
Reviews of Books

THE STORIES OF THE PROPHETS. By IBN MUṬARRIF AL-ṬARAFĪ. Edited with an introduction and notes by ROBERTO TOTTOLI. pp. ii, 132 English, pp. 200 Arabic. *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, 253. Berlin, Klaus Schawz Verlag, 2003.
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Recent years have witnessed an increase of interest in the *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* literature, and a major contributor to this research has been Roberto Tottoli, whose 1996 Ph.D. dissertation at the Istituto Universitario Orientale (Naples) comprised a detailed introduction to the genre and an annotated edition and Italian translation of the text presented here, with a full bibliography. The Italian translation has appeared as his *Storie dei profeti* (Genova, Melangolo, 1997), and Tottoli has since gone on to publish a comprehensive analysis of this literature – the first major comprehensive assessment since the seminal work of Tilman Nagel, *Die Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Bonn, 1967) – in his *I profeti biblici nella tradizione islamica* (Brescia, Paideia, 1999), translated by the author as *Biblical Prophets in the Qurʾān and Muslim Literature* (Richmond, Curzon, 2002). The present volume provides the edition of al-Ṭarafī's Arabic text, with a revised introduction and expanded annotations in English.

Al-Ṭarafī (d. 454/1062) was an Andalusian scholar about whom little is known. He was born and died in Cordoba and seems to have spent his professional life there, and his scholarly interests are attested in the fields of *qirāʾāt*, *tafsīr*, and *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*. In the introduction to the present work (pp. 5–6 Arabic, paras. 1–2) al-Ṭarafī lauds the prophets of Islam and observes that “every high-minded person” should be keen to study and know this material, thus suggesting that his own work has some didactic purpose. Be that as it may, in content his text is similar to others in the genre, and Tottoli convincingly argues that his purpose was narrowly exegetical: to provide additional information on the prophets mentioned in the Qurʾān. This principle he follows strictly throughout the book. He gives accounts of the 24 prophets named in the Qurʾān and the seven others alluded to in the Islamic scripture but not specifically named, but since his purpose is not to sketch out a paradigm of sacred history or draw connections among the various prophets he does not feel obliged to adhere to the historical sequence normally used for these figures. Similarly, he excludes personalities and events that often appear in *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* books, but which do not figure in the Qurʾān, or persons who appear in the Qurʾān but were not prophets (such as the *ahl al-kahf*). He is likewise silent on numerous topics that do arise in the Qurʾān, e.g. Abraham's visit to Ishmael and the miracles of Jesus. Such points might suggest that the work was left unfinished, but Tottoli considers this possibility and argues against it, although the end of the work does indeed seem to be defective.

Al-Ṭarafī's text does not offer a great deal that is new. More than half of his work is taken *verbatim* or abridged from the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923), and in fact it appears that the book is essentially a selection of materials from al-Ṭabarī to which al-Ṭarafī has added from other works, in particular the *Mubtadāʾ* of Ishāq ibn Bishr (d. 206/821), to which he may have had access through an intermediary.

The importance of the work primarily lies in other considerations. Publication of this book makes a useful addition to the corpus of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* texts from al-Andalus, and it would be useful to study these works to see if there was any specifically regional perspective on this subject there (e.g. silence on the miracles of Jesus might be expected in light of conflicts and tensions with increasingly powerful Christian regimes to the north). Attestation of the old materials from Iṣḥāq ibn Bishr is also important, though this work does also survive independently. But what is most impressive about this book is the colossal labour that has been invested in the detailed annotations (pp. 21–110), which amount to a virtual commentary on the Arabic text. Ranging over all of the issues that arise in the book, this commentary is a resource that should prove very useful for future research on this genre and is based on extremely broad reading in primary sources (including eighteen anonymous *qiṣaṣ* texts in manuscript) and modern studies. It is in some ways reminiscent of the sort of thing one still sees in classicists' treatment of Greek or Latin texts, but in Arabic studies, which is of course a far younger field, it is still uncommon.

Some years ago I recall M. J. Kister commenting that if one wants to edit an Arabic text, the first task is to gain a thorough command of the field to which that book belongs. The goal may seem elusive, but here it has been fulfilled. Roberto Tottoli has provided a comprehensive treatment of al-Ṭarafī's *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, and in the course of his work he has greatly enriched our knowledge of the field in general and opened a number of potentially useful lines for future research.

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MEASURES AND WEIGHTS IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD. By WALTHER HINZ. Translated by M. ISMAIL MARCINKOWSKI, with Foreword by C. E. BOSWORTH. pp. xxii, 98. Kuala Lumpur, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation, International Islamic University, 2003.

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The late Walther Hinz (1906–92), professor for the history of the Near East at Göttingen, pursued most of his research in the field of Iranian studies and wrote numerous important works on various aspects of Iranian history and languages. But among non-Iranists he is best known for his brief handbook on Islamic weights and measures, which was published in Brill's *Handbuch der Orientalistik* series in 1955 and then reprinted with revisions in 1970. It has been a standard reference tool since its initial publication, and no other work has replaced it. Translations into Russian and Turkish are said to exist, but are apparently extremely rare; a recent Arabic work on the subject is largely derived from Hinz.

It may be worth noting some of the factors that have made Hinz's book so useful and important. The subject of Middle Eastern metrology was not at all developed when he took up this project, and while his task was primarily to indicate the metric equivalents of Middle Eastern weights and measures, his book actually did much more. It more or less defined the main issues in the field, clarified the most important problems, and set forth in its pages a good working bibliography. The way in which he presented his material, for example, stressed the fact that a single term for a certain unit of weight or measure could signify widely varying amounts in different parts of the Islamic world, and at different times. He also makes points that, while well known now, are worth stressing again in a form that many beginners in the field are likely to see, such as the vital observation that the modern study of standards for weights of coins (as opposed to what occurred in actual practice) should be based not on the extant coins but on the glass weights used to test samples of coinage.

Marcinkowski's translation is clear and accurate. He has incorporated into the text the revisions made by Hinz in his second edition, and for non-specialist readers he has also added explanatory notes on such matters as terms and names of cities, dynasties and individuals. The English rendering is therefore

a welcome reference aid for readers who cannot read the German. It can be said that little knowledge of the original language would be required for the limited task of looking up metric equivalents to Middle Eastern weights and measures, but, as indicated already, the book of course contains much more than just this.

The translator makes it clear that he is not a scholar of metrology and thus has not expanded upon the content of Hinz's book. But in the years since the revision of the German text much new material relevant to the subject has appeared. The corpus of evidence for research in the field of numismatics has expanded enormously, new archaeological remains continue to enrich our knowledge, and recently published literary sources – many now searchable in disk form – offer valuable possibilities for new insights. It would be a worthwhile project to undertake a comprehensive revision of Hinz in the light of all this new material.

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AL-JĀḤIẒ. THE BOOK OF MISERS, *AL-BUKHALĀ'*. Translated by R. B. SERJEANT, reviewed by EZZEDDIN IBRAHIM. (Great Books of Islamic Civilization). pp. xx, 259. Reading, Garnet Publishing, 2000.
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The Baṣran litterateur al-Jāḥiẓ is undoubtedly one of the most famous names in classical Arabic literature, and his *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'* has long been recognised as a masterpiece in the field. A work of enormous literary skill and artistic expression, it shows its author at his best in deploying his enormous talents not only as an essayist, but also as a keen observer of Arab society in Iraq in his day with a perceptive and witty feel for the idiosyncrasies of human character. A gem of Arabic style and argument, it is thus also vitally important for its insights into Arab-Islamic society in the third century AH. When the Centre for Muslim Contribution to Civilisation was drawing up a list of works to be included in its "Great Books of Islamic Civilization" series, the inclusion of the *Bukhalā'* must have been a foregone conclusion.

This is not the first time that the work has been translated of course. Selections in German were published by the indefatigable Oskar Rescher in his *Excerpte und Übersetzungen* (Stuttgart, 1931). There have been complete renderings into French by Charles Pellat, *Le livre des avarès* (Paris, 1951), Russian by Kharlampii K. Baranov, *Kniga o skupykh* (Moscow, 1965), and Spanish by Serafin Fanjul, *Libro de los avaros* (Madrid, 1984). Of these, Pellat's is of particular significance as the work of a renowned Arabist who devoted the better part of his career to the study of al-Jāḥiẓ; his translation is very important for the wealth of its notes and comments elucidating the text, and his *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ġāḥiẓ* (Paris, 1953) comprises a valuable companion work on the social setting that produced such a book.

That said, the task of translating the work into English remained an extremely difficult task. Van Vloten's *editio princeps* of the text (Leiden, 1900) was an impressive effort, but was marred by numerous errors. William Marçais contributed an important discussion to the understanding of various passages in the text in the *Mélanges René Basset* (Paris, 1925), and Ṭāḥā al-Ḥājirī placed research on a solid foundation with his critical edition of 1948, with further revisions in 1963. Of the wealth of Arabic studies on the *Bukhalā'*, of special importance has been Wadī'a Ṭāḥā Najm's *al-Jāḥiẓ wa-l-ḥādīna al-'abbāsīya* (Cairo, 1965), based on a 1958 Ph.D. dissertation at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London). It had already long been known that the *Bukhalā'* reflects the vocabulary of everyday life in its author's time, for example where words for household utensils, parts of a building, culinary dishes, and even toys and children's games are concerned. Najm, however, highlighted the way in which the text also reflects the colloquialisms and dialectal usages of southern Iraq. This includes

numerous expressions that may still be encountered today, but in many cases these old usages have disappeared. What is one to do, for example, with passages that reflect the slang – unattested in the dictionaries, of course – of thieves and mendicants in the Baṣra of a thousand years ago? The time was thus ripe for a renewed investigation of the text following up on the work already contributed by Pellat, whose personal familiarity with Arabic was centred on North Africa rather than the Arab East. Of the candidates as an appropriate translator, hardly any could have been more qualified than R. B. Serjeant, who had already been teaching the text at Cambridge for many years.

Had Serjeant lived to see his translation through to completion, it undoubtedly would have fully reflected the meticulous care and formidable insight evident in all his scholarship. He consulted a wealth of other sources in the course of his work, and referred to a number of Iraqi and other Arab scholars for their views on especially vexed passages. In a preliminary progress report on his translation he stressed the difficulties of the task and in particular the problem of local colloquialisms; it was his intention, he said, to consult shaykhs in Baṣra for advice on points that remained problematic. Unfortunately, however, he died while the work was still in draft, apparently in his garden just as he reached the end of the book. Many notes were left incomplete, and it seems that much work was still needed to bring the translator's labours to the end that he would have desired. The final organisation of the book was left to friends and former students, and the intended reviewer of the text, with whom Serjeant had planned several meetings, decided to publish his text as it stood at the translator's death, without emendation.

One can hardly fail to be impressed, however, at what he has left us. The translation is a fluid English rendering that brings out the light-hearted yet elegant style of al-Jāhiz, and an effort has been made to render the many passages of poetry into English verse that conveys the tenor of the original Arabic. Many problematic passages have been clarified, often with disarming modesty, with little or no emphasis on the crux at issue. There are more than 1,000 notes to the translation, and more detailed points are discussed in a series of 62 appendices. If one may judge a translation by the extent to which it will serve to demonstrate to non-Arabists why this book is so celebrated, then it is a great success indeed.

That said, there remain problems to do with the fact that the published text is basically the translator's unfinalised draft. The great majority of the notes provide no references for the information they contain, so one is left to start out much as Serjeant must have done: identifying a certain individual as a friend and fellow-student of al-Jāhiz, for example, is useful so far as it goes but as no source is cited, or if a voluminous work is cited without reference to volume and page, this leaves anyone who seeks further information with no clue as to how the translator has reached this conclusion, and whether (and where) further useful information might be found. The bibliography, one of the parts of the book that had to be prepared after the translator's death, is introduced by the publisher as incomplete, since "it has not been possible to trace all the texts to which Professor Serjeant had referred" (*Misers*, xvi). But the works that are missing are not obscure texts at all (or at least this reviewer discovered none), but such standard sources as al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Ibn Qutayba's *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, and among modern works, Werner Caske's classic *Ḡamharat an-Nasab*. When one sees that the translation as published takes no note whatever of either Pellat's French version, with its wealth of notes and ten pages of collations and variants gleaned from the available editions, or of Marçais's important investigations of many difficult passages, the conclusion must surely be that the translator still had much further important work in mind. One may also wonder whether Serjeant intended his final version to rely so frequently on the suggestions of local Iraqi informants as is the case in the text now before us. When he cites the opinion of his Iraqi colleagues, it is not at all clear what sort of information he was receiving; was this the *ijtihād* of informants who simply wished to be helpful to a respected colleague, or did they have in mind a particular proverb, line of verse, or aphorism familiar to themselves but not to Serjeant?

There are also places where the status of the text itself as a working draft – however carefully prepared up to that point – seems to show through. The famous tale of al-Kindī, in which a miserly landlord refers to the problems that arise when the tenant enjoys an unfettered right to receive visitors and entertain guests, will serve as a source for a few examples.

1. Among the landlord's many absurd complaints is a phrase referring to how, with many people coming and going, the 'atab will break. For this Pellat has "les marches" (*Avares*, p. 117), and Serjeant understands the term in much the same way: "stair treads" (*Misers*, p. 68). But what the author means is "doorsteps", i.e. the wooden threshold at the foot of a doorway upon which people would tread as they enter or leave the house. This of course must be a heavy length of solid timber firmly set on the ground; it is meant to be stepped on, and while over the years it would become worn, it would not "break" except after a very very long time or under an enormous weight. But that is the point of the author. He is using the landlord's protests as a means of showing how a perfectly logical point, pressed to the extreme, simply becomes absurd.
2. Shortly thereafter the landlord has moved on to other points, including a lament at what will happen in the house, as Serjeant has it, "when there are lots of children and greater number of people" (*Misers*, p. 68), but what the Arabic actually says is rather more colourful – and typical of the author. In the Arabic the passage reads: *idhā kathara al-ṣubyānu wa-taḍā'afa al-bawshu* (ed. al-Ḥājiri, p. 71). By *ṣubyān* al-Jāhiz means specifically boys, to whom he routinely attributes all sorts of mischief and nonsense in his various works, and *al-bawsh* means not merely a large number of people, but more pointedly, a disorderly rabble. So a better translation would be: "when more and more boys show up and the mob increases"; Pellat (*Avares*, p. 117) catches some of this sense: "lorsque le nombre des enfants augmente, que la marmaille double . . ."
3. Elsewhere the landlord moans about careless tenants and their misuse of water: the walls of his house are in danger from dripping water jugs and what Serjeant (*Misers*, p. 69) calls "bad management" (Pellat, *Avares*, p. 118: "que l'on s'organisait mal") in their drawing of water from wells. The Arabic is *sū' al-tadbīr* (ed. al-Ḥājiri, p. 72), which in context is perhaps better rendered as "lack of due care". But still, what is al-Jāhiz talking about? We have here a terse compressed phrase of the sort that the author adores, and which in translation requires an explanatory note; what he means is that people will draw up a full bucket from the well when the container into which they intend to pour the water will hold only part of that amount – the rest, due to their carelessness and lack of forethought, will simply overflow and splash everywhere.

Such cases are of course matters of nuance and illustrate how difficult it is to translate the *Bukhalā'*, or indeed, any work by al-Jāhiz. While this translation does not resolve every difficulty, it is a fitting memorial to the abilities of a great Arabist. Anyone who works in this period must also be grateful to the translator's colleagues for attending to the final preparation of the manuscript

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POUR UNE HISTOIRE DE LA SÉRIENDE: LE MANICHÉISME PARMI LES PEUPLES ET RELIGIONS D'ASIE CENTRALE D'APRÈS LES SOURCES PRIMAIRES. By XAVIER TREMBLAY. pp. vi, 337, map. Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001.

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Tremblay indicates in his preface that the base of his research is the data collected in his carefully annotated appendices on Serindian toponyms (Appendix A, pp. 131–136), aristocratic languages in each location of this region in the first millennium CE (Appendix B, pp. 137–138), and the correlation of

language use to religion in the same period through the content of surviving primary texts (Appendix C, pp. 139–182). He states that, on the basis of this data, he could have constructed a number of different studies, but chose to limit this initial work to contextualising the origins, conditions, and demise of Manichaeism in the region. This subject is one desperately in need of investigation, and one is inclined to applaud any first effort in this direction, however meagre the results. In this case, Tremblay's Appendix E (pp. 189–245), a comprehensive and quite valuable set of bibliographies of Sogdian and Manichaean texts, is a valuable tool that in itself gives the book significance. The juxtaposition of the two categories of texts in this appendix fits Tremblay's thesis that the Sogdians were the primary carriers of religious culture to Serindia, be it Buddhist, Christian, Mazdean, or Manichaean, and this thesis is explored in the main body of his work (pp. 1–130).

After a brief treatment of historiographic issues (pp. 9–15), Tremblay establishes the context of Central Asian Manichaeism through a survey of the region's political and linguistic developments (pp. 17–46). He then turns to the data specific to Manichaeism, seeking to establish the relative chronology (pp. 47–84) and absolute dating of Manichaean remains (pp. 85–95). These first 95 pages, which are by far the strongest part of the book, build most directly on Tremblay's base of data, and handle their respective issues competently, even insightfully, with exhaustive footnoting. This material, when combined with the 115 pages of appendices, as well as the 90 pages of exhaustive indices, constitutes the bulk of the book, and represents a work to be celebrated and taken as a solid base for future research.

Apparently, Tremblay aspired to more, and in doing so he takes a 45-page misstep that the reader would do well to skip over. He analyses evidence for the popularity of Manichaeism in Turfan and its connections to political institutions of the Uygur regime (pp. 97–122), and seeks to identify distinctive traits of the religious character of Manichaeism in Turfan (pp. 123–130). But, although he diligently discusses the difficulties of these two tasks, he does not solve them, with the result that many of his original remarks come across as arbitrary interpretations of material that can be read in many different ways, when it is not outright contrary to Tremblay's ideas. Although I am obligated to provide a more detailed critique of this portion of Tremblay's work, I wish to reiterate that it should not undermine the significance of his achievement in the rest of his book.

Tremblay maintains, primarily on morphological and phonological grounds, that Sogdian Manichaeism arrived in Turfan between 650 and 700 CE as the last of the Sogdian-carried religions to reach the region, after Mazdaism, Buddhism, and Christianity (pp. 73–75). As there is little evidence of Manichaeism in Sogdiana itself, Tremblay affirms the widespread scholarly opinion that both Buddhism and Manichaeism were religions of the Sogdian merchant diaspora (despite the fact that Tremblay is aware of the sixth-century bullae of a Sogdian Manichaean bishop from Kanka in the vicinity of Tashkent published by Livsic, 93). Tremblay repeatedly characterises Manichaeism as the religion of "rich Sogdian merchants" (e.g. p. 111) and denies that it ever had any popularity among the common classes of Serindia. On the basis of the Parthian underpinnings of both Sogdian and Chinese Manichaean texts, established primarily by Werner Sundermann, Tremblay localises the base of the religion's Central Asian missionary efforts in Bactria, Margiana, and "Indo-Parthia" (pp. 94–95, 105–107), the latter of which he identifies with Gandhara (p. 105). Tremblay has made good use here of linguistic and historical information, and he is certainly correct that the northeastern crescent extending from Marv into eastern Iran and northern Afghanistan marks a region where all of the data is best explained. The perpetuation of Parthian as a living language should be looked for, however, not in Gandhara (where there is no evidence of such a local survival), but in the river valleys of Khurasan, from where Parthian nationalism raised its head in the revolt of Bahram Chobin in the late sixth century, precisely the time and place of the *Denavar* schism, which in turn seems to have initiated missionary expansion into Central Asia. Tremblay seems never to have considered the possibility of an initial Parthian mission into Serindia from this quarter, which actually would best explain the

Parthian roots of both the prose and liturgical literature of Sogdian and Chinese Manichaeism. Indeed, this would explain Tremblay's own point that the religion was somehow found among the Sogdian diaspora without having a substantial base in Sogdiana itself.

Tremblay's review of the little we know about the *Denawar* schism (pp. 123–126) is useful and competent. He correctly points to the enfeeblement of the Mesopotamian leadership under oppression as the probable root cause of the desire on the part of Manichaeans outside of Iran to take initiative into their own hands, rather than any significant doctrinal or ethical dispute. Yet Tremblay makes two basic mistakes in his treatment of this subject. First, he apparently has not consulted an-Nadim directly, but relied upon secondary summaries of him, and so says (as many others have) that an-Nadim speaks of the Manichaeans of Transoxiana breaking free of Mesopotamian control under the leadership of Šad-Ohrmezd (p. 123); in fact an-Nadim never mentions the Šad-Ohrmezd whose death in 600 CE marked the beginning of an era for Central Asian Manichaeans (the identification of this figure as leader of the schism is due to Hans Schaeder, *Iranica* 79f.), and places the *Denawar* schism in Bactria, not Transoxiana. Second, he ascribes the enfeeblement of the Mesopotamian leadership to its persecution by and submission to “the Muslim enemy” (p. 126), when in fact the schism occurred before Islam even existed, probably at the time of the persecution by Khusrau I, and the advent of Islam in the region actually brought a relief of oppression and something of a Manichaean renaissance.

Tremblay's analysis of the relations between Manichaeism and the Uygur aristocracy would have benefited from some exposure to the modern field of religious studies, rather than relying upon clichés from the era of Gibbon that elite conversions are always for temporal reasons. So Tremblay simply asserts that the conversion of the Uygur ruler Būgū (Mo-ho) was “without doubt independent of any religious conviction” (p. 114). Like the Khazar adoption of Judaism in the same period, Tremblay suggests, the Uygur “conversion” was a means to maintain a separate identity from surrounding powers identified with other faiths (p. 112). Because of the pervasive role of Sogdians in the political apparatus of nearly every Central Asian state between 500 and 1000 CE, it had to be a religion found among the Sogdians. Here is where Tremblay's scenario runs into trouble. By his own interpretation, Manichaeism had nowhere near the popularity of Buddhism, Mazdaism, or Christianity among the Sogdian diaspora. While Buddhism may have been passed over because it was also the religion of the Chinese court, and so would have subjugated the Uygurs to Chinese interests, as it had the earlier Turk empires (pp. 111–112), Mazdaism and Christianity suffered from no such handicap, and Tremblay offers no explanation as to why they were likewise bypassed for the supposedly much less popular Manichaeism. This question is all the more pressing for Tremblay, who takes the time to catalogue the supposed defects of Manichaeism as a religion, basing himself largely on impressionistic remarks made by scholars of the 1930s who did not yet have enough information to form a coherent reading of the faith (pp. 120–121). His analysis of the relative popularity of the different religions comes across as wholly subjective, and contradictory. He goes to considerable length to demonstrate the popular nature of Sogdian and Turkic Buddhist texts from Turfan (glossing the existence of extremely dense doctrinal texts among this material), and then turns around and asserts that Buddhism was much less popular in the Sogdian diaspora than Mazdaism, a religion for which he is unable to cite any certain primary text recovered from Turfan (pp. 115–117 and pp. 200–202). Similarly in the case of Manichaeism, he claims that the textual remains point to a popular and practical side to the faith in its Serindian form (p. 130), yet never questions that it remained the creed of a tiny, urban (whatever that means in the oasis environment of Serindia), intellectual minority. He ascribes its value to its usefulness in diplomatic relations with China (p. 111), while contradictorily attributing to it an anti-Chinese programme (p. 113).

Tremblay's exploration of the events around Būgū Khan's conversion and later death is likewise unsatisfactory. On the former event, we have only two sources, the trilingual Qarabalyasun inscription and the Uygur Manichaean text U72/TM276. He proposes to read the latter as a literary fiction that

(1) conflates Būgü Khan with his assassin and successor Ton Baḡa Tarqan, (2) pretends that the former was never killed, (3) seeks to erase from historical memory the latter's crime and the interruption of state support for Manichaeism, and (4) in this way to secure the good will of the ruler (Ton Baḡa Tarqan himself or one of his successors) for Manichaeism once more (pp. 108–110). It is unimaginable that this convoluted literary scenario should be taken seriously as an alternative to the more straightforward interpretation of Larry Clark that Tremblay labours in vain to set aside, that is, that the text relates Būgü's final affirmation of the Manichaean faith after an initial lapse, and his issuing of the historical edict promoting the faith throughout the Uygur realm, both explicitly given in the text and closely correlated with passages in the Qarabalyasun inscription. Tremblay maintains that the latter inscription does not explicitly refer to a lapse by Būgü; but in the passage in question Būgü confesses – remarkably for such a public monument – that he struggled with the faith, and had to come back to it two or three times. He complains that Clark does not give due attention to the Tarqan who is cited twice in U72/TM276, and argues that this must be none other than the assassin Ton Baḡa Tarqan. This argument not only contradicts Tremblay's theory that the text sought to gloss over Ton Baḡa Tarqan's hostility, but it also is based on an impossible reconstruction of the text (Tremblay proposes to read Tarqan's name, of which only a final *w* survives, as [ʾlp]w t[ʾr]x'n, regardless of the fact that the name Alp lacks the very letter *w* that is all that remains of the Tarqan's name in this text, and moreover did not form part of Ton Baḡa Tarqan's name, but was assumed as part of the same figure's throne name as khagan in 779). As Clark says (article cited, p. 103), there were any number of Tarqans drawn from the royal clan, and clearly this particular one was on his way out at the time of Būgü's decision in favour of Manichaeism, *ergo* he is unlikely to be the same Tarqan who was in power more than fifteen years later. Tremblay's identification of the Tarqan of the text with the events at the end of Būgü's reign cannot surmount the difficulty that the text relates the successful propagation of the faith in the face of the Tarqan's opposition, the very reverse of the circumstances involving Ton Baḡa Tarqan.

On Clark's argument for an earlier flirtation with Manichaeism on the part of Būgü circa 755/6, Tremblay ignores the evidence of the Uygur monuments recording military activity in Serindia involving the future Būgü Khan in 754–756, is carelessly overconfident about the issues surrounding the alternate name forms *Pwkw/Pwxwx* in the Uygur sources (which Clark carefully avoids using as a base for his argument), and misguidedly contends that there was no Manichaean *mozak* in Qoco in the 750s or 760s for Būgü to meet. This last argument is apparently based on the idea that the *mozak* who came to China from Bactria in 719 was the Jui-hsi encountered by Būgü Khan there in 762/3, ignoring the evidence of the Chinese Manichaean *Compendium* from 731 that administration of Manichaeism in China had since reverted to the subordinate authority of a bishop, so that the presence of a *mozak* in China in 719 was more of an anomaly than the norm. There probably was a *mozak* in residence in Qoco at the time of Būgü's military mission in the region in 755/6, whether or not the text U1 refers to events at this time, and Būgü must already have had an interest in the faith to explain the many pieces of evidence (collected by Clark) that show sponsorship and propagation of Manichaeism in the years before Būgü encountered the four Elect in the Chinese capital, as well as to account for his interest in rescuing them, as the Qarabalyasun inscription expressly states, from the state of anarchy that prevailed there. Conditions at the time of the sacking of Lo-yang were hardly conducive for Būgü's initial instruction in the faith.

On the demise of Manichaeism among the Uygurs, Tremblay once again seeks to stake out ground distinct from the position of Clark (as given in a series of still unpublished lectures). But at the end of his laboured exposition the reader finds a conclusion indistinguishable from Clark's, namely, that in the face of the growing threat of Islam, the Uygurs abandoned the minority Manichaean faith in favour of Buddhism, which was the religion of the general population in the core of their realm, i.e., Turfan (p. 120).

In working through Tremblay's arguments, the reader must contend with many errors and inconsistencies, often in the space of a single page, as when, for example, he identifies Manichaean calendars from 988, 989, and 1003 as dating to the reign of Kōl Bilgā Tānri at the top of page 85, and proceeds at the bottom of the page to give 1007 as the first year of the same ruler, or when he refers to a Uyghur embassy to the Chinese court in 805, with a footnote that fixes the date of the embassy in 807 (p. 111). He confusingly employs both the outdated IB and the current MIK catalogue designations for the holdings of the Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin. He repeats old erroneous readings of Manichaean texts (e.g., *zhg 'γ m'ny* as "reincarnation", rather than simply "child" of Mani as an epithet of Bügü Khan, p. 112).

Tremblay is clearly much more at home in linguistic, social, and political history than in in-depth analysis of religion. His sporadic attempts to make substantive remarks about the content of Manichaeism are, therefore, often underdeveloped and poorly informed. He makes careless generalisations about Manichaeism (e.g., that the popularity of the religion among merchants could be explained by the Manichaean command to transience, which he takes to be general, rather than specific to the Elect, p. 114), many of which are simply contradictory (e.g., that Manichaeism is anti-aristocratic, and yet the religion of a tiny elite, p. 120). Loosely following Klimkeit's thesis on the consequences of Manichaean temporal success in the Uyghur realm, Tremblay asserts that the *Sermon on the Soul*, evidently popular in Serindia, is "irreconcilable" in its pantheistic view of the cosmos with Mani's original (supposedly anti-cosmic) gospel, ignoring his own awareness of Sundermann's conclusion that the *Sermon* probably was composed in Parthian within the first century of the religion, and therefore could not reflect any distinctively Serindian development of the faith (p. 127). Similarly, his identification of the Manichaeans as a "war party" at the Uyghur court (p. 113) ignores Manichaean pacifism, and he can cite no evidence that would suggest a lapse in this pacifism in the Serindian context. In the end, he characterises Turfan Manichaeism as "neither theological, nor logical, nor moral, but astrological" (p. 130), a conclusion unfathomable to anyone with even a cursory familiarity with the Turfan remains of Manichaean literature. Such glib remarks do nothing to advance Tremblay's subject and show a lack of care behind this portion of his book, at odds with the meticulousness of the rest of his work.

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ORAL POETRY AND NARRATIVES FROM CENTRAL ASIA. By P. MARCEL KURPERSHOEK. Vol. IV (A Saudi Tribal History – Honour and Faith in the Traditions of the Dawāsir). pp. xxx, 1001. Leiden, Brill, 2002.

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At just over a thousand pages, Marcel Kurpershoek's fourth volume in the series that he has been producing since 1994 on the contemporary oral poetry and tribal narratives of southern Najd, is a work of great scholarship on its own. The four volumes together total over 2,300 pages – a meticulously researched labour of love that stands comparison in size and scope with Landberg's study of the oral poetry and prose of the Hadramawt, but goes further than that pioneering work in the detail of the essays which it incorporates on the practice and function of a tribal oral culture in its regional context. All that remains to be published now is the combined index and consolidated glossary to all four volumes, and a compact disc of some of the original recordings. It would be impossible to do justice to a work of this size in the space available for a normal review, so I will restrict my remarks to what makes this volume different from the others in the series, and what particularly interested me in it.

The Wādi Dawāsir in southern Najd, where Kurpershoek gathered all of the material for the volume under review, is a provincial backwater within modern Saudi Arabia, and this choice of location for field-work seems to have caused a good deal of local surprise, even suspicion. Why should the Dawāsir have been given priority by a visiting *mustashriq*, when there were plenty of other much more accessible tribes, with, in Saudi eyes, oral traditions of at least equal, if not greater worth? As Kurpershoek explains in his introduction, it was precisely the remoteness of the area which was the attraction, since the old ways were better preserved there than in central and eastern Najd. Here, in the late 1980s when the author began his work, word of mouth was still the means *par excellence* through which the tribe expressed its identity and values. Through constant repetition in the formal yet congenial atmosphere of the *majlis*, the stories (*sawālif*) told by the old men, studded with exemplary poems (“the stone of the date whose flesh is the narrative framework” (p. 104)), continued to engrave on the consciousness of successor generations tribal legend and history, retailing the derring-do of long-dead ancestors, and re-affirming the customs and ethos of the tribe. In the Dawāsir’s expressive phrase, if the young are the *ṣulb jadd* ‘the marrow of their ancestors’, that is, a re-creation of the past in the present, constituting the same tribal body in a biological sense, the function of the *majlis* is to mould them into the same body politic as their ancestors, with the same values. The picture the *sawālif* paint is thus a local, concrete, vernacular and essentially timeless one – an “emotional and imaginative geography” (p. 14) for the tribe alternative to, and often, in its detail and emphases, at odds with the official Najdi history provided by the state. This is one reason, of course, why such oral tribal traditions are regarded with ambivalence in official circles.

Whereas Volumes I and III were studies of living poets, some of them on the margins of ‘respectable’ tribal society (e.g. the poet al-Dindān, who died in 1998), Volume IV, like Volume II, concentrates on what might be called ‘heritage’ tribal tradition gathered from a wide variety of transmitters, and reaching back to events as early as the late sixteenth century and the supposed forefather of the Dawāsir, Ibn Badrān. The texts and translations selected for inclusion (much less than the totality of the material gathered) are arranged in ten sections so as to bring out clearly distinct themes – tribal ecology, geography, pride, feuds and battles, famous historical incidents and legend – although a typical *sawālif* session in the *majlis* would be likely to mix many of these elements together unpredictably. Editing has also been necessary to make certain sections of the material manageable and comprehensible, especially one of most celebrated texts, *Muṣliḥah*, the ‘peace poem’, which the author recorded in five different versions.

Taken as a whole, the texts, only a few of which can be looked at here, are not only an invaluable store of information on tribal lore, history and manners, but, fascinatingly, show the remarkable degree of continuity in Arabian poetic diction. No one reading the poetry with which the texts are studded (some 1300 verses) can fail to be struck by a feature that Arberry, in another context, describing the language of pre-Islamic poetry of fourteen centuries ago, summed up as “pregnant brevity and epigrammatic terseness”.¹ Frequently, even with the help of Kurpershoek’s facing translation, one has to read and reread sections of some poems several times to make sense of them, since much is done by synecdoche, implication and local allusion. Structurally too, there is a parallel with the ancient poetry: the *nasīb*, the *raḥīl*, tribal *mufaḥkhara*, animal and nature descriptions (*wasf*), and gnomic utterances – all elements of the pre-Islamic ode – are the stock-in-trade of the Dōsiri poets also, though with appropriate modifications: the *nasīb* is normally, this being Wahhabi country, an invocation to God rather than to a paramour. For the dialectologist and language historian, there is also much to ponder. The poetic vocabulary harks back, often with startling directness, to the word-stock of the great Classical lexicons (Kurpershoek provides cross-references), most of which has disappeared from other

¹ A. J. Arberry. *The Seven Odes* (London, 1957), p. 250.

dialects of Arabic, and MSA. Add to all this the archaic syntactic features – ubiquitous *tanwīn* (even on proper nouns), *mabnī li l-majhūl* verb forms which occur productively and not just in a few fossilised phrases, particles like *ǧīd* (<CLA *qad*) and verbal noun forms which are noted as archaic even in Wright's Grammar – and one seems to be reading, in the words of these often illiterate old men, a language that is only a hop, skip and a jump from that of the *jāhīlī* poets.

As to *topoi*: apart from their constancy and fierceness in defence of their Unitarian faith (Kurpershoek met some very elderly members of the tribe who had been *ikhwān*, and a streak of xenophobia and anti-Christian fanaticism was still near the surface), one of the things the Dawāsīr have taken great pride in throughout their history is their self-sufficiency, and an 'ecological' strand is prominent in the warp and weft of many of the texts presented here. In the past, they never relied solely on camel-rearing or on palm-cultivation for survival, but practised both, with some sections of the tribe like the Wudā'in in the west of the Wādī leading a sedentary life, and other sections in the east, like the Misār'a, leading a more nomadic one.² These twin pillars of the Dawāsīr's way of life gave rise to a form of debate poetry in which the advantages of each are vaunted by their emblematic protagonists, *al-bduwī* and *al-ḥaḍarī*, but in which the symbiosis of the two opposing life-styles becomes clear, with the camel serving as the symbol and pivot of both, as the mount and provider of sustenance (*darr* 'milk') on the one hand, and as the motive power (*sāni*) for the drawing up of water from the wells to irrigate the date groves and thereby produce fruit, on the other. A frequent image is of a palm-grove heavily laden with fruit but unprotected by fences, whose windfalls indigent passers-by are welcome to help themselves to. This image combines in one fell swoop three virtues that the Dawāsīr see in themselves: hard work (the fruit-laden trees), generosity to those less fortunate (the windfalls) and ferocity in self-defence (no need for fences).³

The *Muṣṭiḥah*, which forms the third section of the texts, is a kind of tribal anthem, composed in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century by al-Ġwēnmi, a Dōsiri who had fled the interminable internecine fighting of the time to find work in al-Hasa on the Gulf coast.⁴ The edited version of some 98 verses that the author presents opens with a section (the *ra'ab* 'camel journey' cf. the *raḥīl* of Classical poetry) in which the poet describes to the camel-riding bearer of his message the route he is to follow. This camel-riding messenger, a literal fact at the time of the poem's composition, is a trope still widely adhered to in Bedouin poetry today,⁵ though nowadays in Saudi Arabia often replaced by one riding in a four-wheel drive vehicle.⁶ This opening is followed by instructions on how the poet's message of reconciliation is to be delivered. The central sections of the poem are the Eight (or in some versions Ten) Tales (*ṭimān sawālif*) – supposedly real events again illustrating the generosity, unbending rectitude and fierceness of the Dawāsīr and known to all the listeners – followed by a passage of boasting (*mufākhara*) by the poet in favour of his particular tribal sub-section, and finally a collection of maxims reflecting the tribe's collected wisdom, and presented as 'lessons' (*miṭāyil*) to a friend. Tribal lore has it that this poem put an immediate stop to the fighting. It has served ever since

² This 'mixed' life-style is a feature of the Bedouin tribes of southern Arabia, and may be a systemic difference with those of the north where there is greater demarcation between nomads and sedentaries. All the tribes I have encountered in Oman that describe themselves as Bedouin have now, and apparently always have had, sedentary and nomadic sections, and others which pursue both ways of life. See C. Holes, "The Arabic dialects of south-eastern Arabia in a socio-historical perspective", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 31 (1996), pp. 34–56.

³ These days, of course, much of the area has in fact gone over to wheat-growing.

⁴ Communities of Dawāsīr have continued to live on the Gulf coast until now. The village of Budayya' on the west coast of Bahrain, for example, formerly famous for its pearl-fishing, is an entirely Dawāsīr settlement. As in contemporary Saudi Arabia, the Bahraini Dawāsīr were famed for their recalcitrance and independence of spirit, being expelled from Bahrain in the 1920s by the British Political Agent of the time following several violent attacks on the Shi'a Baharna who lived in the vicinity. They were subsequently allowed to return to the island.

⁵ For example in the poetry of 'Unayz Abu Sālim al-Turbāni, the well-known recently deceased Bedouin poet of the Ḥuwayḡāt tribe of southern Sinai.

⁶ See Volume III, pp. 110–114.

as an iconic warning against the dangers of a house divided against itself. The nineteenth-century poet ʿIsa Ibn Ḥuṣn, perhaps the greatest bard of the Dawāsir, is represented by eight poems, spread over three sections of the text. Three of them are not found in any of the printed anthologies, and nor did Kurpershoek record them from any transmitter other than the one here, who died shortly after he was recorded. This illustrates well the precariousness of oral traditions, and implies that much must already have been lost.

The reader of this volume would be well advised to consult the earlier ones on matters of language and prosody, where they are dealt with in greater detail. Occasionally, I would have liked a bit more help with the linguistic difficulties which material such as this often presents, e.g. *yissi* (poem 7/3, p. 212) turns out to be a Dōsiri form of *yaṣgi* though one has to guess this from context and then check under the root *ṣgy* for confirmation; and on checking *ʿaṣṣimat al-arya* (poem 8/15) ‘confusion reigned’ in the glossary there is no trace of the verb under *ʿṣm* – but it is there, though listed under *ʿsm*, its CLA cognate. In a case like this it is not clear whether there is a typographical error or whether *s* → *ṣ* in some phonetic contexts, as happens in a number of Arabian dialects (though there is no note of such a change in the section on language in this volume or in previous ones). The translations, especially of the poetry, are spirited and much more liberal (a positive feature) than in the first volumes in the series, although, again, this can occasionally lead to difficulties. I am still unable to relate the translation of part of line 7 of poem 1, ‘... as a wooden pulley turning above a well’ to the Arabic, *maḥḥāltin zayyan aṣ-ṣarrāf ṣannaʿha*, which seems to me to mean (using the glosses of *maḥḥāltin* and *ṣarrāf* which the author provides in the glossary with cross-references to this specific line) ‘like the wooden roller of a well which a money-changer has made to perfection’. This makes little sense in this context or any other, and there must surely be another dialectal meaning here of *ṣarrāf*, though I cannot think what it might be.

This is a superb piece of work which, like its predecessors, could be read with great profit by a wide range of readers: most obviously, literary historians of Arabic, but also Arabic dialectologists and language historians, students of Arabian history and anthropologists with an interest in orate cultures. The consolidated glossary will be eagerly awaited, as will the CD that will enable us to hear the voices of these poets and transmitters, many of whom, sadly, have already died.

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EARLY BUDDHISM: A NEW APPROACH. THE I OF THE BEHOLDER. By SUE HAMILTON. pp. xi, 233. Richmond, Curzon, 2000.

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This book puts forward an interpretation of the Pali texts which concentrates on the relation between the observing subject and the observed object. It is this relation, it is proposed, that the texts tell us about; they do not answer questions about the nature of the self, or about the existence of the world. Thus the *khandha* doctrine does not deny the self, since the *khandhas* do not represent the constituents of the subject, but only those of the cognitive apparatus; they are what makes us experiencing beings, but they do not constitute us as beings. “Selfhood is neither *the* question nor *in* question” (p. 129, cf p. 116). Similarly, to say that the enlightened person has ended the world does not mean that the world has ceased to exist, as if it had no objective reality. Rather, “world” (*loka*) is a metaphor, familiar even in English, for the sum of our experiences as we interpret them, and it is this interpretation of our experiences that ceases on enlightenment, having been replaced by a new understanding of the way things are. This is one example of the way the teachings constantly use metaphor, which has to be understood correctly. This is hardly a novel point, since it is insisted on by both Abhidhamma and

Mahāyāna interpreters; however, it is claimed (with too few specific examples) that modern scholars have too often taken the metaphors literally.

In some ways the approach is old, despite the title's claim to novelty. "Early Buddhism" is identified with the teachings of the Pali texts, with little reference to their historical or social context; for instance, there is nothing here about the rise of kingdoms or the impact of iron on agriculture, topics that appear in several modern studies of early Buddhism. "Early Buddhism" seems to be a philosophical theory about the nature of knowledge; it does not seem to be, or even to include, a set of ideas about society, or a way of life. But such a view of early Buddhism seems to ignore much of what we find in the texts, or even to be incompatible with it. If we accept that the views expounded here were taught by the Buddha, we are left wondering why he should also have implied that in order to grasp them, or because one has grasped them, one has to go from home to homelessness. Indeed, we are told that going from home to homelessness is another metaphor; it refers to leaving behind the desires and concerns that result from an unenlightened view of the self (pp. 102–104).

In her interest in the relation between subject and object, as well as in her lack of interest in monasticism, the author shows some affinity with Mahāyāna; an affinity which she sometimes acknowledges. She points out that "later Buddhists [i.e. Mahāyānists] pointed all sorts of critical fingers at early Buddhists for their insularity, narrowness and self-centred understanding of the teachings", and specifically "their failure to understand the generic nature of dependent origination" (p. 206). Such accusations she considers unjust, at least when applied to the earliest Buddhists; yet elsewhere she says that even the compilers of the texts failed to understand the concept of *anattā* – which is closely linked to that of dependent origination (p. 120). This suggests an attempt to distinguish between what the texts report and what the Buddha said. However, the critical tools needed for such an attempt are not deployed. Rather, the purpose of the book is to show the theoretical underpinning which the Buddha might have given his teachings, if he had been concerned with underpinning rather than with bringing people to *nibbāna*.

The style is sometimes refreshingly informal, but often flaccid or clumsy, leaving the meaning obscure. A sample, which contains some of the key ideas of the book, is the following sentence about early Buddhist insistence on the impermanence of the senses and their objects: "This, in my view – and unsurprisingly, contributed to the missing of the point of the generic nature of the dependently originated subjective/objective process, and that the impermanence that was not-self was not of each 'separate' thing but of the cognitive process as a whole" (p. 121). Sometimes a phrase has to be rewritten completely if it is to yield the intended sense and not the opposite. For instance, "... the rooting out of all views is one of the binding continuity tendencies" (pp. 192f.) should perhaps be: "all views are to be rooted out as one of the binding continuity tendencies [*āsava*] ..."

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TIBETAN AND ZEN BUDDHISM IN BRITAIN: TRANSPLANTATION, DEVELOPMENT AND ADAPTATION (RoutledgeCurzon Critical Studies in Buddhism). By DAVID N. KAY. pp. xvi, 260. London & New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.

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Buddhism in Britain has come a long way since the late Christmas Humphreys, Q.C., (1901–1983) founded the Buddhist Society of London in 1924, became its life-long president and wrote for the general public and practising Buddhists upwards of a dozen books on Buddhism, among them a famous Pelican (1951) which has been reprinted many times. The Buddhist movement has grown steadily ever since and was boosted by the arrival of preaching Theravada monks, Tibetan lamas

and Japanese Zen masters followed by the foundation of lay and monastic communities composed of western adherents. Soon even ordained westerners appeared on the scene in the role of teachers in offshoots of different Asian Buddhist traditions and some even became founders of new types of Buddhism, notable among these being 'The Western Buddhist Order'. With all this, the literature on Buddhism grew enormously and, inevitably, academics started taking interest and producing scholarly accounts and analyses of Buddhist movements in Britain and the new area for research soon attracted also PhD candidates.

While the development of Theravada Buddhism in western countries has already received considerable attention, the present work, the result of the author's doctoral research, focuses on much less known and understood Tibetan and Zen traditions and their fortunes in this country. It starts, however, with a useful 'review and contextualisation' of Buddhism in Britain in Part I. Here the author notices the established, but perhaps not so well-known fact that the influence of Buddhism on life in the West is in excess of the numbers involved in the areas of 'popular religious quest' and 'wider fields of intellectual endeavour including interreligious dialogue, philosophical enquiry, psychology, and scientific and ecological speculation'. The decline in the commitment to Christianity has contributed to this as has a certain disillusionment with consumerism. Perceived compatibility of Buddhism with rational thought and scientific theories also plays a part and so does, paradoxically, a romantic yearning for 'a source for spiritual renewal'; thus Zen seems to offer 'anti-structural ideals of spontaneity, experience and freedom', and Tibetan Buddhism impresses some with the 'exotic sensuality of its rituals and symbology'. While embracing Buddhism, however, westerners in fact often interpret it selectively and in ways acceptable to them, creating thereby a new, modified form of it. This is a whole complicated 'adaptation and transplantation process', which began, even before Buddhism reached the West, in the Asian colonies. But this is, in historical perspective, nothing unique. Buddhism has undergone comparable processes when it was steadily spreading from India throughout Asia over several centuries.

Part II is dedicated to the so-called 'New Kadampa Tradition', newly reborn on British soil. Historical Kadampa (bKa'-gdams-pa, 'strict discipline school') of Tibetan Buddhism originated from the activities of the Indian teacher Atīṣa (982–1054) who was invited to Tibet to reform Buddhism when its standards were in decline. The strict discipline which Atīṣa introduced never made the school popular, but the great teacher Tsonkhapa (1357–1419) reinforced it in his circle of followers which then became known as New Kadampa; it was absorbed after his death into Gelugpa (dGe-lugs-pa, 'school of exemplary virtue') formed by his disciple Gendundub (dGe-'dun-grub, 1391–1475), the founder abbot of the monastery Tashilhunpo (bKra-shis-lhun-po). The dominant school at the time on the religious as well as the political scene was Kagyupa (bKa'-brgyud-pa, 'school of transmitted commands') founded by Gampopa (sGam-po-pa, 1079–1153) but deriving its origin from Marpa (1012–96) whose pupil Milarepa (Mi-la-ras-pa, 1040–1123) was Gampopa's *guru*. The school split into six or seven sects of which the most important perhaps is Karmakagyū founded by Gampopa's pupil Dusum Khyenpa (Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, 1110–93) who invented the title *karmapa* (which was adopted also by the other Kagyupa sects). His successor was probably the first historically known *tulku*, which means that he was 'identified' in boyhood as the re-incarnation of his predecessor. (The line still continues; the 16th Karmapa died in 1981 in Chicago of cancer and the 17th one, born in 1985, was found in Tibet in May 1992, accepted as such by the Chinese government and confirmed by the Dalai Lama as genuine. He fled Tibet in 1999 and lives in Gyuto monastery in India. But in 1994 a rival group produced their own candidate as the 17th Karmapa.) After the fall of the original royal dynasty (whose last king was murdered in 842 by a Buddhist lama because he patronised Bon), Tibet was fragmented and became a dependency of the Mongols under Chengiz Khan in 1207. When the Mongols founded the Chinese Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) under Kublai Khan (1279–94), they used

to appoint Sakyapa abbots as regents of Tibet. Other schools resented the fact and after the fall of the Yuan dynasty when Tibet became virtually independent, they fought for power with each other with the military help of various Mongolian factions. Aristocratic clans joined in, in an attempt to restore secular rule in 1435, but chaos continued until the rulers of Tsang (gTsang) province got the upper hand in 1565 and tried to rule the whole of Tibet as a new dynasty. Tsang kings patronised Kagyupas who then dominated the religious scene. Meanwhile Geluggas adopted the device of *tulkus* for their leaders, because of the prestige and material benefit it brought to Kagyupas. The third Gelugpa *tulku*, Sonam Gyamts'o (bSod-nams rGya-mtsho, 1543–88), became the abbot of Drepung monastery ('Bras-spungs, near Lhasa) and wishing to overshadow Kagyupas, accepted an invitation to the court of Altan Khan, the most influential Mongol chieftain who was interested in Buddhism. He gave Sonam the title *ta-le* ('ocean', hence Dalai Lama). It came to be interpreted as meaning 'ocean of wisdom', but it is akin to the Turkish-Mongolian *tengis/ghengis*, the title of Temujin as ruler (by which he is mostly known, namely as Chingiz Khan). It made Sonam Gyamts'o theoretically into regent of Tibet, but he died in Mongolia. The new title was posthumously applied also to his two predecessors presumed to have been his earlier incarnations. His re-incarnation as fourth Dalai Lama was conveniently identified in Altan Khan's great grandson Yontan Gyamts'o (Yon-tan rGya-mtsho, 1589–1617) who was then installed in Lhasa in 1601 with Mongol military assistance. Quarrels started immediately, but to achieve peace Kagyupas and the Tsang kings were eventually willing to accept the Dalai Lama as a spiritual leader, if he and Geluggas renounced their claim to worldly power. Refusal led to the siege of Lhasa by the Tsang king so that Dalai Lama fled, dying soon after. The fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lozang Gyamts'o (Ngag-dbang bLo-bzang rGya-mtsho, 1617–82), was helped by the Mongol Khan Gushi (Gu-shri) who crushed Kagyu forces, destroyed the Tsang dynasty and installed the Dalai Lama in 1642 as the ruler of Tibet. Tibet thus became a 'theocracy' and lost its chance to exist as a secular kingdom independent of clerics.

The book does not contain a survey of all the above events, which I have assembled from other sources because they help to clarify later controversies. But the author does explain that after his installation the 'Great Fifth' showed leniency and tolerance and had an 'inclusive approach' to other schools' teachings and practices. This was opposed by conservative segments of the Gelug tradition who saw in it a dilution of the pure teaching, and, when on occasions their influence in the Gelugpa prevailed, they employed repressive measures against other schools. The present (fourteenth) Dalai Lama, however, sees himself as representing all Tibetans equally, promotes ecumenism and rejects narrow sectarianism. But the hardliners did not give up and this has resulted in a division in the Tibetan diaspora articulated particularly through a dispute over the status of the Dharma protector Dorje Shugden elevated by strict Geluggas to *buddha* status, but marginalised or rejected by ecumenists. The author analyses and describes at great length this complicated conflict and its repercussions among western followers of Tibetan traditions. It culminated in 1991 in a split movement which abandoned the designation Gelug and adopted the older name 'New Kadampa Tradition'. Its leader is Geshe Kelsang Gyatso and its headquarters are in the Mañjuśrī Institute (Conishead Priory) near Ulverston. When the Dalai Lama condemned the movement and banned the cult of Dorje Shugden, the conflict became public (1996) and hit the headlines round the world.

Part III is dedicated to 'The Order of Buddhist Contemplatives', a Sōtō Zen movement created by Peggy (Jiyu) Kennett (1924–96) who was ordained a Buddhist nun (*bhikṣuṇī*) by a Chinese abbot in Malacca on her way to Japan where she underwent strict training (1964–69) and obtained the status of 'elder teacher' (*roshi*). She established centres in the USA and Britain, including the first Buddhist monastic centre, Throssel Hole Priory in Northumberland in 1973. The Sōtō school of Zen Buddhism is usually described as favouring a 'gradualist' approach to enlightenment, while the Rinzai is regarded as the school of 'sudden enlightenment'. Rinzai was actually introduced to Britain first, through books

and the visits of D.T. Suzuki. It was also adopted by Christmas Humphreys and is now continuing in a modest way under the leadership of Dr Irmgard Schloegl, who was ordained a *rinzai* nun in Japan in 1984 as Ven. Myokyon.

Zen Buddhism in Britain is not entangled in any political power structure (as it was in Japan in some historical periods) and so the author's thorough account of Jiyu Kennett's movement, which flourishes both in Britain and the USA even after her death, is straightforward and without complications, but it is nonetheless lengthy and detailed. The nature and wealth of the material on the two chosen contemporary Buddhist movements that is presented in the book defy summarisation in a review. I can only recommend to anybody interested in the contemporary Buddhist scene in Britain to study it carefully. Students and scholars as well as readers from the ranks of the general public will benefit from it. It meets the strict criteria for a scholarly work while being also eminently readable.

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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF HINDU TANTRIC DEITIES. By GUDRUN BÜHNEMANN. 2 volumes (*The Pantheon of the Mantramahodadhi* and *The Pantheons of the Prapañcasāra and Śāradātīlaka*). pp. 280 & pp. 389. Gonda Indological Series IX. Groningen, Egbert Forsten, 2000 and 2001.

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This work is devoted to Hindu Tantric iconography, defined by the author as that which “addresses the content rather than the form or style of art and thus forms an important part of the study of religion” (vol. I, p. v). It is in some sense a continuation of Bühnemann's earlier work on *Forms of Gaṇeśa* (1999) and *Hindu Deities illustrated according to the Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇa-sārasamuccaya* (1990), and is the direct realisation of a research plan first outlined in 1992 in an article entitled “The ‘Dhyāna Collections’ and their Significance for Hindu Iconography” (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 40.2, pp. 1080–1086).

The chief aim of these volumes is to provide descriptions of divinities, drawn from influential second-millennium Hindu Tantric writings in Sanskrit, wherein their meditative visualisations (*dhyāna*) are detailed. Such materials are here assembled for the “purposes” of “indologists, historians of religion, and art historians” – e.g., in aiding the identification of artistic representations. The two volumes deal in detail with three sets of deities. Volume One addresses a group of 108 found in Mahādhara's sixteenth-century *Mantramahodadhi*. Volume Two consists of two semi-autonomous demi-volumes, devoted to the divinities found in the ca. tenth/eleventh century *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātīlaka*, respectively.

The treatment given each set is virtually identical. Each is prefaced by a brief introduction, dealing with issues of dating and authorship of the sources (noting lack of or weak evidence where appropriate), giving an inventory of the available texts, editions, and commentaries, summarising the overall structure of the works, and reflecting on their sources' relationship to and influence on other literature. Finally, the author devotes some attention to the distinctive pantheons given in each source. The discussion introducing *Mantramahodadhi* (constituting Volume One) also deals in rather more detail with some of the common issues relating to the ritual context(s) and characteristics of the *dhyāna* verses, which are Bühnemann's special object of study.

The bulk of the work is devoted to an individual analysis of each deity in the respective pantheons. Each treatment follows a standard pattern. Each begins with the edited text and translation of the *dhyāna* verse (or verses) describing the divine form, its attributes, colour(s), limbs, seats, and companions (if any). The items the deities hold, what Bühnemann calls their “attributes” (*āyudha* – pre-eminently “weapons”, but also more generally “implements” or “equipment”), are then given in condensed

form (e.g. Kāli [no. 15] reads “R sword, wish-granting gesture; L recently severed head, gesture of protection” [vol. I, p. 93]).

There then follow more extended “Remarks” on each deity. These range from the rather perfunctory to the rich and deeply illuminating, generally tending toward the latter. Bühnemann explains the significance of the various aspects of the deity’s description; gives information on other forms of the deities (such as parallel Buddhist forms of Tārā, etc.), other textual descriptions, and notes on the associated illustrations. The entire pantheon of each work is also summarised in three tables giving the iconographical details of the individual deities for convenient reference: name, number of arms, colour, posture, seat/mount, implements, and (very) brief remarks.

The deity descriptions are followed by illustrations of the deities, some few in colour and rather more in black and white. One of the chief attractions of Volume One (on the *Mantramahodadhī*) is that it reproduces a nearly complete set of depictions of its 108 deities (all but six), drawn from a 1908 edition of the text in Telugu script. In addition to this corpus, Bühnemann supplements the illustrations with other (generally similarly recent) materials, including Buddhist depictions where deities are shared in common between the two. Indeed, one of the strengths of this book is the author’s ability to indicate clearly the manner in which many of these deities wear their Buddhist–Hindu “dual citizenship”. Volume One also has sixteen colour plates – 22 illustrations in all – including a stunning eighteenth-century Pahari painting of Annapūrṇā, gazing on an elegantly dancing Śiva.

Volume Two has fewer illustrations: two sets of mixed colour paintings and b/w line drawings (14 and 8 plates, with 36 and 22 illustrations total, 18 and 12 colour, respectively). Among the illustrations in this volume can also be found a very useful reproduction of a full-colour chart depicting deity implements (*āyudha*), with comments in Sanskrit mixed with Kannada (colour illustration II ab). As many of these implements can be portrayed in rather stylised form, this visual overview (for which Bühnemann provides an interpretative key) is of great utility.

The deities of the *Prapañcasāra* are largely drawn from an illustrated MS of the *Śrītattvanidhi* preserved in the Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore. Especially notable here are another Pahari painting (of Durgā) and a lovely icon of Sudarśana-cakra-hari (the personification of Viṣṇu’s discus) from the Rāmasvāmin Temple in Kumbhakonam. The illustrations of the *Śāradātīlaka* are also chiefly from the same *Śrītattvanidhi* manuscript, supplemented by illustrations from diverse other sources.

Each of the three works is provided with an appendix, giving a fascinating and useful index of the various bodily colours, postures, hand gestures, attributes, seats/mounts and locations mentioned in the descriptions of the deities, noting which deity descriptions contain each element. Thus, one can easily locate all of the deities that, for example, hold a human skull. This listing is further nuanced, such that each class is sub-classified according to the particular Sanskrit term used. Thus, one finds together, yet may distinguish, those deities described as holding a *kapāla* as well as, say, an *aṣṭka-kapāla* or *nṛ-kapāla*; likewise with those (many) holding such similar things as *abja*, *ambhoja*, *jalaja*, *padma*, *utpala*, etc.

An accomplished textual scholar, Bühnemann also provides in her supplementary material (vol. 1, appendix 2, and vol. II, appendices 2 and 3) new editions and translations of *Mantramahodadhī* Chapter 25 (on the “six magical rites” [*ṣaṭkarmāṇī*] – a subject on which Bühnemann has published elsewhere), and *Śāradātīlaka* Chapters 1 and 25 (which deal with the creation [*śṛṣṭi*] and eight-fold yoga [*aṣṭāṅga-yoga*], respectively). It is not at all clear that the inclusion of this material advances significantly the iconographical aims of the work as a whole – or, rather, it seems clearly extraneous, and one laments the fact that such valuable work risks being overlooked by textual scholars, “hidden away” as it is in a book on iconography.

There are some minor errors, but these are extremely few and of little significance in the big picture. For instance, in the description of the goddess Prāṇśakti (p. 73), the adjective “three-eyed” (*tri-netrāṇī*)

is missing from the translation. This one minor slip stands out, in that Bühnemann also omits mention of the attribute in her detailed remarks. This is unfortunate, in that – while two of the three pictorial exemplars she provides clearly bear this attribute – one (colour 2c) seems ambiguous, and could (in my amateurish opinion) just as easily be interpreted as bearing a *tilaka* or fancy *biṇḍī* as a stylised eye. One would have liked to hear Bühnemann's insights on this image.

Some of the few forays from iconography into religious history are also cause for reservation – e.g. Bühnemann's attributing “tribal origins” to goddesses such as Śavarī and so on. It is not, I believe, at all evident that the use of tribal names and attributes reflects tribal origins, rather than merely the use of tribal motifs by orthodox, urban populations as signifiers of the wild and the sensual. Bühnemann herself cites the *Skandha Purāṇa* episode wherein “Pārvatī/Durgā assumed the form of a Śavara woman in order to entice Śiva who was then celibate” (vol. 1, p. 112). The conclusion seems clear – tribal womanhood was a literary conceit for sensuality and should no more be conflated with tribal origins than Ivory® Soap should be thought to have elephantine origins. One may compare in this regard, the depiction of Tibetan women in contemporary Chinese media as images of the wild and sensual, eroticised indigenous woman (cf. Thomas Heberer, “Old Tibet a Hell on Earth: The Myth of Tibet and Tibetans in Chinese Art and Propaganda”, in T. Dodin and H. Räther (eds), *Imagining Tibet* [Boston, 2001], pp. 111–150).

Similar reservations are appropriate concerning identifying Mahālakṣmī as “originally a vegetation and agricultural goddess”, based on the fact that a “rice shoot figures among the goddess's iconographical attributes” (v. 11, p. 201). While this may make intuitive sense (esp. given the fact that Vasudhā [a.k.a. Bhūdevī] also holds such a shoot), one wonders what this might mean for Mahāgaṇapati, who also holds such a shoot (albeit termed a *vrīḥy-agra* or *dhānyāgra*, rather than a *śāly-agra* or *śāli-mañjarī*). Given the marked emphasis in Bühnemann's work on erotic interpretations of his “equipment” (*āyudha* – esp. the tusk/radish and *modaka* – cogently, though remarkably frequently, identified as sexual motifs throughout both volumes), it may come as some relief to poor Ganesh were he, by the same token, instead to be read as an “agricultural goddess” – though, even here, the implicit eroticism may provide him no respite.

In all, though, this work is a tremendous achievement. There is so much richness in these volumes that space precludes detailing them all. Bühnemann's research makes an important contribution to the textual history of the works under consideration and of the “intertextuality” (and “inter-iconality”) of the Hindu Tantric literature. It also succeeds very well in its appointed task of providing the textual and pictorial resources necessary to advance research into Indian iconography. Its systematic and clear presentation (coupled with an absolutely first rate job of production by the publishers, Egbert Forsten) make it an invaluable reference in this area. It is to be hoped that this work will be consulted widely by scholars working on Indian iconography and second millennium Hindu Tantrism.

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ESSAYS IN JAINA PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. Edited by PIOTR BALCEROWICZ and MAREK MEJOR. (Warsaw Indological Studies; Vol 2, 2002). First Indian Edition (Lala Sundarlal Jain Research Series; Vol XX). pp. 306. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.
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This is a difficult book to review consisting, as it does, of 15 individual essays by 15 different scholars on 15 different topics. Seven of these were presented at an international seminar on Jainism at Warsaw University in September 2000. (The paper by Peter Flügel mentioned in the Preface has not in fact

been printed.) With the exception of the short contribution ‘The Essence and Outline of Jainism’ by Muni Jambūvijaya, all the papers are in English: there is no mention of the languages in which they were originally presented, nor of the translators, if any. This collection indicates that Jain studies do attract a dedicated, if small, following of western scholars, as nearly all the contributors are from, or are working in, Europe or North America. Although most are well-known in their field a list or notes giving provenance and academic distinctions would have been helpful to many readers.

The editorial work has been carefully carried out, apparent printing errors are rare. There are extensive and well-presented footnotes, which include references to the Bibliographies of primary and secondary sources at the end of each paper. Sanskrit and Prakrit words and excerpts are transcribed into standard romanised form with full diacritical marks, a convenience, one assumes, for many European and American scholars, though Indian readers would probably prefer Devanāgarī. There is a useful Index of words, names and subjects. With some exceptions, excerpts cited in English translation are accompanied by the original Sanskrit or Prakrit, in the text or in a footnote, though a reader not completely familiar with the subject matter will probably keep a Sanskrit dictionary handy.

Papers on broadly related topics are grouped under four main headings: ‘Philosophy and *Anekānta*’, ‘Early Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvikism’, ‘Ethics and Monastic Discipline’ and ‘Mediaeval Mysticism and Sectarian Divisions’.

Albrecht Wezler presents the first paper, ‘The Twelve *Aras* of the *Dvādaśāra-naya-cakra* and their relation to the Canon as seen by Mallavādin’. Wezler translates the title as ‘The Wheel of Modes [of considering things] which has Twelve Spokes’. After fulsome praise of Muni Jambūvijaya’s reconstruction of Mallavādin’s work, and basing his argument on that text, Wezler examines Mallavādin’s own conception or scheme of *nayas*, partial expressions of truth. The twelve ‘spokes’ of the wheel, twelve *nayas*, are related to the traditional sevenfold *syād-vāda*. The paper is closely argued and it is not possible to go into it deeply here. The plethora of technical terms and a heavy literary style make reading particularly difficult: the last paragraph on p. 17 is a single sentence of approximately 100 words! The final paragraph is of interest: Mallavādin rejects the tradition that all philosophical systems are based in the Vedic *śruti*, for him the Veda of the Brahmins is but one of the one-sided *nayas* comprised in the Jaina canon, which is the true Veda.

Anekānta-vāda, ‘non-onesidedness’, is now regarded as a fundamental principle of Jainism, often given a wider interpretation than the early texts assume. Jayandra Soni, in the second paper, cites texts to point the differences between Kundakunda and Umāsvāti in their approach to what came to be known as *anekānta*, while pointing out that the actual term is not used by either. Soni’s paper relates to Wezler’s in also being concerned with *nayas*. The third paper, ‘Some Remarks on the *Naya* Method’ by Piotr Balcerowicz, continues this theme. The theory of the multiplicity of reality, *anekānta-vāda*, which includes the doctrine of viewpoints, *naya-vāda*, is the most significant Jaina contribution to Indian philosophy. The title of this essay is too modest: it conceals a detailed, well-argued (and [surprisingly] readable) analysis backed up by a range of textual references.

The fourth paper in the first group tackles a different area, monism and pluralism in early Jaina temporal description. It is by Christoph Emmrich. The author points out the paucity of research in ‘time studies’ in relation to Jainism, particularly with regard to the earliest material. He first examines time as discussed by Umāsvāti and Kundakunda, and then in earlier texts. It must be said that his analysis does not make easy reading, though interesting if taken in small doses. Finally in this group Kristi L. Wiley discusses ‘Extrasensory Perception and Knowledge in Jainism’. There is extensive treatment of extrasensory perception in Jaina texts: we have here a clear survey of the different kinds or degrees of knowledge leading up to descriptive discussion of *avadhi-jñāna*, clairvoyance, and *manah-paryaya-jñāna*, mind-reading, especially the limits, spatial and otherwise, within which extrasensory perception can operate.

After Muni Jambuvijaya's essay on 'The Essence and Outline of Jainism' the second group continues with 'Catuyāma-sainvara in the Pali Canon' by Padmanabh S. Jaini. In this readable article Jaini examines references in Buddhist texts in conjunction with Jaina ones in a further step to elucidating the relation of the Fourfold Restraints (non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing and non-possession) attributed to Parsvanatha with the five *mahavratas* of Mahavira. Kenji Watanabe makes, in the next paper, 'A Comparative Study of Passages from Early Buddhist and Jaina Texts', comparing the use of certain terms in a number of short excerpts (given with English translation) from certain key texts of the two traditions. Johannes Bronkhorst, in a paper entitled 'Ājīvika Doctrine Reconsidered', points out that little has been added to A. L. Basham's great study of the Ājīvikas published in 1951 by research in the subsequent half-century. Bronkhorst examines Jaina and other texts to point out the differences between Ājīvikism and other contemporary religious currents.

The first paper of the third group is Phyllis Granoff's 'Paradigms of Protection in Early Indian Religious Texts', discussing how some Buddhist and Hindu texts deal with the protection of children from dangers, and comparing these with the Jaina approach which sees the fate of children as the result of *karma* rather than of the action of a demon or deity. Adelheid Mette considers safe 'waste disposal' of bodily excretions, forbidden items found in food, and other matter, in the monks' rules for protecting life. Luttgard Soni illustrates with stories cases of *upagūhana*, an auxiliary of right belief (*samyag darśan*), concealing the faults of fellow members, for example a nun's pregnancy, in order to protect the reputation of the Jain religion.

Colette Caillat opens the fourth group with 'A Portrait of the *Yogi (joi)* as Sketched by Joindu'. The monk-author Jogicanda (Joindu) in two poems teaches his disciple to become a *yogin* by exclusively spiritual training rather than by temples, rituals and the like, guiding him to attain ultimate Truth by himself. Nalini Balbir looks at seventeenth-century CE sectarian divisions as illustrated in the *Sāmācārī-śataka* (1616) of Samayasundara, of the *Kharatarā-gaccha*, who deals with divergences in matters of religious life between his own and, particularly, the *Tapā-gaccha*. John E. Cort gives an English translation of the liturgy to God, Scripture and Teacher, one of at least a dozen liturgies by the Digambara mystical poet Dyānatrāy (1676–1726), with an introduction. This liturgy is in daily use by north Indian Digambara Jainas today.

The brief summary of the contributions given above can give only a sketchy indication of the riches in this book. It is worth pointing out that they cover a terrific time-scale, from the time of Pārśva to the eighteenth century CE. Jainism is not something static but has developed constantly over the years and centuries and millennia, and it would have been good if the Editors could have given some diachronic framework, perhaps in the Preface. A warning is necessary: this is a scholar's book, it is not for that beloved figure the 'general reader'. Some of the papers are dauntingly obscure, demanding close attention and an above average knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit religious and philosophical terms. Others are delightfully lucid. All are highly specialised: they shed light on dark corners. A comprehensive survey of Jain religion and philosophy has yet to be written. One day a scholar yet unborn will undertake that gargantuan task, and devote his or her life to it. Studies such as these, and many many others, will form the elements of such a synthesis: their value is not confined only to the present. It is encouraging that the field of Jain studies is progressing in the West as well as in India, though painfully slowly. The scholar who acquires this book will derive much benefit, and indeed pleasure, from it. The Editors and contributors, as well as the publishers in their centenary year, are to be congratulated.

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THE REPENTANCE OF NUSSOOH (TAUBAT-AL-NASUH): THE TALE OF A MUSLIM FAMILY OF A HUNDRED YEARS AGO. By NAZIR AHMAD. Translated from the Urdu by M. Kempson and edited By C. M. NAIM. pp. xvi, 140. Delhi, Permanent Black, 2004.

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Nazir Ahmad was a major figure in the Aligarh Movement, the modernist reform movement amongst Muslims of late-nineteenth century India. Born in 1819, he was educated in the stimulating and forward-looking atmosphere of Delhi College. Like so many he suffered in the Mutiny uprising of 1857. But, soon after, his talents were recognised, first by the British under whom he rose to become a Deputy Collector, and then by the government of Hyderabad State for whom he served in high office for seven years, before returning early to Delhi where he devoted himself to literary pursuits. Thus, Nazir Ahmad's prime claim to fame was as the author of thirty-one books, some of which were very popular. His prose writing falls into two groups, one, scholarly and religious, and the second, socially concerned and fictional. *The Repentance of Nussooh*, described by Naim as the first major novel in Urdu, falls into the second category, being one of three novels which Nazir Ahmad submitted with success for the annual prize offered by M. Kempson, the Director of Public Instruction for the North-Western Provinces, in the early 1870s "for meritorious treatises in the vernacular".

The model for Nazir Ahmad's book was Defoe's *The Family Instructor*, but, as the editor suggests, it goes far beyond its model in bringing alive a crisis of values amongst an elite Muslim family of Delhi. Recovering from cholera, Nussooh, the father of the family, has a dream in which he sees his father, who had died in the outbreak, undergoing God's judgement, and has a vivid understanding that, because his existence has been heedless of God's guidance, he will be judged harshly when his own time comes. The book goes on to demonstrate how Nussooh reformed himself and then sets out to reform his whole family. After encountering much opposition, he succeeds in reforming them all, discovering that the older the child the greater the difficulty in achieving reform. Unlike Defoe, Nazir Ahmad's purpose was not primarily salvation, but to demonstrate that the fulfilment of religious obligations by parents brought about successful lives in this world for children. Indeed, it would help to fashion a better and more successful Muslim society as a whole.

Naim's skilful and deeply knowledgeable editing gives us all of the Kempson edition, including its somewhat obnoxious introduction by Kempson's father-in-law, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, Sir William Muir, in which he declares "it is only in a country under Christian influences, like those which are happily seen and felt in India, that such a book would present itself to the Moslem mind". But Naim also brings important information about text and context, which adds much value to the book. We learn more about Kempson, an immensely influential Director of Public Instruction; we discover that the Kempson translation has left out passages which Naim now translates "to provide the reader with a better sense of the original's scope, language and range of styles"; and we benefit from an excellent afterword which brings Nazir Ahmad and his novels to life. This is a first-class edition which will enable a new audience to engage with the *sharif* world of post-Mutiny Delhi and the purposes of the great Muslim reform movement that in large part emanated from that city.

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URDU TEXTS AND CONTEXTS: THE SELECTED ESSAYS OF C. M. NAIM. By C. M. NAIM. pp. 273. Delhi, Permanent Black, 2004.

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For the past forty years C. M. Naim, now professor emeritus at the University of Chicago, has been, along with the late Annemarie Schimmel, Ralph Russell, Frances Pritchett and Muhammad Umar Memon, a leading scholar of Urdu literature, explaining its joys and its genius to a world increasingly ill-equipped to understand it. This book contains essays embracing the range of Naim's interests, from the traditions of humour relating to Akbar, his sidekick, Raja Birbal, and Mulla Do-Piyaza, through to the impact of the war of 1965 on Urdu literature in India and Pakistan. Several themes run through the essays. Three, for instance, deal with reading, translating and understanding poetry, the *ghazals* of Ghalib, the "pseudo-dramatic" poems of Iqbal, and the art of the Urdu *marsiya*. In the last case, through careful textual analysis we are shown how the recitation of the Shi'i tragedy of Karbala is designed not to leave the listener in despair but in exultation. Other essays reveal how a sense of self-disgust as political decline, sharpened by the influence of "Victorian values", has led many from the late nineteenth century onwards to fail to value justly the literary forms of the courtly era, whether it be the *rekhti* genre in which the poet, usually male, adopts an exaggeratedly feminine voice "full of linguistic, social and bodily details specific to women", or the ready acceptance of pederastic love in the "pre-modern" *ghazal* in which the attributes of a boy on the brink of manhood might have an especial erotic charge – "no pleasure", declares Abru, "lies in kissing the lip that has no 'verdure' of the down." Two essays celebrate the courage of those who gave voice and action to women. There is his study of the prize-winning novels of Maulvi Nazir Ahmad in which he elucidates Ahmad's unprecedented storyline of women as bearers of a protestant ethic and sustainers of family and community. There is also his notable article in which he rescued one Bibi Ashraf from obscurity, and tells of how in the mid-nineteenth century, against all the odds, she taught herself to read and write, and later on through sheer grit sustained herself as a widow, passing on her skills to other women.

Throughout this collection there is Naim's scholarly mark: all current readings must be approached with a proper scepticism. In dealing with the Akbar, Birbal, and Do-Piyaza stories, he illustrates the extreme care needed in making any deductions from these folk traditions, showing how they have matching models in the Islamicate lands of West Asia and how the very same stories were in use in some of the Hindu courts of southern India. Through most of the essays as well there is the sense of trauma experienced by the Urdu-speaking world in the half century after the Mutiny uprising: the pain as Urdu writing moved from a highly-developed courtly art to an activity benchmarked against British criteria of usefulness, a pain which led Altaf Husain Hali in his *Musaddas* to dismiss the poetry that had gone before as "worse in stench than a latrine". It is a pity that essays as good as these, and by a scholar acutely aware of the importance of "context", should not themselves have had the benefit of an introduction adumbrating their own context, intellectual and otherwise. An index would have been welcome as well. This said, the ready availability of such an important body of work within the covers of one book is greatly to be welcomed.

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HEALING PERFORMANCES OF BALI: BETWEEN DARKNESS AND LIGHT. By ANGELA HOBART, pp. 272. New York and Oxford, Berghahn Books Ltd., 2003.

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On the island of Bali, a unique mingling of early Hindu, Buddhist and Tantric influences, with local ancestral and animistic practices, has created a fertile context for the development of complex and comprehensive systems of healing and healing performance. Retribution on the part of deities, ancestors, malevolent forces, as well as humans wielding the destructive power of *pangiwa* (left sided, or 'black' magic), is commonplace in the villages and is a major source of anxiety, fear and ill-health for the local population. Angela Hobart's new book, *Healing performances in Bali: between darkness and light*, seeks to explore the interconnections between all these diverse elements, and attempts to offer a comprehensive portrait of the work of healing practitioners, their knowledge, and their tools. It is an introduction to the complicated field of Balinese cosmology and its various psycho-physical manifestations in performance.

The book opens with an explanation of the inextricable relationship between Balinese healing practices and ritual performance. The broadly-based introduction begins with an historical and literary survey of the indigenous medical system, and its dependence on the cyclical flux of the multiple ritual calendars. It continues with a rather whirlwind overview of the social, cultural and geographic context of this ethnographically famous isle.

The next chapter examines the chief locus for the ailments (usually some conventionally inexplicable sickness or misfortune) that cause people to seek out healing. This cause is often found in the village community, or the extended family. Drawing especially on the work of Unni Wikan,¹ Angela Hobart paints a fraught portrait of individuals and communities attempting to maintain a precarious balance and harmony in their lives against the odds. The rules of Balinese social etiquette maintain that 'uncivilised' passions, primarily the unadulterated expression of anger, but also greed, envy, pride, desire, fear and ignorance, are tantamount to a kind of 'rot' that "should be kept in the belly" (*berekan di basang*) but which, like faeces, also originate in the belly and must be discarded in order to ensure health in the person (pp. 38–39). Conflict within the family or between village members is often ascribed to unseen or *niskala* forces, such as an insult (whether deliberate or inadvertent) against any number of invisible beings or against a human being who is versed in the magic arts (a sorcerer or witch). These slights might include behaviour that is deemed inappropriate for one's social standing, or negligence in the making of a particular religious offering, and can result in familial conflict and strife; economic disaster; physical or psychic ill health; even death in extreme cases. Relatively unskilled in the navigation of the seen (*sekala*) and unseen (*niskala*) domains, and in balancing the constant tension between the binary, but entangled, worlds of 'darkness and light', the villagers of Hobart's study seek out the help of those who are educated and talented in such matters; the healers.

Chapter Three introduces the primary actors and practitioners of the health care system in the popular, folk and professional sectors. Hobart's main focus is on the 'scholarly healers', usually males from the high 'priestly' (*Brahmana*) caste, whose work is informed by the *usada* texts and facilitated through the use of their particular tools (*pakakas*; and other paraphernalia such as magical drawings, amulets and charms), but she also mentions commoner spirit mediums (*balian tetakson*) and so on. This chapter is particularly useful for its remarkably clear exegesis of some of the finer points of Balinese cosmology, which I am sure will be very helpful to students, and to scholars who specialise in other areas of Balinese Studies.

¹ U. Wikan, *Managing turbulent hearts: a Balinese formula for living* (Chicago, 1990).

Moving away from the explicitly medical towards both the covert practice of witchcraft and the more public performances that are designed to combat and contain it, Chapter Four discusses sorcery in relation to the 'Queen Sorceress', the widow Dirah in her manifestation as Rangda, one of Bali's most famous characters. In particular, the author presents a detailed account of her exorcistic role in a *wayang kulit* or shadow play of Calonarang, wherein the puppeteer or *dalang* 'invites' the witches of the area to attend the event, thereby testing his own powers (*kesaktian*), and bringing the villagers into an intense existential experience that "can both beguile and strike fear in the audience who are drawn into the reality brought about by the performance", thereby sanctioning their future social interactions (p. 120). This whole discussion is framed within an account of the very pervasive use, and fear, of sorcery and witchcraft in daily life; a factor, which, as the author notes, appears to be on the increase as the villagers contend with "social unrest engendered by rapid modernisation" (*ibid.*).

Another context for the manifestation of Rangda is analysed in Chapter Five, this time in relation to another powerful mask, Barong Ket, also known as Banaspati Raja or the 'Lord of the Forest'. The main theme of this chapter is transformation, ambivalence and multiple identities. The protective Barong is introduced in his multifarious forms, particularly as a *murti* of Siwa. Rangda, superficially viewed as his foe, is introduced as Durga, a fearsome manifestation of Uma, Siwa's consort. The activities of Rangda and Barong are often considered as a signal of, and an antidote for, epidemics of plague and cholera, and therefore have a cleansing role in performance, but are 'totally ambivalent, being simultaneously life-giving and life-destroying' (p. 4). This section adopts an original and practical angle on this much-studied topic. It is particularly interesting as it analyses the special ways in which the masks are physically made, and the processes the object must go through before it can be enlivened for ritual use.

Chapter Six is an anthropological analysis of the regular festival of Galungan, which, over a period of at least ten days, serves the purpose of revitalising and re-centring communal solidarity. Although Rangda and Barong come out during any number of festivals or events, Galungan is one time when they are guaranteed to be active in the community and often join processions to visit neighbouring villages. In this sense, Galungan is interpreted as fulfilling an important healing function on the wider societal, rather than the solely individual or familial, level.

Chapter Seven has a more obviously psychological slant. It deals with Balinese notions of self, with particular reference to a person's 'spirit siblings', the *Kanda Mpat*, and their wider connections within Balinese cosmology. Of particular interest is the sharing of the name Banaspati Raja (the lord of the forest) between one of the *Kanda Mpat* and *Barong Ket*. The author explores the possible implications of this shared identity in terms of healing, transformation, and the manifestation of this figure in dreams. She also links the awareness of these aspects of the self with the healer's role in "mediating between darkness and light", acting with the ultimate aim of restoring balance between the two. Finally, this section juxtaposes and links the holistic aesthetics of the various Balinese practices and performances described within to the theory and practice of inter-cultural therapy; the author's other main interest.

While this monograph deals with many of the 'classical' themes of Balinese anthropology, such as witchcraft and sorcery, ritual and performance, it moves beyond the aesthetics of these into the critical and comparative domain of medical anthropology. Just avoiding a comfortable conclusion about the inherent drive in Balinese aesthetics towards the maintenance of balance, harmony and the avoidance of conflict, Angela Hobart describes a complex and potentially dangerous set of healing practices, whereby the psychic and physical world of the 'patient' is challenged and broken down before healing can properly begin. However, her overall claim that there is no fundamental incompatibility between traditional and modern health care systems is somewhat questionable,² and seems to be

² L. Parker, *From subjects to citizens: Balinese villagers in the Indonesian nation-state* (Copenhagen, 2003) Section IV.

symptomatic of a partiality towards a more 'traditional', timeless image of Balinese village life. Other recent ethnographies in medical anthropology based on field research in Bali (particularly in more urban centres, but also in villages where the young people go out to study and work in the cities), paint a somewhat different, and more ambivalent and multifarious, picture of contemporary attitudes towards self, health and the wider cosmos.

Based on ten years' research, this is a detailed and insightful work. The structure of the book is well conceived and the author makes intriguing connections between diverse aspects of the complex and confounding worlds of Balinese religion and the secretive and little-known domain of traditional healing. My main concern with the book is connected to the looseness of its approach to representing the relationships between text, performance and society. The flexibility of the author's theoretical and methodological approaches may prove to be too inclusive for some anthropologists. Claims to describe, for example, "how the Balinese experience and react to anger" (p. 27) are generalising, and potentially essentialising. A greater number of fully situated case studies and examples would have helped to avoid the 'Balinese Character' effect³ that sometimes occurs in this work. It is also unfortunate that more focused editorial attention was not paid to the proof reading, as the text of this otherwise well-produced book is littered with minor typographical errors, which are somewhat distracting from the quality of the content. Overall, though, this is a wide-ranging study of the varieties of Balinese healing performance, and the interconnections between these and other aspects of the indigenous culture and society. I am sure that *Healing performances of Bali* will become a valuable resource for students and scholars of anthropology and inter-cultural psychology alike.

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ISLAMIC NATIONHOOD AND COLONIAL INDONESIA: THE UMMA BELOW THE WINDS. By MICHAEL FRANCIS LAFFAN. pp. 310. London and New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

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The publication of Michael Laffan's exciting new book, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: the umma below the winds* could not have been more timely. Today, with government officials, journalists, and even many academics portraying Southeast Asian Muslims' connections to the Middle East in narrowly 'terrorist' terms, Laffan's thoroughly researched account chronicles a key period in the much longer – and broader – history of transnational Islam in the region. Against the tendency to reduce Middle Eastern influence in Southeast Asia to Wahhabist propaganda activities and Al-Qaeda's clandestine networks, Laffan depicts a much wider arc of circulation, education, pilgrimage, circulation, and interaction for Muslims in the region. This book is essential reading for all scholars interested in Indonesian history, Islam in Southeast Asia, and the Muslim world in general.

Beyond its contemporary topicality, moreover, Laffan's book represents a stunning achievement for such a junior scholar. Written as the author's Ph.D. thesis at the University of Sydney in 2000, the book draws upon sources in Dutch, Bahasa Indonesia (and Malay), as well as Arabic in its treatment of Islamic links between Southeast Asia and the Middle East from the mid-nineteenth century through to the inter-war era. Building upon Azyumardi Azra's earlier study of Islamic networks linking the two regions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and drawing on the rich and growing secondary literature on the Hadramaut and its diaspora, Laffan provides the broadest, richest, and most interesting account of transnational Islam in Southeast Asia available today. No other scholar

³ G. Bateson and M. Mead, *Balinese character: a photographic analysis* (New York, 1942).

has done so much to open our eyes to the myriad ways in which Southeast Asia has been linked to Mecca, Cairo, and other centres of Islamic pilgrimage, learning, and publishing in the Middle East.

Laffan's account essentially begins in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, with the opening of the Suez Canal and the surge in numbers of 'steamboat hajis' from Southeast Asia. Indeed, as Laffan notes, by the end of the turn of the century, the so-called 'Jawa' usually constituted the single largest group making the pilgrimage each year to Mecca. It was against this backdrop that the Dutch colonial regime began to express increasing concern – and to intensify its scrutiny – with regard to the connections between the Netherlands East Indies and the Middle East. Dutch fears of 'Pan-Islam' were heightened by the protracted difficulties experienced by the colonial regime in its efforts to 'pacify' the northernmost Sumatran sultanate of Aceh, a campaign which lasted from 1873 until the early years of the twentieth century. The Aceh War, Laffan notes, also coincided rather awkwardly with the Ottoman emperor Abdulhamid II's assumption of the Caliphate and his attempts to assert a measure of authority as the Caliph throughout the Muslim world.

Drawing on both the secondary literature and primary archival sources, Laffan chronicles the emergence of new Dutch instruments of surveillance and regulation of Islam during this period, with the familiar figure of Snouck Hurgronje occupying centre stage in his account of events and trends in the Hijaz and the Indies. Laffan carefully sketches the intersection and interplay between Dutch policy and the emergence of what he terms "Cairene reformism" at the turn of the century, a development which he traces from its roots in the Middle East to its subsequent spread to Southeast Asia. Here he points to the early coincidence of goals between the early Islamic reformists of the Indies and Dutch officials like Hurgronje, who pushed for the "emancipation" of Muslims in the colony from "medieval rubbish" (p. 93) through modern education. As Laffan notes, "throughout his career then Snouck Hurgronje and his associates were concerned with the indigenous generation of a new Islam, stripped of the doctrine of *jihād* and made compatible with modernity and humanism. This was expected to lead to a future of cooperation between Colony and Motherland (p. 94)".

Thereafter, Laffan's narrative is one of unintended consequences, as the continuing – and diversifying – activities of the reformists, both in the Middle East and in the Netherlands East Indies, helped to give rise to new forms of consciousness, solidarity, and organisation, and thus contributed to the rising tide of anti-colonial mobilisation in final decades of Dutch rule. Laffan chronicles the emergence of Malay-language newspapers written in the Arabic script like *Al-Imam* (Singapore), *Al-Munir* (Padang), and *Al-Islam* (Surabaya) in the early years of the twentieth century, what he terms a "*jawi* print network" radiating its influence – and imparting a sense of Islamic nationhood – throughout much of Muslim Southeast Asia.

It is against this backdrop that Laffan situates the rise of the Sarekat Islam as the first mass movement in modern Indonesian history. He traces, for example, the transformation of Hadji Agoes Salim from a protégé of Hurgronje in the Dutch consulate in Jeddah (1906–1911) to police informant and then full-fledged activist in the Sarekat Islam in the 1910s. More broadly, he stresses the Islamic roots of the Sarekat Islam's seemingly diverse leadership: "Islam as commonality was what enabled this quantum leap of unity between Hadrami merchant, Jawi pilgrim, and *priyayi* journalist" (p. 168). The contribution of Islam to the rise and triumph of Indonesian nationalism, Laffan clearly suggests, deserves not only to be reevaluated, but to be reemphasised as well.

Viewed in the light of the evidence presented, and the broader range of sources alluded to throughout the book, Laffan's claim as to the importance of the subject deserves serious consideration, especially compared to less careful – and more partisan – scholarship on this contentious topic. It should be admitted that Laffan probably exaggerates the contradiction between his findings and the arguments made by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* with regard to the triumph of 'secular' nationalism

over early forms of supra-local Islamic identity and ‘imagining’. He might also run the danger of overstating the argument – or undersupplying the evidence – for the contribution of Islamic networks, publications, solidarities, and fields of consciousness to the mass movements that rose to challenge Dutch colonial rule in the interwar era and resurfaced in different form in the *Revolusi* after World War II. Indeed, some readers might wish for a clearer, more comparative, and more sustained line of argumentation with regard to the eclipse of the “*jawi* print networks” by the 1920s, and the failure of Islamic organisations to seize the leadership of the anti-colonial Revolution and the post-colonial state more generally. Other readers might likewise long for more evidence as to the sociological depth and density of transnational Islamic networks, patterns of circulation, fields of consciousness, and solidarities, especially in terms of their contribution to mass mobilisation in the Sarekat Islam of the 1910s and 1920s and the *Revolusi* of the mid-late 1940s.

But all readers should be duly impressed by the considerable achievements of this new book. Laffan’s study demonstrates impressive erudition, analytical skill, and a supra-regional breadth rarely found in Southeast Asian Studies. His contribution to revisionist scholarship on nationalism in Southeast Asia fairly matches the path-breaking studies of Christopher Goscha on Indochina and is certain to place him at the centre of major debates on the history of modern Indonesia and the region as a whole. As Laffan takes up a post in the Department of History at Princeton University in 2004, he is already the author of one of the most important works on Islam in Southeast Asia and he is well placed to address the many crucial questions posed by his fine study in the years to come.

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SIAM IN MIND. By DAVID K. WYATT. pp. 126. Chiang Mai, Silkworm Books, 2002.
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This is a book of twenty-four brief essays, which spans the history of Siam or Thailand from the ninth to the twentieth century. The author’s purpose is to illustrate his thoughts on, and perhaps to propose a framework for, an intellectual history of Thailand. Since 1977, he has argued that there is an intellectual history of South East Asia to be studied but, since others did not take up his challenge, he has presented us here with what may be called a draft agenda for the subject in relation to Thailand. Superficially it may seem a slight work but its aim is to stimulate thought. One hopes it may encourage scholars to debate the issue and work to fill some of the gaps in our understanding of the people and the place, and thus move forward the study of the intellectual history of Thailand.

The dilemma faced by historians of South East Asia in general continues to be the need to establish the historical record and find the supporting sources. Neighbouring Asian regions, in comparison, appear to have a wealth of material. Wyatt’s essays point to some additional or alternative sources, which can help to provide the evidence for a history of Thai thought. In this work he suggests new ways of looking at some of the evidence and from this, drawing out a view of the intelligence and intellect of the ordinary people of Thailand.

Intellectual history for Professor Wyatt is defined as “the study of thought and the products of thought, through time”. He is particularly concerned that the thinking and intelligent application of thought by ordinary people is recognised as part of the intellectual history of a country, in this case Siam. He cites the calendar as an example, used by the court to ensure that ceremonies take place at the correct time but also by farmers. They needed to know when to expect the

monsoon rains that enable seedlings to be planted out in the prepared and flooded rice fields. In a tropical country, without observable seasons, the farmer has to know the time of year as the lunar calendar is too inaccurate. The calendar of the Indo-European farmers of India was exported to South East Asia by the seventh century. It is a calendar computed by mathematical calculation not observation, and so the existence of local intellectual ability, particularly in mathematics, is demonstrable even if it cannot be proven from written sources. We do have corroboration of Thai abilities in astronomical science and mathematics from Simon de La Loubere in the 1680s. In his essay 'Men at war', Wyatt argues for the creative thinking that the peasants must have used to defeat more numerous and better-protected opponents, for which hints can be found in the chronicles.

One of the themes of the book is the emergence of the modern Thai nation from the kingdom, which, in its turn, had developed as a dominant power from a group of smaller kingdoms and polities that occupied the region in earlier periods. The conscious selection of ideas, such as the *deva raja*, King Trailok's deliberate adoption of an Indic form of administration, King Chulalongkorn's modernisation of the administration on a western model, are all topics dealt with here, demonstrating the deliberate choice and use of political ideas that have played their part in the evolution of Thailand.

These essays point to the value of a fresh look at potential sources, as well as the scope for the discovery of new material. Wyatt's many references in his footnotes to manuscript texts that have been made public in print editions in cremation and other commemorative volumes, give us a clue that more information on Thai manuscript sources await fuller study. Murals in temples, for example, may reward scrutiny if the subject is considered in conjunction with the context in which the commission was dedicated, as in the case quoted of Wat Phumin in the city of Nan. Wyatt reminds us of the importance of monastery libraries for the preservation and transmission of texts, evidence of a Thai scholarly tradition, and describes the role played by one nineteenth-century monk whom he calls "the crazy bibliophile", who caused three important monastery libraries to be created in his lifetime. In all of them, the monk in question took great care over the storage conditions and precautions against ants or damp; the survival of the contents of one benefited from his ban on lending manuscripts. This monk was continuing an old tradition, the copying of manuscripts to preserve and disseminate texts.

The printing press, which came late to Thailand, was adopted as part of this tradition to preserve the texts of manuscripts and establish the accepted texts of the various Thai chronicles. From the end of the nineteenth century there was a growth of publishing in history and creative writing. Some of it may have been stimulated by foreign examples, but the best was Thai in origin. Wyatt refers to two Thai historians who seem to have been concerned to record for posterity the history and traditions of Thailand, recognising, he suggests, their importance for the Thai, and to prevent their loss in the headlong rush to modernisation. He illustrates that literature is another fertile source for the study of ideas, citing both a work of King Vajiravudh and works by two writers of the later twentieth century; they describe a way of life that is often now past, but they also reflect intellectual trends by their very choice of subject. Another theme in these essays is the call for a re-evaluation of the role of those outsiders who have come and made their homes in Thailand and contributed to its culture – the Chinese, the ethnic minorities of the region, particularly from the northeast, and the men such as those who founded the Bunnag family. All in their way and at different periods of history have influenced the direction of Thai thought, and Thailand's economic and political development. Their descendants have been assimilated into Thai culture together with a wider repertoire of thought.

Wyatt cites some examples of recent work on Thailand, particularly that of young Thai scholars, though a quick look on the library shelves shows that there is much recent work in these fields. These

writers may not have used the term 'intellectual history', but their research is the groundwork that will enable the construction of Thai intellectual history. It is invidious to single out one writer but the work of Thongchai Winichakul in *Siam mapped: a history of the geo-body of a nation* (Honolulu, 1994) can be described as a work of intellectual history. He demonstrates that traditional concepts of frontiers and the exercise of layers of political control came up against a foreign import, mapping, that defined boundaries precisely. This was a tool, moreover, which was adopted consciously and with enthusiasm by the rulers in Bangkok who understood the power that it conferred on them. This work links with the examples given by Wyatt of past rulers adopting and adapting ideas to allow new developments in their society. It is also pertinent to some of Wyatt's pleas for a fresh look at the boundaries and frontiers that define Thai history.

This book demonstrates that there is scope for the development of an intellectual history of Thailand, and Wyatt tells us that he could have written four or five times as many chapters. It may be some time, however, before Thai intellectual history can become a subject of public debate: it is significant that in recent years some topics, which would seem uncontroversial elsewhere, have been prohibited from public debate, demonstrating that, in due course, they will form part of Thailand's intellectual history.

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KOREAN SHAMANISM. THE CULTURAL PARADOX (Vitality of Indigenous Religions). By CHONGHO KIM. pp. xxii, 248. Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003.
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Shamanism is usually defined as a magico-religious system of archaic origin whose main characteristic is communication with the spirit world. Its main protagonist, the shaman, mediates between the spirit world and this world in a state of ecstasy induced by drumming and rhythmic music and dance or while being 'possessed'. She or he often has a helper from the spirit world, sometimes in the form of an animal. The main purpose of shamanism in archaic societies was to secure the wellbeing of the tribe, whose members periodically participated in the rites, joining the shaman in singing and dancing. Its secondary but by no means less important purpose has always been to answer anxieties of families and individuals concerning their success in life and their mental and physical health with rituals conducted more or less in private. Most definitions of shamanism still show the influence of the pioneering work of Mircea Eliade, although his stress on ecstasy and the shaman's 'cosmic flight' is no longer regarded as a necessary ingredient of shamanic procedures. Eliade particularly studied Siberian forms of shamanism since they have preserved their vitality among Siberian tribes well into modern times. Shamanism in China, Korea and Japan still betrays its Siberian roots. But in these culturally advanced societies shamanism has been looked down upon and often even persecuted. The most drastic example of its persecution, however, was attested in the former Soviet Union. Hunters in Siberia were still paid in the 1930s with money and vodka for every head of a shaman. Yet shamanism survived underground and has bounced back after the collapse of the communist regime.

Although the shamanic rituals are nowadays used mostly for healing purposes, shamanism was once a complex system of beliefs with its own spiritual discipline, mythology, creation stories and legendary accounts explaining the beginning of civilisation. This is still traceable in Korean shamanism, which counts among its deities Hwanung, the son of the heavenly king; he descended to earth, taught people agriculture, crafts and social skills and founded a dynasty. Of other deities the most conspicuous is Sansin, the spirit of the mountains. Then there is the earth goddess, usually referred to as Grandma.

Some generals – heroes famous from the innumerable battles fought over the centuries against enemies invading Korea – have also acquired divine status and are occasionally contacted in shamanic rituals. Shamanism shares its main deities, and some other features, with the ancient Korean religion, which has no generally accepted name, although it is sometimes referred to as *sinkyō* or *sunkyo*; it survives in rural areas and is in evidence in periodic folk festivals, besides also enjoying a revival on a minor scale even among wider circles of the population. Research into the ancient Korean religion, including its modern surviving and revived forms, and into shamanism as a complex system and into the mutual relation of the two has up to now been scanty so that large grey areas remain.

When Buddhism was introduced into Korea in the fourth century CE and became the state religion, it absorbed some shamanic features and ancient deities, in particular Sansin, who has his own shrine in practically every temple precinct. Shamanic dances were incorporated into Buddhist funeral rites and into memorial rituals for ancestors that are still performed on behalf of patrons in some temples, even in Seoul. These rituals contain also a Confucian element despite the fact that when Confucianism replaced Buddhism as the state ideology during the Chosŏn (Choseon) period (under the Yi dynasty 1392–1910), shamanism was persecuted and Buddhism partly suppressed.

The aspect of shamanism concerned with healing or dealing with personal misfortune by summoning the assistance of spirits was widespread over the centuries and was the main target in times of persecution, as well as during the post-war period of rapid modernisation of Korea, when the government designated shamanism as superstition. It is still illegal in Korea to perform shamanic healing rituals. However, anthropological research conducted by westerners, who were soon joined by newly trained Korean anthropologists, led to the discovery of great artistic value in some shamanic rituals and to their acceptance as a specimen of traditional performing arts which, separated from its original purpose, has become hugely successful both at home and abroad.

The book under review does not deal with the wider perspectives of Korean shamanism outlined above. It is a result of field research narrowly focussed on illegal shamanic rituals in a small rural area. The author graduated in anthropology from the Korean National University in Seoul and worked for some years as an anthropological researcher in the field of health-care in villages, at one time on a project supported by the World Health Organisation. Having come across instances of shamanic healing, he regarded their utilisation at the time as a phenomenon of medical pluralism and argued in an article (1988) that shamans should be recognised as a ‘health-care resource’ and accepted along with other traditional systems of ‘ethno-medicine’, such as herbal medicine. He advocated this stance also in some lectures delivered in Korean universities. He then embarked specifically on research into shamanism when he was part-time lecturer in anthropology in Seoul in 1991. In 1993, at nearly 40 years of age, he joined a PhD programme in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Newcastle in New South Wales, Australia, and as a part of his studies he carried out fieldwork on and off for several months in 1994–96 in the same rural area in which he had once worked as a health-care researcher. He eventually gained his PhD in 2001. The book gives the story and the background of his research and some resulting conclusions.

One of them was that the views expressed in his 1988 article and in his University lectures were mistaken and he apologises in his book to the readers of the article and to his students as well as to physicians who attended his lectures prior to their posting to rural areas. He now sees that he was misled into adopting those views, while working as a health-care researcher, by some leading western medical anthropologists. But now it becomes clear to him that shamanism could not be classified as a sort of traditional medicine that deals with ‘the field of health-care’, and therefore coexists and sometimes competes with bio-medicine, because it deals essentially with ‘the field of misfortune’. Korean shamans are concerned not with illness as such, but with misfortune or ill-luck, most often than not caused, in their perception, by dissatisfied or offended spirits, even though

illness is often a part of it. In that respect, the government statistics were correct to include shamans among “practitioners of superstition”, together with “diviners, face readers, horoscope readers, hand readers, bone readers, geomancers and sutra chanters”, although these other practitioners are much less stigmatised in contemporary Korean society than shamans and some, like the geomancers, are rather valued.

The stigmatisation of shamans would appear to be almost universal in Korean society, despite the fact that many Koreans of all classes use their services and pay high fees for them, but they do so secretly and as a last resort. The government’s drive to eradicate superstition and mete out considerable punishments to shamans caught practising secret rituals for clients has greatly contributed to their low social status. The economic success of the country, the rapid modernisation of many forms of life and the spread of western ideas make, in the author’s changed perception, nonsense of the shamanic ritual procedure in which the ‘spirits speak’. Yet assistance by shamans appears indispensable to many Koreans under certain circumstances. Therein lies ‘the cultural paradox’ of the author’s subtitle to the book.

During the shamanic ritual, called *kut* in Korean, the spirits may speak directly through the shaman or through the ‘spirit stick’ held by the shaman or even the client, for sometimes it is the client who becomes possessed by the invoked spirit, who may be the one causing trouble or a deceased relative whom the client wants to consult about the trouble and how it can be remedied. Communication with spirits is, according to the author, essential in Korean shamanic ritual, which is successful only if the evoked spirits actually do speak. Most aspects of shamanic procedures and their meaning have been, in the author’s view, missed or misinterpreted by current research, mostly anthropological in nature, because it has focussed either on the life histories, careers and motivations of the shamans or on the folkloric elements of their trade – the ritual, the ‘paraphernalia’ (costumes and implements), chants, recitations, symbols and myths, the informants being the shamans themselves. This approach does not explain why Koreans resort to shamanic services in spite of being ashamed of it because of the stigma of superstition attached to them. “Shaman-centred studies are ultimately incapable of understanding the cultural paradox of shamanism” since “shamans and their clients interact in a cultural environment where shamanism is not reconcilable to the dominant culture”. The author therefore focuses on ordinary people, the problems which they refer to shamans and the contexts in which they manage to cope with or resolve their problems within the shamanic framework.

Almost all shamanic rituals (*kuts*) for clients suffering from some misfortune are performed in secrecy, without an audience. It took some time for the author to gain the confidence of the villagers, some suspecting him to be a spy, but eventually he was accepted as an onlooker and could even make notes and exceptionally also tape recordings during some of the *kuts*. Most shamans in Korea are women and so are most of their clients. But the author disputes the view of some western feminist anthropologists that shamans are dominant in Korean women’s lives or that shamanism is closely related to the development of Korean feminism; he points to the active discouragement of the use of shamanism by Korean women’s organisations and to the fact that the Ehwa Women’s University has not included shamanism in its courses on feminism.

The dominance of women in Korean shamanism is explained by their greater liability to experience misfortune in a culture that is still largely male-dominated, despite the recent inroads of modernity. Forced marriages, bereavement when losing children, divorce, widowhood (while there is still prejudice against the remarriage of widows), illness or financial mishap in the family are among factors which may be experienced as “signs of shamanic calling” and result in “a transformation of the experience of misfortune into a relationship with the spirits within the framework of shamanism”. This, however, can be the solution for only a small minority. Most women struck by misfortune resort to the services of a shaman. In many cases it is a kind of ‘cultural rebellion’ against the strictures imposed on suffering

women by a traditional society. A solution may sometimes be achieved by inviting the village or immediate neighbours to the *kut* during which, for example, the summoned spirit of a respected ancestor resolves the problem in his answers to guided questions put to him by the shaman if the client is 'possessed', or by the client if the spirit speaks through the shaman. Thus a problem, which could never become the subject of open discussion in the village, can be ventilated and a non-traditional solution accepted. (One such *kut* is described by the author and one can wonder to what extent there existed a pre-arranged scenario between the shaman and the widowed client. Or was the shaman's intuitive or consciously sympathetic attitude responsible? And can we categorically reject the possibility of the involvement of the ancestral spirit?) After the *kut* the matter and the achieved resolution are never again discussed because shamanism just is not a part of the everyday life. This again confirms, to the author, the cultural paradox of the position of shamanism in Korean society, which he expresses in a way imitating Zen *koans*:

Shamanism is superstition, so it should not be used.

Shamanism is not superstition, because it is actually used.

Again, shamanism is superstition, so, paradoxically, it is used.

The author describes several *kuts* he was allowed to witness and it becomes obvious that as a Korean steeped in the native culture he is not immune to the paradoxical effects of shamanism. He admits as much in a section headed 'A field worker in fear'. He refers to the negative influence of shamanism as "the smell of cultural toxicity" of shamanism which lingered around after a *kut* like the smell of the primitive toilets of the village and was experienced in this way also by the villagers; shamanism was on the fringes of their community life just as toilets were located in the far corners of their properties. This provoked in him "anthropological curiosity", but he was also afraid of misfortune as a result of the poisonous influence of shamanism on him, possibly in the form of mental illness, as he suffered from nightmares during his fieldwork. On one occasion when he brought a client to a secret *kut* during a cold and windy night he left the performance to shelter in his car, but was soon overcome by a haunted feeling and fear of ghosts coming at him which subsided only under the soothing influence of a piano sonata by Tchaikovsky when he turned on the car radio. He knew he faced a dilemma: as an academic researcher he was supposed to be detached, but really to understand shamanism he had to allow his own native closeness to Korean culture to come through, but this was coupled with the experience of the toxicity of shamanism to which western researchers were not sensitive.

He also admits to several strange incidents purporting to be brought about by spirits. Thus, when driving to a *kut* in woods on a freezing night, the car engine stopped and would not start again, so that he and the client's sister, who was his landlady and had secured for him the permission to see the *kut*, had to walk some distance to join the shaman and her client. The ceremony had already begun and the spirit, the client's "grandpa", warned of the approach of some "impurity". Appeasement was reached after a substantial donation by the author and his landlady and the grandfather then even promised to let the car start. When some hours later the author and his landlady left the *kut*, the car started straightaway, although the temperature was below minus 10 degrees centigrade. Other incidents involved sudden healing after protracted unsuccessful treatments by medical specialists.

A jewel of a chapter is the last one, called 'National Living Treasure'. It gives the story of Kum-Hwa Kim, 'a superstar' shaman. Born in poverty in North Korea, suffering from ill-health and the aftermath of an early abortive marriage, she was initiated by her grandmother at the age of 17 and managed to escape to the south when the Korean war broke out three years later. As a practising shaman she experienced hard times during the modernisation movement, but after entering a traditional arts competition in 1966 she successfully performed in the 'Folk Village' near Seoul and other tourist sites. In 1974 she received a government award. In 1981 she performed an initiation ritual for 'a high class' graduate of the National University of Korea studying for a PhD degree in anthropology in

the University of California. It was watched by scholars, some from abroad, and later televised. An invitation from the Smithsonian Institute to perform shamanic rituals in the USA as a part of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Korean–American diplomatic relations followed (1982) to the embarrassment of the Korean government, who initially refused her permission because, in its view, superstitious rituals performed in America would disgrace the Korean nation. When threatened with the cancellation of the programme by the Smithsonian Institute, the government relented, but insisted on replacing the reference to shamanic ritual with traditional dance. After numerous other performances at home and abroad, including academic gatherings, she was awarded the highest governmental recognition as the ‘Carrier of the Skill of the Intangible Cultural Property No. 82-B for the Western Coastal Boat Ritual and the Community Harmony Ritual’. The title is vested with a life-long stipend to train disciples. Fame as a performer of shamanic art and the financial security did not make Kum-Hwa Kim give up her shamanic vocation, but she makes a clear distinction between her shamanic theatrical performances and the secret *kuts* for clients, some of whom are even from governmental circles, despite the illegality of the practice.

The book is a good read for anybody. It is also, in spite of some drawbacks, a must for anybody interested in or researching shamanism. It is chatty and rather personal, on occasions repetitive, and the pieces of information relevant for academic research and the author’s conclusions on important points are scattered almost haphazardly throughout the book. Although the author says that his book is a revised version of his thesis, I can hardly imagine that it would have been acceptable in its present form, because a thesis should have a more systematic structure. So maybe the book is a rewrite for a wider public. I have the impression that there is a certain ambiguity about the whole project; I would regard it in the final assessment as rather inconclusive and not sufficiently thought through. Even so, it does contain some original material and some original ideas as well as useful references to a large number of academic and other sources. The details given about the author’s fieldwork experiences with ordinary village folks who availed themselves of the services of shamans are very important to know about. The author’s insistence that a true picture of Korean shamanism can be obtained only if it is studied within the cultural context of village life and not only from the point of view of shamans, especially those in an urban setting, is no doubt fully justified.

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JAPANESE ARMY STRAGGLERS AND MEMORIES OF WAR IN JAPAN, 1950–1975. By BEATRICE TREFALT. pp. 272. London & New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

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Though much has been written about it, Japan’s attempt to create an empire in East and South East Asia in the twentieth century is still difficult to explain and understand. David Calman has written of it as ‘an anachronism . . . [Japan’s] “modern” imperialism belongs to the seventeenth century’ (*The Nature and Origins of Japan’s Imperialism*, London & New York, 1992, p. 209). Perhaps there can be no anachronisms in history. But the extraordinary ambitions of the modern period indeed had some sort of precedent in earlier centuries. “Even China will enter my grip”, Hideyoshi had claimed in the 1590s (quoted in Mary E. Berry, *Hideyoshi*, Harvard, 1982, p. 207). “With proper spirit and discipline on our part”, Sato Nobuhiro asserted more than two centuries later, “China would crumble and fall like a house of sand within five to ten years” (quoted in W. G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration*, Stanford, 1972, p. 80).

What part such ideas played in the 1930s, what part was played by fear and opportunism, incompetence and misjudgement, as well as by ambition, remains open to analysis. And that is a challenge to the Japanese as well as others. It is arguably indeed a greater challenge, even more difficult to meet, inasmuch as the venture, consumed by violence, ended in catastrophe, and the Japanese have been unable to come to terms with all its implications. The Renesque process of learning and forgetting has been the more fraught inasmuch as defeat was followed by reconstruction and destruction by prosperity. The continuities and discontinuities have not been easy to discern. "The significance of the conflict remains a recurring topic of discussion and dispute both within the country and overseas", Beatrice Trefalt writes (p. 3). Her work offers a novel contribution to an extended debate.

The 'empire' that Japan built was vast, including not only its earlier acquisitions, Okinawa, Taiwan and Korea, but also Manchukuo, large parts of China, most of South East Asia, its earlier mandates in the Pacific and its later conquests extending from the Aleutians to the shores of New Guinea. Its collapse was dramatic. At the end of the war – when Japan was deprived of all but Okinawa – more than six million Japanese were 'overseas' and awaiting repatriation. That process added eight per cent to the population of the homeland between 1945 and 1948, described by Wakatsuki Yasuo, as Trefalt says, as "one of the biggest concentrated population movements in the history of the world" (p. 25). Japan seemed to be unique in defeat as in victory, but not easier to comprehend as a result.

Not all were repatriated in those years. Large numbers were held back in the Soviet Union, and some soldiers served in the anti-colonial struggles in South East Asia. Trefalt's focus is at the other end of the scale, the 65 or so 'stragglers' who over the next twenty-five years emerged from caves and jungle fastnesses, having been unable or unready to surrender and rather too readily assumed to be dead by the Bureau of Repatriate Welfare. Though the numbers are small, their experiences are significant. The author tries with some success to depict their own attitudes and those of their families and fellow-citizens when they returned unexpectedly to a changed and changing Japan. But her main focus is on the public reaction to the repatriates, particularly as evidenced in reportage in newspapers and journals and in cartoons.

Though no one single view ever prevails, it is possible to trace a predominant reaction that shifts over time. The author traces it phase by phase with thoroughness and subtlety, if with a degree of repetition that, perhaps not entirely inappropriately, recalls the practice of military instructors: say what you are going to say, say it, then say it again. Burdened a little by the baggage of cultural studies jargon, the book is well organised and persuasively argued. The conclusion is that, despite the shifts in attitude, the series of debates that the stragglers' staggered return provoked never really encompassed the effect of the 'imperialist' war on the peoples of East and South East Asia. It remained concerned with the Japanese themselves.

The first phase described by the author covers 1950–2, the last years of the Occupation. Many Japanese had still to be repatriated, and the stragglers who returned then received relatively little attention. They "did not elicit pity so much as curiosity", and "were often portrayed as exotic or strange, and at times as hardly human" (p. 49), even as 'Tarzans'. In the years 1954–5 further stragglers were repatriated from Mindoro, New Guinea and Morotai. Those post-Occupation years were marked both by the growth of pacifist literature and by the publication of *senkimono* (memoirs and stories of the war), and the media's portrayal of the returnees put more emphasis on their military character than on their 'otherness'. There was a tendency to refer to those repatriated from New Guinea respectfully as "living spirits of the war dead" (p. 80).

The denigration of high-ranking military leaders, coupled with praise of self-sacrificing common soldiers, already emerging in this phase, developed in the next phase into a 'discourse' of victim consciousness. That phase was marked by the deep public controversy over the renewal of the mutual security treaty with the US that led to the fall of Kishi Nobusuke. "The stragglers of this period

returned to a nation that was negotiating the significance of the last war at a basic level and consciously debating notions of nationhood, national identity and national history” (p. 90). In the context of the pacifist discourse promoted by the treaty re-negotiation, stragglers were seen as citizens, compatriots and victims of militarism.

The notion that the soldiers were ‘victims’ was renewed when Yokoi Shoichi was discovered on Guam early in 1972. “His long exile was presented as the sacrifice of a victim rather than that of a willing participant in the war” (p. 118). That was coupled, however, with further reflection on the state of the nation to which he had returned. “What will this fossil think of us?” (p. 133). Though the war was a horrific experience, the war period was less hypocritical and less selfish than the prosperous and consumerist 1970s.

Those were reflections on Japan, not on its war. Though the author argues that the last straggler, Nakamura Teruo, found on Morotai late in 1974, “inescapably brought into the public sphere the legacies of Japanese imperialism and war outside of Japan” (p. 160), in fact that debate did not go very deep. He was a member of a Taiwanese minority people, the Ami, recruited into the Imperial Japanese Army. He was another ‘victim’, but still not one of Japan’s wartime aggression. His case “did not in the end”, as the author admits, “provide the grounds for a wider and more sustained exploration of the impact of Japanese imperialism” (p. 177).

His case does, however, offer material for current debates on ‘ethnicity’ and its ‘construction’. Nakamura had names in Ami as well as his Japanese name. Now he wanted to return to Taiwan, though it was, of course, no longer part of the empire. There he learnt for the first time that, as a result of the KMT government’s policy of assimilation, he was now Li Kuany-Hwei, though he did not speak Chinese.

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LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY AND JAPANESE HISTORY TEXTBOOKS. By CHRISTOPHER BARNARD. pp. x, 190. London & New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
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In view of the fact that school textbooks are one of the chief ways in which people learn about their country’s history, one might suppose that their role in shaping national consciousness in Japan would have been subjected to close scrutiny. In fact, however, few such studies have appeared in English, and *Language, Ideology and Japanese History Textbooks* represents one of the first serious attempts to explore this area. It is not, it should be pointed out, as comprehensive as its title might suggest, since it confines itself to an examination of how three related episodes – the controversial ‘Rape of Nanking’, Japan’s entry into war in 1941, and the 1945 surrender – are treated in current textbooks. Moreover, while not ignoring other kinds of evidence, Barnard relies primarily on critical discourse analysis, which, as he explains it, seeks “to answer questions related to how language creates meanings, the range of meanings that a language can create, why particular choices from the language system are made on particular occasions, and what other choices could have been made, what other meanings would have been created if different language had been used, how language influences society, and, in turn, how society is influenced by language”. He explains his methodology in a painstaking introduction, which takes up more than a quarter of the book but also includes a helpful review of the long-running history textbook controversy in Japan. His broad conclusions are that, without being guilty of outright distortion, Japanese history textbooks have used language that not only plays down Japanese responsibility for the atrocities that Japanese soldiers committed in 1937 and for the war which the

Japanese government launched in 1941, but also conceals the extent of Japan's defeat in 1945. In doing so, he further argues, the textbooks' authors and publishers are conforming to the ideology which the Education Ministry, reflecting a bureaucratic and political attitude towards the Japanese state and society that has roots in the pre-war period, has sought to impose and maintain for over half a century.

This last point echoes the writings of such anti-establishment historians and critics as McCormack, Bix and van Wolferen, and although some new evidence and arguments are brought to bear on the issue, the book's chief claim to significance rests on the originality of its linguistic approach. Many novel points are made, some of them thought provoking, others rather strained. With regard to the Nanking massacres, Barnard primarily focuses on his finding that almost all the textbooks describe them as being carried out by "the Japanese army". This, he argues, creates the impression that it was an organisation that was responsible, not individual soldiers. He also suggests that the textbooks' common assertion, that the massacres were only revealed to the Japanese people by the post-war International Tribunal for the Far East, works to the advantage of nationalist revisionism, since "by locating the revelation of knowledge of Nanking in what can very reasonably be argued were biased legal proceedings, this text gives those who claim that there was no major atrocity at Nanking very good grounds for denying the atrocity".

When Barnard turns to 1941, his analysis focuses initially on Japanese textbooks' customary reference to 'ABCD encirclement'. He criticises this usage partly on the ground that it unjustifiably includes China, but more importantly because the way in which it is presented leaves a false or ambiguous impression. "The ideology is", he asserts, "of Japan being pushed into a corner by the actions of the white races and China, who were attempting to constrain its very reasonable behaviour". His principal claim in this chapter, however, is that the language in which Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor is described differs significantly from that used in regard to Germany's attack on Poland. He marshals an array of evidence for this but particularly emphasises the use of noun-phrases such as 'Japan's Pearl Harbor attack', instead of more direct clauses such as 'Japan attacked Pearl Harbor'; and he claims that the German attack is given more prominence than Japan's as a result of its being 'encoded' in the main verb far more frequently. Whether or not this fully justifies his conclusion, that "there is a consistent pattern of language use that works towards lessening the responsibility of the Japanese state for the attacks", may be open to question, but the line of reasoning is certainly an interesting one. It is less easy, though, to share his view of the significance of the fact that no other country is described as "plunging into war", and to agree that this removes Japan "from the story as a party which is responsible for creating a particular state of affairs by acting in a certain way".

In examining the treatment of Japan's surrender Barnard turns to the concept of 'face'. He finds that the textbooks consistently avoid explicit reference to surrender in main clauses, downplaying it by writing less directly of the Japanese government's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration or of its representatives later signing of the surrender document. He further contends that, by both ignoring the suffering of the Japanese people and the completeness of defeat and using verbs that suggest determination and freedom of choice, the textbooks convey the impression that the Japanese state had the option of not accepting the Potsdam Declaration. He also criticises them for using language that, by not giving ordinary people active roles in the narrative, emphasises their subservience. In consequence, he asserts, it "is made rather clear to pupils studying these textbooks what the writers of the textbooks regard as the normal relationship between the Japanese Government and Emperor, on the one hand, and the mass of Japanese people, on the other hand". Again, however, this seems to strain the evidence.

Barnard is not unaware that his methodology is open to question, and in particular he addresses the hypothetical objection that because the style of writing history that he criticises is normal in Japan he is reading into the language and grammar of the textbooks more significance than is justified.

To counter this he demonstrates that when textbooks deal with German aggression, they generally avoid the linguistic devices that he has discerned in the passages relating to Japanese actions. He does not, however, taken into account another objection: that the decision-making processes and international position of the Japanese state were sufficiently different to those of Germany to warrant the use of language which conveys a sense of lesser responsibility and intentionality. Moreover, he also fails to demonstrate that the linguistic style of the textbooks when dealing with the three topics he has examined is different from that which they employ when dealing with other, less ideologically significant, topics in Japanese history. Nor does he compare them with outline histories written by independently-minded historians and not subject to Education Ministry approval. A glance at one such work reveals that here too it is the Japanese army which is held responsible for the Nanking massacres and that no specific reference is made to Japanese soldiers. The conclusion must be that without a more extended comparison, Barnard's claim cannot be considered proven.

In conclusion, Barnard has produced a book that is often perceptive and offers insights, especially with regard to the treatment of Japan's surrender. There are times, however, when his argument seems one-sided or strained, or his grasp of historical events and processes simplistic. Moreover, as a teacher of language he may have overestimated the value of linguistic analysis. Nevertheless, he is to be congratulated for opening up a new dimension of understanding, and he has certainly justified his claim that content-type analyses of textbooks need to be supplemented by close scrutiny of the style of language in which they are written.

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