnung mit Khidr: Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam* presents the first ever study of Khidr as a focus for worldwide Muslim piety. Franke divides *Begegnung mit Khidr* (‘Encountering Khidr’), a revised version of his Ph.D. thesis, into five parts. Part 1 analyses the literary theme of the encounter with Khidr, its important components, as well as the significance of, and expectations tied to, such meetings. Part 2 deals with the basic elements of Muslim reverence for Khidr, while part 3 examines his connection to the world of the friends of God. Franke highlights, in part 4, the instances when Khidr was used as a symbol for God’s endorsement of particular places, rulers, *ḥadīths*, Sunni schools of law as well as Shii distinctiveness. The last section of the book is devoted to the ‘Khidr-controversy’, contentious aspects of the myth which have been debated among Muslims to the present day. Annexed to these sixteen chapters are 173 stories of encounters with Khidr arranged and translated by Franke and spanning the period from ninth to twentieth centuries.

Based on a wealth of material in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, *Begegnung mit Khidr* offers a macro study of the veneration of Khidr in the Islamic/Muslim world. Franke draws on collections of *ḥadīths*, commentaries on the Quran, Sufi manuals, legends of saintly figures, biographical dictionaries as well as chronicles, travelogues, folk traditions and novels to provide a rich survey of encounters, manifestations, symbols and rituals involving Khidr. The study locates him at the centre of a complex system of discrete religious phenomena and sets out to disentangle and order these in a systematic fashion. It traces the collective interpretive processes, which led to the

emergence, changing shape and function of the figure of Khidr, and thus provides a global historical phenomenology of reverence for him.

Texts speak of Khidr as a man to whom God granted eternal life and who made sudden appearances in the lives of humans. His interventions were largely meant to help and provide succour to people in times of need, a characteristic that is underlined by the fact that ambulance services in Turkey today are called 'Khidr-Service' (p. 26). In parts of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Central Asia and Afghanistan people offered the Khidr-meal at home to gain his blessings; in areas of the Balkans and Turkey Muslims celebrated the Khidr-feast; while his sanctuaries and pilgrimage-sites can be found throughout the Muslim world. Both Sunni and Shii Islam contain supplicatory prayers to Khidr, the most famous of which, the *Du'ā Kumayal*, was read publicly during the burial of Ayatollah Khomeini in Tehran (p. 112). Seeing and meeting Khidr was regarded as a great distinction among Muslims, indeed being able to encounter him was one of the distinguishing marks of Sufi saints. Khidr, far from being a rival figure to the Prophet Muḥammad, developed into his supporting helper, and was tightly woven into the Islamic fabric of Quran, prayer, mosque attendance, *hajj* and charity.

Why was the veneration of Khidr never transformed into a coherent religion devoted solely to him? Franke addresses this question in the last section of his book. 'Ulamā' from the tenth century onwards took a defensive position with regard to this legendary figure and participated in debates, still ongoing, as to the nature of Khidr. Two questions were at the forefront of their concerns: Was Khidr a prophet or a friend of God, a Sufi saint? And was Khidr still alive or not? The importance of the first question was linked to Khidr's etiology. Identified as the nameless servant of God in Sura 18: 60–82 of the Quran, whose deeds, the destruction of a boat, the killing of a boy, were against Islamic law, religious scholars were concerned that if Khidr were understood to be a friend of God, other friends might decide to take the same liberties. In order to prevent this license for lawlessness, some '*ulamā*' declared Khidr to be a prophet and his deeds thus not to be a precedence for Sufi saints. The second question, whether Khidr was still alive, was a more contentious issue. In the twelfth century a Hanbali scholar denied the continued existence of Khidr. The majority of scholars, on the other hand, affirmed Khidr's eternal life and have continued to do so into the twentieth century. New Arabic texts on Khidr have appeared during the last twenty years of the twentieth century, the majority of which have rejected the idea of his eternal life as 'unislamic' without enlisting new arguments for their viewpoint though. New developments, however, have taken place in quranic exegesis, which have refocused this century-old controversy. Both Mawlana Mawdudi (1903–79), the founder of the Jama'at-i Islami in Pakistan, one of the early Islamist movements, and Sayyid Quṭb (1906–66), the leading thinker of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, addressed the question of Khidr in their commentaries on the Quran. While Mawdudi was satisfied with reinterpreting Khidr as an angel, thus eliminating the problems of both lawlessness and eternal life, Quṭb took a more radical step. He rejected outright the *hadīths*-bound, century-old identification of Khidr with the nameless servant of God in Sura 18: 60–82. Instead he insisted on keeping the servant nameless, thus severing the central link of Khidr with the Quran. 'Muslims who follow his quranic interpretation will no longer see Khidr as a religious figure with a place in the Islamic salvation-history [Heilsgeschichte] but only a chimera [Hirngespinnst], which is to be consigned to the realm of

superstition.’ (my translation, p. 369.) Franke thus closes his excellent study with what might come to be the swansong for Khidr.

CLAUDIA LIEBESKIND

WILLIAM C. CHITTICK:

The heart of Islamic philosophy: the quest for self-knowledge in the teachings of Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshānī.

xiii, 360 pp. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. £45.

Bābā Afḍal lived at the same time as the outstanding philosophers Averroes (ibn Rushd), Suhrawardī and Ibn al-‘Arabī, and in contrast to them he appears to be a more modest thinker. His works are mainly in Persian, unusual for Persian thinkers of this period, and they are not extensive. They are also far more direct and further from the tradition of the normal ways of writing about philosophy within the Islamic tradition at that time. Chittick takes a bold step in giving this book the title he does, since it does not seem that Afḍal is really at the heart of Islamic philosophy, where the latter is the technical exploration of a particular set of problems and issues using a specific armoury of conceptual tools. Yet Afḍal’s main purpose in writing, to investigate the truth and our route to it, is certainly at the heart of that philosophy, and linking such an investigation with what we can know of the nature of reality, our salvation and indeed ourselves, is also part of Islamic philosophy. So the title is not misconceived. Chittick is part of the Seyyed Hossein Naṣr school of interpretation of Islamic philosophy, and so believes that the spiritual concerns of these philosophers are always an important part of what they do when they do philosophy. As we read the various essays and letters produced by Afḍal this is clearly the case; he is not interested in philosophy as a technical exercise in rationality, but in where it can get one with respect to self-awareness. Whether this is really a common feature of Islamic philosophy itself is not an issue to be debated here, but it is clearly significant, and Afḍal does touch on a large number of the themes of Islamic philosophy in general, according to the selection of diverse texts which Chittick has translated here.

One of the interesting things about Afḍal is that he is apparently writing for a fairly unsophisticated audience, one for whom academic Arabic is inappropriate and hence an audience to be addressed in Persian. There must have been quite a market for such books, since Afḍal also translated many texts from Arabic to Persian, no doubt for people who were interested in intellectual issues but did not have enough Arabic to read about them in the original. Chittick argues plausibly that there is a directness and charm in Afḍal’s style which results from this attempt to communicate with a wider public; Afḍal clearly has the audience’s interests and also limitations in mind as he sets out his exposition of philosophy. A problem with this, possibly inevitable, is that he concentrates not on the philosophy but on the psychology, not on what makes an argument valid but on what makes it comprehensible as valid by us, and this represents the thought of ibn Sīnā, for example, as being far more subjective than it really is. But then Afḍal was writing for an audience who wanted to use, or think that they could use, philosophy to help understand themselves and their role in the structure of the whole of being, so it is these psychological aspects of the discipline which are of interest to them.

When it comes to the psychological language of the texts, Chittick does something rather perplexing. He uses the term ‘soulish’ to translate *naḥṣanī*, and on other occasions he produces other unfamiliar expressions to render in English what he says are difficult to translate terms. Chittick tries to bring out to his audience the distinction between Afḍal’s use of Arabic (formal academic language) and his use of Persian (relaxed popular language), and sometimes he feels that the standard English term just will not do the job. I feel it is churlish to criticize a magnificent piece of translation such as this, but really to translate *naḥṣanī* as ‘soulish’ and *jān* as *anima* will not do. It is more confusing than helpful, and there are perfectly good English terms available. It is true that using these terms risks confusing Afḍal’s use of Persian and Arabic, but it is not clear to me that he means anything very different when he uses a Persian technical term as compared with a cognate Arabic technical term. He is just pointing out to his Persian audience which terms they know are linked with Arabic terms that they may not know or know less perfectly. I take the translator’s point that it is important to try to reproduce the complexity which the author is introducing into his text when he varies Persian and Arabic vocabulary, but I wonder whether anything particularly unusual is going on here with respect to Afḍal that would make it necessary to use a whole range of unusual terms.

This is a very minor concern compared with the nature of the achievement which Chittick has brought off in this book. The translation is very successful, literal and at the same time easy to understand. Although Afḍal’s audience may not have had much Arabic, they were clearly a sophisticated group, since the issues which are discussed here are complex and often highly abstract, and they must have enjoyed the clarity of Afḍal’s exposition, matched here by a perspicuous translation. Chittick provides almost a hundred pages of introduction both to the author and to the issues of his time, which is very helpful, extensive notes and indices of quranic references and *ḥadīth* literature. Those familiar with Chittick’s work will have noticed that he seems to translate the most difficult of texts and yet he rather disarmingly comments on the economy and directness of Afḍal’s style. Readers should be aware that Afḍal is far from easy to translate, and this is such a readable translation, one which really brings out the almost conversational nature of Afḍal’s approach in many of his writings. This book is a major contribution to our understanding of Islamic philosophy and yet again Chittick has done us a tremendous service.

OLIVER LEAMAN

MICHAEL COOPERSON:

Classical Arabic biography: the heirs of the prophets in the age of al-Ma’mūn.

xxii, 217pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £35.

This is an articulate study of a fascinating topic, namely the development of the biographical traditions of four key religious representatives who lived during the reign of the Caliph al-Ma’mūn. These individuals are, in addition to the Caliph himself, the Shiite Imam ‘Alī al-Riḍā, the *ḥadīth*-scholar Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and the ascetic Bishr al-Ḥāfī. As well as representing one of the competing traditions which claim to be ‘the heirs of the prophets’, each of them is also associated with at least one of the other three.

The main stages in the development of the biographical tradition of al-Ma'mūn are highlighted by the provision of selected anecdotes. A recurrent motif is the encounter with a zealot, which is fairly typical for biographical traditions of caliphs and other political authorities. However, Cooperson demonstrates that the way in which the use of this motif changes over time can serve as an indicator of the changes in al-Ma'mūn's image. For instance, in early versions presented in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's *Kitāb Baghdād*, al-Ma'mūn is depicted as a clever king, but no more than a king, when he defeats in debate a zealot who criticizes the accumulation of material wealth (pp. 43–5). However, in Ibn 'Asākir's later *Ta'riḫ Dimashq*, al-Ma'mūn outsmarts a zealot by demonstrating to him that he had over-interpreted a particular *ḥadīth*. This seems to betray efforts by later Sunni scholars to rehabilitate al-Ma'mūn, by innovatively attributing to him expertise in *ḥadīth* (p. 59). There is also a recurrence of the same motif in a Shiite source, which is perhaps more interesting still. In Ibn Bābawayh's *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, a Sufi outsmarts the Caliph, while at the same time expressing his preference for al-Riḍā (p. 99). Cooperson points out that this is an example of using a member of a different religious tradition, or *ṭā'ifa* (in this case, Sufism), in order to demonstrate the superiority of one's own representative over his main rival. It is of course designed to have greater credibility than the opinion of those already committed to one's own side.

In addition to the aforementioned anecdote, among those provided in his treatment of al-Riḍā's biographical tradition, Cooperson offers an excellent example of how theological dogma can shape biographical traditions. In the debate between the followers of al-Riḍā and the so-called *wāqifa*, who believed that the line of Imams had ended before reaching him, the fact that he was in Medina when al-Kāzīm died in Baghdad becomes an issue of contention (pp. 80–81). This is because Shiite dogma requires that no one but the successor wash the corpse of an Imam. After initially attempting to argue that others can also wash the Imam's corpse, Ibn Bābawayh resorts to suggesting that al-Riḍā did indeed wash his predecessor's corpse, only he did it invisibly so that the others present were not aware that he was there.

The followers of Ibn Ḥanbal produced a number of stories about his flogging, in which his trousers are restored to their proper position, often by mysterious giant hands, after having slipped down. Cooperson points out that this motif did not serve merely as entertainment, but also to prove that God was on Ibn Ḥanbal's side, for without such a miracle the trial may have appeared to have concluded in a stalemate (pp. 133–7). The significance of the attribution of Sufi qualities to Ibn Ḥanbal is also treated with sensitivity and discrimination. While Cooperson is aware of the attempts by Sufis to adopt him as one of their own by attributing mystical qualities to him, he does not overlook the significance of the efforts by Ḥanbalites themselves to do the same. This, he argues, was in order to compete with the Sufis, as it were 'to beat them at their own game' (pp. 143–4).

The ascetic Bishr al-Ḥāfī is another figure whom the Sufi tradition has adopted as one of its own early representatives. He is associated with Ibn Ḥanbal in other ways as well: they are often presented as the two most respected religious authorities in Baghdad in their time, and each is attributed with comments about the other. What is most remarkable therefore is that, as a rule, they do not appear together in any anecdote (apart from two exceptions which prove the rule, pp. 183–4). Cooperson argues persuasively that this is due to the competition between their respective *ṭā'ifas* for the status of heir of the prophets: neither of them could be depicted as showing

deference to the other, and so the resultant biographical traditions imply that these two revered citizens of Baghdad, who expressed considerable mutual respect, never actually bumped into each other.

While Cooperson's criticism of the limitations of Fritz Meier and Maher Jarrar in the critical reading of sources is valid enough (p. 174), the same criticism could equally be aimed at several of the historians on whose scholarship he has based his 'background histories' to each chapter. The significant amount of space given to reviewing secondary literature in order to provide introductory 'historical' contexts for each chapter seems at times counter-productive, especially when they are based on the uncritical reading of the same kinds of biographical sources. By preceding his own analyses in this way, Cooperson gives disproportionate weight to scholarship which is usually far less discriminating in the interpretation of sources than his own. It might have been more effective to have devoted this space instead to the clarification of the literary contexts in which the material that is subsequently analysed is found.

Cooperson's concluding comments about the importance and applicability of his research deserve consideration. While there is no doubt that he has analysed his selection of material with remarkable competence and clarity, there is too much left out from this study, most conspicuously regarding the original literary contexts in which his selected anecdotes are found, for this reviewer to accept his claim that 'the single most important consideration when seeking to understand both the documentary and literary effects of a report is not the identity of eyewitnesses, transmitters, or compilers, or even the genre to which it belongs, but rather the presence of other reports that substantiate, contradict, or complement it' (p. 192). For the topic of this particular study, taking the genre into account comprehensively would have been a massive task, so it is perfectly understandable that Cooperson has decided not to do so, even though it arguably leaves his study incomplete.

Overall, this study is a refreshing, and frequently very witty, contribution to the growing corpus of literary studies of historiographical sources. It serves as a highly readable reminder of the dynamic nature of biographical writing, and the kinds of interests that can determine a biographer's decisions. The vast majority of this work is written clearly and very articulately, which should make it accessible and rewarding even for undergraduate-level study.

JAWID A. MOJADDEDI

DWIGHT F. REYNOLDS (ed.):

Interpreting the self: autobiography in the Arabic literary tradition.

ix, 336 pp. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2001. £36.50.

This book reminds me of a saying I heard often when I was growing up. 'Three stinky shoemakers can easily defeat one Zhu Geliang', Zhu Geliang being the military genius in Chinese history and literature. The point is that group work is often of better quality than that of an individual. The collaborative effort of ten scholars, all talented in different ways, made the book under review the way it is—a piece of solid and revolutionary research. It is revolutionary in two ways. First, for the first time in the history of the humanities, a group project involving ten scholars has been undertaken. The project started in 1990, and the initial findings were presented by the

collaborators in consecutive panels in 1994 and 1995 at the meetings of the Middle East Studies Association of North America. The revised papers were later published in a special issue of *Edebiyât* (7/2, 1997), with Dwight F. Reynolds as guest editor. Second, and more important, it introduces for the first time a body of literature that may be called classical Arabic autobiography, and revises the misconceptions in current scholarship, in Arabic, English or, for that matter, any language, on the subject.

The book consists of two main parts. Part 1 (pp. 17–103) deals with the problem of defining the identified texts as autobiography against a background of Western theorizing on the genre, and provides a history of the genre in Arabic and a summary of its features. Part 2 (pp. 107–240) presents translations of ten autobiographical texts, albeit not always in full, each preceded by a brief introduction to the author and the text. The conclusion (pp. 241–53) gives a summation of the survey and links the pre-modern Arabic autobiography to the modern texts, pointing out the lingering ambivalence towards representing the self in public in Arab culture until the early part of the twentieth century. At the end of the book is another significant contribution to Arabic scholarship: an annotated guide (pp. 255–88) to 130 samples of Arabic autobiographical writings from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries. I have no doubt scholars engaged in Arabic studies will benefit from this guide, and sincerely hope that they will pick up where our authors leave off and continue to study and shed light on this fascinating body of literature.

This book is best read in conjunction with the special issue of *Edebiyât*, in which close readings of seven of the thirteen translated texts are found. These textual analyses, in addition to other articles by some of the translators on texts not included in the book, in fact present a more interesting picture of Arabic autobiographical writings. They allow the uniquely ‘individual’ voices of the autobiographers to be heard, uncover and explain the diverse narrative strategies embedded in the texts, and place each text in a particular context that is of great concern to its author. The ‘individuality’ of the texts is necessarily lost in the book which, as a form of literary history, must, by definition, suppress in its harmonizing narrative the divergent objectives, strategies and contexts of any body of texts. Harmonization in this case, however, is not entirely counter-productive. On the contrary, it makes it possible for the contours of a ‘literary tradition’ to emerge. This body of texts, despite the absence of identifiable common generic features, is defined as a ‘minor genre’ submerged in the pervasive, dominant genre of Arabic-Islamic biography. Arabic biography and autobiography seem informed by one paradigm: the process through which a Muslim becomes a scholar. Clusters of self-referential autobiographical texts clearly point to the later (beginning in the fourteenth century) autobiographers’ awareness of a body of texts similar to the works they were undertaking and to their engagement with them. There is such a thing as a ‘tradition’ of autobiography in Arabic even though critical awareness of it has thus far been absent.

The arrival at this significant and convincing conclusion is, however, problematic. The discourse of the book is haunted by the anxiety of the field of Arabic studies as it struggles to find for itself a more central position in ‘Western’ academe and culture. It begins by arguing for ‘the fallacy of western origins’ of autobiography, the prominence of which in the ‘West’ has been used as proof of its cultural superiority. The inquiry begins by questioning modern ‘Western’ notions of autobiography, including its generic expectations, such as narrativizing processes of individuation, revealing

publicly ‘personal’ and ‘private’ aspects of life, and expression of ‘inner self’, all required for the recognition of autobiography as a genre of writing. It does away with broader distinctions between autobiography and memoirs in the ‘West’ and incorporates into the ‘tradition’ of Arabic autobiography any text that demonstrates symptoms of representing or interpreting the self, even though some texts are distinctly ‘memoirs’. It paradoxically succumbs to ‘Western’ assumptions about what representation of the self should be; it argues that Arabic autobiographical texts do, in their own ways, fulfil criteria of expression of ‘individuality’ and ‘inner self’ in public. This said, there is indeed a subversive attempt at eroding universalizing ‘Western’ practices. But it does not go far enough.

‘Autobiography’, ‘memoirs’, ‘individuality’, ‘individuation’, ‘private’, ‘public’, and ‘inner self’, are, to me, ‘articulated categories of knowledge’ derived from a particular cultural context, in this case, the ‘West’, and come with certain assumptions about what self is. Should the absence of these categories in a different cultural context necessarily mean lack of awareness of the ‘individuality’ of the self? Should different modes of expression necessarily indicate the self’s ignorance of its individuation? The answer the book gives is a definitive ‘no’. The marks of ‘individuality’ are palpable in the majority of pre-modern Arabic texts, including literary biographical dictionaries. It is these categories, not the Arabic texts, that are the problem. The question, then, is how can we use the Arabic texts to interrogate these categories?

WEN-CHIN OUYANG

JAWID A. MOJADDEDI:

The biographical tradition in Sufism: the ṭabaqāt genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmī. (Curzon Studies in Asian Religion.) ix, 230 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £45.

The book under review provides an historical and textual analysis of the biographical genre (*ṭabaqāt*) of Sufi literature. It is based on six classical Sufi writings: al-Sulamī’s (d. 412/1021) *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Abu Nu‘aym al-Isfahānī’s (d. 430/1038) *Ḥilyat al-awliyā*, ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī’s (481/1089) *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, al-Qushayrī’s (d. 465/1072) *al-Risāla*, al-Hujwīrī’s (d. 456/1063 or 464/1071) *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, and al-Jāmī’s (d. 898/1492) *Nafaḥāt al-uns*. The author sets out to compare and contrast how each of these six Sufi authors treats the biographies of Abū Yazīd al-Bastāmī or al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/1874) and Abū ‘l-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 297/910)—the Sufi masters who, in the later Sufi tradition, have come to exemplify two distinct trends of mystical attitude and behaviour, the ‘drunken’ and the ‘sober’ respectively. The author’s chief goal is to demonstrate how the images of these Sufi leaders were continually ‘[re-]constructed’ and ‘[re-]imagined’ by the authors of the classical Sufi works discussed in the study. Mojaddedi’s other objective is to examine the structure of the Sufi texts at his disposal and their interconnections in time and space. Upon examining the changing portraits of his Sufi protagonists and the structural specificity of the Sufi texts in which they are featured, he arrives at the conclusion that their authors (real or purported) were not concerned at all with ‘the preservation and transmission of material in its original form’ (p. 180). Rather, each author was pursuing a distinctive

intellectual agenda that shaped, often decisively, the ways in which he arranged and deployed his narrative material, namely, biographical facts, dicta, and anecdotal topoi. According to Mojaddedi's somewhat enigmatic phrase at the close of his study, 'the author's re-collection of the past is of greater historical significance than the content of his description' (p. 181). The biographical genre in particular represents 'a dynamic hermeneutical process, which can serve as an indicator of the vitality of Sufism in different historical periods; it informs of the tradition's ability to continue to find significance in the past, repeatedly recalling and re-forming it for the present needs' (ibid.). Throughout his study, the author continually cautions his reader against treating the Sufi writings he examines as sources of 'historically accurate information' (pp. 37–8). Instead, one should see them as ideological documents with strong didactic and normative agendas, which reflect the changing perceptions of Sufi personalities, values and ideas as well as the individual intellectual preferences and commitments of Sufi writers. This notion is presented forcefully in the conclusion of the book, where the author launches into a blistering tirade against certain 'short-sighted' 'positivist historians' who perceive these Sufi works as 'repositories of factual information' (pp. 180–81). Since these historians remain unnamed, one wonders whether such gullible individuals actually exist, or are they but a rhetorical foil to magnify what may strike many historians of Sufism as self-evident truths? In fact, many of Mojaddedi's misgivings about the historicity of early Sufi sources, including those analysed in the study under review, were articulated by Jacqueline Chabbi in the late 1970s and have been widely accepted by specialists. Some of Mojaddedi's colleagues may find his close textual analysis of the biographies of Abū Yazīd and al-Junayd to be pedestrian and repetitive. The same biographical information is rehashed over and over again from chapter to chapter in order to highlight the slightest deviation from the earlier textual tradition. To be certain, occasionally Mojaddedi's analysis does yield illuminating observations, such as one on pp. 122–3. Here the author argues convincingly that the *ṭabaqāt* section of al-Qushayrī's *Risāla* functions in relation to its subsequent theoretical sections much like the *isnād* of a *ḥadīth* in relation to its *matn*. On the whole, however, Mojaddedi's analysis shows little attempt to go beyond descriptive observations that, in my view at least, are obvious to those familiar with the literature in question. His references to Gadamer (pp. 5 and 177) and Ricoeur (pp. 149 and 181) are no more than gestures, as he does not apply their theoretical insights consistently to his material. Nor is there any attempt to tackle the Sufi narratives under examination in light of the larger genre of *ṭabaqāt* literature. For instance, one could have asked how the production of biography by Sufis fits into larger literary milieux, in particular, the 'construction of tradition' by Muslim jurists, theologians, poets, etc. One may also question the author's choice of sources, namely, why was the influential biographical work of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār excluded from Mojaddedi's analysis? Finally, contrary to Mojaddedi's thoroughgoing scepticism about his Sufi sources, a recent study of al-Sulamī's oeuvre by Lutz Berger (*Geschichten von allem ausser Gott*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1998; see my review of this work in *JRAS*, 12/1, 2002, pp. 95–7) makes a compelling case for the historical accuracy of al-Sulamī's works. In his opinion, the great Sufi classic and his immediate successors (al-Qushayrī and Abū Nu'aym) provided a reasonably accurate picture of the history of the early Sufi movement in Iran and Central Asia, which is by and large confirmed by the non-Sufi sources of that age. Unfortunately, Mojaddedi has overlooked Berger's study and thus missed a chance to take issue with his

findings. My misgivings, however, do not outweigh the positive aspects of Mojaddedi's work. His close reading of the sources in question has helped to bring into sharp focus their complex and multi-layered architectonics. This architectonics is characterized by several consecutive levels of editorship, reflecting various stages of the texts' growth in time until they finally acquired their present form and structure.

ALEXANDER KNYSH

P. CRONE and F. W. ZIMMERMANN:

The epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān.

(Oxford Oriental Monographs.) xi, 407 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. £65.

Sīrat Sālim ibn Dhakwān was introduced to Western scholarship by A. K. Ennami, a Libyan Ibaḍī who commented on it in his doctoral dissertation (Cambridge, 1971). Martin Hinds had a xerox copy of Ennami's manuscript, and Michael Cook used it for an edition, with commentary, of the parts relating to the Murji'a in his *Early Muslim dogma* (Cambridge, 1981). Ennami himself seems to have perished in a Libyan prison, and no one outside Libya knows the whereabouts of the original manuscript. This volume is dedicated to Ennami's memory. Additional manuscripts have surfaced, and here, then, is an edition based on all that are known. The introduction (pp. 1–34) and translation are by Zimmermann and Crone together, the edition of the text by Zimmermann, the commentary and essay with appendices (pp. 147–357) by Crone.

Sīra indicates a doctrinal epistle in Omani usage, as generally, it appears, in the later Umayyad period. The text may have been shaped to recall a Friday sermon but seems in most sections too involved for effective oral delivery. It begins by commending faith in God and urging the merits of going out on jihad. A history of the community to the First Civil War is finally followed by polemics at length against other Kharijite sects and against the Murji'a.

Conventional scholarly wisdom, especially since the work of Gregor Schoeler, suggests that stable, fixed texts are unlikely to be found before the mid-ninth century. Crone and Zimmermann detect some minor interpolations but incline to accept the present text as substantially the work of one man. But where and when Sālim ibn Dhakwān wrote is very uncertain. It is hardly an option to embrace uncritically the Ibaḍī tradition, for its proposed dates range from the later seventh century to the eleventh. The first known citations of this *Sīra* are from the twelfth century.

Close verbal parallels with Ibn Ishāq suggest that either Ibn Ishāq and Sālim had sources in common or that Ibn Ishāq is a source for Sālim; however, Sālim's epistle also seems very close to surviving fragments of another early Ibaḍī work, *K. Ṣifat aḥdāth 'Uthmān*, which sometimes cites Ibn Ishāq expressly and more often quotes without acknowledgement. Where Sālim's epistle provides information not found in Ibn Ishāq, it is usually found also in this *Ṣifa*. Therefore, it seems unlikely that Sālim's epistle predates the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq (d. 153/770?). On the other hand, Crone finds

various indications that *Sīrat Sālim* is not later than the early ninth century, notably its treatment of the duty to revolt and its terminology for unjust rulers. More tentatively, she proposes that the *Sīra* may be the lost work refuting the Azāriqa, Najadāt, and Murji'a, an unusual combination, attributed by Ibn al-Nadīm to Ḍirār ibn 'Amr (d. c. 180/796–97).

As for the significance of the work, one always hopes to use Kharijite sources to get behind the Sunnite and Shiite traditions. The Khawārij seceded early and became geographically isolated, so their works should show us what was common to all parties at a very early date. Unfortunately, it seems the Kharijite secession did not in fact preclude continued interaction with the larger tradition: borrowings from Ibn Ishāq are only one example in *Sīrat Sālim*. The surprising thing about the *Sīra*, as Cook observed twenty years ago, is thus how little it offers that is new. What the *Sīra* tends to show is rather how close the Kharijite tradition, especially the Ibaḍi, was to the Islamic mainstream, especially its Basran branch. The closeness evident here confirms certain other data, such as the participation of Khawārij in debates before the Abbasid caliphs and the equanimity with which Sunni *rijāl* critics note that this or that early traditionist was reputedly a Kharijite.

Scholars who have to deal with heresiography should take pleasure following Crone through the text, as she establishes, say, that Kharijite polemicists frequently attack long-vanished sects as if they were contemporary threats or just where the traditionalists disagreed with the Murji'a, since both opposed sectarianism and promised salvation to all Muslims. Where the rest of us most urgently need to imitate her is in recognizing that theological doctrines changed over time. Only occasionally do the Islamic sources expressly notice changes over time, as in distinguishing between early and late Murji'ism, the early being concerned with primarily political questions (that were secondarily theological), especially the choice between 'Uthmān and 'Alī, the late with primarily theological problems (that were secondarily political) such as the definition of faith.

I wish the commentary had been printed at the bottom of the page, as it is inconvenient to move back and forth between text and commentary. The use of abbreviations for book titles is understandable (e.g., KI for *Kitāb al-Irjā'*, IB1 for Ibn Ibād's first letter to 'Abd al-Malik), but there should have been a comprehensive list at the beginning. And why don't citations of articles include page numbers? If one works at a library holding complete runs of all the relevant journals, one can get by without page numbers; but if one has to obtain most articles from interlibrary loan, one has to know page numbers beforehand.

The bibliography is replete with Ibaḍi texts published in Oman. There are also a few secondary works from Omani scholars. Even at the Institute for Advanced Study, with its own energetic office of interlibrary loan and the Firestone Library of Princeton University a 25-minute walk away, Crone was evidently unable to find a copy of Dāwūd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Talātī, *al-Radd 'alā al-ṣufrīya wa-al-azāriqa* (272n). One also reads 'We only have access to vol. xxviii of Kindī's work and are indebted to Professor J. van Ess for sending us a xerox of the pages on the creed' (273n). Scholars who work farther from massive research libraries must face proportionately greater difficulties getting their hands on this material. All the more, we must thank Crone and Zimmermann for the annotated bibliography of Ibaḍi sources they provide at the end. It seems doubtful whether anything useful will be done in early Ibaḍi studies except on its basis.

CHRISTOPHER MELCHERT

SATOE HORII:

Die gesetzlichen Umgehungen im Islamischen Recht (ḥiyal). Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ğannat al-aḥkām wa-ḡunnat al-ḥuṣṣām des Ḥanafiten Sa'īd b. 'Alī as-Samarqandī (gest. 12. Jhdt). (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 239). 206 pp. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2001. €41.

The monotheistic foundations of Islam and Islamic law, and in particular the axiom of the Quran as God's word, pose a well known and constant challenge to all Muslims and to Islamic jurists in particular. While the Quran contains God's law and in that sense is in principle a complete code, in practice it is not a comprehensive system of codified legal rules that can just be applied, answering all questions. Hence human effort (*ijtihād*) is required to come as close as possible to the Divine Will and to find the most appropriate solution. Muslims, thus, can only endeavour to live 'by the book', and they should at all times follow 'the law', but all too often it is not clear (and hence busily contested) what the most appropriate solution is.

It is within this wider framework of reference that Horii tackles significant evidence related to *ḥiyal*, a touchy term that raises complex issues, since the distance between alleging Muslim deviousness and understanding the theoretical dilemma of the believer may be miniscule—and yet so crucial. This study is based on a German Ph.D. thesis (Cologne, 2000) produced by a Japanese scholar. It would be unfair to criticize the occasional lapses in the author's German, for her Arabic appears to be excellent and she has produced a valuable study on a difficult specialist subject.

Horii states at the onset (p. 5) that *ḥīla* or *ḥiyal* as circumvention of rules or 'evasion of law' has acquired negative connotations as a 'fraude à la loi'. Earlier studies, including the detailed work of Schacht, brought out the close links of *ḥiyal* with *ra'y*, consequently the risk of dismissal as idle and speculative discussion. From a comparative legal perspective, however, *ḥiyal* is actually a most instructive expression of Muslim 'living law', representing a search for a *modus vivendi* between theory and practice (p. 8). Horii rightly identifies *ḥiyal*, relying on important studies by Chehata and Wichard, as an integral element of Muslim jurisprudence that fulfils a social need (p. 22). Hence, her thesis aims to show that debates about the topic are spread throughout the relevant literature and are not restricted to any one school tradition.

Part 1 (pp. 17–66) provides a useful overview of the textual sources. Earlier studies had suggested a focus on Ḥanafi jurists, since the Shāfi'īs were basically sceptical about such devices, while the Ḥanbalis and Mālikīs seemed hostile or not interested. However, demonstrating that critical discussions of the subject can be traced from all schools, Horii proceeds to analyse in particular some Ḥanbali texts and the Mālikī *Mudawwana*.

The original text at the centre of Horii's analysis, the *Janna*, written around 1200 by an unknown Ḥanafi author from Samarqand, confirms that the specialist *ḥiyal* literature grew out of earlier jurisprudential material that was not explicitly focused on this subject, but constantly touched on it. Horii highlights that the *Janna* also contains what Hallaq calls 'secondary fatwās' (p. 23) and places her discussion in the wider context of *iktilāf* and *ijmā'* (pp. 27–8). This part also contains a detailed discussion of the Ḥanbali *ḥiyal*

literature (pp. 31–55) and a listing of textual parallels (pp. 56–66) which will be most instructive for specialists.

Part 2 (pp. 67–129) analyses the history of *ḥiyal* in the Hanafi environment and beyond. Horii shows (p. 81) that opposition to *ḥiyal* is documented even in the first part of the third/ninth century and argues that much of the later *ḥiyal* literature appears to be composed in response to such early challenges. The constructive Hanafi view of *ḥiyal* as a technique (*makhārij*) to help the faithful believer avoid committing a sin (p. 83) was of course challenged by those who suspected (and observed, no doubt) real deviousness. Horii finds (pp. 101–2) that *ḥiyal* debates abound throughout the juristic literature and are not restricted to specialist texts or any one school.

Numerous practical examples are given in this part, a veritable honey pot for lawyers. Most frequently used in pre-emption and *waqf* cases (*waqf* itself being a device), *ḥiyal* also plays a prominent role in family law, especially with regard to divorce by the wife (*khul'*). Such crucial questions for early Muslim society remain relevant today, as the much-publicized case of Saima Waḥeed in Lahore confirmed (*Hafiz Abdul Waḥeed v. Asma Jahangir*, KLR 1997 Shariat Cases 21). The key issue here is the scope for a Hanafi father to challenge the decision of a daughter who gave herself in marriage to a man without paternal agreement. If the father considers this unsuitable or even unIslamic, may he claim the right to nullify the daughter's marriage to obey God's law? This is an issue frequently cited (pp. 105, 127); there are many other mind-boggling scenarios that occupied Muslim jurists.

Then, as now, the critical issue is not only gender-balanced authority, but also the maintenance of an Islamic social system and of public order. Similar balancing acts are reported about *zakāt* taxation and charitable giving, leading to debates about tax evasion and creative accounting (pp. 109–11). Does a Muslim owe taxes to God, or to the Muslim government of the day? The role of the state's claim to taxes as opposed to believers' pious obligation to share some of their wealth does not centrally interest Horii, but her discussion highlights the problem well. The intellectual balancing act performed by some jurists led to much theoretical speculation about some really tricky dilemmas, especially in relation to oaths and vows. While it is well known that God demands nothing impossible (Quran 2: 286), it is in this area that the alleged evasion manifests itself most strongly through wordplays and ingenious use of double meanings.

The third part (pp. 131–78) is excellent in relating *ḥiyal* to comparable concepts and terms. Here, *istiḥsān* as the obligation of all believers to try their best is prominently highlighted with numerous examples (pp. 131–45). Horii then provides a detailed theoretical and textual analysis of *rukḥṣa* as 'escape route from a dilemma' (pp. 145–8) and examines *dar'ā* ('path') as an antonym of *istiḥsān* (p. 148). Finally, the author turns to *ḥiyal* in practice (pp. 154–78), concentrating on its links with fatwas and the role of the judge. The interaction of muftī, judge and jurist in this context is an extremely relevant topic worthy of further analysis, since even in Britain today, such interactions are taking place, sometimes in English courts that have not found it easy to handle such cases.

A short concluding section reiterates that the Hanafis may appear to be the creators of *ḥiyal*, but the topic was evidently debated throughout the jurisprudential literature and in all major schools. Horii seems still impressed (pp. 140, 180) with Schacht's idea of the fixing of orthodoxy in the tenth century (the 'closing of the gates' of *ijtihād*) when her own research demonstrates the internal fluidity of debate among Muslim scholars and the

impossibility to shut off, let alone solve, certain contested issues by recourse to 'tradition' alone. Horii's thesis confirms that the core dilemma for Muslim jurists remains ever-present and had to be addressed by everyone.

The study contains a useful index and an appendix on the *Janna*. The compact bibliography supplements this specialist work well. Strangely, where more than one entry of an author is given, it is not clear what filing principle has been followed, but that is a minor point. This study adds successfully to the concerted efforts of Islamic Studies specialists everywhere in the world to make little-known earlier original work more widely accessible, and to enliven the discussion of hotly contested ancient issues within Islamic jurisprudence.

WERNER MENSKI

CHRISTIAN KOCH:

Politische Entwicklung in einem arabischen Golfstaat: die Rolle von Interessengruppen im Emirat Kuwait.

(Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 232.) x, 287 pp. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000.

Christian Koch's book, the published edition of his Ph.D. thesis from Erlangen-Nürnberg University (1999), deals with the roles of interest groups in the Kuwaiti political system. He bases his analysis on the hypothesis that—in the absence of political institutions, e.g. political parties—interest groups are forming a political instrument which will ultimately lead Kuwaiti society towards democratization.

Koch is very optimistic about the corporatist model of Kuwait, corporatism being defined as a structure of interest representation in which the state remains the regulating body, thereby narrowing the representation of interests by non-ruling societal groups. The Kuwaiti ruling family continues to uphold this corporatist structure, but since 1986 the societal sector has begun to dominate political life. Since the 1960s, the state has been losing its ability fully to control associational life, which is increasingly dominated by the population. Koch stresses that the Kuwaiti political system deserves this positive evaluation because it is based on a constitution which is largely considered to be binding by the ruling élites, a parliament which has established itself as an important player in political life, press freedom which is unique in the Arab world, and a Kuwaiti population which is actively participating in political life through a large number of interest groups.

The author defines interest groups as the 'functionally specific structures for the articulation of already existing, developing and rivalling interests, which serve their society as proponents of participatory and communicative mechanisms' (p. 8). Koch adopts a broad approach by including family, tribes and confessional units, social and sports clubs, state-sponsored institutions, professional, cultural and social organizations and federations and labour unions in his definition of the term 'interest group'. In order to analyse political development rather than a seemingly static political system, he focuses his presentation on the historical transformation of interest representation, beginning with the emergence of the Kuwaiti state in the eighteenth century.

In chapter i, Koch develops his theoretical framework and his concept of interest groups in comparative perspective. Chapter ii contains a detailed discussion of the respective roles of family, tribe and religion in traditional

Kuwaiti society, in particular during its early history to 1896. Here Koch works out his differentiation between voluntary and statutory organizations and emphasizes the importance of the latter, stressing, however, that a study of their interrelationship should be considered fundamental to any study of Kuwaiti interest groups.

In chapter iii, Koch examines Kuwaiti history from 1896 until 1939, focusing on the conflict between an emerging leadership of the Al Sabah and the merchant élite. He describes this process as a transformation of a ruler-merchant coalition based on consensual decision making to a central state dominated by the ruling family and based on oil income and British support. During this period, the first voluntary interest groups emerged, mainly from within the merchant class. The merchants thereby tried to preserve their diminishing influence. The events of 1938, when the merchants tried to challenge the new order in the legislative council, formed the climax of this period.

Chapter iv deals with the period from the early 1940s up to 1986. This was the phase during which—according to Koch—Kuwait was a corporatist system in a classical sense. After gaining control of its oil income after 1934, but especially after 1945, Kuwait witnessed an enormous increase in the power of the Al Sabah, which became independent of the merchants. However, the ruling family's power was checked by three factors: first, the merchants always preserved a strong potential for opposition. Second, in the course of the Kuwaiti modernization process, new social movements—in particular a new middle class profiting from the oil wealth—emerged and restricted power. Third, different interest groups were founded and gained in strength until 1986. All these groups were united by the belief that the Kuwaiti political system could be reformed. As a result, the traditional dichotomy between rulers and merchants was eroded and new groups were integrated into the political system; participation was put on a broader base.

In chapter v, Koch analyses political developments since 1986. The main new element of the 1980s were the Islamist groups, Sunnite and Shiite, which, influenced by the Islamic Revolution in Iran, became active and increasingly critical of the ruling élite (p. 168). While the Kuwaiti state had until 1986 largely been able to control the interest groups' activities, the latter now became 'autonomous centres of oppositional power'. After the Iraqi occupation in 1991, interest in internal affairs increased and opposition to the ruling family became more widespread. As a result, parliament, which had been dissolved in 1976 and 1986, had to be reopened.

In chapters vi, which deals with 'Kuwaiti interest groups in theoretical perspective', and vii Koch presents his conclusions. According to his thesis, a movement towards forms of participation on a broader basis—once initiated—cannot be stopped or revised. Individuals and interest groups constantly acquire more opportunities to influence political decisions. If Western models of political organization cannot be implemented, non-European systems develop their own structures, which derive their legitimacy from their own traditions. Ultimately, this process will lead to the emergence of a 'democratic tradition', which will be irreversible in its principles (p. 257).

Koch's book is an important case study of the interrelationships of state and civil society in the Middle East. It shows very strikingly that the still powerful notion of the weakness of civil society in the 'rentier-states' of the Gulf does not reflect reality in Kuwait, where associational life remains the most liberal of all the Gulf states. The particular Kuwaiti experience and more recently that of Bahrain might encourage optimism concerning the

political development of the Gulf states. However, Koch's optimistic argument that once there is a system of interest representation, the path towards a reform of the political system and its development towards democracy becomes irreversible, might be challenged. Koch leaves aside the Islamists' prominent role in Middle Eastern societies. That Kuwaiti Islamists have not yet challenged the regime is perhaps due to their current weakness rather than to their integration into the political system. Once in a position of power, they might well establish a dictatorship along authoritarian or totalitarian lines and destroy civil society as it exists today. In this regard, Koch's argumentation resembles that of development theorists in the 1970s, whose assumptions about an inevitable 'modernization' of traditional society have long become obsolete.

GUIDO STEINBERG

ANDREW RIPPIN:

Muslims: their religious beliefs and practices. (Second edition.)

(The Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices.) xii, 346 pp. London and New York: Routledge, 2001. £12.99.

This second edition combines the two separate volumes, previously published under the same title, of Rippin's introductory work on Muslim doctrines and rituals and their development throughout Islamic history. Apart from the addition of two new chapters, Rippin has included only minor changes in the second edition. Part 1 outlines the socio-political environment of the pre-Islamic Arab peninsula and perceptions of the prehistory of Islam in Muslim historiography, and also presents the content, structure and the authority of the Quran, as well as the role of Muḥammad and problems in handling sources on him. Part 2 introduces the formation of political authority in the Islamic community and the establishment of the caliphate, and discusses the emergence of the theological and legal schools and Muslim ritual practice characterized by the five pillars of Islam. In Part 3, Shiism and Sufism are presented as alternative forms of Muslim religiosity. Part 4 contains the two new chapters and an introduction to the Muslim contribution to medicine and philosophy, and medieval developments in quranic exegesis and Sufism. The impact of modernity on Islam, particularly on exegetical approaches to the Quran, on the role of Muḥammad in defining Muslim religiosity and on ritual practice are discussed in Part 5. Part 6 presents the contributions of Muslim feminists and intellectuals to the modern discourse in the Islamic world.

A list of important dates precedes each part of the book, providing an overview of important events and personages discussed in the respective part. Just as in the first edition, full and detailed bibliographical references are given in the footnotes, but the book lacks a complete bibliography and has instead a list of 'further reading'. In addition to bibliographical references, the second edition includes a list of internet resources comprising the websites of academic institutions and Muslim organizations. A certain degree of eclecticism is inevitable in any introductory work on Islam. However, Rippin manages to give an accessible and representative overview of the doctrinal and ritual developments of Islam from its formative period to the present. Moreover, he introduces problems and controversies students and researchers face when studying Islam.

OLIVER SCHARBRODT

LINDA S. NORTHRUP:

From slave to sultan: the career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the consolidation of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.).

(Freiburger Islamstudien, 18.) 349 pp. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998.

The historiography of the Baḥrī, or Kıpçak, phase of the Mamluk sultanate, usually regarded as dating from the establishment of the Mamluk regime under al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bundūqdārī in 1250 to the accession of al-Zāhir Barqūq in 1382, has in recent years benefited tremendously from an infusion of fresh, if methodologically still rather conventional, scholarship. The monographs and articles that have resulted have, for the most part, addressed a fairly conservative set of questions: the administrative structure of the Mamluk state and how it evolved, the character of individual reigns, and so on. This, however, merely illustrates how much remains obscure about the Baḥrī Mamluks, for all that they supposedly set the pattern for the Mamluk regime, including, of course, the much-touted Mamluk system.

Within this still-evolving historiography, the dynasty founded by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 1279–90) is particularly problematic. In a regime in which supreme authority resided in an oligarchy of manumitted slaves, this century of familial rule makes an uncomfortable aberration. Can a dynasty-by-any-other-name that consumed nearly half the Mamluk era be regarded as a fluke? Linda Northrup's substantial, meticulously documented study of Qalāwūn, while not addressing this question head-on, sheds an immense amount of light on the reign of this second Mamluk sultan, who has typically suffered by comparison with his illustrious Mongol- and Crusader-battling predecessor Baybars.

Northrup's analysis of Qalāwūn's administration is based on a sober reading of all available Arabic narrative sources. Her first chapter is, indeed, a searching appraisal of these sources. The Mamluk field generally has been perhaps unfairly dominated by the chronicles of al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442) and Ibn Taghri Birdī (1411–70), whose output comes quite late in the Mamluk era—well into the Circassian period. Scholars such as Northrup, to be sure, still rely almost exclusively on Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries whose authors were associated with, or at least subject to, the Mamluk regime. One wonders what light might be shed on the early sultanate by, say, Ilkhanid or late Byzantine sources. Nonetheless, Northrup's systematic presentation of the known Baḥrī-era chronicles, including some that can only be called arcane, should be of lasting value to early Mamluk scholarship. In a brief (three-page) chapter, furthermore, she covers the lamentably meagre extant archival, epigraphic and numismatic sources for Qalāwūn's reign.

Succeeding chapters detail Qalāwūn's pre-sultanate career and, following his enthronement, critical categories of the Mamluk administration and Mamluk usage as they developed during his reign: his military engagements, his reliance on his own mamluks at the same time that he attempted to co-opt his *khūshdashiyya* and the mamluks of Baybars, his prudent cultivation of the '*ulamā*', his concern for assuring the succession for his own descendants and the all-important land regime as it existed during his reign. Northrup's survey of Qalāwūn's military achievements makes it clear that, despite Baybars' reputation as a holy warrior, fed by a growing body of popular hero stories,

Qalāwūn's successes against the Mongols and Crusaders were really more substantial; his sustained engagement against the Mongol Ilkhanids in particular is usually overshadowed by Baybars' signal victory at 'Ayn Jālūt. Likewise, it was really Qalāwūn, rather than Baybars, who set the administrative patterns that later Mamluk sultans would follow. At the same time, he never exhibited the willingness to impose sweeping changes from the top, as his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad later would. Northrup provides a wealth of detail on Qalāwūn's efforts to promote international commerce, with an eye above all to ensuring the smooth continuation of the slave trade. Similarly, in her exhaustive discussion of land tenure, she gives ample space to conditions in Syria (documented largely by al-Nuwayrī), which are typically accorded short shrift in what is still a relentlessly Cairo-centric field.

Some of Northrup's chapters set out the details of a pattern of administrative development that one would have expected, given the work of early scholars. They are no less valuable, notwithstanding, for solidly documenting what had previously seemed rather vague Mamluk tendencies. Wholly original insights include her recognition of the long shadow cast by the late Ayyubids, and in particular al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, who founded the Baḥrī regiment to which both Qalāwūn and Baybars belonged. She shows a particular sensitivity to urban topography in her discussion of Qalāwūn's calculated placement of his monuments in Cairo so as to derive legitimacy from their proximity to the foundations of al-Ṣāliḥ. Had she taken this line of argument a bit further, she might have touched on a persistent 'legitimacy anxiety' inherent in the Mamluk regime, exacerbated, no doubt, by the *absence* of a dynastic principle. This raises the intriguing, if unorthodox, question of whether this distinctive oligarchy was really of the Mamluks' own choosing.

It seems unfair to quibble about lacunae in such a thick piece of sustained scholarship. One of Qalāwūn's 'innovations' that would have especially profound implications for the Mamluk regime was his pioneering recruitment of Circassian mamluks, although, to be sure, the proportion of Circassians in Qalāwūn's forces and their ultimate impact have been called into question. Still, the absence of all but a brief mention of the Circassians is puzzling in this otherwise very thorough work.

Unlike Baybars, the more profoundly influential Qalāwūn has inspired no earlier monographs devoted exclusively to him. Even more than Orhan, the recognized second Ottoman sultan who moulded the dynasty credited to his father, Osman, Qalāwūn has suffered the fate of the second member of an historic, almost mythic, line. This book may not fundamentally alter this general impression, but it will unquestionably stand as the authoritative work on Qalāwūn for some time to come.

JANE HATHAWAY

ODED PERI:

Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: the question of the Holy Sites in early Ottoman times.

(The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage.) x, 219 pp. Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 2001. €64.

Like the Eastern Question, the issue of the Christian Holy Sites in Palestine only became a question on the world stage in the nineteenth century when it

provided the ostensible cause for the Crimean war. Oded Peri's book considers an earlier age, from the Ottoman conquest of Palestine in 1516 to the Sacra Liga war of 1683–99 when a precedent for the future was set by foreign powers exerting pressure on the Ottomans to influence the system of Christian rights in the Holy Land. He has located a wealth of documents which reveal Ottoman motivation and justification for their attitude to the most sacred shrines of Christendom and traces the history of the Sites to discern how the internationalization of the question of the Holy Sites first came about.

The most important of the Sites were the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The physical description and ground plan of these complexes give an immediate impression of the room for conflict which existed as Greek Orthodox, Franciscans—who represented the Roman Catholic church—and to a lesser extent, Armenians, Copts and Jacobite Syrians vied in fierce and tireless competition for control over the shrines within, especially those which figured most prominently in the life and death of Christ.

Peri first traces the fragmentation of the early Church into a variety of rivalrous denominations. When Palestine was part of the Byzantine empire, the Byzantine church prevented others having access to the Sites. The Muslim conquerors of Jerusalem in 638 c.e. made the Sites available to all Christians but the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem subsequently barred the Eastern faithful. The Mamluk conquest of Jerusalem in 1244 saw the restitution of the rights of the Eastern-rite churches but a century later the Franciscans had doggedly managed to improve their position. Muslim rule was clearly the best guarantee that the Holy Sites would be open to all Christians. Like their predecessors, the Ottomans sought to treat the Sites disinterestedly within the framework of Islamic law.

The privileged position of the Constantinople patriarch as head of the Greek Orthodox church and community following the Ottoman conquest in 1453 meant that by the time the territories over which the other three patriarchates of the Byzantine Church—Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch—held sway were incorporated into the Ottoman empire in 1516–17, Constantinople had already had some sixty years in which to assert its unique authority over the Orthodox of the empire and to subordinate these patriarchates which had until then remained within the Mamluk state. Having won the battle for pre-eminence and pursued a policy of Hellenization in respect of the Jerusalem patriarchate, Constantinople sought to resolve the anomalous situation whereby the holiest shrines of Christendom were in the hands of their Latin rivals. Outside influences played their part, as the Roman Catholic Church sought to win more adherents in the east to compensate for those lost to Protestantism in the west as a result of the Reformation. Another contender was the Armenian Church, which was undergoing its own internal turmoil.

The Ottoman perspective on the subsequent development of the inter-denominational conflict has hitherto been lacking. Prior to 1630, argument over the rights of the different churches stopped short of challenging the status quo, but in that year the simmering conflict was ignited when the Greek Orthodox patriarch in Jerusalem took the radical step of submitting documents to the sultan in support of his case that his Church's pre-eminence in the Holy Sites had been 'acknowledged and reaffirmed by the greatest leaders of Islam'. As petitions arrived in Istanbul, the sultan responded by giving Orthodox and Catholics contradictory and ambiguous *firman*s which changed nothing on the ground. However, the Orthodox persisted and in less than ten

years had succeeded in gaining exclusive possession of the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem and by 1675, of the Sepulchre and the Rotunda within which it is situated.

The Orthodox did not enjoy their victory for long, for the Ottomans were at war with the Habsburgs from 1683 and their need for French goodwill encouraged the Franciscans to go back on the offensive. In 1686 the Ottoman government set up a commission of inquiry to look into the question of the custodianship of the Holy Sites in Palestine. The commission reported in 1690, following the loss of Belgrade and in the context of Ottoman hopes of French support in their efforts to retake this fortress, and restored the pre-1637 division of rights. The Greek Orthodox did not at this time have any foreign power to champion their cause and their interests could safely be sacrificed to realpolitik until Russia demanded restoration of Orthodox pre-eminence in the Holy Sites in 1699. The sultan was able to resist this, but Ottoman inability to resist foreign demands in their hour of weakness, Peri proposes, set a precedent which culminated in the internationalizing of the question of the Holy Sites, which had hitherto been a domestic issue. As the empire grew militarily weaker, it could no longer isolate the question of the Holy Sites from outside influence.

It has long been held that the Ottomans followed no 'policy' in regard to the Holy Sites, merely the unpredictable whim of the sultan. Peri criticizes both this view and also those who suggest that if there was any consistency, it was merely a mirror-image of the empire's relationship with the European powers. This, he asserts, was simply not so before the late seventeenth century and he provides convincing evidence to support his claim. He shows that legal concerns were one of the ingredients determining Ottoman attitudes to Christian inter-denominational squabbling and analyses these to assert that there was indeed rationality at work but that European commentators, then and now, have not had the tools to decode it. The over-riding consideration of the Ottomans was their Islamic duty and diplomatic undertaking that the Holy Sites be open to worship and pilgrimage for all denominations. Another influential factor was economic: simply, a flow of pilgrims translated into a revenue flow. Pilgrims' fees, which comprised both road-tolls and entrance fees to the Holy Sites, were spent from the 1540s to support Muslim clerics and, notably, endowed to the *vakf* of Sultan Süleyman's late wife, Haseki Hurrem Sultan, demonstrating that it was to the state's advantage to encourage as many pilgrims as possible. This also gave local Muslims a vested interest in ensuring that Christian pilgrims could go about their business unhindered and was another compelling argument for the even-handed Ottoman policy in regard to the Holy Sites which Peri's thoughtful and admirable study uncovers.

CAROLINE FINKEL

OWEN WRIGHT:

Demetrius Cantemir: the collection of notations. Volume 2: Commentary.

(SOAS Musicology Series.) x, 607 pp. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
£65.

Wright's extensive commentary accompanies his earlier edition (reviewed in *BSOAS* LVI/1, 1993, 14) of Demetrius Cantemir's notations of 353

instrumental pieces from the Ottoman court repertoire, compiled *c.* 1705. The two volumes place a vital resource directly into the hands of students of Ottoman music, at a time of substantial scholarly interest in Cantemir, both in Turkey and elsewhere. Wright's work is rigorous and scholarly, yet consistently clear and user-friendly, even in its most technical sections. It will certainly find its way into the hands of performers, in whose hands, one hopes, this remarkable musical repertory will make itself known—on its own terms—to a new generation of scholars, musicians and audiences in Turkey and elsewhere.

After providing brief biographical details, the author's commentary shuttles between Cantemir's theoretical systematization of modal and rhythmic issues, and the collection of notations which illustrate them. Wright adheres to Cantemir's theoretical framework, though he tests it and pushes it to its limits. He does this not simply to supplant it with a more inclusive and 'accurate' one, but to allow the reader to see how Cantemir was responding to complex historical and social changes. Helpful skeletal outlines of pieces in the repertory, and bar charts illustrating pitch attacks allow one to track the extent and nature of formulae in particular modes, and to grasp structural issues in seventeenth-century modal practice (such as the triadic nature of *Rehavi*, apparently evocative of Western trumpet fanfares, or tricordal *Saba*) belied by simplistic—and anachronistic—tetracordal and pentacordal analyses. They also help the reader approach the important and tricky question, addressed in the closing part of the book, of historical change. It is tempting to interpret this early eighteenth-century moment in the light of subsequent developments, and this has resulted in some overly teleological discussions of Cantemir and his contemporaries. Wright clearly demonstrates the extent to which processes of change were registered by Cantemir, and the extent to which one has to go beyond his particular horizons to understand them. Cantemir's explicitness on the subject of *Pengah*, for example, recognized clearly in 'old' and 'new' forms, contrasts with the more complex and submerged processes at work in many of the others (such as the emergence of the *Kurdi* tetracord with its B flat, and the emergence of A and F sharps as part of the modal identity of *Segah* and *Iraq* respectively). Wright also moves carefully between specific and more general processes of change in the seventeenth-century repertoire. It is tempting in the light of his earlier work to see a principle of rhythmic retardation working its way from 'old' to 'new' in the collection itself, though one discovers that this is not really borne out by Cantemir's own discussion of the material, or the material itself. Wright suggests that this was actually a period of relative stability in the structure of the rhythmic modes, contrary to expectations generated by substantial change elsewhere. Instead of presenting a picture of Cantemir simply as a stepping stone on the route from early Ottoman to modern Turkish musical practice, we get a rather more open-ended view of the collection, which allows us to consider what this particular moment might have looked like from an early eighteenth-century point of view.

Wright's interest in the *systematic* nature of the modal system in Cantemir's time will speak to music theorists and analysts as well as ethnomusicologists. Though Wright's commentary enables us to deal with the material on Cantemir's own terms, he is also obliged to go beyond him to discuss systematic properties of the repertory either partially or poorly recognized by Cantemir himself. The empirical material does not, of course, speak for itself, and some readers might have welcomed some more explicit theoretical moves on Wright's part. If the new hierarchy of *makams* and *terkibs* permitted, or

was developed in response to, a new principle of modulation, then the notion of a *system* connecting relatively parsimonious modulation (in which much is shared between the first and second mode in a modulatory sequence) with relatively unparsimonious modulation, a system, that is to say, in relation to which local modulatory moves derive their primary meaning and significance, is extremely suggestive. The formal exploration of these ideas—cultural and historical distance notwithstanding—might be extended and deepened with an eye on current developments in diatonic set theory. To take another example, Wright's discussion of the melodic implications of Cantemir's rhythmic modes also, and necessarily, moves above and beyond Cantemir's own theoretical apparatus. This suggests, importantly, that it might be inappropriate to think about the formal properties of pitch sets and metre in the mutually exclusive terms music analysis habitually uses. Here again, recent work into the rhythmic and metrical properties of diatonic melodic forms and common-practice harmony in Western art music might prove useful (viz. Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff's *A generative theory of tonal music*, Cambridge, MA, 1983). Wright's material lends itself well to this kind of discussion. Whatever the outcome as regards our ability to conceptualize the early eighteenth-century Ottoman modal system, renewed conversation between music theorists and historical ethnomusicologists would, of itself, be no bad thing.

This is a singular and valuable achievement that will benefit those with a specific interest in Ottoman music, as well as those with a more general interest in Middle Eastern music history. Far too much has been assumed about the 'stagnation' (or, less negatively, the 'timeless' nature) of Middle Eastern musical traditions, particularly when compared to Europe. These kind of unhelpful generalizations will be much harder to sustain in the future.

MARTIN STOKES

M. HOLT RUFFIN and DANIEL WAUGH (ed.):

Civil society in Central Asia.

ix, 331 pp. Seattle and London: Washington University Press with the Center for Civil Society International, The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 1999. \$19.95 (paperback).

The term 'civil society' is today so overused that in general parlance it has been reduced to the status of a phatic utterance. As N. Chandoke comments in *State and civil society: explorations in political theory* (New Delhi, 1995, p. 38), 'Civil society has become a conceptual rag bag, consisting of households, religious denominations, and each and every activity which is not of the state'. Western donor agencies have encouraged this tendency by providing generous (and often uncritical) financial support for projects, however opaque and ill defined, that are presented under the rubric of 'building civil society'. These efforts may be well meaning, but by constantly stretching the terms of reference they debase the concept, draining it of substance.

This lack of focus contrasts sharply with the copious body of theoretical literature on civil society. This discourse is the product of the long historical evolution of the concept. The historical origins of the term are firmly anchored in the Western European experience. In the seventeenth century, notions of civil society reflected the emergence of secular authority in contrast to military

and ecclesiastical power. During this period the term was used to emphasize concepts of citizenship, law and order, and social values such as civility, courtesy and trust. Later interpretations reflect the societal changes brought about by the spread of private property, greater rights for the individual, the growth of urban bourgeois culture, and the beginnings of a capitalist economy. Hegel conceptualized civil society as the transitional space between the family and the state, while Marx, locating civil society in industrialized society, highlighted its oppressive, exploitative nature. Gramsci, another important contributor to civil society theory, emphasized the coercive nature of all state structures and envisaged the tactical use of civil society to break down the barriers between state and society and, ultimately, to achieve a stateless society.

In the middle decades of the twentieth century the concept of civil society was marginalized as the state became the privileged topic of debate. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, it was given new prominence when political dissidents in Central and Eastern Europe reformulated the idea of civil society as the foundation of the struggle against the one-party monopoly on power. It was this that provided the impetus for such movements as Charter 77 in Prague and Solidarity in Gdansk. In Soviet intellectual circles, too, the concept of civil society gained new currency, acquiring the specific connotation of a 'law-based society'.

Today, the civil society discourse, often linked to neo-liberalism, once again occupies a central place in Western political theory. However, it has also become a topic of debate in societies that are in transitional stages of political and economic modernization. Thus, there is now a considerable body of scholarly writing on civil society in states in Latin America, Asia and Africa. In the Islamic sphere, too, it has become the focus of intellectual inquiry. Contemporary Muslim thinkers seek to locate theories of civil society within the political-legal tradition of Islam. Some draw on historical sources and scriptural precepts (encapsulated in the Quran and the Sunna), models of governance practised by the 'rightly directed' caliphs of the first Muslim era, and works of classical scholars. Others advocate the implementation of Western notions of civil society, selectively adapted to conform to conditions within their own societies. Yet others attempt to synthesize Western and Islamic thought on state-society. These different perspectives ought to provide a stimulating introduction to a study of civil society in some of the newest members of the international community.

The geographic focus of the present work is ex-Soviet Central Asia, a region that, in the course of the past one hundred-odd years, has undergone colossal political, social and economic upheaval. During this period it was transformed from a primarily Islamic sphere into a world dominated by European cultural and political norms, mediated through the prism of Russia (first in the form of Tsarist colonialism, and then Soviet socialism). In 1991, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the five territorial-administrative entities that had been created in the early years of the Soviet regime suddenly acquired independence. Since then they have been seeking to fashion new national identities, and at the same time to redefine cultural and political parameters. This has meant rethinking the conflicting legacies of their own past, but also looking to new models. In recent years all the Central Asian states have been experimenting with attempts to create formal and informal Western-style democratic institutions. At the same time, there have been moves to strengthen traditional institutions, and even to reincorporate some Islamic elements.

It might have been expected that this challenging region would provide

rich material for theoretical as well as empirical studies of civil society in complex transitional contexts. Sadly, in the volume under review there is little attempt to engage with such issues. The introductory essay by Frederick Starr cursorily acknowledges the historical evolution of the concept of 'civil society', but eschews any consideration as to how this might relate to Central Asian societies (or indeed, to other non-Western societies). Lacking a theoretical framework, or even any adequate definition of the key term, this collection of papers creates a curiously haphazard impression.

Several of the papers are devoted to the activities of non-governmental organizations. However, for the most part they focus on the successes or setbacks of foreign aid programmes in this sector. Moreover, the emphasis is on recommendations for future action rather than on questions of compatibility or effectiveness. The authors rarely touch on local responses, still less on indigenous traditions of social organization or community action. On a descriptive level, some of the information that is provided in individual papers (for example, on the source and size of foreign grants) is of some historical interest. However, taken as a whole, the contributions are so disparate that it is hard to gain any coherent picture of the situation within the region as a whole, or even within a particular state. There are only two papers that seek to explore an Islamic dimension. Aziz Niyazi in 'Islam and Tajikistan's human and ecological crisis' sketches a rather vague account of the history of Islam on the territory of Tajikistan, ranging over several centuries. Reuel Hanks, in 'Civil society and identity in Uzbekistan: the emergent role of Islam', defines his topic more narrowly. Yet the material that he presents is not only limited in scope, but is not analysed in sufficient depth for it to make any significant addition to existing literature on this subject. Furthermore, the author does not discuss Islamic approaches to civil society, hence it is difficult to understand quite what role he expects Islam to play in this situation.

SHIRIN AKINER

CAROLE BLACKWELL:

Tradition and society in Turkmenistan: gender, oral culture and song. xi, 203 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £45.

Tradition and society in Turkmenistan makes an important contribution to the growing body of English-language studies on Central Asia. Prior to the break-up of the Soviet Union, Russian-trained scholars monopolized the research being conducted and published on the region. Quality was variable and publications were rarely translated into western-European languages. Translated material was often on the subject of archaeology and antiquities, and extremely few sources dealt with issues of contemporary culture and society in the republics. Local traditions, history and religious practices were heavily suppressed under Soviet rule, and their expression was limited to government-sponsored folkloric displays and architectural monuments. Blackwell's ethnographic-like study gives its readers a valuable glimpse into the politics of gender relations and the construction of (mainly female) identity, oral culture and a rich collection of the traditional songs performed by the women of Turkmenistan.

The book is based on field studies conducted between 1995 and 1997 when Carole Blackwell and her four children accompanied her husband on a two-year work assignment to Ashgabat. The focus of her research is on Turkmen

folk songs and what they reveal about the women, their traditions and their culture. She points out that in contrast to the heroism and abstract political nature of the men's songs, Turkmen women's songs are about 'the unremarkable acts of daily life' and importantly serve as a vehicle for expressing feelings that are otherwise silenced by a patriarchal society. Following Turkmen scholars, Blackwell has classified the songs into five types that each reveals something about the different stages of a woman's life cycle: beginning with the world of young girls, proceeding to brides, to young married women, and to motherhood, and concluding with the lamentations of old women. The songs have been passed down orally from generation to generation, and transcriptions for all of the songs that she includes in her book can be found in Turkmenbashi National Manuscript Institute. The book is divided into three parts. The first provides the general background for the author's project, for Turkmenistan, and for the folk songs. Part 2 contains more detailed chapters on religious beliefs, social and gender relations within the family, rites of passage, and the lives of the women in particular. The final and longest section of the book is dedicated to the folk songs and includes seventeen black-and-white photographic plates. After a brief introduction to the songs, part 3 is divided into five chapters dealing with the five life stages.

My main criticism of the book is that its overall scope is too ambitious and lacking a tangible theoretical focus. Blackwell correctly speculates in the introduction that 'the things these women say have obvious anthropological and sociological relevance' and 'could usefully be placed in a wider theoretical framework', but nevertheless admits that she has shunned this task. Though Lila Abu-Lughod's seminal study of Bedouin women and their stories appears in Blackwell's bibliography, there is no direct reference to, or development of, these highly relevant ideas in this book. In fact references to other scholarly and literary sources, including historical material, is scant, leaving the author's own observations and analysis seriously under-substantiated. Her almost complete reliance on song verses and excerpts from folktales to support claims about the contemporary lives of Turkmen women problematically suggests that they remain unaffected by the processes of historical change. Though it might be argued that lyrics and story lines have not changed over several generations, the author should formally recognize that they are employed by individuals to convey changing social values and aspirations, and these must be understood within an analytical framework that includes political, economic and social transformation.

Several of the key background chapters tend to suffer from fragmentation. The chapter on Turkmenistan reads partly as ethnography citing folktales and customs; partly as travel diary describing landscapes, experiences and the author's interpersonal contacts; and partly as history. Although the first two aspects hold interest in themselves, the region's fascinating history of silk-road exchange, tribes and empires, and Russian colonization is not rendered in a satisfying manner, and thus fails to develop fully the connection between the situation of Blackwell's contemporary informants with their nation's past. Likewise the presentation of Turkmen religion that combines Islam, Zoroastrianism, and local beliefs and customs, becomes anecdotal and a loosely structured account of family stories rather than an in-depth historical or sociological analysis of spiritual faith and practices.

The chapters that best prepare the reader for an appreciation of the material in part 3, and which present the most structured insights into the lives of women, are the two that describe 'family relationships' and 'rites of

passage'. The negotiated construction of female personhood is situated in a context of brothers, fathers and husbands, and Blackwell creatively weaves together the multiple dimensions of female sexuality with song verses, proverbs and folktales pertaining to the different cycles of women's lives. Though feminine identity is recognized as being complex and we are warned 'not to conclude from the emphasis given to the virtues of submissiveness and sexual passivity that all women feel powerless or joyless in their sexual relations', the author too frequently subscribes to these very idealized notions of female subservience in her gender depictions. Considerations of female empowerment would have been strengthened by a closer examination of power and resistance, including the ways in which women maintain and reproduce their existing privileges and territories within a male-dominated culture. The 'rites of passage' include interesting descriptions of ceremonies and traditions related to fertility and pregnancy, childhood, marriage, and death, and again Blackwell effectively punctuates her text with verses and folktales to emphasize the main points.

The real strength of this book lies in the documentation of 350 folk songs. Each English translation is accompanied by its original Turkmen version and is followed by a concise description of the meaning and some informatic social context for the song. Within each category of the life cycle there are further divisions that usefully address specific topics (for example, 'finding hope for the future' or 'the loneliness of the bride's parents' in the chapter on 'wedding songs'). This major section of the book promises to serve as a valuable resource for historians, anthropologists and sociologists working on Turkmenistan, or more generally for scholars working on gender identity and performance.

TREVOR H. J. MARCHAND

KAHAR BARAT (ed. and trans.):

The Uygur-Turkic biography of the seventh-century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang, ninth and tenth chapters.

(Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, 166.) xxxiv, 430 pp.

Bloomington, IN: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2000.
\$79.

As an Uygur originally from the Chinese province of Xin-jiang, Kahar Barat is particularly well qualified to study the Uygur translation of the Chinese *Biography of Xuan-zang*; and indeed during the past decades he has devoted much of his research activity to this work.

The Uygur translation by Šingqo Šāli Tutung of this seventh-century Chinese classic dates from about the second half of the tenth century. In 1930 or slightly before, an unidentified person somewhere in Xin-jiang found an almost complete copy of this Uygur translation, some 400 of the approximately 500 folios, probably buried in the ground where some 20 per cent of it had rotted. In 1930 some 240 folios of the manuscript were bought in Urumchi by a Chinese professor who sold them to the Beijing Library. About the same time or a little later, some ninety-four folios, now in the St. Petersburg Asian Institute, were purchased, probably by the Soviet consulate in Urumchi, and eight folios, now in the Beijing Library, were bought by Joseph Hackin 'while crossing Central Asia'. As to the 123 folios now in the Musée Guimet in Paris, I was told some years ago by Francis Macouin, the librarian in charge,

that the Museum had bought them for 8,000 francs in November 1931 from a certain Fehmi Murad, 'marchand de Turfan', and this information was later confirmed by Professor Osman Sertkaya of the University of Istanbul. Fehmi Murad was the son of the famous historian Remzi Murad, originally from the region of Kazan, but living since 1919 with his family in Čögeček (Chuguchak or Ta-cheng) in Chinese Turkestan on the frontier with Kazakhstan. In 1930 or 1931 when Fehmi Murad, who had for several years been studying medicine in Germany, went back to Čögeček to visit his family, he bought there the 123 folios of the manuscript which in November 1931 he finally managed to sell to the Musée Guimet in Paris. These details and others regarding Fehmi Murad figure in my review, published in 1996, of A. Mayer, *Cien-Biographie VII* and K. Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VII*, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 91, 4, 491–6, review of which, however, Kahar Barat makes no mention in his introduction (cf. pp. iv and ix).

The 34 pages of the introduction include a very detailed discussion of the manuscript, its various parts and their editors, its translator and the nature of the Uygur translation, the systems of transliteration and transcription used, and finally a bibliography of all the publications concerned. In Kahar Barat's study of the Uygur folios of chapters ix and x, each double page shows the transliteration and transcription of the Uygur text, the text of the Chinese original, the reproduction of the Uygur folio, and his English translation. Following this are the 47 pages of the Chinese original text of chapters ix and x, nearly 50 pages of notes and commentaries, and finally a glossary of all the words occurring in the Uygur manuscript.

Regarding the folios of chapters ix and x appearing in Kahar Barat's study, I note, particularly in the case of those from the Musée Guimet, of which I have the photographs, a certain number of mistaken or incomplete readings. Indeed, a certain number of letters or words that are quite visible in my photographs of these folios are less or not at all visible in the reproductions accompanying Kahar Barat's study. For example, in the first folio IX1a (pp. 2–3), the first word in l. 12 is *üčünč*, 'third', quite readable in my photograph, but is restored as *ikinti*, 'second', by Kahar Barat, even though in his reproduction *üčünč* is for the most part readable. This may be due to the fact that the corresponding Chinese text notes here 'the eleventh month of the *second* year (December 657) when the Tripitaka Master became ill', an event that the Uygur translator seems, oddly enough, to have dated a year later. In l. 24 of the same folio the word following *nom* cannot be *bitig* as restored by K.B., but is a word beginning with "X..., *aq...*, as seen in my photograph, which I suppose to be *aqin* 'stream'. In the glossary, p. 401, *nom aqin* is indicated as occurring in IX2a16, but instead of *nom aqin* we find *nom qapıyın*. The expression *nomluq aqinın* does occur, however, in IX12b8, in a passage which I find not entirely clear, for in l. 7 immediately preceding *nomluq aqinın* is the form *YYK'NK*, *yigäng*, concerning which Kahar Barat notes in his commentary, p. 319: '*yigäng* "a rash" is written differently from the *yigän*, ED913a'. But what is 'a rash'? In l. 25 the word following *köngülün* is *PYL...*, *bil...*. Then in my photograph l. 26 begins clearly with 'YŠL'TS'R ●●, *išlätsär* ●●.

In folio IX1b (pp. 4–5), l. 1 begins with .YC... .D.. "NY 'WYCWN, .ič... ..d... *anı üčün*. Then appears in l. 26:D. ●● ●●; and in l. 27:YLYP (?) 'YKYNTY *ikinti* (?). In folio IX2a (pp. 6–7), l. 1, can be read: P'ŠL'P TSY 'YN D'X'Y X'WVR..X PYRL., *başlap tsi in daqı qıvraq birlä*, instead of *kälip tsi in si qıvrayın başlap*, as read by Kahar Barat; and in l. 26: ...D'CY In folio IX2b (pp. 8–9), l. 26:M.SY TNKRY*m.si*

tängri. In folio IX3b (pp. 12–13), l. 1, the word preceding *etig* may be *yanglïy*. In folio IX4a (pp. 14–15), in l. 1, *ärmäz* ... is readable following *yarliqamış*, and in l. 26, *ärsär* is readable following the form read by K.B. as *tetir*. In folio IX5a (pp. 18–19), l. 25: T'RYNK ..., *täring* In folio IX5b (pp. 20–21), the first word in l. 4 is quite readable as YURUKYK, *yörügig*.

Then in folio X27a (p. 265), l. 21, I read *otuzğa* 'WZ'DY *uzadı* 'YNC.. (?). In folio X27b (p. 267), l. 15, I can read quite clearly TWS PWLM'D..., *tuş bolmad(in)*, 'without being equal', whereas, rather strangely, Kahar Barat has read here QWS PWLM..., *qoš bolmadin*, 'although it is not equal', and in his commentary, p. 356, he notes: '*qoš bolmadı* translates "not comparable with"'. In Uygur, of course, *tuş* meant 'equal, equivalent', and *qoš* 'a pair, one of a pair'. In folio X28a (p. 269), l. 21, I can read only 'WLWX 'YLYK L'RDYN X'N, *uhrı eliglärđin xan*, without *ıduq* between *uhrı* and *eliglärđin*, as read by K.B. In folio X29a (p. 273), l. 19, I think can be read YM. Y'NKYRTY, *y(ä)m(ä) yangirtı*, before *bälgürti*, and in l. 20 probably *ärmäz*.

As to the English employed by Kahar Barat in his discussions, explanations and translations, I noticed a certain number of errors, incorrect phrasings, or misprints, which are of course understandable considering his very different origin, but which could no doubt have been avoided if his text had been carefully checked by an Anglophone. Here are a few samples of such errors. Introduction, p. i, l. 19: concern (concerning); p. ii, l. 2: 1930, immediately (1930 and immediately); l. 52: information ... are (is); p. x, premier paragraph, l. 6: which buried underground (which was buried underground); l. 9: is needed to be re-edited (needs to be re-edited), etc. In the translation, p. 2, IX1a, l. 18: letters repeatedly exchange in between (exchanged between); p. 12, IX3b, l. 17: even it is big, it still can maintained mysterious (even if it is big, it still can be maintained...); p. 24, IX6b, l. 12: may them love each other (may they love...); l. 22: I may devaluated (I may have devaluated); p. 36, IX9b, l. 16: if we resemble it ... (if we compare it ...); p. 38, IX10a, l. 13: traditions not decay and senile (traditions not decay and become senile); p. 40, IX10b, l. 3: more I venture to reached the compilation (more I ventured to reach...); l. 19: are like high a pine tree mountain (are high like a ...); l. 24: ... in oredor to (in order to); p. 42, IX11a, l. 5: Interial Attendants (Internal Attendants); l. 8: When he hear our request (When he hears ...); and finally, p. 86, IX22a, l. 16: May them be educated (May they be educated); l. 18: May them mend (May they mend); l. 22: he has hold (he has held), etc.

However, in spite of the need of a certain number of corrections as noted above, I found this important work of Kahar Barat generally very well done, very complete, and certainly very useful to all those interested in the study of old Uygur documents.

JAMES HAMILTON

SOUTH ASIA

KLAUS KARTTUNEN and PETTERI KOSKIKALLIO (ed.):

Vidyārṇavavandanam. Essays in honour of Asko Parpola.

(Studia Orientalia, 94.) 511 pp. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2001. Finnmarks 250.

In celebration of the sixtieth birthday of Asko Parpola and his contribution to the study of Vedic ritual, Indus Valley inscriptions, and the ancient cultures

associated with them, thirty-one papers are here arranged (if that is the right word) in the alphabetical order of the names of their authors, these representing the orientalist of four continents. Karttunen summarizes Parpola's work and assesses it within the context of oriental studies in Finland, while Koskikallio contributes a select but detailed bibliography.

Parpola's services to Sāmaveda are acknowledged in Henk Bodewitz's analysis of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad's humorous embroidery of the Saṃvargavidyā narrative; by Klaus Karttunen's edited and translated Sthālīpāka section of a Jaiminīya Sāmaprayoga; and by Wayne Howard's account of his fruitful collaboration with L. S. Rajagopalan in charting the occurrence of 'Prācīna Kauthuma' (Rāṇāyanīya?) chanting in Kerala and North Arcot and of a so-called 'Navīna' style in North Arcot and Tanjore.

Harry Falk has impressively identified RV *sūrmī* as a shaft furnace for smelting metals, and ŚrSū. *visūrmikā* as tinder for fuelling such a furnace. Jan E. M. Houben identifies *āhimsā* as a limitation of damage to things (MS), of damage to oneself (TS), and of damage to men and wild animals as potential sacrificial victims (*TBr.*). He shows that, if the last is an irrelevant and palpably interpolated irruption of non-violent ideology, it is nevertheless still in the guise of self-interest. Some reference to the threat of the posthumous vengeance of slain trees and cattle in the Bhṛgu story (*ŚBr.* 11.6.1 and *JBr.* 1.42–44) would have been apposite here. Frederick M. Smith's documentation of the recent resurgence of Vedic ceremonial in Maharashtra extols (p. 449f.) the view of Kashikar and Parpola that the very deviations of such performances from tradition are 'proofs of their authenticity'.

Archaeological interest is served by V. Sarianidi's assessment of recent discoveries that are thought to identify an eastward migration, presumably of Indo-Iranians, into Bactria-Margiana, Baluchistan, and Swat by about 2000 B.C. and by D. T. Potts who has located in the University of Sydney's Nicholson Museum and traced back to Harappa some dozens of small vessels, beads, etc. (including an illegible fragment of inscribed seal), a gift to the University from the Government of India.

John Brockington's stratification of the epics yields a paper on Indra's decline in status from literary role-model to embodiment of pagan vice. One of the book's few misprints, the omission of *-ra-* from *śambarāma[ra]rājayoḥ* 'Indra and Śambara', obscures the point about pāda-length epithets that is made on page 69.

Hans Bakkar offers a study of Śiva Dakṣiṇāmūrti, the 'guardian on the south side' (*Mayamata*) who is depicted as a teacher. He suggests (p. 51) that the connection lies in a misunderstanding of 'right side' as 'south face', Kauṇḍinya and Kṣemarāja having described a pupil as facing (north towards) the (southern) right-hand side of (east-facing) Śiva. This is surely to put the casuistic cart before the etymological horse. The primary explanation is 'south' ('*pūrvottarapaścimānām mūrtīnām pratiśedhaḥ*'), and this is indeed the more obvious application of *dakṣiṇā*, whether as Vedic adverb or classical noun. In RV 2.27.11 *nā dakṣiṇā/savyā/prācīnam/pāścā*, the lost soul is seeking the true light: Geldner's 'weder rechts noch links', etc. (Sāyaṇa '*vāmabhāgo 'pi'*'), is quite misleading.

Even 'south' is probably a misnomer. Given the explicit absence of any other directional *mūrti*, a personification of the Dakṣiṇā fee for services rendered to the pupil seems relevant and rather more likely. It is difficult to see what else Kauṇḍinya's alternative explanation *bhaikṣyānupayogād upaghātānām uktatvāt* ('because disasters are said to ensue from failure to give alms') can be referring

to. Bakker's rendering 'owing to the uselessness of alms (obtained) from untouchables' is certainly wrong: Monier Williams gave no source for *anupayoga* 'uselessness', and *Nachträge* has 'Nichtverwendung'. The translation of *Mbh.* 1.203.21 (p. 45), akin to van Buitenen's, is also perverse ('Lord Śiva sits facing east, [tending] to the right/south'): clearly 'Bhagavān faces east, Maheśvara south', whereupon Bhagavān Sthāṇu sprouts extra faces to the south, etc., and Mahendra becomes all eyes. The use here, *metri gratia*, of Maheśvara for Mahendra has evidently much to answer for.

T. Y. Elizarenkova examines the phraseology of references to *dvār* in RV, noting the absence of any allusion to domestic architecture in its application. She accepts (pp. 120f.) the Sāyaṇa-based 'nominative' *dūrah* (1.188.5) and 'accusative' *dvārah* (1.130.3), though these are far from secure. In *dūro ghr̥tāny akṣaran*, Sāyaṇa's assumption of a nominative correlative *tāh* is wholly arbitrary: an accusative (though inverting the syntax of 9.86.37 *tās (haritah) te (somasya) kṣarantu mādhumad ghr̥tām pāyah*) has the support of 8.50.4 (Vāl. 2) *anehāsam ... mādhvah kṣaranti dhūtāyah*. His accusative *dvārah* (construed with *īṣah* as a genitive, by dint of ignoring the pāda-break and supplying *akarot* to take care of the residue) is no more compelling: following *āpāvṛṇod īṣa indrah pārīvṛtāh*, this final Atyaṣṭi pāda *dvāra īṣah pārīvṛtāh* can just as well comprise appended nominatives '(like) Gates, the foodstuffs had been barricaded'. [This slightly mixed metaphor presumably rests on and confirms the oxytone accusative of 2.2.7 *durō na vājam śrutya āpā vṛdhi*, construed in accord with Sāyaṇa's gloss '*annam, tasya dvārāny api*'. On the other hand, 1.53.2 *durāh ... yāvasya* '(Indra) the purveyor of grain' (Sāyaṇa '*dātā yavādeh*', Grassmann $\sqrt{dṛ}$) may rest on a construing of 2.2.7 *durāh* as 'the opener'.]

This gate-opening metaphor can have been the inspiration for the copious imagery that Elizarenkova has usefully itemized: eulogy of plural *dvārah*, the Gateways to soma and ghee, and of 'singular' *dvārā*, the Gate of day and darkness. Mention might have been made of singular *dvarəm raočanəm*, the bright gateway to Yima's Var, and *Xṣāθra-sukəm Dvarəm*, which is also the gateway to a citadel. The latter may be an indication that *pūrṣu* (the citadels of Agni in 2.35.6) is to be supplied with *dūryāsu* 'gated' (but *grhān* with *dūryān* in Books 1 and 107); and that it is Sāyaṇa's rendering of *dūryah* as '*grhyah*' that is at fault in 2.38.5, and not his syntax, when he construes *dūryah (ókāṃsi vi tiṣṭhate)* together with *sóko agnēh*. Geldner retained the gloss (as 'wer ins Haus gehört') and then felt obliged to supply a second verb, rejecting the obvious syntax 'Agni's *dūrya* light (the light of his Gate or Citadel?) pervades the dwellings' (Sāyaṇa '*agnes tejo grhān adhitiṣṭhati*'; 1.65.8 *yād (agnih) vānā vyāsthāt*). Sāyaṇa's banal sense 'domestic' may apply in Book 8 (with *dūrya agni/dāmya agni*).

Regrettably, Virpi Hämeen-Anttila's evaluation of the Śunaḥśepa story's place in narrative tradition prefers to dismiss the substantial clue that Falk has provided to its *raison d'être* as lying in a proper understanding of Rājasūya ritual. Discouraging too are suggestions that 'Hariścandra is called a *rājaputra*' (a resurgence of A. B. Keith's misreading) and that his name means 'yellow moon' (p. 195).

Another score of papers on wide-ranging aspects of ancient and medieval Indian culture, ranging besides from Akkadian (Michael Witzel), through Finno-Ugric (Jorma Koivulehto) and Burushaski (Bertil Tikkanen), to Strīrājya (W. L. Smith), complete a significant and worthy tribute to Asko Parpola.

RANJANI OBEYESEKERE:

Portraits of Buddhist women: stories from the Saddharmaratnāvaliya.
x, 231 pp. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001.

The *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* is a popular Sinhalese Buddhist narrative text concerning the results of good and bad deeds. Attributed to the thirteenth-century monk Dharmasena, it is a 'translation', or rather an elaborated retelling, of an earlier Pali text, the fifth-century commentary to the *Dhammapada*. As Obeyesekere points out, the Sinhalese text is three times the length of the Pali original and she uses some of the differences between the two to suggest shifts in attitudes towards women during the intervening period. This is the second book by Obeyesekere dedicated to the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*. *Jewels of the doctrine* (Albany, 1991) offered translations of the first fifteen stories. Two other relevant translations are E. W. Burlingame's three-volume *Buddhist legends* (1921, reprinted Oxford, 1995) from the Pali *Dhammapada* commentary, and T. Rogers' *Buddhaghosa's parables translated from the Burmese* (London, 1870), from the Burmese version. In the present volume, Obeyesekere translates twenty-six tales in which women are the main, or significant, protagonists.

The stories are engaging. The translation is so smooth that one barely notices that the original was in another language. Notes throughout explain Buddhist concepts to the uninitiated.

The focus of the tales is explicitly the moral message of relating the repercussions or rewards for particular actions, especially those relating to the treatment of ascetics or the Buddha, during whose lifetime many of the stories are set. One such story, for example, relates the fortunate rebirths of Ghōṣaka. First he is reborn as a deity and then, in his next rebirth, he is rescued from certain death after being abandoned as a baby on a rubbish heap as the male, and therefore unwanted, child of a courtesan. Both fortuitous events are attributed to his devotion to a *Pasē* (Pali *pacceka*) Buddha when he was reborn as a dog in a former lifetime (ch. ii).

The most engaging features of the stories are the complex interweaving of plots and the cunning with which the heroes, villains, minor characters and even the Buddha manipulate people and situations to achieve their goal. The people certainly fulfil their characterization in the text's own adage that, 'Dogs (unlike humans who say one thing but think another) do not have a deceitful devious intelligence but only a single line of reasoning' (p. 32).

Obeyesekere's introduction focuses on two themes: the sometimes complex relationships that interweave the 'branch stories' of the first cycle (diagram, p. 6) and Buddhist attitudes towards women. The latter is, perhaps unavoidably, a little simplistic. Buddhism is presented as an essentially egalitarian religion, in that women and those of low caste are regarded as being as able as high-caste men to gain enlightenment. The misogynistic traits of Sri Lankan Buddhism are attributed to Hinduism and European colonialism: 'In spite of the Buddhist doctrinal position of soteriological inclusiveness the Hindu idea of male superiority also became a powerfully imprinted concept in medieval South Asian society and surfaces again and again in the stories' (p. 19). 'Victorian puritan values, tying in with brahmanic Hindu values resurfaced as "traditional Sinhala-Buddhist values" and had a "negative" impact on the position of middle- and upper-class women in twentieth century Sri Lankan society. This is illustrated by the fact that women in middle-class society have a greater degree of restrictions on their personal and sexual freedom than do

their counterparts in the villages of Sri Lanka' (p. 20). The impact of colonialism in restricting women's rights is undeniably reflected in Sri Lankan law. The described distinction in independence between the lower-class and higher-class women is met in both modern Sri Lankan society and the text: 'The young noblewoman (Sāmavatī) who had grown up in the lap of luxury, now deprived of the considerations of modesty her status required, though suffering greatly, humbly took her place, plate in hand, and stood among the beggars waiting for food' to which Obeyesekere provides the note, 'Women of rank would not go unescorted to a public place like an alms-hall' (p. 43 with note 44). However, this distinction between the freedom of movement of women of different classes is found in many societies, with strong traces in even the most modernized cultures. It is surely not unrelated to economic necessity. The attribution of its appearance in both medieval and modern Buddhism to Hinduism on the one hand and the Victorian British on the other is not so straightforward. Extant Buddhist texts of all periods represent women as problematic, particularly for men, and Buddhism might therefore be interpreted as misogynistic in all periods. To posit a Hinduism that is a separate, isolated entity from Buddhism, which later adversely influenced Buddhism, seems to reflect either the Western projection of units of religion as distinct and discrete entities onto South Asia or the current ethnic divides emphasized by the two sides in Sri Lanka's civil war. Is it really possible to point back to a golden era of pure Buddhism unadulterated by so-called Hinduism or by European colonialism at any period in Sri Lankan or Indian history?

However, these comments should be regarded as asides in an overall consideration of the book. Translations of medieval Theravāda Buddhist material are few and far between, and this book is a welcome addition. It is a wonderful read for those interested in Buddhism, particularly in the popular explanation of the doctrine of *karma*, as well as for those who simply enjoy a good yarn well told. It also provides for the niche market of those who converted from an Abrahamic religion to Buddhism on the basis of canine soteriological inclusiveness!

KATE CROSBY

ALF HILTEBEITEL:

Rethinking the Mahābhārata: a reader's guide to the education of the dharma king.

x, 365 pp. Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2001.
\$25, £16.

In this latest book Hildebeitel offers the reader a rich feast of *Mahābhārata* studies—but I am tempted to say that it is more of a smörgåsbord, from which the reader can pick and mix, than a themed banquet. Although there are fresh insights into various aspects of the *Mahābhārata*, these scarcely amount to the rethinking of its nature or purpose promised by the title (except on the issue of its originally oral or written form). Equally, implicit in his subtitle is the centrality of Bhīṣma's discourse to Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana parvans*; however, except for his arguments in favour of a broadly unitary *Mahābhārata*, Hildebeitel does not seriously address the purpose of these two books within the epic as a whole, in contrast to the recent work of James Fitzgerald.

Hiltebeitel begins his first chapter with a review of previous scholarship—noting its inadequacies from his present standpoint and dismissing it sometimes rather brusquely (elsewhere ‘catch-as-catch-can’ is used more than once and the theory of the epics’ oral origin called ‘the emperor’s new clothes’)—and a brief outline (pp. 4–5) of his own approach. This includes the assertion that the *Mahābhārata* is a basically unitary work, written (not orally composed) over a relatively brief period by a small group ‘at most through a couple of generations’, who are subsequently identified as ‘“out of sorts” Brahmins’ who sympathize with Brahmins reduced by poverty to *uñchavṛtti* (p. 19). In three sections—A. Empire and invasion; B. Epics and ages; C. Gleaners and Huns—Hiltebeitel then explores the relationship of the epics to the Mauryans, Alexander and other figures, pinning his arguments very much to the term ‘empire’, makes some critical remarks about the works of the early scholars C. V. Vaidya and E. W. Hopkins, and goes on to make some comments on dating, which end with sensible points on epic geographical knowledge and its implications. Surprisingly, however, in his comments on Antioch (p. 31) he fails to note that this highly plausible reading is in fact a conjecture by Edgerton, just as his remarks on the possibility of a pre-Vālmiki Rāma story (p. 19 with n. 71) ignore articles by Richard Gombrich, Barend van Nooten and myself. Given the care taken generally to reference any even partially relevant treatment, these and a few similar omissions are the more surprising.

The second chapter, after homage to Foucault, in ‘A. Epic fictions’ puts forward the view that the Sanskrit epics are deliberate fiction (approximating to the Western concept of the novel) rather than myth or legend and in ‘B. Author as enigma’ mainly discusses Bruce Sullivan’s book on Vyāsa. The heart of this chapter is the third section, ‘Tracking Vyāsa’, which provides a good survey of ‘Vyāsa’s interventions in the main story of the epic’s inner frame’ (p. 46), identifying and commenting at varying lengths on 41 (the total is somewhat arbitrary—for example 5 and 6 are really one, while others cover more extended passages—and there is comment on his absence from the *Virāṭaparvan* but not otherwise on distribution).

Chapters iii and iv, ‘Conventions of the Naimiṣa Forest’ and ‘Moving along with the Naimiṣeya Ṛṣis’, partly build on the work of Chris Minkowski and partly polemicize against Sukthankar and Heesterman. Chapter v, ‘Don’t be cruel’, looks first at the Pañcālas as representatives of the old *kṣatriya* order now passing, then at the story of Vidura’s birth and the impalement of Aṇimāṇḍavya, as a lead-in to discussion of *ahimsā* (including the *dharmavyādha* episode) and *ānṛśamsya* (this for once linked with Yudhiṣṭhira’s education). Chapter vi, ‘Listening to Nala and Damayantī’, reviews Biardeau’s and Shulman’s treatments of the episode, paraphrases the story at some length, and then presents some ideas of Hiltebeitel’s own, including rather implausible speculation about Damayantī being possessed by the *haṃsa* (p. 221) and comments on *ava + √ṛ* as pointing to the *avatāra* concept (p. 232), which show no recognition of the fact that the term is later than the epics, as Horst Brinkhaus in particular has demonstrated. Chapter vii, ‘Draupadī’s question’, is a major exploration of this central aspect of the dice game, although it includes rather specious arguments against Edgerton’s text (p. 251); his comment (p. 259 n. 55) about Draupadī asking her question being seen as ‘Westernised’ by an Indian woman is interesting and deserves further analysis. The final chapter, ‘Vyāsa and Śuka: an allegory of writing’, is primarily an examination of the Śukacarita (*Mbh.* 12.310–20), stressing ‘its careful literary construction’ (p. 280)—a view with which I am inclined to agree—but also pinning his interpretation on translating *artham vicintayan* as ‘pondering its

meaning' without allowing that it might mean no more than 'keeping in mind his purpose'; he ends at a tangent with the very late myth about Vyāsa dictating the text to Gaṇeśa and some deservedly appreciative comments on Julia Leslie's article about the identity of the *krauñca* pair observed by Vālmīki.

The book contains a regrettably large number of misprints and incorrect references; to take merely the first example of this, his acknowledgements (p. ix) mis-spell the names of Patricia Greer, Barbara Stoler Miller and Yaroslav Vassilkov. It is, as the rather compressed summary above indicates, quite varied in contents, even at times appearing more like a collection of separate articles, which is indeed—with greater or lesser modification—the form in which some parts have already appeared or will do soon (2A, 3C, 3D and 7). Hildebeitel inveighs against scholars who regard the *Mahābhārata* as lacking a cohesive narrative but paradoxically this study tends to reinforce the type of arguments used for this by its own lack of cohesion. So too, some of his 'rethinking' does not in the end seem so different from earlier views: just how different is Hildebeitel's statement that 'the *Mahābhārata* makes the Bhārgavas a kind of last resort of the Brahmanical world order' from the views put forward by Sukthankar and echoed by Goldman? No one interested in the Sanskrit epics can afford to ignore this book and indeed will find much that is significant in it, but its title promises more than it delivers.

JOHN BROCKINGTON

A. K. RAMANUJAN:

Uncollected poems and prose. (Edited by Molly Daniels-Ramanujan and Keith Harrison.)

xii, 109 pp. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001. Rs. 495.

Poet, translator, and scholar, A. K. Ramanujan had a protean role in illuminating counter-traditions—where the poet was the keeper of the creative consciousness, the translator a recreator of the tradition, and the scholar-essayist a perceptive commentator. The poet and the scholar had a curious relationship, since they shared the middle ground of the translator. While Ramanujan's poems constantly invoke the irony involved in a modernist's engagement with tradition, his translations from the classical and medieval Tamil and medieval Kannada poetry trace the paths to a counter-tradition, on which the essays seem to be the unfinished meditations. While based in the American academy of area studies, with an emphasis on delineating the contours of 'India' as a civilizational unity, he was simultaneously engaging with the creative and theoretical consciousness of an insider. Thinking through and of counter-traditions, he had gradually explored reflexivity as the key concept through which one could trace any form of unity around 'India', and especially its cultural and linguistic consciousness. This slim volume, published posthumously, containing thirty-two previously uncollected poems, two interviews, an essay on Kalidas's *Abhijnana Sakuntala*, and an obituary on friend and Sanskritist Barbara S. Miller, presents us with a microcosm of Ramanujan's exemplary literary art.

The two interviews, conducted at an interval of twenty years, are a remarkable testimony to the intellectual consistency with which Ramanujan was pursuing his creative and scholarly tasks. He aptly characterizes his three major concerns as aesthetics, the past, and the world-view. Ramanujan

expresses his sense of being a poet in a second language as a 'curious perversity'. Although he believes that the language in which the poet writes is not a matter of choice but stems from an intrinsic ability to work with that language, he is deeply aware that while writing in a second language a poet fails to articulate 'common intimate things' which he could do only in his own language. This lack of intimacy with language and experience creates a split in the poetic persona. He wryly comments on Indian writing in English as 'upstairs English'. His recognition of the 'greater density, and greater range' of Indian writing in the Indian languages is an intimate realization of the links between language, experience, and tradition. His translations seem to be the counter-foil to this split poetic consciousness; and, indeed, his poems are an interesting testimony to his coming to terms with this split within the person and the language.

As a poet Ramanujan draws sketches of the primal interrelations between things, events, and relations with a logician's precision. His craft of poetry is essentially based on the act of seeing, where language moulds things in its own way. While written in the same vein of the elemental touches evident in his previous posthumously published collection—*The Black Hen*—the poems in this collection emerge as still images, and sometimes as an intricate collage of poetic lines which go through a slow mutation in the reader's mind. Ramanujan evokes the power of the stillness of images where the web of allusions and juxtapositions are hinged on an axis of irony. The poet—as the seer of the ordinary—watches this mutation being mediated through language and experience. From the very first poem, 'Invisible bodies', in which there are still frames of street life, to the last one, 'Oranges', where the moulds on the oranges kept on the refrigerator and the woodpile in the backyard go through a slow vegetation of life amidst apparent decay of things. In between are the poetic brushes on the Hindu ideas of the senses, poignant memories of family life and quotidian rhythm, and the remembrance of a Tamil poet facing death with *Speaking of Siva* in his hands.

In the second and more recent interview, Ramanujan speaks in detail about his role as a scholar and translator. When asked about his 'sympathetic portrayal of religious life', he explains it as a way 'to diversify our notions of Indian civilization'. His engagement with religious ways of being was always from the other side of the fence—that is, through the 'mother tongue texts' forming 'counter-systems' and 'anti-structures'. Ramanujan recounts an exemplary folktale about the life of a story, which underlines the narrative cultures of the counter-traditions, where narratives are personified and curiously their lives muddle human ways. His thoughts on the art of translation emphasize the fact that despite being the 'art of the imperfect' and constrained by compromises, translation is an act of the afterlife of a tradition. Addressing the well-known riddle: 'Is there an Indian way of thinking?', he argues that a particular configuration of thought can be discerned in a specific period of the life of a language. Indian creative tradition cannot be seen through the theoretical lenses of Western literary and linguistic theories, since: 'there is no defamiliarity of language. The defamiliarization takes place in the freshness of vision. There is no violence of language; it is the fulfilment of tradition. The poet says "I will show one more thing that the tradition can do".' In this world tradition can only be defined as a constant elaboration of the creative consciousness. But does this tradition hold a centre? Ramanujan would have categorically denied any notion of centre. However, there are ways in which one can accomplish and inhabit—a tradition where repetition is not redundancy but an act of recognition.

One of the ways through which this recognition and fulfilment of tradition was exemplified was the art of memory. As Ramanujan shows in his essay on Kalidasa's *Abhijnana Sakuntala*, memory is recognition—a token, a mark, a sign. Kalidasa's play 'plays in many ways with this mark, this triggering element without which no memory works (in this way of thinking)'. Deep in the cultural consciousness, memory is an act of knowing—a *pratyabhijñan* (the well-known aesthetic and philosophical concept of Kashmir Saivism): redemption from the repetition and a cessation of the world of deeds (*karma*) and the psychology of memory (*vasanas*). A 'disorder of memory' leads to madness (*apasmara*). And thus, remembrance and utterance of the absent presence of god is an act of recognition (*pratyabhijñan*) in Bhakti poetry. Ramanujan sees it as an aesthetic of creation and becoming through repetition.

Ramanujan himself performs this act of remembrance on the death of Barbara S. Miller—through a meditation in prose, sculpting a memorial with the signs of trivia, which belies mourning by sheer fortitude of memory. As he recalls:

I fall into silence, remembering trivia, like the etymology of trivia—that Barbara and I once talked about: Roman crossroads were three roads met, where the Romans put up posters for news ... suddenly I realize my trivia, the crossroads, the posters in Madras that cows love to peel and eat, the flowering trees of Mysore, the Mughal squirrels, all such trivia are lit, shaded, darkened by sadness, on a spring day, by absent presences that we mourn, miss, yet feel blessed by their having been here so fully alive to such things (pp. 101–3).

This volume once again reminds us that true to the tradition that Ramanujan tried to uncover so assiduously, fulfilment is also an act of rediscovery of the counter-systems—beyond any singular imperious tradition, with different roots and different flows.

RAKESH PANDEY

SUSMITA ARP:

Kālāpāni: Zum Streit über die Zulässigkeit von Seereisen im kolonialzeitlichen Indien.

(Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, Band 52.) vii, 258 pp. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000.

Using methodologies of classical and modern indology, this Ph.D. thesis from Hamburg University, written under the expert guidance of Professor Albrecht Wezler, with advice on Bengali from Professor Rahul Peter Das, demonstrates that readable, relevant indological studies can still be produced today. At the core of Arp's investigation lies the question whether Hindus may travel across *kālāpāni*, the 'black' high sea rather than just any deep water, enjoying the frivolous pleasure of counting endless waves, while being inevitably polluted in the process. What are the implications of crossing *kālāpāni* in terms of pollution and karmic consequences? Should this kind of journey therefore be prohibited altogether, indeed was it ever prohibited? And to what extent does it legitimize exclusion from caste and community? Although visiting England became a new form of heterodoxy towards the end of the nineteenth century, Gandhi and many others went abroad despite the alleged prohibitions, so what is all this brouhaha about?

Arp's study provides some carefully crafted, well-researched answers. For a start, the term *kālāpāni* is not old Sanskrit, but comes from the Hindi and has a more correct form, *kālapāni*, in Bengali (p. 224). As Arp shows, the issue of travel across the seas is less a matter of specialized classical, indological skill in interpreting ancient textual sources about *kalivarjya* prohibitions than of sensitive assessment of local politics, especially in Bengal around 1870–1910. In that time and place, concerns over ritual pollution seem ultimately far less prominent than did worries about how to handle the ambivalent impact of British culture, given crass imitation of British ways by those who went abroad, returned with impressive titles and still more inflated egos, and then threatened to upset local patterns of *sadācāra* and traditional indicators of high status.

Arp rightly notes the prominence of different regional discussions (p. 2). In the Bengali scenario, the criticism of going abroad by ship turned into a form of xenophobic cultural critique rather than real fear of pollution grounded on ancient laws. For a start, nobody by that time seemed seriously convinced that swallowing a little cow dung as an expiatory rite after having returned from England could take away all impurities and restore such travellers to their pre-migration status of purity. So the whole issue is a lot of 'hot air' (*garam havā*) and the arguments are not based on solid Sanskrit scholarship but patriarchal chauvinism or pure self-interest of the dominant males in terms of power and economics (for examples see pp. 84–5 and 89).

This is evident even in the case of women, for example the barber's wife in a hilarious Bengali drama under the name of *Kālāpāni*, analysed by Arp in ch. viii. This working-class woman uses arguments of pollution to warn against overseas travel, but clearly realizes that if many of her prosperous clients leave for England, her own survival will be in jeopardy, as 'ash will be put into her food' (p. 202). Various forms of critique are therefore directed against the travellers, and certain socio-political consequences of their journeys, but not against travel as such as a deeply polluting activity that makes reintegration into an imagined 'traditional' caste society virtually impossible.

Arp correctly finds that it is neither feasible to prove from the ancient Sanskrit sources that the Vedic Hindus were great seafarers, nor that sea travel was prohibited. In fact, the topic is not one of major concern in the *śāstras*, but increased in prominence only when Bengalis and others started going to England in larger numbers. Sea travel is clearly not the only polluting activity in which Hindus may engage—all sexual activity and various forms of extended travel over land for pilgrimages or business, and dealings with polluted/polluting people even in one's own domestic environment raise similar concerns. Apart from travelling by sea, pilgrimages and the cross-continental movements of Brahmins are seen as a linked category of problematic activity (p. 24).

Arp's careful approach to understanding ancient Sanskrit texts as authoritative statements comes as a relief to this reviewer. The German diction that such texts 'teach' (*lehren*) rather than 'lay down the law' is totally appropriate and is carefully maintained throughout, except when Arp discusses the *kalivarjya* theory and promptly falls into a deep pit while seeking to explore the scope for change of rules over time. Here she is still too impressed by Larivière's casual dictum that the *kalivarjyas* 'are the only explicit recognition of the possibility of change in custom' (p. 36). This cannot be right, since many *śāstric* texts are quite explicit in their recognition of a

plurality of rules, as I demonstrate in a detailed forthcoming study (*Hindu law. Beyond tradition and modernity*. New Delhi: Butterworth, 2003).

Arp, however, becomes embroiled in the tempting but totally misguided assumption that somehow the existing plurality of views gave rise (*inter alia* in the fairly late *kalivarjya* statements) to attempts to establish a final word on contested matters (p. 36: 'eine endgültige Lehrmeinung zu etablieren') and even speaks in this context of 'the old law' that needs to be adjusted to changed realities. If Sanskritists were a little more circumspect throughout, such blunders should no longer occur. Thankfully, Arp realizes fast that this question cannot be resolved, and elegantly leaves it open.

Thus there is no one feasible answer as to whether or not travel across *kālāpāni* was or is permitted, and what exactly its implications in terms of pollution and necessary ceremonies of cleansing might be. Indeed, the question of whether pollution occurs *ipso facto* through being on the high sea, or only if one abandons certain practices (or adopts others that are not conducive to *dharma*) also remains open. Neither can the matter of whether such pollution can be undone by any form of expiation be clearly answered. The later *kalivarjya* debates are, in my view, strong evidence of the tricky recognition that ancient Hindus practised many things that later generations would no longer do, such as marrying particular partners, sacrificing animals, or even eating beef—as though contemporary Hindus did not do any of this and are as proud to call themselves Hindus as those people who claim to stand tall as defenders of 'real Hinduism'.

In such a minefield, Arp does well to move on to later Sanskrit works that contain some relevant statements in different contexts, and to her Bengali material. While that is all one can find, this is no reason for disappointment. It confirms that right from the beginning, there was no fixed Hindu view on travel by sea and its implications for *karma* and pollution. Arp finds a distinction between different types of seafaring people: those who operate the ships as part of their profession ('sailors' or 'Seeleute'), who have fairly low ritual status, and the incidental seafarers who may be treated like royalty, taking *gaṅgājal* and live cows on board their ship, but are arguably still polluted in the process.

Arp identifies other contexts within which seafaring individuals may be treated as polluted, citing texts about who may or may not be invited to a *śrāddha* ceremony and the ritual feeding that it normally involves. Here again (and how would we expect anything else?) *some* texts 'teach' that a seafaring person should not be invited. Others suggest that such persons are unsuitable as witnesses in *vyavahāra*, and should be excluded from inheritance. Many others are silent. Overall, Arp thus concludes (p. 43) that there is without doubt evidence of the presence of a prohibition of sea travel in some *dharmaśāstras*. But this in itself proves nothing, and it is also impossible to claim, on the basis of the *kalivarjya* statements, that at a later date the prohibition of sea travel became stricter. *Contra* Basham and others, there was no general prohibition of seafaring (p. 44), and after all, this was not a topic of great concern (p. 45). These are not disappointing results, but a faithful reflection of good indological scholarship. There is no point constructing entrenched legal positions on matters of Hindu law (as people constantly do, be they scholars or the general public) when for every verse that can be cited there is another that says the precise opposite. Arp notes in this regard that both sides in the later debates, too, would have their own *paṇḍits* (p. 175). Contrary to what Lingat (cited at p. 36 without critical

comment) suggested, the claim that the *smṛiti* texts constitute some form of legislation is clearly an orientalist construct of the colonial age.

Apart from classical indological analysis, Arp's thesis discusses from chapter iii onwards the debates of the colonial period, specifically in Bengal. This is also a well-researched part of her work, coming to similar conclusions to the classical part, namely that there is no general prohibition of sea travel, but that individuals who travelled by sea might well face objections by some persons who, whether purportedly or actually, remain concerned about its polluting effects. Here we are in the realm of local politics, dominated by old men of high caste, or the jealousy of business rivals (pp. 80–1), and the contemporary coming to terms with Western culture. Fascinating evidence of heated debates and satirical plays in Bengali is examined in detail in several chapters.

A necessarily brief review cannot identify all the gems of scholarship presented by Arp. I was thrilled to find the supposedly great Manu contemptuously dismissed as a clumsy Bihari (pp. 209–10), which is almost as bad as Madhu Kishwar on the internet, stipulating cheekily that what she proclaims should be treated as *Madhusmṛiti*. And what about the allegation that the Vedas already declared no sin (*pāp*) in travelling to England, since the ancient epic heroes all undertook that same journey? Strange that we missed that in the films! If this is what classical indologists get up to these days, producing detailed enjoyable studies like this, let us have more of the same. There are many large and small questions about traditional Hindu norms and perceptions awaiting critical textual analysis of the kind produced by Arp, whose methodology works extremely well for this kind of topic. Finally, while the study is presented in excellent German, a few printing errors have crept in (at pp. 11, 132, 147, 197, 240 and 256).

WERNER F. MENSKI

TANIKA SARKAR:

Hindu wife, Hindu nation: community, religion and cultural nationalism.

viii, 290 pp. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001. £28.95.

The date 6 December 1992 remains branded in the Indian nation's consciousness. On that day, a band of right-wing Hindu fanatics demolished the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. What was destroyed on that day—along with that historic mosque (completed in 1527)—was the secular fabric of India. That one traumatic event galvanized the Indian intelligentsia into action. There was shock and horror but there was also recrimination. Why had they not seen it coming? What was the extent of their complicity? The answers to these questions are only now beginning to emerge.

During the 1980s, strongly influenced by Edward Said's *Orientalism* and the emergence of postcolonial studies in the West, several important voices had begun to emerge in India. There was Ranajit Guha's Subaltern Studies group—Ashis Nandy, Sudhir Kakkar, Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan, Ania

Loomba, Susie Tharu (and these are just some of the names that immediately spring to mind). Suddenly, after 6 December, all this began to look dated. There was a new reality out there. The binary framework of (Said's) 'Self' versus the 'Other' or 'Colonizer' versus 'Colonized' could no longer explain this new phenomenon. As Tanika Sarkar argues in the book under review: 'Recent historiographical and cultural studies sometimes tend to reduce the whole complex enterprise ... to the manageable yet impoverished proportions of a crude binary framework' (p. 23).

In the aftermath of Babri Masjid, a whole new field of scholarship has emerged. This new field investigates the emergence and spread of Hindu fundamentalism in India. In a recent essay in Panikkar (ed.), *The concerned Indian's guide to communalism* (New Delhi, 1999) Sarkar has defined this field as: 'a close, detailed, historical analysis of its [i.e. Hindu fundamentalism's] formation, political work, ideological apparatus, organisational methods and propaganda tactics' (p. 133). Sarkar's earlier collaboration with Tapan Basu *et al.*, *Khaki shorts and saffron flags* (New Delhi, 1993) was at the very vanguard of this new field. Since then, so swiftly has this field developed that even this relatively recent work has been overtaken by subsequent scholarship.

In earlier works, such as *Khaki shorts and saffron flags* (and Andersen and Damle's *The Brotherhood in saffron* (New Delhi, 1987) on which it is admittedly based), it is argued that Hindu fundamentalism had always been marginal to the nationalist movement, emerging on the political scene only in the 1920s. By 1994 this view was already being questioned by the likes of Partha Chatterjee. In *Subaltern Studies VII* (Delhi, 1994), he writes: 'many of the themes that run through the contemporary rhetoric of Hindu-extremist politics were in fact part and parcel of the historical imagining in the nineteenth-century of "India" as a nation'. Gradually, this has become the accepted position. Chetan Bhatt's recent *Hindu nationalism: origins, ideologies and modern myths* (Oxford and New York, 2001) takes up precisely this position. For those of us who are interested in the pre-history of modern-day Hindu fundamentalism, Sarkar's book provides us with an excellent *entrée*. The stated theme of her book is to explore, 'the development of Hindu cultural nationalism, largely in nineteenth-century Bengal' (p. 1).

There is another aspect of Hindu fundamentalism that has always struck me as enigmatic. Why is the articulation of an aggressive, militant and muscular Hindutva always obsessed with the position of women? Despite being a purely masculine and patriarchal discourse, why is the definition of its women so central to it? In Tod's (1829–32) *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan* (a collection of Rajput folklore) several of the stories tell of the heroic death of Rajput women in mass immolation pyres. The heroism of the women often overshadows the deeds of their warriors in the battle field. Sarkar suggests that this obsession with the position of women may be the result of a 'substitution' or 'compensation'. Colonial rule (and Islamic rule in the case of the Rajput folklore) had deprived the upper-caste gentry of all possibility of political or military power. Since there was no autonomous sphere where they could lay claim to political power in the future, their claims for autonomy and political power shifted to the domestic sphere. 'We are but a half civilised, poor, sorrowful, subjected, despised nation. We have but one jewel and for us that is the treasure of seven realms, a priceless gem', states one of the sources cited in Sarkar's book (p. 41). Emasculated and subjugated, this 'sacred jewel of chastity' becomes the one sphere where some sense of power and autonomy can be recovered. Not an entirely satisfying explanation perhaps (I can see the loopholes too) but this brings us to the second major

theme of Sarkar's work: the exploration of the representation of women in Hindu nationalist discourse—'the Hindu nationalist discourse on conjugality' (p. 44).

For those of us who have been avid followers of Tanika Sarkar's work, many of these essays will have a familiar ring. They have been published before. Indeed, some have the faint odour of moth-balls around them (all but one of the references in ch. i refer to books and articles published in the 1980s and before). However, this remains an extremely useful and timely collection. When placed within one set of covers, these essays set up a dialogue between themselves, establishing a clear thematic unity.

Sarkar's essays span a vast arena. There are essays on nineteenth-century scandals, the first Bengali autobiography, two essays on Bankimchandra, and even one on the contemporary phenomenon of Sadhvi Rithambhara. Each of these essays brings a new and fascinating insight. However, Sarkar is primarily a historian, and when she steps into the realms of cultural studies and literary criticism her tools inevitably fall short. For example, in her excellent essay on Rashundari Debi's autobiography, the author's voice seems to be rather obviously displaced by that of the critic. 'Wherever she referred to the social order, she referred to it as a part of God's design. God, thereby, is held responsible for patriarchal oppression ...' (p. 113). Is this really Rashundari speaking? Clearly, Rashundari Debi's contemporaries, people like Jyotindranath Tagore and Dinesh Chandra Sen, did not think so.

APRATIM BARUA

ROB JENKINS:

Democratic politics and economic reform in India.

(Contemporary South Asia.) ix, 250 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. £16.95.

India has always been a country of statistics, and in the game of numbers it has stayed ahead of many others: largest democracy, biggest middle class, greatest inequality between rich and poor and, I was intrigued to find from former US president Bill Clinton's recent speech, the largest number of potential AIDS cases in the world. If figures from the World Bank and other international financial institutions are to be believed, the economic liberalization process in India is the largest of its kind in the developing and underdeveloped world. So much for the statistics.

In the four decades after 1947, India's economy survived in a climate of doubt. Its protectionist economic structure produced ten times as many poor individuals as rich. However, globalization meant the old-style economic practice had to go. It is now over ten years since the Indian government undertook the process of liberalization. Although not intense, the process is now very well entrenched and there seems to be no reversal of roles, much to the dismay of left-wing parties in India. Indeed, the memory of a socialist Nehruvian economy is fading like paint work from an old building under the tropical sun.

Rob Jenkins, of Birkbeck College, London, assesses the process of economic reform in India since the early 1990s and has produced a fascinating account. *Democratic politics and economic reform in India* focuses on three main areas. The first section explores the evolution of market-oriented thinking in the country, following the onslaught of globalization. In the

second section, Jenkins demonstrates why and how an élite committed to the protectionist economic agenda of the past gave in to the demands of a larger international economic structure. Third, having addressed the rationale behind the regime and the élite's change of mind and incorporation into the new economic thinking, Jenkins turns his attention to the structure of governance and the masses who form the backbone of India's democracy. How has the system fared and what has been the reaction of the masses to the reform process?

In spite of more than ten years of continued economic reform there exist vast swathes of economic wasteland. True, politicians, technocrats and scores of nameless individuals are engaged in sculpting a new India, but the effects are patchy and the workmen are far from chiselling out a commonly acceptable image. Development in India following liberalization has remained shamelessly uneven; dependency economists call this the centre-periphery divide. Thirty minutes out of Delhi towards the Central Indian plains the story of critical neglect is depressingly familiar and exemplifies an old Hindi saying: the area under the lamp will remain forever in darkness. But what about areas fortunate in receiving some light from that lamp?

Jenkins argues that, aided by democracy, there now exist forms of sustainable economic policy reform in India. In the climate of openness, governing élites have succeeded in 'selling the benefits of reform to individual constituencies and the public at large' (p. 3). In the same section, however, he states that not everyone involved is necessarily aware of the project's scope. An élite, Jenkins argues, 'may employ political tactics that have little to do with "transparency" in order to soften the edge of political conflict by promoting change in the guise of continuity' (p. 52). Given the level of corruption and the old-style 'licence, permit quota Raj', the author inadvertently allows the reader to feel that those involved in the economic decision-making process may still have retained some of their old habits.

With detailed analysis Jenkins brings to the fore the new politics of accommodation in India in sectors as varied as water distribution and governance. He tells that there is an explosion of diversity within democracy in India. He goes on to suggest that an increasingly transparent federal administrative structure and the recognition of the uniqueness of problems specific to geographical and cultural pockets have necessitated the central administration's giving leeway to group- or region-specific demands on a case-by-case basis. This he terms the new identity-based democracy (p. 125).

Jenkins provides a sympathetic study without being over-critical or patronizing. But he does not answer many of the questions that such a study brings to light. How do we spread the benefits and shrink the burden? For an answer Jenkins turns to the institutions of democracy and believes, mistakenly, that the system will reform itself. He calms our anxiety by introducing us to the thinking that surely there will be a spill-over effect, which will benefit those beyond the pale of the great Indian middle-class.

The original Puritan economic ethic of self-help, blended with greed and corruption, has produced an explosive mix. The new Indian middle-classes are not simply go-getters, but are absolutely insensitive when it comes to the rights of the person on the street and would not hesitate to bump him off if that guarantees them a larger slice of the economic pie. Jenkins, however, conveniently avoids this thorny issue and instead concentrates his energy on assessing the role of institutional mechanisms and people at the top.

Jenkins is clearly optimistic about India's long-term political and economic health. The good governance and civil society agenda that has come to

dominate the political culture of so many other developing societies drives his optimism. He cleverly guards India's democratic deficit by arguing that the Indian experience of democracy is unique and should not be tested against the policy mechanisms of its liberal Western counterparts.

AMALENDU MISRA

M. RAFIQUE AFZAL:

Pakistan: history and politics 1947–1971.

xvi, 490 pp. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001. \$20.

This work is a doubly welcome addition to the growing number of studies on Pakistan's formative period. First, the reader is able to benefit from the author's sustained scholarly engagement with this topic. Second, it is good to have a piece provided by a historian who plies his professional trade within Pakistan. Writers from Europe and North America, or Pakistanis settled there, have monopolized studies on the country's political history in stark contrast to the situation prevailing in India. Serious attempts at historical scholarship within Pakistan require support from Western scholars which entails, as in this review, constructive criticism as well as words of encouragement.

M. Rafique Afzal has provided a detailed narrative account of a crucial period in Pakistan's history. He carefully reveals that there was nothing inevitable about either the failure of democracy in 1958 or the break-up of Pakistan thirteen years later. While written largely from a nationalist historiographical perspective, the author's good sense prevails when examining such controversial issues as the legacy of partition and the impact of the Kashmir dispute on Indo-Pakistan relations. Indeed, one of the book's strengths, along with its attention to detail, is the coverage devoted to Pakistan's foreign relations.

Professor Afzal has produced a well-told narrative which is both competent and accessible. It is sure to enlighten and entertain a general readership in Pakistan. There are no great surprises here, however, for the professional historian. The narrative quality of the work overwhelms the significance of what is being said in the light of recent historical scholarship. The author displays no inclination to rise to the challenge of revisionist interpretations of Jinnah's aims in creating Pakistan and his legacy for its development. His high politics emphasis similarly eschews engagement with subaltern approaches to South Asian historiography. In the absence of over-arching themes, the reader may lose his way amid the minutiae of, for example, the bewildering succession of coalition governments between 1954 and 1958, or the negotiations which preceded the disastrous military crackdown in East Pakistan on 21 March 1971. The work would have benefited immensely from a thematic approach. At the least a retrospective review could have been attempted in a conclusion. This would not only have allowed the reader the opportunity to see the picture as a whole, but would have provided an opportunity to situate the narrative account within the structural constraints and historical inheritances which hampered Pakistan's early post-independence development. There is surprisingly little, for example, on the inherited viceregal tradition which formed part of Pakistan's democratic deficit and contrasted with India's inheritance. Instead we are left with a book which seems overcrowded with detail, but scanty in its theoretical insights.

A second criticism is that Pakistan's history is treated as unique to itself.

Undoubtedly the partition upheaval and strategic insecurity have exerted a profound impact. But many of the state's foundational problems concerning political and economic development were similar to those of other former colonies. A comparative dimension is lacking in this work, but could be deployed with profit. Its inclusion would have lifted the book from narrative to a more analytical and conceptual approach.

These criticisms aside, the book picks its way carefully through a complex and controversial era in Pakistan's development, which is no simple task given the contemporary political salience of its interpretation. This was yet again recently demonstrated by the leakage of the 1972 Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report which occurred too late to be incorporated into this work's account of the break-up of Pakistan. Avoiding any number of pitfalls, its author demonstrates throughout a carefully balanced interpretation of a period whose study within Pakistan has frequently generated more heat than light.

It is to be hoped that a new generation of Pakistani scholars will draw inspiration from the lucidity and wisdom with which M. Rafique Afzal writes. If this is the case, Pakistani historiography will be able to move beyond both contemporary polemicism and the customary 'safe' academic topic of the speeches and statements of Jinnah. Such editorializing has long dominated Pakistan's scholarship, leaving the writing of definitive national histories in other hands.

IAN TALBOT

PHILIPPE RAMIREZ:

De la disparition des chefs: une anthropologie politique népalaise.
(Monde Indien Sciences Sociales 15^e × 16^e siècle.) 370 pp. Paris:
CNRS Éditions, 2000.

Nepalese politics surprised the world in 2001 with the royal massacre and the escalating Maoist insurgency. This work of political ethnography should be read by anyone wanting to understand the context and dynamics of power in rural Nepalese society. As the title proclaims, the main analysis considers the aftermath of the breakdown in primacy that local tax-collecting headmen held until the middle of the twentieth century. For two-hundred years, it had been a logic of delegated sacral authority transmitted by symbolic renewal through the festival of Dasain focusing on territorial associations with the goddess Durga that empowered local talukdar office holders. Ramirez invites us to imagine the autonomy of this officialized local élite, situated several days' walk from district centres that were only minimally staffed. Their freedom of action in performing traditional and collective duties was massive. Since 1962, Ramirez argues, the foundation of local political legitimacy in forms of electoral mobilization has brought about the perception that office-holders' authority rests solely on their personal support base, and nothing more.

It is a thoroughly grounded study of political change in the institutional, ritual, and agrarian history of Argha Khanchi District in west central Nepal, that explains 'from below' how the effects of transformations at the centre have ramified into local level arenas of leadership and legitimacy. The setting is retained in very clear focus through the chapters, aided by excellent quality photos, building a picture of the district from pre-Gorkha political history. The split between two competitive lineages of former Brahmin royal attendants

is shown to have resulted in the atomization of cultic sites away from the authority of the ancient district palace. The empirical component of the research culminates in a comprehensive series of district maps showing voting patterns at each election between 1981 and 1991.

The book's impressive later chapters examine the strategizing behind patronage networks and factional alliances. At this level of action, identities of caste and class are subordinated in the analysis to the networking and reciprocities of dyadic relationships between patrons and clients. Personalized relationships between unequally situated individuals form the contingent solidarities of patronage for reciprocal advantage *vis-à-vis* a multiplicity of resources and services. Economic interest alone does not explain the motivations for affiliating with patrons, as a totalizing logic of factional identification penetrates the various levels of public domains in which people's networked chains of obligation and expectation are worked out. For Ramirez, common identities of caste, clan and lineage are as much a motive for internal competition as they are for allegiances. A refreshingly credible vista of loyalties and power relations is opened up, though not carried further into a sustained critique of preponderant caste and communal analyses in South Asia.

Ramirez offers a particularly convincing account of the role of debt in Indo-Nepalese society, stressing the unquantifiability of material exchanges involved as original terms of indebtedness are prolonged, forgotten and encompassed by diffuse patronage flows and returns of supplementary services in long-term reciprocities. He points out that there is no distinctive formal terminology, membership (other than the expression 'our people') or symbolism for patronage relations. What distinguishes a true supporter from just another worker is in everyday incidents when the rapidity of people's taking sides is noticed. Such solidarities, maintained under conditions of vertical domination, however unformalized, are contrasted to the fragility inherent in horizontal lineage and fraternal relations. The author could have perhaps reflected more on this picture of a ruling class that simultaneously does not see itself as an ethnic group (Bahun-Chetri) and whose individual members appear to find more common ground in creating bonds vertically across wealth and status categories than horizontally among themselves. These kinds of questions will, one hopes, be explored in further work.

As it is, between pages 258 and 289, any reader familiar with Nepal or interested in the local effects of 'democratization' will find a truly remarkable account of the unstable grounds for claims to political legitimacy in the country, employing local voices to powerful effect. Ramirez emphasizes the structural need for patrons to bridge the gap between the rural masses and the centre ('two worlds in mutual ignorance of each other'), while the partiality of these linkages results in efforts to promote development inciting factional mobilization to ensure their failure. In the Panchayat era this was the primary means of manifesting opposition, and remains central to local political culture even since the 'revolution' of 1990. Faced with the perception that post-chiefly leaders only have their own voting groups to support them, and no other authority, a somewhat nostalgic view of the old chiefs has emerged even among the young, recast in the discourse of the new leadership project for 'the service of the people'.

On the downside, the earlier chapters do not hang together too well, the space devoted to clans and lineages is inordinate given the book's thesis, and there are contradictory elements in Ramirez's argument against looking for political solidarities among kin and clan when it is precisely the two priestly lines' competition that dominates the narrative. Anomalies crop up in the

author's deliberate avoidance of the theme of caste, especially noticeable in asserting the Brahmin to be as different from Kshatriya as dog from human, yet elsewhere mentioning actual lineages that include both (p. 138). These quibbles should not detract from the overall ground-breaking quality of this political ethnography.

BEN CAMPBELL

ROMILA THAPAR:

Cultural pasts: essays in early Indian history.

xi, 1156 pp. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000. Rs. 2,350.

Oxford University Press was quite correct in suggesting to Romila Thapar, Emeritus Professor of Ancient Indian History at Jawaharlal Nehru University, that 'a fulsome selection of your best essays will interest a large number of historians and general readers'. The fifty-one articles presented in this volume testify to an ability to present scholarship in a stimulating and readable manner, as well as to the enduring quality of her work, which is of continuing value to students and specialists in the field. Nor is her work devoid of relevant social context today. In that it rests on meticulous and wide-ranging critical examination of the available sources, Thapar's work inevitably conflicts with recent, more politically motivated, historical approaches to the early history and culture of India, and she has not hesitated to engage in debate with those who would threaten secular freedom of enquiry. This work stands as an enduringly powerful argument for that freedom.

The volume is divided into nine thematic sections. Historiography is the opening focus; a balanced appraisal of the indological contributions of D. D. Kosambi being, for this reviewer, of particular merit, and suggesting an early influence on Thapar's thinking.

Three papers on 'Social and cultural transactions' include her 'Dissent and protest in the early Indian tradition', which envisages renunciation as a 'mechanism for containing dissent'. That position might be modified in the light of more recent suggestions that Tantra emerged from within the Brahmanical movement as a means of dealing with impurity, yet in its emphasis on the organic development of religious groups and tendencies and their close relationship with both authority and socio-economic conditions it remains of considerable value.

Sections on 'Archaeology and history' and 'Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan history' testify both to her particular specialization in this period of Indian history and her use of it to draw wider conclusions in regard to early state formation. Economic factors are given due weight, their importance in regard to religio-social processes being highlighted, and the ensuing section on 'Forms of exchange' examines trade and economy in the wider context. A lecture on early Indian views of Europe as represented by the Yavanas (a term originally referring to the Greeks but later embracing the wider cultural region of the eastern Mediterranean) sits rather oddly in this section, but is of particular relevance to contemporary debate on encounter.

Studies of the 'Hero', particularly as represented in the Epics, the use of genealogies and origin myths in the study of Indian history, and six articles on the often neglected issue of renunciation, primarily in regard to the social context of the movement, precede the final section in which Thapar engages specifically with those whose use of history has political aims.

As is ideally the case with such collections, this volume brings to our attention previously unpublished lectures and articles which appeared in works difficult to access. The publisher has done a good job of compressing over a thousand pages into a compact and well-presented volume, and is to be congratulated for the provision of an index, rarely to be found in such collections.

A. C. MCKAY

EAST ASIA

UTA LAUER:

A master of his own: the calligraphy of the Chan abbot Zhongfeng Mingben (1262–1323).

(Studien zur Ostasiatischen Schriftkunst, 5.) 164 pp, 43 plates.
Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002. €45.

Given the comparative neglect of calligraphy in Western studies of East Asia, it comes as something of a shock to realize that a series dedicated entirely to rectifying this deficiency has already reached its fifth volume. Since, however, this latest contribution is in English (its predecessors, stretching back to 1970, have been in German) and since it concerns the perennially fascinating topic of Zen and the arts, there is less likelihood of the series being overlooked in future. And the word Zen is used advisedly, since although the calligrapher abbot Mingben spent all his life in China, he had many Japanese students, and the bulk of the not inconsiderable calligraphic legacy in his own hand that has survived to this day is consequently to be found in Japanese collections. Fortunately for the author of this monograph, too, Yü Chün-fang has already published a useful study of Mingben's religious and political significance, allowing her to concentrate on his calligraphy and on the tradition that produced it without devoting too much space to a 'life and times' approach, though his friendships, notably with Zhao Mengfu, are covered in some detail as particularly germane to his activities as an artist.

The opening third of the work is thus concerned with the place of Zen calligraphy within the broader Chinese and East Asian tradition, and though statements such as 'Chan Buddhist painters broke away from the idol-worshipping of pictures of the Buddha' (p. 28) do not entirely accord with current perspectives on the matter, the author has consulted the work of Foulk, Horton and Sharf on Zen portraiture and Robert Buswell on Zen's alleged subitism (though there is no mention of Bernard Faure), so the sort of spurious mystification found in some discussions of Zen and the arts is almost completely avoided. Even so, to this reviewer the distinctiveness of the Zen tradition and its Chinese antecedents can only be fully comprehended in the light of a broader cultural history than that essayed here. After a middle section on Mingben and his friendships, the largest part of the monograph is devoted to a detailed and apparently comprehensive survey of his calligraphy itself, followed by well over one hundred illustrations—in black and white, naturally.

The overall impression is of a very useful contribution to scholarship, though one that is far from free of minor blemishes. There are a large number of typographical errors, and though one appreciates the effort made to communicate significant findings in English, this is sometimes done at the expense of fluency of expression, especially where translation is concerned, though in the case of Mingben's brief autobiography, at least the full text in Chinese is reproduced as an appendix (pp. 142–5). Here, however, a certain lack of finesse in sinological technique does occasionally make itself manifest. When the autobiography (p. 138) is said to state that Mingben read the *Diamond Sutra* and came to 'the part about the Hedan Buddha', a glance at the text of that work should have been sufficient to establish that no such Buddha occurs in the text; rather, one finds a passage about beings who 'carry along' a share of the enlightenment of the Buddha, in the translation of E. Conze, *Buddhist wisdom books* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), p. 56.

It is, for that matter, somewhat unhelpful to refer throughout only to a late nineteenth-century Chinese edition of Mingben's writings. True, they are not included in the modern typeset editions of the East Asian Buddhist canon most frequently reprinted today, though they were in both the old 'Tokyo' and 'Kyoto' versions of the canon used by an earlier generation of sinologists. But in any case the assertion on p. 9 that these writings were first published in 1387 is false, since as many reference works testify, they were already included in the official Buddhist canon in Mongol times. Furthermore, this *editio princeps* survives to this day, as part of the so-called Jisha canon, which has been reproduced photo-mechanically more than once in modern times—Japanese scholars tend to cite the widely available Taiwanese *Zhonghua dazangjing* reproduction of the text included in the final volume of its first series.

The foregoing criticisms, however, do not impinge on the substance of the work under review. Anyone interested in the culture of medieval Zen in China and Japan is bound to find much of interest in this publication, and the author should be encouraged to venture further into this little-known but rewarding territory.

T. H. BARRETT

DAVID TOD ROY (trans.):

The plum in the golden vase or, Chin p'ing mei. (Volume two: the rivals.)

(Princeton Library of Asian Translations.) lxxix, 646 pp. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001. £27.95.

Professor Roy's translation of chapters one to twenty of the hundred-chapter *Chin p'ing mei tz'u-hua*, composed by an anonymous author during the second half of the sixteenth century, appeared in 1993 as volume one of this planned five-volume series. This volume continues with twenty further chapters, and it has been worth the wait. The story covers one more year of the lives and affairs of Hsi-men Ch'ing, his wife, concubines, servants and maids. It includes his affair with Sung Hui-lien, wife of his servant Lai-wang, leading to Lai-wang's banishment and his wife's suicide by hanging herself with her foot bindings; his notorious sex play with his concubine P'an Chin-lien using her

as a pitch-pot; his concubine Li P'ing-erh giving birth to a son and his receiving the post of assistant judicial commissioner of the Shantung Provincial Surveillance Commission due to his lavish gifts to Ts'ai Ching, the most powerful minister at court; his crooked handling of the court case involving Wang Liu-erh's affair with her brother-in-law, and his subsequent affair with her and his setting up of her husband Han Tao-kuo as manager of his silk store; his patronage of Ts'ai Yün, the new top graduate in the *chin-shih* examinations and adopted son of Ts'ai Ching; his arrangement of Han Tao-kuo's daughter to be a concubine of Chai Ch'ien, the majordomo of Ts'ai Ching's household; and the performance of elaborate Taoist *chiao* rites and the bestowal of a religious name for his son.

The novel's dazzling presentation of minute details of life in the late Ming period provides a rich source of material, particularly for cultural historians and literature specialists. Those interested in material culture will find, for example: numerous instances of prices given for various objects; useful translations of items of women's clothing (and the description of the custom of calling in tailors to the household) and jewellery; discussions of shoe sizes and patterns for bound feet; descriptions of men's official and unofficial headgear and belts for official robes; the terminology of silver and coinage built into a pair of songs, pp. 271–3; details for fireworks displays; the women's quibbling over the number of lanterns used to light the way for their sedan chairs at night, a description of Hsi-men Ch'ing's studio; and the construction of his country estate, with the number of bricks, cartloads of dirt for the foundations and amount of lime all thrown in. Literature specialists will be grateful for the translator's meticulous renditions of the 'proverbial sayings, catch phrases, stock epithets and couplets, quotations from earlier poetry and song, and formulaic language of all kinds inherited from the literary tale as well as traditional vernacular fiction and drama' [David Tod Roy (trans.), *The plum in the golden vase or Chin p'ing mei (Volume one: the gathering)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, p. xlv.] that are woven into the text by the author, and the useful annotations of these sources that provide the rich intertextuality of the novel. Full translations for songs and song suites briefly mentioned in the story are also provided in a supplementary section. From the use of some of these types of sources, the reader also gets a strong sense of the performance culture of the period with, for example, the singing of contemporary songs or arias from various dramatic genres by courtesans or a page dressed as a girl, or the playing of wine drinking games in banquet scenes, or story-telling and singing by Buddhist nuns for the women of the household. With all this as background, the reader will find a remarkable and dark portrayal of a society gone topsy-turvy due to the four vices of drunkenness, lust, avarice and anger.

Professor Roy has devoted many years of his life to researching and studying this great novel, and it has been a wonderful and rewarding experience for this reviewer, because he has undertaken so much research for us on the numerous interesting or difficult areas of the text, all documented in 103 pages of notes, and indexed in 41 pages. This handsome volume also reproduces the forty woodblock illustrations from the original, and includes a useful cast of characters and a bibliography. I have heard that he has retired from teaching and can now devote all of his time to completing the translation, and I look forward with great relish to three more volumes of brilliant scholarship and translation.

ANDREW LO

YANG XIANYI:

White Tiger: an autobiography of Yang Xianyi.

xxvi, pp. 302. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002. \$18.

As John Minford points out in his warmly cordial introduction, Yang Xianyi is a figure known to many in Chinese Studies in the United Kingdom and beyond, if not as a translator who together with his wife Gladys has facilitated their acquaintance with a good number of lengthy classic works of Chinese literature quite beyond the ability of most undergraduates to tackle *in toto* in the original, then as a genial and convivial host during their further studies in Beijing. That such an accomplished writer and raconteur should at last have the opportunity to tell his own story is in itself fortunate, and especially so in view of the fascinating story he has to tell, ranging from a childhood in China of the May Fourth era, through Oxford in the company of scholars such as Qian Zhongshu and Xiang Da, and wartime Chongqing, on to the Peking Foreign Languages Press, imprisonment during the Cultural Revolution, and eventually to retirement as a figure of considerable international standing.

There is a great deal of information in these pages to throw light on Sino–British cultural relations during this whole span of time, for Yang Xianyi seems to have managed to involve himself in all kinds of projects, from work with Tom Harrison in Mass Observation before the war to the establishment through his daughter of Assyriology as an academic discipline in China. The final page asserts that his memory is failing, but there is little sign of this, save for a few minor lapses which look as if they might actually be challenges to the alertness of the reader as much as failures on the author's part. The notion that as a youngster in his missionary school he whiled away the time during which he was obliged to listen to sermons by reading from the Book of Hezekiah (p. 15) does not, of course, withstand close inspection, but this hardly affects the basic authenticity of the recollection. On the cover of the book David Hawkes commends the volume accurately enough for the author's combination of 'ironic detachment and unfailing humour', but beyond the considerable charm that comes across in these pages there is also plenty of evidence of a highly passionate individual, careless of many things—including academic success, as seen in his leaving Oxford with a fourth class degree, for example—but relentlessly dedicated to other, more important values. Only very occasionally does a hint of regret creep in, as when on p. 138 he observes of the immediate post-war years 'If that period of my life had lasted longer, I might have become a historian, an authority on various subjects related to ancient Chinese history'. Yet the notes he published at that time, especially those concerned with contacts between China and the wider world, can still be read with profit today, even if he never became a Xiang Da himself. All in all, this attractively presented volume, replete as it is with over a dozen pages of photographs, can be thoroughly recommended not just as an enjoyable but also as an instructive read.

T. H. BARRETT

SARAH HANDLER:

Austere luminosity of Chinese classical furniture.

xi, 417 pp. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2001. \$65.

The category 'Chinese classical furniture' is of very recent date. As late as 1986, the English translation (by the author of the book under review) of a

work by Wang Shixiang, acknowledged doyen of the field, was titled *Classic Chinese furniture*, this in turn being a term perhaps coined in a 1978 lecture given by Laurence Sickman, and one which has subtly different resonances. Only in 1990, with the establishment of the Museum of Classical Chinese Furniture in Renaissance, California, and its *Journal of the Classical Chinese Furniture Society*, did the term come to enjoy more settled acceptance. Although Sarah Handler speaks in her introduction to this volume, based (often very closely) on articles she published in this now-defunct journal, of the ‘high spirited rediscovery of classical furniture in the 1990s’, it is arguable that what happened at that period was less a rediscovery of an objectively pre-existent phenomenon, than the creation of a category which, while it might be now well-understood within the world of dealers, collectors and curators of this material, has no emic existence in the material culture of early modern China as perceived by its original makers and users. There may be no such thing as ‘Chinese classical ceramics’ or ‘Chinese classical embroidery’, but a particular category of hardwood furniture, associated stylistically with the latter part of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), is now firmly fixed as enjoying that canonical status, reflected in a high level of commercial and scholarly activity surrounding its sale, acquisition and connoisseurship.

The volume under review presents a very full and accessible account of this body of material, profusely illustrated in colour with surviving pieces, a large proportion of which have passed through the art market since the early 1990s. It arranges the material under furniture types, with sections on chairs, beds, tables, cabinets and screens and stands following an introductory section which addresses the development in China of seating postures from mat-sitting (as in the rest of East Asia) to the use of chairs, and which looks too at the analogies between modernist design and Chinese furniture. These analogies were not lost on George Kates (1895–1990), one of the first Western scholars to collect and write on this material, who is remembered here in a brief biographical essay. Each section, in addition to the illustration of actual pieces, presents a plethora of supportive material in the form of paintings, printed material, and sculptural or other works of art designed to illuminate the contexts in which the objects were originally used.

The work has its origins in journal articles, written over a number of years, during which the author’s engagement with and attitudes towards the material inevitably changed. But it is informed throughout by a conviction that furniture in certain plain hardwoods (explicitly opposed on the very first page to ‘ornate, lacquer and softwood furniture’) is legitimately a totally separate category of analysis. This is taken to be self-evident to the degree that it requires no defence. Many may concur. Some, however, may feel that the construction of the category through the implied exclusion of its inferior Others (the ornate, the lacquered, etc.) in the end tells us more about the taste and ideology of the late twentieth-century global art market than it does about an early modern Chinese world of goods, from which, let it be stressed, no unequivocal evidence survives to bolster such a clear and simple division of objects into plain hardwood sheep and ornate or lacquered or softwood goats. There is, for example, no very good reason to assume, as is the case here, that all the furniture shown in the black-and-white woodcut illustrations to late Ming drama or fiction was (in the author’s terms) ‘classical’ at all. Woodblock prints might very well be designed to represent pieces which were lacquered, or made of softwood, which would render them in current parlance ‘vernacular’ i.e. less valuable in both commercial and aesthetic terms. In fact, the rigorous distinction which the author seeks to uphold keeps breaking

down, as the Chinese primary source material which she quotes so effectively stubbornly refuses to distinguish the classical from the 'not-classical'. The section on the *kang* table (low tables placed on the heated brick living and sleeping platforms of north China) is, for example, forced to deal, in quoting from the eighteenth-century *Story of the Stone*, with such non-classical, even non-Chinese, furniture as imported Japanese objects in gilded lacquer. The paintings the author reproduces show furniture which is lacquered red, or is heavy with carving and gilding, or is in one case implausibly bright blue. The exuberant complexity of Ming and Qing material culture, and the ideals of luxury living expressed at the time in pictorial or textual form, constantly threaten to thumb their noses at the very notion of 'austere luminosity' itself.

It should be stressed that this very handsomely produced volume is by far the most comprehensive coverage of Chinese hardwood furniture available in English, and the author's undeniable zeal on behalf of the objects she reproduces and discusses with such passion make it extremely readable. She is extremely well qualified, not least by her experience with surviving objects, to go on and provide the reader with a history of Chinese furniture which takes a more benevolent attitude to the total range of production, and provides a more welcoming environment for a discussion of all types of furniture, without a priori assumptions about the canonical status of any one of them. It is to be hoped she will do so.

CRAIG CLUNAS

MARTIN PALMER:

The Jesus Sutras: rediscovering the lost religion of Taoist Christianity. xvi, pp. 271. London: Piatkus, 2001. £17.99.

Martin Palmer has a good record of popularizing Chinese religion for the British reader, often in collaboration with Chinese scholars or religious practitioners. Here he takes on the fascinating story of the Nestorian Christian presence in China during the Tang dynasty, retranslating the materials from Dunhuang first rendered into English by Moule and Saeki, and giving an enthusiastic description of the site of a Nestorian monastery first identified by Xiang Da before the Second World War but apparently not investigated since. This book will certainly communicate much of the interest of Chinese-language Nestorian Christianity to a broad readership for which the long out-of-print works of earlier scholars are simply not available. But those looking for a sound basis for further research may find this volume less satisfactory.

One disadvantage would seem to be that Palmer's collaborators on this venture do not seem to have included anyone with a good knowledge of the present state of scholarship in the field. There is no reference here to either of the two major posthumous publications under the name of Paul Pelliot that have appeared over recent decades, and most unfortunately none to the careful scholarship of Lin Wushu and Rong Xinjiang, which has demonstrated that two supposedly early Christian manuscripts are in fact forgeries. Their discoveries mean, of course, that a couple of pages of Palmer's translations are entirely worthless, though which these pages are is by no means clear, since Palmer provides no references at all to original sources that might clarify exactly what he is translating where, and when it is possible to line up his

translations with some Chinese text, as in the case of the piece he identifies as the 'Gloria' (p. 202), his style, which is to be sure highly readable, turns out to be so free as to obscure all the subtleties of terminology that make the Nestorian texts so difficult to assess. Some of these shortcomings would have been avoided had N. Standaert's *Handbook of Chinese Christianity*, Volume One (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001) been available, but this must have appeared too late to be of any help.

As for the fragments of sculpture that Palmer identifies as Nestorian remains at his archaeological site, all one can say is that art historians will have to evaluate them in due course, and that comparison with Russian icons of the sixteenth century (p. 34) is not entirely persuasive. Xiang Da, who was no fool, states that what remains he saw at the site appeared to him to be Buddhist, and indeed he reports that evidence had formerly existed there (not mentioned by Palmer) showing that the site had already been turned over to Buddhist use as early as the tenth century. In short, this may be a good book for undergraduate reading lists, in that it communicates some of the broad outlines of the Nestorian story very effectively, but students will have to be cautioned that it cannot be taken as an authoritative account, and that matters of detail should be checked through the scholarship surveyed in Standaert's work, which has had the particular benefit of the bibliographical expertise of his assistant editor A. Dudink. Perhaps these two publications in conjunction will stimulate some new developments in Nestorian studies; they have certainly stirred the curiosity of this reviewer in some of the many remaining research problems surrounding this early venture in East-West communication.

T. H. BARRETT

THOMAS M. BUOYE:

Manslaughter, markets, and moral economy: violent disputes over property rights in eighteenth-century China.

xvi, 283 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £37.50.

This book presents the self-evident generalization that as the economy developed in the eighteenth century, property rights became more entrenched. It bases its documentation on a numerical analysis of memorials reporting homicide cases found in the Number One Historical Archives in Beijing.

Chapter i summarizes Douglas North in a few paragraphs, chapter ii describes economic change, chapters iii–vi flesh out the data, chapter vii purports to discuss changing concepts of legitimacy, and chapter viii provides a conclusion in the broadest terms.

Chapter iii tells readers that of the 385 Guangdong cases the author examined, 64 had to do with boundary disputes and 108 with water rights. 'Most boundary disputes were usually small scale and spontaneous, but occasionally they could be quite large and exceedingly violent' (p. 77). They involved, on average, 3.92 participants, and two-thirds of them lasted a day or less. Disputes over water rights averaged 4.5 persons each, and three-quarters of them lasted a day or less.

Chapter iv continues with the Guangdong cases. It discusses 56 'redemption and other disputes over land sales', 109 'rent defaults and other disputes over rent', and 48 eviction cases. The author proclaims that in some cases,

redemption disputes spanned several generations, and the reader has to wonder whatever makes him think that boundary and water rights cases did not. In any case, redemption cases involved on average 4 to 5 individuals per dispute, and 42 per cent of them lasted a month or more. Violence in rent-default disputes was almost always 'small scale, unpremeditated, and took place between neighbours or persons known to each other'. They involved 3.9 persons per dispute, and 44 per cent of them lasted a month or more. The author says, 'While intraclass disputes were not unheard of during the early part of the Qianglong reign, there was a noticeable difference between the tenant-tenant violence and later periods' (p. 115). By that, he means that intraclass disputes either increased or decreased after the Qianlong period, but, again, the reader wonders if the impression is really the result of a straightjacket classification which rules boundary and water rights disputes outside 'intraclass violence'. Eviction cases averaged 4.2 participants per case and 43 per cent of them continued for more than a month.

Chapter v deals with temporal and geographic distributions of property-right disputes in Guangdong. To do that, the author draws a sample of 958 cases at roughly five-year intervals from the archival collection of memorials, including now not only homicide cases arising out of land disputes as described in the previous two chapters but also cases related to debt and 'other land-related issues' (p. 129), whatever that may mean. The author then compares across prefectures the proportion of the former in the total of homicide cases so found, arguing that the higher the proportion, the more likely it was that 'property rights' disputes led to homicides. Using those results, he pronounces generalizations related to marketing structures and a great deal else. He does that for a methodological reason: he does not have the population figures to work out the average incidence of homicide by local population, and he thinks that with this limitation, a comparison of the two sorts of homicides is the only reasonable way forward.

That methodology is like saying if I do not know how many rapes there are in a thousand people in one part of this country as compared to another, it will do almost as well to take the proportion of rape within all reported crimes and compare the figures on that basis. The trouble with that argument is that it does not follow that the higher the proportion of rape reported, the more rape cases occur, only that if people report crime at all, they are more likely to report those.

One might say even that could be an interesting figure. Given a substantial sample, it might be, but the fallacy of the entire book is that 958 cases drawn from 14 years between 1736 and 1795, that is, 69 cases of homicides per year, is far too low a figure to provide for any adequate statistical comparison. The population of Guangdong in the eighteenth century, nowhere given in this book, was 15 million. That was larger than the entire population of the whole of Britain in the eighteenth century. The sample must be a tiny fraction of homicides in such a population.

Indications are all over the place that the statistics are skewed. 'Surprisingly, given the fact that provincial officials often complained about the number of lawsuits that disputes over *shatian* [that is, newly reclaimed alluvial land] caused, this type of land accounted for only four homicides related to disputes over property rights in Guangdong' (p. 57). Indeed, that figure should have told the author that many deaths which arose out of village feuds over land reclamation, which would have had much to do with boundaries, water rights, rent collection and eviction, were never reported to the Ministry of Punishment in Beijing. On the evidence of four cases, the

author argues ‘Generally, local officials supported evictions if the landlord had purchased the land outright and compensated the tenant if there was a rent dispute’ (p. 123). What else does he expect? That the documents of the court should show that the judges supported eviction when he was not convinced that land had been purchased? If any doubt over ownership arose, it would have arisen in the evidence produced at court, and not in the judgement.

Let me not quarrel with the sleight of hand which ruled disputes over debt outside the bounds of ‘property rights’ in chapter v.

How did this book pass the review at Cambridge University Press?

DAVID FAURE

W. A. THOMAS:

Western capitalism in China: a history of the Shanghai stock exchange.

xii, 312 pp. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001. £47.50.

There is no doubt that the history of the Chinese stock market is a neglected area of study. There has been no extended treatment of its origins or development and, perhaps for that reason, it has hardly figured in general texts. It was, however, an important element in the development of both Western and Chinese capitalism in China, and in Shanghai’s economic and social development in particular. This study of the Shanghai stock exchange covers not only the period before 1949, when there was obviously a strong Western influence on (and component in) the economy, but also the re-establishment of markets in the 1980s within the context of the transition to ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’. As such it is to be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the literature on China’s long-term economic development and to the debate concerning the nature, role and consequences (both acceptable and unacceptable) of stock market activities in the process of capitalist (and socialist) development.

Part 1 deals with the Shanghai stock exchange and begins with the nineteenth century commercial context, the supply of and the sources of demand for securities, and the institutional details of the formation of the exchange. It then chronicles the fluctuations in the market for the shares in Western enterprises with separate chapters for the periods 1860–1909, 1909–11 (the years of the rubber boom), 1911–29, and the final years from 1929 until dealing simply petered out as Western concerns withdrew in the run up to the Communist take-over in 1949 (despite an attempt to re-establish the exchange in 1946).

Part 2 deals with the Chinese stock markets (i.e. shares in Chinese enterprises and the internal bond issues by the government from 1911–49) and the early years of the Shanghai and Shenzhen ‘emerging markets’ from their inception in the wake of the 1984 decision to allow the sale of shares to the public until 1996.

Handicapped by the destruction of the stock exchange papers themselves, Thomas is forced to reconstruct market operations from the local press (in particular *The North-China Herald*) and other reminiscences. The result is a

meticulously assembled and detailed account of the stock exchange organization and institutions, and of the sequence of frenetic speculative fluctuations in the market for shares issued by Western companies. Valuable information is assembled and made accessible on the leading firms, brokers and *dramatis personae*; the impact of war, revolution and international economic depression on the volatile market is charted; and the eventual demise of the exchange chronicled. Similarly, turning from the operation of Western capitalism, Thomas pulls together the pieces of the jigsaw relating to the unsuccessful attempts to create an effective market for shares in Chinese companies prior to 1949, and deals with the establishment of an internal bond market through which the government could raise revenue without being dependent on foreign sources. Finally the book provides a good summary of the operation of the controlled emerging markets as the Chinese leadership sought to embed the full range of market activities within a socialist context in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

As a result, Thomas has produced an extremely useful source for the more general historian looking for information on the exchanges and for those whose focus is on the history or mechanics of the markets themselves but who wish to explore the Chinese experience. And yet both groups may find the promise slightly unfulfilled. Readers unfamiliar with the Chinese context might find that there is insufficient background material on the political and social context, and the analysis does not go far enough in relating the workings of the Shanghai exchange to the wider process of economic and social change. Was the market driving the economy forward or reflecting its nature? Was it providing the service that business really needed? Did it promote or hinder the expansion of Western capitalist enterprise or the nascent Chinese concerns? How did it fit into and support the distinctive emerging Shanghai culture in the 1920s? What was the nature of the relationship between the provision of genuine support for industry and the damage done by the persistent (and at times highly damaging) speculative element of the market's activities? The focus remains almost exclusively with the internal workings of the exchange and with those who played the market. We are, for example, given detailed accounts of the downside of speculative activities for brokers and investors, but little analysis of the wider consequences of their actions on other sectors of the economy or society.

The problem is a real one, for the approach does not allow the full relationship between the stock exchange and capitalism (or indeed socialism) to be explored. If, as Thomas argues, the 'economic usefulness' of stock markets lies 'in transferring the savings of lenders to meet the investment needs of borrowers' it is necessary to establish what these needs were, to evaluate the extent to which they were met and to assess their role in the promotion of the capitalist enterprise as a whole. The book also underestimates the role that stock market activities and institutions can play in changing the level and structure of economic activity—a role that was deliberately assigned to it by the government in the 1980s and 1990s.

These reservations (together with some minor spelling errors and the confusion over the numbering of the charts in chapter vii) do not diminish the central achievement and value of the book. Thomas has advanced our understanding of an important component of Western capitalism in China and of one of the institutions of capitalism operating within the context of a socialist system. It will no longer be possible to construct an account of China's economic development, or write a history of Western capitalism in

China or of Shanghai itself without reference to the Shanghai stock exchange or without drawing on the material contained in this book.

PHILIP RICHARDSON

JAMES J. ORR:

The victim as hero: ideologies of peace and national identity in postwar Japan.

viii, 271 pp. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. \$22.95.

In the book under review James Orr contributes to two important streams in scholarship on post-war Japan. First, he provides an account of the roots of one of the most enduring and influential political motifs in post-war politics, 'victim-consciousness'. Second, Orr adds to recent historical scholarship focusing on the immediate post-war years and the Occupation period by pointing to some of the discontinuities in Japanese intellectual debates about responsibility for the Second World War. But while the book excels at tracing victim-consciousness in several arenas, it lacks an overarching theoretical framework or argument to explain the role of victim-consciousness in the political development of post-war Japan. Rather, it offers a collection of historical case studies about Japanese post-war victim-consciousness. While some of these cases, particularly Orr's history of the ban-the-bomb movement and of reparation payments, are well-researched and novel contributions to scholarship on post-war Japanese national identity, the book as a whole is marred by two analytical shortcomings: first, although most of the substantive chapters present debates between 'progressives' and 'conservatives', this distinction is not clarified for the purpose of an understanding of the victim-consciousness, and it is difficult for the reader to work out whether this classification is simply a 'Left versus Right' scheme, or whether there are issues particular to debates of victimhood that classify proponents as progressive or conservative. Such a clarification would allow readers to follow the general narrative across chapters more easily. Second, Orr seems to oscillate between a discussion of responsibility for the Second World War in general, and of responsibility for specific acts carried out against victims, Japanese or otherwise. Despite (or perhaps because of) the high quality of some of the constituent pieces, these shortcomings lend the book the appearance of an edited volume that emerged from a conference on the genesis and uses of victim-consciousness, rather than a monograph. Even something as seemingly old-fashioned as a chronological structuring might have made it easier for readers to follow the overarching story that could be presented by detailed examinations of a number of important arenas in which victim-consciousness was constructed.

Orr is certainly right in pointing to the importance of victim-consciousness as a major component of post-war Japanese identity. Since the topic has received much attention in the literature on Japanese politics, this kind of careful treatment of the historical roots of this consciousness is long overdue. Orr's analysis offers a refreshing look at the instrumentalization of conceptualizations of the Japanese as victims, since this approach offers a healthy antidote to other treatments, which have had to rely on vague notions of national character, other implicit policy preferences, or 'Emperor-system' conspiracies, to explain the existence of such an approach to the issue of responsibility for the Second World War. This approach is particularly

important to the comparative literature on (West) German and Japanese attitudes to responsibility, as this is dominated by comparisons of the 1980s and 1990s which omit the vibrant Japanese discussions on responsibility in the immediate post-war years. Orr's research takes us some way towards an understanding of the near-disappearance of such discussions in the 1950s and how their resurgence as victim-consciousness came to dominate Japanese discourse on the war. His periodization of textbook portrayals of victimization (some acknowledgement of responsibility until the mid-1950s, emphasis on A-bomb victimhood in the mid-1950s, the 'apologist interlude' until the early 1970s, and the increasingly frank discussions of atrocities and victimization since then) is particularly useful and innovative in this regard. To reach a more complete understanding of the career of the victimization discourse, however, the book would have needed an introduction and/or a conclusion with a more forceful case on the instrumentalization of Japanese victimhood for political purposes.

Two among the five substantive chapters (chapters ii–vi) stand out for their quality and original work: ch. iii, 'Hiroshima and *yuiitsu no hibakukoku*', and ch. vi, 'Compensating victims'. While the former offers a very interesting organizational history of the ban-the-bomb movement, including cultural milestones in its development, the latter examines the role of interest group politics in the debates over financial compensation of the various classes of war-time victims. Chapter iv, 'Educating a peace-loving people', is also to be recommended for its tracing of the pervasive perspective of Japanese people as victims in textbook portrayals, but it does not accomplish its broader goal of describing 'how the Asia-Pacific War ... was presented in ... social studies texts' (p. 8) with its exclusive focus on victimization. This focus, on the other hand, does provide a very useful corrective to the common portrayal of Japanese textbooks as being primarily apologist in nature. Chapter ii, 'Leaders and victims' is a little too narrow in its historical coverage to accomplish the ambitious task of tracing the roots of victim-consciousness in the immediate post-war years, particularly in light of other recent scholarship. Finally among the substantive chapters, ch. v, "'Sentimental humanism'" is difficult to place in a larger argument and narrative, as it focuses exclusively on literary works without placing these in the wider context supplied by the other chapters.

Despite some of the shortcomings in the presentation of the overall argument or narrative regarding victim-consciousness, Orr nevertheless offers valuable insights into various elements of that consciousness. As such this book will be a valuable resource for scholars working on post-war Japanese politics. The accessible prose also would recommend sections of this book for teaching on specific topics related to Japanese post-war national identity.

JULIAN DIERKES

HIKARU SUZUKI:

The price of death: The funeral industry in contemporary Japan.

xi, 266 pp. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 2000. £25.

This is an anthropological study of commercialized funerals in a contemporary Japan, based on the author's seven months of fieldwork in a funeral hall. Its two foci are an ethnography of current Japanese funerary practice and an

analysis of changes in mortuary tradition, in particular, the commoditization of death.

The book presents an excellent ethnography of 'packaged' commercial funerals. Suzuki vividly describes commercialized funeral ceremonies and the role of funeral professionals from shortly after death to the end of the mourning period, which today normally lasts two or three days. Her depictions successfully fuse the scientific and humanistic faces of anthropology. While she objectively describes some gruesome details of death, she also portrays the more humane aspects of highly formalized commercial funerals and conveys several moving stories.

This book will also appeal to those interested in business, mass consumption, and the workplace. For example, the chapter on the bathing ceremony presents a fascinating account of how this ritual has become commoditized. The two chapters on funeral professionals give not only a detailed account of their tasks and the intriguing relationships between workers, but they also depict funeral professionals not simply as ambitious profit seekers, but as people who experience difficulties and dilemmas as well as pride and satisfaction in their jobs.

Although the book is strong in these areas, it is less successful in dealing with the complexity of social change. Suzuki maintains that the shift from community-based funerals to commercial ones is closely tied to social and cultural changes occurring in Japan, and that the funeral industry plays a significant role not only in generating these changes, but also in sustaining mortuary practices. She expresses this idea in a tripartite model of cultural values, consumers, and producers, and postulates that interactions among them 'produce both the continuation of cultural practices and the transition of cultural values' (p. 7).

Although Suzuki constructs a model that accommodates the complex and sometimes paradoxical process of social change, her analysis of data does not demonstrate it well. Central to her discussion of change is a comparison of contemporary commercial funerals with those of the past. She argues that protecting the living from the pollution of death was a major function of past funerals, and that communal support was imperative for this task. By contrast, at commercial funerals, this function is not only irrelevant, but the support of neighbours is negligible. She attributes these differences to 'value change'; in contemporary Japan, the notion of death pollution has virtually disappeared, and the basis of social ties has shifted from the community to the institution (e.g. the workplace and business).

Suzuki's observation is not wholly incompatible with current social trends, but to make generalizations about the broad transformation of Japanese culture and society, it is crucial to consider phenomena other than commercial funerals. For one thing, commoditized funerals, which unlike commercialized weddings are not yet the norm, do not necessarily reflect the predominant view. For instance, the stigma attached to the funeral hall workers (see ch. vi) contradicts the author's claim of non-polluting death. There is a similar problem with her comments on the lack of communal support today. *Kōden* (incense money) exchange remains an important custom of mutual assistance at the time of death, but Suzuki does not inform us about the role of neighbours in it.

The problem of generalization is more pronounced in her discussion of the relationships between the deceased and the bereaved. Today, Suzuki says, the once interdependent relationships in which the living received property from the dead and reciprocated this gift with posthumous care have become

asymmetrical, with the bereaved having more power. She lists two reasons—diminishing fear of a malevolent spirit and the declining prospect of inheritance due to longevity and economic insecurity among the elderly—and maintains that ‘the dead are now at the mercy of the living’ (p. 214).

Her assertion, however, derives from too simplified a picture of contemporary parent–child relationships. She does not touch on co-residence, which many Japanese resume when their parents grow old. The economic situation of the elderly is not as simple as she claims, either. The high price of land may enable even the cash poor to leave a large estate by the posthumous sale of their houses. Furthermore, people have multiple motivations for holding a proper funeral, and filial obligation is only one of them.

The author’s statement ‘commercialization and consumption function together to homogenize Japanese culture’ (p. 219) is also questionable. While she is right in saying that the commoditization of death proceeds rapidly, simultaneously bringing standardization and stratification by introducing a single hierarchical scale, there are other important trends she fails to mention, such as negative reactions to commercialized funerals and the diversification of funerary practices.

Other missing information concerns funeral hall customers. Since Suzuki regards migration to urban areas as one of the primary factors contributing to the success of the funeral business, finding where these customers are from and why they choose commercial funerals would have shed more light on forces of social change.

Poor copy-editing, organizational problems, and inappropriate word usage sometimes mar comprehension. Without a glossary, the use of Japanese words may also confuse readers, especially with erroneous diacritical marks, mistranslation (e.g. ‘ash pot’ for urn), and non-standard pronunciation (e.g. ‘*honetsubo*’ for *kotsutsubo* or urn).

Despite these problems, this book fills a void in Japanese studies by providing the first ethnographic study of commercialized funerals. It also makes an important contribution to the study of contemporary life by illuminating commoditization, which has a ubiquitous and wide-ranging impact on people’s lives. For this reason, the book will also be of interest to those who are not Japan specialists.

YOKHO TSUJI

TESSA CARROLL:

Language planning and language change in Japan.

(Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, 86.) xii,
276 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £40.

The ‘and’ in the title of Tessa Carroll’s book does not mean that there is an equal focus on language planning and language change. Language planning is introduced over forty pages on definitions and frameworks, including information about the relevant Japanese institutions (pp. 10–50), while the section that most comprehensively deals with linguistic change bears the heading ‘*Kotoba no midare*—disorder in language’ (pp. 79–88). This is not to say that information about relevant phenomena in other languages, past or present, is lacking—indeed the account is fractured by constant references (e.g. pp. 76–7)—but rather that the (socio)linguistic issues or explanations are mentioned, but not pursued. At times this seems like a

missed opportunity to make a broader, more incisive analysis. For instance, Inoue Fumio's suggestion (mentioned on p. 195) that the linguistic changes associated with *kotoba no midare* represent what one might term new sociolects among young speakers in (areas close to) urban centres, could have been brought to bear in a more positive effort on Carroll's earlier mention of *kotoba no midare* 'disorder in language' as applied to specific ongoing linguistic changes since the late 1970s, and the possible socio-political causes of its use (pp. 79ff.). Indeed, if properly established, the negative attitudes to these sociolects close to the social-political-cultural centres of power would form an interesting contrast to the recent tolerance of the remote regional variations, summed up by the concept of *furusato*—a tolerance which, Carroll perceptively argues, has emerged only since the successful dissemination of the standard language (p. 182).

One of the real merits of the book is that Carroll's cautious and careful summing up of committee reports and much other data on perceptions of ongoing linguistic changes allows us to keep track of details such as resistance to the popular, loaded 'disorder in language' (*kotoba no midare*) during the 1980s and 1990s; cf. pronouncements from the National Language Council as evidence that views in line with current understanding of linguistic change are being promoted or inform the views of language committees (p. 110). The NHK broadcast with the reassuring title *Kotoba ga kawaru* 'language changes' (p. 166), about which one would have liked to hear more, probably also belongs here. Judging from the names Carroll mentions, (younger) linguists/progressives Mizutani Osamu, Nishio Keiko, and Ide Sachiko vs. (older) 'conservatives'/'*kokugogakusha*' Ono Susumu and Nakanishi Susumu, we may be witnessing a generational change. Confusingly, 'language breakdown' is used by Carroll without quotation marks, e.g. 'One aspect of language that features prominently in discussions of *language breakdown* is honorific language' (p. 89, my italics, cf. also p. 82).

The aim of the book is to examine general trends in the 'sociology of language' (p. 8) in Japan during the last two decades of the twentieth century, 'a period which covers the end of the revision cycle of the immediate postwar language reforms and the beginning of a broadening of focus to looking at the language as a whole, rather than concentrating on just the script' (p. 1). The book thereby supplements English-language publications, such as those by R. A. Miller and Nanette [Twine] Gottlieb. It is divided into four basic themes for investigation, one for each of the four main chapters (3–6): 'the idea of language as an indicator of the behaviour and attitudes of Japanese society' (p. 75); 'ways in which language reflects and defines the relationship between the state and the Japanese people' (p. 110); 'language as a symbol and carrier of Japanese culture, civilisation, and heritage in an increasingly global age' (p. 139). The fourth topic is regionalism, as already mentioned.

The account is informative, detailed and balanced on the new issues which emerged during the 1980s and 1990s. Some trends, such as those in the language used by government institutions to address the public, are found to correlate closely with the situation in other countries (chapter 4, 'Language: state and citizens' (pp. 111–38). In educational policy, where language planning has a natural role to play, the efforts during the 1980s and 1990s to place greater weight on spoken verbal skills in schools, introducing different teaching methods to improve communication skills, etc., are seen to represent a positive trend (pp. 146–57; on NHK's role pp. 164–7). The impact of computer technology on the writing system is likely to revolutionize script in ways not yet fully understood (p. 173ff.). The 1980s buzz-word

‘internationalization’ is gauged in various language-related contexts (pp. 153–7), including the possibilities of Chinese characters linking Japan with other East Asian countries (pp. 167–70). I noticed only one, not obvious, typographical error: the name of the Norwegian language reformer is Aasen, not Aaser (p. 21).

‘Beautiful, rich and full of charm’ (*utsukushiku yutaka de miryoku ni tonda kotobazukai*) (p. 165 plus variant formulations, pp. 32, 140, 145) sums up the standard aspiration for Japanese. It is quoted many times in the book and registers ironically in the reader’s mind, as it seems intended to do. This is obviously battered *kokugogakusha* speak—yet, speaking of language full of charm and *fun*, where are Inoue Hisashi, Kirikiri-go and *Kirikirijin* (1981)?

LONE TAKEUCHI

T. E. MCAULEY (ed.):

Language change in East Asia.

viii, 306 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £45.

The publication under review is the outcome of a workshop held in the School of East Asian Studies, University of Sheffield in May 1999, with participants from Korea, Taiwan, the USA and the UK. It represents a welcome initiative to bring East Asian linguistics back on to the academic map after a period of virtual invisibility in the UK. The ‘East Asia’ in the title is fully justified: of the twelve contributions, five deal with one of the three big languages, Chinese, Japanese and Korean, four with two of the languages, and two with all three languages. The book is divided into four sections: dialect studies, socio-linguistics, contact linguistics, and grammar and phonology.

Youngjun Jang, in ‘Flapping and language change in East Asia’ (pp. 284–97), suggests that the phenomenon of the phonological change /t/ > /l/ in Korean *t*-irregular predicates may originate in /t/ of these predicates becoming actualized intervocally as a flap. The conditioning factor would be Korean *rusheng* (entering tone), which, it is claimed, at some point in its historical development distinguished these *t*-irregular predicates from the *t*-regular ones (although the Middle Korean evidence for *rusheng* is apparently contested, see n. 16, p. 296). A similar change is assumed for Sino-Korean loan word phonology, cf. Old/Middle Chinese /-t/: Sino-Korean /-l/.

Since the 1960s archaeological finds in Japan have turned up a variety of types of written evidence dating from the proto-historical period. Nicolas Tranter, in ‘The Asukaike word list slat and pre-Sino-Japanese phonology’ (pp. 143–60), argues ingeniously that the twenty-five characters on a slat thought to be from the Asuka Period (552–645) represent not a running text, but a list of phonetic glossing, whose ultimate purpose remains unclear. The list is said to provide evidence that the language represented is an ancestral form of Go’on Sino-Japanese (p. 154). There is a cluster of mistaken references on p. 155: **C** should read **3**, **B**, **2**, and **A**, **1**. Another contribution brings regularity to an aspect of a well-known early text. In an illuminating study, ‘Principles of *hentai kanbun* word order: evidence from the *Kojiki*’ (pp. 207–32), Edith Aldridge argues that the discrepancies in word order between the *hentai kanbun* of *Kojiki* and the Classical/contemporary Chinese norms are systematic, resulting from moving a head to the position immediately left of its complement. This accounts for the auxiliary verb to the left of VP, adposition (P) to the left of NP, and monotransitive verb to the left of the

object, and importantly that a ditransitive verb is accordingly moved only to the left of one or the other of its objects, giving rise to ACC-V-DAT or DAT-V-ACC word order. Exceptions, where the head moves left of only part of the complement, are said to be limited both structurally and pragmatically and attributed to a desire to avoid ambiguity.

Two contributions, Andrew Simpson and Xiu-Zhi Zoe Wu, ‘The grammaticalization of formal nouns and nominalizers in Chinese, Japanese and Korean’ (pp. 250–83) dealing with Chinese *de*, Korean *kes*, and Japanese *no*, and Taeko Goto, ‘On the decline of tense and aspect in Japanese: its theoretical implications’ (pp. 233–49) present language change in great sweeps—stimulatingly—formulated in a transformational-type approach where grammaticalization is modelled as movement. The devil is obviously in the detail. For instance, in relation to Simpson and Wu’s study, Japanese *no* can in fact be modified by demonstratives other than *ano* (cf. (46) p. 47) (historically said to incorporate *no*), e.g. *konna no (wa) iranai* ‘I don’t need this (kind)!’, and (47) (p. 260) is acceptable in the interpretation: ‘He has bought one (i.e. a case) with three (bottles)’. There is also the question of the controversy of *no* in Old Japanese.

Thomas McAuley, in ‘The changing use of honorifics in Japanese literary texts’ (pp. 47–69), analyses samples from *Genji monogatari* and Tanizaki Jun’ichirō’s *Sasameyuki*, suggesting that a shift from an ‘absolute’ to a ‘relative’ honorific system may be crucial to the changes observed in narrative description. The example sentences are necessarily long and complex, and their analysis at times debatable (e.g. the *-te* clause in (12) p. 62). The analysis of the combination of the object-honorific and the subject-honorific (‘second-level honorifics’) elements in (2) (pp. 53–4) is incorrect: *tatematur* (NA)-*ase* (AH (not NA, as stated)) *tamafu* (AH) defines the object of the action (Genji) as relatively Higher than the subject (Murasaki) not vice versa, cf. also (10) (p. 60), where the first line should read *ofasimasan yori fa utizumi sesase* (*Genji monogatari taisei and NKBZ*).

Mieko Philips’ ‘Are Japanese women less feminine now? A study of sentence-final forms in Japanese women’s conversation’ (pp. 70–84), is a detailed quantitative study of some forms ‘traditionally’ considered gender-related; sentences, particles, modal elements, and copula and adjectival forms, in informal conversations comparing young and middle-aged female speakers of Standard Japanese. The data strongly suggest that women’s speech styles are changing. The young speakers did not use *-wa* or *-kashira*, and they used the neutral forms and the moderately masculine forms more frequently than did the older group, although these latter differences were not statistically significant. Conversations between pairs of six young male and female speakers showed that the gender of the addressee did not affect the young female speakers’ use of the sentence-final forms. Young-Key Kim-Renaud, ‘Change in Korean honorifics reflecting social change’ (pp. 27–46), is a general study speculating that ongoing innovations in honorifics are driven more specifically by changes in the interpersonal relationships brought about by an awareness of a modern democratic society.

Nicolas Tranter, in ‘Script “borrowing”, cultural influence and the development of the written vernacular in East Asia’ (pp. 180–204) sets up a useful taxonomy of influences between writing systems with regard to East Asian scripts. He also succeeds, in a brief space, in bringing out the cultural dynamics of the historical Chinese cultural sphere as a whole. In fact, the traditional peripheries do well in this volume. Tessa Carroll’s ‘Changing attitudes: dialects versus the standard language in Japan’ (pp. 7–24) covers

the period from 1980 onwards. Kazuko Matsumoto's 'Multilingualism in Palau: language contact with Japanese and English' (pp. 87–138) details multilingualism and attitudes to Palau, Japanese and English after the Japanese and US occupations (1914–45 and 1945–94, respectively). Both were accompanied by educational programmes in the dominant language and, in the Japanese case, by encouraging Japanese immigration and intermarriage (ethnic Japanese outnumbered Palauans by four to one in 1941 (p. 90)). The investigation is based on a questionnaire charting 223 individuals from the 17,000 inhabitants of the Palau Islands, from Palauan families, Japanese-Palauan families and Japanese-Palauan expatriate families. Finally, Karen Steffen Chung, in 'Some returned loans: Japanese loanwords in Taiwan Mandarin' (pp. 161–79), offers an entertaining exposé of the multifarious paths of loanwords. Not surprisingly, writing is often central. What Chung terms 'graphic loans' range from some solid building blocks of language, such as the often quite productive suffixes, of which the most recent is said to be 族 *zu*²/*-zoku* 'clan, group', e.g. 眼鏡族 *yan*³*jing*⁴*zu*² 'glasses wearers', to playful replacement of the 'attractive' *hiragana* の for 之 *zhi*¹ or 的 *de*, which have similar functions to Japanese genitive particle-nominalizer *no*.

There is no mention of how the workshop was financed, but it is to be hoped that there are the economic means somewhere to ensure that it will not be the last of its kind.

LONE TAKEUCHI

NANETTE GOTTLIEB and PING CHEN (ed.):

Language planning and language policy: East Asian perspectives.

x, 210 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001. £45.

Nanette Gottlieb and Ping Chen's co-edited volume provides a highly informative view of many key issues concerning language planning and language policy from the perspective of historical and also current developments in East Asia. The eight chapters of the book are written by four different authors and are uniformly excellent, and enjoyable and interesting to read, giving a tremendously clear picture of a wide range of topics with just the right amount of detail. The book will be useful and of interest to a range of different audiences. Teachers of introductory-level socio-linguistics will find that many of the chapters provide excellent illustrations and paradigm cases of the conflicts involved in language selection, standardization, language loss and also revival, and how socio-political forces frequently determine the development of language. The volume will also be very useful for students interested in the historical development of the area of East Asia and its culture. Finally, much of the book could also be used as part of any general linguistics course with a central focus on language and linguistics in East Asia and will be of value as an illustration of some of the competing factors involved in language development. Given the extremely clear way in which it is written, and the fact that no prior technical knowledge of the subjects discussed is assumed by the authors, *Language planning and language policy: East Asian perspectives* is a book which can be read and enjoyed by students and researchers at all levels. It will therefore be useful both as an introductory/intermediate level teaching resource and as a gateway-introduction for further, more advanced research. The authors should therefore be highly commended for producing such a valuable (and also very coherent) volume of papers.

Concerning the content, Gottlieb and Chen begin the volume with a useful chapter previewing what is to come, explaining the rationale for including the various chapters and what unifies the different themes under discussion. Chapter ii then focuses on 'Language planning and policy in Japan', and gives a very informative overview of recent and current issues in (primarily) the saga of written Japanese. Chapters iii and iv turn to Chinese and 'Development and standardization of lexicon in modern written Chinese' and 'Functions of phonetic writing in Chinese'. Both of these chapters continue the theme of difficulties facing the development of written forms that can be successfully learned and widely used by large populations rather than just small élites, and discuss the pros and cons of character-based vs. alphabetic systems of writing. Chapter iii also provides a highly informative picture of the historical development of modern written Chinese as a closer reflection of modern spoken Chinese and how it has been consciously developed from earlier forms of Chinese that were considerably different from colloquial speech. Following this, chapter v offers an extremely interesting description of the effects of the negative language planning policies implemented in Taiwan during the period of Japanese occupation from 1895–1945, and of how the population of post-occupation Taiwan has experienced further linguistic difficulties due to purely political factors influencing the language planning policies of governments in power since liberation in 1945. The chapter is a very clear and useful study of language loss, the manipulation of language for political ends, and how languages may sometimes also undergo regeneration. Chapter vi considers 'Language policy in Hong Kong during the colonial period before July 1, 1997', and presents a very informative picture of twentieth-century linguistic developments in the ex-British colony and how English and Chinese have been in regular competition in Hong Kong throughout this period. The chapter also includes discussion of the possible effects on language use of the return of Hong Kong to China and how Mandarin Chinese may come to have a more important role in the future daily life of Hong Kong. Chapter vii then reflects on 'North and South Korea: language policies of divergence and convergence' and notes the different influences on the post-war development of Korean in the north and in the south. The chapter interestingly suggests that both North and South Korea might be attempting to adopt policies that minimize (or at least do not increase) linguistic differences between them, perhaps in the hope that unification might one day be possible. Finally, chapter viii considers the historical development of written language forms in a country in the southern part of East Asia, Vietnam. 'Viet Nam: *Quoc Ngu*, colonialism and language policy' charts the competition between the use of Chinese character-based writing systems and Vietnam's current Roman alphabetic-based system *Quoc Ngu*, originally devised by Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century. It is shown that the success of *Quoc Ngu* has largely been due to changing political attitudes towards this written form in the mid- to late twentieth century, and that only in the postcolonial period has the ease with which it can be learned (compared to Chinese character systems) helped it spread through the population of Vietnam.

In conclusion, *Language planning and language policy: East Asian perspectives* provides its readers with a tremendous wealth of useful and well-presented information, and the points made in the various discussions extend well beyond the East Asian area, making it an extremely welcome and valuable new resource in the study of language planning and policy making.

ANDREW SIMPSON

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

MERVYN BROWN:

*War in Shangri-la: a memoir of civil war in Laos.*xix, 243 pp. London and New York: The Radcliffe Press, 2001.
£24.50.

It seems extraordinary now that outgoing president Dwight D. Eisenhower could have warned incoming president John F. Kennedy that the most combustible trouble spot in the Cold War world of 1961 was the tiny South-East Asian state of Laos. It was there rather than in South Vietnam that the United States would probably have to make a stand, Ike told JFK, for it was there that Communist advances had been most significant.

Those advances resulted from the breakdown of the first coalition government between the political right backed by the United States, neutralists favoured by France, and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao. Civil war followed, exacerbated by the US response to a pro-neutralist *coup d'état*. In the event, Kennedy decided to cut American losses and to back international attempts to neutralize Laos through formation of a second coalition government. The Geneva Agreements of 1962 were trumpeted as a great success, but they soon began to unravel and Laos was drawn inexorably into the maelstrom of the Second Indochina War.

Those were heady days, when Laos was a major focus of world interest, and through it all, from June 1960 to April 1963, Mervyn Brown was First Secretary at the British Embassy in Vientiane. This is the memoir, therefore, of an insider who was deeply involved in the diplomatic manoeuvring that went on, and who himself was the focus of world attention when he was captured and held for a month by communist guerrillas.

Brown tells his story well, interweaving the personal and the political with sufficient history and background to keep the reader with limited knowledge of South-East Asia fully informed. Numerous photographs, most taken by Brown himself, add greatly to the text and provide some flavour of what Brown evidently came to regard as a very special country. He even has kind words for his captors during his period of captivity.

The Browns, for Mervyn was accompanied throughout by his wife Beth, arrived in Laos accompanied by their fastidious Singaporean cook and his offsider in a somewhat unorthodox way that immediately revealed the casual charm of the country. From the Thai bank of the Mekong they simply took a boat upstream to the garden of their residence without bothering with customs. The Lao authorities were entirely understanding.

They had just time to get settled in before Captain Konglae's pro-neutralist *coup* changed the face of Lao politics. We are introduced to the wonderful cast of characters that made up the British mission, including a future professor of philosophy and an opium-smoking confidant of Ho Chi Minh. Two others were the military attaché, Colonel Hugh Toye, who later wrote a very fine history of Laos, and Ambassador John Addis who was to play an important role in convincing the Americans to shift their support from corrupt military strongman, General Phoumi Nosavan, to neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma.

The American response to Konglae's *coup* was throw their support behind General Phoumi. This resulted in a battle for Vientiane that revealed the

ineptitude of Phoumi's army and the reluctance of both sides to inflict casualties on the other. Most of the firing was in the air or by long-range artillery that inflicted most casualties on civilians. The outcome was to drive the neutralists into the arms of the Pathet Lao, and hand the latter control of the strategic Plain of Jars.

It was this that set the stage for Kennedy's change of heart, after the Soviet Union began an airlift to supply Communist and neutralist forces. It took until July 1962, however, to reach an agreement between the three Lao princes leading the three political factions on the composition of a new coalition government. Brown deftly reveals the degree of diplomatic pressure that had to be exerted, but his account is interspersed with funny incidents and the personal interests that the Browns pursued, notably music, tennis and bridge.

Skill at cards opened up diplomatic opportunities, for Brown's playing partners were often Souvanna Phouma and his half-brother, Pathet Lao leader Prince Souphanouvong. Card evenings gave Brown a remarkable opportunity to appreciate the attitudes and psychology of both men, and to gauge their strengths and weaknesses. Souvanna comes across as an aristocratic patriot, but it is Brown's view of the intellectually brilliant Souphanouvong that is more controversial. Brown is convinced that even in the early 1960s Souphanouvong was not a committed Communist, but rather a nationalist first who was genuinely prepared to make a coalition government work.

The other controversial case Brown makes is that American policy in Laos was fundamentally flawed, and that Washington was as a result largely responsible not just for decades of damage and suffering inflicted on the Lao people, but ultimately for the 1975 victory of the Pathet Lao and all that followed from it. In a thoughtful final chapter, Brown examines the failure of American policy in Laos, singling out Washington's inability to appreciate that Communism was not a monolithic world conspiracy, mistaken belief in the domino theory, and misjudgement of the character and motivation of the principal players in Lao politics.

Brown sketches the subsequent fate of communist Laos, and admits he has never been back, for his Lao friends are now dead or in exile. But he retains fond memories of what was an extraordinary interlude in an illustrious career. (Brown was later High Commissioner to Tanzania and Ambassador to Madagascar, on which he has written a well regarded history.) What comes through in this memoir is the character of Brown himself—sympathetic, sensitive, intelligent. By such men the British Foreign Office was well served.

MARTIN STUART-FOX

KEES VAN DIJK:

A country in despair: Indonesia between 1997 and 2000.

viii, 621 pp. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2001.

There's no denying the enterprise in this book. It is a dense, detailed and carefully constructed 600-page account of Indonesia's political progress (or, rather, disintegration) between 1997 and the end of 2000. These years cover the country's fall from economic grace in 1997–98, the forced resignation of President Suharto in May 1998, the short-lived presidency of B. J. Habibie, and much of the disappointing presidency of Abdurrahman Wahid.

The question is: why devote so much time and energy to such a project? The preface doesn't give us much of a clue. Kees van Dijk writes that he 'ran into

Harry Poeze, director of KITLV Press, in the corridor and we discussed the idea of writing this book' (p. viii). The initial intention was to write an account of the fall of Suharto, but because the events post-May 1998 'proved to be at least as interesting' it ended up stretching through to the end of 2000. The book, presumably, is intended as a record of events of this apocalyptic period in Indonesia's history. But because there is no obvious point of termination, the book fizzles to a rather unsatisfactory close. Rather than rounding things off or drawing out the implications of the earlier discussion, we learn in the final paragraph of ch. xx that if all Indonesia's other problems weren't enough, forest fires have broken out in Sumatra and Kalimantan. Then (presumably) with yet more 'interesting' events occurring while the book was in press the author has been permitted an epilogue taking the discussion through to the end of December 2000. This concludes in a similar fashion, noting the bomb attacks on churches across the country on Christmas Eve 2000.

Drawing largely on newspaper and magazine accounts, the book provides a clear, blow-by-blow account of the years, months, weeks and days in question. But anyone interested in an analysis and deeper interpretation of what occurred during this extraordinary period in Indonesia's history will not find it here. Take the economic crisis. The author describes the fall of the rupiah, the IMF's 'rescue', and the role of Suharto's cronies, for instance—but he does not engage (or not in any detail) with the debates over the nature of Asian capitalism, the role of the IMF and World Bank (and the so-called Washington Consensus), the vulnerability associated with global integration, or issues such as the sequencing of reforms. The same is true of Indonesia's political turmoil. There is little attempt to reflect on political events in the country in the light of larger and wider debates in academia and beyond.

Perhaps this is expecting too much of a volume which was never intended to provide such an analysis. The author is a historian and this is largely a historical account. I have no doubt that the book will be extensively used and will become an important source text for those wanting to find out the exact sequence of historical events, or who the key players were in any particular political wrangle. In these terms the author has provided a detailed and useful account. The book also has some handy appendices—the membership of all the cabinets between 1993 and 2000, key military officers, and so on—and there are three useful indexes (a general index, a geographical index, and a key persons index). It would have been useful, I think, to have had a summary chronology of events too.

JONATHAN RIGG

AFRICA

ROBIN LAW (ed.):

The English in West Africa 1685–1688: the local correspondence of the Royal African Company of England, 1681–1699. Part 2.

(*Fontes Historiae Africanae*, New Series. Sources of African History, 5.) xvi, 468 pp. Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 2001. £45.

This volume is the second instalment of Robin Law's fine critical edition of the local correspondence of the Royal African Company of England (RAC)

for the years 1681 to 1699. The RAC was chartered in 1672 with monopoly rights to conduct trade with West Africa. Headquartered at Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana), the company maintained a string of forts and factories stretching at various times from Gambia in the west to Benin (in modern Nigeria) in the east. Its main area of operation was the Gold Coast and the contiguous 'Slave Coast', a 500-mile stretch of the West African littoral where in the last quarter of the seventeenth century it competed with rival European companies and private 'interlopers' for the lucrative trade in gold and slaves. The RAC went into decline after losing its legal monopoly in 1698 and although it continued to manage the English outposts on the Gulf of Guinea until 1752, by the early eighteenth century it had effectively ceased to operate as a trading concern. At some stage during this period of decline, three bound volumes of correspondence from the company's outstations to its local headquarters at Cape Coast found their way into the collection of Richard Rawlinson and, ultimately, into the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It is this manuscript collection of over 3,000 letters that Robin Law has undertaken to edit, and the result is a highly valuable addition to the corpus of source materials for the history of precolonial West Africa and the transatlantic slave trade.

Part 1 of *The English in West Africa* (reviewed in *BSOAS* 61/3, 606–7) contained the first continuous sequence of 640 letters in the Rawlinson collection, covering the period January 1681 to November 1683. The present volume contains the next sequence: 998 letters beginning, after a two year hiatus, in January 1686 and continuing to April 1688. As in Part 1, the editor has regrouped the correspondence from the original letter-books according to geographical provenance, thereby allowing the reader conveniently to follow events in each of the RAC's nine coastal outposts: James Island in the Gambia River, Sekondi, Komenda, Fredericksburg, Anashan, Anomabu, Egya and Accra on the Gold Coast, and Whydah on the Slave Coast. A tenth chapter collects letters originating from RAC ships, both those engaged in transatlantic voyages and those involved in the extensive coasting trade. This material not only supplements that originating from dry land but also serves to extend the range of the correspondence to stretches of coast where the company had no permanent presence, such as the Adangme country east of Accra. Finally, in a departure from the 1681–83 sequence, two short chapters contain, respectively, letters from company agents in Barbados and from West African-based representatives of the rival Dutch West India Company and the Danish African Company. The letters are presented with a minimum of editorial intervention and are supported by a learned and very user-friendly scholarly apparatus. In addition to informative introductions to each chapter, Law provides a concordance listing the location of every letter in the original corpus, glossaries of non-English words and seventeenth-century trade goods (enabling non-specialist readers to sort their bafts from their brawls and boysadoes), maps and a range of detailed indexes. In short, this is in all respects a model critical edition of an historical text.

As an historical source, Part 2 of *The English in West Africa* only confirms the impression given by its predecessor that the wealth of detail on the organization of the African end of the Atlantic economy contained in the Rawlinson corpus is matched by few other contemporary texts. Topics that emerge particularly strongly from the 1686–88 correspondence include the nature of local consumption patterns, the struggle on the part of RAC factors to maintain trade in the face of cut-throat competition from rival companies and interlopers, and the quotidian complexities of the tripartite relationship

between European factors, their African agents and indigenous rulers. There is also further vital material on the articulation of the transatlantic trade with local economies and societies. The late seventeenth century was a key period in the history of European trade in West Africa. Although gold remained the most important export commodity from western Gold Coast ports such as Sekondi, Komenda and Anomabu, the rising demand for slaves from the new Caribbean sugar plantations from mid-century was beginning to interact with internal factors in ways that would refashion the nature of commercial relations and of indigenous African politics. This was especially evident on the eastern Gold Coast, where throughout the 1680s the expansionist interior state of Akwamu was engaged in a series of military campaigns against coastal peoples that were directing rising numbers of war captives to the RAC fort at Accra. Away to the east on the Slave Coast, meanwhile, the company's earlier outpost at Offra had been superseded by a new factory at Whydah, that by the mid-1680s had become the most important centre of the English slave trade in West Africa. There are few moments of levity for historians facing the often grim task of reconstructing this period of escalating slave exports, violence and insecurity. A wry smile was brought to the face of this reviewer, however, by Marcus Bedford Whiting's letter from James Fort, Accra, dated 18 January 1688 (p. 314). Whiting details how the slave ship *Mary*, anchored in the Accra roads, was set alight and very nearly burnt to the waterline by a monkey, which escaped into the rigging after the First Mate had tied a burning cracker to its tail.

Once again, Robin Law should be congratulated for his ongoing efforts in placing this vital source for the history of precolonial West Africa and the slave trade in the public domain.

JOHN PARKER

GENERAL

KARMA LEKSHE TSOMO (ed.):

Innovative Buddhist women: swimming against the stream.

xxviii, 354 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000. £15.99.

Innovative Buddhist women is a collection of twenty-seven articles drawn from papers presented at Śākyadhītā (International Association of Buddhist Women) conferences in 1998. They portray the lives of past and present women who 'swim against the stream' both spiritually, in their aspiration to understand the higher levels of the Buddha's teaching, and socially, in their attempt to forge opportunities for women to undertake that spiritual path in the face of societal expectations and obstacles. The contents of each chapter are outlined by Tsomo in her introduction (pp. xix–xxv). The full bibliography and the detailed bibliographical notes of the introduction testify to the great increase in literature on female Buddhism in the past twenty years, and particularly in the latter half of that period.

Most of the articles in Part 1 describe Buddhist women of the present or recent past, and offer up-to-date information on current and emerging developments. A few, such as Bhikkhunī Kusuma's re-examination of the *gurudhamma*, the now notorious additional rules mainly ensuring nuns' subjugation to monks (ch. i), and Hema Goonatilake's account of significant

women in the history of Cambodian Buddhism (ch. vii), tackle the difficulty of establishing the early and medieval history of female Buddhism from the meagre evidence that has survived in material mainly preserved through histories fashioned by and for men. The chapters in Part 1 are organized by region: South Asia, South-East Asia, East Asia, the Himalayas and Hawaii, the last being significant as the first major centre of Buddhism in the (then to become) USA. Access to this geographical diversity is assisted by the glossary, which includes all the main terms for female renunciators in different countries and languages (pp. xiii–xvii).

Part 2, 'Women in compassionate social action', looks at women's application of Buddhist ideals to modern issues such as race, human rights and peace. Some of the chapters in this section contextualize and raise questions for current debate that might inform future action. These include Elizabeth Harris' discussion of the simplistic under- and mis-representation of Buddhism in the media (ch. xxi) and Gabriele Küstermann's exploration of the dangers of cultural miscommunication in the realm of sexual (mis)conduct in the transference of Buddhism to the West (ch. xxiii). Others are more personal, such as Trina Nahm-Mijo's reflections on the inter-relatedness of self-transformation and social-transformation through Buddhist-influenced story telling in dance and literature.

The contributors (brief details pp. viii–xii) include both Buddhists and academics. Most tread both paths, and this straddling of the divide is reflected in the articles, which both celebrate and exhort achievements by and for Buddhist women, and provide useful accounts of historical and current developments in Buddhism. Several of the articles, in that they touch on subjects little available in English-language media, such as the Theravāda Buddhism of Bangladesh (ch. iv by Tsomo), Cambodian history (ch. vii by Goonatilake) and the increasing popularity of Theravāda in Kathmandu (ch. ii by Sarah LeVine), are useful resources for the study of Buddhism generally in those regions. Most articles are also of general introductory use in that, being aimed at a wider, non-academic audience, they offer clear and succinct backgrounds to a particular area or tradition of Buddhism by way of contextualizing the focus of discussion.

Recurring themes throughout many of the chapters of Part 1 include: different societal expectations for men and women; differences between the expectations men and women place on themselves and the consequent lower 'drop-out' rate of female renunciators; the difficulty of legitimizing and authorizing female renunciation; the lack of educational opportunity available for female Buddhists in some Asian countries, ways in which this compounds their lower status, and attempts to rectify this; and extraordinary achievements of individual women to pursue spiritual paths against the odds and regardless of whether a recognized order of nuns is accessible to them. Increasingly, the inner diversity within female Buddhism of individual regions and countries is becoming apparent in recent writings such as this, reflecting progress in moving away from ideas of a single 'Buddhist feminism' or 'female Buddhism'.

The accounts are moving and inspiring, though the tenor of many may hinder their use or acceptance in Buddhist Studies more generally. While this is a secondary consideration compared with the primary concerns of making the Buddhist path more accessible to women and motivating them on the Buddhist path, it may nevertheless contribute to the continued marginalization of gender studies in Buddhology. Like the Buddha of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the writers preach to the converted. Perhaps it would be possible at the same

time, like the Buddha in *Sutta* texts, to adapt the message for a wider academic audience by employing some of the techniques of persuasion and magical skills that might inspire such listeners. Bhikkhunī Kusuma's claims of inconsistencies in the account of the establishment of the nuns' order, for example, would carry greater weight if the chapter displayed the detailed philological work that informs those claims. Similarly, the article on Bangladesh would be useful in teaching if the current state of female Buddhism there were presented without or separately from its current emphasis on how to transform what is described. Nevertheless, the papers are short and aim to serve a different purpose. They form part of what they describe: the increasing self-sufficiency and globalization of the Buddhism of women.

KATE CROSBY

SUKANTA CHAUDHURI:

Translation and understanding.

vii, 89 pp. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999. £11.99.

The title of this volume is reminiscent of George Steiner's assertion that in every event where meaning and understanding are involved 'translation is formally and pragmatically present', *After Babel* (preface to second edition, Oxford, 1975). Chaudhuri's own proposals fit well with Steiner's rejection of the possibility of theories of translation in favour of 'reasoned descriptions of processes'. And like Steiner, Chaudhuri employs an amazing diversity of examples with which to illustrate his argument.

In the opening chapter of his book Chaudhuri restates the view that no translation activity takes place in a vacuum, that all translations are rooted in specific historical and cultural contexts and that each has its own purpose and method. The relationship between a source document and a translation is not the relationship between two texts, but between two cultures or mind-sets which are mutually influential. Chaudhuri illustrates this complexity with reference to classical and vernacular writing in Europe, and to the interplay between the dominant and colonized cultures and languages of empire and postcolonial literature.

'Relativism and essentialism are the two obverse, equal articles of the translator's faith' (p. 33). Having discussed the first in ch. i, in ch. ii, entitled 'The translator as sceptic', Chaudhuri asks whether sense can be separated from form, and whether at a profound level there is common ground between languages. As a sceptic, Chaudhuri approaches all texts with open acceptance. Accordingly his own view of translation promotes the relativist standpoint, seeing the translation process as the dynamic interaction between two cultures and systems of communication. The source and target texts portray constantly changing alternative versions of reality. The aim must always be 'to displace or destabilize the hegemonically dominant language—which can be either source or target language' (p. 35), and Chaudhuri supplies examples from Rushdie, Naipaul and Radice of how this can be achieved in practice.

The next topic Chaudhuri addresses, namely the conflict between the demand for the translator to be 'faithful' to the original and at the same time to produce a text which is credible in terms of target language norms, is a central concern of much debate on translation. Examples of auto-translation, including Rabindranath Thakur (Bengali/English), Nabokov (Russian/English) and Samuel Beckett (French/English), are used along with examples from

Renaissance literature, to illustrate the enormous variety of ways in which original and 'translation' (the term is widened to include adaptation and free reworking) can relate to one another. There is no simple correspondence between the two but instead an intricate interweaving of influences from the literary corpus of the two cultures involved. Applying the label 'anticipated translation' Chaudhuri looks at Indian writers who use English to write novels set in Indian language contexts, and warns of the danger that the growth in this area of fiction might reduce the demand for translation into English of works written in Indian languages.

In his fourth and final chapter Chaudhuri identifies the threat of unilingualism (an outlook which is firmly based on a single language), as opposed to monolingualism (knowing and using only one language). He demonstrates that neither monolingualism nor multilingualism (a situation where many languages operate at different levels and in conjunction) guarantees harmonious relations between communities. Here he introduces a plea for an ethical dimension to translation activity, the morally responsible engagement of the translator in transfers between cultures.

A reader who has little knowledge of the field of Translation Studies might sometimes struggle to follow Chaudhuri's line of thought. Often the references and points he makes assume a degree of familiarity with the subject area and are not fully expounded. Considering this is a fairly short book, the range of topics covered is extensive. The author's style is conversational, evidence that he is completely in control of his material, and effectively communicates his fascination with his subject. The argument is not driven forwards with determination but rather moves between different aspects of the overall topic, pausing to examine a variety of examples along the way, with a leaning towards Indian and in particular Bengali settings (Rabindranath, Bankimchandra, Michael Madhusudan, Bengali as spoken in West Bengal and Bangladesh).

There are some delightful images which aptly capture the situation being described. Translators draw on the funds of another language-bank and 'set up a joint venture with another cultural corporation' (p. 11), 'translation resembles nothing so much as the encounter of two strange dogs sniffing and circling each other' (p. 22), in terms of our linguistic situation most of us are like children paddling by the shore of the deep ocean in which all languages meet (p. 34). Chaudhuri has a penchant for paradox: 'Creation presupposes translation in some sense or other; but equally, creation, by definition, precludes translation' (p. 63), 'the only value-added translation, it seems, is the imperfect one' (p. 65), 'translation draws us away from the source, but equally draws us towards it' (p. 78).

All in all, I found this book an enjoyable and stimulating read.

ALISON MUKHERJEE

KATARZYNA CWIERTKA and BOUDEWIJN WALRAVEN (ed.):

Asian food: the global and the local.

(ConsumAsiaN.) x, 190 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002.
£40.

This timely contribution on the forces of culinary globalization takes its twin inspirations from the anthropological studies on cooking by Jack Goody and the historical work of Sidney Mintz on 'power and sweetness' and the rise of

sugar consumption in world history. The anthropological interests of the editors naturally predominate, finding place for essays on Hong Kong, Madras, Japan, South Korea, Asians in Scotland, and on Japanese, Chinese and Indonesians in the Netherlands. Just as fascinating, however, to this reviewer was an essay by Adel P. Den Hartog on the history of milk products in Indonesia stretching back into colonial times, which makes clear the role of improving food technology throughout history—to say nothing of international commerce—in promoting the spread of new foods. More emphasis on history and on technology might have been welcome, for example in accounting for the rise of the Chinese takeaway, which unlike fish and chips, for which paper wrapping is usually sufficient, is crucially dependent on a metal foil or other container to preserve its consumability. While I have noticed references to Chinese takeaway food in the 1930s, I do not know when the underlying disposable takeaway technology was invented.

Elsewhere, too, historical considerations seem to have been minimized in giving the book an up-to-the-minute, late twentieth-century slant. One suspects, for example, that the Netherlands at the end of the Second World War may not provide a generally applicable baseline against which to measure the spread of exotic influences in Europe, since from what I have been told by a British visitor at that time, I believe that cinnamon consumption there was for historical reasons already much higher than, say, in Great Britain, even if British colonialism no doubt had by the same time already brought about equivalent idiosyncrasies in the British diet. One trusts, too, that Figure 4.1 on p. 68 is designed to show how the ideal of slimness, rather than slimmness, is promoted by the Japanese media. Such reservations, however, scarcely affect the value of this collection, which boldly confronts not only the globalization of food but also local reactions, such as Walraven's depiction of dog meat eating in Korea as a laudable form of resistance to external influences, even though in times past dog has scarcely been a national dish.

The 1998 workshop upon which the volume is based evidently came too late to incorporate Jack Goody's latest observations on his topic, such as an essay on 'The globalisation of Chinese food', contained in his collection *Food and love: a cultural history of East and West* (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 161–71. This piece speaks with all the due weight of experience of the changes that Goody has seen over the years even in his immediate Cambridge environment. A more detailed history of this microenvironment, however, might have served to modify the remarks on local adaptation by Walraven that end his second, retrospective, contribution to the volume. True, for the moment mushroom and mango sushi, and 'Hawaiian' pizza with pineapple, may appear to be beckoning towards a future where a diversity of bastardizations of exotic products spring up like weeds in local markets to choke out any genuine imported products. But I do remember encountering once, in an establishment passed over in silence by Goody, an entity named a 'pizza chung fui', which incorporated not only pineapple but sweet and sour sauce. That establishment is now long closed, and I have never seen a 'pizza chung fui' since—as I would hope, because it is not possible to fool all of the people all of the time, and because they can actually learn what is good in other cultures rather than have a patently bogus exoticism foisted upon them. Doubtless, however, the course of the twenty-first century will resolve this issue, as it will many others raised by this entertaining, thought-provoking, but not always mouth-watering book.

T. H. BARRETT

YOSHINO KOSAKU (ed.):

Consuming ethnicity and nationalism: Asian experiences.

(ConsumAsiaN.) 202 pp. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999.

£40.

This edited volume must be understood within the broader context of Yoshino's own work. His earlier book, *Cultural nationalism in contemporary Japan* (London: Routledge, 1992), was written partially as a response to those who argued that Japan's nationalist discourse made greater and more worrying claims to 'uniqueness' than that of other countries. In this earlier work, Yoshino made a measured and convincing argument for understanding the development and modern contexts of Japan's cultural nationalism and analysed it in relation to broader theories of nationalism. This book, while not necessarily a follow-up, is an interesting addition to his previous points about cultural nationalism being a product of both local and global processes. By asking experts on Asia to explore, in various ways, the construction of cultural nationalisms outside of Japan, but also outside of the dominant Western paradigm, Yoshino would appear to be trying to argue for a typology of nationalisms.

However, Yoshino's very general introduction does little more than sum up the book's chapters, and his own chapter, 'Rethinking theories of nationalism', while illustrating how Japanese nationalism is created and consumed by the Japanese, covers much of the same ground as his first book. Thus the strength of this new book lies in the variety of approaches and case studies given to us by the other authors, who include Steven Kemper, Dru C. Gladney, Shih-chung Hsieh, Laurel Kendall, Shamsul A. B., Christine R. Yano and Koichi Iwabuchi. In fact, several of these chapters are fascinating and I immediately recommended them to my students.

I was especially struck by Gladney's long chapter on 'Representing nationality in China', which neatly documents how the exotic 'Other' for the Chinese is to be found in the representation of the country's own minorities: buxom, scantily-clad, sexually free and ethnic maidens appear in murals, films and domestic tourist adverts. The internal construction of what is appropriately Chinese is left to the reader to work out, but it is well worth the read to learn that there might well be something universal about the construction of the Other. This theme of domestic tourism and internal Others is continued in Hsieh's chapter on 'Representing aborigines: modelling Taiwan's "mountain culture"' and examined in terms of competing interests in Kendall's chapter on Korea: 'Peoples under glass'. While Yoshino continues to pinpoint 'intellectuals' as a source of promoting ideas of cultural nationalism, these chapters well demonstrate that equally important in the process are bottom-up notions of what constitutes mainstream society. Yet, as Shamsul A. B.'s chapter goes on to demonstrate, academia—anthropology in particular—does continue to play a large role in the creation of cultural nationalisms. 'Consuming anthropology: the social sciences and nation-formation in Malaysia' is both an exhilarating description of a society that takes its social anthropology seriously and a somewhat frightening depiction of how it can go on to matter so very little. Of the thousands, yes thousands, of undergraduates trained in the discipline in Malaysia very few go on to postgraduate degrees in the subject. Shamsul A. B.'s point is that this subject, once seen as the handmaiden of colonialism, has now become a tool for constructing Malay identity; this is not really a cheering thought, since it

would appear that anthropology as an objective discipline remains an impossible ideal.

The emotive power of nationalist and ethnic discourses is explored in some of the remaining chapters: how Sri Lanka maintains its rather tenuous hold on the idea of a single national culture is explored by Kemper's chapter, 'The nation consumed'; while Yano looks at the role popular culture plays in maintaining nostalgia for an idealized, homogeneous Japanese past in 'Distant homelands'. Japanese popular music serves as an excellent example of how the nation state needs the mass media to create its imagined community. Finally, Iwabuchi tackles the ever-interesting question of how this very same popular culture might be able to travel and be consumed outside of its local, national, context in his 'Return to Asia? Japan in Asian audiovisual markets'. This last chapter, by exploring the possible universality of local culture, serves as an interesting counterpoint to Yoshino's brief introduction, where he argues that while globalization must be taken on board by scholars of Asia, it would not do to ignore the continued power of nationalist discourses. Iwabuchi seems to be following Anderson's point (*Imagined communities*, 1991) that there is a shallow side to nationalistic discourse, and his chapter asks if it is not precisely this lack of depth which allows seemingly very local representations to be successful abroad.

Does the book stand as a cogent argument for something different in the Asian experiences of ethnicity and nationalism? Save for the chapter on anthropology and Malaysia, I found little that was necessarily Asian or unusual about these case studies. Varied as experiences of nationalism might be, the nation state seems to use surprisingly similar mechanisms to produce loyalty and sentiment in its citizens: education, museums, domestic tourism, the construction of internal Others, and foreigners—all of which are propagated through the technologies of the mass media. Well edited by Yoshino and thus very readable, this book could serve as a useful textbook for all sorts of subjects: area studies, courses on nationalism, popular culture or anthropology. At £40, however, it is rather expensive for a textbook and I hope that a paperback already exists or is on the way.

D. P. MARTINEZ

SHORT NOTICES

DAVID T. RUNIA (ed.):

The Studia Philonica annual. Studies in Hellenistic Judaism, vol. VIII. (Brown Judaic Studies, 309.), 228 pp. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996.

This volume of the *Studia Philonica* has five sections: (1) articles of general interest; (2) a special section devoted to Philo and mysticism; (3) instruments; (4) a bibliographic section; and (5) review articles.

In the first section J. Whittaker explains Philo's rational element in the soul in 'The terminology of the rational in the writings of Philo of Alexandria' (pp. 1–20); K. L. Gaca then focuses on the principles of sexual conduct and argues that Philo combines the Pythagorean principle of procreationism and the LXX sexual regulation ('Philo's principles of sexual conduct and their influence on Christian Platonist sexual principles', pp. 21–39). In 'Philo on

the Cherubim', pp. 40–57, F. Strickert analyses Philo's etymology for the name Cherubim and his interpretation of 'power of God'. C. Carlier discusses the subtitle of Jean Sichard's 1527 edition: *Philonis Iudaei liber de statu Essaeorum, id est Monachorum qui temporibus Agrippae Regis monasteria sibi fecerunt* (pp. 58–72: 'Sur un titre latin du *De Vita Contemplativa*').

In addition to the very useful sections of Instrumenta (pp. 107–21: J. R. Royse, 'Yonge's collection of fragments of Philo'), Philo's bibliography and a review article by D. Winston on Aristobulos 'Aristobulos: from Walter to Holladay', pp. 155–66), special attention is reserved for the topic of 'Philo and mysticism'. The question dealt with here is not primarily the nature of Philo's mysticism, but rather the reception of the Alexandrian philosophy as mystical authority. Winston's article ('Philo's mysticism', pp. 74–82) attempts to define mysticism and then examine Philo's work in searching for correspondences and parallels. His definition of mysticism reads: 'the claim that a direct experience of the Ultimate reality is possible through a profound awakening that takes place, however briefly, within the soul's interior. This experience is neither envisaged as essential conceptual nor is it perceived as a psychic invasion from without'. My simple and naïve question is: what is the source of such a definition? The concept 'experience' brings to mind Thomas Aquinas's own definition of mysticism: *cognitio dei experimentalis*. The aim of mystical dealing is an experienced knowledge of God which is, according to the scholastic philosopher, purely conceptual and has little to do with sensory experience. Winston accepts the experience, but rejects its conceptuality. A mere experience of mysticism without conceptualization of the same experience as the essential presupposition for understanding and communicating, is the *conditio sine qua non* of mystical texts. The reception of Philo's mysticism is the final topic, and it is addressed by B. E. Daley ("Bright darkness" and Christian transformation: Gregory of Nyssa on the dynamics of mystical union', pp. 83–98) and E. R. Wolfson ('Traces of Philonic doctrine in medieval Jewish mysticism: a preliminary note', pp. 99–106). While, for the Christian tradition, it is not difficult to show how deeply 'mystical' was the reception of Philo, the same question is rather more difficult when applied to Jewish tradition. Wolfson's conclusion is meaningful: 'I cannot say with certainty that the kabbalistic author was influenced by Philo. It is possible that other sources (Jewish, Christian, or Islamic) led to the formulation of his views'.

This volume is to be recommended not only for those who are interested in Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy, but also for students of Jewish studies and comparative religion.

GIUSEPPE VELTRI

NIVEDITA MENON (ed.):

Gender and politics in India.

(Themes in Politics.) xi, 539 pp. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001 (hardback edition, 1999). Rs. 575.

Having received excellent reviews, this volume is finally out in paperback, allowing it to reach the wider audience that it deserves. The fifteen essays in the collection are written by specialists in various disciplines, including well established academics as well as activists within the women's movement, and draw together emerging debates in the field of gender studies. Divided

into seven parts (Gender and the environment, Work, Law, The women's movement, Women, Community rights, Victimhood/Agency, and Sexuality) the book covers a range of views and issues in relation to gender theory, politics and practice.

Themes used to consider wider feminist issues in relation to the state, society and colonialism include religion, politics and development. For example, the traditional perceptions of cultural practices such as caste and 'sati' are reinterpreted and challenged using a gender analysis. The interaction of the legal system, nationalist movements and development strategies with formal women's organizations show that women's issues in India can no longer be confined to health and reproductive roles. The representation of gender issues in the broader framework of society contributes an awareness of ongoing debates and challenges that influence the public and private spheres of both men and women in contemporary South Asia. This book is essential reading for students of gender studies and an invaluable source for anyone interested in gender issues in relation to India.

SHIRLEY GONSALVES

VERNER BICKLEY:

Searching for Frederick and adventures along the way.

418 pp. Hong Kong: Asia 2000 Ltd., 2001. HK \$195.

The author of this somewhat hybrid work (described on the cover as 'Travel/History') accompanied his wife in her travels and research towards a biography of the pioneer Hong Kong educator Frederick Stewart (1836–89). Here he publishes a narrative of their adventures, and on the perfectly reasonable assumption that others will need to follow in their footsteps in tracking down other Scots of the age of high imperialism who rose from humble beginnings to high profile careers in distant parts of the world, adds helpful notes on the contact details of organizations that they found of value. Since half of these tend to be the addresses of hotels, pubs and clubs, it soon becomes evident that the book will be of the greatest value to those in a position to pursue such research at a leisurely pace, mixed with a little light tourism. Academic researchers might well have preferred more information on the archives consulted and (alas for the author's intentions) none of the interspersed anecdotes. Worse than that, those who are obliged to publish or perish are especially interested in the short cuts—the published catalogue or index that can save a wasted journey—and while there is a reasonable amount of bibliographical information to be found here, it is again incidental rather than systematic, so that even existing guides to genealogical research in Scotland are not mentioned.

This is a pity, and at least the Bickleys deserve some credit with academics for pointing up a persistent problem and offering what help they can from their own research notes. The history of imperialism took many Scots, and many others, across the world far from their blue, remembered hills, regularly involving modern historians in research in two very different environments. Even for East Asia some specialized introductions to this type of research already exist—one thinks of K. C. Liu, *Americans and Chinese: a historical essay and a bibliography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1963), for instance. For lives spanning the British Isles and East Asia, however, historians have to get along by word of mouth advice from more experienced researchers, or

else by simple trial and error. Yet plenty of useful published aids do exist, which were not pertinent to the particular subject of the book under review—the catalogues of the Swire and Addis papers in the SOAS library, for example. And by the time a handbook for this area is eventually produced, the contact details listed in the work under review, as is acknowledged on p. 24, will probably no longer be current. For the time being, however, it is at least worth bearing in mind as a possible if restricted source of information.

T. H. BARRETT

ON-CHO NG:

Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in the Early Qing: Li Guangdi (1642–1718) and Qing learning.

(SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) ix, 258 pp.

Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001. \$22.95.

The modern re-evaluation of Chinese thought from the seventeenth century onwards was initially largely the work of revisionist Chinese scholars of the Republican period such as Liang Qichao and Hu Shi, who very naturally tended to lay the emphasis of their research on those Confucians who diverged to a greater or lesser extent from the orthodoxy espoused by the Manchus, against whom the Republicans had risen in 1911. As a result a number of intrinsically interesting and often quite influential figures of the period who remained more conventionally within the bounds of the Cheng-Zhu school have had to wait rather longer than one might have hoped to receive their due in terms of critical attention. Li Guangdi, one of the leading scholars during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor and an observer of the highest levels of government important enough to appear on several occasions in Jonathan Spence's remarkable 'self-portrait' of that monarch, *Emperor of China* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), is just one such figure, but in this handy volume by On-cho Ng the main features of his thought are presented in a way that relates him convincingly to the less orthodox great names that have attracted our attention hitherto.

Of course Li's standing as a Neo-Confucian marks only part of his significance, even (leaving aside entirely his career as a statesman) as an intellectual leader. He participated in many of the scholarly trends of the time, showing an interest in such topics as mathematics and phonology (notably as initiator of the important *Yinyun chanwei*) which have been seen as marking out a new course for Qing thinkers. True, Ng does devote his penultimate chapter to all these other aspects of Li's activities, and most get at least a mention. But Li's world must in any case have been very different from that of any recent predecessors up to the middle of the seventeenth century if only because, unlike them, he was not simply a Chinese speaker but also proficient in an entirely different language, Manchu. Ng of course mentions this fact (p. 52), and remarks in passing on its relevance to his philological interests, though his biography in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* states more directly that the connection was pointed out explicitly by Li himself. It might have been rewarding to ponder the extent to which his approach to the Confucian heritage was informed by the experience of having to present it to his ruler in a foreign tongue. That Li lived in a culturally intriguing situation is further suggested by his inclusion of research derived from the Jesuit figurist Joachim Bouvet in his well-known commentary on the

Yijing, the *Zhouyi zhezong*, in 1715, according to a Jesuit source cited by Claudia von Collani in N. Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Volume One (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), p. 675.

Ng, to be sure, certainly cannot be blamed for not doing more than he sets out to do, namely making a substantial and useful contribution to the ever-burgeoning number of English-language studies of Neo-Confucianism. Even so, one notices from p. ix of the acknowledgements that he, as lead vocalist and guitarist in the blues-jazz band The Irreconcilable Differences, is no stranger himself to culturally intriguing situations. Should the suggestion that this aspect of Li Guangdi's life and thought merits further attention find favour, then surely there is no one better than Ng to pursue the matter.

T. H. BARRETT

AUGUSTIN BERQUE:

Japan: cities and social bonds. (Translated by Christopher Turner.): 234 pp. Yelvertoft Manor, Northamptonshire: Pilkington Press, 1997.

This is one of two books by the noted French geographer Augustin Berque to be published recently in English translation—the other being *Nature, artifice and Japanese culture* (Yelverton Manor, Northamptonshire: Pilkington Press, 1997). The appearance of these two volumes in English is most welcome, making more accessible to an English-language audience the work of a major French thinker.

Japan: cities and social bonds is a seamless journey through Berque's ideas about Japan and Japanese cities. The journey starts (the metaphor is one adopted by the author) with rivers and a disquisition on fairly well-established notions of flow and process in the Japanese urban experience. From there, Berque takes his reader on a grand tour over the whole terrain of discussion on Japanese cities. On his way, he draws us into a richly textured world of spatial motifs, towns linked like the linked poetry of the seventeenth century and earlier, and steps leading to nowhere.

The perspective is a wide one and the insights run deep. The chapters on the postmodern interpretation of Japanese cities and Tokyo as dominating matrices of Japanese urbanism (ch. vi and vii) provide a variety of *aperçues* that bring together differing approaches to the way we think about and read cities. Berque's work is of special value (and the book under review no exception) for the references to and integration of the ideas of leading Japanese writers.

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