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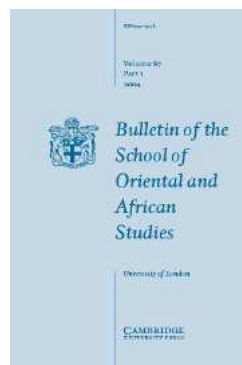
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## BERTOLD SPULER (tr. M. ISMAIL MARCINKOWSKI): Persian historiography and geography. xiii, 96 pp. Singapore: Pustaka Nasional Pte. Ltd, 2003. £40.

GEORGE LANE

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# REVIEWS

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## THE ANCIENT WORLD

ERICA EHRENBERG (ed.):

*Leaving no stones unturned: essays on the ancient Near East and Egypt in honor of Donald P. Hansen.*

xii, 323 pp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002. \$49.50.

This volume of essays is a tribute to the achievements of the art historian and archaeologist Donald Hansen. Hansen has taught ancient Near Eastern art for forty years and excavated all over the Middle East. The twenty-five contributions to this Festschrift are chiefly the work of former students and colleagues in Harvard, New York and on site. The selection reflects the breadth of Hansen's teaching, the depth of his personal experience in the field and his specialism in the Mesopotamian Early Dynastic period.

Art history of the Near East: Joan Aruz, 'Power and protection: a little proto-Elamite silver bull pendant' (pp. 1–14), publishes for the first time an object in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and discusses it in the light of what is known of proto-Elamite art. Zainab Bahrani, 'Performativity and image: narrative, representation, and the Uruk vase' (15–22), brings the methodology of modern art history to the study of one of the great masterpieces of late fourth-millennium Mesopotamia (recently in the news as looted from the Iraq Museum in April 2003 and returned in pieces some weeks later). Erica Ehrenberg, 'The rooster in Mesopotamia' (53–62), surveys the iconography of the cockerel in ancient Iraq and makes a good case for the identification of the cock on the lampstand as the god Nusku. Elsie Holmes Peck, 'A decorated bronze belt in the Detroit Institute of Arts' (183–202), presents a preliminary description of a metal belt newly acquired by the collection; it is decorated in an Assyrianizing style and was probably made in Urartu. Holly Pittman, 'The "jeweler's" seal from Susa and art of Awan' (211–35), presents an iconographical analysis of a cylinder seal known from ancient impressions, and discusses its place in the history of Iranian art. Seals of a much later period are the subject of Priscilla Soucek, 'Early Islamic seals: their artistic and cultural importance' (237–59). Irene J. Winter, 'How tall was Naram-Sîn's victory stele? Speculation on the broken bottom' (301–11), re-examines another broken masterpiece of Mesopotamian art and wonders how much of it is missing.

East meets West: Celia J. Bergoffen, 'Early Late Cypriot ceramic exports to Canaan: White slip I' (23–41), discusses a distinctive style of Middle-to-Late Bronze Age pottery chiefly with reference to Tell el-Ajjul, near Gaza. Günter Kopcke, '1000 B.C.E.? 900 B.C.E.? A Greek vase from Lake Galilee' (109–17) discusses a unique piece of pottery also imported to Palestine but somewhat later, and questions the conventional division of Protogeometric ceramics into Early, Middle and Late periods.

Archaeology of the Near East: Lionel Bier, 'Sarvistan reconsidered' (43–51), is a postscript to an earlier study of an intriguing Sasanian or early Islamic building in Fars. Prudence O. Harper, 'Tomorrow we dig! Excerpts

from Vaughn E. Crawford's letters and newsletters from al-Hiba' (89–102), gives a preview of Crawford's less formal accounts of life and work with Hansen on site during their five seasons of excavations together in the 1960s and '70s; fuller publication is in preparation by the staff of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Edward J. Keall, 'Pay-dirt in the end' (103–08), reflects on a frustrating season of excavations at Shahabad by the Oriental Institute's Khūzistān Project in 1963 and more recently at Zabid in Yemen by the Canadian Archaeological Mission, and is a reminder that lavatories sometimes conceal unexpected treasure. Joan and David Oates, 'The reattribution of Middle Uruk materials at Brak' (145–54), report how new evidence has changed their understanding of the stratigraphy of the site and revise the dating of the famous Eye Temple at Tell Brak, and objects associated with it, from the Jamdat Nasr period to the Middle Uruk. Edward L. Ochsen-schlager, 'Seeing the past in the present: twenty-five years of ethnoarchaeology at al-Hiba' (155–67), summarizes a fascinating project begun with Hansen at al-Hiba; his results are valuable both to the anthropology of recent village society on the fringe of the Iraqi marshlands and to the archaeology of the ancient precursors of such settlements. Karen Wilson, 'The temple mound at Bismaya' (279–99), revisits excavations conducted one hundred years ago by Banks and Persons on behalf of the University of Chicago and never properly published. Paul Yule, 'Mapping Ḥimyarite Ṣafār' (313–23), presents the results of a season's surveying of a pre-Islamic Yemenite fortress town.

History: Marc Van De Mieroop, 'In search of prestige: foreign contacts and the rise of an elite in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia' (125–37), corrects the fallacy that subsistence in Mesopotamia was predicated on trade and import; rather, the importation of foreign goods, whether by peaceful means or war, comprised a procurement of luxury items driven by the need of newly wealthy secular elites for ostentatious display and conspicuous consumption.

Egyptology: Richard A. Fazzini, 'Some aspects of the precinct of the goddess Mut in the New Kingdom' (63–76), discusses matters arising from the Brooklyn Museum of Art's Mut Expedition to Luxor. Rita E. Freed, 'Defending connoisseurship: a thrice re-inscribed sphinx of Dynasty XII' (77–88), offers a new study of a headless sculpture now in Boston, MA, which she dates to the reign of Amenemhat III. Christine Lilquist, 'Pithoi of Hatshepsut's time' (119–24), re-examines a stone vessel from the temple of Amun at Karnak, and finds part of its decoration probably of Palestinian inspiration. Bojana Mojsov, 'Sacred pathways' (139–43), finds a symbolic function in the subterranean corridors of tombs in the Valley of the Kings: they signified the cosmic passage leading to the primeval ocean where the spirit merged with the waters of creation. David O'Connor, 'Pyramid origins: a new theory' (169–82), discusses the early development of an archetypal Egyptian structure. William H. Peck, 'An Egyptian goddess in Detroit' (203–9), publishes a bronze head newly acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts. Marjorie Susan Venit, 'Ancient Egyptomania: the uses of Egypt in Graeco-Roman Alexandria' (261–78), reflects on Egyptianizing art in the classical world and discusses its use in particular in a Roman tomb on Tigrane Pasha St, Alexandria.

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 THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

JAFAR HASANPOOR:

*A study of European, Persian and Arabic loans in standard Sorani.*

(Reports on Asian and African Studies, 1.) 176 pp.

Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1999.

Lexical borrowing, though a normal and often enriching result of linguistic contact, can be a focus of struggle for cultural and political dominance. Even in France, a country which still enjoys international influence, concern about the menace of 'anglo-saxon' language and culture exists, though the dynamics of language use are by no means simple, with American loanwords at once enthusiastically adopted by the fashion-conscious young and rejected by those who consider themselves custodians of good usage. In the case of Kurdish the stakes are much higher; the goal of at least one of the states in which Kurdish is spoken (Turkey) was until recently outright language death for Kurdish, and the policies of the others have varied from grudging acceptance of constitutional status (Iraq) to proscription (pre-revolutionary Iran). The political issues surrounding lexical borrowings and their dynamics are consequently complex and intense. Hassanpoor aptly remarks that 'Any borrowing, old and new, from Turkish, Arabic and Persian ... is treated by most nationalists as fetters that help the assimilation of the Kurds into the dominant culture and language'. However, these dominant languages, especially Turkish, have themselves been purged and reformed. Kurdish is impoverished in its vocabulary, particularly in 'modern' areas such as science and technology, and the only alternatives to lexical borrowing are often conscious coinages which, without the resources of Turkish or Iranian language academies, may or may not find favour with larger groups of speakers.

This book is the publication of a doctoral thesis awarded at the University of Uppsala. It focuses specifically on the issue of lexical borrowing in a language which has so far been relatively little studied. Those acquainted with Kurdish will wish to know what, if anything, it adds to those sections of Amir Hassanpoor's weighty *Nationalism and language in Kurdistan, 1918–1985* (1992) which deals with lexical issues and the language purism movement in Sorani, the southern dialect of Kurdish. On this count, readers will not be disappointed; Jafar Hasanpoor uses a specific theoretical model to discuss borrowings, namely that of Haugen, which distinguishes loanwords (items imported with minimal essential changes) loanblends (loans with a partial substitution of native morphemes) and loanshifts, which can be divided into loanshift extensions (where native terms are applied to new cultural phenomena that are roughly similar to something in the old culture) and loanshift creations (where the morphemes in the borrowed word are translated item by item). Moreover, whereas the earlier work takes much of its data from dictionary compilers, this book ranges more widely. The author has chosen to work from written sources, and from the writings of the poet Hêmin (1921–86) in particular. The loans used by this writer have been classified and analysed, and texts written by many other codifiers of the language, in different types of publication, have been used to test the extent to which these loans are established. Finally the author surveyed a number of Kurdish writers in both homeland and diaspora by questionnaire. These were forthcoming on their own experiences of learning to write, often without formal schooling in the language, and on their attitudes to language purification.

This book contains some very interesting and useful sections, though further reorganization of the thesis would have made for a more satisfying structure. The tiny ‘overview of loans’ chapter, for instance would have sat very well as an introduction to the fifth chapter, which contains the lists of sources and the analysis of individual words. A more developed and integrated profile of Hêmin himself would also have been useful to the non-specialist; as a young man he was intimately involved in the cultural and political ferment surrounding the short-lived Republic of Mahabad of 1946, whose echoes were felt strongly among the Kurds of Iraq; by the end of his life, after a period of exile in Iraq, he was presiding over a magazine published in Orumiyeh with the support of the Islamic government. The choice of linguistic corpus is clearly crucial; Hêmin is in fact an excellent choice, but this dawns slowly on the reader, as Hasanpoor does not really explain his reasons as fully as he might. Important facts about Hêmin’s life and the development of his ideas, which could provide a focus for understanding the linguistic environment of the period, are somewhat scattered around the book. However, the third and fourth chapters, on Kurdish nationalism and dialects and on pre-standard and standard Sorani respectively, bring together a wide range of material from Western and Middle Eastern sources, and are simultaneously succinct and informative. The fifth chapter contains analysis of specific words themselves, with a classification of loans; this illustrates various trends such as indirect borrowing of ‘modern’ European words and the creation of loanshift blends for reasons of purification. The summing up of the final chapter, apart from placing such data in context, makes it clear that such dynamics are part of the vitality of Kurdish.

This author, unlike some of his Kurdish sources, is carefully descriptive rather than prescriptive, no mean feat in a field where linguistic studies easily give rise to nationalist myths. His own opinions are made clear—he regards the settlement of the Ottoman–Persian border in 1639 as a ‘partition’ of Kurdistan and, in discussing other dialects and languages spoken by Kurds, he is a little over-optimistic in his assertion that ‘Kurmanji vocabulary is codified to a large extent’ and that ‘Dimli [Zazaki] has been standardised’. Nevertheless he is realistic about key points where some writers have blind spots—the near-impossibility of developing a unified language from the major dialects of Kurmanji and Sorani, for instance, or the lack of linguistic evidence connecting Kurdish with the language of the Medes.

As always with work on a language which is rarely studied, the reader is left hungry for a broader range of data and more far-reaching conclusions; however, the paucity of Kurdish linguistic studies can hardly be held against the author, who has contributed a thoughtful and welcome addition to a little-known field.

CHRISTINE ALLISON

BERTOLD SPULER (*tr.* M. ISMAIL MARCINKOWSKI):

*Persian historiography and geography.*

xiii, 96 pp. Singapore: Pustaka Nasional Pte. Ltd, 2003. £40.

Bertold Spuler’s survey of Persian historiographical and geographical texts, first published in German in 1982, was a long overdue attempt to balance the often Arabocentric view of Islamic and ‘Middle Eastern’ studies. The Persian-speaking world in pre-modern times covered a vast geographical area

encompassing lands from much of the western Ottoman territories to Bengal in the east and including Transoxiana and the khanates of Turkestan. Though Persia has long been internationally renowned for its poetry and literary works, its achievements in the historical and geographical fields are less widely acclaimed outside the academic world. This welcome translation of Bertold Spuler's survey should help to redress this imbalance. The translator, Ismail Marcinkowski, had unlimited access to Spuler's personal research library now housed in Kuala Lumpur at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation (ISTAC) where Marcinkowski is associate professor of History. In addition to the translation of Spuler's text, Marcinkowski has furnished the survey with an index, lacking in the original, and has also updated or replaced the footnote citations and bibliographical references of Spuler's work, which very often referred to obscure text editions and secondary sources in Slavonic languages inaccessible to the general English reader, with his own selection of relevant material. This selected material is designed to meet the needs of a graduate student embarking on Persian studies rather than those of the specialist scholar.

Spuler's survey begins with the tenth-century writer, al-Bal'amī of Bokhara, who translated into Persian al-Ṭabarī's history of the Prophet and the leaders of the Islamic community until the Abbasid period. Al-Ṭabarī's representation of caliphal spiritual and political authority sanctioned by God reflected the Samanid view of the maturing Islamic 'state' and the need for a translation of al-Ṭabarī and other religious works into New Persian reflects the growing importance and renewed sense of identity in the Iranian world. When Firdawsī wrote his *Shāhnāmeḥ* during the reign of the Ghaznavids, Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna [r. 998–1030] is said to have contrasted al-Ṭabarī's 'History of the Muslims' with Firdawsī's 'History of the Iranians'. Gardīzī compiled a summary of Iranian history in 1050 though he also covers more traditional ground with accounts of the caliphs and Muslim communities and a history of Khorasan and the Ghaznavids until 1041. What is significant about this early Persian historian is that he also included information on India and the ancient Turks and details of the festivals of Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Christians and Zoroastrians. He wrote in a plain simple prose which made his work more easily accessible to the less educated of the Persian-speaking population.

From these early beginnings Spuler continues to record the development of New Persian as an influential and 'international' language and also one translated into other languages including Turkish and Arabic. This early period produced other literary giants such as the Ismaili missionary and traveller, Nāṣir Khosraw, whose travel records, the *Ṣafarnāmeḥ*, have been read in a variety of languages up to the present day. Nāṣir Khosraw's travels took him to Fatimid Egypt from his native Khorasan and his journeys are detailed and observant. Baihaqī [c.996–1077], a high political officer at the Ghaznavid court, composed thirty volumes detailing not only the political and military history of the Ghaznavids but many other aspects of life at that time leaving an invaluable record for latter day historians. Both writers are examined by Spuler.

Two chapters are devoted to the literary genre known as *Mirrors for Princes*, so popular and widespread throughout the medieval world, particularly in Persia. The earlier chapter deals with the better known works such as Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyāsāt-nāmeḥ* (1091), ibn Qābūs's *Qābūs-nāmeḥ* (begun 1082) and Nizāmī-ye 'Arūzī Samarqandī's *Chahār Maqālah* [written 1155], while the later shorter chapter briefly examines the contribution to the genre of Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (1201–74), the great scholar and adviser to the Ilkhanid court, Rūzbihān Iṣfahānī (d.1385) and others.

Other short chapters are devoted to specific periods such as the Ilkhanid decades, a very significant and productive era in historiographical and geographical works, the Safavid period, and the Qajar and Pahlavi periods. The rich source of information afforded by local histories and works concentrating on specific regions is covered in one chapter, as is the often overlooked material, often hagiographical in nature, dealing with the lives of saints, Sufis and other religious figures. Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (d.1230), Aflākī (d.1354) and the poet of Herat, Jāmī (d.1492) who all produced important works of this genre, all receive attention. Another source of historical data, again often overlooked or dismissed as unreliable are the literary compilations and surveys. Literary compilations and surveys such as ‘Aufī’s *Lubāb al-Albāb* (written c. 1221) and Daulatshāh’s *Tadhkirat al-Shu’arā* (finished 1487) contain hidden gems of historical interest even though much of their narrative is fanciful. One very short chapter of Spuler’s book is concerned with available collections of documents and administrative material. The last section of Spuler’s book examines those works produced outside the Iranian heartlands but written in Persian. He includes works produced in Central Asia, Ottoman Turkey and Pre-Ottoman Turkey, India and Afghanistan, and the Caucasus.

Though this book, *Persian historiography & geography*, does not analyse its subject to the degree that Julie Scott Meisami achieves in her study, *Persian historiography* (1999), it is an extremely useful guide and introduction to its subject. It provides a very practical and convenient tool for any serious student of Islamic history or Persian literature and opens up innumerable other paths for further study.

GEORGE LANE

MOHAMMAD GHOLI MAJD:

*Great Britain and Reza Shah: the plunder of Iran, 1921–1941.*

xiii, 429 pp. Gainesville/Tallahassee/Tampa/Boca Raton/Pensacola/Orlando/Miami/Jacksonville/Ft. Myers: University Press of Florida, 2001. £49.50.

Undoubtedly relations between Iran and the USA after the Second World War are among the most intriguing and complex in the history of modern bilateral relations; furthermore the stream of studies concerning the various aspects of the later Pahlavi period seems to be unlimited, whereas the preceding fifty years have received very little profound academic consideration. Naturally, there are certain events like the W. Morgan Shuster episode in 1911, the first serious foray of American foreign policy into the Middle East, or the Arthur C. Millspaugh missions (1922–27 and the Second World War), which have attracted a certain interest. Of course there are also the attempts of American oil companies to get a foot in the door when the oil business in Iran rapidly expanded. But with the exception of chapters in general studies about Middle Eastern oil and the occasional journal article, one can only obtain a glimpse of the reasons as to why the American oilmen lost the battle against their British counterparts. Although there is some interesting recent work on American missionaries before the First World War one has to be satisfied with the detailed study by A. Yeselson, *United States–Persian diplomatic relations, 1883–1921* (New Brunswick, 1956), and R. A. McDaniel’s well assessed *The*

*Shuster mission and the Persian constitutional revolution* (Minneapolis, 1974); these old works still remain valuable. Of course, material about Iran from the National Archives in Washington has occasionally been used by researchers such as W. Zürrer in his *Persien zwischen England und Rußland, 1918–1924* (Bern, 1978), however, the American sources have been used as supporting material, as Zürrer's title indicates.

For this and other reasons, the reader should be delighted to find that the present study is based exclusively on the interesting reports of US diplomats serving in Iran in the inter-war period. This material provides a wealth of information; descriptions of various aspects of the political, economic and social life in Iran; its policy makers; the reception of the unfolding drama of modernization; the oppressive rule of the first Pahlavi; changes in the composition and structure of the ruling elites, and finally actions by various more traditionally minded groups of the urban and tribal population against the increasingly autocratic behaviour of the regime and its leader. These reports all contain useful observations of the relatively small group of American diplomats and consuls. But the present study does not deal with American foreign policy vis-à-vis Iran. Aside from the personal reportage style of these representatives, the reader does not get a broad idea of why they are actually in Iran, their motives, and how they interact with the State Department or the political elites of their host land.

From the title of the study it is obvious that it is not the author's intention to write about the foreign policy and policy makers of the United States. His main aim is to rectify the distorted picture a number of academics have presented to their readership in recent studies. The main mistake of these authors, among them Ervand Abrahamian, Houshang Sabahi and more recently Cyrus Ghani, is that they have 'almost exclusively' relied upon and place too much trust in British sources, which often seem to distort the reality. It is also their interpretation of British archival material which is questioned here, measured by the author against the yardstick of the files from the National Archive in Washington. The author stresses again and again in the light of 'the complicity and pivotal British role in bringing the first and second Pahlavi ruler to power, and their deep involvement with Reza Shah' that 'British diplomatic papers cannot be expected to provide an accurate and objective account of events'.

There can be no argument that during the 1920s Reza Shah's rule moved from a position still anchored in an unbalanced and uncertain constitutional order, to that of arbitrary, often dictatorial, control over the human and economic resources of Iran. But this did not happen in a vacuum. Various political and social forces tried to respond to the ruthless push for power and throne by the former colonel of the Cossack brigade, characterized in this study as an illiterate brute with an insatiable appetite for wealth. According to the author the opposition failed as they had to face 'the complicity and forceful assistance of the British for the new ruler throughout the whole period'. Yet this again smells very much of some kind of conspiracy theory: Reza Shah the puppet is allowed by the puppet-master to indulge in his personal arbitrary decision making—and arbitrary it frequently was, especially when it suited his own agenda.

If the American sources lend themselves to such a far-reaching interpretation, one has to ask to what degree they represent a true picture, and to what extent they might reflect the shortcomings of a diplomatic service, which until the First World War possessed a rather rudimentary system of collecting and processing information about the Middle East. The State Department was



short of manpower and experience in dealing with this part of the globe. First-class diplomats hesitated to serve in Tehran, although interest and energy were obviously not absent from their activities, helping the incumbent. However, a short consultation of a variety of non-British sources might have allowed the author to gain a better insight into a much more complicated system of the relations of the foreign powers and Iran, and the response of an underdeveloped nation state in the inter-war period. Undoubtedly, Great Britain had been quite successful in the defence of its economic assets in Iran, the Anglo-Persian (Iranian) Oil Company and the Imperial Bank, but internal as well as foreign pressure had increasingly curtailed its room for political manoeuvre. In this rivalry the USA had lost out at an early stage of the Pahlavi rule. By 1925, after undoubtedly contributing to the stabilization of the country and the rule of Reza Khan, its much heralded third power position had faltered on the rocks of Iran's complex domestic situation. US expectations were never realized, in particular when the representatives of the third power camp in Iran lost out to the guardians of the tri-linear foreign policy in Tehran, in which Great Britain still played an important role, although not an exclusive one. Nationalist ideology and the strategic position of Iran, in particular to its neighbour Soviet Russia, were stronger elements in the decision-making processes in and around the country. These American records reflect to a certain degree the disappointment of the diplomats and as the author rightly remarks, their 'outright hostility' to the foreign policies, in particular that of the British. This does not mean that the picture drawn by the diplomats for the State Department was a false one, but one has to ask if they really possessed the analytic depth and measured assessment often seen in the diplomatic reports of their rivals. Only in comparison with other source material, and increasingly with Iranian sources, can the value and the veracity of these records be established. Still, the book is an indispensable read for all students interested in the modern history of Iran, and the long excerpts and quotation should provide a useful insight into events and personalities in Iran and the USA, in particular if used alongside the other available sources.

PAUL LUFT

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SOUTH ASIA

BHADRIRAJU KRISHNAMURTI:

*The Dravidian languages.*

(Cambridge Language Surveys.) xxvii, 545 pp.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. £70.

Since the first clear identification of Dravidian as a distinct family of languages by F.W. Ellis in 1816, there have been two major landmarks in the scholarly study of the family: Robert Caldwell's pioneering *A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian family of languages* (London, 1856) and T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau's *Dravidian etymological dictionary* (Oxford, 1961; 2nd, revised, edn 1984). With the publication of the book under review (*DL*), we now have a third.

During the second half of the twentieth century the comparative study of Dravidian gathered momentum. From the time of the publication of his *Telugu verbal bases* in 1961, Bh. Krishnamurti has been at the forefront of this development, as the papers collected in his *Comparative Dravidian linguistics*

(Oxford, 2001) show. Remarkably, the writing of *DL* was completed within two years of the author's receiving the invitation to undertake the task. That this was possible stems from the fact that the book is the distillation of an academic lifetime of research and thinking on the history of Dravidian and the comparative position of the various members of the family, and it is on these aspects that Krishnamurti directs his fullest attention. At the same time he is far from ignoring descriptive and typological issues.

An introductory chapter deals with such issues as the prehistory of the Dravidians and what can reasonably be deduced from vocabulary items shared by different languages in the family about their mode of life and culture. An outline of the present geographical distribution of the twenty-six languages that are the subject of *DL* is followed by a summary of the shared typological features and by a discussion of the possible affinity of Dravidian with other languages and groups of languages. A sympathetic presentation of the arguments for these affinities is not allowed to hide the author's view of their speculative nature. It is, indeed, one of the welcome characteristics of *DL* that the principal concern of the book is what can be known rather than what might be supposed to be the case.

Sandwiched between a chapter on descriptive phonology and one on historical and comparative phonology is a description of the writing systems of the four major literary languages, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam. Four chapters on morphology examine word formation, nominals, the verb and, finally, adjectives, adverbs and clitics.

It is in the second phonology chapter and in the chapters on morphology that the great originality of *DL* above all resides. Krishnamurti is able to show that it is possible to reconstruct not only the phonological system of Proto-Dravidian and, with this as a foundation, the phonological shape of any lexeme from which a set of cognates in the different languages can be assumed to descend, but also the proto-form of a large proportion of the grammatical morphemes.

Because of the very limited amount of research hitherto on comparative Dravidian syntax, the chapter on syntax does not follow the pattern of those on phonology and morphology by attempting to reconstruct the sentence patterns of Proto-Dravidian. Similarly, because the only really detailed available syntactic descriptions of Dravidian languages are concerned with the four principal literary languages, Krishnamurti took the decision to focus almost exclusively on these, and therefore on the two branches of South Dravidian. The other subfamilies are not, however, entirely neglected, since some material on seven other languages is provided, including three Central Dravidian languages (Kolami, Parji and Gadaba) and the three North Dravidian languages (Kurux, Malto and Brahui). The overall result is a clear picture of the typological features in syntax that are widespread in Dravidian.

A chapter on the lexicon presents the main sources of borrowing into Dravidian, namely Indo-Aryan and European languages, Portuguese and English, for obvious reasons, being dominant among the latter. The final chapter, after showing the general unreliability of lexicostatistic analyses for this purpose, recapitulates in a clear and convincing fashion the bases in phonology and morphology for the subgrouping of Dravidian adopted in *DL*. The book concludes with a comprehensive bibliography, an index of reconstructed forms and a general index.

As Krishnamurti himself points out, *DL* does not entirely conform to the pattern for books in the same series. Even apart from the fact that the ten earlier volumes by no means form a homogeneous set, this is in no sense a drawback. Krishnamurti has sensed clearly what is particularly needed at this

stage in the history of Dravidian linguistics, namely an authoritative account of the extent to which it is now possible to reconstruct the proto-language and of the nature of the relationship between the different members of the family. For this reason, the devoting of 26 per cent and 46 per cent of the book respectively to phonology and morphology and only 10 per cent to syntax is fully justified.

The subject of *DL* is a very complex one; it is handled with great lucidity. Its reliability as a work of reference is increased by the author's consistently making explicit when a proposal is in any way tentative. Moreover, when issues of consequence in the reconstruction of earlier forms remain unresolved, Krishnamurti makes this clear—indicating, for instance, that there are 'a few residual forms for which it may not be possible to reconstruct the Proto-Dravidian vowel quality' (p. 102), and that the various past-tense markers and the environments in which they occurred 'are not fully recoverable' (p. 291).

*DL* is of interest to a wide range of scholars and students of language outside the obvious set consisting of Dravidianists. Because of the thorough and meticulous nature of the analysis, it is an important contribution to the theory of comparative reconstruction. One general notion of particular interest in this context is that of typologically motivated sound changes—the idea 'that certain sound changes are motivated or caused by system-internal pressures and such changes tend to be very regular compared to those which are caused by sporadic shifts in the speech habits of speakers' (p. 178). Both in this chapter and elsewhere typologists, too, will find much food for thought.

Krishnamurti modestly describes his book as 'this humble effort' (p. 503). Others can feel free to portray it more accurately as a timely work of great importance. The merits of the book can perhaps best be summarized by stating that, after almost a century and a half, Caldwell's great work has at last been superseded.

R. E. ASHER

KATHERINE ANNE HARPER and ROBERT L. BROWN (ed.):

*The roots of Tantra.*

(SUNY Series in Tantric Studies.) x, 270 pp. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2002. \$23.95.

This book discusses the nature and origins of Tantrism from the perspective of a variety of academic disciplines. The essays are divided into five sections. Historical, art historical, archaeological and textual studies provide interesting interconnections, although some conclusions may be rather speculative. The book may not be helpful to 'the reader who comes to the topic without much background' for whom co-editor, Robert L. Brown, provides an introduction, but others will gain much useful information from it. The book grew out of two conferences held in the USA in 1989 and 1995, and brings together well-known names in Tantric scholarship of the last two decades.

Contributors were asked 'to explore how, when and where Tantrism began' (p. 2). This necessarily entails first defining the concept, and this much-discussed academic problem is tackled in Robert Brown's introduction, and in André Padoux's opening article. Padoux summarizes arguments for and against the perception of 'Tantrism' or *Tantra* (the indigenous term) as a distinct category with defining features, rather than simply the form taken

by general Hinduism and Buddhism in certain periods. Less positive than in previous articles on the same subject, Padoux concludes with scepticism as to whether one should speak of 'a particular religious entity', while admitting, nevertheless, that 'Tantrism' will not go away! 'I fear we still have to toil to find a solution to the problem', he concludes (pp. 23–4).

Other contributors toil less. Each comes to Tantrism from a particular direction, some taking it for granted as a category, others producing their own definitions. David Lorenzen accepts a 'wide definition of Tantric religion' (pp. 26–7). Taking certain generally accepted defining features in turn, he traces their chronology through epigraphical and textual sources, concluding that '... Tantric religion as a recognizable complex of beliefs and practices is first documented ... in the fifth century CE', becomes influential in both Hinduism and Buddhism by the ninth or tenth centuries, and continued to exist into the early twentieth. No longer 'a significant organized force' its beliefs and practices are assimilated within mainstream Hinduism and Buddhism (p. 33).

M. C. Joshi opens the second section with an essay on the iconography of *Śāktā* Tantrism, (which he identifies with the whole history of goddess worship in India), culminating in the high tantric Goddesses Lalita, Kālī and the ten *mahāvidyās*. This essay is probably the most accessible and informative for a 'beginner' in tantric studies. Douglas Renfrew Brooks contributes an item on *śrī vidyā*. Although this cult's origins are traced to Sanskrit texts of ninth-century Kashmir, he shows that certain elements of it were already present in the seventh-century Tamil *tirumantiram*, a definitively non-tantric work by the *siddha* saint Tirumular. Still in *śrī vidyā*, Thomas Coburn concludes this section by comparing two eighteenth-century Sanskrit commentators on the *devī mahātmya* (a definitive early text associated with Tantrism). He discusses the greater value placed on both the physical world and on the Goddess's many forms in the *śrī vidyā* commentator Bhaskararaya, in contrast to more uncompromisingly monist *advaita vedāntins*.

Section three, on art history and archaeology, opens with a chapter by Thomas McEvelley on cross-cultural evidence for a widespread ancient concept of the spinal serpent (*kuṇḍalinī* in Indian tantric tradition) and its connection with sexuality, life force and soul or spirit. Co-editor Katherine Anne Harper contributes an essay on the early appearance of the tantric goddesses called the 'seven mothers' or *mātrkāś* on battle insignia of the Gupta Emperors. Bringing together archaeological and textual evidence, Harper suggests that tantric concepts such as *śakti*—power in the abstract—as well as individual *śaktis* bestowing particular royal powers and prerogatives, along with the notion of *bhukti* as enjoyment or possession of *this* world, originated in the needs of kings to tap supernatural power for their conquests. Emperors who—along with their divinities—may not have been originally within the Vedic fold, needed Brahmanical collaboration. It is interesting, as Harper notes, that the word for the King's (brahmin) minister is *mantrin*—'possessor of *mantras*'.

The connection of Tantrism with kingship is also pursued by David Hudson on *pāñcarātra*. Experts on this form of *vaiṣṇava* Tantrism and its connection with the ancient *bhāgavata* religion may be better placed than this reviewer to judge his conclusions, since the time-span over which Hudson traces his continuities ranges from 'the first three or four centuries BCE' to the building of the *vaikuntha perumal* temple by the Pallava kings at Kanchipuram in the eighth century CE. Hudson interprets the iconography on this temple, and that of various stone sculptures and coins of earlier periods, in the light of the *maṇḍala* of Vasudeva Krishna.

A section on Tantra and the Vedas has two essays which both stress their similarities and continuities. Richard K Payne's interesting comparative essay

on the Vedic and Japanese Tantric fire rituals is the only contribution dealing with Buddhist Tantra. Teun Goudriaan, on imagery of the Self, discusses eight images (used as metaphor, simile or allegory) that the Tantras have taken from the Vedas and developed in their more theistic systems. This opens up interesting avenues for exploring the concept of the person in Indian tradition, and links with Paul Muller-Ortega's contribution on 'Becoming Bhairava' in the last section. These two represent the only approach in the book to experiential factors—which might have deserved a separate section of its own. Finally, Lina Gupta on an important *śākta mantra* (*vidyā*) embedded in the *devi purana* gives an informative, detailed, analysis of the symbolism and rituals associated with it.

Unfortunately the standard of editing in this book leaves much to be desired; this is an important responsibility with contributors whose first language is not English. Convoluting sentences and clumsy neologisms not only create difficulties but in some places make no sense at all. There is also one grave error: 'monastic' for 'monistic' throughout Teun Goudriaan's chapter; and inconsistent use of full titles or abbreviations in textual references is confusing.

KATHLEEN TAYLOR

JULIA A.B. HEGEWALD:

*Water architecture in South Asia: a study of types, developments and meanings.*

(Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology, 24.) xiii, 266 pp.

Leiden: Brill, 2002. €96.

MORNA LIVINGSTON:

*Steps to water: the ancient stepwells of India.*

xxvii, 212 pp. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002. \$50.

One of the most intriguing aspects of Indian architecture is the huge diversity of water structures, some dating back to prehistoric times. The quest for water and the pains taken for its conservation are everyday necessities in a country lacking regular rainfall, while the various beliefs associated with water form an intrinsic part of Indian religious life in just about all of its manifestations. Indian water structures include riverside *ghāṭs*, or steps, temple tanks and wells, and palace pools and fountains, examples of which may be found illustrated in many publications. But other than Jutta Jain-Neubauer's pioneer study on stepwells in Gujarat (1981) and Kirit Mankodi's monograph on the water monument in Patan (1991), there has been an overall lack of specialized literature on the subject. The situation has now changed with the two books under review here, both published at about the same time.

Julia Hegewald's coverage of several hundred water structures located in all parts of India, not to mention Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka, is a truly impressive feat. Her book opens with a justifiable accusation of neglect of the subject by art historians, in spite of the array of monuments surviving from all periods of Indian history, many still in use as originally intended. From here the author moves on to the myths, beliefs and rituals linked with rivers, *tīrthas*, or ponds, and *ghāṭs*, a consideration of which forms the core of her second chapter. A better-written and more up to date introduction to the subject will not be found elsewhere. The following chapters present a comprehensive

typology for water structures, which the author divides into the primary categories of *ghāṭs*, tanks, *kuṇḍas*, or water basins, wells and ornamental pools, each accompanied by a map locating all the examples cited. The typology is the first ever attempted for water structures in the subcontinent and it works well enough, especially when accompanied by diagrams that explain crucial details such as the complex relationships of steps and landings leading down to a river or tank. Each category is introduced by a historical introduction and followed a review of the different subtypes.

Since the author aims at a comprehensive typology, she is not over concerned with region and chronology. This means that she juxtaposes water structures in different parts of India and from different periods in order to demonstrate a particular architectural category, thereby compelling the reader to make a somewhat dizzying journey in time and space. Even so, Hegewald is able to offer helpful remarks on particular regional traditions, such as the temple tanks of Tamil Nadu, the stepwells of Gujarat or the water palaces of the Mughals. Throughout her descriptions, the author is meticulous and clear, though there is the occasional inaccuracy in observational detail: the Hiran Minār at Shaykhupura in Pakistan is a pleasure pavilion, not a tomb in the middle of an ornamental tank (p. 102); the small 'tank' in front of the Candrasekhara temple at Pattadakal (p. 103) is actually a trench excavated by archaeologists to reveal the base of a column; the 'underground' temple at Hampi was never intended to be flooded with water (p. 109). Though the sequence of photographs is somewhat confusing, since this does not obviously appear to follow the typological classification, readers will be grateful for illustrations of little known water monuments, like those at Amarkantak, Eklingji and Fatehpur. Unfortunately, the wealth of photographs is not matched by the originality or quality of the architectural drawings, most of which come from previous publications.

Unlike Julia Hegewald, Morna Livingston makes no effort at encyclopedic classification, preferring instead to concentrate on water structures in Rajasthan and Gujarat. Her survey of the stepwells and stepped ponds and tanks in these arid regions is much enhanced by her own beautifully reproduced photographs, many of poetic quality, as well as a generous number of excellent architectural drawings specially commissioned for this volume. There is also a good map, which is just as well since quite a few water monuments are found in remote locations. The author presents an overall chronological approach, beginning with early, but little known stepwells, such as that at Dhank dating back to the sixth and seventh centuries, and working her way through the ninth-century examples at Roda and Abaneri and the celebrated stepwells at Adalaj and Ahmadabad dating from the turn of the sixteenth century to the water structures in the Shekhavati region of Rajasthan, dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

While the author combines historical context, architectural detail and visual illustration to offer a satisfying account of the different water monuments, her treatment is not merely descriptive. She is also concerned with the climatic context of the wells, ponds and tanks, and the way in which these structures create miniature ecosystems that cool and refresh. This technical aspect of water architecture in western India may be considered an original contribution to the subject. The volume also includes an ethnographic component, since the author devotes one chapter to the reuse of ancient water structures within the environment of present-day villages, pointing out the role of women and the worship of female divinities. Her photographs of modern shrines built over or next to older wells are of particular interest since they demonstrate the continuity of religious meaning.

Both Morna Livingston and Julia Hegewald conclude their volumes with remarks about the perils of technological ‘improvements’ that have rendered obsolete many of India’s traditional water structures. In spite of the efforts by various agencies to protect the *ghāts*, tanks and stepwells, not all these structures have escaped vandalism and ruination. It can only be hoped that publications such as these will lead to an increased awareness of the historical, architectural, religious and environmental significance of India’s remarkable water structures so that they may be safeguarded for future generations.

GEORGE MICHELL

MARK LIECHTY:

*Suitably modern: making middle-class culture in a new consumer society.*

xvii, 292 pp. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003. £13.95.

All cultures in all parts of the world are—and arguably always have been—changing. But few can have changed so fast and so dramatically as that of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. Fifty-five years ago Nepal was still ruled autocratically by the Rana family of Prime Ministers, who kept the kings of Nepal under close control, just as they controlled and monitored the physical and social movement of their subjects. Very few Westerners were allowed into the country, and normally for very short periods only. Indians could visit only during the Shivaratri festival. Within the lifetime of today’s older generation, the country has moved from being a Hindu polity where caste status was backed by the force of law, to being a multi-party, though still not fully secular, constitutional monarchy. Kathmandu, once described as having more gods than people, and more temples than houses, has become in many ways as modern as any other Asian capital—but a great gulf, wider perhaps than ever before, has opened up between the city and the remote rural areas.

Given the great cultural diversity of Nepal, as the ‘interface’ between the Indian, Hindu world to the south, and the Tibetan, Buddhist world to the north, and given that foreigners had been prevented from carrying out any extensive study until 1951, it is perhaps not surprising that a majority of anthropological studies have focused on named ethnic groups, on conventional topics such as kinship, religion, ritual and shamanism, modes of livelihood, factionalism, later the position of women, development, and so on. In this context, Liechty’s book on the emerging middle class in Kathmandu is a very welcome departure from the conventional modes of Nepalese ethnography.

The central ethnographic part of the book is based largely on informant statements collected either by Liechty himself or his research assistants in the course of in-depth qualitative interviews. In different chapters Liechty describes the new world of goods that middle-class people started to feel was essential in the 1980s and 1990s, the need for ‘fashion’, i.e. to be dressed in the appropriate Western and up-to-date style, different patterns of cinema and video viewing, different kinds of magazine appearing in Nepali and English, and the construction of a modern youth culture in Kathmandu. In all of this Liechty grapples with and attempts to reduce to some kind of analytic sense processes which anyone who knows Nepal will have observed for themselves. Most foreigners will have deplored these modern trends; Liechty refuses to

romanticize either Nepal's traditional cultures or the modern cultural forms that are replacing them.

If one were to attempt a critique of Liechty's general approach, several points could be made. In the first place, Liechty has stuck strictly to a focus on *consumption* in attempting to define the sphere of a new middle class. But surely equally, and perhaps more, important are those contexts where middle-class identity is *produced*, namely the school, the university, the hospital, and the office (especially the NGO office). Of these, relatively little is said, and no ethnography of them is attempted, though Liechty certainly recognizes the importance of education, and increasingly private education, in producing and reproducing the middle class.

A second criticism would be that Liechty's overall theoretical framework often seems to pull him in contradictory directions. His repeated insistence on the uniqueness of Nepalese processes of class formation—in other words, that what is happening in Nepal cannot be reduced in any crude way to processes of globalization occurring everywhere, for example—does not sit well with his lack of interest in the specifics of the different cultural heritages and religious practices of the case studies he uses as examples. His informants do not appear in the round; one is not told anything of their family background, schooling, social links, or religious orientations—all information which Nepalis themselves effortlessly divine about other Nepalis on making each other's acquaintance. He is torn between saying that there has always been a concern with material goods, that competition through consumption is nothing new and, on the other hand, saying that the level of such competition is unprecedented and that anxiety about status is widespread today as never before.

A more predictable criticism would be that there is nothing about the working class in the book. The photograph on page 6 is labelled: 'middle-class suburban sprawl encroaching on open lands in Kathmandu's Sankhamul area'—but any close examination of how the buildings in question are used would quickly show that many are rented out room by room to the new working class: migrants from the hills who have nowhere else to go. And in fact a short walk away is a well-known squatters' settlement. Are these people not equally susceptible to the media images Liechty describes?

None of these criticisms is in any way disabling, and they should not detract from the recognition that Liechty has demonstrated great originality and broken new ground in Nepalese studies. He should be applauded for the questions he has asked and he should be gratified if his answers stimulate debate and controversy, as they certainly deserve to. To my knowledge, Liechty is so far the only scholar to have produced an analytic and book-length study of a wide range of modern popular culture in Nepal—and for this achievement all Nepal specialists are in his debt. Asian specialists more generally will also find much of interest in *Suitably modern*, for instance Liechty's detailed demonstration of the different patterns of film preference as between youth from urban and rural backgrounds.

DAVID N. GELLNER

ARJUN GUNERATNE:

*Many tongues, one people: the making of Tharu identity in Nepal.*  
236pp. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002.

The reshaping of identity is a process at work among most of the numerous minority groups of the so-called 'multi ethnic' Nepal. Arjun Guneratne's book,



the first of its kind concerning Nepal, is a most welcome contribution on a topic which has been in the foreground since the 1990s return of multipartism. The precise case under study concerns several culturally distinct groups who share the same ethnic label, Tharu, and the same ecological region, the lowland Tarai bordering India.

The malarial land of the Tarai, too often described as a wild romantic frontier, has always been the vital economic heart of the nation. During the last century it became a land of immigration for impoverished Nepalese hill farmers and also a permanent settlement for hill landlords who in the past came down only to collect their sharecrop from their Tharu tenant farmers. It is against this historical background that the author studies the making of Tharu ethnic identities 'as a mask of confrontation'.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when Modern Nepal emerged, it was defined as 'the pure land of the Hindus' by its founding king and in spite of recent political changes it is still today a Hindu kingdom. Therefore one of the shared channels of contemporary resistance to the state is to contest its Hindu ideology and the resulting political and economic domination of the Brahman and Chettri high castes.

The frontier region of the Tarai and its Tharu inhabitants are peripheral not only in the Himalayan state but in anthropological research as well. The author's attempt to give an overall account of the Nepalese Tarai (instead of just a specific valley or a local Tharu group) is therefore noteworthy. This purpose suits the topic: the Tharu elite of ethnic activists hope to suppress what in their opinion impedes 'Tharu' unity: many tongues, different customs, endogamy of local groups, etc. The book also offers an excellent overview of colonial writings on the Tharus and their agricultural role in providing revenues to the state over a long period of time. And to keep up with the most recent events, a recurrent problem when studying an ongoing conflict, newspaper articles and internet documentation are used.

This broad approach rests on three core cases in three different regions. They are also different in terms of their sociological and anthropological dimensions, which sometimes blurs the coherence of the whole. The first is based on a field and contextual study in a specific valley of the central Tarai (Chitwan), which allows the author to measure the impact of the ethnic activist's discourse on ordinary farmers. The second is devoted to the 'makers' of the pan-Tharu ethnic identity and their *discourse*, an urban elite of leaders who founded 'the Tharu Welfare Society' and who are Tharu landlords mainly from the Eastern Tarai, known as 'Kochila Tharu', of whose sociological and local context we know little due to the lack of anthropological research in this area. The third is a study of a grassroots movement which evolved into a non-governmental organization, created in the Dang Valley of the Western Terai, by a charismatic and local leader. Its main purpose is to free the bounded agricultural labourers ('Kamaiyas'), who are mainly Tharu landless farmers in the Western Terai. These very well documented cases show different patterns of resistance, which the author considers faces of the same ethnic identity formation. One main argument of the book, in the vein of P. Brass's study (1975), is that 'the Tharu elite of the Eastern Tarai has shaped a sense of peoplehood' and has been successful in this endeavour. If I understand the author correctly, the discourse of the Eastern Tarai elite of delocalized landlords and founders of the first Tharu ethnic association (previously a caste association) has encompassed the more down-to-earth battles of the Western Dang NGO with landlessness as well as the different local or class identities.

But of which kind of 'peoplehood' do we speak? How to switch from the discourse of an elite on a certain 'peoplehood' to the ordinary farmer conceptions and preoccupations, particularly when land control remains the crucial point? Can the Tharus still not have several identities, several senses of 'peoplehood'? Is the author himself not essentializing this pan-Tharu identity, falling in a way prey to an 'official' and elite discourse easier to collect and to gloss?

The first chapter deals with the classical opposition between primordialist and instrumentalist analysis of ethnicity, the author siding with the latter by showing with the Tharu case that 'a common ethnic identity does not have to be predicated on a shared culture'.

One indication we have of the concrete impact of the elite discourse on ordinary people concerns the Eastern Terai. The last national census in 1991 shows that the Tharu Welfare Society injunction to put down 'Tharu' as the language spoken by the Tharus (instead of Maithili as in the 1971 census) was followed: the number rose from 5 to 80,526 speakers in their stronghold district of Saptari, but strangely only 61,640 people are ethnically Tharu. This discrepancy, inexplicable for the author (p. 164), appears to the reviewer to be an illustration of the recurrent fluidity of identities and in this marginal case as a contradiction between caste and ethnic ideologies: visitors to the villages of the Saptari district will immediately notice (besides other low castes in charge of Tharu shrines, for instance), the omnipresence of the Untouchable Musahars living close by the Tharus, (noticeably working for the Tharu landlords as their bonded labourers!) who may have declared themselves Tharu speakers but, of course, are not recognized as Tharu by the very sanskritized Tharu elite of this area.

Besides the question of ethnicity and caste (treated on a general perspective in chapter 3), that of ethnicity and class recurrently emerges as a potential key theme of the analysis but also of its contradictions. 'What drew Tharus together is not an a priori cultural principle but a material force': the issue of land (p. xii). The case of the Dang valley is for the author a clear example of class congruence with ethnicity, explaining the success of the local 'Tharu' NGO called BASE, since bonded labourers are Tharu and are economically dependent on high caste landlords. Leaving aside the fact that the situation varies greatly from village to village, and from district to district in Western Terai (in Deokhuri valley for instance Tharu landlords are numerous), one should be critical if using the NGO activists' enquiries as the sole sources. The fight for land is an old story in the Dang valley dating from before the 1990s or the NGO's birth, and has taken different paths in the remote and recent past as well (the NGO under study is an outcome of this history). Moreover it is nowadays clearly the favoured channel of action to free the bonded labourers. The 2001 bonded labourers 'civil disobedience' movement the NGOs orchestrated to seize unregistered lands in Bardiya district is a remarkable example of this line of action, a strategy which has already been used by ordinary Tharu farmers in the 1960s.

However, until around 1993–94, the Tharu Welfare Society ended up building a close 'cultural collaboration' with the BASE NGO of the Western Terai noticeably focused on dance and singing performances (p. 149), an endeavour which supports the author's view of the elite's fostering of the 'Tharu ethnicity'. Since then however, with the emergence of the Maoist rebellion in Western Nepal in 1996 (with its stronghold not far from Dang valley), the political situation has greatly changed. We need to know more about the Maoist movement and its potential impact on the 'Tharu' NGO's strategies which have always been very pragmatic and flexible. Feeling the danger of this

situation, the President of the Tharu Welfare Society, himself a landlord, asked the NGO's activists to re-establish harmony between landlords and bonded labourers, in line therefore with the Western Tarai's high caste landlords, more than with the Tharu bonded labourers. The crucial question of the translation of the fight for land in an ethnic fight is still in my opinion questionable and therefore the so-called success of the elite's making of a pan-Tharu 'peoplehood'. The urban educated elite certainly shares this feeling, but other identities, class or ethnically based and not necessarily confused, may still be in the making, particularly among the poor landless farmers.

Although I may disagree with some results and some methodological aspects of the analysis, Arjun Guneratne's book is without doubt a very well documented and stimulating contribution to the ongoing debate on the politics of ethnicity in Nepal.

GISÈLE KRAUSKOPFF

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CENTRAL AND INNER ASIA

ROBERT LEGVOLD (ed.)

*Thinking strategically: the major powers, Kazakhstan, and the Central Asian nexus.*

(American Academy Studies in Global Security, American Academy of Arts and Science). xii, 243 pp. Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2003. £15.95.

Until the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, relatively few foreigners were able to visit Central Asia. Since then, however, the region has attracted considerable international interest. Much of this has centred on speculation over the size of its hydrocarbon reserves and the prospects for extracting this 'black gold' and carrying it to world markets. Linked to these energy-related issues a fierce struggle for political influence has emerged, played out in numerous spheres, including legal arguments over the status of the Caspian Sea (as yet undefined) and routes for new oil and gas pipelines. The main contenders in this power play are Iran, Russia, the United States of America and, with strong US backing, Turkey. More recently, Japan, China and India have also signalled an interest in the region. Thus, Central Asia now finds itself at the heart of different sets of global rivalries, tensions and hegemonic ambitions.

This new volume is a useful addition to the geopolitical debates on the region. It opens with a lengthy essay by Robert Legvold setting out the aims and objectives of the work and highlighting the main domestic and external factors that are likely to influence the future course of events. It stresses the importance of political, economic and security concerns. Despite the mention in the title of the 'Central Asian nexus', the geostrategic focus is firmly set on Kazakhstan. Thus, the six chapters that form the core of this book are devoted to examining the policies of the major foreign powers towards Kazakhstan. Interesting perspectives are provided by the fact that these contributions are written by authors from the respective states. Vitaly Naumkin evaluates the Russian position, Xing Guancheng presents the view from Beijing while Tomohiko Uyama considers Japanese initiatives—and questions whether

Tokyo has any coherent 'strategy' towards a region that is still on the periphery of its perceived national interests. European policies towards the region, as Neil MacFarlane (British) points out, are also at a rudimentary stage of development. This is in sharp contrast to US engagement (discussed by Robert Legvold), which already has quite a substantial history and has undergone a noticeable evolution during the past decade.

The view from within the region is provided jointly by Kazakh analysts Bulat Sultanov and Leila Muzaparova. They summarize Kazakhstan's foreign policy priorities, and also give a brief overview of Kazakh perceptions of the responses of the main external players to the challenges presented by the region. The concluding section, by Sherman Garnett, expands the discussion by considering Kazakhstan's potential role in the wider context of Inner Asia—a vast territory that stretches, notionally, from western China to the Caucasus and encompasses northern Iran and the Indian subcontinent.

The juxtaposition of papers by authors from different national and professional backgrounds (several of the contributors are both academics and practitioners who have worked in senior administrative and policy-making positions) adds a stimulating dimension to this book, revealing divergences as well as convergences in analytical perceptions in these different fields. One of the most interesting issues to emerge is whether the concept of a unified post-Soviet space is valid, and by extension, whether it represents, as Robert Legvold suggests, 'an overarching integral challenge' to external actors. Not all the contributors are agreed on this point. There is also some divergence of opinion as to the centrality of Kazakhstan's role and influence in the region—however that region may be defined.

It is perhaps the chief weakness of this otherwise excellent work that the 'Central Asian nexus' is not in fact given due weight. This is a question that certainly needs further consideration. The cursory introduction of the concept of 'Inner Asia' in the final pages confuses rather than clarifies the geopolitical and geostrategic arguments that have been raised in the earlier papers. It is also somewhat surprising that no mention is made of Turkey's role and that Iran is only referred to in passing. India is not discussed at all. It could of course be argued that these states do not qualify for inclusion as they are not 'major powers' on a global scale. However, in view of their regional importance, and the extent to which they represent wider blocs of interest, they surely merited some consideration. Finally, it would have been helpful if there had been an explicit examination of the different approaches adopted by the powers that are discussed here, as well as an evaluation of the extent to which they have succeeded—or failed—in achieving their goals in the period under consideration.

SHIRIN AKINER

PETER B. GOLDEN:

*Nomads and their neighbours in the Russian steppe.*

x, 372 pp. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003. £40.

The articles in this very welcome collection date from between 1972 and 1997, and cover many aspects of the Eurasian and Transcaucasian peoples prior to the Chinggisid conquests and absorption of the early 1200s. Turkologists, Slavists and Caucasianists will all find intellectually stimulating material here. For the student of Chinggisid and post-Chinggisid Eurasia this material is

extremely useful since Peter Golden's articles, particularly his opening chapter, 'Imperial ideology and the sources of political unity amongst the pre-Činggisid nomads of western Eurasia' and his study of the Qipchaq Turks, 'The Qipčaqqs of medieval Eurasia: an example of stateless adaptation in the steppes', provide essential background analysis of the Western lands and societies into which the Mongols irrupted. Other papers extend into the Mongol period and beyond.

The book is divided into three parts, each dealing with a different general theme. The first three papers concentrate on the people and culture of the region. As mentioned above the opening paper is concerned with imperial ideology and the inter-reaction between the sedentary Rus' and the nomadic Altai and examines the cultural influences on the eastern Slavs introduced by various steppe nomads into the western Eurasian steppe lands. In particular it is the concept of the Turkic Qağan and the existence of a Rus' Qağanate on the nomadic steppe model and the implications this suggests that intrigues Golden. The second paper continues this cultural theme with an examination of the use of Turkic calques or loanwords in eastern Slavic and Russian in particular. The third paper discusses the vexing problem of the Khazar Qağanate and Judaism and ends on an indecisive note inviting further research, something the work of Kevin Alan Brook has now produced.

Five papers make up the second section of the book and the connecting topic is 'Nomads and their neighbours'. Two of these papers are concerned with aspects of the Rus', namely the Rus' Qağanate, and the effect on the nomads of the economic development of the Kievan Rus'. One major study is devoted to a detailed examination of the migration of the Oğuz Turks, a starting point for anyone interested in the migration of the Turkish tribes westward into the Iranian plateau and Anatolia. Another paper examines the ancient and intricate relationship between the peoples of Transcaucasia and those of the Turkic steppe lands. Originally erratic and transient, Turkic intervention into Transcaucasian life at many levels, political, cultural and economic, later became profound and regularized 'affecting the underlying fabric of society and altering the texture of life' [IV, 45]. This study includes an analysis of the effects of the Mongol period on the Transcaucasian communities. The final paper in this section is a study of the *Černii Klobouci* or *Qara Qalpaq* or *Black Hats*, a confederation of eastern Qipchaq Turkic-speaking peoples who migrated west from Central Asia and settled in lands adjacent to the Kievan Rus'.

The third section of Golden's Eurasian compilation concentrates on the Qipchaqs and includes the introductory study which opens with a quotation from the Mamluk historian 'Umarī, who observes the process of 'Qipčaqization' of the Chinggisid-led conquerors of Eurasia. Golden notes this early example of cultural assimilation in order to demonstrate the durability and adaptability of the Qipchaq Turks. This section includes articles concerned with the 'Wild Cumans' or *Polovci Dikii*, the Qipchaqs in Georgia, the little-known royal clan of the *Ölberli*, and the linguistic origins of a Cuman tribal leader, Urusoba, who appears to bear the name of the nation that killed him. The final piece is a welcome investigation into Qipchaq religious belief before their adoption of the monotheistic religions. In the religious system followed by these early Qipchaqs the peoples of the steppe and two animals were elemental: the wolf and the dog. Golden charts the history of these two animals in the religious practices of Eurasia and their role in Qipchaq belief.

This latest addition to Variorum's collection is to be applauded and will further make Peter Golden's contributions to Eurasian studies more readily available to students and scholars of this and related fields.

PAUL PELLIOT (ed. JEAN-PIERRE DRÈGE):

*Les Routes de la région de Turfan sous les T'ang, suivi de L'histoire et la géographie anciennes de l'Asie Centrale dans Innermost Asia.*

vii, 186 + 8 pp., 6 maps. Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises du Collège de France, 2002.

This would appear to be amongst the very last posthumous publications that will ever be issued under the name of Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), and in terms of its style of scholarship therefore hardly holds any surprises. It represents Pelliot at his most magisterial, deploying his extraordinary philological expertise to solve a whole string of knotty problems concerning the historical geography of Inner Asia, first in commentary on a fragmentary Dunhuang manuscript, and then in a series of notes, primarily epigraphic in their original intent, inspired by the 1928 publication of Sir Aurel Stein referred to in the title. Though obviously still useful reading for anyone in Tang studies, or even anyone concerned with late imperial contacts with Central Asia, given the dates of some of the sources used by Pelliot to verify his identifications, it would probably discourage the fainthearted amongst modern readers were it not for the very sensible editing that has been carried out to make it more useful in the twenty-first century.

First, the editor has supplied a short introduction explaining—in part by means of a long verbatim quotation of an evaluation by Robert des Rotours (1891–1980)—the origins of the materials published, and adding bibliographical references to more recent Chinese work, though of course he is quite correct to say that despite our access to a far greater quantity of archaeological materials, no one since Pelliot's time has had quite the range of languages at their command that Pelliot had, so that his opinions are still well worth consulting. Next, for the two pieces both bibliographies and supplementary bibliographies are provided, making the task of keeping track of Pelliot's sources much easier, as well as providing a conspectus of what has been published since his time. Following this section comes a fourteen-page index to names and terms, instantly rendering accessible a wealth of material that it might otherwise take some time to locate. Finally, the pages of maps include both those referred to frequently by Pelliot and more recent Chinese products, thus making what might well be an impenetrable morass of names potentially much more meaningful. This is, in short, good work, though Pelliot himself would doubtless have noted the one or two places where some improvement might have been possible.

Thus on p. vi it is not at all clear to me where amongst his dozens of publications the archaeologist Hou Can included his 1990 union catalogue of recently discovered epigraphy, while the Appendix to the first study, on the Ming travel writer Chen Cheng and his works, draws no comments concerning more recent scholarship, whereas the entries in the *Dictionary of Ming biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 144–5, and in Wolfgang Franke, *An introduction to the sources of Ming history* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1968), pp. 215–16, both point to post-war works on this writer that a modern scholar might consult. No one, however, should attempt to consult the first of the maps reproduced (from Stein's *Innermost Asia*) without a strong magnifying glass, while the name of the author responsible for the next two maps does not quite match that given in the bibliography. These blemishes, of course, scarcely matter at all, and it is only their proximity to Pelliot's name that gives them an unnatural prominence.

So the editor is to be congratulated both on the republication of some unsurpassed scholarship from an era now becoming a rather distant memory, and on making sure that that scholarship can still be used by researchers working in the twenty-first century. Accustomed as we have become to the steady stream of posthumous writings by Paul Pelliot issuing from Paris, it scarcely seems credible that there must be an end to it all. If this is indeed the last monograph to appear, then we should be grateful that it does show the master at the very height of his remarkable powers.

T. H. BARRETT

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EAST ASIA

CHEN JINHUA:

*Monks and monarchs, kinship and kingship. Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and politics.*

(Italian School of East Asian Studies Essays, Volume 3.) xiii, 310 pp. Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 2002.

The reputation of the once famous Buddhist monk Tanqian fell into obscurity in the centuries following his death in 607, and he has since received scant mention in general histories of Chinese Buddhism, his legacy the victim of the caprice of medieval court politics and doctrinal fads. But during his life he was one of the most respected, powerful monks in China, with close ties to the Sui dynasty court and command of the Chandingsi, perhaps the most prominent monastery in the empire, where he served as abbot until his death. In *Monks and monarchs*, Chen Jinhua provides us with what is by far the fullest examination of Tanqian to date. Although Chen gives a conventional biography of Tanqian in the first chapter of the book, in the chapters that follow, rather than focus on reconstructing the life and works of the monk, Chen looks outward, using Tanqian's life as a framework for exploring two key aspects of Buddhism in China at the beginning of the seventh century: relic worship and meditation, both areas in which Emperor Wen of the Sui employed Tanqian to exert imperial influence.

Close to half of Chen's book examines the imperial use of relics, focusing on the campaign to distribute relics carried out by Emperor Wen of the Sui during the Renshou era. During the three years from 601 to 604, on three different occasions, the emperor ordered that Buddhist relics, then in the palace, were to be distributed to various provinces throughout the empire, at great expense, amid much pomp and fanfare. Each carefully orchestrated campaign involved a large number of monks and officials, both from the capital and the provinces, acting in unison to install the officially sanctioned relics in stupas at precisely the same time. And each campaign succeeded in generating tales of miracles produced at the scene of each installation. Tanqian was charged with escorting one of the relics to its destination during the first campaign, and Chen speculates that the whole idea of an imperially sponsored campaign to distribute relics may have been Tanqian's. First of all, Chen points out that Tanqian was related to Wang Shao, a court scholar (vilified as a sycophant and liar by later historians) who compiled accounts of the miracles provoked by the relics distributed in the campaigns. Further, a careful comparison of a repentance text used during the campaigns, supposedly written by the emperor,

with one of Tanqian's works, reveals that the text was in all likelihood written by Tanqian.

The general outline of these events is well known to historians of Chinese Buddhism, but has never been treated with the detail Chen gives it here, including excellent translations of many of the relevant documents and careful examination of the figures involved in the campaigns. Scholars such as Yamazaki Hiroshi and Arthur Wright emphasized the political motivations for the campaigns. Having conquered a vast region that had been divided for centuries, Emperor Wen employed various means during his reign to ensure the unity and loyalty of the empire; the relic campaign was one such attempt among many. By insisting on the co-operation of local and central officials as well as the local populace, Emperor Wen asserted his authority throughout China. Unlike previous scholars, Chen points out as well the link between the relic campaigns and Emperor Wen's expansionist ambitions, as representatives from the three states of the Korean Peninsula 'requested' (Chen suggests that they were coerced into requesting) relics from the Chinese court. Looking westwards, the emperor also ordered that several texts related to the relic campaigns be translated into Sanskrit and circulated in India. At the same time, to temper the impression of brazen cynicism in the manipulation of Buddhist devotion by the emperor and monks like Tanqian, Chen demonstrates the degree to which the emperor's campaign was modelled on well-established Buddhist precedents, in particular legends regarding the distribution of relics under the great Buddhist ruler Aśoka. The chapter on Emperor Wen's campaign to distribute relics is followed by a long excursus on the political manipulation of Buddhist relics during the reign of Empress Wu in the Tang dynasty, long after both Emperor Wen and Tanqian had died. Here the documentation is more difficult to come by, but through careful analysis of a wide assortment of materials, Chen demonstrates the importance of Buddhist relics as a means of legitimizing Empress Wu's extraordinary reign. He further shows how deeply influenced Wu was by the precedent of the use of relics by Emperor Wen, who, he points out, was a distant relative of the Empress.

Turning away from relics, the second half of Chen's book is devoted to analysis of the prominent place of meditation in the rhetoric and practice of monks and their patrons during Tanqian's lifetime. In 602, Emperor Wen established a new monastery in the capital, the Chandingsi, or 'Monastery of Meditation', and named Tanqian as its abbot. As revealed in the imperial edict announcing the foundation of the monastery, the Chandingsi was, in Chen's words 'the first national meditation center which had ever existed in China'. The edict proclaims that the monastery was founded to revive the practice of meditation as exemplified by the renowned meditation master Sengchou (480–560), to be staffed by an elite team of no less than 120 meditation masters selected from monasteries across the empire. Two years later, a second such monastery, the 'Great Monastery of Meditation' (Da Chandingsi) was established, and Chen presents evidence to suggest that Tanqian concurrently acted as *de facto* abbot of this monastery as well.

In an attempt to understand the context for Tanqian's role in the promotion of monastic meditation, Chen examines in great detail the six meditation groups active in the sixth and seventh centuries, as laid out by the seventh-century Buddhist historian Daoxuan in the treatise to a chapter on meditation in his *Xu gaoseng zhuan*. For the subsequent history of Chinese Buddhism, the two most important of these groups were that which took as its founder Sengchou, the leading meditation tradition of the time, and the group which took as its founder Bodhidharma, later incorporated into the foundation



legends of Chan Buddhism. Chen argues that tensions existed between these groups, in particular between the dominant Sengchou tradition and the emerging Bodhidharma tradition, viewed with suspicion by the followers of Sengchou. Through close analysis of biographical materials related to monks who resided at the two Chandingsi, Chen shows that all of the six meditation groups were represented at these two monasteries with the exception of the Bodhidharma tradition, which Chen suggests was a deliberate exclusion on Tanqian's part. Chen further argues that once we appreciate the hostility of Tanqian for the Bodhidharma tradition, we can more readily understand his writings on the *Lankavatara sutra*, a text closely associated with the Bodhidharma tradition but which Tanqian approached differently. More importantly, Chen speculates that, ironically, the marginality imposed on the Bodhidharma tradition by Tanqian and the Sui rulers is precisely what made it appealing decades later when Tang emperors lent their support to Chan monks claiming to carry on the Bodhidharma lineage.

Finally, Chen argues that Tanqian's fall from favour after his death was the result of two developments over which he had no control: the fall of the Sui dynasty with which Tanqian so closely associated himself, and the rise of Chan which tied itself to a tradition Tanqian had disparaged.

As in Chen's other work (e.g. *Making and remaking history: a study of Tiantai sectarian historiography*, and a series of articles on discrepancies in the biographies of medieval monks), the style of this book is marked by intricate arguments built on close readings of medieval documents with an eye for discrepancies and subtle connections. Some of the arguments are as convincing as they are ingenious: for example Chen's demonstration of the close links between Tanqian and Emperor Wen's relic campaign by comparing the language of court documents with Tanqian's own writings. His argument for the importance of the Sui legacy in the manipulation of relics by Empress Wu is equally persuasive.

Other arguments, however densely documented, leave room for doubt. Most importantly, it is still difficult to assess the extent to which the meditation groups Chen analyses were self-consciously distinct, whether there was in fact tension between them and whether or not sectarian bickering among these groups played a significant role in the development of Chinese Buddhism. The source Chen uses to establish distinctive characteristics for the groups is the essay on meditation by Daoxuan. Then, using lineages constructed on the basis of Daoxuan's piece, Chen attempts to show rivalry between two of the groups and to conjecture as to the ramifications of this rivalry in doctrine, practice and politics. It remains possible, however, that Daoxuan exaggerated the differences between groups as a way of bringing order to his material (common practice in historiography), and that the fact that the 'exclusion' of monks linked by lineage to the Bodhidharma tradition at the monasteries under Tanqian's control was simply chance or the result of an incomplete historical record. We only have records allowing us to trace the lineages of twenty-six of the meditation masters at the Chandings monasteries, and in some cases the affiliation of these monks can only be arrived at by tenuous connections to the traditions outlined by Daoxuan. More importantly, there is no direct evidence that Tanqian disapproved of meditators who associated themselves with Bodhidharma or that rivalry existed between a group loyal to Sengchou and a group loyal to Bodhidharma. In fairness, it is at least as difficult to disprove the antipathy of Tanqian and the Sui rulers to a hypothetical Bodhidharma meditation group as it is to support it, and further examination of other

evidence may yet prove Chen right, even in his more far-reaching claim of the importance of the Sui legacy of disdain for the Bodhidharma tradition in the rise of Chan in the Tang.

Chen finds conundrums of dating and biographical discrepancies irresistible, and attacks them with a tenacious eye for detail. At times the effort seems misspent. He argues, for instance, over the space of several pages, that two undated poems relating to a relic installation ceremony can, on the basis of a long, thin string of circumstantial evidence, be dated and linked to a ceremony planned by Empress Wu, but from which she later withdrew on the advice of her ministers. Chen concludes that, although Wu withdrew from the ceremony, the undated poems suggest that it was in fact carried out without her. But the evidence is weak and the reader ends up wishing Chen had focused on the reasons for Wu's withdrawal from the project rather than the remote possibility that the ceremony was held without her. Nonetheless, Chen's arguments, however minute, are always original and fully informed by both a thorough knowledge of the secondary literature and an impressive command of primary sources, displayed throughout by skilful translations of often obscure documents. And many of his arguments for adjustments to conventional dating and attribution will no doubt stand up to further scrutiny.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the book, and the theme about which Chen writes with the most passion, is the recurring motif of the importance of family background for understanding the history of Chinese Buddhism. While historians of medieval China have always recognized the importance of family affiliations in secular history, historians of Buddhism have tended to overlook the secular families monks supposedly left behind on ordination day. In fact, Chen emphasizes throughout his book, these family ties were often key in the careers of eminent monks. One of the reasons for Tanqian's success at court was the Sui emperor's desire to win the support of the powerful Taiyuan Wangs to which Tanqian belonged. Tanqian's political fortunes were further assisted by the eminent monk Tanyan and the court historian Wang Shao, both of whom also belonged to the same family. Chen notes in passing that similar patterns can be found in the careers of other prominent monks, including such luminaries as Zhiyi and Yixing.

In sum, true to its title, Chen's book provides observations not only on the life of the influential monk Tanqian, but also on the complex interrelations among monks, monarchs, kingship and kinship in medieval China.

JOHN KIESCHNICK

WILLARD J. PETERSON (ed.):

*The Cambridge history of China, Vol. 9, Part 1: The Ch'ing dynasty to 1800.*

xxii, 753 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £100.

Enthralled by a perceived clash of civilizations around 1840, historical interest has tended to focus on the ensuing period of 'dynastic decline'. The *Cambridge history of China* reflects this preoccupation: its first published tome in 1978 (vol. 10, 'The old order') dealt with the gradual demise of the Qing. It has taken a whole generation for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to be introduced, along established patterns, with the focus firmly set on reign periods and emperors. The volume is recognizably 'traditional' also in its

orthography (place names) and romanization (Wade-Giles). The authors are throughout well-established authorities, mostly providing summaries of their own previous publications. Readers already familiar with their academic output will, however, be pleasantly surprised that the contributions have been updated to include the most recent research.

The present *History* begins with introductory remarks by its editor, Willard J. Peterson (pp. 1–8; ‘Introduction: new order for the old order’). Peterson, an authority in Qing intellectual trends, questions the wisdom of referring to the late Qing as the ‘old order’. If the nineteenth century was ‘old’, what about the preceding one-and-a-half centuries? Also, can the term ‘Ming–Qing continuum’ really be justified? The editor concurs with Ch’ü T’ung-tsu on the necessity for a ‘balanced tension’ from the side of the Qing rulers, in need of constant readjustment and intervention—as well as their astute political judgement and unflinching determination. When such proactive qualities ceased, dynastic decline inevitably ensued. Gertraude Roth Li’s opening chapter on the gestation of Manchu identity and statehood (ch. 1, pp. 9–72; ‘State building before 1644’) is an exemplary combination of linguistic, cultural and political research, introducing the often paradoxical dynamisms within the proto-entity that was soon to rule over China. The creation of the Qing accounted for, Jerry Dennerline (ch. 2, pp. 73–119; ‘The Shun-chih reign’) continues with the succession dispute which pitted rival princes, prince regent Dorgon and loyalist banner leaders against each other. Dennerline’s chapter also aptly summarizes his earlier contributions on Ming loyalism and Qing revenge during the conquest.

Reflecting the confusions of the initial period, both chapters focus more on context and policy interpretation than on individual rulers. This changes with the next three chapters, devoted to three remarkable emperors. Jonathan Spence revisits the theme of his early research in order to depict the creation of the inter-ethnic Qing state during the Kangxi reign (ch. 3, pp. 120–82; ‘The K’ang-hsi reign’). Much copious research undertaken since the 1980s has been incorporated and, refreshingly, Spence does not attempt to conceal his fascination with the emperor, whose personal characteristics are portrayed in the accessible style Spence’s readers have come to appreciate. Madeleine Zelin’s enthusiasm, on the other hand, seems to be reserved for fiscal concerns. Her chapter on the Yongzheng reign (ch. 4, pp. 183–229; ‘The Yung-cheng reign’) is certainly heavily weighted towards matters of taxation, mentioning other elements of the Yongzheng reforms mostly merely in passing. More could certainly also have been said on the state’s intensifying struggle against Buddhist and Christian ‘heresy’, as well as on the personal characteristics of this remarkable ruler. A greater degree of balance is achieved in Alexander Woodside’s chapter on the Qianlong decades (ch. 5, pp. 230–309; ‘The Ch’ien-lung reign’). Woodside’s introduction to Qianlong statecraft and society covers all major policies and trends, but crucially also sheds light on interesting, yet under-researched, phenomena. Thus we learn that well-to-do Manchus had a penchant for parading ‘Western’ bridal chairs during sumptuous banner weddings (p. 241) and that by the early 1790s some twenty-thousand rural migrants were fed by the capital’s soup kitchens every day (p. 308). Woodside’s contribution concludes the chronological introduction to the period under review, reserving the rest of the volume for a thematic discourse.

The thematic block begins with an appraisal of the banner elite during the conquest period by Pamela Kyle Crossley (ch. 6, pp. 310–59; ‘The conquest elite of the Ch’ing empire’). Sketching its transformation from a dynamic,

multi-ethnic fighting force to a romanticized quasi-aristocracy, Crossley demonstrates how marriage alliances helped stabilize the turbulences of the early Qing and how the sheer existence of Han banners could be used to propagate the conquest as a civilizing, multi-ethnic mission. Simultaneously, the Qianlong emperor made it his mission to reverse the loss of tradition and identity among the Manchu and Mongol elites: at the Aisin Gioro Academy, banner candidates learned to combine archery with mathematics, and horse-riding with translation skills, while copious amounts of Tibetan and Mongolian literature were printed in the hope of revitalizing weakened ties with ancestral lands. Benjamin A. Elman, whose contributions cover almost an entire page in the *History's* bibliography, combined his recent cultural history of the examination system with earlier work on kinship in order to give a textbook presentation of socio-intellectual trends in early modern China (ch. 7, pp. 360–427, 'The social roles of literati in early to mid-Ch'ing'). Concisely covering important broader phenomena such as the *kaozheng* movement or the Jesuits' contribution to mathematics, though certain passages remain highly specific (e.g. pp. 389–93, on Manchu–Han elite relations). Elite culture is followed by a brief chapter by Susan Mann (ch. 8, pp. 428–72; 'Women, families, and gender relations'), emphasizing gender-specific transformations wrought by military conquest and economic expansion. Such changes included a shift towards female chastity and domesticity, as well as the creation of a migrant male sub-culture in localities which attracted rural labourers. Mann makes good use of recent publications, e.g. on migrant culture and on homosexuality, updating the general appearance of the *History*. The following contribution by William T. Rowe (ch. 9, pp. 473–562; 'Social stability and social change') pillories the persistent myth of late imperial China as an un-changing entity. One by one, Rowe highlights the radical transformations in China's economy, population, social mobility and territorial delineations up to the end of the Qianlong period. The chapter analyses the impact of socio-economic change in the cities, market towns and in the agrarian sector, as well as the legal reforms designed to abolish restrictive conventions. For the first time in the *History*, religious organizations are dealt with as a significant factor. Another commendable aspect of Rowe's article is his frequent use of Chinese and Japanese sources. The final chapter, co-authored by Ramon H. Myers and Yeh-chien Wang, is entitled 'Economic developments, 1644–1800' (ch. 10, pp. 563–645). True to its terse title, the authors tackle in all brevity all major aspects of economic life, concentrating on exhortations to engage in 'useful' food production (as opposed to profit-driven cash crop farming), the rise of the merchant class and of proto-industries (small-scale production, large-scale circulation) and on the bi-metallic financial market (including the early nineteenth-century 'dollarization' of China's economy).

The eighteenth century is perhaps the last frontier of Chinese history. Although the present volume has incorporated much of the recent Western (and also Japanese) research, the increasing interest of mainland Chinese historians in pre-1840s Qing history deserves greater attention. A recent landmark left unmentioned by the editors was the International Symposium *China and the World in the Eighteenth Century* organized by the China Historical Association in June 1995, remarkable for the extent to which ideological interpretations popular since the 1920s are being gradually transcended. Yet only William Rowe refers to contemporary trends in Chinese historiography, a lacuna which calls to be addressed during the preparation of the second part. Another aspect sorely missing in this *History* is a chapter on religious

phenomena ('orthodox', 'heterodox' and 'heretical'), existing references interspersed in footnotes or buried deeply. One fleeting reference (p. 551, note 214) indicates Barend ter Haar's current work on local religions for the forthcoming second volume. The hope remains that the second part will prove as conceptually coherent as the present volume. The same goes for its editorial quality, occasional errors (e.g. footnote 67 on page 385, with two mistakes in the same line) confirming an overall very positive impression. In a nutshell, *The Ch'ing dynasty to 1800* has all it takes to become a standard reference work on early and mid-Qing history.

LARS PETER LAAMANN

THOMAS GOLD, DOUG GUTHRIE and DAVID WANK (ed.):

*Social connections in China: institutions, culture, and the changing nature of guanxi.*

(Structural Analysis in Social Sciences.) xvii, 275 pp.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. £45.

This book is an impressive collection of essays on the general topic of *guanxi* in China, edited by three sociologists who have carried out extensive empirical research in this field. The individual contributors are for the most part sociologists, joined also by one political scientist, an anthropologist and a legal scholar. The phenomenon of *guanxi* ties has, especially in the contemporary PRC, attracted much scholarly attention and debate. The subtitle of the book, 'Institutions, culture and the changing nature of *guanxi*', indicates that it is an attempt to view the nature or functioning of *guanxi* primarily in light of the contextualization of cultural meaning or usage in institutional or political practice. The main title of the book, 'Social connections in China', also suggests that the authors wish to make a broader statement about the importance of Chinese social networks in the operation of *guanxi*. Neither is the fact that the book appears in a series on Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences incidental.

So said, the intentions of this book, in terms of its thematic development and empirical coverage, seem clear. Based on intensive social scientific studies of diverse case examples, the authors hope to provide a foundation for transcending previous research and thinking in the sinological literature but in a way that has ramifications for broader comparative research. In the introductory chapter, Gold, Guthrie and Wank take note of the burgeoning attention to the phenomenon of *guanxi* in the Chinese-speaking world overall and particularly in the PRC. They review diverse approaches to the study of *guanxi*, noting its relatedness to similar notions such as *mianzi*, *pao*, *renqing*, etc., as well as its complexity in invoking particular modes of behaviour and action. Their intent is less to offer a comprehensive critique of this literature than to highlight their own approach to it, what they term 'the institutional turn' in analyses of *guanxi*. Instead of rejecting what they view as overly cultural perspectives in the study of *guanxi*, they argue that the emergence and florescence of this phenomenon has had more to do with certain structural and institutional conditions in society. Rather than being an autonomous entity, *guanxi* is embedded in practices and tends to be a product of the latter. It is thus not unusual that, in analyses of informal politics in China, if not elsewhere as well, *guanxi* appears to take on a heightened appearance or importance. All the

papers in this volume then attempt in one way or another to illustrate the kinds of institutional or social contextual conditions that have given rise to the active functioning of *guanxi* ties.

Thus, for Kipnis, the emphasis is on the production and practice of *guanxi* relationships and less on their cultural content as meaning or sentiment *per se*. Guthrie on the other hand takes the institutional paradigm to a social structural extreme by advocating a general relation between social relationships of this kind and strategic tensions within the political economy, the latter reflected in his focus on information or power asymmetries. Lin's investigation of the instrumentalization of *guanxi*-mediated social exchanges in the post-Mao reform era also underscores the influence of external forces or what he calls 'third-party effects' on dyadic relationships, in turn reiterating the embeddedness of *guanxi* in a larger socio-political milieu. The papers by Keister and Wank examine the functioning of *guanxi* in the specific context of business or entrepreneurial relationships. Both in their own ways tend to support Guthrie's general observation of a declining significance in *guanxi* relationships in the contemporary PRC, while accenting the formation of new clientelist networks. The papers by Bian and Hanser seem to illustrate the role and nature of *guanxi* ties in an informal economy, exemplified by the practical strategies of job-finding and mobility. Flourishing in what Bian aptly terms 'institutional holes' or what Hanser sees as conditions of market uncertainty, *guanxi* is in effect a product of a peculiar socio-political ground that has been constantly changing in the PRC. Wilson's paper is most unlike the others, in the sense that it focuses on a wide range of exchange relationships in a rural context. He shows that the boundaries between socially reciprocal ties and instrumental ones are difficult to delineate on a hard-and-fast basis yet at the same time notes that all of these relationships have evolved under the influence of larger social changes. The papers by Potter and Farrer offer interesting contrasts. While Potter looks at *guanxi* in the context of the formalistic practice of law, Farrer ruminates on *guanxi* to expand on the communicability of a different kind of network, i.e. gossip communities. In the last essay, Wellman, Chen and Dong attempt to build upon this empirical understanding of *guanxi* in a contemporary PRC context to elaborate on the ramifications of a broadly social structural or network approach to the study of *guanxi* and related phenomena elsewhere.

Rich as these studies are in substance, there are serious shortcomings in their approach and general orientation to the problem. Having finely tuned our definition of *guanxi*, then subjecting it to objective and microscopic analysis of various sorts, the authors have given the reader the impression of having exhaustively dissected the nature and function of *guanxi*. In the process, I would argue, there is much left out of these discussions. Like any laboratory experiment, its success is largely the result of its having limited or controlled the conditions by which we are allowed to view the phenomenon. If anything, there has always been a rich set of associations linking *guanxi*, *mianzi*, *pao*, etc., that have been examined in the literature but only crudely understood. While I would concur with the authors that the institutional or contextual underpinnings of *guanxi* have influenced the latter's emergence as a problematic phenomenon in society, I would add that these conditions affect all other co-related phenomena, in the sense that they are all interdependent in cultural terms. We all know that *guanxi* is not peculiar to the contemporary PRC, yet the book's exclusive focus on the PRC raises some obvious questions about *general* sociological conclusions for other Chinese-speaking societies that

have undergone different socio-political changes. How is it possible to generalize about places like Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, not to mention overseas Chinese communities renowned for their nepotistic economic practices, when the authors repeatedly argue that culture is embedded in *concrete* practices? By isolating *guanxi* from its intrinsic transformative relationships vis-à-vis other cultural phenomena, they fail to see how socio-political practices interact with a complex of cultural perceptions, behaviours and actions. There was a time when many of the things alluded to in post-reform PRC as *guanxi* were called public face relationships or customary practice, not utilitarian connections that have to be 'pulled'. I would argue that Taiwan and Hong Kong have undergone similar crises involving *guanxi*, but that the intensity or waning of these ties had to do with particular confrontations with modernity and negotiation with other socio-political forces. In the long run, the appeal to social structural networking is reductionist and simplistic, despite its overt sophistication in methodological, empiricist terms. What is necessary, in my opinion, is something the authors discard at the outset, namely a greater understanding of the cultural nuances underlying *guanxi*, *pao*, *mianzi*, *renqing*, etc., as well as a better understanding of the socio-political ground constantly reiterated in all these papers. Practice must be seen as a set of actions in its own terms instead of something dualistically opposed to culture.

ALLEN CHUN

CHRISTIAN HENRIOT:

*Prostitution and sexuality in Shanghai: a social history, 1849–1949.*  
xviii, 467 pp. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.  
£52.50.

Christian Henriot's work on prostitution in Shanghai between 1849 and 1949 offers a compelling analysis of the changing worlds of the sex trade, sexuality and exploitation of women in a century during which the city developed into an international economic hub and a cosmopolitan metropolis. The main thread of the book—prostitution—allows Henriot to explore overlooked niches of Shanghai's social history within a sophisticated interpretative framework which is free from any rhetoric shaped by exoticism. Each chapter is carefully crafted and may stand by itself but, at the same time, also merges into a flowing narrative that gradually pieces together a colourful and complex mosaic where the many facets of prostitution are scrutinized.

The book is divided into four parts and fourteen chapters. The most important function of the introduction is to offer a review of existing sources on prostitution in China so that, from the outset, the reader can relate to the author's approach to his subject. The first part of the book deals with the fading and rarefied world of courtesans, the highest echelons of prostitutes, who were usually patronized by members of the Chinese elite. The first chapter presents the background of the courtesans and then discusses the strict code of social interaction they maintained with their clients, especially in public places such as the *shuchang*, theatres, restaurants and teahouses. It then discusses the demise of courtesans, whose role as entertainers became superfluous once Shanghai developed its own hybrid commercial culture in the first decades of the twentieth century. The second chapter masterfully portrays the lives of courtesans from the moment of defloration as adolescent girls to the day they

left the trade, usually in their early twenties and, in the case of the luckiest, through marriage. Towards the end it briefly analyses the 'culture of courtesans' and how 'the courtesans and their customers formed a sort of community governed by common codes and practices and a common language' (p. 64).

The second part of the book leaves the elitist world of the courtesans behind and concentrates on more common forms of prostitution. Chapter 3 sheds light on various groups of women involved in the sex trade between 1849 and 1949 and dissects the middle and lower ranks of prostitutes, thus providing useful clarification of categories of prostitution which otherwise seemingly overlap. Chapter 4 continues the analysis of different types of prostitutes by focusing on 'ancillary workers of prostitution', namely waitresses, masseuses and professional dancers, between the 1920s and 1940s when Shanghai had grown into a fully industrialized and westernized metropolis. Chapter 5 consists of a sociological essay which firstly delves into the social and geographical provenance of the girls that entered prostitution and then looks at what options Chinese society offered them to leave the profession. Significantly, Henriot points out that the vast majority of prostitutes originated from two regions near Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang, and that, once their careers were over, many were able to be re-integrated into society. Chapter 6 investigates the extent to which debilitating illnesses, and vicious cruelty and violence shaped the lives of prostitutes. It stresses that prostitutes were routinely infected by venereal disease and suffered excruciating physical pain since they did not usually receive adequate medical treatment. Cruelty and violence were also the norm in the quotidian existences of prostitutes, who were routinely abused by greedy and unscrupulous madams. For the latter, the girls were mere 'money trees', often purchased as commodities in the immense human market that operated in China before 1949.

The third part of the book builds a comprehensive picture of the organization of prostitution. Since huge numbers of girls were literally enslaved in brothels in Shanghai, chapter 7, delineates the traffic of women in China and, more specifically, draws challenging conclusions on the loose structure of this trade and on the identities of the individuals directly involved in procuring and abducting girls for prostitution. It also provides a general profile of the victims, who were mostly adolescent girls from regions adjacent to Shanghai. Chapter 8 maps the spatial geography of prostitution in Shanghai by carefully piecing together the areas where brothels operated in the Chinese walled city as well as in the foreign settlements. Chapter 9 scrutinizes, with a profusion of detail, the organization of houses of prostitution and describes at great length the establishments where courtesans lived and worked. It provides insights into not only the functions of the madams and male managers but also the lower ranks of staff—maidservants, musicians and cooks—that fulfilled ancillary roles in the running of houses of prostitution. Chapter 10 painstakingly reconstructs the economic dimension of prostitution and circumscribes the complex issue of circulation of money, a question that lies at the heart of prostitution.

The fourth and final part discusses the unsuccessful endeavours to bring prostitution under control in the Chinese area of Shanghai as well as in the foreign settlements. The discussion is arranged in chronological order: chapter 11 covers the period between 1860 and 1914, chapter 12 the decade between 1915 and 1925 and chapter 13 the years between 1927 and 1949. Quite clearly, any attempts to curb, regulate or eliminate the sex trade in Shanghai failed, and the cumbersome task of dealing with the problem of prostitution was therefore passed to the Communist authorities which took control of the city



in May 1949. Chapter 14 finally examines the work of the Door of Hope, and the Shanghai Anti-kidnapping Society (*Zhongguo furu jiuji zonghui*), two institutions which respectively brought assistance to prostitutes willing to leave the profession and sought to pre-empt the abduction of young women.

In summary, this volume convincingly demonstrates that between 1849 and 1949, the increasing sexualization and commercialization of prostitution in Shanghai, prompted by the dramatic socio-economic changes experienced by the city, re-shaped the local sex trade. To conclude, this is an outstanding research effort based on an impressive array of sources which constitutes a solidly constructed reference work for scholars as well as general readers.

CHIARA BETTA

BROOK ZIPORYN:

*The Penumbra unbound: the neo-Taoist philosophy of Guo Xiang.*

(SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) ix, 186 pp.

Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003. \$22.95.

Ever since E. R. Hughes published his translation of Fung Yulan's *Spirit of Chinese philosophy* in 1947, the importance of the third–fourth century commentator Guo Xiang in the history of Chinese thought has become increasingly widely recognized in the English-speaking world. Not only did he produce an edition of the writings ascribed to Zhuangzi that became definitive for the rest of Chinese history; he also managed, in commenting on one of the most original thinkers in Chinese antiquity, to articulate an equally original and substantially independent philosophy of his own. A systematic and extended survey of this philosophy has long been overdue, but now Brook Ziporyn has produced the first monograph devoted entirely to this singular thinker. It may be possible to accuse Ziporyn, like most of us, of carelessness in little things: some transcriptions go awry (Zhang ‘Shen’ for Zhang Zhan, on p. 163, for instance); some lapses in proofreading are apparent (‘blazenly’ on p. 49, for example; the character for *fen* is misprinted twice on p. 70); and it would have been helpful to note that the Taiwan edition he follows throughout must (to judge from the pagination) be a reprint of the much better-known 1961 *Zhonghua shuju* typeset version of Guo Qingfan's variorum edition. And while he is quite correct in stating (p. 169) that Guo's vocabulary, though not necessarily his ideas, shows up in the writings of later Buddhists such as those of the Tiantai school, this should not necessarily be taken as implying direct influence: that vocabulary entered Buddhist usage as early as Sun Chuo in the fourth century, and may therefore represent indirect borrowing in Tiantai works. But by and large Ziporyn has carried out a fluent and at the same time cogent survey of Guo's work, and also a critical reading of the most prominent Chinese interpreters of his thought, so as to provide a volume that all future writers on Guo will need to consult. The final appendix in particular providing some comparative notes on one or two of Guo's most striking ideas, makes more explicit Ziporyn's laudable willingness throughout to test this philosophy against those of other thinkers of other times and places, both in China and beyond, so as to bring out what is truly distinctive about Guo without making him appear some isolated exotic, only worthy of the attention of the rather small band of experts concerned with China in the third and fourth centuries of the Common Era.

But his achievement, though considerable, does not exhaust what may be said concerning Guo and his work, and future scholarship (perhaps his own) will need to consolidate the account given here along at least two slightly different lines. The first might be called philological. Though he has clearly consulted a broader range of scholarship than he cares to mention, it is somewhat disappointing not to find in his bibliography any reference to Birthe Arendrup's MA, as published in English translation in *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen) 36 (1974), pp. 311–416, since although this only concerns Guo's commentary of the first chapter of Zhuangzi, it amounts in a way to an introductory primer in Guo Xiang studies, adding a concordance-based grammar of Guo's highly distinctive technical language to a full annotated translation. Arendrup's comparisons ignore philosophy, and are mainly directed at W. A. C. H. Dobson's analysis of late Han Chinese, but even so she makes some valuable points. Much more important, however, is Kitahara Mineki, *Sōshi Kaku Shō chū sakuin* (Kitakyūshū: Kitakyūshū Chūgoku shoten, 1990), which provides a full concordance to the appended text of Guo's work reproduced from the Song edition in the *Xu Guyi congshu* of 1922, with collation notes against Guo Qingfan's text also provided.

This invaluable tool, one of a number of concordances of texts from the third and fourth centuries from the same author, can be used most immediately and obviously to refine some of Ziporyn's statements about the frequency of Guo's use of certain terms and ideas, for example on p. 99 the reference to 'only about a dozen' occurrences of the key term *duhua*, 'lone-transformation' (actually, fifteen), and on p. 70: 'This last phrase, each vanishes into its determinacy, is a frequent and very important refrain of Guo Xiang's' (not at all, as far as I can see). But it also provides an instant aid to translation, by allowing context to be compared to context without effort, and here too some improvements may be possible: for example, the last clause in the very first translation from Guo Qingfan's edition here, on p. 28, does not look quite right, and in this case there is an identical clause in another context on p. 62 of that edition with which to compare it. Quick word searches should also facilitate further research into the other facet of Guo Xiang that needs to be addressed and that is not directly confronted in this book, namely what may be called his political meaning.

Now it may well be that Ziporyn is no *cui bono* man, and that he is much happier testing Guo Xiang's ideas against those of other thinkers *sub specie aeternitatis*. But Erik Zürcher (in *The Buddhist conquest of China*, 1958), Richard Mather (in *History of Religions* 9.2/3, 1970) and Paul Demiéville (in the *Cambridge history of China*, Volume One, 1986), have all chosen to read Guo's thought against the background of his adherence to the brutal Sima rulers of the Jin dynasty. Even were his commentary to prove to be some sort of Orwellian Newspeak dedicated to justifying the new regime, this would not diminish its interest, but this is not the sort of allegation that one likes to leave simply hanging in the air, and one hopes that a careful examination of the political overtones of Guo's thought in the light of Ziporyn's analysis will not be long delayed. For such overtones are clear from various remarks scattered through the volume under review, for example on p. 54, where it is affirmed that 'Guo is not an anarchist, and he unambiguously admits the legitimacy of political hierarchy', whilst other relevant comments may be found on pp. 111 and 135. On the other hand, Ziporyn's argument (already raised on p. 50, but explored most fully in Appendix A) that Guo's notion of 'determinacy', which some might see as a crude injunction that everyone should keep to their allotted station, actually does not preclude change seems reasonable enough: it

is occasionally described as 'fixed', but only (it seems, in the light of Kitahara's concordance) in the sense of 'predetermined', not 'unchanging'. Indeed, Guo's very enthusiasm for ignoring any 'traces' inherited from the past looks like a justification of complete political change.

Even so, one of the virtues of Ziporyn's work is to show that any sort of snap judgement on Guo's work just will not do. Our attitudes to him may have been coloured by subsequent events, such as the later allegations of plagiarism, which have been proven unfounded, or his (presumably unforeseen) success in censoring the material under Zhuangzi's name so that we have lost what was probably a certain amount of mythological material originally unconnected with Zhuangzi himself that would surely have been of some interest in reconstructing the environment in which the writings under that name were transmitted. After all, removing 'traces' was, as Ziporyn makes clear, very much Guo Xiang's business, and at least this volume shows how he, for too long a mere penumbra to Zhuangzi's long shadow, can be allowed to speak for himself.

T. H. BARRETT

ALICE TISDALE HOBART:

*Oil for the lamps of China.*

xix, 432 pp. Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2003. \$14.95.

CARL CROW:

*400 million customers.*

xvii, 318 pp. Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2003. \$14.95.

Nostalgia about China before 1949 is certainly not what it used to be. In the 1980s the only reprints with new introductions of English-language books on China of the early twentieth century came from OUP in Hong Kong, and included such authors as 'Ann Bridge' (Lady Mary O'Malley), who wrote of a lost world of picnics and ponies in North China perhaps still meaningful only to a select few among the older residents of the Crown Colony. Now China as a whole is so much more similar at least economically to the Republican period that a new American series has started reprinting a slightly different sort of literature, which is once more full of contemporary resonances.

Sherman Cochran introduces Alice Hobart's novel of life as a company wife in a China where profits were to be made by big foreign concerns, but where the expatriate employees responsible were expected to put up with the stresses and dangers of the volatile new era without expecting any enhanced rewards in terms of career security, however loyally they served. Within the small compass allotted to him Cochran does an excellent job of digging out of the archives the autobiographical background to this novel, rather than simply relying on his expert knowledge of the business context described. Ezra Vogel, on the other hand, in introducing Carl Crow's manual of advice to the would-be foreign entrant into the China market, deals with a writer known for a much greater span of work, and so devotes more space to a synopsis of his output taken as a whole.

In fact Crow's work, written from the vantage point of a foreigner in Shanghai, sold in Britain as well as North America, but the particular volume reprinted here does not seem to have been quite such an outstanding success

in this country, to judge by the relative frequency in appearance of second-hand copies; rather, a British reader seems to have been just as likely to have picked up a copy of his book on Confucius, *Master Kung* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1937), a work not even mentioned by Vogel, as to have taken his sage advice about selling things to the Chinese. And while the life of a British company wife was probably just as uncertain, and the formal and informal company rules governing it probably rather more restrictive, one senses that solace was more likely to have been sought in pony riding than in reading or writing about the situation, since Hobart's books seem (unlike Pearl Buck's, or Ann Bridge's) completely invisible on the British second-hand market.

But the series editor, Charles W. Hayford, who knows the Republican period well through his own research and who is extremely widely read in English-language publications on China, has certainly tapped into that rich vein of optimism about the manifest destiny of the United States in China which seems now, whatever the course of Chinese history itself, to have been only temporarily thwarted during the China-watching era. The reprinting of more works from this period should indeed help in clarifying the distinction between those writers like Pearl Buck who struck a chord in the Western world at large and those whose works helped shape a specifically American understanding of China. And, of course, these books make an interesting read in their own right—Crow's is even enlivened by some cheerful illustrations by G. Sapojnikoff that are strongly reminiscent of the contemporary work of Fougasse. But resetting has, I think, introduced a few typographical errors, to judge by the character who vanishes 'into the crows' on p. 413 of the Hobart volume. So buy these reprints at least for their introductions, but keep your eyes open too for any original copies still in circulation, even if the chances of finding them are apparently better in North America than in Britain.

T. H. BARRETT

PIERRE FRANÇOIS SOUYRI (trans. Käthe Roth):

*The world turned upside down: medieval Japanese society.*

(Asia Perspectives: History, Society and Culture.) xxiv, 280 pp.

New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2001.

\$34.50.

The first book of Japanese history I read as an undergraduate was *A history of modern Japan* by Richard Storry. The information and ideas contained in that book have remained with me now for almost twenty years. The book was well presented by an experienced teacher who knew how much information a young mind new to the field could absorb and who spiced up his narrative with interesting and memorable vignettes that none the less illustrated important points.

Medieval Japan has long needed an introductory work dedicated to the period to perform the same role. Writing one is the goal that Pierre Souyri has set himself, and that he has largely succeeded in attaining. Though not scholarship or research in the true sense of the word, the importance of this book should not be underestimated, for, in the absence of similar works on the market, this will serve as the first taste of medieval Japan for a whole generation of students. Their understanding of the subject will remain influenced by it even as they progress through graduate school.

The strength of the book is that it covers most areas of Japanese history with no glaring omissions. The author has clearly read a great deal by Amino Yoshihiko and Amino's influence is obvious at many points, but there is nothing essentially wrong with such an approach. The result is a somewhat Marxist take on history, with much emphasis on 'peasant resistance' and the commercial role of Sakai. Not all scholars would agree with the view that Sakai was a kind of eastern Venice, but the author is entitled to his opinions.

Pierre Souyri does not burden the reader with detail that a new student will simply be unable to absorb, but tells interesting stories that will linger in the memory. For example, the limit of the lord's ability to enforce his decisions and the ferocity of peasant communes in punishing transgressors from among their own ranks in fifteenth-century Kinai is illustrated with two stories on page 187. Kujō Masamoto invited the leaders of the peasants on his estates to a New Year's Day Banquet, where the theft of a valuable dagger took place. In order to uncover the guilty party, Masamoto had the peasants meet at the local shrine to undergo trial by the gods—which involved removing stones from boiling water. Those who could not were deemed guilty. The thief stepped forward and was punished by Masamoto with loss of land and rank. The peasants found this punishment insufficient and later killed the thief, his wife and his sons. I am sure that undergraduates will retain information of this kind and from it be able to draw many valuable insights.

I was also impressed by the fact that the author avoided presenting the reader with a barrage of indigestible and incomprehensible statistics. For example, on page 150, he shows the importance of international trade to the economy of fifteenth-century Kyoto. In 1475, a Sakai merchant called Yukawa Sen'a brought back a cargo of 40,000 *kanmon*, for which he paid the shogunate 4,000 in tax. Yukawa's net profit was 25,000 *kanmon*. Many authors would have left the student wondering what a *kanmon* was and, even if the meaning of the term were explained, the actual value of a *kanmon* to a contemporary trader or peasant might not have been conveyed. Souyri steps into the breach and points out that the reconstruction of the shogunal palace in 1431 had cost around 10,000 *kanmon*. The reader now has a point of reference.

However, I also have a number of important reservations about the book. It is vital that new students should be introduced to the key themes of medieval Japan—two of which are the *shiki* and the *kenmon*. The description of the *kenmon taisei* on page 52 is so vague as to be meaningless. 'Kuroda Toshio emphasizes the complementary nature of this dualistic state and terms the coalition of the court nobility, the high clergy, and the great retainers a political system characterized by the dominance of the powerful (*kenmon taisei*). The political union of the governing classes in a stable cooperative system exemplified the medieval state.' There is a lot more to it than that.

The description of the *tokusei* edicts and the meaning of the terms *honken* and *honshu* given on page 105 are excellent. However, nowhere does the author describe the *shiki* system, without which a full understanding of medieval landholding is impossible. Similarly, the distinction between *gokenin* and *higokenin* is important to an understanding of the Kamakura polity, but I defy anyone to understand the description on page 54. One thing that I know confuses undergraduates is the nature of the Taira and Minamoto 'clans' during the Genpei Wars. Far from explaining this enigma, the author only muddies the waters.

There are also a number of trivial errors, but these are perhaps inevitable in the first printing of a book of this scope and I hope they will be corrected at a later date. To provide a list of the ones I have spotted would be petty and serve no purpose at this point.

I am pleased that Professor Souyri has produced this book and I believe it will be a useful aid to undergraduate teaching. I will recommend it to students, albeit with the reservations outlined above, which I shall try to correct in my own lectures.

TOM NELSON

CHAN E. PARK:

*Voices from the straw mat: toward an ethnography of Korean story telling.*

(Hawai'i Studies on Korea.) xii, 338 pp. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003. \$44.

The subject of this book, *p'ansori*, is a genre that arose from the folk tradition. It is, arguably, Korea's greatest musico-dramatic genre. According to Park, *p'ansori* defies definition. It has duly been approached as text, music, story-telling and drama by scholars, journalists and others who variously focus on its origin, history, participants (singers), styles, music, and so on. *P'ansori* is given by a single singer accompanied by a drummer, mixing speech (*aniri*), song (*sori*), and dramatic action (*pallim*). The two performers sit on a mat—the straw mat of Park's title, in times past a mat used by Korean households for entertaining, relaxing, and more, but today a mat typically placed on a theatre stage. The mat contextualizes the *p'an*, the event, the occasion, arena, situation, or context, in which singing, *sori*, becomes narrative expressiveness, musical metalanguage, or a 'second language that is acquired through method and process' (p. 1). A complete performance of a single *p'ansori* story can take five hours or more. Some would translate '*p'ansori*' as 'one-man opera', though 'one-person opera' might be more correct; others, including Park in her title, focus on story telling; my own gloss, 'epic story-telling through song', nicely captures the massive length and the importance of song, but remains controversial because only one of the extant *p'ansori* repertoires is based on a Homeric historical epic. Here, Park does offer a two-page consideration of whether the genre fits any definition of epic (pp. 14–15) and, after citing Bakhtin, Scholes and Kellogg, finds that in many ways it does; usefully, this allows comparison to the epics of Yugoslavia and Central Asia which, in due time, allows *p'ansori* to assume its rightful place as an important world genre. Definition, Park assures us by citing one of the major Korean accounts of the genre—Chŏng Noshik's *Chosŏn ch'anggŭksa* from 1940—is hampered by the inadequacy of words.

Park's account of this remarkable genre is both delightful and, at times, idiosyncratic. Many previous publications—there are indeed many, mostly in Korean, including more than 80 analyses of the text of just one story, Hŭngboga—have got caught in a narrow descriptive frame that normally reflects the interests of musicology or literature and essentializes an authorized history based on partial and fragmentary written documentation. Park, though, wants more. She is, in many ways, a successor to her PhD supervisor, the late Marshall Pihl, and this book supplements his own *The Korean singer of tales* (Cambridge, MA, 1994). It goes further, though (and Pihl comes in for some criticism on pp. 72 and 109, the former for his interpretation of *innmul* (appearance) and the latter in respect to psychological profiling), since as a performer, trained over many years by the great singer Chŏng Kwŏnjin,

Park includes oral history and oral commentary as a central part of what she calls her ‘performer centred’ and ‘singer oriented’ perspective. Oral accounts are considered to have equal value with published words. Park decries ‘print culture’s wariness of the oral history of insiders and preference for scientific objectivity—largely represented by print journalism—over experiential subjectivity’ (p. 88). This reviewer has sympathy with the principle enshrined here, as, surely, would most anthropologists or those caught up in discourses of reflexivity. Back in Korean worlds, too, Chŏng Noshik’s book primarily collated singers’ memories of earlier singers, and *p’ansori* exponents trace their performance lineages back to great singers who flourished 200 or so years ago, until recently recalling each generation within their story telling.

By piecing together fragments of stories, Park assembles some wonderfully rich accounts of famous singers, her ‘nineteenth century Hall of Fame’ (pp. 60–72). By referring us to specific lyrics sung by honoured singers, she explores backgrounds and influences, religious origins and potential borrowings. This sometimes allows a single comment given in a personal interview to stand as historical truth or common perception: singers sang in Japanese during the colonial period (p. 249; says Chŏng Kwŏnjin); critical voices complain about the contemporary fashion for giving complete stories in long performances (p. 107; says Kim Sohŭi). Occasionally, Park creates an assemblage of quotes to develop definitions and perspectives in a way that makes it difficult to discern whose voice we are meant to hear. This is true in her discussion of folksongs (*minyo*), where sixteen quotes are used to build an account over barely a page, ending with the notion that the folksongs heard in *p’ansori* are erroneously considered inferior by scholars who favour local ‘people’s songs’ (pp. 36–7); similarly, the quotes used in respect to shamanism offer a complex visage (pp. 39–40), and those used to build a picture of the role of women in traditional life start with the Apostle Paul’s *Corinthians* before shifting to Korea’s female shamans (pp. 225–6). Sometimes, the allusions to other spheres work brilliantly, notably in respect to how the nineteenth-century gentrification of *p’ansori* involved something akin to Dr Higgins’ makeover of the guttersnipe Eliza Doolittle in Shaw’s *Pygmalion*.

Still, the first half of the book takes us through a series of chapters that explore origins and history. These follow standard divisions: an initial period when *p’ansori* developed amongst, and for, common peasants, with documentation beginning in the mid-eighteenth century (the text confuses this somewhat by presenting socio-political aspects from several centuries earlier); a period of gentrification in the nineteenth century, where sponsors changed and texts were altered to include more literary references; a period characterized by the emergence of theatrical forms during the first half of the twentieth century; the contemporary era, where state preservation increasingly fossilizes the form while at the same time the tradition is recycled and reinvented as it seeks to embrace new lyrics about colonialism, tyranny, and oppression. The preservation movement comes in for considerable criticism: *p’ansori* has since the 1960s become a ‘ceremony, a fixed immutability, taxonomically designated as the fifth...Intangible Cultural Asset’ (p. 20). We observe it as ‘tourists in search of our past’ (p. 239), listening to its ‘archetypal ritual’, but largely unable to respond, indeed, with our ability to mutually shape the story telling suppressed (p. 243).

Park works in the fields of language, literature and performance folklore at Ohio State University. Not surprisingly, then, she uses a rich and evocative vocabulary liberally peppered with references to a huge amount of literature and academic theory. Her skills will be familiar to anybody who has attended

one of her remarkable American recitals, in which she plays the drum and sings, transmogrifying Korean stories into humorous morality tales involving tax returns, Econ 101, and mansions in San Francisco that overlook the Golden Gate bridge. We discover Park's own training, a personal story that began during her MFA studies at the University of Hawai'i, continued through a long process of working with a fine singer (recounted in chapter 5—'Acquiring *Sori*'), concluding with her own versions of *p'ansori* stories (set out in chapter 9, 'The cross-cultural voice'). This, then, is an account by a performer living within the tradition.

There are graphic descriptions of paintings and of performance events, and her discussions of style and aesthetics—the focus of chapters 5–7—are particularly vivid. The text is often very personal, and at times gives no space to more common explanations. For example, her glosses for rhythmic cycles include *chinyangjo* (*chîn* = slow) as 'unending', *chungjungmori* (*chung* = moderate, so 'double moderate') as 'faster drive', *chajinmori* (*chajin/chajün* = fast) as 'frequent drive'. Her discussion of modes, rather than delineating the seven that are incorporated in *p'ansori*, starts with the view that each was developed by singers in isolation from each other and then brought together to evoke particular atmospheres. Hence, the 'Seoul mode', *kyöngdürüm*, becomes the 'voice of political correctness', while the Eastern folksong mode, *menarijo*, becomes 'the wanderer'. She offers a personal rhythmic notation, and illustrates tone painting with a calligrapher's brush strokes. Most usefully, she gives tables of vocal styles and techniques, labelling them to show which are approved and which would be avoided.

To appreciate all the tapestry of detailing included in Park's book, one must arguably already be familiar with *p'ansori*. Indeed, this is not intended as an introductory account, but builds on existing scholarship in a way that the author hopes will move forward our understanding. To do so, it deserves to be read by those from different disciplines, by musicologists and folklorists, by literature and language specialists. But, whoever opens the book, whether already informed or an inquisitive amateur, will find a text that is guaranteed to provide enlightening and engaging reading.

KEITH HOWARD

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SOUTH-EAST ASIA

KEITH FOULCHER and TONY DAY (ed.):

*Clearing a space: postcolonial readings of modern Indonesian literature.*

(Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde no. 202.) viii, 381 pp. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002. €30.

While postcolonialism as a critical approach is now fairly well established in the study of many world literatures, as Foulcher and Day note in their introduction to this book, research and scholarship on Indonesian literature remains somewhat isolated within the context of 'Indonesian studies'. Thus this collection of essays aims not just to use postcolonialism as a new way of looking at Indonesian literature, but also as an approach that provides a



framework for comparative study with other literatures. An important aspect of Indonesian literature, and a point that is made in many of the essays in this volume, is that modern Indonesian literature is written in Indonesian, and not in the language of the ex-colonizer. This, coupled with the fact that only a very small number of texts have been translated into European languages, makes it all too easy for scholars not trained in Indonesian to ignore, or at least avoid Indonesian literature. Thus as well as being of great use and interest to students and scholars interested primarily in 'Indonesian studies', the volume should also do much to make research on this vibrant and flourishing literature available to a wider community of scholars working on comparative projects.

This volume comprises revised papers, presented at a workshop held in Sydney in 1998 on 'Postcoloniality and the Question of Modern Indonesian Literature'. As Foulcher and Day explain in their introduction, the aim of the volume is to "clear a space" for new critical readings' of Indonesian literary texts. Covering a range of texts from the forgotten to the perhaps best-known, the essays are seen as having in common 'an attentiveness to the many ways in which 'space-clearing gestures' create new possibilities for identity and literary expression in Indonesian texts'. It is these new possibilities that the various authors seek to address using the approaches and concepts of postcolonialism.

The thirteen essays contained in this book consider a range of texts written from the late nineteenth century onwards, ranging from 'translations' of Western popular novels, to recent texts such as Emha Ainun Nadjib's *Arus bawah* and Ayu Utami's *Saman*. A number of well-known pre-independence novels such as *Sitti Noerbaja*, *Salah Asoehan*, and *Belenggoe* are discussed, together with less well-known works such as Mas Marco Kartodikromo's *Matahariah*, and Aman Datoek Madjoindo's *Tjerita Boedjang Bingoeng*. Pramoedya Ananta Toer's work is selectively considered in a number of the essays. The essays are framed by an excellent introduction by Foulcher and Day, which summarizes some of the main ideas linked with postcolonialism, and locates those theoretical concepts in relationship to the Indonesian context. The introduction does much to make the volume accessible to readers knowledgeable of Indonesian literature but new to postcolonial studies, and vice versa.

Perhaps the most refreshing and engaging aspect of the volume is that it encourages the reader to reconsider commonly held assumptions with regard to modern Indonesian literature. For example, Doris Jedamski's examination of the 'translations' of popular Western literature such as Robinson Crusoe and the Sherlock Holmes stories into Indonesian, challenges the idea that these translations were merely copies of the famous Western popular novels, noting that many changes, omissions and additions were made in transforming these texts to meet the tastes of an Indonesian audience. Arguing that an analysis of those changes reveals much about postcolonial subjectivities, Jedamski's study not only challenges the conventional idea that these Western popular novels were merely translated, but also shows that this corpus of texts is deserving of far greater attention.

Will Derks' essay on *sastra pedalaman* is an important assessment of the strength and vitality of literary scenes outside Jakarta. He discusses the numerous literary groups and journals from around the archipelago, and argues for a recognition that poetry and short stories, rather than the novel, form the basis for the vast majority of literary production in the archipelago. His essay is a valuable reminder that rather than highlight and champion aspects of the literature that Western literary presumptions lead the scholar to expect, all constituents of literary production should be recognized. Ward Keeler,

in his comparison of Mangunwijaya's *Durga Umayi* and Promoedya Ananta Toer's *Bumi manusia* tetralogy, and in particular Western responses to those and other Indonesian novels, stresses the importance of recognizing how our own ideological commitments affect our responses and reactions to Indonesian texts.

In the light of Derks' comments concerning the Western preoccupation with the novel, it is noticeable that the vast majority of essays contained in this volume focus on that genre. Despite Foulcher and Day's observation that for a number of reasons the attention of the West has centred on a small elite of Indonesian writers who have been considered 'readable', this collection of essays in part continues that focus on a small number of established authors and texts. However the essays on *Sitti Nurbaya* (Keith Foulcher), *Salah Asuhan* (Thomas Hunter), and the works of Pramoedya Ananta Toer (Henk Meier, Tony Day, Ward Keeler) are important for the new perspectives and interpretations they bring to these much studied texts.

This reassessment of familiar works is balanced by a number of essays exploring forgotten or less well known works, and also forms other than prose. For instance, Goenawan Mohamad focuses on the modernist poets of the revolutionary period, primarily looking at the work of Asrul Sani, in connection with the opposing forces of belonging and forgetting, the denial of tradition and the lure and appeal of the modern. Melani Budiarta examines the transformation of a text as it was adapted for television and film; and Michael Bodden, looking at Indonesian postmodernism, concentrates not just on written prose but also on theatre and performance.

In summation, this volume provides a valuable contribution to scholarship on modern Indonesian literature, and using the framework of postcolonialism, does much to make the literature accessible to non-Indonesianists. Scholars and students alike will welcome the breadth of coverage in terms of the texts discussed, together with the useful application of theory for a more nuanced reading of these works.

BEN MURTAGH

GRAYSON LLOYD and SHANNON SMITH (ed.):

*Indonesia today: challenges of history.*

(Indonesia Assessment Series, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.) xxii, 359 pp. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and Lanham MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.

This extremely well edited book, with twenty-five essays originally presented as papers to the Australian National University's Indonesia Update conference in October 2000 (when Abdurrahman Wahid was still president) remains highly important. The great majority of the essays approach Indonesia's situation at the turn of millennium from a relatively long historical perspective, so the book's subtitle makes perfect sense. Two of the essays should probably have been omitted, since they deal only with 'recent trends', and were thus already outdated when the book appeared. However, the rest are much more than updates. They describe trends and make comparisons across the political, economic and social fields, and demonstrate both great knowledge and an impressive capacity for reflective synthesis.

The topic is 'real history', the way it has been recorded and analysed by American, Australian and European scholars, not history as it is remembered by Indonesians themselves. There is a chapter (by Merle Ricklefs) on 'Indonesian views of the future', which ironically concentrates on seventeenth-century views of a future which by now is a distant path, but there is no chapter about Indonesian perceptions of the past. John Legge's essay 'The contingent and the unforeseen' is historiographical, but it is Western scholarship he summarizes, not Indonesian. Robert Elson notes that the historical discipline in Indonesia is weak, but that Indonesians are still 'deeply historically minded' and entertain several myths about their own history. Several such myths are dispelled or undermined in this volume, but it might have been interesting also to hear more about the myths themselves, their origins and impact.

The book is divided in three main parts, about political, economic and social history. Some subjects are discussed in all three parts. By reading Richard Chauvel's precise analysis of the widely different origins and orientations of regional resistance in Aceh, Maluku and Papua during the period since 1950 in combination with Wihana Kirana Jaya and Howard Dick's account of successive political regimes' zigzagging between centralizing and decentralizing reforms, and Robert Cribb's discussion of whether or not Java could be a viable independent state, one gets a precise and multi-faceted introduction to the subject of centre-periphery relations in Indonesia. Then the editors claim in their introduction that the underlying current of the book is Indonesia's struggle with the concept of being a truly inclusive nation, and its inability to invest real meaning in the slogan 'Unity in diversity'.

Another essay by Howard Dick on Indonesia's economic history 1900–2000 combines economic and political history and shows how closely related economic upswings and downturns have been with dramatic political and institutional change. Several chapters discuss the reasons behind Indonesia's highly impressive economic growth from Suharto's accession to power and all the way up to 1997, why this growth became so widely dispersed among the population, and why in the end it proved unsustainable.

There are excellent essays on Suharto's New Order State (Adrian Wickers), on the leadership styles of Sukarno and Gus Dur compared (Angus McIntyre), on the Indonesian parliament and party system (Greg Fealy), on conservative (David Bouchier) versus leftist (Goenawan Mohamad) ideologists, Suharto's systematic promotion of second-rate officers to top command positions (Atmadji Sumarkidjo), the prospects for moderate and radical Islam—before the Bali bomb—(Greg Barton), the situation of the Indonesian media (Philip Kitley), women's organizations, perceptions and political role (Susan Blackburn), and the tradition in Indonesia for the state to entertain violent criminal groups for political utilization when a need arises (Tim Lindsey). It is reassuring for a historian to notice that the quality of all these contemporary analyses is strongly enhanced by the authors' profound historical knowledge.

I said at the outset that the book is superbly edited. This is true. It is well organized, contains a good glossary, a combined bibliography for all twenty-five chapters, an excellent index and a wealth of useful tables and figures. The editors, Grayson Lloyd and Shannon Smith, both based in Canberra, have also summarized the book's concerns in an introduction and an afterword. While these are useful, they are no substitutes for reading the essays themselves. Most of them are so densely interesting that the book deserves to be read in its entirety.

ASHLEY SOUTH:

*Mon nationalism and civil war in Burma: The Golden Sheldrake.*

xxii, 419 pp. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. xxii, 419 pp. £55.

This is one of the few serious English-language studies of the Mon in the independence period. While colonial era scholars found the Mon highly interesting (and the numerous articles on them in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* is one major indication of this), the Mon were almost forgotten by post-independence scholars. South, a former postgraduate student at the School of Oriental and African Studies, spent over six years on the Thai-Burmese border from about 1990 and spent a significant amount of time in rebel-controlled zones along that border. Thus he brings to his study substantial personal experience and insights that continually enliven his discussion. The book consists of twenty chapters structured in six parts, the first part providing ethnographic information on the Mon, the second part covering Mon history in the precolonial and colonial periods, and the remainder the post-independence period.

The Mon continue to face, as South explains, a long-term process of Burmanization, seen in a more politicized context as Myanmarification by some, in which they and their culture are being absorbed by the main 'national' ethnic group (the Burmans) and denied an individual identity. Citing the work of Victor Lieberman, Michael Aung-Thwin, Robert Taylor, Michael Gravers and Gustaaf Houtman, South discusses the problematics of understanding ethnic identity in Burma, both in the past and today. However much the Mon began to self-define themselves in the colonial and postcolonial periods, the different political forces that have emerged among them indicate that ethnic identity has not meant political unity. Much of the remainder of the book examines the interplay of different political groups which, for Burma, necessarily means a narrative embodying a flurry of seemingly endless acronyms. At the centre of all of this is Mon resistance to the military government, refugee issues peculiar to the Mons, humanitarian issues that the Mon share with other Burmese, and the question of how to resolve the current human rights impasse in Burma. South asks questions about possible conflicts between different agendas bent on dealing with these issues and suggests that a new generation may be able to bring together the pursuit of ethnic rights and democracy (pp. 340–41).

South presents much hard data which should be useful for other researchers in the field. His discussion is clear and although he tends to let a linear narrative of events guide his discussion, he does raise significant points about the Mon situation. Of course, the major concern since 1962 has been the stand-off between Mon political groups and the military regime, which, for its part, sees the Mon as an absorbed and not as a separate people (with their own interests not necessarily shared by the state). Another challenge has been how to participate in contemporary Burmese politics in the context of Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy without sacrificing their peculiar ethnic interests or identity.

There are, as with any study, both oversights and problems. One oversight involves the author's discussion of ethnonyms and exonyms. While he places the terms Mon, Talaing and Pegan into context, South does not discuss 'Abbassi' (there are several spellings for this). It is debatable whether we

can view this apparently precolonial term as an ethnonym or an exonym, for the sources are ambiguous. Some discussion of the term should have been attempted, however, because it was used to differentiate some Mon from others and may question the existence of a sense of unified group identity. We might speak, for example, not of the Mon as a group, but of a number of different, competing Mon ethnic identities. Another important drawback of the book is that South appears to make scant use of indigenous language materials, though he does explain that he has consulted several (see bibliography, p. 404). But 'lowland' Burmese texts should have been used, certainly in the case of the initial two sections of the book, not to mention the relevance of Burmese-language documents for the post-independence period. Furthermore, his discussions of some sub-topics such as Arakanese history and the Rohingya would have benefited from a more thorough survey of the secondary literature, many key analyses having been missed. These problems aside, South has made use of substantial amounts of previously unused material, not only published in hard-copy, but also on the Internet.

This book is a valuable addition to the secondary literature on Burmese politics, especially since it focuses on the Mon. It is accessible to students and yet provides enough solid research to warrant serious attention from established scholars. South's book is thus highly recommended for both researchers and as a text in postgraduate courses.

MICHAEL W. CHARNEY

HUUB DE JONGE and NICO KAPTEIN (ed.):

*Transcending borders: Arabs, politics, trade and Islam in Southeast Asia.*

viii, 246 pp. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002. €27.50.

This volume results from a conference held at Leiden University in December 1997. Proceedings of conferences can often lack coherence, but this has been avoided through the inclusion of a helpful overview chapter at the beginning and a selection of revised conference papers that cross-fertilize in multiple ways.

In the introductory chapter, the editors point out that much previous scholarly attention has been devoted to specific minorities in South-East Asia: Chinese, Indians and Europeans especially. Comparatively little, however, has been given to Arab minorities. This is long overdue, argue the editors, given their 'great influence on economic, political, social, and religious developments in the region for centuries'. (p. 1). Engsens Ho begins the substantial papers with a challenge: 'The study of Arabs—or dimensions of "Arabness"—in maritime Southeast Asia is beset by a number of conceptual problems' (p. 11). Colonial history has created a scholarly dependence on boundaries in both time and space which do not necessarily reflect South-East Asian realities in earlier periods. Ho addresses this challenge by focusing on four eighteenth-century Arab immigrants to South-East Asia who achieved particular prominence in different regions: Trengganu, the Bugis area, Minangkabau, and Aceh. He demonstrates the mobility of the Arab immigrants across the South-East Asian region, making the most of political boundaries which were relatively undefined at the time.

Three papers address a range of issues pertaining to the British colonies in Malaya and Singapore. Mohammad Redzuan Othman focuses on British

Malaya during the period 1800–1941. He pays particular attention to the fragile relationship between the British and the Arab minority and also considers internal divisions within the Arab community, thus capturing some of the multi-layered nature of social diversity in the period under examination.

William Roff focuses on the Arab community in Singapore in the early part of the twentieth century, with particular reference to Sayyid Muhammad ibn ‘Aqil ibn Yahya al-‘Alawi (1863–1931), a prominent member of the Singapore Arab community. Also engaging with the Arabs in Singapore is Ulrike Freitag, who examines the rise of wealthy Hadrami merchants, whose story is central to the story of Singapore itself. Freitag considers four Arab families resident on the island who had, by the 1930s, come to serve as the trading elite of the local society.

Six chapters are devoted to Arab activity in the Netherlands East Indies, with most engaging to some degree with the impact of modernist thought.

Kees van Dijk explores the rise of pan-Islamic sentiment in the period 1890–1918. He argues that notions of fear, especially of pan-Islam, were driving Dutch colonial policy. Van Dijk initially relates the world phenomenon of pan-Islam to specific details in particular areas, then shifts the focus to specific cases of subversion and plotting, especially involving German attempts to trigger uprisings in British colonies in Asia.

Sumit Mandal is concerned with mechanisms for forging a modern Arab identity in Java in the early twentieth century. He first considers the Jam‘iyyat Khayr, established in 1903 principally as an educational organization, modern in technology and teaching method but conservative in content. Mandal examines the pan-Islam sympathies of the organization’s founders, and its role in forging a stronger Arab identity in the local community with the decline of Ottoman power. In the second part of the chapter Mandal outlines printing activities through which local Arabs contributed to emerging Islamic and national identity.

Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Shouk carries out a detailed study of a manuscript dating from 1943. It addresses the life of the Sudanese modernist immigrant to Indonesia, Ahmad Surkati, and the al-Irshad modernist movement. It provides further important information on the tensions between the Irshadis and their more conservative rivals among the local Arab community.

Huub de Jonge focuses on Snouck Hurgronje, the famous Dutch scholar and colonial adviser on Islam who lived in the Arab quarter of Batavia and gathered extensive materials on the Hadramis, but only published three articles on the subject. His advice to the colonial government centred on eighty-two recommendations, addressing two themes: the abolition of the restrictive pass system and associated ghettoization, and pan-Islam. He argued that pan-Islam was promoted by newly-arriving immigrants, and proposed stopping Hadrami immigration altogether. Snouck Hurgronje was thus at once an advocate on behalf of the resident Hadrami community and adversary of newly arriving activists.

The remaining two chapters detail specific aspects of Arab life and influence in the Netherlands East Indies. Nico Kaptein presents a very interesting examination of the Arab shrine of the Hadrami saint Habib Husayn ibn Abi Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aydarus. Kaptein details a debate surrounding shrine operations, especially relating to gifts to the shrine and who was entitled to them. Tensions over this issue involved both governing authorities and internal debates among members from the local Arab community. Kaptein shows how this conflict dissipated with the decrease of gift offerings under the rise of modernist thought in the early twentieth century.

William Clarence-Smith traces the economic role of Arabs in the horse trade in the Lesser Sunda Islands between 1800 and 1940. It was especially in this trade that the Arabs excelled compared with other minority groups. This chapter illustrates a commodity-focused approach in recent scholarship, showing the considerable extent to which commodities can provide information about economic, social and political life.

Although this volume had a lengthy gestation period, the result was worth waiting for and successfully captures the dynamic exchanges that characterized the conference itself. This volume serves as a worthy partner to the proceedings of the 1995 conference on Arab diasporas held at SOAS (Freitag and Clarence-Smith, *Hadhrami traders, scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s to 1960s*, Leiden: Brill, 1997). It is to be hoped that this research into Arab diasporas in South-East Asia will be carried forward in further scholarly activities.

PETER G. RIDDELL

GEOFF P. SMITH:

*Growing up with Tok Pisin: contact, creolization, and change in Papua New Guinea's national language.*

xi, 244 pp. London: Battlebridge, 2002. £18.

This book, a revised version of Smith's doctoral thesis, is a thorough linguistic analysis of a large corpus of Tok Pisin spoken as a first language in various parts of Papua New Guinea by subjects aged eleven to nineteen. Chapter 1 (pp. 3–22) is a discussion of the genesis of Tok Pisin within the context of pidgin and creole studies; chapter 2 (pp. 23–42) describes the collecting and transcribing of the corpus; chapter 3 (43–58) the phonology; chapter 4 (59–92) the morphology; chapter 5 (93–114) describes the lexicon: the large number of English loanwords found in Tok Pisin is unsurprising, but more surprising, in the absence of any well-defined standard for Tok Pisin, is the remarkably low degree of lexical differentiation by region. Chapter 6 (115–72) describes the syntax; of great interest to creolists is the appearance in the corpus of various combinations of tense, mood and aspect-marking particles; for example, *bin* 'past tense' and *sa* 'habitual' are found combined as *bin sa* to mark past habituality (*lo displa taim ol klen i bin sa fait* 'At this time the clans would fight'). Chapter 7 (173–98) describes various discourse processes. Chapter 8 (199–216) is a discussion of findings: its most interesting conclusion is that, while the influence of English upon Tok Pisin is indubitably growing, the two languages remain quite distinct in speakers' minds and cannot be said, at present, to form the endpoints of a continuum of the type which creolists are familiar with from countries such as Guyana or Jamaica. There follows an appendix (217–21), a bibliography (223–36) and an index (239–243); a number of excellent photographs of Papua New Guinea and its inhabitants adorn parts of the book (cover, pp. viii–xi, 216, 222, 237–8, 244).

This is an excellent, detailed study, written in a refreshingly clear style (free of typos) other scholars would do well to emulate. A few critical remarks follow:

p. 3. The CreoLIST discussion list and archives are no longer in existence.

p. 11. The discussion on the subject of indigenous missionary lingua francas is brief and does not appear to be directly relevant to the topic: however, readers unfamiliar with the area might be forgiven for not realizing that Kuanua (only

discussed in this part of the book) and Tolai (a language which played some part in the history of Tok Pisin, discussed later in the book) are one and the same language.

p. 25. It is odd that Smith should speak of the Austronesian/Papuan language divide as being a typological one, since earlier (p. 8) he had quite correctly pointed out that Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea had influenced one another heavily.

p. 35. In describing the process of eliciting and recording data, Smith explains that as a rule, in schools, he was introduced as a visitor from the Papua New Guinea University of Technology, and spent a good deal of time answering students' questions on this University. While frankly acknowledging that a school setting does make it likelier that a more anglicized Tok Pisin might be used (and indeed, on pp. 213–5 he expresses the hope that future studies on Tok Pisin will involve researchers who are themselves native speakers or primary users of the language), the fact that Smith as a rule introduced himself as coming from a prestigious New Guinea University would practically appear to guarantee the use by informants of a more anglicized register; why he did not simply introduce himself as an outsider with a strong interest in Tok Pisin, thereby at least minimizing this effect of the 'observer's paradox', is unclear to this reviewer.

p. 103. Smith points out that the semantic range of many Tok Pisin words differs from that of their English etyma: thus, Tok Pisin *dai* has a broader semantic range than English 'die', and can also mean 'cease, be unconscious', and Smith adds that this is typical of New Guinea languages, implying that we are dealing with a case of substrate influence. However, considering the reduced lexicon of a pidgin, one would expect the semantic range of most words to broaden in any event, and an instance of semantic narrowing might be a more convincing example of substrate influence.

Fascinating though this book is, one can only hope that Smith's call for future research will be heeded, since, while Tok Pisin and English remain quite separate languages, Smith does note (p. 202) that Tok Pisin is making less and less use of its own native derivational processes to create new words; large-scale borrowing from English being increasingly used instead, this situation does lead one to wonder whether Tok Pisin in the long run has any future as a separate language. Whatever the future may hold, it is imperative that, while they still can, linguists avail themselves of this fascinating opportunity to witness the nativization of a pidgin first-hand. Smith's book has definitely set a high standard which other creolists would do well to follow.

STÉPHANE GOYETTE

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## AFRICA

MICHAEL A. KNIBB:

*Translating the Bible: the Ethiopic version of the Old Testament.*

(The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1995.) xii, 145 pp.  
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. £20.

In 1967, the Schweich Lectures were given by Edward Ullendorff to the British Academy and published under the title *Ethiopia and the Bible*. In the 1995



Schweich Lectures, Professor Michael Knibb of King's College London revisited this topic, focusing particularly on the translation of the Old Testament into Ge'ez (Ethiopic). This book is a revision of those lectures and provides a thorough and highly informative evaluation of this neglected issue.

Knibb begins by noting the enormous increase in the availability of manuscripts since Ullendorff's 1967 lectureship, primarily as a result of the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library project. In turn, the importance of these texts has been greatly enhanced by the strides made in the study of Ethiopian palaeography which place the dating of Ethiopic manuscripts on much firmer ground.

With scarcely any of Ullendorff's hesitancy, Knibb asserts the traditional view that the Ethiopic Old Testament was translated from the Greek in the Aksumite period which ended in the early seventh century. He notes that it is now possible to identify specific textual types behind various portions of the Old Testament—all the text types are represented—and in some cases even specific miniscules. Unlike Ullendorff, Knibb doubts that the original translation was influenced by Syriac translations. Knibb undermines this view in two stages. First, he points out that the evidence that a group of Syrian missionaries known as the Nine Saints were responsible for the translation of the scriptures into Ge'ez is weaker than commonly assumed. Second, he regards as unproven the idea that the missionaries were indeed Syrian. The origins of the Ethiopic translation with Syrian missionaries has been key to the view that the Syriac influenced the original translation, but Knibb thinks it rather more likely that Syriac influence was mediated through an Arabic version in the medieval period.

Knibb also disputes Ullendorff's view that some influence from the Hebrew took place at the time of the original translation. Much of the evidence for Hebrew influence comes from the existence of transliterations of Hebrew words. However, except where Hebraic transliterations have passed into Ethiopic through the Greek, the transliterations are isolated in manuscripts that are from no earlier than the sixteenth century.

Knibb concludes the first chapter by briefly sketching the textual history of the Ethiopic translation. Very little of the Old Testament text as it stood before 1350 has been preserved. During the literary revival of the fourteenth century, the so-called vulgar recension emerged. It is something of a misnomer to speak of a recension inasmuch as the texts produced at this time were not part of a systematic revision. Most of the changes were not textually based, but were spontaneous scribal alterations which sought to produce a smoother text. To the extent that the changes were textually based, the texts used were Arabic. The paucity of texts that pre-date the fourteenth century makes it very difficult to distinguish systematically between the unrevised Old Ethiopic and the revised texts of the fourteenth century to which the vast majority of extant older manuscripts date. The third stage in the history of the Ethiopic text is the systematic and Hebraizing revision reflected in manuscripts which date from the seventeenth century onwards. These manuscripts belong to the 'academic recension' and stem from a period of considerable contact between Ethiopia and the outside world.

Following the first chapter is an appendix which assesses the biblical quotations in inscriptions which date to the Aksumite period and thus pre-date the earliest extant manuscripts by hundreds of years. The inscriptions are limited in number and are mostly from the Psalms. They do not evince strong textual differences as compared with the oldest available manuscripts and thus do not suggest a radically different early form of the text.

In the second chapter, Knibb takes up the topic of translation technique. He acknowledges two fundamental difficulties: knowing the underlying Greek text and knowing the original translation. Despite these difficulties, Knibb believes it is possible to form an opinion about the general character and accuracy of the Ethiopic translation. The translation may be characterized as literal and often the Greek and its word order are followed so closely as to result in a translation that is unintelligible. However, at times this close reading of the Greek text did allow for the demands of the Ethiopic language resulting in renderings which were faithful rather than literal.

Despite the generally literal character of the translation, a number of both pluses and minuses are evident in the translation vis-à-vis the LXX. The pluses are fewer in number and are much less significant than the minuses. Though some of these will have entered the Ethiopic in transmission, many others suggest that free translations were frequently made even in the course of an otherwise literal rendering. Free translations are especially evident where the Greek text is obscure or awkward. Sometimes mistranslation also occurs, though it is not always easy to distinguish mistranslation from free translation or indeed deliberate reinterpretation. An interesting case of this is Dan 2:1 where the Greek text reads: 'In the second year of his reign, Nebuchadnessar dreamed a dream, and his spirit was disturbed, and his sleep left him'. By contrast, the Ethiopic reads, 'In the second year of his reign, Nebuchadnessar dreamed a dream, and his spirit was disturbed, and he forgot his dream'. The existence of mistranslations, free translations, interpretive translations and not altogether predictable alterations stemming from the constraints of Ethiopic demonstrates the difficulty of retroverting from the Ethiopic to the Greek. In Knibb's view, it is thus not altogether happy that in their recent Discoveries in the Judaeian Desert publication of parabiblical texts, VanderKam and Milik ('Jubilees' in H. Attvidge *et al.* *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I*) (Discoveries in the Judaeian Desert 13), Oxford, 1994, 1–140) attempted a very extensive retroversion from the Ethiopic not merely to the intervening Greek text but to the original Hebrew text of Jubilees.

In the third and final chapter, Knibb addresses the issues of consistency and diversity. He begins by lamenting the lack of a Greek–Ethiopic concordance or even a simple Ethiopic concordance to the Old Testament which would allow for a more systematic assessment of how consistently the Ethiopic translation rendered particular Greek words. He therefore bases his assessment on Ethiopic Ezekiel (for which he is currently preparing a critical edition). He focuses especially on cases in which a lack of correspondence between the Ethiopic and the Greek arose for reasons other than misreading by the translator or corruption in the Greek text. Some of these have to do with a failure to understand the Greek text. Others arose because of free renderings or because the Ethiopic had a much more limited range of vocabulary than did the Greek. Thus the Ethiopic of Ezekiel employs approximately 1,100 different words whereas the Septuagint makes use of around 1,500, resulting in a translation which 'has a somewhat levelled-down appearance'. Knibb notes the tendency to render a given Greek word with the same Ethiopic word, but this tendency does not go so far as to suggest that the translators consciously tried to achieve absolute consistency. In Knibb's judgement, the translators worked instinctively, choosing the word which seemed most natural. This often resulted in consistency but sometimes also in diversity.

Professor Knibb is to be commended for his careful and insightful work. He brings readers who are new to the subject up to date on the state of scholarship on the Ethiopic scriptures, but also moves that scholarship another

step forward. Several questions did arise for this reader. Knibb argues that the original translation of the Old Testament was made only from the Greek. But if the original translation did not make use of other texts, as many have argued, why was this the case? Knibb's view on this is directly related to the question of the Ethiopian canon. Did the exclusive use of the Septuagint simply reflect the competencies of the translators? Or was it a studied choice? Perhaps definitive answers to these questions cannot be given, but the issues Knibb addresses certainly raise the problem of the shape of the Ethiopian canon at its early stages. As is well known, the contemporary Ethiopian Orthodox Church differs from other Eastern churches in the extent of its Old Testament canon which is much broader than the Septuagint. Jubilees and Enoch are regarded as part of the canon. Like the rest of the Ethiopic Old Testament, they were translated from the Greek during the Aksumite period. Were they considered canonical from the earliest stage?

In his earlier work on 1 Enoch, Knibb considered it highly probable that the Ethiopic translators had knowledge of Aramaic texts as well as the Greek. Does the argument of the present work call that earlier conclusion into question? Is it not problematic to argue that neither Syriac nor Hebrew influenced the Old Testament until the medieval period or later but that Aramaic influenced 1 Enoch in the Aksumite period?

A rather different sort of question has to do with the value of the Ethiopic for the text criticism of the LXX. There is in Knibb's work little direct consideration of this issue, but it is striking that his evaluation of differences between the LXX and the Ethiopic tends to assume that these must be attributed to the Ethiopic translators. Are there not some instances, at least, where the Ethiopic simply reflects a variant reading already present in its *vorlage*?

These questions do not diminish the value of Knibb's work but rather demonstrate its usefulness for stimulating further research in a field to which this book makes a very important contribution.

STEVEN M. BRYAN

AZEB AMHA:

*The Maale language.*

(CNWS Publications, 99.) x, 317 pp. Leiden: Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies, Universiteit Leiden, 2001. €27.23.

Maale, spoken in south-western Ethiopia, is the sole member of the Southern branch of the Omoto language group, which together form the largest division of the Omotic language family. Whilst the Maale, who number around 46,000, are well-known through various anthropological studies, research on their language was minimal until the appearance of the present volume, confined as it mostly was to an unpublished grammatical sketch and word-list collected by Don Donham and comparative remarks using otherwise unpublished data by scholars such as R. J. Hayward. Whilst the last decade or so has seen a considerable expansion in the publication of studies on individual Omotic languages and Omotic in general, the present volume is without doubt the most in-depth book-length description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of an Omotic language that we have to date. This is not to denigrate the value of recent descriptions such as those of Lamberti, but their orientation

is somewhat different, focusing more on a comparative slant and less on a comprehensive synchronic description.

The author expressly does not adopt a particular theoretical model in her description, but follows a more or less 'problem-oriented' approach, where necessary discussing competing current theories and models of description as appropriate to the Maale material itself. Two especially interesting features of Maale that challenge various theoretical models are the presence of portman-teau morphemes, where a single exponent carries two or more morphemic categories, such as, for instance, definiteness and case in nouns, and the obligatory expression of a single grammatical function in more than one place in the morpheme string that makes up a word, for instance negation in verbs. Accordingly, the present volume is not only valuable for the detail of linguistic data about Maale that it provides, but also for the insight into how the author has achieved her analysis of that data. Nonetheless, she does not shy away from highlighting areas where contrasting models of analysis do not seem to provide a ready answer to problems in the Maale data itself, for instance the marker *-atsi*, which functions as a definite masculine singular marker, an indefinite plural marker, and a nominalizer, an interesting example of economy of inflection. Occasionally, the author also adds some comparative data from other Omoto languages in discussing possible analyses of the Maale material. This is always done in something of a rightly cautious manner, and avoids the degree of speculation sometimes found in other recent publications on Omotic.

The book comprises the sections that one would expect of a descriptive grammar, dealing with phonological, morphological and syntactic issues. An interesting feature of Maale phonology is the co-occurrence restrictions of sibilants, whereby, like many other Omotic languages, a well-formedness condition requires that all the sibilants within a word must agree in palatalization, as for instance in *súntsi* 'name' where both sibilants are non-palatalized, contrasting with *fúcci* 'stone' where both are palatalized, and \**fútsi* or \**súnci* would be impossible forms. Maale is a tone language with a simple H-L contrast, unlike some other Omoto languages which have stress-accent systems, and a large section of the chapter on phonology is devoted to the description of this system. It is not clear, however, why it is necessary to assign two identical tones to long vowels, so that a two-syllable word such as *wúúró* 'fox' is described as HHH, the same as three-syllable *ʔómʔóló* 'beans', since sliding tones *v̄v* or *v̄v̄* do not exist in Maale. Another analysis that is unclear is why diphthongs are generally treated and marked as sequences of two vowels both necessarily with the same tone, such as *koida* 'chicken' or *k'óida* 'grain drying place'. There are, however, some hesitations, as *ʔoidó* 'four' but *tabbo ʔoydó* 'fourteen'.

The chapters on morphology cover nouns, pronouns, verbs, nominal and verbal modifiers, including adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, adverbs, and so on. In addition a chapter is devoted to ideophones and interjections, though oddly this comes after several chapters discussing topics of syntax. Some morphologically marked categories such as transitivity, interrogatives and negatives are given chapters of their own at the syntax end of the book, though they are also treated comprehensively in the relevant morphological discussions. Maale is a language that is rich in interesting features, not just for the linguist specializing in Omotic or Ethiopian languages, but also as a source for the general linguist of perhaps unusual typology. I have already alluded to the complex interaction of definiteness, gender and number in nouns, exemplified

by the formative *-atsi*, where ‘two diametrically opposed values for definiteness and number are rendered formally identical’ (p. 54). The author devotes some twenty pages to the description and discussion of these categories and their interaction with primary case (absolute v. nominative) in Maale, which can at times become very complex. Sometimes the reader may become confused, however, by the otherwise excellent item-by-item glossing of the illustrative examples, where the suffix *-atsi* (definite + masculine + nominative) is for example simply identified as ‘M:NOM’ and the feature of definiteness is ignored, as in example 43b on p. 56. Though it may seem unfair to focus on places where the description is potentially confusing, it is important in the description of any language, let alone of such an interestingly complex one, that clarity and transparency of description prevail. So, for instance, in section 3.5.2 (p. 58) we are told regarding peripheral case markers, ‘except in some occurrences of the Locative, the other peripheral cases are preceded by the Absolute marker *-ó*’. Yet on the same page, in example 45, we find forms such as dative *ʔanni-m* ‘for a husband’ and *doollé-m* ‘for a pigeon’. The dative suffix *-m* is indeed added to the absolute form, but it is surely in definite nouns that the marker *-ó* is needed, as in *ʔas-ó-m* ‘to the people’ in example 47b.

The morphological analyses are for the most part exemplary and are well argued, not least wherever Maale presents challenging data. However, one place where this reviewer would take issue concerns the treatment of the 2PL personal pronoun, *ʔintsi* ‘you’. The author cogently argues that the 3rd person pronouns are constructed on a base *ʔi-* to which various formatives found in the morphology of nouns are added, but it seems perverse also to argue that *ʔintsi* comprises the same 3rd person base *ʔi-* plus the definite noun plural suffix *-ntsi*, especially when comparative evidence suggests that *ʔintsi* is itself a primary base, just like other 1st and 2nd person pronouns, as for example Wolaitta *hiinte*, Gamo *ʔintee*, Bench *yinti*, and so on.

A particularly interesting feature of verbal morphology is the two-tier system of causative or transitivity marking. A number of verb roots have special causative stems formed by modifying the final consonant, as *mic’c’* ‘burn’ (intr.): *micc-* ‘burn’ (tr.), to which a causative extension may also be added, producing such forms as *mic’c’-is-* ‘make something burn’ and *micc-is-* ‘make someone burn something’, or with doubled causative marker *mic’c’-is-is-* ‘have something burned (by someone)’. Sometimes an element of deliberateness as against accident is included in the semantics, as in *kess-* ‘let out (deliberately)’ but *késk-is-* ‘let out (by accident)’, both from the base form *késk-* ‘go out’.

As in these last instances, the Ethiopianist linguist will find much that is reminiscent of other languages of the area, as well as things that are unusual. At random, one notices an up-down dimension in deixis, the presence of different negative markers in imperative forms, the occurrence of ideophones with the lexical verb ‘say’, the formal and contrastive marking of declarative main verb forms, as well as more specific features such as the use of the verb ‘hold’, an auxiliary in the sense of ‘begin’, and the meaning of the causative derivative of ‘want’ in the sense of ‘need’.

This is an excellent study of an otherwise little-known language, that hopefully will form the model for future descriptions of languages of the region, and is to be all the more welcomed as being the work of one of an emerging generation of young Ethiopian linguists.

PHILIP J. JAGGAR:

*Hausa.*

(London Oriental and African Language Library, 7.) xxxiii, 754 pp.  
Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2001. €200.

How little did I, as a person with some basic knowledge of Hausa, in fact know about this language! This was the conclusion I arrived at after reading the reference grammar under review here. The sixteen chapters covering phonology, morphology, syntax, as well as pragmatic structures, contain analyses representing generally accepted knowledge about this Chadic language. But at the same time there are interesting novelties and ideas not discussed, or barely discussed, in previous treatments. For example, after the discussion of Hausa phonology (ch. 2), the author presents a detailed account of the classification of nouns (ch. 3), where it is pointed out (pp. 32–3), amongst other things, that specific nouns may be used either as (masculine or feminine) singular or as plural (collective) nouns without any distinct morphological marking on the noun itself. Thus, *jàma'ǎ* as a noun triggering feminine singular agreement means 'public', whereas the same form, when used as a plural, is apparently best translated as 'people'. One wonders how common this phenomenon in fact is in Chadic. It would seem typologically to link up number marking in this Afroasiatic branch with specific phenomena described for Cushitic languages by Greville G. Corbett (*Number*. Cambridge: CUP, 2000) under the heading of 'general number'. In the Eastern Cushitic language Bayso, for example, morphologically simplex nouns (i.e. nouns not inflected for number) can have a singular or a plural meaning.

As shown in ch. 4 (on formal properties of nouns and verbs) and ch. 5 (on nominal and adjectival derivation), Hausa adjectives pattern along with nouns, rather than with verbs, in terms of singular-plural alternations, but also with respect to derivational rules, as well as the rich compounding system. Hausa turns out to be particularly rich in this latter domain; from the various examples discussed by Jagggar, several of which are hilarious, one not only gets an impression of the great sense of humour among Hausa speakers, but also of their creativity in building new words.

Chapter 6, on the tense-aspect-mood system and ch. 7, on the intricate verb grade system, present detailed descriptions of these relatively well-understood grammatical phenomena in Hausa. But again the author also describes phenomena not widely discussed elsewhere, e.g. stacking of derivation, in particular with verbs falling outside the basic system (commonly referred to as Grade 0 verbs). Thus, a verb in Grade 4 (expressing a totality-conclusive, separative-deprivative, unaccusative function or meaning, according to Jagggar), such as *shàny-ō*, 'drink up', apparently may also occur as a Grade 6 form in order to express motion of the agent, e.g. *shàny-ō* 'drink up and come'. Here one comes to realize that Jagggar has an encyclopedic knowledge of the morphological structure of the language, as well as of etymological relations between words. And here as well as elsewhere, e.g. in the next chapter (8), on verbal nouns, deverbal nouns and infinitives, another positive feature of the monograph manifests itself: many sentences illustrating specific grammatical phenomena appear to have been drawn from natural discourse, whether newspaper clippings or radio and television programmes, rather than from scheduled elicitation. Also, throughout the grammar idiolect variation between speakers, e.g. on the acceptability of specific constructions, is discussed, thereby showing that languages are never monolithic units. Moreover, the

author does not shy away from a domain which has received little attention in African linguistics otherwise, namely semantics.

In the next three chapters, Jaggar focuses on formal syntactic properties: ch. 9 on noun phrase syntax, ch. 10 on personal non-subject pronouns, and ch. 11 on the syntax of simplex clauses. Chapter 12, on focus, questions, relativization and topicalization, groups together prominent discourse properties of Hausa, in particular in simple clauses.

Complex clauses are the subject of the next three chapters, chapters 13 on clausal complements, 14 on clausal coordination and subordination, and 15 on adverbial functions. And here too, the author treats topics barely found in earlier studies on Hausa, such as ‘cognate complements’. For anybody who has tried to produce a descriptive grammar—and Jaggar’s Hausa study fortunately is couched within such a basic linguistic grammar concept—the order in which one decides to present the structure of a specific language presents a major challenge. Jaggar decided to discuss clausal cohesion before his treatment of constructions which appear to form a closer structural unit with core constituents, namely adverb phrases and prepositional phrases, although the reason for this remains unclear. The grammar is concluded (ch. 16) with a selection of texts and a discussion of the historical background to the Arabic and Latin script.

Obviously, it is not possible in a review of the present size to do justice to the depth of Jaggar’s analyses, nor to take issue with certain presentations. But let me just mention, in a spirit of constructive criticism, two topics related to chapters 14 and 16 deserving some space in a reference grammar. The author appears to assume a binary distinction in terms of clausal cohesion between coordination and subordination for Hausa. But given the various morpho-syntactic properties playing a role in these complex syntactic constructions, a representation with a multivalued (rather than a binary) scale appears to be more realistic. At over 700 pages of text, the author may have stretched the possibilities for publication with most publishers. But again, in narrative discourse (e.g. in the texts presented in ch. 16) the various morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties as discussed in earlier studies interact with each other. It would have been interesting to see how these properties are combined, for example in order to enhance storyline events.

Being the proverbial British gentleman, Jaggar makes reference throughout his grammar to what other authors have claimed about specific topics. It comes as no big surprise that Newman (*The Hausa language: an encyclopedic reference grammar*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000) plays a particularly prominent role in this respect. But whereas the latter monograph, I would argue, is structured in such a way as to be of value to students of Hausa with a basic knowledge of this Chadic language who want to know more, and, second, for students of general linguistics seeking detailed information about specific phonological or grammatical phenomena, Jaggar’s grammar is written as a general overview of the language accessible to anybody who wants a detailed analysis of the language as a whole.

It requires specific talents not only to know so much about a given language, but also to be able to arrive at a synthesis, rather than getting lost in nitty-gritty details. In this sense, Jaggar’s magnum opus, the result of several years of hard work, is indeed a masterpiece. With his contribution, the author has set a new hallmark in the tradition of Hausa scholarship at SOAS. His grammar also makes one realize how little we know about most other African languages.

NIALL FINNERAN:

*The archaeology of Christianity in Africa.*

192 pp. Stroud: Tempus, 2002. £19.99.

Dr Finneran's book occupies a clearly identified niche and could fill an important gap in the available literature. All too often African Christianity has been seen as identical to the activities of Western missionaries in colonial and post-colonial Africa. Here, Finneran provides five detailed studies: on Christianity in Roman North Africa, Coptic Egypt, Medieval Nubia, the Ethiopian highlands and colonial sub-Saharan Africa. The plan is admirable; the result is sadly disappointing.

The treatment, as the title indicates, is largely archaeological. Some mention is made of historical data when these are necessary to provide context, but little attention is paid to questions of religious belief or practice. It is to be regretted that Finneran so infrequently uses his archaeological expertise to question conventional historical wisdom, as in connection with the dating of the Lalibela churches. The book's importance lies more in its plan and its juxtaposition of topics that are rarely considered together, than in new insights or interpretations.

The book is well and clearly written, being apparently based mainly on published sources. It shows signs of hasty compilation and, in places, inadequate familiarity with the material. To cite a few examples: Christians were persecuted under Aurelian, not Marcus Aurelius (p. 19); the account of name-changes from Byzantium to Constantinople to Istanbul is confused (p. 32); Henry Salt first arrived in Ethiopia in 1804, not 1802 (p. 128); Yeha lies north-east of Aksum, not north-west (p. 129); the engraving reproduced and dated to the eighteenth century in fig. 59 was published in 1809, based on a sketch of 1805 (p. 134). For the record, because it is not attributed by Finneran, the engraving is plate 8 in volume III of Viscount Valentia's *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt* (London: Miller, 1809). These are all (apart from the first) relatively minor points, but they do not generate confidence in the reliability of Finneran's text.

Unfortunately, there are more serious matters, for many of which the publisher rather than the author must be held responsible. The illustrations are a disgrace. Photographs, especially those in colour, are very poorly reproduced. The maps are rudimentary and inelegant; some (e.g. fig. 34) have incorrect scales. The line drawings, the reader is informed, have been redrawn from published sources; but no attempt seems to have been made to achieve uniformity of scale, alignment or convention. More importantly, it is impossible to trace the original sources on which they are based: a note on p. 6 purports to list these but is incomplete and gives references (e.g. 'Munro-Hay 1989') which are not further identified. For an ostensibly scholarly book, the bibliographic apparatus is wholly inadequate: there are no references in the text, while the brief 'Further reading' sections appended to each chapter are cursory and largely limited to secondary overviews. The presence of a reasonable number of references is not a deterrent to the general reader.

It is unfortunate that Dr Finneran's laudable aims and undoubted scholarship have in this instance been so poorly served by his publisher.

DAVID W. PHILLIPSON



## GENERAL

DAVID ARNOLD and CHRISTOPHER SHACKLE (ed.):

*SOAS since the sixties.*

[vi], 185 pp. London: SOAS, 2003.

Though the alliterating title and smart production may lead one to expect a glorified prospectus, there is more to this publication than first meets the eye. As a self-declared continuation of the earlier history of the School produced by Sir Cyril Phillips in 1967 it can at least claim the authority of tradition in dispensing with both footnotes and an index, even if one regrets that a new version of the very useful organizational chart appended to the earlier volume, which shows exactly what the director thought every member of his staff was doing, has not been attempted—perhaps no one knows any more what is even supposed to be going on. We do however get, besides a much more generous helping of illustrations, a couple of charts (pp. 4–5) demonstrating the generally steady rise in undergraduate numbers, and the somewhat more complex progress at taught postgraduate and research student levels, though the reader is not thereafter unduly burdened with statistics. A few of these admittedly might have been quite interesting: obviously, for example, the proportion of students working in language departments has decreased, but it would be gratifying to learn what progress has been made in absolute terms.

In other respects, in any case, this new volume spectacularly breaks the bounds of its predecessor—no magisterial overview, no single authoritative voice presenting a discreetly unitary account of developments, but rather a plethora of individual viewpoints, covering not only the three faculties of current organization but also brief histories of the directorship, the library and even the SOAS estate. True, the tone throughout remains predominantly that of official history—where dissent and doubts are expressed, as for example with regard to recent administrative rearrangements or to the loss of the geography department to King's College, the language remains the considered expression of the reasonable thoughts of reasonable men. It is left to the one woman to contribute, our archivist Rosemary Seton, to give the first hint that SOAS is actually a much more strange and entertaining place than the genre of official history can describe, by revealing that the School is the proud possessor of some of the correspondence of one of the greatest screen monsters of cinematic history, Boris Karloff (1887–1969).

On re-reading, however, it becomes clear that at least one other contributor has found a means of circumventing convention, at any rate with regard to the start of the era covered, by going beyond Sir Cyril's historical survey, here condensed by David Arnold into an opening chapter, and consulting also his autobiography, written more recently, at a time when he had already outlived a good number of potential initiators of libel actions. So in one passage at least names are named and their characters in Sir Cyril's eyes succinctly summarized, thus adding a bit of flesh and blood to the bare outline of academic progress, and retreat. Only one contributor here however consistently ventures to provide more personal descriptions not simply of the departed but of those who, while long since retired, are still within reach of their lawyers. But Hugh Baker's concluding chapter on what it has really been like to be part of our community over the years is a deeply affectionate account of the extraordinary

range of unusual and generally highly admirable human beings who have passed through our portals, and if any offence is given, I am sure that none was intended.

So the message for the future is at one level at least quite plain. If the next undertaking in this series is to be a livelier affair, then we must all set to in order to live a long time and then publish candid reminiscences of a resolutely personal nature. But what of the message for the future of SOAS, the official topic of the volume? That is, for all the thought that has gone into the making of this work, a little less clear. The School is such a vibrant microcosm, incorporating within its cramped central spaces most of the civilized world beyond 'the West', and is also so utterly without comparable rivals anywhere across the world, that there is always going to be a tendency to treat it in isolation. But despite its at times rather uncomfortable niche within British education, it is not even completely true that the rest of this nation is nothing but a wasteland of ignorant insularity with regard to Asia and Africa, and not at all true internationally, within the global market wherein we compete for students. To make sense of where we are going, what is needed is more than a domestic history: nothing narrower than a global perspective on education concerning Asia and Africa will do. That is something that even the team of eminent authors gathered together in this instructive and eminently readable book might hesitate to attempt, but it too is a task that needs to be undertaken. One trusts, moreover, that in such a future work there will be footnotes, and furthermore that they will take due cognizance of the very valuable source for the unfolding of Asian and African studies in one rather important corner of British higher education that this collective effort provides.

T. H. BARRETT

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#### SHORT NOTICES

NELIDA FUCCARO:

*The other Kurds: Yazidis in colonial Iraq.*

230 pp. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999.

This is a historical monograph profiling a minority religious community in Northern Iraq and its activities under the British mandate. The Yazidis, whose culture and language are Kurdish, practise a syncretistic religion based on orthopraxy rather than scriptural text, which has been the object of much academic interest, and is now thought to be a combination of Islamic, Jewish and Christian elements and a belief system based on an old Iranian faith. Many older studies make much of the distinctiveness of the Yazidis in relation to the People of the Book surrounding them; one of the many bonuses of Fuccaro's book is its rejection of the 'splendid isolation' of the Yazidis, and its determination to set them in the appropriate socio-political context. Consequently it is concerned with identities and their evolution and interaction, at the level of family, religious polity, tribe and ethnic group, alongside the larger processes of state formation.

The work focuses in particular on the Yazidis of Mount Sinjar, on the Iraqi-Syrian border—especially interesting as almost all the 'classic' studies

describe the Yazidis of Sheikhan, in the plains nearer Mosul. It is clear that relations between the two groups were not always straightforward. Sources used include the archives of European religious orders, French and British official documents, Arabic material, and the papers of C. J. Edmonds. The analysis of this wealth of new material reveals complex dynamics within communities—for instance, the tensions which could drive one religiously conservative Yazidi chief to ally himself with Muslims against another. It provides not only new information, but also much food for thought at a time when Iraq is once again under foreign control and its coherence as a state is in question.

CHRISTINE ALLISON

R. KEITH SCHOPPA:

*Song full of tears: nine centuries of Chinese life at Xiang Lake.*  
xx, 290 pp. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002. £12.99.

Back in 1989, when this study was first issued by Yale University Press, North American scholars had for the first time in several decades been able to exploit renewed opportunities for studying China at the local level, and to begin to make use of local sources not represented in their own university libraries. In that context this study of a lakeside community not far from Hangzhou provided an exemplary demonstration of how historical research over a long time span could be conducted in such a situation. Then the novelty of describing as no more than a 'lake chronicler and activist' the great seventeenth-century classicist Mao Qiling, whose erudition deeply impressed the Victorian translator James Legge despite his lack of literary flair, would have seemed almost perverse.

Now we are all much more accustomed to Chinese local history, though similar studies are still relatively rare, no doubt because doctoral candidates considering presenting themselves as experts on a tiny corner of a large country worry somewhat about invidious comparisons being made with those taking on much bolder themes. The result of this is that local history by non-Chinese scholars seems likely to remain an occasional indulgence on the part of historians who have established their reputations—like the author of this work—by other means. Yet there is clearly much that can be learned from a reading of this slightly claustrophobic long-term history, not least concerning the incidence of violence in the lives of those living even in quiet areas of central China. For to judge by the tale unfolded here, a chronic low-level skulduggery occasionally (if far too often) gave way without warning to incursions of quite intense violence, whether from Manchu invaders, Taiping rebels, or Japanese bombers.

It is gratifying, therefore, to read in an Epilogue to this convenient paperback edition that the area has in most recent times prospered modestly, even if prosperity has brought its own share of problems, such as pollution. Happy the community without an excess of history; happy the historian who is able to end his tale with no major threat looming over the lives of those whom he has chronicled.

T. H. BARRETT

JEAN A. BERLIE:

*East Timor, a bibliography.*

225 pp. Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2001. £21.

If bibliographies range from the comprehensive to the idiosyncratically selective, this one definitely comes at the latter end of the range. For more comprehensive, if less recent, compilations, readers still need to consult the works of Kevin Sherlock and Ian Rowland. Berlie provides extensive quotations, summaries and comments, albeit only for some items, and very much reflecting his own interests. He excludes scientific topics, including health, while including selected archival documents and newspaper articles. Among these items, unusual for a bibliography, are extracts from Portuguese secret police files and abundant articles drawn from *Le Monde*. Entries are in a number of different languages, with much translation into English, a rather unusual arrangement for a book published in Paris. The overall effect is somewhat quirky, and yet the book provides useful insights into the manifold problems facing Asia's newest nation, as well as nuggets of information for historians and anthropologists. Unfortunately, the only index is for names of authors, which hinders the mining of the gems that lie dispersed through this little volume.

W.G. CLARENCE-SMITH