

## **Book reviews**

## BOOKS REVIEWED

- Pekka Masonen**, *The Negroland Revisited. Discovery and Invention of the Sudanese Middle Ages*. (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Humaniora, 309.) Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2000. (Rev. by Holger Weiss) p. 404
- Endre Stiansen & Michael Kevane** (eds.), *Kordofan Invaded. Peripheral Incorporation and Local Transformation in Islamic Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 1998. (Rev. by Holger Weiss) 408
- Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb occidental. Dialectologie et histoire*. Actes réunis et préparés par Jordi Aguadé, Patrice Cressier et Ángeles Vicente. Madrid: Casa de Velásquez, Universidad de Zaragoza, Área de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, 1998. (Rev. by Heikki Palva) 410
- Mohamed Meouak**, *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade (II<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Humaniora, 297.) Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1999. (Rev. by Ilja Kokkonen) 416
- Edward Badeen**, *Zwei mystische Schriften des 'Ammār al-Bidlīsī*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 68.) Beirut, 1999 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila) 418
- Christine Mazzoli-Guintard** (coord.), *Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin du milieu du dixième au milieu du treizième siècle. Analyse et synthèse, avec des contributions de V. Martínez Enamorado, M. Rius & M<sup>a</sup> J. Viguera Molins*. Paris: Éditions Messene. (Rev. by Mohamed Meouak) 419
- Richard G. Hovannisian & Georges Sabagh** (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam*. Fourteenth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [2000]. (Rev. by Kaj Öhrnberg) 421
- Floréal Sanagustin** (éd.), *Les intellectuels en Orient musulman. Statut & fonction*. (CAI, 17.) Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1999. (Rev. by Mohamed Meouak) 422
- Janina M. Safran**, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate. The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in al-Andalus*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 33.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. (Rev. by Mohamed Meouak) 428
- Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid**, *La capitale de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'époque fatimide : al-Qāhira et al-Fuṣṭāṭ ; essai de reconstitution topographique*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 48.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998. (Rev. by Kaj Öhrnberg) 432
- Angelika Neuwirth, Birgit Embaló, Sebastian Günther & Maher Jarrar** (eds.), *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature. Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*. Proceedings of the International Symposium in Beirut, June 25th – June 30th, 1996. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 64.) Beirut, 1999 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila) 433
- Stephan Guth, Priska Furrer & Johann Christoph Bürgel** (eds.), *Conscious Voices. Concepts of Writing in the Middle East. Proceedings of the Berne Symposium, July 1997*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 72.) Beirut, 1999 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila) 434
- K. Dévényi & T. Iványi** (eds.), *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and African Studies (ICANAS). Part One: Linguistics, Literature, History*. (The Arabist. Budapest Studies in Arabic, 19–20.) 1998. (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila) 435

- Mona Takieddine Amyuni**, *La Ville, source d'inspiration. Le Caire, Khartoum, Beyrouth, Paola Scala chez quelques écrivains arabes contemporains*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 63.) Beirut, 1998 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila) 436
- Amidu Sanni**, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification – on ḥall and nazm in Arabic Theoretical Discourse*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 70.) Beirut, 1998 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). xiii + 186 pp. (Rev. by Irmeli Perho) 436
- Nadje Al-Ali**, *Secularism, Gender and the State in the Middle East: The Egyptian Women's Movement*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, 14.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xv + 264 pp. (Rev. by Sylvia Akar) 437
- Clive Holes**, *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia, I. Glossary*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 1: Der Nahen und Mittleren Osten, 51(1); Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East, 51(1).) Leiden: Brill, 2001. (Rev. by Heikki Palva) 439
- Rudolf E. de Jong**, *A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of the Northern Sinai Littoral. Bridging the Linguistic Gap between the Eastern and Western Arab World*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, 52; Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East, 52). Leiden: Brill, 2000. (Rev. by Heikki Palva) 442
- David Ayalon**, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans. A Study of Power Relationships*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1999. (Rev. by Muhamed Meouak) 447
- Veronika Six**, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee, Teil 3: Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen*. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20(3).) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999. (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila) 454
- Suraiya Faruqi**, *Approaching Ottoman History: an Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. (Rev. by Kaj Öhrnberg) 455
- Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman & Bruce Masters**, *The Ottoman City between East and West. Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. (Rev. by Muhamed Meouak) 457
- Kate Fleet**, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State. The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila) 462
- Andrzej Drozd, Marek M. Dziekan & Tadeusz Majda**, *Meczety i cmentarze Tatarów polsko-litewskich*. (Katalog zabytków Tatarskich, 2.) Warszawa: Res Publica Multi-ethnica, 1999. (Rev. by Harry Halén) 463
- Nasrollah Pourjavadi & Nosratollah Rastegar** (eds.), *Zafarnāma von Hamdallāh Mustaufī und Šāhnāma von Abu'l-Qāsim Firdausī (editorisch bearbeitet von Hamdallāh Mustaufī)*, I–II. Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift der British Library (Or. 2833). Teheran: Iran University Press; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1377/1999. (Rev. by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila) 467
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- Charles Melville** (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies Held in Cambridge, 11th to 15th September 1995*, II. *Mediaeval and Modern Persian Studies*. (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 17.) Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1999. (Rev. by Petri Pohjanlehto) 470
- Ludwig Paul**, *Zazaki. Grammatik und Versuch einer Dialektologie*. (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 18.) Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998. (Rev. by Petri Pohjanlehto) 477
- Kurtuluş Yolunda. A Work on Central Asian Literature in a Turkish-Uzbek Mixed Language by Settar Cabbar*. Edited, translated and linguistically revisited by A. Sumru Özsoy, Claus Schönig and Esra Karabacak, with contribution from Ingeborg Baldauf. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 66. Türkische Welten, 2.) Istanbul, 2000 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). (Rev. by Tulin Özen) 479
- Д. П. Першин**, Барон Унгерн, Урга и Алтан-булак. Записки очевидца о смутном времени во Внешней (Халхаской) Монголии в первой трети XX века. Подготовка текста, вступительный очерк, послесловие и комментарии И. И. Ломакиной. Самара, Издательский дом «Агни», 1999. (Rev. by Harry Halén) 481
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120. *Alamkārādappaṇa*. Edited by H. C. Bhayani. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1999.
121. *Āchārya Haribhadra's Aṣṭaka Prakaraṇa*. [Text] with Hindi translation, annotations, and introduction. Translated by K. K. Dixit. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1999.
122. *Siri Jasadevasūri Viraiyaṃ Siri Candappahasāmi-Cariyaṃ*. Edited by Pt. Rupendra Kumar Pagariya. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1999. (Rev. by Klaus Karttunen) 485
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- Mahes Raj Pant**, *Jātarūpa's Commentary on the Amarakoṣa. For the first time critically edited together with an Introduction, Appendices and Indices. Part I: Introduction. Part II: Text*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000. (Rev. by Virpi Hämeen-Anttila) 490
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- William T. Rowe**, *Saving the World. Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. (Rev. by Stefan Kuzay) 496

## THE FALL AND RISE OF MANCHU STUDIES

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(Review article by Juha Janhunen)

**Gertraude Roth Li**, *Manchu: A Textbook for Reading Documents*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

**Giovanni Stary**, *A Dictionary of Manchu Names: A Name Index to the Manchu Version of the "Complete Genealogies of the Manchu Clans and Families of the Eight Banners"*. (Actas Manjurica, 8.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, in Kommission, 2000.

**Toshiro Tsumagari [Tsumagari Toshirou]**, *Manshuugo Nyuumon 20kou*. Tokyo [Toukyou]: Daigaku Shorin, 2002.

**V. A. Avrorin**, *Grammatika man' zhchurskogo pis'mennogoazyka*. [A. M. Pevnov and M. M. Khasanova, eds.] Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2000.

## ASIAN AFFAIRS IN RECENT HANDBOOKS

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(Review article by Juha Janhunen)

**Michael Dillon** (ed.), *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. (Durham East Asia Series.) Richmond: Curzon, 1998.

**Keith Pratt & Richard Rutt**, with additional material by James Hoare, *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. (Durham East Asia Series.) Richmond: Curzon, 1999.

**Alan J. K. Sanders**, *Historical Dictionary of Mongolia*. (Asian Historical Dictionaries, 19.) Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 1996.

**Colin Mackerras, Donald H. McMillen & Andrew Watson** (eds.), *Dictionary of the Politics of the People's Republic of China*. (Routledge in Asia.) London: Routledge, 1998.

**James S. Olson**, *An Ethnohistorical Dictionary of China*. London: Aldwych Press, 1998.

**Pekka Masonen**, *The Negroland Revisited. Discovery and Invention of the Sudanese Middle Ages*. (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Humaniora, 309.) Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2000. 600 pp. Eur. 30.27 / US\$ 30.00. ISBN 951-41-0886-8 (paperback).

Pekka Masonen's 600-page tour de force, in recapitulating and rediscovering the gradual increase of knowledge in Europe about the medieval Western Sudanic empires of Ghana and Mali, is a landmark in the historiography of many genres of historical research.

First, it most certainly increases our knowledge of the history of historical writing (and misinterpretations). Masonen, with painstaking analysis, selects all possible – and usually also the least possible – external sources of Sudanic history. Especially with regard to the European texts, one could argue that “what is not included in Masonen's opus is not worth mentioning”. Masonen not only presents all those texts where there is at least a hint of West Africa, but also traces its background, its author and its possible fate. He further discusses the background of the authors and their links to West Africa. Most valuable is Masonen's chronological clarity: the picture and knowledge of medieval Sudanic Africa in Europe increased step by step as more and more Arabic chronicles and texts were translated. Many, if not all, of the texts that Masonen presents are not unknown and have previously been published and analysed, but never before have all of them been put into one volume. In sum: for a commented corpus on European and Arabic sources on medieval Sudanic Africa, Masonen's magnum opus is a good companion to the *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West Africa History* (1981).

Second, Masonen's book is a valuable contribution to the history of European contact with other people and their history, in this case the Western Sudan. Masonen declared in his introduction that the aim and purpose of his research was to examine the evolution of African historiography in Europe from the 15th century to the late 19th century. Without any doubt he succeeded in doing so – and even more. Although Masonen's intention was to limit himself to Sudanic Africa, in particular the ancient empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay, the reader of Masonen's corpus will get information on other regions and subjects as well. Masonen's corpus is, in fact, a kind of renaissance cornucopia: when tracing the roots of the various texts and authors, Masonen might tell a dozen stories, and he follows any sidetrack that might give any hint of the overall picture.

This is a volume in which all texts that have been produced are of importance and have to be discussed, so it is not without problems. The abundance of material is, on the one hand, the strength of his monograph, but on the other hand it is main flaw. Further, although Masonen says that his purpose is to examine the evolution of African historiography in Europe, his hidden agenda seems to be to

outline the historiography and sources of ancient Ghana. There is, as such, no problem with such an approach. However, a more serious problem is Masonen's argument for not including African interpretations of the Sudanic medieval period. According to Masonen, there are no modern African interpretations of West African history written before the 1950s. One might agree with Masonen that in terms of modern (and western) academic historical research, this might be the case. However, what about the texts which Masonen decided *not* to include, namely those texts that local scholars have written about the history of their people? What about the various texts produced by Imam Imoru and others Hausa scholars in both Hausaland and in the Volta region during the 19th century? I also have my doubts about Masonen's claim that "the main contribution of the West Africans to the evolution of African historiography was their oral historical traditions which were recorded and interpreted by French and British colonial administrators and ethnographers" (p. 29).

A further problem with Masonen's corpus is its structure. I do not claim that some of the authors and texts discussed in the corpus could have been omitted. However, the way Masonen has decided to deal with the various texts is problematic: much space and ink is used to give the background of *each* author and text. The end result is that Masonen tells the same story over and over again. Sometimes one wonders why Masonen has decided to engage in a several page long discussion about a certain text and author – just to conclude that the author in fact did not know anything about the Western Sudan. For somebody looking for information about a text and using Masonen's book as a corpus on European sources, a method such as this is not a problem, but when reading the corpus as a contribution to European historiography, it is disturbing.

Perhaps the main problem with Masonen's magnum opus is that it is a horn of plenty. It seems as if Masonen himself has not been able to decide whether to concentrate on the historiography of ancient Ghana, Mali and Songhay or on African historiography in Europe. The outcome is that he wants to accomplish both tasks, which in fact creates more problems than it solves. Masonen wants to write a total history and discuss as many sources, texts and academic publications as possible. It would have been fine if he had chosen to concentrate on medieval Sudanic empires, but it is problematic as he also wants to discuss writings about Hausaland, Kanem-Borno, the West African coastal region, Nubia, and even Ethiopia. There is even a discussion on the beginning of Orientalism as an academic subject at European universities (pp. 276–277) and 18th-century Swedish expeditions to Southern Africa. Yet, if Masonen still wants to proceed on the path of total history, then several investigations and presentations on (West) African history are missing in his footnotes and his bibliography, among others Stephen Howe's book on Afrocentrism (discussed by Masonen in chapter one), John Thornton on European and African encounters in the Atlantic world

(discussed in chapter three), Paul Lovejoy's research on the economic and social history of the central Sudan (among others the salt industry, discussed in chapter three) or the works by Edward Said, Albert Hourani or Hichem Djait on Orientalism (discussed in chapter five).

Masonen has a lot to comment on all his texts and sources. Most of his comments are valid, a few are problematic. Why, for example, is Masonen quoting a Portuguese description about a local 16th-century ruler on the Gold Coast when he discusses al-Bakri's description of the king of Ghana (p. 65)? Does he want us to draw a conclusion that the Akan and Fante rulers perhaps were using similar insignia as the ruler of Ghana? On page 120, Masonen discusses the information provided by Antonio Malfante and supposes that Sagoto could refer to Sokoto. How, on the other hand, does Masonen explain the fact that Malfante wrote his letter in the 15th century, whereas Sokoto was founded during the early 19th century? Masonen's only reference to research on the trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic slave trade is more or less obscure (p. 136) and one is missing all the bulk of research conducted since the late 1960s when Philip Curtin published his investigation on the trans-Atlantic slave trade. On page 162, Masonen has an interesting speculation about the origin of the name Mahamad ben Manzugul, proposing a possible connection to the word *zango* (Masonen: "Could it be that the local informants who were describing Mahamed ben Manzugul to the Portuguese did not mean that he was the king of "Songo", but that he was residing in a *zango*, that is, in a trading post which was visited by Muslim merchants?"). Masonen refers in this case to the Hausa word *zango* (or: *zongo*) which is used throughout the Sudan and Guinea savannah as indicating a camp of (usually) Muslim traders. The problem with Masonen's hypothesis is the dating of the introduction of the Hausa word into the Volta region: Masonen's source refers to a person who was living during the early 16th century, yet the spread of Hausa (especially the word *zango/zongo*) might be a somewhat later phenomenon. Instead, one would expect a Mande word as it is known that most Muslim traders were "Mandingos" at that time in the Volta and Akan region.

I also doubt whether the report in Finnish newspapers (p. 272) on Mungo Park's visit to and description of Finland (pp. 252–253) as well as Heinrich Barth's home-coming from the interior of Africa (p. 272) is of any importance to African historiography in Europe. Also, one wonders about the need for a long footnote about the descriptions of Finland in the "Book of Roger" (p. 355). Further, when reading Masonen's sweeping account on the kingdom of Borno as well as the Caliphates of Sokoto and Hamdallahi (discussed in chapter 5), one misses the academic research literature. Heinrich Barth never visited Wadai and neither did he take the same route back from Borno: on his way to Borno, he visited Agadez, on his return trip he visited the Kawar oasis (p. 272). Curiously enough, Masonen neither notes that there are textual differences in the German



and English version of Barth's travel account. I think that the whole sub-chapter headed "The race to Timbuktu" summarizes my problem with Masonen's corpus: it is not about the various 19th-century expeditions to Timbuktu but most of the sub-chapter deals with Denham's, Clapperton's and Oudney's as well as Heinrich Barth's visits to Borno and Hausaland. But why then omit Gerhard Rohlfs, Gustav Nachtigal, and all the other British, German and French expeditions to Hausaland and Borno before the end of the 19th century? Masonen is not focussing on Central Sudan, although it seems as if he would like to do so.

Masonen concludes his grand tour with a critical examination of colonial historiography on the ancient Western Sudanic kingdoms, the discovery of oral historical traditions and the change in African historiography in Europe. Masonen is brilliant in his rigorous attack on colonial racist historiography, especially what he terms as Babylomania and the fantastic hypotheses introduced by colonial (armchair) historians. Masonen notes the role of Leo Frobenius but seems to omit the German contribution to African historiography during the early 20th century. Thus Frobenius' critique of "Islamic sources" is noted, but not the fierce discussion between him and C. H. Becker. A closer look at the publications of Julius Lippert, Adam Mischlich and Becker might have clarified the academic area in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century – especially as the African texts which the German scholars had translated were read and commented on by their British and French colleagues. For example, this was the case with the reconstruction of the history of the Hausa city states and the Sokoto Caliphate: Lippert's and Mischlich's translation of a Hausa chronicle was translated into English and included in Burdon's *Historical Notes on Certain Emirats and Tribes* (1909). But Hausaland is not the target of Masonen's corpus.

Despite my doubts and criticism, Masonen's corpus has to be regarded as being outstanding. With regard to Masonen's hidden agenda, namely to present a thorough analysis and discussion about the various sources and ideas for a reconstruction of the history of ancient Ghana and Mali, there is probably no other work like Masonen's. Although I am convinced that Masonen's argumentation and presentation would have benefited if he would have chosen a more narrow approach, Masonen's magnum opus deserves to be ranked among the key texts dealing with the European "discovery" of the African past.

HOLGER WEISS

**Endre Stiansen & Michael Kevane** (eds.), *Kordofan Invaded. Peripheral Incorporation and Local Transformation in Islamic Africa*. (Social, Economic, and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia, 63.) Leiden: Brill, 1998. 303 pp. US\$ 159.00. ISBN 90-04-11049-6 (hardback).

Much research on African societies has focussed on the state and the process of nation-building. This, in a sense, is a reflection of a rather well established way of writing history – being the history of the rulers and the ruled. On the other side, regional history has been dealt with as a by-product of the grand narration of states and regimes, being mostly the story about the relationship between the centre and the periphery, where the periphery – the region – is seen as re-acting on intrusions from outside.

*Kordofan Invaded* challenges the centre-periphery perspective. Instead of laying stress on the centre and its actions, be it the precolonial, the colonial or the postcolonial state, the authors of the anthology have chosen to question the fruitfulness of such an approach to establish a proper understanding of the history (or rather histories) and development(s) within a specific geographic region. Thus, the region – in the case of the current study Kordofan of the Nilotic Sudan – is put in focus of the perspective, its people and their lives. Such an approach might be labelled as being an anthropological approach as it is not the state – the centre – but people living in the region – the periphery – whose story is studied. In fact, there never existed an independent political entity that would have ruled over Kordofan and all people inhabiting the region. Instead, Kordofan was much of a border territory throughout recorded history, being most of the time divided between or submerged within various political superstructures: Darfur and Sinnar (Funj), then the Turkiyya and the Mahdiyya, and, during the 20th century, the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and the (Islamic) Republic of Sudan.

The usual fate of “peripheral” or “border” regions such as Kordofan is to have its political and societal development shaped by external invasions but also by interaction of institutions within and outside the region. Different invasions posed a great variety of stress – but also possibilities – to the local communities and they in turn had to react, to adapt or to adjust to the various changes provoked or imposed upon them. The aim of the twelve studies in *Kordofan Invaded* is to unfold and analyse both the impact of the invasions – be they military, cultural, religious or economic – as well as their outcomes. The key question asked is how people have coped with these invasions and changes. On the other hand, *Kordofan Invaded* also tells the story of the central administration’s attempts – be they the precolonial or colonial ones – to reorganize and control the region.

In their introductory essay, Michael Kevane and Endre Stiansen start with a provocative reflection on the “end of African states”. Not surprisingly, much of

their discussion is about the inability of the present regime in the Sudan to cope with the political and economic challenging situation in the country. However, although Kevane and Stiansen are critical about the general development in the Sudan, they underline that "it is misleading to regard the present exclusively as a period of destruction; while it is a period of disintegrating state power, it is also one of reconfiguration of local communities and dynamic interaction between state and non-state institutions" (p. 2). Kevane and Stiansen further summarize that "the central state, since the 1820s, with it[s] capital located at the confluence of the Niles, has hindered development of locally legitimate, powerful regional institutions" (p. 40).

Jay Spaulding starts the volume by presenting an overview of the precolonial history of Kordofan up to the 1820s. Whereas Kordofan for a long period was linked to the same cultural strata as the Nile (Nubia), these two regions seemed to have gradually "drifted apart" during the first millennia AD. Since then, the dynamic in Kordofanian society was to come from outside.

In the next chapter, Endre Stiansen examines the production, marketing and export of gum arabicum in the mid-19th century. One could say that this was a rather "typical" story of a valuable local export product, the marketing and export of which was in the hands of "others": firstly by the Turkiyya administration, which at first tried to monopolize the trade and then imposed minimum prices, secondly by the – usually – local merchants who lived in the urban centres and provided the producers with credit, and thirdly by the European traders and firms.

The next chapters deal with the relations between the centre and the periphery in Kordofan: first during the Mahdiyya (by David Decker) and then during the Condominium administration (by M. W. Daly). One market feature of the Mahdiyya and the Condominium regimes was the "virtual creation" of Kordofan "tribes", which is outlined in the volume by Daly and especially in the chapter by Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Shouk. The theme of "inventing traditions" is further discussed by Heather J. Sharkey who considers the influence of Kordofan in the publications of Northern riverain intellectuals and their attempt to create a distinctly Sudanese literature in Africa.

The following studies in the volume concentrate on the formation of political and religious institutions in Kordofan. Stephanie Beswick's study throws new light on state formation within Dinka society, especially among the Ngok during the leadership of Deng Majok. Awad al-Sid al-Karsani, again, focuses on the development and impact of the Tijaniyya tariqa in al-Nahud town.

In the next study, Mustafa Babiker focuses on land tenure and the myth of communal land ownership in the Sudan. As Babiker points out, communal tenure was mainly a colonial invention as it was the British officials who intervened to construct and maintain a new system of communal tenure. A similar story is the "creation of contradictions and instability" despite the aims and hopes of the

opposite. Martha Saavedra gives an account of the complex relationship between the postcolonial state and local society in the Nuba mountains. Similar to the pictures presented by al-Karsani and Babikar, Saavedra shows how difficult it is to strengthen local institutions when the central state has the ultimate power.

In the final chapter, Kurt Beck gives an insight into a way of life under threat from both modern Islamic policies and ideas as well as modernisation and the attached urban life-style: the pastoral nomads in Kordofan. Whereas in “the earlier days” the ideal lifestyle of the people was defined out of the nomads’ perspective – centring around the desert, the waterhole, the community, the camel as well as sharing and giving – today’s “proper life-styles” are defined by those in the commercial centres and by Islamist activists. Beck traces the various cultural “invasions” and the different cultural constructs they have propagated for or imposed upon people in Kordofan. Today, Beck notes, nomads are again trying to take up their former way of life (which was shattered during the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s), but “the world around the nomads has changed. They may end up as marginalized remnants of a Kordofanian past, isolated from mainstream developments ...” (p. 279).

*Kordofan Invaded* presents twelve interesting reflections and stories about local adaptation and action to external invasion, intrusion and stress. Many of the studies are thought-provoking: whose history – or story – should be told? By turning the centre-periphery perspective around, the focus is put on the locality and the people inhabiting it.

HOLGER WEISS

*Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb occidental. Dialectologie et histoire.* Actes réunis et préparés par Jordi Aguadé, Patrice Cressier et Ángeles Vicente. Madrid: Casa de Velásquez, Universidad de Zaragoza, Área de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, 1998. 175 pp.

This is a collection of 15 papers read at an interdisciplinary seminar on the history of the Arabization and urbanization of Western Maghreb, arranged in Madrid in July 1995 by the Casa de Velásquez, the University of Saragossa, the CSIC, and the Complutense University. The topic of the seminar is skilfully introduced by Simon Lévy, who in the first paper discusses the complicated linguistic history of Morocco since the beginning of the Arabization process, the first phase of which lasted from the Arab conquest until the 12th century, and the second which began in the 12th–13th centuries with the arrival of the Banū Hilāl, Banū Sulaym, and Maʿqil tribes. The first phase led to the rise of the so-called pre-Hilālī dialects, i.e., the urban (*ḥaḍari*) Moroccan dialects as well as the dialects spoken in the

mountains of Northern Morocco (*jebli*); the second phase brought to Morocco dialects of Bedouin type (*ʿrobi*). As far as the linguistic development of the first phase is concerned, Lévy justifiably stresses the important role of trade for the rise of a functional Arabic-Berber bilingualism. On the basis of written documents it is evident that in the Maghreb, irrespective of whether the tradespeople came from the Mashreq, Ifriqiya, or al-Andalus, Arabic was the predominant language of trade. Although the arrival of Bedouin dialects in Morocco is historically rather unproblematic, the later stages of their development appear as very complicated. At present only one Bedouin dialect proper is spoken in the area, viz. the Ḥassānīya of the Saharan Maʿqil tribe of the Dwi Ḥasan. As a result of dramatic demographical changes, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, due to civil wars, deportations, famines, and epidemics, all the other Bedouin dialects were mixed with different types of sedentary dialects, and in the 20th century the same development continued, most sweepingly in large, swiftly growing cities such as Casablanca, Rabat, and Fes-Jdid. Lévy also discusses the Arabic-Berber bilingualism as well as different interpretations of the historical information on the Arabization process found in, e.g., the works of al-Bakri (11th c.) and al-Idrisi (12th c.).

Two papers shed additional light on the history of the area. In the first of them, Patrice Cressier discusses the urbanization, Arabization and Islamization processes of Northern Morocco. Among other interesting observations, the author points out that in the light of archaeology, the socio-cultural continuum between the coastal regions of the Maghreb and al-Andalus renders it very problematic to explain many linguistic affinities between the Andalusian dialects and the dialects spoken in the Mediterranean part of the Jbala, e.g., in the town of Chefchaouen, with reference to mass migration from al-Andalus as the result of the Reconquest. In the other paper on Moroccan history, Bernard Rosenberger deals with the history and functions of the urban centres from the 8th up to the 15th century, emphasizing their role in the Arabization and Islamization processes. He supposes that during the first Islamic centuries the majority of the Arabic-speaking population of most Moroccan cities were not newcomers from the Mashreq but local people, and, consequently, bilingual.

Peter Behnstedt discusses (pp. 85–96) the boundary between the Eastern and Western dialect types of Arabic in the light of the most important isoglosses, the Eastern *aktib* – *niktib* vs. the Western *niktib* – *niktibu* in particular. He considers (since *ZAL* 1, 1978, p. 69) the gradation from *aktib* – *niktib* via *aktib* – *niktibu* to *niktib* – *niktibu* as original, whereas the intermediary grade, according to Manfred Woidich (*ZAL* 25, 1993, pp. 340–342), only dates from the 18th century and can be explained as the result of dialect contact: in part of the older *niktib* – *niktibu* area, *aktib* would have become a prestige form and supplemented for the original *niktib*. As far as the northern oases ilBahāriyya and alFarāfira are concerned,

Woidich sees their dialects as having an Egyptian basis, influenced by a Maghrebine adstratum. According to Behnstedt, however, nothing shows that the Egyptian element in these dialects is primary; on the contrary: the Egyptian elements can rather be regarded as *Überdachung*. Behnstedt supports his claim by adding to Woidich's lists several further Maghrebine features as well as by presenting new extra-linguistic arguments.

Federico Corriente discusses (pp. 53–57) some features of late Granadian Arabic, mostly stress. He calls attention to aberrant spellings using long vowel graphemes as *matres lectionis* in different functions: (a) as stress marking devices, e.g. >mā'ī< 'with me', >yaqtūlu< 'he kills him'; (b) in pseudo-corrections, hesitations and sheer misspellings, e.g. >rā'iyah< 'subjects'; (c) as mere vowel-marking devices, e.g. >tūrayyā< 'Pleiades', >albūḥayrah< 'the lake'; (d) in morphological pattern shifts and substitutions, e.g. >qātūl< 'murderer', >bā'ūḍah< 'gnat'; (e) in some other interesting cases such as *batīn* 'inner', *barādīn* 'hacks', *becicīn* 'bedpans', *begūcīr* 'piles', and *bureyréd* 'slightly cold' in Castillo's proverb collection, as against /bāṭīn/, /barādīn/, /basīsin/, /bawīsir/, and /buráyrad/ in Alcalá. It is a well-known fact that rhyme in proverbs and *zajals* often requires stress shift from its normal position, but when spellings suggesting the same shift are found in prose, the situation is different, and, consequently, Corriente questions the theory of the lack of quantity-based metrics in Andalusī Arabic poetry. Here he sees a real challenge for further research; at the present stage of research he believes that the established theory is "basically correct for the bulk of older and standard A[ndalusī] A[rabic], but exceptions of a nature to be yet determined must be allowed for later stages and particular dialects or idiolects within the AA dialect bundle." (p. 55)

In his contribution "On some parallels between Andalusī and Maghrebi Arabic" (pp. 59–74), Ignacio Ferrando treats selected features (interdentals *t̪* and *d̪*, the system of short vowels, the *imāla*, stress, diminutive patterns, relative pronouns, analytic genitives, the preverb /ka-/) which give a good idea about the relation of the two branches of dialects as an interesting field of future research. They have a common origin, but their evolution is in several ways different, and they display mutual historical interference.

Peter Molan in his Ph.D. dissertation *Medieval Western Arabic: Reconstructing Elements of the Dialects of al-Andalus, Sicily and North Africa from the Laḥn 'l-āmma Literature* (University of Berkeley, 1978) showed that a majority of "mistakes" in the language of the *Laḥn 'l-āmma* texts can be explained as genuine dialectal features. Jacques Grand'Henry in his paper "*Laḥn 'l-āmma* et parlars maghrébins : essai d'approche historique" (pp. 75–83) points out that the Andalusian dialects are today far better known than twenty years ago, and, besides, much material for the study of the historical development of the pre-Hilali Maghrebi dialects before the levelling during the following centuries can be

drawn from Maltese. In her contribution "De quelques traits préhilaliens en maltais" (pp. 97–108), Martine Vanhove calls attention to the important fact that the oldest layer of Maltese has been closely related to the pre-Hilalian type of urban Maghrebi, and since it has not had close contacts with Arabic since the 13th century, the historical development of Maghrebi dialects – the claimed unity of the Maghrebi pre-Hilalian urban dialect type in particular – can in many respects be checked by comparing them with Maltese. Among the 37 features discussed in the paper, of which 12 are from the domain of vocabulary, as many as 25 features, 9 of which are lexical, have been retained. Among these 25 features, 16 are innovations: 3 phonetical, 8 morphological, 2 syntactical, and 3 lexical, and among the 9 conservations, 2 belong to the sphere of phonetics, one is a morphological feature, and 6 are lexical items. Among these, the only general typologically distinctive feature is the voiceless articulation of the reflex of *qāf*, which in Maltese is the glottal stop ʔ.

The collection contains three descriptions of urban Moroccan dialects, those of Rabat, Chefchaouen, and Tangier. In dialectological literature, the dialect of Rabat is well known through Louis Brunot's *Textes arabes de Rabat I–II*, Paris 1931, 1952, as well as his articles in *Hespéris* 1 (1921), 8 (1928), and 10 (1930). In her paper "Traits linguistiques du parler ancien de Rabat" (pp. 157–163), Leïla Messaoudi points out that the linguistic situation in Rabat, her native city, has substantially changed since 1930, when Brunot wrote, and that in spite of the ethnic and dialectal diversity of the population of the city, its old urban dialect(s) show no indication of disappearing like the dialect of Casablanca. At the present, the mass immigration from the countryside clearly affects the old urban dialect which actually is bound to disappear. Messaoudi gives a concise, very informative list of the main features of the dialect, based on observations of the idiolects of the older generation, the linguistic usage of members of families of Andalusian origin – like her mother, the most important informant – in particular. She puts forth a hypothesis that some of the characteristic features of the old urban dialect only survive in the speech of the older generation of speakers belonging to families of Andalusian origin, or having been living among them.

Emma Natividad's article "Le dialecte de Chefchaouen" (pp. 109–120) is a compact description of the conservative urban dialect spoken in the Rif area in northwestern Morocco. One of its characteristics is the affricated palatal realization *ḳ* of the phoneme /k/ in non-initial and non-geminated positions; another is the "guttural" reflex *r* of /r/ (not identical with *ġ*), which it shares with old urban Maghrebi dialects. This reflex is described in detail by Philippe Marçais, *Le parler arabe de Djidjelli (Nord constantinois, Algérie)*, 2nd ed. Paris 1958, p. 17. Like some of the last-mentioned dialects, the dialect of Chefchaouen has also preserved the old interdentalals. It also shows a tendency to preserve historical diphthongs: *bəyāt* 'eggs', *ġəwž* 'two', *ləwz* 'almonds'. On the one hand, this

dialect displays strong influence of a Berber substratum on all aspects of the language, and, on the other, it shares several traits with Jewish dialects spoken in the Maghreb.

Zakia Iraqui-Sinaceur's paper "Le dialecte de Tanger" (pp. 131–140) is based on a manuscript of the story of La'āba, which originally was told in the dialect of Tangier to G. S. Colin, written down c. 1930 by the narrator in Arabic script, and published by Colin in Latin transcription and in koineized language in his *Chrestomathie marocaine*, Paris 1955. Iraqui-Sinaceur found the original manuscript and published a new, non-koineized transcription with a French translation in the fascinating book *Dyab, Jha, La'āba ... Le triomphe de la ruse, Contes marocains du fonds Colin* (Classiques africains, 26.), édités par Micheline Galley et Zakia Iraqui-Sinaceur, Paris 1994, pp. 138–193. The text in Arabic script is also included in the same volume (Arabic section, pp. 37–64). A comparison of the description with that given by my late student Mohamed Assad in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation *Le parler arabe de Tanger* (University of Göteborg, 1978) does not display major discrepancies; perhaps the most striking difference concerns the personal pronoun of the 2nd p. sing. According to Assad, the dialect of Tangier has preserved the gender distinction in the 2nd p. sing.: masc. *ntīn/ntīna*, fem. *nti/ntīya* (Assad, p. 94) whereas Iraqui-Sinaceur gives *ntīna* for both masculine and feminine. Correspondingly, Assad gives distinct forms for masculine and feminine in the imperfect and imperative: *taktāb*, *tkātbi* and *ktāb*, *kātbi*, respectively, whereas the corresponding forms in the perfect are identical: *ktābti* (Assad, p. 33). In Iraqui-Sinaceur's short typological description, the inflection of the finite verb is not included, but the lack of gender distinction in the 2nd p. sing. personal pronoun reasonably implies its absence here, too.

Ángeles Vicente's paper "Un dialecte de type montagnard au Maroc: le parler d'Anjra" (pp. 121–130) describes a *jebli* dialect spoken by the Anjra tribe in the northwestern mountains, between Tangier, Ceuta and Tetouan. The description is based on the linguistic material found in Edward Westermarck's monograph *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, New York 1931, the only document for the dialect of the area from the beginning of the 20th century. Of the 2,013 proverbs published by Westermarck, a majority were collected in Tangier, but about 400 are from the Anjra. Vicente is careful to remark that the style of the proverbs is more elevated than the vernacular colloquial.

In his article "Un dialecte ma'qilien: le parler des Z'īr au Maroc" (pp. 141–150), Jordi Aguadé, on the basis of Victorien Loubignac's *Textes arabes des Za'ër*, Paris 1952, gives a systematic, concise description of the dialect of the Ma'qil tribe of the Z'īr, probably of Yemenite origin, who in the 12th and 13th centuries came to Morocco and finally got settled to the south of Rabat. In 1915–16 Loubignac collected texts from speakers who, according to the author, spoke a genuine dialect without any interference from urban dialects or administrative



language. At the time of Loubignac's death in 1946, the work still was unfinished, and the posthumous publication lacks a study of the dialect, and, unfortunately, a substantial part of the texts as well as the whole vocabulary were published in Arabic characters only, thus omitting much important linguistic information.

Mohammad Elyaâqoubi's paper "À propos de la classification des dialectes arabes du sud du Maroc: l'exemple de Skūra" (pp. 151–156) comprises a short typologically profiled description of the dialect of Skūra in the southernmost part of Morocco. This dialect was very poorly known until 1995, when Jordi Aguadé and Mohammad Elyaâcoubi published the monograph *El dialecto arabe de Skūra (Marruecos)*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid. The Skūra oasis is an Arabic-speaking enclave in a Berberophone area, and its dialect is clearly of the Hilali type. However, it shares with the urban dialects such an important trait as the *yəbdāw*, *yəḥbāw*, *yəṃšīw* type in the plural imperfect inflection of C<sub>3</sub>-weak verbs. A feature difficult to explain is the morpheme /t/ for the 1st p., the 2nd p. masc., and the 3rd p. fem. sing. in the perfect of regular verbs and verbs with initial /w/ or /ā/, e.g. *ktəbt* 'I wrote', 'you (masc. sing.) wrote', 'she wrote', a feature which does not occur in Moroccan dialects except for that of the Jews in Fez.

Dominique Caubet's contribution "Étude sociolinguistique des traits pré-hilaliens dans un dialecte en voie d'urbanisation à Fès" (pp. 165–175) is a very interesting sociolinguistic case study of the speech of three generations in a family living in Fez. The wife is a native of Fez, whereas her husband has his roots in the adjacent countryside. The author first describes systematically, in the form of twelve typologically prominent features, the linguistic habits of the urban young wife and her mother, showing clear differences between them, mostly due to koineization tendency. Thus, for instance, the wife's mother still uses the genuine glottal stop reflex ' of *qāf*, whereas her daughter uses the koiné reflex *q*; in a similar way, the mother in some cases still uses unaffricated reflexes of /ʒ/ and /š/, e.g. *rzīla* 'foot (dimin.)', *sūf* 'look!', *s-səṛʒəm* 'window', *si* 'one', whereas her daughter consistently uses their koiné reflexes. Then Caubet proceeds to a systematic description of the linguistic habits of the paternal family, which has been living in Fez for thirty years but has maintained contacts with the countryside. Although the voiced *g* reflex of *qāf* is normally avoided in Fez, the husband's mother still uses it, and in the word *gāl*, other paternal relatives living in Fez use it, too, instead of the genuine local 'āl and the koiné form *qāl*. The third systematic analysis concerns the language of the children, from four to ten years of age. A typical feature, obviously due to close contact with the grandparents and other relatives, is a vacillation between urban and rural features.

To sum up, this well-edited volume is an excellent overview of the state of art in the dialectological study of Moroccan Arabic. In addition to much new information, it gives plenty of inviting challenges for further research. The book

with its wide range of approaches and rich bibliography can also be recommended for postgraduate students as a stimulating introduction to the study of Maghrebine dialects.

HEIKKI PALVA

**Mohamed Meouak**, *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade (II<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Humaniora, 297.) Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1999. 284 pp. Eur. 23.55. ISBN 951-41-0851-5 (paperback).

In his book Professor Meouak studies a surprisingly little studied field of Andalusí political history. There are books concerning the later periods of history of al-Andalus (e.g. Wasserstein on decaying caliphate and the party kings), but the political system and the political elite of emiral and early caliphal era have received little scholarly attention. Therefore Meouak's study on sovereign power, central administration and political elites in Umayyad al-Andalus is an important addition to the political and administrative history of the Iberian peninsula. As his source material Meouak employs a great number of different types of medieval texts from the Arabic West.

The book is divided into three parts, first of which deals with the analysis of essential concepts of Islamic power and administration in al-Andalus. Meouak presents some of the key terms of Islamic political theory, such as *dawla*, *mulk*, *sultān* and *bay'a*, and describes the way they were used in al-Andalus. His analysis also provides ample information on the Islamic concepts of power in general, based on the study of Middle Eastern texts. One of the themes that runs through the book is the comparison of the Middle Eastern system with the Andalusí one. Meouak describes how the manifestations of Umayyad power became more numerous and diverse in the course of time. Because of its real political power that was reflected in many ways, the Umayyad state of al-Andalus became one of the most important defenders of Islam in the Medieval West.

In the second part of his book Meouak moves from the concepts and manifestations of political power to the structure of central administration. This part deals with many issues, such as the recruitment of civil servants. Probably the most interesting chapter in this part of the book is the one on three principal public offices, *kitāba*, *wizāra* and *hiǧāba*. Meouak sees that they form a three step model for an ideal *cursus honorum* of Andalusí civil servant. The first one, *kitāba*, is actually an umbrella term consisting of various government jobs with title *kātib*, some of which were quite important. Young civil servants, who were

usually recruited from elite families, started their career in *kitāba*. *Wizāra*, persons who had the title *wazīr*, was composed of distinguished civil servants. The title of *wazīr* was not tied to any particular task, but was rather a recognition of a job well-done in the civil service. One of the main responsibilities of a *wazīr* was to work as a counsellor for the emir/caliph. Meouak claims that a *wazīr* of al-Andalus did not have the same significance as his Oriental colleague, who was a veritable right arm of a sovereign. The top position in the Andalusī magistracy was occupied by *hāğib*. Finally, under the ‘āmirids, the *hagibate* grew so powerful that it became a real threat to the caliphate itself. In fact, the Andalusī *hāğib* had approximately the same importance as the Oriental vizier.

The majority of the book consists of a prosopographical analysis of the Umayyad political elite. The prosopographical method, which has been employed for a long time in Western history, is a relative newcomer in the study of the Islamic societies. The earliest attempts to use it in Islamology were made in the seventies. To put it briefly, prosopography is a method which attempts to create a kind of a collective biography by revealing the intimate connections between members of a certain group, and thus shed a light on actions of a group and the group dynamic.

Meouak has divided the elite families by their ethnic background. The most important component of the Andalusī political aristocracy is composed of the houses (*buyūtāt*) with an Arab-Oriental *mawlā* background. These houses are descended from the liberated Umayyad clients, who moved to al-Andalus with members of the Umayyad dynasty after the Abbasid revolution. Their position in the central administration remained strong throughout the period studied in the book. Later, at the beginning of the 11th century AD, these families largely disappeared from the politico-administrative scene with the decline of the Umayyad dynasty. Meouak concludes that the essential characteristic of these houses was their fidelity to (Umayyad) central power. The Berbers became important in the Andalusī magistracy for the first time in the caliphal era. Their influence grew rapidly during the second half of the 10th century AD. Meouak’s view on so-called “liberated” families differs from the earlier theory of Lévi-Provençal, who thought that these families descended from Slav ancestors. Meouak sees that all clients in al-Andalus were not necessarily of a Slav background.

In general Meouak’s book provides us with an interesting picture of the Andalusī administration and the ethnic composition of the magistracy. The book may be a bit demanding for someone who is not used to Medieval Islamic administrative terminology, but the copious glossary of technical (Arabic) terms, that is included in the book, is very helpful.

**Edward Badeen**, *Zwei mystische Schriften des ‘Ammār al-Bidlīsī*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 68.) Beirut, 1999 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). vi + 142 + 146 + 126 pp. ISBN 3-515-07102-4.

‘Ammār al-Bidlīsī (d. in the late 12th century) belongs to the minor mystics whose name often pops up in different contexts but of whom actually little is known. He is best known as one of the teachers of Najmaddīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221).

Al-Bidlīsī represents institutionalized Sufism, relying more on formal teaching and shaykh/apprentice relationship than on immediate mystical experience. Al-Bidlīsī is himself heavily influenced by the writings of al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī and he himself emphasizes in his works the importance of the shaykh for the aspirant Sufi novice.

Badeen’s book is actually an edition of the two extant works ‘Ammār al-Bidlīsī: *Bahjat at-ṭā’ifa bi-llāhi l-‘arīfa* (which has been wrongly attributed to Muḥyiddīn Ibn ‘Arabī as so many other Sufi texts have been) and *Ṣawm al-qalb* both of which are known from unique manuscripts – reference to these two texts is made somewhat cumbersome by a pagination which starts from 1 in both texts. Thus, there are, e.g., three “p. 10s” in the book: p. 10 of the German text, p. 10 of *Bahjat at-ṭā’ifa* and p. 10 of *Ṣawm al-qalb*.

The German part of the book is, besides a short introduction, a resumé of the Arabic texts, which is welcome not only for non-Arabists but also for the specialists, since the language of ‘Ammār al-Bidlīsī is not always simple and the sometimes uneasy use of *saj‘* (especially in the beginning of *Bahjat at-ṭā’ifa*) makes the text occasionally difficult to follow. The introductory study is virtually identical with the 1978 dissertation of Badeen (Basel), and continues the Sufi studies of Meier, Gramlich, Radtke and others.

The fascination of ‘Ammār al-Bidlīsī with the use of rhymed prose may be seen when comparing *Bahjat at-ṭā’ifa* with its sources. On p. 16 [of *Bahja*], l. 7, al-Bidlīsī quotes the maxim:

kullu yawmin lam yu‘ṣa llāhu fihi fa-huwa ‘īdun wa-‘alā l-mar’i sa’dun jadīd

The maxim is earlier found in at-Tawḥīdī’s *al-Baṣā’ir wa’dh-dhakhā’ir* (ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir 1408/1988, vol. I, p. 599) where it is interestingly enough attributed to an anonymous monk (*rāhib*), thus showing the free flow of religious aphorisms from Christianity into Islam. In *al-Baṣā’ir* the maxim is given as:

kullu yawmin lā yu‘ṣā llāhu fihi fa-huwa ‘īd

thus having only the first part. The second part obviously derives from al-Bidlīsī who has coined a rhyming continuation to the original – although, in my opinion, missing the pithy conciseness of the original.

Both texts, *Bahjat aṭ-ṭā'ifa* and *Ṣawm al-qalb* are systematical expositions of the Sufi doctrines by al-Bidlīsī, the former partly in catechistic form (*qīla* + question – *qāla* + answer). Although neither is unique in Sufi literature, their edition throws light on the development of Sufism in the critical decades before the tumultuous Mongol period which caused a deep change in Sufism.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Christine Mazzoli-Guintard** (coord.), *Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin du milieu du dixième au milieu du treizième siècle. Analyse et synthèse*, avec des contributions de V. Martínez Enamorado, M. Rius & M<sup>a</sup> J. Viguera Molins. Paris: Éditions Messene, 2000. 176 pp. 90 FF. ISBN 2-911043-97-9 (hardback).

L'ouvrage collectif, objet du compte-rendu, a été conçu comme un manuel à l'usage des étudiants d'histoire pour leur préparation à deux concours typiquement français: le "capes" et l'"agrégation". Ces deux épreuves permettent, en théorie, aux lauréats de prétendre à un poste dans l'enseignement secondaire (collèges et lycées) et celui supérieur (universités). Bref, la collection "Prépa Capes-Agrégation" des Éditions Messene a eu l'excellente idée de publier ce manuel qui a été rédigé par des spécialistes de l'histoire de l'Islam entre les X<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles ainsi que les contacts entretenus par la civilisation islamique avec le monde latin. Chacun des quatre chapitres se termine par une bibliographie de base constituant ainsi un bon instrument de travail pour le non-spécialiste de l'histoire arabo-musulmane en général et plus particulièrement le lecteur non-arabisant.

Après une "Introduction", p. 7–10 où sont clairement présentés les objectifs et le plan du livre, Christine Mazzoli-Guintard, "Guerre et paix entre pays d'Islam et monde latin (milieu X<sup>e</sup> siècle-milieu XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)", p. 11–61 va développer dans d'intéressantes pages les divers moments qui marquèrent les relations politico-diplomatiques islamo-chrétiennes: guerre et paix entre Islam et Chrétienté. L'auteur ébauche une histoire géographico-chronologique de ce que fut le monde arabo-islamique de l'époque tant en Orient qu'en Occident. Puis, elle s'arrête sur les relations entre al-Andalus et les États chrétiens entre 929 et 1266. La situation de la Sicile et l'Ifrīqiya face à l'expansion latine de 982 à 1246 est également abordée ainsi que le problème de l'irruption de Croisés en Orient entre 1096 et 1250. Ce chapitre constitue une bonne introduction historique à la problématique envisagée dans l'ouvrage collectif.

Virgilio Martínez Enamorado, “La Méditerranée comme espace de relation: échanges économiques entre pays d’Islam et monde latin (milieu X<sup>e</sup> siècle-milieu XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, p. 63–102 étudie le cadre historico-politique des échanges économiques entre Islam et Chrétienté. L’auteur aborde une question d’intérêt, celle de l’organisation socio-économique différente d’une civilisation à l’autre. Ensuite, il est question des transferts de techniques en matière agricole d’Orient vers l’Occident et du renouveau des échanges commerciaux entre les X<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Ce chapitre s’intéresse aussi aux situations régionales: l’économie d’al-Andalus, la minorité “mudéjare” soumise au pouvoir chrétien, le passage de la Sicile musulmane au royaume normand et quelques pages sur l’apport de l’archéologie pour servir à l’histoire des échanges entre Islam et Chrétienté.

Monica Rius, “Échanges scientifiques et techniques entre l’Islam et le monde latin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, p. 103–144 propose une étude sur le développement des échanges culturels entre les mondes musulman et chrétien. L’auteur passe d’abord en revue les différentes cultures dont l’Islam a hérité et transmis: indienne, perse, grecque et latine. Un premier passage est consacré aux traductions et aux premiers contacts. Le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle constituerait un moment clé dans l’essor des “translations” latines notamment dans les sciences exactes. Enfin, le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle correspondrait à l’époque de la genèse dans l’utilisation des langues romanes dans les traductions de l’arabe.

María Jesús Viguera Molins, “Images et représentations de l’Autre (milieu X<sup>e</sup> s.-milieu XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)”, p. 145–170 constitue un chapitre original par la thématique abordée puisqu’il nous entraîne dans le monde des représentations de l’Islam par la Chrétienté et vice versa. Après avoir mis en relief l’importance de la question, M<sup>a</sup>. J. Viguera Molins propose une analyse claire et précise des concepts de “Eurocentrisme” et “Islamocentrisme”. L’exposition de ces points est accompagnée d’une description des principaux thèmes dans la littérature latine, entre *topoi* et imaginaire. Les principales connotations qui ressortent des textes latins sont la peur du musulman et le réflexe d’auto-défense. Mais cependant, ce musulman était parfois décrit de façon positive lorsque vers la fin du Moyen Age, il était prêt à se convertir au Christianisme. M<sup>a</sup> J. Viguera Molins, en experte qualifiée de l’histoire de l’Occident musulman, nous dépeint la même situation vue du côté musulman: les chrétiens sont perçus comme “tyran”, “maudit” ou “corrompu”. On constate – et c’est chose rare dans ce genre d’études – que le maniement des sources arabes et chrétiennes est bien contrôlé par l’auteur du chapitre. Dans une dernière partie, que l’on pourrait considérer comme une sorte de conclusion, l’auteur examine avec clarté les stéréotypes que marquent les images et les représentations des uns vis-à-vis des autres. Selon l’auteur, les rencontres entre Islam et Chrétienté peuvent dépasser les clichés qui soumettent notre vision souvent négative de l’Autre.

Dans un dernier bloc, la "Conclusion", p. 171–172 résume bien les chapitres et ouvre à juste titre les perspectives de recherche et cela sans sombrer dans l'auto-satisfaction. En effet, les auteurs sont conscients des limites chronologiques fixées dans le livre, X<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, qui constituèrent selon toute probabilité, une période dense dans les relations entre Islam et Chrétienté. L'ouvrage collectif se termine par trois appendices de grande utilité: un "Glossaire", des "Repères chronologiques" et une "Orientation bibliographique". Cette initiative éditoriale doit être saluée tant pour l'effort investi que pour le résultat obtenu. Ce dernier point a, d'ores et déjà, consacré ce livre au rang de manuel sérieux et complet à lire par les étudiants en histoire, voire même les professeurs chargés d'enseigner l'histoire des relations entre Islam et Chrétienté (X<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles). Ce livre devrait rendre service à ceux qui s'intéressent aux rapports Orient-Occident à une époque où l'on essaie de poursuivre le dialogue euro-méditerranéen, sans grand succès, il faut bien le reconnaître.

MOHAMED MEOUAK

**Richard G. Hovannisian & Georges Sabagh** (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam*. Fourteenth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 [2000]. 119 pp. ISBN 0-521-62350-2. US\$ 49.95 (hardback).

With this handsomely produced slim volume we have already reached the fourteenth title in the Giorgio Levi Della Vida Conference series. This time (1993) the recipient of the award was Professor George Makdisi of the University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Makdisi's introductory chapter continues his painstaking and stimulating research on the affinity between classical Islam and the Christian West in intellectual culture. The requisite antecedents of scholasticism in the Christian West are to be found in the Islamic East. Whereas we know that in philosophy and science the influence came directly through translations from Arabic into Latin or the vernaculars, the reception of Islamic scholasticism occurred through silent penetration.

Makdisi's thoroughly researched and convincingly argued theories make absorbing reading. But there are some problems in Makdisi's chain of reasoning. For one, he quite correctly describes how the Traditionalist al-Shāfi'ī, in order to counter the Rationalist theology of his time, made legal science serve as a juridical theology. This legal science/juridical theology "laid stress on the obligation of following the dictates of God's commands and prohibitions. ... It did not speculate regarding the divine source of the law: God was not a subject of specu-

lation; therefore, no philosophical theology.” In other words, Islamic scholasticism consisted of a traditionalist conservative legal science formulated by those who emerged victorious from the early ninth century *mihna*, not in the views of the Mu‘tazila school of speculative theology. Nevertheless, in what follows, Makdisi proceeds contradictorily to argue that, in Europe, Islamic scholasticism developed along two different lines: in Bologna along the Traditionalist lines of Islam, in Paris along the lines of Islamic Rationalism.

Conceding the formative influence of the Islamic guild schools (*madhhab*) on the universities of both Bologna and Paris, this reviewer suggests we should tap another Islamic source rather than the debunked Rationalism when following the development of the *universitas* in northern Europe. It is much easier to conceive the main impetus coming from al-Andalus, Islamic Spain, with the *doctrina Arabum* and especially Andalusī Aristotelianism, the influence of which was immense at the University of Paris.

Other contributions to the volume are: “Arabic rhetoric and the art of the homily in medieval Islam” by Merlin Swartz; “Medieval Islam: the literary-cultural discussion” by Irfan Shahīd; “The Ash‘arites and the science of the stars” by George Saliba; “Religion, religious culture, and culture” by Roger Arnaldez; and, “Cult and culture: common saints and shrines in Middle Eastern popular piety” by Mahmoud Ayoub.

The contributions make up a coherent collection (though Professor Watt’s essay “The future of Islam” seems somewhat out of place), perhaps more on religion and learning than religion and culture, as the title would like us to believe. Or, perhaps, religion and learning are understood as tantamount to culture when classical Islam is concerned.

Professor Makdisi’s keynote to this fourteenth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Conference should be required reading for all interested in the intellectual shaping of classical Islam and the mediaeval Christian West. That said, the price of such a slim volume must still be considered out of proportion to its yield.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

**Floréal Sanagustin** (éd.), *Les intellectuels en Orient musulman. Statut & fonction*. (Cahiers des Annales islamologiques, 17.) Le Caire: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1999. xiv + 135 pp. 130 FF. ISBN 2-7247-0242-5 (hardback).

Le livre collectif, dont il va être question dans ce compte-rendu, est constitué, à l’origine, par des textes présentés aux cours de trois séminaires organisés par le *Groupe de recherches et d’études sur la Méditerranée et le Moyen-Orient*.



*GREMMO* (CNRS/Université Lumière-Lyon 2) en 1995, 1996 et 1997 autour de la question du "statut des savoirs et de la formation des élites dans le monde arabo-musulman classique et moderne". Les perspectives sont, dans l'ensemble, originales et mettent en scène des protagonistes précis comme le musicien, le philosophe, le théologien et le littérateur/secrétaire en relation avec le(s) pouvoir(s) tant à l'époque classique que moderne. Cependant, et bien que les contributions présentées nous offrent des informations et des conclusions intéressantes, il est clair que des carences méthodologiques et bibliographiques apparaissent, ça et là, dans quelques textes. Deux exemples suffiront, pour l'instant, à justifier notre critique qui, bien entendu, se veut constructive. Le premier exemple est relatif à une question de méthode. On peut, en effet, se demander pourquoi il n'est pas fait allusion aux études sur les collectifs intellectuels qui ont été si bien étudiés, à partir de collections prosopographiques, dans le cas des *'ulamā'* et des *kuttāb* ? Le deuxième aspect concerne certains silences bibliographiques d'importance. Nous sommes, en effet, surpris par l'absence de mentions aux livres collectifs *Modes de transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam*, H. Elboudrari (éd.), Le Caire 1993 et *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, Madrid 1994. Ces premières constatations ne signifient pas que cet ensemble de textes édité par l'*Institut français d'archéologie orientale* du Caire n'atteint pas son objectif de nous entretenir sur les relations entre monde intellectuel et pouvoir en Islam mais il nous semble qu'il aurait pu prendre en considération plusieurs éléments qui auraient contribué, de façon notable, à l'amélioration de certains textes. Avant d'entrer dans le détail du compte-rendu, précisons que l'"Introduction", p. vii–xiv signé par l'éditeur du livre met bien en relief les distorsions entre culture populaire et culture savante, norme officielle et discours marginal et discours majoritaire et alternative minoritaire.

Hilary Kilpatrick, "Princes, musiciens et musicologues à la cour abbasside", p. 1–15 nous introduit dans le monde passionnant de la musique et du pouvoir. L'étude est, comme on pouvait l'imaginer, menée de manière experte. En effet, après nous avoir expliqué les significations du terme *ḡinā'* = exécution du chant, composition et accompagnement musical en milieu profane, l'auteur développe quelques parties sur les relations des califes et la musique, la pratique musicale chez les souverains et les membres de la *ḥāṣṣa*, les musicologues et leurs écrits sur la musique ainsi que la position des musicologues envers la religion islamique et la laïcité ou non de certains d'entre eux. Selon l'auteur, la musique arabe aurait subi, au temps des Umayyades, des attaques de la part des *fuqahā'* et des *'ulamā'* rigoristes alors que le califat 'abbāsīde aurait, en revanche, favorisé la "rencontre" entre pouvoir et arts musicaux. Ajoutons enfin que l'une des sources arabes sur laquelle est basée cette étude, est le *Kitāb al-Aḡānī* d'Abū l-Farag al-Iṣbahānī que l'auteur avait utilisé dans bon nombre de travaux antérieurs. Outre la bibliographie employée dans l'étude, il aurait été utile de mentionner l'ouvrage de F.

Shehadi, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam*, Leiden 1995 ainsi que l'excellent article de l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, sub voc, "mūsīkī" [O. Wright].

Dominique Urvoy, "Les ulémas en Andalus au VI<sup>e</sup>/XII<sup>e</sup> siècle", p. 17–27 est une étude qui ressemble plutôt à un résumé de publications antérieures sur les 'ulamā' andalousiens aux époques almoravide et almohade. Il est dommage que certaines questions n'aient pas été abordées de manière plus approfondie comme le rôle socio-politique de la culture populaire dans l'élaboration d'une culture spécifique, à mi-chemin entre profane et religieux, à la période almohade. Au moment d'aborder la question tant débattue du rôle social des *ṭalaba*, on relèvera l'absence de référence à l'étude d'É. Fricaud, "Les *ṭalaba* dans la société almohade (le temps d'Averroès)", *Al-Qanṭara* 18(2) (1997), p. 331–387 qui aurait permis une approche plus fine de la problématique relative à la structuration du monde des 'ulamā' dans l'Occident islamique et le très utile M. Fletcher, "Al-Andalus and North Africa in the Almohad Ideology", in S. K. Jarrysi (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, New York 1992, p. 235–258 pour une meilleure contextualisation du sujet.

Christophe Giros, "Les lettrés et le pouvoir impérial byzantin (X<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)", p. 29–38 nous emmène dans le monde byzantin et tente de brosser un tableau de la situation des savants face aux empereurs byzantins, du savoir et des voies de transmission et du savoir au service de la bureaucratie. Bien qu'il existe une bibliographie très abondante sur les concepts de savoir et les représentations du pouvoir dans l'empire byzantin aux X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles, nous sommes très étonnés de ne pas voir citer le livre fondamental de H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin*, Paris 1975, p. 129–147 qui met l'accent sur les mécanismes politico-religieux du pouvoir de Byzance, ainsi que les articles de W. Treadgold, "The revival of Byzantine learning and the revival of the Byzantine state", *American Historical Review* 81 (1979), p. 1245–1266 et A. Cameron, "The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*", in D. Cannadine & S. Price (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge 1987, p. 106–136 qui constituent, sans nul doute, des études détaillées et suggestives sur la formation d'une littérature favorable au pouvoir des *basileus* et la création d'une classe de savants au service de l'État byzantin.

Mohamed H. Ferjani, "Théologiens et pouvoir politique dans les sociétés musulmanes à l'époque classique: de l'inquisition mu'tazilite à l'inquisition ḥanbalite", p. 39–52 est sans nul doute l'une des contributions les plus intéressantes. En effet, son auteur, spécialiste du politique en Islam, aborde la question épineuse de l'existence d'une "inquisition" impulsée par les partisans d'un Islam rigoriste contre la *mu'tazila* et la *ḥanbaliyya*. Outre les développements, particulièrement originaux, sur les concepts d'"inquisition", de *miḥna* et d'*imtiḥān*, on est agréablement frappé de voir comment l'étude a été menée dans son contexte historique et en posant des hypothèses afin de réfléchir sur l'idée de

liberté de penser tant d'un point de vue philosophique que religieux. Enfin, on se permettra d'indiquer que l'ouvrage de S. Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam. Ibn al-Rāwandī, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, and Their Impact on Islamic Thought*, Leiden 1999 apporterait des idées intéressantes dans le cadre de cet article.

Floréal Sanagustin, "Les philosophes arabes et le mythe du sage conseiller des princes", p. 53–66 propose une réflexion sur le rôle des philosophes dans la pensée politique et leur place en tant que "conseillers" des souverains musulmans. L'auteur pose également le dilemme qu'affronte le philosophe au moment de rechercher, individuellement, la vérité et son implication pratique dans les destinées de la *umma* des hommes. N'oublions pas cependant que cette problématique avait déjà été posée de façon magistrale par E. J. Rosenthal. Il est regrettable, et cela malgré le fait d'avoir cité l'article de l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, sub voc "naṣīḥat al-mulūk" [C. E. Bosworth], de ne pas trouver des références aux travaux importants de A. K. S. Lambton, "Islamic mirrors for princes", in *Atti del congresso internazionale sul tema: la Persia nel medioevo*, Roma 1971, p. 419–442 et P. Crone, "Did al-Ghazālī write a mirror for princes? On the authorship of *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), p. 167–191 qui offre, outre des informations textuelles de choix, des arguments et des idées à la fois suggestives et originales.

Dominique Mallet, "A(b)sāl et Joseph. Symboles et narration dans les *Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*", p. 67–76 expose une critique de méthode, et cela contre l'idée reçue qui faisait des *Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, un texte qualifié de roman philosophique, et tente de démontrer que ce texte est profondément marqué par la culture islamique et combien la lecture "orientaliste" qui en avait été faite, avait été effectuée selon les modèles culturels européens, notamment par rapport au siècle des Lumières. Enfin, indiquons qu'une intéressante analyse sémiologique fait apparaître une étroite intertextualité entre le *Qurʾān* et les *Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, et cela à partir des racines *ḥ.d.t* et *d.k.r.* parmi d'autres racines (*afʿāl*).

Katia Zakharia, "Le secrétaire et le pouvoir. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā *al-kātib*", p. 77–93 constitue une étude intéressante sur la figure emblématique de ce prosateur et la réécriture de l'histoire documentée dans quelques unes de ses biographies. A travers l'exercice de la *kitāba*, version 'abbāsīde, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā pensait qu'il existait un véritable pacte entre le souverain et le secrétaire car poursuivant le même dessein: *al-faḍl* 'la vertu'. Et calife et secrétaire devaient oeuvrer à la réalisation des objectifs divins. Malgré la qualité de l'étude de Katia Zakharia, et bien que W. al-Qāḍī soit citée à la note 28, on regrettera, toutefois, l'absence de référence à deux de ses articles fondamentaux pour le sujet: "Early Islamic state letters: the question of authenticity", in A. Cameron & L. I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, Princeton 1992, p. 215–275 et "The religious foundation of late Umayyad ideology and practice", in *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, Madrid 1994, p. 231–273 basés sur les

*Rasā'il* de 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā *al-kātib* et l'article de J. D. Latham, "'Abd al-Ḥamīd *al-kātib*", in A. F. L. Beeston, T. M. Johnstone, R. B. Serjeant & G. R. Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge 1983, p. 164–179.

Gilbert Delanoue, "Culture de mosquée et politique en Égypte au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle", p. 95–108 nous introduit dans les mosquées égyptiennes comme lieu de culture, en marge ou non, des pouvoirs politiques. C'est à partir d'un contexte spécialement agité (conquête de l'Égypte par Bonaparte en 1798, mainmise ottomane et occupation britannique) que l'auteur rappelle, à juste titre, que l'une des disciplines constitutives de la culture de mosquée, tant comme symbole que dans sa pratique quotidienne, est le *fiqh*. Par l'intermédiaire de leur enseignement ou par le biais de leurs *fatāwā*, les *fuqahā'* rappellent que l'ordre social, la destinée et l'existence des croyants sont rythmés par la loi divine. Dans un essai de renouvellement évident, les juristes tentèrent, face aux "consuls", de s'adapter à une situation dont ils sentaient la véritable nouveauté et mettre ainsi en place une judicature mixte, à mi-chemin entre "tradition" et "modernité". Cette étude met également en relief l'idée que les '*ulamā'*' étaient constitués en un véritable "ordre" dont la parole était entendue aussi bien par le peuple que par les gouvernants. Quelques références bibliographiques de choix auraient donné plus de relief à cette contribution comme A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age (1798–1939)*, London 1962; D. Crecelius, "Nonideological responses of the Egyptian ulama to modernization", in N. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*, Berkeley 1972, p. 167–209 et H. Laurens, *L'Orient arabe. Arabisme et islamisme de 1798 à 1945*, Paris 1993.

Johann Strauss, "Les voies de la transmission du savoir dans un milieu cosmopolite. Lettrés et savants à Istanbul au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1830–1860)", p. 109–125 permet d'appréhender l'importance d'Istanbul, au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, comme lieu d'élaboration et de transmission des savoirs. L'auteur essaie de mettre en évidence les principaux éléments qui favorisèrent ce processus comme le cosmopolitisme caractéristique de la société stambouliote, le statut de capitale d'un empire clairement pluriethnique, l'ouverture de la Turquie ottomane aux techniques, à la production littéraire venue d'Occident et à la mise en place des réformes plus connues sous le nom de *tanzīmāt*. Il est à souligner le rôle, parfois décisif, que jouèrent les communautés minoritaires (grecque, juive et arménienne) dans la diffusion des savoirs notamment quant à la traduction de certaines oeuvres car leurs membres étaient ouverts aux deux cultures et servaient donc de véritable interface. La création d'une société savante turque comme l'*Encumen-i Dānis* permit la mise en marche de contacts avec des savants étrangers et l'échange d'informations scientifiques et culturelles. Toutefois, il semble que les rencontres directes entre savants turcs et occidentaux étaient rares. Sur les questions

abordées dans l'étude, les spécialistes savent qu'il existe une volumineuse bibliographie. Mais cependant quelques références auraient pu être mises à contribution comme F. Georgeon, "Lire et écrire à la fin de l'Empire ottoman: quelques remarques introductives" et S. Velkova, "L'écrit et l'oral dans la formation des bases de la norme littéraire de la langue turque au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle", in N. Vatin (res.), *Oral et écrit dans le monde turco-ottoman*, Aix-en-Provence 1996 (monographie n° 75-76 de la *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*), p. 169-180 & 199-220; F. Hitzel, "Manuscrits, livres et culture livresque à Istanbul", in F. Hitzel (res.), *Livres et lecture dans le monde ottoman*, Aix-en-Provence 1999 (monographie n° 87-88 de la *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*), p. 19-38 qui, il est vrai, aurait sans doute, paru simultanément à l'ouvrage collectif dont nous rendons compte.

Hmaied Ben Aziza, "Hegel et l'Islam", p. 127-135 étudie le rapport que le philosophe Hegel (*ob.* 1831) a entretenu avec l'Islam en tant que fait religieux. L'auteur met en relief le regard que portait l'Occident des Lumières sur l'Orient. Ce point n'est pas sans rappeler, avec toute la prudence nécessaire, la vision que certains orientalistes réputés "réactionnaires" avaient eu de l'Orient, comme par exemple Ernest Renan. L'un des éléments mis en lumière par l'étude est constitué par une lecture critique de Hegel qui permet de voir que ce dernier considérait l'Islam comme une entrave à l'évolution politique et éthique des sociétés. A partir de l'intérêt que Hegel portait au christianisme et plus particulièrement dans son rapport homme/Dieu, il va développer une théorie dans laquelle il défendra, entre autres aspects, l'idée que le caractère des Orientaux serait rigide et ennemi de toute transformation. Tournant ainsi le dos à l'Islam, l'auteur de l'étude montre combien la vision hégélienne de l'Islam a influencé, hier et aujourd'hui, bon nombre de penseurs occidentaux et combien le concept d'un Orient voué aux échecs et refusant le progrès scientifique reste bien présent dans l'inconscient collectif.

Malgré les critiques méthodologiques et les suggestions bibliographiques qui ont été formulées, reconnaissons qu'il s'agit d'un livre qui constituera, sans nul doute, une référence obligée pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux problèmes des pouvoirs en Islam et de ses relations avec les mondes civil et religieux. Finalement, nous voudrions signaler que nous partageons l'une des réflexions de l'éditeur qui évoque l'idée, à la fin de l'"Introduction" et avec une indiscutable clarté d'esprit, que "Elles [*les expressions du savoir*] sont probablement à l'origine de l'essor du monde arabo-musulman et je ne suis pas loin de penser qu'elles restent aujourd'hui une leçon pour nos contemporains".

**Janina M. Safran**, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate. The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in al-Andalus*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 33.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. x + 272 pp. ISBN 0-932885-24-1 (hardback).

L'ouvrage de Janina Safran est une étude monographique consacrée aux questions de la légitimité politique, des représentations symboliques, du cérémonial officiel et des images du pouvoir dans l'Espagne umayyade d'époque califale. Janina Safran, qui est "Assistant Professor" d'histoire à la Pennsylvania State University, avait déjà publié deux articles sur les modes de représentation du pouvoir et les arguments politiques des Umayyades de Cordoue au cours du califat dans le *International Journal of Middle East Studies* et le *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Outre ces dernières publications, Janina Safran a donc repris et amélioré le texte inédit de son Ph.D. pour finalement publier le livre dont nous allons rendre compte dans les lignes suivantes. Mais avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, indiquons qu'en dépit de certains chapitres relativement originaux, il est curieux d'observer comment dans le livre en question, et plus généralement de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique, on continue à travailler sur tel ou tel thème relatif à al-Andalus comme si *rien* n'avait été fait auparavant. Le lecteur perçoit que notre ton est d'ores et déjà critique mais tout sera justifié afin de permettre la meilleure compréhension possible du sujet.

Dès l'"Introduction", p. 1–15, l'auteur tente de définir les raisons qui l'invitèrent à étudier les mécanismes du pouvoir califale umayyade en al-Andalus. Et de fait, Janina Safran fait un premier bilan des travaux réalisés sur l'Orient umayyade puis 'abbāside, soulignant notamment ceux de M. Sharon, J. Lassner et E. Daniel. Il semble, au dire de l'auteur, que les historiens-arabisants se sont plutôt penchés sur les questions du pouvoir en Orient pour des raisons historiographiques. Il y aurait peu de textes arabo-musulmans traitant du pouvoir pour al-Andalus umayyade ? Cette première constatation mérite que l'on s'arrête sur cette problématique pour souligner, comme le fait Janina Safran, que ce sont en réalité les historiens-arabisants anglo-saxons qui commencèrent à s'intéresser à al-Andalus que très récemment en faisant notamment référence aux ouvrages de D. J. Wasserstein et H. Kennedy. Nous devons reconnaître que l'exposé des principaux mouvements du livre est précis. On sent ici la perspective clairement historique de l'ouvrage et c'est une chose bienvenue !

La première partie intitulée "Making the Claim: Caliphal Articulations of Legitimacy" se compose de trois chapitres "Defining the Caliphate", p. 19–50, "The Symbolic Articulation of Legitimacy: Monuments and Ceremony", p. 51–97 et "The Caliphate in Captivity", p. 98–108. Dans le premier mouvement, l'auteur reconstruit le parcours qui permit aux Umayyades la mise en place de la *ḥilāfa*:

chute du bastion des Banū Ḥafṣūn à Bobastro, fin du mouvement hérétique d'Ibn Masarra, victoires et succès politico-diplomatiques en Afrique du Nord et surtout la consolidation du pouvoir politique à l'époque d'al-Ḥakam II, héritier de l'oeuvre de son père 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Alternant étude du vocabulaire arabe et proposition d'hypothèses, Janina Safran donne une description détaillée de cette phase historique du califat qui se développa, entre autres éléments, grâce au rôle partisan des écrivains et des poètes pro-umayyades ainsi qu'aux 'ulamā', détenteurs des savoirs. Le deuxième chapitre constitue l'un des moments les plus instructifs du livre. En effet, il est question des symboles du califat représentés principalement par la monumentalité du pouvoir et les cérémonies officielles. Comme il fallait s'y attendre, l'auteur réserve une place de choix au complexe palatin de Madīnat al-Zahrā'. Sur ce point, soulignons en faveur de l'ouvrage que la bibliographie de base est citée. Cependant, celle-ci est par trop générale et l'on ne peut que déplorer l'absence d'études comme celles de C. Barceló & A. Labarta, "La fuentes árabes sobre Madīnat al-Zahrā': el estado de la cuestión", *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā'* 1 (1987), p. 93–106 mettant en relief le fait que bien des sources arabes traitant du complexe palatin sont tardives et de M. Acien Almansa & A. Vallejo Triano, "Urbanismo y Estado islámico: de Corduba a Madīnat al-Zahra'", in P. Cressier & M. García-Arenal (éds.), *Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, Madrid 1998, p. 107–136 sur l'existence d'une capitale "bicéphale": Cordoue-Madīnat al-Zahrā'. A ce propos, signalons qu'un auteur comme Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb (*ob.* 776/1375), dont aucune source n'est citée dans le livre, avait célébré de manière poétique la construction de Madīnat al-Zahrā' (voir son *Raḥm al-ḥulal fī naẓm al-duwal*, éd. 'A. Darwīš, Dimašq 1990, p. 159: *wa-ṭāla 'amruhu fa-banā Madīnat al-Zahrā'*). Les choses sont également curieuses en ce qui concerne la question relative aux cérémonies politico-diplomatiques et religieuses. Si l'examen de ces manifestations emblématiques du pouvoir et des assises de la souveraineté umayyades font l'objet d'un développement, il manque un certain nombre de références (sur ce point, nous nous permettons de renvoyer à M. Meouak, "Pouvoir souverain et autorité politique des Umayyades de Cordoue. Réflexions sur les concepts de *dawla* et de *sulṭān*", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 26 (1995), p. 171–186 et *idem*, "Représentations, emblèmes et signes de la souveraineté politique des Umayyades d'al-Andalus d'après les textes arabes", *Acta Orientalia* 56 (1995), p. 78–105). Le titre du dernier chapitre est particulièrement évocateur de la situation dans laquelle se retrouva le califat à la mort d'al-Ḥakam II (*ob.* 366/976). Janina Safran a bien mis en relief le rôle joué par les hauts dignitaires de l'État umayyade comme Ḡa'far b. 'Uymān al-Muṣḥafī, Ḡālīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III et Muḥammad b. Abī 'Āmir al-Manṣūr dans l'agonie ou encore la "captivité" dans laquelle se retrouva le califat umayyade de Cordoue. Cette période de transition, correspondant aux dernières années du IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle et au début du V<sup>e</sup>/XI<sup>e</sup> siècle,

avait été bien étudiée par P. C. Scales et F. Clément. Outre ces deux derniers chercheurs, M. Ación Almansa a publié récemment une étude intéressante sur le passage entre la fin “réelle” du califat et les derniers soubresauts de celui-ci dans “Los Ḥammūdīes, califas legítimos de Occidente en el siglo XI”, in C. Laliena Corbera & J. F. Utrilla Utrilla (eds.), *De Toledo a Huesca. Sociedades medievales en transición a finales del siglo XI (1080–1100)*, Zaragoza 1998, p. 45–59.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage, “Staking the Claim: Historiographical Constructions of Legitimacy” se compose d'une “Introduction”, p. 111–117, d'un chapitre sur “The Conquest Histories: The Foundations of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus”, p. 119–140 et d'un autre intitulé “Al-Andalus: Land of the Umayyads”, p. 141–183. Dans une tentative, au demeurant sérieuse, Janina Safran essaie, dans le premier chapitre, de décrire le discours pro-umayyade élaboré par deux textes andalousiens fondamentaux pour l'histoire de l'Espagne umayyade: les *Aḥbār mağmū'a* dont l'auteur est, selon nos connaissances, anonyme et le *Ta'rīḥ iftitāḥ al-Andalus* d'Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (*ob.* 367/977). Pour la première source, l'auteur dégage les *topoi* littéraires qui permettent de voir comment s'organise le texte quant à son appui à la cause umayyade. Il est question, par exemple, d'un passage où le premier Umayyade de Cordoue est appelé du nom de *Ṣaqr Qurayš* ou ‘faucou sacré’ mais ce n'est pas tout car ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I portait également le surnom de *Ṣaqr Banī Umayya* ou ‘faucou sacré des Umayyades’, titre au combien évocateur (Ibn 'Idārī, *Al-Bayān al-muğrib fī aḥbār mulūk al-Andalus wa-l-Mağrib*, éd. G. S. Colin & É. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948–50, II, p. 48). En ce qui concerne le deuxième texte, Janina Safran essaie de comprendre la teneur et le ton du discours employé par Ibn al-Qūṭīyya à l'heure de narrer les principaux événements qui marquèrent la période umayyade du milieu du II<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au règne de ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. On y trouverait, semble-t-il, certaines similitudes littéraires dans la narration des deux sources tant dans les motifs que dans le ton. Au sujet de ce dernier écrivain andalousien, indiquons l'étude suggestive d'E. Manzano Moreno, “El ‘medio cordobés’ y la elaboración cronística en al-Andalus bajo la dinastía de los Omeyas”, in M<sup>a</sup> I. Loring (ed.), *Homenaje al Profesor Abilio Barbero*, Madrid 1997, p. 59–85, 67–79 sur Ibn al-Qūṭīyya. Dans le second chapitre, il est question d'al-Andalus comme étant la terre des Umayyades. C'est dans une analyse subtile que Janina Safran, alliant écritures historique et littéraire, étudie le rôle fondamental du paysage, du décor, peut-être même du “background”, dans la mise en valeur par les chroniques andalusiennes pro-umayyades du territoire d'al-Andalus que l'on pourrait considérer ici comme le territoire sacré puis l'ultime refuge des Umayyades, entre le milieu du II<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup> et la fin du IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle. On en conviendra, l'idée est intéressante même si elle rappelle certains *topoi* historico-littéraires : “Landscape of Fear” et “Landscape of Confidence” avant d'arriver à la dernière étape qui serait “The Caliph's Domain” selon certaines chroniques



d'al-Andalus comme par exemple le *Kitāb al-muqtabis* d'Ibn Ḥayyān où il est longuement question des victoires umayyades, de certains revers diplomatiques et d'une transformation du paysage d'al-Andalus. Tout cela serait, selon Janina Safran *via* quelques textes andalousiens, en fait l'oeuvre des Umayyades: Cordoue serait la rivale de Bagdad et al-Andalus ressemblerait à la Syrie. Le *topoi* de la ressemblance, de l'homonymie des toponymes (andalousiens/syriens) et du renvoi au souvenir est courant dans l'historiographie arabo-musulmane. L'on en veut pour exemple le géographe oriental du VII<sup>e</sup>/XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muḡam al-buldān*, éd. F. Wuestenfeld, Leipzig 1866–75, II, p. 25: *Mursiya: madīna bi-l-Andalus min a'māl Tudmīr ihtaṭṭahā 'Abd al-Raḥmān [II] wa-sammāhā Tudmīr bi-Tadmur al-Ša'm*. On connaît l'importance que Tadmur représentait pour les Syriens et il est, peut-être, compréhensible qu'un émir umayyade de Cordoue ait eu la tentation de baptiser un site andalousien du nom de Tudmīr car possédant un paysage rappelant la ville syrienne.

Les conclusions, exposées dans une partie intitulée "The Andalusí Umayyad Caliphate in Retrospect", mettent en relief le souvenir que les Umayyades laissèrent aux époques postérieures en matière de légitimité, gouvernement "juste" et vertueux. Cette "retrospective" du califat umayyade de Cordoue contient des points intéressants comme le fait d'analyser comment un auteur du VII<sup>e</sup>/XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, en l'occurrence Ibn Sa'īd (*ob.* 685/1286), avait imaginé par écrit ce qu'avait pu être l'oeuvre des Umayyades. Ce développement est à juste titre appelé "A Thirteenth-century Assessment". Quant au second et dernier, il constitue le résumé des idées exposées tout au long de l'ouvrage et où il est rappelé, entre autres multiples choses, que les Umayyades ont cherché à reconstituer le fond et la forme de ce qu'avait été le califat umayyade de Damas tant sur le plan politique que sur celui religieux. Le livre est complété par les notes bibliographiques, la bibliographie et un index.

En dépit des critiques émises, il n'en reste pas moins que le livre est d'ores et déjà une référence incontournable pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent au pouvoir et aux problèmes connexes en Islam au Moyen Age. Ce livre a le mérite de poser des questions selon des méthodes qui rappellent ce que l'auteur de ce compte-rendu a toujours défendu, à savoir l'"histoire-problèmes" si chère à Claude Cahen et Nikita Éliasséeff. Faisons encore confiance à ce qu'ils préconisaient: "Un problème historique bien posé et clairement défini est un problème à moitié résolu". Il m'est très agréable, enfin, de remercier Janina Safran pour ce livre qui constitue, sans aucun doute, un autre point de départ pour de nouvelles recherches sur le califat umayyade de Cordoue.

**Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid**, *La capitale de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'époque fatimide : al-Qāhira et al-Fustāt ; essai de reconstitution topographique*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 48.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998. xli + 754 pp. French text + 26 pp. Arabic text, 109 Ill. Eur. 98.00. ISBN 3-515-05716-1 (paperback).

As can be read above, this volume is no. 48 of Beiruter Texte und Studien and it was published in 1998; the preceding volume no. 47 and the following one no. 49 were both published in 1993. The explanation to this discrepancy is given in a "Note de l'éditeur" where Prof. Dr Angelika Neuwirth, editor of the series, together with Dr Hanne Schönig state that due to several reasons, the Civil War in Lebanon as one of them, Dr Fu'ād Sayyid's study has been retarded but now "nous nous voyons contraints de le publier dans un état qui ne correspond pas tout à fait aux normes de nos publications scientifiques". This certainly must be seen as a somewhat exceptional procedure. Not knowing everything behind these lines and, perhaps, not even being able to read between the lines, nevertheless, this reviewer opines that editors either take care that the contributions correspond to the scientific norms of their publications or, if not, do not publish them. Such a "Note de l'éditeur" puts the author's credibility in doubt, not to mention the lack of judgement displayed by the editors.

It explains, though, why several seminal publications of the 1990s are missing from the Bibliography, e.g., the author's own edition of al-Maqrīzī's previously unknown autograph of *al-Mawā'iz wal-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wal-āthār* (preserved in the Khazīna Library attached to the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul and published in 1995 by al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation), the most important source we have for the historical topography of Islamic Egypt. But, the note does not explain why these conditions have not affected the other volumes published in the early 1990s and why they could be published without an alarming warning for the users of the product. Perusing the text shows that it is presumable that the author has laid the finishing – if you can use that word considering the editor's note – touch to it sometime between 1985 and 1988. The author is aware of Professor S. D. Goitein's death in 1985 but the fifth volume of *A Mediterranean Society*, published in 1988, is yet to appear. There are additions to the Bibliography, although very sporadic and not at all covering the field, up until 1995. The surge of studies in the 1990s dedicated to the Fatimid period, e.g., by Michael Brett, Heinz Halm, Yaacov Lev, Paula Sanders, and Paul E. Walker, has thus gone unnoticed. The Bibliography does not mention the author's Thèse de l'Université de Paris I from 1986 nor is its relation to the present study expressed.

The book consists of five parts: 1. Les capitales de l'Égypte musulmane avant la conquête fatimide; 2. Origine et développement du califat fatimide jusqu'en 365/975; 3. *Al-Qāhira* sous le régime fatimide civile (358–466/969–1073); 4. *Al-Qāhira* sous le régime fatimide militaire (467–567/1074–1171); and 5. La ville d'*al-Fuṣṭāṭ* et l'urbanisme de la capitale. There are all together 85 photographs of really varying quality, 17 maps, and 7 ground plans, a Bibliography and good though not complete or faultless indices. It is somewhat exasperating that the Introduction, where the dialogue with and presentation of sources and earlier studies is conducted, is not included in the indices.

To one fascinated by the urban growth that commenced below the walls of Babylon and led to the fabulous achievements of Fatimid Cairo the book is a mine of information in which the author has managed to collect a richness of details without losing sight of the overall development. Though, one hastens to add, Dr Fu'ad Sayyid is much more at home with al-Qāhira than with al-Fuṣṭāṭ, with the existing in comparison to that which has to be reconstructed from texts and where all too often secondary literature is used.

One hopes that Beirut *Texte und Studien* would do itself a favour by taking a revised and corrected edition of this important 20th-century heir to al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khiṭaṭ* and 'Alī Mubārak's *al-Khiṭaṭ al-taufiqīya al-jadīda*.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

**Angelika Neuwirth, Birgit Embaló, Sebastian Günther & Maher Jarrar** (eds.), *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature. Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*. Proceedings of the International Symposium in Beirut, June 25th – June 30th, 1996. (Beirut *Texte und Studien*, 64.) Beirut, 1999 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). xxii + 640 pp. € 78.00. ISBN 3-515-07101-6.

This ambitious volume aims at studying myth and its reflexions in Arabic literature, both mediaeval and modern, in 36 articles, some of them of substantial length. The articles rather evenly focus on either mediaeval or modern literature, some of them combining the two. What one misses perhaps, are the popular *sīras* which one would think very seminal for studying myths in Arabic literature but which receive hardly any attention in the articles, except for Father Pouzet's article; however, *Alf Layla wa-Layla* and stories by different travellers do receive better attention.

The articles have been organized not according to the period they are targeting (mediaeval vs. modern) but under four general headings (*Myth-generating experience*; *Myths recollected*; *Historical archetypes*; and *Symbolic figures*) of which the third, and by far the longest, section (pp. 163–489), is further sub-

divided into five. This organization helps to contrast ancient and modern attitudes towards myth in literature and is certainly a good solution, although some chapters are perhaps more coherent than others. One of the chapters where this works well is the final chapter (VIII: *The City: Space of Desire and Threat*) where eight articles discuss the city in classical, popular and modern literature from different angles.

In general, the articles are well-informed and well-written. The various viewpoints not only show the variety of the material but, perhaps, also the fluidity of the concept of myth, so differently approached by different authors. Yet this, together with the different methodologies used in the articles, works well to show the width of approaches in literary studies on Arabic literature. Surely, if not all the articles suit the taste of an individual reader, there is something for everyone among these studies, and one can be very sincere in thanking both the authors and the editors for this impressive volume.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Stephan Guth, Priska Furrer & Johann Christoph Bürgel** (eds.), *Conscious Voices. Concepts of Writing in the Middle East. Proceedings of the Berne Symposium, July 1997*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 72.) Beirut, 1999 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). xxi + 332 pp. Eur. 72.00. ISBN 3-515-07507-0.

How does the author him- or herself see his/her work? In the field of literary studies, this is a question which is all too often left unasked, perhaps as a counter-reaction to the earlier prevalence of biographical studies.

The present volume is a refreshing and enjoyable return to the author and his intentions – after all, *al-a'māl bi'n-niyyāt*. The book concentrates on modern Arabic literature, while Classical Arabic literature and Turkish and Persian literature are underrepresented, as the editors themselves note in their preface (p. xviii). The linguistic bias is obviously at least partly due to the scarcity of scholars working with Persian and Turkish material in comparison to scholars working with Arabic (cf. p. xix), but the historical bias may in fact well represent the more individualistic stance of modern authors: there is perhaps more to write on the self-consciousness of modern writers than of Classical authors. Still, the articles by Bürgel and van Gelder, the only two to concentrate on Classical literature, show that the question is also worth studying in Classical literature.

However that may be, the selection of the topics and authors discussed in this collection of articles is quite adequate, although one does miss, e.g., Forugh Farrokhzad from among Persian authors. After all, her voice was much more

conscious than that of many of her contemporaries, and her poetry would have deserved at least a mention in the volume: here she is not even mentioned in passing. Obviously this is a general problem in this kind of collection of articles, and one cannot put the blame on any one of the contributors.

On the other hand, the authors discussed are all well selected and mostly well discussed. Poets (including al-Bayātī, Maḥmūd Darwīsh and Adonis) seem to get slightly more attention than prose writers, although the latter, too, are far from being neglected (e.g., Hedāyat, Salīm Barakāt, Shahrnūsh Pārsīpūr).

Literature has always been seen as a medium for attaining eternal life. As van Gelder (p. 238ff.) points out, literature perpetuates both "those whom it sings and those who make it" (p. 252). Van Gelder himself refers to Greek and Latin literature but I cannot resist from taking a further step backwards in time. In artistic prose, I think that the first attestation of this idea comes in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, itself deriving the idea, at least in part, from older Sumerian building inscriptions.

From Gilgamesh onwards, writers have been aware of the eternity of their work and very conscious of their voice, perpetuated in written books. Yet the collection of articles under review also shows a qualitative change in this consciousness in modern times. The modern Near Eastern authors, since the end of the 19th century at least, show a much more acute consciousness of themselves in their works than their Mediaeval colleagues do.

In all, the volume edited by Guth, Furrer and Bürgel is a valuable addition to the studies dealing with Modern Near Eastern, and especially Arabic, literature.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**K. Dévényi & T. Iványi** (eds.), *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and African Studies (ICANAS). Part One: Linguistics, Literature, History.* (The Arabist. Budapest Studies in Arabic, 19–20.) 1998. vii + 272 pp. ISSN 0239-1619.

The volume of *The Arabist* under review continues the lengthy list of Proceedings edited in the series. The level of the articles is somewhat uneven. In addition to some well written articles there are several of marginal interest only. In assessing the article of Hajnal (pp. 187–201) one has unfortunately to take into account the review of de Blois in *JRAS* (Third Series, 10(2), 2000, pp. 239–241).

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Mona Takieddine Amyuni**, *La Ville, source d'inspiration. Le Caire, Khartoum, Beyrouth, Paola Scala chez quelques écrivains arabes contemporains*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 63.) Beirut, 1998 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). 237 pp. ISBN 3-515-06885-6.

Whereas Classical Arabic literature was inspired by the desert even in the seemingly urban poetry of poets like Abū Nuwās, the modern Arabic novel has been very much inspired by the city (as is also the modern Persian novel: *Iṣfahān, nisf-i jahān!*). The Cairo of Naguib Mahfouz comes immediately to mind, as well as Beirut, the city tortured by a long civil war. Amyuni studies both of these but also adds Tayeb Salih's Khartoum and London, and the dream town La Paola Scala of Georges Schehadé, thus covering a good selection of both cities (real and unreal: but which is more real, La Paola Scala or Mahfouz's Cairo?) and authors, not forgetting poets like Mahmud Darwish, Adonis and others (chapter 4, pp. 135–171), although the study obviously centres on narrative prose.

The author's intimate knowledge of both the cities and the authors (as well as Modern Arabic literature) makes the book very readable. The study is based on the material itself, as is seen in the frequent quotations from the texts, which makes the study less theoretical but definitely more readable.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTILA

**Amidu Sanni**, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification – on ḥall and nazm in Arabic Theoretical Discourse*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 70.) Beirut, 1998 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). xiii + 186 pp. Eur. 37.00. ISBN 3-515-07170-9.

Since the early 8th century, scribes were instructed to embellish their prose compositions by expressions derived from poetry and by quotations or paraphrases of the Quran and the hadiths. The prosification of poetry (*ḥall*) was a stylistic device adopted by prose writers, whereas poets turned prose into poetry (*nazm*) in order to demonstrate their artistic talent. Amidu Sanni's study contains a discussion of the development of these two devices (Chapters 1 and 4; pp. 5–23, 135–153). The major part of the book consists of translations from Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Waṣḥy al-marqūm* and al-Nayramānī's *Manthūr al-manzūm* illustrating the methods of prosification (Chapters 2 and 3; pp. 25–133).

The books of Ibn al-Athīr and al-Nayramānī were intended to instruct scribes in the art of prosification and provided model essays to illustrate the uses of this stylistic device. Ibn al-Athīr organized the various methods of prosification into three categories (*ḥall al-shi'r bi-lafẓihi*, *ḥall al-shi'r bi-ba'd lafẓihi*, and *ḥall al-*

*shī'r bi-ghayr lafẓihi*) and Amidu Sanni presents all of these categories by quoting both Ibn al-Athīr's model prose compositions and the original poetry verses. The quotations are given in Arabic with an English translation. In a similar manner Amidu Sanni also presents Ibn al-Athīr's instructions on the various methods to use Quranic or hadith material in a prose composition.

al-Nayramānī's compositions are not arranged according to the method of *ḥall* used but, instead, according to the themes of the compositions themselves. Like Ibn al-Athīr, also al-Nayramānī provides for each model essay a list of the original verses that were used in a prosified form in the text. Amidu Sanni gives the texts and translations of selected essays from each of al-Nayramānī's thematic group.

The book also contains an index of names and terms, but unfortunately it is useless, because practically all the page references are inaccurate. For example, 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq should, according to the index, be mentioned on page 215, but the whole book has only 186 pages and the actual text ends on page 167. The correct page reference in this case is 162. Apart from a few exceptions, the wrong page references apply to all indexed items except those that occur on pages 1 and 2. It seems that the index retains the references to the manuscript and not the printed book.

IRMELI PERHO

**Nadje Al-Ali**, *Secularism, Gender and the State in the Middle East: The Egyptian Women's Movement*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, 14.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xv + 264 pp. £14.95. ISBN 0-521-78504-9 (paperback).

A first glance at the title of this book provokes astonishment. It really is not *Islam*, Gender and the State, but *Secularism*, Gender and the State. An attractive title promises an exciting book, and the expectations are entirely fulfilled.

Nadje Al-Ali reflects on the position of the researcher in cultural and social studies. She points out that an "indigenous scholar" is not able to engage in in-depth research just by the simple characteristic of being "local". Many native anthropologists are as far removed from their field of study as any foreign anthropologists might be, by religion, social status, class, education, or cultural subgroup. Nevertheless, it is true that an "indigenous scholar" is in a better position to engage in intimate and accurate examination of the field of analysis, simply because an "indigenous scholar" might profit from the privilege of sharing the native language with the informants in the field. Another reason might be the researcher's previous involvement in the society, which helps to put the various phenomena emerging in the field during the research in a more realistic perspec-

tive. However, carrying out research in one's own local community is a demanding task, and it requires thorough self-reflection and the ability to be involved in a critical study.

Nadje Al-Ali herself comes from a mixed cultural background. Her father is Iraqi, her mother German, and her fieldwork took place in Cairo during the second part of the 1990s. The main objective of the book seems to be to transcend the notions of cultures being bounded entities and to acknowledge the involvements and encounters between and within cultures. Nadje Al-Ali claims that many scholars, whether "western", "indigenous" or something in-between, who are engaged in critiques of Orientalism tend to be themselves locked in the dichotomy they try to deconstruct. Al-Ali criticises these researchers for portraying the Islamists as the only alternative to Westernisation.

... scholars themselves have been actively, if unwittingly, engaged in muting those groups and individuals who have opposed or reacted against Islamism.

Research dealing with Egyptian women has been focused on such issues as Islamic revival and militancy, and the framework of the research operates with simple dichotomies on the Islamist, traditional and authentic on the one hand, and the modernist, progressive, and western on the other.

Al-Ali requests a more systematic dismantling of the notion of a monolithic West and the homogeneous category of westerners. Many Western researchers have been trying to dismantle the notion of a monolithic Middle East and the homogeneous category of Muslims. But, basically, a monolithic conception of the "East" goes hand in hand with a monolithic conception of the "West", by essentializing one we essentialize the other. In the same way that we in the "West" enhance the legitimacy of our social order by comparing our societies to the "Eastern" ones, the corruption of the "West" is utilised in the "East" when aiming at discrediting changes in the position of women, and feminism in particular.

One of the most notable aims of Al-Ali seems to be to illustrate the heterogeneity of the Egyptian women's movements. To accomplish this aim she has chosen to introduce a large quantity of various movements with distinct aims and strategies, and members from diverse social backgrounds. This results in a book full of information and accuracy, but, on the other hand, it makes the book quite hard to read. In some occasions the core of what the author actually wants to say gets blurred, hidden behind all the details. Al-Ali appears to be quite a theoretical writer who conceptualises her work firmly in the framework of the contemporary theoretical jargon of Middle Eastern studies and gender studies. She includes some citations of her informants in Egypt, but their activism and lives remain rather distant, which further emphasises the theoretical character of the book.



**Clive Holes**, *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia, I: Glossary*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 1: Der Nahen und Mittleren Osten, 51(1); Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East, 51(1).) Leiden: Brill, 2001. lxi + 573 pp. US\$ 154.00. ISBN 90-04-10763-0 (hardback).

This book is the first volume of a detailed description of the pre-oil era Arabic dialects and culture of Bahrain, as spoken by uneducated Bahrainis aged forty or over in the mid-1970s, when the material was collected. Volume II will contain a representative selection of ethnographic texts in transcription, provided with translation and notes, and Volume III will comprise a dialect description, based on an extensive archive of tape-recorded material. The majority of the author's earlier contributions, mainly based on the same material, are sociolinguistic studies, such as *A Sociolinguistic Study of the Arabic-speaking Speech Community of Bahrain. Language Variation in Relation to Sect-membership, Region and Literacy* (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge 1981), *Language Variation and Change in a Modernising Arab State. The Case of Bahrain*, London 1987 (Library of Arabic Linguistics, Monograph, 7.), and a number of articles, all of a high scholarly standard.

In view of the geographically restricted material of the three-volume study, its title, which refers to the vast area of eastern Arabia, at first sight looks misleading. However, having read the instructive 28-page introductory essay on the vocabulary of Eastern Arabia, I believe that one is convinced of the correctness of the author's assertion that, given the "particular quirks and differences" of each region, "a good deal of what [is said] is also applicable to the dialects of Kuwait, the eastern province of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates" (p. xv). These constitute a group of closely related dialects – no wonder when consideration is taken of the cultural, linguistic and political history of the area, the 1000-kilometre coastal strip from southern Iraq to the mountains of Oman, including the eastern Arabian inland. As pointed out by the author, this vast area was until recently a place where people moved around, settled and married unconcerned by national borders. Consequently, many Gulf Arabs then defined their identity in tribal, family or sectarian terms rather than in terms of citizenship.

Holes' study is exclusively devoted to the study of the language and culture of the pre-oil generation, which are rapidly disappearing. The dialects are being levelled down, and a Gulf-wide *educated spoken koiné* is developing. Some salient regional characteristics are retained, such as the voiced *g* reflex of *qāf* in dialectal items, and the interdental fricatives *t̪*, *d̪*, and *ɖ̪*. In more formal contexts, such features as the affricated *č* and *ǰ* reflexes of *kāf* and *qāf*, respectively, and the *y* reflex of *ǧīm*, are suppressed but still common in informal conversation. The

rapid change of society is naturally reflected in the lexicon, which adopts lots of Modern Standard Arabic neologisms and phrases, while it at the same time loses many items connected with traditional crafts and way of life.

Drawing attention to the fact that the vocabulary routinely used by the least-educated Gulf speakers in many respects resembles the mediaeval vocabulary recorded in the *Lisān al-‘Arab*, the *Tāj al-‘Arūs* and other Classical dictionaries, without passing into the vocabulary of Modern Literary Arabic, Holes emphasizes that the Arabic dialects have not arisen and developed as the result of foreign “corruption”, as the development still often is explained. As far as the vocabulary of the speakers least affected by the literary language or the modern koiné is concerned, it actually “reaches back to the oldest strata of the language” (p. xviii). In the introductory essay, Holes illustrates this claim with a few examples, e.g., *bāg* ‘rob, steal’, cf. Classical Arabic *bāqa* ‘cheat, swindle’ (Lane); *sammār* ‘to mix a solid with water’, cf. CA *sammara* ‘to dilute milk with water’ (Hava); *gabga* ‘a light meal eaten at midnight during Ramadan’, cf. CA *gabaqa* ‘to give someone the evening draught’ (Hava); *id-dinya xirmis*, an expression used in the ‘Arab dialect of Bahrain to describe ‘a pitch-black, moonless night’, cf. *layl xirmis* ‘dark night’ in the *Lisān*; *slēma* in the sense of ‘illness, misfortune, ill wind’ in imprecations such as *slēma čabbat-ha!* ‘may an ill wind blow over her!’, cf. CA *sulāmā* ‘south wind’ (Hava). Archaisms are not, of course, restricted to vocabulary alone, but they are exemplified by features such as vestiges of *tanwīn* in the noun, verbs productively using finite passive forms, gender distinction in the plural forms of the finite verb, ossified forms of *laysa* and *kāda*, the survival of particles like *qad*, etc.

In order to underline the common core of the Gulf Arabic vocabulary, Holes gives (pp. xx–xxii) lists of typical items – both inherited Arabic words and foreign loans – belonging to this category. In a footnote he, with good cause, points out that many of the examples in the etymologically Arabic list can also be found in the Najdi vocabulary lists in Bruce Ingham, *Najdi Arabic. Central Arabian*, Amsterdam (Philadelphia) 1994, pp. 173–186, and Saad A. Sowayan, *The Arabian Oral Historical Narrative*, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 244–304. As a matter of fact, this is to a certain extent true for most vocabularies of Bedouin dialects, in many cases even of those spoken as far away as in the Maghreb, e.g., Gilbert Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris 1958, not referred to by Holes. Thus, among the verbs listed by him, e.g. *stānas*, *baġa* (*b<sup>g</sup>ġe*), *dazz*, *rigad* (*rgad*), *nišad* (*n<sup>š</sup>šad*), *fakk*, *ṭāḥ*, *hāwaš* appear there in practically the same sense as in the Gulf dialects. In this context I would also like to call attention to two noteworthy articles by Hans-Rudolf Singer: “Fortleben alten Wortgutes in arabischen Beduinen-Mundarten (I)”, *MUSJ* 48 (1973–74), pp. 391–403, and “Fortleben alten Wortgutes in arabischen Beduinen-Mundarten (II)”, *ZDMG* 127 (1977), pp. 254–257.

What makes the characteristics of the common vocabulary of the Gulf dialects distinctive is, above all, the combination of Bedouin-type vocabulary and the mixed selection of loanwords from different languages and from different periods of time. The most pervasive foreign linguistic influence on the Bahraini dialects has naturally been that of Persian, especially in the fields of foodstuffs and cooking, domestic equipment, textiles and dress-making, implements, tools and handicrafts, architecture and housing, agriculture, and the sea; there are also items related to modern culture, e.g. *barwa* 'paper, official document; quittance'; *bīma* 'insurance'; *aks* 'photograph'; *gašma* 'spectacles'; *darbīn*, *darbīl* 'binoculars, telescope'. The frequency of Persian loans in the Bahraini dialects can be illustrated by the fact that, of these five examples, only the last-mentioned is used in the dialects spoken in Greater Syria, but not in Egypt; of the longer list given on pp. xxx–xxxiii, the proportion of items with a wider geographical distribution is even smaller. The lively commercial contacts with India have given many Hindi/Urdu loanwords, too, perhaps most efficiently through the expatriate Indian labour force during the British administration. Turkish loans are relatively few, and the majority of them are probably due to contact with other Arabic dialects, mainly those spoken in Iraq. Of European languages, Portuguese left a small legacy of terms chiefly relating to the sea and shipping, e.g. *durmēt* 'sleeping-shelf (on a boat)'; *burd* 'side (of a ship, but also more generally)'; *bindēra* 'flag'. Since the beginning of the oil industry in the mid-1930s, English has given Gulf Arabic hundreds of loanwords and phrases. Although many older loans, such as *drēwil* 'driver', *sbētar* 'hospital', and *mōtir* 'car', are being replaced by their Modern Standard Arabic equivalents *sā'iq*, *mustašfa*, and *sayyāra*, new borrowings enter instead: *dīš* '(satellite) dish'; *rimūt* '(TV) remote control'; *ģinz* 'jeans'. Most of these are, of course, substantives, but even denominative verbs occur, e.g. *kansal* 'to cancel, abolish'; *čayyak* 'to check'; *tayyat* 'to tighten'; *lawayak* 'to leak'.

The linguistic situation of Bahrain during the last pre-Islamic centuries is not known. The inhabitants may have spoken Aramaic, or, perhaps, a form of Arabic. An interesting case of obvious Aramaic influence is the diminutive morpheme *-ūn(a)*, e.g. *rīhūna* 'a little bit'; *ħabbūna* id.; *šģērūn* 'small, insignificant'. Significantly, the same morpheme also occurs in Iraq, where Arabic for a long time has been in close contact with Aramaic. It is plausible that the linguistic history of the Gulf has followed paths similar to those in Iraq, i.e., Akkadian has gradually given way to Aramaic, and Aramaic to Arabic. There are still several terms of basic material culture in current use in Bahrain which appear to be derived from a non-Arabic Semitic substratum, e.g. *šaxxīn/xaxīn* 'digging tool' (cf. Akkadian *xaxšinnu*); *zabīl/zanbīl* 'basket' (ultimately < Akkadian *zabbīlu*); *sannūr* 'cat' (< Aramaic *šunārā* < Akkadian *šurānu*); *fils* 'type of hollow sea-stone' (< Akkadian *pešū* 'hole'); also the Gulf Arabic phrases *silmat iš-šams* 'the sun has set' and *sulūm iš-šams* 'sunset' are very interesting, since the root *slm* apparently is not

found in this meaning either in Aramaic or Classical Arabic, whereas in Akkadian it occurs with exactly the same sense: *šulum šamši* 'setting of the sun'.

In his Guidance Notes (pp. xliii–liii) Holes emphasizes that this volume is not a dictionary, but a glossary, only including forms occurring in the corpus of data, mainly produced by elderly, uneducated speakers. The objective, as formulated by the author, is “to present an accurate and detailed picture of the vocabulary and idiom of the older, less educated generations of the 1970s, rather than to provide a comprehensive dictionary of all the registers of the Bahraini (still less all the Gulf) dialects.” Therefore the speech of educated speakers, who constituted half of the original speaker sample in the sociolinguistic project out of which the present study grew, has been deliberately excluded. This is methodologically a happy demarcation, especially considering the intended users of the glossary, “Arabic linguists in general and comparative and historical Arabic dialectologists and Semiticists in particular”. This is why the items are given according to the traditional arrangement by historical, or – in the case of foreign borrowings – notional, root consonants, in the Arabic alphabetical order. The use of the items in different contexts is amply documented, for comparison short references are given to relevant sources, and the origins of loanwords are indicated.

This glossary is a major contribution to the lexicography of Spoken Arabic, as well as a valuable document of the traditional way of life in Bahrain and the whole southern coastal region of the Gulf. As a large-scale work of a very high scholarly standard, it will have a permanent value as a standard work of reference having its given place in every Semitic library.

HEIKKI PALVA

**Rudolf E. de Jong**, *A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of the Northern Sinai Littoral. Bridging the Linguistic Gap between the Eastern and Western Arab World*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, 52; Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East, 52). Leiden: Brill, 2000. 693 pp. £82.00. ISBN 90-04-11868-3 (hardback).

Northern Sinai has through the ages served as the land bridge between the Fertile Crescent and Egypt, and during the history of Islam, between the eastern and western parts of the Arab world. Culturally it is part of a larger area covering the Sinai Peninsula, the Negev, Arabia Petraea, and the northern part of the Hijaz to the valley basin of al-Jaww, north of Madā'in Šāliḥ, c. 400 km southeast of al-ʿAqaba. This area has a long history of cultural fluctuation between semi-sedentarism and seminomadism; its inhabitants have had many contacts with their sedentary neighbours in Egypt and Palestine, and many of them have been busy

with trade between Egypt and the neighbouring areas to the east. The traditional society is based on tribal organization, the inhabitants identify themselves with Bedouin culture, and they speak dialects of Bedouin type. Some of its tribes have, according to their own traditions, come from different parts of the Arabian Peninsula, but big tribes such as al-Ḥwēḡāt, the Bani ‘Aḡīye, as-Sawārka, at-Tarābīn, and at-Ṭawara, which form the bulk of the population, have deep local roots.

Until recent years Sinai has remained outside systematic linguistic investigation. In G. Bergsträsser's "Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina", *ZDPV* 38 (1915), some information on the dialects spoken in Sinai and the Negev is given, drawn from Alois Musil's *Arabia Petraea*, III, Wien 1908, but no linguistic study in these dialects was published until Haim Blanc's compact article "The Arabic dialect of the Negev Bedouins", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, IV (1970), pp. 112–150, which describes the dialect of the Ḍullām, closely related with many dialects of the area, among others the Aḡaywāt, a tribe living in the eastern part of central Sinai, whose tribal law has been thoroughly investigated by Frank H. Stewart. Therefore it is only natural that Stewart, for linguistic reference, has reprinted Blanc's article in Part 2 of his *Texts in Sinai Bedouin Law*, I–II, 1990 (Mediterranean Language and Culture Monograph Series, 5.), Wiesbaden 1988, which, in addition to amply annotated transcribed texts and their English translations, includes an excellent 100-page glossary. Another recent source of linguistic information on Sinai is Clinton Bailey's monumental collection *Bedouin Poetry from Sinai and the Negev*, Oxford 1991, the language of which naturally represents the traditional poetic koiné of the area. Apart from these, the only study devoted to dialects spoken in Sinai, besides de Jong's investigations, is Tetsuo Nishio's *A Basic Vocabulary of the Bedouin Arabic Dialect of the Jbāli Tribe (Southern Sinai)* (*Studia Sinaitica*, 1), Tokyo 1992.

The study under review comprises the northern Sinai littoral from the Egyptian border town Rafaḡ in the east to the Suez Canal in the west, a distance of about 200 km. The tribes of the area are settled more or less along the main route between Palestine and Egypt; from the east, they are the Rmēlāt, Sawārkaḡ, Biliy, Dawāḡrah, Biyyāḡḡiyah, Samā‘nah, ‘Aḡāylah, Axārsah, Masā‘īd, and ‘Ayāydah; the dialect of the town of al-‘Arīš is also included in the survey. Of these, the Barada (von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, II, p. 141: Barara) subsection of the Hijazi tribe of Biliy may have arrived in the area before Islam, the Samā‘nah, ‘Aḡāylah, Biyyāḡḡiyah, and Axārsah probably came before the 13th century, and the remaining five tribes in the 16th century or later. As far as the contemporary dialects are concerned, the dates and earlier habitats of the tribes do not seem to play any role; more important is the social status. Thus, the dialect of the Dawāḡrah, a tribe of fishermen living on the peninsula of az-Zugba and on the southern shore of the Bardawīl Lagoon, displays a great number of typologically

substantial differences from the surrounding dialects. The reason is obvious: they are considered a pariah tribe, and they do not intermarry with members of other tribes.

De Jong divides the dialects of the tribes into typologically different groups. Group I (Negev-type), which is typologically close to the dialects of the Ḍullām and the Aḥaywāt, consists of the dialects of the Rmēlāt, Sawārkah, and Biliy; the dialects of the Masāʿid and ʿAyāydah form a southern continuation of this group towards the west. The dialects of the Samāʿnah and ʿAgāyilah form Group II, typologically standing between Groups I and III; those of the Biyyāḍiyyah and Axārsah constitute Group III (*šarqāwiy*-type). The dialect of the Dawāgrah tribe (*Naḡdiy*-type) and that spoken in al-ʿArīš are treated as separate groups IV and V. The boundaries between the groups are indicated on the last map (no. 74) of the Appendix.

The greatest part of the book consists of detailed, well-structured descriptions of the above-mentioned groups: Group I, pp. 57–245; Group II, pp. 246–328; Group III, pp. 329–405; Group IV (*Dwēgriy*), pp. 406–488; Group V: al-ʿArīš with remarks on the dialect of Ġazzah, pp. 489–574. The descriptions are preceded by a thorough Introduction competently dealing with the historical, cultural and linguistic settings, research questions, fieldwork methodology, and presentation of the data.

The fieldwork was done during seven visits to the area in 1993–97; in all, 74 persons were interviewed, 25 of whom were over 50 years old, the total duration of the recordings rising to approximately 100 hours. Typical of the cultural context, only five women were interviewed, three of them in al-ʿArīš. Among the tribes, the Dawāgrah were an exception: they let de Jong, according to his own words (p. 20), interview whomever he pleased. In spite of this, in the detailed list of informants interviewed for the study, only one *Dwēgriyyah* can be found. In that dialect, de Jong did not notice “any great differences between the speech of women and that of men”.

The linguistic descriptions are technically admirably exact, and the documentation with its precision and abundance of well-selected examples is exemplary. One of the praiseworthy merits of the study – often completely missing in modern dialect descriptions – is its systematic integration into the wider context of Arabic dialectology; it fills substantial gaps in existing knowledge and with good judgment weighs the results of previous research against new information.

For a well-oriented reader, the clear and informative maps of 73 isoglosses serve as a fruitful starting point for a closer examination of points of special interest. Thus, the unmistakable Najdī character of the *Dwēgriy* dialect appears clearly; for instance, it has the resyllabication *CaCaCV* → *CCICV*: *zlimah*, *bšalah*, *ghawah*, *ḍrubat* (Map 17); it does not use the *b*-imperfect, as do all the neighbouring Bedouin dialects (Map 69); and it has the *ta-...-īn*, *ya-...-ūn*, and *ta-*

...-*ūn* morphemes in the imperfect 2nd p. f. sg., 3rd and 2nd p. m. pl., respectively (Map 54). Only a few isoglosses indicated on the maps separate it from the Najdi dialect type, e.g., *ánCaCaC*, *áCtaCaC*, *astaCCaC* (Maps 18, 62 and 63), as well as the use of the genitive exponent *šugl* (Map 29); also the lack of affricated reflexes of \**q* and \**k* can plausibly be attributed to the influence of the adjacent dialects. In a similar way, it becomes obvious that the dialect spoken in al-ʿArīš is not of Bedouin type. To be certain, it has several features in common with neighbouring Bedouin dialects, such as the voiced reflex *g* for \**q* and preference for the construct state instead of indirect annexation, but many of its features are of sedentary type, e.g., just to mention a few among the 73 criteria given by de Jong: lack of interdentalals; lack of the *gahawah* syndrome; treating the article as well as the first syllable of Forms VII and VIII in the perfect as not stressable units; the article *il-* and the relative pronoun *illi*; the pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *hadōl(a)*; the reflexive morpheme of Forms V and VI *it-*; the use of the split-morpheme negation *ma ...š(i)*; the future morpheme *ha-*; the use of *bidd*. Thus, the dialect of al-ʿArīš is of a mixed type, but historically it probably is a sedentary dialect influenced by neighbouring Bedouin dialects. Combining information found in Bergsträsser's *Sprachatlas* and Erkki Salonen's publications (1979 and 1980) on the dialect of Ġazzah, de Jong draws the conclusion that the dialect of that city most likely was of sedentary type before it acquired certain Bedouin characteristics.

Apart from the dialect of the Dawāġrah and that spoken in al-ʿArīš, the dialects spoken in northern Sinai constitute a continuum, forming the transition from a Negev-type of dialect to the sedentary type of dialect spoken in the eastern part of the Šarqīyyah province, first documented by Fahmi Abul-Fadl (1961) and later typologically well-illustrated in Peter Behnstedt's and Manfred Woidich's six-volume study *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte* (1985–99). De Jong then proceeds to the question about a wider North West Arabian dialect group, proposed by me in my article "Is there a North West Arabian Dialect Group?" in M. Forstner (ed.), *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer*, I (1991), pp. 151–166. He puts the question as follows: "To what extent can the bedouin dialects in Sinai be concluded to be a western branch of the Northwestern group of bedouin dialects proposed by Palva (1991)?" The relevant dialects among those investigated by de Jong are those constituting the above-mentioned continuum. He, however, wonders whether only the dialects of his Group I could be looked upon as part of the western branch of this Northwestern group (*NWA*), while the classification of Groups II and III in this respect would be more uncertain. Comparing then the Negev-type dialects with the dialect of the Ḥwēṭat tribe he, justifiably points to a number of typological differences, states that my conclusion that *Ḥwēṭiy* is part of the *NWA* group deserves reconsideration:

One should not exclude the possibility that *Ḥwēṭiy* shows these important similarities with *NWA*, because it was (and is?) influenced by *NWA* dialects, rather than originally being an *NWA* dialect itself, which acquired certain features reminiscent of the *Nağḏiy* (or North Arabian) type. If the dialect of the *Bani ‘Aṭīye* is indeed very similar to that of the *Ḥwēṭāt*, its typological classification should deserve the same caution. It may be that these dialects form part of the transition to yet another, possibly more *Nağḏiy* type of dialect. (p. 630)

De Jong's conclusions are based on many more criteria than those presented by me in my concise article, and I agree with him completely in many respects. Although I wrote in my paper about "a common, relatively homogeneous North West Arabian dialect type" (p. 154), my concept of this "type" did not imply the existence of a dialect group as homogeneous as de Jong seems to suppose. What I meant was to identify a dialect group comparable with, e.g., the North Arabian, Syro-Mesopotamian, and East Arabian Bedouin dialects, which in spite of noticeable differences between dialects belonging to these groups, are commonly used designations of "dialect groups", while the dialects referred to by me as the *NWA* dialect group previously had almost completely escaped all classifications.<sup>1</sup> Apart from many features which practically all the Bedouin dialects of this area have in common, they differ from all the Bedouin dialects of North Arabian origin in such typologically most prominent cases as the absence of *tanwīn* and its residues (outside poetical koiné), absence of affricated variants of /g/ and /k/, and absence of final /n/ in the imperfect, 2nd p. f. sg., 2nd p. m. pl., and 3rd p. m. pl.

Bearing in mind that the biggest tribes of the area in question, the *Ḥwēṭāt* and *Bani ‘Aṭīye*, historically may be regarded as two branches of one big local tribe whose habitat has, as long as is known, been Arabia Petraea and its surroundings, it is most improbable that the features shared by their dialects with what I would like to call the western branch of the *NWA* dialects are due to contacts with them. It is, of course, more or less self-evident that the dialects of the *Ḥwēṭāt* and *Bani ‘Aṭīye* have absorbed features from their neighbours in the north and northwest, while some other features can be attributed to the contacts of the two tribes with their Bedouin neighbours in the east and the south, i.e., speakers of dialects of North Arabian type, as well as with their Biluwi neighbours in the south. I believe, however, that the dialects of both the eastern and the western branches have a common origin of West Arabian (Hijazi) type, in contradistinction to the North Arabian (Najdi) type of Bedouin dialects. It has to be admitted that the question still remains open until much more information on the dialects spoken in

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. Hans-Rudolf Singer, "Der arabische Sprachraum" in Wolfdietrich Fischer & Otto Jastrow (Hrsg.), *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 20–38: "Von den Dialekten des Ḥiğāz ist nur die Mundart von Mekka näher bekannt. Davon abgesehen ist der gesamte Westen Saudi-Arabiens bis hinunter zum Jemen eine terra incognita, ein gewaltiges Gebiet, das die saudische Tihāma, den Ḥiğāz und ‘Asīr umfasst" (p. 25). In 1980, the whole *NWA* dialect area still was part of this large terra incognita in linguistic research.



northern Hijaz becomes available. In this respect, the last subchapter of de Jong's study (*Desiderata*, pp. 631–633) is very informative. The well-defined set of linguistic criteria produced by de Jong will hopefully serve as a tool fit for use in a closer definition not only of different sub-divisions among the western Negev-Sinai and the eastern Ḥwēṭāt & Bani 'Aṭīye branch of the *NWA* dialect group, but in the investigation of the linguistic situation in northern Hijaz as well.

To sum up, de Jong's study colours in a blank spot on the dialect map of Arabic and, as stated in its title, bridges the linguistic gap – or, a linguistic gap – between the eastern and western Arab world. The result of the painstaking research work is praiseworthy indeed: not only is the documentation convincing, but the study also provides effective tools for future investigations. It should be easily accessible both to researchers of Arabic linguistics and to postgraduate students. Parts of this book can also profitably be included in methodological courses arranged for postgraduate students specializing in Arabic linguistics.

HEIKKI PALVA

**David Ayalon**, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans. A Study of Power Relationships*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1999. xi + 376 pp. US\$ 38.00. ISBN 965-493-017-X (hardback).

Le livre dont il va être question dans les lignes suivantes est le dernier ouvrage de D. Ayalon. En effet, l'orientaliste israélien est décédé le 25-VI-1998 et son livre a été publié en 1999. A ce propos, il faut avertir le lecteur que les secondes épreuves n'avaient pu être révisées par D. Ayalon et il semble donc que les éditeurs ont eu en charge de vérifier, avec plus ou moins de bonheur, le texte définitif.

L'oeuvre représente, à n'en pas douter, un livre maître pour ce qui est du sujet central, c'est-à-dire le rôle joué par les eunuques au sein des institutions du pouvoir dans l'Orient musulman. Il faut d'ores et déjà relevé, comme de coutume chez l'orientaliste israélien, les nombreuses informations tirées des sources arabes notamment celles orientales. Afin de mieux comprendre le sens des critiques que nous formulerons et qui se veulent constructives, il nous a semblé indispensable de donner le plan détaillé du livre. Après une "Introduction" (p. 1–9) dans laquelle D. Ayalon expose, de manière quelque peu rude, ses intentions, suit la première partie, intitulée "General Considerations", composée de quatre chapitres qui sont les suivants: "The Eunuchs in Islam: Basic Characteristics" (p. 13–38), "Eunuchs and Mamlūks: The Eunuchs' Impact" (p. 39–60), "No Opposition to the Introduction of the Eunuchs" (p. 61–65) et "The Establishment of the Eunuch Institution in Islam" (p. 66–68). La deuxième partie, intitulée "The 'Abbāsīd

Caliphate in its Heyday”, est constituée des chapitres suivants: “The First ‘Abbāsids (up to Hārūn al-Rashīd)” (p. 71–79), “The Role of the Eunuchs in Hārūn al-Rashīd’s Reign (170–193/ 786–809)” (p. 80–95), “The Caliphal Relay Post and the Caliphal Insignia” (p. 96–103), “The Eunuchs and the Byzantine Frontier” (p. 104–127), “Al-Amīn: Hārūn al-Rashīd’s Continuator” (p. 128–135). La troisième et dernière partie, portant le titre de “The Later Period”, est construite à partir des chapitres suivants: “Some Remarks on the Fāṭimid Eunuchs” (p. 139–143), “The Seljuks” (p. 144–165), “The Zengids” (p. 166–174), “Ayyūbids and Mamlūks” (p. 175–194). La dernière partie est constituée par la “Conclusion” avec le sous-titre de “The Great Triangle” (p. 195–199). Nous avons ensuite un “Addendum” intitulé “The Earliest Contemporary Evidence for *Khādīm* in the Sense of Eunuch” (p. 200–203). Le livre est en outre composé de douze “Appendices”: “A. The Synonymy of *Khādīm* and *Khaṣī*” (p. 267–284), “B. Eunuchs Who Are Hard to Identify; Unidentified Eunuchs” (p. 285–288), “C. Names, Related Designations and Camouflage (Names of Eunuchs: The Eunuch Having a “Son”, a “Family”, and a “Father”)” (p. 289–295), “D. *Khadam* Who Might Be Non-Eunuchs” (p. 296–299), “E. Prices of Eunuchs; Age of Castration; Castration” (p. 300–315), “F. Sex, Romances and Marriages” (p. 316–325), “G. Eunuchs as Influential Educators and Arbiters (Some Instances)” (p. 326–329), “H. Functions and Occupations of the Eunuchs” (p. 330–338), “I. Eunuchs as Commanders (and Besiegers) of Fortresses (Supplementary Data)” (p. 339–344), “J. The Fāṭimids and the Exchange of Prisoners” (p. 345–346), “K. ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s Evidence on the Byzantines’ Attitude to Muslim Prisoners of War” (p. 347–348), “L. The *Ṣaqāliba*” (p. 349–352). Le livre se termine par une bibliographie générale des sources arabes et études modernes ainsi qu’un index général (p. 353–376).

Le lecteur averti et familier avec l’oeuvre de D. Ayalon aura compris qu’il s’agit en fait d’un livre basé en grande partie sur des publications antérieures relatives notamment aux eunuques, aux *mamlūk-s* et aux esclaves en Islam médiéval. Le principe de base de D. Ayalon consiste en l’application d’une méthode philologico-historique. A ce propos signalons qu’il avait rédigé un article peu avant son décès et intitulé “The Decisiveness of the Study of Terminology: The Case of the Mamlūk Sultanate”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23 (1999), p. 1–7 qu’il serait nécessaire de lire pour comprendre en profondeur les objectifs poursuivis par D. Ayalon. La question des sources arabes, au combien épineuse, doit en effet être considérée avec le plus grand soin. C’est ici que le problème commence et D. Ayalon ne se gêne pas pour régler des comptes, sans citer de noms, avec ceux qui n’auraient rien compris à la problématique relative aux eunuques et aux *Ṣaqāliba* (p. 3–4). Dans la première partie, consacrée à la mise en place de l’institution des eunuques en Islam, les développements et l’argumentation déployés à grand renfort de renvois aux

sources arabes obligent au respect. Cependant, il nous faut nuancer au moins un point parmi d'autres. Il s'agit de la question des niveaux hiérarchiques dans l'esclavage "officiel" en Islam. Il semble qu'il y a une nette différence entre l'esclave "juridiquement" reconnu, le *mawlā*, le *mamlūk* et l'eunuque (p. 24–27). Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, juriste et notaire andalousien du IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle, a bien expliqué les conditions juridico-légales des *ṣaqāliba* et des *mamālīk* dans l'Occident musulman (voir son *Kitāb al-waṭā'iq wa-l-siġillāt*, éd. P. Chalmeta & F. Corriente, Madrid 1983, p. 238–239, 254–255, 259–262, 265–267, 296–297 & 419–421). Dans ce même chapitre de l'ouvrage, relatif à la supposée non-opposition juridico-sociale dans l'introduction et l'"importation" d'eunuques, on constate avec surprise l'absence de références aux travaux pionniers de J. Jacobi, "Die Rāḍānīya", *Der Islam* 47 (1971), p. 252–264; T. Lewicki, "L'apport des sources arabes médiévales (X<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles) à la connaissance de l'Europe centrale et orientale", in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 12: *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo*, Spolète 1965, I, p. 461–485; O. Pritsak, "An Arabic Text on the Trade Route of the Corporation of ar-Rūs in the Second Half of the Ninth Century", *Folia Orientalia* 12 (1970), p. 241–259, "The Slavs and the Avars", in *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 30: *Gli Slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'alto medioevo*, Spolète 1983, p. 353–432 & "The Origin of the Name Rūs/Rus", in Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, G. Veinstein & S. E. Wimbush (eds.), *Passé Turco/Tatar-Présent Soviétique. Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, Paris 1986, p. 45–65; Ch. Verlinden, "La traite des esclaves. Un grand commerce international au X<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Études de civilisation médiévale (IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles). Mélanges Édmond-René Labande*, Poitiers 1974, p. 721–730. Nous sommes entièrement d'accord pour faire des eunuques dans l'Islam traditionnel, un élément fondamental dans l'éducation des élites politico-sociales et D. Ayalon a raison d'insister sur cette question. Au terme de cette première partie, il considère, à juste titre, que la dernière période du règne des Umayyades de Damas marquera la véritable entrée des eunuques dans l'histoire: "It was an Umayyad eunuch who was instrumental in passing over these insignia to the victorious 'Abbāsids" (p. 68). À l'arrivée au pouvoir des 'Abbāsides, les choses se consolident et on peut dès lors parler de véritable institution des eunuques notamment aux époques de Hārūn al-Rašīd (170–193/786–809) et d'al-Amīn (193–198/809–813), digne continuateur du précédent, en matière de recrutement d'eunuques au service palatino-administratif. D'ailleurs, il est vrai, ainsi que le montre D. Ayalon, que les eunuques étaient recrutés dans des postes stratégiques comme le *barīd*, les insignes souverains (*hātām al-hilāfa*, *burda* et *qaḍīb*) et présents lors des diverses *bay'a-s* 'abbāsides. Leur place était si importante que les califes 'abbāsides confièrent aux eunuques des postes et des missions importantes sur les frontières avec Byzance, principalement dans les zones de Ṭarsūs et Aḍana. L'une des missions les plus fameuses fut

celle qui consista en la libération échelonnée de prisonniers musulmans tombés aux mains des Byzantins entre 189/845 et 335/946 et qui nous a été transmise par al-Mas'ūdī (voir son *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, éd. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1894, p. 189–196). La dernière partie du livre est consacrée à l'élaboration d'un résumé historique sur le rôle des eunuques et des divers esclaves aux époques fātimide, salġūquide, zanġide, ayyūbide et mamlūke. Pour la période fātimide, il est curieux de voir que D. Ayalon n'a pas mis à profit les pages dédiées aux nombreux *Ṣaḡālība*, *hiṣyān* et *huddām* orientaux par Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn (ob. 872/1488) (voir son *Ta'rīḥ al-ḥulafā' al-fāṭimiyyīn bi-l-Maġrib. Al-qism al-ḥāmis min Kitāb 'Uyūn al-aḥbār*, éd. M. al-Ya'lawī, Bayrūt 1985, p. 187, 219, 237, 262–268, 351, 357, 416, 439–440, 497, etc.) ainsi que l'article classique d'I. Hrbek, "Die Slawen in Dienste der Fatimiden", *Archív Orientální* 21(4) (1953), p. 543–581. Il aurait été utile, croyons-nous, de prendre en compte le "classique" A. Bombaci, "The army of the Saljuqs of Rūm", *Annali dell'istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* 28 (1978), p. 343–369. Les pages relatives aux règnes zanġide et ayyūbide auraient pu bénéficier des deux études d'A.-M. Eddé, "Quelques institutions militaires ayyoubides", in U. Vermeulen & D. de Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in Fatimid, Ayyoubid and Mamluk Eras*, I, Leuven 1995, p. 163–174 et "Kurdes et Turcs dans l'armée ayyoubide de Syrie du Nord", in Y. Lev (ed.), *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*, Leiden 1997, p. 225–236. Quant à celles qu'il consacre aux Mamlūk-s, il est navrant de voir qu'il n'a pas tenu compte, par exemple, de l'étude de S. O. Murray, "Male homosexuality, inheritance rules and the status of woman in medieval Egypt: the case of the Mamlūks", in S. O. Murray & W. Roscoe (eds.), *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History and Literature*, New York 1997, p. 161–173 qui trace un tableau détaillé et original de l'homosexualité masculine d'époque mamlūke en relation avec des questions aussi importantes que les droits d'héritage et le statut de la femme. En ce qui concerne les sources arabes, il existe un texte contemporain de la période mamlūke qui aurait pu être utilisé afin de mieux cerner la question des *ġilmān* et *ḥadam*. Il s'agit du livre composé par 'Alā' l-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bahā'ī al-Dimašqī al-Ġuzūlī (ob. 612/1413) intitulé *Maṭāli' al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*, éd. du Caire, 1299/1982, I, p. 29–35: *al-bāb al-sādis fī l-ḥadam wa-l-dihlīz* & p. 236–257: *al-bāb al-tālī wa-l-išrūn fī l-ġilmān*. Avant d'aborder l'examen des "Appendices", voyons la conclusion générale qui résume donc la naissance, le développement et la fin/apogée de l'institution de l'esclavage par l'existence d'un "great triangle" composé de femmes, d'eunuques et de *mamlūk-s*. D. Ayalon considère que les eunuques constituaient le point central de ce système. Sur ce dernier point, nous sommes d'accord avec l'orientaliste israélien. Afin de confirmer et illustrer cette idée, nous aurions aimé voir quelques références au livre de F. Dachraoui, *Le Califat fatimide au Maghreb*, 296–362/909–973. *Histoire politique et institutions*, Tunis: Société Tunisienne de

Diffusion 1981, p. 367–370 qui avait mis, à juste titre, l'accent sur l'importance déjà ancienne des corps de fonctionnaires *Ṣaqāliba* dans le personnel politique fātimide en Ifrīqiya.

Les "Appendices" représentent une partie considérable du livre qu'il faudrait peut-être lire simultanément aux trois chapitres précédents. Le premier appendice reprend la problématique d'une question débattue par D. Ayalon avec A. Cheikh Moussa sur la synonymie (ou non) entre les termes *ḥādim* et *ḥaṣī*. Nous pensons que D. Ayalon commet une erreur d'appréciation de certains textes notamment pour ceux qui réfèrent à al-Andalus où nous n'avons pas rencontré de mentions susceptibles d'appuyer cette synonymie. Au moment d'aborder l'examen de *ḥadam* et *ḥidma*, il ne faudrait pas oublier que la *ḥidma* n'est pas seulement l'ensemble des prestations dûes aux "patrons" mais qu'il est aussi le service politico-administratif prêté aux souverains tant en Orient musulman que dans l'Occident musulman. La plupart des *ḥuddām* employés dans les structures politico-administratives de l'État umayyade de Cordoue, par exemple, n'avaient pas tous subi de castration (*ḥiṣā*). En tout cas, nous sommes convaincus que les *hadam al-ḥidma* cités par al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min guṣn al-raṭīb*, éd. I. 'Abbās, Bayrūt 1968, I, p. 567 et Ibn 'Idārī, *Kitāb al-Bayān al-muḡrib*, éd. G. S. Colin & É. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948–59, II, p. 232 constituent l'ensemble des "serviteurs non-eunuques" employés au service de l'État umayyade de Cordoue. Rien n'indique en effet que ces derniers aient eu à subir une quelconque opération de castration. D'ailleurs, il aurait été souhaitable, si tel était le désir de l'orientaliste israélien, de reprendre l'analyse systématique de toute la nomenclature des esclaves et eunuques: *ḥaṣī*, *maḡbūb*, *ṭawāṣī*, *ḡulām*, *ṣabī*, *fatā*, *ḥādim*, *ḥalīfa*, *ustād*, *waṣīf*, *mamlūk*, *fahl*, *ṣāhib*, etc. Nous pensons qu'il est plus juste de dire que la position de *ḥādim* renvoie non pas à une éventuelle émasculation mais au statut socio-professionnel de la personne ainsi appelée. *Ḥaṣī* doit, en revanche, être considéré comme étant l'eunuque "partiel". Toutefois, on devra reconnaître que pour certaines sources arabes utilisées par D. Ayalon, on rencontre des données fournissant une espèce de *curriculum vitae* (*Fulān al-ḥādim al-ḥaṣī*, *Fulān al-ḡulām al-ḥaṣī*, *Fulān al-fatā al-ḥaṣī*) des personnages étudiés et où l'on ne peut qu'admettre la validité de la position de l'orientaliste israélien. Les appendices B et C sont un véritable régal pour les amateurs d'onomastique et d'histoire sociale. C'est en maître que D. Ayalon retrace l'histoire de ces personnages "camouflés" sous certains types de noms pour ne pas apparaître comme eunuque (pour al-Andalus, nous nous permettons de renvoyer à notre "L'ononastique des personnages d'origine "slave" et "affranchie" en al-Andalus à l'époque califale (IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle): premières approximations documentaires", *Onoma* 31 (1992–93), p. 17–28). L'appendice D donne quelques exemples de personnages *ḥādim* et servant au *ḥadam* mais n'étant pas, selon le postulat de départ de D. Ayalon, eunuque. Dans l'appendice E, consacré à la castration et aux

prix des eunuques, il aurait été intéressant, pensons-nous, d'utiliser les travaux de E. K. Rowson, "The categorization of gender and sexual irregularity in Medieval Arabic vice lists", in J. Epstein & K. Straub (eds.), *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, New York 1991, p. 50–79 et F. Rosenthal, "Fiction and reality. Sources for the role of sex in Medieval Muslim society", in A. L. al-Sayyid-Marsot (ed.), *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam*, Malibu 1979, p. 3–22. L'appendice F est un moment passionnant car il traite de questions de société, à savoir la sexualité, le mariage et l'homosexualité. Malheureusement, il n'a pu bénéficier des réflexions et renseignements contenus dans les études de J. A. Bellamy, "Sex and society in Islamic popular literature", in A. L. al-Sayyid-Marsot (ed.), *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam*, Malibu 1979, p. 23–42; P. Sanders, "Gendering the ungendered body: Hermaphrodites in Medieval Islamic law", in N. Keddie & B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries of Sex and Gender*, New Haven 1991, p. 74–95 et F. Rosenthal, "Male and female: Described and compared", in J. W. Wright Jr. & E. K. Rowson (eds.), *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*, New York 1997, p. 55–86 qui auraient apporté de nombreux éclaircissements sur ces questions. Dans cette même direction, on regrettera également l'absence de l'article fondamental de H. al-Zayyāt, "Al-mar'a al-gulāmiyya fī l-Islām", *Al-Machriq* 50 (1956), p. 153–192 qui avait étudié le phénomène des femmes habillées avec des vêtements masculins et à l'allure érotique. Les appendices G, H et I dédiés au rôle des eunuques comme "educators, arbiters", fonctionnaires et commandants de forteresses posent quelques problèmes. Nous croyons, en effet, qu'il aurait été plus judicieux de nuancer l'une des charges évoquées: *mudabbir*. Ce dernier terme est aussi l'équivalent du haut-fonctionnaire "conseiller" politique des souverains. Il aurait été utile de mentionner les exemples de certains eunuques de l'Occident musulman qui étaient connus pour leur qualité de *mu'addib* ou "précepteur", autre forme d'"éducateur" spécialisé dans l'*adab*, le *bayān* et le *'ilm al-tarbiya*. Les eunuques, ou du moins les *ṣaqāliba* et les *fityān* au service de l'État umayyade de Cordoue, étaient responsables de charges bien plus importantes que ce que D. Ayalon nous présente pour l'Orient. Ils n'étaient pas seulement les "gardiens" du *bayt al-māl* mais ils avaient également des fonctions dans les structures de l'armée et la *ḥiḡāba* (nous nous permettons de renvoyer à notre *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade (II<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Helsinki 1999, p. 212–218). On reste cependant d'accord sur le principe de D. Ayalon pour dire que ces fonctionnaires qu'il appelle, malheureusement de façon erronée pour la plupart d'entre eux, eunuques, étaient bien détenteurs de postes de haut niveau dans la hiérarchie politico-administrative des États en Orient musulman. Et il en donne quelques illustrations avec le rôle que certains eunuques jouèrent comme commandants de forteresses notamment au moment où l'empire des 'Abbāsides

commence à se désintéresser sur son versant syrien. Les appendices J et K mettent à juste titre l'accent sur la vocation des eunuques dans les échanges de prisonniers entre Islam et Chrétienté surtout pour la période fāṭimide. Le dernier appendice est, nous semble-t-il, l'un des plus discutables. Basant partiellement son hypothèse sur une citation d'Ibn Ḥawqal qui aurait été mal interprétée par l'orientaliste néerlandais R. P. Dozy, D. Ayalon soutient avec ferveur que les *Ṣaqāliba* qui y sont mentionnés, sont bien des Slaves [d'Europe orientale] ! Nous croyons utile de reproduire le fragment d'Ibn Ḥawqal (*Ṣūrat al-ard*, éd. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938–38, p. 110): *Wa-l-niṣf al-šimālī yasbīhi* [bilād al-Ṣaqāliba] *al-Andalusiyyūn min ġihat Ġillīqiya wa-Ifranġa wa-Inkubarda wa-Qalūriya wa-bi-hādīhi l-diyār min sabyihim al-kaṭīr bāq*" *'alā ḥālihi* ou "Les habitants d'al-Andalus l'[pays des *Ṣaqāliba*] attaquent du côté de la Galice, du pays des Francs, de la Lombardie et de la Calabre, et y capturent des prisonniers; dans ces pays, nombreux sont les captifs qui restent tels qu'ils sont". Il est clair que ce que l'on détecte sous la plume du géographe arabe n'est autre qu'une allusion aux *Ṣaqāliba* possédant diverses origines comme celles qu'il mentionne: galicienne, franque, lombarde et calabraise. D. Ayalon est convaincu du bien-fondé de sa supposition et va même jusqu'à parler de "The *Ṣaqāliba* were neither Galicians, Franks, nor Lombards nor Calabrians. They were *Ṣaqāliba* pure and simple" (p. 350). Si l'on en croit les thèses de l'orientaliste israélien, pourquoi alors ne pas avoir pris la peine de nous expliquer qui sont très exactement ces *Ṣaqāliba*. Un autre point pose le problème de la présence des *Ṣaqāliba* au sein de l'aristocratie militaire musulmane. Comment peut-on mesurer le degré d'islamisation, voire d'arabisation de ces *Ṣaqāliba*, tant en Orient qu'en Occident ? La remise en question des réflexions de R. P. Dozy et de ceux qui l'ont suivi ainsi que l'analyse du passage litigieux d'Ibn Ḥawqal doivent être prises avec précaution. D. Ayalon ne tient pratiquement pas compte de la documentation occidentale, arabe et latine qu'il serait nécessaire de réexaminer avec soin avant de conclure comme il le fait de manière quelque peu hardie.

Au terme de la lecture de l'ouvrage de D. Ayalon, nous souhaiterions faire quelques réflexions et corrections. Si le livre est le résultat d'un long et patient travail auquel il nous faut rendre hommage, nous croyons qu'il pêche dans certains de ses développements pour ne pas avoir pris véritablement en compte le versant occidental de l'Islam médiéval. Cet aspect surprend le lecteur qui était habitué à des travaux frisant l'exhaustivité documentaire comme ceux qu'il réalisa sur le monde *mamlūk*. Mais D. Ayalon n'est pas le seul à s'être penché sur ces questions pour l'Orient et ensuite vouloir en faire un modèle valable et applicable au reste du *dār al-Islām*. Dans les ouvrages très suggestifs qu'ils ont écrit sur cette problématique, ni Patricia Crone, *Slaves on Horses. The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*, Cambridge 1980, ni Daniel Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam. The Genesis of a Military System*, New Haven 1981, n'ont véritablement intégré

les *Ṣaḡālība* d'al-Andalus, et plus amplement ceux de l'Occident musulman à leur réflexion, alors qu'ils auraient mérité de l'être. L'ouvrage de D. Ayalon servira, à n'en pas douter, de point de départ à d'autres recherches sur les phénomènes de l'esclavage, des *Ṣaḡālība* et le monde des eunuques en Islam médiéval.

Enfin, et sans rien enlever à l'intérêt du livre, nous nous permettons de corriger quelques imperfections typographiques: p. 217 *al-Muḡaddasī* au lieu d'*al-Muḡaddsī*; p. 225 *é* et *er* au lieu de *e* et *e*; p. 226 *requis* au lieu de *réquis*; p. 298 *al-Muḡaddasī* au lieu d'*al-Muḡadasī*; p. 309, note 33 *liquide* au lieu de *liquid*; p. 327 *li-ṣiḡhār* au lieu de *li-ṣiḡhar*; p. 330 *je voudrais* au lieu de *je voudrait* et *infidélité* au lieu d'*infidilité*; p. 333, note 10 D. Ayalon commet la même erreur de méthode qu'il reprochait aux arabisants et islamisants qui avaient suivi R. P. Dozy et son interprétation basée sur Ibn Ḥawqal. En effet, D. Ayalon suit É. Lévi-Provençal qui s'était lui-même trompé en qualifiant Ġa'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III *al-Nāṣirī al-Ṣaḡlabī* d'eunuque. Rien dans les textes arabes fournissant des informations sur ce haut-fonctionnaire ne dit qu'il était "castré" (nous nous permettons de renvoyer à notre *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade*, op. cit., p. 213–215); p. 335, note 13 il est exagéré de dire que "Note that the Spanish 'Arīb uses *fatā* for eunuch, the term common in that sense in Spain" car par exemple les *fityān* de l'administration umayyade de Cordoue n'étaient pas tous castrés (nous nous permettons de renvoyer à notre *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade*, op. cit., p. 195–196 et 202–204); p. 355 *Civilisation* au lieu de *Civilization*; p. 360 *âges* au lieu de *ages*.

MOHAMED MEOUAK

**Veronika Six**, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee, Teil 3: Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 20(3).)* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999. 508 pp. DM 240.00. ISBN 3-515-03035-2 (hardback).

This is the seventh volume of VOHD dedicated to Ethiopian manuscripts (15 and 20(1–6); cf. also VOHD-S 18), and with the appearance of this volume, the Ethiopian manuscripts in Germany are at last adequately catalogued through the efforts of the late Professor Ernst Hammerschmidt and Six herself.

As does Ethiopian literature in general, the manuscripts of the present collection, 207 in all, concentrate on religious literature, including many interesting magical prayers and incantations. Many of the manuscripts belong to the Dāḡā Estīfānos collection (nos. 1–71); the rest are new acquisitions, additions to



the earlier published catalogues as well as manuscripts from some (from the Ethiopian point of view) minor libraries in Germany. Especially numerous are the manuscripts from Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum and Museum für Völkerkunde), altogether more than one hundred manuscripts.

As all volumes of VOHD, the present volume is carefully edited. It contains one unicum, no. 66 III:4 (Vita of Abbā Yāsāy), unfortunately incomplete.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Suraiya Faroqhi**, *Approaching Ottoman History: an Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 262 pp. US\$ 59.95 / US\$ 24.95. ISBN 0-521-66168-4 (hardback) / 0-521-66648-1 (paperback).

Professor Suraiya Faroqhi's book meets a long-felt need. It is an introduction in general to the sources of Ottoman history be they archival or literary but it is also a vade mecum for those students about to embark upon their careers as Ottomanists.

This is a very personal book based on a long experience of teaching and research. In fact, it would be difficult to think of anyone better qualified to write such an introduction to the sources than Professor Faroqhi, with her seminal publications in, especially, the field of pre-modern Ottoman economic and social history, the present reviewer's favourite being her *Herrscher über Mekka. Die Geschichte der Pilgerfahrt* (1990).

The fact that this is a very personal and also subjective approach might be the book's strength, but whether it is appropriate for a general introduction to a complex discipline could, of course, be discussed.

As the Introduction tells us, the author hopes to share with her readers her fascination with Ottoman sources, both archival and literary, which have become accessible in growing numbers during the 1990s. One can only hope that the accessibility of the Middle Eastern archives and libraries has improved likewise; your reviewer had some unforgettable, rather negative, experiences in Egypt in the late 1960s and the 1970s and, for that matter, with Turkish collections in the late 1980s. Nevertheless, Professor Faroqhi's enthusiasm for Ottoman history is contagious.

The second chapter is appositely titled "Entering the field", taking us from the language and cultural skills needed to selecting a problématique and a topic. The following chapter takes us to the sources, i.e., how to locate the Ottoman sources in the archives and libraries. Also major archives outside of the former Ottoman territories are highlighted. Chapter four on rural life as reflected in

archival sources is perhaps a somewhat surprising subject in a Handbook like this, but, as mentioned above, this is a very personal approach.

The following chapter "European sources on Ottoman history: the travellers" was – at least for one not contemplating to take up the Ottoman studies – the most interesting in the book. As Professor Faroqhi admits, the information relayed by Venetian, English or French travellers and embassy personnel is so important that it cannot be neglected, even if biased. It was also a good idea to compare Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's (1605–1689) travelogue with the work of his exact contemporary and fellow Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi. This is naturally the chapter where one's personal preferences concerning what to include are open to discussion; nevertheless, Baron de Tott's *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares* should have been taken notice of. The would-be Ottomanist might also benefit from Rhoads Murphey's review article "Bigots or informed observers? A periodization of pre-colonial English and European writing on the Middle East", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110 (1990): 291–303. Also Professor M. E. Yapp's article "Europe in the Turkish mirror", *Past & Present* 137 (1992): 134–155, about how the European perception of the Ottoman state helped to shape the concept of Europe, belongs to this chapter. Considering the importance of Ogier Ghislen de Busbecq's *Turkish Letters*, it is a pity that the edition in English mentioned by Professor Faroqhi is an abbreviated one.

The last two chapters deal with historiography: chapter six on the rules of writing-*cum*-reading Ottoman historical works and chapter seven on perceptions of Empire, i.e., the Ottoman Empire seen through Ottoman and Western general histories. Professor Faroqhi's expressed wish is that Ottomanists might begin to have something to contribute to the understanding of world history. The Conclusion catalogues some further desiderata and takes a look at research topics which may be of interest to present and future scholars. It is, of course, quite impossible to enumerate all the "required readings" a would-be Ottomanist might benefit of; much depends on the problématique and topic chosen. Nevertheless, one recent complementary collective volume should be mentioned, not least because its subject is not covered by the book reviewed: Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll (eds.), *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire*, New York 2000, where the archaeology of the recent past is treated.

The book's chapters end with annotated "Suggested readings" with acute and to-the-point personal characterisations of the books in question. Some books are considered thought-provoking or required reading, some paradigm creators or "five-star" books. *Approaching Ottoman History* belongs certainly to the category "required reading" and it is not far away from a "five-star" mark.

**Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman & Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West. Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul.*** (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. xvi + 244 pp. £45.00. ISBN 0-521-64304-X (hardback).

L'ouvrage, qui va retenir notre attention ici, est consacré à Alep, Izmir et Istanbul à l'époque ottomane et il a été publié par E. Eldem, D. Goffman et B. Masters. Il représente sans nul doute un livre qui était attendu tant pour sa méthodologie que pour les informations qu'il contient. En effet, du fait de la durée de l'empire ottoman, de sa grandeur et de la diversité de ses composantes, on peut se demander s'il est permis de poser la question de l'existence d'une cité ottomane. Plusieurs facteurs de variété viennent aussitôt à l'esprit. Le monde ottoman commence à se former à partir du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et il survivra jusqu'au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les points communs qui se dégagent dans l'ensemble des villes du monde ottoman nous obligeraient, en principe, à la mise en place de deux démarches clairement définies par la recherche moderne: rechercher dans les fondements de la constitution de l'empire et les pratiques de l'État ottoman une influence sur la vie urbaine dans son ensemble, et comparer la ville ottomane, telle qu'elle se dégagerait de cet ensemble d'éléments partagés, avec une autre entité élaborée et discutée par la recherche historique, à savoir la "cité musulmane" en général.

Conçu comme une oeuvre collective et étant le fruit de plusieurs années de recherche, ce livre nous emmène dans l'univers de la ville ottomane. Mais au fait, est-il possible de parler de "ville ottomane" dans le sens où elle serait différente à d'autres types de villes occidentales et orientales ? Cette question, et bien d'autres, constitue la clé de voûte de l'ouvrage: "Was there an Ottoman city?" (p. 1-16) est le titre de l'introduction dans laquelle les auteurs vont s'efforcer de nous expliquer les caractères originaux, ou non, du phénomène urbain en contexte ottoman. L'idée d'avoir étudié les villes d'Alep, Izmir et Istanbul répond vraisemblablement à une problématique qui permet aux auteurs de poser plusieurs problèmes relatifs à la création de la ville "orientale": Alep serait la ville à mi-chemin entre les mondes arabo-musulman et ottoman, Izmir serait le prototype de la ville "moyenne" ottomane et Istanbul devrait être considérée comme la "mégapole" ottomane par excellence, au sens de la *cosmo-polis*. Une première chose attire notre attention à l'issue de la lecture de l'"Introduction". Il s'agit de l'absence de références à des travaux discutables mais intéressants comme ceux contenus dans l'ouvrage collectif dirigé par M. Haneda & T. Miura (eds.), *Islamic Urban Studies. Historical Review and Perspectives*, London 1994. Ce dernier livre, produit de la recherche japonaise, est, entre autres aspects, marqué par une critique des historiens-orientalistes pour avoir trop basé leur perspective sur les critères webériens et souvent comparé les villes islamiques avec les villes

européennes (cf. le compte-rendu de Kaj Öhrnberg dans *Acta Orientalia* 57 (1996), p. 201–204). L’“Introduction” du livre d’E. Eldem, D. Goffman et B. Masters tente de faire un bilan des études réalisées sur la ville arabo-islamique à partir de quelques exemples. Il semble que la référence principale du possible développement en Orient soit à mettre au compte de deux facteurs: le rôle des élites culturelles et la mise en place d’une économie de plus en plus structurée. Les auteurs n’oublient pas de signaler les diversités régionales pour ce qui est de l’urbanisation dans le monde ottoman et mettent justement en valeur le rôle joué par les minorités ethniques et religieuses dans la construction de la *polis* ottomane. Enfin, pour ce qui est de l’“Introduction”, on mettra en relief l’intérêt renfermé par l’un des postulats de départ qui consiste en une hypothèse à la fois simple et complexe: comment doit aborder l’étude des trois villes présentées ? Selon les modèles occidentaux, voire orientalistes ? Alep est-elle une cité plutôt “arabe”, Izmir, une ville “anatolienne” ? et que dire d’Istanbul, cette ville aux caractères “atypiques” car en même temps orientale, occidentale et musulmane ?

Le premier chapitre, intitulé “Aleppo: the Ottoman Empire’s caravan city” (p. 17–78) est consacré à une grande métropole syrienne qui a fait l’objet de nombreuses études par le passé tant de la part des historiens, des archéologues que des architectes. Après un rapide survol de géographie historique consacrée à mettre en place les parties centrales de son chapitre, B. Masters offre un aperçu intéressant de ce qu’était la ville d’Alep en plein XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. L’auteur insiste sur la relative ottomanisation (*hân-s/kervânsaray-s*, *timâr-s*) de la ville et met en évidence certains traits topographiques arabes. Pour ce qui est du monde arabe, il est à noter que les Ottomans ont introduit leur système de distributions des terres appelés *timâr-s* seulement en Palestine, en Syrie et partiellement en Irak. Dans un deuxième mouvement, nous pouvons lire quelques pages intéressantes sur la place importante d’Alep dans le commerce de la soie qui commença au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le commerce de la soie sera accompagné par la mise en place d’une nouvelle économie liée à la banque et au développement de relations commerciales avec l’Occident. Il est dommage que ce dernier chapitre n’ait pu bénéficier des études de S. Faroqhi, “Textile production in Rumeli and the Arab Provinces: Geographical distribution and internal trade (1560–1650)”, *Osmanli Arastirmalari* 1 (1980), p. 61–63 & “Camels, wagons, and the Ottoman State in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14 (1982), p. 523–539. C’est à partir du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle que la ville d’Alep va connaître quelques changements, directs et indirects, car la carte politique de la Méditerranée centro-occidentale connaît quelques bouleversements: l’expédition de Bonaparte en Égypte, la relative décadence du commerce et de la présence anglaise et la redistribution des pouvoirs économiques, politiques et sociaux entre les différents groupes qui conforment la région d’Alep. L’une des composantes de ce changement en matière de contrôle des pouvoirs, en l’occurrence celui

économique, serait, selon B. Masters, la montée des élites catholiques et juives sépharades sur lesquelles nous disposons d'une abondante base documentaire. Rappelons ici que la documentation relative aux questions socio-économiques est volumineuse car l'on dispose des données contenues dans les *siğill-s* en nombre significatif pour Alep. Les pages dédiées à la difficile transition à la modernité que connaît Alep dès le début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle sont pleines d'enseignements pour l'historien spécialiste de l'Orient contemporain. En effet, outre le fait que les remarques doivent être replacées dans un cadre plus ample, à l'échelle de toute la Méditerranée, il ne faudrait pas perdre de vue l'impact vécu par la difficile "modernisation" des pays arabo-musulmans face à la montée des puissances européennes, futures "empires" coloniaux. D'ailleurs, l'exemple est pertinent car cette ville abritait une mosaïque de religions, protagonistes de l'histoire de la cité et donc amenées à s'entendre entre elles ou s'affronter. Le problème semble être le même depuis près de deux siècles: dilemme entre passé et modernité. Mais qu'est-ce que la modernité version arabo-musulmane ? La question est très complexe pour que l'on puisse y répondre ici. Enfin, les dernières pages de la première partie sont consacrées au dernier siècle de la domination ottomane.

D. Goffman, auteur de la deuxième partie "Izmir: from village to colonial port city" (p. 79–134), nous propose de partir à la connaissance de la ville d'Izmir qui fut d'abord un gros village. Situait en premier lieu le site d'Izmir dans une sorte de résumé historique, l'auteur va développer plusieurs chapitres sur le passage de village à ville-portuaire classique. Les pages consacrées à l'histoire socio-économique d'Izmir turco-ottomane sont intéressantes et précises puisqu'elles permettent au non spécialiste de mieux cerner le rôle joué par celle-ci. Il semble que l'une des caractéristiques d'Izmir réside dans le fait qu'elle fut d'abord un centre urbain où bien des communautés religieuses et ethniques vécurent grâce au système classique du *millet*: musulmans, juifs, chrétiens, arabes, turcs, grecs, arméniens, etc. Dans les passages précédents, il aurait été souhaitable de voir cité l'étude détaillée de S. Faroqhi, "The development of the Anatolian urban network during the sixteenth century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 23 (1980), p. 265–303. De fait, D. Goffman l'a bien mis en relief, la ville est divisée en *mahalle-s* ou quartiers différenciés selon les habitants car la ville ottomane est marquée par son image pluri-ethnique. Elle rejoint sur ce point un trait de la ville musulmane en général, notamment au Moyen-Orient. La ségrégation se serait faite, semble-t-il, par quartier et dans ce sens, nous aurions aimé voir citer S. Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance. House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth Century Ankara and Kayseri*, Cambridge 1987 & G. Veinstein, "Une communauté ottomane: les juifs d'Avlonya (Valona) dans la deuxième moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", in G. Cozzi (ed.), *Gli Ebrei e Venezia, secoli XIV–XVIII*, Milano 1987, p. 781–828 dans lesquels ont été utilisés les documents de *siğill-s* et les *defter-s*. C'est sans doute à partir du début du

XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'Izmir commence son "décollage" économique avec l'arrivée massive de marchands provenant des zones atlantiques et méditerranéennes. Hollandais, français, anglais, arméniens et grecs se bousculent pour tirer profit de cette aubaine économique et des facilités de commerce. Mais le pouvoir central ottoman intervient pour tenter de mettre de l'ordre en procédant au rétablissement de l'une des principales structures sociales: *vakf-s*. Sur cet aspect crucial, on constate l'absence de références au livre de B. Yediyildiz, *Institution du waqf au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Turquie*, Ankara 1985. De la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les choses changent. En effet, une période difficile va commencer pour Izmir qui connaîtra plusieurs tragédies qui marquèrent profondément les mentalités comme le terrible tremblement de terre de juillet 1688 qui laissa des séquelles durant de nombreuses décennies, le grand incendie de 1742 et la peste qui dévasta la cité de 1757 à 1772. Selon D. Goffman, Izmir reste la ville aux "mille commerces" où les Européens doivent maintenant rivaliser avec les Ottomans pour la conquête des marchés commerciaux et pour le contrôle du commerce ouest-anatolien. Le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle marque à la fois la décadence économique de la ville et son nouvel essor vers d'autres horizons socio-culturels. Izmir tente son entrée dans le monde de la modernité avec notamment la présence de nombreux *clubs* culturels et sociétés privées où l'on discute et diffuse des journaux et revues. Quant au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, il annonce la fin d'une époque et aux dires de l'auteur, Izmir aurait bien vécu à mi-chemin entre deux mondes: musulman et chrétien sans entrer réellement dans l'orbite ottomane.

La dernière partie du livre est dédiée à "Istanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital" (p. 135–206). E. Eldem, en parfait connaisseur de la ville étudiée, pose comme principe de base la situation géographique de la future capitale économique de la Turquie moderne. Assise entre Orient et Occident, Istanbul se trouve à la croisée des chemins qui définiront les vicissitudes de son développement. L'auteur explique les caractéristiques qui mettent en relief Istanbul: pluralité ethnique et religieuse, capitale où se cotoient commerce et consommation, etc. De tout cela, va naître un haut-lieu de la finance et des affaires. Partagée et disputée par les Occidentaux et les Orientaux, Istanbul représente la ville où l'on fait du commerce mais aussi celle où de nouvelles techniques financières sont mises en place. Alors pourquoi ne pas le dire, Istanbul ne serait-elle pas également un laboratoire des techniques commerciales et financières ? Certainement si l'on en croit E. Eldem qui détecte, pour le début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la naissance d'une domination économique pour le cas d'Istanbul. Celle-ci s'appuie sur un vaste mouvement d'entreprises occidentales en quête de nouveaux horizons et débouchés pour ses produits manufacturés et aussi à des fins d'achats de produits de base à exporter en Occident. Entre rapports économiques et nouvelles données diplomatiques, Istanbul est au centre d'un important marché qui ne cesse d'attirer commerçants, financiers, diplomates,

aventuriers et autres individus. Si les XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles correspondent à une période de relative prospérité économique liée à un essor urbanistique et sociale en étroite relation avec les canons occidentaux, le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle est marqué, selon E. Eldem, par le processus de l'“agonie de l'occidentalisation”. Une fois de plus cette question doit être appréhendée à un niveau plus ample, celui de l'Orient arabo-musulman après la conquête de l'Égypte par Bonaparte en 1798. Une nouvelle carte géographique de l'Europe se dessine et les contours des Balkans, par exemple, sont en partie responsable de cette “agonie”. Les nationalismes surgissent et les hégémonies adverses sont bien présentes: la Russie et l'Europe luttent pour le contrôle des routes de commerce à l'aide d'une panoplie de méthodes qui donneront naissance aux premiers impérialismes géographico-économiques. À l'orée du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, Istanbul ne peut résister aux changements intervenus en Europe, notamment à la fin de la Première Guerre Mondiale qui voit, entre autres choses, l'effondrement définitif de l'Empire Ottoman. Peu de temps après, Ankara, futur capitale de la Turquie moderne, et le monde turco-anatolien déclarent une guerre d'intérêt à Istanbul considérée comme le site de la “dégénération et corruption” ainsi que le symbole de la Constantinople ottomane et donc capitale du passé.

Dans la conclusion intitulée “Contexts and characteristics”, les auteurs tentent de faire le résumé des questions posées et dont l'une des plus importantes était “Was there an Ottoman city?”. Nous sommes d'accord avec les auteurs pour mettre en relief les différences parfois importantes, entre Alep, Izmir et Istanbul. Chacune d'entre elles renferme des caractères à la fois “arabe”, “islamique” et “ottoman” avec en outre quelques éléments rappelant la ville occidentale. L'une des idées les plus brillantes du livre est de proposer une catégorisation des villes étudiées selon leur position géographique et ne pas vouloir faire systématiquement de celles-ci des villes soit “arabo-islamiques”, soit “ottomanes” sans prendre en considération les traits originaux et fondateurs d'Alep, Izmir et Istanbul. La méthodologie et le postulat de départ étaient intéressants car ils laissent la porte ouverte à d'autres études de ce genre qui prendraient en compte des questions relatives aux différences notables entre des villes situées dans le vaste cadre ottoman. Mais ces recherches devraient faire une plus grande place à l'explication et la critique des matériaux de l'histoire urbaine ottomane: chroniques, traités de *fiqh*, manuels de *hisba*, recueils de *fetva-s*, actes de fondation de *vakf-s*, *muhimme defter-s*, *siğill-s*, etc. À titre indicatif, et pour preuve que la recherche historique des phénomènes urbains est dynamique, précisons qu'au mois de mai 1996, un colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome et la Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme (Aix-en-Provence) avait réuni des chercheurs pour débattre diverses questions relatives aux “grandes villes”, “mégapoles”, “monstres urbains” dans le monde méditerranéen de l'Antiquité à la fin de l'époque moderne et selon les axes suivants: questions

türkisch-islamischen Grabdenkmäler und Moscheen in früheren Veröffentlichungen gesehen hat. Dieses Inventar ist sehr sorgfältig und einleuchtend zusammengesetzt.

Die ersten Moscheen wurden in Polen (in Lwow) schon im 14. Jh. und in Litauen im 15. Jh. gegründet. Dies bedeutet eine lange historische Entwicklung und beträchtliche geographische Ausbreitung der islamischen Kultur der polnisch-litauischen Tataren.

Einleitend präsentiert Andrzej Drozd kurz die Eigenheiten der Religionsform der polnisch-litauischen Tataren und beschreibt ihre Moscheen und Begräbnisstätten in historischer Perspektive. Ältere und neuere dokumentarische Photographien bieten dem Leser authentische Einblicke dar. Zwei vortreffliche Karten zeigen 70 zentrale Örtlichkeiten, deren islamische Charakteristik man auf den Seiten 26–29 näher analysiert.

Der eigentliche Katalogtext (S. 30–98) enthält 34 nummerierte Abschnitte, welche grössere geographische Areale behandeln, wobei die Moscheenbauten, Minbare und Begräbnisstätten ausführlich beschrieben sind. Eine Liste der relevanten Literatur und handschriftlichen Quellen (S. 99–100) schliesst den Text ab. Andrzej Drozd steht für den Text der meisten Abschnitte, bisweilen zusammen mit Marek M. Dziekan (S. 92 “Dzieka”) und/oder Tadeusz Majda.

Sehr interessant sind die Inschriften auf den Grabdenkmälern, wo konventionelle arabische Phrasen mit türkischen, polnischen, litauischen oder russischen Textabschnitten ziemlich frei gemischt vorkommen. Die Herausgeber haben sorgfältige Transkriptionen nebst Übersetzungen auf Polnisch und Noten erstellt. Dies alles ist sehr nützlich und musterhaft für ähnliche Projekte in anderen Ländern mit alten islamischen Minderheiten. Eine Zusammenfassung auf Englisch oder Deutsch wäre sehr behilflich gewesen – leider fehlt eine solche jetzt.

Das älteste Denkmal dieses Inventars (S. 35 / Ill. 79) ist aus Polen vom Jahre 1621 (od. 1626), das neueste (S. 38 / Ill. 83) aus Litauen vom Jahre 1984. In den Transkriptionen sind alle mit arabischer Schrift geschriebenen polnischen und litauischen Namen orthographisch normalisiert worden, z.B. Mustafa Szczucki, und nicht etwa *Muṣṭafā Ščučki* (S. 39 / Ill. 87).

Merkwürdigerweise kommt es bisweilen vor, dass das Wort *illā* aus der Phrase *lā ilāha illā Allāh* fehlt (z.B. S. 42 / Ill. 93 und S. 48 / Ill. 105), was die Bedeutung natürlich völlig ruiniert. Vielleicht waren die Steinmetze des Arabischen nicht kundig. – In Finnland kann man islamische Grabdenkmäler sehen, wo der finnische Sandbläser einige arabische Diakritika durch die Gummischablone einzublasen vergessen hat.

Transkriptionen aus dem Russischen zeigen gewisse Nachlässigkeiten. Meistens ist das abschliessende harte Zeichen (т) der alten Orthographie nicht berücksichtigt, was ja auch sonst unnötig ist, aber wenn es der Fall ist, ist es durch ein ähnliches hochgestelltes Komma (‘) bezeichnet wie das weiche Zeichen (т),



was natürlich nicht passt: z.B. korrekt *zdes'*, *Tal'kovskago* – obgleich das Komma gemäss dem ISO-Standard umgekehrt stehen sollte ('), vgl. *Lebed'* (S. 57 / Ill. 119). Formen wie *prach'*, *umer'*, *v'*, *let'*, sind im Text meistens ohne das überflüssige Komma für das harte Zeichen geschrieben. Falls man das harte Zeichen durchgehend berücksichtigen wollte, sollte man es lieber durch ein Doppelkomma bezeichnen ("), also *prach"*, *umer"*, *v"*, *let"*.

Einige fehlerhafte Transkriptionen kommen vor, z.B. *Merema pro Mer'ema* (S.43 / Ill. 96); *okt[obra]* (S. 47 / Ill. 102) pro *okt[jabrja]* (korrekt auf S. 57 / Ill. 119); *Galicji pro Galicii, kolliežškago* (S. 63 / Ill. 134) pro *kolležškago*; *Chadidža* (ibid.) pro *Chadyža*. Emphatische Konsonanten sind nicht systematisch durch Diakritika bezeichnet, z.B. *Banī Mustaf* (S. 78 / Ill. 158) pro *Banī Muštaf* (öfters auch *Mustafa pro Muštafā*); *eylesin pro eylešin* (sic!); *duši* (S. 85 / Ill. 171) pro *duše*; *Mir ot' ljubjaščich* (S. 85 / Ill. 169) pro *Mir ot ljubjaščich*; *Emilja* (S. 86 / Ill. 172) pro *Emilija*.

Es ist zu bedauern, dass einige Inschriften so fotografiert sind, dass es praktisch unmöglich ist, den Text zu lesen (z.B. Ill. 169 u. 176).

Viele der Verstorbenen sind Militärpersonen mit hohen Offiziersrängen, was vielleicht bedeutet, dass die Grabdenkmäler von Dignitären sorgfältiger gemacht und daher erhalten sind. Einige Beispiele:

- General der russ. Armee **Zachariasz Kieński** (1795–1857) – S. 95 / Ill. 195.
- Generalleutnant der russ. Armee **Konstanty syn Eljasza Kryczyński Murza Najmański** (1847–1924), seine Frau heisst **Marja Konstantinowa Najman Mirza Kryczyńska** (1862–1932) – S. 46 / Ill. 99.
- Generalmajor der russ. Armee **Aleksander syn Jana Maluszycki Ułan** (1845–1920) – S. 48 / Ill. 105.
- Generalmajor **Mustafa Murza Baranowski** (gest. 1800) – S. 82 / Ill. 164.
- Oberst **Murza (?) Korycki** (gest. 1704) – S. 93 / Ill. 189.
- Major **Jachia Bielak** (gest. 1791) – S. 90 / Ill. 180.
- Major der russ. Armee **Jan Okmiński** (gest. 1873) – S. 91 / Ill. 186.
- Kapitän der poln. Armee **Jan syn Mustafy Bazarewski** (1773–1855) – S. 54 / Ill. 114.
- Kapitän der poln. Armee, **Bekir Bielak** (1794–1860), Sohn eines Generalleutnants (S. 91 / Ill. 183).
- Rittmeister **Ibrahim (Abraham?) Azulewicz** (gest. 1789) – S. 90 / Ill. 179.
- Sergeant **Aleksander Hózman Mirza Sulkiewicz** (1867–1916) – S. 96 / Ill. 196.

Zum Vergleich ein paar Worte über die Verhältnisse in Finnland. In Januar 1577, während des 25jährigen Krieges, überfielen 1200 tatarische Reiter unter russischem Befehl die Küstenregion Nylands, obgleich Finnland damals unter Sonderfrieden gestellt war. Als einige Gesandte von Gazi Girei II. im Februar 1588 von Gdansk nach Stockholm gekommen waren, wurden sie von König

Johann durch Finnland und Estland zurück nach Polen geschickt. Im Jahre 1606 fuhr eine Delegation des Khans von Krim gerade durch Finnland zu Karl IX. Ende Januar waren diese Tataren in Wiborg. Sie wurden sogar als Fürsten titulierte und sie sagten, dass sie heimlich zu Unterhandlungen gekommen waren, ohne dass ihr Feind, der Zar, davon wusste. Solche Delegationen von der Krim reisten im Land umher wieder 1629 und 1632.

Während des Grossen Nordischen Krieges litt Finnland in den Jahren 1709–21 unter dem sogenannten Grossen Unfrieden. Mit russischen Truppen kamen damals viele Tataren, Baschkiren und sogar Kalmücken nach Finnland. Die Grausamkeiten dieser Periode, verstrickt mit alten osteuropäischen Kynokephalen-Geschichten, erzeugten farbvolle halbmythische folkloristische Vorstellungen, die viel mit der Vampyren-Tradition gemeinsam haben. Während des Kleinen Unfriedens (1742–43) kamen die Fremden zurück, aber die Erinnerungen sind viel menschlicher und ohne übertreibende Kriegspropaganda. In der Folge des Finnischen Krieges 1808–09 kam Finnland völlig unter russische Herrschaft für beinahe 110 Jahren. Das bedeutete u.a., dass russische Truppenabteilungen in Finnland stationiert wurden. Die ethnische Zusammensetzung dieser Truppen war bunt. Neben Russen, Ukrainier, Weissrussen, Polen, Esten und Balten enthielten sie auch Tataren, Baschkiren, Kazaken und einige Kaukasier und Kalmücken. Zum Beispiel in der Festung Sveaborg auf den Inseln vor Helsinki dienten in den Jahren 1812–36 insgesamt 122 Muslimsoldaten, meist Tataren und Baschkiren.

Die im russischen Militärhospital in Helsinki oder in jenem in Sveaborg gestorbenen Muslime wurden auf dem damals noch unoffiziellen islamischen Begräbnisplatz in Sandudd begraben. Dieser Platz wurde i.J. 1871 erweitert und offiziell bestätigt. Es gibt dort aber keine Grabdenkmäler aus dem 19. Jahrhundert. Das älteste Denkmal ist vom Jahre 1916 (das des Kosaken **Gafur Kangačlin** vom 5. Sotnja des 8. Orenburgischen Kosakenregimentes). Ein anderes gehört zu dem "provisorisch begrabenen" persischen Prinzen und General **Akber-Mirza Kadžar** (1854–1919). Muslimsoldaten kehrten gewöhnlich zurück nach Russland nach abgeschlossenem Dienst, dagegen versuchten die meisten jüdischen Soldaten in Finnland zu bleiben.

In den 1870er Jahren begannen umherziehende mischärtatarische Kaufleute von den Gouvernements Nižnij Novgorod (Bezirk Sergač) und Simbirsk durch St. Petersburg nach Finnland zu kommen. Sie etablierten sich allmählich und holten auch ihre Familien hierher. Heutzutage beträgt die Anzahl der Mischärtataren in Finnland ungefähr 800–900 Individuen. Ihre Verstorbenen wurden in Helsinki auf dem genannten islamischen Militärbegräbnisplatz begraben und in anderen Städten auf ihren eigenen Begräbnisplätzen, die immer neben dem jüdischen Friedhof lagen. Manche Familien wurden vermögend, und demgemäss sind ihre Grabdenkmäler auch oft sehr prachtvoll mit vergoldeten Inschriften auf

Arabisch und Türkisch (bzw. Tatarisch). Alle bewahrten Denkmäler sind jedoch erst aus der Zeit der finnischen Selbständigkeit.

Auf dem verhältnismässig grossen islamischen Friedhof aus den Jahren 1830–54 auf Prästö (neben der Festung Bomarsund zu Skarpan) in den Ålandsinseln gibt es keine Denkmäler. Es ist unsicher, ob dort überhaupt Gräber gewesen sind.

Die einzige freistehende Moschee (*māčēt*) in Finnland befindet sich in Järvenpää. Sie wurde i.J. 1943 gebaut. Äusserlich gleicht sie etwa jenen auf den Aufnahmen Nr. 282 und 296 in dem zu besprechenden Buch.

HARRY HALÉN

**Nasrollah Pourjavadi & Nosratollah Rastegar** (eds.), *Zafarnāma von Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī und Šāhnāma von Abu'l-Qāsim Firdausī* (editorisch bearbeitet von Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī), I–II. Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift der British Library (Or. 2833). Teheran: Iran University Press; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1377/1999. 17 + 19 + 1580 pp. ISBN 3-7001-2770-7 (hardback).

Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī has for a long time been known especially for his *Ta'rikh-i guzīda*. Now his *Zafarnāma* is made accessible for scholars in a facsimile edition of MS British Library Or. 2833, the oldest (copied in 807/1405) of the three extant manuscripts.

*Zafarnāma* is a versified work of history, following the model of *Šāhnāma*, and consisting of some 75,000 *mutaqārib* verses. The text is in three parts. The first part (with its 25,000 verses) is entitled *islāmī* by Ḥamdallāh, as it concentrates on the history of the Arabs. The second part, *aḥkāmī* (20,000 verses), contains the history of the Persians (*‘ajam*), and the final, third part, *sultānī* (30,000) is dedicated to the Moghuls.

The main source for the work was the *Jāmi‘ at-tawārikh* (for an explicit acknowledgement, see p. 1415), written by the master of Ḥamdallāh, the famous vizier Rashīdaddīn Faḍlallāh, which has been supplemented by Ḥamdallāh from other sources, as well as from his own personal experiences. The work was completed in 735/1335.

Although heavily dependent on Rashīdaddīn's *Jāmi‘*, the work is still valuable as an additional source for the history of the 8th/14th century, and the present facsimile edition is most welcome to historians who earlier have been able to use only the unpublished dissertation of L. J. Ward (*The Zafar-Nāmah of Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī and the Il-khān Dynasty of Iran*, I–III, University of Manchester, 1983), itself very little known and used.

In addition to this text, the facsimile contains in its margins a 60,000-verse “edition” of the *Šāhnāma* by Ḥamdallāh, which has not been used in the critical editions of the *Šāhnāma*.

The edition contains a short introduction by Rastegar in German and Persian.

The facsimile itself is readable, although not as clear as one might have wished. It is also to be regretted that pagination has been substituted for the numbering of the folios (779 in all) of the original manuscript. It goes without saying, though, that the pagination is relatively easy to change in one’s mind back to the original numbering of the folios.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Ulrich Marzolph**, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 1: Der Nahen und Mittleren Osten, 60; Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Near and Middle East, 60.) Leiden: Brill, 2001. xii + 302 pp. US\$ 101.00. ISBN 90-04-12100-5 (hardback).

After his *Dāstānhā-ye šīrīn. Fünfzig persische Volksbüchlein* (Wiesbaden 1994), Marzolph continues his studies on Persian popular books with the present volume, which concentrates on the illustrations of Qajar lithographed books.

The book consists of three parts. In the first (pp. 1–64), Marzolph expertly studies the lithographic illustrations from his viewpoint as a folklorist, giving considerable attention to the artists who drew these illustrations. The second, and largest, part consists of reproductions of more than 300 illustrations and their legends (pp. 65–229). The last part lists the sources of the study with several useful indices (pp. 230–294) and is simultaneously an important contribution to the history of popular literature in the era.

The illustrations themselves show clearly how lithographic illustration partly drew on older manuscript illustration, but it soon developed a tradition of its own. The continuous tradition and its conventions are clearly to be seen in the illustrations. Thus, the beheading scenes in Figure 117 hardly leave much doubt as to the mutual interdependence of the illustrations.

The same illustrations, on the other hand, also show the limits of the art of lithographical illustration; the same artist (Mirzā ‘Ali-Qoli Khu’i, see pp. 31–34 for more information) is seen repeating himself in three different books, offering virtually the same illustration for three different stories. Mirzā ‘Ali-Qoli Khu’i is, in fact, one of the best illustrators of the period, and certainly the most prolific, and Marzolph has a very high opinion of him (p. 31). Yet, one has a feeling that, from an artistic point of view, Marzolph is perhaps somewhat overdoing his case:

many of the illustrations do have a charm of their own but they still remain far behind the best manuscript illustrations.

With the present book, Marzolph has, yet again, made an important contribution to the field of Persian popular books. Before the present volume, there was little to be found in Western languages (Russian apart, see the works of Shcheglova, cited on p. xi, note 9) about the illustrations of these books. There is no doubt that the present book will long remain a standard reference not only for the illustrations but also for the popular books in general.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Rudolph P. Mathee**, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver 1600–1730*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. xxi + 290 pp. £40.00 / US\$ 64.95. ISBN 0-521-64131-4 (hardback).

Silk was the most valuable export product in Safavid Iran and, as such, an important source of revenue for the state. Rudolph Mathee shows how the lucrative silk trade reflected political developments in the Safavid state and successfully argues that there was, indeed, a very close link between commerce and the politics of the royal court. In his study, Dr. Mathee uses not only Dutch, British and French archival sources but also Russian, Spanish, and Swedish documents relevant to the Safavid silk trade. He is able to document that, contrary to generally held views, the maritime routes controlled by the European companies had only limited influence on silk transportation and that, instead of declining, the overland routes through Ottoman territories actually remained active and, to some extent, their vitality even increased.

The economic activities of the Safavid shahs raise the question whether their actions constituted comprehensive economic policies and whether Shah Abbas in particular could be characterized as a mercantilist ruler. Drawing on Michael Mann's adaptations of Weberian theories, Dr. Mathee sees the shahs as military rulers, whose main concern was the protection of their realm. The motives behind the shahs' and their viziers' active involvement in the economy were the need of revenues to support the vital functions of the state and to enhance their personal power. Although Shah Abbas in particular made conscious efforts to increase royal revenues by investing in economic improvements, he did not view the economy as an independent area that operated under its own laws. Shah Abbas' actions may have resembled those of a mercantilist, but his ideology was still traditional without clear distinctions between gift-giving and investment or diplomacy and trade. There was no notion of a "national" economy, and the state and

the merchants did not consider their relationship as mutually reinforcing, but on the contrary the state saw the merchants as sources of income and the merchants viewed the paid revenues as a loss. However, the results of Shah Abbas' economic decisions prove that a strong central state, even with traditional tributary views on the economy, is able to encourage trade and other economic activities as long as it does not resort to abusive taxation.

Dr. Matthee's study is interesting and very refreshing in that it does not share the dominant but rather simplistic scholarly views of Muslim rulers as either negligent or predatory in their approach to the economy, but, instead, provides a nuanced and well-argued analysis of the complex and changing relationship between the Safavid state and trade.

IRMELI PERHO

**Charles Melville** (ed.), *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies Held in Cambridge, 11th to 15th September 1995*, II. *Medieval and Modern Persian Studies*. (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 17.) Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1999. xi + 433 pp. Eur. 68.00. ISBN 3-89500-104-X (hardback).

This is a compiled work presenting the articles contributed to the conference held in Cambridge in September 1995. Although several years have since elapsed, it is probably not too late to comment upon the achievement, in particular since it has only recently appeared in published form.

The volume is subdivided in five sections comprising altogether 34 papers. These sections are 1) Linguistic studies, 2) Literary studies, 3) Religion and religious literature, 4) History, and 5) Art and architecture. It almost goes without saying that each of these fields would require many volumes to be adequately treated, and it is of course only possible in a single volume as this to cast light on certain aspects out of the many constituting these branches, and those inasmuch as they touch upon each contributor's especial interest. But the volume is arranged very meetly so as to present many interesting and new ideas that deserve to be transmitted to as wide an expert public as possible.

The papers treated in this recension are: 1) Nosratollah Rastegar, *Abschlußbericht über das Neupersische Personennamenbuch: Zur Erstellung der Namenslemmata*; 2) Manfred Lorenz, *Partikeln in der modernen Tadschikischen Sprache*; 3) J. T. P. de Bruijn, *The name of the poet in classical Persian poetry*; 4) Shomeis Sharik-Amin, "Den Wert der Rose erkennt nur die Nachtigall". *Seelen-verwandtschaft bei Hafiz und Goethe*; and 5) Gabrielle van den Berg, *Examples of Persian and Shughni poetry from Tajik Badakhshan*.

The scope of these articles is wide and since I am not competent enough to assess the details presented in them, it is to be noted that the following remarks concern such features in them only that have especially drawn my attention.

1. The first paper deals with the *Personennamenbuch* (NpPNB) and the method adopted in constructing it. The book contains proper names collated from the main epic authorities, such as Šahnâme, Vis o Râmin, Hæft Peikær, Ĥosro o Širin and so on, altogether 1352 names. This is in itself an appreciable achievement, especially as such an accessory has long been absent after the *Namenbuch* of Ferdinand Justi, which is completely dated and unserviceable today. But from the paper emerge the following decisive problems that in my opinion considerably lessen the usefulness of the new book.

The author stresses the idea that there are several variant forms of the names in different manuscripts. He is now of the opinion that it is very difficult to tell these forms apart, and to find out the original form behind them. Thus he gives one name from Šahnâme as an example of this circumstance, a name with five variant forms, as follows: پرتہ برهہ برنہ برتہ بوتہ with variant vocalizations. Now, this is of course a case of normal confusion in the old manuscripts due to the close resemblance between certain letters. This is not the case when a name is given in the texts as Ave, Yave, Save, Kave, and Mave. In the latter case there must be different traditions underlying the epic narrative. Therefore such names are "als separate Lemmata registriert", which is of course the only procedure to be recommended. But what is to be done with the names of the first group? The reason for the author's perplexity when confronted with this feature is brought to light by these statements: "Die etymologische Deutung der Lemmata wird *später*<sup>2</sup> in einem gesonderten Band erfolgen", and "immer noch liegen keine ausreichenden etymologischen Vorarbeiten auf dem Gebiet der neu-persischen Namenforschung vor". *Quousque tandem, Nosratollah?* It should be clear already in the present day that for all the busying about with such a material as these names are, the unescapable presupposition must in every case be thorough, preliminary etymological work. How could one ever hope to see through the bewildering chaos of the attested forms without any idea of their possible or probable meanings? Thus an etymological analysis must be attempted at the outset, not *später* as the author believes to be well possible. If no *Vorarbeiten* are available, these must be created. As the author of a similar book on personal names<sup>3</sup> I was first confronted with the problem of the meaning of the names on the Aramaic bowls. Although their number is only about one fifth of those in the NpPNB, and they are not attested with such ambiguity, nevertheless

<sup>2</sup> Italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> *The Iranian Nomenclature of the Aramaic Magic Bowls*. Unpublished.

the application of the Aramaic script renders them hard of understanding. Add to this the fact that several of these names are not attested in other sources – previous or later – and it must emerge that the etymological groundwork is the best and only hope of gaining any results on this field. Without it I could not have even read the names out of the consonantal skeletons! And a similar problem is now to be seen with NpPNB.

As such, the new volume on Persian proper names can only serve as a catalogue of the names in the epic texts. While it is probably not without some value, it must suffer from the exclusion of any attempt to understand the names. Mere lists and catalogues cannot satisfy inquisitive minds. But as the author, having stated that he does not know how to read those early names, then goes on to give *Belehrungen* to the effect that the Persian alphabet does not mark the short vowels, or that the old vowels /e:/ and /o:/ have later coalesced with /i/ and /u/, I must admit that I am afraid that he cannot understand anything at all. Is it really too much to ask that the scientific projects be conducted only by people properly qualified for the task? Being an Iranian does not as such render any one as a specialist of all things Iranian.

2. The paper by Manfred Lorenz deals with certain particles that are frequently used in colloquial speech. The author concentrates on the Tajik<sup>4</sup> language, but this feature is of course familiar from Greek to Avesta; in fact, it is hard to imagine a colloquial speech act without the use of such context particles indicating the “Vielzahl von emotionalen Feinheiten”, as the author puts it. In Avestan such particles abound, as *bā* in *mānayən bā* ‘you could have thought indeed’, *azəm bā* ‘I indeed’, *bōit* in *narəm bōit ašavanəm* ‘only the true believer’, *ī* in *cipra ī hudāṅhe* ‘thus they are clear for the adept’ and so forth.

The author gives examples of eight such particles. One of them is the common *ke* or *-ku*, in Farsi used to emphasize the preceding word, as in *mæn ke nemi-dānəm* ‘how should I know!’, *hæme ke mesl e to bi-ælaqe nistænd* ‘surely everybody is not so indifferent as you’,<sup>5</sup> in *kar ke kar e gædajân e bi-kæs-o-ku æst* ‘surely this is a case of begging vagabonds’.<sup>6</sup> The author is of the opinion that the particle *ke* is a different word from the conjunction *ke* ‘that’. But I would not consider its derivation from the relative *ke* ‘which’ impossible. It then resembles the construction *it is I who ...*, *it is everybody that is not ...*, *it is this case that is the case of beggars ...*, with the same truncated prior element as is found in Celtic languages, too: e.g. in Cornish *leth a werthons* ‘[it is] milk that they sell’, *pub dydh y hwerthons leth* ‘[it is] every day that they sell milk’. Here the relative

<sup>4</sup> As I am not a specialist for this language, I will mainly quote examples from Farsi.

<sup>5</sup> The author’s example.

<sup>6</sup> The author’s example in Farsi.



pronouns *a* (nominative and accusative) and *y* (adverbial) to a certain degree correspond to *ke* in Farsi or Tajik: *šir ke mi-forušænd* 'surely they sell milk', *hær ruz ke šir mi-forušænd* 'surely they sell milk every day'. Thus it could be possible to see the origin of this particle in the relative pronoun.

Another particle in Tajik is *-diya*, that may correspond to the *dige* in Farsi. But their usage seems to be different in both languages. In Farsi *dige* is very frequent in negative sentences, as *dige nemi-ajæd* 'he is not coming any more', *u dige bæce nîst* 'he is no more a child'. But in Tajik the particle is used in affirmative sentences to give the idea "it is just": *taqdir hamin budaast-diya* 'the destiny is just so'. Could it be possible to say in Farsi: *\*tæqdir hæmin bude-æst dige*? It sounds odd to my ears.

Certainly much could be done in this field of Iranian grammar. Such little words as these particles are often regarded as insignificant by the grammarians, although they are an integral part of the idioms themselves. The author has drawn attention to this neglected point, and he notes poignantly: "Bestimmt wird aber eine eingehendere Untersuchung der Funktion von [solchen] Wörtern von großem Nutzen sein". It is to be hoped that in the future more attention could be paid on such minute details of the grammar of Iranian languages. They might also give some information of the history of these languages.

3. The paper "The Name of the Poet in Classical Persian Poetry" by J. T. P. de Bruijn draws attention to an important point in dealing with the Classical Persian poetry. The *tæħællos* to be selected by the (aspiring) poet can reveal something about his attitudes and aspirations, but is in most cases to be interpreted in terms of the classical Persian poetic traditions. Thus such sobriquets as *Fegâni* "Given to complaining" (of course complaining about lost love), *Æsir* "Captive" (of the beloved's heart) or *Bidel* "one who has lost his heart" all contain allusions to the thematics of classical poetry.

But the author points out that in the Middle Ages it was customary to derive the pen name from the patron's name, so that the pen name was regarded as *læqæb* or a honorific title. Besides these two basic sources for the sobriquets there are others such as those referring to a profession (*Ættar*), or an acquired skill (*Hafez*). The poets delighted especially in creating associations between different ideas hinted at by their pen names; thus the name *Ĝâmi* was originally only derived from the district where the poet was coming, "but the association with *ĝâm* 'the goblet' created many opportunities for meaningful puns" as the author states.

The author shows very elaborately that the use of these sobriquets was originally a means of getting on from the lyrical prologue of a *qæside* or panegyric poem to its main point, praise for the poet's patron. For this is the original meaning of the word *tæħællos*. Thus after lengthy digressions the poet could pass

on to the eulogistic part like this: *Rudæki-ja, bæ r næværd mædh e hæme hælq, mædhæt e u guj o mohr e doulæt bestân* ‘O Rudæki, leave aside all praise for other mortals, praise only him [the patron], and seize the seal of fortune’. This device is attested in other types of poetry as well, such as *ğæzæls* and *mæsnævi*, the lyrical and didactic poetry. From this special usage arose later on the more modern meaning of *tæhællos* as the crucial part of this encomiastic device. According to the author this latter sense (the introduction by the encomiast of his own name in the eulogy) is met with in the 18th century.

4. The fourth paper discussed “Den Wert der Rose erkennt nur die Nachtigall, Seelenverwandtschaft bei Hafez und Goethe” by Shomeis Sharik-Amin, concentrates on the inspiration given to Goethe by Hafez, the celebrated Iranian mystical poet. The author shows in the very fluently written and readable article how the first German translation of Hafez’ *Divân* in 1813 greatly appealed to Goethe, and how this led to the creation of the celebrated collection of poems, the *West-östlicher Divan*. According to the author, this work arose as a kind of dialogue between Goethe and Hafez as a result of Goethe’s reading the *ğæzæls* and writing responses to them, as it were. In this process many words and quotations taken from Hafez found their way into Goethe’s text, of course in the form given to them by Joseph von Hammer, the translator. As pointed out by the author, this was the method that had already been adopted by the Iranian poet when composing his odes; thus the celebrated poem ‘*Ešq asân nomud ævvæl*’ begins and closes with quotations from some previous poet, written in Arabic. In Goethe’s work, even many Oriental concepts are reproduced as such, so, for instance, the rose (*gol*) and moonface (*mahru*) represent a beauty, the well of *Hezr* represents the fountain of the everlasting youth, and the dust (*hak*) represents the transitoriness of human life. But the main theme of the author is again to show that the translators (from von Hammer onwards) have not properly understood the text of Hafez. Representing those rare people who have this understanding the author goes on to enumerate the prerequisites of the true connoisseurs of Hafez’ texts:

um diesen Wunsch zu erfüllen, ist man zunächst auf ausgezeichnete Sprachkenntnisse angewiesen, danach muß man wenigstens die Literaturgeschichte bis Hafiz’ Zeit beherrschen, mit den Werken seiner Zeitgenossen vertraut sein und die volkstümlichen Sitten und Bräuche sowie die damalige Umgangssprache [and where on earth is this to be acquired?] gut kennen. Das ist aber nicht alles [of course not], sondern neben umfassenden Korankenntnissen ist man verpflichtet, über islamische Philosophie, Theosophie, Mystik und die dazu gehörige Literatur gründlich orientiert zu sein.

By these definitions the author has succeeded in confining the possibility of approaching Hafez to a restricted élite only. Were these qualifications to be applied in the case of other ancient texts as well, we should present them, for

instance, to those wishing to understand and translate the Gathas of Zarathustra. And the requirements of being thoroughly familiar with pre-Zarathustrian literature and the contemporary colloquial language would frustrate any one trying this! Happily neither von Hammer nor Goethe came to think of these sublime points, or they would never have accomplished their literary achievements. Although the author is himself compelled to admit that von Hammer and Goethe have succeeded significantly, he cannot help but dwell at length on the alleged errors of the translation, giving such impressive facts as “the word *æfsus* has many meanings in Persian”, and “*konân* is derived from the infinitive *kærdæn*” in truly Iranian fashion, and without realizing that in a literary work such as Goethe’s a certain amount of deconstruction is always present; indeed it must be of vital meaning in artistic creation, or it is bound to become a (semi)scientific treatise of a subject. I personally share a similar experience, for when I some ten years ago translated the *Buḡ e Kur* by Sadeq Hedayæt into Finnish (in collaboration with L. Talvio), I gave the word *hore* in the opening sentence of the book in Finnish as ‘cancer’ (Fi. *syöpä*, from the verbal stem *syö-* ‘eat’, as also the Iranian word is from the stem *hor-* ‘eat’), although the correct medical translation is, of course, ‘leper’, and I was then criticized by some Iranians resident in Finland. But the *Blind Owl* is no medical handbook, and it is of course clear that its literary value could in no way be vitiated by this rendering: Hedayæt did not have any particular disease in mind when he wrote the book, his only intention being to bring forward another word denoting eating or corroding besides those explicitly mentioned in the sentence. I do not mean to compare my achievement with those of Goethe, of course, but *si parva licet componere magnis*, I became a victim of a similar attitude as he is now – and only because he used a translation upon which he had put great reliance, and because he did not represent the restricted élite who only seem to have access to the true comprehension of the poems of the great Iranian lyric.

5. The paper “Examples of Persian and Shughni Poetry from Tajik Badakhshan” by Gabrielle van den Berg deals with survivals of the ancient Iranian minstrel tradition now found only in remote districts such as Bædæḡšân in northern Afghanistan. Many of these poems are sung in Persian, in which case the genre may be termed quatrain, coming near to the Persian *robâï*, whereas the genre which uses the indigenous Pamir language(s) is termed *dargilik*, which, according to the author, is a word related to the word *delgir* in Farsi. But here I must contest this explanation, since the one given by Morgenstierne<sup>7</sup> is no doubt the correct one: the word *dargi* in the Pamir languages means ‘extension, distance’ (< *dar*

<sup>7</sup> *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni-group* (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 6.), 1974. I thank Dr. Bertil Tikkanen for this valuable hint.

'far', av. *dūro*), whence *dargīlik* 'longing', whereas the word *delgir* is, of course, composed of *del* 'heart' [OI \*zɾd-] and *gir-* 'taking' [OI \*gɾd]. But this is only a minor point, for the main focus in the paper is upon the contents and style expressed in the East Iranian minstrel traditions.

The poems treated in the paper consist mostly of two or four lines, with caesura in the middle of the line. The metre is made up of a regular number of syllables, without quantitative features, such as is found in the metrical parts of the Avesta. The poems very often express the sad fate of the composer, as e.g. in

*jad e to konæm sær e zæbânæm mi-suzæd,  
gær sæbr konæm, tæmâm e ġânæm mi-suzæd,  
gær sæbr konæm, sæbr næjâjæd be delæm,  
æz naḥon e pa ta be sær mi-suzæd*

'I remember you, and the tip of my tongue aches, if I try to be patient, it may make my whole soul ache, if I try to be patient, no patience comes into my heart, from the nails of my feet up to the head I am aching.'

Allusions to natural phenomena, to fauna and flora are very numerous in the poems:

*benalæm mæn ze tæqdiræm benalæm,  
ze dæst e jar e bi-tædbir benalæm,  
pæləng dær kuh væ ahu dær bijabân,  
mesal e šir dær zængir benalæm*

'I will lament over my fate, I will lament, I will lament over the treatment of the reckless friend, [like] the leopard in the mountains and the gazelle in the desert, I will lament like a lion in chains.'

Many poems are highly alliterative, e.g.

*dær dæšt budæm ke mærg âmæd ze pæsæm,  
ei mærg, æmân bedeh be ḥâne beresæm,  
ḥâne beresæm ke madæræm dær hævæsæm,  
giræd læb o dændân bæ-r-ajæd næfæsæm*

'I was on the steppe, when death reached me, oh death, show mercy for me and let me go home, let me go home, where my mother is anxious for me, let her kiss me, and then I will give up my life.'

Concerning the origin of these poems the author says: "Presumably, *dargīlik* has been in existence for a long time, but nothing can be certain concerning its origin, because this kind of poetry was not written down. Only since the beginning of [the 20th] century have small collections of *dargīlik* been fixed by various scholars, mostly for linguistical purposes. Both *dargīlik* and the quatrains can be considered a typical oral genre, of which the origin remains vague".

On the whole, the volume is very interesting and an important contribution to the Iranian studies in general. One feature above all might have rendered the volume even more useful for users, namely the appending of a detailed index to it, giving all the key words, proper names and subject matters discussed in the book. Providing such an index could not be too difficult if all the papers are properly stored in databases whence the key words are selected by a computer.

It is to be hoped that the *Societas Iranologica Europaea* will be able to arrange such conferences in the new century, too, and to continue the publication of these valuable contributions.

PETRI POHJANLEHTO

**Ludwig Paul**, *Zazaki. Grammatik und Versuch einer Dialektologie*. (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 18.) Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998. xxi + 366 pp. Eur. 42.00. ISBN 3-89500-098-1 (hardback).

Zazaki or Dimlî is an Iranian language spoken in eastern Turkey, to the north of Diyarbakır and east of Lake Van. In the older literature sometimes referred to as Zâzâ, it was long considered as a (remote) Kurdish dialect, but in fact it is an independent dialect group. The problem is an intricate one, and the author states (p. xix) "ein Vergleich mit der Grammatik des Kurdischen bzw. eine Abgrenzung des Zazaki gegen das Kurdische wäre höchst wünschenswert, erfordert jedoch aufgrund der langen gegenseitigen Beeinflussung beider Sprachen eine getrennte Behandlung".

In fact, there is no standard language of Zazaki. Instead, several dialects are described in the book, such as Šeyxân, Pîrân, Kiğî, Pülümür and so forth. Besides these, the author points out certain other dialects, such as Maden and Hani, which are not treated in the book, due to the lack of relevant material.

As a whole, these dialects are very archaic, preserving as they do the ancient gender distinction masculine/feminine lost in many other Iranian tongues (such as Pahlavi or Farsi), a detailed system of the *ezafe* particles presumably going back to the Old Persian determinative and relative pronoun *hya*, a distinction between *casus rectus* and *obliquus*, and the agential construction of the past tense. A further archaism is the preservation of the voiceless stops even between vowels, where in Farsi, for example, they have largely become voiced (such are the interrogative *koî* 'where?', the verb *tepištiš* 'to seize', the noun *pürtî* 'feather' etc.). As the language is only known to a few specialists and the book is relatively new, it may be of interest to append here an extremely condensed overview on the language itself.

a) Gender. As there are no articles, and the only numeral having different forms for masculine and feminine is *žew/žū* 'one', and as further the adjectives do not have especial forms for masculine and feminine, the gender distinction finds its main expression in the system of the ezafe link words. Thus for a masculine headword the linking vowel is *-ē*, if the attribute following is to be understood as genitive (*beg-ē Dīyārbekirī* 'the Beg of Diyarbakır'), *-o* if it is adjective (*birā-yo gird* 'the big brother'), and *-ā* if the headword is feminine (*bizēk-ā šimā* 'your kid' [the animal]).

b) The cases. The Old Iranian case inflections as such are not retained in the modern language due to loss of the flexional endings of the old language. But the main categories are still found, the nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, locative and instrumental. The plain form functions as the subject of a verb in the present tense (*xizmekāri vānā* 'the handmaid says'), as that of a passive verb (*to-rē lāžek Ellāy dā* 'God has given a son to you', lit. 'to-you a-son by-God was-given'), and as the indefinite object (*jinīyē mā qeček pāwenē* 'our wives are expecting a child').

The accusative or the casus obliquus (ending in *-ī* or *-i*) denotes a definite object (corresponding to *-rā* in Farsi): *wā dēwī bikišo* 'he shall kill the monster', *mirīciki dāno īnān dest* 'he gives the bird in their hands'.

The genitive is indicated by the ezafe structure referred to under a).

The accusative also expresses dative: *veyn dāno wezīrī* 'he cries to the wezīr', *bol zerār bidē mileti* 'they will greatly cause harm to the people'.

The other case relations are expressed with the help of postpositions following the accusative form: *nē ciwī-yā* 'with this stick' [instrumental], *kāmji quli-dī* 'in which hole/cavity?' [locative], *xo tūniki-rā* 'from his own pocket' [ablative] etc.

c) The construction of the transitive past tense. As an ergative language Zazaki shows the same pattern as the ancient Pahlavi tongue, in that every transitive past tense sentence is conceived as an agential phrase with the logical subject as agent and the logical object as the subject of the predicate verb. Thus a sentence like "God gave a son to you" becomes in Zazaki "to you+a son+by God+was given": *to-rē lāžek* [subject] *Ellāy* [agent] *dā*; similarly *kundī* [agent] *rāšt* [subject] *vāto* 'by the owl the truth was spoken' = the owl said the truth.

These are some of the main characteristics of the language extremely briefly stated. The book affords an excellent opportunity for the study of this very interesting language. Because the author has restricted his sources to one published book and to some other texts mainly collected by himself, the material in the book is coherent and the same or similar sentences recur ever and anon, which gives the student a feeling of familiarity with the language. And as these texts are all given in the back of the book together with full vocabularies in and out of Zazaki and indexes, the book may be termed a complete grammar and textbook.

There are only two points that I would like to take up by way of criticism. The first is the pure descriptive approach of the author, understandable of course in such a book destined in the first instance to concentrate on the phenomena of the modern language. But on reading the book I began to think that for the author Zazaki is primarily not an Iranian language; for he gives hardly any correspondences between the better known Iranian languages, past or modern. On the contrary, almost all the references in the grammar sections and in the vocabulary are to *Turkish*, even when the word under question is also found in Farsi. Thus under the word *mudir* 'director' in the vocabulary, it is noted that it is to be compared with the Turkish form *müdür*, although the Farsi form *modir* would have suited as well, or even better! With the obvious Iranian words no references to the corresponding forms in Farsi, for example, are given; but presumably the author has thought them to be sufficiently clear for Iranologists. But a far more serious problem – at least to me – is the complete omission of any historical explanations concerning the phenomena dealt with in the grammar sections. I fully understand that it would be impossible to write a complete historical grammar of Zazaki, but what about at least some notes here and there pointing to similar constructions or words in the related dialects (Kurdish, Pahlavi, Farsi, Old Persian)? Still, the book functions perfectly as it is, so remarkably has the author presented the complex grammar of Zazaki for the student that it might well be that the introduction of such etymological discussions in the book could destroy its uniformity. Perhaps we will later receive such an historical treatise on Zazaki!

The other problem is an even lesser one. The vocabularies in the book give all the words in texts, but not those given in the grammar. On reading the grammar I often came across words that were not given in the vocabularies. Could it have been too great a task to incorporate these in the vocabularies, too? Of course, there is a complete dictionary in existence (*Zazaca-Türkçe Sözlük* by Malmisanij, published in Sweden 1987), but for many students of the Iranian languages – such as myself – this may not be easily obtainable. And it seems to presuppose knowledge of Turkish, too. Thus expanding the vocabularies slightly would be a welcome feature in subsequent editions of this very important book.

PETRI POHJANLEHTO

*Kurtuluş Yolunda. A Work on Central Asian Literature in a Turkish-Uzbek Mixed Language by Settar Cabbar.* Edited, translated and linguistically revisited by A. Sumru Özsoy, Claus Schönig and Esra Karabacak, with contribution from Ingeborg Baldauf. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 66. Türkische Welten, 2.) Istanbul, 2000 (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart). 335 pp. Eur. 60.00. ISBN 3-515-07035-4.

The book *Kurtuluş Yolunda* aims to give a linguistic analysis of an Uzbek-Turkish original text written in Berlin in the early 1930s. The authors, one of Uzbek and the other of Turkish nationality, were two young students in Germany who decided to write a literary criticism of contemporary Uzbek literature. They thus hoped to give the people of the Turkish Republic some information about Uzbekistan, about which little is known outside the country itself, and to get some money that they needed for their studies. It is sad to relate that they never got the work printed at that time. Through the interpretations of, and reflections on, the literary work seen through the eye of an Uzbek intellectual, we receive first-hand information about the historical happenings, the changes in society, the people and their attitudes in the era of the 1920s and 1930s. This was a time when many radical changes were taking place in Central Asia, mostly in Turkestan.

Even though neither of these writers was a literary expert, the poems and texts included in the work reflect the history of the people in chronological order. This part alone may be of great value to researchers.

The book contains three chapters. The first chapter is the "Preliminaries", which presents information on the book as a whole and introduces the authors; it also gives a brief history of the region and the background to the work. The life and works of the authors mentioned in the original text were also included.

The second chapter is an analysis, which is in two parts: "Deviations from Standard Turkish" and "The Uzbek Language and its Reflexes in the Text". The authors do not claim to give a full analysis of Standard Turkish versus Uzbek Turkish. Instead they have limited themselves to the material they have, and they invite other people in the field to participate in further studies. Unfortunately there are not many English publications in this area. The analysis is thorough and satisfactory on the whole, covering the areas of orthographic, lexical, phonological deviations, morphology and syntax.

The third chapter comprises the original manuscript and its English translation. The two writers used a successful collaborative method in producing this text. The Uzbek author dictated the text to the Turkish author, who wrote it in Latin script. The Uzbek writer typed it on a German typewriter, which explains why some corrections by hand were needed. The original text has 103 pages, two of which are missing, and the Uzbek writer also included a summary of their work in German. Some parts of the original script are illegible due to the corrections and the unclear ink.

In the appendix, the notes provided by the translator are very useful, as the reader may have some difficulty concerning some of the lines. The notes are also useful for cross-checking purposes.

On the whole, this work presents not only productive linguistic data but also some very valuable historical information on a field which has not yet been



studied in full. Although it is some 70 years late, we learn much about the poems and about the way the people have suffered, which is both sad and interesting.

TÜLIN ÖZEN

*Д. П. Першин, Барон Унгерн, Урга и Алтан-булак. Записки очевидца о смутном времени во Внешней (Халхаской) Монголии в первой трети XX века. Подготовка текста, вступительный очерк, послесловие и комментарии И. И. Ломакиной. Самара, Издательский дом «Агни», 1999. 258 pp. + illustrations. ISBN 5-89850-003-0.*

The Russian journalist and researcher Inessa Lomakina, known from her interesting books on Mongolia, has again contributed an important work. She has edited and commented on the reminiscences of Dmitrii Petrovich Pershin (1861–1936), a Russian publicist who lived for many years in Mongolia. The manuscript was written in 1933 after Pershin's emigration to China, finally ending up in the archives of the Hoover Institute for War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, California.

Lomakina's introduction (pp. 7–36) describes the background and life of D. P. Pershin in detail. The reminiscences are followed by an epilogue (pp. 175–188), and extensive notes (pp. 189–256). Pershin, then working in the office of the Governor-General of Irkutsk, was in May-September 1914 on a mission to Central Mongolia and the Khövsgöl district in order to acquaint himself with the whereabouts of Russian merchants there. Some time later he was appointed director of the Mongolian National Bank in Urga, where he lived until 1927, and then emigrated to China.

The reminiscences focus on events forming the political fate of the then formally autonomous Mongolia. Chinese occupational forces consisting of 12,000 ruthless brigands, terrorising Urga under the leadership of the Kuomintang general Hsü Shu-tseng or "Little Hsü", became more and more worried by rumors saying that a white general, Baron Roman Ungern-Sternberg, was approaching with a strong detachment. Russian Bolsheviks and their Buriat, as well as Mongolian, acolytes planned their own strategy at Altan-bulak (Maimachen, Troitskosavsk-Kyakhta) outside the scope of the authorities in isolated Urga. A vivid picture is created of the experiences of the local, mostly Russian, civilians, and their hardships caused by the despotic and greedy Chinese soldiers. Pershin himself was imprisoned, and many innocent citizens were killed – murderers went unpunished.

Baron Ungern had encamped in the Nalaikha valley SE of Urga, where he waited for about four months in great secrecy and veiled in mystery. His local

agents systematically gathered all intelligence concerning the Chinese, whereas he himself uninterruptedly spread alarming and frightening disinformation among them, so that the Chinese never got an idea of the actual situation, especially the weakness of the Baron's troops (1:10 Chinese) and their shortage of ammunition. To the great surprise of the Chinese as well as the Mongols, Ungern succeeded under the nose of the Chinese soldiers and Tibetan monks in capturing and carrying to the Mañjushri temple, guarded by his Cossacks, the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu, who had somewhat earlier been held under arrest for 50 days by the Chinese. Pershin's account of this incident (pp. 99–107) sheds light on the short passage on p. 147 in *The Modern History of Mongolia* by C. R. Bawden.

The mental pressure grew to such proportions that suddenly the Chinese decided to leave Urga without a single fight. Having later eliminated Baron Ungern, the Bolsheviks got Mongolia without any effort and they ruled the country cunningly, using for their benefit the rising Mongolian nationalism and the high symbolic value of the 8th Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu as a puppet ruler. Mongolia was important for the Soviets as a strategic stepping stone into Sinkiang, Tibet and China proper in their effort to spread Bolshevism. In Mongolia the uneducated masses did not understand anything about the process going on in Soviet Russia.

The characteristics of Baron Ungern, as described by Pershin, depict a gloomy, taciturn and lonely spirit, in manners extremely simple, even rude, much inclined to superstition and outrageous and violent overreactions, ardently anti-semitic and consequently the killer of all Jews in Urga. In spite of his nervous outbursts and often strange behaviour, he was a brave soldier and an able military commander. To his misfortune, he was surrounded by ruthless climbers, ready to act radically on their own.

Pershin also discusses the position of Sükhebaatar and Choibalsang among the Altan-bulak Bolsheviks. According to him, they, as well as Bodo, Danzan, etc., were mere toys in the hands of the more enlightened Buriats, plotting together with Russian Bolsheviks. As Bawden says (p. 215), "neither of them occupied a position of such overwhelming importance inside the revolutionary movement as was made out later".

Inessa Lomakina's well-prepared edition of D. P. Pershin's reminiscences is very informative and useful reading for anyone interested in the modern history of Mongolia. The account of this educated eyewitness certainly has value as a source even for serious scholars. The only drawback to the book is that it has no index.

HARRY HALÉN

**Angela Manderscheid**, *Lebens- und Wirtschaftsformen von Nomaden im Osten des tibetischen Hochlandes*. (Abhandlungen – Anthropogeographie, 61.) Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag GmbH, 1999. xii + 228 pp. DM 58.00. ISBN 3-496-02697-9 (paperback).

In the introduction to her dissertation, Angela Manderscheid says that this work is a result of the interest she began to take in Tibetan culture in 1982. In 1991 and 1992, she made two expeditions to Dzam-thang County, in the north-west corner of the Sichuan province, on the eastern fringes of the Tibetan Plateau, with the aim to research variations in the local nomadism. As numerous examples worldwide demonstrate that the nomad way of life is perishing, Angela Manderscheid also wanted to study the kind of changes that the local nomadism is undergoing.

Angela Manderscheid says that the most important criterion for choosing this particular region for her expedition was that the majority of its inhabitants are Tibetan nomads. In addition, foreigners have been refused admission to the region, unless they have a special permit, and therefore hardly anything was known of the region or what was known was very inaccurate. For instance, in the World Atlas of 1945 (IWK 1:1 Mill.), the Dzam-thang region is marked as “unsurveyed”, and even as late as in the World Atlas of 1967 (Russian), the two main rivers of the region are marked flowing in wrong directions. Manderscheid notes that a big difficulty in her work was the complete lack of maps with minute details at her disposal. Consequently, by taking her own altitude measurements, she tried to study the seasonal areas of living, mobility, location and the areas under cultivation.

The book gives an illustrative picture of the geographical position of the expedition area on the eastern fringes of the Tibetan Plateau. It also describes its climate as well as the ethnic groups and social structure of this Tibetan-Chinese transition area. Paragraphs from 2.2 to 3.5 deal with Tibetan nomadism before “liberation”, which took place in Dzam-thang in 1953–56, and paragraphs 3.6 and 3.7 deal with the differences among nomads and their distribution in Dzam-thang, ascertained during the field survey of 1990–92. The last paragraphs, 4 and 5, tell how the “traditional” nomadic way of living has resulted in the current “status quo”, i.e. the author describes the external influences since the 1950s, and the changes in nomads’ lives along with these influences.

The most southern valleys of Dzam-thang County are situated at an altitude of 2650 metres; agriculture is possible up to an altitude of 3600 metres. Meadows situated above the tree limit (3600 m) are utilized for pasturing for nomadic herding. The livestock of the local Tibetan nomad consists mainly of yaks. Dzam-thang nomadism is called vertical nomadism by Angela Manderscheid, because here the utilization of pastures is not actually determined by rains but rather by

variations of temperature. Depending on the coldness of the weather in various seasons, nomads move to pastures at different altitudes.

Before 1959, some nomadic groups in Dzam-thang lived as mere animal breeders, and some groups carried on mobile herding as well as fixed field cultivation. During the “great leap” and the “cultural revolution”, animal husbandry was in the possession of communes and under centralised leadership. Individual people were allowed to own only a few animals so as to guarantee their milk supply. The nomadic groups now differ once again from each other in their lives and economic patterns. In Dzam-thang, variations in nomadism are mainly determined by the amount of arable cultivation. The various combinations of animal husbandry and arable cultivation in the household’s economy determine the altitude and length of period that nomads stay in different seasons. This also affects the forms of habitation. Animal breeders use higher altitude levels, which are far away from the cultivated fields, and they differ from the nomadic groups who practise animal breeding as well as fixed field cultivation.

Since the 1980s, Chinese agrarian policy has attempted to reform mobile animal husbandry with the aim to create a market-oriented production system. Lately, the demand especially for milk products and beef has increased throughout China, and it might increase the demand for the nomadic products of Tibet. In order to make products competitive, production methods should be changed, and then the nomadic way of life would not be possible any longer. If this happens the proven forms of nomadic life and economy may well disappear.

Angela Manderscheid’s dissertation is an accurate and exact study, which, in addition to the exact numbers of areas, agricultural production and livestock, also contains interesting descriptions of nomads’ household duties and habitations – tent and winter habitation – and their values and appreciation. For those who are interested in linguistics it is of importance that the author gives such a rich terminology concerning Tibetan nomadism. A few different transliterations or typing errors in one and the same word (Sangtsai/Sangstai, Nam-d’a/Na-md’a) do not disturb the reader. But, on the other hand, the German *ü* in Pinyin transliteration of Chinese words such as *jü, qü, xü* for *ju, qu, xu*, is surprising (pp. 119, 207, 227).

To help the reader, foreign terms have been listed in a separate vocabulary, and the Grassland Law of the People’s Republic of China in the appendix is also interesting. According to the author, the bibliography contains works (marked with \*) which are not directly referred to in the book, but those interested in Tibetan culture certainly appreciate this kind of collection, the compilation of which is quite laborious. The book is enlivened also by numerous drawings and tables as well as by the photos taken by the author herself.

**L. D. Series.**

120. *Alaṃkāradappaṇa*. Edited by H. C. Bhayani. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1999. [8] + 54 pp.

121. *Āchārya Haribhadra's Aṣṭaka Prakaraṇa*. [Text] with Hindi translation, annotations, and introduction. Translated by K. K. Dixit. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1999. xxii + 118 pp.

122. *Siri Jasadevasūri Viraiyaṃ Siri Candappahasāmi-Cariyaṃ*. Edited by Pt. Rupendra Kumar Pagariya. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1999. [6] + 24 + 214 pp.

120. This is a small Alaṃkāra manual consisting of 134 Prākṛit verses and tentatively dated in the 13th century AD. The booklet contains the text in transliteration and in Devanāgarī, and an English translation by the late Harivallabh C. Bhayani (1917–2000; cf. *BÉI* 17–18, 1999–2000, pp. 7–18), who also wrote a useful introduction. There is only one extant manuscript of this anonymous text, found in Jaisalmer. Prākṛit Alaṃkāra is a rare subject and it can be hoped that this edition helps us to understand that ancient Indian studies should perhaps not be so exclusively Sanskrit-oriented as is usual.

121. Here we have the text of a Jaina theological tract in Sanskrit, with a Hindi translation by the late Krishna Kumar Dixit posthumously published. A Ṭippanī is appended to the translation. There is no need to present Haribhadra, the famous Jaina scholar of the 8th century AD. The text is divided into 32 chapters, ranging from Mahādeva (introductory), Snāna and Pūjā to the teachings of the Tīrthānkara and Mokṣa and each containing eight verses (the last one nine). The text itself is not new, it was published as early as 1918, and the importance of the present volume lies in the translation and the comments.

122. An early 12th-century biography of Candraprabhāsavāmi, the Eighth Tīrthānkara, written mainly in Prākṛit, with some Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa verses, edited from a single manuscript preserved in Jaisalmer. The poem consists of 5,992 verses. There is a long introduction in Hindi and an index of the subhāṣitas.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

**Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi**, *Wohllollen, Mitleid, Freude und Gleichmut. Eine ideengeschichtliche Untersuchung der vier apramāṇas in der buddhistischen Ethik und Spiritualität von den Anfängen bis hin zum frühen Yogācāra*. (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets an der Universität Hamburg, 50.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999. xxxii + 443 S. ISBN 3-515-07380-9.

Diese überarbeitete Dissertation, die i.J. 1998 an der Universität Hamburg vorgelegt wurde, präsentiert die höchst lobenswerte Arbeit eines der Alumni von Prof. Dr. Lambert Schmithausen und ist ihm auch gewidmet. Das Werk analysiert mit grosser Gelehrtheit und mit Hilfe verschiedener Textgruppen die Bedeutung und historisch-semasiologische Entwicklung einiger zentraler buddhistischer Begriffe der Geisteszustände, ihre Gewichtverlagerung und die Entwicklung gewisser Meditationspraktiken.

Der Verfasser hält es für wahrscheinlich, dass in der kanonischen Überlieferung aller Überlieferungsstränge archaisches Material sehr wohl erhalten ist bzw. war, und solches sogar in späteren Werken fragmentarisch aufbewahrt ist. Dieselben gelehrten Termini werden offensichtlich dafür gemischt auf Sanskrit oder Pāli wiedergegeben. Seinerseits will er nicht auf den umstrittenen Problemkomplex der historisch-philologischen Methode weiter eingehen. Er benützt sich damit, Prof. Schmithausen zu zitieren (S. 6), der meint, dass die Aussagen über den Urbuddhismus oder gar über die Lehre des Buddha selbst meistens nur mehr oder weniger plausible Hypothesen bleiben müssen. Der Verf. sagt auch (S. 8), dass es in der Tat zweifelhaft scheint, ob man mit Sicherheit zu einer historischen Schichtung des Quellenmaterials gelangen kann. Demgemäss muss auch die textliche Unterlage der vorhandenen Untersuchung etwas versuchsartig scheinen. Primär soll es dem Verfasser darum gehen, seine These zu einem gewissen Teilbereich der buddhistischen Geistesgeschichte durch eine sorgfältige, mikrophilologische Untersuchung so weit wie möglich zu belegen und abzusichern.

Unter der frühen Phase des Buddhismus versteht der Verf. zahlreiche verschiedene Stränge und Entwicklungsphasen in den frühesten buddhistischen Schriften, feststellbar anhand des Pāli-Kanons sowie dessen Parallelen in den chinesischen *Āgamas* und den Sanskrit-Fragmenten der Überlieferung einiger anderen Schulen. Den ideengeschichtlichen Hintergrund hat er mit Hilfe der spätvedischen Texte, einschliesslich der frühen Upaniṣaden, sowie der Jaina-Literatur erforscht. Die spätere Entwicklungsphase hat er dadurch abgegrenzt, dass er ausschliesslich die frühen Yogācāra-Werke, vor allem das *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* und den *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (mit ihren Kommentaren, die heute nur noch auf Tibetisch existieren) in Betracht gezogen hat.

Teil I (bis S. 273) enthält eine Einleitung und die eigentlichen Textanalysen in acht Kapiteln, Teil II (S. 276–426) besteht in der kritischen Edition einer Auswahl der relevanten Textstücke nebst Übersetzungen aus der frühen Yogācāra-Literatur zum Thema der *apramāṇas*, nämlich Textpassagen aus dem *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* (drei mit Hilfe von weiteren Handschriften aus Nepal verbesserten Textstellen aus der *Śrāvaka bhūmi* über *maitrī*, ein längeres Textstück aus der *Bodhisattva bhūmi* über die vier *apramāṇas*) und dem *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* nebst einem Kommentar von *Ño-bo-ñid-med-pa/\*Asvabhāva*; an schwierigen Stellen wurde der Kommentar von *Sthiramati* zu Rate gezogen. Ein kolossaler

Notenapparat mit Zitaten aus relevanten Textstellen und mit gelehrter Diskussion durchläuft das ganze Werk. Es schliesst mit einem English Summary (S. 427–429), Wort-Index (S. 431–438), und Stellen-Index (S. 439–443).

Das Thema gilt vor allem den vier sogenannten “Unbegrenzten” od. “Grenzlosen” (*appamāṇa/apramāṇa*), d.h. das Wohlwollen (*mettā/maitrī*), das Mitleid (*karuṇā*), die [Mit-]Freude (*muditā*) und der Gleichmut (*upekkhā/upekṣā*). Gemäss der Einleitung gelten jene als meditative Übungen, in welchen diese Emotionen systematisch kultiviert werden, damit die entgegengesetzten Emotionen wie Übelwollen, Schädigungsabsicht, Unlust und leidenschaftliche Zuneigung beseitigt werden und so letztlich eine reine emotionale Untangiertheit oder Gleichmut entsteht. Dieser Gleichmut dürfte ursprünglich eine als Erlösung erfahrene, tiefgreifende positive Veränderung der Persönlichkeit konstituiert oder zumindest zur Folge gehabt haben. Die soteriologische Bedeutung dieser Praxis wurde jedoch allmählich relativiert und sogar von Nicht-Buddhisten praktiziert. Daran schliesst die Frage nach den sublimen *brahmavihāra*-Attituden und dem grundlegenden Unterschied zwischen “*karma*-orientierter” (d.h. nur auf günstiges Wiedergeburt ausgerichteter) und “*nirvāṇa*-orientierter” (auf Nichtwiedergeborenssein ausgerichteter) Ethik an. – Prinzipien der *Brahmavihārabhāvanā*-Übungen für europäischen Laiengebrauch hat z.B. der Bhikkhu Dhammiko beschrieben (*Die Einsicht* 1960: 4).

Im ersten Kapitel untersucht der Verf. die Begriffe *brahmavihāra* und *appamāṇa/apramāṇa* nach ihrer Wortbildung, Bedeutung und historischem Hintergrund, in den Kapiteln 2–5 die Kontexte, in denen die *brahmavihāras/appamāṇas* usw. im Pāli-Kanon vorkommen. Dabei geht es ihm darum, die Einzelbegriffe der Vierer-Reihe der *brahmavihāras/appamāṇas*, d.h. *mettā*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* und *upekkhā* sowie ihre Quasisynonyme, im jeweiligen Kontext und in ihren verschiedenen Schattierungen zu verstehen, den historischen Hintergrund der Termini zu erklären und die Entwicklung der Gesamteidee der *brahmavihāras/appamāṇas* geschichtlich zu erforschen. Im zweiten Kapitel wird der Begriff *mettā* sowohl für sich als auch im Zusammenhang mit den übrigen *brahmavihāras* gesondert diskutiert und im Kap. 7 vergleichend die Darstellungen der Unbegrenzten (*apramāṇa/appamāṇa*) im *Abhidharmakośa* und *Visuddhimagga*.

Gemäss Kap. 3 spielt das Mitleid (*karuṇā*) im Gegensatz zu Wohlwollen (*mettā*) und Gleichmut (*upekkhā*) eine relativ bescheidene Rolle im Pāli-Kanon, und noch weniger tritt die Freude/Freudigkeit/[Mit-]Freude (*muditā*, Kap. 4) hervor. Kapitel 6 ist “Zu den Auffassungen von Harvey B. Aronson” betitelt, weil der genannte Forscher mehr als andere über die vier *brahmavihāras* geschrieben hat. Diese spezielle Aufmerksamkeit ist dadurch motiviert, dass Aronson in seiner Untersuchung späteres Material (aus post-kanonischen Werken und Kommentaren) gleichberechtigt mit dem kanonischen Material behandelt. Dies kann nun

ein bisschen inkonsequent scheinen, als der Verf. schon anfangs, wie oben erwähnt, es für wahrscheinlich hält, dass sogar in späteren Werken archaisches Material sehr wohl fragmentarisch aufbewahrt sein kann. Aronsons Versuch, auf der Basis der alten kanonischen Schriften eine mahāyānistisch-orientierte altruistische Ethik zu kreieren, passt jedoch hier nicht, da ein Mönch ursprünglich keine gesellschaftliche Pflichten übernehmen und sich nicht in die weltlichen Angelegenheiten der Laienanhänger einmischen, sondern eine gleichmütige, untangierte Geisteshaltung (*upekkhā*) entwickeln (S. 164) sollte. Dafür ist auch ein Abschnitt "Aktives soziales Engagement als Folge von Mitgefühl und Wohlwollen?" betitelt (S. 171–). Anstatt den Lebewesen zu Glück in der Gesellschaft zu verhelfen, empfiehlt der Buddha immer wieder, in die Hauslosigkeit zu ziehen, um das eigene, spirituelle Heil zu erlangen (S. 180–). Dies alles könnte man einen "passiven Altruismus" nennen, meint der Verf. (S. 185).

Neben einer Analyse der vergänglichen Persönlichkeitskonstituenten kennt der Pāli-Kanon etwa kontrastiv auch jene interessante spirituelle *apramāṇa*-Praxis, bei der man Gefühle des Wohlwollens (*mettā*), des Mitleids (*karuṇā*), der Mit-Freude (*muditā*) und des Gleichmutes (*upekkhā*) in alle Himmelsrichtungen grenzlos ausstrahlt, ohne ein einziges Lebewesen auszuschliessen, so dass das Selbst ins Unbegrenzte erweitert und letztlich auch aufgehoben wird (S. 13). Nach Schmithausen kann man dies als eine Einbeziehung aller Lebewesen in das Ich auffassen, oder als eine Ausdehnung des Ich derart, dass es alle anderen Lebewesen mitumfasst. Die praktisch-ethische Bedeutung solcher Übungen ist natürlich gross und interessanterweise haben sie auch mit einem alten Erlösungsweg zu tun (der Verf. stellt die Hypothese vor, dass die *apramāṇas* ursprünglich durchaus den ganzen Erlösungsweg darstellen, S. 151).

Dazu wird die Meditationsübung der sog. zehn *kaṣiṇas* beschrieben (S. 21–), die mit Visualisierung von Inhalten im kleinen Maßstab beginnt und darauf zu unendlicher Grösse ausdehnt. Im Rahmen der *apramāṇas* geht es, zumindest im Frühbuddhismus, weniger um Taten, als um eine Geisteshaltung (S. 116–117). Auf S. 144 (Fussn. 22). lesen wir, dass "die guten Wünsche – Wohlwollen etc. – zwar verdienstvoll (und besonders für die Übenden selbst spirituell heilsam) sind, aber bei den Adressaten, jedenfalls den meisten, nichts bewirken." Auf eine solche Erfolglosigkeit muss nur mit Gelassenheit und Gleichmut (*upekkhā*) reagiert werden. Im frühen Buddhismus hat die *upekkhā* eine so zentrale Rolle gespielt, dass sie in vielen soteriologischen Begriffsreihen explizit oder implizit als letztes Glied die höchste Stellung einnimmt (S. 149).

Ohne eigentlich auf das Problem der Reinkarnation einzugehen, exzerpiert der Verf. aus den kanonischen Büchern auch die Idee einer universalen Verwandtschaft aller Lebewesen (S. 55). Im Laufe der anfangslosen Kette von Existenzen war jeder andere schon einmal meine Mutter, mein Vater oder jedenfalls einer meiner nahen Verwandten – offensichtlich gedacht als Extension der



Fürsorge konstituierenden Familienbande auf alle Lebewesen und als Begründung universalen Wohlwollens. Die zentrifugale Kraft der betreffenden Übungen sprengt alle engen egozentrischen Anhaftungen. – Spitzfindisch könnte man hier mit einer Frage betreffs der Stellung von Mikroben im Kreis von Lebewesen Einwende erheben.

Einen der Schwerpunkte für den Verf. bildet die Erörterung des Problemes der "Karma-Tilgung" (S. 31–). Die simplizistische Vorstellung, dass jede begangene Tat in genau derselben Weise "verbüsst" werden müsse, wird schon im *Aniguttaranikāya* abgelehnt. Vielmehr soll die Wirkung aufgrund der spirituellen Beschaffenheit der betreffenden Person und der Umstände variabel sein. Wenn man die vier *appamāṇas* geübt hat und der Geist schon "unbegrenzt" und "wohlgeübt" ist, kann man schlechtes Karma nur begrenzt begehen. – Dazu könnte man anmerken, dass dies alles jedenfalls eine Glaubenssache bleiben muss, solange eine ethische Kausalität nicht bewiesen ist.

Von grosser Bedeutung (und verwunderlich selten in der buddhistischen Sekundärliteratur erwähnt) ist die schon von Lambert Schmithausen, Tilmann Vetter und Winston King dargelegte Tatsache, dass das Karma als solches keine wichtige Rolle im Erlösungsweg des frühen Buddhismus gespielt hat. Dagegen sind *trṣṇā*, *kāma* und *rāga* die eigentlichen Ursachen menschlichen Unglücks und Verbundenheit (S. 71–, 179). Ursprünglich hat das Karma nicht die Wiedergeburt als solche, sondern nur ihre jeweilige Art mitbestimmt.

Die Frage nach dem "Wirkmechanismus" der Selbstschutzfunktion der *mettā* wird durch die Betrachtung des *Khandhaparitta* oder des sog. "Schlangenzaubers", d.h. *mettā* als Aussenden von freundschaftlicher Gesinnung als eine Art geistiger Kraft gegen Bisse von Schlangen, eingeleitet (S. 56–). Es enthält Verse, die wie eine Beschwörung wirken. Ihr Einfluss wirkt auch auf gefährliche leblose Dinge, wie Waffen usw., aus. Solche universalen Züge archaischer volkstümlicher Abwehrungsmagie gegen die Wirkungen vom Übel (als Resultate von schlechtem Karma?) sind in kanonischem Zusammenhang vielleicht etwas überraschend. Das gleiche lebt jedoch in voller Blüte in späteren tantrischen Texten fort. Der Verf. behandelt eingehend die Manipulationsmöglichkeiten durch die Hilfe von *mettā* und ihren soteriologischen Aspekt. Obgleich die Betonung des heilsverschaffenden Aspektes der *mettā* eindeutig ist und die *maitrī* letztendlich zum Nirvāṇa führen soll, kann man ihre positive Wirkung als eine zur Welt noch emotionell bindende Kraft problematisieren, was der Verf. auch tut (S. 146, 153). Er meint auch, dass die Idee vorzeitiger Karma-Tilgung im Buddhismus wahrscheinlich von der jainistischen Auffassung angeregt, dann aber (durch Einsatz von *mettā* statt *tapas*) ganz typisch buddhistisch gestaltet worden ist (S. 80).

Die Hauptthesen von vielen wichtigen Suttas werden kurz präsentiert und eingehend kommentiert. Ganz magisch-mechanistisch scheint die Auffassung des *Karajakāyasutta* (S. 74), nach dem ein Knabe, der von klein auf die *mettā*

*cetovimutti* übt, keine schlechten Taten begehen und eben deshalb nicht von Leid betroffen wird, d.h. *pāpa*-Vermeidung durch *mettā*. Hat die Wirkung von schlechtem Karma von früheren Existenzen schon aufgehört? Was hindert, dass er z.B. von anderen Knaben nicht geprügelt wird? Dies und andere Widersprüche hat Vetter u.a. behandelt, wofür Zitate und Diskussionen angeführt werden (S. 75–).

Dr. Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthis Abhandlung kann jedem Buddhologen aufs wärmste empfohlen werden. Die Behandlung interessanter und wichtiger Fragen, wie eben des Karma und daran anknüpfende Probleme, mit guten Referenzen zu relevanter Literatur, eröffnet neue, weitreichende Perspektiven.

Das Werk enthält sehr wenig Druckfehler, jedoch ist es unnötig, dass ganz gewöhnliche diakritische Zeichen (wie auf *ü, ä, ñ, ś*) im benutzten Computer-Font bisweilen vorwärtsgeschoben und dadurch ein wenig störend displaziert sind. Auf S. xxii ist unter Ghosh das Wort “*Ahiṃsā*” zu “*Ahi□sā*” geworden; S. xxx Z. 2: “*Quizīl*”, lies *Qizīl*.

HARRY HALÉN

**Mahes Raj Pant**, *Jātarūpa's Commentary on the Amarakoṣa. For the first time critically edited together with an Introduction, Appendices and Indices. Part I: Introduction. Part II: Text.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000. x + 468, x + 512 pp. Rs. 1295. ISBN 8120816900 (hardback).

In the field of Sanskrit lexicography, Amarasimha, the author of the *Amarakoṣa* or, as it is popularly known, the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana*, has a status similar to that of Pāṇini in Sanskrit grammar. More commentaries have been written on his treatise than on any other Sanskrit work: there have been at least 80 of them (C. Vogel, *Indian Lexicography* (1979), p. 313). Amarasimha's date has been a matter of dispute; he might have lived somewhere between the 6th and 8th centuries AD, and to all appearances he was a Buddhist. According to tradition he was one of the nine jewels of the court of King Vikramāditya. Amarasimha's work, written in verse (the metre is almost throughout *anuṣṭubh*), contains three sections (*kāṇḍa*) which are divided into chapters (*varga*); it is, as most old Sanskrit lexicons, a synonymic dictionary, the entries of which are grouped subjectwise. From early on the *Amarakoṣa* was considered to be the best dictionary of its kind, and it has been edited very many times in India (the only European edition is that of A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Paris 1839–45). Regrettably, no extensive critical edition has appeared so far.

The earliest dated commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* is the *Ṭikāsarvasva* of Sarvānanda, composed in 1159/60. Sarvānanda quotes a commentary of a certain

Jātarūpa whose work was presumed to be lost, as had probably happened to many of the earliest commentaries of the *Amarakoṣa*. In 1976 the author of the present work, Dr. Mahes Raj Pant, while cataloguing manuscripts for microfilming as part of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in the Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, found a manuscript of a commentary written by this Jātarūpa, which had been copied in Nepal in 1119. The manuscript is incomplete: it contains a little less than two-fifths of the entire text of Jātarūpa's commentary. Later Dr. Pant came across another copy of the commentary in the National Archives, Kathmandu. This second manuscript is much younger (from the year 1755), it breaks off after seven *vargas* and, like the older manuscript, it has a great deal of lacunae.

Dr. Pant's edition of Jātarūpa's commentary is based on these two manuscripts. Part I of the edition contains a very thorough description and analysis of them (Chapter 1, pp. 57–282), examining in detail their mutual relation and the types of scribal error contained in each. Chapter 2 concentrates on Jātarūpa's dating and his place of origin. The *terminus post quem* for Jātarūpa's work is fixed by noting that Jātarūpa quotes anonymously from Rājaśekhara's play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, which was staged during the reign of King Yuvarājadeva I of Cedi (915–945). *Ante quem* is determined by the date of the first extant manuscript, 1119. The editor proceeds by examining other early commentaries, those of Kṣīrasvāmin (whom Dr. Pant considers to be the earliest of these, writing in the first half of the 11th century (p. 292); a later dating is proposed by Vogel (*Indian Lexicography*, pp. 314–315) and M. M. Patkar, *History of Sanskrit Lexicography* (1981) pp. 22–27), Subhūti (see Dr. Pant's comments on the manuscripts of Subhūti's text, n. 16, 17 and 19 pp. 285–287) and Sarvānanda, whose date is known. Unlike Jātarūpa, all these commentators quote from Bhoja's works, which proves that Jātarūpa's work is earlier than even Kṣīrasvāmin's. On the other hand, Jātarūpa has known Śrīdhara's *Nyāyakandalī*, which its author explicitly mentions as having been written in 991/992. Thus Jātarūpa must have written his work somewhere near the very end of the 10th century or at the beginning of the 11th century (but before Kṣīrasvāmin). If we accept Dr. Pant's argumentation, Jātarūpa's work is the earliest extant commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*. Jātarūpa's vernacular glosses and his grammatical preferences reveal that he must have come from Bengal.

Chapter 3 of Part I compares Jātarūpa's *Amarakoṣa* readings with the readings of other commentators, using the well-known text of Bhānuji (c. 1620–1640) as a point of departure. Chapter 4 analyses the *bhāṣā* words used by Jātarūpa, and chapters 5 and 6 compare references to Jātarūpa with Jātarūpa's own text and construct Jātarūpa's scholarly personality, as it were, by examining his style and grammar. Chapter 7 clarifies the redactional procedures that have been

followed in the edition. The editor has paid special attention to Jātarūpa's various ways of citing from the *Amarakoṣa* text.

Part II contains, first of all, the text of Jātarūpa's commentary (pp. 1–325). The editing is done in an exemplary fashion, the different levels of text (words commented upon, the commentary itself, lemmas from the *Amarakoṣa*, parts of the root text quoted, other quotations, etc.) indicated by different print-types and brackets. The task of the editor has probably been aided by the reasonably good condition of the two manuscripts; on the other hand, there is a fair amount of scribal error to be coped with. Compared to later commentators, Jātarūpa is rather concise, which explains why his work fell into oblivion. The text is nevertheless of great importance because of its position as probably the earliest specimen of a classical lexicographical commentary that has been preserved to us. Jātarūpa confirms the view that there have been many commentaries of the *Amarakoṣa* which precede the ones that we know of, by referring to the different opinion of "others" on some words in the body of the text. There are many interesting details in Jātarūpa's comments, e.g. his escapades in the field of philosophy and dramaturgy. To the writer of this review, Jātarūpa's contribution to the debate of the existence of *śāntarasa* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was most enlightening.

The critical text is supplemented by appendices (pp. 327–408), which include additional notes to emendations and preferred readings as well as a generous sample of parallel passages from other commentators, and indices (pp. 409–512), which list the entries of the *Amarakoṣa* commented upon by Jātarūpa, and quotations of every conceivable type that turn up in Jātarūpa's text. On the whole, the edition leaves very little to be desired. One only wishes that all the other editions of the commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa* would have been prepared with equal care, and that they would be as easy to obtain. It goes without saying that any further studies on the *Amarakoṣa* or on Sanskrit lexicography must take this work into account.

VIRPI HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**Harsha V. Dehejia, Prem Shakar Jha & Ranjit Hoskote, *Despair and Modernity. Reflections from Modern Indian Painting*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000. xv + 123 pp. Rs. 195. ISBN 81-20-81755-9.**

Modernism in art can be regarded as a natural product of the urban culture which had gained momentum in the industrial countries during the 19th century. Its two driving forces, extreme individualism and the wholesale secularization of values, have characterized Western societies ever since. Even so, quite many people do not feel at ease with modern art, and the question of its ingenuity is even more

complex when we move outside the Western world. The South Asian subcontinent is the proud possessor of artistic traditions which are age-old, manifold and highly developed, and as concerns any cultural influences it used to be much more the giver than the taker. Indian philosophical and aesthetic thinking revered tradition, universal harmony and continuity. All this changed with the coming of the colonial power. As a whole the British had little understanding of the Indian achievement. Along with the concepts of rationality and progress (and in their name) the new masters imposed their aesthetic standards upon their colonized subjects, most of all through education. Moreover, they destroyed the socio-economic structures that had previously supported the traditional arts of India. In the light of this, what can be said about the "Indian-ness" of modern Indian art? Is it essentially foreign, or is it only a new phase in the evolvement of the native tradition?

These problems, important as they are, have rarely been discussed by scholars of Indian art. The book at hand seeks to make up for the neglect and promises to construct a theoretical basis for the phenomenon of Indian modernity. Of the three authors of the book, Ranjit Hoskote is a poet and art critic, Prem Shankar Jha an economist with a special interest in Indian music, and Harsha V. Dehajia, who is responsible for the main idea as well as the bulk of the text, is a practicing physician and a teacher of Indian aesthetics in a Canadian university; his other publications include *Pārvatīdarpaṇa*, a study of Kashmir Śaivism. In the introduction and in his three articles, Dr. Dehajia compares the ideas of classical Indian philosophy and aesthetics with the modern position. He summarizes the latter by the notion of despair, which should be added to the classical system of *rasas* (aesthetic sentiments). Mr. Jha sketches the socio-economic background for this despair, which he traces back to the dissolution of Indian society during the British colonialization. Mr. Hoskote sees such modern traits as feelings of homelessness and discontinuity in classical literature and proceeds to describe two divergent trends in modern Indian painting, namely abstraction and spirituality (in the form of neo-Tantrism), which would represent a continuation of the old motif of home-seeking.

Unfortunately the endeavour of the writers does not come up to expectations. The issues introduced are too vast and intricate to be covered within such a small space. The articles of the different writers do not hook up with each other in any substantial way. As Mr. Jha points out, the rupture of the traditional economy and social life and its after-effects have certainly given rise to general disillusion and hopelessness. But while Mr. Jha sees modern Indian art as an expression of contemporary social despair, Mr. Hoskote emphasizes the continuity of tradition and foreign influences (Rothko, Kandinsky). Mr. Hoskote's interpretation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* is accurate and beautiful, but the longing and despair of the protagonist cannot be equated with the kind of rootlessness that Mr. Jha

discusses. As Dr. Dehajia states, the classical Indian *duḥkha* is not the same thing as modern despair, from which there is no *mokṣa*.

Dr. Dehajia's contribution, which, as I mentioned above, takes up most of the book, betrays a certain doubt and indecision about the real nature of modern art in India. We must not turn our backs on it, he says, but he himself cannot help describing it in terms of deprivation and loss. Instead of investigating what the modernity is made of, Dr. Dehajia shows where his heart really is by devoting very many pages to a detailed description of the classical Indian system of philosophy and aesthetics. In addition, there is precious little of that which could be called a theory for modern art, it comes rather late in the book and it is not too convincing. Dr. Dehajia attempts to build a bridge between the old and the new by proposing a new *rasa*, *mānava rasa*, which should be added to the classical system of *rasas*. This new *rasa* expresses ontological despair which, according to the writers, is the essence of modern art. Thus, Dr. Dehajia explains, we can totally forget the form of the work of art, as *rasa* is linked with emotions, not with forms. And because the *rasa* theory is the basis of classical aesthetic thinking, modern art can be included in the classical discourse. Dr. Dehajia does not elaborate his theory any further: we do not know what is the relation of this new *rasa* to the other *rasas* – whether it is equal to them or whether it is meant to encompass all the others, like Abhinavagupta's *śānta rasa* – or whether we should abolish such traditional *vyabhicāribhāvas* (transitory states) as *dainya* (depression) or *visāda* (usually translated as despair) if we elevate despair to the status of a *rasa*, or how the new *mānava rasa* would work within an aesthetic network that is tuned to express a radically different view of the world. Suffice it to say that this kind of *ad hoc* theorizing perverts both the classical *rasa* system and modern art. The idea that ontological despair can be elevated to a feeling of universal brotherhood in shared suffering, the way many Buddhists (and Camus above all in Western literature) have seen it, is a very fine and noble one, but it remains on the level of wishful thinking; we cannot build a theory of modern Indian art, *as it is*, around it. One would have hoped that the authors would have looked more deeply into such matters as the real impact of foreign influences and the international art market on contemporary urban art and the role of folk art and other forms of popular art, such as posters and the cinema, in preserving the visual ideas and ideals of classical India.

**Ralph Isaacs & T. Richard Blurton**, *Visions from the Golden Land. Burma and the Art of Lacquer*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, British Museum Press, 2000. 240 pp., with 216 colour and 21 black and white illustrations. £ 25.00. ISBN 0714114901 (paperback).

The art of lacquer was invented in China where the sap of the *Rhus vernicifera* tree was first used to paint the walls of Shang tombs (14th–12th century BC). The technique of making small objects coated with lacquer was perfected in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC and was later imported to Japan. The most opulently carved lacquer comes perhaps from China, but it is especially the Japanese inlaid and gilded lacquerware that has been admired in Europe from the 16th century onwards.

The people who had settled near present-day Prome in Burma, the Pyu, learnt the art of lacquer from the Chinese during the first centuries AD. They used lacquer in architectural decoration. In the Pagan empire that succeeded the Pyu (9th–13th centuries) wooden sculptures and bamboo vessels, too, were covered with lacquer. During the colonial era Burmese lacquered basketry became popular in Europe, but as it has not been very easy to visit Burma in the last fifty years, the workshops which maintain the ancient craft traditions have not fared too well and the knowledge that there still exists such a craft in Burma has dwindled.

The handsome volume, which was published to accompany an exhibition of Burmese lacquerwork at the British Museum last year, improves the situation. The majority of the objects in the catalogue belongs to the Ruth and Ralph Isaacs Collection, which is a recent gift to the British Museum. *Visions from the Golden Land* is furnished with an excellent introduction to the subject; there is also a glossary of terms and an appendix in which names of reputed makers and workshops are given. The introductory part contains a survey of Burmese history and of the role of Buddhism, brought by missionaries from southern India to Burma, which adopted the religion eventually in its Theravāda form. There is an account of the history of lacquer in Burma (including an intriguing glimpse of the importance of luxury lacquerware in diplomacy) and a description of the techniques of lacquerware production, with photographs showing the materials and tools as well as different phases of the work process. In Burma, the tree which provides the resin for the lacquerwork is *Gluta usitata*, common in much of Southeast Asia. The supporting structure is made of bamboo strips coiled or, alternatively, woven (usually with horsehair) to form a vessel, which is then covered with successive layers of lacquer. The drying of each layer is a crucial part of the process. The most important techniques to decorate the lacquer surface are *yun*, a method of engraving first introduced by Thai artisans in the 18th

century, and *shwe zawa*, gold leaf decoration on black lacquer. In the book there is also a detailed chapter on the inscriptions on lacquerware and another on the cultural history of the betel, as betel boxes have been the kind of luxury items that are typically made of lacquer. The layout of the catalogue proper is carefully planned to illustrate all aspects of the art of lacquer, its history, the different techniques of production, the variety of its applications, most notable being offering vessels (*hsun ok* and *hsun gwet*), manuscript chests (*sadaik*) and the aforementioned betel boxes (*kun it*). The captions of the catalogue, packed with all kinds of relevant information, are a joy to read.

*Visions from the Golden Land* is of particular use for the collector, but anyone interested in the arts and crafts of the Orient or the cultural history of Southeast Asia will also benefit from it.

VIRPI HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

**William T. Rowe**, *Saving the World. Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. xii + 601 pp. Eur. 82.00. ISBN 0-8047-3735-5 (hardback).

William T. Rowe, previously known for his studies in late Qing history, has for his newest book chosen the period of "the prosperous age" *shengshi*, also named as the high Qing. His works on the economic and social history of Hankow between 1796 and 1895 dealt predominantly with the most traumatic period of the Chinese empire, the growing climate of decay, of increasing misgovernment, of corruption and security threats from within and without. With *Saving the World*, the author moved the subject of his attention one century backwards, to an era which saw the Chinese empire at its prime. Even though the "political success" of the high Qing was surely of a relatively disputable range, it was without doubt the time that institutionalized control worked at its best. Unrivaled by administrative models from foreign powers that would only a few decades later force a disruptive influence on the country, the Qing dynasty enjoyed a high degree of economic wealth and political harmony in the 18th century.

The late Ming and early Qing periods suffered the collapse of a degenerated dynasty and the suppressive phase of the new rule becoming established. Certain questions must have occupied the mind of the Qing bureaucrats. How did they see their own role in the service of society and the state? What were the goals they hoped to achieve? What could they do to prevent the empire from falling back into the chaotic state it had just gone through? An answer to such questions could best be provided by taking a look at the life and work of one of the representatives of the Qing administration. With Chen Hongmou, Rowe chose a personality out



of the midst of the nomenclature. Chen was one of the most influential figures in Qing politics. As a civil servant of experience on almost all administrative levels possible, he enjoyed high imperial favors and achieved fame that secured him promotion to the posthumous position of a model official.

But even though *Saving the World* evolves around the achievements of an historical person, this study is far from being a biography. It is structured along a chain of topics from the vast number of theoretical writings Chen left behind. His personal life and character thus served merely as an axis along which the social and political history of his period revolves. These topics ranged from the proper conduct of bureaucrats to social thought, from the relationship between gender roles and economic mechanisms to flood regulation and ecological and hydraulic topics.

Judged merely from the consideration his immediate successors gave to his literary output, the exemplary position of Chen was merely temporary. But due to the decline of the empire and the number of problems accumulating, like opium, corruption, mal – administration or foreign aggression, later officials rediscovered the writings of Chen as guidelines of proper administration.

Scholars interested in the late imperial period will discover that Rowe touches in his volume on quite a few facets of social and administrative topics which had been treated before – either by him or by other scholars. Yet though he takes up such topics as the discussion of the proper arrangements for funerals according to Neo-Confucian rituals, he places them in a different context. While Timothy Brook discussed funeral rituals as functional in building and maintaining lineage ties in rural China, Rowe moves beyond the scope of the familiar sphere and elucidates the impact of the social activities of Chen, who depreciated any concern for life after death.<sup>1</sup> In his *Sourcebook on Reforming Social Practice*, Chen stresses the necessity to achieve merits by socially responsible conduct and in showing compassion to one's fellow beings, thus creating a public awareness of deeply humanistic values. The vigor with which the governor-general of Jiangxi condemned Buddhist funeral rituals, and even declared the public performance of religious operas on such occasions as criminal acts, might have become more understandable even taking into account the growing activities of sectarian groups in that very area and time.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Timothy Brook 1989. Funeral rites and the building of lineages in late Imperial China. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49(2): 465–499.

<sup>2</sup> The main reason behind Chen's concern might presumably have been that this practice even enjoyed official support.

Among the many subjects of Chen's literary production, female education might be one of the most interesting – but also the most controversially understood. Rowe's discussion on Chen's contribution to that topic, which arose already in late Ming times, is particularly enlightening, as he reinterprets his *Jiaonü Yugui* ('Sourcebook on Women's Education') from 1742 in relation to earlier and contemporary publications. As a stark Neo-Confucian, and following Mengzi's clause that "there is no uneducable person in the world", Chen could not but strongly advocate female literacy. His propagating literary education for girls, while being in no way supportive concerning women poetry, has repeatedly been the reason for him being ridiculed by later scholars. Rowe takes up these critics and relativates Chen's position by directing the attention of the reader to the fact that his own daughter Chen Duanwen grew to become a published poet, which she could only possibly have achieved with her father's consent. What we see here is less contradictory or hypocritical, but rather sketches the difficult position Chen had placed himself in with his open support for female education.

In contrast to Susan Mann, who, in her study, denounced Chen's position as nothing else but an attempt to re-establish the endangered social hierarchy, the author puts the compilation of the *Jiaonü Yigui* in a larger picture and shows evidently that Chen's campaign for female literacy was just one of several similar campaigns against trafficking of kidnapped women, prostitution or "marriages arranged for profit of the paternal line".<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, the chapter *Creating Prosperity. Food* offers additional insight into mid-Qing economic and distributional problems, which have partly been dealt with in previous studies.<sup>4</sup> Wong, in his earlier investigation, focused on one particular area and only in passing mentions the contributions of Chen, as far as they were related to his topic. Rowe again discusses the role Chen Hongmou played in developing solutions to the problem of food shortage and surging market prices. Just like the impact Chen's rather over regionally designed propositions had, in comparison to contemporary officials, on market economy, Rowe broadens the view of this subject from the narrowly regional to the national level. Admittedly, a character like Chen Hongmou, who went beyond the scope of the average locally orientated governor and acted with genuine administrative inventiveness, must – in the history of Chinese administration – have been *as rare as a drop of clear water in the floods of the Yellow River*. The concept of choosing the life and literary production of a single (and singular) representative

<sup>3</sup> Susan Mann 1991. Grooming a daughter for marriage. Brides and wives in the Mid-Ch'ing period, in: Rubie S. Watson & Patricia Buckley Ebrey (eds.), *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*: 204–230. Berkeley.

<sup>4</sup> R. Bin Wong 1982. Food riots in the Qing Dynasty. *Journal of Asian Studies* 41(4): 767–788.

of a certain social strata to function as a background and structural frame to portray a specific historical era has, in this case, proven highly rewarding. Thus *Saving the World* has all the necessary qualities to serve as both a source and textbook on this crucial and formative period of the Manchu dynasty.

STEFAN KUZAY

### THE FALL AND RISE OF MANCHU STUDIES

There was a time, perhaps most typically in the middle of the 19th century, when every Sinologist was supposed to know Manchu, the official first language of Qing dynasty China. Although Manchu at that time was already declining as an oral language among the Manchu ruling elite itself, it was widely considered to be an easy key to understanding the complexities of texts originally composed in Classical Chinese. Consequently, Manchu studies in the West focussed on the philological aspects of Manchu materials, rather than on the linguistic properties of the spoken language. It was only in the late 19th and early 20th century that the remnants of Spoken Manchu were collected and studied by Russian and Japanese linguists, later followed by Chinese scholars. However, with the loss of its political importance, Manchu also lost much of its scholarly relevance, and the number of people learning Manchu for Sinological purposes gradually came close to zero. Manchu nevertheless remains an important language for the understanding of the history of Qing dynasty Manchuria and Mongolia, as well as of the Tungusic language family.

For several reasons, the interest in Manchu has recently undergone a rise, suggesting that the low tide of Manchu studies may already have been passed. Manchu studies today is an international field conducted by a network of specialists in many different regions, including Europe, Russia, North America, Australia, and East Asia. During the 1990s, an encyclopaedia of Manchu history and culture as well as two new major dictionaries of the Manchu language were published in China under the editorship of Sun Wenliang (*Manzu Da Cidian*, Shenyang: Liaoning Daxue Chubanshe, 1990), An Shuangcheng (*Man-Han Da Cidian*, Shenyang: Liaoning Minzu Chubanshe, 1993), and Hu Zengyi (*Xin Man-Han Da Cidian*, Wulumuqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1994). Apart from several periodical publications in China and Taiwan, there is an international review of Manchu studies published in North America (*Saksaha: A Review of Manchu Studies*), as well as a series of miscellaneous publications on Manchu

history, culture, and language, published in Europe (*Aetas Manjurica: Serie italo-tedesco-russa di studi mancesi*).

The international corpus of Manchu handbooks has recently been augmented by several important new publications. The foremost among them is probably the "Manchu textbook" by Gertraude Roth Li:

**Gertraude Roth Li**, *Manchu: A Textbook for Reading Documents*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000. ix + 409 pp. US\$ 29.00. ISBN 0-8248-2206-4 (paperback).

This book is meant to be "a tool to acquire a basic knowledge of written Manchu by studying a variety of texts". As such, it closely follows the model set by A. O. Ivanovskii (*Man'chzhurskaya khrestomatiya*, Vypusk pervyi, Sanktpeterburg, 1893) and Erich Haenisch (*Mandschu-Grammatik mit Lesestücken und 23 Texttafeln*, Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1961). In view of the almost incredibly vast amount of Manchu manuscript materials preserved in various archives, notably in the First Historical Archives of China (*Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan*) at the Forbidden City, there is an obvious need for this kind of textbook, especially since the modest language skills of young American students of Chinese history hardly comprise any knowledge of German or Russian, the principal languages of older secondary literature in the field. In addition to the "Reading Selections", which constitute the bulk of Roth Li's volume (pp. 33–313), the book contains a well-written "Introduction" into Manchu historical sources, the Manchu language, and the Manchu script (pp. 3–30), as well as a collection of practical "Study Aids" (pp. 317–408), comprising the translations of the reading selections with additional historical and grammatical explanations to them. The volume is completed by a list of "Selected Reference Materials", a grammatical index, and a general vocabulary of c. 1,400 items.

The "Reading Selections" offered by Roth Li contain miscellaneous extracts from various types of historical and folkloric sources, covering the whole history of Written Manchu from Old Manchu to Modern Sibe, and comprising both printed texts and manuscripts. Based on a conscious decision of the author, most of the texts deal with frontier areas, so that the reader will get a deeper understanding of a single important thematic field. Each text is followed by a Romanized version, a glossary, historical and grammatical notes and explanations, as well as exercises. Although all of these are standard features present in many classic textbooks of Oriental languages, Roth Li's volume on Manchu is an exemplary achievement, which, in the field of Altaic Studies, compares favourably with both the *Alttürkische Grammatik* by Annemarie von Gabain (1941) and the *Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian* by Kaare Grønbech and John

R. Krueger (1955). There are not many places in the world today, especially outside of the East Asian countries, where Manchu is taught, but *if* a course in Manchu is offered at any Western university, Roth Li's new textbook will provide an ideal tool for it.

In addition to textbooks and dictionaries, historians working on Qing dynasty China need many other kinds of tools, necessitated by the very volume of the total Manchu documentary corpus. Catalogues of the Manchu source materials preserved in various archives and libraries have long been a standard article produced by Manchu specialists, as exemplified by the recent *Catalogue of Manchu Materials in Paris* by Tatiana A. Pang (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, in Kommission, 1998). Other necessary items include various types of indices, gazetteers, biographies, and chronologies. The most recent addition to this endless line of reference works is the *Dictionary of Manchu Names* by Giovanni Stary:

**Giovanni Stary**, *A Dictionary of Manchu Names: A Name Index to the Manchu Version of the "Complete Genealogies of the Manchu Clans and Families of the Eight Banners"*. (Aetas Manjurica, 8.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, in Kommission, 2000. xvii + 645 pp. Eur. 149.00. ISBN 3-447-04217-6 (paperback).

One of the motivations for Stary's new work seems to have been the recent expansion of misleading Chinese Pinyin Romanizations of Manchu names. This is, in fact, not only a problem of Manchu studies, for the semi-illiterate translators who are responsible for the English versions of many Chinese popular and scholarly publications today do also violence to many other non-Chinese languages, including Mongol and Tibetan. It is frightening to see how rapidly these distortions become accepted as "correct" in Western popular media. Although Stary's dictionary will hardly be distributed widely in China, it now offers a tool for professional people to correct some of the errors occurring in non-professional publications. Using the important genealogical and onomastic resources of the "Complete Registration of the Manchu Clans and Families of the Eight Banners" (*Baqi Manzhou Shizu Tongpu*) from 1736/1745 he lists the names of almost 20,000 Manchu clans and families (pp. 1-478), as well as a smaller number of names once borne by Mongol, Korean, and Chinese bannermen (pp. 479-584). The Manchu and Mongol clan names are also indexed together with their Chinese equivalents (pp. 585-634), with a Chinese-to-Manchu "Key" elaborating the rules of syllable-level correspondence between the Chinese and Manchu shapes (pp. 635-645). The general principles of Manchu name giving are discussed in the introduction (pp. ix-xiii).

Stary also touches upon the question concerning the Romanization of the Manchu script (pp. xvi–xvii). In spite of the existence of several alternative systems (Hauer, von Möllendorff, Norman), the problem cannot be regarded as solved, especially since all extant Western systems involve the use of diacritics, which are beyond the capacities of modern electronic communication technology. Some possible solutions, notably the use of geminate digraphs (**gg hh rr kk**) have been proposed by Chinese scholars (as applied in the *Xin Man-Han Da Cidian*), but the basic distinction between transliteration and transcription seems still to be obscure for many specialists of Manchu. Fortunately, the New Manchu script (“with dots and circles”) is close to phonemic, allowing the traditional Romanizations to be viewed as transcriptions. Nevertheless, as Stary points out (pp. xiii–xv), even the New Manchu script has properties that can only be rendered in terms of a transliteration. The problem is more acute for the Old Manchu script (“without dots and circles”), that is essentially identical with the “Uighur-Mongol” script of Written Mongol. Here we encounter the same problems as when transcribing Written Mongol, and it is obvious that the solutions will have to be the same.

One of the biggest practical difficulties in Manchu studies, as also pointed out by Stary in his “Foreword” (p. vii), is the “Sino-Manchu diarchy”, by which the omnipresent parallelism of Manchu and Chinese in the Qing society is to be understood. This means that anybody who wishes to study Qing period history through Manchu documents also has to know Chinese. Moreover, even Chinese is not enough, for a student of Qing history will also have to deal with documents written Mongol and Tibetan. Roth Li, for instance, seems to presuppose that her students can read Chinese without difficulty, though it is not equally clear what her requirements for Mongol and Tibetan are. In any case, Western students specializing in Qing history have to work hard in order to acquire even a basic knowledge of the languages they will need in their actual work. In this respect, East Asians, with their “inherent” knowledge of Classical Chinese and the Chinese characters are in a favourable position, and it is no wonder that Manchu has long been studied not only in China, but also in Korea and Japan. The Japanese tradition of Manchu studies has also an important linguistic dimension, today represented by Jiro Ikegami and his disciple Toshiro Tsumagari. Ikegami’s collected works on Manchu were recently published as a separate volume (*Researches on the Manchu Language*, Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin, 1999), while Tsumagari has prepared an excellent Manchu textbook for the Japanese reader:

**Toshiro Tsumagari** [Tsumagari Toshirou], *Manshuugo Nyuumon 20kou*. Tokyo [Toukyou]: Daigaku Shorin, 2002. v + 165 pp. JPY 2,500. ISBN 4-475-01857-9 (paperback).

Although Tsumagari's book is targeted at anyone interested in learning a "Japanese-like foreign language" (*nihongotekina gaikokugo*), its typical reader is likely to be a person who wishes to learn Manchu for the purpose of either historical or linguistic research. Like Roth Li, Tsumagari has a long experience as a teacher of Manchu courses at various levels, and this experience has been carefully incorporated in the practical solutions applied in the textbook. As the title implies, the volume is divided into twenty lessons, of which lessons 1 (on the definition of Manchu), 19 (on the history of Manchu), and 20 (on the relationship of Manchu with the other Tungusic languages) offer general background information, while the rest of the lessons deal with the actual substance of the Manchu language and script. Each lesson contains a selection of grammatical and lexical data, as well as explanations, exercises, and a list of relevant literature. The volume also has a general bibliography (pp. 130–142) as well as a vocabulary of close to 1,000 items (pp. 143–161). Apart from the grammatical examples and a few brief samples (in the exercise sections), lessons 15 to 18 offer longer texts from various sources including the *Nishan Saman i Bithe*. Due to the general conciseness of the volume, the selection of texts is, however, much smaller than that offered by Roth Li.

In spite of their high quality, the new textbooks by Roth Li and Tsumagari cannot hide the fact that there still remains a lot to do in the field of Manchu grammar. Roth Li (pp. 357–358) is quite right in pointing out that, for instance, "a definitive study of Manchu verbs" would be required before the complexity of the verbal forms and functions occurring in Manchu texts can be correctly understood and translated. From this point of view the appearance of the new Manchu grammar by V. A. Avrorin can only be greeted as a positive development:

V. A. Avrorin, *Grammatika man'zhchurskogo pis'mennogo yazyka*. [A. M. Pevnov and M. M. Khasanova, eds.] Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2000. 240 pp. + 1 portrait plate. RBL 77.00. ISBN 5-02-028439-4 (hardback).

This is a posthumous work of the author, Valentin Aleksandrovich Avrorin (1907–1977), who is previously known especially for his monumental "Nanai grammar" (*Grammatika nanaiskogo yazyka*, I–II, Moskva, 1959–1961), the largest synchronic grammar ever written of any Tungusic language. The manuscript of Avrorin's Manchu grammar was initially preserved by his wife, Yelena Pavlovna Lebedeva (1912–2000), also a well-known Tungusicologist, who trans-

mitted it (in 1988) to A. M. Pevnov and M. M. Khasanova to be prepared for publication. Apart from adding a foreword (pp. 3–15) the editors, themselves specialists of Neghidal, have preferred to interfere as little as possible with Avrorin's original text, which, unfortunately, remains partly unfinished. In its published shape, the grammar comprises a more or less complete description of phonology and morphology, but it was Avrorin's intention to write also a section on syntax.

As a Russian grammar of Manchu, Avrorin's work continues the tradition of Ivan Zakharov's *Grammatika man' chzhurskago yazyka* (Sanktpeterburg, 1879). There are, of course, many differences between the two grammars, although it should be pointed out that Zakharov's grammar (like other early grammars of Manchu) still retains its value. Zakharov was basically a Sinologist and philologist, while Avrorin was a Tungusologist and descriptive linguist. The Manchu language material in Zakharov's grammar is presented in a most beautiful Manchu typeface (unsurpassed by any modern computer font of Manchu letters), while Avrorin prefers to write Manchu in a close-to-phonemic Cyrillic transcription. The language thus transcribed is nevertheless identical with Written Manchu (or Standard Manchu), rather than with any of the phonemically more innovative varieties of the actual spoken language.

Avrorin's approach to linguistic analysis falls within the concept of "basic grammar", which means that he does not operate with the arsenal of any particular school of "general linguistics". However, unlike all earlier Manchu grammarians, Avrorin was well informed about the principles of linguistic theory, and his Manchu grammar incorporates some of his own theoretical innovations, especially in the analysis of the parts of speech. In his interpretation, Manchu may be said to have three principal parts of speech: "nouns" (with personal pronouns), "verbs" (including non-finite verbal forms), and "property nouns" (*inya priznaka*). The description of "property nouns" (pp. 95–135) occupies a prominent place in Avrorin's grammar, and his arguments in support of this new category, though perhaps not convincing to all, deserve to be considered in any future analysis of both Manchu and other languages of the region. This category comprises, according to Avrorin, words traditionally characterized as "adjectives" and "numerals", as well as certain (non-personal) "pronouns". The main criterion for distinguishing the category of "property nouns" from "nouns" would seem to be their syntactic behaviour, which allows them to be used both adnominally (e.g. *turgen bira* '[a] swift river') and adverbally (e.g. *turgen eyembi* '[it] flows swiftly').

Apart from the category of "property nouns", it would be easy to find also other details on which one could disagree with Avrorin, but the fact remains that his grammar, even in its slightly unfinished shape, is a carefully-investigated and professionally-formulated linguistic work, which in the future will certainly be



one of the main grammatical tools for the Manchu language. Unfortunately, Avrorin was a synchronist, for which reason diachrony remained more or less completely outside the scope of his interests. The lack of a diachronic (historical) grammar of Manchu is today perhaps the most serious lacuna in the field of comparative Tungusology. It is well known that Manchu is a relatively "peculiar" Tungusic language, which, due to the structural influence of the neighbouring Mongolic (and historically, Para-Mongolic) languages as well as Chinese (and possibly Korean), shows many significant typological differences with regard to the other Tungusic languages. On the other hand, these differences are often exaggerated, for Tungusic as a whole remains a relatively shallow family with an absolute age of hardly more than 2000 years. There is therefore no reason to refer to the language family as "Manchu-Tungusic", as is occasionally done in recent Western literature (following the established Russian term *tungusoman' chzhurskie yazyki*). In the linguistic sense, the context of Manchu is and should always remain "Tungusic". What makes Manchu so interesting is its position in the intersection of two so different fields as Tungusology and Sinology are.

JUHA JANHUNEN

#### ASIAN AFFAIRS IN RECENT HANDBOOKS

Handbooks dealing with contemporary Asia fill a dual function. On the one hand, they are supposed to provide a practical and up-to-date picture of the geographical area or topical field they deal with. On the other hand, even when the data they contain become obsolete, which inevitably happens very fast, they will remain documents of their own temporal and spatial context for the use of retrospective studies in the future. A wonderful example of the latter aspect of permanent relevance is offered by the "Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Manchuria" (*Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie*), compiled by Lucien Gibert and published in 1934 by the Paris Foreign Missions (Nazareth: Société des missions-étrangères de Paris). For more than half a century, Manchuria has not existed in the form described by Gibert, but his handbook still offers unparalleled insights into the region today euphemistically and misleadingly called "Northeastern China". His book would be particularly useful for the contemporary rulers of China, if they bothered to study the recent history of their territory from an objective point of view (and in the French language).

With the ever increasing pace of political evolution and economic development in Asia, it is difficult today to create anything as permanent as Gibert's book

on Manchuria. A good perspective into contemporary East Asia, also from the future user's point of view, is nevertheless provided by the China and Korea handbooks prepared by the University of Durham Department of East Asian Studies and published by Curzon:

**Michael Dillon** (ed.), *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. (Durham East Asia Series.) Richmond: Curzon, 1998. viii + 391 pp. £60.00 / £16.99. ISBN 0-7007-0438-8 (hardback) / 0-7007-0439-6 (paperback).

**Keith Pratt & Richard Rutt**, with additional material by James Hoare, *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. (Durham East Asia Series.) Richmond: Curzon, 1999. xx + 568 pp. £80.00 / £19.99. ISBN 0-7007-0464-7 (hardback) / 0-7007-0463-9 (paperback).

The two volumes, to which a similar volume on Japan will probably be added later (announced to appear under the editorship of Don Starr), are published in a uniform format, apart from the minor technical lapsus that the wording on the cover of the China volume has "Cultural and Historical" instead of "Historical and Cultural" (as on the actual title page). The volumes are meant to be "quick access handbooks" for the "general and specialist reader" on a variety of topics, ranging from geography, history and politics to archaeology, art and literature. Neither volume claims to fill the purpose of a comprehensive encyclopaedia, which is why there is no reason to criticize their actual size and scope. It is, however, interesting to notice that the Korea volume is considerably larger and more detailed than the one on China. Obviously, the concept of the series has evolved in the meantime, so that the Korea volume has been planned more carefully, with extra features such as maps, charts, tables, and indices as a result. This may also be due to the fact that the Korea volume is the work of only two authors (with James Hoare as a third contributor on recent political history), while the China volume is a collective edited work, based on the contributions of as many as seven specialists (among them, the editor Michael Dillon as well as Keith Pratt, one of the authors of the Korea volume). Unfortunately, all articles in both volumes are unsigned, so that the reader has no possibility to know who, exactly, is to be credited for the contents of any given entry. Some entries do, however, contain useful bibliographic references to relevant secondary literature.

In both volumes, the average size of a headword is less than one page, though somewhat longer articles (one to three pages) also occur. The headwords, presented in a simple alphabetic order, are a heterogeneous mixture of toponyms, personal names, names of political entities and historical periods, as well as specialized terms and concepts of different fields. Generally, there seems to be a relative abundance of biographic entries, which in the Korea volume are complemented by an index of personal names, containing even names mentioned in the

text but not occurring as independent headwords. The biographic entries occasionally also concern persons not native to East Asia, such as travellers ("Marco Polo"), missionaries ("Ricci, Matteo"), and scholars ("Pelliot, Paul"). As a valuable feature, both volumes offer the native Chinese and/or Korean shapes of most (though not all) names and terms, complemented by the written shape in unsimplified Chinese characters.

A problem often encountered in the compiling of alphabetically ordered handbooks is how to deal with general issues for which no specific technical term is available to be used as a headword. The editor of the China volume has clearly tried to avoid general headwords, though he has included a few entries like "Commerce", "Painting", and "Women" (all of which are also present as headwords in the Korea volume). The authors of the Korea volume have been more generous and included many more headwords of this type, including such as "Bathing", "Cinema", and "Portraiture" (none of which can be found in the China volume). Other general headwords, like "Literature", are merely used as organizing points for a selection of cross references. Such solutions may seem both defensible and inevitable, but the fact is that some issues are hidden behind headwords that the reader might not find unless he/she is reading the volumes systematically. There are also occasional headwords, like "Rats" (in the Korea volume) or "Darwin" (but not "Marx", in the China volume), which are not particularly likely to be searched by a reader focussing on East Asia.

Although the choice and organization of the headwords in both volumes has generally been made elegantly, there are some unmotivated lacunae especially in the China volume. It is difficult to explain why, for instance, only some of the 55 official "minority nationalities" of China are listed as headwords, while others are not. Thus, there is a headword for "Miao", but none for *Yao*. There are also headwords for "Mongols", "Manchus", "Uyghurs", and even for "Kazakhs" and "Kyrgyz", but none for *Tibetans* or *Zhuang* (the largest ethnic minority in China). Altogether, the China volume is to a considerable extent complemented by the one on Korea, for the latter contains many China-related headwords absent in the former. The concept of *Luoshu*, for instance, is explained only in the Korea volume (under "Naksō"), which also has a much more comprehensive description of the East Asian "Zodiac".

The problem of Chinese Romanization is solved in both volumes in favour of the Pinyin system, which is certainly the best choice. It is true, it may be questioned whether it is necessary to extend the use of Pinyin Romanizations to such established shapes as *Sun Yat-sen* ("Sun Yixian"), *Manchukuo* ("Manzhouguo"), and *Peking* ("Beijing"). On the other hand, it is not clear why the Pinyin system is not applied in a case like "Lohan" (for *Luohan*). There is also an inconsistency between "Chaha'er" (the Pinyinized shape of *Chakhar*) and "Ordos" (for what is *E'erdusi* in the Pinyin system). The issue of Romanization

is, however, more consequential for the authors of the Korea volume, who have opted for the McCune-Reischauer system. Unfortunately, this system is and remains an amateurish Anglo-Saxon distortion of the Korean written and spoken language, while a much better (though not ideal) alternative would have been offered by the system recently introduced by the South Korean government. The only merit of the volume in this respect is that it provides (pp. xiii–xvii) a fairly detailed historical and descriptive survey of the McCune-Reischauer system, with all its inadequacies and inconsistencies.

It goes without saying that it would not be too difficult to find minor errors here and there in the two handbooks. For instance, in the Korea volume, the entry on G. J. Ramstedt is titled “Ramstedt, Gustaf Johan” (instead of *Gustaf John*), and Ramstedt’s position is given as “honorary professor” (instead of *professor extraordinarius*), while Pentti Aalto’s name in the same entry is also misspelled. It is, however, more important that there *is* an entry on Ramstedt than that all the details are correct, and this is probably true of all the other entries as well. What is also important and praiseworthy is that the Korea volume covers both South and North Korea, while the China volume has a good selection of entries also on the non-Chinese territories currently or historically governed by China, including “Tibet”, “Inner Mongolia”, and “Xinjiang”. In this connection it may be noted that the Korea volume is strongly biased in favour of the coming “peaceful unification” of the two Koreas, while the China volume is not equally unambiguously positive of the prospects of the unification of Taiwan with Mainland China, predicting that the “future [of Taiwan] may also be as a separate identity [sic!]”.

The fact that an entry on Tibet is included in a handbook on China does in this case probably not mean that the editor considers Tibet an “inalienable part” of China, for the volume also has an entry on “Korea”. Certainly, like Korea, Tibet would deserve to be treated in a separate handbook on a basis equal to neighbouring China, and it may be hoped that the University of Durham East Asian Department will take steps in this direction. This is not equally urgent for Mongolia, on which the handbook by Alan Sanders has been available for some years already:

**Alan J. K. Sanders**, *Historical Dictionary of Mongolia*. (Asian Historical Dictionaries, 19.) Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 1996. US\$ 60.00. ISBN 0-8108-3077-9 (hardback).

This handbook, soon to appear as a second edition (due February 2003), belongs to the series of “Asian Historical Dictionaries” of The Scarecrow Press, a series that has a slightly smaller format than the “Historical and Cultural Dictionaries”

of Curzon. Nevertheless, the Mongolia volume by Sanders has positive features absent in the Curzon volumes, including a detailed historical chronology (pp. xix–xlix) and an extensive general bibliography (pp. 226–262). There are also six useful appendices, containing lists of the members of the Mongolian Great Hural (1992), State Little Hural (1990–92), and the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, a translation of the current Constitution of Mongolia (1992) and the Mongolian Law on Foreign Investment (1993), as well as an Administrative Gazetteer of Mongolian place names.

Sanders is the well-known author of a directory of Mongolia published over three decades ago (*The People's Republic of Mongolia: A General Reference Guide*, Oxford University Press, 1968), as well as of numerous other works on Mongolia and the Mongol language. In the current handbook, he concentrates on the recent political and economic changes in Mongolia, a solution that is easy to defend in view of the abundance of handbooks on Mongolian classical history. On the traditional culture of the Mongols, the best encyclopaedic guide is probably still the volume edited by Michael Weiers (*Die Mongolen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986). Moreover, the Mongols themselves have recently published a very useful general handbook – their first ever national encyclopaedia (*Mongolyn newterxii tol'*, I–II, Ulaanbaatar: Mongol Ulsyn Shinjlex Uxaany Akademi, 2000). In this context, the volume by Sanders fills the niche of an objective external survey of Modern Mongolia.

The Romanization issue has not caused too much trouble for Sanders, for he uses a relatively simple and uncontroversial Roman transliteration of the Khalkha Cyrillic orthography. An unsolved problem is, however, connected with the fact that certain Cyrillic letters have slightly different values in Russian and Khalkha, requiring different Romanizational solutions for the two languages. Thus, for instance, Sanders Romanizes the Cyrillic letter <x> as *kh* in Russian words, but as *h* in Mongol words. This causes some incongruence in the bibliography, where Mongol author names are occasionally combined with Russian book titles. Altogether, the question concerning the Romanization of the various national applications of the Cyrillic alphabet is still waiting for a definitive unified solution. On the other hand, Sanders is certainly right when he uses the conventional English shapes for established place names like “Ulan Bator” and “Peking”, and possibly also when he writes “Genghis Khan” for what is today commonly rendered as *Chinggis Khan* in specialist circles. To avoid some of the inevitable confusion, Sanders gives alternative spellings for some headwords, such as “Kyakhta (Hiagt)” and “Hovd (Khobdo)” (though the most common traditional spelling of the latter name in both Russian and Western literature is actually *Kobdo*).

The topics treated by Sanders are generally very similar to those of the two Curzon volumes discussed above, with the minor difference that Sanders has somewhat more headwords pertaining to physical geography (names of rivers, lakes and mountains). Headwords on cultural features like "Ger" and "Deel" are relatively few, while general headwords of the type "Mining" are even fewer. Information on Mongol tribes and other Mongolic speaking populations is gathered under the headwords "Mongol Ethnic Groups", "China, Mongol Ethnic Groups", and "Russia, Mongol Ethnic Groups", though the groups living within the borders of Mongolia are also listed separately. The bulk of the material in the volume is, however, devoted to presenting living persons, current political parties, and economic enterprises of Mongolia. There is no doubt that it has taken much effort, experience, and contacts to compile these entries, the general message of which is that Mongolia is a poor and undeveloped, but nevertheless an independent and democratic country in urgent need of more attention from the rest of the world. The forthcoming new edition of the book will unravel the even more recent developments in the country.

Considering that the Curzon handbook on China edited by Michael Dillon has a rather broad historical and cultural profile, it is very welcome that a more specialized handbook on Chinese political life appeared in the same year from Routledge (today merged with Curzon into RoutledgeCurzon) under the chief editorship of Colin Mackerras:

**Colin Mackerras, Donald H. McMillen & Andrew Watson** (eds.), *Dictionary of the Politics of the People's Republic of China*. (Routledge in Asia.) London: Routledge, 1998. xii + 267 pp. £60.00. ISBN 0-415-15450-2 (hardback).

This is a truly collective work, with altogether 34 contributors (including the three editors). In contrast to the Curzon handbooks, the Routledge volume has a limited number (just over 140) of relatively large articles, all of which are signed. The articles are arranged in alphabetic order, and cross references between them are facilitated by a fairly detailed general index. The volume also contains a map, a thematically arranged bibliography for "Further Reading" (pp. 249–260), as well as a collection of concise but very informative "Introductory Essays" (pp. 3–46), covering an "Overview History of the People's Republic of China" (Colin Mackerras), "Government Institutions" (Colin Mackerras), "Ideology: Radicalism and Reform" (Bill Brugger), "Political Personae: Biographical Profiles" (Frederick C. Teiwes), "Politics and Economy: Policy Patterns and Issues" (Andrew Watson), "Peoples of China" (Colin Mackerras), "Regional China" (Dali L. Yang

and Yongnian Zheng), and "China, the Region and the World" (Donald H. McMillen).

In the "Introduction" to the volume, the editors maintain that "[t]his is a dictionary, not an encyclopedia or a handbook". They add that "[t]he dictionary is aimed mainly at students, government, media and business personnel, and non-specialist academics". Both of these may be considered understatements, for the volume is, in fact, useful for anybody dealing with Modern China, including specialists. Moreover, if there exists an ideal format for a handbook on China, Mackerras and his colleagues have found it. In its present shape, the volume has a representative selection of entries on general issues ("prison system"), political bodies ("Chinese Communist Party"), public media ("People's Daily"), historical events ("June 4 Incident"), political decision makers (including "Hu Jintao"), and a few important localities ("Shanghai", "Shandong"). It is true that the list of personal names and toponyms could easily have been expanded. For instance, for the sake of consistency, the editors could well have included an entry on all provinces, autonomous regions, and large cities, instead of just a few. In the future, it might even be desirable to prepare separate larger volumes on geographical, administrative, and biographical material. It would also serve a purpose to include the Chinese shapes (in characters and Romanization) of all terms and names. Even so, the volume now published serves as a model for any future handbooks on Modern China.

It may be noted that, although Colin Mackerras is the author of several works on the "minority nationalities" of China, he has been conspicuously restrictive with regard to ethnic issues in the Routledge dictionary, where "Tibetans" are the only non-Chinese people discussed under a separate headword. This shortcoming is to some extent compensated by the introductory essay on the "Peoples of China", but there would nevertheless appear to exist a need for a more comprehensive encyclopaedic treatment of all the ethnic groups living within the borders of the People's Republic. It goes without saying that the "handbooks" published in China (in both Chinese and English) do not serve this purpose because of their political bias and unprofessional approach. It is therefore with positive expectations that the reader greets the publication of the "Ethnohistorical Dictionary of China" by James S. Olson:

**James S. Olson**, *An Ethnohistorical Dictionary of China*. London: Aldwych Press, 1998. ix + 435 pp. £75.00. ISBN 0-86172-107-1 (hardback).

Apart from the actual dictionary, Olson's volume contains (pp. 395-414) brief population statistics of the "Officially Recognized Nationalities" (1990), a "Chronology of Chinese History", a list of the "Autonomous Ethnic Political Units in

the People's Republic of China", as well as a "Selected Bibliography of English Titles" (pp. 415-422). The headwords in the dictionary section are basically ethnonyms, though they also comprise names of religions ("Christian"), physical types ("Eurasian"), linguistic groupings ("Altaic"), and places ("Hangzhou"). The confusion between ethnonyms and toponyms is particularly disturbing (one wonders if Olson is aware of the distinction). For instance, Olson lists an "ethnic subgroup" of the Dagur living in the vicinity of Hailar as "Hailars", although the same name could equally well (or equally poorly) be applied to the Ewenki (Solon) living in the same locality. Most entries are relatively short (a few lines to a few pages), but, curiously, the headword "Han" is followed by a large historical section (pp. 95-134), arranged by subtitles covering anything from "Han Chinese Culturalism" and "Confucianism" to "The Nationalists on Taiwan". The inclusion of all this material on general history in an *ethno*historical dictionary can hardly be justified.

Other problems become obvious when a closer look is taken at Olson's ethnonymic headwords. Apart from innumerable misprints, one finds here trivial errors ("Bugalat" for *Bulagat*), misspellings ("Oroquen" as an alternative to "Oroqen", more properly *Orochen*), truncations ("Ordo" for *Ordos*), phantom shapes ("Ahwenke" as an alternative to "Evenk", more properly *Ewenki*), inexactitudes ("Nuzhen" for *Nüzhen*), and useless innovations ("Guangzhouese" for *Cantonese*). In the text of the entries, similarly-sounding names of different ethnic groups (like *Orochen* and *Oroch*) are often used without discretion. Some entries deal with ethnic groups living completely outside of China, in Siberia ("Yukagir") or even on the Indian subcontinent ("Burusho"). In some cases, Olson discusses different forms of a single ethnonym as if they referred to separate groups ("Yugur", "Yohur", "Yellow Uigur"). On the other hand, Olson misses many populations that for linguistic and/or cultural reasons should be recognized as separate ethnic entities. What is worse, much of the factual information supplied on the demography, ethnography, and history of the ethnic groups discussed in the volume is erroneous in the details. Anyone with more than a superficial knowledge on any particular ethnic group in China can easily make a list of serious mistakes.

To give just one concrete example: Olson has decided to include "Yakut" as a headword in his volume, although the Yakut, living in Central and Northern Siberia, have never been Chinese subjects. He then creates a history according to which, "[d]uring the collectivization crusade and the purges [in the Soviet Union], thousands of ethnic Yakuts fled Russian Siberia for Heilongjiang Province in northwestern [sic!] China, where they remain today. The People's Republic of China does not recognize the Yakuts as an official minority nationality, but they exist nonetheless. [...] Chinese demographers and ethnologists [...] chose to lump the Yakuts together with the Evenks and call them all Evenks. [...] As many as



five thousand Yakuts may be currently classified as Evenks." Every single detail in this history is wrong. What Olson is referring to here is the group of ca. 200 Ewenki reindeer herders in Northern Inner Mongolia whose ancestors came from the *Guberniya* of Yakutia in the beginning of the 19th century and who are therefore still called "Yakut Ewenki" by the Chinese (though they are better known as the *Manchurian Reindeer Tungus*). Olson does not mention the fact that there actually were some Yakut individuals (mainly fur traders) who entered China after the October Revolution in the context of the White Russian emigration to Manchuria.

Olson's obvious unpreparedness and massive professional incompetence is probably to be explained by the fact that he has not previously worked on the peoples of China. It even remains unclear if he reads Chinese, or any other language relevant to the region. He is the author of ethnohistorical dictionaries of Africa and Russia, as well as of a *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*, but this does not immediately qualify him for preparing a reference tool on the nationalities of China. Moreover, he does not seem to know much about Russia either (so one wonders how competent he is on Africa). At the very end of the volume (but nowhere else), the name of a Tracy Steele (Assistant Professor of History at Sam Houston State University, the same university where Olson is active in the capacity of "Distinguished Professor") is mentioned as a "contributor" to the volume. Perhaps *she* is the China specialist of this project, but it is nowhere explained what her role may have been in the compilation of the entries, all of which are unsigned. Judging by the lists of "Suggested Reading" following some entries, much of the data has been taken from the popular magazine *China Reconstructs*.

Objectively speaking, Olson's dictionary can possibly be used as an elementary tool by the layman, but it certainly cannot be recommended as an authoritative or definitive reference work in its field. Olson's merit remains that he took up the challenge. Unfortunately, because of his total lack of the proper type of qualifications, he was from the beginning destined to fail. An encyclopaedic handbook of the ethnic groups of China still remains to be made.

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