

REVIEWS

THE ANCIENT WORLD

SACHA STERN:

Time and Process in Ancient Judaism.

viii, 144 pp. Oxford and Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003. £19.95.

Perhaps the catalyst was Stephen Hawking's brief history, or perhaps it was simply our preoccupation with the commodity we think we most lack, but time has been a hot topic for the past few years; Sacha Stern has tapped into a *Zeitgeist*.

His readable short study has six chapters covering time in early rabbinic culture, timing and time reckoning, the calendar, chronology and history, time and ethics, time in Greek and Jewish Hellenistic culture, and time in Jewish culture and the Ancient Near East. It is pitched for professionals among others, but the scholarly apparatus could be better. The subject index is on the short side and one feels especially the lack of an index of primary and secondary sources, not least because Stern consults an impressive range of texts.

Stern's interest in time emerged from an assumption shared by him and a conference organizer that expertise on the Jewish calendar qualified him to deliver a paper on time. From the starting point that time is simply and straightforwardly the entity that calendars organize, Stern moved to the radical position—this book's central thesis—that ancient Judaism has no concept of time, but only events and process. It is important to emphasize that Stern is not merely claiming that Jews in the ancient world were unable to separate time from events and processes. Far more radically, he believes they were unable to conceptualize time at all: 'In antiquity, the world-view of Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking Jews remained completely process-related. Reality was seen as a succession of objects and events, whereas the notions of time as an entity in itself, a human resource, a continuous flow, or a structure or dimension of the created world, were simply non-existent' (p. 127).

This is an engaging and provocative claim, but my intuition, supported by conversations with analytic philosophers I expected to be sympathetic to Stern, is to be sceptical. Can we infer anything one way or another from the (admittedly unnerving) lack of relevant vocabulary and theoretical discussion in early Jewish texts? We, by contrast, pepper our conversations with references to time, but it would be a mistake to infer from that a capacity to give even the most rudimentary account of its nature. (If I lament that lack of time prevented me from meeting a deadline, I am not making an existential claim but indicating that the processes that occupied me were filled with other events.) And even if there can be time without process, can there be process without time? I think not, and Stern's sources too, as I read them, show awareness of the complex interaction of time, events and process: when Jacob served Laban in anticipation of receiving Rachel as a wife, the seven years 'seemed to him but a few days because of his love for her' (Gen. 29: 20). Stern might object that Jacob is making a relative claim about days and years, not time in the

abstract (see for example his discussion of R. Eleazar Hakalir and the measurement of time, pp. 78–81). But how different is this from the politically incorrect observation about temporal relativity attributed to Einstein: a minute sitting on a hot stove feels like an hour, an hour with a beautiful woman feels like a minute?

In an edited collection published soon after Stern's book, Eleanor Robson analyses the relationship between time and cosmic order in Assyria and Babylonia c. 750–250 BCE (R. Rosen (ed.), *Time and Temporality in the Ancient World*, U. Penn., 2004, pp. 45–90). Primordial time is chaotic and unquantified; Marduk imposes order by positioning in the sky heavenly bodies that 'define and structure the year' (p. 51). The contrast between unstructured primordial time and time governed by calendars calls into question (for these cultures, at least) Stern's insistence that an interest in units of measurement—days and weeks and years—does not entail a conception of time in the raw. And even without dwelling on compositional matters that Stern does not address, it is hard not to read Genesis 1, with its extraordinary emphasis on order imposed by the temporal matrix of the seven-day week, in the light of the creation epics discussed by Robson.

Not surprisingly, Shabbat inspires many discussions of time (did God cease from work at the end of the sixth day or the beginning of the seventh?). What struck me reading Stern, though, are the parallels between Shabbat, when the closest we come to an event is the cessation of activity, and the event-free zone envisaged by philosophers contemplating time without change. Surely the sheer emptiness of God's seventh day of creation (as well as the recommended human imitation of it) highlights time as an entity distinct from event and process! Stern, it must be said, has a very different take on creation and Shabbat, and I will allow him the last word on this topic: 'However, the arbitrary nature of the seven-day cycle does not relate it, *ipso facto*, to an abstract concept of "pure time". The week is primarily a socially (or religiously) sanctioned cycle of human activity, defined by the cyclical recurrence of the sabbath, a day of (human) rest: its frame of reference, therefore, is completely process-related' (p. 64).

More generally, time as an agent of order is a topic Stern might fruitfully have addressed. Genesis Rabbah's (6.3) terse discussion of lunar (Jewish) versus (solar) Roman calendars hints at the possibility of evaluating the national condition according to a variety of temporal categories. Israel's apparent failure in the time zone governed by the calendar could thus be offset by success in another time zone—the world to come (after-life) or the messianic period (end of days). Certainly, interest in these time zones is dictated by the prospect of what they might later contain, but it is hard to deny that they were understood to exist independently of whatever events and processes might occur within them.

Reading *Time and Process in Ancient Judaism* reminded me of my son's earliest attempt (aged two or three) to distinguish the more distant from the immediate past: 'yesterday, which was quite a long day'. I was fascinated at the time—by his effort to give expression to a complex notion, by his Deuteronomic-sounding sentence construction, by the glimpse it afforded us into his emerging world-view, and by the thoughts it evoked about my own understanding of time. And even if I am unconvinced by Stern's overall thesis (I wish he had been a little less hard on his earlier 'naïve' self and written a slightly less radical book!), I found this study of time in ancient Judaism similarly fascinating.

HERMANN HUNGER and REGINE PRUZSINSZKY (eds):
Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited. Proceedings of an International Conference of SCIEEM (Vienna 8th–9th November 2002).
 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der
 Gesamtakademie, 32; Contributions to the Chronology of the
 Eastern Mediterranean, 6.) 95 pp. Vienna: Verlag der
 Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004. €25.

The chronology of ancient Mesopotamia and the wider Near East is still under reconstruction. First-millennium chronology is essentially absolute, resting on comparatively well-preserved chronicles, astronomical diaries and lists of kings and eponyms, and anchored by astronomical data and synchronisms with the chronology of ancient Greece and Rome. Exact conversions of ancient Mesopotamian dates into the Julian calendar are possible back to the eighth century. Native evidence allows a fixed chronology to be charted with a lesser degree of accuracy as far back as the late fifteenth century in Assyria and slightly later in Babylonia.

Another five-hundred years of Mesopotamian history, from the beginning of the third dynasty of Ur founded by Ur-Nammu to the end of the first dynasty of Babylon under Samsuditana, great-great-great-grandson of the famous Hammurapi, can be reconstructed from lists of kings and year-names and placed in an accurate relative chronology. Synchronisms with other civilizations, some of which had their own, independent dating systems, allow the rough reconstruction of a relative chronology for much of the Near East during the same period. The combined evidence allows one to be sure that this period covered much of the first half of the second millennium BC. The gap between the floating period of earlier history, on the one hand, and the advent of the period whose chronology is fixed to what came after, on the other, is the Mesopotamian Dark Age.

In Mesopotamia the relative chronology of the early second millennium BC has traditionally been anchored by reference to the eighth year-name of Ammisaduqa, Samsuditana's father and predecessor, which is presumed cited in a later list of astrological omens concerning the visibility of Venus, the famous Venus Tablet. The data given there allow the calculation of a series of dates for the year in question, allowing historians a choice of anchorage points for their chronologies: 2041, 1977, 1857, 1695, etc. Over the years the trend has been to choose a steadily more recent date, so that for the last sixty years the debate has been over whether to use a 'high', 'middle' or 'low' chronology, founded on the equation of Ammisaduqa's first regnal year with 1702, 1646 or 1582 respectively. There is an added complication: some are now sceptical that the omen on the Venus Tablet allows such a construction. Little consensus has emerged among those who study chronology seriously; *faute de mieux*, most impartial observers have opted for the middle chronology as a working hypothesis.

The trend towards a later date for Ammisaduqa continues. In 1998 a serious argument was made for an 'ultra-low' chronology in which Ammisaduqa year 1=1550 BC (H. Gasche *et al.*, *Dating the Fall of Babylon*, Ghent and Chicago). The present book derives from the proceedings of a conference that was organized in Vienna in response to the new proposal. Assembled are seven papers that touch on the issue to a greater or lesser extent.

Frans van Koppen ('The geography of the slave trade and northern Mesopotamia in the late Old Babylonian period', pp. 9–33) presents a fascinating picture of the vagaries of the trade in human chattels under the successors of Hammurapi of Babylon, from Samsuiluna to Samsuditana. In general he is sceptical of the validity of Gasche's ultra-low chronology and maintains that the chronological tools currently at our disposal are inadequate. His paper charts an interruption in the import into Babylonia of slaves from northern Mesopotamia during the reign of Ammisaduqa, and speculates that political events were to blame. This has general implications for the relative chronologies of Babylonia and its northern neighbours, in particular the Kassites on the Euphrates and Mittanni in the Habur basin.

Stefano de Martino ('A tentative chronology of the kingdom of Mittani from its rise to the reign of Tušratta', pp. 35–42) re-examines the evidence for synchronisms between Mittanni, Egypt and the Hittite empire. Regine Pruzsinszky ('Evidence for the short chronology in Mesopotamia?', pp. 43–50) studies the relative chronology of documentary evidence from two neighbouring towns on the Syrian Euphrates, Emar (Tell Meskene) and Ekalte (Tell Munbaqa), offering a critique of Walter Mayer's position that the texts from Ekalte hold important data for Near Eastern chronology. She also recommends abandoning the Venus Tablet as evidence, on the grounds that it does not produce satisfactory results.

Olivier Rouault ('Chronological problems concerning the Middle Euphrates during the Bronze Age', pp. 51–9) gives a sketch of the political history of the town of Terqa (Ashara), downstream of Emar and Ekalte, in the period following the defeat of its neighbour Mari by Hammurapi of Babylon. Several synchronisms with Hammurapi's successors tie a reconstructed sequence of local kings into the chronologies of Babylonia and Assyria; the sequence continues after the fall of Babylon but no regnal lengths are known. Leonhard Sassmannshausen ('Babylonian chronology of the second half of the second millennium B.C.', pp. 61–70) studies the chronology of the Kassite dynasty, in Babylonian tradition a sequence of thirty-six monarchs that must have bridged the Dark Age, and favours a low chronology deriving from the Assyrian king list. He also finds fault with the Venus Tablet theory, claiming that the vital year-name might refer to a year other than Ammisaduqa 8 and rejecting entirely the issue of 'high', 'middle' and 'low' chronologies tied to Venus dates. To me the match between the omen and Ammisaduqa 8 still seems closer than any extant alternative, but Sassmannshausen's conclusion, that the Venus Tablet can no longer be used as primary evidence for the chronology of the early second millennium, stands anyway: the list of omens, so late as it is, may have no chronological value at all and should be treated with more scepticism than is generally accorded it.

Gernot Wilhelm ('Generation count in Hittite chronology', pp. 71–9) comes to the conclusion that in discussing ancient Near Eastern chronology Hittite data are not useful and should be ignored. Frank Zeeb (The history of Alalakh as a test case for an ultrashort chronology of the mid-second millennium B.C.E., pp. 81–95) uses the texts from Atchana, a site on the Orontes in the Turkish Hatay, to support an absolute date of about 1507 BC for the end of the first dynasty of Babylon. This is a chronology that falls between the low chronology, in which Samsuditana would cease to rule in 1531, and the 'ultra-low' scheme of Gasche, in which the dynasty would fall in 1499.

Zeeb notes at the outset that 'for the time being it would be unwise to head towards a generally accepted consensus on chronology' (p. 81). That is very much a view implicit in the contributions of his fellow participants. Clearly what is needed is more hard evidence. As generally with ancient Near Eastern studies, where the flood of new documents is unceasing, such evidence will

certainly emerge as time passes. We look forward confidently to the eventual solution of the problems that at the moment lead only to the frustrating impasses so clearly reported by the contributors to this book.

A. R. GEORGE

NATHAN WASSERMAN:

Style and Form in Old-Babylonian Literary Texts.

(Cuneiform Monographs, 27.) xxvii, 239 pp. Leiden and Boston: Brill-Styx, 2003.

This book sets out to present, in the author's words, 'a wide perspective of the more prominent features of the Old-Babylonian literary system, aiming to arrive at general conclusions regarding its distinctive style and to define what singles it out from prose texts, such as letters' (p. 1). The method used is to present a succession of studies of individual literary devices. These are, in turn, hendiadys (Ch. 1), *Tamyīz*, or inalienable qualification of an intransitive verb by an accusative noun (Ch. 2), *Damqam-inim* and related constructions, where an adjective and noun are bound together without agreement (Ch. 3), merismus (Ch. 4), simile (Ch. 5), and rhyming couplets (Ch. 6).

Each chapter comprises a definition of the literary device under discussion, a full citation of attestations in the Old Babylonian literary corpus, translated and annotated, and a conclusion that discusses points arising, often with interesting and intelligently presented results. In these chapters it is possible to argue that this or that citation does not properly belong, particularly in the study of merismus, where several of the cited pairs do not exhibit the 'conceptual totality' that is claimed for them but are rather instances of parallelism, and in the study of rhyming couplets, where some passages quoted do not rhyme in a compelling and obvious manner. However, the accumulation of evidence in these lists is important, useful and productive. Wasserman's work is underpinned by a strong theoretical background in linguistics and textual study. He freely illuminates his material by reference to modern work on syntax and semantics, form and genre.

The book never quite realizes the quoted aim, for it gives no explicit comparison of Old Babylonian literary style with the prose of the contemporaneous letters. The reader's knowledge of the plainer registers of the classical dialect of Akkadian is taken for granted. It concludes instead with a very useful catalogue of the 275 Old Babylonian literary texts extant at the time of writing. As more appear, one task will be to investigate their syntax, semantics and language for the stylistic devices so clearly and competently set out here. Wasserman's guide will make that easier and more rewarding work.

A. R. GEORGE

JEAN-JACQUES GLASSNER (trans. Zainab Bahrani and Marc Van De Mieroop):

The Invention of Cuneiform. Writing in Sumer.

xvii, 266 pp. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. £31.

This is a very welcome translation of a book originally published in 2000 as *Ecrire à Sumer: L'invention du cunéiforme*. The inversion of the title for readers

of English puts the horse firmly before the cart. Glassner's interest is in the very first stages of cuneiform writing, not in the use of writing among the people of Sumer generally. The only comparable book is H. Nissen *et al.*, *Archaic Bookkeeping* (Chicago, 1993), which has better illustrations and does without the theoretical underpinning and intellectual adventure that Glassner brings to the study of the first writing. Glassner's book is coloured by his own forceful line of thought and wide reading in theory. Derrida, Foucault, Goody and others less well known to the Anglophone world are never far away.

Ten years on from *Archaic Bookkeeping* this new study sets out three fundamental points with great clarity. The first concerns the date of writing's invention. The time of Uruk IVa, the archaeological stratum in which were found the oldest cuneiform tablets, is now thought by several archaeologists to be some two or three centuries older than Nissen's team and others had placed it. If they are correct, the revised dating pushes back the invention of cuneiform in Mesopotamia to about 3400 BC in the conventional chronology and underlines its seniority as the world's first writing system.

The second point concerns the language of this first writing. In a script that is basically logographic, language only becomes identifiable when logographic signs incorporate or are accompanied by phonetic indicators. The conservative opinion (Nissen *et al.*) observes no phoneticism before Uruk III, the period that succeeds Uruk IV. Glassner takes a less cautious view, maintaining that already in Uruk IV writing some composite signs incorporated phonetic complements and at least one simple sign was being used as a rebus writing. This is GI, which derives from the picture of a reed, Sumerian *gi*, and some believe stands also for its Sumerian homophone, *gi* 'to return' in the meaning 'receipt'. In this analysis Sumerian is proved to be present already at writing's birth. The arguments against phonetic writing in Uruk IV are given by Robert Englund in his contribution 'Texts from the Uruk period' in J. Bauer *et al.*, *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1998), 76–7, but are not addressed here.

Englund's monograph is a hugely authoritative study of Uruk IV–III writing that perhaps appeared too late for Glassner to use properly. For example, Glassner writes on the supposed Uruk III personal name 'Enlil-ti', written EN.É.TI (for years identified as a prime example of a Sumerian 'rebus' writing in the earliest cuneiform), and develops an improbable excursus, based on the supposed polyvalence É 'house' = KID 'reed mat' = LÍL 'breath', that speculates on the role of the god Enlil (Lord LÍL) in cosmogony and marriage, and on the place of the soul in the crossing-point of warp and weft. In doing so he dismisses (in a footnote) Englund's objections to the decipherment 'Enlil-ti' on the grounds that he 'has misunderstood the problem'. He does not, however, answer Englund's specific points that in Uruk III writing: (a) the signs É and KID = LÍL are not the same; (b) the 'personal name' is always EN.É.TI and never EN.KID.TI; and (c) Nippur is already known at this time in its conventional spelling EN.KID.KI not EN.É.KI, so Enlil would also be written with KID not É. Specialists in Uruk-period writing will continue the argument.

The third issue is the relationship of early writing to the system of accounting by tokens or *calculi*, known to the ancients as 'beads' (Sum. *na₄*, Akk. *abnu*). Glassner has no time for the theory of lineal descent, developed especially by Schmandt-Besserat since the 1970s, and he spends twenty pages picking holes in it with self-evident relish. Writings and tokens came to exist side-by-side, and were clearly complementary. A shepherding contract from second-millennium Nuzi shows that the arrangement was formalized in law by a bulla containing tokens for the shepherd and a written document for the

sheep's owner. The former was certainly illiterate, the latter either literate or able to employ a secretary. Each party was served by the more appropriate technology. The theory of writing's evolution from tokens is still espoused among specialists: watch here for a rejoinder too.

These three issues are central to any account of the invention of cuneiform and they are rightly prominent in Glassner's argument. Naturally the Sumerian language is often called as witness. Glassner is a highly competent and respected scholar of Akkadian and an historian also. Examples of philological exegesis in this book show him less at home in Sumerian. One particularly catches the eye because it relates to a concept fundamental to writing on clay. On pp. 106–07 he states that the Sumerian compound *dub.sar* 'scribe' combines *dub* 'tablet' with a verb that means 'to go fast and straight'. This is contentious because the customary etymology cites *sar* 'to write', and nowhere does Glassner justify his radically different understanding, explaining only that a 'scribe is thus a man who goes fast and straight on a tablet'. The sign SAR can be associated with fast movement but there are objections: (a) there are lexical entries that equate SAR with Akkadian *lasāmu* 'to run' (Erimḥuš III 71) and *ḥabātu* 'to roam' (Antagal A 114), but they abbreviate the truer equation presented elsewhere: what is at issue is the compound *ḥub—sar* (= l. Antagal III 115, E i 10, CT 16 44: 98–9), where *ḥub* denotes a stamping motion (Akk. *ḥuppu*); (b) as a verb Sum. *sar* has other meanings, e.g. 'to pursue, chase away' and 'to twirl'. The latter usage occurs when the goddess Inanna wields her skipping-rope (see Å. W. Sjöberg, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 65, 1976, 212). As a verb of manual dexterity it is in my view a better derivation, if one is needed, for the *sar* that expressed the activity of impressing complex combinations of wedges into clay with a reed stylus.

Glassner's book is a highly stimulating and thought-provoking account of the beginnings of writing in ancient Mesopotamia. All who use it will profit from it, whether or not they find fault with points large and small. The translators are to be congratulated for turning stylish academic French into very readable simple English.

A. R. GEORGE

RYKLE BORGER:

Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon.

(Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 305.) viii, 712 pp. Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2004.

Rykle Borger has given the discipline of Assyriology a remarkable succession of resources for teaching Akkadian language and script: *Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke* (1963, 2nd edn 1979), *Akkadische Zeichenliste* (1971) and *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (1978, 4th edn 1988). The volume under review is his third attempt at capturing in one place the repertoire of cuneiform signs used in Assyria and Babylonia over a period of more than two-thousand years.

The title of the new sign list reflects two areas in which it differs from *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste*. First, it contains a fuller account of third-millennium data stemming from Old Akkadian, and exhibits a greater concern for Sumerian, the language for which cuneiform writing was invented and developed. Second, it is no longer a list except in formal terms. Where its predecessors were, in essence, glossaries of the cuneiform repertoire, *MesZL*

(Borger's chosen abbreviation) is an exhaustive encyclopedia in seven chapters. It will be seen that next to nothing has been left out.

The first three chapters list the repertoire of 907 signs three times; the signs are in Neo-Assyrian form, as is the convention in Akkadian sign lists. Chapter 1 is entitled 'Tabellarische Zusammenstellung der Keilschriftzeichen' (pp. 1–44). The list, called 'Code List Akkadian RB [= Rykle Borger]', takes up pp. 2–30, being prefaced by a short introduction explaining that it is intended to help people write cuneiform with a computer keyboard. Entries are tabulated in five columns, the sign occupying the first, its number the second, then the ASCII code in 'Akkadian RB', an identification by phonetic value (though /š/ is here romanized as /c/), and finally the successive strokes of the German keyboard that produce a computerized version of the sign. An explanation of how to decipher each entry appears only on p. 36, where it is embedded in a dense excursus on 'Keilschrift auf dem Computer' (pp. 34–44), with Nachträge. This chapter is for enthusiasts only, but marooned in the middle of it is a useful pedagogical tool, a presentation of the basic hundred signs arranged to highlight the differences between similar signs: 'Anhang: Die "hundert einfachen Zeichen"' (pp. 31–2).

Chapter 2 goes under the title 'Übersicht über die Keilschriftzeichen, "Zeichennamen", paläographische Hinweise, Lautwerte in Vokabularen' (pp. 45–237). The list of signs is this time accompanied by a combination of modern and ancient evidence. First cited is the modern 'name' of each sign, which is usually the commonest phonetic value; cross-references to other modern sign lists follow, including those that document Hittite and archaic Sumerian usage. Each entry is concluded with references to the sign in the ancient sign lists, the vocabularies and other lexical lists.

Chapter 3 is the most useful part of the book, for here the list of signs, given for the third time, is accompanied by the information that is actually needed to decipher cuneiform writing: the signs' phonetic and logographic values. Included alongside is some information about distribution by period and, sometimes, genre. The new set of abbreviations of period coined for this chapter (ass.-a. = altassyrisch, bab.-n. = neubabylonisch, mittelbabylonisch, spätbabylonisch, etc.) will confuse old hands, but beginners will be less put out. The comparable section of Borger's first sign list occupied exactly three-quarters of the book, 93 pages out of 124. In its latest version it occupies 226 (pp. 238–463) out of 712 pages, or 32 per cent. While still the heart of the book, the accretion of material around it reduces its prominence.

There is a greater problem. Throughout the book there is a lack of design, so that little hierarchy can be detected in the presentation of the information. This is particularly a failing in Chapter 3, where the vital information on the signs' values is often peppered with documentary notes, all in running text set in the same typeface and font size. Take the sign GIŠ, a sign that has the following phonetic values: *i/les/š/z*, *iš₆*, *eš₁₉*, *giš*, *gis*, *kis*, *niš* and *nīs*. *MesZL* imparts this information over nine lines of running text, much of which is given over to bibliographical references to this or that discussion of the value in the scholarly literature. The effect is that the essential information is drowned in learned apparatus. In this regard, *MesZL* represents progress on its predecessors only to those who enjoy the arcane history of script decipherment. Beginners were better served by Borger's earlier books, which are much better designed to impart the information they require: what sounds a sign can convey, and what words it can stand for. Unfortunately, *MesZL*'s predecessors are out of print. Students will have to buy René Labat's *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, long in the tooth though it may be.

Chapters 4 ('Alphabetische Liste der Lautwerte', pp. 464–539) and 5 (Glossar, pp. 540–604) are essentially indexes of phonetic values and logographic values respectively. Chapter 6 is entitled 'Die grammatischen Elemente des Sumerischen'; it is a useful aid in identifying the sequences of signs that correspond to grammatical affixes in Sumerian, but an anomaly in a book essentially interested in the orthography of Akkadian.

Chapter 7 ('Assyrische und babylonische Paläographie') and its appended concordances (pp. 624–712) present the 907 Neo-Assyrian signs a fourth time, but this time in the company of their Babylonian equivalents and selected older forms. Here Borger reverts to the established abbreviations of period (aA = altassyrisch, nB = neubabylonisch, etc.). The pages of cuneiform signs suffer from an ungainly drawing style and from the divorce of the signs from their decipherments. Here again Labat's *Manuel*, where a much fuller account of the palaeography is placed on each verso, opposite the respective transliterated values on the recto, serves the learner far better.

Among this enormous and astonishing accumulation of data, one omission stands out. Nowhere is the opportunity taken to confront the signs with their ancient names. Insofar as these are known, the ancient names tell us a good deal about how the Babylonians conceptualized simple and composite signs. But Borger mentions them only to state that they are of no use in his lists (p. 45). In a work so comprehensive, it is a strange omission but one that, in combination with the inadequate presentation of the palaeography, reveals the author's fascination to be less for the signs themselves than for the techniques modern scholars employ to capture them in modern technology, first roman script and now ASCII. This is the business of transliteration, German *Umschrift*. Borger's book would have been better entitled *Mesopotamisches Keilschriftzeichenumschriftlexikon*. It is a monument to cuneiform scholarship but of use only to those who already come equipped with knowledge.

A. R. GEORGE

A. R. GEORGE:

The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts.

2 vols. xxxv, 741 pp., iii, 743–986 pp., 147 plates. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. £175.

The Akkadian story of Gilgameš has long held scholars' attention since its discovery was first announced in TSBA by G. Smith. Subsequently, countless books, articles and papers have appeared on the topic. Unfortunately, scholarly editions of the work have been few. It is therefore an immense pleasure to welcome the new critical edition of the Akkadian Gilgameš by Andrew George. Indeed, the author's own stated purpose is 'to provide a definite treatment that will place the study of the text on a sound footing until such time as future discoveries make another edition necessary' (p. 3).

The work comes in two volumes, with the first, larger, volume structured in three parts. The first part, 'Introduction' (chapters 1–4), provides background information about the Sumerian Gilgameš stories, the literary history of the epic of Gilgameš, the different roles that Gilgameš played throughout the history of ancient Near Eastern literature and the other main characteristics of the Gilgameš epic. The second part (chapters 5–7) focuses on the older

versions of the epic. With meticulous attention, George gives us a new edition of all the Akkadian texts from the Old Babylonian to the Neo-Assyrian periods. Each one of these texts is discussed thoroughly, with a history of scholarship, edition, translation and philological notes. The third part consists of the edition of 'The Standard Babylonian Epic' (chapters 8–11).

To complement the edition of Tablet XII, George, in the second volume, also edits the last half of the Sumerian tale 'Bilgames, Enkidu and the Netherworld' (lines 174–end, hereafter BEN), of which Tablet XII is a translation (chapter 12). Critical and philological notes to the SV make up chapter 13. A detailed bibliography (pp. 906–49), indexes (pp. 951–86) and copies of more than one hundred cuneiform texts complete this outstanding work.

George follows Kramer, 'The Epic of Gilgamesh and its Sumerian sources' (*JAOS* 64 (1944), 7–23) and Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, 1982) in arguing that there was no unified Sumerian Epic of Gilgamesh. Somewhat surprisingly, however, George refuses to admit the presence of 'even a cycle of related texts' in Sumerian but argues for 'only five separate and independent compositions' (p. 20). For George, the presence of the catch-line in the version of the Meturan BEN is evidence that even at the beginning of the second millennium BCE the Akkadian version was already so common that the Sumerian poems were being adapted to it (p. 17). However, it is equally possible that the Meturan BEN, as well as the list of deeds attributed to Bilgames as enumerated in the version of the 'Death of Bilgames' from the same site (p. 20) support the notion of a Bilgames cycle already in the Sumerian tradition.

Chapter 3, entitled 'Literary, historical and religious traditions about Gilgamesh' (pp. 91–137) updates the material discussed by W. Lambert, 'Gilgamesh in religious, historical and omen texts and the historicity of Gilgamesh' (Paris, 1960). The figure of Gilgamesh as hero, king and god is discussed on the basis of the evidence within and outside the Sumerian and Akkadian Gilgamesh texts. The depth of George's analysis is remarkable, although this reviewer would propose a different interpretation of the opening lines of the Sumerian tale 'Bilgames and Huwawa', version A (hereafter BH A). George suggests that the **kur lú-ti-la**, towards which Gilgamesh sets his attention in BH A ll.1–2 is not the Cedar mountain, i.e. the land of Huwawa, the living, but rather Ziusudra, the only man who achieved immortality. He bases his argument on a tradition of BH A, which 'was turned into a sequel of Bilgames and the Netherworld, so that the motive for Gilgamesh's journey to the "Living One's land" is a bid to escape man's mortal doom' (p. 97). On the other hand, by the same assumption, I believe that the epithet repeated in the first two lines of BH A simply refers to the land of those who live, i.e. earth, as opposed to the land of the dead, the Netherworld, the subject of BEN.

One important contribution of George's book is a new edition of the second half of the Sumerian BEN, and the author devotes some time to defining the relationship between BEN and Tablet XII. His basic assumption, which is presently shared by most scholars, is that Tablet XII is an appendix to the SV. Its language, its structure and the inconsistency of the plot make it extraneous to the remainder of the composition (p. 48). According to George, 'Sîn-lēqi-unnini added a prose appendix to round off the Series of Gilgamesh with a sermon that leaves no uncertainty about the fate of each and every mortal . . . In this way the poem that told of the glorious feats and heroic exploits of the mightiest king of old was recast in Sîn-lēqi-unnini's hand as a somber meditation on the doom of man' (pp. 32–3).

For the reviewer, however, it is hard to picture a scholar harmonizing the flux of the Gilgameš tradition up to the end of the second millennium and then simply adding a mechanical translation as the final piece. George's argument also introduces an apparent contradiction. He holds that the twelve tablets were all the work of the same hand, but he also suggests that the vision of the Netherworld was probably included in the largely incomplete Tablet VII, which describes Enkidu's death (p. 52). If this were the case—and it might very well have been so—and the subject matter of BEN had already been incorporated by Sîn-lēqi-unnini in Tablet VII, why did the same author feel compelled to attach a literal translation of the same material to the SV? In George's view, we would have to suppose that there were two Netherworld visions in the SV, one in harmony with the composition and one completely detached from it, but that both were the product of Sîn-lēqi-unnini's craftsmanship. This hardly seems likely.

Finally, George's new coding of the manuscripts may prove confusing to the reader, especially when trying to establish the provenance of a given manuscript without referring back to the manuscripts chart. For instance, oo stands for the only surviving text from Uruk, and pp and qq for the two texts from Meturan, without any apparent logic behind it. Better now is to use letters to indicate provenance followed by numbers in subscript to distinguish tablets from the same site.

These quibbles aside, all scholars of the Ancient Near East are indebted to George for this monumentally important contribution to our understanding of the Epic of Gilgamesh. His edition of the SV, which many will find to be the most important aspect of this publication, is masterly, and resolves a number of problems. Also of note are the numerous new copies of texts, almost all beautifully reproduced by George himself. Indeed, many of the texts copied were in dire need of such updates. Scholars and students alike will doubtless consult this work for many decades to come.

ALHENA GADOTTI

R. M. WHITING (ed.):

Mythology and Mythologies: Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences. Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project.

xxv, 288 pp. Helsinki, 2001. \$99.

A. PANAINO and G. PETTINATO (eds):

Melammu Symposia III. Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena: Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held in Chicago, USA, October 27–31, 2000.

xi, 266 pp. Bologna: Università de Bologna and ISIAO, 2002.

One of the primary aims of the Melammu project is to track the influence of Mesopotamian civilization on its successors in the same region, and to attempt to gauge the extent of the Assyrian and Babylonian *Nachlass* in the Hellenistic world, in the Near East in late antiquity, in the Islamic world, and even among minority cultures such as the Assyrians, in the modern Middle East. Although

not every contribution in these volumes is relevant to the question of the surviving impact of Mesopotamia, the majority of articles in the three volumes published so far focus to some extent on comparisons between Akkadian texts and similar motifs arising in other literatures. The importance of the Melammu project, as originally conceived by Simo Parpola, has significantly altered the discourse among Assyriologists by stimulating a broader view of themes found in cuneiform literature. The present review will address a selection of articles in two Melammu project volumes related to the primary question of 'intercultural influences'.

One potential problem with a project of this scope and complexity is to define a methodology. In his introduction to *Melammu II* (p. xiv), R. Whiting suggests four criteria for 'correspondences' between texts, namely: 1) genetic relation; 2) convergence through borrowing; 3) coincidence; and 4) universals of human cognition or perception.

The present writer would distinguish between similarities and comparisons, since not all similarities are comparable. There are, for instance, similar ideas and motifs common to mythology, epic storytelling, religious literature, and even technical 'scientific' knowledge, despite having different origins. In other words, context is an essential component of comparisons, and one would like to have additional evidence confirming whether two similar stories in different languages were told by people who knew both languages. When, for instance, the same account or motif appears in both Sumerian and Akkadian literature, we normally assume that such similarities were the product of a common *Sprachbund* and bilingual society, or at least a bilingual scribal school tradition. There is, however, always the potential problem of circular logic in comparisons, particularly with mythologies containing similar themes and motifs which are assumed to be related because they are similar in X number of ways; the higher the value of X, the more weight can be given to the similarities, validating the comparisons. Therefore, in order to justify the comparisons in the first place, there is pressure to find more and more similarities, if not within the plot or details of the stories, then within more general motifs and aims or even the structure of the texts. As Whiting states (*Melammu II*, xv), 'coincidence is falsified, in general, by sheer weight of numbers or exactness of detail', suggesting that the more similarities one has, the less likely it is for stories to have developed independently. Nevertheless, the logic remains circular: without any external contextual information about the authors or their locations, the only evidence for mutual 'intercultural influence' in comparing mythologies comes from the stories themselves and our modern interpretations of them.

Gilgamesh

It could be argued that similarities between Homeric Greek and Akkadian mythology are not obviously comparable, since there is little likelihood that composers, storytellers, listeners or readers would have known both Greek and Akkadian. Similarities, therefore, could have been the product of a chain of intervening languages and cultures, starting with Hittite. This methodological conundrum appears in Tzvi Abusch's contribution (*Melammu II*, 1–6) on comparisons between the Gilgamesh Epic and the Odyssey, in which he draws general parallels between Utnapishtim and Tiresias, Circe and Ishtar and/or Siduri. Abusch gives great weight to the observation that accounts of journeys to the Netherworld in both epics may have been later accretions. One can question whether any of these general similarities inspire confidence in the idea

of cultural contacts between Greek speakers and Akkadian speakers during the formative periods of either epic. One is reminded of James Joyce's frustration after publishing *Ulysses* that no one appeared to notice that the book was based on Homer's *Odyssey*, until Joyce was forced to leak this information to a critic friend; if Homer had wanted to make allusions to the Gilgamesh Epic, he should have mentioned it to someone.

Antonio Panaino (*Melammu* II, 149 ff.) contributes an impressive array of descriptions of the unicorn, rhinoceros, and wild ass in Greek and Iranian literature. Possibly because of pressure to find Mesopotamian parallels, Panaino concludes his account (*ibid.*, 172) by referring to Enkidu in the Gilgamesh Epic being called a 'wild ass' and 'mule', suggesting both sexual prowess and that Enkidu was castrated. One would ideally like to see more in the way of supporting evidence to make a connection between Enkidu and the unicorn stories.

Grottanelli's comparisons (*Melammu* II, 19 ff.) of the Gilgamesh Epic and the Greek story of Combabos from Lucian's *De Dea Syria* potentially stand on solid ground, since allusions to the Gilgamesh Epic circulated in Aramaic and Syriac in late antiquity and could potentially have been known to whoever composed the story of Combabos. However, a plain reading of both Combabos's tale and the Gilgamesh Epic does not reveal any obvious similarities between the plots of the two stories (see *ibid.*, 20–21), and comparisons are only possible by extracting certain general motifs from each story, such as friendship, death of a friend, jealous love, a journey. There do not appear to be sufficient grounds to show conclusively that the Gilgamesh Epic influenced the tale of Combabos. The only firm detail which the two tales have in common is the name Combabos, identified with Humbaba, the guardian of the Cedar Forest in Gilgamesh, although Combabos is also equated in the article with Enkidu. Grottanelli (*ibid.*, 22) offers an alternative series of parallels between the story of Combabos and the account of David and Absalom (Sam. 13–19), which leaves the impression that he cannot quite make up his mind to which story Combabos belongs.

Akkadian mythology and Greek literature

Simo Parpola's contribution (*Melammu* II, 181 f.) also refers to Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, but this time comparing an Hellenistic Gnostic poem preserved in both Greek and Syriac, the so-called 'Hymn of the Pearl', with the Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual myth Lugal-e, in which the god Ninurta battles against the demon Asakku. The Gnostic story tells of a young prince sent to Egypt to kill a dragon. Dragon slaying is an almost universal theme of fable and folklore, and one should always be wary about comparing epic or fable and myth, since one genre is about humans, the other about gods. Despite some general similarities to the myth of Lugal-e, the two story-lines have few details of plot in common. Parpola compensates for the lack of similarities by turning to other Mesopotamian myths which offer the motifs he is seeking, arguing that 'the parallels missing in one myth can be filled in from the other, related myths' (*ibid.*, II, 190). Furthermore, Parpola maintains that the 'Hymn of the Pearl' was incorporated into the Acts of Thomas, although the lack of any Jewish or Christian themes suggests a pagan origin for the story. He argues that the anonymous author 'may have purposely eliminated all specifically Mesopotamian mythological elements from the story (except the general story line) in order to render it acceptable to his Jewish-Christian fellow believers as well' (*ibid.*, II, 193). The difficulty with this argument is that comparisons with Mesopotamian mythology are either demonstrable or they are not, but

one cannot first try to find parallels, then later discount them as being intentionally omitted.

Philippe Talon compares (*Melammu* II, 265 ff.) *Enūma Eliš* with the Greek account of Damascius, who died in the early sixth century AD (*ibid.*, II, 272). Talon carefully prepares the ground for his comparisons by explaining that the text of *Enūma Eliš* continued to be studied down to Seleucid times. He shows that knowledge of *Enūma Eliš* was not restricted to Akkadian contexts, but that its themes were also known to Hellenistic Greek writers, including Berossus, and he refers to links with the city of Harrān, where Mesopotamian culture survived into late antiquity. Talon correctly points out that motifs from *Enūma Eliš* could have been transmitted via the Chaldean Oracles or other intermediary channels (e.g. in Aramaic or Syriac), but it is consequently difficult to assess *how* information could have been transmitted directly from Akkadian into Greek, and *when*. This raises one of the crucial methodological problems which is nowhere considered in these two *Melammu* volumes, namely, what was the effect of the loss of cuneiform script? We will return to this question again below.

Sumerian–Akkadian parallels

M. Nissinen (*Melammu*, III, 93 ff.) offers a new interpretation of Akkadian love lyrics and sacred marriage rites. (For the most recent study of sacred marriage, see B. Böck, *Numen* 51, 2004, 20 ff.). Nissinen argues that the essential purpose of both the love lyrics and rites was not necessarily sexual congress or fertility, but ‘pillow talk’ between the god and his divine consort, in which the goddess praises the human king and intercedes on his behalf. This convincing analysis of sacred marriage should encourage further speculation among *Melammu*-minded colleagues, since it points to the rather limited possibilities of monotheism in comparison with pagan religion. Where is the divine consort in Judaism or Christianity who could perform such a useful function? Might this explain some of the popularity of the cult of the Virgin Mary? Apocryphal literature is replete with examples of Mary’s intercessions in her role as Mother of God (and by extension Divine consort).

The lengthy article by B. Pongratz-Leisten (*Melammu* II, 195 ff.) surveys inter-Mesopotamian ideas of ethnicity and ethnic differences, based exclusively upon Sumerian and Akkadian texts for which the context of transmission is relatively clear. Nevertheless, an ‘intercultural influence’ has been missed out. Pongratz-Leisten (pp. 204 ff.) describes in some detail the Sumerian descriptions of the Martu or Amorites as nomadic peoples who lived in tents, ate uncooked food, and remain unburied after they die. She does not consider the documentary evidence of Ur III administrative texts, in which people designated as Martu appear to live within the cities as ordinary neighbours and operate within the normal administrative structures of the Ur III state. There is a dissonance, as so often happens with prejudice, between reality and reputation, particularly with regard to ethnic minorities. Such stereotypes can persist for a long time. According to one Sumerian–Akkadian bilingual proverb, an Amorite speaks to his wife saying, ‘You be the lad, I’ll be the maid’, which is not so very different from a dictum in the Babylonian Talmud (Shab. 67b) that it is vulgar (an ‘Amorite practice’) to say, ‘He in her name and she in his name’; see W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), 226, and G. Veltri, *Magie und Halakha* (Tübingen, 1997), 179 f. The point is that by the second century AD, Amorities ceased to exist as an ethnic group, but their reputation in Mesopotamian literature lived on as a mark of superstition

and uncouth behaviour. This appears to be an example of 'intercultural influence', in which a Sumerian–Akkadian topos has survived intact into later literature.

Syriac parallels

Another possible route of inquiry in the quest for 'intercultural influences' involves Syriac sources, which could theoretically have preserved translations from Akkadian which were then passed on to Greek and Arabic authors. With this in mind, we read Amir Harrak's discussion (*Melammu* III, 109 ff.) of a Syriac text, the *Acts of Mār Mārī*, which is presented as evidence for the introduction of Christianity to Mesopotamia in the second century AD. According to this Syriac text, the apostle Mār Mārī brought Christianity to Seleucia during his visit there, by preaching in the assemblies. Harrak draws parallels between the *puhrā d-sābē*, where Mār Mārī preached, and the Babylonian institution of the *puhru*, which convinces Harrak of the historical veracity of the Syriac tale. There are several obstacles countering this argument. In the Seleucid period the word *kiništu* was used to denote 'assembly', rather than *puhru*. Moreover, in this very same volume we learn from an informative account of Hellenistic Babylonia by Joachim Oelsner that Seleucia was already destroyed in 165 AD (*Melammu* III, 183). Finally, Harrak did not take account of much previous work on the early history of Christianity, e.g. in A. Momigliano, *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963).

Arabic parallels

Several articles in *Melammu* III deal with possible 'intercultural influence' of Mesopotamia on Arabic writers, suggesting that some Akkadian traditions may have been recorded and preserved in Arabic, such as in the works of al-Mas'udi and Ibn Waḥshiyya, the latter of which was introduced in the classic study of Daniel Chwolson, *Über die Überreste der altbabylonischen Literature in arabischen Übersetzungen* (St. Petersburg, 1859). The contribution of J. Hämeen-Anttila (*Melammu* III, 89 ff.) translates a long extract from Ibn Waḥshiyya concerning the practice of weeping for the dying god Tammuz (ibid., 96 ff.), which Hämeen-Anttila believes represents an independent witness to local 'Sabian' religious beliefs and practices, which ultimately go back to Mesopotamian prototypes. Nevertheless, a close reading of the passages of Ibn Waḥshiyya betrays little in the way of Akkadian origins, since no single description of the Tammuz cult conforms to what we know from late Seleucid Akkadian sources enumerating New Year's rituals, for which see now M. Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidenc for Hellenistic Cult Practice* (Leiden, 2003). The essential problem of this comparison between Akkadian and Arabic sources again revolves around the basic question: how much of the cuneiform tradition could have survived the death of cuneiform script? All of the information provided by Ibn Waḥshiyya appears to have undergone radical interference from Christian and Jewish sources, nor does it appear to have represented a direct translation from Akkadian.

A similar problem appears in the article of Caroline Janssen (*Melammu* III, 119 ff.), who admits to being inspired by the work of Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (London, 1998). According to Gutas, Sassanian rulers embarked upon a programme of preserving ancient science, drawn from Greek and Persian sources which were later collected and translated by Abbasid rulers in ninth-century Baghdad (ibid., 35 ff.). However, none of

the Sassanian or Abbasid texts refer to cuneiform writings, and there is some evidence that Arabic writers speculated that Alexander the Great destroyed local libraries, except for texts dealing with medicine and astronomy, which he had translated into Greek. The implication is that, from the later perspective of Abbasid historians, whatever existed before Alexander would mostly have been lost. Moreover, Sassanian texts which survive already show considerable Greek influence, which probably rules out any direct translation from Akkadian originals.

To return to the question of what happened prior to the death of cuneiform and immediately thereafter, relevant information can be found in the Babylonian Talmud dealing with Babylonian sciences, such as astronomy, medicine, magic, and omens, and there is some evidence for an awareness of Akkadian as a living language, judging by Akkadian loanwords and expressions. Nothing of this level of Akkadian influence can be demonstrated for Arabic sources discussed in *Melammu* III. The conclusion must be that the death of cuneiform script had a profound and lasting impact on the transmission of scientific information, the great bulk of which was lost to its immediate successors in the Near East.

M. J. GELLER

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

HERBERT BERG (ed.):

Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins.

(Islamic History and Civilizations: Studies and Texts, 49.)

xiv, 402 pp. Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2003. €120.

The book under review consists of twelve chapters by scholars in the contentious field of early Islamic history. One of the central figures in this field, and the one whose work was among the most controversial, was of course the late John Wansbrough, to whom this collection is dedicated. The editor of this volume, explaining the genesis of his own interest in the subject, observes, concerning his early exposure to Wansbrough's analysis: 'While I found his methods and theories intriguing, I was not certain that I fully understood them' (p. ix)—in which position of uncertainty, of course, he had plenty of company. Wansbrough himself contributed the opening chapter, in which he put the underlying question unusually directly. 'The sources for that historical event'—that is, the origins of Islam—'are exclusively literary, predominantly exegetical, and incarcerated in a grammar designed to stress the immediate equivalence of word and world. Or, I might be inclined to add: all we know is what we have been told. With neither artifact nor archive, the student of Islamic origins could quite easily become victim of a literary and linguistic conspiracy' (p. 7). His point is that, if the 'historical' record is literary, then it must be understood and analysed with the tools of literary criticism. And this inevitably leads to an *ambiguity* which historians, oddly and unfortunately, resist: 'What seems to be required', he says, 'is some kind of certainty that what is alleged to have happened actually did' (p. 10). Wansbrough was a central figure, but not the only one, or even the only controversial one. Others such as Michael Cook and especially Patricia Crone have made significant

contributions to the field. The latter in particular, although she does not contribute a chapter to this volume, is a constant presence whose impact can be traced through the footnotes. Indeed, at least one chapter (Uri Rubin's) is simply a lengthy and direct challenge to an argument Crone (along with Martin Hinds) developed in *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Century of Islam* (Cambridge, 1990)—a book which arguably has only grown more important with time. The controversy surrounding early Islamic history, and the degree to which the (Muslim) sources can be relied upon for its reconstruction, has produced two distinct camps, which the editor of this volume refers to as the 'skeptics' and those who are more 'sanguine' about the reliability of the sources, a terminology adopted by several other contributors. Both groups are represented here, and the collection is fundamentally a conversation between them.

It is the nature of such a volume that its individual chapters are uneven, in character if not necessarily in quality. The unevenness in this collection is particularly striking. Several of the chapters (such as those by Miklos Muranyi, Andreas Görke and Gregor Schoeler) consist of focused studies of particular issues—although those by Görke and Schoeler in particular seek to draw more general conclusions about the methodology of studying *ḥadīth*. Those by Uri Rubin and by his student Avraham Hakim constitute a somewhat oddly-matched pair. Rubin argues, against Crone and Hinds, that the Umayyads saw themselves as wielders of an authority which derived from Muḥammad and the larger chain of prophecy, rather than directly from God. Hakim's study of the *sunna* 'Umar, by contrast, suggests that at an early period—admittedly a slightly earlier period—the first caliphs (in this case 'Umar in particular) did indeed understand themselves to be, or were presented as, an independent source of moral and normative authority.

Other chapters in the volume are of much broader scope and more synthetic character. That by John Burton is a very learned and very detailed summary of the traditional account (following al-Shafi'i, on the one hand, and Goldziher and Schacht on the other) of the competition between Quran and *sunna* for authority in the first two centuries of the Muslim era. Harald Motzki warns the reader at the outset that 'scholarly criticism is not to be taken personally. This must be borne in mind when reading the following review' (p. 212), which advice, presumably, the editor has taken to heart, as Motzki's chapter is essentially an extended attack upon his book *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: The Authenticity of Muslim Literature from the Formative Period* (London, 2000). Berg's own contribution is a patient reply. He politely suggests that an emerging consensus favours the views of the 'sanguine' scholars, i.e. those more willing to accept some significant kernel of historical authenticity in the *ḥadīth* and other early Islamic sources. But the scepticism of Berg and others will not be swept away. At best, he argues, what the 'sanguine' scholars (like Motzki) can do in their attempt to reconstruct the 'urtext' from various *ḥadīth* (both *matns* and *isnads*), is to push back the point at which the *ḥadīth* were probably composed to the late seventh or early eighth centuries. But that still leaves a yawning gap of almost a century between them and the events they purport to describe, and simply to assume that it is likely that they represent 'what actually happened' amounts to simple ascription.

Two other chapters deserve special mention. Christopher Melchert provides an extremely useful 'state of the field' review of the ongoing debate concerning the origins of Islamic law in the first three Islamic centuries. Like others in the volume, he points to a 'stalemate' in the conversation pitting

sceptics against the more sanguine. Like other sceptics, however, he reminds us of issues that those who would place more credence in the Islamic sources have failed so far to address: for example, even if we accept the technical arguments (e.g. *isnad*-criticism) for the authenticity of many or most *ḥadīth*, there remains the substantive problem that the body of *ḥadīth* contains many traditions that are, quite simply, contradictory. Melchert also points out (as does Berg in his own chapter) that an exclusive focus on Islamic sources, even when couched as an effort to determine their authentic kernel—in effect, an argument for the ‘Hijazi origins’ of Islamic law—runs the risk of treating the origin and development of Islam in isolation from other traditions and from the sort of historical evolution to which the phenomenon of religion, as a human construct, is inevitably subject. Put more bluntly, the question is whether (what F. E. Peters called) ‘the quest for the historical Muhammad’ can be conducted as vigorously and as forthrightly as that to which scholars, most of them Christian, have subjected the New Testament accounts of Jesus’s life. This is a question that also lies behind Chase Robinson’s rich interpretive essay on ‘Reconstructing early Islam’, which perhaps deserves a review in itself. Robinson frames his remarks around the observation that, for all that historians of late antiquity in recent years have stressed the connection between the late Roman Near East and early Islam, many Orientalists (and, for different reasons, contemporary Islamists) have resisted, or perhaps simply ignored, the connection with and the implications it would have for the question of Islamic origins. In various ways, an emphasis upon the roots of Islam in late antique south-west Asia and the eastern Mediterranean, rather than in an isolated Hijaz, would threaten that ‘certainty that what is alleged to have happened actually did’, which Wansbrough identified as the trap of early Islamic history. Robinson deftly shows how the methodological assumptions of much Orientalist scholarship and the ideological commitments of contemporary Islamists dovetail neatly. The effort to historicize Islam—the effort, that is, to break free of those assumptions and commitments—inevitably leads the historian back to late antiquity, but the results, as Robinson demonstrates, can be surprising indeed.

JONATHAN BERKEY

ALAN DUNDES:

Fables of the Ancients? Folklore in the Qur’an.

xiv, 89 pp. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003. £12.95.

The publishing industry that has emerged for works on Islam in the last few years is quite remarkable. Treatments of Islamic matters are now necessary elements on every publisher’s list. An example of the range of anticipated public interest in Islam is seen in the publication of this short work which puts the study of the Quran in front of the general reader in a (reasonably) non-polemical context. This suggests that the Quran is truly becoming an element in the ‘canon’ of world literature, ready to be taught in university survey courses and excerpted for compendia of literature. Furthermore, a book such as this shows that the range of scholarship on the Quran has reached the point at which it can support derivative works. The uncomfortable implication of this is that, for specialists in the field or even for those with a reasonable acquaintance with Islamic studies in general, this book will more resemble an undergraduate research paper than a solid piece of scholarship.

Alan Dundes is a professor of anthropology and folklore at the University of California, Berkeley, and the author of more than thirty books. One recent volume, which Dundes indicates inspired the current volume, is the *Holy Writ as Oral Lit: The Bible as Folklore*, a trendily-titled work similarly derived from secondary literature. In his latest work, Dundes takes his starting point in the notion that 'it has long been assumed and argued that the *Qur'an* was originally oral' (p. 23). Thus the purpose of this essay is to catalogue the formulae which abound in the Quran and demonstrate that 'the presumed orality is thoroughly attested' throughout the text. The reason for doing this is that 'Orientalists' are afraid to adopt the tools of the folklorists because, in the wake of Edward Said's criticism of Western scholars' use of 'ethnocentric Procrustean Western categories' (p. 20), they are afraid they will 'unnecessarily offend their Muslim colleagues' (p. 13). The first 25 pages or so of this 70-page essay are filled with similar simplistic and apologetic statements of angst concerning how the 'obvious' truths of the folklorist can fit with the Islamic concept of revelation. Dundes feels that he is the only person 'brave' enough to undertake this challenging study.

This study of the formulae employed in the Quran, cited in order to prove the orality of the text, reminds me of the work by al-Kisā'ī (d. 804), *Mutashābih al-Qur'ān*. One of the earliest works dealing with the Quran, it provides a listing of all the repetitions of phraseology found in the scripture. As Wansbrough remarked (*Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, Oxford, 1977, 213-4), the criteria by which such passages were selected are unclear. The same might be said of Dundes's book, and the systematization within al-Kisā'ī's approach (by number of occurrences) is certainly neater than that of Dundes. Dundes fails to make a clear distinction between formulae that might indicate oral composition and textual repetitions, although he does draw attention to the issue. He also cites the clause 'until the camel passes through the eye of the needle' as a formula, despite the fact it is only found once in the Quran, seemingly because it is of proverbial status, although how that relates to formulae is not explained. Tagged onto this treatment of formulae is a brief view of three folkloric tales, perhaps (Dundes is never explicit about this) because such tales are presumed to be marks of orality also. Here, too, the author feels that he is being daring and striking out on his own in speaking of folktales; however, he does not seem to have recognized the scope and contribution of Haim Schwarzbau's *Biblical and Extra-Biblical Legends in Islamic Folk-Literature* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde, 1982) even though he cites it in the bibliography.

Overall, it would be an understatement to say that I was disappointed by this book. It lacks any sophistication in approach and it has no theoretical depth. On the evidence of this book one would think that the study of orality had not moved beyond the work of Parry and Lord, which simply is not true. As is so often the case, a quick glance at some recent biblical scholarship will quickly show the kinds of questions that need to be considered as soon as the word 'orality' is introduced. Consider the following from an eye-opening work for anyone interested in these questions, Susan Niditch's *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996):

Some material in the Hebrew Bible may well be a transcription of an oral performance. In this case the oracle or tale would be created orally but delivered slowly enough to be copied down. An oral performance may be written down later from memory... Or a writer well versed in the oral

tradition may create an idealized written text based on many performances of a narrative or hymn or epic. Orally performed works may be composed extemporaneously by people able to read or by illiterate participants in the tradition. Those who can read may use brief notes to help in their creation of an orally performed work. The one who preserves the work in writing may also, of course, take notes during an oral rendition and use these to recreate the text in writing. A writer versed in the oral style may himself or herself create a work that rings true to an oral register in writing. A written work may then be reoralized, told aloud from memory or made the thematic core of a new orally created and/or delivered work that is then written down. Even works created in writing may be meant to be delivered aloud. (p. 5)

Which of those possibilities within the continuum between orality and literacy applies to the Quran? The question is fundamentally one of what do we really mean when we speak of oral composition and delivery and how can we, as twenty-first century beings whose lives are dominated by the printed and electronic word, even conceive of the notion of orality in the ancient world? One thing it is not, as many observers have said, is an either/or situation. But these are discussions which Dundes does not enter into; he has no interest, for example, in the vocabulary (and formulae!) connected to the written word found in the text. When it comes to tracing folklore in Islam, Jaroslav Stetkevych, *Muhammad and the Golden Bough: Reconstructing Arabian Myth* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), provides a far more valuable model for aspiring folklorists.

In his preface, Dundes expresses the hope that 'Islamic scholars possessing true expertise in the study of the *Qur'an* will find in this work a radical departure from the long history of conventional approaches to this sacred text' (p. xi). For myself, I would have to respond to say that if this is the best that the interdisciplinary study of folklore can muster, then there's not much to be gained from its insights. It is only fair to add, however, that the bibliography of this book is remarkably thorough, catching some very unlikely contributions concerning the Quran in anthropology and psychology journals.

A. RIPPIN

KATAJUN AMIRPUR:

Die Entpolitisierung des Islam. 'Abdolkarīm Sorūšs Denken und Wirkung in der Islamischen Republik Iran.

(Ex Oriente Lux, 1.) 247 pp. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003.

Regarding the current political developments in Iran and the debate on the future of the Islamic Republic, Katajun Amirpur counts among those graduates of Iranian studies and publicists in Germany who have their fingers on the pulse of the time. In her doctoral thesis, she therefore focuses on one of the most influential thinkers in modern Iran, the former ideologue of the Islamic Republic 'Abdolkarīm Sorūsh. The book under review can be divided into two large sections, the first (Parts 1 to 3) focusing on Sorūsh's own thoughts, and the second (Parts 4 to 6) on the effect of his ideas on other inhabitants of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In her introduction (Part 1), Amirpur introduces her readers to the most recent headlines from Iran, taking them right to the centre

of political turmoil. After a brief outline of the Iranian revolution and the beginnings of the Islamic Republic, 'Abdolkarīm Sorūsh is introduced and his transformation from chief ideologist to dissident described. The author justifies her choice of studying Sorūsh's philosophy because she sees him as contributing significantly to the ongoing debate on Islam and democracy in Iran. Apart from Sorūsh, Amirpur chose two other protagonists in the debate (Mohammad Modjtahed Shabestari and Mohammad Khātami) whose arguments, she claims, resemble those of Sorūsh but whose main emphases and whose public differ from his in many ways.

In a very short and too cursory chapter, Amirpur discusses the latest developments in research regarding Sorūsh as well as presenting her methodological approach. Unfortunately, apart from citing relevant secondary literature and describing her sources as texts either written by Sorūsh himself or about his work, as well as interviews conducted in Iran with Sorūsh's disciples, followers and opponents, there is no further elaboration as to the aim of her research. A critical evaluation of sources is also lacking. Neither in this introductory chapter nor later in her book does Amirpur mention another recently published work on the Iranian discourse concerning Islam and the modern state, Reza Hajatpour's *Iranische Geistlichkeit zwischen Utopie und Realismus. Zum Diskurs über Herrschafts- und Staatsdenken im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 2002). This is the more surprising since Hajatpour not only discusses some of the theologians mentioned in Amirpur's work like Khomeinī, Khātami and Shabestari, but equally analyses 'Abdolkarīm Sorūsh's idea of the religious democracy. In contrast to Hajatpour, whose theoretical level and knowledge of Islamic as well as Western philosophy, ancient and modern, is very substantial, Amirpur only rarely returns to the theological and philosophical background to today's debates in Iran. She also fails to discuss political concepts like 'democracy' or 'liberalism' either in the introduction or in the following chapters. Instead, the author consistently uses a concept like 'liberal Islamism' without ever explaining its meaning and speaks of 'democracy' and 'liberalism' as if they were self-evidently congruent.

Part 2 of Amirpur's book deals with the central ideas of Sorūsh's philosophy, including those scholars and theologians whose ideas influenced his own. Instead of researching these ideas and comparing them to Sorūsh's thoughts, Amirpur relies on Sorūsh's own words, mentioning outstanding characters like Muhammad 'Abduh, al-Afghānī or al-Ghazālī as men who 'wanted to change the role of Islam in a changing world' (p. 25) and sought to differentiate between the changeable and the unchangeable components of their religion. Why Amirpur has named this chapter 'Sorūsh's originality' remains a mystery since she judges his philosophy as not being particularly novel and his ideas as 'half-baked'.

In the chapters belonging to Part 3, Amirpur elaborates on the principle of government in the Islamic Republic, that is, she discusses the concept of *velāyat-e faqīh* in its historical context, in Khomeinī's works and in the Iranian constitution as well as Sorūsh's and other opponents' arguments against the rule of the religious legal scholar. Irritatingly, Amirpur begins her description of Sorūsh's critique of the *velāyat-e faqīh* at the end of the preceding chapter instead of in the next chapter, which she explicitly dedicates to his point of view. As in other parts of her book, where a short summary and thorough analysis of arguments and viewpoints are expected, the author describes and retells, in this way making parts of her own work redundant. After having discussed Sorūsh's stance regarding the relation between Islam and human

rights, Shari'atī's and Sorūsh's contributions to the question of the ideologization of religion are presented. Contrary to Shari'atī—and, as it were, also to Khomeini—Sorūsh turns against a politicization and ideologization of Islam. Amirpur does not seem to distinguish between the two, otherwise she would perhaps have named her book 'Die Entideologisierung des Islam' instead of 'Die Entpolitisierung des Islam', since the question of religion and ideology is at the centre of Sorūsh's attention here.

In the second section of her book Amirpur shows where her real strengths lie: in her chapters on Sorūsh's disciples and the reception of his ideas by various parts of the Iranian public, not forgetting its *Gegenöffentlichkeit*, we are presented with carefully researched insights into the present Iranian discourse and its main protagonists. Still, a question remains: Who is Hamīd Pāydār, a man whose discussion of Sorūsh's ideas Amirpur cites on behalf of 'the citizen' without, however, giving any hints as to his identity?

Had the author stuck to what she does best—that is analysing the current Iranian discourse based on her intimate knowledge of this discourse and its protagonists—her work would have profited enormously. The book would also have benefited, had she written in a comprehensible scientific writing style rather than colloquial German but the proof correction of minor mistakes concerning grammar and transliteration (e.g. the different transliterations of Shamsolvā'ezīn, pp. 127 ff.), the coining of new terms ('religiösieren?') and simple typographical errors would have made the reading of Amirpur's book more rewarding.

ANJA PISTOR-HATAM

JOSEF WIESEHÖFER and STEPHAN CONERMANN (eds):

Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815) und seine Zeit.

(Oriens et Occidens, 5.) 453 pp. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002. €99.

In the eighteenth century travelling was a dangerous business. From the five scholars the Danish king sent on a scientific expedition to Yemen in 1761, only one, Carsten Niebuhr, returned to Copenhagen after seven years. Originally taking part only as a cartographer Niebuhr, as the only survivor, was subsequently charged with publishing the expedition's results. Three books and a handful of articles laid the foundation for his reputation as an Orientalist, though he never made a career in academia but retired as a Danish official to northern Germany.

The volume under review, a collection of eighteen papers delivered at a conference held in 1999 by the University of Kiel, makes Carsten Niebuhr's life the centre of its inquiry. Not surprisingly the Danish Arabia expedition, as it was called by its contemporaries, that made Niebuhr famous as a traveller and researcher throughout Europe, takes up much of the volume's attention. Most of the articles presented focus on Niebuhr's personal role in the expedition, following its different stages from Constantinople via Egypt and the Sinai to Yemen, the expedition's original destination, adding station stops in India and Persia on Niebuhr's way home. Articles with a biographical focus are complemented by a few with a broader scope, on the political and cultural conditions of the Arabia expedition in particular, as well as enlightened scholarship in Scandinavia and Germany, and European interest in the Orient

in the late eighteenth century in general. Taken together, these articles form a detailed—though sometimes repetitive—case study of Oriental scholarship in the time before Orientalism, with Carsten Niebuhr as its worthy representative.

In many respects Niebuhr was a self-made man. Unable to take over the farm of his father, a well-off peasant in northern Germany, Niebuhr chose the profession of land surveyor and enrolled at Göttingen University. Apparently he did not hesitate when he was offered a place in the Danish Arabia expedition organized by the theologian and Orientalist J. D. Michaelis, professor at Göttingen. In 1761, after two years of preparation during which Niebuhr not only studied geography and astronomy but also started to learn Arabic, the expedition, comprising the philologist von Haven, the engraver Bauernfeind, the botanist Forsskal, the physician Cramer and a servant named Berggren, started on its journey towards Yemen.

Despite the death of five of its members the expedition was rated a success, which is ascribed by his biographers to a large extent to Niebuhr's efforts. Not only did he fulfil his role as a geographer and cartographer as expected, but he was also able to take on some of the tasks originally assigned to his fellow travellers. He is also credited with developing a genuine ethnological interest in the people of the regions he visited, describing the cultures he encountered with sensitivity in his later accounts. It is seen as one of Niebuhr's greatest virtues that he did not stick too closely to the research questions formulated for the travellers in advance by Michaelis and other scholars to give the expedition a structure. He was not afraid to leave those questions aside and record his own observations when he thought they would be more relevant to future scholarship.

As regards this empirical ethos, Niebuhr as an individual and the expedition as a whole are presented as ideal representatives of an enlightened scientific tradition collecting data for its own sake. Thus, on the one hand the Danish Arabia expedition and its main character are distinguished from earlier European ventures that sought mainly marvel and adventure. From the beginning it was planned as an enlightened scientific enterprise to add to the prestige of the Danish monarch Frederic V. The apparent lack of any imperialist or mercantile goal, on the other hand, set the Danish expedition apart from later missions to the Orient. And although it was still planned under the imperative of the Oriental studies as *ancilla theologiae*, not least through Niebuhr's style and scientific ethos, it helped to establish the latter as a subject in its own right at least in Germany.

One of the virtues of the volume under review is that it illustrates these particularities and conditions of enlightened interest in the Orient, but also embeds the Arabia expedition in the larger context of what has become known under the epistemological cipher of Orientalism. Enlightened scholarship itself furnished the methods and classifications of incorporating the Orient into European scientific and historiographic discourse, to make it 'readable'. One further example of how well the biographical approach of the volume can work is the fact that the conceptual shift from the mere collection of data to its use can once again be demonstrated in connection with Niebuhr. It was none other than J. G. Herder who characterized Niebuhr as a 'describer' (*Beschreiber*) who sooner or later would have to be followed by an 'explainer' (*Erklärer*)—Herder was undoubtedly thinking of himself—of the cultures of the Orient.

JOHANNA NICHOLS and ARBI VAGAPOV:

Chechen–English and English–Chechen Dictionary.

692 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. £80.

JOHANNA NICHOLS:

Ingush–English and English–Ingush Dictionary.

x, 563 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. £100.

Chechen and Ingush are two closely related languages of the North Central Caucasian or (Vei)Nakh branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian (or North East Caucasian) family; the third member of the group is the unwritten and moribund Bats (Ts'ova-Tush), spoken by perhaps 3,000 people concentrated in the east Georgian village of Zemo Alvani. Both Chechen (with around 1.1 million speakers) and Ingush (with 300,000 speakers) were granted literary status by the early Soviets, and, despite a move on the part of the early post-Soviet Chechen regime to romanize the Chechen script, both continue to use Cyrillic-based orthographies, as indeed now required by a Russian Federation law of 2002.

One of the initial obstacles facing those keen to take up the challenge of tackling a Caucasian language is the difficulty (if not impossibility) of obtaining a dictionary, for even if good works exist (as in the case of A. Matsiev's 1961 Chechen–Russian dictionary), they are often hard to obtain. The present works, arising out of Nichols's years of research into both languages, clearly fill this gap for those attracted to Nakh. The two volumes not only follow the same design but are also to a degree interlinked. And so, it is convenient to write a joint review.

The background to the lexicon is described and the contributors listed in the introduction to the Chechen volume, information which is split between acknowledgements and preface in the Ingush volume. Thereafter the pattern of the volumes is: description of each language and the history of its people (only up to 1990 for the Chechens!); detailed analysis of the sound systems, including presentation of the scripts and the corresponding IPA and romanized transcriptions employed in the sections where Latin (*recte* roman) spelling is employed; abbreviations and conventions; explanation for the structure of the entries from native language into English; Chechen/Ingush–English lexicon in Cyrillic script; Chechen/Ingush–English lexicon in roman script; explanation for the structure of the entries from English into native language; appendixes (6 for Chechen, 8 for Ingush) containing grammatical information, which, thanks to the specifications given in the lexical entries, allows one morpho-syntactically to manipulate the individual words and not just discover their meanings. Citation form for nouns is the nominative case (with ergative, plural and noun-class also indicated); pronouns are given in the nominative (+ ergative) for Chechen, nominative (+ dative) for Ingush; verbs appear in the infinitive for Chechen but the verbal noun for Ingush (with present, witnessed past, case-frame and conjugation-type also shown). In the Cyrillic section all principal parts are presented in both Cyrillic and roman versions.

Why duplicate entries in Cyrillic and roman scripts? The answer lies in the fact that the orthographies do not demarcate all the (vocalic) phonemic distinctions, such as length. So, for example, the first four entries in the Cyrillic section for Chechen are: а (and, even), а́ар (primer), а́ар (alphabet) [these two are differentiated in terms of class agreement], а́де (eternity). In the roman section, on the other hand, we find for the short vowel 'a' the first two

entries are: /'a/ (and, even) [with the 'strong onset' that characterizes word-initial vowels marked by the apostrophe], /abdie/ (eternity), whilst the first entries for the long vowel 'aa' are: /aabat/ (alphabet vs primer). The standard orthography is necessary so that literate Chechens/Ingush can use the dictionaries, whilst the sections in transcription are needed to make the works user-friendly for non-natives. The downside of duplication is the limitation on the number of entries that could be accommodated in works already of substantial size: Matsiev incorporated some 20,000 items for Chechen in 629 pages, whilst Nichols and Vagapov fit fewer than 6,000 (albeit carefully selected to be of most use) into 692 pages.

Amongst the essential information provided in the appendixes are paradigms for the various declensional and conjugational types. Appendix 1 in each book deals with the nouns, and to understand the non-consecutive numbering of the declensions in the Chechen volume, one needs to refer to the companion volume, for Ingush manifests all 15 paradigms, whilst types 4, 5 and 6 are absent in Chechen. The verbal patterns are different, and so no parallel numbering is adopted.

The aspect-descriptor 'simulfactive' should be altered *passim* to 'semelfactive', as what is indicated is a one-off event (not one contemporaneous with another action, which is what simulfactive means). In explanation of the choice of 'w' to represent the voiced pharyngeal fricative in the romanized script we read in the Chechen volume that it 'is graphically similar to the letter used to spell pharyngealization in the Georgian alphabet' (p. 24), whilst in the Ingush volume the wording is that it 'resembles the letter used to transliterate pharyngeals in the Georgian alphabet' (p. 21). What is presumably meant by these puzzling statements is that the motivation for the choice of 'w' lies in the omega-like letter used by native Caucasian linguists to represent the voiced pharyngeal fricative in their romanized [*sic*] transcriptions (see the recommended table of correspondences in volume I of the *Annual of Ibero-Caucasian Linguistics*, 1974, Tbilisi). Other corrigenda noted were as follows: [Chechen volume] p. 25 l. 7: чхъавраг; l. 5 up: нохчи; p. 28 l. 6 up: 40 (not 20); p. 676 l. 23: otherwise different paradigms; l. 29: chanie. [Ingush volume] p. 5 l. 8: evolve; p. 20 l. 3: [hɔp]; l. 6 up: [hɔpiŋ].

This pair of dictionaries will be essential items on the shelves of anyone interested in the Nakh(-Daghestanian) languages and will serve as a model to lexicographers of Caucasian languages for the design of dictionaries, which should ideally offer the user the maximum amount of information as economically as possible. Dare one hope for more comprehensive lexicons for these languages in future years, or will one have to rely just on lexical additions to Nichols's relevant websites (<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/63/077.html>, and <http://ingush.berkeley.edu:7012/ingush.html>)?

GEORGE HEWITT

GEORG MORGENSTIERNE:

A New Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto. Compiled and Edited by J. Elfenbein, D. N. M. MacKenzie and Nicholas Sims-Williams.

(Beiträge zur Iranistik, 23.) viii, 140 pp. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2003. €49.

This slim volume is the expanded version of the *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* (EVP), which Georg Morgenstierne published in Oslo in 1927. After

the publication of *EVP* Morgenstierne was already considering a second version, gathering more data for this purpose. The plan to publish such a version began to materialize in the late 1960s, thanks to Neil MacKenzie. The work was progressing slowly but came to a halt after Morgenstierne's death in 1978. It was Joseph Elfenbein who was able to fill the vacancy. He continued to work on this expanded *EVP* after MacKenzie's death in 2001. With the help of Nicholas Sims-Williams and also of Prods Oktor Skjærvø this work has been published at last. The editors have taken great care to preserve the 'spirit' of Morgenstierne's scholarly style.

The format of this book is quite straightforward. In the Foreword written by Elfenbein, the reasons for the publication are given, followed by a brief outline of some important works on Pashto, and an explanation of the transcription adopted for Pashto. This is concluded by a short description of the dialectal differences. After the usual chapters on Abbreviations and references we arrive at the main body of the book, the Etymological Vocabulary. An index is included. Notwithstanding the quality and clear presentation of the book, a few points of critique are necessary. I would have appreciated the addition of dialect maps. Further, the comments from the contributors/editor are sometimes rather terse. I would have welcomed an 'appendix' in which certain cases were discussed in more detail; this would have allowed the contributors more scope to revise or correct the preforms of several entries that Morgenstierne proposed long ago, but which, with our present knowledge, are rather dated or improbable. I have seized the chance to add a few of my own observations, which may enhance the usefulness of this work.

—*aγ'əlay* 'handsome, pretty'—***ā-gataka*—

Probably **ā-gu(H)-ta-ka*- 'desirable, agreeable', cf. LKhot. *hagav*- 'to long', Sh., Rosh. *žiwj*, Khufi *žū(w)j*, Yazgh. *γu* 'willing, agreeable to'.

—*alwoy*-, *alwey*- ... 'to scorch, singe, parch, roast' ... < **adi-hawaya*-, Av $\sqrt[4]{hu}$ 'roast' (rather than < **awloy*- < **abi-tāpaya*-).

An Avestan root **hu* 'roast' is invoked, but evidence for this root is doubtful, on which see J. Kellens, *Verbe avestique* (Wiesbaden, 1984), 151, n. 15. The verb *alwoy*- rather reflects **ā-dawa*-, cf. Khot. *padv*- 'to dim, smoke perfume burn', Sogd. *prōwtj* 'inflamed'.

—*on'ay* m. 'babbler, chatterer'.—**wabnaka*-?

I would suggest **āna-ka*-, cf. Skt. RV *ānā*- 'mouth'.

—*aṇaw*- 'to pick, gather, collect'.

As with other Iranian formations for 'to gather, collect' (e.g. MP *hambār*-, Sogd. *nwyj*), *aṇaw*- may also contain **ham*-, whence **ham*-(*H*)*rna*- 'to come together' (sec. caus. *aṇaw*- *'to bring together').

—*or'ə*, *owr'ə*, *war'ə*, etc. m. 'a cloud'.—**abrya*-.

It is not necessary to assume a *ya*-formation, *or'ə* goes straight back to **abra*-, Av. *aβra*-, Skt. *abhrā*- n. The final -ə may reflect nom. acc. *-*am* (*-*ám*?), cf. *zə* 'I' < **azám*.

—*byal*, *bel* Afr *byel* 'separate, different, apart'. — **apa-θya*-, cf. Skt. *ápatya*- n. 'offspring', Lith. *apačią* 'lower part', Pok. 53.

The connection with Skt. *ápatya*- is doubtful. It is better to connect *byal*, *bel* to Pers. *judā* 'separate' (**wi-yuta*°): **apa-yuta*- (or **apa-yuθya*-?).

—*cwəl* 'torn, tattered, in pieces'.—**čauta*-. Cf. perhaps Lith. *skūtas* 'rag' etc., Pok. 954?

Possibly connected to Khwar. *k'w*- 'to scratch, rub', Yd. *čū*-, Sh. *kōw*- 'to pick', etc.

—*cəx'a*, Waz *zoxa*, Kak *jaxa* (E), Ghilz *čexa* 'near, (together) with', etc. — Probably an old case form of *cox* (Cf. Av **cax'ah*- 'having desired'? MK).

- The quote from MacKenzie should be discarded. The formation *cəx'a* may be compared to Av. Vd 5.59 *yaṭ hamca* 'united, joined', Khot. *hamtsa* (*jsa*), Oss. (Dig.) *xæcca* '(together) with'. Oss. *xæ°* and Pashto *°xa* reflect the (contaminated) pronoun **hya-*, cf. Sogd. *x'*.
- garǵ-* 'to scratch, scrape'... — If < **xraš-* (**xr-* > *gr-*?), cf. Pers *xarāšīdan*. Possibly **xraǵ* has been assimilated to *garaw-*, q.v.
- garaw-* ... 'to scratch'. — Denom. < **han-kara-*, cf. Av. $\sqrt[4]{kar}$?
- The two verbs can be traced back to PIr. **xraš-* and **xraw-* (Parth. 'xr'w-) respectively, with regular **xr-* > *g(ə)r-*. The voicing and subsequent occlusivization of initial fricative **x* /-r has a parallel: *dre* 'three' < **θāryah*.
- yo* f. 'copulation'.—**gawā*.
- The labial -w- points to contamination of two roots **gā-* (Pers. *gāyīdan*, Oss. *qəjyn*, etc.) and **yab-* (Skt. *yabh-*). This also applies to the Pamir forms Ishk. *γīv-*, Sh. *γv-*, etc.
- loy* 'big, large, great'.
- This word is possibly a regional borrowing, cf. Wakhi *lap*, Sariq. *lew* 'id.'. For similar forms see I. M. Steblin-Kamenskij, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' waxanskogo jazyka* (St. Petersburg, 1999), 227.
- nmuǵ-* ... 'to comb'.—**ni-paš-* < **pek^-s-* ('2. *pek^-*', Pok. 797). Cf. Mj *nuvōš-*, Yaghn. *nipōš-* 'to comb'.
- Add Oss. *fasyñfast* 'to comb', V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*, I (Moscow-Leningrad, 1958), 424.
- nor* 'more, (an)other'.—Scarcely < **antāra-*, Khot *handāra-* (DKS 453f.). See also P. O. Skjærvø in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 406: **aniyatarah* > **n'awar* > *nor*.
- pāt'əle* 'remaining, left over'.—**pati-šta-*?
- More likely **apa-rixtá-* (Sogd. *prxs-* 'to leave behind', etc.): > **parγta-(°)* > *pātəle*.
- wrost* m., *wrast'a* f. ... 'rotten, decayed (of wood, matting)'. Possibly from **wi-rusta-* 'out-grown', cf. Av. *vīraoδ-*.
- wreš-*, *wres-* ... 'to spin'. — **abi-raiš-* ...
- The reconstructed preform is incorrect: rather **(abi-)wrais-*, LAv. *uruuāēs-* 'to twist, turn'.
- xwand* m. 'taste, relish, flavour'. — Possibly connected with Av. *x'andra* (*kara-*) '(doing what is) agreeable'?
- The Av. connection is difficult, *xwand* is no doubt related to Khwar. *pcxw'z-* 'to be fragrant', Pers. *x'āy* 'taste, flavour', etc. (Geiger in *EVP*, p. 98), although the precise derivation remains unclear. For Av. *x'andra* see N. A. Cantera in B. Forssmann and R. Plath (eds), *Indoarisch, Iranistik und die Indogermanistik* (Wiesbaden, 2000), 43f.

JOHNNY CHEUNG

SOUTH ASIA

MICHAEL S. ANDRONOV:

A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.

(Beiträge zur Kenntnis südasiatischer Sprachen und Literaturen, 7.) 334 pp. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003. €78.

This book is basically a translation of a work that appeared earlier in two editions in Russian (1978 and 1994), though the opportunity has been taken to

make some modifications and additions, notably the provision of information on Kasaba, which was not widely known when the first version was published. It consists of two major chapters—on phonetics and morphology—followed by a short chapter on Proto-Dravidian (pp. 299–303). There is thus no discussion of syntax apart from that emerging from consideration of the function of grammatical word forms in the second chapter. The book concludes with four indexes: on phone development, inflections, references, and subjects. Languages, regrettably, are not indexed.

In common with Bh. Krishnamurti in *The Dravidian Languages* (Cambridge, 2003), Andronov works on the basis of twenty-six known Dravidian languages, though not the same twenty-six. One could perhaps attribute this difference to the difficulty in some cases of determining whether a speech variety is a distinct language or merely a dialect. Some discussion of the status of, say, Badaga, Irula and Ollari might nevertheless have been of interest, particularly in view of the fact that one of the exceptional features of this book as a general work on Dravidian is the amount of data provided on dialects of the more widely spoken languages; illustrative material is taken from a score of dialects of Kannada, for instance. In the discussion of dialects of Malto, there is mention of 'the Dhargar dialect, mainly spoken in Nepal, [which] lacks any description whatever' (p. 21). It seems likely that this is a reference to Dhargar Kurukh, spoken in the Eastern Terai region of Nepal, of which accounts were published by K. H. Gordon and K. L. Pike in the 1970s.

Andronov's classification of the twenty-six languages into seven groups is not in harmony with much current thinking, which tends towards a consensus around a grouping of North, Central and South Dravidian, with further subdivisions within these three. The difference has to do with the theoretical approach followed. Where others base their conclusions on the establishment of isoglosses, Andronov's grouping, unchanged since 1974, derives from a lexicostatistical analysis of basic vocabulary in the different languages and on the notion of a succession of splits as Dravidian-speaking groups of people, entering from the north-west about 3,000 years ago, moved further and further in the direction of the south of the subcontinent.

The choice of 'phonetics' rather than 'phonology' for the title of the first chapter (pp. 26–102) is not a matter of chance, in that the transcription used both for individual languages and for reconstructed forms, including those of Proto-Dravidian, is a mixture of the phonemic and the allophonic. This somewhat unusual 'system of notation ... is based on the sum of phonemes found in the Dravidian languages' (p. 33). That is to say that any phone or sound (sounds are defined in an earlier book—*Dravidian Languages*, Moscow, 1970, p. 26—as 'sound types established at the level of allophones') that has phonemic status in any of the languages discussed is the basis of a transcriptional unit in the individual languages in which it occurs, so that, for example, [x], which has phonemic status in Toda but is an allophone of /k/ in Tamil and an assumed allophone of *k in Proto-Dravidian, is transcribed as <x> in all three. A further element of transcriptional complexity lies in the fact that some 'phones which have no phonemic status in any of the languages are included for historico-etymological reasons'. Whilst this mixed system of transcription allows the author to give some indication of the pronunciation of a phonological segment in an example from a particular language, it leaves the reader somewhat in the dark about phonological contrasts in that language, and a brief account of the phonological system of each language would have been helpful.

Some statements in the chapter on phonetics occasion a certain amount of surprise. One is the reference to implosive phones having 'been noted in Sri Lankan Tamil, Salur Gadaba and Koya Gondi', followed by the statement

that '[t]here are reasons to believe ... that the implosive pronunciation of the first stop in two-stop clusters is a common feature of the Dravidian languages' (pp. 27–8). What surely cannot be intended here is the current understanding of the term implosive as a sound produced with a glottalic ingressive airstream mechanism; nor do the traditional philological usages appear to fit the context. An indication of the intended reading of the term would thus have been helpful. On one important matter of detail the description of the phonetics/phonology of modern Dravidian languages is in error. The examples cited for modern reflexes of *ʒ (a voiced retroflex approximant which one could transcribe as [ɻ]) imply that in all languages it has merged with another consonant, most commonly a retroflex lateral. The distinctive consonant is maintained in the writing systems of Tamil and Malayalam alone, but for Andronov appears to have no place even in these languages in informal colloquial speech, being restricted to 'the literary speech of educated speakers'. While it is true that in several social and regional dialects the sound does not occur, there are others in both languages where it is not restricted to 'literary speech' and there is no evidence to support a contention that its use is simply the result of a speaker's literacy.

The chapter on morphology (pp. 103–298), which is very comprehensive, follows an approach that is similar to the one adopted for 'phonetics', in the sense that the sets of grammatical categories discussed are based on the overall system that can be stated for the twenty-six members of the family as a whole. This can perhaps best be illustrated from the discussion of case forms. On the basis of the varied sets of distinctions of case functions that can be found in the different languages, ranging from four to eleven, it is possible to list twenty distinct cases. The distribution of these is presented in tabular form as a prelude to the presentation of their phonetic/phonological shape. In the section on verbs, a similar treatment is given to moods and to tense forms, some aspectual forms being subsumed under the latter, there being no separate discussion of aspect.

The bibliography (pp. 305–311) does not aim to list all significant works on Dravidian languages, but reasonably restricts itself to items actually referred to or books that have provided data on minor languages. Some gaps, such as the lack of any mention of K. V. Zvelebil's work on Irula, are nevertheless surprising. The modest nature of the updating of the original Russian version of the book is reflected in the fact that, apart from Andronov's own publications, only six books and three doctoral dissertations with dates later than 1985 are listed, and none later than 1991.

Because of its ordered presentation of a large amount of data, the book will be useful to Dravidianists and students of Indian linguistics alike. It suffers, however, through being published in the same year as Krishnamurti's monumental work referred to above (reviewed in *BSOAS* 67/1).

R. E. ASHER

JAMES L. FITZGERALD, (ed. and trans.):

The Mahābhārata: 11, The Book of the Women; 12, The Book of Peace, Part One.

(*The Mahābhārata*, Volume 7.) xxxi, 818 pp. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004. \$85.

J. A. B. van Buitenen's premature death in 1979 left his translation of the *Mahābhārata* incomplete: his three published volumes covered the first five of

the epic's eighteen books, representing some 38 per cent of the entire text. In the quarter of a century that has elapsed since then, no more has yet been seen of the projected complete translation, though it was well known that it was now in the hands of a group of scholars rather than a single individual. Now the first new volume has appeared: James Fitzgerald's version of the *Strīparvan* and the first two sub-books of the giant *Śāntiparvan*. In view of the history of the project, it is inevitable that two questions will be asked of Fitzgerald's volume: not merely 'How good is it in itself?', but also 'How well does it maintain continuity with van Buitenen's work?'

To address the second question first, Fitzgerald and the University of Chicago Press are to be commended on the approach they have taken. This volume looks and 'feels' like the three earlier volumes in all important respects: the layout and appearance are the same (save that the character *ī* mercifully no longer has a dot), and the reader who is familiar with van Buitenen will have no problems finding his way round Fitzgerald. But this adherence to precedent is not slavish, and changes have been introduced where it makes sense to do so. Van Buitenen indented *triṣṭubh* verses and set them as verse; Fitzgerald sensibly extends this practice to quoted tags and other similar items. Van Buitenen's translation and apparatus were divided by *upaparvan* (sub-book); Fitzgerald similarly divides the huge *Rājadharmaparvan* into sections—but in his case they are editorial, not traditional.

In much the same way that he broadly adopts but also marginally adapts the layout of the earlier volumes, Fitzgerald also retains much of van Buitenen's approach to the task of translating, aiming at completeness and accuracy combined with as high a degree of readability as possible: 'The translation must therefore be as clear and plain and interesting as I can make it within the constraint of being accurate by a fairly conservative standard' (p. xviii). Specifically, he retains (but slightly modifies) van Buitenen's practice of translating *dharma* by 'Law'; but he rejects his anglicization of *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra* as 'baron', 'commoner' and 'serf'. He also makes no attempt to make set-off passages (*triṣṭubh* verses, etc.) read as verse. These are good decisions: Fitzgerald has seized the opportunity to jettison some of his predecessor's less successful practices, but in doing so he has introduced no major discontinuity with the earlier work.

On p. 659 Fitzgerald acknowledges that his endnotes 'are more copious than those of van Buitenen', and this is certainly true: van Buitenen's notes occupied a little over 4 per cent of his three volumes, whereas almost 15 per cent of the present volume is devoted to notes, and there is much further supplementary apparatus besides, including seven appendixes. This is certainly to the good. Van Buitenen clearly did not regard his notes as a vehicle for serious and sustained commentary on the text, merely using them for stray observations as he went along, and not even always indicating when he had opted to translate from a variant reading rather than from the constituted text. Fitzgerald's annotation is altogether different: it is informative and thoughtful, and often supplies the reasoning behind his translation—which, of course, adds greatly to the value of the translation itself, even (especially?) in cases where one disagrees with his interpretation.

Fitzgerald's translation is careful and accurate, and is for the most part in good, readable English (though inevitably full of giveaway phrases such as 'O scorcher of your foes'). Sometimes he appears to me to 'over-translate'; as an example, his version of 11.16.1–3 runs as follows: 'As Gāndhārī stood there after saying this about the destruction of the Kurus, she saw everything with a

divine eye. That illustrious lady, ever devoted to her husband, had performed the vow of being the same as he was [i.e. blind], and had thus been constantly engaged in terrific ascetic austerity, and the words she spoke were always true. Endowed with the power of divine awareness as a favor granted by the great seer of holy deeds Kṛṣṇa [i.e. Vyāsa], Gāndhārī lamented many different kinds of fallen warriors.' This passage causes Fitzgerald some difficulty, and on p. 18 he comments that, since Gāndhārī's 'divine eye' is presumably the consequence of her 'terrific ascetic austerity', Vyāsa's boon 'seems superfluous here'. But the words suggesting causality ('had *thus* been constantly engaged ... *and* the words she spoke ...') are Fitzgerald's own additions; in the original the adjectives and adjectival phrases describing Gāndhārī are simply listed: *pativratā mahābhāgā samānavratācārīṇī / ugreṇa tapasā yuktā satatam satyavādīnī*. (And anyway, is it not commonplace in the *Mahābhārata* for events to result simultaneously from more than one cause? Fitzgerald experiences similar difficulties on p. 20 over the destruction of the Vṛṣṇis, which Kṛṣṇa had predicted *and* which Gāndhārī cursed to happen, but surely the curse is part of the way in which the prediction comes true.)

It inevitably happens that there are points where one may disagree with Fitzgerald's interpretation. In the penultimate stanza of the *Strīparvan*, for example, he proposes to read the *saparicchadam* of the critical edition as *sa paricchadam*, and he translates the resulting phrase 'Yudhiṣṭhira ... then had the wives of Karna brought to his courtly area'. But an unsplit *saparicchadam* reads naturally enough as an adverb: 'had the wives of Karna brought together with their retinue [*or* together with their gear]'. 'Courtly area' is not a good translation for *paricchada*. And at 12.117.44, *śvākṛto* seems much more likely to be a *cvi*-like form (Whitney §1094c) meaning 'turned into a dog' than to have anything to do with *ākṛti*. But what a joy that we now have something to disagree with! Fitzgerald has put the translation project firmly back on course, and has earned much merit in consequence.

JOHN D. SMITH

†JULIA LESLIE:

Authority and Meaning in Indian Religions. Hinduism and the Case of Vālmiki.

x, 241 pp. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003. £17.99 (paper).

Rarely is one fortunate enough to get to review a work that is more or less a model of its kind: well-planned, clearly and crisply written, scholarly, informative, topical, pedagogically valuable, ground-breaking. And rarely, indeed, is one able to begin a review in this way. But this is one such book. The pretext for its writing was a dispute about a description of Vālmiki, reputed author of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, aired on a Panjabi radio programme in Birmingham (UK) in February 2000. The presenter, apparently without meaning to offend, tendentiously referred to Vālmiki as a 'daku' (bandit) who converted to the worship of Rāma and became a learned saint. In consonance with the dominant tradition about Vālmiki, most 'Hindus' would accept this. But not the Valmiki of the British diaspora, whose communities in India are consigned to the lowest of castes. For them Vālmiki is God: as Leslie puts it, 'the embodied,

manifest or *saguṇa* form' of 'the unmanifest or *nirguṇa* Ultimate Reality' (p. 179; it is Rāma who is the exemplary human). How could someone who, by common consent, invented the Sanskrit *śloka*, composed the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and reached the heights of asceticism, have a history of ignorance and banditry? How could God in human form have such a history? The (British) Bhagavan Valmiki Action Committee asked Leslie to produce a report inquiring into the text-historical background of the sage. 'What do the earliest Sanskrit texts tell us about Vālmiki? And what is the validity of the dacoit legend?' (p. 4). Leslie agreed, on condition that she remained free to produce an independent and impartial account. These are the origins of the sustained research that resulted in this book.

Because of the circumstances that led to the writing of the book, Leslie is well aware that certain questions need to be tackled first. 'The scholar's job', she says, 'is to research the evidence, to lay it out ... as clearly as possible, and to formulate the kinds of arguments that may reasonably be based upon it. Once ... both evidence and arguments are in the public domain, the constructions that are placed upon them by others are beyond the scholar's control' (pp. 2–3). There is some apparent naivety here: can one 'lay out' evidence without being selective, without an inherent element of basic 'construction'? What counts for impartiality? Leslie's methodologically alert progress, and her struggle to remain dispassionate where the main argument is concerned despite her obvious disapproval of caste-prejudice (see e.g. p. 192), add greatly to the instructive value of this book.

But the book is richly informative too, based on wide-ranging and penetrating research. After discussing the issues raised by the dispute, Leslie delves into the appearance of 'Vālmiki', as term and person, in the earliest Sanskrit texts (the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Yogavāsishṭha*), and the stories that have grown around the sage in various traditions and literary genres (plays, Purāṇas, etc.). Along the way, there are informed text-historical discussions on untouchability, with special reference to the Valmiki in India and the UK, 'termite-mound' asceticism (which has a direct bearing on the term *vālmiki*: viz. 'produced from a termite-mound'), early image-worship of Vālmiki (in present-day Vietnam!), and a variety of other topics, and in the process issues concerning the relationship between orality and text, and authority and meaning, are aired in a way that adds to the topicality of the book.

Leslie concludes, on the whole plausibly, that there are no sound scholarly grounds for asserting the dacoit legend, viz. that the author of the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* had a history of uncouth banditry followed by a conversion experience that led to a long period of asceticism in which he was engulfed by a termite-mound, only to emerge as the learned sage who composed the epic-poem in Sanskrit about Rāma. She explains plausibly how this legend in its several aspects developed around the name of Vālmiki. She also concludes, somewhat less plausibly I think, that our Vālmiki *may* have been a tribal who was proficient in Sanskrit and was appropriated by Brahmin control-freaks (those scheming Brahmin redactors again!) into the Bhārgava clan. This is an immensely rewarding study, based on transparent, informed scholarship, and likely to make a constructive difference to the way people experience the world: the best kind of research, in my view. I got only the paperback; the hardback is fiendishly expensive (£49.50), but if you want to splash out on a really good book, then this would be worth it.

KURT A. BEHRENDT:

The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra.

(Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Two, India, 17.) xxv, 335 pp. 127 figs. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004. €135.

It was in the 1860s that the British first took an interest in the Buddhist sites of the region around the city of Peshawar in the North-West Frontier province of their Indian Dominions. Over the next decades a number of military figures, administrators and amateur antiquarians became actively involved in clearing various decaying structures and studying the schist and plaster statues of Buddha figures executed in a Hellenistic-influenced style that they found there in abundance. When historians and epigraphists determined that these sculptures could be dated to the first centuries of the Christian era, the Peshawar region, now identified as ancient Gandhāra, was hailed as the birthplace of the Buddha image. While present-day scholars grapple with more nuanced interpretations of the evolution of the Buddha image, Gandhāra has lost none of its fascination for historians of Buddhism in general and Buddhist art in particular, as is illustrated by the work under review here. Behrendt's volume is based on a comprehensive survey of the architectural record of the Gandhāra sites, including those that have disappeared since their discovery, due to urban development, decay or pillage. The author encompasses the entire history of scholarship of Gandhāra from the earliest expeditions to the most recent excavations by Pakistani, Italian and Japanese archaeologists, ongoing until 2001. Not being content to encapsulate the work of others, he has his own valuable contribution to make in the form of a relative chronology that gives convincing shape to all the available archaeological data.

Behrendt proposes a fundamental four-phase scheme, though he cautions the reader not to regard these as absolute chronological categories. (This scheme is summarized in the introduction to the volume; it is also encapsulated in diagrammatic form in Figures 5 and 6.) In Phase I (second century BC to first century AD) Gandhāra emerges as an independent locus for Buddhism and Buddhist architecture, best seen in the *stūpas* and temples of Taxila, the premier site of Greater Gandhāra (Behrendt's term for the territories lying immediately beyond the Peshawar Basin). Phase II (late first century to second century) marks a period of expansion, with the addition of *stūpa* shrines for holy relics and monasteries in and around Taxila, as well as at sites in the Peshawar Basin (Ranigat) and nearby Swāt Valley (Butkara and Saidu). Most of these structures were adorned with narrative reliefs fashioned out of locally available schist. The author interprets these constructions and their carved decoration as part of a regional religious development that emphasized the life story of the Buddha and the veneration of relics associated with the Master. Phase III (third to fifth centuries) marks the period of greatest prosperity for Gandhāra, during which earlier *stūpa* shrines and monasteries were much expanded. An outstanding site in this regard is Takht-i-bāhī on the periphery of the Peshawar Basin. Patrons now began to concentrate on building shrines with large-scale Buddha images, some fashioned on a truly monumental scale out of stucco. While this preference for iconic imagery obviously signalled a changing ideology in beliefs and practices, the author doubts that this should be interpreted as the beginning of the Buddhist Mahāyāna tradition. During Phase IV (fifth–eighth centuries) many sites in Gandhāra were abandoned as religious and artistic patronage shifted elsewhere, especially to Bactria, a

region coinciding largely with modern Afghanistan. Previous scholars had thought that this decline was due to the Hephthalite invasion in the mid-fifth century, but the author argues that Buddhism remained a vital force in Gandhāra until the mid-sixth century, after which it finally petered out.

Throughout his discussion of these different phases of Gandhāra's archaeological record, Behrendt displays an impressive command of the available material evidence by thoroughly describing and analysing the architectural remains, sculptural components and associated finds. Clearly annotated site maps are provided, with the most complex ensembles at Taxila (Dharmarājikā) and Takht-i-bāhī being colour coded so as to distinguish the different phases (Figures 1 and 2). But the author's analysis is by no means restricted to chronology. He insists on a rigorous architectural typology, distinguishing between main *stūpas*, small *stūpas*, *stūpa* shrines and relic shrines, several of which he characterizes as 'direct-access' because they contained relic chambers reached by flights of steps. He also draws attention to differences between monasteries on level sites and terraced mountain *vihāras*. The architectural components of the buildings are carefully defined, whether bases, drums, gables, domes or finials. The author also takes pains to contextualize the sculptural finds, not always an easy task given the widespread dispersal of such materials in public and private collections, both in South Asia and abroad. Relying on original notes of the excavators and early photographs, he gives precise find spots of the schist reliefs and stucco images wherever possible. In this way he is able to correlate changes in religious iconography and sculptural style with those in architecture.

After working his way through the archaeological evidence for each phase, Behrendt offers a full exposition of his Gandhāra chronology, bringing together all the architectural and sculptural evidence (chapter 9 and appendix A). In an effort to develop a more precise chronology, he introduces relevant epigraphical materials, ranging from coins found in the excavations to inscriptions on votive sculptures (appendix B). Nor does he shy away from the tricky problem of considering displaced and reused images found outside their original context (appendix C). He concludes his study with a useful glossary, an up-to-date bibliography crammed with archaeological reports, and a detailed index.

GEORGE MICHELL

SUBHAJYOTI RAY:

Transformations on the Bengal Frontier: Jalpaiguri 1765–1948.
xiii, 250 pp. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002. £65.

This book is a superb example of best practice conservatism. *Transformations on the Bengal Frontier* takes an existing tradition and refines it. It tests the propositions of a school of agrarian history, the Bengal School, against a detailed and authoritative case study of a single district, Jalpaiguri. One after another, conventional ideas—about changes in the structure of agrarian society under British rule, about the relationship between the stratification of the peasantry and the nature of peasant politics, about the emergence of religious and caste identities, about the planters' control of their labour force, about the nature of popular resistance—pass through the mincing machine of Dr Ray's mind; and in each case, the lucidity and subtlety with which he

analyses a mass of data generate fresh nuances, corrections, and additions. He is right, when he says of his predecessors, that 'the richness and complexity of the reality [they revealed] is marred by their narrow and over-simplified conclusions'. Thanks to Dr Ray, the agrarian history of Bengal will never be so crude again. But he does not break the mould. Effective as it is, his critique retains an incestuous, inward-looking quality. It is one historian of rural Bengal talking to other historians of rural Bengal. *Transformations on the Bengal Frontier* does not reach outside the Bengal tradition—it does not apply fresh theories or employ new methodologies or even ask new questions; and, as a result, it does not generate a radically different vision of the agrarian history of Jalpaiguri, only a closer approximation to reality.

The central theme of Dr Ray's book—the organizing obsession of the historiography of South Asia—is the impact of colonial rule. Imperialists thought it was great and good; nationalists thought it was great and bad; for twenty years revisionists have been arguing that it was comparatively superficial. Dr Ray is convinced it was profound and pervasive in Jalpaiguri, at least after the 1860s. One can see how, in one of Jalpaiguri's three ecological zones, the displacement of a thin population of shifting cultivators by a tiny elite of European tea planters and a mass of migrant labourers was accelerated by the colonialists' development drive: but the assimilation of the rest of the district to the 'settled peasant' norm (with the concomitant, if controversial, 'rise of the *jotedars*') must have had much more to do with factors—such as the perennial quest for larger holdings on easier terms or the cumulative deterioration in the land-labour ratio—which were in full swing over large areas of India before the British appeared and went on operating after they disappeared. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain how two diametrically opposed revenue systems—the permanent settlement with large landlords in one part of Jalpaiguri, the temporary settlement with small peasants in another—could, in time, produce such convergent agrarian results.

Dr Ray's treatment of subsidiary issues is more conclusive. He destabilizes Sugata Bose's tripartite classification of the relationship between agrarian structure and local politics by deconstructing the two polarized categories (rich peasant, landless labourer) Bose employs. He points out that religious and caste identities did not emerge in isolation under the aegis of tiny elites of activists; they were the outcome of processes of interaction which top-down accounts of individual communities and castes have failed to capture. In discussing the planters' hold over their labour force he stresses informal mechanisms (such as advances) rather than coercive colonial laws. He demolishes the rival Whig interpretations of peasant resistance in Jalpaiguri—the heroic patriots mobilizing every class against colonialist oppression (the 'all-leading-up-to-the-triumph-of-Congress' approach) and the heroic party workers mobilizing the peasants and labourers against capitalist oppression (the 'all-leading up to the triumph of the Communist ministry' approach)—without putting some equally tendentious subaltern study in their place.

But Dr Ray achieves mastery through resolute self-limitation. He does not raid the immense larder of agrarian theory, generated in other fields than late-colonial Bengal, for fresh insights into the Bengali countryside. To cite only one example, he does not attempt to apply Chayanov-style ideas about cyclical social mobility to the peasantry of Jalpaiguri—despite their obvious relevance to key issues such as the power of the *jotedars*. Again, he does not make effective use of village or even district records—as other historians have done, in district studies elsewhere in India. Without micro-studies of individual

villages, even individual families, it is difficult to make generalizations about peasant behaviour stick. Lastly, he does not raise new issues. We have had endless studies of resistance, the exception to the norm; what we need are studies of everyday forms of acquiescence/collaboration—of the corsets that maintain some kind of equilibrium.

Dr Ray, in short, asks the usual sources the usual questions, only he does it all a lot better. Analytically-incisive, theoretically-impoverished, methodologically-conventional; these are the boxes one ticks at the end of the questionnaire. But what a quantum leap Dr Ray's work represents, in its assiduity and integrity, in the sheer care that he takes to try to see things as they really were, over many of his predecessors. He is the greatest enemy of the slick generalization that the agrarian history of Bengal has seen so far. For this alone, his work should be compulsory reading for every agrarian historian of South Asia.

The price, £65 for 250 pages, is unbelievable. One wonders how many copies of *Transformations on the Bengal Frontier* will be sold in Jalpaiguri.

CLIVE DEWEY

CENTRAL AND INNER ASIA

CHRISTOPHER KAPLONSKI:

Truth, History and Politics in Mongolia: The Memory of Heroes.

xiii, 233 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. £65.

Mongolia is a modern state with a unique blend of traditions: nomadic herding, clan-based societies, shamanism, Buddhism, Marxist–Leninist socialism and democracy and market economics. Few scholars in the West have worked on the area and theoretical studies of it are limited. Christopher Kaplonski, the author of this monograph, is an American social anthropologist who trained at Cambridge University. He speaks Mongolian and specializes in Mongolia. In 1990 Mongolia abandoned Communism for democracy and market economics. The revolution was accompanied by intense, open debate and demands to know the truth about Mongolia's recent and more distant past. Historical figures were re-evaluated and some who had been excluded from histories altogether re-emerged. However, the new perceptions of these figures find some resonance in official socialist histories where the author argues, truth, including the truth about Mongol national and state identity, was preserved from falsehood through alternative readings. A clue to this is the choice of language. For example, Zanabazar, a Buddhist incarnation who was blamed for 220 years of Mongol subjection to the Qing dynasty of China, was frequently referred to by the title 'Ondor Gegeen' (Lofty Brilliance). This title conveys great respect but it could be argued, if necessary, that it was simply used for historical accuracy. Hidden information of this kind was a part of the Mongols' social memory that was taken up at the end of the 1980s and used to symbolize democracy and legitimize the emerging post-Communist state.

Kaplonski explores this process to ask how the Mongols imagine and interpret their past and understand their identity as Mongols and citizens of Mongolia today. He uses both written texts and oral interviews conducted in Mongolia between 1993 and 1999. His subjects include ordinary Mongols and the intelligentsia that provided the leaders of the new revolution. His

findings are analysed through case studies of three individuals who mark significant points in the development of the Mongol state and nation. The first is Chinggis Khan, who is revered as the unifier of the Mongol nation and provider of law and order. The second is Zanabazar, a seventeenth-century Buddhist incarnation and a member of the Mongolian ruling clan. The modern capital, Ulaanbaatar, is located at one of his camp sites. The third is Suhbaatar who led Mongolian partisans to victory against foreign occupation in 1921 and made way for the development of the socialist state. All three are now treated as moral heroes of the contemporary state. The first two have been extensively rehabilitated while Suhbaatar no longer bears all credit for the 1921 revolution. To put the studies into context Kaplonski provides substantial background. First, he gives an account of modern Ulaanbaatar, home to one-third of the country's population. In particular, he draws attention to the city's social networks which were important for transmitting information about and perceptions of the past. Unlike the USSR, socialist Mongolia did not have an alternative, underground press. A discussion of Mongolian historiography before 1990 follows. Finally, there is a chronological account of the events of 1989–90 and an examination of the contemporary symbols of national democracy. Although this book says much about history, readers should bear in mind that it is *not* a history of the Mongol state and nation. Instead it explores the relationship between history and politics and explains how historical discourse is constructed to meet the needs of Mongolian society in particular periods, that is, what is believed about truth in Mongolia and what needed to be true after 1990. I find Kaplonski's main arguments compelling and much of his experience of contemporary Mongolia and its significant discourses accords with my own. However, I am concerned that Kaplonski does not always make clear that the aspects of Mongolian history he discusses are true as perceived by Mongols today rather than objective narrative histories that may be supported by primary sources. The official view of Suhbaatar, before and after 1990, as the socialist architect of Mongolia and Mongolia's Lenin is a case in point. Kaplonski himself seems to accept this view uncritically and fails to point out that what happened in 1921 was not so much a socialist revolution as a struggle for national independence. The latter interpretation is supported by primary sources and in the works of T. E. Ewing and F. Isono (which Kaplonski does not include on his bibliography). A second criticism is that Kaplonski has chosen to write in a very casual style which I sometimes find confusing. As a work of scholarship the book deserves greater precision of language, I think. Nevertheless, it is a book that should appeal to several audiences. It adds to recent work on Mongolian identity by Uradyn Bulag and Caroline Humphrey. It will also complement studies of parts of the former Soviet Union such as the Baltic states which went through similar experiences of socialist control. For Mongolists the account of the events of 1989–90 is especially valuable since this has not been described elsewhere in such detail. However, I think there are issues not covered here which would deserve consideration in narrative history. In particular, I would include some discussion of the probable involvement of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Ministry of Internal Security and behind both, the former Soviet Union, in the events of the democratic revolution. However, I am pleased that the book has been published and hope that it will encourage more study both of Mongolia's history and of the contemporary state and nation.

GEORGES B. J. DREYFUS:

The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk.

xv, 445 pp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. £17.95.

The book under review constitutes an account of the author's training in, and mastery of, the traditional Tibetan Buddhist monastic curriculum of the dGe lugs pa school. However, it is significantly more than a personal narrative. In essence, it is a description and analysis of Buddhist scholasticism and monastic debate as it flourished in Tibet for more than three centuries in the dGe lugs pa centres near Lhasa. While much of the account reflects the author's experience of Tibetan higher education in the 1970s and 1980s in India, it also contains a wealth of information that predates the tragic events of the 1950s which led to the diaspora of Tibet's scholarly elite. On the one hand, therefore, the book chronicles the evolution of Buddhist scholasticism in Tibet from its inception almost a thousand years ago to the twenty-first century. In many chapters, the analysis is prefixed and informed by the findings of modern research into theoretical issues, including literacy, language, memorization, orality, hermeneutics, commentary and so forth. On the other hand, the account is brought alive by recounting episodes and anecdotes that took place during Dreyfus's own training among Tibetans in exile. The result is a book that is both personal and theoretical, historical and contemporary, religious and philosophical.

Dreyfus, of course, is not the first scholar to have probed Tibetan scholasticism and monastic debate. About ten years ago, José Cabezón published an influential work entitled *Buddhism and Language: A Study of Indo-Tibetan Scholasticism* (Albany, 1994) in which he investigated the perceived relationships between language and scripture, logic and ontology. Cabezón focused in particular on the role of hermeneutics and the enterprise of exegesis in the Madhyamaka, Yogācāra and dGe lugs pa schools, but examined also the authority of scripture and the validation of language and thought. Before that, Tibetology produced three other important studies of Tibetan scholasticism, focusing in particular on debate: F. Sierskma, 'rTsod pa: the monachal disputation in Tibet', *IJJ*, 8, 1964, pp. 130–52; S. Onoda, *Monastic Debate in Tibet: A Study of the History and Structures of Bsdus grwa Logic* (Vienna, 1992) and D. Perdue, *Debate in Tibetan Buddhism* (Ithaca, 1993). Other scholars, including T. Tillemans (1984, 1999), D. Jackson (1987, 1989) and T. Tarab (2000), probed selected aspects of (Indo-)Tibetan scholasticism, often connected with higher Buddhist education, debate and logic. Dreyfus's exposition, however, stands out for its wide scope and context. Although, like Onoda and Perdue before him, Dreyfus is primarily interested in monastic debate, he examines its roles, structures and evolution in the wider context of Tibetan scholasticism as it developed since the mid-seventeenth century. On account of this broader frame of reference, his study is not only very accessible even to non-specialists but constitutes also a welcome addition to earlier scholarship, which tended to manoeuvre within narrower perimeters. At the same time, the book retains a very personal flavour, chronicling and analysing Dreyfus's own progress through the Tibetan Buddhist educational system in Dharamsala and south India, highlighting its strengths and weaknesses as he sees them. Like most autobiographical accounts, it is occasionally marred by overly personal interpretations, but for the most part these are carefully kept in check by the author's scholarly integrity.

In the first part of this book, Dreyfus lays out the context in which Tibetan Buddhist scholasticism developed. To begin with, he provides a brief historical overview of Buddhism in Tibet (pp. 17–31), discusses the evolution and key features of Tibetan Buddhist monasticism (pp. 32–53) introduces the dynamics that shape the relationship between teacher and disciple (pp. 54–63) and assesses the importance of discipline to monastic training (pp. 63–6). While most of Part I is introductory in orientation, adding little new, since it mainly summarizes previous scholarship, it elegantly sets the tone for what is to come by integrating personal experience (pp. 64–75) with sophisticated scholarship. By drawing on more than thirty years of close engagement with Tibetan Buddhism, Dreyfus composes a magisterial account in which he weaves together information from a wide range of historical and monastic sources. He often exemplifies the nature of a particular monastic practice or scholastic principle with a narrative drawn from his personal experience. Part II constitutes the core of this publication. Spanning more than 200 pages, it is structured around nine themes that bring out the complexity of scholastic practices. These include discussions of literacy and memorization (pp. 79–97), structure of the Tibetan curriculum (pp. 98–110), the curricular models of the dGe lugs pa and rÑiñ ma pa schools (pp. 111–48), scholasticism and orality (pp. 149–63), hermeneutics and deconstruction (pp. 183–94), debate as practice (pp. 195–228), debate in the curriculum (pp. 229–66) and debate as a mode of inquiry (pp. 267–94). Finally, on the closing pages of the book, Dreyfus has included a number of concluding reflections that address the tension between rationality and spirit cult (pp. 295–305) and probe the limits of debate-based inquiry (pp. 306–25). The publication ends with a thematic select bibliography (pp. 401–17) and a detailed analytic index (pp. 419–45).

This overview of topics immediately reveals the author's strong interest in the purpose, structure and practice of debates. More than one hundred pages are devoted to issues pertaining to monastic debating. Also some of the other sections are linked to this theme in so far as they prepare the ground for the analysis of the debating tradition itself. For example, Dreyfus's examination of scholasticism, orality and commentary, his interpretation of hermeneutics and deconstruction as well as the presentation of the curricular models of the dGe lugs pa and rÑiñ ma pa schools all prepare the ground for a better informed appreciation of debating practices. For Dreyfus, and for the dGe lugs pa in general, so he argues, debate is coterminous with, or at least stands at the very heart of, scholastic education. As a result, the monastic training in those Tibetan Buddhist schools that place less emphasis on debate in their curriculum is hardly addressed. Above all, this book is about debate and about the dGe lugs pa tradition, even though this is not indicated in its title. To be fair, throughout the book, the reader is offered intermittent comments on the scholastic traditions of the other schools, in particular those of the rÑiñ ma pa and Sa skya pa, but these are predominantly framing references that serve to place dGe lugs pa practices into context. Occasionally, Dreyfus ventures beyond the parameters of Buddhism by including references to the scholastic traditions of Christianity, Judaism and Islam within the purview of his study (pp. 101–06, 115–16, 191–4) and integrating the views of modern theorists (Derrida, Foucault, Gadamer, Halbertal, etc: pp. 121–2, 186–7, 242–3; 100–01, 185–6; 268–9, 355, 369; 99–100, 116, 393 respectively). While these excursions add scope to his work and provide valuable comparative perspectives, they are rarely sufficiently substantive to imbue the study with a true cross-cultural dimension. For comparatists this may reduce the usefulness of his book, but most readers, especially those from Tibetan studies, are unlikely to regard this

as a major shortcoming. This is a book that was conceived, shaped and written to give a detailed account of scholasticism and debating practices in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of the dGe lugs pa school.

On account of Dreyfus's unique personal background and substantial scholarly achievements, it is difficult to think of a better qualified author. To be sure, some sections are weaker than others, but these tend to be tangential to the topic at hand. For example, Dreyfus's discussion of the monastic code and Abhidharma (pp. 20–5, 114–5) is unnecessarily general and flippant (e.g., 'Monks nowadays have neither the leisure nor the scholarly gusto for exploring the details of the Vinaya or Abhidharma', p. 117; or 'The Abhidharma can be studied for up to four years, but this is very much a luxury. Compared to the Vinaya, whose study requires a sustained effort, the textual basis for the Abhidharma is easier to master', p. 118) and fails to take into account recent scholarship on the Indian Vinaya traditions (e.g., Gregory Schopen, Oskar von Hinüber, Ulrike Hüsken, etc.). Also his assessment of the role of meditation in Buddhist soteriology is somewhat superficial (pp. 168–72). At least in part, Dreyfus's derisory views on these topics are likely to stem from his dGe lugs pa education which nowadays pays comparatively little attention to meditative practices, Abhidharma and Vinaya exegesis. On the other hand, there are many sections that fascinate. For example, Dreyfus's discussion of memory and memorization (pp. 85–97) provides insight into the role of recall in Tibetan education; the analysis of the commentarial traditions in Tibet (pp. 183–94) sets out to integrate modern approaches to commentary (e.g., Steven Fraade, Paul Griffiths) with the views of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist exegetists (Vasubandhu, Bu ston); the exposition of orality in scholasticism (pp. 149–63) examines the phenomenon of orality across cultures, set against its role in Tibetan higher education; his description of the dGe lugs pa examination process (pp. 250–66), largely drawn from Dreyfus's personal experience and the recollection of his teachers, contains much interesting data not available elsewhere; and, finally, the characterization of debate as a mode of inquiry that plays a key role in the transmission and codification of a tradition's teachings but is rather less effective in promoting independence of thought and intellectual innovation (pp. 267–91) is insightful and convincing.

The editorial principles that guided the production of the book are less inspiring. Like so many Tibetological publications from the USA, it suffers from a number of unhelpful conventions and inconsistencies. First, I fail to understand why the author chose to translate most (but not all) Tibetan and Sanskrit text titles into English. Is 'Ornament of Realization' really a superior way of referring to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*? What is the key to identify a text called 'Clear Meaning' with Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāranāmaprajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstravṛtti* (p. 108)? Why, on the other hand, is the *Vajracchedikā* called *Vajracchedikā* and not 'Diamond Cutter' (p. 109)? In my opinion, such English translations and the inconsistency in their applications create more problems than they solve. I was also surprised to discover that a number of texts found their way into the index only in their English glosses. This compels the reader to operate entirely within wholly arbitrary English conventions and renders access to primary sources unnecessarily complicated. Finally, there is the widespread use of transcription to render Tibetan names. While this may be helpful to that part of the readership that does not know Tibetan, it would have been preferable had he provided the transliterations in a glossary at the end of the book. At present, they are given either in parenthesis, in the index or not at all.

Notwithstanding its occasional weaknesses in content and curious editorial choices, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping* is clearly an important contribution to Tibetan Buddhist studies and has the potential to serve as gateway to Tibetan Buddhism reaching beyond the relatively small circle of Tibetologists. It certainly belongs on the bookshelves of institutional collections that service Tibetological and Buddhological research and will be a valuable addition to the personal libraries of readers with an interest in Tibetan culture and religion.

ULRICH PAGEL

MONISHA AHMED:

Living Fabric: Weaving among the Nomads of Ladakh Himalaya.
192 pp. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2002. \$50.

Although this book is ostensibly a study of the weaving of relatively humble textile products by a minor group of nomads in Rupshu, Ladakh in the western Himalayas, it attempts—largely successfully—to be much more than this. The reader will find a great deal of information on the history of Ladakh and its textiles, the real and legendary history of Rupshu, the nomadic economy, and the belief systems and symbolic modes of thought of the inhabitants—all in addition to a thorough technical study of the production of wool and yarn, the looms, weaving cloth, production of clothing and tents, and trading of cloth.

Textiles are thus being used as an entry point into the society of the Rupshupa people—Tibetan-speaking pastoralists—since, in the author's words, 'The ritual and discourse that surround the weaving of cloth in Rupshu establish it as a great connector. It binds humans not only to each other, but also to the ancestors of their past and the progeny who constitute their future' (p. 11). Textiles, (together of course with animal husbandry) play a vital role not only in survival and in the economic life of Rupshu, but also in social relations and in the expression of symbolic and religious belief and practice. This is of course true in very many societies, and the author makes full use of comparative material from other groups in the Tibetan-speaking world and elsewhere, establishing both parallels and contrasts. Probably no theoretical innovations are proposed, but this book would hardly be the place for them.

The thoroughly anthropological approach leaves little or no room for treatment of the aesthetic of the textiles, which may disappoint the collecting fraternity. In this the book provides an interesting contrast to another recently reviewed—*Himalayas: an Aesthetic Adventure* by P. Pal. The latter selects its material—in this case religious sculpture—on avowedly aesthetic criteria. Ahmed, however, makes no aesthetic judgements and attributes very few to the Rupshupas—perhaps she goes too far to the other extreme. Thus we read (p. 106) 'Colours are not mere personal preferences of individuals, but are determined by specific customs, changes in fashion trends, availability of dyes and different coloured fabrics'. But do not 'fashion trends' interact with 'personal preferences'? Again, (p. 106) '... men now prefer to wear red or maroon'. One wonders why.

Tibetan words are generally treated in an accurate and sensible way, with a comprehensive glossary, arranged in roman rather than Tibetan order. Two comments here: Tibetan *snam-bu*, the name for the main clothing textile in Rupshu as elsewhere, is in my experience a technical term only used for twill-woven textiles—the gloss 'woollen cloth, used for garments' is vague. The

Ladakhi dialect verb particle spelt by Ahmed *-cis* is usually spelt *-ces* by Ladakhis, as in Jaeschke's dictionary.

In between serious perusal of all the matter in this book, the reader can treat it as an extremely well-produced and lavishly illustrated coffee table volume, with 188 colour plates, three maps and six line drawings. It is a very welcome addition to the literature on the arts and crafts of the Tibetan-speaking world.

PHILIP DENWOOD

MORIYASU TAKAO (ed.):

Shiruku rōdo to sekaishi.

324 pp., + 8 maps, 3 charts, 15 plates. Osaka: Osaka University, 2003.

MORIYASU TAKAO (ed.):

Chūō Ajia shutsudo bunbutsu ronsō.

vii, 181, pp. 15 plates. Kyoto: Hōyū shoten, 2004.

The energetic commitment of the editor of these two volumes of valuable studies to the difficult and demanding field of Central Asian studies has been manifested over the years in a series of outstanding monographs, and shows no signs of diminishing here. Though a number of different authors are involved, his personal contributions, and those of colleagues working in his chosen field of early Turkological studies, naturally dominate, even if a wide range of topics is covered over all. The earlier volume, which bears the English title *World History Reconsidered through the Silk Road*, will be particularly widely welcomed, since it includes the texts of four lectures by Moriyasu Takao on the history of Manichaeism amongst the Uighurs that were originally delivered in Paris, the first in French and Japanese and the remainder in English. Also included are technical articles devoted to early Turkology, to the Chinese Dunhuang materials, and to the Tangut legal code. A final piece of a less technical nature will be considered below.

The second volume starts with an equally masterly but rather different study by the editor on the history of the monetary systems prevailing on the eastern portion of the Silk Road, followed by two studies relating to the Buddhism of the Uighurs, and one of its influence on Mongol Buddhism. Thereafter one finds, more variously, a comparison of Prakritic materials from different sites, a piece on changing funerary customs amongst the Chinese of the area, a note in English by Yutaka Yoshida on words in Sogdian that may derive from the language of the Hephthalites, a survey of Old Tibetan wooden slips, an examination of three textile fragments suggesting links to the West, and a report on what may be learned from Japanese official archives concerning the Otani expedition.

All these pieces of richly detailed research richly deserve detailed comment, and colleagues working on related topics will certainly welcome their publication, especially since both volumes contain lavish additional material, not simply in the form of colour plates and (in the second volume) black and white illustrations, but also diagrams, catalogues, and all manner of other useful adjuncts to research. It would be a great pity, however, if the more peripheral and general portions of these collections were to be overlooked as each expert turns immediately to the diverse elements of specialist knowledge made available here. The first collection, in fact, ends with a full record of

a symposium held for over seventy schoolteachers interested in the task of putting across the history of Central Asia to high school pupils. In a country in which it would probably be impossible to find seventy high school teachers prepared to show an interest in any part of Asia—certainly not China—one is lost in wonder and admiration at Japan's complete lack of insularity in this regard.

But it is the editorial introduction to the second volume that goes some way to explain this. Japan has, after all, an academic tradition of interest in Central Asia going back to the times of the Otani expedition and even beyond, nurtured in part by a very real and living sense of the importance of that region of the world to the nation's predominantly Buddhist heritage. But it is certainly not a non-problematic sense, since interpretative problems in the field, touching even tangentially as they do on notions of Japan's own identity, have generated and still generate considerable academic debate. The very notion of a 'Silk Road', after all, is a nineteenth-century European invention that may be seen as reducing the whole complex area to a mere conduit for foreign trade, its significance only to be found in its impact on Europe. The higher price end of the tourist industry, and the museum exhibition business, is probably entrenching the term in many languages of the world right now in such a way that mere academics are unlikely ever to be able to substitute anything better. But it would surely be a shame if amongst those who aspire to find in Asia more than the instant gratification of a taste for the exotic the issues raised by an established expert like Moriyasu were to be regarded as no more than the omphalosopic musings of someone working within an entirely alien academic system. Anyone inured to reading academic Japanese will certainly profit from a perusal of the more general contributions in these two volumes, and I for one hope that they will find a wider readership than the rather select group of scholars that will consult the technical studies accompanying them for their relevance to their own personal research.

T. H. BARRETT

EAST ASIA

STANLEY K. ABE:

Ordinary Images.

xxv, 373 pp. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002. \$65.

Ordinary Images is no ordinary monograph. It is a consummate work of scholarship at once showing a masterly command of the often intransigent corpus of early Buddhist, or Buddhist-like, sculpture, offering a refreshingly clear-eyed analysis, and posing a provocative challenge to the way we see the history of Buddhist material culture, and indeed Buddhism itself, in China.

Ordinary Images is based around four studies of Buddhist image making (or things that look like Buddhist image making) between the Eastern Han in the late second century and the Northern Wei in the early sixth. What characterizes the material that Abe studies is, as the title indicates, its ordinariness. These images are not selected for their transcendent beauty or because of their esteemed patrons; they are, as he writes, 'modest in scale, mass-produced, at times incomplete'. In this sense Abe's work can be seen as a version of 'history from below' for Buddhist art, which moves the focus away from the court and

the famous monasteries to specific localities, communities and historical contexts. One aspect of this approach is a resistance to interpreting the meanings of images through the textual record which is, as he rightly notes, fragmentary, the product of the elite classes, and had no necessary connection with the way people away from court produced Buddhist images. Instead, Abe's analysis is concerned with the close study of the images themselves and, most importantly, the contexts in which they occurred both in situ and in social and historical terms.

The first study concerns the earliest images of the Buddha in China, focusing on tombs and 'money trees' in Sichuan and nearby, as well as *humping* jars from the south-east and some other miscellaneous figures. In this chapter, Abe examines many examples of images labelled as 'Buddhist' by previous scholars and archaeologists and asks, in essence, what is it that makes an image Buddhist? In the case of some kneeling figures from a tomb near Wuchang dated to 262 that have intriguing circular marks inscribed on their foreheads, Abe writes: 'the question arises as to how to interpret the appearance of a single attribute of the Indian Buddha image. Is there a conscious intent of making a figure "Buddhist" by including an urna-like circle?' In this regard, he notes the tendency of scholars of Buddhism to interpret ambiguous artefacts from the early period in the light of later history, seeing in them early examples of what we know to have followed them. Abe's approach, on the other hand, allows for the presence of local peculiarities, enthusiasms that died out, misunderstandings and foibles—acknowledging the lumpiness of the past rather than smoothing it out.

The second study concerns a group of the earliest Buddhist sculptures in China, that come from the Hexi corridor in modern Gansu under the Northern Liang in the early fifth century. These votive stupas show a distinctive mix of Buddhist and non-Buddhist iconographical elements and were made, Abe argues, for a group of local patrons by local workshops where different arrangements of images were tried out for perhaps no other reason than for particular craftsmen to make distinctive objects. Placing his analysis of these sculptures in a masterful delineation of the history and archaeology of the region, he concludes that rather than seeing the Hexi corridor as a kind of meeting place of Han and non-Han, a border region in ethnicity as well as geography, with no firm identity of its own, these votive stupa reveal it to be a complex community in its own right, with its own artistic and religious concerns.

In the third study, Abe examines the Guyang Cave, which contains the earliest dated images surviving at the Longmen site, just outside Luoyang. The carvings in the cave are from the Northern Wei, the earliest from 495, the last from a decade later. His discussion of this image making is placed in the context of a discussion of the old chestnut of 'sinicization'—and the beginning of this chapter features an exemplary tracing of scholarship on the question as it relates to Buddhist sculpture. In this scholarship he finds cultural essentialism and the valuation of Han over non-Han with a concomitant emphasis on the inevitability of the adoption of Chinese ways; he also sees in this work a reading of changes in style in organicist terms, as if the appearance, popularity and decline of particular iconographic elements were subject to forces of nature, as if people had nothing to do with them. With a close attention to recent historical studies of the period, Abe presents a corrective based on a series of brilliantly close readings of the images and inscriptions in the cave. He emphasizes the superfluity of choices available to Buddhist artisans, the variety of patrons from the court down to pious associations of commoners, and

the lack of an obvious or clear line of stylistic development. It should also be noted that this chapter includes an enlightening and provocative discussion of the twentieth-century looting of the Guyang cave and modern collection practices in general.

The final study concerns images from about the same period as the Guyang cave but from further west, in modern-day Shaanxi, and of much more heterogeneous iconography. Among these sculptures (often stelae) are clearly Buddhist images, some clearly Daoist ones, and some that have features of both religions. They have been decried by some earlier scholars as second-rate or confused, or both. Abe points rather to their specific characteristics, the variations and commonalities between them, and typically, in an exemplary way, resists placing them into an overarching narrative of influence preferring instead to speak of 'the range of available alternatives in any given local tradition'.

A desire for cogent historical narratives is perfectly understandable and the construction of narratives from available data is a useful, indeed arguably unavoidable, process in understanding the past. But more often than we would like to admit, the data on which we base those narratives is patchy at best. And as we attempt to draw lines of connection between one event, or text, or object, and another we often find ourselves ignoring inconsistencies, the outliers in the data set, the incongruous item. Abe shows eminent good sense in the face of these sometimes uncomfortable contingencies in the discussions described above: in his introduction he writes, 'my view is that the more we know, the less we are able to formulate convincing generalizations or overarching themes', a dictum of considerable wisdom.

One of the features of Abe's fine book is how he brings to light objects that have not previously received sustained scholarly attention. Unfortunately, a few of the reproductions he has had to use (published as they often are in Chinese archaeological journals that did not have the benefit of recent printing technology) are, perhaps, less clear than he, and readers, may have wished. None the less, *Ordinary Images* is richly illustrated and despite the 'ordinariness' of many of the objects under scrutiny it is a very beautiful, as well as a very important, book. It deserves the widest readership.

BENJAMIN PENNY

OUYANG XIU (trans. RICHARD L. DAVIS):

Historical Records of the Five Dynasties.

lxxxii, 669 pp. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

I hope that my jaw did not drop too visibly some ten years ago when Richard Davis told me that he was translating the whole of the *Xin Wudai shi* by Ouyang Xiu (1007–72) but the notion that any individual could translate an entire standard Chinese dynastic history did seem at the time profoundly hubristic. After all, entire teams of translators even now have not succeeded in rendering even the first of that series into English, whilst careers have been built on the translation of but a couple of chapters from some of its successors. But the history in question is certainly one of the shorter ones, though not the shortest, and the translator has as it turns out cunningly avoided hubris by translating most but not all of the work—even if, publishers (including academic publishers) being what they are, the first place that one stumbles across this information is in a footnote half way through the table of contents

(p. xi) revealing that somewhat less than ten per cent of the total has been completely omitted, while getting on for twenty per cent of the biographical chapters have been slimmed down by the excision of some items that do not add substantially to the information given elsewhere, thus (as a quick check against the original reveals) losing a few score individual biographies for some of the lesser characters in the narrative.

That still leaves a great deal of material, rendered into English that maintains a gratifyingly high standard of readability throughout, amply fulfilling the translator's aim of conveying something of what reading history must have been like for the audience to whom the work was first addressed. Very rarely does it seem possible to fault the tone of the translation: on p. 511 I would not use the word 'trivialize' in the sense of 'make light of' someone; on p. 289 it seems strange to say 'alas' when one is glad to see someone, and I do not find any corresponding word in the original. Considering, however, that the author, Ouyang Xiu, was rewriting a rather tedious collection of materials into a style so succinct as to verge on obscurity at times, one is amazed that such lapses do not obtrude more often. The lengthy introduction makes a good case too for the historiographical importance of Ouyang's work, even if his ideological distaste for recording more than minimally the religious atmosphere of the age cannot be construed as helpful to the modern historian, while the omission of any of the monographic 'treatise' portions of the history from the translation, though ably defended on the grounds that Ouyang did not care much for the institutions (or, one feels, foreign relations) of the period, does make the resulting volume slightly atypical as a representation of a standard dynastic history.

Of course there are other approaches possible besides treating such a history as reading matter, for example conducting in the course of translation a careful winnowing of the text as documentary evidence in comparison with other sources. Up to a point this has already been done by the editors of the Chinese text of the *Zhonghua shuju* edition used, since they call on much of the traditional scholarship that over the centuries combed carefully through Ouyang's work to detect his errors, and some of these mistakes appear to have been silently rectified in the translation in the material in square brackets provided (as we are informed on p. lxxviii) to clarify the author's narrative. Historians interested in this more technical aspect of Ouyang's achievement would even so do well to consult the writings of others who have made use of the *Xin Wudai shi*, such as Wang Gungwu (not all of whose publications on the sources of the period are in the bibliography) or E. H. Schafer, who is not mentioned at all as a predecessor, since both of these scholars devote more discussion to an evaluation of the evidence they cite from it. It might have been instructive too to have mentioned the translations into French of R. des Rotours from another, larger history reworked by Ouyang Xiu and others, the *Xin Tang shu*, since his heavily annotated versions of three of the treatises from that source exemplify the documentary approach at its very best, and since he also permitted himself some doubts as to Ouyang's much vaunted prose style.

But des Rotours, even though working as an independent scholar without other distractions in a superb library he was able to purchase with his own money, still took years to produce a fraction of the quantity of translated material available here, so clearly it would have been well beyond the powers of a single individual, however talented and diligent, to produce a version of the *Xin Wudai shi* based on similar principles. It would also have been beyond the forbearance of any academic publisher today to print it, and, given the unaccountable neglect of the Five Dynasties period amongst most historians of

China at present, beyond any expectation of more than minimal sales. This translation by Richard Davis is of course not superhuman, but by providing at a stroke a readable introduction to the main outline of the history of the period as seen in retrospect by an admittedly ideologically driven but highly intelligent observer not far removed in time from the events recorded, he has produced a volume that many, I hope, will want to read, and perhaps even feel inspired to use as the starting point of further research. He should certainly congratulate himself on having achieved something of a breakthrough in the historical study of China, and while he will no doubt now return to the monographic studies of the sort that he has produced in the past, I for one would be glad to see further translations of historical materials from his pen, should he find time to devote to them.

T. H. BARRETT

PAUL JAKOV SMITH and RICHARD VON GLAHN (eds):

The Song–Yuan–Ming Transition in Chinese History.

(Harvard East Asian Monographs, 221.) x, 528 pp. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003. £38.95.

At the 1998 annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, I presented a paper with the words ‘the Song–Ming transition’ in the title. When the chair of the panel, Angela Zito, introduced the paper, she asked, ‘Isn’t that usually called the Yuan dynasty?’ At the time of that meeting, the 1997 Lake Arrowhead conference on the Song–Yuan–Ming transition had already taken place, but it is only now, with the publication of the conference papers in this 2003 volume, that we can expect students of Chinese history to know that the Song–Ming transition and the Yuan dynasty are most certainly not the same thing. The articles in this volume argue that the mid-imperial era from Tang to Song (the seventh to the thirteenth centuries) and the late imperial period (from the mid-sixteenth to the late eighteenth century) are connected by the ‘Song–Yuan–Ming transition’, a distinct historical period starting in 1127 and ending roughly in 1500.

The editors, Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, have done impressive work in producing this volume. Not only have they meticulously edited the work of their seven fellow contributors and written substantial pieces for the collection themselves, but they have also each written valuable introductory articles that draw the individual studies together and place their arguments in a wider context. Smith’s introduction seeks to justify the editors’ vision of the Song–Yuan–Ming period as ‘an identifiable historical unit’ and as ‘a genuine historical transition’ (p. 2). Smith is most convincing when he makes the case for this period as a distinct unit. It is marked off on either side by periods of tremendous economic growth, social reorganization and ‘dramatic expansions in the production and consumption of knowledge and culture’ (p. 1). Smith follows the work of scholars like Robert Hartwell (‘Demographic, political, and social transformations of China, 750–1550’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42/2 (1982), 365–442) and Robert Hymes (*Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung*, Cambridge, 1986), among others, when he argues for the start of this period as the founding of the Southern Song after the loss of the North to the Jin. The endpoint of the period is less clearly defined; sometime towards the end of the

fifteenth century, the gradual trends of the intervening period gain momentum and turn into the transformative changes of the second period of expansive growth and socio-cultural transformation.

I am less convinced that it is helpful to refer to this period of nearly four centuries between 1127 and 1500 as a 'genuine historical transition' (p. 2). In Smith's own words, a transition denotes 'a period of highly contingent and uncertain change separating two more relatively well-defined phases' (p. 2). Of course these four centuries were defined by change, but much less so than the two 'well-defined phases' they separate, the transformations of the Tang–Song and the Ming–Qing periods. The volume as a whole makes a strong case for seeing the continuities between these two transformative periods, and it argues persuasively for seeing the long-term perspective, which recasts the achievements of the high Qing as the culmination of a long period of evolution. But all that surely suggests the importance of seeing the period as a defined historical unit, rather than merely as a transition between two periods of transformation.

One of the many strengths of the volume is that it integrates the studies into a coherent whole without attempting to gloss over the remaining differences between the various authors. One of the characteristics of the period as a whole, Smith contends, was a widening of the gap between the central state and the elites, who were no longer solely dependent on the state. The activist state of the Northern Song gave way to a more passive state between 1127 and 1644, only to return to activist policies during the high Qing. The socio-political elite, whose outlook was locked onto the centre during the Northern Song, became more autonomous and local in its concerns from the Southern Song onwards. Central state attempts to penetrate beneath the uppermost surface of local society, Smith's study of Yuan and Ming collections of random jottings (*biji*) suggests, were transitory and futile in the long term. John Dardess's study, however, highlights the activist side of the Yuan and Ming states. My own study of local elites in Ji'an prefecture in Jiangxi during the Song–Yuan–Ming period tends to concur more with Dardess's view than with that of Smith. In Ji'an, the early Ming elites all had their eyes trained to the centre, and records of local temple building activity create the impression of a vast programme of construction along the lines of Zhu Yuanzhang's envisioned ideals. Ji'an's success in the examinations did not last, and quite possibly the record of extensive rebuilding is only tenuously related to reality; nevertheless, for a time Ji'an elites were driven to demonstrate their close links to the early Ming state. In isolation, such local studies only provide random dots; with the publication of this book the lines between dots have been drawn, revealing the contours of the period. Further local and regional studies will no doubt continue to fill in the details and add local variations to those contours.

This brief review cannot in any way do justice to this extremely rich and rewarding volume. Apart from Smith's introduction and his study of contemporary recollections of the period, von Glahn's discussion of the Chinese, Japanese and Western historiography of the period and Dardess's study of Yuan intellectuals, the volume contains studies by Li Bozhong on the Jiangnan economy, Richard von Glahn on market towns in the Yangzi delta, Bettine Birge on the confluence of *Daoxue* ideals and Mongol practices, Peter Bol on *Daoxue* as a local movement, Lucille Chia on the publishing industry, Stephen West on popular drama and Angela Ki-che Leung on medical learning. The individual studies included and the arguments made in the book as a whole will shape our approach to Chinese history for a long time to come.

ANNE GERRITSEN

RICHARD VON GLAHN:

The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture.

xii, 385 pp. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004. £36.95.

Richard von Glahn is a multifaceted historian. He is first and foremost an economic historian, but also publishes widely in such fields as Chinese religion, urban history, and historiography. He trained as a Song specialist, but in his work covers a period that starts with the Shang and ends with the Qing. In this book, von Glahn applies his wide-ranging expertise to Chinese religious culture, and in particular to its demonic aspect. Von Glahn shows, through an exploration of the Wutong cult in the context of the history of popular Chinese religion, how closely connected the divine and the demonic are throughout that history.

Chinese religious culture, von Glahn argues in this richly illustrated book, is based on two 'fundamental orientations': one where the relationship between human world and spirit realm is negotiated by prayers for blessings and exorcist rituals (in von Glahn's terms, 'eudaemonistic regimes of propitiation and exorcism') and another based on a belief in a 'moral equilibrium inhering in the cosmos itself' (p. 13). While the first orientation is largely devoid of moral resonances, the second is based on the idea that all human actions evoke responses from the divine world (p. 14). Von Glahn sees these two orientations as the basis from which the Three Teachings (i.e. the state religion, Buddhism and Daoism) later developed. These orientations form a constant in von Glahn's discussion, and throughout the book we see the tension and negotiation between them.

The book starts by analysing the origins of the two orientations in the Shang and Zhou dynasties, and moves on to discuss two major moments of transformation in the history of Chinese religion. The first, during the Han dynasty, was based on fundamental changes in the ideas of death and the afterlife, and led to the development of the 'salvific religions' of Buddhism and Daoism (p. 15). The second, during the Song, encompassed increased accessibility for ordinary people to the divine world. During the Song dynasty, a religious framework came into being that would remain in place throughout the late imperial period until today.

Of course von Glahn is not the first to point out that from the Song dynasty onwards commoners could communicate directly with the gods and spirits of the unseen world without the mediation of members of the clergy. Valerie Hansen's *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276* (Princeton, 1990) already showed that the social and economic changes of the Song facilitated the spread of what Hansen refers to as 'secular' and von Glahn prefers to call 'vernacular' religion. (Von Glahn suggests that the term vernacular highlights the variations in time and space that always define religious practices of the common people.) Robert Hymes's magisterial study, *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2002) further developed our understanding of this increased accessibility by pointing out that direct and unmediated access to the realm of the gods could be seen as one 'model of divinity' that coexists with another, namely the bureaucratic model favoured by the Daoists, where access to the gods is mediated by religious specialists. Oddly, von Glahn

refuses to engage with Hymes's work: neither Hymes's book, nor his earlier studies on the subject, appear anywhere in this study. Of course Hymes's book features large numbers of gentlemen (*shidafu*) while von Glahn's interest is in 'collective popular mentality' (p. 17). However, not only does von Glahn have to rely on largely the same variety of sources that originate overwhelmingly with the literate elite (e.g. Daoist scriptures, temple inscriptions, local gazetteers, fiction, anecdotes and tales of the strange), suggesting that there are significant links between Hymes's study and von Glahn's, but the reader would also have benefited from an explicit statement of where von Glahn sees the divergence between his work and that of Hymes.

The last two chapters focus on the Wutong cult, which illustrates the constant presence of the demonic within its divine power particularly aptly. Von Glahn's study of the Wutong cult ('The enchantment of wealth: the god Wutong in the social history of Jiangnan', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51/2 (1991), 651–714) is of course well known; it was built on a foundation laid by Ursula-Angelika Cedzich ('Wu-t'ung: Zur bewegten Geschichte eines Kultes' in Gert Naundorf *et al.* (eds), *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift Hans Steininger*; Würzburg, 1985) who further published on Wutong in the collection *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Religion: Five Studies*, edited by David Johnson (Berkeley: Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1995) and received comments from Michael Szonyi in his 1997 study ('The illusion of standardizing the gods: the cult of the five emperors in late imperial China', *Journal of Asian Studies* 56/1, 113–35). Here, von Glahn uses the Wutong cult to illustrate the vibrant, multivalent and dynamic nature of vernacular religious culture. The Wutong was co-opted into Daoist orthodoxy and blessed with imperial sanction, yet throughout the cult's history, which lasts into the Qing dynasty, it is the demonic, sinister and malevolent aspects of Wutong that continue to characterize the cult for its ordinary followers.

The Sinister Way is not an easy book. Von Glahn makes no concessions to the non-specialist: he uses a complex vocabulary and tends to hide his arguments among broad explorations of the historical context. The link between his arguments and the evidence marshalled to support them is clearest in the Wutong chapters, where von Glahn's main interest lies. The book retells the story of Chinese religious culture from the perspective of the demonic, relying at times on work done by others, at times supplementing work he has previously published, and at times offering new materials. To see where his work is truly innovative requires not only a careful reading of the endnotes but also a thorough familiarity with the literature on Chinese religious culture. It is a book for specialists, who will undoubtedly enjoy this rich work.

ANNE GERRITSEN

GLEN DUDBRIDGE:

The Legend of Miaoshan. (Revised Edition.)

(Oxford Oriental Monographs.) x, 159 pp. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. £45.

First published in 1978, *The Legend of Miaoshan* set an example of rigorous yet creative scholarship. Using a wide array of sources, many of them previously untapped, Glen Dudbridge provided a fascinating account of the origin and growth of the well-known tale of princess Miaoshan. Painstaking textual

investigation coupled with astute analysis of the historical context resulted in an insightful explanation of the social and political dimensions related to the construction, transmission and modification of a legend. Mapping out the tale's significance, as well as its literary, cultural and religious development through different centuries, media and genres, Dudbridge highlighted the value of popular literature for the study of Chinese society. His ground-breaking arguments, and the sources he employed, had the additional merit of inspiring further inquiry in the field, in terms of epigraphical evidence (Lai) and socio-cultural aspects (Sangren, Stein, Idema, Yü).

The revised edition of *The Legend of Miaoshan* draws upon new epigraphical and literary sources, and uses them to integrate the analysis, which thus gains in both substance and nuance. The book features significant additions and updates, in content and style: *inter alia*, a new chapter ('The original story', ch. 3); considerable modifications to many sections; helpful appendixes, which include an invaluable critical reconstruction of the first version of the story; Chinese characters conveniently inserted in the text; revised and expanded footnotes in lieu of endnotes; fitting translations of some place names and titles (e.g. All-Compassionate instead of Dabei); several illustrations, and pinyin romanization. As a result, this revision succeeds in further improving the quality and readability of an already excellent work, whose scholarly value, intelligent questioning of diverse sources, multidisciplinary approach and—last but not least—clarity, make it a definitive reference tool.

Dudbridge has chosen not to change the original structure of the book, neither has he modified his approach to the topic. Accordingly, he still looks at the background, birth and evolution of the legend, subsequently to delineate its anatomy and interpretations, rightly avoiding the *vexata quaestio* of the Chinese feminization of Avalokiteśvara/Guanyin and concentrating instead on the tale itself. The added evidence positively enhances our understanding of Miaoshan as an evolving socio-cultural symbol and signifier. For instance, we can now read, almost in full, the story as told by its first propagator Jiang Zhiqi in 1100. By comparing this version with subsequent devotional and fictional accounts (some of which had not been used in the first edition), Dudbridge is able to offer a complete panorama of the tale's genealogy and meanings. In particular, the many elements linking the narrative to earlier Buddhist and popular traditions emerge now very clearly, as do the focus and content variations throughout the story's stages of development. Layer by layer, we are led to see how a locally relevant figure is made—with or without ulterior motives—to become a universal saviour, the epitome of filial piety, and a powerful paradigm of celibacy. Via religion, literature and theatre, we therefore obtain a multifaceted yet intense picture of Chinese culture.

The inclusion of new evidence does not, on the other hand, modify the essence of Dudbridge's analysis and conclusions. This undoubtedly testifies to the solidity of his research. Indeed, of all the chapters, only that on interpretations (ch. 7) remains untouched, except for some integrations in footnotes. However, one is slightly disappointed by the decision not to expand further some of the issues to which the first edition had drawn attention. In 1978, Dudbridge offered precious insights on the correlation between women's socio-cultural standing and the content and meanings of Miaoshan's figure and legend. His pioneering discussion on filial piety, celibacy, marriage and female social roles, with the story seen as a means to legitimate the pursuit of spiritual ideals, stimulated further investigation of the cultural implications of the tale. To be sure, new interpretations can 'speak for themselves' (p. 4). None the less, this revised edition could have been an opportunity for Dudbridge to give new

and inspiring contributions on the issue of gender prescriptions in traditional Chinese society, also in the light of the scholarship recently produced in that field. For instance, it would have been worthwhile to look into the reasons why the construction of a legend with a *female* heroine was, in the twelfth century, deemed conducive to boosting the fortunes of a pilgrimage site. And more could have been said about the influence of Miaoshan on gender contents, and vice-versa, at the moment of the legend's initial construction, i.e. a period when female religious leadership, in lay or monastic terms, was an accepted option in many layers of society. How was the popularity of Miaoshan's 'assertiveness' related to the *Zeitgeist* (or to the current religious market), and how were the changing norms for femininity connected to the subsequent shifts in the tale's focus—with increasing importance attached to female pollution and to the conflict between religious and family ideals? Also, was the account—particularly in later versions—really an encouraging one, or was it meant to place 'transgression' on an unattainable level by associating it with sainthood, and was it female agency that made it become encouraging? Finally, the all-encompassing category of 'women' is perhaps too general and overlooks class or role differences, which undoubtedly had a bearing on the perception, reception and meaning/usage of the legend.

On the other hand, Dudbridge's decision not to expand his discussion on these issues is possibly due to the fact that he wishes, once more, to encourage new research. In fact, his work remains a must-read, not only for those interested in religious, literary or gender studies, but also for anybody who wishes to gain a deeper understanding of Chinese history and society.

VALENTINA BORETTI

TANSEN SEN:

Buddhism, diplomacy and trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600–1400.

xvi, 388 pp. Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2003. \$55.

This is a truly trans-national work by a brilliant young Indian scholar who was brought up in China, trained at the University of Pennsylvania, did research in Kyoto and now teaches in New York. In Kyoto, Tansen Sen passed through that most remarkable institution, the Italian School of East Asian Studies, which has had such an important influence on the careers of some members of the rising generation of scholars of East Asian culture and religion. One hopes that some diligent Italian bureaucrat is keeping track of all the books and articles which have been produced on the basis of research conducted at ISEAS. In terms of the amount of work (not to mention publicity and goodwill) produced per euro the Italian government seems to be getting a remarkably good return on its money.

In this ambitious book, Sen not only traces over eight hundred years the changes in the international relations between China and India (whatever metamorphosing geographical entities are designated by these two names) and the various powers in between them, but also offers a new perspective on the trajectory of Buddhism in China. After a brief introduction that sets out the aims of the book and the significance of comprehending patterns of change across vast distances of time and space, Sen begins in chapter 1 by

examining religious, diplomatic, and commercial contacts between early Tang China and north India. As he demonstrates, these spheres of activity were closely interconnected.

In chapter 2 Sen shows how Empress Wu in particular used Buddhist artefacts and sites, such as relics, stupas and mountains, to reshape religious geography and position China at the centre of the Buddhist world. Once India was not the only site of authenticity and authority, Buddhists from other places were drawn to China in search of teachings or on pilgrimage. It is this drastic redrawing of the world map that, in Sen's view, accounts for why Chinese Buddhism largely went its own way thereafter, despite the fact that Indian texts continued to be transmitted and translated.

Sen takes on the outdated but persistent notion of the decline of Buddhism after the Tang by showing that monks and texts moved between the two cultural spheres at least as much in the tenth and eleventh centuries as they had in the Tang. In chapter 4 he turns from religion to trade as he shows how the decline in significance of religious exchange was accompanied by a major shift in the nature of commercial exchange that was characterized by the growing role of non-Buddhist traders, the increased importance of maritime trade routes, and the amount of luxury and bulk trade goods.

In chapter 5, Sen puts his discussion of Sino-Indian trade in larger physical and temporal contexts against the background of world trade. In his conclusion he explains briefly how the Buddhist world began to fragment and places outside India and China, such as Sri Lanka and Tibet, became centres of their own religious and commercial networks.

The author's well-conceived and fascinating account will be appreciated by anyone interested in understanding better the world of thought and material culture in pre-modern Asia. The author has a remarkable command of a vast range of materials, although there are some occasional surprising omissions. For example, on p. 110 Sen mentions the monk Prajñā, but fails to refer to a major article on the Chongfu monastery in Chang'an by Antonino Forte. ('The Chongfu-si in Chang'an. A neglected Buddhist monastery and Nestorianism', in Paul Pelliot, *L'Inscription Nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, edited with supplements by Antonino Forte. Kyoto and Paris: Italian School of Asian Studies and Collège de France, 1996, pp. 429–54). In that article Forte devotes considerable discussion to Prajñā (pp. 442–46) and cites an earlier relevant article by Jan Yun-hua. Overall, Sen deals well with military matters, and would no doubt have appreciated David Graff's recent book on the subject (*Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900*, London: Routledge, 2002), had it appeared earlier.

The book is very readable, and Sen's arguments are easy to follow, but there are some odd turns of phrase of which just a few examples will suffice: 'to embellish the intensity' (p. 12); 'gloried by the Heaven and his compassion and love [out-bursting] from his heart' (p. 19); 'Wu Zetian was gradually wielding her power' (p. 41). These minor infelicities detract only slightly from the pleasures of reading but suggest that the book could have benefited from a final editorial once-over, which might have caught a few other errors. John Winthrop Haeger's article is 'The significance of confusion: the origins of the T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan', not 'The significance of Confucian' as it appears in n. 62 on p. 290 and in the bibliography. The *Song hui yao* (p. 117) is not a 'Draft history of the Song dynasty', as Dr Sen surely knows. The same scholar appears under two names: Chen Jinhua and Jinhua Chen in the notes (see p. 84 and p. 280). There are some minor typographical errors: 'news roots' (p. 138) should read 'new roots'; 'by number of scholars' (p. 294, n. 121) should read

'by a number of scholars'. Read 'Nepali' for 'Napali' (p. 23). Kapiśa is written Kāpiśa in a number of places (e.g. p. 27, p. 30). The translations seem solid, but there are a few places where greater care might have been taken: 'in the reign' (p. 45) should be 'in the country'; 'envoys were sent in from four directions' (p. 47) should read 'sent in the four directions'.

The maps are excellent, clearly drawn and very useful. For a book on international trade they are obviously essential, but one would have thought that some explanation of weights and measures used in the book would have been just as helpful. The term 'trident' is used throughout as a measure of distance, but it does not appear to be defined anywhere.

Professor Sen is to be congratulated on an excellent first book. It is well researched, well written and stimulating. No doubt its impact on a variety of fields in the study of East and South Asia will be felt for many years to come. I look forward to further works from this talented scholar, and hope that others will be inspired to follow in his footsteps.

JAMES A. BENN

ELEANOR B. MORRIS WU:

From China to Taiwan: Historical, Anthropological and Religious Perspectives.

274 pp. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2004.

This book falls into two sections. In chapters 1 to 4, Wu links Geertz's (1963) model of agricultural involution with Freedman's (1958; 1971) explication of lineage to explain the 'stagnation' (p. 73) of Chinese society in past periods. This analysis is then elaborated towards a theory of 'industrial involution' (pp. 22–3, 61, 73–5, 213–15) wherein Wu argues that contemporary Taiwan—given the absence of primogeniture, the persistence of lineage as a 'root system' (p. 61) and the emergence of the so-called 'firm family' (p. 75)—is in a betwixt and between state, neither wholly traditional nor entirely modern.

In the second part Wu turns her attention to religion, in particular folk temples in contemporary Taiwan, suggesting that their 'symbolic structure' expresses the 'transition that has occurred ... from agricultural involution as an integral function of the lineage system' to 'industrial involution as an integral function of the "firm family" in the present industrial economy' (p. 107). According to Wu, the transition is expressed to the extent that particular deities embody either patrilineal or affinal ties (pp. 150–52, 161–2, 175–6).

There is much of value here: detailed historical and ethnographic data on conditions in sixteenth-century Fu-chien that precipitated emigration to Taiwan, of the limits of Ch'ing jurisdiction over the island, of the Japanese colonial period, of lineage organization, social mobility and modernity, a history of religious traditions in China, analysis of three folk temples in contemporary Taipei, their establishment by particular ethnic groups, their function as markers of place, legends about the gods and goddesses enshrined within them and a discussion of sectarianism in the context of social change—which should indicate the scope and ambition of the work. However, there are also a number of serious problems with the argument, in particular the dependence on models of involution, the use of Redfield's (1953) (pp. 32, 107) notion of great and little traditions and the references to Lévi-Strauss (1966) and

Sperber (1974) (pp. 28, 71, 211–2) in the interpretation of religion and temple symbolism.

Geertz's portrayal of an Indonesia neither fully modern nor wholly traditional juxtaposes ecological factors, the legacy of a dual economy that emerged during the colonial period under Dutch rule and the constraints on modernization posed by local culture. The model has been applied outside Indonesia (J. A. Larkin, 'The causes of an involuted society: a theoretical approach to rural Southeast Asia' in *Journal of Asian Studies* 30, 1971, 783–95) but has also been subject to critique (Koentjaraningrat, 1975) *Anthropology in Indonesia: A Bibliographical Review* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff). Wu's elaboration of the model towards one of industrial involution invokes an incomplete Taiwanese modernity characterized by the partition and dispersal of capital and property caused by the absence of primogeniture and the necessity of equal partition among sons producing what Wu terms 'entrepreneurial atomism' (p. 77). This in turn leads to corrupt business practices ('counterfeiting, stealing power ... and illegal devices' (p. 77) and short termism. Wu also claims that one aspect of this process is 'disregard for spatial or temporal parameters' in the urban environment wherein a 'kind of chaotic urban lawlessness prevails' (p. 79). Perhaps a more sophisticated analysis would not so casually reinscribe binary codes of Western modernity such as public private, or so easily reproduce orientalizing tropes of the static, criminal and dangerous Orient. The evolutionary assumptions at the heart of the involution model should be treated with caution.

Wu's analysis of religion in Taiwan asserts that religion can be understood in terms of Redfield's distinction between great and little traditions. According to Wu, the religion of the *literati* is articulated in terms of *jen* (virtue). The *literati* is a class defined primarily by literacy. Theirs is the so-called great tradition. Conversely, the religion of 'the common people' (p. 123)—a social group defined by Wu in terms of a lack of literacy—is articulated in terms of *ling* (power/efficacy). This is the so-called little tradition. However, Wu also suggests that there is 'a *central value system* common to all Chinese classes that developed through shared religious values and ideals' (p. 104). Are these contradictory positions? Freedman (1974) rejected Redfield's model precisely because he believed that elite and peasant religion in China 'rests upon a common base, representing two versions of one religion that we may see as idiomatic translations of each other' (1974: 37).

Wu's approach to temple symbolism—given the references made to Lévi-Strauss and Sperber—also warrants comment; her approach is apparently historical. Religious symbols, Wu suggests, can only be understood through situating them in a historical context of economic, political and social change, in particular the transition from agricultural to industrial involution. According to Wu, religious symbols express this transition. But this historical focus sits uncomfortably with structuralist approaches which see not the work of history in any given group of symbols, but the binary structure of the human mind.

Despite Wu's nod towards historicism, her analysis of temple symbolism in fact emphasizes stasis: 'As early as the Chou (11th c.—221 BC) an elaboration of a hierarchical religious pantheon reflected that of the existing social system. This religious system continues to maintain worshippers to this day' (p. 89). Wu suggests that temple worship 'has served to maintain the status of the imperial regime among the common people' (p. 123) and 'all relationships between worshippers and deities are mimetic of relationships between subject and official or subject and emperor in the official court protocol'

(p. 124). Why people in twenty-first century Taiwan should worship gods-as-imperial-bureaucrats from a bygone era and from another state is not questioned (S. Harrell, 'Lessons from the golden age of "China" ethnography', in Cheng-Kuang Hsu and Ying-Kuei Huang (eds), *Anthropological Studies in Taiwan: Retrospect and Prospect*, Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1999).

Despite these criticisms this book remains a useful introduction to anyone interested in religion in contemporary Taiwan, though the absence of an index will deter rather than encourage the student.

PAUL-FRANÇOIS TREMLETT

JAMES L. HEVIA:

English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China.

xviii, 387 pp. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003. £74.00 (cloth), £18.50 (paper).

In this book James Hevia takes on the ambitious project of clarifying 'the nature of colonialism in nineteenth-century China' (p. 14) by locating 'China within, rather than outside of or peripheral to, the globalizing forces that transformed the worlds of the bulk of humankind in the nineteenth century' (p. 27). His particular subjects are the various processes by which Euroamericans sought to 'educate' or 'civilize' China from the period of the Arrow War 1856 to the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising. Several chapters of the book have their origin in articles that Hevia published through the 1990s, on the subjects of Western looting in China, the kowtow as symbol, the archive and missionary martyrdom. Readers who have already enjoyed these articles will certainly welcome the reappearance in this volume of some of their material and arguments, woven as they are here into an overarching framework for understanding the practices of Euroamerican imperialism in China as processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. If that theoretical framing sounds overly abstract, it should also be stressed that one of the great strengths of *English Lessons* is the attention paid to the detail offered by the institutional archives, periodical press and first-person narratives that are Hevia's primary sources.

Thus, Hevia pieces together from a variety of primary sources a multi-layered and complex account of looting in Beijing after the suppression of the Boxer Uprising in 1900, allowing him to make detailed comparisons with the looting of the Yuanming Yuan (Summer Palace) forty years before. Similarly, his close reading of Annex 19 to the Boxer Protocol (Memorandum on the Ceremonial to be Followed in Solemn Audiences) serves to underscore just what was at stake in struggles over the 'symbolic'—the reordering of China by foreign conventions (in both meanings of that term).

However, *English Lessons* is very much more than the sum of its rewarding parts, since Hevia brings these micro-histories and close readings together within an overtly theoretical account of imperialism in nineteenth-century China. Borrowing (albeit cautiously) from a Deleuzian model of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, Hevia points to the opium trade, military technology, translation and sovereignty as arenas in which Euroamericans progressively disrupted existing forms of social organization in China (that is,

'deterritorialized China'). On the side of 'reterritorialization' Hevia understands specific institutions (such as the Imperial Maritime Customs Service and the British consular service) as structures through which the Euroamerican presence attempted to reorder (for which, in other accounts read 'modernize' or 'westernize') a China disordered by those processes already mentioned. These twin forces also provide the book with its tripartite structure and periodization: part I focuses on deterritorialization from 1856–60, culminating in the looting and destruction of the Yuanming Yuan; part II focuses on reterritorialization from 1861–1900, both through the institutions of the IMC and through successive treaties; and part III deals with the immediate and longer-term consequences of these two processes in the wake of the Boxer Uprising of 1900. This model is particularly helpful in drawing out similarities between imperialism in China and imperial projects elsewhere, which Hevia does in exemplary fashion throughout *English Lessons*, for example in sections on information gathering of the imperialist state, the grounding of nineteenth-century European and American exhibition cultures in colonial adventure, and on the pervasiveness of racial discourse in imperialist cultures. Hevia's refusal to treat 'China knowledge' 'as if it were produced in a circuit involving only China and the West' is not only refreshing but also absolutely necessary, Hevia convincingly argues, for a better understanding of imperialism in China.

Hevia is acutely aware and critical of the way in which, in many accounts, 'the West seems to have become an ever more reified historical agent whose features and characteristics no longer require careful analysis' (p. 10). However, it is not clear that, in the transitions between the specific and the general, he manages entirely to avoid this danger himself. In discussions of specific events, Hevia actually has very interesting things to say about the perceived differences, and deliberate rhetorical distinctions made, between the different nationalities and states intervening in China, for example, he carefully unpicks the way in which in 1860 legal structures of British Prize Law were used to differentiate British and French forces in contemporary discourse. However, Hevia's insistent use of the term 'Euroamerican' when he moves to the general tends to obscure his more nuanced observations of particular events and cuts across his plea that the West not be reified in accounts of imperialism in China. 'Euroamerican' is used partly to undercut claims of American exceptionalism, but ultimately this book is primarily about the activities of British imperialism in China in its particular late Victorian incarnation, rather than an account of the operation of imperialism in nineteenth-century China *tout court*. Notwithstanding objections to the frequent slippage between Euroamerican and British, Hevia should be richly praised for his meticulous engagement with British imperialism in late nineteenth-century China as a cultural process (understood in the widest sense), which has produced a book that is exciting, original and challenging.

JUDITH GREEN

HANS J. VAN DE VEN

War and Nationalism in China 1925–1945.

(RoutledgeCurzon Studies in the Modern History of Asia.)

xii, 377 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £70.

One of the most deep-rooted historical facts of the twentieth century was that it was the incompetence and corruption of the Chinese Nationalists that led to

their defeat in the Chinese civil war (1945–49). This was not only convenient for the Communists, who presented themselves as the clean and efficient saviours of the Chinese people; it was also an opportune excuse for the US authorities to withdraw their support from the Nationalists, who had allegedly blundered and acted in a cowardly fashion in military operations, had been double dealing, were despised by the Chinese population, and were steeped in venality. The USA's wartime ally had supposedly squandered and diverted its military aid and lost it to Japanese and Communist troops. No doubt this conjecture gained added credibility from the coincidence that both the Chinese Communists and their 'American imperialist' adversaries propagated this view; for the critical left in the West, the fact that some of the Nationalists' critics were labelled 'un-American' during the McCarthy trials may have made it even more plausible. The Cold War did not apparently leave much appetite for raising serious doubts about this perception.

Hans van de Ven's *War and Nationalism in China 1925–1945* is more than just a corrective to the common, unflattering history of Chinese Nationalism. This excellent book brings together a coherent revisionist account of the Nationalists' war effort. In addition to scholarship from the last few decades, the book builds on archival sources and critical and systematic scrutiny of established ideas.

The first chapter sets the scene, dissecting the role given to China by the USA during the Second World War, and the way in which it was dictated by the wider Allied strategy in the Pacific War. The Nationalists' failings in this narrative turn out to be functions of Allied strategy, which, in spite of Chiang Kaishek's protest, locked some of China's prime military forces in the Burma campaign, while allowing the Japanese to occupy ever larger areas of China. In an astonishing role reversal, Lieutenant General Joseph Stillwell, whose *Stillwell Papers* have become the main source of the burlesque invectives history has hurled at Chiang, emerges as a largely incompetent officer who cared little about the welfare of the troops under his command, who repeatedly made serious mistakes in military tactics, whose judgement of the Chinese, and the Nationalists in particular, was based on culturalist and racist disdain, and who systematically used Chiang as 'Prügelknabe' for his own failings. Conversely, Chiang appears as a good strategist and competent politician frustrated in his endeavours by the wider interests of the USA and Stillwell's and others' bungling.

Not only was Chiang Kaishek hemmed in by the Allied strategies and the concerns about post-war settlements (which by and large deprived him of the ability to fight the Japanese at the crucial moments), but as later chapters show, the origins of the Nationalist military forces and the role of warlords gave him little room for manoeuvre in the 1920s and 1930s, and although he was working hard on creating a strong and efficient military, he was several years away from achieving this at the time the Japanese attacked in 1937. Later, the need to deal with diverse adversaries in China, ranging from the Communists to the collaborationist Wang Jingwei regime, drained the resources of the Nationalists.

In the final chapter, the resource base for warfare is at the centre of the discussion. Ensuring availability of food and industrial products, running an economy both to sustain the war effort and the livelihood of the people, imposing taxes and other duties, rationing of scarce goods, and dealing with high rates of inflation were important tasks, which the Nationalists took on firmly and, according to van de Ven, with more competence than normally

assumed. That they ultimately failed had mainly to do with the enormity of the task and the odds they worked against.

The Nationalist Party stands out not as a shining example of good governance and military perfection, but as far less moribund, rapacious and vile than history books have tended to teach us. Its lack of success, conversely, can mainly be ascribed to circumstances that worked against it.

The strength of the book is its deep analysis of the Nationalists at war. Accordingly, the coverage of Wang Jingwei's government and of Manchukuo—the latter in particular—is understandably limited. The focus of the book also postpones the task of revising the roles and motivations of the Communists in the context of the new findings. The focus on war, of course, means that many important aspects of politics, intellectual life as well as social and economic development remain untouched.

Among the few shortcomings, I find the summary and negative approach to De Wang's role in Suiyuan ungracefully biased against this politician, who sought to carve out some sort of Mongolian autonomy, while under strong Japanese pressure, and am sad to see that the Nationalists' ambiguous and counterproductive policy towards China's Mongols is reduced to a superficial, yet largely positive, mention of Fu Zuoyi's dubious campaigns against them.

Hans van de Ven has, with this excellent study based on outstanding scholarship, paved the way for a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of the whole period and has provided substantial evidence for a revisionist reading of the Nationalists' wartime role.

FLEMMING CHRISTIANSEN

THOMAS P. LYONS:

China Maritime Customs and China's Trade Statistics 1859–1948.

viii, 171 pp. Trumansburg, New York: Willow Creek Press, 2003.

\$34.95.

The trade statistics produced by the China Maritime Customs Service (CMCS) provide a valuable, if underused, resource for examining a wide range of important issues relating to China's economic history. Unfortunately, the nature of the customs records makes them a particularly intimidating challenge for the historian and it has long been recognized that trade figures can be dangerously misleading if taken at face value. What is needed is a detailed and comprehensive, yet accessible, guide to the use of the material and this is precisely what Lyons sets out to provide.

The intention is clear—it is to 'produce a guide to the major sources of Chinese Customs statistics, to the statistics themselves, and, in particular, to those statistics of greatest utility in a regional study'. The book, therefore, is about the nature of the customs records, about the problems that are encountered (and need to be overcome) in working with them, and about the extent to which various deficiencies and qualifications might compromise any intended use of the results produced. In detail, it is concerned with three things: making sense of port-specific statistics contained in CMCS publications; constructing regional time series from those statistics; and using a particular set of time series (for Fujian tea exports) to explore issues in regional development and to allow elaboration and possible correction of existing studies (particularly those of Gardella and Chen). As a result it is more about what needs to be done to

work with the returns and what can be done with the information they contain than about the analysis and interpretation of the various estimates that do emerge.

There can be no doubt that the book is by far the best introduction to the customs statistics that is available and will be an indispensable tool for anyone seeking to embark on research involving the customs material. The three chapters in Part 1 set out comprehensive and easily accessible basic information on the evolution of the treaty arrangements, on the functioning of the CMCS and the changing scope of its responsibilities, and on the statistical returns produced by the service (what and how they measured), before turning to the caveats and qualifications that need to be taken into consideration when seeking to present or interpret the material contained in the returns.

Against this background chapter 4 turns to the ability to reconstruct accurately the historical contours of the Fujian tea trade. Here, in the author's view, it is possible to establish with certainty enough about the coverage, conventions and actual practice 'to make sense of the surviving statistics ... and provide a fairly detailed picture of the trade of each port'. Time series are constructed for different definitions of tea exports (all exports to all destinations, original exports, exports to foreign countries, etc.) and reveal the extent and timing of the rise and fall of trade for the individual ports. The results differ slightly from those produced in previous studies—or rather establish that the previous data are drawn from a number of different time series, and thus liable to misinterpretation. The material presented in this chapter is supplemented by a CD-ROM giving the data in spreadsheet form and providing more detail on the derivation of the data—an addition which is useful not only for research purposes but for introducing students to data sets and their manipulation.

Chapter 5 turns to the problems associated with aggregation of data across ports (in this particular case the changing status of Taiwan) and the use of port-specific statistics for understanding regional development. Whilst Lyons makes it clear that it is impossible to construct series that are entirely consistent in definition and coverage over time, corrections on a port-by-port basis and for aggregates across ports can 'yield series that are adequate for many purposes'. These series, revealing a picture of a sharply rising volume of tea exports through Fujian ports until the early 1880s followed by a steep long-term decline (though less so in terms of value), are then used to estimate the relative importance of exports to the provincial economy.

Throughout the book the presentation of material is split between text and inset boxes, and it is a combination that, at times, can render both a little difficult to follow. For example, the five paragraphs of text on the origins of the CMCS appear intermittently over eight pages interspersed between the layout of Box 1 covering the evolution of the Treaty Port system and the provisions of the principal treaties, conventions and agreements between 1842 and 1930. This, however, is a minor quibble compared with the value of setting out clearly and comprehensively the problems that are encountered in using the customs records and the means by which those problems can be overcome. The important thing about Lyons's study is that not only does he establish that it *is* possible to reconstruct time series for China's trade with reasonable accuracy (and appropriate qualification) but that he offers historians the tools with which they can set about constructing series for other products and other provinces. This, in turn, will lead eventually to the ability to undertake a more systematic, and comprehensive and accurate analysis of China's international trade and its interaction with the development of the domestic economy.

This book will appeal to anyone wishing to work on the Customs Service in general and the returns in particular, to anyone seeking to determine the dependability of existing studies which draw on the returns, and to anyone needing data on the tea trade or on the Fujian regional economy. Not for everyone then, but for researchers and scholars in these fields it will be an indispensable source and for many the essential starting point. One hopes that historians will be inspired by the possibilities that it opens up rather than intimidated by the complexities and intricacies of the sources that it reveals.

PHILIP RICHARDSON

PAULA M. VARSANO:

Tracking the Banished Immortal: The Poetry of Li Bo and Its Critical Reception.

x, 381 pp. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003. \$49.

This is an excellent and long-awaited study of the poetry of Li Bo (701–762) and its critical reception. Chapters 1 and 2 first trace the reception of Li Bo's poetry by major critics from the period immediately following his death through to the early 1900s, and make a major contribution to aspects of traditional Chinese literary criticism. Using the conceptual tool of complementary bipolarity, the author discusses the bipolar terms *xu* (unfoundedness) and *shi* (substantiveness) as applied to Li Bo and Du Fu (712–770). The study then proceeds with a chronological study of 'the shifts in the internal makeup of key bipolar concepts as they present themselves in Li-Du comparative criticism' (p. 13) and how these bipolar concepts such as *xu* and *shi*, *cai* and *xue* (talent and learning), *shen* and *gong* (inspiration and craft), *wen* and *zhi* (pattern and substance), and *bukexue* and *kexue* (unlearnability and learnability) are transformed in Li-Du criticism. The author argues for a framework where, over time, 'these changes reveal a pattern of cyclical movement from initial pairing, to extreme opposition, to a discourse that might best be called syncretic, and then toward opposition. In the syncretic stage, each term of a bipolar concept is broadened to include many of its counterpart's defining attributes, gradually attenuating the pair's defining bipolarity. During the Ming dynasty, for example, this trend became most evident when such writers as Xie Zhen (1495–1575) and Tu Long (1542–1605) set about establishing Li's work as *shi* within *xu*, and Du's work as *xu* within *shi*' (p. 15). The study then argues for the period of Li Bo's entry into the canon, when 'critics begin expressing less interest in ascertaining the extent, depth, and content of his knowledge, and more interest in taking his work (whose inimitability is more appreciated than ever) as an object to be integrated as a constituent of their own knowledge. The beginning of this shift coincides with the late Ming (16 c.) attainment of bipolar equilibrium, a moment characterized both by the Archaists' elevation of High Tang poetry to a level of ancientness on a par with the *Shijing*, and the Gong'an school's increasingly positive evaluation of individual expression, unfoundedness, and unlearnability' (p. 19). The author then looks at how Li Bo's entry into the canon transformed the reception of his work and the transmission of his poetic persona.

Chapters 3 to 5 look at the reasons why Li Bo's poetry is worthy of inclusion in the canon, and are critical readings in three areas of Li Bo's work that bear explicit marks of affiliation with the past: his *Gufeng*, or 'Ancient airs'; his

yuefu poems, which reveal a combination of text-based tradition and folkloric authenticity; and his use of allusion. The author's main argument is that 'Li Bo's work pointedly subverts the expected implementations of textual learning in ways that renew (if only for the duration of the individual work) the usefulness of ancient texts as expressions of the self. Through a variety of defamiliarizing means, Li Bo draws attention to the constructedness of a variety of "ancient" poetic practices, not to invalidate their usefulness for latter-day poets like himself, but to assert the authenticity of deliberate, constructed poetry. Appearing to rebel against tradition, seeming to throw off the fetters of conventional practice, Li's ironic stance recovers—if only in the short term—the "ancient" ideal of authentic poetic expression. For Li Bo, immediacy is no longer feasible, but authentic self-expression is' (p. 22).

The author notes that her study does not provide a comprehensive view of Li Bo's accomplishments as a poet (p. 24), but this is already a substantial piece of scholarship. In fact, it is the first full-length study of Li Bo in English in half a century, and is an original and major contribution to the understanding of the poetry of Li Bo, the *guwen* movement in the Tang period, and traditional Chinese literary criticism.

The translations are enjoyable to read, and I offer the following suggestions: p. 43, ll. 32–3 'In the morning I yearn as they return to oblivion' should read 'When I think of them in the morning they are indistinct in my mind'; p. 45, l. 1 'Five pieces on Mancheng' should read 'Five pieces casually composed'; p. 45, ll. 7–11 'The [Heavenly] Palace of the Assembled Immortals, the [Earthly] Palace of Golden Bells, The one could be a common ant, the other a summer pheasant' should read 'At the Palace of the Assembled Immortals [associated with Du Fu] and the Palace of Golden Bells [associated with Li Bo], Do you think the buzzing of flies has been mistaken for the cock's crow?' (See Wang Rubi, Nie Shiqiao, *Yuxisheng shichun*, Ji'nan: Qilushushe, 1987, pp. 229–30.); p. 176, ll. 31–2 'Only now do I understand those sons of the grave' should read 'Only now do I understand [the immortal] Xianmen Zigao'. Chinese typos include the following: p. 224, l. 18 'feng'; p. 246, l. 13, 'yi'; l. 14, 'lan' for 'jian'; l. 15, 'qun'; p. 264, l. 5, 'ti' for 'yang'; p. 270, l. 2, 'xiao' for 'jiao', l. 4, 'yu' for 'nai'; p. 285, l. 30, 'jiu' for 'wai'; p. 289, l. 7, 'xiao'.

TZI-CHENG WANG

PATRICIA SIEBER:

Theaters of Desire: Authors, Readers, and the Reproduction of Early Chinese Song-Drama, 1300–2000.

xxi, 268 pp. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2003. £45.

The book under review is a work of meticulous historical scholarship that interprets how the body of work traditionally known and canonized as 'Yuan drama' was reinvented and reproduced by reader-writers through the ages, in the space of desire and romance interlocking the courtly and elitist manuscript culture and the commercial bookmarket economy. The systematic and critical investigation, through the genre of drama, of the shifting relationship between the literati and the court, and its meaning in the negotiation between different literary cultures, is illuminating. Patricia Sieber offers an elaborate and convincing set of arguments explaining why and how, and the cultural significance of the various editions of 'Yuan drama' produced by Zang Maozun and other

editors of Ming and Qing times. This book is a substantial contribution to the field of Classical Chinese drama studies and focuses on issues of textual authenticity and reproduction in the context of print culture.

In more traditional terms, the gist of Sieber's book can be summarized as a 'reception' history of 'Yuan drama'. But Sieber's critical framework of contemporary currency differs from that of Hans Robert Jauss's aesthetics of reception in that her essential concern is the question of the construction of 'authorship' in a non-European historical temporality. In her own terms, it is the transformation from 'attestatory authorship' to 'reproductive authorship' in the history of Classical Chinese drama from the fourteenth century to the present, contextualizing in terms of readership, 'editorial costuming' (p. xvi), print culture and the negotiation between official/court and commercial literary culture. Sieber's notion of history is also reflected in her adoption of the term 'early Chinese song-drama' instead of the conventional designation 'Yuan drama' (pp. xvii, 4)—this is reminiscent of how 'the Renaissance' has frequently been replaced by 'the early modern' in many new historicist and feminist-oriented studies.

The long 'introduction' impressively amasses primary sources in Chinese, Japanese, German and French to illustrate how 'early Chinese *zaju* song-drama' was rewritten in different historical times and cultures, transnational, national and local. It is instructive for Sieber to emphasize how the reinvention of early song-dramas by early twentieth-century Chinese intellectuals was constituted in the larger discourse of the building of a modern Chinese nation in the face of the encroachment of Japan and European imperial powers. It is a little disappointing that the sections on 'tragedy' stop at Qian Zhongshu's 1935 essay without extending into the anthologies and studies of 'Chinese tragedy' in Mainland China in the 1980s and 90s.

Chapter 1 is a historical investigation of considerable breadth into the formation of the 'author-function' of 'Guan Hanqing', with special reference to Guan's dubious partial authorship of Wang Shifu's play *Xixiang ji*. This chapter successfully demonstrates that '[r]econstructing the history of the reception of the attributions of songs and plays to the proper name of Guan Hanqing sheds light on how vernacular genre, romantic representations, and identifiable attribution conspired to form new biographical sensibilities and new literary competencies for literati' (p. 79). It is also revealing to read this interpretation of 'Guan Hanqing' together with Sai-shing Yung's article 'The "Reception History" of *Dou'e yuan*' (*Dou'e yuan de jieshou lishi*) (*Wenxueshi* 1 (1993, Peking UP)), which argues that Guan's *Dou'e yuan* was not well known until Wang Guowei elevated it to the status of tragedy in his *Song Yuan xiqu kao* of 1912.

The core of the second chapter is an exposition of the formulation of 'reproductive scholarship' and 'the power of editions' (p. 101), using Li Kaixian and Zang Maoxun as case studies. Sieber's scrupulous reading extends from the text to the illustrations that adorn certain editions. Starting with a discussion of Zang's placement of a play of 'imperial male passion' (p. 117), *Hangong qiu*, at the very beginning of his *One Hundred Yuan Plays*, Sieber develops her argument that Zang and Li vindicated elite male passion and reinvented an alternative space to official literary culture.

The last chapter is devoted to two influential editions of *Xixiang ji*. An erudite historical account of the play's imprints from 1300 to 1680 begins this multifaceted chapter, which focuses more substantially than the other chapters on issues relating to 'desire'—e.g. *yin* (obscenity/licentiousness), *qing* (feeling), *haose* (lust), *fengliu* (romance), *pi* (obsession), etc.—in its critical examination

of Wang Jide and Jin Shengtan's editions. The essential point is that as 'reader-writers', both Wang and Jin 'did their best to reconstruct a possibly licentious text for potential inclusion in the literary canon' (p. 136). Furthermore, Jin is branded 'the ultimate reproductive author' (p. 156). All of these points are brilliantly argued with references to prefaces, marginal comments, notation books, historical documents and other primary sources with the exception of direct analyses of the various play texts from different editions. The nature of this research undertaking and the methodology adopted in this book do not call for the close reading of literary texts themselves. But perhaps in the case of Jin Shengtan's *Xixiang ji*, a further examination of Jin's revisions of Wang Shifu's text may be useful for clarifying a point. That is, if Jin succeeded in making a new canon of 'classics' that includes a licentious text like *Xixiang ji*, he achieved this through 'a dual strategy' of: (1) 'ton[ing] down the eroticism'; and (2) 'diminishing not only the relative importance of sexual content, but ... also insisted on the literary integrity of the text' (p. 153). However, Jin's dual strategy seems to be an ironic and self-defeating one: could it be that Jin's much censored text is no longer 'licentious' and thus not threatening to official culture, so much so that Jin's new canonization means domestication and containment? Could the 'integrity' of Wang Shifu's text be already much impaired by Jin, 'the ultimate reproductive author's' editorial tampering?

The conclusion recapitulates the major arguments of the book, extending the discussion of the rewriting of Chinese dramas 'to articulate new arrangements of desire' (p. 161) to twentieth-century writers. This substantial and reflective concluding section brings further coherence to the book and shows the consistency of this earnest and exceptional research.

SIU LEUNG LI

SHU-HSIEN LIU:

Essentials of Contemporary Neo-Confucian Philosophy.

(Resources in Asian Philosophy and Religion.) xv, 165 pp.

Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2003. £50.99.

It is always inspiring to read a book in which the author illustrates a theory of which he himself has been one of the explorers. Throughout the *Essentials of Contemporary Neo-Confucian Philosophy*, Shu-hsien Liu, a well-known illustrator of Confucian philosophy in the twentieth century, sets out to give us an informed history of how the movement known as Contemporary New Confucianism originated in Mainland China, moved to Hong Kong and Taiwan, and spread to other countries—especially the USA. He also deliberates on the important innovations made by the leading scholars of Neo-Confucian philosophy in a narrower sense, and assesses their contributions to its continuity and modern relevance. The value of this insider examination is not that it provides us with unknown raw materials—in fact very little about this movement is still beyond our comprehension; it is rather the way in which the author approaches the issues and combines his examination with his own unique experience.

Like many other scholars, Shu-hsien Liu divides the representatives of the movement into three generations in four groups, and regards Liang Sou-ming (Liang Suming) as the first to reflect on Chinese culture from a New Confucian perspective in 1920, although the term '*hsin-ju-chia*' (*xin ru jia*,

Neo-Confucianism) in the contemporary sense did not appear until 1941 in an article by Ho Lin (He Lin). After presenting the background to the emergence of Contemporary New Confucianism, the author pays particular attention to the philosophical innovation made by five leading scholars: Fung Yu-lan (Feng Youlan), Hsiung Shi-li (Xiong Shili), Thomé Fang (Fang Dongmei), T'ang Chün-i (Tang Junyi) and Mou Tsung-san (Mou Zongsan). Of these five, the author finds Hsiung Shi-li to be the most original thinker of his generation and the fountainhead for the later development of the movement, not only because he evolved a new Confucian philosophy in the 1930s–40s, but also because his spirit has inspired many Chinese philosophers, for example, T'ang Chün-i and Mou Tsung-san of the second generation who operated mainly in Hong Kong and Taiwan after 1950, and Tu Wei-ming (Du Weiming) of the third. An important distinctive feature of the third-generation Confucian scholars is that all of them 'have lived a long time in both Chinese and Western cultures and have moved freely between the two worlds', which makes their perspectives more international in focus.

In a brief but orderly discussion of the contributions of each of the Neo-Confucian scholars, the author raises many intriguing questions about the key points in their systematic thinking, thus shedding new light on their distinctive features. Chapter 3 is primarily concerned with Fung Yu-lan's new philosophy of principle—the author makes a particular examination of the triangular relationship between Fung's philosophy, New Realism and Chu Hsi's learning of principle, and points out that Fung's re-interpretation may have read too many Western ideas into Chu Hsi's own thought. In chapter 4 the author questions the reliability of Hsiung Shi-li's own assessment that his later works concerning social philosophy were more representative of his thought than his earlier publications concerning metaphysics, and comes to the view that the quality of his later works was no match for his earlier books. The grand scheme of the comparative philosophy of Thomé Fang is discussed in chapter 5. The author acknowledges that Fang has found a clever way to capture the dominant spirit of the different cultures, which in turn has opened up many possibilities and influenced many of his students including the author himself. Chapters 6 and 7 concern two of the most important Neo-Confucian philosophers of the twentieth century, T'ang Chün-i and Mou Tsung-san, whose explorations of the spiritual dimension of Confucian philosophy and of the moral metaphysics based on intellectual intuition have become recognized as the most innovative part of contemporary Chinese philosophy. In spite of the difficulty and controversy in determining who should be included in the second and third generations, the author sets boundaries for the second generation to include mainly Hong Kong and Taiwanese New Confucians, while suggesting that the third generation is composed primarily of those who work on an international stage (overseas New Confucians). Following this criterion the author examines, much more briefly, the personal careers and academic contributions of Yü Ying-shi (Yu Yingshi), Shu-Hsien Liu (Liu Shuxian), Cheng Chung-ying (Cheng Zhongying) and Tu Wei-ming. The book concludes with an epilogue in which the author reiterates that his in-depth study demonstrates both the great spiritual resources of the Confucian tradition and its serious limitations. However, the Confucian identity of the author is finally revealed in his confidence that Confucianism remains a living spiritual tradition and its ideals (such as centrality and harmony) will make positive contributions to humankind in the new millennium.

There is an admirable quality of scholarship in the book, and the author skilfully illustrates a number of key concepts to enable the reader to gain an

insight into the essentials both of traditional Confucianism and of contemporary Neo-Confucian philosophy. Unlike some Western scholars who tend to think of the dual existence of Confucianism in terms of *ju chia* (*ru jia*, Confucian philosophy) and *ju chiao* (*ru jiao*, Confucian religion), or of institutionalized Confucianism and popular Confucianism, the author distinguishes three distinct but related forms of Confucianism: spiritual Confucianism, politicized Confucianism and popular Confucianism (p. 25). Considering the transcendent perspective to be the defining feature of Neo-Confucianism of the Song and Ming period (p. 3), however, the author seems to have failed to specify clearly what differentiates the so-called three epochs in the development of the Confucian tradition, because from the era of Confucius down to modern times all leading Confucian scholars have demonstrated one way or another a transcendental quality in their philosophical reconstruction of the moral universe.

XINZHONG YAO

S. FREDERICK STARR (ed.):

Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland.

(Studies of Central Asia and the Caucasus.) xv, 484 pp. Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004. \$32.95.

MICHAEL DILLON:

Xinjiang—China's Muslim Far Northwest.

xiv, 201 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. \$65.

As their titles suggest both of these books focus on recent history and contemporary developments in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China which is home to over 9 million Turkic Muslims. Both books were apparently conceived some years prior to 2001, yet it is hard to read either without reflecting that the authors were working and writing for the most part against a backcloth of 'the war on terrorism'.

Starr's book brings together a group of largely American and US-based scholars; historians, social scientists and anthropologists who are well established in the field and have played a formative role in the burgeoning industry of monographs and articles on Xinjiang. Much of the material provided here is therefore reworked from longer studies, with the addition of some useful updating.

The first section of the book provides the historical background of the region from prehistory to the 1980s. The authors, James Millward, Peter Perdue and Nabijan Tursun, have done an admirable job of elucidating a long and complex history and have successfully highlighted some of the major themes such as migration, ecology, security and economic viability which have echoed down the centuries. The first chapter is, however, dominated by engagement with the issue of whether or not historically Xinjiang 'belongs' to China. The problem here is not merely that this is something of a dead-end (and one from which even Chinese academics, as opposed to politicians, largely shy away), but rather that this highly sensitive political issue is allowed to set the tone for the rest of the book. Thus the emphasis throughout is on highlighting tensions and seeking out existing and potential fault-lines. The result is an informative but deeply pessimistic book, replete with exhortative pronouncements on policies that the PRC government should adopt (and which the contributors surely suspect it will not) in order to avoid this or that crisis.

Sections two and three look at PRC policy in Xinjiang, beginning with an overview of political development and control in which Dru Gladney concedes that the region is more integrated with China than at any other time in history. Significantly, this is followed by Yitzhak Shichor's detailed and impartial assessment of PRC military presence in Xinjiang which reveals that PLA forces in the region are 'relatively few and spread very thinly' (p. 123). Subsequent chapters, on the economy, education and trans-border issues by Calla Wiemer, Linda Benson and Sean Roberts, all provide solid and objective introductions to their respective areas.

The latter section of the book moves the focus to society. Stanley Toops updates his careful work on demography and contributes a thought-provoking study on water shortage and desertification as an obstacle to economic development. In a study of public health, focusing on alcohol and drugs, Jay Dautcher draws on his work on *māxrāp* to provide a sense of how Uyghur society is responding to these kinds of pressing social issues. Justin Rudelson and William Jankowiak, for their part, up the ante by suggesting that the Uyghurs may well be engaged in a fight for their survival, not against acculturation but against AIDS. The chapter on Islam by Jonathan Lipman and Graham Fuller provides a good general overview, but also highlights the difficulty of undertaking meaningful research in this area. In this respect, Gardner Bovingdon's worthy chapter on contested histories indicates that if this type of comparative approach were applied to popular culture (a lamentable omission to this volume), it might provide one of the best ways in which we can gain an insight into the chemistry of the region.

By contrast Dillon's book is a much more standard history of recent events. While at pains to give us the historical background, Dillon's focus is the political developments since the 1980s. Social issues are highlighted where and when they arise, but the strength of this book really lies in the detailed political narrative which allows us to gain a sense of the ebb and flow of government control in the region over some 25 years and affords insight not only into who is making policy in Xinjiang, but how and why. Once again tensions and conflict are the predominant theme, and Dillon's conclusions not surprisingly tend towards the pessimistic; he foresees a 'growing interest in independence' (p. 166) among the non-Han community and the likelihood that protest and terrorist activity will increase (p. 167).

There is much that will be of interest in both these books to the general reader, policy maker and student of politics and society alike. In my opinion however, both should be read with one particular sentence borne firmly in mind; it is buried deep in Starr's introduction (p. 15) and reads 'a majority among Xinjiang's minorities are mastering the Chinese language and the modern skills necessary to thrive in a competitive world and are preserving their Turkic or Muslim identity in the private realms of their lives'.

L. J. NEWBY

JAMES L. WATSON and RUBIE S. WATSON:

Village Life in Hong Kong: Politics, Gender, and Ritual in the New Territories.

xx, 490 pp. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004. \$45.

Each of the co-authors has published an important monograph focused on a New Territories lineage-village community, James on the Man lineage of San

Tin and Rubie on the Dang of Ha Tsuen. This volume brings together some of their additional material based on the two villages which has appeared in various journals and books over the past thirty years. Few such collections are as useful or impressive as this one, not only because some of the papers are not easily available any more, but because they contain a wealth of material which is not to be found in the two monographs and demonstrate how very competently and fruitfully the Watsons carried out fieldwork.

The title *Village Life in Hong Kong* is perhaps an overstatement, since there are many aspects (economy, everyday household life, childbirth, the ritual year, for instance) which are not covered here, but then it is also the case that the sub-title understates the scope of the contents. It matters not, this volume taken in conjunction with the monographs adds up to the best and fullest account we have of life in elite lineage-villages, and it has been these communities which have occupied the thoughts of a majority of anthropologists conducting fieldwork in the New Territories. For Hong Kong, only the meticulously painstaking work of Cornelius Osgood contains greater detail, but he was dealing with a very different kind of community and had a very different approach.

The papers are organized in three main sections: 'Village social organization' contains discussion of lineage development, adoption, affinal relationships, feasting significance, 'chattel slavery' (hereditary servitude), and corporate landlordism. In the four chapters of 'Gender differences and women's lives' three papers look at the essential status differences between wives on the one hand and maids and concubines on the other; at gender differences in naming; and at the custom of singing laments which mark the transfer of a bride on her wedding. The fourth examines the role of the bachelor in maintaining political control in lineage villages. The longest section is 'Religion, ritual and symbolism', most of it devoted to death and the after-life.

What distinguishes this very nicely produced collection is the concentration of attention on the two villages of Ha Tsuen and San Tin. There is very little repetition, there are no lame duck papers, and the cohesiveness of the focus makes the whole much greater than the sum of its parts.

HUGH D. R. BAKER

THOMAS DONALD CONLAN:

State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan.
(Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies.) xviii, 282 pp.
Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of
Michigan, 2003. \$65.

Military history is, perhaps inevitably, an unfashionable subject. However, warfare was an essential feature of the medieval age. Scholars can, therefore, no longer afford themselves the luxury of ignoring it. Professor Conlan is one of a small group of Western historians now trying to redress the balance. His contribution is useful and answers many key questions that have long troubled specialists working in related disciplines.

Chapter 1 is based upon a sensitive translation of an extremely long petition for reward (*gunchujo*) tracing the course of the warfare that led to the overthrow of the first shogunate. The idea is basically sound, but the 'braided

narrative' style means that the translated text and the commentary often part company. Insufficient attention is paid to the origins of the fighting described in the *gunchujo* and an analysis of the reward structure only emerges haphazardly. I understood because I am a specialist. A student new to the field would be confused and do better to read the *Taiheiki*. Fortunately, the book improves vastly thereafter.

Chapter 2 addresses the question of battle tactics, attacking the view that the fourteenth century witnessed a major transformation and stressing that massed ranks of *ashigaru* pike-men had yet to appear on the battlefield. Professor Conlan has exceptional linguistic skills and has waded through a huge number of *gunchujo* to see how often and in what ways warriors suffered injury. He shows both that the fighting surrounding the fall of the Kamakura shogunate was by far the most intense of the fourteenth century and that the great majority of wounds were inflicted by arrows. Most importantly, he redefines the term *nobushi*. The view has hitherto been that they were unkempt guerrillas fighting for a 'cause'. Conlan argues that the men involved were the same as those who fought in set-piece battles except that, instead of riding horses, they lay in wait to ambush their opponents. The term *nobushi* refers to a battle tactic, not a class of warrior.

Chapter 3 concerns logistics, arguing that the wars of the fourteenth century could not have been sustained without a market economy, as warriors preferred to buy their provisions. However, during prolonged fighting, it proved impossible to keep armies supplied without recourse to tax-collecting mechanisms. It was the fact that the *shugo*, or provincial military governors, had monopolistic control over these that allowed them to begin the task of subordinating lesser warriors to their command.

Conlan's arguments, though convincing, beg several questions. Most importantly, how far were these really innovations in the fourteenth century? There had been little sustained warfare during the thirteenth century except for the Mongol Wars. How were the armies that guarded Japan's coastline provisioned? Similarly, a century earlier northern Japan had been conquered from the Oshu Fujiwara by Minamoto no Yoritomo. How did he supply his armies? Surely, the provisioning of armies had always depended on the ability to control the means of collecting taxes. Chinese coins, the essential lubricant for the market economy, had been imported in huge quantities since the turn of the first millennium. Thus, the cash economy was not new. Conlan has repeatedly shown himself to be a prolific and competent scholar and I hope that he will address these questions in his future work.

Conlan gives a unique view of caste in the medieval period, arguing that the word '*hyakusho*' should not be translated as commoner, but instead refers to the provincial elite. From these *hyakusho* the *myoshu* emerged to form the lower ranks of the warrior class. In the fourteenth century, *hyakusho* who entered the personal service of leading warriors became *samurai*. If he is right, then his views are revolutionary. However, I have always understood the term '*hyakusho*' to refer to the great majority of the population, people who were not the personal associates of another man. Thus the term excludes *genin* slaves and the *samurai* who were the provincial servants of court aristocrats. Many of these men had imperial blood and I would be curious to see if any warriors bearing the surnames Taira, Minamoto or Fujiwara ever called themselves *hyakusho*. The fact that the term *samurai* already existed in the Kamakura era to describe a caste is evidenced by laws giving *samurai* precedence in seating arrangements.

Free *tozama* warriors were independent actors in war, and war is the theme of this book. However they were also the clients of figures at court. Although their relationship to the shogunate receives detailed attention, their relationship with the courtly guarantors of their land rights requires discussion, at least up until the 1350s. Through the *kenmon* system, the warriors and the aristocracy were bound together. In this respect at least, the *tozama* were not completely free agents. Conlan does later describe the growth of *honryo* rights which meant that the warriors were able to free themselves from these shackles, but the process was far from complete by the beginning of the fourteenth century.

I disagree with Conlan's inclusion of the *genin* as part of the warrior class. In my view, they were effectively slaves. Indeed, there is ample evidence that they were bought and sold and, at least in the post-Kamakura era, traded. Thus, they were occasionally caught up in battle simply because they provided coolie labour on the battlefield. They were bound to their lord because they were owned by him, and time sometimes produced real bonds of affection. I hope my views prevail, but the debate is still open.

Chapter 5 is basically a reworking of Conlan's in 1998 article *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World* that has inspired much of his later work. This article, written when he was a young graduate student, garnered much favourable comment. In summary, free *tozama* warriors owed loyalty to no one and fought for reward. Shogunal accreditation as *gokenin* was popular during the Kamakura period as it allowed them to defend their social rank, but later politically and socially unstable conditions allowed men of more lowly origin to rise. The development of regional lordships was held in check by the fact that these unattached *tozama* warriors were unwilling to serve under their peers and preferred to follow supra-regional hegemons parachuted in from outside. The effectiveness of these supra-regional figures depended on their willingness to offer rewards and their ability to guarantee these rewards against competing interests.

Chapter 6 deals with the religious and spiritual aspects of warfare. None of what is related here will come as a surprise to anyone who has read the *Taiheiki*, but it has waited too long to be noted by a historian—and the specific information provided, especially from the non-literary sources, is very interesting.

In Chapter 7, Conlan again stresses warriors' fundamental autonomy. They had little truck with centrally enacted laws, instead relying on their own sense of justice and physical ability to enforce their will. Thus, when, from the 1280s, the shogunate sought to enforce its laws at the local level, this, rather than economic distress, led to widespread violence.

Conlan also examines the question of *honryo* and shows how the *shiki* system gave way to full property rights. Little of this latter section is entirely new, but the fact that it has yet to find its way into English makes it important. Conlan demonstrates great familiarity with the secondary and primary literature and is able to pull together various disparate elements to produce a uniquely engaging narrative. This section will become required reading for students.

Finally, it should be remarked that the book is carefully and thoughtfully illustrated. The pictures are pertinent and beautifully woven into the narrative. Colour plates of the illustrations are supplied at the end.

Professor Conlan is not the kind of scholar to hide in a corner taking shelter behind the ideas of others. Like the warriors he describes, his ideas

courageously charge into the melee of battle. Some of his bold assertions will undoubtedly be felled in years to come from arrows loosed by his colleagues. Many more, however, will stand the test of time and mean that, once the dust of war has settled, his writings will long be remembered as pioneering work in an absurdly under-researched field. I recommend this book.

THOMAS NELSON

L. M. CULLEN:

A History of Japan, 1582–1941: Internal and External Worlds.

xviii, 357 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £17.99.

In this new survey of Japan's early-modern and modern history, Cullen successfully engages with historiographical traditions to offer fresh insight—not an easy task in an area already well-served in English by such established historians as Jansen and Totman. His accomplishment is all the more impressive considering that a mastery of the Japanese language and history came only recently in a career that was originally dedicated to the histories of Ireland and trade.

The book is divided into eight chapters. Following a short introduction, chapter 2 launches a detailed examination of Japan's gradual but never total withdrawal into what was later defined as *sakoku*. Far from being spurred singularly by anti-Christian hostility or a repressive Oriental despotism, the author argues that *sakoku* was a measured policy, one which rationally responded to external threats while promoting the internal political balance of power emerging after 1582. An ability to render economic analysis into an accessible narrative well serves chapter 3. Challenging those who view *sakoku* as economically deleterious, Cullen posits that numerous factors ensured that Japan experienced sustained economic growth in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: a vibrant coastal trade; a sophisticated dual-currency-zone monetary system; and the emergence of a consumerized economy centred on Osaka and Edo. Chapter 4 takes a similarly optimistic view of society and politics, arguing that the perception of crisis in the eighteenth century was limited to the upper class, since an inelastic fiscal system resulted in the gradual decline of samurai spending power. Yet throughout much of the eighteenth century, administration was characterized by capable leadership whose various reform programmes were creative given the structural limitations. Intellectual life, far from being stifled by conservative reaction, was eclectic and dynamic. Chapter 5 considers the nineteenth century and re-appraises the policy of *uchi harai* (firing on foreign ships) to argue that Japanese leaders' responses to foreign incursions, especially in Japan's peripheries, revealed an awareness of and flexibility towards the outside world. In other words, Japan was intellectually well prepared for the arrival of Perry in 1853, the aftermath of which is the subject of Chapter 6. Here, the author deftly navigates the complicated events of the 1850s and 1860s, examining how the external threat adversely affected the fiscal and defence arrangements of the shogunate, a challenge that fatally undermined the political balance it had struck with regional lords nearly three centuries earlier. The final two chapters survey the period 1868–1941. The former argues that the post-1868 leadership, which effectively formed a second *bakufu*, was conservative and realistic in its appraisal of Japan's capabilities, characteristics that help to explain the adoption of Western-style institutions, long-term economic

growth and foreign-policy successes. The breakdown of the post-1868 settlement is the subject of the last chapter. According to Cullen, the emergence of a new generation of leaders after 1910, combined with a diffuse political system and competition in East Asia from an aggressive and racist West resulted in increasingly irrational and ultimately fatal policy decisions. A selective look at issues concerning the post-war era and a discussion of historiographical traditions then emerging, including a critical assessment of Marxist scholarship, conclude chapter 8.

The chapters dealing with the early-modern centuries are the most successful. Grounded in the novel perspective of foreign trade and economics, each chapter effectively tackles orthodox interpretations and/or popular misconceptions concerning the period, including the understanding of *sakoku* as absurd, the shogunate as reactionary, and the early-modern period post-Genroku (1688–1704) as one of progressive decline. The thematic organization of the material is justified since it enables the author to track themes that can otherwise be artificially circumscribed by traditional periodization, for example, economic continuities that traverse the usual divide of 1868. Nevertheless, undergraduate students and serious readers new to Japanese history—the target market—may find it difficult to develop an overall chronological conception of the period since dates, names and events are presented out of sequence. The glossary of terms and lists at the end of the book will doubtless be of great assistance.

One area of concern relates to the relatively short treatment of the period 1868–1941. Cullen rightly argues that other books cover this period but the tendency towards generalization that results sometimes distorts the historical analysis. For example, the importance of major innovations like the abolition of the domains is belied when they are assessed as ‘purely administrative changes’ (p. 207), with the result that an opportunity is missed to present a more nuanced description of the leadership, their circumstances, and the haphazardness often characterizing the decisions they took. Indeed, the balanced and historically sensitive treatment that is a key strength of the earlier chapters is less in evidence in the last two chapters with results that some may find questionable. For instance, it is not clear why Hara Kei is singled out as the only politician who stands out in post-1919 Japan (p. 267), particularly when the achievements and failures of men like Katō and Hamaguchi are crucial to debates concerning politics in the 1920s. And what of the emergence of social movements like new religions, Christianity, mass labour organizations, and socialism? How do these compare to *ikki* or social protest in the pre-modern era, a topic to which Cullen devotes much space? In the end, the analytical framework of internal and external forces and rationality and irrationality works well only when it is supported by the kind of detailed examination found in the first two-thirds of the book. The brevity of analysis in the last two chapters belies this approach with the result that some novel observations are obscured by over-generalization, and in turn, what sometimes comes across as a historiographical bias against a more critical and/or Marxist reading of Japanese history.

With its novel approach and observations, particularly on the pre-modern period, this book is to be recommended. When considered in light of other texts, its sometimes controversial positions will promote debate for new and experienced readers alike, and as such it is a welcome addition to the catalogue of Japanese histories in English.

SAYO MASUDA:

Autobiography of a Geisha. (Translated by G. G. Rowley.)
x, 186 pp. London: Vintage, 2004. £6.99.

Described by its translator as ‘... the only full-length autobiography of a former hot-springs-resort geisha in existence’ (p. 2), *Autobiography of a Geisha* is a compelling account of the ‘half life’ (as expressed in the Japanese title) of Sayo Masuda during the years bracketing the Second World War. First published under the title ‘Account of the wanderings of a country Geisha’ in the February 1957 edition of the Japanese women’s magazine *Shufu no tomo* (*Housewife’s Companion*), as second-prize winner in a ‘True stories by women’ competition, it appeared in book length in August 1957. Still in print in Japan, Rowley’s translation is the first into English.

Although we learn in the introduction of Masuda’s illegitimate birth into rural poverty in 1925 and early upbringing by her uncle, the narrative begins after she is sent at the age of six to work as nursemaid to a local landowner. Treated as a non-person by her employers and mercilessly bullied by other children, Masuda describes this as a period of chronic suffering and deprivation:

If you asked me what I did know then, it was only that hunger was painful and human beings were terrifying, that was all. How to hide so that people couldn’t find me? How to fill my stomach? These were the only two thoughts in my life (p. 12).

At twelve, Masuda is retrieved by her uncle and sold to a geisha house in Suwa, an onsen (hot-springs) resort in Nagano Prefecture, for 30 yen, equivalent in 1937 to a year’s supply of rice for one adult. The core of the narrative—five of the nine chapters—encompasses the period from 1937 almost until the end of the war in 1945, during which Masuda trained and worked as a geisha, culminating in her contract being bought out by a wealthy patron from whom she eventually flees. The final chapters catalogue Masuda’s flight from Suwa, reunion with her younger brother and move to Chiba Prefecture (near Tokyo) and continuing struggle for material (and spiritual) survival at the margins of Japanese society amidst the social and economic chaos of post-war Japan.

Masuda’s autobiography provides something of a corrective to the stereotypical and sometimes romanticized portrayals of geisha which dominate much of the literary and popular discourse. As described in the introduction to Yausnari Kawabata’s novel *Snow Country*, perhaps the only other published source of information on the onsen geisha available in English:

If the hot-spring geisha is not a social outcast, she is perilously near being one. The city geisha may become a celebrated musician or dancer, a political intriguer, even a dispenser of patronage. The hot-spring geisha must go on entertaining week-end guests, and the pretence that she is an artist and not a prostitute is often a thin one indeed ... the possibility that she will drift from one hot spring to another, more unwanted with each change, makes her a particularly poignant symbol of wasted, decaying beauty (p. vi).

Masuda’s account leaves little doubt that this is indeed an economically exploitative world, populated by young women sold by impoverished families into indentured service until they have either ‘worked off’ their debt or had their contract ‘bought out’ by a wealthy patron, to whom they would then become mistress. Referring to the ‘mother’ (proprietress) of her house as ‘... a perfect demon of greed’, Masuda describes how the status and treatment of individual

geishas was in direct proportion to the revenue they generated, recounting for example the withholding of an egg at breakfast from a geisha who was not 'selling' well, and the sale of her own virginity no fewer than four times.

It is also a world of considerable brutality, even violence. Aside from the litany of physical and verbal abuse regularly meted out by the 'mother', particularly towards novices, there are extreme instances such as the punishment of a geisha from another house resulting in her death, and a quarrel with 'mother' which leaves Masuda in hospital with a badly broken leg. Referring to the physical 'correction' of novices-in-training, Masuda questions whether this was '... a kindness, meant to whip us into shape ... or a punishment, because they despised us as things to be bought and sold?' (p. 23), and speculates that a woman of means would not be treated in the same way.

However, also described are acts of extreme loyalty, kindness and generosity between geisha 'sisters', sometimes entailing considerable self-sacrifice. There is also of course competitiveness, spite and jealousy and Masuda's account is perhaps at its best in its portrayal of the strategic manoeuvrings and interpersonal dynamics involving geisha, customers, patrons, 'mother' and various other actors that inhabit her world. Following the suicide of one of Masuda's 'sisters', who was jilted by a patron who had promised to marry her, Masuda carefully plots a revenge, mobilizing all of the skills of her trade to 'catch' her victim, replying to his eventual proposal of marriage with an artful, but blistering, rejection.

The description of the wider social, economic and organizational nexus of the onsen geisha, encompassing the police and local government, the geisha registry office and the many eating and drinking establishments which serve as the venues for geisha entertainment (of whatever kind) is also fascinating, but Masuda's account extends beyond the bounds of the onsen geisha in Suwa, giving voice, as Rowley describes in her introduction, to '... many other women less able to make themselves heard: nursemaids, apprentice geisha, gangster mistresses, the rural poor, post-war black-market traders, and prostitutes' (p. 9). It is, in this sense, not only an important contribution to a more complete understanding of the geisha world (or worlds), but also a valuable work of social history.

Autobiography of a Geisha is a gritty and at times bleak account, but one which is related with great pathos and humour throughout. Rowley is to be commended for unearthing and making available to the English reader a fascinating autobiographical sketch which will be of interest not only to anthropologists, social historians and other Japan specialists, but to a much wider readership as well. The introduction and comprehensive notes provide the necessary economic, historical and social contextualization and there is a good bibliography of secondary source material—both Japanese and English—to facilitate further interest.

WILLIAM H. KELLY

ETSUKO KATO:

The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past.

xi, 228 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. £65.

Etsuko Kato has written a marvellous ethnography of women tea practitioners in Japan that arrives in a disappointing package. The slim and sparingly

illustrated volume costs £65 in the UK and over \$110 in the USA. For this hefty price, the reader is forced to wade through grammatical errors, punctuation problems, and serious failures of academic style on nearly every page. The author is not to blame; the text is a fine example of a PhD thesis that has been successfully rewritten as a book manuscript. Rather, RoutledgeCurzon's distribution of *The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan* in this unedited form represents a surprising disregard for the standards of academic publishing. The publisher should professionally copy-edit the text and reissue the book as soon as is feasible, because Kato's work could potentially make a major contribution to the literature on tea, women, and modern Japan.

Kato seeks to elucidate the contemporary and historical position of women in Japanese tea culture, and perhaps more importantly, to address the largely ignored issue of the political ramifications of women's prominent role in tea. In the first chapter, 'The tea ceremony as bodily discipline', she draws on Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu to argue that tea practice represents a form of bodily discipline that has historically been deployed by 'non-dominant groups' to 'obtain symbolic-cultural capital'. In her second chapter, 'Bodily discipline and myths', she reviews the emergence of discourses that legitimate tea practice from the sixteenth century to the outbreak of the Pacific War. The third chapter, 'The birth of *sōgō-bunka* discourse and feminization of the tea ceremony', is perhaps the most interesting historical section, and includes a thorough exploration of how several leading tea practitioners and historians infused post-war tea discourse with a veiled cultural nationalism. The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters are the meat and potatoes of the book, representing Kato's original ethnographic research carried out in cities and suburbs around Tokyo in the late 1990s. Her conclusion summarizes and extends the book's argument that tea practice is a form of empowerment for women.

Kato focuses on the interplay between *temae* (repetition of the rote, physical forms of making and serving tea) and the discourses or 'myths' that make studying tea a valued and respected practice. She argues that *temae* is an example of what Foucault called 'the instrumental coding of the body' in his influential work *Discipline and Punish*. This coding, seen in the training of practitioners to arrange precisely the tea utensils and then to employ them to make and serve tea, is institutionalized through the large tea schools that emerged in the early modern period and that continue to dominate the tea world today. Drills and complex permission systems allow the school to regulate *temae*, which translates, in effect, to regulation of the bodies of all tea practitioners.

Why, one might ask, would anyone want to be subjected to such a system? Here, Kato's historical explanation of legitimating discourses comes into play. Tea practitioners attempted to elevate the status of their hobby by linking it to Zen Buddhism and the goal of 'mental control'. Tea practitioners also worked to associate tea with famous figures from history, such as Murata Shuko and Sen no Rikyu. In the modern period, tea was transformed into a legitimate practice for women by positioning it as a form of etiquette training, while male practitioners imagined their work to be a form of artistic production. Kato is rightly unconcerned with the exact historicity of these discourses; instead, she focuses on the ways in which these 'myths' made tea practice a valuable form of accumulating cultural capital in pre-war Japan.

Kato draws on her interactions with five groups (*shachū*, or cohorts of one teacher and a group of pupils) of tea practitioner informants to argue that studying and practising tea is a form of empowerment for female subjects in Japan. First, the author makes the point that the female tea practitioner is by

no means a monolithic type. The networks of female tea practitioners are sufficiently complex to allow women from many different backgrounds, educational levels, social classes, and life stages to participate for myriad reasons. Second, Kato argues that a complex layering of legitimating discourses attracts women to tea. On the surface, 'explicit motifs' such as sensitivity to the changing of the seasons and recognition of 'joyous and sorrowful' occasions in the life cycle define the rhythms of tea practice from month to month. Supporting these motifs from below is a layer of 'implicit motifs' that includes 'prominent historical figures and profound metaphysics'. In other words, women mark seasonal shifts, historical commemorations, and school celebrations by demonstrating, in the tea ceremony, their knowledge of and access to forms of 'traditional authority' such as Rikyu, the *iemoto*, temples and shrines, the aristocracy, warrior society, and their associated material cultures. Kato interprets this as a form of empowerment for married women in particular because, in the women's own words, these activities served as 'a means of demarcating their world from their husbands' or children's'. Most important is the acknowledgement of accomplishment from other women: 'By giving each other the chance to present their body movement and knowledge, these women create a unique social space for each other'.

I do have one small quibble with Kato's argument, in particular her use of Foucault's notion of 'bodily discipline' to make a case for empowerment. Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* implies, to me at least, that tea practice works with other institutions to produce female bodies that are both objects and conveyers of normative discourses on gender and the nation. According to Foucault, at least, 'the political technology of the body' cannot be so easily appropriated by subjects embedded in coercive and hierarchical power-knowledge relations that necessarily limit autonomous action. This small point aside, Kato's book represents the most sustained and detailed study of women tea practitioners available in English and, when revised, it should be read by all interested in modern Japanese history and culture.

MORGAN PITELKA

DOUGLAS N. SLAYMAKER:

The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction.

(Asia's Transformations.) x, 205 pp. London and New York:

RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. £60.

In recent years, there has been a plethora of English-language monographs and other scholarly publications dealing with the immediate post-war period in Japan, all addressing, in one form or another, Japan's experience of transition from the colonizing agenda of the Asia-Pacific War, to the colonized reality of the Occupation period, to the nation's emergence as fully-fledged member of the community of 'democratic' nations following the withdrawal of US troops from the mainland in 1952. Surprisingly absent from this flurry of activity, however, is a consideration of the Japanese literary response to the War. How did those former soldiers who returned from frontline action to devote themselves to literary activity seek to make sense of their experience? What about those who, for whatever reason (age, gender, infirmity ...), were spared such first-hand experience of the battlefield but who nevertheless found themselves, in the aftermath of defeat in 1945, struggling to eke out an existence in the 'ruins' of post-war Japan?

This lack of critical attention might easily lead one to believe that such writers were few and far between, that their literary contribution was somehow inferior to the 'greats' of the pre-war period. Aficionados tend to be familiar with the writings of Natsume Sōseki, of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and of Shiga Naoya: all have been well served both by translators of their (now) 'canonical' works and by scholars studying the period who have turned their PhD dissertations into well received critical studies of their oeuvres. Indeed, the same can be said for the generation of authors who spent the war years as children and who reached literary maturity in the late 1950–60s: the names of Mishima Yukio, Abe Kōbō, Endō Shūsaku and Ōe Kenzaburō spring readily to mind.

But what of that generation of writers caught in between? To date, the majority of those few studies that have devoted some consideration to 'Japanese literature of the Occupation period' have tended to focus either on the mature works of those authors whose reputations largely pre-dated the War (Tanizaki, Kawabata Yasunari, Dazai Osamu ...) or on the fledgling works of those writers, listed above, who would come into their own a decade or so later. In short, where are the critical studies of those authors who tend to be associated, albeit often loosely, with the label of the *Sengoha* (*après guerre*) literary coterie? And what of the critical considerations of developments in, say, the *watashi shōsetsu* (I-novel), a genre traditionally associated with pre-war writers such as Shiga (and meticulously researched in this context by the likes of Edward Fowler, Tomi Suzuki and Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit) but which was adapted and developed in such interesting ways by the *Sengoha*?

Fortunately, the tide would appear to be on the turn. Perhaps, first indication of renewed interest in literary portrayals of the War was evidenced by the in-depth studies of several authors who returned home after the War and proceeded to 'put that experience on record' for the benefit of future generations (I am thinking here of the recent critical studies of the war literature of Hino Ashihei, by David Rosenfeld, and of Ōoka Shōhei, by David Stahl). By contrast, writers typically identified as *Sengoha*, including the likes of Shiina Rinzō, Tamura Taijirō, Noma Hiroshi and Sakaguchi Ango, have been largely ignored (although we should not overlook Joan Ericson's excellent study of Hayashi Fumiko's haunting evocations of the struggle for survival within the post-war chaos). But now we have Doug Slaymaker's fascinating study of several writers of this period to begin to fill this void.

Slaymaker's interest lies in the centrality of body imagery in post-war Japanese fiction: his aim in this study is to analyse the meaning of the body in post-war Japanese discourse, the gender constructions of the imagery of the body, and the implications for our understanding of individual and national identity. This is an inherently interesting project, one that acknowledges the importance of the body as object of focus in post-war Japan as a result of the sheer physicality of everyday life. To this end, Slaymaker focuses on the writings of three representative 'writers of the flesh' of the period, Tamura Taijirō, Noma Hiroshi and Sakaguchi Ango, attempting to show how their 'male discourse of liberation through the body' (p. 4) (and its consequent dependence on the Other of the female body) emerges as a literature of both protest and celebration: protest at the centralized organization of culture before 1945, and celebration of the possibilities of the new 'democratic' age. Thereafter, by way of comparison, he offers us a whistle-stop tour through some of the (largely neglected) works of the women authors of the day, texts that allude to the same sense of liberation, only to ridicule this by focusing on oppressions much older than wartime. Central to Slaymaker's project, therefore, is the contrast he draws between *nikutai* (the carnal, physical body) and the more spiritual

kokutai, the oft-cited 'body politic' which had emerged as something of a state religion in the hands of the wartime military. Tired of the wartime state's manipulation of the body into a national edifice that brooked no dissent, these writers reacted by glorifying the carnal, sexual body as a place from which to reconstitute and rediscover the individual destroyed in the War.

Unsurprisingly, Slaymaker begins his study with a discussion of Tamura Taijirō, whose *Nikutai no mon* (Gate of Flesh, 1947) represented a startling initial attempt to stress the body and its carnality as counter discourse to the hegemonic state and, in so doing, to create a version of the post-war male freed from the bonds of the *kokutai*. To Tamura, it was the individual body alone that could rise up in opposition to the obsessive, controlling national body; now was the time to reject those wartime codes of conduct that divorce the individual from basic human instincts and desires—and to assert his conviction that all, male and female, should be free to determine their own identity in the new post-war Japan.

Next comes Noma, for whom the challenge was similar, albeit driven by a more distinctly political (Marxist) agenda. Noma's work, too, valorizes the body in its quest for liberation, to be understood, to feel human; Noma's characters, too, seek liberation from a body whose needs have been rendered inescapable by wartime ideologies and post-war realities—and they do this by challenging the barriers that separate individuals. However, the experience of war has rendered them painfully aware of the weakness of their bodies—and it is the impossibility of such communication that lies at the heart of Noma's oeuvre.

The abiding reputation of Sakaguchi Ango is as author of *Daraku-ron* (On Decadence, 1946); indeed, it was his images and descriptions of post-war decadence that became iconographic of the post-war cultural landscape and experience. In Slaymaker's analysis, Ango's *daraku* was a positive concept, a direct call for a 'fall' from the artificial strictures of war and a return to carnality and the body—and his antidote to wartime national(istic) culture was a return to the individual through a recovery of individual desires and needs. In short, Ango was advocating *daraku* as a return to the basics of existence, to the most elemental and 'true' experiences, this to be achieved by means of exploration of the physical/carnal.

In his final chapter, Slaymaker suggests that women writers of the era may have shared few of the anxieties concerning gender and societal roles found in the above works—but this was because they lacked conviction in this same liberating desire. To writers such as Sono Ayako, Shibaki Yoshiko and Saegusa Kazuko, the Occupation had merely seen one subjugating power replaced by another—and their fiction thus betrays a more deep-rooted distrust of power structures *per se*. Furthermore, whereas men explored the body merely to understand themselves, these women authors are seen as exploring individuals in order to describe society: unlike their male counterparts, they have no confidence in the individual's ability to exercise freedom, to change society—much less to determine everyday realities or their own futures. Instead, they focus on the intersection of desperate lives and the result is a series of 'tales of survival, rather than liberation and freedom' (p. 145).

As suggested by the above, this is a thought-provoking, occasionally provocative study. Slaymaker writes with an easy touch, although there are perhaps too many occasions when he introduces an interesting throw-away remark into his dense argument—only to refrain from following up on the logical implications, leaving his reader to wonder where that particular tangent

might have led. (By way of example, I would cite the concluding sentence of the '*furusato*' section of the Ango chapter, where he argues that 'Buddhist metaphors follow closely on the heels of a Kierkegaardian Christianity' (p. 112)—only to abandon that potentially rich line of inquiry to return to consideration of 'liberation in the female body'. Another example is offered in footnote 51 on page 183, where Slaymaker suggests that the 'imagery of flight in the context of Ango's modernist sensibilities suggests other lines of inquiry, particularly when overlapped with thinking about the sublime'—but then closes that particular avenue with a quote from Mary Russo's *The Female Grotesque*, rather than following up on this suggestion.)

That said, however, there is more than enough here for scholars from a range of disciplines within Japanese studies to be getting on with. Slaymaker may be homing in on 'nihilism and despair' as the defining characteristics of the works of these authors. But, in so doing, he is not content subsequently to return these works to the pile of interesting post-war curiosities of little lasting value on which he had seemingly initially located them. Instead, he sees this as an important legacy, one consciously picked up by several of the next generation of authors (Mishima, Abe, Kurahashi Yumiko), but also, in a more subtle manner, by Oe Kenzaburō, whose literature can be seen as a continuation of the dialogue, initiated by these immediate post-war 'writers of the flesh', between liberating practice and oppressive structure. This work should thus make a useful addition to a variety of reading lists.

MARK WILLIAMS

LI OGG:

Articles du Professeur Li Ogg.

(Mémoires de l'Institut d'Études Coréennes, 10.) xvi, 451 pp.

Paris: Collège de France, Institut d'Études Coréennes, 2003. €45.

This collection of articles authored by the late Li Ogg (1928–2001) was published to honour one of the pioneers of Korean Studies in Europe. Since Li Ogg's arrival in France in 1956, he devoted his scholarly life to teaching Korean history and language, first at the Sorbonne, later at INALCO and the University of Paris VII. From the latter he received his doctorate in 1977. He began to introduce courses on Korean history at a time when this field of study had not yet become part of higher education in France, and he thus contributed decisively to the expansion of Western knowledge on Korea. For his merits as a scholar and teacher he was variously decorated by the French as well as by the Korean government.

The collection contains eight articles written in French, twenty-two in Korean, and one in Japanese. It is not immediately clear what the selection criteria were. The articles are presented in the order in which they were published in French and Korean journals from 1973 to 2000. A full bibliography is found on pp. 5–12. The majority of articles deal with Li Ogg's life-long research interests: the history of the Three Kingdoms, in particular of Koguryō, and Korean mythology. A thematic rather than a chronological arrangement would have given the main themes of Li Ogg's scholarship more weight. Included are a few essays on historical events of the twentieth century, and among his articles written in Korean are even treatises on European and American historical subjects. This anthology, then, is evidence of Li Ogg's

broad interests and of his concern to integrate his research on Korea's ancient history into a general framework of historical scholarship. It is a copious and insightful oeuvre that Li Ogg has left to posterity, and this representative selection in a well-edited bi-lingual anthology is a fitting token to honour the memory of a prolific scholar.

MARTINA DEUCHLER

AFRICA

OYERONKE OLAJUBU:

Women in the Yoruba Religious Sphere.

(Foreword by Jacob. K. Olupona.) (McGill Studies in the History of Religions.)

xii, 172 pp. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.
\$16.95.

This modest book examines the position of women in two of the three religious traditions in which the Yoruba participate from the perspective of an 'African feminist theology'. (It is a pity that Islam, though it claims the allegiance of up to 50 per cent of Yoruba, is omitted). It is guided by three analytical aims: 'to expose the male-centred partiality' of much writing on the topic, to seek out 'alternative wisdom and suppressed history', and 'to risk new interpretations' relevant to women's lives. It becomes clear that Olajubu does not share the bold contention of her fellow Yoruba feminist, Oyeronke Oyewumi (*The Invention of Women*, Minneapolis, 1999), that the Yoruba did not 'do gender' before colonialism. Olajubu's realistic view is that what largely occurs is a complex mix of indigenous and Western-derived patriarchal attitudes.

Olajubu aims to ground her feminist theology in a reconciliation of the modernizing aspirations of contemporary Yoruba women with the potential for female empowerment inherent in traditional religious culture. Two features of her approach are characteristic of much writing on their own society by Yoruba scholars, and carry certain analytical costs. Firstly, her method is strongly culturalist, in that (though she also draws on her own interviews and observations of religious practice), she gives a key role to proverbs, praise poetry, divination verses and other forms of oral tradition, as vehicles of enduring cultural values. To the effacement of change over time which this tends to produce is added an even more marked erasure of geographical variation, since she draws her material indiscriminately from a wide swathe of Yorubaland and makes much use of 'pan-Yoruba' materials like Ifa divination verses. This means, for example, that she cannot address the implications of the fact that, while the ancestral deity Oduduwa is variously considered as female or male, the female emphasis dominates in the south-west coastal area, unlike the central area (where most of her material is drawn from).

The book's essentially theological, rather than historical, aims are evident in its organization. For after two chapters which review the ethnographic literature and present an overview of how women stand in Yoruba culture and society, the author turns directly to examine the place of women in Christianity: in the missions and the mainstream churches, African independent churches and finally the new Pentecostal churches. There is then a change of

direction and, in the last two substantial chapters, she turns *back* to elucidate what might be called the 'classical' gender values evident in Yoruba religion, whether manifest in texts or rituals taken to date from pre-colonial times, or in the contemporary but 'traditional' area of chieftaincy affairs, divination and healing practices, the festivals of *orisa* (deities), witchcraft and secret cults, etc. All this is decently done, though many will balk at her claim that 'spirit possession is not a prominent feature of Yoruba religion' (p. 113). Yoruba ideas about gender relations, she argues, stress complementarity rather than parity, within an entire cosmological vision. Yet several of the religious texts she quotes also seem to evince a good deal of ambivalence and contestation, not least in the attribution of *aje* (ambiguous power, often 'witchcraft') to women. While it is regrettable that limits of space prevented a fuller discussion of this and other topics, Olajubu's clearly-written book should prove a useful text for courses on gender in African religion.

J. D. Y. PEEL

DONAL B. CRUISE O'BRIEN:

Symbolic Confrontations: Muslims Imagining the State in Africa.
xi, 243 pp. London: Hurst, 2004. £16.50.

Donal Cruise O'Brien has provided wise commentary, sociological and historical, on Muslim communities and the state in Africa. Drawing on wide reading and reflection over more than three decades of practising political science at SOAS, and reaching back to his experience growing up a little bit 'Catholic' in Dublin and 'radical' at Berkeley in the days of the free speech movement, he shows the contestations and accommodations of Muslim elites, followers, women, and youth, with the state, principally in the two laboratories of his own research, Senegal and Kenya.

In the first case he deals with a nation of a strong pluralist and secular tradition, but one with an overwhelming Muslim majority and one Sufi brotherhood with a strong cohesion that makes it a kind of 'establishment' within the country. In the second he deals with Muslim minorities struggling with political movements and 'Christian-educated' leaders better positioned to dominate the national arena. In both cases Cruise O'Brien uses the language of Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* to deal with relations between practising religious communities and the manifestations of the state. His focus is the public sphere and particularly the electoral arena; his instruments are the Muslim associations and the symbols they employ in politics, missionary work and religious competition, and generational, gender and vocational conflicts.

A well constructed introduction brings some unity to this volume of essays. Cruise O'Brien has conducted research at different times over many years in Senegal, and over a few more recent visits in Kenya. Some portion of each of the ten chapters has been published previously, and thus written for different contexts and times of publication. His revisions and introduction do not always alter the moulds in which the original work was done. The most useful chapters are based on more recent work or are substantial revisions of material previously published.

The signature article in chapter 1 expresses the symbolic confrontation and larger context of accommodation within which it was played out. It features the years of Abdou Lahatte, son of Amadou Bamba, as Khalife-General of the

Mouride order from 1968–88. In 1973 Abdou Lahatte addressed his following amid the conditions of stress occasioned by the drought and unresponsiveness of the state presided over by Leopold Senghor. He used the confrontational language of the Mouride tradition, suggesting a relationship between government and the forces of Satan and calling for the reaffirmation of a Muslim ‘enclosure’ or space in Touba and the heartlands of Baol. In this he invoked an old Sufi traditionship exemplified in many parts of the Muslim world over the last millennium, but a tradition that resonates with the founding of Bamba’s order as well as his life experience and teachings.

Chapter 3, on Mourides and urbanization, contains considerable insight into the recent history of the order over a broader canvas than in chapter 1. We see the arrangements established by Khalife General Falilou at the time when Leopold Senghor established his enduring political coalition in 1948, as well as the gradual loss of autonomy under Falilou in the first decade of independence. Then we read again about the reassertion of authority, and a certain kind of autonomy from the state during the twenty-year term of Abdou Lahatte, as well as the student and youth movements he set in motion that later produced significant challenges to the Mouride hierarchy in the 1980s and 1990s. All of this is told against the backdrop of migration to the cities of Senegal, especially Dakar, then on to Paris, Marseille and other European centres, and finally to New York and Chicago. The new generation of Mouride intellectuals strengthens the image of Bamba as the Man of Refusal, especially but not uniquely in the scenes of the French decision in Saint-Louis to send the founder into exile in 1895. They developed, beginning in 1980, a new ceremony to mark this occasion.

Other essays take further the treatment of Senegal. Chapter 5 deals with Wolof as the *lingua franca* and ‘wolofization’, in the context of language politics in Africa. Senegal-related material emerges in most of the other chapters, which deal with the theatre and performance of politics (chapter 6), youth and the lost generation (chapter 7), and the question of opposition and consensus in African politics—occasioned by the election of Abdoulaye Wade as President of Senegal in 2000.

Cruise O’Brien returns to Senegal in a more focused way in chapter 9, ‘Renegotiating the Senegalese social contract’. Where Abdou Lahatte issued two orders to disciples to vote for the Socialist Party of Abdou Diouf in 1983 and 1988, to substantial protest from Mourides and non-Mourides, his successor Saliou was careful to refrain from intervention. This is an example of the limitations on the maraboutic leadership, but also of the flexibility of the alliance of Sufi order and state that continues to dominate politics and society as it has for most of the last century. It is also an example of the author at his best, reflecting carefully on Senegalese political culture and the possibilities of transition to a new situation or style.

Kenya does not receive nearly as much attention as Senegal. Chapter 4 is the only one to focus on this arena, examining the Swahili communities of the coast centred in Mombasa, amid the multi-party politics in the last years of the reign of Daniel arap Moi. The Islamic Party of Kenya, born in the 1980s of a sense of marginalization of Muslim coastal leaders, proves to be no match for the more experienced political masters of central and western Kenya, especially the reconstructed KANU of President Moi, and the preference for ‘African’ as opposed to ‘Islamic’ symbols.

Chapter 8, ‘Wails and whispers: the people’s voice in African Muslim politics’, might well have been a concluding reflection on Islamic institutions and the state, in Senegal, Kenya and other areas, but it remains cast in an awkward

framework from the 1980s. Cruise O'Brien develops three constructs: traditional or Sufi Islamic practice, reformist Islam as expressed by the Wahhabis, most notably through an exegesis of Louis Brenner's work on Mali, and a revolutionary form expressed in Mahdist formulations—especially in northern Nigerian situations of the last century—and by the Khomeini regime in Iran. The three constructs do not work very well outside of the situations of Senegal, Mali and Nigeria, respectively, and do not take seriously the patterns of Islamization which preceded the colonial period. It would have been more useful if the author had written a new reflection, perhaps looking at what one might call the institutions of Muslim civil society—educational systems, law and the courts, Sufi orders, etc.—and how they have fared since independence.

But Donal Cruise O'Brien has brought together useful reflections and insight into Senegalese politics and the Mouride order since the Second World War. *Symbolic Confrontations* provides an important sequel to his earlier work on the foundations and functioning of Sufi marabouts and political leaders in *The Mourides of Senegal* (Oxford, 1971) and *Saints and Politicians* (Cambridge, 1975). He has proved again that he is an accomplished essayist on contemporary African politics and Islam, and someone who never bought into the assumptions of the 1960s and 1970s about growing secularization and shrinking of the religious sphere.

DAVID ROBINSON

GENERAL

ALLEN CHUN, NED ROSSITER and BRIAN SHOESMITH (eds):

Refashioning Pop Music in Asia: Cosmopolitan Flows, Political Tempos and Aesthetic Industries.

(ConsumAsiaN Series.) xviii, 219 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. £65.

This is an exciting yet provocative book. The dust-jacket's claim that this is the first comprehensive analysis of Asian popular music and its cultural industries is, bluntly, a little economical with the truth. There is a considerable literature, amongst which Timothy Craig and Richard King's *Global Goes Local* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2002) is but one notable title; there are plenty of monographs about pop music and popular culture in single Asian states (many of which are cited here), or on Asian popular culture more generally. And, the omission of Korea, except in consideration of a Korean singer of *enka* in Japan, is a major fault, not least given the 'Korea Wave' that has spread across China, Taiwan, and parts of South-East Asia over the last few years, based primarily on a localized hip-hop and dance.

The introduction sets the volume up as a collaborative product of angry young men: 'It is necessary for a younger generation of academics to come along with ... a different cultural baggage, without the deeply ingrained prejudices of their predecessors, for [studies] to become the focus of rigorous critical discussion' (p. xii). The authors repeatedly challenge normative accounts of pop music, and sometimes I am sympathetic. The specific sent out to the Birmingham School and its followers, with its mantra that pop music represents ideological rebellion amongst the youth (or minority groups) is, indeed, problematic. The age-old statements emanating from the Frankfurt School,

with its unmitigated disdain for the popular and commercial, no longer have any purchase, but, as with so many publications these days, a mention of Appadurai's notion of deterritorialization moves us away from such formalist notions. The authors are right in saying that the theoretical issues and understandings of pop in Europe and America are not adequate for Asian pop, but they say so too many times. I would argue that this has been recognized by many scholars over the last decade, particularly where local scholarship on pop has developed a distinctive voice (in, say, Japan and Korea). None the less, some criticism of the maintenance of the ideological rebellion approach in, for example, Andrew Jones's otherwise exemplary 1992 account of Chinese rock, may not be displaced. David Stokes, in his chapter here, 'Popping the myth of Chinese rock', does just this (as he did in an earlier 1997 article). Stokes, though, offers an enlightening and refreshing account, just as do his article's juxtaposed companions, on the Thai pop industry by Michael Hayes and on the Taiwanese media by Allen Chun.

The authors frequently take swipes at scholars and scholarship. For example, the claim is made by Jeremy Taylor in his chapter on Taiwan that pop music has been largely ignored by academics (—the cumulative bibliography seems to indicate otherwise—), who are said to have disdain for anything that is commercial, to consider that it lacks creative merit. Questionable in 2004, indeed, but Taylor usefully problematizes the Greater China Myth, in which Taiwanese culture is overshadowed or ignored as mainland cultural production is foregrounded in most academic accounts. Ethnomusicologists come in for specific criticism, based on the idea that they typically work on historical genres and champion traditions that they feel are threatened by the globalizing mass media. This characterizes only a minority of ethnomusicologists: close to half the presentations at the annual American gathering of the Society for Ethnomusicology focus on contemporary pop. Zachar Laskewicz, in a chapter on Balinese performance (*not* 'music' because this is, he tells us, a dangerous reduction; pop music includes movement and dance), seems particularly concerned about ethnomusicologists, yet remains happy to quote several (Jody Diamond, Michael Bakan, etc.). And, far from being entirely contemporary, several contributors do choose old forms of music to discuss.

Within the volume, some of the twelve chapters have narrow foci and some seem too broad. So, while Yano's consideration of *enka* usefully takes us on from her recent book *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002—not listed in *Refashioning Pop's* bibliography) and Carolyn Stevens discusses romance and Christian symbolism in a single Japanese rock video, Masashi Ogawa's 'Japanese popular music in Hong Kong' couples a lengthy and general diachronic account with a detailed look at a single contemporary singer. Laskewicz ranges far and wide in his account of Bali (in fact, popular music takes centre stage for just three of his fifteen pages), but the political appropriation of *dangdut* in Indonesia provides the sole focus for Krishna Sen and David Hill's excellent 'Global industry, national politics'. Without a doubt, the most striking chapter is John Hutnyk's 'Magical mystical tourism (debate dub version)'. Hutnyk brilliantly explodes the idealized, exoticized, souvenir Orientalism embraced by Crispian Mills and Kula Shaker in their fake intimations of India. Half his chapter is devoted to email discussions provoked by an earlier, Internet, version of the paper, which intriguingly evades answering some of the questions posed. As I read I wondered whether Mills had any grounds on which to sue; I assume not, since RoutledgeCurzon has found fit to publish it.

And yet, despite my many questions and concerns, the volume became compulsive reading. As I read, my furious note-taking signalled that, as much as *Refashioning Pop Music in Asia* frustrates, it also challenges. Many of its challenges fly straight and true to their target: Why can Kula Shaker get away with mystifying Orientalism? How can some political tyrants support pop music if it is meant to be rebellious? Are the multiplying versions of Asian rap and reggae really just localized appropriations, or can we really believe, along with the editors, that 'while Anglo-American pop music industries hold a dominant purchase on representations of music cultures and economies ... there is no necessarily unifying impulse in these global times' (p. 7). Perhaps, and just perhaps, this volume will help demolish the MTV version of global music in favour of something that embraces the cultural diversity of the world.

KEITH HOWARD

YEN-HUI AUDREY LI and ANDREW SIMPSON (eds):

Functional Structure(s), Form and Interpretation: Perspectives from East Asian Languages.

(RoutledgeCurzon Asian Linguistics Series.) xi, 280 pp. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. £60.

This book is a collection of papers presented at the University of Southern California Workshop on Syntax of East Asian Languages in 1998. The workshop aimed to address issues concerning the relationship between form, structure and interpretation of nominal expressions or function words in Chinese, Japanese and Korean. As the editors explain in the preface, 'functional structure(s)', as it appears in the title of the book, is understood ambiguously as referring either to the structure of functional categories (in a Chomskyan sense) or to structures which are associated with particular functional interpretations. The book is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with structure and interpretation within the DP/NP, diachronic developments of function words, and clausal-level structures and their interpretation.

Part 1 opens with a paper by Yen-Hui Audrey Li and Yuzhi Shi, 'NP as argument', which suggests that NPs, as opposed to DPs, can be arguments in Chinese. Based on this approach, the definiteness effect associated with the plural/collective morpheme *-men* is given a structural analysis. Furthermore, the account is shown to explain the lack of reconstruction effects with respect to scope in relative clauses. Yoshihisa Kitagawa's chapter, 'Copying variables', argues that the 'strict identity' interpretation of a pro-form in ellipsis constructions involving a quantifier can be analysed on a par with that of E-type anaphora. The observed parallelism is a consequence of the same operation applying at LF, which covertly copies bound pro-forms. The analysis is extended to donkey sentences. In 'Classifiers and the count/mass distinction', Keiko Muromatsu proposes a hierarchy according to functional complexity among nominal expressions in the order count nouns, mass nouns and abstract nouns, with count nouns being most complex. The functional complexity of these nouns is reflected in their syntactic structure. This system explains, among other phenomena, cross-linguistic variation in the distribution of classifiers and measure terms. The final chapter of Part 1, 'The demonstratives in modern Japanese' by Hajime Hoji, Satoshi Kinsui, Yukinori Takubo and Ayumi Ueyama, provides a uniform account of deictic and non-deictic

uses of three demonstratives in Japanese, *ko-*, *so-* and *a-*. The authors argue that *ko*-NPs and *a*-NPs are D-indexed (i.e. referential), while *so*-NPs require a linguistic antecedent. This distinction accounts for the possibility of *so*-NPs, but not *ko*-NPs and *a*-NPs, to co-vary with another element. *Ko*-NPs and *a*-NPs are further marked linguistically as [*proximal*] and [*distal*], respectively.

In the opening contribution to Part 2, 'On the re-analysis of nominalizers in Chinese, Japanese and Korean', Andrew Simpson claims that recategorization of nominalizers as functional heads in the clausal domain is a widespread phenomenon among Chinese, Korean and Japanese. In particular, nominalizers found in copula constructions and relative clauses are being re-analysed as functional heads associated with tense and mood. The following chapter, 'Three types of existential quantification in Chinese' by Wei-Tien Dylan Tsai, suggests that the lexical item *you* 'have' in Chinese is undergoing grammaticalization from an existential predicate to a pronoun to a determiner. This explains distributional differences among three kinds of *you*: (i) presentational *you* is an unselective binder, (ii) partitive *you* is a pronoun akin to the English pronoun *some*; and (iii) specific plural *you* is a genuine determiner. In 'On the history of place words and localizers in Chinese: a cognitive approach', Alain Peyraube investigates the semantic polysemy displayed by localizers (*fangweici*) from a cognitive perspective. Diachronic developments of localizers and their interaction with ordinary nouns show that localizers have evolved from having a precise, prototype meaning to expressing a more general meaning through reinterpretation. Peyraube's contribution concludes Part 2.

In the first chapter of Part 3, 'Judgements, point of view and the interpretation of causee noun phrases', S.-Y. Kuroda argues that a causee argument in the Japanese *ni*-causative is interpreted as the subject of a categorical judgement. A *ni*-causative sentence implies that the causer intends the causee to be aware that the causee is made to execute the act requested by the causer. The causer makes a categorical judgement that the causee knows this intention. William O'Grady offers an account of scrambling in Korean in 'A computational approach to case and word order in Korean'. O'Grady proposes that downward inheritance of information related to dependencies in syntactic representations is available as a marked option. Case markers in Korean have dependencies on verbal categories. A dependency introduced by a case marker on a scrambled nominal is inherited downwards and subsequently resolved by an appropriate verb. In 'Adjunct and word order typology in East Asian languages', Thomas Ernst proposes that specifiers are to the left of the head universally, while the complement position is subject to parameteric variation. The distribution of adjuncts is constrained by the same PF linearization principles. Thus, while all languages allow adjuncts to the left of the head, only head-initial languages permit adjunction to the right of the head. Particular attention is paid to Chinese, which shows mixed behaviour with respect to the proposed generalization. In the final chapter of Part 3, James Huang provides a uniform account of 'The distribution of negative NPs and some typological correlates' in Chinese, Japanese and English. Negative NPs are formed by conflation of a sentential negation and related polarity items under phonological adjacency. Cross-linguistic variation in their distribution is reduced to the issue of whether a given language has processes such as verb movement which cause the two items to be adjacent.

Altogether, this book is a valuable contribution to our general understanding of the connection between form, structure and interpretation. The essays examine a number of phenomena and as such display the range of possible

interpretations of the word 'functional' in the current field of linguistics. The book also contains a wealth of data. It should therefore be of great interest to linguists working on East Asian languages as well as to those who are more interested in the relation between form and interpretation. One small criticism I have is that the subtitle 'Perspectives from East Asian Languages' is misleading, since the papers deal with no other East Asian languages than Chinese, Japanese and Korean. Furthermore, relatively little attention has been paid to Korean. There are only two papers (O'Grady's and Simpson's) which investigate Korean in some depth.

REIKO VERMEULEN

SHORT NOTICES

THE BRITISH LIBRARY:

The Diamond Sutra.

London: The British Library Board, 2004. CD-ROM. £9.95.

The oldest known printed book in the world, *The Diamond Sutra* of 868 recovered from Dunhuang, has featured in part in many illustrations, and has long been made available for study through microfilm and other copies, but has not so far been produced and sold in a separate facsimile edition. Thanks to digital technology, however, this issue on CD-ROM goes several steps further than any past facsimile by including a reproduction of the text that can be scrolled along at will, a facility for magnifying any portion of the image for closer examination, plus the aural *Diamond Sutra*, though as recited today in Taiwan rather than as reconstructed in Tang pronunciation. Eleven panels of simple explanation are also available, in a choice of written or spoken form.

But given the ingenuity expended on the technology, which can be run on any recent PC or Apple Mac multimedia system, it is rather surprising that three out of these eleven panels contain information that is either misleading or plain wrong, starting with a complete mistranslation of the first element in the text, the brief prayer that S. L. Chern, on p.111 of her SOAS, 2000 doctoral dissertation 'The Diamond Sutra in Chinese Life before the Sung' designates 'The Mantra of Purifying the Karma of Speech', and that, *pace* the information given here, is still printed in liturgies based on the *Diamond* used today—note Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku no Bukkyō girei* (Tokyo, 1986), p. 792. In the explanation given here however the very word mantra in the title is itself misconstrued.

Likewise, the third panel alleges that 'a central doctrine of Buddhism is that the material world is an illusion'; the seventh that 'Buddhism developed into two main paths known as Theravada and Mahayana', and that the latter 'taught that all living beings—not just monks—had the potential to achieve Buddhahood'. One recognizes that expedient means had to be adopted to simplify matters, but surely ways of avoiding these misleading generalizations could have been found. For no doubt if the opening words of a Gutenberg Bible were mistranslated, heads would roll and there would be a leader in the *Times*, but since this is 'only' a Chinese book no one seems to have taken even the obvious step of checking the translations with a Chinese monk or nun. We can only be grateful that this source has—admittedly after about a century of delay—been made so readily available, and in a very convenient form for

research, but one wonders how much longer it will be before the sloppiness in describing Chinese materials equally on display here will become an issue of concern to publishers and readers.

T. H. BARRETT

DONALD S. LOPEZ, JR. (ed.):

Buddhist Scriptures.

l, 556 pp. London: Penguin Books, 2004. £9.99.

It has been almost five decades since the Penguin Classics series last launched an anthology of Buddhist texts onto the market, during which time interest in the religion throughout the English-speaking world has grown to more than justify a new anthology well over twice the size of the original. That first volume was largely the work of E. Conze, working from Sanskrit, with heterogeneous scraps of translation from other languages, provided by E. M. Hare, David Snellgrove, Trevor Leggett and D. T. Suzuki, mixed in here and there. In this new work the editor has made less of a personal contribution through translation, but has done a far superior job of orchestrating a much more balanced whole and equipping it with a reflective and highly readable introduction, which in itself provides a succinct commentary (pp. xiv–xviii) on the history of such anthologies over the years—including in its final paragraph some delightfully (and justifiably) acerbic comments on the codswallop that in all too recent times past was excerpted to represent his own area, Tibetan Buddhism. The generous list of books for further reading on pp. xlii–xlix also deserves commendation.

Inevitably the need to include translations reflecting the current state of Buddhist textual studies has all but wiped out the contribution of United Kingdom-based scholars to the enterprise, though for example the translations of K. R. Norman represent a standard of work unlikely to be matched elsewhere for some time to come, and so still find a place amongst a much longer roster of translations mostly carried out specifically for this anthology and largely undertaken on the other side of the Atlantic. One or two sacrifices have clearly been made in order to find room for such a wealth of materials, notably the exclusion of any of the finding lists cross-referencing the contents by language or by contributor that formed such a useful feature of the editor's earlier anthologies for Princeton University Press, but by and large there is very little here to complain about.

That is not the same, however, as declaring this anthology perfect. Such an ambitious enterprise is bound to entail errors, though mostly (one hopes) errors of the trivial sort that can be readily corrected in future printings. For it does seem a reasonable assumption to suppose that this anthology will remain in print for some time to come, and on that basis I devote the remainder of this review to a listing of the areas where some improvement appears to be possible, concentrating on translations from the types of materials that I know best, and not forbearing to mention even trivial typographical errors. No doubt other reviewers will rally round to provide from their own fields of expertise further points that will help future printings of this work achieve an even higher standard of excellence.

P. xv: While it is true to say that Max Müller collaborated closely with B. Nanjio, for the Buddhist anthology volume of his *Sacred Books of the East*

series he relied on J. Takakusu to provide him with a translation from Chinese, since Nanjio had returned to Japan.

P. xlix: 'Nyuken Williams' is surely 'Ryukun Williams'.

Pp. 79, 83: '*Nanhai jigui naeifa zhuan*' is certainly a slightly garbled transcription of the title of text T.2125, but surprisingly and quite unaccountably (save that they are by the same author) the work translated is equally certainly T.2067, *Da Tang xiyu jiufo gaoseng zhuan*.

P. 199: There is a translation of this text in Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs, Kingship and Kinship: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics* (Kyoto: ISEAS, 2002), pp. 89–99, which differs considerably in its interpretation of its final paragraph, and which is, I believe, to be preferred.

P. 296: '*Gaosend*' should be '*Gaoseng*', twice.

P. 298: 'Zipan' should be 'Zhipan'.

P. 314: 'a monk named Feng Tian'. Extraordinarily enough for an account of shipwrecked travellers on Hainan Island in 743, the text reads quite unambiguously 'a monk with the family name Toyota'. The speaker, a local chief, whose people seem to have supplemented their income by pirating the nearby international shipping lanes, is apparently trying to demonstrate how cosmopolitan he is by displaying his knowledge of Japanese family names. Cf. the judicious note on earlier interpretations given in Wang Xiangrong, ed., *Tang da heshang dongzheng zhuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 67.

The above list mainly covers those blemishes obvious at a first reading; doubtless others have been missed. But, to repeat, drawing attention to these lapses is by no means intended to discourage any would-be purchaser: at under ten pounds a copy, one certainly gets a remarkable quantity of good, accurate translation and up-to-date introductory remarks for one's money. No one at all interested in Buddhism should hesitate for a second to make the investment.

T. H. BARRETT