Book reviews

Books reviewed

Syriac Dialogue. First Non-Official Consultation on Dialogue within the Syriac Tradition. Vienna: Pro Oriente, 1994. 236 pp. ISBN 3-901188-05-3.

The book Syriac Dialogue represents the first non-official dialogue within the Syriac tradition, held in Vienna in June 1994. First of all, there are convenient lists of agenda and of all the participants, among whom there were not only the most eminent theologians and representatives of different churches but also many experts specialized in theology and linguistics. The greetings of the heads of the churches, the texts and the papers examined during the consultation and the discussions that followed the lectures are presented in their entirety.

At the consultation a deep study was made of the christology of Nestorius was profoundly studied as well as of several other important subjects concerning doctrinal, patristic and liturgical matters. The first lecture given by Mar Bawai Soro, a bishop of the Assyrian Church, dealt with the *Vienna christological formula* (an agreement between the Catholic and so-called pre-Chalcedonian churches) *in an Assyrian perspective* (p. 34). He pointed out that for his church the issue of differences in certain theological interpretations is partly a consequence of the different emphases which the christological formulae have led to in order to protect the one faith from certain 'heretical' implications. He affirmed that though the Assyrian Church differs in language and terminology, the Assyrians feel that they do in reality share the same essence of the one apostolic faith that the Catholic Church and all the Orthodox Churches also share. In the appendix (p. 42) synodical confessions of the Assyrian Church of the East are set out.

In the following session a brief lecture on the *History of research into Nestorius* was given (p. 54). The next introduction *The Church of the East in the Sasanian Empire up to the sixth century and its absence from the councils in the Roman Empire* by Professor Sebastian Brock had two aims: first, to offer a brief sketch of the history of the church within the Sasanian Empire up to the sixth century, and secondly, to suggest some prerequisites for any balanced study and understanding of the christology of the Easrtern Church (p. 70). Trying to encourage balanced consideration of the christology of the Assyrian Church Professor Brock underlined that the participants needed to try to understand what theologians actually meant by the technical terms they used, rather than rely on what their opponents claimed that they meant. The starting-points of different parties, in other words, what was their primary concern in formulating their christological teaching, needs to be discovered. Next the lectures on *Three synods of the Church of the East and their two ecclesiologies* (p. 87) and the *Spread of the Persian Church* (p. 97) were given. In the introduction entitled *The christology of Nestorius* Father Bernard Dupuy represented Nestorius as a theologian. He considered Nestorius a concretely thinking Antiochian theologian and not an Alexandrian idealist. Mr. Dupuy claimed that the faith of Nestorius was in its intention profoundly orthodox. However, a certain rationalistic trend in his thought led him to avoid a systematic usage of the *communicatio idiomatum*. (p. 110)

In the next lecture Mar Bawai Soro posed the question *Is the theology of the Church of the East Nestorian?* (p. 116). He pointed out that while searching for independence in

the 430s the Assyrian Church was not motivated by any kind of hostility toward the Western Church, but a sincere desire to resolve ongoing difficulties occasioned by the church's putative relationship to the West. Mar Bawai then examined the most important synods of the Church of the East paying special attention to their christological confessions. In his conclusion Mar Bawai clarified the christological position of the Assyrian Church today (p. 129). Two further lectures under the same title were given (pp. 134, 142). In his lecture on the theological contribution of Mar Babai the Great Professor Geevarghese Chediath explained the meanings of the crucial words and terms used by Mar Babai. He also stated that some works of this Assyrian theologian do represent some of the most beautiful pieces of Christian literature.

In the last working session Professor Sarhad Jammo lectured on *The quddasha of the apostles Addai and Mari and the narrative of the eucharistic institution* (p. 167) thus making theological analysis of some parts of the Assyrian liturgy. Professor Peter Hofrichter then went on with the same topic in his introduction *The anaphora of Addai and Mari in the Church of the east – Eucharist without institution narrative*? (p. 182).

At the end of the book there is the joint communiqué of the consultation as well as an interesting list of the proposals for discussion (collected before or during the consultation from the participants). The appendix gives an amount of useful information (e.g. about relations between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church) but on the whole it is a rather incoherent compilation. Otherwise the book is a beautiful example of clear consistency, presenting the proceedings of the theological consultation within the Syriac tradition. It shows how the participants were especially interested in the interpretation of the christology of Nestorius and with regard to this they posed two major questions: How is 'Nestorian' theology understood by those who condemned it (the Oriental Orthodox and Catholic Churches)? And how does the Assyrian Church of the East comprehend the theology of Nestorius? The participants agreed that the main reason for the division was terminological due to the different terminologies adopted by the Antiochians and Alexandrians. Confessing this the participants focused not on the words but on the meaning of the words. Though the two questions still remain to be examined further many of the previous prejudices were allayed during the consultation.

In order to eliminate many misunderstandings inherited from the past, publishing works of this kind is essential. Not in vain did the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch Ignace Anthony II Hayek state to the participants: 'You are the pioneers of the Syriac culture and theology. You are the basement and light who guide us to the identity of Syriac Churches' (p. 23).

SARI KUUSTOLA

Manwel Mifsud, *Loan Verbs in Maltese. A Descriptive and Comparative Study.* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 21.) Leiden – New York – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995. xvi + 339 pp.

Maltese is an ideal language for studies in the influence of language contact on the linguistic structure. Its Semitic stratum, developed between AD 870 and 1249, has since then been influenced by a Romance superstratum, first by the 'Sicilian' element, which has become fairly well integrated within the Semitic Maltese structures, and, mainly between 1530 and 1800, by an Italian element, generally displaying more unintegrated features. During the latest phase, since 1800, Maltese has been influenced by an English adstratum, up to the 1940s limited to lexical loans from limited areas of life, mainly military and administrative spheres. Since then, English has become practically the exclusive source of new terminology connected with modern life, especially in the fields of science and technology.

Semitic Maltese has, in broad outlines, the same setting of derived verb themes as North African dialects of Arabic, that is, among the Old Arabic themes I to X, only theme IV is missing. Theme VII (nCvCvC) also has the variant ntCvCvC (*n*-form of tG), well known from several dialects of Arabic, and the more uncommon nCtvCvC (*n*-form of Gt). In addition, there is the quadriradical theme CvCCvC as well as its reflexive and/or passive counterpart tCvCCvC.

Mifsud divides the loan verbs in Maltese into four major categories: Type A verbs with full integration to the structure of Semitic Maltese; Type B verbs with full integration to weak-final verbs of Semitic Maltese; Type C verbs, in which undigested Romance stems follow the conjugation of weak-final verbs of Semitic Maltese; Type D verbs, in which undigested English stems follow the conjugation of weak-final verbs of Semitic Maltese.

In spite of the fact that Arabicization, *taʿrīb*, of foreign vocabulary is hampered by many restrictions on the form of words, it has been estimated that Old Arabic has borrowed about 700 words from Greek and over 350 from Persian, almost exclusively nouns. These loans probably had some influence on the nominal morphology of Classical Arabic: thus, the broken plural pattern CaCāCiCa became associated with words of foreign origin many of which were quadriradical (e.g. *'usquf* – *'asāqifa*, *tilmīḏ* – *talāmiḏa*, *'ustāḏ* – *'asātiḏa*). As far as loan verbs are concerned, Arabicization is still far more complicated, since it involves integration to the Semitic root system which does not allow more than four root consonants.

According to Mifsud, the process of full integration of loan verbs of Type A into Semitic Maltese was the following: (a) the acceptance into the language of a foreign lexeme; (b) interpreting the loan as a member of the Semitic Maltese word class, and analogically abstracting the three or four consonants of the stem as the root-base which will carry the basic meaning; (c) with this root as a base, building up new forms according to the derivational mechanism of Semitic Maltese. Thus, e.g., Italian *pittore* has been borrowed in the form *pittūr* 'painter', which follows the pattern of Semitic Maltese *ḥaddīm* 'worker'; from *pittūr* the root-base *ptr* has been abstracted, and from this root the

derived theme II *pitter* 'to paint' is formed. Another type of this process can be called 'second generation Type A verbs': e.g. Italian *serpe* 'snake' has been borrowed into Maltese in the form *serp*, which has become naturalized, and from this noun, the denominative verb *serrep* 'to zigzag' is derived. In a corresponding way, verbal themes are derived from integrated/naturalized borrowed nouns, e.g. *pīpa* (It. *pipa*) : *peyyep* 'to smoke' : *tpeyyep* (pass.); *fond* 'deep' (It. *fondo*) : *fannad* 'to dig deep down' : *tfannad* (pass.) : *fnād* 'to become deep' IX; *bandla* (cf. Sic. *bbandulieri*) : *bandal* 'to swing, rock' : *tbandal* (refl.).

The integration of Type B verbs followed another pattern: the loan verbs adopted in Semitic Maltese the form of weak-final verbs. These are well suited to this purpose, since they are vowel-released and do not normally require any changes in the stem except for stress shift. Examples of these Romance Maltese verbs are: I *faga yifga* 'to choke' (It. *affogare*), VII *nfaga yinfaga*, II *patta ypatti* 'to pay back' (It. *pattare*, Sic. *appattarsi*), V *tpatta yitpatta*, quadriradical *kanta ykanta* 'to sing' (It. *cantare*), quadriradical II *tkanta yitkanta*, III *čēda yčēdi* 'to give up, surrender' (It. *cedere*), III *bāta* 'to suffer' (Sic. *patiri*), VI *tbāta yitbāta*; *splōda yisplōdi* 'to explode' (It. *esplode*). As pointed out by Mifsud, some dialects – I believe that a great majority belong to this category – apparently know only full integration (Type A). Thus the Hinds & Badawi dictionary does not include one single Egyptian Arabic loan verb of the weak-final verb type.

Type C comprises 'undigested' Romance stems with a weak-final conjugation. While the stem in Type A and Type B verbs is reduced to three or four consonants, in verbs of Type C the Romance stem is adopted with hardly any change at all. This implies a development from the Semitic Maltese non-concatenative type of morphology to a simpler structure in line with the concatenative morphology of Romance languages. The new, liberal conjugational type of Maltese, free from the traditional root system, has made possible the integration of practically any foreign stem. This unique development can only be explained as the result of several centuries of linguistic contact with foreign languages and of total linguistic and cultural severance from other Semitic languages. Type C has become the most numerous class of modern Maltese loan verbs, and it seems to have blocked the more traditional types of integration (A and B).

Type C verbs are no longer associated with the Semitic-type root system, but are interpreted syllabically. A distinctive feature of this group, as well as of Type D, is the gemination of the initial consonant of the original stem: *pitter* 'to paint' (A), *bāta* 'to suffer' (B), *sōfra* 'to suffer' (B); *ssōda* 'to become firm' (C), *ffilmya* 'to film' (D). The gemination does not, however, apply to all verbs, cf., e.g. *pprōva* 'to try' (It. *prova*), *vviağğa* 'to travel' (It. *viaggia*), *bbrilla* 'to excel' (It. *brilla*), *kklassifika* 'to classify' (It. *classifica*), *ssodisfa* 'to satisfy' (It. *sodisfa*), but *stīmula* 'to stimulate' (It. *stimula*), *skōmoda* 'to inconvenience' (It. *scomoda*), *(i)mpōna* 'to impose' (It. *impone*), *(i)rkūpra* 'to recover' (It. *recupera*), *akkumpanya* 'to accompany' (It. *accompagna*). Prior to Mifsud's study, the most precise description of the feature was given by Martine Vanhove (*Morphosyntaxe et stylistique en maltais: le systeme verbal et la phrase nominale*. Paris 1990, p. 142f.). According to her definition, the first consonant is geminated if the verb begins with one consonant or by two consonants of which the sec-

ond is a liquid (L = *l, m, n, r*; CLv- > CCLv-). To this Mifsud adds only minor specifications. The feature is not of recent origin, but Maltese loan verbs displaying initial gemination have been recorded at least as far back as Skippon's word-list published in 1732.

A special group among Type C verbs are the Italian *-isc-* verbs, the majority of which have retained the infix /-išš/ in part of their conjugation when imported into Maltese, e.g. *ddefinišša* 'to define' (It. *definisce*), *attribwišša* 'to attribute' (It. *attribuisce*), *istruwišša* 'to instruct' (It. *istruisce*), *nfluwišša* 'to influence' (It. *influisce*); some verbs have two variants: *nterfēra* or *nterferišša* 'to interfere' (It. *interferisce*), *ttrasfēra* or *ttrasferišša* 'to transfer' (It. *trasferisce*), whereas some lack the /-išš/ infix: *applawda* 'to applaud' (It. *applaude* or *applaudisce*), *kkonverta* 'to convert' (It. *converte, convertisce*). A few verbs have the /-išš/ infix in spite of its absence in Italian: *nkoraġġišša* 'to encourage' (It. *incoraggia*). Sometimes the infix is used as a 'hiatus filler': *astraišša* or *astraa* 'to abstract' (It. *astrae*), *ddistraišša* or *ddistraa* 'to distract' (It. *distrae*). As in Italian, these verbs display the infix /-išš/ in only part of their conjugation. In the perfect it occurs in sg.3.m. only: *ssuġġerišša* 'he suggested'; cf. sg.1. *ssuġġereyt*, sg.2. *ššuġġereyt*, sg.3.f. *ssuġġerīt*, pl.1. *ssuġġereyna*, pl.2. *ssuġġereytu*, pl.3. *ssuġġerew*. In the imperfect the infix occurs in all persons: sg.1. *nissuġġerišši*, sg.2., *tissuġġerišši*, sg.3.m. *yissuġġerišši*, sg.3.f. *tissuġġerišši*, pl.1. *nissuġġeriššu*, pl.2. *tissuġġeriššu*, pl.3. *yissuġġeriššu*. For all types of loan verbs Mifsud gives relatively extensive corpora – e.g. Type A almost 200 verbs – but only the corpus of the /-išš/ type, comprising about 80 verbs, is meant to be as complete as possible.

Type D verbs represent a further development of Type C and could be regarded as a subgroup of Type C. However, Mifsud treats them separately, since Type D appears to be chronologically and typologically subsequent to Type C and since it mainly includes loans from English. A hallmark of all English loans is insertion of the semivowel *y* between the stem and the conjugational suffixes: *pparkya* 'to park', *ttestya* 'to test', *pplakkya* or *plaggya* 'to plug', *kkeyterya* 'to cater', *ssērvisya* 'to service', *ḥḥendilya* 'to handle', *sponserya* 'to sponsor', *wworya* 'to worry', *ššuttya* 'to shoot', *mmaykrofilmya* 'to microfilm'. The integration of English loan verbs is incomplete in that from them no verbal themes of the Semitic type can be derived.

The liberal integration of polysyllabic foreign stems into the verbal system of Maltese has naturally weakened in the speakers the ties between different verbal themes as well as between verbal and derivative nominal patterns of a given root, a development which in the course of time may lead to a crisis of the root-base system. Significantly, a gradual but noticeable shift from internal to external pluralization can already be observed: *ard* 'land', pl. artîyīt (cf. Old Maltese *irādi*); *leḥen* 'voice', pl. *ilḥna* and *leḥnîyīt*; *rīḥ* 'wind', pl. *ryīḥ* and *ryiḥāt*.[1] The basic structure of Maltese is still unmistakably that of Arabic, but there is

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1 The same feature can be observed in Cypriot Arabic, e.g. *pturát* 'seeds', *ʿazulát* 'threads', *xumát* 'kinds of meat', *xpurát* 'graves'; cf. OA *buḍūr, ġuzūl, luḥūm, qubūr*, Alexander Borg, *Cypriot Arabic*. Stuttgart 1985 (AKM XLVII, 4), p. 120f. In many other respects, this book, missing from Mifsud's Bibliography, provides relevant comparative material for study of the influence of linguistic contact on one-time Arabic vernaculars during a long period of separation from the Arabic-speaking world.

a constantly widening breach in the wall. Mifsud justifiably calls this development a 'neo-Semitic' tendency.

Mifsud characterizes his book as 'a pioneering, and as such provocative, work, which does in no way claim to have exhausted the areas of research treated.' However, this work is impressive indeed: it is amply – in several cases in fact exhaustively – documented, the linguistic analyses are strict and lucid, the diachronic processes are skillfully highlighted from many angles, and the complicated problems related to language mixing and language contact are treated with admirable precision. The author's judgment that the main value of the study 'probably lies in having opened new vistas which will hopefully receive more thorough ... treatment in the future' is certainly true in that it with its exemplary method is bound to serve as an inspiring model for further study of the influence of language contact.

HEIKKI PALVA

Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions of the Book of Ruth. Text Edition and Language Studies*. (Studia Orientalia Lundensia, 6.) Lund: Lund University Press, 1995. xxxiii + 214 pp.

As a methodological point of departure for his Ph.D. dissertation, Per Å. Bengtsson uses an earlier dissertation published for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Lund, viz. *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum, with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements*, by Bengt Knutsson (1974). Even before the so-called Middle Arabic texts became a popular subject of study in the 1970s, the long-established Swedish tradition of text philology produced solid pieces of work belonging to this category, such as Oscar Löfgren's *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der christlichen Texte*, Uppsala 1936, and Bernhard Lewin's *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung Vat.Borg.Ar. 95 und Ber.Orient.oct. 1108*, Diss. Uppsala 1938.

While Knutsson in his study of the Book of Judicum considered it necessary to restrict his corpus to four chapters only (1, 6, 11, and 21), the Book of Ruth studied by Bengtsson is short enough – only 5–6 pages original text in the Biblia Hebraica – to be investigated in detail in its entirety. Bengtsson's book is divided into four major chapters: Introduction (pp. 1–31); The manuscripts (pp. 32–84); The language of the manuscripts (pp. 85–166); Text edition (pp. 167–204). Exhaustive and accurate, the description of the seven manuscripts which have been available to the author, is a good specimen of workmanship. A close study of the manuscripts as well as of their provenance and interdependence leads to interesting new findings. One of these is that the text revision of MS O (Univ. St. Joseph 419, dated 1690, written in Damascus) is not only dependent on the Propaganda Edition (written in 1671 and based on Vat.Ar.468, Casan.Ar.–Karsh.2/ Vat.Ar.449, and the Vulgate), but also on MS Len (Len.Asiat.Mus. D226, Ruth dated 1236; the MS comprising both OT and NT was written in 1235–38). Both of these originated in Melchite circles and represent the Syrian tradition of Ar.III and may have

used the translation written in Antioch in 1022 as its model, whereas the Ar.I group seems to represent an Egyptian tradition. Another interesting observation is that in MS 449 (MS Vat.Ar.449, written in 1335) the Book of Judicum represents a translation from the Septuagint and thus belongs to group Ar.IV, whereas the Book of Ruth in the same manuscript represents the Egyptian group Ar.I whose *Vorlage* is the Peshitta.

The analysis of the language of the manuscripts is introduced with a 15-page discussion of Middle Arabic. Christopher Toll in his review of Bengt Knutsson's dissertation (Acta Orientalia 37 (1976): 226–234) points out that Knutsson, following Joshua Blau's early terminology, uses the term Middle Arabic in a twofold sense, on the one hand referring to 'Middle Arabic texts', and, on the other, to 'Middle Arabic elements' occurring in these texts. The vague terminology gave rise to the misconception of Middle Arabic as a kind of intermediate stage between Old Arabic and the modern dialects (e.g. Knutsson, p. 44), an idea which Blau in several contexts has since rejected.[1] Bengtsson also discusses the concept of 'Christian Arabic', first used by Joshua Blau[1] and justifiably criticized by Khalil Samir in his review of Knutsson (Orientalia Christiana 65 (1981): 87–101), and later by Bo Holmberg in his conference paper "Christian scribes in the Arabic empire".[2] While Judæo-Arabic follows certain norms of its own and therefore can be regarded as a specific language, the deviations from Classical Arabic in the different Christian Arabic manuscripts are not sufficiently uniform to give evidence of a particular language which could properly be called Christian Arabic. As pointed out by Samir and Holmberg,[3] instead of the notion of Christian Arabic as a language form inferior to Muslim Arabic, another distinction is more relevant, viz. that between translations into Arabic and texts originally written in Arabic, and many Christian texts belong to the first-mentioned category. Bengtsson agrees with Samir and Holmberg.

Also in another respect Knutsson was criticized for following Blau: according to Tamás Iványi (Acta Orientalia Hungarica 31 (1977): 396–399), Knutsson uncritically accepts Blau's theory about the emergence of the Neo-Arabic linguistic type as mainly resulting from the contact of the Arabs with non-Arabic speakers. Iványi also criticizes Knutsson for oversimplifying the picture of the linguistic change from a 'synthetic' to an 'analytic' language type. Against this background it is somewhat surprising that Bengtsson, after a long analysis of the criticism of Knutsson's work, rather uncritically follows Kees Versteegh's controversial pidginization and creolization hypothesis.

1 E.g. in *The Beginnings of the Arabic Diglossia. A Study of the Origins of Neoarabic*, Malibu 1977; *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judæo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*. 2nd ed. Jerusalem 1981, Addenda et corrigenda, p. 215; Das frühe Neuarabisch in mittelarabischen Texten, in: W. Fischer (hrsg.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, I, Wiesbaden 1982: 96–109.

1 Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic. Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium.* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Vol. 267, 276, 279, Subsidia, Tom. 27–29.) Louvain 1966.

2 In: Heikki Palva & Knut S. Vikør (eds.), *The Middle East – Unity and Diversity. Papers from the Second Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern Studies, Copenhagen 22–25. October 1992* (Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies, No. 5), Copenhagen 1993: 103–114.

3 Bo Holmberg, 'Finns det en kristen arabiska?' *Tidskrift för mellanösternstudier* 1 (1995): 50–68; p. 62f.

According to Versteegh, the Islamic conquests caused a fundamental change to the whole grammatical system of Arabic, which until then had been 'one language, comprising [...] different registers as well as regional varieties' *(Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1984, p. 2). The first mass process of acquisition of Arabic as a second language was pidginization. As the second step, this language became the first language of the children. This creolization process was then followed by decreolization, resulting from tutoring and formal instruction as well as from close, continuous contacts with Central Arabia. Accepting this general hypothesis, Bengtsson formulates the emergence of Neo-Arabic as follows:

> In the *ǧāhiliyya* Arabic was one language, both written and spoken, with only minor differences between the written and the spoken language. Likewise, the variations between the different dialects were insignificant. The language was synthetic. It was one and the same language, offered as a new means of communication to the various peoples of the empire. Each group of new speakers made their individual restructuring of Arabic. The dialects were thus originally completely different from each other. They had no common descent. The only thing they had in common was the target language, Arabic, so diversely interpreted and applied by its different groups of new speakers. Peripheral dialects like Maltese, remained non-decreolized, but central dialects were continuously subject to decreolization, and became more and more classicized. Consequently, many Arabic dialects are quite similar to each other. (p. 98f.)

Unfortunately, Bengtsson does not take into consideration the fact that Versteegh's theory is a highly speculative hypothesis insufficiently supported by linguistic documents. Thus, nothing is known about any form of medieval creolized Arabic which later on would have become decreolized. One also wonders what the continuous contacts with Central Arabia could have been which may have played an important role in the decreolization process of Arabic. It is very difficult to find any concrete linguistic features in the modern dialects which could be attributed to such a Central Arabian influence.

Surprisingly little attention is paid in many studies on the emergence of the Neo-Arabic language type to the fact that Arabic at the rise of Islam for hundreds of years had been spoken in wide areas in Iraq and Greater Syria, and it can very well be supposed that this kind of Arabic did not represent the same 'synthetic' linguistic type as the *ʿArabiyya*, which in Islamic times became the only accepted target language in formal instruction. When Bengtsson writes that 'Neo-Arabic [...] is not a pre-Islamic phenomenon' (p. 98), this is a relatively rash statement when compared with Joshua Blau's circumspect formulation 'I deny the emergence of the Neoarabic language type in the tribes that partook in the culture of Arabic poetry prior to Islam' (The beginnings of the Arabic diglossia. A study of the origins of Neoarabic, p. 25). Blau thus cautiously leaves the possibility open that non-Arabs may have come into contact with other forms of Arabic than the 'synthetic' *ʿArabiyya*. In my opinion, 'the testimony of the grammarians' referred to by Versteegh (1984, p. 3) does not imply that all speakers of Arabic at the rise of Islam used the 'synthetic' type of Arabic with *ʾiʿrāb*.

The linguistic analysis of the texts clearly shows that Bengtsson is much more a text philologist than a linguist. Thus, the disappearance of the glottal stop in syllable-final position, with a subsequent lengthening of the preceding vowel is explained in an

inconceivable way: 'After the case vowels had disappeared *hamza* came to close syllables [...] Thus *hamza* became superfluous, shifted from a glottal stop into prolonging a preceding vowel, and was finally dropped.' (p. 110) A similar inexact description is found on p. 130: 'In *verba primæ hamzatæ* in imperfect the prefix vowel *a*, preceding the hamza, shifts from *a'* to *ā*.' The *nisba* suffix is transcribed in a way incompatible with the CA syllable structure *-īyya* (p. 137). Lebanon, which actually belongs to the few areas in which the Old Arabic diphthongs *aw* and *ay* have been preserved, is chosen as the example of monophthongization of the diphthongs (p. 105).

Several details in the description of dentals and interdentals also call for critical remarks, especially the speculations of influence from the language of the Peshitta. In the manuscripts a number of cases are found in which /t̲/ occurs instead of /t/. 'In some cases *tā'* in a perfect ending is replaced by *t̲ā''*: *šxt̲* 'I am old', *'tfqt̲* 'she happened to be', *ṣn'tm'* 'you both did'. 'Further we have examples of spirantization of *tā'* after a vowel': *st̲t* (*tā' marbūṭa*) 'six', *ft̲y* 'boy, servant', *ft̲'t* (*tā' marbūṭa*) 'girl, maid servant', *ftt* 'to weaken, make soft', *'llt̲yn* 'rel.pron. f.du., st.obl.', *'llt̲'n* 'rel.pron., f.du., st.rect.', *byt̲* 'house' (p. 120f.). Significantly, Bengtsson here finds 'examples of spirantization', thus explicitly claiming that the orthography reflects the actual pronunciation; consequently, he in these cases suspects linguistic and not only orthographic influence from the language of the Peshitta. Although in the Peshitta 'Syriac *tāw* after a vowel, especially in foreign words and proper names, is often transliterated with *t̲ā''*, it is difficult to see how this could linguistically influence many of the examples cited above, e.g. the 1st p. sg. and 2nd p. du. personal morphemes in the perfect, or the numeral 'six' in which /tt/ would have been spirantized to /tt̲/.

As is natural, /d/ and /d̲/ are discussed as a parallel case, but, contrary to the section on /t/ and /t̲/ above, Bengtsson now speaks in orthographic terms: 'Just as *tā'* is occasionally replaced with *t̲ā'*, most often after a vowel, there are also examples of CA *dāl* replaced by *d̲āl* in the MSS.' (p. 122) As a matter of fact, in one of the three examples this occurs in initial position (*d̲'ym'* 'always'), and in one the consonant is doubled (*šd̲dy* 'the Almighty'); the form *'d̲nw'* 'come (m.pl.) near!' (text edition, p. 180, l.7; cf. *'dnw'* pp. 128 and 133) is not mentioned in this context, and must be a misprint either on pp. 128 and 133 or in the text edition. In footnote 3 to p. 122 reference is made to Knutsson, p. 98, where an improbable theory is put forth: 'In some cases it may be reasonable to interpret *d̲āl* as reflecting the fricative pronunciation of Syriac *dālath*; in other cases, however, it seems more likely that the same phonetic law which changes Syriac *dālath* to fricative has been active in Arabic itself and that consequently *dāl* following a vowel may have become *d̲āl*.'

That 'you (f.s.) will see' is written *tnḍry* instead of the CA *tnẓry* is – as correctly pointed out by Bengtsson – due to the merger of the two phonemes /ḍ/ and /ẓ/ (/d̲/ is a misprint instead of /ḍ/; p. 123). Here Bengtsson refrains from drawing any further conclusions, but it may be mentioned that Versteegh uses this phonetic and phonemic development as a support for his pidgin hypothesis: 'Just like all known pidginized varieties the Arabic dialects exhibit a simplification in the phonological inventory as compared with that of the Classical language. The most striking common development in

this respect is the merger of the two phonemes /ḍ/ and /ḏ/ in virtually all dialects' (1984, p. 82). Should, then, the corresponding simplification in other Semitic languages as well as in all Bedouin dialects also be attributed to pidginization and not to a natural trend?

On p. 153 a case of obvious influence from the Peshitta is discussed: *wlk y' rʿwṯ 'lm'byh 'mr't mlywn 'xḏtk ly 'mr'h* 'And you, Ruth the Moabitess, wife of Malyun, I have taken to my wife' unmistakably reflects the Syriac text: *wlḵ'y rəʿwṯ* [...] According to Bengtsson, '[i]t is quite obvious that the language of Len and O is influenced by Pesh. However, the writer would not have used this construction had he not been familiar with it from his own dialect.' What remains problematic here is whether the translator actually may have interpreted the *l-* in *wlk* as an object marker. The object marker *l-*, attributed to Aramaic substrate influence, is in certain modern Syrian and Mesopotamian dialects used in another way, viz. as the marker of an epexegetic object (e.g. *bāʿa l-el-bēt* 'he sold the house' < 'he sold it, the house');[4] this fact does not, of course, exclude the possibility that it earlier may have been used as the marker of an anticipatory object as well.

On p. 159f. an interesting example of the influence of Syriac on the syntax of the target language is found: since the Classical Arabic item *'ayḍan* does not belong to Colloquial Arabic, it lacks a given place in the word order of the translator's mother tongue, a dialect of Arabic. Thus, the translator has rendered both *tūv* and *åf* with *'ayḍan*, using it as a direct counterpart of its Syriac equivalents.

The scrupulous text editions are based on seven manuscripts ranging from the 13th to the 17th century, five of which represent one Syriac–Arabic version, a free translation from the Peshitta and probably of Egyptian provenance, whereas the other two represent another version, a literal translation from the Peshitta, written in Damascus in Melchite circles. The two versions are presented in separate editions.

In spite of some critical remarks, I regard Per Å. Bengtsson's study as a worthwhile contribution to the study of the history and language of the Arabic translations of the Bible. As a continuation of a research tradition and building upon previous studies, it has an organic place in its field. Its results are easy to control and compare with the results from earlier studies in Middle Arabic texts.

An interesting subject not discussed by Bengtsson is the question about the original function or *Sitz im Leben* of the Arabic translations made at the time when Arabic was not used in the church service. They could not be very ambitious 'official standard translations', but were probably written for educational purposes, which might afford us a plausible explanation of their language form.

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4 See, e.g. Haim Blanc, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Harvard, Mass., 1964. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 10); pp. 128–132.

T. F. Mitchell & S. A. al-Hassan, *Modality, Mood and Aspect in Spoken Arabic. With Special Reference to Egypt and the Levant.* (Library of Arabic Linguistics, Monograph No. 11.) London: Kegan Paul International, 1994. £55.00.

This volume is the first full-length monograph derived from the Leeds Project on Educated Spoken Arabic which has so far been published. Earlier important contributions from this project are Mitchell's articles "Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant, with special reference to participle and tense", *Journal of Linguistics* 14(2) (1978); "Dimensions of style in a grammar of Educated Spoken Arabic", *Archivum Linguisticum* 11 (1980); "Soziolinguistische und stilistische Aspekte des gesprochenen Arabisch der Gebildeten (Educated Spoken Arabic) in Ägypten und der Levante", *Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-Hist- Kl. Band 123, Heft 6, Berlin 1984; "What is Educated Spoken Arabic?" in: M. H. Ibrahim and B. H. Jernudd (eds.), *Aspects of Arabic Sociolinguistics* (special volume 61 of *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language*), Amsterdam 1986; El-Hassan's earlier contributions include "Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant: a critical review of diglossia and related concepts", *Archivum Linguisticum* 8(2) (1978); *Variation in the Educated Spoken Arabic of Jordan, with Special Reference to Aspect in the Verb Phrase*, Unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1978; "Variation in the demonstrative system in Educated Spoken Arabic", *Archivum Linguisticum* 9(1) (1979); A. M. Sallam has contributed with the articles "Gender in the Educated Spoken Arabic of Egypt and the Levant", *Archivum Linguisticum* 9(2) (1979), and "Phonological variation in Educated Spoken Arabic: a study of the uvular and related plosive types", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43(1) (1980). Among these, Mitchell 1984 is not mentioned in the Bibliography, where no publication written in German is mentioned, not even Werner Diem, *Hochsprache und Dialekt, Untersuchungen zur heutigen arabischen Zweisprachigkeit*, Wiesbaden 1974 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 41:1).

The book under review forms part of the unpublished, obviously voluminous overall reference grammar *A Grammar of Educated Spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant*, written by D. Barber, S. A. El-Hassan, M. H. Ibrahim, and T. F. Mitchell, and assisted by A. R. Alsayed and A. M. Sallam.

Mitchell's and El-Hassan's monograph fills a large gap in the linguistic study of Arabic; the truth is that very little work has been devoted to the intersecting categories of modality, mood and aspect in spoken Arabic. As pointed out by Clive Holes in Editor's Note (p. vii), 'one reason for this apparent lack of interest may be that these categories as such are not recognized in the Classical Arabic grammatical tradition', and 'another, empirical, reason is that if the subject is to be treated in more than a merely taxonomic fashion and be based on a geographically representative sample, it requires far more manpower and familiarity with the dialects of many different regions than is ever normally available to the individual researcher, be he Arab or Arabist.'

In the Introduction, Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) is defined as 'a form of conversational Arabic used by educated speakers from one or more Arab countries' (p. 1), and 'a mixture of the shared written language and regionally varied vernaculars or

mother-tongues', involving 'variation which can be described in terms of three stylistic grades as well as of regional distinctions' (p. 2). The three stylistic categories referred to are Formal, Informal and a middle, often hybrid grade. The Formal style draws notably on the written language, whereas the Informal style is closer to a given regional vernacular. Excluded from ESA are, on the one hand, stigmatized and stridently local features, and, on the other, the high-flown style more appropriate to reading aloud a written text. The geographical area investigated in the Leeds Project of the late 70s and early 80s was Egypt and the Levant. The countries represented by the Arab research fellows were Egypt, Jordan, Palestine and Syria, and 'a fairly representative corpus' of ESA consisting of unscripted, extempore conversations and discussions spanning a variety of topics, settings, and role relations was collected in Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon and Syria.

It is obvious from the definition of ESA that the notion of diglossia does not provide an adequate descriptive framework for this variety of Spoken Arabic, but it must be based on variationist model, in which the language continuum is divided into a number of stylistic levels.[1] Although ESA is described as a mixture of the shared written language and regionally varied vernaculars, it must be borne in mind that its grammatical structure still mainly follows the structure of Spoken Arabic, whereas the features representing Written Arabic mostly are lexical and phraseological. Phonetic 'corrections' of local dialectal features are also of common occurrence; these are, however, not always made in the direction of Written Arabic, but the dialect of an urban centre may also serve as the model.[2]

As ESA constantly oscillates between written and vernacular Arabic, having a vernacular base and a written 'superstructure', it cannot be described without being in touch with different varieties of the living, orally developing language. Consequently, it tends to escape watertight rules, as do all linguistic theories and descriptions, but considering the wide spectrum of variation in ESA, one would suspect that all rules are unmanageable. However, in spite of the heterogeneity easily discernible at the surface level, the underlying syntactic substructure of ESA in Egypt and the Levant is relatively homogeneous. This actually renders a description feasible, provided that not only regional varieties but also the social context of speech, the identity of the addressee and the aims of communication are carefully taken into consideration. In Mitchell's and El-Hassan's study this has been done in an exemplary way, and the result is a true picture of the living ESA.

The book is very well arranged: the transcription system is presented with exact, well-defined terms, and the Introduction furnishes the reader with a good background; the book is provided with an exceptionally useful index, two interesting appendices, a short Preface and Introduction in Arabic, as well as an English–Arabic glossary of technical

1 A recent overview of the discussion is Alan S. Kaye, "Formal vs. Informal Arabic: Diglossia, Triglossia, Tetraglossia, etc., Polyglossia – Multiglossia viewed as a Continuum", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 27 (1994): 47–66.

2 See Heikki Palva, "Patterns of koineization in Modern Colloquial Arabic", *Acta Orientalia* 43, 1982: 13–32; p. 20: 'The progression of the /'/ reflex of qāf is 'totally independent of any influence of the H[igh] variety of Arabic. Thus, the /q/ reflex, identical with that used in the H variety, can in colloquial context be ridiculed as a non-urban variant used by uneducated speakers in areas where the /'/ reflex is predominant.'

terms. The only technical drawback is the inconvenient placing of the notes after the chapters instead of using footnotes.

The main contents of the study have been divided into two chapters the first of which deals with modality and mood (pp. 7–64), and the other with aspect, with some further reference to tense (pp. 65–105). The chapter on modality and mood is introduced with a careful definition of terminology. The broad divisions of tense and mood are also summarized in tabular form. The forms traditionally called perfect and imperfect are here defined as 'past' and 'nonpast'; the latter has three moods: indicative (*b-*), intentive (*ḥa-*), and jussive (zero-); the jussive is divided into subjunctive and imperative moods. The distribution of the subjunctive is pre-verbal – post-verbal, etc. – negative imperative; in post-verbal position the subjunctive is preceded by catenative verbs, verb-like 'desiderative' nouns and participial adjectives (*bidd-*, *ʿāwiz*, etc.), adverbial subordinators (*ʿabl ma*, etc.), indefinite antecedents, or possibility/necessity modals (*lāzim*, etc.). The use of the tenses, moods, and participles is discussed in detail, paying attention to regional factors, semantic qualities of verbs, different contexts, etc., always with abundant, detailed exemplification.

In the chapter dealing with the aspect the relevance of verb classes is thoroughly discussed. On p. 73, the authors make an important statement:

> The categories of tense and aspect, both involving concepts of time and timing, do not overlap either in form or function. Formally speaking, the past and nonpast subcategories of tense are inflectionally determined, whereas subcategories of aspect are determined in terms of syntactico-semantic regularities pertaining to the entire structure of the verbal phrase. [...] Aspectual distinctions, unlike those of tense, are not overtly reflected in the morphology, that is, there are no specialized *inflectional* or *derivational* morphemes to signal aspectual contrasts. Nevertheless, Arabic encodes aspectual distinctions which are as finely differentiated as those of the Slavonic languages, wherein they are accounted for in terms of verbal inflections and whence the term *aspect* has derived.

Since all the linguistic material discussed derive from the Leeds corpus, the statement probably refers to the ESA spoken in Egypt and the Levant. However, both here and on p. 13, where the terms 'past' and 'nonpast' for the conventional 'perfect' and 'imperfect' are presented, only 'Arabic' is explicitly mentioned, which could be understood as referring to Arabic in general, that is, to all forms and stages of the Arabic language. Similarly, the remark on p. 65f., followed by ESA examples, concerns 'Arabic' in general: 'the fact that both aspect and tense primarily relate verbal form to concepts of time has often led to confusion. [...] Tense in Arabic is largely a matter of morphological paradigms of forms differentiated first and foremost for person...' At this point some more explicitness about what is meant by 'Arabic' would have been desirable.

Among the rich contents of the book, the analysis of the functions of participle in different regional types of ESA belongs to the most interesting sections. The function of the participle in Egyptian and Levantine Arabic is often defined as perfective or resultative: *zārhum* 'he visited them' vs. *zāyirhum* 'he has visited them'. Typically of the context-sensitive way of description used in this book, the contrastive verb forms are always given in a wider context, which reveals how dependent on the context the

functions are. Thus, the Jordanian examples (1) *zārhum ḥāzim 'ams w xabbarhum ʿan kull mā jara* and (2) *zāyirhum ḥāzim 'ams wi mxabbirhum ʿan kull mā jara* are both translated 'Hazim visited them yesterday and informed them of all that (had) happened.' The speech situation in each case is one of narration, and the event of X's telling Y took place in the past. In spite of the identical translations, there is an important contrast between the two. 'The first sentence belongs to straightforward narration and presupposes that the speaker guarantees the reliability of the assertion [...] either he witnessed the "event" or has irrefutable evidence that the "event" took place. The second sentence, however, suggests reservations on the part of the speaker [...]' (p. 18)

The contrast between the perfect (past tense) and the active participle is common to both Egypt and the Levant, but the authors also point out a specialized Jordanian[3] use of the participle. Following the past tense of the copula, the active participle can be used whereas the past tense is inadmissible: *nabīl kān kātib irrisāle lamma šabb ilḥarī'* 'Nabeel had written the letter when the fire broke out', but not **nabīl kān katab irrisāle lamma šabb ilḥarī'*, which is good Syrian and Egyptian Arabic (p. 74). In Jordan the sentence *kān lābis ilbadle w šāliḥha (lamma šuftu)* 'he had worn the suit and taken it off (when I saw him)' is perfectly good regional language, whereas it to an Egyptian is a non-sequitur, since the participle in Egypt carries the implication of the 'current relevance' of past acts; in the case of most verbs, the state of affairs initiated by the past act has remained unbroken up to the present.

It is not difficult to agree with Clive Holes, who in the Editor's Note writes:

> The publication of a volume on the intersecting grammatical categories of modality, mood and aspect in spoken Arabic is particularly welcome because these complex topics had hardly been addressed in Arabic linguistics research, yet they are central to any communication between speakers from different areas of the Arab world.

With all the more reason is this volume welcome as it takes an extensive linguistic corpus, rather than a theory, as its starting point, and since the conclusions are based on a sensitive interpretation of the linguistic material in its actual contexts. This excellent book belongs to the most important contributions in the field of Arabic linguistics, and it is highly recommended both for theoretical study and for educational purposes.

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3 Here it should be pointed out that the term 'Jordanian' is sometimes rather inexact, since it seems to encompass ESA varieties based on several different types of dialects, such as urban Palestinian (*miš māxiḏ išša''a*, p. 86), and the Transjordanian *bigūl*-group (*laga/ligi*, *yilga*, p. 84), or even *yigūl*-group dialects (e.g. 'Jordan' *mā zāl* (p. 86) vs. 'Egypt, Palestine, Syria' *lissa*, p. 74).

Karlheinz Mörth, *Die Kardinalzahlwörter von eins bis zehn in den neuarabischen Dialekten.* (Dissertationen der Universität Wien, 16.) Wien: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1997. xvi + 370 pp.

Mörth's *Die Kardinalzahlwörter* is the rewritten version of his doctoral dissertation submitted in Vienna in 1992. As the title indicates, the work deals with the modern Arabic dialects in general, reviewing the material in all dialects. The first chapter (pp. 1–7) briefly resumes the general linguistic theories concerning numerals, and the following chapters (pp. 9–114) examine the phonology and morphology of individual numbers from two to ten. The syntax of these numerals is discussed on pp. 115–188, and the book ends with appendices: the material is given in a series of tables (pp. 189–276) and also geographically with maps (pp. 277–313), after which come yet further tables (*Ausgewählte Zahlenreihen*, pp. 314–327). Bibliography and indices conclude the book.

Mörth lays out his aims in the Preface (pp. xi–xii): the study is basically a synchronic one, although diachronic features are not ignored. He does describe the dialectal material adequately, but one sometimes wishes for more diachronic analysis concerning the development of the system of numerals as a whole. Mörth's description of each numeral in turn is very systematic and clear, but the study might have profited from some more general overviews. As it now stands, one is left with the irritating feeling, so common when reading synchronic descriptions, that much of the really interesting questions are left to one side unanswered, whereas long, sometimes infinite-looking lists of attested forms attract the main attention. On the other hand, Mörth has been able to collect an impressive amount of material which used to lay dispersed in dozens if not hundreds of dialect descriptions, and the numerals can now be found quickly and economically in his monograph which will be of great use both for studies of the history of Arabic and Common Semitic developments.

The value of the book is uncontested, and there is little one can add to its exhaustive descriptive part. Throughout the book, Mörth draws attention to the peculiarities of the phonological development in some dialectal forms of the numerals. Although the question extends far beyond the scope of Mörth's book, it does show how urgently one is in need of a historical phonology of Arabic: much material is found both in Mediaeval sources and in modern dialects but it seems that neither has been given the attention it deserves, and the writers of special monographs, like Mörth, have to be content with a handful of dispersed notes by earlier scholars, a situation where an Indo-europeanist, equipped as he is with etymological dictionaries and historical grammars, would hardly imagine finding himself.

In the diachronic analyses, there are here and there some minor points which would have deserved further attention. Thus, e.g, Mörth discusses the short forms of 'one' (pp. 11–18; *waḥd – waḥda*) and even mentions in a note (p. 11) the grammatical curiosity *waḥad-* from Ibn Yā'īsh and Ibn Sīda, but does not pay any attention to the Classical *waḥd(a)-* 'alone', nor does he discuss any possible analogous effect of similar forms on other numerals (*khams*, etc.). *Waḥd(a)-* can hardly be the origin of the modern variants *waḥd* etc., but it may well represent an earlier case of the same development that later led

to the modern short forms (**wāḥidaka* > *waḥdaka*?). Whatever the relations between Classical *waḥd(a)-* and the modern short forms, one would have appreciated seeing the question discussed.

Despite some minor points like this – and they are not many – Mörth's book is an accurate and exact study, and the author deserves our thanks for his laborious work.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Susanne Enderwitz, *Liebe als Beruf. Al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf und Das Gazal.* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 55.) Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart), 1995. viii + 250 pp.

After her work on al-Ǧāḥiẓ (*Gesellschaftlicher Rang und ethnische Legitimation.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 53, 1979), Dr. Enderwitz now turns to a slightly earlier writer, the love poet al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, who has so often been studied in connection with courtly love.

The book – originally a Berlin dissertation from 1990 – describes concisely the history of *ghazal* and the concepts of *fatā* and *ẓarīf*, then turns to the life of al-ʿAbbās, the character behind 'Fawz', and the later fate of the *Dīwān* of al-ʿAbbās. The last, and longest, chapter is an analysis of the poet's work in three sections (*Fauz und al-ʿAbbās*; *Al-ʿAbbās und die Liebe*; *Die Liebe und die Dritten*).

The book is more or less constructed around quotations of al-ʿAbbās' poetry, and the earlier studies are often referred to. Sometimes one misses a more personal touch, to hear the author's own voice, but in general the book is quite readable and informative.

On the other hand, the reader is somewhat distressed because of a certain carelessness in the details. The poems are usually correctly transliterated[5], but Dr. Enderwitz handles the final vowels all too freely. In verse quotations, the final vowels of the verse should, I think, be carefully indicated, and it does disturb the reader to find rhyming words *ardud – tuṭrad – taʿabbadī* in the same poem (pp. 140–141). In this case, one can, though, easily correct the rhymes, but in others, the casual reader easily falls victim to an incorrect rhyme (e.g. p. 177, 17 verses in *-īb*, one in *-ībī*, which is the only correct one). Similarly, Enderwitz does not take note of whether one should read, e.g., *-kum* or *-kumū*. In short, the transliterations are throughout against the metre, which is very embarrassing in a monograph on a poet.

Another minor point might also be mentioned. When quoting verses, Enderwitz naturally selects her material, but sometimes one wonders what use it is to excise a small part of the poem. E.g. the poem quoted on p. 145 consists of six verses of which Enderwitz quotes four and a half.

5 There are, of course, some mistakes here and there: page 143 is an untypically faulty one, with two mistakes in one quotation, viz. *Wa-ka-anna* (read: *Wa-ka-annahā*) and *aḥsabuhā* (read: *la-aḥsabuhā*).

Finally, the bibliography needs a few comments. First of all, it is somewhat bewildering to see how often Enderwitz uses very poor editions instead of the better ones. Surely one would have thought that she would have had the standard editions at her disposal at the *Freie Universität*. The bibliography is also technically deficient: Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil* (p. 231) is given as 'Hrsg. Ṣādir' whereas the edition in question is obviously the Dār Ṣādir reprint of the edition of Tornberg; al-Qālī's *Amālī* is given as 'Hrsg. Abū ʿUbaid al-Bakrī' (p. 235) – Abū ʿUbaid is not the modern editor, but the mediaeval author of *at-Tanbīh*, which is printed together with al-Qālī's works; aṭ-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīḫ* (p. 237) consists, as everybody knows, of more than one volume, etc. All these are naturally minor points which do not detract from the book's value but still they are somewhat irritating.

The publisher deserves our thanks for revising the outward appearance of the series. The volumes of *Beiruter Texte und Studien* have always been of high quality as to their content, but the series used to be less attractive in its form. This volume has a rejuvenated form, with a reproduction of a delightful multicoloured 9th-century Sāmarrā' painting on the cover.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Bernd Radtke (Hrsg.), *Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmiḏ*, II: *Übersetzung und Kommentar*. (Bibliotheca Islamica, 35b.) Franz Steiner Verlag: Beirut, 1996. xiv + 287 pp. DEM 68,–.

According to the Preface (*Vorwort*, pp. viii–ix), Dr. Radtke became acquainted with the great theosophist from Tirmidh some thirty years ago. Since then Radtke has time after time returned to this original thinker who has little by little become better known to European scholars, very much because of the efforts of Radtke himself. Text editions, studies and translations have steadily flowed from his pen, and all of them have been characterized by critical acumen and a deep understanding of this writer who is not one of the easiest to understand.

The present volume is a fully annotated translation of his earlier edition (*Bibliotheca Islamica 35a*, 1992) of three short but important tractates by at-Tirmidhī (*Sīrat al-awliyāʾ*; *Ǧawāb al-masāʾil allatī saʾalahu ahl Sarakhsʿ anhā*; *Ǧawāb kitāb min ar-Rayy*), the first of which has already been translated into English by Radtke (in collaboration with John O'Kane in their *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism*, London 1996), but the present translation is the definitive one (pp. viii: 'sie [this translation] ist als die massgebliche zu nehmen'). As such, it will be invaluable for all scholars dealing with this material.

In addition to the three texts, Radtke translates as an Appendix (pp. 155–174) relevant passages, some of which come from unedited manuscripts, from at-Tirmidhī's other works elucidating the complicated text of *Sīrat al-awliyāʾ*.

Radtke's work bears the mark of the best German speaking scholarship. Philological erudition, detailed analysis and profound acquaintance with his subject matter are charac-

teristic of Radtke, as well as of some of his illustrious senior colleagues, Meier and Gramlich, to name but two.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Fritz Meier, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Naqšbandiyya. I: Die Herzensbindung an den Meister.* II: *Kraftakt und Faustrecht des Heiligen.* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 58.), Istanbul (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart): 1994. 366 pp. DM 128,–. ISBN 3-515-06563-6.

The last dozen or so years have witnessed a real upsurge in Naqshbandīya studies. Even to the degree that the *shaikh* of Ṣūfī studies Fritz Meier has to commence his 'Vorbemerkungen' by enumerating several important contributions published since the completion of the book here reviewed.[1] Professor Meier's 'Vorbemerkungen' is a remarkably candid and welcome statement of problems encountered over almost sixty years when trying to obtain material for his studies from libraries and bookshops in the Islamic world, something most of us could endorse but seldom do. This problem has been treated earlier by, among others, Bernard Lewis in his perceptive essay "Other people's history".[2]

The Naqshbandīya have been otherwise in our thoughts during the 1990s: the short independence of the rebel republic of Chechnya, the brutal Russian invasion to end it in 1994, and the humiliating Russian withdrawal two years later enforced by the Chechen guerilla force.[3] Today though, even if there are still many Naqshbandīs in Chechnya, the most widespread *ṭarīqa* is the Qādirīya, whose stamping *dhikr* – opposed to the silent *dhikr* of the Naqshbandīya – became familiar to western TV spectators and something of a symbol of Chechen resolution during the hostilities in Chechnya.

The two studies here combined are complementary. The first one (pp. 17–241) deals with the *rābiṭa*, the tie of love between the *shaikh* and the novice in Sufism, being one of the main forms of initiation. Professor Meier gives us a thorough scrutiny of all the aspects connected with this 'tieing of the heart to the *shaikh*' as developed among the Naqshbandīya.[4] The second study (pp. 245–304) takes us into the domain of *taṣarruf*, the supernatural powers exercised by the Ṣūfī *shaikhs* not only over their disciples but also over their adversaries. The underlying thread by Professor Meier has in both of these topics been, to say the least, touchy:

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1 *Naqshbandis. Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman. Actes de la Table Ronde de Sèvres 2–4 mai 1985.* Éd. M Gaborieau, A. Popovic et T. Zarcone. Istanbul & Paris 1990; the articles "Naḳshband" and "Naḳshbandiyya" in *EI*^{2}; and A. F. Buehler, *Charisma and exemplar: Naqshbandi spiritual authority in the Panjab, 1857–1947.* Cambridge, Mass. 1993.

2 *The American Scholar* 59 (1990): 397–405.

3 See the timely report by Carlotta Gall and Thomas de Waal, *Chechnya: A small victorious war*, London & Basingstoke 1997.

4 Our author has given a condensation of this first part in a lecture read on February 10, 1995 entitled "Meister und Schüler im Orden der Naqšbandiyya" and published in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Philosophisch-historische Klasse) 1995(2): 1–25.

> Eine andere Schwierigkeit, der ich nun mit meinem fertigen Buch gegenüberstehe, ist die der Verständigung. Lassen wir die rein sprachlichen Schranken und Mißverständnisse beiseite, so ist es in meinem Fall vor allem die Verschiedenheit der Gesichtspunkte, unter denen über Religion gesprochen wird. Dabei geht es nicht um den Gegensatz zwischen Bekenntnissen – ich bekenne nichts – sondern um den Gegensatz zwischen Bekenntnis und Wissenschaft. (p. 11)

This is a timely book. Dr Robert Irwin when reviewing Ira Lapidus' 'awesome achievement', *A history of Islamic societies*, titled his appreciative review appropriately 'Following orders'.[5] According to Dr Irwin one of the most valuable results of Lapidus' study is the prominence assigned to Sufism: being made aware that the history of the orders is of fundamental importance for the study of the politics, economy and culture of the Muslim world, at least from the twelfth century to the present day. The Naqshbandīs are on the move in the 1990s not only among the Muslims themselves but making important bridgeheads in the West too.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

Farhad Daftary (ed.), *Mediaeval Isma'ili history and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. xviii + 331 pp. £40.00/$59.95. ISBN 0-521-45140-X (hardback).

This is an exemplary book from the fitting jacket illustration to the impeccable index – fifteen studies by Ismā'īlī and non-Ismā'īlī scholars, both Eastern and Western, and an Introduction by the editor. The studies are arranged chronologically in two parts, 'The classical phase', i.e. the pre-Fatimid and classical Fatimid periods, and 'The Nizārī phase', i.e. post-1049 history.

The first article (pp. 21–73) is an updated (the notes, not the text) English translation of Professor Wilferd Madelung's classical study 'Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaṭen' published in 1959 in *Der Islam*. Here the relations between the Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs are scrutinized and Madelung concludes that the view propagated by Sunnī historians and modern scholars that the Qarmaṭīs were in collusion with the Fatimids is false. The Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz never succeeded in winning the Qarmaṭīs over to the Fatimid cause. Madelung's second piece (pp. 85–89) deals with the Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī and his description of the seven faculties (*quwā*) which originated together with the Universal Intellect and accompany it.

Heinz Halm also contributes two articles. In the first one (pp. 75–83) Halm presents the earliest cosmological doctrine of the Ismā'īlīs, later to be superseded by an Ismā'īlī Neoplatonic one. The second piece (pp. 91–115) takes up the initiation into Isma'ilism in Fatimid Egypt. An ostensible book of instructions for the initiation of adepts (*Kitāb al-balāgh al-akbar*) was circulated already in the 4th/10th century by anti-Ismā'īlī pamphleteers and only quite recently unmasked by the late S. M. Stern as a propagandist travesty.

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5 *Times Literary Supplement* 3.–9.3.1989/4483.

In the first of the four remaining studies of the classical phase, Ismail K. Poonawala describes (pp. 117–143) how Ismāʿīlī law became codified almost exclusively through the efforts of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974). Abbas Hamdani offers a critique (pp. 145–152) of Paul Casanova's dating of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (to shortly before 439/1047), which, according to Professor Hamdani, should be dated just prior to the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate 297/909. Azim A. Nanji presents the Ismāʿīlī approaches towards other religions (pp. 153–160), and Paul E. Walker introduces us (pp. 161–177) to the only known Ismāʿīlī heresiography on Muslim sects, the *Kitāb al-shajara* by the Khorāsānī *dāʿī* Abū Tammām (*fl.* in the first half of the 4th/10th century).

The editor himself opens the second part, the Nizārī phase, with a detailed study on Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's crucial role in organizing and leading the movement which subsequently became known as the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī movement (pp. 181–204). It was interesting to read that the Nizārī movement – in the political domain – started primarily as an Irano-Islamic revolutionary movement, representing Iranian opposition to the alien, oppressive rule of the Saljuq Turks in much the same way as the earlier Khurramīya had represented Iranian opposition against Arab domination and ʿAbbasid perfidy. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ contributed thus not only to the Ismāʿīlī religious movement but also to the history of Iranian revolutionary movements.

The two following studies deal with Ismāʿīlī relations to their Sunnī neighbours. Dr Carole Hillenbrand looks at the Saljuq's attitudes towards the Ismāʿīlīs during the leadership of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (pp. 205–220), and Professor C. E. Bosworth presents an overview of the encounters between the Quhistānī Nizārīs and the Sunnī rulers of Sīstān (pp. 221–229).

Hamid Dabashi dwells upon the controversial philosopher-cum-vizier Naṣīr al-dīn al-Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) religious affiliation (pp. 231–245), and Charles Melville examines the use of *fidāwīs* by the Mamlūks in the wider context of Mamlūk-Mongol relations during the early decades of the 8th/14th century (pp. 247–263). Ali Asani's contribution (pp. 265–280) re-examines the traditional views on the 'authorship' of the *gināns*, the devotional poems of the Khoja community. The last article (pp. 281–297) deals with the Nuqṭawīya, an obscure esoteric non-Ismāʿīlī sect. Professor Abbas Amanat demonstrates that Ismāʿīlī antecedents may be detected in the Nuqṭawī cyclical view of time and history.

As already mentioned this is an exemplary book. Errors are few but the following should be pointed out: *simāʿ* (p. 136 n. 17) for *samāʿ*; al-Maqarrī (pp. 145, 325) for al-Maqqarī; *bayn ẓahrānīhim* (pp. 148, 149, 150) for *bayn ẓahrānayhim*; *mujaddid ra's mā'a* (p. 283) for *mujaddid ra's mi'a*; Nāṣir-i Khursraw (p. 326) for Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

The book is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970) who, in a way, is the founding father of modern Ismāʿīlī studies.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

R. Gramlich, *Abu l-ʿAbbās b. ʿAṭā'. Sufi und Koranausleger*. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 51:2.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995. vii + 346 pp. DM 184,–.

R. Gramlich continues his series of outstanding German translations of Ṣūfī classics with the present volume. The book consists of two parts. The first is a concise study of Ibn ʿAṭā', his life and thoughts. The chapter *Die Glaubenswelt Ibn ʿAṭā's* is divided into four subchapters (*Der erhabene Gott*; *Der einzige Gott*; *Führer und Vorbilder*; *Der Mensch vor Gott*), in which Gramlich describes Ibn ʿAṭā's thoughts and beliefs through extracts from his Qur'ān commentary.

The second and main part of the book is a translation of the extracts from Ibn ʿAṭā's Qur'ān commentary. The text has been partly preserved in as-Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*. The sayings deriving from Ibn ʿAṭā' have been excerpted and published by P. Nwyia in his *Trois Œuvres inédites* (1973), and Gramlich has taken this edition as the basis of his translation, comparing the text with a manuscript of as-Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq* and Rūzbihān Baqlī's *ʿArā'is al-bayān*, as well as some parallel texts.

The translation – it goes without saying – is accurate, and the parallels given after each passage are very valuable. Yet one cannot escape the feeling that the two parts of the book are in a way overlapping, and that the detailed analysis of the first part, based as it is on the translated extracts which are quoted in full, makes the translation somewhat redundant. Thus, e.g., p. 15 § 7 consists almost exclusively of translated extracts. It might have been possible to do entirely without the second part, the 200-page translation, by enlarging the analytical section by a few pages. On the other hand, though, the non-Arabist scholar will perhaps bless Professor Gramlich for not doing so. The present volume does, after all, offer the non-Arabist a chance to read the whole text himself, although the text produced by Nwyia is in itself only a set of fragments.

It may be a matter of taste, but I would also have preferred to see more Arabic terms given in brackets, so that the reader would not have to take recourse to the edition so often, just to check the exact wording of some interesting passage.

These few notes will not conceal the main point: Professor Gramlich has yet again given us a masterpiece, and the number of reliable translations of Ṣūfī classics available to all readers has grown by one, an important addition to our knowledge of early Ṣūfism.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

A. G. Ravān Farhādi, *ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī of Herāt (1006–1089 C.E.). An Early Ṣūfī Master*. (Curzon Sufi Series.) Guilford: Curzon Press, 1996. xiv+158 pp. Paperback £12.99.

Carl W. Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī. Mysticism and the Rhetoric of Sainthood in Persian Sufism*. (Curzon Sufi Series.) Guilford: Curzon Press, 1996. xxvi + 181 pp. Paperback £12.99.

The very active Curzon Press has now launched a new series, the *Curzon Sufi Series*, under the general guidance of Professor I. R. Netton. The two volumes now under review show that the Series does not aspire to uniformity; the volumes have been written from slightly different viewpoints – and with varying success, as we shall see. The guidelines of the Series are given facing the title page and may here be quoted in full:

> The *Curzon Sufi Series* attempts to provide short introductions to a variety of facets of the subject, which are accessible both to the general reader and the student and scholar in the field. Each book will be either a synthesis of existing knowledge or a distinct contribution to, and extension of, knowledge of the particular topic. The two major underlying principles of the Series are sound scholarship and readability.

The volumes are very well printed and, at least to my taste, rather attractive, which is a fact worth mentioning, remembering the reasonable prices of the volumes. The transliterated words are also furnished with diacritical signs, which should be self evident in a work meant for scholars, but which regrettably often is not the case.

Farhādi's book on Anṣārī consists of an outline of Anṣārī's life (pp. 3–15) followed by translated extracts of his writings, each preceded by a short introduction (pp. 19–135). Appendices, bibliography and index (pp. 137–158) close the book.

The volume hardly meets the high standards of the Series. One remains wondering what 'distinct contribution' or 'extension' the volume adds to our knowledge, the volume being more or less restricted to very sparsely annotated translations. Nor is the book, for sure, 'a synthesis of existing knowledge'. Even the readability of the volume remains dubious; the English of the translator seems sometimes more than a little idiosyncratic.

The outline of Anṣārī's life is very sketchy and is based solely on Arabic and Persian sources, and it seems that the author has not been able to bear in mind the fact that these sources offer a hagiography, not a biography. The resemblance of Ibn Ḥanbal's and Anṣārī's *vita* (p. 11) – as far as they are not dogmatically conditioned – need not reflect history too closely. As an important link in the early development of Ṣūfism, one would have appreciated Anṣārī having been set against his background as well as having been given his place in the following development of Ṣūfism in Iran, but the unconnected notes on some Hanbalites (pp. 11–13) remain far beyond giving the reader any sense of continuous historical development.

Similarly, very few parallels are given for the translations; at least ʿAṭṭār and Rūmī, both easily available in translations for the non-professional, would have been more than welcome.

The carelessness in transliterations is also to be regretted, although one has to say in defence of the book that they are in no way fatal for the professional, and the lay reader

will inevitably not be disturbed by, e.g., the frequent confusion of ' and ʿ (*hamza* and *ʿayn*). Still, it does disturb the reader to find *Abū'l-* transliterated sometimes as *Abū-l-* (e.g. p. 52), and sometimes as *Abu-l-* (p. 54) or the outright erroneous *Ab-ul-* (p. 54). All these forms, even *Ab-ul-*, are also found elsewhere. In Persian words, the mistakes seem purely accidental, but in the Arabic words there are all too often real mistakes on the part of the author, not the printer (e.g. p. 80: *mufarridūn*, *muhtizzūn*). The English text is no more free of printers' errors (p. 152: *Rocherches*, *Damscus*), etc.

The translations are not bad, in general, but they too would have profited from some more care. The lay reader will surely be perplexed to learn what atheists (as *zanādiqa* has been translated) had to say about God (p. 38) and the professional reader will not be quite content with the translation of *Takfīr al-Jahmiyya* as 'The Impiety of the Jahmites' (p. 38). In some cases, the original sense is totally lost, as in the poem translated on p. 88 (the transliteration is also against the metre, *sarīʿ*. Read: *min wāḥidin / jāḥidū / l-Wāḥidū / lāḥidū*). The last two lines should read (for the sake of clarity I have added some of the references of the pronouns and suffixes): 'The declaration of [God's] unity [...] is but a loan which the Unique [God] has claimed back: // man's declaration of God's unity is [originally, in fact] God's declaration of His own unity [...]'.

As the Series should be addressing the lay reader as well, some translations should have been considered more carefully, even though the reader is advised to acquire a basic knowledge of Sufism from other books (p. xi). Thus, translating *karāmāt* as 'acts of magnanimity' (p. 54) will undoubtedly mislead the non-professional reader, and the same holds true for the terminology of *ḥadīth* science which is left unexplained (p. 80). Pp. 38–40 must be rather bewildering for someone not versed in Islamic theological discussions.[1] All this leads to equating Ṣūfism with obscurity, which should obviously not be the aim of the Series.

As Anṣārī is, without doubt, worth translating into English, one would have hoped for a better start. Still, even an imperfect work must be welcomed, despite its flaws. Had a better book already been written, this one could have been left unwritten, but as matters stand, we have to be content with this work.

With Ernst's *Rūzbihān Baqlī: Mysticism and the Rhetoric of Sainthood in Persian Sufism* we have a totally different book at hand. To begin with, the book is differently structured. Instead of being an annotated translation, the book is a profound study of Rūzbihān, with copious translations inserted within the running text. The book begins with a Preface (pp. ix–xxvi) which gives an overall appreciation of Rūzbihān, a brief but up-to-date exposition of the present state of Rūzbihān studies, and an explanation of the book's aims.

This is followed by a short chapter on the life of Rūzbihān and the destinies of the short-lived 'Rūzbihānīya order'. The main part of the book is an insightful analysis of the

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1 One also remains wondering whether the author knows that the text translated here (*Dhamm al-kalām* – consistently written *Dḥam* in the book) finds a parallel in ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd ad-Dārimī's *Radd* and that, furthermore, ad-Dārimī had his links with Herat and is even found in one *isnād* in the present translation (p. 61).

spiritual autobiography of Rūzbihān – including a discussion of the genre to which the work, *Kashf al-asrār*, belongs. This is followed by an analysis of two biographies/hagiographies written by his two great-grandsons. After a chapter of 'Conclusion' there follow two appendices, one containing a check-list of Rūzbihān's works,[2] the other a comparison of his two commentaries on the ascension of Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī. The book is rounded off by a bibliography, index of names and a glossary and index of terms and subjects.

In striking contrast to the book by Ravān Farhādi, Ernst's book is remarkably free from printers' errors or any inconsistencies. Although the present reviewer was able to hunt down a dozen or so mistakes in Arabic and Persian transliterations, all of them were of a petty nature, not worth listing here.

The whole work is very lucidly written, and the basic idea, comparison of the autobiography with the hagiographies, is very felicitous. The selection of hagiographic material by Rūzbihān's great-grandsons shows very clearly how the difficult passages in the autobiography have been tacitly left out: in the hagiographies there is, e.g., no word of Rūzbihān calling himself, or letting himself be called, a prophet, a claim that is rather awkward for later generations, as it obviously was for contemporaries, too.

The discussion of the autobiography centres on the theophanies of Rūzbihān, who seems to have been favoured for decades by visions of God's *jamāl* and *jalāl*, especially the former.[3] If Ernst (pp. 19–20) is right – and he most probably is – the text can be divided into two parts, the first (up to § 56) being a memoir of his earlier life (written in 577) and the second an occasional diary of visions, written intermittantly until 585. A detail not mentioned by Ernst but perhaps worth emphasizing here is that the chronology of Rūzbihān's life is somewhat suspicious; that he received his initial vision at the age of fifteen and that he wrote the first part when he was fifty-five (p. 23) calls for at least some scepticism, as the neat figure of forty is somewhat facile and reminds one of the possibility that it derives from the *vita* of the Prophet, forty being a very significant figure in the Prophet's life.[4] One could, of course, argue that the fifty-five-year-old Rūzbihān must have been equally well aware of the similarity and that he intentionally wrote his memoirs forty years after the initial vision.

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2 One could have added here information from later bibliographical dictionaries, e.g., Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf aẓ-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub waʾl-funūn* (I–II. Ed. Serefettin Yaltkaya – Rifat Bilge. [Maarif matbaasi 1941], repr. Bayrūt 1413/1992.) and Ismāʿīl Bāshā, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn. Asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn min kashf aẓ-ẓunūn* (I–II. Ed. Rifat Bilge – Mahmud Kemal Inal. [Istanbul 1951], repr. Bayrūt 1413/1992 as V–VI of Ḥājjī Khalīfa). Ismāʿīl Bāshā, *Hadīyat al-ʿārifīn* (V: 371) gives a list of eight of his works, viz. nos. 1, 15, 32, 35, 37, 41 (the form of the name used by Ismāʿīl Bāshā supports the identification of this with no. 30), and dubious no. 2, as well as another writing, *Thamarat al-ashjār, manẓūma fārisīya*, although the last mentioned turns out to be by another Rūzbihān (see Ḥājjī Khalīfa, I, p. 524).

3 It might be noted in passing that the use of the formula 'I saw myself...' (in a dream, p. 83) probably does not have the significance Ernst adduces ('he sees himself acting in an externalized way'); the formula may well be a mere reminiscence of the Qurʾānic use of *arānī* (e.g. 12:36).

4 See, e.g., U. Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder. The Life of Muḥammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims: A Textual Analysis*. (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 5.) (1995), pp. 189–214.

Although the book is of limited scope (Ernst discusses Rūzbihān's other works only exceptionally) and very concise, it makes its point admirably, and when the reader finally lays the book aside, he has gained seminal new insights not only on Rūzbihān, but on the very genre of spiritual autobiography. Professor Ernst deserves our most sincere thanks for this excellent little book.

Thus, these two books in the *Curzon Sufi Series* come out very differently. It remains to be seen what the general level of the Series will be. Masterpieces, like Ernst's book, would inevitably raise the Series to be of major importance in Ṣūfī studies, and one may hope to see other volumes of the same quality published by Curzon Press. Meanwhile, the publisher, and the general editor, deserve our thanks for the launching of this new Series.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia*. Ed. by Mehdi Amin Razavi. Padstow: Curzon Press, 1996. xv + 375 pp. £45.00.

It is always a pleasure to read S. H. Nasr's insightful and spirited writings. The present volume consists of 24 rather short articles which were previously published in a variety of places and in a variety of languages. All were either originally written in or have later been translated into English; the volume contains no new material except for the short introduction by Amin Razavi.

Collecting Nasr's articles together – even though they represent but a fragment of his voluminous output – is very welcome, and the papers do make up a relatively harmonious whole, especially as a detailed index has been added (pp. 341–375). The articles have been grouped under six headings, viz. Islamic thought and Persian culture; Early Islamic philosophy; Suhrawardi and the school of *ishrāq*; Philosophers – poets – scientists; Later Islamic philosophy; Islamic thought in Modern Iran – the last mentioned 'group', consisting of a single paper, though, is not as fascinating as the title might suggest, being a reprint from the early '70s.

The selection of the articles is, in general, felicitous. One detail, though, is somewhat disturbing. The editor has included several articles which were originally entries in different encyclopaedias. There is no fault in the articles as such, but their brevity and, sometimes, superficiality make them hardly suitable for a collection of articles. The same holds true for the note on ʿUmar Khayyām, originally a Preface to a translation of ʿUmar's poems.

Otherwise the articles – some of them actually essays – are very enjoyable, well written and illuminating, which well suits a book often discussing *ishrāq* philosophy. The articles are almost entirely free of printers' errors, but the index is not as carefully prepared.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Wilferd Madelung, *The succession to Muḥammad. A study of the early Caliphate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997 [published 1996]. xviii + 413 pp. £45.00/$69.95. ISBN 0-521-56181-7 (hardback).

Surely you're joking, Professor Madelung!

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

Ibn aṭ-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-muqlatayn fī aḫbar ad-daulatayn*. Texte établi et commenté par Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid. (Bibliotheca Islamica, 39.) Beirut (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart): 1992. 102 + 290 pp. DM 88,–. ISBN 3-515-05722-6.

Almost nothing has come directly to us from Fatimid historiography. The Sunnī Ayyubids after their taking over deliberately destroyed or at least suppressed most of the works produced under the previous dynasty. Ibn al-Ṭuwair's (1130–1220) *Nuzhat al-muqlatain fī akhbār al-daulatain* is not a recently found long forgotten MS now edited. Rather, it is a work tentatively put together by the editor from fragments of Ibn al-Ṭuwair's writings as preserved in, among others, Ibn al-Furāt, al-Maqrīzī, al-Qalqashandī, and Ibn Taghrī Birdī. To claim Ibn al-Ṭuwair for Fatimid historiography is debatable; he was a Sunnī working for the Fatimid administration, switching over to the Ayyubids without problems. The second part of the title to his work seems to convey the idea of him as a connecting bridge between the two dynasties.

Ibn al-Ṭuwair completed his work during Ṣalāḥ al-dīn's reign, but later Mamlūk historians seem to have been interested only in his information about the Fatimid period, at least only this part has survived second hand. Professor Aiman Fu'ād Sayyid (where do you put his name in your Bibliography or when classifying the book? – he himself favours Fu'ād Sayyid, Ayman but the information given to German libraries has Saiyid, Aiman Fu'ād [sic]) has arranged the text in three main divisions: the first is historical and gives us the last seventy years of Fatimid rule; the second is concerned with the organisation of Fatimid institutions, the *dawāwīn*; and the third gives us the ceremonies accompanying official occasions. The edition ends with a *malāḥiq* of letters culled from al-Qalqashandī with no relation to Ibn al-Ṭuwair.

The text is carefully edited and the printing also deserves praise with really few missing or misplaced diacritics. Some western scholars have their names written in two or three different ways but still identifiably, and Ibn Iyās is in Arabic constantly given as Ibn Iyyās (with *shadda* over *yā'*). One essential correction should be made concerning the work entitled *al-Faḍā'il al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wal-Qāhira*. As Michael Cook has proved, the real author of this work is Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Qudsī (d. 888/1483).[1]

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

[1] M. Cook, "Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī (d. 888/1483)", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28 (1983): 85–97; see also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, VII: 234–237.

Gerhard Conrad, *Die Quḍāt Dimašq und der Madhab al-Auzaʿī – Materialien zur syrischen Rechtsgeschichte*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 46.) Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart), 1994. 828 pp. DM 228,–. ISBN 3-515-05588-6.

Abū ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAmr al-Auzāʿī (d. 157 A.H.) was a Syrian *faqīh* and the imām of *madhhab* al-Auzāʿī. The school and its imām have received only very little attention by modern scholars, both Western and Muslim. The reason for this disregard is that no juridical compendium of al-Auzāʿī's is known to exist: his opinions and interpretations have only survived scattered in ikhtilāf literature.

Gerhard Conrad's work concentrates on establishing the importance of the *madhhab* in Damascus by determining how many *qāḍīs* followed the teachings of the imām. He offers very detailed analyses of source material, both edited and unedited (pp. 11–453) and evaluates each text as a source of the history of the Damascene *qāḍīs*. On the basis of these sources he then reconstructs a chronological list of *faqīhs* who held the office of *qāḍī* in Damascus between the years 40 and 360 A.H. The list also informs us as to which *madhhab* each *qāḍī* belonged to (pp. 454–701).

Gerhard Conrad's study is of interest to those focusing on the history of the early *madhhabs*. Especially his evaluation of the sources is a valuable contribution.

IRMELI PERHO

Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xiii + 199 pp. £30.00/$54.95. ISBN 0-521-45406-9 (hardback).

This is indeed a very rich and rewarding book. In its less than 200 pages Michael Chamberlain tackles much more than is suggested by the title. There is a distinctive Hodgsonian flair when the author tries to place mediaeval Damascus within the context of contemporary Eurasian history.

Michael Chamberlain's study is mainly based on biographical dictionaries (some of them still available only in manuscript); he claims that 'biographical literature in particular had many of the same uses in high medieval Damascus as collections of original documents had elsewhere and in other periods' (p. 18). We should, according to Chamberlain, learn to read the biographical entries more carefully in order to make more effective use of them than has been the case so far. The material preserved in these dictionaries is possibly unequaled in mediaeval Middle Eastern historiography. The reason for precisely this preserved richness is that the biographical dictionaries, not original documents most of which are now lost, safeguarded the privileges of the privileged, the *aʿyān*. That is why biographical literature abounds and why the absence of surviving document collections may not be entirely reducible to accidental loss.

'This book is about the social uses of learning in high medieval Damascus.' (p. 1.) Western historians have, as Chamberlain argues in his Introduction, applied methodologies of European social and institutional history to high mediaeval Islamic socities where the society did not consist of specialized institutions, state agencies, or well-defined corporate bodies. Concerning the central theme of the study, the social uses of learning, it was only by assuming the existence of the structures they analyzed that Western scholars found 'systems of education', 'colleges', and 'schools'.

Perhaps the most provocative of Chamberlain's claims is, having given a detailed analysis of the institution of madrasas, that madrasas in Damascus did not provide the *aʿyān* of the city with cultural distinction, specialized knowledge, or formal qualifications, and, in fact, they had many uses that had nothing to do with educational purposes. 'Madrasas were foundations established in the interests of their founders, [...], they were a means by which elite households associated the prestige of ʿilm and the protection of waqf with their own strategies. Madrasas were instruments by which the ruling elite controlled property.' (p. 90)

Chamberlain seems to be of the opinion – *grosso modo* – that what was true of madrasas in Damascus was also true elsewhere. So what when Richard W. Bulliet, focusing on Iran, describes the madrasas as truly a revolution in education,[1] or when Jonathan P. Berkey writes about mediaeval Cairo that the city contained literally hundreds of madrasas devoted to instruction in the higher religious and legal sciences,[2] not to mention the vast output of Gary Leiser, who, for example, in his article 'The *madrasa* and the islamization of the Middle East: the case of Egypt' concludes that the primary function of the madrasa was to teach *fiqh*, jurisprudence?[3]

When a study considers the wider mediaeval Eurasian context for comparison and background to our understanding of the social and cultural history of Damascus, this must be applauded although at times the lessons to be taken remain obscure. Chamberlain's study seems to suffer from a certain blindness considering things nearer at home in Damascus. Throughout the study no distinction is made concerning Damascus' (and Syria's) place within the Ayyubid and Mamlūk dynasties during the 160 years under scrutiny. Yet we know that the fall of the Ayyubid dynasty, whose power was centred in Syria, in 1250 meant a decline and provincial status for Damascus. Surely this must have had at least some bearing on the *fitnas* of the *aʿyān* of Damascus.

Although the present reviewer found this study highly original and rewarding the pleasure of reading was much diminished by the number of errors. As Li Guo's article 'Mamluk historiographic studies: the state of the art' also directs attention to this fact,[4] there is no need to duplicate the all too long list of obvious errors in transliteration, even if there are a lot more than Li Guo has noticed. The following should, nevertheless, be pointed out: *RSO* is *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*; Max van Berchem; S. Vryonis, Jr.;

1 *Islam: the view from the edge*, New York 1994, p. 149.

2 "Tradition, innovation and the social construction of knowledge in the medieval Islamic Near East", *Past and Present* 146 (1995): 38.

3 *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 36.

4 *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 24f.

C. E. Bosworth is the author not editor of *The Ghaznavids*, and he is one of the editors not the author of *The Islamic world from classical to modern times*. One of Chamberlain's errors in transliteration (*dār al-suʿāda* for *dār al-saʿāda*) drew attention to some shortcomings in the Bibliography. Surely W. M. Brinner's (one of Chamberlain's teachers) study 'Dār al-saʿāda and dār al-ʿadl in Mamluk Damascus' and B. Flemming's 'Literary activities in Mamluk halls and barracks', both published in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem 1977), should have been included and consulted.

Cambridge University Press and its anonymous readers have to bear some of the blame for not having read the galleys or, perhaps, not even the manuscript to begin with. Scholarly books seldom reach a second edition where errors could be corrected.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

Gideon M. Kressel, *Ascendancy through Aggression. The Anatomy of a Blood Feud among Urbanized Bedouins*. (Mediterranean Language and Culture Monograph Series, 12.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996. 185 pp. DM 98,–.

On the surface, urbanized Bedouin groups do not essentially differ in their the social patterns from their urban neighbours. They adjust quickly to permanent housing and employment, they take advantage of health and educational services, and they operate as independent households. However, on a more fundamental level their traditional social fabric tends to remain basically intact despite the radical ecological change. This implies not only that patrilineages survive as the backbone of social structure, but, more specifically, that they cluster into an informal size-ordered hierarchy.

One of the main claims of Kressel's research is that blood feuds among Bedouin are not the outcome of isolated, incidental events, but they are a 'manifestation of a social order among settled Bedouin in which interlineage clashes periodically break out to determine or challenge the "pecking order" implicit in a particular hierarchical structure' (p. 157). The claim is based on a case study, a detailed description of a feud between the Barābḥa and the Shalālfa, two lineages of long-settled Jawārīsh Bedouin in Ramla, a mixed Jewish-Arab town located 18 km southeast of Tel Aviv. The seemingly limited scope of the investigation is easily outweighed by an important vantage point afforded by three decades of close observation and personal involvement. The first period of fairly intensive fieldwork was carried out from 1967 to 1972, and more intermittently until 1975. After a short intensive period of fieldwork in the summer of 1978, the author was in irregular contact with various members of the community, especially during renewed interlineage hostilities in 1991–92.

Kressel's book makes most exciting reading. A committed anthropologist, the author during some periods of time follows the course of events on an almost daily basis, often sitting in the gatherings of the involved parties and discussing with people, analyzing the events and reflecting on their significance in a wider social context. The result of a close, carefully documented observation during many years is a trustworthy and authentic picture of a coherent, logic mechanism. Rather than as an interchange of insults and aggres-

sive actions by two rival lineages trying to eliminate shame and to defend their honour, the series of events appears as an intricate, systematic struggle for hierarchical supremacy. Thus, mass celebrations such as lavish circumcision ceremonies and sumptuous weddings as well as different demonstrations of power – in this case materialized as extravagant investments in superfluous vehicles and agricultural equipment – turn out to be substantial elements in the process.

Another interesting aspect discussed by Kressel is the interaction between the Israeli and Bedouin legal systems, which stress individual culpability and collective responsibility, respectively. During the dispute the police preferred to intervene as little as possible, but in the end a kind of synthesis was achieved when the reconciliation (*ṣulḥ*) was arranged by an arbitration committee of Bedouin elders set up by the local police superintendent.

Typical of Kressel's careful method is his systematic use of Bedouin juridical terminology, such as *wujeh*, *ʿaṭwa*, *ruzqa*, *ṣulḥ*, *khamsat ed-damm*, *fawrat ed-damm*, *diyya*, *qassāsīn ed-damm*, *kafīl*, *ahl el-badwe*, *el-falaj*, *ʿazaf*, etc., which are well illustrated in their authentic contexts. Even more, the account is detailed enough to register all the nuances pertinent to the dispute, which involves verbatim quotations of significant words in different situations, such as insults, abuses, threats, and challenges. The quotations display a great sensitivity for stylistic shades of spoken Arabic and they are used very skillfully; although they certainly actualize many events to the reader, they are never used as an end in themselves but have relevance to the development of the process.

The theoretical framework of the study is solid, the arguments are convincing and the conclusions sound, and the concluding chapter contains many profound reflections. Thanks are due to Professor Kressel for his worthy contribution to the study of Bedouin society. In this work a scrupulous scholarly method is in an admirable way combined with a lifelike description.

HEIKKI PALVA

Annelies Moors: *Women, Property and Islam – Palestinian Experiences 1920–1990*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, 3.) Cambidge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 274pp. £14.95/$19.95. ISBN 0-521-47497-3 (hardback); 0-521-48355-7 (paperback).

Islamic law guarantees a woman the right to own property and she can also independently decide how to use it. However, local traditions in various parts of the Islamic world do not always recognise these rights and often the woman is expected to forgo her share of an inheritance and even her dowry in favour of her male kin. Annelies Moors describes in her book the situation of the Palestinian women regarding property: their access to it and their opportunities for controlling its use. Her study is based on fieldwork done in the area of Jabal Nablus where she interviewed women in the years between 1980 and 1989. She has supplemented her interviews with archival research of the *sharīʿa* court documents. In addition she has tried to describe the historical development of women's property

rights in Palestine by using older ethnographic material such as Hilma Granqvist's descriptions of women's conditions in the village of Artas in the 1920s.

The most interesting feature of the book are the life stories that Annelies Moors constructed from her interviews. These topical stories concentrate on women's experiences with inheritance, dower and wage-labour issues and they show that there is a clear conflict between Islamic law and the social practice. This is hardly surprising, but Annelies Moors analysis reveals an interesting aspect in showing that the women actually gain power by relinquishing their legal rights to property. Because the demands of Islamic law are generally known and accepted as morally binding, it is admitted that a woman who gives up her share in an inheritance or receives only a nominal dowry makes a sacrifice. This gives the woman a moral claim on her male kin and husband for support and it means that she exercises power over them.

Annelies Moors deals with women who live in urban or rural areas or in refugee camps. They represent different social groups from the very rich to the very poor. Some of them have university educations and some are illiterate. Annelies Moors wants to challenge the conventional Western way of treating Muslim women as a homogenous group, which has a subordinate status in a male-dominated society. Therefore she concentrates on personal life stories that illustrate how social class and individual circumstances influence the decisions the women make. Each woman tries to choose an optimal strategy in a given situation in order to reach the intended goal. Therefore a woman's response to property issues can vary from case to case and her acts can only be understood if they are placed in the context of her situation in life.

Annelies Moors succeeds in describing the women in the Jabal Nablus region as actors who are conscious of their choices and not helpless victims of male dominance. The interviews make it very clear that the women are aware of the consequences of their acts and even though the power the society gives them is limited, they try to use it to their advantage. All in all, Annelies Moors' book is very interesting and adds to our knowledge of the actual social situation of Muslim women.

IRMELI PERHO

Israel Gershoni & **James P. Jankowski**, *Redefining the Egyptian nation, 1930–1945*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, 2.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. xvi + 280 pp. £35.00/$54.95. ISBN 0-521-47535-X.

According to a news report from Egypt (*Time*, March 3, 1997) Fahmi Huweidi, a social commentator for *al-Ahrām* wrote that the time has come [in 1997!] to begin asking 'who are we, and where are we going?' Now this sounds familiar and is it not what the Egyptians have been doing at least since the Revolution of 1919?

In this study under review, the authors Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski have come to the second phase of their analysis of Egyptian nationalism; their first book *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs: the search for Egyptian nationhood, 1900–1930*, published in

1986, attempted (with great success) to reconstruct the ascendancy and triumph of Egyptian territorial nationalism between 1900 and 1930. The 1930s were a crucial decade in the evolution of modern Egypt; in place of territorial and Western-influenced nationalism – the so called Pharaonicism – of the 1920s, the period after 1930 witnessed the development of new supra-Egyptian concepts of national identity.

While in the 1920s modernization had meant 'Westernization', the 1930s rejected this and for quite a few Egyptian intellectuals Japan provided an alternative 'Eastern' model of modernization. This 'Easternist' orientation of the 1930s was paralleled by the return of Islam to a primary position on all levels of the society. The Eastern and Islamic orientations of the 1930s set the general mood underlying the more focused supra-Egyptian ideologies of the period studied.

First of these to emerge was Egyptian Islamic nationalism (Chapter 4) with the Muslim Brotherhood (founded in 1928) as the main organization to formulate an Egyptian Islamic nationalist ideology, where Egypt was part and parcel of the Islamic *umma*. Another supra-Egyptian nationalist ideology to develop in the 1930s was Egyptian Arab nationalism (Chapter 6); it postulated an Egyptian identification with the Arab nation at large. The third nationalist ideology – without external referents such as the Islamic *umma* or the Arab nation – was the so called integral Egyptian nationalism (Chapter 5). The quote from Peter Alter's *Nationalism* gives the gist of the term: 'integral nationalism defines the one nation as the Absolute. It is not justified by its followers in terms of service to a higher cause; the cult of the nation becomes an end in itself.' Integral Egyptian nationalism possessed a supra-Egyptian dimension but kept Egypt as its central focus; the key group was the Young Egypt movement.

In the end, of these three supra-Egyptian ideologies, Egyptian Arab nationalism eventually became the most important. The discussion in Chapter 6 puts us in a better position to understand the events in the post-1945 period: the role of Arabism, the revolution of the Free Officers, and Nasser's policy of pan-Arabism.

The source material used is imposing, beginning with British archival material at the Public Record Office and covering the cultural as well as the political side; the Arabic-language periodicals alone number about sixty. This use of influential cultural journals as an important source for intellectual history has a parallel in a brand-new study by the Finnish scholar Jussi Pakkasvirta entitled *¿Un continente, una nación? Intelectuales latinoamericanos, comunidad politica y las revistas culturales en Costa Rica y en el Perú, 1919–1930* (published 1997). Not only the source material used and the high quality of research link these studies. The parallels on the evolving political and cultural identities in Latin America and the Arab world are striking, to say the least.

One further angle of approach in Egypt might have been that of the women, the Copts, the large and influential 'foreign' communities of the Greeks and the Jews: how did these various communities react to the differing attempts to define Egypt, attempts that ultimately forced some of them out of the country *in toto*, members of other's into 'voluntary' exile. These thoughts were awakened by André Aciman's evocative and exquisite memoir *Out of Egypt* (1994), where one is invited to follow the 'development' from Ottoman relative toleration and multi-culturalism to the heyday of pan-Arabism from an

Alexandrian perspective. Nevertheless, this is a thoroughly researched, well balanced and thoughtful study which, together with its companion volume covering the earlier years of this century, should make essential reading for all interested in modern Egypt.

As the circulation of Polish learned journals is not all that large, the present reviewer might be allowed to end this appreciative review by calling attention to an article by Dennis Walker published in *Studia Arabistyczne i Islamistyczne* 4 (1996): 28–71. The article deals with one of the main proponents of a supra-Arab Islamic nationalism in Egypt, namely Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt and is entitled 'Egypt's Arabism: Aḥmad Ḥasan az-Zayyāt: From Islam's Community to the wide Pan-Arab Nation in the 1930s and 1940s'.

KAJ ÖHRNBERG

Irmgard Farah: *Die Deutsche Pressepolitik und Propagandatätigkeit im Osmanischen Reich von 1908-1918 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des "Osmanischen Lloyd"*. (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 50.) Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (in Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart), 1993. 347 pp. ISBN 3-515-05719-6.

In 1908 the German Government established a German language newspaper, *Osmanischer Lloyd* in Istanbul. It was intended to function as the political propaganda instrument of the Government and support German interests in industry and trade. Other Western powers had also established newspapers in Istanbul for similar purposes.

Irmgard Farah has studied the German propaganda activities in Ottoman Turkey and especially *Osmanischer Lloyd* as a propaganda instrument. She discusses the economic, military and cultural issues the newspaper dealt with and tries to analyse what kind of an image of Germany and Germans these writings were intended to create. She further describes the press campaigns fought by *Osmanischer Lloyd* in order to justify German policies in specific situations, particularly in crises within the Ottoman Empire. The propaganda role played by *Osmanischer Lloyd* during the World War I is also discussed.

Irmgard Farah has carefully analysed the propaganda methods and themes of *Osmanischer Lloyd*, but very little attention is paid to the question of their efficacy. Her focus is on the German activities and their motives are well presented, whereas the reactions of the Turks themselves to the propaganda effort are not discussed. These issues unfortunately fall outside the scope of the study, but otherwise Irmgard Farah's study gives us well documented information on the activities of the foreign press in the last phase of the Ottoman Empire.

IRMELI PERHO

A. Fodor (ed.), *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*. Part I: The Arabist. (Budapest Studies in Arabic 13–14.) Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University chair for Arabic studies & Csoma de Körös Society, section of Islamic studies, 1995. xx + 341 pp. $45.00.

The Proceedings of the 14th Congress of UEAI appear at last, seven years after the Congress. A delay of this length is unfortunate but to some extent understandable considering the difficulties in Eastern European countries.

The first part of the Proceedings consists of two sections, *Philosophy and Theology*, and *Popular Culture in Islam*, which contain a total of 25 articles. As customary in this kind of collective work, the quality of the articles is heterogenous, but the grouping of the articles under two main headings adds to the usability of the volume, and in general the volume will undoubtedly serve its purpose.

JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTTILA

Étienne Tiffou, *Yasin, Vallée heureuse de l'Himalaya. Étude sur les Bourouchos du Yasin (Pakistan septentrional). Études bourouchaski 3*. (Asie et Monde Insulindien, 23.) Paris: Peeters, 1995. 202 pp. BEF 960,–.

The valley of Yasin, situated at an altitude of 2,500 metres in the massive highlands of northern Pakistan, is rarely visited by foreigners, not even by Pakistanis. It can be reached in a day by bus and jeep from Gilgit (an hour's flight or 16–20 hours' drive from Islamabad) along an unpaved single-lane road (or track), but the journey cannot be recommended except for the astounding scenery. Thanks to the Karakoram Highway, completed in 1980, Gilgit and Hunza-Nager have been made fairly accessible to (dauntless) tourists and backpackers, but Yasin has remained one of the many out-of-the-way 'in-between' regions of northern Pakistan. It stands to reason that in such places there are no regular facilities for accommodation and 'eating out'. Central Yasin provides a rest-house for Pakistani officers and officials, and if vacant, it can be used by visitors who have a permit (contrast Central Hunza with its nearly two dozen hotels and inns). With some luck, one may find private board and lodging for a moderate price in a peasant's house. During his first trip (1975) to Yasin, Prof. Tiffou did just that. Having slept and worked on the floor in such a room with his colleague Yves Morin and some of the members of the house owner's family for one summer, he then asked the owner to install two beds in the room before his next visit(s) (1978, 1979, 1993, 1995). The owner kindly did so, and this has benefited other researchers and travellers as well. Now this room is unofficially called the private home hotel of Dada Khan. (The last time I visited it (1995), it had a table, too.)

But Yasin is certainly worth a book. Étienne Tiffou (Professor of Linguistics at the University of Montréal), the author and co-author of many books and articles on (especially the Yasin dialect of) Burushaski, the enigmatic language-isolate of Hunza-Nager and Yasin, has again come out with an excellent piece of work. Through this richly

documented and elaborately illustrated book we are introduced to the everyday life and history of the 'happy Yasin valley'.

The book opens with some reflections on the almost complete lack of change – especially in contrast with Gilgit and Hunza – in Yasin between the author's first (1975) and most recent visit there (1993) before writing his book. Only in the fields of education and electrification has there been any development. The author queries whether it is even desirable that Yasin should go through the same evolution as the mountain valleys along the Karakoram Highway. He asks himself whether or not the price the inhabitants would have to pay for this is too high. As I was able to follow the development in Hunza between 1989 and 1995, I can understand his misgivings.

After the 'Avant-propos' (pp. 15–16), there follows a brief introduction (pp. 17–20) with acknowledgements. Here the author explains why on his first research trip he ended up in Yasin rather than the legendary Hunza (James Hilton's famous Shangri La), where the more prestigious and rather different dialect of Burushaski is spoken. Perhaps it was just as good, since the remoter and smaller Yasin valley (150 km west of Hunza) has been underresearched both linguistically and culturally. (For the sake of interest and reference, it may be mentioned that in the same year that the present title appeared, a similar, but more historically oriented, ethnographic study of Hunza was published by the American anthropologist Dr. H. Sidky: *Hunza. An ethnographic outline*. Jaipur: Illustrated Book Publishers, 1995.)

As is most logical, the first chapter (pp. 21–32) deals with geography. The verdant river valley of Yasin, situated at 73° 20' eastern longitude, and 36° 15' to 36° 45' northern latitude, belongs to the north-eastern part of the Northern Areas of Pakistan, where some of the highest mountain ranges of the world meet (Karakoram/Western Himalayas, Hindukush and the Pamirs). This area, touching upon Afghanistan and China, marks the northernmost boundaries of the ancient Indian empire. (Many of the kingdoms of northern Indo-Pakistan, including Hunza, Nager and Chitral, were semi-independent until fairly recent times.)

The second chapter (pp. 33–43) describes the ethnically diverse population groups of Yasin and the neighbouring regions. It is maintained that, though linguistically perhaps the most ancient group in the Hindukush-Karakoram region, the Burusho do not represent any particular racial type (apart from the general label 'white' or 'Caucasian'). According to Tiffou, the influence of other Asian groups has been stronger in Hunza than in (Central and Upper) Yasin, where the people are rather short (1 m 65 cm; that is shorter than the Indo-Aryan speaking Chitralis and Shens), very brown, having substantial growth of beard, round faces and high cheekbones. It can be said that many Burusho of Hunza also fit this description, although my impression is that the latter are generally taller, stouter and more light-skinned, and some of them are brown- or red-haired and blue-eyed. On the whole the typical Burusho have a rather Mediterranian look.

Chapters 3–8 deal with various aspects of spiritual, intellectual and material life: religion (pp. 45–65), history (pp. 67–85), life and subsistence (pp. 87–97), pastimes and feasts (pp. 99–116), technology, and artifacts (pp. 117–148), as well as language and folklore (pp. 149–173), including examples of stories with interlinear glosses.

These accounts, though succinct, abound in precious insights and anecdotes. For a linguist, it is valuable that the author also provides so much indigenous terminology especially with regard to artifacts and cultural events. Often the differences between the Yasin and Hunza-Nager dialects are considerable. The causative verb *é-/huruṭ-* 'to seat' with the meaning of 'to circumcise' (p. 111) (most Yasinites and Hunzaites are Ismaili Muslims), could perhaps be explained by the secondary meaning 'to make (animal) lie down for slaughter', which is one of the meanings of the corresponding verb in Hunza Burushaski (Lorimer 34, *s.v.*).

The final chapter is a brief, critical Conclusion (pp. 175–177), where Yasin and Hunza are contrasted. The contrast in some ways favours Yasin, which is understandable in view of its greater isolation and stability. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that, ruled from Chitral, Yasin was never as independent as Hunza and Nager. Some of the ancient customs and (mal)practices of the Burusho are now preserved only in Hunza and Nager. Furthermore, my own impression is that the Yasinites lack the liveliness, talkativeness and (crazy) humour so conspicuous of the Hunzites. Tiffou himself admits that life in Yasin can become rather boring, with each hour bringing nothing new to the preceding one.

The technical/foreign terms and proper names are listed in two useful indices: *Varia notabilia* (pp. 179–183) and *Noms propres* (pp. 185–188). At the end there is a fairly exhaustive, classified bibliography of ethnographic and linguistic studies of Hunza, Nager and Yasin (pp. 189–194).

The value and attractiveness of this vivid cultural introduction to Yasin and the adjacent regions is enhanced by 56 photographs, 2 maps, and 9 figures and tables. Tiffou's French style is not always the easiest, but his wit and discreet humour are undeniable, and without them few Westerners could survive in the area he has so adequately described.

BERTIL TIKKANEN

Osmund Bopearachchi & **Aman ur Rahman**, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan.* Karachi: Iftikhar Rasul IRM Associates (Pvt) Ltd., 1995. 237 pp.

Osmund Bopearachchi is well known for his numerous contributions on Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek numismatics. Aman ur Rahman is a chemical engineer and coin collector who has achieved one of the greatest private coin collections in Pakistan. The most ancient part of this collection is now published in this superb volume. It is illustrated with 75 colour plates whose excellent quality widely surpasses any earlier work on the same subject seen by the reviewer. Pages 21–53 contain a Historical Commentary by Bopearachchi giving a concise and up-to-date interpretation of the historical context of these coins extending from the Achaemenids to the Indo-Parthian kings. Technical details and problems of metallurgy and cleaning have been discussed in separate chapters. One point must be noted in the way of errata. From the perfect illustrations it is easy to see that

instead of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΡΟΣ, which is incomprehensible for a Greek scholar, the coins have the correct ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ (p. 140ff.).

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*. (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 2.). Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996. xiii + 257 pp.

Just a few years ago our only choice was to consult the much respected, but also aged and antiquated accounts of Geiger and Winternitz in order to learn something about the history of Pāli literature. From the voluminous history of B. C. Law, to quote von Hinüber's words, 'it is hardly possible to benefit.' It is in fact somewhat disappointing to meditate on how many fields of Indology are still completely dependent on handbooks written in the 19th or at the beginning of the 20th century. With respect to Pāli literature the situation has now completely changed. First came the literary history by K. R. Norman in the *History of Indian Literature* series in 1983 and now this volume.

Here we are not offered a 'history of literature' in the traditional sense, but a philological handbook. For people dependent on secondary literature it is perhaps not so inspiring, but for a scholar, a mine of information. With three clearly defined exceptions the book deals with all of the Pāli literature giving for every text a condensed, but detailed account of editions (restricted not only to those printed in Roman script as Norman did), text history, chronology, authorship and other philologically important subjects. Let us hope that in future we shall have more, similar handbooks of the same high standard in the other fields of Indology, too.

The sole point of regret for this volume is that when it so easily could have covered all of Pāli literature, it does not. Three subheadings, viz. Medicine, Law, and Philology, are left out because these will be dealt with by others. Probably they will, but then we shall again need several volumes to cover the entire field of Pāli literature, and with the present situation, when so many libraries have had their purchase allowances so brusquely reduced, it certainly would have been nice to have just one volume covering the entire field.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Paul Thieme, *Kleine Schriften*, II. Herausgegeben von Renate Söhnen-Thieme. (Glasenapp-Stiftung, Band 5:2.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995. ix + 815–1278 pp.

There is no need to introduce Thieme. The first volume of his *Kleine Schriften* was published as one of the early volumes of the Glasenapp-Stiftung series in 1971, a little before he retired from his Tübingen chair. However, Paul Thieme has had an extraordinary long and active retirement and during the two decades 1970–1990 he has again written enough for a full volume. In addition to new contributions, two earlier articles and one review

omitted in the first volume are included. The paper "Stand und Aufgaben der Rigveda-Philologie", read at the *Deutscher Orientalistentag* in 1977, is now published for the first time. The bibliography contains all contributions after the earlier one published in volume one. The preface shows that even with this volume the work of Thieme is not concluded, and the editor refers to plans to publish a further Ergänzungsband containing some further omissions and the most recent contributions.

KLAUS KARTTUNEN

Dieter Maue (Hrsg.), *Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 1: Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift.* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XIII,9. Im Einvernehmen mit der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996. xxxvii + 266 S., 108 Tafeln. DM 246,–. ISBN 3-515-04896-0.

In dem im folgenden zu besprechenden Buch werden die uigurischen Texte in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift der sogenannten 'Mainzer Sammlung', die Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts von den vier Preußischen Turfanexpeditionen in Ost-Turkestan ausgegraben wurden, behandelt.

Die Einleitung zu diesem Band beginnt mit einem kurzen Überblick über die Geschichte der Sammlung in Deutschland, sowie Bemerkungen zur Herkunft der Handschriften, übersichtlich aufgelistet in Abb. 1. Der zweite Teil der Einleitung behandelt die 'Erforschung der Handschriften in uigurischer Brāhmī', wobei zuerst die bisherigen Editionen und Bearbeitungen der Texte, danach die Entzifferungsgeschichte der Brāhmī beschrieben wird. Im dritten Teil folgt eine linguistische Auswertung der Handschriften. Der Abschnitt über den Vokalismus enthält u.a die folgenden Kapitel: Vokalismus in ersten Silben; Vokalismus in nicht-ersten Silben: Assimilation, primäres /O/ in nichtersten Silben, Bezeichnung der Vokalquantitäten; Irregularitäten bezüglich der Vokalharmonie: unmarkierte Palatalität, gestörte Vokalharmonie; zur Darstellung von /ı/ und /i/; Doppelvokalisierung; Synkope in erster Silbe mit konsonantischem Anlaut; prothetisches y. Der Vokalismus wurde von Anfang an als 'die bedeutendste Information der uig. Brāhmī' angesehen, da hier eine Unterscheidung zwischen *i* und *e*, *u* und *o* bzw. *ü* und *ö* stattfindet. Diese Information wird aber dadurch eingeschränkt, daß 'zu den mehrfach belegten [*o*-vokalisierten] Wörtern meist [auch] *u*-vokalisierte Dubletten vorliegen' (S. xx, Anm. 59). Wäre es möglich, daß diese Schwankungen in der Wiedergabe auf einen Laut, der zwischen *o* und *u* gestanden hat, hindeuten, und daß die Schwierigkeit der genauen Wiedergabe dieses Lautes, der durch das Brāhmī-Alphabet nicht dargestellt werden konnte, zu den oben angeführten Dubletten führte? Aus dem Brāhmī-Uigurischen sind, wie Maue zeigt (S. xxi), keine Aufschlüsse über Vokalquantitäten zu erhalten. In der Vokalharmonie sind in den Texten Einflüsse aus dem sogdisch-uigurischen Schriftsystem erkennbar, so z.B. das gelegentlich vorkommende Nicht-Markieren der Palatalität der nicht-ersten Silbe(n), sowie der vordervokalische Lokativ-Suffix *+t/dä* nach hintervokalischen Wörtern. Der den Konsonantismus behandelnde Teil beschäftigt sich mit der

orthographischen Wiedergabe der verschiedenen Konsonanten. Vielleicht kann man, was die Realisierung des Sibilanten /z/ betrifft, auch an dieser Stelle sogdisch-uigurischen Einfluß bemerken, da die Handschriften verschiedene Wege bei der Schreibung dieses Lautes gehen: einige verwenden zur Schreibung des /z/ ein 's', andere konsequent das Fremdzeichen 'z'. Zahlreiche Handschriften schwanken jedoch zwischen beiden Möglichkeiten mit unterschiedlich starken Präferenzen für den einen oder anderen Buchstaben. Letzterer Sachverhalt ist auch aus den uigurischen Texten der Yuan-Zeit gut bekannt. Abgeschlossen wird die Einleitung mit Angaben zur Orthographie des Sanskrit und technischen Bemerkungen zum Katalogteil.

Im Katalogteil werden die Manuskripte, soweit diese nicht schon früher u.a. von Maue, Röhrborn & Maue, von Gabain bzw. Clauson (vgl. die Angaben an den jeweils relevanten Stellen im Katalogteil) herausgegeben wurden, vorbildlichst bearbeitet. Die Herausgabe eines jeden Manuskripts beginnt mit einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der äußeren Erscheinungsform, hierduch 'soll' (und wird) 'das durch die Abbildungen nur unvollständige Bild der Handschriften ergänzt werden'. Hierauf folgen Angaben zum Fundort, Verweise auf die Abbildungen, sowie mögliche frühere Veröffentlichungen und die Identifikation der Handschriften. Auf diese einleitenden Bemerkungen folgt die Transliteration der Texte. Falls es sich bei den Handschriften um Listen einzelner Wörter oder Junkturen handelt (Texte 1–41), so wird der ganze Text, mit fettgedruckter Hervorhebung der Teile der Manuskripte, in Übersetzung aus dem Sanskrit oder Tibetischen, im Anschluß an die Transliteration gegeben. Dieser Teil der Bearbeitung verdient alle Hochachtung, da die Wörter und Junkturen sehr häufig nur 'wenig charakteristisch' sind, und man sich teilweise nur wundern kann, wie eine Identifikation überhaupt möglich war. Hierauf gibt Maue eine Transkription der Texte, die durch einen Kommentarteil, in dem die (Sanskrit- und) uigurischen Wörter eingehend philologisch und etymologisch behandelt werden, abgeschlossen wird. Stellenweise werden die Anmerkungen in Fußnoten zur Transkription angeführt.

Die Brāhmī der Mainzer Sammlung sind zu unterteilen in bilinguale Texte in Sanskrit und Uigurisch, monolinguale Texte in Uigurisch, Brāhmī in uigurischen Texten sogdisch-uigurischer Schrift, Inschriften (Text 72–76) und Sonderstücke (Schreibübungen, Text 78–79). Die bilingualen Texte gehören den Gattungen Vinaya (Text 1–4), Sūtra (5–13), Abhidharma (14), Verssammlungen und Gedichte (15–18), Erzählliteratur (19–21), Wissenschaft (22–24), sowie Adespota (25–41), letztere beinhaltet größtenteils religiöse Texte, an. Diese bilingualen Texte sind mit dem hīnayānanischen Buddhismus zu verbinden. Der Charakter der Handschriften, bei denen es sich um Exzpertsammlungen, die auch aus dem Tocharischen bekannt sind, handelt, setzt als Bezugscorpus vollständige Textausgaben in Sanskrit vorraus. Anlage und Zweck dieser Sammlungen sind noch unbekannt. Die monolinguale Sammlung, die viel kleiner als die bilinguale ist, beinhaltet Texte, die zur Gattung Sūtra (Text 42–43), Abhidharma (44) und Wissenschaft (45–49) gehören. Die hierher gehörigen Katalog-Nr. 50–58 stellen (religiöse) Texte unbekannter Zugehörigkeit dar. Die monolingualen Texte haben ein ganz anderes Gepräge als die bilingualen Texte, u.a. handelt es sich hier um vollständige Texte. Die zu identifizierenden Texte sind apokryph oder mahāyānistisch. Einen geringen Teil der Mainzer

Sammlung bilden die Brāhmī in uigurischen Texten sogdisch-uigurischer Schrift. Hier sind Brāhmī, die einen integralen Textteil bilden (Text 59–60) von denjenigen Manuskripten, in denen der Brāhmī-Text interlinear, in wiederholender Schreibung von indischen Fremdwörtern, Mantras und Dhāraṇīs (Text 61–71) erscheint, zu unterscheiden. Diese Textgruppe gehört der sino-buddhistischen Tradition an, und diese Text sind, soweit es sich nicht um lokale Schöpfungen handelt, Bearbeitungen chinesischer Vorlagen. Dieser Corpus wird nur tabellarisch aufgeführt (Tabelle 9), da die wenigen Stücke der Mainzer Sammlung mit den viel häufigeren Manuskripten dieser Art in der früheren Akademie der Wissenschaften (Ostberlin) zusammen bearbeitet werden.

Den zweiten Teil des Katalogs bilden die wenigen (5) Dokumente in tibetischer Schrift, die nach demselben Prinzip wie die Brāhmī-Manuskripte herausgegeben und bearbeitet werden. Diese Dokumente bestehen aus einem Text, der eine Liste mit religiösen und profanen Peronennamen beinhaltet, einem Text unbestimmten (religiösen?) Inhalts, einem Fragment der Säkiz yükmäk yaruq-Sūtra (= TT VI: 65–76, 142–161), einem unklaren tibetischen Text mit einer Zeile Uigurisch in tibetischer Schrift, sowie Namaskāras an verschiedene Bodhisattvas.

Der Katalog wird abgeschlossen von einer Bibliographie, Konkordanzen, die die Sanskrit- und uigurischen Wortformen aufführen, einer vergleichenden Liste der verschiedenen Signaturen der Manuskripte und der hier verwendeten Katalognummern, sowie einer Liste chinesischer Schriftzeichen.

Auf den Katalogteil folgen die Tafeln, deren außergewöhnliche Qualität hervorgehoben werden sollte. Alle Lesungen der Manuskipte können ohne Schwierigkeiten, was die technische Qualität anbelangt, auf den Tafeln überprüft werden.

Die Bearbeitung und Herausgabe der Brāhmī-Handschriften durch Dieter Maue muß als gelungen und mustergültig bezeichnet werden. Das Buch enthält eine große Anzahl von neuen Informationen zum uigurischen Buddhismus, dem uigurischen Medizinwesen und der Onomastik. Besonders hervorzuheben sind die Identifikationen der buddhistischen Texte, sowie die Sanskrit-Uigur Wortvergleichungen, die immer sehr interessant und lehrreich sind. Wenn alle Ausgaben uigurischer, besonders aber alttürkischer, Texte und Inschriften den gleichen wissenschaftlichen Standard wie diese Arbeit hätten, wäre man in der Alt-Turkologie bestimmt noch ein Stückchen weiter als bisher.

VOLKER RYBATZKI

RECENT ISSUES IN CENTRAL AND EAST ASIAN HISTORY

Central Asia is a difficult and delicate concept. Since it has no unambiguous external borders, it can be expanded or contracted depending on what aspects of the region one wishes to deal with. But however its borders are defined, Central Asia has during the last few decades entered the focus of global interest not only as a region of political upheaval

and economic potential, but also as an object of scholarly work in all areas of classical and modern cultural studies, including archaeology, anthropology and philology.

Much of the same is true of East Asia. Although this is a region extensively recorded and studied by generations of scholars, the current political and economic rise of East Asia has created an unprecedented demand for historical knowledge. At the same time, new discoveries, especially in the field of archaeology, have added a lot to our understanding of the early history of East Asia, and particularly of the early connections between East and Central Asia. These lines of inquiry are illuminated by the volumes reviewed below, most of which belong geographically to the context of what may be termed Eastern Central Asia, or Western and Northern East Asia.

Among the most important contributions ever made to Central Asian studies is the chronologically advancing series on Central Asian history published by the cultural branch of the World Organization. Of the six volumes ultimately scheduled for publication three have so far appeared, covering prehistory and early history till the beginning of the period known in Western chronology as the Middle Ages. This is a massive enterprise, with the extant volumes already comprising almost 1,700 pages, with numerous maps and illustrations:

A. H. Dani & **V. M. Masson** (eds.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, I. *The Dawn of Civilization: Earliest Times to 700 B.C.* Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1992 [second impression 1996]. 535 pp. ISBN 92-3-102719-0 (hardback).

János Harmatta (ed.), **B. N. Puri** & **G. F. Etemadi** (coeds.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, II. *The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250.* Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994 [second impression 1996]. 573 pp. ISBN 92-3-102846-4 (hardback).

B. A. Litvinsky (ed.), **Zhang Guang-da** & **R. Shabani Samghabadi** (coeds.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia.*, III. *The Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750.* Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996. 569 pp. ISBN 92-3-103211-9 (hardback).

The general map of Central Asia on the inner cover of each volume shows the relevant region as extending from the Plateau of Iran and the Caspian Sea in the west to the Gulf of Bohai and the Central Manchurian basin in the east. Tehran and Peking are on this map, while Istanbul and Seoul remain outside of it. As a terminological innovation previously not used in international publications on Central Asia, the series introduces the concept of *Middle Asia*, the English for Russian *Srednyaya Aziya*, which corresponds geographically to the central part of the region and is basically congruous with what used to be Russian and Soviet Central Asia.

UNESCO's interest in Central Asia, as viewed retrospectively in the project description by the late professor M. S. Asimov dates back more than thirty years. The decision to initiate a history project on the region was made in 1976, after which it took sixteen years until the first volume was finally published. In view of this time span, it has

to be recognized that the initiators of the project were farsighted, indeed, for none of them could possibly have imagined the drastic changes which would soon take place in Central Asia, and which would greatly increase the overall international significance of this region. As a sad reminder of the fact that not everything is necessarily going in a better direction, professor Asimov himself became a victim of the civil war now raging in Tajikistan.

Of course, we cannot expect a work of this magnitude to be quite up-to-date. UNESCO is notoriously a bureaucratic organization, whose efficiency is seriously hampered by the political rivalry between its member states. The political factor was clearly present when, for instance, the scientific committee responsible for recruiting the authors for the project was appointed on a mechanical basis of representational democracy – two from each member state plus a few international specialists. Just how inappropriate this approach was, is shown by the fact that, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new committee had to be appointed with fresh representatives from each of the newly independent Central Asian republics. One can only imagine the costs of all the communiqués, translations, travels, meetings, and banquets, needed to keep the project going.

Considering such practical difficulties, the result is, however, surprisingly satisfactory. The three extant volumes contain chapters prepared by some 70 scholars, and, although the selection of authors in a collective enterprise like this can always be discussed and disputed, there is no doubt that all the contributors are among the best specialists on the themes assigned to them. Both in the supervising scientific committee and among the authors and editors there are many absolute world tops, including such names as, for instance, Bridget Allchin, A. H. Dani, A. P. Derevyanko, János Harmatta, V. M. Masson, Viktor Sarianidi, Mario Tosi, and Denis Sinor.

The themes treated in the three volumes available so far comprise, in principle, every culture, ethnic group and political formation of prehistorical and early historical Central Asia. The first volume is almost entirely archaeological and has the broadest chronological and geographical coverage. Among the cultures classified as Central Asian, or as having Central Asian connections, we find here both the Indus Civilization (by A. H. Dani and B. K. Thapar) and the Neolithic traditions of the Yellow River basin (by An Zhimin). One important region has been neglected, however, in that there is no separate chapter on the earliest cultures of the Minusinsk basin of Southern Siberia. The spectacular and unique Neolithic stone sculpture tradition of the so-called Tazmin culture is not even mentioned in the volume.

The first volume also contains a linguistic chapter on "The emergence of the Indo-Iranians" (by János Harmatta). This is a point where the editors should have been more critical, for the presentation of the detailed and to a considerable extent controversial linguistic material in the chapter goes far beyond the scope of the volume. Instead, a more generalizing chapter on the linguistic prehistory of Central Asia would have been in place. In such a chapter, not only Indo-Iranian but also the other groups of languages that may be assumed to have been present in early Central Asia (Tocharian, Dravidian, Burushaski, Yeniseic, and others) could have been placed in a proper context.

There are two other chapters dealing with languages in the second volume (again by János Harmatta, the editor-in-chief of the volume). These are more successful, but, unfortunately, the emphasis is once more on the Indo-European languages, including both Iranian and Greek, while no separate chapter is offered on, for instance, Runic Turkic. Chinese, as once used in the military colonies of Turkestan, is mentioned very briefly (and with the illustration turned upside down) in the chapter on "The Western regions under the Hsiung-nu and the Han" (by Ma Yong and Sun Yutang). In general, the editors should have dealt with questions pertaining to the languages of ancient populations in a more illuminative and consistent way.

Chronologically, the second volume may be identified as protohistorical. This was a period of far-reaching consequences to the later cultural evolution of Central Asia, for it is connected with the emergence of equestrian nomadism in the steppe zone, as well as of flourishing urban settlements in the river valleys and oases of the region. Also, this was the period when Buddhism experienced its first expansion, and when the Silk Road trade connection between Europe and China came into being. All of these topics, as reflected both in the archaeological material and in the contemporary European and Chinese historical sources, are well covered in the volume.

With the third volume the series has entered the period of actual written history, as recorded in a variety of local and non-local languages and scripts. Although all of the chapters contain valuable material and fresh points of view, some repetition seems to have been unavoidable. The Xiongnu and the Huns, for instance, are dealt with in the third volume both in the "Historical introduction" (by B. A. Litvinsky and Zhang Guang-da) and in the chapter on the "Northern nomads" (by L. R. Kyzlasov), although they are already described in the second volume in the chapter on the "Nomads in Eastern Central Asia" (by N. Ishjamts). There is, however, no single chapter devoted entirely to the Xiongnu, nor to several other important entities of Eastern Central Asia, such as the Xianbei and the Tabgach.

Among the few technical faults in the work, we may point out some inconsistencies in the transcription of names. Chinese names, for instance, are transcribed variously in either the Pinyin or the Wade-Giles system, or even in other systems, with some names, such as *Sinkiang* or *Xinjiang*, and *Dunhuang* or *Tun-huang*, even appearing in two different shapes in various parts of the work. Doublets can also occasionally be found in names transliterated from Cyrillic sources, such as *Khangai* or *Khangay*, *Kere-Uula* or *Khere-Uul*, and others. It would not have been too difficult to follow strictly unified principles of transcription throughout the work.

One is also somewhat surprised to find the Christian labels AD (A.D.) and BC (B.C.) in a UNESCO publication, though it is possible that this choice was made entirely on stylistic considerations. The label AH (A.H.) also appears in the work, but only in reference to Islamic historiography. This would have been a good opportunity to introduce new neutral designations for what have also been labelled CE (C.E., for Common Era) and BCE (B.C.E., before Common Era). Needham's idiosyncratic convention of using *plus* and *minus* is convenient for some purposes, but it has its graphic problems. We should perhaps consider the possibility of adopting another pair of ideology-free inter-

national (English) labels, for instance: BZ and AZ (or B.Z. and A.Z., for *before Zero* and *after Zero*).

In spite of such minor problems, the UNESCO series on Central Asian history is nevertheless very well edited and carefully finished, with a handsome lay-out, extensive bibliographies, useful indices, and a wealth of factual information for both the layman and the specialist. Even the rather slow speed of production has not prevented the editors from including some very recent titles in the lists of references. One line of documentation that is particularly well represented throughout the work is numismatics, on which many chapters offer both picture material and detailed commentaries. The maps, which in the second and third volumes are placed in separate sections, are also, in their simplicity and clarity, of a high cartographical standard.

The quality of the extant three volumes suggests that the international cooperation underlying the UNESCO history of Central Asia is, indeed, running smoothly. While it can be hoped that this cooperation continues till the project is completed, we can surmise that more problems arise when the sixth volume, covering the most recent period up to the present day, reaches its final stage. The canonizing of modern history is a difficult task for anyone, and with such actors on the scene as China, Russia, Iran, Afghanistan and the new Central Asian republics, not to forget the Western human rights activists, it may be impossible to reach a perfect consensus. It remains interesting to see how, for instance, and by whom, the political history of 20th century Tibet and Chinese Turkestan is going to be presented.

The early history of Central Asia, or Inner Asia, as it is called in this case, has recently also been surveyed in a volume in the Cambridge series of regional histories:

> **Denis Sinor** (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 [reprinted 1994]. x + 518 pp. ISBN 0-521-24304-1 (hardback).

This is one of Sinor's most successful editorships – he is, after all, a historian, in the first place – and from this point of view it can be regretted that the UNESCO history overlaps with it rather seriously. The two works deal with the same geographical region and the same major themes, and they are intended for the same readership. The Cambridge volume is, however, much more compact, in that it alone covers the time span corresponding to the first three volumes of the UNESCO series plus a couple of centuries more, extending to the rise of the Mongol Empire.

With only 10 contributors at his disposal, Sinor has had to search for a more generalizing approach to the historical complexity of Central Asia than the UNESCO series. His own introductory remarks on the concept of Inner Asia are followed by two interpretative chapters devoted to geography (by Robert N. Taaffe) and prehistory (by the late A. P. Okladnikov) – the latter chapter must have been written long ago. In spite of their rather concise formulation and the lack of illustrations, even these chapters fill some of the gaps

observed in the UNESCO series. For instance, the archaeology of the Minusinsk basin is here given the place it deserves.

Most of the other chapters are arranged according to ethnic groups and ethnopolitical formations, including the Eastern Huns or Xiongnu (by Ying-Shih Yü), the Western Huns (by Denis Sinor), the Avar (by Samuel Szádeczky-Kardoss), the Ancient Turks (by Denis Sinor), the Uighur (by Colin Mackerras), the Western Turks and the Karakhanids (by Peter B. Golden), as well as the Tibetans (by Helmut Hoffman). It is true, the chapter titles are not always ethnically as informative as they could be. For instance, the chapter titled vaguely "Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia" (by A. K. Narain) is actually focussed on the Tocharians, an important ethnic and linguistic group whose name could as well have been mentioned in the title.

As compared with the UNESCO series, the Cambridge volume is clearly closer to the classical, or Altaistic, tradition of Central Asian studies. Geographically, the volume shows a bias towards the northern half of the region, including Siberia and European Russia, while the southern half is not dealt with in comparable depth. The northern perspective is conspicuous in the chapters on the peoples of the Russian forest and steppe belts (by Peter B. Golden) as well as on "The forest peoples of Manchuria" (by Herbert Franke). The latter chapter is very brief, but it helps to illustrate the position of Manchuria in the junction of Central and East Asia.

It happens that Manchuria, together with Mongolia, is in the focus of another recent Cambridge volume, published in the ambitious series on the history of China:

> **Herbert Franke** & **Denis Twitchett** (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, VI: *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xxix + 864 pp., incl. 37 maps. ISBN 0-52- 24331-9 (hardback).

Following the Chinese tradition of historiography, this volume views the political states of the mediaeval Northern Barbarians as an integral part of Chinese history. The volume as a whole serves as a healthy reminder of the multicultural and multilingual nature of the Chinese empire. Two major historical stages in the evolution of China and East Asia are covered here: the period of triple imperial power during the Song dynasty of China, and the unification and expansion of the empire during the Yuan dynasty.

Apart from the collective volume *China Among Equals* edited by Morris Rossabi (1983), as well as Thomas J. Barfield's more synthetic *The Perilous Frontier* (1989), this is the first time that all the non-Chinese dynasties of mediaeval China are treated together in a comprehensive and up-to-date English text. Some of the chapters have, however, important predecessors, especially in the Russian language. We may recall here the excellent histories of the Tangut Xia by Ye. I. Kychanov (1968), and of the Jurchen Jin by M. V. Vorob'ev (1975–1982). For the Liao we have, of course, the fundamental work of Wittfogel (1949), while for the Yuan a large selection of secondary literature exists in various languages.

The editors of the Cambridge volume have chosen to present the material in a simple and clear dynastic arrangement. The first half of the volume contains three chapters devoted to the Liao (by Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze), Xia (by Ruth Dunnell), and Jin (by Herbert Franke), respectively, while the second half contains six separate chapters on various aspects of the Yuan dynasty: "The rise of the Mongolian empire and Mongolian rule in north China" (by Thomas Allsen), "The reign of Khubilai Khan" (by Morris Rossabi), "Mid-Yüan politics" (by Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing), "Shun-ti and the end of Yüan rule in China" (by John Dardess), "The Yüan government and society" (by Elizabeth Endicott-West), and "Chinese society under Mongol rule, 1215–1368" (by Frederick W. Mote).

Like the entire Cambridge series on the history of China, this particular volume is the result of a prolonged period of writing and editing. An early prolegomenon to the work was formed by the publication of "Chinese texts on the Jurchen" by Herbert Franke two decades ago (1975–78). In view of the time and effort put into the project it is perhaps not so surprising that the volume is excellent in all respects. In addition to the carefully formulated text, ideal for reference, there are detailed notes, an extensive bibliography, as well as useful maps and genealogical tables. Of considerable value is also the large selection of "Bibliographical essays", which specifies and describes the principal primary and secondary sources.

In view of the large amount of previous literature available on the Mongols and the Yuan dynasty, the first half of the volume, dealing with the lesser known alien dynasties of the Song period, is likely to be of particular interest for most readers. In the "Introduction", the editors also make many useful points concerning the general interpretation of these dynasties. For instance, they correct the frequent misunderstanding according to which all the Northern Barbarians would have been 'nomads' and 'pastoralists'. In reality, the societies and states of both the Jurchen and the Tangut had a complex economic structure with no substantial role for nomadism at all, and even the Khitan were much more variegated as is conventionally assumed.

As a rare feature in a historical work, the linguistic information contained in the Cambridge volume is also accurate and carefully edited. Although there is a tendency to avoid controversial issues, and to adopt conventional truths, such as the idea of an Altaic genetic relationship (pp. 45–46), most statements made about the linguistic identity of ancient ethnic groups reflect the current state of knowledge in a credible and objective way. Also, the transcription of non-Chinese names and vocabulary items is clear and consistent.

Ruth W. Dunnell, who contributed the Xia chapter to the Cambridge history of China, has also written a more detailed account of the Tangut state and its special relationship with Buddhism:

> **Ruth W. Dunnell**, *The Great State of White and High. Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-century Xia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996. xxvi + 278 pp. ISBN 0-8248-1719-2 (hardback).

One of Dunnell's starting points is the multiethnic composition of the Tangut state. Although territorially much smaller than the other contemporary states in East Asia, it had not only Tangut and ethnic Chinese citizens, but also significant numbers of people classified as Tibetan, Uighur, Khitan, and Tuyuhun. The non-Chinese elements, including the Tangut themselves, were generically known as the *Fan*, but linguistically and culturally they had diverse origins and affiliations. The one factor that united most of the Fan was Buddhism, and Dunnell shows how this factor was exploited by the Tangut rulers in order to counteract the impact of China and the *Han*.

Although the theme chosen by Dunnell is already rather specific, she makes it even more so by concentrating her analysis on a single epigraphic source, the 1094 stele from Liangzhou, which contains a bilingual inscription commemorating the reconstruction of a subsequently lost Buddhist structure known as the Gantong Stupa. The text has been published and studied several times both by Chinese and by Western scholars, as listed by Dunnell in the Appendix. This is, however, the first time that the Buddhist content and context of the text is discussed in detail.

Dunnell bases her analysis on both the Chinese and the Tangut version of the text. The most interesting part of her work is, in fact, formed by the chapters containing the annotated translations of the two versions as well as a comparative analysis of their contents, with some additional notes on names and titles. However, considering the fact that Dunnell has worked with the Tangut original, the reader would expect a more concrete demonstration of her methods of reading, translating and interpreting the Tangut language.

It seems that Dunnell accepts the canonic view concerning the 'reading' of Tangut. Although shared by virtually all Tangut specialists in Russia, Japan and China, this view was challenged with good reasons in a number of papers by Luc Kwanten (between 1982 and 1988), and the matter cannot be regarded as settled. Dunnell has clearly not looked very deeply into the problem of the Tangut script. She classifies the script as 'graphic' – meaning obviously *logographic* – 'rather than alphabetic', but she ignores the fact that even the Chinese script is linked with sounds in a highly language-specific way. It is the *total* lack of correlation between graphics and phonetics (as well as semantics) in Tangut that remains to be explained.

In this context, Dunnell neglects the chance to think of the practical implications of the alleged position of the Tangut script as the most complicated system of writing in the history of mankind. To take up the argument presented by Victor H. Mair about the reasons lying behind the use of Vernacular Chinese in Buddhist translations, it is unlikely that the Buddhist missionaries in the Tangut state, many of them foreigners and originally not fluent in Tangut, would have taken an interest in spreading the faith in a written language that would have been even more difficult to master than Classical Chinese.

We might, consequently, argue that the very existence of a large number of Buddhist translations and primary texts in Tangut, including the Liangzhou stele inscription, shows that Written Tangut was a relatively simple language, easily mastered by foreign monks. Moreover, there is ample evidence of cases in which a cursive form of the Tangut script was used, even much after the Mongol conquest, for very casual purposes – notes,

checks, graffiti, markings on pottery, engravings on bronze objects – by ordinary Tangut who cannot possibly have been highly educated.

Of course, it was not Dunnell's purpose to focus on the problem of the Tangut script. In her book, she has made a valuable inquiry into the political implications of Buddhism in the Tangut state. It may be hoped that this is a start for a rising international interest in Tangut studies. As was once pointed out by Sir Gerald Clauson (1964), this is an extremely complicated area of research, requiring competence in fields as diverse and specialized as Classical Sinology, Tibetology, Buddhology, as well as both Sino-Tibetan and Altaic comparative studies. No one can alone meet this challenge: a gathered international effort is required.

The enigmatic Tangut were just one of the many ethnic groups who have lived, or still live, in the region historically known as the Hexi Corridor, now administered as the Gansu Province of China. Although often regarded as marginal in the Chinese context, the long and narrow Gansu Province is strategically a very important possession for China, so important that it continues to be difficult to access for foreign observers. Inserted between Mongolia (Inner Mongolia) in the north, Tibet (Qinghai) in the south, Turkestan (Xinjiang) in the west, and China proper in the east, Gansu is actually the center of the multicultural Chinese empire. To retain its control of Eastern Central Asia, China has even placed its nuclear weapons in Gansu.

Having experienced the frustrations of ethnological field work in Gansu, and with reference to the relevant secondary literature, Sabira Ståhlberg has created a synthetic view of the province, as presented in her German doctoral dissertation (University of Bonn):

> **Sabira Ståhlberg**, *Der Gansu-Korridor: Barbarenland diesseits und jenseits der Großen Chinesischen Mauer – zum Nord-Süd-Dialog eines zentralasiatischen Gebietes*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 1996. [ii +] 240 pp. + 3 maps. ISBN 3-86064-470-X (paperback).

In spite of its long and clumsy title in accordance with the German academic tradition, this volume is actually a clear and concise presentation of the historical and ethnic characteristics of Gansu. The work consists of three parts: a historiographical introduction, a historical survey, and an 'analytic' discussion of ethnicity and society in the province. Of considerable value is also the bibliography, which contains some one thousand references to little known Western, Russian, Chinese and Japanese works on all aspects of Gansu.

To place Gansu in a larger context, Ståhlberg links it with the well-known dichotomy between Center and Periphery, which she calls the 'North-South dialogue' in Chinese history. This is, of course, true, in the sense that Gansu belongs to the realm of the Northern – and Western – Barbarians, who for millennia have interacted with China proper. We should, however, not forget that more often than being a *partner* in this dialogue, Gansu has been a *channel* through which the dialogue has been carried. This is a unique feature of Gansu as compared wtih the other non-Chinese components of Great-

er China, and if this is, indeed, the point Ståhlberg wishes to stress, she could have made it a bit more clear.

In a somewhat forced attempt to find a modern correlate for the 'North-South dialogue', Ståhlberg also discusses the minority policies of the People's Republic. In criticizing the current regime of China for transforming the historical *dialogue* into a Han Chinese *monologue*, she ignores the fact that the minorities of China are, after all, in a relatively good state of preservation if compared with the situation in many Western 'democracies'. She also makes the common mistake of linking the minority question with political liberalization and human rights, forgetting that most participants in the 'democracy movement' in China are actually ethnic Chinese totally ignorant of, or indifferent to, the ethnic diversity of their country.

Ståhlberg is, of course, right in pointing out the inconsistencies of the Chinese ethnic policies. Following Dru Gladney and other recent authors, she discusses the current trend of creating a kind of *showcase ethnicity*, which through the exoticization, sexualization, and folklorization of minority cultures parodizes the actual ethnic differences. However, this is just one level on which ethnicity is manifested in China, and a level fairly harmless for the minorities. In a province like Gansu, most of the real ethnic differences (including even the ethnic languages) are still there, and with proper measures they could be salvaged for the future. This is an objective that needs a more constructive approach than just moralizing.

A large part of Ståhlberg's work is devoted to the practical but very useful task of presenting an ethnic (including geographical, political, religious and economic) taxonomy of the populations currently or historically living in Gansu. The information supplied by Ståhlberg is generally well-digested and reliable, though one can find occasional errors. For instance, she repeatedly claims (as in note 61 on p. 49) that the Tangut settlement today known as Khara-Khoto was the 'capital of the Xia state', though it was actually a minor provincial outpost whose modern fame is based on the fact that it happened to yield the largest extant corpus of Tangut textual material.

Altogether, Ståhlberg's work fills a clear gap in the literature on Greater China. Tibet, Mongolia, and Xinjiang, have all been treated in a large number of publications, while Gansu can only now start emerging from its recent oblivion towards a new significance in Chinese ethnic and historical studies. There are other provinces on the margins of China proper that would deserve a similar modern synthesis in a Western language: Sichuan is a good example. From such studies, a more clear picture will result concerning the actual state of the 'North-South dialogue' in China.

Among the other mediaeval challengers of China proper, the Jin state of the Jurchen is the object of several recent works. Two of them deal with the beginning and end of the Jin, or, more exactly, with the last days of the Northern Song under Jurchen siege, and the last days of the Jin before the Mongol invasion:

Sabine Werner, *Die Belagerung von K'ai-feng im Winter 1126/27. Nach Kapitel 64–69 des* San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien, *kompiliert von Hsü Meng-hsin.* (München-

er ostasiatische Studien, 61.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992. xii + 201 pp., incl. 3 maps. ISBN 3-515-06165-7 (paperback).

Hok-lam Chan, *The Fall of the Jurchen Chin. Wang E's Memoir on Ts'ai-chou under the Mongol Siege (1233–1234)*. (Münchener ostasiatische Studien, 66.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993. x + 181 pp., incl. 2 maps. ISBN 3-515-06285-8 (paperback).

Both volumes are based on primary sources, described, translated and analyzed with comments by the authors. Werner's source is a selection of six chapters (out of 250) from the *Sanchao beimeng huibian* (1196) by the Song historian Xu Mengxin, who, in turn, used contemporary materials in the compilation of his work. The rather complicated background of Xu Mengxin's work and its original sources, as well as of the political situation during the last years of the Northern Song, are discussed by Werner with exemplary clarity and profound expertise in the introductory chapters of her work. The translation of Xu Mengxin's text conveys a vivid description, with eyewitness accounts and critical notes, of the military events that resulted in the collapse of the Northern Song capital Kaifeng, and in the expansion of a Barbarian state as far south as the Yellow River.

Hok-lam Chan's source is an account titled *Runan yishi*, written by Wang E, a Han Chinese literate and Jin court historian, who later became an advisor to Khubilai Khan. Wang E was present at Cai, the Jin refuge capital not far from Kaifeng (*Jin Nanjing*), where the last Jin emperor perished under Mongol siege (1234). Wang E was saved and recorded his memories in the text now presented by Chan, a leading authority on Jin history. In the biographical introduction to the translation, Chan discusses Wang E's role as the initiator of the project that ultimately resulted in the compilation of the official Liao and Jin dynastic histories.

As textual publications, the two volumes by Werner and Chan are both of an exceptionally high quality. Although this reflects the general level of the Münchener ostasiatiche Studien, we should not forget the impact of Herbert Franke, who has been personally involved in both volumes as a teacher, colleague and project leader. In a field as exotic as Jurchen Jin studies, it is difficult to gather the critical mass necessary to produce significant results. It seems that this mass has now been gathered, and we can confidently remain looking forward to more results in the future.

Indeed, we already possess a fruit of the emerging international cooperation in the field of Jurchen Jin studies. This is a volume on various aspects of cultural life in the Jin state, edited by Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Stephen H. West and prefaced by Herbert Franke:

Hoyt Cleveland Tillman & **Stephen H. West** (eds.), *China under Jurchen Rule. Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History*. Foreword by Herbert Franke. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. xxi + 385 pp. ISBN 0-7914-2273-9 (hardback).

The volume is based on materials first presented at a conference held back in 1983, so if there is anything to complain about in this context, it is the slowness of the publishing process. Slowness is notoriously a serious problem of international publishing today, so serious that the editors and publishers responsible for it should think of the consequences. In this particular case, even if Jurchen Jin studies, after centuries of neglect, may not be among the most rapidly developing fields of scholarship, a decade is a long time, long enough to have left one of the contributors – and certainly many more potential readers – dead. Fortunately, the editors have done their best to update all the contributions, so that the published volume reflects the state of knowledge of the early 1990s.

Following an introduction by the editors, the volume contains ten contributions, arranged in three sections. The first section (politics and institutions) presents papers dealing with the general history of Jin institutions (by Hoyt Cleveland Tillman), the Jurchen-Song confrontation (by James T. C. Liu), and public schools in the Jin state (by Tao Jing-shen). In the second section (religion and thought), problems of Confucianism (by Hoyt Cleveland Tillman), literati learning (by Peter K. Bol), as well as Buddhism and Taoism (by Yao Tao-chung), are examined. The third section (literature and art), finally, contains papers on selected paintings (by Susan Bush), narratives (by Wilt Idema) and poems (by Stephen H. West), as well as a general account of Jurchen literature under the Jin (by Jin Qicong).

Since the Han Chinese were the majority nationality in the Jin state, as they had been in the Liao state, most of the cultural heritage preserved from the Jin is actually Chinese. Therefore, the field of Jin cultural studies is of immediate Sinological relevance, while much less is known on the native culture of the Jurchen themselves. This is also evident from the volume now under discussion, which concentrates on questions pertaining to the expansion and reception of Chinese ideas and institutions in the Jin state. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that in Jin times the ethnic Jurchen impact must have been considerably more prominent than is suggested by the preserved material alone, for it was the Jurchen part of the Jin heritage that was most easily lost after the collapse of the dynasty.

Some aspects of the constant interplay of Jurchen and Han values in the Jin state are discussed by the contributors to the Tillman and West volume. In this respect the most rewarding paper is that by Jin Qicong, a Manchu scholar of imperial lineage and the grand old man of Jurchen studies in China. In his account on Jurchen literature he stresses the role of the ethnic Jurchen as creators of literary works in both the Jurchen and the Chinese languages. As a symptom of their profound Sinicization, most Jin princes and even some emperors were not fluent in their ethnic language, but composed literature in Chinese. However, during periods of Jurchen cultural revival, even Han Chinese individuals are known to have written in Jurchen. It remains an eternal frustration of all Jurchen studies that so much of this once-flourishing literary tradition has been lost without a trace.

Finally, a recent work by Pamela Crossley dealing with the Qing dynasty Manchu, direct descendants of the Jin dynasty Jurchen, has to be mentioned. This is a companion volume to David Morgan's book *The Mongols* (1986), which appeared in the Blackwell series

The Peoples of Europe. Crossley's book has found a more appropriate context in the new series titled The Peoples of Asia:

> **Pamela Kyle Crossley**, *The Manchus*. (The Peoples of Asia.) Cambridge, Mass. & Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997. xvi + 239 pp. ISBN 1-55786-560-4 (hardback).

The text begins with the unverifiable statement that the Tatars or 'Tartars' of the Eastern Steppes were a 'Turkic-speaking mediaeval people of Central Eurasia', who 'became a significant element in the early Mongol federations of the twelfth century'. The Ancient Tatar were, indeed, absorbed by the Mongols, but there is no evidence suggesting that they would have spoken a Turkic language. There is, in fact, no information whatsoever on their language, though historical and geographical considerations would support a Mongolic (or Para-Mongolic) identification.

Similar inaccuracies in the linguistic details continue throughout the work. We are told, for instance, that the 'Golds [...], Orochons, and Oroks all called themselves Nani, the name of the local tributary of the Songari [sic] river' (p. 21). Now, it is well known that the self-appellation of the people conventionally called the Gold or Hejen (Chinese *Hezhe*) is Nanai (native *Naanai*, dialectally *Naani*), which is actually a composite noun meaning 'local people' (*naa* 'land' + *nai* 'man'). However, neither the Orochen (along the Khingan Ranges) nor the Orok (on Sakhalin) use this appellation. Crossley may have had another group, the Oroch (in the Sikhote-Alin region), in her mind, though the information that the Oroch would have called themselves *Naani* also remains controversial.

Reading the passage quoted above, one is, of course, curious to know where, exactly, 'the local tributary of the Songari' bearing the name 'Nani' is located. The answer comes when Crossley, discussing the resettlement of the Dagur and Solon (p. 102), actually uses the spelling 'Nani' to denote the river normally known by its Manchu name as *Nonni* (Chinese *Nun* or *Nen Jiang*). The river is called *Naun* by the Dagur and *Noon* by the local Mongols, but no ethnic group in the region calls it 'Nani'. Moreover, neither the Nanai nor any other population using the same ethnonym lives, or is ever known to have lived, along this particular river.

Further, Crossley claims (p. 31), that the word *shaman* 'comes from the Manchu language'. There is a considerable literature on this word, and numerous attempts have been made to derive it from a variety of languages, but the truth is that it comes through Russian from the so-called 'hushing' dialects of Siberian Ewenki, a rather distant relative of Manchu. Manchu has the same word (in the shape *saman*), but this is not where international scholarship took it from. The only major language which has directly borrowed the Manchu term is modern Mandarin Chinese (*saman*).

Discussing the Western and Inner Asian impact on Manchu cultural vocabulary, Crossley states that Manchu *doro* 'law' comes 'from Mongolian *dörö*, from Hebrew *torah*'. One wonders what her sources are, but, in any case, she has clearly not consulted the extant dictionaries of Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic. The only thing we can say of

Manchu *doro* is that it is definitely *not* connected with the Mongolic item concerned, which, to be exact, is not '*dörö*' but *törü*. Mongolic, however, did borrow the word from Turkic *törü* id. There seems to be no good etymology for the Turkic original, but Hebrew has certainly nothing to do in this context.

There are dozens of other serious errors, misunderstandings and misspellings, especially in Appendix III, containing a "Glossary of names and terms". Ethnic taxonomy, etymology and comparative linguistics are clearly not among Crossley's strong sides. On one occasion, we even find Latvian listed as a Ural-Altaic language (p. 34), a trivial mistake totally out of place in a book which is supposed to deal with the Manchu. It can only be regretted that Crossley, basically a Sinologist and historian, has taken so much effort to present and comment on material that could only have been managed with a proper background in Altaic comparative studies.

Fortunately, Crossley does better on the historical side. The biggest merit of her book is perhaps that she has taken into consideration a number of early Korean sources on Manchuria and the Manchu. The principal Korean source used by her is the travelogue by Sin Chung-il, a Korean scholar and diplomat sent to visit the Jianzhou Jurchen in 1594–1595, immediately before the rise of the Manchu. It is interesting to note, however, that Crossley relies so intimately on the published Korean and Japanese commentaries of this source that she even quotes (p. 42) the name of the Russian town *Nikol'sk (Ussuriiskii)* in the Koreanized (?) shape 'Nigorsk'.

The main part of the work is intended as a concise introduction to the history of the imperial Manchu, and there is no doubt that Crossley fulfils this task in a satisfactory way. The themes treated by her include the rise of the Manchu imperial house, the territorial expansion of Greater China under the Manchu, the cultural life of the Qianlong period, the end of Manchu rule, and the role of the Manchu in modern China. It is true, occasionally Crossley makes rather long excursions to themes not directly connected with the Manchu, such as the spiritual heritage of Tibet. One of the points that she makes fairly clearly concerns the nature of the Manchu as a complex mixture of ethnic and political elements. Her attempt to play down the Han Chinese impact in the composition of the so-called Chinese Bannermen or *Han Jun* (pp. 204–205) is, however, not convincing.

Although the Manchu as an ethnic group are today fatally weakened for all except statistical purposes, Crossley is right in mentioning the role which individuals of Manchu descent continued to play in post-Qing China. One of her most interesting attempts to reassess history concerns the person of the last Manchu emperor and the state of Manchukuo. The conventional view of Puyi as a 'puppet emperor', and of Manchukuo as a 'Japanese puppet state', is not tenable any longer. Behind these forced labels, there were other currents, connected, among other things, with Manchu nationalism, Manchurian separatism, and local economic interests. Only with all of these factors properly understood, can a history of Manchukuo be written.

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